AN ANTHEMION STELE FROM PHRYGIA

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Abstract: During the construction of the Eskişehir-Istanbul high-speed railway in 2007, two grave stele, one decorated with an anthemion and ashlar blocks, were unearthed to the northwest of the Oklubal Village in the district of İnnö. The circular retaining wall of a tumulus of which mound was not completed and a group of graves to the west were discovered during the grave excavation carried out to find the grave related to the stele on the site. The Oklubal stele, probably set up on the podium near the tumulus, are important in terms of throwing light upon the relationship between tumuli and the grave side monuments where the ceremonies were conducted. The stylistic features and composition of the anthemion, one of the few data helpful for the date, suggest that the stele and the tumulus related to them were built in the middle of the fifth century BC.

PHRYGİA'DAN ANTHEMİONLU BİR MEZAR STELİ

Anahtar Kelimeler: Geç Arkaik Mezar Stelleri • Anthemionlu Stel • Akhemenid Dönemi • Tümülüüs • Eskişehir


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In August 2007, during the construction of the Eskişehir-Istanbul high-speed railway, two grave *stelai*, one decorated with an *anthemion* and both made of well-dressed ashlar blocks which were scattered in the spoil heap made by earthmoving machine were found to the northwest of the Oklubah village in the province of Eskişehir. A short-term rescue excavation was carried out on the site to investigate the grave and relate the finds to other *stelai* belonging to Late Archaic-Early Classical period. The excavation unearthed the circular retaining wall of a *tumulus* and graves covered with small rubble on its western side.

This excavation is important for throwing light upon the relationship, until now known only from indirect evidence, between *tumuli* and graveside monument with *stelai* in the Achaemenid Period. Therefore, before presenting the stele with *anthemion* decoration that constitutes the main object of this paper, I will briefly describe the *tumulus* and graves.

**Tumulus and Cemetery**

The excavated area, approximately 3.2 km. northwest of Oklubah village, lies in a level field 50 m. north of the Eskişehir-Istanbul railway line (Fig. 1).

The circular retaining wall of small unmortared rubble has a diameter of ca. 20 m. (internal diameter 18 m.) and its thickness varies from 3.10 to 2.20 m. At almost in the centre of the area enclosed by this wall was found a cist burial chamber with rubble packed around it (Fig. 2-3). The walls (four or five courses of which were preserved) that surround the wooden coffin are not symmetrical. Pieces of wood mixed with ash and two tiny pieces of a human skull, probably the result of cremation, were found in the burial chamber. The fact that the top of the retaining wall was only about 40 cm. below ground level shows that earth was not heaped up over the burial chamber proportionately to the diameter of the enclosure wall.

Two broken ashlar limestone blocks belonging to the platform on which the *stelai* possibly stood were discovered just outside the southeast portion of the retaining wall, which no longer exists. The inclined positions of these blocks and the fact that among them was found a coin of Valens indicate that the *tumulus* was disturbed by robbers in late antiquity, but no traces of destruction were observed in the burial chamber. No small finds contemporary with the *stelai* were found near the retaining wall or in the burial chamber.

A group of graves was discovered about 60 m. west of the *tumulus* (Fig. 4). Three different types of burial: simple inhumation, inhumation with stone covered and cremation. Under some piles of stone covering, no obvious traces of

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1 I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Mr. Dursun Çağlar, director of the Eskişehir Museum, for permission to publish the stelai found in the rescue excavations conducted under the auspices of the museum and my colleagues in the excavation, Yunus Muluk, Cüneyt Bostancı, Yusuf Oran Kaya, Göktem İşık and Şener Yıldırım. I would like to thank Aytaç Arslan for translation text into English and for further reading also to Dr. Thomas Drew-bear and Dr. Chris Lightfoot.

inhumation or cremation could be found. The few bones found in the graves were badly preserved, so that it was not possible to determine their age and sex.

The grave goods are limited to two amphorae, one of which could be almost entirely restored, some bowl sherds of local ware, and two bronze objects (Fig. 5). The amphorae have the characteristics of Mendean amphorae, which had a wide distribution from the middle of the 5th century B.C. The more complete has two wide and deep thumb impressions on the shoulder below the handles, a graffito with the letter M on one side, an everted, wedge-shaped rim and an intense micaceous fabric. It has been observed that from the last quarter of the 5th century the body of Mendean amphorae becomes longer and has an ovoid angular appearance, while the neck becomes longer compared to earlier examples and the height of the stem toe shortens. It is possible to see clearly these changes on the amphora unearthed in the cemetery. The amphora can therefore be dated between the years of 425-400 B.C., based on the suggestions put forward for the similar examples. The other finds are not helpful for dating.

The technique of construction and material shared by the graves and tumulus retaining wall and the fact they are on the same level suggest that no long period of time elapsed between them. However it was not possible to identify any relationship between the graves and the tumulus and the northern border of the graveyard as the excavated area was limited owing to the railway line.

No traces of ancient settlement related to the tumulus and its burials were found during surveys in the vicinity. The closest archaeological site to the tumulus is Oklubalı Mound, located approximately 3.4 km. to the southeast. No contemporary remains were discovered on the mound during the survey in 1990 and because of the distance between the excavation site and mound, we must search for the related habitation site in a different area.

**Podium**

Several scattered limestone blocks were found already before the excavation. It seems highly probable that these blocks, most of which were broken, belonged to a podium designed for the steles rather than to the burial chamber or the dromos of the tumulus. The size of these blocks shows that the podium possessed a wall consisting of at least two courses (Fig. 6-7). These blocks display a chiselled surface at front framed by a smooth band and deep swallow-tail clamp holes on their tops.

All the blocks belonging to the lower row are of the same high (14.5 cm). Only one of them is intact. The upper surface of two is smoothed down to receive the blocks of the upper row, but their back

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5 See catalogue.
5 Lawall 1995, 121-123, Fig. 39-41; Lawall 2000, 66, Fig. 19-20; Papadopoulos–Paspalas 1999, 161, Fig. 4; Hadjidaki 1996, 565, Fig. 3, 11-12; Lawall 1998, 19, Fig. 4; Lawall 2010, 161, Pl. 94, fig. 2-5.
6 Efe 1992, 562. It was recorded that pottery sherds of the Early and Middle Bronze Age, and the Roman-Byzantine Period were found at the mound.
was left rough. Five blocks of the upper row were found. Although all of these are 93 cm. high, their width is different. The front of three blocks is chiselled and framed like those of the first row. The other two blocks which display no such treatment, were left unfinished, or were used at the side of the podium which attracted less attention.

No block that could furnish reliable evidence for the position of the podium was found in the excavations. The scattered blocks just outside the retaining wall were not in situ. This area was probably demolished in the late Roman period, and it was therefore not possible to determine the position of the podium and arrangement of the stelai. In addition to the clamp cuttings on the blocks smoothed down on their upper surface which show no traces of metal clamps, the fact that the surface of some blocks does not display a worked finish indicates that these blocks were carved to be used in building the podium, but the construction of the podium was not completed nor was the earth completely heaped above the tumuli.

There can be no doubt that the podium of the ashlar blocks on which the stelai stood served as a ceremonial area for rituals both during the funeral and at later memorial celebrations (Fig. 8). Whether or not the construction of the podium was completed, it presents strong evidence for the view held by certain scholars that bases found in excavations near the tumuli at Karaburun II, Daskyleion and Sardis bore the stelai of the deceased, and that the use of ceremonial areas near the tumuli was a widespread tradition throughout Anatolia in the Achaemenid period. We should note that the podium of the Oklubah tumulus has a more monumental appearance than the ceremonial areas found near the tumuli of Ikiztepe and Sardis Bin Tepeler BT63.5 where bases were found on which “door-type” grave stelai stood.8

The Stelai

1. Anthemion stele, white marble with grey vein, height: 173 cm. (101 cm. shaft+72 cm. finial) width of the shaft: 62 cm., finial width: 70.5 cm. thickness: 19 cm. The shaft is intact apart from small pieces broken off and slight scratching on the finial caused by excavator. The sides of the stele are finely chiselled.

The rounded finial projects slightly from the shaft towards the sides. The finial is framed by a band, wide at the bottom and narrow at the side (Fig. 9). Two large symmetrical volutes end at the bottom corners and a palmette with seven pointed leaves rises from a simple calyx with a central bud. It is framed with a wide band at the bottom, narrow on the sides. The edges of the pointed leaves extending towards the frame are surrounded by thin raised bands. The volutes rising from large eyes in the centre approach each other on the main axis, and the volute channels at the bottom widen at their ends. These volute channels, framed by thin raised bands, are slightly convex. The spaces between the outside contour and extended broad

7 For recent researches on this topic with a discussion of the archaeological evidence, see Roosevelt 2006; Polat 2005.
8 Roosevelt 2006, 73.
channels of the volutes are filled with small, three-leaved palmettes. There is a hanging inverse lotus under the volutes. The pointed side leaves of the lotus extend downward from the calyx under the volutes.

II. The undecorated stele, white marble with grey vein, height: 181 cm. (120 cm. shaft+61 cm. finial) width of shaft: 50 cm., width of finial: 60 cm., thickness: 16 cm. Slightly broken on the right bottom corner and finial, surface of the shaft and finial are scraped.

The finial projects laterally beyond the vertical plane of the shaft (Fig. 10). While the surface of the stele including the finial is finely chiselled, the uneven base of the shaft (10 cm. in height) is left rough. The shaft of this stele is 12 cm. narrower and 8 cm. longer than that of the other stele. The bottom of the shaft was left rough because it was inserted into the base. However, the difference between the heights of the steles was not perceptible and the anthemion stele was also inserted into the base. Provided that the visible height of two steles was equal, the shaft of the undecorated stele must have been inserted more deeply.

The shortness of the stelai is remarkable. The proportion of height of the finial to that of the shaft of the anthemion stele is 2:3, but in the other stele it is 1:2 (including the portion left rough). By contrast, on the well-preserved stelai dating to Late Archaic-Early Classical period in the Graeco-Persian style such Daskyleion I and Sultaniye Koy examples, the proportion of the finials to the shafts is close to 1:3, with the shafts being thinner and longer. The ratio is approximately 1:2 in the Delipinar stelai, which therefore constitute the closest parallel to the stelai from Oklubah.9 It is not certain whether the reason for the decrease in the height of the stelai is that they stood on a high podium or this was an early manifestation of a tendency which would last until the Classical period.

It can be accepted that the stele was prepared to be carved an anthemion ornament like its pair, but was not completed. The other possibility is that if there were an ornament and inscription, they may have been painted as an common application. However, any visible preserved trace of the paint is not observed on the surface of the stele to sign this kind of practice.10

Style and Date of the Anthemion Stele

There are three variants in the position of the volutes on the anthemion steles of the Late Archaic period in Anatolia. The volute stems in the first group end at the corners: this is the most common type in Asia Minor and on Samos and includes the Oklubha stele; in the second group the volutes end at the bottom of the decoration; in the third they are vertical and curved in an S-form. These types do not represent the specific phases in the evolution of the composition, and so they do not constitute a reliable criterion for establishing a date, especially during the

9  Daskyleion I. 3.03 m., Sultanıye Köy 2.47 m., Delipinar 2.80 m. in height.
10  Any analyse such as UV-fluorescence technique was not carried out to reveal whether the stelai were painted or not.
Late Archaic-Early Classical period, when all these types existed simultaneously.

The stylistic development of the first type can be traced in more examples than that of the other types: Aksakal in the vicinity of Daskyleion,11 Dorylaion,12 Kelenderis,13 two fragments from Sardis (one published by Hanfmann,14 the other by Ratté15), Mileto,16 Isparta (Delipinar),17 Sinope (tomb of Nana)18 and Bursa (Sultaniye Köy).19 At this point, it is necessary to emphasize that the dating of the comparanda is uncertain for the simple reason that they were not found in situ.

The form of the main elements such as the volute, palmette and lotus that make up the anthemion, the number of the leaves and their workmanship are different even on contemporary steles. The clearest difference in the evolution of the anthemion is in the position of the volutes.

The volutes projected and formed the contour of the finial with the palmettes on the stelai at Kelenderis, Daskyleion, Mileto, Sardis and Dorylaion, all of which are dated between ca. 530/520 and 500/490 B.C.20 Later the volutes of the stelai from Delipinar (Isparta), Sultaniye Köy (Bursa) and the tomb of Nana (Sinope), which date to the beginning and the middle of the fifth century B.C., were diverted inward and the ends of the volutes are enlarged, like those of the stele from Oklubah (Fig. 11). The last three stelai, on which the palmettes extend inward from the borders of the finial, differ from the first group because their palmettes extend to the border.

As an exception, although the volutes turn inwards on the Delipinar stelai, the contours of the volutes form the border of the anthemion. While these stelai, probably products of an Ionian workshop, are close to the ones in the second group with their volutes turned inward, they resemble the first group in that the leaves of their palmette extend to the borders of finials. This allows us to date the stelai stylistically to the period between these two groups (ca. 500-490 B.C.).21 If it is accepted that the Delipinar

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11 Dolunay 1966, 24, Fig. 2; Möbius 1971, 444, Fig. 1. He suggests dating the stele of Daskyleion I to the last quarter of the 6th century.
13 Fleischer 1984, 90-92, Fig. 6-8; Doksanhv – Özkan 2007, 1-6, Fig. 1-2, 11.
14 Hanfmann – Ramage 1978, 74-75, Cat. Nr. 46, Fig. 150.
15 Ratté 1994, 595, Cat. Nr. 1, 2 and probably 5.
16 Graeae 1989, Fig. 2, Pl. 17.
17 A group consisting of two anthemion steles and relief of a sphinx was unearthed from a tumulus 3 km. east of Yassılıköy (Tymandos) during illegal excavations. The stelai, found intact, were moved to the Archaeology Museum of Isparta in 2002 after having been left for a long time in the garden of the library in Senirkent. These stelai were published by different scholars in the same year: Hümmülu 2007; Oszai – Oszai 2007.
19 Altheim et al. 1983, 1-2; Cremer 1984, 90.

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20 The fact that the volutes on all the stelai from Samos, which were dated by Buschor to the time of Polykrates or later, were carved vertically and project from the finial. It demonstrates that Samian composition was closely followed by the workshops of Anatolia, especially in Lydia. Buschor 1933; Buschor 1959.
21 These stelai are closer to the Cycladic examples than to those at Samos and Sardis since there are no mid-leaves of the palmettes, or a fan-shaped calyx from which it grows and there is a difference in the number of the leaves. The acroteria at Paros and Thera dated to 490-470
sotelai are the earliest examples with the tendency of the volutes to be dragged inward, which is regarded as a sign of the high-quality workmanship by giving importance to details, the other examples of the second group must be dated later. The tendency that has been observed on the position of the volutes since Late Archaic-Early Classical period seems to confirm the dates suggested for these sotelai by the researchers (Fig. 14).

The comparison of the style and workmanship of the main elements of the motifs: volute, lotus and palmette, is the only available dating method, in spite of being open to question regarding the chronological order of the Late Archaic-Early Classical sotelai, including the one from Oklubal.

It is not possible to accept the concave or convex form of the volute channels, the broadening of their ends or the shape of the volutes’ eyes as criteria for determining the date of sotelai as these are not specific to a particular period. For example, while the volute channels broaden slightly on the sotelai of Oklubal and Sultaniye Köy (Fig. 12), they do not do so on the sotelai of Nana and Delipinar. There are differences in the execution of volute channels and eyes as well. The volute channels on the Nana stele are convex like the example presented here, but concave on the sotelai of Delipinar and Sultaniye Köy.

The common tendency seen on the sotelai is that the lotus, the corner palmette and the small calyx become more schematic in comparison with those on the Delipinar sotelai and other earlier examples. The same tendency is seen on the sotelai from Miletos and Perinthos (Marmara Ereğlisi) now in the museum of Tekirdağ. On the sotelai of Sultaniye and Nana, the corner palmettes are transformed into a pointed leaf and lotus that are different from the usual form. However, the lotus and corner palmettes kept their common forms on the stele of Oklubal.

The form and the execution of palmette leaf afford more reliable clues than the other elements of the composition. The first thing that attracts attention is the relationship of palmette leaves with thin intermediate leaves and volutes. The pointed thin intermediate leaves still exist between the main leaves on the sotelai of Nana and Sultaniye Köy, as well as on early examples at Samos, Sardis and Daskyleion. The harmony between the volute curves and the palmettes whose leaves twist downwards was preserved although diminished. But the intermediate leaves disappeared completely and the relation between the palmette and volutes was also lessened by

B.C. and the stele of Thasos dated to a period later than 500 B.C. by Buschor can be counted among the examples above. Buschor 1933, 44, Pl.16, Fig. 1-2; Bakalakis 1949, 362, Pl. 46.

22 Scholars accept convex channels as a feature originating in Ionia in the second half of 6th century B.C. see Koenigs-Philipp 1980, 161.

23 Anatolian Civilisation II. 1983, 49, Fig. 1-2; There are reliefs depicting the deceased and inscription on the upper portion of the narrow shafts of these two steles dated to the end of the 6th century B.C. The palmettes are carved inside and above the S-shaped volutes which are placed vertically.

24 The leaves on the stele of Nana are lifeless compared to those on the stele of Samos which have a more lively vertical shape.
reason of the hardened form of the leaves.

If it is accepted that the relationship between the component elements loosened and deteriorated over time, it is possible to date the Oklubali stele, where they are stiffer and schematic, later than the others.

The stele of Oklubali differs from the others by being framed by a narrow border. The anthemia stele with an Aramaic inscription naming Manes that was brought from Sardis to the Izmir Archaeology Museum (inv.no. 691) has a similar frame, which may indicate that this arrangement can be traced to the Classical period.25

The Nana stele has close similarities with the stele of Oklubali in terms of its calyx bud from which the palmette develops its volute channels and the proportions of its composition (Fig. 13). On the Nana stele, like that of Delipinar, the bottom leaves of the palmette curve downwards in accordance with the contours of the volutes. Likewise, there are thin shoots among the leaves and the leaves’ ends are like buds similar to those on the stele at Samos which was classified in the sixth, “post-Polycratean” group by Buschor,26 and those on the stele at Kelenderis, which is known to have close relation with this centre. The Nana stele was dated between 480 B.C. and 450 B.C. on account of the stylistic features of the carving on the shaft depicting a woman and decoration of the anthemia according to Durugönlü.27 However, more recent research has proposed dating this stele to 460 B.C.28

On the other hand, the time span suggested for the date of the stele of Sultanıye Koy is about a hundred years. Some scholars date it to ca. 500 B.C. in view of its reliefs of Graeco-Persian style,29 while others prefer the late Archaic period, and others still, including von Gaul, suppose it to be contemporary with the stele of Manes dated to 394 B.C. based on its inscription.30 But his suggestion is unacceptable. It is more appropriate to date the stele of Sultanıye Koy between the stelai of Delipinar and Nana, i.e. 490-480/460 B.C., which constitutes the turning point for the chronology of the change in form.

On the basis of this discussion, it is possible to date the stele of Oklubali later than those of Sultanıye Koy and Nana, which were probably carved at about the same time. Therefore the middle of fifth century B.C. or slightly later seems most suitable.

The Mendean amphora found in the cemetery near the tumulus should not be ignored because it is the only object that is worth mentioning for the dating of the anthemia stele. However, the lack of data that can clarify which phase the amphora represents during the usage period of the cemetery and the fact that it came from a different context makes it hard to

25 Butler 1969, 160, Fig. 179; Hanfmann – Ramage 1978, 162, Cat. Nr. 241, Fig. 420. The stele was dated to 394 B.C. because of its inscription.
26 Buschor 1933, 222, No. 151-152, Pl. 92; Busehor 1959, 6, Pl. 5.
29 Altheim et al. 1983, 2.
consider it as reliable dating evidence. If the *amphora* is regarded as contemporary with the stele, the time frame we suggest would be extended to the last quarter or the end of the 5th century B.C. It should be accepted as *terminus ante quem* for the dating of the stele on the condition that it is related to later usage of the cemetery.

**Conclusion**

Although the examples from Inner Anatolia are too few for reliable conclusions, it seems possible that this *anthemion* stele is the work of an itinerant workshop from an important satrapal centre such as Daskyleion or Sardis, or that it was brought finished from one of these centres. The fact that there is no nearby quarry for the high-quality white marble from which the *stelai* were carved supports the latter suggestion.

The Oktubali *stelai* are the only instance known at present in which the connection between a *tumulus* of the Achaemenid period and a nearby podium can be observed. The *stelai* form a pair like those in the rock-cut burial chamber at Sardis (Tomb 813) and those at Delipinar, which are related to a *tumulus*. Likewise, the *stelai* in the immediate vicinity of Daskyleion and Sardis are thought to belong to *tumuli*. The relationship with the graves to which they belong is not precisely known because they were not found *in situ*, although they are not single but were arranged in symmetrically pairs.

Another point that must be discussed concerning this *tumulus* and its *stelai* is the cultural identity of the grave-owner. The small finds and *stelai* do not give any clues about the origin of the grave-owner. Nonetheless, it may be accepted that the *tumulus* belonged to a local Phrygian noble because it follows the tradition of *tumuli* with wooden coffin that was common before Achaemenid rule in Phrygia and Lydia and displays the practice of cremation, evidence for which may clearly be seen in the *tumuli* of Gordian.\(^{31}\) An archaeologically proven cremation of a culturally identified Persian individual has not yet been encountered either in Iran or in Asia Minor under Achaemenid rule. So the fact that this kind of funeral practice did not exist in the cult of Zoroastrianism supports our conclusion about the non-Persian origin of grave-owner.\(^{32}\)

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\(^{31}\) Kühler 1980, 65. The researcher states that the cremation had become prevalent since the second half of 6th century B.C. in the burial chambers of Gordian Tumuli.

\(^{32}\) Otic 2001, 101. Author does not mention cremation among the various funerary practices employed in the burials of Achaemenid period in Asia Minor. Cremation funeral was not practiced in Lydian tumuli including Sardis which was an important satrapal centre under Achaemenid rule. See also McLauchlin 1985, 156.
Catalogue of Small Finds

Cat. Nr. 1: Amphora
Restored from several pieces, diameter 10.9 cm, thickness 0.8 cm., height 64 cm. Max. diameter 31 cm., Light reddish brown clay (7.5 YR 6/8), tempered with intensive amount mica and fine sand. Round and deep thumb impressions at the lower handle attachments, M (or three parallel strokes) graffito on shoulder, slightly flaring short stem toe.

Cat. Nr. 2: Bowl Rim
Diameter. 21 cm. thickness. 0.74 cm. height. 6.7 cm. Dark clay due to over-fire, dark brown outside (2.5 YR), tempered with intense mica, sand and grit.

Cat. Nr. 3: Bowl Rim
Diameter. 14 cm. thickness 0.45 cm. height 3 cm. Grey clay (7/10Y), matt grey slip inside and outside (5/M), sand inclusions.

Cat. Nr. 4: Miniature Bowl Rim
Diameter. 8 cm. thickness 0.42 cm. height. 2.3 cm. Orange clay (5YR), slip traces of which colour is blurred outside and inside.

Cat. Nr. 5: Bracelet
Bronze, well preserved, diameter. 4.4 cm., thickness. 0.4 cm., Round bronze rod bent to open circle. Ends cut off decorated with deeply straight and chevron grooves.

Cat. Nr. 6: Earring
Bronze, intact, diameter. 1.7 x .13 cm. thickness. 0.2 cm. The ends of oval ring are overlapping with very good patina.

Cat. Nr. 7: The coin of Valens I (reigned A.D. 367-375)
AE, diameter, 1.6 cm. illegible. Obverse: [D N VALENS – P F AVG]. Draped and pearl diademed bust of Valens right. Reverse: [SECVRITAS REI PVBLICA]. Victory advancing right, holding wreath and palm. In exerque CON[S/].

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