

Gesture and Identity in the Funerary Art of Palmyra

By: [Maura K. Heyn](#)

M. K. Heyn, "Gesture and Identity in the Funerary Art of Palmyra." *American Journal of Archaeology* 114.4 (October 2010): 631-661.

Made available courtesy of the Archaeological Institute of America:

<https://www.jstor.org/stable/25763805>

*****© 2010 Archaeological Institute of America. Reprinted with permission. No further reproduction is authorized without written permission from Archaeological Institute of America. This version of the document is not the version of record. Figures and/or pictures may be missing from this format of the document. *****

Abstract:

The funerary art from Palmyra, a city in the eastern Roman empire, offers us a glimpse into the creation of social identity in the aftermath of Roman conquest. The Palmyrene portraits are modeled on the Roman funerary relief but with interesting local variations. For example, the deceased in these portraits hold their hands in a number of different positions. An analysis of these gestures reveals that some highlight certain aspects of the individuals represented, such as gender, profession, and family connections. The emphasis on these characteristics shows the multifaceted ways in which they defined themselves, and moves us beyond interpretations of identity that focus on a dichotomy between local and Roman.

Keywords: funerary portrait | reliefs | gesture in art | Roman empire

Article:

*****Note: Full text of article below**



Gesture and Identity in the Funerary Art of Palmyra

Author(s): MAURA K. HEYN

Source: *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 114, No. 4 (October 2010), pp. 631-661

Published by: Archaeological Institute of America

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25763805>

Accessed: 24-06-2019 13:35 UTC

REFERENCES

Linked references are available on JSTOR for this article:

https://www.jstor.org/stable/25763805?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references_tab_contents

You may need to log in to JSTOR to access the linked references.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



JSTOR

Archaeological Institute of America is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *American Journal of Archaeology*

Gesture and Identity in the Funerary Art of Palmyra

MAURA K. HEYN

Abstract

The funerary art from Palmyra, a city in the eastern Roman empire, offers us a glimpse into the creation of social identity in the aftermath of Roman conquest. The Palmyrene portraits are modeled on the Roman funerary relief but with interesting local variations. For example, the deceased in these portraits hold their hands in a number of different positions. An analysis of these gestures reveals that some highlight certain aspects of the individuals represented, such as gender, profession, and family connections. The emphasis on these characteristics shows the multifaceted ways in which they defined themselves, and moves us beyond interpretations of identity that focus on a dichotomy between local and Roman.*

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this article is to discuss the significance of gesture in the funerary sculpture from Palmyra, a city in the Syrian steppe that flourished during the Roman period. Palmyra is located in an oasis, and many of its inhabitants became quite wealthy by participating in the lucrative caravan trade between the Roman and Parthian empires in the first three centuries C.E. This wealth was then poured into both the monumental architecture of the city and the elaborate tombs on its outskirts. Hundreds of relief busts that once adorned these tombs were traded widely on the antiquities market in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and are today found in museums around the world. These portraits were carved in high relief on rectangular limestone slabs and used to seal the burial niches (*loculi*) inside the tombs. The deceased of Palmyra who are portrayed in these portraits display interesting hand gestures. A closer look at the occur-

rence of certain gestures (e.g., the hand raised to the face or the extension of the index and pinkie fingers) reveals a correlation between these gestures and other characteristics such as gender, familial relationships, and profession. It is likely that gesture was used to draw attention to aspects of the individual that were important in the local community, and thus provides insight into how the local inhabitants defined themselves in the changing social dynamic after Roman incursions to the region.

Scholarly opinion differs on the timing and extent of Roman control in Palmyra.¹ Regardless of the nature of Roman administration, it is clear that great change took place in the city during the first three centuries C.E. Palmyra went from being a small settlement, albeit thriving, to a city full of colonnaded streets and grandiose limestone monuments. It went from being a conglomeration of tribes, for whom tribal affiliation was important, to a community in which the elite displayed their social status, among other ways, by funding various urban projects, thereby receiving honorable mention and a statue displayed in a prominent venue.² This jockeying for social distinction also took place in the necropoleis surrounding Palmyra, where family tombs were situated along some of the main thoroughfares in and out of the city.³

More than 150 tombs are known today in Palmyra: tower tombs, underground tombs (*hypogea*), and “temple” (or “house”) tombs.⁴ Inside all these tombs, the most common type of sculpture by far is the individual portrait bust, carved in high relief on a rectangular limestone slab (ca. 40 x 55 cm). There is a certain sameness to these portraits. The deceased is

* I am very grateful to the vast number of people who have assisted me with this project since its inception in 2006. Sarah Smith was an invaluable undergraduate research assistant in the early stages. In addition, a Loeb Classical Library Foundation grant enabled me to focus on the project during the summer of 2007. Audiences at the meetings of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South Southern Section in 2006 and the Archaeological Institute of America in 2008, as well as those who attended the local talks at Pepperdine, Duke, and the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, supplied useful feedback. Curators and museum employees from countless museums around the world provided cheerful and willing assistance. I thank in particular Jonathan Tubb at the British Museum, Jan Ostergaard at the Ny Carlsberg

Glyptotek, Waleed Asa'ad at the Palmyra Museum, and not least of all Jennifer Talbot at the Spencer Museum of Art at the University of Kansas, who put the phone down and ran to look at the hands of the Palmyrene portrait in their collections. Fred Albertson deserves most of the credit for teasing out the salient points in this article, and I am grateful to him and Editor-in-Chief Naomi J. Norman for their patient assistance and feedback throughout this process.

¹For a summary of the discussion, see Edwell 2008, 34–50.

²Yon 2002; cf. Sommer (2005), who argues for the continuing importance of kinship in Palmyra during the Roman period.

³Yon 1999.

⁴Gawlikowski 1970b; Schmidt-Colinet 1997, 159.

depicted in a frontal pose—the men wear a tunic and cloak, with the draping of the cloak creating a sling for the right arm, and the women wear a tunic and cloak with a headband and turban underneath a veil on their heads. Many of the portraits are labeled with an inscription in Palmyrene Aramaic above the shoulder, giving the name and genealogy of the deceased. A few add the year of death, the date of which is given according to the start of the Seleucid era, 312 B.C.E. The earliest dated funerary portrait is that of “the wife of Bar’atê,” dated to 65/6 C.E.⁵ The next is that of ‘Abinâ, dated to 96 C.E. The first dated male portraits (only 18 cm ht.) are featured on the foundation relief of the Tomb of Iarhai, which was founded in 108 C.E.⁶ A date for the end of production is supplied by the portrait of Haira, dated to 252/3 C.E.⁷

Since the production of these funerary portraits coincides almost exactly with the period of Roman dominance in the area, they provide valuable insight into the ways in which the wealthy men and women of Palmyra presented themselves to their peers during a time of change. Evidence from the tombs indicates that access was maintained, and these portraits were visible to later generations of the family.⁸ Unfortunately, most of these relief busts are without context today, having been looted from the tombs over the last several hundred years. As a result, the potential contribution of such a rich corpus of material to studies of identity, particularly as it relates to the family or clan, has been significantly curtailed.⁹ In 1928, Ingholt, in *Studier over Palmyrensk Skulptur*, divided the hundreds of undated Palmyrene funerary portraits into three chronological groupings according to their stylistic similarities to the dated examples.¹⁰ These groupings (50–150 C.E., 150–200 C.E., and 200–273 C.E.), having been refined by subsequent scholars¹¹ as well as com-

parative evidence from relatively intact tombs,¹² allow us to trace trends in the portraiture. For example, the spindle and distaff are popular female attributes up to the mid second century C.E. (fig. 1), but they appear much less frequently in the portraits produced after that time, when jewelry sees a corresponding rise in popularity. Men are predominantly clean-shaven before 150 C.E. and tend to be bearded beginning in the second half of the second century (fig. 2). Certain gestures, such as the raising of the right hand with the palm facing outward (see fig. 1), also are favored in particular periods, but others remain common or unusual throughout the period of production. These patterns allow for conclusions to be drawn about their significance for the identity of the deceased.¹³

PROMINENCE OF GESTURE AT PALMYRA

An awareness of the symbolism of gesture is demonstrated in Palmyra by the depiction of hands on votive altars. Several altars feature a pair of hands, raised vertically, with palms facing outward.¹⁴ The raising up of both hands in such a way was a common gesture of worship in ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean cultures.¹⁵ Depictions of entire figures with both hands raised have also been found in Palmyra. For example, the face of one votive altar features two full-length figures, a woman and a boy, raising both hands with palms turned outward.¹⁶ The full-length examples make it likely that the truncated hands on the votive altars refer to the same activity. The hands alone therefore become a “symbolic abbreviation of the whole figure,”¹⁷ and their presence on the votive altar both recalls and perpetuates the act of adoration.¹⁸ Like the gesture of adulation, divine benediction can also be expressed by the hand alone, depicted from the wrist up.¹⁹ These examples show that the Palmyrenes

⁵Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 2816 (Ploug 1995, 35–6; Hvidberg-Hansen 1998, 25–6). The current total for dated portrait busts is ca. 65 (Hillers and Cussini 1995).

⁶Ingholt 1966, 465.

⁷Ploug 1995, 12.

⁸Amy and Seyrig 1936, 258; Colledge 1976, 63; Sadurska 1996, 285; Butcher 2003, 312. Saito (2005, 158): “The doors at the entrances of the underground tombs have locks, and the funerary chambers were accessible only by relatives and other people associated with the deceased. The tombs were frequented by visitors as evidenced by the water basins and lamps left in the chambers.”

⁹Finlayson (1998) may represent an exception, as well as the work of Sadurska (1994, 1995, 1996) and Cussini (2004, 2005).

¹⁰Ingholt 1928, 1954.

¹¹Colledge 1976, 245–64; Ploug 1995. For the representations of jewelry in these portraits, see Mackay 1949.

¹²Sadurska and Bounni 1994.

¹³Scholars from a variety of disciplines, including those who focus on the classical world, have introduced new ways of conceptualizing the “lived” body and understanding how it is modified as a means of creating identities in social contexts (Montserrat 1998; Rautman 2000; Hamilakis et al. 2002; Fisher and diPaolo Loren 2003; Joyce 2005).

¹⁴E.g., Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. nos. 1081, 1161 (Ploug 1995, 66, cat. no. 9; 269, cat. no. 128; Hvidberg-Hansen 1998, cat. nos. 9, 128).

¹⁵Cumont 1926, 70–2; Ingholt 1936, 98–9; Brilliant 1963, 23; Colledge 1976, 134, 138; Choksy 1990; Aldrete 1999, 10.

¹⁶Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 1080 (Ploug 1995, 260; Hvidberg-Hansen 1998, 81).

¹⁷Colledge 1976, 52.

¹⁸Ingholt 1936, 92–9; Hvidberg-Hansen 1998, 35.

¹⁹Seyrig 1939; Colledge 1976, fig. 39; Parlasca 1985a, 390, cat. no. 184. For several other examples of gods making this gesture, see Colledge 1976, fig. 43 (Damascus, National Museum of Damascus, inv. no.C.2842), fig. 49 (Palmyra, Palmyra



Fig. 1. Funerary portrait from Palmyra. London, the British Museum, inv. no. ANE 125203 (courtesy the British Museum).



Fig. 2. Funerary portrait from Palmyra. Portland, Oregon, Portland Art Museum, inv. no. 54.1 (courtesy Portland Art Museum, Portland, Oregon; Gift of Mr. Aziz E. Atiyeh).

were keenly aware of the power of gesture as a form of communication.

For the purposes of clarity and comparability, this discussion focuses on the gestures displayed in the individual (or double) bust-length relief portraits. Out of 867 funerary portraits that I have compiled in a database, 585 (67%) are in the form of these bust-length reliefs;²⁰ 323 of these reliefs depict males and 262 depict females. The remaining 282 images depict those represented in large-scale banquet scenes (including portrait images between the legs of the kline), so-called “small” banquet scenes, and stelae.²¹ In addition, smaller-scale figures featured on loculus plaques, as well as smaller figures behind the shoulder or in the arms of bust-length images, are considered a separate category.

Museum, inv. no. 1887). See Hvidberg-Hansen (1998, 35) for bibliography and discussion of the two gestures.

²⁰ This database was compiled by requesting or acquiring images of the Palmyrene portraits held in museums around the world. Many of these collections are easily accessible online (e.g., the British Museum: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx) or through print publications (e.g., Deonna 1923; Ingholt 1928, 1930, 1938; Seyrig 1937, 1939; Starcky 1984; Callieri 1986; Tanabe 1986; Wartke 1991; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993; Sadurska and Bounni 1994; Ploug 1995; Desreumaux

Tables 1 and 2 illustrate the types of hand gestures that are displayed by the right and left hands in the 323 male bust-length portraits. Most of the men present the right hand clenched or extended over the fold of the cloak (fig. 3). This is clearly not the only option, however; a fair number present more complex gestures with the right hand (see fig. 2). It is interesting to note that although the same types of gestures are represented on each side, the left hand displays a greater variety of gestures than the right. Perhaps the most striking difference is in the more unconventional gestures: “index pinkie” and “index middle pinkie.” For example, there are only five instances of men holding the fingers of the right hand in these positions, as opposed to 74 occurrences for the left hand (see fig. 3). The explanation for such a disparity may lie in the

and Briquel-Chatonnet 1997; Padgett 2001; Kuniholm et al. 2003). Although a large number of images have been obtained, it is likely that they represent less than half of the available corpus of Palmyrene reliefs. Nevertheless, the value of the database as a means of illustrating the variety of gestures, as well as providing rough ratios for the popularity of certain gestures, necessitated its inclusion. That being said, it is important to keep in mind that the database is not comprehensive.

²¹ See Colledge (1976, 73–80) for a description of these types.

Table 1. Gesture of Right Hand in Male Relief Busts.

Gesture	No. of Occurrences
All fingers clenched/extended	195
Index finger extended	60
Index and middle fingers extended	50
Index and pinkie fingers extended	3
Index, middle, and pinkie fingers extended	2
Palm out	1
Not visible	12

Table 2. Gesture of Left Hand in Male Relief Busts.

Gesture	No. of Occurrences
All fingers clenched/extended	89
Index finger extended	81
Index and middle fingers extended	63
Index and pinkie fingers extended	48
Index, middle, and pinkie fingers extended	26
Not visible	16

location of the attribute, which is often held in the left hand. This function of gesture as an attention getter is explained below.

One key to the significance of the hand gestures in Palmyra was the use of gesture in Rome.²² Correlating poses and gestures are seen in the funerary reliefs from both cities.²³ For example, in the funerary reliefs that became popular in the first century B.C.E. in Rome, the men usually hold their right arms across their chests, in the sling created by the draping of the toga (fig. 4).²⁴ The fingers of the right hand are usually extended in these reliefs. In Palmyra, 251 of the 323 male portraits are depicted with the right arm caught in the sling of the cloak, and the extension of the hand over this fold of the cloak is the most common gesture for these men. There are also correlating

gestures in the female portraiture from both cities. For example, the women in Rome often raise the one arm to place a hand on the face (see fig. 4).²⁵ It was popular in Palmyra to portray women with one hand raised to the veil or face in a similar manner (fig. 5). Two hundred sixty-two bust-length portraits in the database depict females, and more than 70% (187 examples) have either the right or left arm raised.

There is no doubt that certain gestures were recognized and understood as significant by the Romans. Ancient Roman texts on oration show that the Romans took advantage of the power of gesture in the public sphere.²⁶ The significance of certain gestures in funerary reliefs has also been postulated.²⁷ For example, in his discussion of a Roman funerary relief, Brilliant asserts that the hands of the men “conform to the conventional posture of the dignified citizen,” and he identifies as significant the so-called *pudicitia* gesture of the women, with their right hands brought to their chins.²⁸ Of course, Palmyrene portraiture is not identical to its Roman counterpart, and we should not assume that every gesture had the same meaning in both locations.²⁹ Furthermore, despite the apparent



Fig. 3. Double portrait of nephew and uncle from Palmyra. Portland, Portland Art Museum, inv. no. 54.2 (courtesy Portland Art Museum, Portland, Oregon; Gift of Mr. Aziz E. Atiyeh).

²²The seminal publication on gesture in Roman art is still Brilliant 1963. However, Brilliant's discussion of the gestures seen in the Roman funerary reliefs is fairly limited.

²³Colledge 1976, 138.

²⁴Brilliant 1963, 49, fig. 2.2; Kleiner 1977, 158.

²⁵Kleiner 1977, 162. For the appearance of this gesture in later Terence manuscripts, see Aldrete 1999, 65–7.

²⁶Aldrete 1999; Corbeill 2004.

²⁷On the so-called *dextrarum iunctio* gesture, see Walker and Burnett 1981; Davies 1985. Smith (1918) comments on the size of the thumb in the funerary relief of Lucius Ampudius and his family in the British Museum.

²⁸Brilliant 1963, 49, fig. 2.2.

²⁹Butcher 2003, 289.



Fig. 4. Roman funerary monument. Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art, inv. no. 79.1.2 (courtesy North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh; Purchased with funds from the State of North Carolina).

similarity to republican Roman funerary portraiture, it is not at all clear that the identity expressed with the hand gestures had anything to do with being Roman *per se*.³⁰ Even from the beginning, when a connection to the Romans was perhaps more crucial, it is unlikely that the only significance of these portraits was their Roman provenance. Other facets of identity, both those that predated Roman hegemony and those that accompanied it, must have been equally important signifiers of social status. Indeed, patterns in the gestures support the idea that the Palmyrenes were deliberately emphasizing aspects of their identity that were unique to Palmyra. In this way, the Roman medium became a means of drawing attention to local priorities.³¹

Gesture and Gender

There are obvious connections between gender and gesture at Palmyra. Of the 262 female bust-length por-

traits in the database, 187 (71%) have either the right or left arm raised to the chin or collarbone level (see fig. 5). The reasons for raising the right hand rather than left may not be as important as the clear association of the raising of the hand with women. Gesture thus becomes a very visible means of differentiation from men. As mentioned, this raised-arm gesture is similar to the *pudicitia* gesture in Rome, but it is not clear if it had similar connotations of modesty and fidelity in Palmyra.³² It could have just been a conventional way to portray women, modeled on the Roman example without the concomitant social baggage. Certainly, allusions to modesty or sexual virtue would not have been out of place in Palmyrene funerary portraiture, as many of the females hold attributes appropriate to the private, domestic sphere, such as the spindle and distaff, keys, children, or a calendar.³³ The spindle and distaff, in particular, stand out as “the idealized

³⁰ Woolf (1998, 156) brings up a similar issue in his book on Roman Gaul. In his discussion of countryside, Woolf argues that villa building, particularly outside southern France, did not automatically contribute to a Roman cultural identity. In support of this assertion, he cites regional variations, the paucity of Roman visitors, and the chronology of their construction: “most were built in a period when differences between Gauls and Romans were less marked and less crucial.”

³¹ Balty 1996; Mattingly 2003; Schmidt-Colinet 2004.

³² For the significance of the gesture in Rome, see Kleiner 1992, 40; see also Aldrete (1999, 65 n. 48) where he comments,

“It is a telling reflection on the role and voice of women in Roman society that while male orators had a vast vocabulary of gestures they could use, seemingly the only approved gesture available to women was one that emphasized their modesty and subordinate attachment to a male.” A similar gesture is made by women, also in a funerary context (mosaics), in Edessa (Leroy 1957).

³³ Colledge 1976, 70; Sadurska 1983; Parlasca 1988, 216–17; Ploug 1995, 91. But cf. Drijvers (1982, 720), who argues that the keys were intended to open the “gates of heaven.”



Fig. 5. Funerary portrait from Palmyra. New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 2.29.5 (© The Metropolitan Museum of Art/Art Resource, NY).

attributes of wife and housewife” or “attributes of domestic virtue” (see fig. 1).³⁴

Although society at Palmyra was patriarchal, it is perhaps worth pointing out that men and women are represented in roughly equal numbers in the individual relief busts: 323 male portraits to 262 female.³⁵ In addition, epigraphic evidence from the facades of several tombs as well as elsewhere in the city provides a contrast to the impression of the demure housewife that we get from the funerary sculpture.³⁶ In the city itself, women occasionally made and received honorary dedications.³⁷ Within the funerary sphere, several foundation texts explicitly mention female names among those for whom the tomb was built, and epigraphic records reveal that women could buy and sell portions of the tombs as well as commission reliefs in-

side the tombs.³⁸ This evidence for the greater independence enjoyed by some women demonstrates that the social roles available to women were more varied than the impression given by their attributes in the funerary portraiture. One wonders to what extent these representations of women were normative, presenting an ideal to be achieved.³⁹

Ironically, proportionally fewer women who hold the spindle and distaff actually raise one arm in the *pudicitia* pose; 87 women hold the spindle and distaff in the left hand (these attributes are never held in the right hand). Of these 87 women, only 44 raise the right hand to the face (ca. 51%). In addition, only one woman raises the hand in which she holds the spindle and distaff. If Ingholt’s chronological groupings are correct, and the spindle and distaff cease to appear by the end of the second century, the most interesting detail to emerge from this study is that raising the hand to the face or veil may even have replaced these attributes as the female signifier in Palmyra at the end of the second century.⁴⁰

Examples from elsewhere in the city support this close association between raising the hand to the face and the female gender. The best known example is seen in the depiction of a religious procession on a peristyle beam from the Temple of Bêl: veiled women appear on either side of the covered wagon in the procession. The depiction of these women is striking because they are completely veiled. However, their gestures are equally eye-catching: they are all, without exception, raising their right hands to chin level.⁴¹ Another scene containing veiled women with their right hands raised to their chins was found in 1975 in the Temple of Allat.⁴² These images are particularly compelling because there are so few representations of women outside the funerary sphere.

Another gesture that is made almost exclusively by women in Palmyrene portraiture is the “palm out” gesture (see fig. 1; appx. 1). Of the 18 examples on loculus plaques known from Palmyra, only one represents a man (appx. 1, cat. no. 16).⁴³ The act of raising the right hand with the palm held outward has been

³⁴ Parlasca 1985a, 395, 399; Sadurska 1995, 585; 1996, 286.

³⁵ Though Sadurska and Bounni (1994, 161, cat. no. 39b) argue that the subordinate position of women is illustrated in a double bust where the woman is placed slightly behind the male to her right.

³⁶ Sadurska 1996, 286; Cussini 2004, 2005.

³⁷ Yon 2002, 166; Cussini 2005, 28–30.

³⁸ Cussini 2005, 27, 30–9, table 1.

³⁹ See discussion in Joyce 2005, 146–47. See Dillon (2006, 62) on the active, performative qualities of portraits in the Greek world: “portrait statues presented visual paradigms by

which their viewers were meant to regulate their own appearance as well as to evaluate the appearance of others.”

⁴⁰ Colledge 1976, 255–61 (as demonstrated by a comparison of Group I to Group II to Group III); see also Ploug 1995, 55.

⁴¹ Seyrig 1934, 159–65, pl. 19; Colledge 1976, fig. 20; Tanabe 1986, pls. 42–4; see also the example from the Temple of Allat.

⁴² Tanabe 1986, pl. 156; Sadurska 1996, 286.

⁴³ Colledge 1976, 138 n. 493; Parlasca 1980, 150–51 nn. 17–21; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 32, cat. no. 31.

interpreted as apotropaic. Such a function was common in the Semitic and Roman worlds.⁴⁴ The sprigs of laurel or olive held by many of the deceased are assumed to have the same apotropaic function.⁴⁵

It is more likely, however, that these women were drawing attention to their involvement in ritual activities in the city by holding their right hands in such a manner. As noted above, full-length figures, with hands raised up and held palm outward, appear on votive altars in the city. These figures presumably are represented in the act of worship. The depiction in funerary art of women who raise their right hands with the palm held outward may well exemplify a similar activity. In addition to the depictions of veiled women present at religious processions, (fragmentary) reliefs found in the so-called Foundation T deposit of the Temple of Bêl lend further support to the idea that women participated in ritual activities in the sanctuaries of Palmyra and could well have been highlighting this involvement in the funerary portraits. The first relief depicts a priest sacrificing over an incense burner to his right. Three people approach from his left: a wreath-carrying man whom Morehart identifies as a priest, and two women, the first one carrying a bowl and the second, a footed cup. In the second relief, two men stand on either side of a pyre, and a woman stands behind one of the men with her right hand raised in the palm out gesture.⁴⁶

Corroborating representations of the palm out gesture, as well as participation by women in ritual activities, are found elsewhere in the region.⁴⁷ Men and women making this gesture figure prominently in a wall painting in the naos of the Temple of Bêl at Dura-Europos.⁴⁸ More comparanda are found at Hatra, where life-sized statues of men and women with their right hands raised, palms turned outward, have been found in sanctuaries. This gesture at Hatra is described as “a cultic gesture that probably expressed prayer.”⁴⁹ What is curious about the gesture at Palmyra

is its almost exclusive association with women in the funerary sphere. Men also made reference to involvement in sacerdotal activities, but they employed very different methods: priests identified themselves in the portraiture by means of special dress and attributes, and sacrificial rituals were occasionally depicted on the sides of Palmyrene sarcophagi.⁵⁰

Other gestures illustrated in the funerary art of Palmyra associate women with mourning. A woman might signal her grief simply by bringing her fingers to her cheek.⁵¹ However, the more compelling depiction of a “mourning” gesture is seen in five double portraits that show a woman with her arm around her companion (fig. 6; appx. 2).⁵² In addition to the position of her arm, the mourning woman usually wears her hair down and disheveled and bares her chest, where she has ritually gashed herself. Similar scenes are known from Rome, and Corbeil has argued that the practice in Rome was a clear illustration of a division of sex roles: “[A] person’s sex implied certain decorum in bodily movement. For each sex certain gestures are considered appropriate.”⁵³ This division of roles may also be true at Palmyra. However, the association of this gesture—in addition to altered appearance—with mourning is not straightforward. A Palmyrene relief in Damascus depicts a similarly attired woman, but she is unaccompanied and raises her hand to her chin (appx. 2, cat. no. 2). Several examples of men placing their arms around an adjacent person in a double bust (appx. 3, cat. nos. 1a, 24b, 25a) demonstrate that this gesture, more generally, is not exclusive to women.⁵⁴

Gesture and Family

Although most funerary reliefs depict unaccompanied individuals, advertising lineage and familial ties was important in Palmyra.⁵⁵ Certain zones in the city, such as specific sanctuaries or sections of the colonnaded streets, exclusively featured honorific statues

⁴⁴ Cumont 1926, 72; Corbeil 2004, 23.

⁴⁵ Cumont 1926, 72. Ingholt (1934) argued that an olive or laurel branch held by a Palmyrene could be apotropaic.

⁴⁶ Morehart 1956–1957, 55–6, figs. 1, 2.

⁴⁷ Yon 2009.

⁴⁸ Cumont 1926, 41–52, pls. 32–6.

⁴⁹ Dirven 2008, 229–31, 238.

⁵⁰ Yon 2002, 165–70; cf. Sadurska and Bounni (1994, cat. no. 22), who identify a woman as a priestess because she is stirring contents of a bowl with a sprig in her funerary portrait; but Yon 2002 (169 n. 28) and Kaizer (2002, 237 n. 134) express doubts here. For a discussion of the sacrificial scenes on sarcophagi, see Kaizer 2002, 179–80.

⁵¹ See, e.g., Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. AO 1562,

where a woman holds the index and middle fingers of her right hand to her cheek, in a gesture described by Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor (1993, 166) as “en signe d’affliction.” See Colledge (1976, 139) for a discussion of the “unbroken ancestry” of female gestures, tracing many of them back to fifth-century B.C.E. Greece.

⁵² In appx. 2, I have left out an example from the Staatliche Museen in Berlin (inv. no. VA 51) because it represented two full-length (rather than bust-length) figures (Wartke 1991).

⁵³ Corbeil 2004, 72.

⁵⁴ Appx. 3 excludes double busts with so-called mourning women.

⁵⁵ Yon 2002; Sommer 2005.



Fig. 6. Funerary portrait of mother and son from Palmyra. Beirut, American University Museum, inv. no. 33.12 (courtesy American University of Beirut).

dedicated to members of particular families.⁵⁶ In addition, strategically placed tombs, built for several generations of a family, advertised their wealth and high social status in the necropoleis outside the city.⁵⁷ Inside these tombs, large-scale banquet scenes depicting the family group were placed in prominent locations, with the bust-length portraits clustered around them.⁵⁸ Many of these bust-length reliefs bear an inscription, detailing the genealogy of the deceased. Others include children in the arms of the mother or behind the shoulder of the parent (appx. 4).⁵⁹ One bust-length relief, in particular, depicts a father, his son, and his granddaughter (appx. 3, cat. no. 13a, b). Thus, it would not be surprising to discover that gestures also emphasized the family unit.

Unfortunately, this function of gesture is difficult to trace at Palmyra because so many of the sculptural pieces were removed from the family tombs without at-

tention to their provenance. However, the publication of the sculpture from 15 underground tombs gives us some insight into the patterns of gesture for families (although some of these tombs had also been looted, and not all the pieces were found in situ).⁶⁰ Focusing on one of these tombs as a case study, the hypogeum of the families of Sassan and Mattai contains 47 portrait busts (41 individual, 3 double) belonging to at least three different families.⁶¹ An analysis of the hand gestures reveals that the pattern of gestures roughly conforms to that seen for all the portraits in the database. In other words, it does not appear that the members of these families favored certain gestures.

Double busts, which always feature members of the same family, such as husband and wife, father and son, sisters, brothers, or uncle and nephew, are another source of evidence for familial gestures (see fig. 3; appx. 3). There are 27 double portraits in the database, but

⁵⁶Yon 2002, 167.

⁵⁷Yon 1999.

⁵⁸See Sadurska and Bounni's (1994, 70–3) description of the Hypogeum of Bólha, son of Nebôšûri.

⁵⁹Drijvers (1982, 711) has suggested that children were in-

cluded when a mother died in childbirth. However, children also appear with their fathers.

⁶⁰Sadurska and Bounni 1994.

⁶¹Saliby and Parlasca 1992; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 41–69.

only four pairs display matching gestures. One double portrait depicts brothers who extend the index and middle fingers of both hands (appx. 3, cat. no. 19a, b), while a second double portrait features two cousins making the same gesture (appx. 3, cat. no. 18a, b). The parallel gestures stand out in the case of the two brothers, in particular, because otherwise their two portraits are rather distinct: their hair is rendered differently; one holds a book roll, the other does not; and one brother looks older because of his beard and moustache. These differences might indicate that their gestures were deliberately similar, but the general pattern of double portraits would suggest that similar gestures were not used to identify family members. The other two examples of double portraits displaying matching gestures depict married couples (appx. 3, cat. nos. 3a, b, 22a, b). There does not appear to be a connection, however, between their conjugal state and their gestures, since four additional representations of married couples deviate from this pattern of shared gestures (appx. 3, cat. nos. 7a, b, 14a, b, 16a, b, 23a, b).

Another way to ascertain a connection between family and gesture is to survey the children. Their size makes them fairly easy to identify, as they are usually portrayed in a smaller scale behind the shoulder of a parent (or older sibling) or in the arms of their mother (fig. 7; appx. 4).⁶² In addition, children usually wear different clothing⁶³ and carry attributes such as a bird or cluster of grapes.⁶⁴ Some hold the bird in the left hand and the grapes in the right, while others clutch the cluster of grapes with both hands in front of the chest.⁶⁵ Although on one occasion a young girl raises one arm in a very womanly fashion (appx. 4, cat. no. 9), and in a few instances, a child will make the same gesture as a parent, the overall impression is that children do not mimic the gestures of their parents. Instead, most striking is the number of children—at least one-third of the extant examples (see appx. 4)—who reach out to touch their parents or older siblings (see fig. 7).

Looking at the Palmyrene reliefs, certain affectionate gestures clearly highlight connections between family members.⁶⁶ In addition to the children who reach out to touch the parent or family member with whom they are portrayed, the depictions of so-called mourning women would also fall into this category (see appx. 2). There is also present in the portraiture



Fig. 7. Funerary portrait of uncle with two nephews from Palmyra. Seattle, Washington, Seattle Art Museum, inv. no. 42.11 (courtesy Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection).

a wife who puts her hand on the elbow of her husband (appx. 3, cat. no. 10a), a father who (presumably) places an arm around his daughter (appx. 3, cat. no. 25a), and a brother who puts his arm around his sister (appx. 3, cat. no. 1). Gesture thus becomes significant as a means to advertise family bonds.

Boatwright has convincingly argued that Pannonian tombstones are distinctive because of the emphasis on the nuclear family.⁶⁷ In Palmyra, the extended family is highlighted as well in the multigenerational tombs by large-scale banquet scenes, the genealogy provided in the epitaphs, and the inclusion of grandparents, uncles, and cousins in the bust-length portraits. The gestures displayed in these portraits by members of the extended family unite those who are depicted, but not always in the same manner. In one double portrait, the uncle places his arm around the shoulder of his nephew (see fig. 3). In the portrait referenced above, two cousins make a connection by wearing the same style of dress and making the same gesture, despite differences in hairstyle (appx. 3, cat. no. 18a, b). A third portrait bust depicts an uncle flanked by his two nephews, one

⁶² Colledge 1976, 68.

⁶³ Albertson 2000a, 162; cf. Pierson 1984.

⁶⁴ Colledge 1976, 156.

⁶⁵ For this gesture, see Ploug 1995, 156–57.

⁶⁶ Sadurska 1995. Boatwright (2005) has made a similar

argument for the meaning behind gestures on Pannonian tombstones.

⁶⁷ Boatwright 2005, 295–304. See George (2005) for discussion of similar issues relating to funerary relief portraits from Rome and Cisalpine Gaul.

of whom reaches out to touch him (see fig. 7).⁶⁸ Two further examples of such gestures that transcend the nuclear family should be highlighted, although they are not bust-length reliefs. One is found in a large-scale banquet scene from the hypogeum of the family of Artaban, son of 'Oggâ, in the southeast necropolis (fig. 8).⁶⁹ The banquet scene features the usual reclining figure, in this case, Artaban, son of 'Oggâ, who is surrounded by the members of his family. Particularly striking is the gesture of the boy depicted at his feet, identified in the inscription as his nephew, who reaches out to place his hand on the knee of his uncle, thereby strengthening the bond between the families of the two brothers.⁷⁰ The second example is a stele depicting a great-uncle with his nephews in which the great-uncle reaches out to touch the head of the nephew to his right.⁷¹ Gestures such as these emphasize connections between related families and across generations, in addition to those that join married couples, siblings, and parents with their children.

Attention-Getting Gestures

It does not follow from this discussion that every gesture was significant. The existence of two relief busts of the same woman provides ample evidence of this, for the woman is not making the same gesture in the two different representations. She is identified in the inscription as 'Alâ, daughter of Yarhai, and the same date (113/4 C.E.) of death is given in each.⁷² In one example, in the British Museum, 'Alâ raises her right hand, palm outward, and holds a spindle and distaff in her extended left hand (appx. 1, cat. no. 2). The second example, in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, features 'Alâ with her right hand raised to touch her collarbone and the left hand extended, holding a spindle and distaff. The reason why 'Alâ would have more than one portrait is not clear. This is not the only occurrence of two images of the same person, though not all are two bust-length reliefs.⁷³ It is possible that

'Alâ was married and was commemorated both in the tomb of her birth family and in that of her husband.⁷⁴ In another double depiction, when 'Alîat, daughter of Zabdibôl, appears in a miniature banquet scene and in a bust-length relief, it was postulated that the depiction in the banquet scene occurred at the time of her father's death, while her own *loculus* portrait was carved later.⁷⁵ Similar to 'Alâ, 'Alîat makes different gestures in the two portraits.

Multiple depictions of the same woman raise another issue: the function of these bust-length reliefs. Were they portraits of the deceased? Some scholars have expressed doubt that the reliefs were portraits in the conventional sense, citing the lack of attempt to differentiate or to individualize the faces.⁷⁶ But the discussion may not be relevant for an argument regarding the significance of gesture. Are funerary portraits ever "true to life"?⁷⁷ If the reliefs were purely decorative, as has been argued, then presumably the choice of gesture had more to do with aesthetics than identity.⁷⁸ For example, in Colledge's description of female portraits in the second century, the gesture of the hands is less important than the effect produced by their positioning: "the hands contributed to the new modes of drapery arrangement, grasping here, pulling there, and altogether creating a degree of movement never seen hitherto."⁷⁹ Similar attention to the aesthetic effect of the hands is seen in Brilliant's discussion of a Roman relief when he comments that the "emphasis of the head as a distinguished shape is matched by the parallel importance of the hands along the bottom of the frieze."⁸⁰ Of course, hand gestures could be both decorative and functional. This point is illustrated by Kleiner in another discussion of Roman funerary art, where she asserts that the hands not only "lend animation to the figures" and give the portraits "a greater sense of physical presence" but also can underline the marital bond or indicate the profession of the person portrayed.⁸¹

⁶⁸ Sadurska (1995, 585, fig. 3) provides an alternate interpretation of the inscriptions: "Le garçon de gauche est le frère et l'autre le fils de leur compagnon adulte."

⁶⁹ Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 37–9.

⁷⁰ Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 38, cat. no. 41.

⁷¹ Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 74, cat. no. 96; Sadurska 1995, 583.

⁷² CIS 2 4374; Ploug 1995, 39–42.

⁷³ Colledge (1976, 62 n. 185) cites several other examples, all female. Ingholt (1976, 118 n. 80) points out that Šalmat, daughter of 'Abd'astôr, is depicted twice: a bust in Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts Museum, inv. no. 25.8 (Ingholt 1928, 144 [PS 460]) and one in Istanbul.

⁷⁴ Colledge 1976, 62 n. 185.

⁷⁵ Arnold 1905, 107. Another female example is 'Alliyat, the

daughter of Zabdibôl (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. nos. 02.29.5, 02.29.1).

⁷⁶ Colledge 1976, 68; Parlasca 1985a, 387.

⁷⁷ Hodder 1982, 146; Hope 2001, 5. See Butcher's (2003, 327–28) discussion about clothing and funerary sculpture: "Much of the evidence for clothing comes from funerary sculpture, which presents us with a problem because the way people chose to be represented in death may not have reflected their everyday attire. It did, however, reflect the manner in which they themselves or their surviving relatives wanted the deceased to be seen for eternity."

⁷⁸ Seyrig (1937, 34) argues for their decorative function.

⁷⁹ Colledge 1976, 71.

⁸⁰ Brilliant 1963, 49, fig. 2.2.

⁸¹ Kleiner 1977, 81–2.

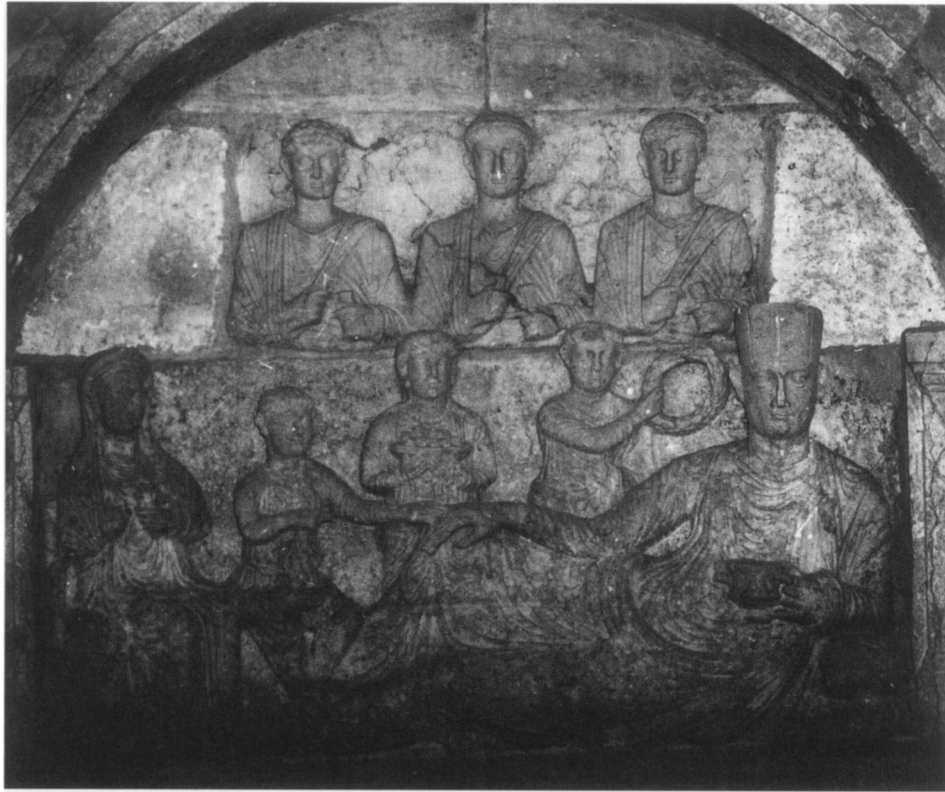


Fig. 8. Banquet scene from the hypogeum of the family of Artaban, son of 'Oggâ, Palmyra (courtesy German Archaeological Institute, Damascus, neg. 88.563).

Gesture has a similar dual function at Palmyra, not only alluding to other activities and familial relationships but also drawing the eye of the viewer. For example, gesture is clearly used in some cases to draw attention to certain details in the portraits, such as attributes or jewelry.⁸² A woman might point at the spindle and distaff in her left hand⁸³ or the jewelry on her wrist.⁸⁴ In a male portrait, by contrast, the deceased might point at the book roll,⁸⁵ leaf (see fig. 2),⁸⁶ or sword in his left hand (see figs. 6, 9). It seems likely that these men and women were drawing attention to attributes that enhanced their standing in the local

community, whether that standing was conveyed by profession, wealth (in the case of jewelry),⁸⁷ or family status (spindle and distaff). However, in certain portraits, the person points at nothing or simply at the loop of material in his or her opposite hand.⁸⁸ In these cases, as the others, the gestures draw attention to the portrait as a whole. Such an attention-grabbing function does not require pointing at anything in particular; rather, it is just meant to catch the eye of the viewer. It may explain why the left hand displays a greater variety of gestures (see table 2): to highlight the attribute usually held there.⁸⁹ Gestures that varied from the norm

⁸² Such a use of gesture is also known in Rome, where they would point the index finger to draw attention to something, or someone, else (Aldrete 1999, 17–34, 59, 82; Corbeil 2004, 5).

⁸³ E.g., Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 1156 (Ploug 1995, 88–9 n. 22); Pittsfield, Massachusetts, Berkshire Museum, inv. no. 1903.7.4.

⁸⁴ Sadurska and Bounni (1994, 22, cat. no. 17) describe the gesture thus: “Le geste de la main droite, posée sur le ventre trahit une certaine coquetterie, mettant en valeur le bracelet.”

⁸⁵ E.g., Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 10.79.

⁸⁶ Portland, Oregon, Portland Art Museum, inv. no. 54.1 (Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 85).

⁸⁷ Sadurska (1994, 188) argues for a close correlation between the quantity of jewelry worn by women and their wealth.

⁸⁸ E.g., a portrait in London (British Museum, inv. no. 125346), in which a man points with his right hand at the loop of the cloak held in his left hand.

⁸⁹ Diana Kleiner (pers. comm. 2006) suggested that the gesture of a woman in a Roman relief in the Louvre was highlighting her ring, though she was not pointing at it.



Fig. 9. Funerary portrait of Zabda, son of 'Oggâ, from Palmyra. Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. 2027/7225 (courtesy Palmyra Museum).

(the norm being extended or clenched; see tables 1, 2) would have been preferable if the intent was to draw attention to the portrait. In this way, the individuality of the deceased is emphasized.⁹⁰

Profession

The idea that certain gestures in the Palmyrene corpus drew attention to particular professions is also very plausible; some men already advertised their professions by means of dress and attributes.⁹¹ Most of the men depicted in the relief portraits wear the chiton and himation, with the right arm held in the sling created by the folds of the drapery. They also often hold the *schedula*, or book roll, in the left hand.⁹² The significance of this attribute is much debated.⁹³ Although it could have been the attribute of a businessman or scribe,⁹⁴ its ubiquity would seem to negate its effectiveness as an attention getter. However, sev-

eral groups distinguish themselves more blatantly by means of their dress, attributes, and gesture: priests⁹⁵ and the so-called men of the desert.⁹⁶

Priests are the most easily identifiable group in the series of portrait busts because of their distinctive headgear, the *modius*. It is tall, cylindrically shaped, and often adorned with a wreath as well as a miniature bust (fig. 10).⁹⁷ Forty-two men in the database are wearing this headgear (appx. 5). In addition to their special hat, 22 of the 42 priests wear a short cloak, or chlamys, attached on the right shoulder with a brooch. With the exception of one (armless) bust, these same men are also holding objects associated with their sacerdotal activities: a jug (alabastron) in the right hand and a bowl for incense in the left.⁹⁸ With only one ex-



Fig. 10. Funerary portrait of a Palmyrene priest. Pittsfield, Massachusetts, the Berkshire Museum, inv. no. 1903.7.2 (courtesy the Berkshire Museum, Pittsfield, Massachusetts).

⁹⁰ I owe this interesting idea to Fred Albertson.

⁹¹ Though, as Yon (2002, 99) points out, citing a remark by Sartre (1996, 388), very little information about professions is given in the inscriptional evidence.

⁹² Colledge 1976, 247–53.

⁹³ Cumont 1926, 92–3; Ingholt 1934, 33 n. 10.

⁹⁴ Parlasca 1985a, 400, fig. 192. There are also several male portraits from Palmyra (e.g., Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. AO 18174 [Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 228, fig. 221]) whose attributes, a stylus and writing tablet, are more appro-

priate to the profession of a scribe (Colledge 1976, 69 n. 214; Parlasca 1988, 215–16, pl. 45a).

⁹⁵ See Stucky (1973) for priestly attire; cf. Heyn 2008.

⁹⁶ As far as I know, Colledge (1976, 68) coins this effective label.

⁹⁷ Stucky 1973; Rumscheid 2000.

⁹⁸ Ploug (1995, 86), in her discussion of Palmyrene portraiture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, appears to credit Stucky (1973, 168 n. 6) with this correlation between dress and attributes, but Stucky mentions only the *modius*: “[L]e balsamaire

ception, the remaining 20 priests who are not wearing the chlamys hold different (and presumably nonsacerdotal) attributes in the left hand: 11 men hold a book roll; 3 hold a leaf; 3 hold the loop of the cloak; and 3 hold nothing. The one exception presents an interesting case because he holds the alabastron and the incense bowl together in his left hand (appx. 5, cat. no. 6). It is not clear whether there is any correlation between the chlamys, the sacerdotal attributes, and particular ritual activities in the city, but there are definite attempts at differentiation.⁹⁹

This tendency toward differentiation within the priestly group by means of dress and attribute also carries over to gesture. The gestures of the *modius*-wearing men do not differ dramatically from the overall pattern of gestures for men in the database. A closer look at the gestures of the 21 men who hold the sacerdotal objects, however, reveals that they favor certain positions (tables 3, 4) and proportionally make certain gestures far more often than the group of male reliefs as a whole. For example, the extension of the index and middle fingers of the left hand was clearly very popular (see fig. 10). The significance of this pattern is not obvious, but the choice of gesture certainly sets these men apart and perhaps draws attention to their involvement in the sacred activities of the city.

The second group of men who stand out in the funerary portraiture are the “men of the desert,” a convenient name for a group of men whose exact professions are not easily identified but seem to relate to the military or to the caravan trade (appx. 6).¹⁰⁰ Many of the men hold whips and swords, and several men in the database are pictured with a camel or horse behind them in the relief. For example, Vibius Apollinaris, who is identified in the (rare) Latin inscription as belonging to the cavalry unit stationed at Palmyra in the second century C.E., holds a sword in his left hand and a whip in his right (appx. 6, cat. no. 11). His horse is depicted behind his left shoulder.

In a similar situation to the priests, the gestures exhibited by these men of the desert do not differ dramatically from the group as a whole. There is, however, a noticeable gesture exhibited by nine of the men; it involves extending the index and middle fingers of both hands (see fig. 6) and in some cases bringing them up to meet, touching index to index, middle to middle, in front of the chest (see fig. 9). This pattern suggests that these men were deliberately choosing

Table 3. Gesture of Right Hand of Priests Who Hold Sacerdotal Objects.

Gesture	No. of Occurrences
All fingers clenched/extended	13
Index finger extended	5
Index and middle fingers extended	3
Index and pinkie fingers extended	0
Index, middle, and pinkie fingers extended	0

Table 4. Gesture of Left Hand of Priests Who Hold Sacerdotal Objects.

Gesture	No. of Occurrences
All fingers clenched/extended	11
Index finger extended	0
Index and middle fingers extended	10
Index and pinkie fingers extended	0
Index, middle, and pinkie fingers extended	0

this pair of gestures. Of the 323 male portraits in the database, 25 men extend the index and middle fingers of both hands in such a manner. Nine of these 25 men (36%) hold swords in their left hand. It is tempting to think that they are using distinctive gesturing to draw attention to the sword, an attribute that alludes to their involvement in the caravan trade and raises their status in the city.

CONCLUSION

Certainly, the power of art in the negotiation of social boundaries in the Roman provinces is not a new idea,¹⁰¹ but the quantity and quality of Palmyrene portraits allow this analysis to be taken further and enhance our understanding of the complexity of identity construction in a colonial situation. Despite Roman hegemony, it is likely that the social potency of the Palmyrene portraits in the local community was not based solely on their similarity to the Roman portraits. Given that the negotiation of social relations in

et la boîte à encens ne se voient que dans les mains de personnages coiffés du mortier.” Perhaps Ploug deserves the credit for this interesting observation.

⁹⁹ Ploug 1995, 86; cf. Parlasca 1985b, 352 n. 56.

¹⁰⁰ Seyrig 1933; Will 1957; Colledge 1976, 247; Ingholt

1976, 104–5; Ploug 1995, 159. See discussion of these careers in Albertson 2000b; Yon 2002, 99–130.

¹⁰¹ Scott and Webster 2003. For an interesting discussion of portraiture and society in Rome, see Tanner 2000.

Palmyra involved more than being “Roman” or “local,” the social value of the different stylistic characteristics displayed in the funerary portraiture may have been associated with their symbolic representation of other aspects of Palmyrene culture. The discovery of patterns that draw attention to such aspects as gender, profession, or family ties sheds much light on the ways in which new styles of (Roman) funerary art could be used to communicate the multifaceted identities of the social elite in a postconquest world.

DEPARTMENT OF CLASSICAL STUDIES
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT
GREENSBORO
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA 27402–6170

Appendix 1: The “Palm Out” Gesture

Catalogue Number: 1 (see fig. 1).
Right Hand: Palm out.
Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding spindle and distaff.
Location: London, British Museum, inv. no. ANE 125203.¹⁰²
References: *CIS* 4335, pl. 54; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 333);¹⁰³ Colledge 1976, 256.

Catalogue Number: 2.
Right Hand: Palm out.
Left Hand: Extended; holding spindle and distaff.
Location: London, British Museum, inv. no. ANE 125695.
References: *CIS* 4374, pl. 52; Colledge 1976, 62, 70, 256, pl. 63.

Catalogue Number: 3.
Right Hand: Palm out.
Left Hand: Clenched; holding spindle and distaff.
Location: Damascus, National Museum of Damascus.
Reference: Abdul-Hak 1952, pl. 9.1.

Catalogue Number: 4.
Right Hand: Palm out.
Left Hand: Index finger extended; holding spindle and distaff.
Location: Damascus, National Museum of Damascus, inv. no. 32.
Reference: Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 330).

Catalogue Number: 5 (double portrait).
Right Hand: Palm out.
Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding spindle and distaff.
Location: Erlangen, Archäologische Sammlung, Universität Erlangen, inv. no. I.1184.
Reference: Parlasca 1980, 149–50, fig. 50.1.

Catalogue Number: 6.
Right Hand: Palm out.
Left Hand: Unknown.
Location: Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3817.
Reference: Colledge 1976, 256.

Catalogue Number: 7.
Right Hand: Palm out.
Left Hand: Index finger extended; holding spindle and distaff.
Location: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 01.25.1.
References: Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 332); Colledge 1976, 256; Milleker 2000, 114–15, fig. 88; 208 n. 88.

Catalogue Number: 8.
Right Hand: Palm out.
Left Hand: Broken off.
Location: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 1057.
References: *CIS* 4354; Ingholt 1928, 52–4 (*PS* 30); Colledge 1976, 67 n. 210, 144 n. 536, 255–56; Ploug 1995, 37–9, no. 2; Hvidberg-Hansen 1998, 26–7, no. 2.

Catalogue Number: 9.
Right Hand: Palm out.
Left Hand: Broken off.
Location: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 1076.
References: Ingholt 1928, 127 n. 7, 129 n. 5 (*PS* 331); 1936, 95 n. 106; Colledge 1976, 255–56; Ploug 1995, 93–4, no. 25.

Catalogue Number: 10.
Right Hand: Palm out.
Left Hand: Index finger extended; holding spindle and distaff.
Location: Palmyra, in situ, Hypogeum 5, (tomb of) the family of Artaban, southeast necropolis.
Reference: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 31, fig. 134.

¹⁰²Information on the objects in the British Museum is also available through the collection database search (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_data-

[base.aspx](#)).

¹⁰³*PS* = designation in Ingholt 1928.

Catalogue Number: 11.
 Right Hand: Palm out.
 Left Hand: Clenched; holding spindle and distaff.
 Location: Palmyra, in situ, Hypogeum 5, (tomb of) the family of Artaban, southeast necropolis.
 References: Tanabe 1986, pl. 233; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 33, fig. 136.

Catalogue Number: 12.
 Right Hand: Palm out.
 Left Hand: Extended.
 Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. 432/1635.
 References: Colledge 1976, 260; Tanabe 1986, pl. 360.

Catalogue Number: 13.
 Right Hand: Palm out.
 Left Hand: Index finger extended; holding spindle and distaff.
 Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. 1727/6398.
 References: Sadurska 1982, 270, 375, fig. 150; Tanabe 1986, pl. 350; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 9, fig. 132.

Catalogue Number: 14.
 Right Hand: Palm out.
 Left Hand: Extended; holding spindle and distaff.
 Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. 1789/6638.
 Reference: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 189, fig. 130.

Catalogue Number: 15.
 Right Hand: Palm out.
 Left Hand: Clenched; holding spindle and distaff.
 Location: Wrocław, Muzeum Archidiecezjalne we Wrocławiu.
 References: Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 329); Gawlikowski 1970a, 89, fig. 2; Sadurska 1972, no. 60, pl. 47.

Catalogue Number: 16 (male).
 Right Hand: Palm out.
 Left Hand: Index finger extended; holding cloak loop.
 Location: Jerusalem, Musée Biblique de Bethesda.
 References: *CIS* 4329, pl. 54; Lagrange 1902, 94–7, no. 1; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 183); Parlasca 1980, 151, fig. 51.1.

Catalogue Number: 17.
 Right Hand: Palm out.
 Left Hand: Extended; holding spindle and distaff.
 Location: Unknown, possibly Beirut.

References: Unknown. A photograph (labeled 753) seen by author in Ingholt's records in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

Catalogue Number: 18.
 Right Hand: Palm out.
 Left Hand: Index finger extended; holding spindle and distaff.
 Location: Qaryatein, private collection.
 Reference: *CIS* 4614, pl. 42.

Appendix 2: Mourning Women

Catalogue Number: 1 (in a double portrait) (see fig. 6).
 Right Hand: Clenched; holding two-handed bowl.
 Left Hand: Placed around shoulder of her son.
 Location: Beirut, American University Museum, inv. no. 33.12.
 Reference: Ingholt 1934, 40–2, pl. 10.1.

Catalogue Number: 2.
 Right Hand: Index finger extended.
 Left Hand: Index finger extended; raised to face.
 Location: Damascus, National Museum of Damascus, inv. no. 18795.
 Reference: Zouhdi 1983, 316, no. 12, pl. 70d.

Catalogue Number: 3.
 Right Hand: Extended.
 Left Hand: Placed around shoulder of her daughter.
 Location: Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3725.
 References: *CIS* 4421, pl. 38; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 468); 1934, 41 n. 85; Mackay 1949, 173 n. 2, pl. 53.2.

Catalogue Number: 4.
 Right Hand: Placed around shoulder of her daughter.
 Left Hand: Clenched.
 Location: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 1025.
 References: *CIS* 2 4365; Chabot 1922, pl. 30.6; Ingholt 1934, 41 n. 85; Ploug 1995, 210–12; Hvidberg-Hansen 1998, 76, no. 86.

Catalogue Number: 5.
 Right Hand: Broken off (only mourning woman remains).
 Left Hand: Index.
 Location: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 1084.
 References: Ingholt 1928, 133 n. 7 (*PS* 382); Colledge 1976, 213 n. 656; 257; Ploug 1995, 106–7, no. 31.

Catalogue Number: 6
 Right Hand: Extended; placed in hand of female companion.
 Left Hand: Placed around shoulder of companion.
 Location: Phoenix Ancient Art; formerly in a private collection in Lebanon (collected in the 1960s).¹⁰⁴
 Reference: Unknown.

Appendix 3: Gestures in Double Busts

Catalogue Number: 1a (brother).
 Right Hand: Placed around shoulder of his sister.
 Left Hand: Extended.
 Location: Beirut, American University Museum, inv. no. 2733.
 References: *CIS* 4256, pl. 44; Porter and Torrey 1906, 263–64, no. 2; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 15).

Catalogue Number: 1b (sister).
 Right Hand: Extended.
 Left Hand: Extended.
 Location: Beirut, American University Museum, inv. no. 2733.
 References: *CIS* 4256, pl. 44; Porter and Torrey 1906, 263–64, no. 2; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 15).

Catalogue Number: 2a (male).
 Right Hand: Extended.
 Left Hand: Index finger extended.
 Location: Antioch, Antakya Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 9039.
 Reference: Meischner and Cussini 2003, 100, 103–4, fig. 4.

Catalogue Number: 2b (female).
 Right Hand: Clenched.
 Left Hand: Clenched.
 Location: Antioch, Antakya Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 9039.
 Reference: Meischner and Cussini 2003, 100, 103–4, fig. 4.

Catalogue Number: 3a (husband).
 Right Hand: Index finger extended.
 Left Hand: Clenched.
 Location: London, British Museum, inv. no. ANE 125036.
 References: Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 60); Colledge 1976, 255.

Catalogue Number: 3b (wife).
 Right Hand: Index finger extended.
 Left Hand: Clenched.
 Location: London, British Museum, inv. no. ANE 125036.
 References: Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 60); Colledge 1976, 255.

Catalogue Number: 4a (sister to the left).
 Right Hand: Raised and clenched.
 Left Hand: Extended.
 Location: London, British Museum, inv. no. ANE 125717.
 Reference: None.

Catalogue Number: 4b (sister to the right).
 Right Hand: Extended.
 Left Hand: Raised and clenched.
 Location: London, British Museum, inv. no. ANE 125717.
 Reference: None.

Catalogue Number: 5a (female to the left).
 Right Hand: Index and pinkie fingers extended.
 Left Hand: Placed around shoulder of Aqma.
 Location: Damascus, National Museum of Damascus.
 Reference: Amy and Seyrig 1936, 251, pl. 47.2.

Catalogue Number: 5b (female to the right [Aqma]).
 Right Hand: Raised; index and pinkie fingers extended.
 Left Hand: Extended.
 Location: Damascus, National Museum of Damascus.
 Reference: Amy and Seyrig 1936, 251, pl. 47.2.

Catalogue Number: 6a (female to the left).
 Right Hand: Palm out.
 Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding spindle and distaff.
 Location: Erlangen, Archäologische Sammlung, Universität Erlangen, inv. no. I.1184.
 Reference: Parlasca 1980, 149–50, fig. 50.1.

Catalogue Number: 6b (male to the right).
 Right Hand: Index finger extended.
 Left Hand: Index finger extended.
 Location: Erlangen, Archäologische Sammlung, Universität Erlangen, inv. no. I.1184.
 Reference: Parlasca 1980, 149–50, fig. 50.1.

¹⁰⁴It is with great reservation that objects from an antiquities dealer are included in this database, because their provenance cannot be verified. In addition, the longstanding trade in antiquities provides impetus for looting objects, thereby stripping them of the valuable information provided by their archaeological context.

Catalogue Number: 7a (husband).
 Right Hand: Index and middle fingers extended.
 Left Hand: Index, middle, and pinkie fingers extended.
 Location: St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. 8839.
 References: *CIS* 4579, pl. 59; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 64).

Catalogue Number: 7b (wife).
 Right Hand: Index, middle, and pinkie fingers extended.
 Left Hand: Raised; extended.
 Location: St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. 8839.
 References: *CIS* 4579, pl. 59; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 64).

Catalogue Number: 8a (son, on the left).
 Right Hand: Extended.
 Left Hand: Index finger extended.
 Location: Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3823.
 Reference: *CIS* 4603, pl. 53a.

Catalogue Number: 8b (father, on the right).
 Right Hand: Extended.
 Left Hand: Index and pinkie fingers extended.
 Location: Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3823.
 Reference: *CIS* 4603, pl. 53a.

Catalogue Number: 9.¹⁰⁵
 Right Hand: Raised; extended.
 Left Hand: Extended.
 Location: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. I 1524.
 References: *CIS* 4352, pl. 54; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 63).

Catalogue Number: 10a (female).
 Right Hand: Extended to touch elbow of her husband.
 Left Hand: Raised; index and pinkie fingers extended.
 Location: Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. AO 5007.
 References: *CIS* 2 4412; Chabot 1922, 123, no. 31; Ingholt 1928, 94 (*PS* 56); Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 212, no. 209.

Catalogue Number: 10b (male).
 Right Hand: Index and middle fingers extended.
 Left Hand: Clenched.
 Location: Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. AO 5007.
 References: *CIS* 2 4412; Chabot 1922, 123, no. 31; Ingholt 1928, 94 (*PS* 56); Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 212, no. 209.

Catalogue Number: 11a (female).
 Right Hand: Index finger extended.
 Left Hand: Index finger extended.
 Location: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 1026.
 References: Ingholt 1928, 61 n. 1 (*PS* 59); Colledge 1976, 247, 255; Ploug 1995, 103–5, no. 30; Hvidberg-Hansen 1998, 48, no. 30.

Catalogue Number: 11b (male).
 Right Hand: Index finger extended.
 Left Hand: Clenched.
 Location: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 1026.
 References: Ingholt 1928, 61 n. 1 (*PS* 59); Colledge 1976, 247, 255; Ploug 1995, 103–5, no. 30; Hvidberg-Hansen 1998, 48, no. 30.

Catalogue Number: 12a (brother [Barikâ]).
 Right Hand: Index and middle fingers extended.
 Left Hand: Index and pinkie fingers extended.
 Location: Mainz, Prinz Johann Georg Sammlung, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, inv. no. 835.
 References: *CIS* 4245, pl. 47; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 271).

Catalogue Number: 12b (brother [Maqqai]).
 Right Hand: Not visible.
 Left Hand: Index finger extended.
 Location: Mainz, Prinz Johann Georg Sammlung, Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, inv. no. 835.
 References: *CIS* 4245, pl. 47; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 271).

Catalogue Number: 13a (father).
 Right Hand: Index finger extended.
 Left Hand: Index finger extended.
 Location: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 1027.
 References: *CIS* 2 4405; Chabot 1922, pl. 30.12; Ingholt 1928, 108 (*PS* 168); 1934, 41 n. 90; Colledge 1976, 249–51; Ploug 1995, 157–59, no. 61; Hvidberg-Hansen 1998, 62–3, no. 61.

Catalogue Number: 13b (son).
 Right Hand: Extended.
 Left Hand: Index, middle, and pinkie fingers extended.
 Location: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 1027.
 References: *CIS* 2 4405; Chabot 1922, pl. 30.12; Ingholt 1928, 108 (*PS* 168); 1934, 41 n. 90; Colledge 1976,

¹⁰⁵ Only the female to the left is fully preserved.

249–51; Ploug 1995, 157–59, no. 61; Hvidberg-Hansen 1998, 62–3, no. 61.

Catalogue Number: 14a (wife).

Right Hand: Raised, extended.

Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended.

Location: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 1028.

References: Ingholt 1928, 26 n. 3, 94 (*PS* 57); Colledge 1976, 247, 256; Ploug 1995, 101–3, no. 29; Hvidberg-Hansen 1998, 47, no. 29.

Catalogue Number: 14b (husband).

Right Hand: Index and middle fingers extended.

Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended.

Location: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 1028.

References: Ingholt 1928, 26 n. 3, 94 (*PS* 57); Colledge 1976, 247, 256; Ploug 1995, 101–3, no. 29; Hvidberg-Hansen 1998, 47, no. 29.

Catalogue Number: 15a (male).

Right Hand: Extended.

Left Hand: Extended.

Location: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 1153.

References: Ingholt 1928, 143 n. 1 (*PS* 452); Colledge 1976, 71, pl. 94; Ploug 1995, 208–10, no. 85; Hvidberg-Hansen 1998, 75–6, no. 85.

Catalogue Number: 15b (female).

Right Hand: Extended around back of male.

Left Hand: Raised; index and pinkie fingers extended.

Location: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 1153.

References: Ingholt 1928, 143 n. 1 (*PS* 452); Colledge 1976, 71, pl. 94; Ploug 1995, 208–10, no. 85; Hvidberg-Hansen 1998, 75–6, no. 85.

Catalogue Number: 16a (wife).

Right Hand: Raised, clenched.

Left Hand: Extended.

Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. A904/904.

References: Ingholt 1970–1971, 180, pl. 2.2; Tanabe 1986, pl. 366; al-As'ad and Gawlikowski 1997, 55, pl. 76.

Catalogue Number: 16b (husband).

Right Hand: Extended.

Left Hand: Extended.

Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. A904/904.

References: Ingholt 1970–1971, 180, pl. 2.2; Tanabe 1986, pl. 366; al-As'ad and Gawlikowski 1997, 55, pl. 76.

Catalogue Number: 17a (male).

Right Hand: Index finger extended.

Left Hand: Index, middle, and pinkie fingers extended.

Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum.

Reference: Tanabe 1986, pl. 372.

Catalogue Number: 17b (female).

Right Hand: Placed around shoulder of male.

Left Hand: Index, middle, and pinkie fingers extended.

Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum.

Reference: Tanabe 1986, pl. 372.

Catalogue Number: 18a (male cousin to the left).

Right Hand: Extended.

Left Hand: Index finger extended.

Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum.

References: Gawlikowski 1974, 43, no. 95; Tanabe 1986, pl. 215; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 116, fig. 104.

Catalogue Number: 18b (male cousin to the right).

Right Hand: Extended.

Left Hand: Index finger extended.

Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum.

References: Gawlikowski 1974, 43, no. 95; Tanabe 1986, pl. 215; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 116, fig. 104.

Catalogue Number: 19a (brother to the left).

Right Hand: Index and middle fingers extended.

Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended.

Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. B 1948/7040.

References: Colledge 1976, 249; Tanabe 1986, pl. 370; Saliby and Parlasca 1992, cat. no. 13; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 56, fig. 99.

Catalogue Number: 19b (brother to the right).

Right Hand: Index and middle fingers extended.

Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended.

Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. B 1948/7040.

References: Colledge 1976, 249; Tanabe 1986, pl. 370; Saliby and Parlasca 1992, cat. no. 13; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 56, fig. 99.

Catalogue Number: 20a (male).

Right Hand: Extended.

Left Hand: Index finger extended.

Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. 1775/6589.

References: Bounni and Saliby 1957, 48–9, no. 17, pl. 4.3; Tanabe 1986, pl. 365; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 212, fig. 126.

Catalogue Number: 20b (female).
 Right Hand: Index finger extended.
 Left Hand: Raised; clenched.
 Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. 1775/6589.
 References: Bounni and Saliby 1957, 48–9, no. 17, pl. 4.3; Tanabe 1986, pl. 365; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 212, fig. 126.

Catalogue Number: 21a (brother).
 Right Hand: Extended.
 Left Hand: Clenched.
 Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. B 1967/7059.
 References: Colledge 1976, 261; Tanabe 1986, pl. 369; Saliby and Parlasca 1992, cat. no. 32; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 75, fig. 103; Cussini 2000.

Catalogue Number: 21b (sister).
 Right Hand: Raised; clenched.
 Left Hand: Index and pinkie fingers extended.
 Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. B 1967/7059.
 References: Colledge 1976, 261; Tanabe 1986, pl. 369; Saliby and Parlasca 1992, cat. no. 32; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 75, fig. 103; Cussini 2000.

Catalogue Number: 22a (wife).
 Right Hand: Index finger extended.
 Left Hand: Extended.
 Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. B 1972/7064.
 References: Colledge 1976, 249, 258; Tanabe 1986, pl. 368; Parlasca 1988, 219 n. 41; Saliby and Parlasca 1992, cat. no. 37; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 80, fig. 20.

Catalogue Number: 22b (husband).
 Right Hand: Index finger extended.
 Left Hand: Extended.
 Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. B 1972/7064.
 References: Colledge 1976, 249, 258; Tanabe 1986, pl. 368; Parlasca 1988, 219 n. 41; Saliby and Parlasca 1992, cat. no. 37; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 80, fig. 20.

Catalogue Number: 23a (wife).
 Right Hand: Index, middle, and pinkie fingers extended.
 Left Hand: Index, middle, and pinkie fingers extended.
 Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. 2148/7610.
 References: al-As'ad and Taha 1965, 42, no. 12, pl. 3; Gawlikowski 1974, 31–2, no. 63, pl. 2; Ingholt 1976, pl.

123; Tanabe 1986, pl. 367; Parlasca 1987, 280, no. 21; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 174, fig. 42.

Catalogue Number: 23b (husband).
 Right Hand: Index and middle fingers extended.
 Left Hand: Index, middle, and pinkie fingers extended.
 Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. 2148/7610.
 References: al-As'ad and Taha 1965, 42, no. 12, pl. 3; Gawlikowski 1974, 31–2, no. 63, pl. 2; Ingholt 1976, pl. 123; Tanabe 1986, pl. 367; Parlasca 1987, 280, no. 21; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 174, fig. 42.

Catalogue Number: 24a (nephew) (see fig. 3).
 Right Hand: Extended.
 Left Hand: Index finger extended.
 Location: Portland, Oregon, Portland Art Museum, inv. no. 54.2.
 References: *CIS* 2 4535; Ronzevalle 1902, 409, no. 1; Parlasca 1990, 138, fig. 5; Cussini 1992, 423–26, fig. 1.

Catalogue Number: 24b (uncle) (see fig. 3).
 Right Hand: Placed around shoulder of nephew.
 Left Hand: Index and pinkie fingers extended.
 Location: Portland, Oregon, Portland Art Museum, inv. no. 54.2.
 References: *CIS* 2 4535; Ronzevalle 1902, 409, no. 1; Parlasca 1990, 138, fig. 5; Cussini 1992, 423–26, fig. 1.

Catalogue Number: 25a (father).
 Right Hand: Extended.
 Left Hand: Not visible (presumably behind back of daughter).
 Location: Portland, Oregon, Portland Art Museum, inv. no. 54.3.
 References: Ronzevalle 1902, 413–16, no. 3; Ingholt 1928, 95 (*PS* 65); Del Chiaro 1973, 32, fig. 37; Vermeule 1981, 384, no. 333; Parlasca 1990, 139, fig. 6.

Catalogue Number: 25b (daughter).
 Right Hand: Raised; extended.
 Left Hand: Extended.
 Location: Portland, Oregon, Portland Art Museum, inv. no. 54.3.
 References: Ronzevalle 1902, 413–16, no. 3; Ingholt 1928, 95 (*PS* 65); Del Chiaro 1973, 32, fig. 37; Vermeule 1981, 384, no. 333; Parlasca 1990, 139, fig. 6.

Catalogue Number: 26a (brother to the left).
 Right Hand: Clenched.
 Left Hand: Index finger extended.
 Location: Jerusalem, Musée Biblique de Bethesda.
 References: *CIS* 4329, pl. 54; Lagrange 1902, 94–7, no. 1; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 183); Parlasca 1980, 151, fig. 51.1.

Catalogue Number: 26b (brother to the right).
 Right Hand: Palm out.
 Left Hand: Index finger extended.
 Location: Jerusalem, Musée Biblique de Bethesda.
 References: *CIS* 4329, pl. 54; Lagrange 1902, 94–7, no. 1; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 183); Parlasca 1980, 151, fig. 51.1.

Catalogue Number: 27a (male).
 Right Hand: Extended.
 Left Hand: Index finger extended.
 Location: London, Christie's, 7 December 1994, lot 5314.
 Reference: Hillers and Cussini 1995, 159, cat. no. 0993.

Catalogue Number: 27b (female).
 Right Hand: Extended.
 Left Hand: Clenched and raised to veil.
 Location: London, Christie's, 7 December 1994, lot 5314.
 Reference: Hillers and Cussini 1995, 159, cat. no. 0993.

Appendix 4: Busts Including Children

Catalogue Number: 1.
 Description: Two sisters (adult and child).
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? Yes.
 Location: Beirut, American University Museum, inv. no. 2753.
 References: *CIS* 4568, pl. 44; Porter and Torrey 1906, 266 n. 11; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 447).

Catalogue Number: 2.
 Description: Mother and son.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.
 Location: Beirut, Collection Chiha.
 Reference: Starcky and Delavaut 1974, 69–70 n. 3, pl. 2.

Catalogue Number: 3.
 Description: Grandmother and granddaughter.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.
 Location: Antioch, Antakya Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 9044.
 Reference: Meischner and Cussini 2003, 98–9, 102–3, fig. 3.

Catalogue Number: 4.
 Description: Brother and sister (adult and child).
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.
 Location: Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. no. 27/65.
 References: *CIS* 4479, pl. 42; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 261).

Catalogue Number: 5.
 Description: Mother and son.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.
 Location: Beverly Hills, California, private collection.
 References: *CIS* 4373, pl. 55; Parlasca 1990.

Catalogue Number: 6.
 Description: Female and child.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.
 Location: London, British Museum, inv. no. 125016.
 Reference: None.

Catalogue Number: 7.
 Description: Male and child.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.
 Location: London, British Museum, inv. no. 125033.
 Reference: Colledge 1976, 248.

Catalogue Number: 8.
 Description: Male and child.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.
 Location: London, British Museum, inv. no. 125046.
 Reference: None.

Catalogue Number: 9.
 Description: Mother and daughter.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.
 Location: London, British Museum, inv. no. 125150.
 References: *CIS* 4507, pl. 61; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 46).

Catalogue Number: 10.
 Description: Mother and child.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? Yes.
 Location: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. no. GR.9.1888.
 References: Ingholt 1928, 137 (*PS* 411); Budde and Nicholls 1964, 86 n. 139, pl. 46.

Catalogue Number: 11.
 Description: Father and two sons.
 Do Children Reach out to Adult? Yes.
 Location: Damascus, National Museum of Damascus, inv. no. C 161.
 References: Al-Ush et al. 1976, 125–26; Tanabe 1986, pl. 311.

Catalogue Number: 12.
 Description: Two females (adult and child).¹⁰⁶
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? Yes.
 Location: Damascus, National Museum of Damascus.
 References: Abdul-Hak 1952, 236, fig. 14; Cussini 2000; Colledge 1976, 72, 266, fig. 95.

¹⁰⁶Traditionally identified as a eunuch accompanied by a siren; but see Cussini's (2000) questioning of this interpretation.

Catalogue Number: 13.
 Description: Mother and two sons.
 Do Children Reach out to Adult? Yes.
 Location: Damascus, National Museum of Damascus, inv. no. C 2654.
 References: Al-Ush et al. 1976, 126; Tanabe 1986, pl. 352.

Catalogue Number: 14.
 Description: N/a.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? Not visible.
 Location: Damascus, National Museum of Damascus, inv. no. 6906/5840.
 References: Zouhdi 1983, fig. 70a; Charles-Gaffiot et al. 2001, 344, pl. 152.

Catalogue Number: 15.
 Description: Mother and child.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.
 Location: Fribourg, Bible und Orient Museum, University of Fribourg, inv. no. 2001.8.
 Reference: <http://www.bible-orient-museum.ch>.

Catalogue Number: 16.
 Description: Male and child.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.
 Location: Gaziantep, Gaziantep Museum, inv. no. 211.
 Reference: Parlasca 2005, 148, fig. 4.

Catalogue Number: 17.
 Description: Mother and two sons.
 Do Children Reach out to Adult? Yes.
 Location: Cambridge, Massachusetts, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, inv. no. 1908.3.
 References: *CIS* 4568; Ingholt 1928, 132, 158 (*PS* 374); Vermeule 1981, 380, no. 329; Vermeule and Brauer 1990, 163, no. 149; see also <http://www.artmuseums.harvard.edu/study-and-research/collectionsearch.dot>.

Catalogue Number: 18.
 Description: Father and son.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? Yes.
 Location: Cambridge, Massachusetts, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, inv. no. 1998.3.
 References: Vermeule and Brauer 1990, 165, no. 151; see also <http://www.artmuseums.harvard.edu/study-and-research/collectionsearch.dot>.

Catalogue Number: 19.
 Description: Female and child.

Does Child Reach out to Adult? Yes.
 Location: St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum.
 Reference: None.

Catalogue Number: 20.
 Description: Female and child.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.
 Location: Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3741.
 References: *CIS* 4513, pl. 48; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 418).

Catalogue Number: 21.
 Description: Father and son.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.
 Location: Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3745.
 References: *CIS* 4422, pl. 52; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 276).

Catalogue Number: 22.
 Description: Male and child.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.
 Location: Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3746.
 Reference: None.

Catalogue Number: 23.
 Description: Father and daughter.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? Yes.
 Location: Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3748.
 References: *CIS* 4516, pl. 50; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 102).

Catalogue Number: 24.
 Description: Mother with son and daughter.
 Do Children Reach out to Adult? No.
 Location: Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3751.
 Reference: Colledge 1976, fig. 83.

Catalogue Number: 25.
 Description: Female holding child.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? Yes.
 Location: Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum.
 Reference: None.

Catalogue Number: 26.
 Description: Female holding child.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.
 Location: Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum.
 Reference: None.

Catalogue Number: 27.
 Description: Female holding child.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.

Location: Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum.
Reference: None.

Catalogue Number: 28.
Description: Mother and son.
Does Child Reach out to Adult? Yes.
Location: Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3816.
Reference: *CIS* 4476, pl. 53b.

Catalogue Number: 29.
Description: Mother and daughter.
Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.
Location: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, inv. no. B 1977/4.1.
References: *CIS* 4476, pl. 53b; Bastet and Brunsting 1982, 300–1, pl. 170; Hoftijzer 1988, pl. 1.

Catalogue Number: 30.
Description: Female holding child.
Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.
Location: Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. AO 1998.
References: *CIS* 4503; Chabot 1922, 122, pl. 32.9; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 409); Colledge 1976, 70–1, 258, pl. 86; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 171, no. 174.

Catalogue Number: 31.
Description: Female holding child.
Does Child Reach out to Adult? Unknown, right arm is missing.
Location: Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. AO 4147.
References: *CIS* 4538; Chabot 1922, 123, pl. 32.5; Ingholt 1928, 151 (*PS* 512); Colledge 1976, 263; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 196, no. 197.

Catalogue Number: 32.
Description: Father and son.
Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.
Location: Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 22254.
References: *CIS* 4333; Chabot 1922, 130; Ingholt 1928, 116 (*PS* 229); Colledge 1976, 250; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 237, no. 230.

Catalogue Number: 33.
Description: Father, son, and granddaughter.
Do Children Reach out to Adult? No.
Location: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 1027.
References: *CIS* 4405; Chabot 1922, pl. 30.12; Ingholt 1928, 108 (*PS* 168); 1934, 41 n. 90; Colledge 1976, 249–51; Ploug 1995, 157–59, cat. no. 61; Hvidberg-Hansen 1998, 62–3, cat. no. 61.

Catalogue Number: 34.
Description: Father with son and daughter.
Do Children Reach out to Adult? No.
Location: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 2763.
References: Colledge 1976, 147 n. 548; Ploug 1995, 181–82, cat. no. 73; Hvidberg-Hansen 1998, 67, cat. no. 73.

Catalogue Number: 35.
Description: Mother and daughter.
Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.
Location: Palmyra, in situ, Hypogeum 5, (tomb of) the family of Artaban, southeast necropolis.
Reference: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 31, fig. 134.

Catalogue Number: 36.
Description: Two brothers (adult and child).
Does Child Reach out to Adult? Yes.
Location: Palmyra, in situ, Hypogeum 5, (tomb of) the family of Artaban, southeast necropolis.
Reference: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 40, fig. 117.

Catalogue Number: 37.
Description: Mother and son.
Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.
Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. B 1777/6601.
References: Bounni and Saliby 1957, 50–1, no. 23, pl. 5.5; Gawlikowski 1974 (*RSP* 40);¹⁰⁷ Colledge 1976, 262; Tanabe 1986, pl. 335; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 218, fig. 205; Hillers and Cussini 1995, cat. no. 1831.

Catalogue Number: 38.
Description: Mother and two children.
Do Children Reach out to Adult? Yes.
Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. B 1788/6637.
References: Colledge 1976, 258; Tanabe 1986, pl. 356; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 188, fig. 159.

Catalogue Number: 39.
Description: Female and child.
Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.
Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. B 2144/7606.
References: al-As'ad and Taha 1965, 41, no. 8, pl. 2; Gawlikowski 1974, 30, no. 59; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, 128–29, cat. no. 170, fig. 193; Charles-Gaffiot et al. 2001, 264, no. 155.

¹⁰⁷ *RSP*= designation in Gawlikowski 1974.

Catalogue Number: 40.
 Description: Father, mother, and child.
 Does Child Reach out to Adults? Yes.
 Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. 2148/7610.
 References: al-As'ad and Taha 1965, 42, no. 12, pl. 3; Gawlikowski 1974, 31–2, no. 63, pl. 2; Ingholt 1976, pl. 123; Tanabe 1986, pl. 367; Parlasca 1987, 280, no. 21; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 174, fig. 42.

Catalogue Number: 41.
 Description: Father and son.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.
 Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. 1949/7041.
 References: Colledge 1976 n. 211; Tanabe 1986, pl. 295; Saliby and Parlasca 1992, cat. no. 14; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 57, fig. 53; Sadurska 1995, 585, fig. 3.

Catalogue Number: 42.
 Description: Mother and daughter.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.
 Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. B 1958/7050.
 References: Colledge 1976, 259; Tanabe 1986, pl. 340; Saliby and Parlasca 1992, cat. no. 23; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 66, fig. 170.

Catalogue Number: 43.
 Description: Uncle and two nephews.
 Do Children Reach out to Adult? Yes.
 Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. B 1961/7053.
 References: Colledge 1976, 250; Tanabe 1986, pl. 371; Saliby and Parlasca 1992, cat. no. 26; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 69, fig. 56; Sadurska 1995, 583–85, fig. 2; al-As'ad and Gawlikowski 1997, no. 57.

Catalogue Number: 44.
 Description: Female and child.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? Yes.
 Location: Pittsfield, Massachusetts, Berkshire Museum, inv. no. 1903.7.3.
 Reference: *CIS* 4315.

Catalogue Number: 45.
 Description: Female and child.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.
 Location: Rome, National Museum of Oriental Art.
 References: *CIS* 4413, pl. 68a; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 462).

Catalogue Number: 46 (see fig. 7).
 Description: Male and two children.
 Do Children Reach out to Adult? Yes.

Location: Seattle, Washington, Seattle Art Museum, inv. no. 42.11.
 Reference: Parlasca 1990, 134, fig. 1; 137, no. 1.

Catalogue Number: 47.
 Description: Male and child.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? Yes.
 Location: South Bend, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, Notre Dame University, inv. no. 1969.018.004.
 References: Elsen 1970; Albertson 2000b, pl. 31a.

Catalogue Number: 48.
 Description: Female and child.
 Does Child Reach out to Adult? No.
 Location: Strasbourg, University Library of Strasbourg.
 References: *CIS* 4339, pl. 40; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 485).

Appendix 5: Gestures of Priests (Men Wearing the *Modius*)

Catalogue Number: 1.
 Right Hand: Extended.
 Left Hand: Index and pinkie fingers extended; holding book roll.
 Location: Beirut, American University Museum, inv. no. 25.1.
 Reference: Ingholt 1934, 33–6, pl. 8.2.

Catalogue Number: 2.
 Right Hand: Extended.
 Left Hand: Index finger extended; holding book roll.
 Location: Belgrade, National Museum of Serbia, inv. no. 2985/III.
 References: Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 118); Cambi 1988, 157 n. 175.

Catalogue Number: 3.
 Right Hand: Extended.
 Left Hand: Index finger extended; holding book roll.
 Location: London, British Museum, inv. no. ANE 125020.
 Reference: None.

Catalogue Number: 4.
 Right Hand: Clenched, holding alabastron.
 Left Hand: Clenched, holding incense bowl.
 Location: London, British Museum, inv. no. ANE 125033.
 Reference: Colledge 1976, 248.

Catalogue Number: 5.
 Right Hand: Clenched; holding alabastron.

Left Hand: Clenched; holding incense bowl.
 Location: London, British Museum, inv. no. ANE 125201.
 References: *CIS* 4288, pl. 36; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 251); Colledge 1976.

Catalogue Number: 6.
 Right Hand: Extended.
 Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding alabastron and incense bowl.
 Location: London, British Museum, inv. no. ANE 125202.
 References: *CIS* 4324, pl. 52; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 249).

Catalogue Number: 7.
 Right Hand: Index finger extended.
 Left Hand: Index finger extended; holding cloak loop.
 Location: Charlottesville, Virginia, University of Virginia Art Museum, inv. no. 2001.16.1.
 References: *CIS* 4504, pl. 47; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 301).

Catalogue Number: 8.
 Right Hand: Extended.
 Left Hand: Index and pinkie fingers extended; holding book roll.
 Location: Damascus, National Museum of Damascus, inv. no. C 22.
 References: *CIS* 4243; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 24); Al-Ush et al. 1976, 124; Tanabe 1986, pl. 309.

Catalogue Number: 9.
 Right Hand: Index finger extended; holding alabastron.
 Left Hand: Extended, holding incense bowl.
 Location: Damascus, National Museum of Damascus.
 References: Abdul-Hak 1952, no. 1, pl. 1, fig. 1; 1960, 37, pl. 21.

Catalogue Number: 10.
 Right Hand: Index finger extended; holding alabastron.
 Left Hand: Extended; holding incense bowl.
 Location: Damascus, National Museum of Damascus.
 Reference: Abdul-Hak 1960, 37, pl. 22.

Catalogue Number: 11.
 Right Hand: Index finger extended.
 Left Hand: Clenched; holding book roll.
 Location: St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. no. 8843.
 References: *CIS* 4577, pl. 60; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 140).

Catalogue Number: 12.
 Right Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding alabastron.

Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding incense bowl.
 Location: Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3716.
 References: Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 147); Rumscheid 2000, 210, no. 232, pl. 63.2.

Catalogue Number: 13.
 Right Hand: Index finger extended; holding alabastron.
 Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding incense bowl.
 Location: Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 7896.
 Reference: Rumscheid 2000, 199, no. 195, pl. 62.1.

Catalogue Number: 14.
 Right Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding alabastron.
 Left Hand: Extended; holding incense bowl.
 Location: Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. AO 2069.
 References: *CIS* 2 4497; Chabot 1922, 122 n. 14; Ingholt 1928, 117 (*PS* 231); Colledge 1976, 250; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 177, no. 179.

Catalogue Number: 15.
 Right Hand: Extended.
 Left Hand: Index finger extended; holding book roll.
 Location: Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. AO 2199.
 References: *CIS* 2 4323, pl. 38; *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique* 1078; Chabot 1922, 124, pl. 31.12; Ingholt 1928, 119 (*PS* 248); Colledge 1976, 249; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 183, no. 184.

Catalogue Number: 16.
 Right Hand: Clenched; holding alabastron.
 Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding incense bowl.
 Location: Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 2200.
 References: *CIS* 2 4250; *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique* 1074; Chabot 1922, 123 n. 18, pl. 31.15; Ingholt 1928, 37 (*PS* 14); Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 184, no. 185.

Catalogue Number: 17.
 Right Hand: Clenched; holding alabastron.
 Left Hand: Clenched; holding incense bowl.
 Location: Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. AO 2202.
 References: Ingholt 1928, 119 (*PS* 250); Colledge 1976, 250; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 186, no. 187 (image is flipped).

Catalogue Number: 18.
 Right Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding alabastron.

Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding incense bowl.

Location: Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. AO 4085.
References: *CIS* 2 4465; *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique* 1635; Chabot 1922, 123 n. 22, pl. 32.7; Ingholt 1928, 106 (*PS* 146); Colledge 1976, 248; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 194, no. 195.

Catalogue Number: 19.

Right Hand: Index finger extended; holding alabastron.

Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding incense bowl.

Location: Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. AO 4086.
References: *CIS* 2 4402; *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique* 1634; Chabot 1922, 123 n. 23, pl. 32.6; Ingholt 1928, 106 (*PS* 144); Colledge 1976, 248; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 195, no. 196.

Catalogue Number: 20.

Right Hand: Index and middle fingers extended.

Left Hand: Clenched; holding book roll.

Location: Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 6211.
References: *CIS* 2 4607; *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique* 135; Chabot 1922, 124 n. 34; Ingholt 1928, 118–19 (*PS* 245); Colledge 1976, 249; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 216, no. 213.

Catalogue Number: 21.

Right Hand: Clenched; holding alabastron.

Left Hand: Clenched; holding incense bowl.

Location: Rome, Museo Barracco, inv. no. 250.
References: Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 149); Brinkerhoff 1970, 47–8, fig. 32; see also http://en.museobarracco.it/percorsi/percorsi_per_sale/sala_ix/stele_funeraria.

Catalogue Number: 22.

Right Hand: Extended.

Left Hand: Index finger extended; holding book roll.

Location: Unknown; “in commerce” in 1934.

Reference: Ingholt 1934, 42–3, pl. 10.2.

Catalogue Number: 23.

Right Hand: Clenched; holding alabastron.

Left Hand: Clenched; holding incense bowl.

Location: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 1031.

References: *CIS* 2 4395; Ingholt 1928, 106 n. 5 (*PS* 145); Colledge 1976, 248; Ploug 1995, 86–7, no. 21; Hvidberg-Hansen 1998, 43, no. 21.

Catalogue Number: 24.

Right Hand: Index finger extended.

Left Hand: Index finger extended; holding laurel sprig.

Location: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. I.N. 1032.

References: *CIS* 2 4285; Ingholt 1928, 24 n. 14 (*PS* 142); Colledge 1976, 248; Ploug 1995, 84–5, no. 20; Hvidberg-Hansen 1998, 42, no. 20.

Catalogue Number: 25.

Right Hand: Index finger extended.

Left Hand: Index finger extended; holding laurel sprig.

Location: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. I.N. 1033.

References: *CIS* 2 4398; Ingholt 1928, 124 n. 9 (*PS* 302); Colledge 1976, 124 n. 553, 252; Ploug 1995, 186–87, no. 76; Hvidberg-Hansen 1998, 70–1, no. 76.

Catalogue Number: 26.

Right Hand: Extended.

Left Hand: Index and pinkie fingers extended.

Location: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. I.N. 1034.

References: *CIS* 2 4364; Ingholt 1928, 125 n. 5 (*PS* 305); Colledge 1976, 252; Ploug 1995, 184–85, no. 75; Hvidberg-Hansen 1998, 69–70, no. 75.

Catalogue Number: 27.

Right Hand: Index finger extended; holding alabastron.

Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding incense bowl.

Location: Palmyra, in situ, Hypogeum 5, (tomb of) the family of Artaban, southeastern necropolis.

References: Tanabe 1986, pl. 236; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 19, fig. 83.

Catalogue Number: 28.

Right Hand: Extended.

Left Hand: Extended; holding laurel sprig.

Location: Palmyra, in situ, Hypogeum 5, (tomb of) the family of Artaban, southeastern necropolis.

Reference: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 23, fig. 70.

Catalogue Number: 29.

Right Hand: Extended.

Left Hand: Index finger extended; holding cloak loop.

Location: Palmyra, in situ, Hypogeum 5, (tomb of) the family of Artaban, southeastern necropolis.

Reference: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 25, fig. 120.

Catalogue Number: 30.

Right Hand: Index extended.

Left Hand: Index extended; holding cloak loop.

Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum.
Reference: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 236, fig. 128.

Catalogue Number: 31.
Right Hand: Extended.
Left Hand: Index finger extended; holding book roll.
Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. 1729/6400.
Reference: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 12, fig. 118.

Catalogue Number: 32.
Right Hand: Clenched; holding alabastron.
Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding incense bowl.
Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. 1755/6579.
References: Bounni and Saliby 1957, 43, no. 1, pl. 1.1; Gawlikowski 1974, 17, no. 27; Colledge 1976, 248; Tanabe 1986, pl. 283; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 196, fig. 34.

Catalogue Number: 33.
Right Hand: Clenched; holding alabastron.
Left Hand: Clenched; holding incense bowl.
Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. 1763/6587.
References: Bounni and Saliby 1957, 44, no. 5, pl. 1.4; Tanabe 1986, pl. 285; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 200, fig. 84.

Catalogue Number: 34.
Right Hand: Extended.
Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended.
Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. 1952/7044.
Reference: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 60, fig. 87.

Catalogue Number: 35.
Right Hand: Extended.
Left Hand: Index, middle, and pinkie fingers extended; holding book roll.
Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum.
References: Gawlikowski 1974, 43, no. 94; Tanabe 1986, pl. 213; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 114, fig. 94.

Catalogue Number: 36.
Right Hand: Index finger extended; holding alabastron.
Left Hand: Index, middle, and pinkie fingers extended; holding incense bowl.
Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. B 2702/9104.

Reference: Charles-Gaffiot et al. 2001, 255, 343, no. 146 (image is flipped).

Catalogue Number: 37.
Right Hand: Extended; holding alabastron.
Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding incense bowl.
Location: Pittsfield, Massachusetts, the Berkshire Museum, inv. no. 1903.7.2.
References: Ingholt 1928, 106, 159 (*PS* 150); 1954, no. 4; Vermeule 1964, 111; 1981, 383, no. 332.

Catalogue Number: 38.
Right Hand: Clenched.
Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended.
Location: Potsdam, Villa Sarre.
Reference: Nehls 1995, figs. 2–4.

Catalogue Number: 39.
Right Hand: Clenched; holding alabastron.
Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding incense bowl.
Location: Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, inv. no. 953x94.2.
References: Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 148); Colledge 1976, 63, 68, pl. 66.

Catalogue Number: 40.
Right Hand: Extended.
Left Hand: Index finger extended; holding book roll.
Location: Richmond, Virginia, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 2497.
References: Brown 1973, 126, no. 144; Rumscheid 2000, 102, 107, 226–27, no. 282.

Catalogue Number: 41.
Right Hand: Clenched; holding alabastron.
Left Hand: Extended; holding incense bowl.
Location: Private collection.
Reference: Teixidor 1997, 65–8.

Catalogue Number: 42.
Right Hand: Clenched; holding alabastron.
Left Hand: Extended; holding incense bowl.
Location: Formerly in Bertone Collection.
References: *CIS* 4562, pl. 47; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 12).

Appendix 6: Gestures of the “Men of the Desert”

Catalogue Number: 1.
Right Hand: Index finger extended.
Left Hand: Clenched; holding sword.
Location: Baalbek, Baalbek Museum.

References: Ingholt 1928, 103 (*PS*116); 1934, 41 n. 91; Seyrig 1941, 40–1, fig. 9.

Catalogue Number: 2.

Right Hand: Unknown.

Left Hand: Clenched; holding sword.

Location: Baalbek, Baalbek Museum.

References: Ingholt 1928, 103 (*PS* 118); 1934, 41 n. 91.

Catalogue Number: 3 (in double portrait) (see fig. 6).

Right Hand: Index and middle fingers extended.

Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding sword.

Location: Beirut, American University Museum, inv. no. 33.12.

Reference: Ingholt 1934, 40–2, pl. 10.1.

Catalogue Number: 4.

Right Hand: Clenched.

Left Hand: Clenched; holding sword.

Location: Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, Glencairn Museum, inv. no. 09.SP.1544.

References: *CIS* 4559, pl. 48; Ingholt 1928, 103 (*PS* 117); 1934, 41 n. 92.

Catalogue Number: 5.

Right Hand: Clenched.

Left Hand: Clenched; holding sword.

Location: Damascus, Musée de l'Armée.

References: Abdul-Hak 1961, 44, pl. 4.8; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 39, fig. 43.

Catalogue Number: 6.

Right Hand: Extended.

Left Hand: Clenched; holding sword.

Location: Damascus, National Museum of Damascus, inv. no. 15027.

Reference: Sabeh 1953, 22–4, pl. 2.1.

Catalogue Number: 7 (in a double portrait).

Right Hand: Extended; holding whip.

Left Hand: Index and pinkie fingers extended; holding sword.

Location: Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3823.

References: *CIS* 4603; Ingholt 1928, 120 (*PS*259); 1934, 41 n. 90.

Catalogue Number: 8.

Right Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding whip.

Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding sword.

Location: Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3714.

References: *CIS* 4348; Ingholt 1928, 116 (*PS*227); 1934, 41 n. 90.

Catalogue Number: 9.

Right Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding whip.

Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding sword.

Location: Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 3749.

References: *CIS* 4447; Ingholt 1928, 103 (*PS*119); 1934, 41 n. 89; Albertson 2000b, 144 n. 16, 148–49, pl. 32a.

Catalogue Number: 10.

Right Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding whip.

Left Hand: Index finger extended; holding *schedula*.

Location: Jarville, Château de Montaigu.

References: *CIS* 4273, pl. 45; Ingholt 1928 (*PS* 228); Bordreuil et al. 1999, 248, fig. 6.

Catalogue Number: 11.

Right Hand: Index finger extended; holding whip.

Left Hand: Index finger extended; holding sword.

Location: Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. AO 14924.

References: Ingholt 1928 (*PS*67); Seyrig 1933, 160–61, pl. 22.2; Colledge 1976, 69, 225, 251, pl. 245; Dentzer-Feydy and Teixidor 1993, 221, cat. no. 217; Albertson 2000b, 144 n. 15, pl. 31b.

Catalogue Number: 12.

Right Hand: Index finger extended; holding whip.

Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding sword.

Location: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 1027.

References: *CIS* 2 4405; Chabot 1922, pl. 30.12; Ingholt 1928, 108 (*PS*168); 1934, 41 n. 90; Colledge 1976, 249–51; Ploug 1995, 157–59, no. 61; Hvidberg-Hansen 1998, 62–3, no. 61.

Catalogue Number: 13.

Right Hand: Extended.

Left Hand: Index finger extended; holding sword.¹⁰⁸

Location: Palmyra, in situ, Hypogeum 5, (tomb of) the family of Artaban, southeastern necropolis.

Reference: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 26, fig. 115.

¹⁰⁸ Albertson (2000b, 143 n. 10) identifies the object in his left hand as a staff of authority rather than a sword.

Catalogue Number: 14.
 Right Hand: Clenched; holding whip.
 Left Hand: Clenched; holding sword.
 Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. 1764/6588.
 References: Bounni and Saliby 1957, 43, pl. 2.1; Gawlikowski 1974, 18 n. 28; Tanabe 1986, pl. 284; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 197, fig. 35.

Catalogue Number: 15.
 Right Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding whip.
 Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding sword.
 Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum.
 References: Seyrig 1933, pl. 22.1; Charles-Gaffiot et al. 2001, 342–43 n. 143.

Catalogue Number: 16.
 Right Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding whip.
 Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding sword.
 Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum.
 Reference: Tanabe 1986, pl. 319.

Catalogue Number: 17.
 Right Hand: Index and middle fingers extended.
 Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding sword.
 Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum.
 Reference: Tanabe 1986, pl. 324.

Catalogue Number: 18.
 Right Hand: Clenched.
 Left Hand: Clenched; holding sword.
 Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. 2004.
 Reference: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 139, fig. 49.

Catalogue Number: 19.
 Right Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding whip.
 Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding sword.
 Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. 2005.
 Reference: Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 140, fig. 80.

Catalogue Number: 20.
 Right Hand: Index and middle fingers extended.
 Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding sword.
 Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. B 2027/7225.

References: Gawlikowski 1974 (*RSP* 22); Tanabe 1986, pl. 279; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 185, fig. 41; Hillers and Cussini 1995, cat. no. 1814.

Catalogue Number: 21.
 Right Hand: Index and middle fingers extended.
 Left Hand: Index and middle fingers extended; holding sword.
 Location: Palmyra, Palmyra Museum, inv. no. 2148/7610.
 References: al-As'ad and Taha 1965, 42, no. 12, pl. 3; Gawlikowski 1974, 31–2, no. 63, pl. 2; Ingholt 1976, pl. 123; Tanabe 1986, pl. 367; Parlasca 1987, 280, no. 21; Sadurska and Bounni 1994, cat. no. 174, fig. 42.

Catalogue Number: 22.
 Right Hand: Clenched; holding whip.
 Left Hand: Index finger extended; holding book roll.
 Location: Jerusalem, Musée Biblique de Bethesda.
 References: Lagrange 1902, 94–7, no. 1; Parlasca 1980, 151, fig. 51.1.

Catalogue Number: 23.
 Right Hand: Extended; holding whip.
 Left Hand: Index, middle, and pinkie fingers extended; holding sword.
 Location: Southbend, Indiana, Snite Museum of Art, Notre Dame University, inv. no. 1969.018.004.
 References: Elsen 1970; Albertson 2000b, pl. 31a.

Catalogue Number: 24.
 Right Hand: Extended.
 Left Hand: Extended; holding book roll.
 Location: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, inv. no. 2833.
 References: Colledge 1976, 68 n. 211, 142 n. 525, 250; Taha 1982, 123, fig. 5.1; Parlasca 1989, 547, fig. 202b; Ploug 1995, 126–28, no. 47.

Works Cited

- Abdul-Hak, S. 1952. "L'hypogée de Ta'ai à Palmyre." *AAS* 2: 193–251.
- . 1960. *The Treasures of the National Museum of Damascus*. Translated by G. Haddad. Damascus: Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums.
- . 1961. "Découvertes archéologiques récentes dans les sites gréco-romains de Syrie." *Atti del Settimo Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Classica*. Vol. 3, 27–46. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
- al-As'ad, K., and M. Gawlikowski. 1997. *The Inscriptions in the Museum of Palmyra*. Warsaw: Palmyra Museum and University of Warsaw.
- al-As'ad, K., and O. Taha. 1965. "Madfan Zabd'Atah al-Tudmuri (The Palmyrene Tomb of Zabd'Atah)" (in Arabic). *AAS* 15:29–46.
- Albertson, F.C. 2000a. "Three Palmyrene Reliefs in the

- Colket Collection, University of Wyoming." *Syria* 77: 159–68.
- . 2000b. "A Palmyrene Funerary Bust of a Roman Cavalryman." *DM* 12:141–53.
- Aldrete, G.S. 1999. *Gestures and Acclamations in Ancient Rome*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Al-Ush, A., A. Joundi, and B. Zouhdi. 1976. *Catalogue du Musée National de Damas*. Damascus: Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums.
- Amy, R., and H. Seyrig. 1936. "Recherches dans la nécropole de Palmyre." *Syria* 17:229–66.
- Arnold, W.R. 1905. "Additional Palmyrene Inscriptions in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York." *JAOS* 26: 105–12.
- Balty, J.-C. 1996. "Palmyre entre Orient et Occident: Acculturation et résistances." In *Palmyra and the Silk Road*, 437–41. *AAS* 42. Damascus: Directorate General of Antiquities and Museums.
- Bastet, F.L., and H. Brunsting. 1982. *Corpus Signorum Classicorum Musei Antiquarii Lugduno-Batavi: Catalogus van het Klassieke Beeldhouwwerk in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*. Zutphen: Terra.
- Boatwright, M.T. 2005. "Children and Parents on the Tombstones of Pannonia." In *The Roman Family in the Empire: Rome, Italy and Beyond*, edited by M. George, 287–318. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bordreuil, P., F. Briquel-Chatonnet, and E. Gubel. 1999. "Bulletin d'antiquités archéologiques du Levant inédites ou méconnues." *Syria* 76:237–80.
- Bounni, A., and N. Saliby. 1957. "Madfan šalam allât (The Tomb of Shalamallat)" (in Arabic). *AAS* 7:25–52.
- Brilliant, R. 1963. *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art*. New Haven: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences.
- Brinkerhoff, D.M. 1970. *A Collection of Sculpture in Classical and Early Christian Antioch*. New York: New York University Press.
- Brown, J.M. 1973. *Ancient Art in the Virginia Museum*. Richmond: Virginia Museum.
- Budde, L., and R. Nicholls. 1964. *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Butcher, K. 2003. *Roman Syria and the Near East*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications.
- Callieri, P. 1986. "Rilievi funerari palmireni nella Collezione Zeri." *Annali di archeologia e storia antica* 8:223–44.
- Cambi, N. 1988. *Antike Porträts aus Jugoslawien*. Frankfurt am Main: Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte.
- Chabot, J.-B. 1922. *Choix d'inscriptions de Palmyre*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
- Charles-Gaffiot, J., J.-M. Hofman, and H. Lavagne, eds. 2001. *Moi, Zénobie, reine de Palmyre*. Paris: Centre Culturel du Panthéon.
- Choksy, J. 1990. "Gesture in Ancient Iran and Central Asia I: The Raised Hand." *Iranica Varia: Papers in Honor of Professor Ehsan Yarshater*, 30–7. *Acta Iranica* 30. Leiden: Brill.
- Colledge, M. 1976. *The Art of Palmyra*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Corbeill, A. 2004. *Nature Embodied: Gesture in Ancient Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Cumont, F. 1926. *Fouilles de Doura-Europos (1922–1923)*. Paris: Paul Geuthner.
- Cussini, E. 1992. "Two Palmyrene Aramaic Inscriptions in American Collections." *Syria* 69:423–29.
- . 2000. "Palmyrene Eunuchs? Two Cases of Mistaken Identity." In *Patavina orientalia selecta*, edited by E. Rova, 279–90. Padua: Sargon.
- . 2004. "Regina, Martay and the Others: Stories of Palmyrene Women." *Orientalia* 73:1–10.
- . 2005. "Beyond the Spindle: Investigating the Role of Palmyrene Women." In *A Journey to Palmyra: Collected Essays to Remember Delbert R. Hillers*, edited by E. Cussini, 26–43. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Davies, G. 1985. "The Significance of the Handshake Motif in Classical Funerary Art." *AJA* 89(4):627–40.
- Del Chiaro, M. 1973. *Roman Art in West Coast Collections*. Santa Barbara: University of California.
- Dentzer-Feydy, J., and J. Teixidor, eds. 1993. *Les Antiquités de Palmyre au Musée du Louvre*. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux.
- Deonna, W. 1923. "Monuments orientaux du musée de Genève." *Syria* 4:224–33.
- Desreumaux, A., and F. Briquel-Chatonnet. 1997. "Deux bas-reliefs palmyréniens au Musée de Gaziantep." *Semitica* 47:73–9.
- Dillon, S. 2006. *Ancient Greek Portrait Sculpture: Contexts, Subjects, and Styles*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Dirven, L. 2008. "Aspects of Hatrene Religion: A Note on the Statues of Kings and Nobles from Hatra." In *The Variety of Local Religious Life in the Near East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, edited by T. Kaizer, 209–46. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Drijvers, H.J.W. 1982. "After Life and Funerary Symbolism in Palmyrene Religion." In *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'Impero Romano*, edited by U. Bianchi and M.J. Vermaseren, 709–33. Leiden: Brill.
- Edwell, P.M. 2008. *Between Rome and Persia: The Middle Euphrates, Mesopotamia and Palmyra Under Roman Control*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Elsen, P., ed. 1970. "College Museum Notes." *College Art Journal* 29(3):358.
- Finlayson, C.S. 1998. "Veil, Turban, and Headpiece: Funerary Portraits and Female Status at Palmyra." Ph.D. diss., The University of Iowa.
- Fisher, G., and D. diPaolo Loren. 2003. "Embodying Identity in Archaeology." *CAJ* 13:225–30.
- Gawlikowski, M. 1970a. "Deux monuments funéraires palmyréniens en Pologne" (in Polish). *Studia Palmyrenskie* 4:87–92.
- . 1970b. *Monuments funéraires de Palmyre*. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- . 1974. *Recueil d'inscriptions palmyréniennes provenant de fouilles syriennes et polonaises récentes à Palmyre*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale and Klincksieck.
- George, M. 2005. "Family Imagery and Family Values in Roman Italy." In *The Roman Family in the Empire: Rome, Italy, and Beyond*, edited by M. George, 37–66. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hamilakis, Y., M. Pluciennik, and S. Tarlow, eds. 2002. *Thinking Through the Body: Archaeologies of Corporeality*. New York: Kluwer and Plenum Press.
- Heyn, M.K. 2008. "Sacerdotal Activities and Parthian Dress in Roman Palmyra." In *Reading a Dynamic Canvas: Adornment in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, edited by C.S. Colburn and M.K. Heyn, 170–93. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Hillers, D.R., and E. Cussini. 1995. *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Hodder, I. 1982. *Symbols in Action: Ethnoarchaeological Stud-*

- ies of Material Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hoftijzer, J. 1988. "A Palmyrene Bas-Relief with Inscriptions." *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen* 68:37–8.
- Hope, V.M. 2001. *Constructing Identity: The Roman Funerary Monuments of Aquileia, Mainz and Nimes*. BAR-IS960. Oxford: J. and E. Hedges.
- Hvidberg-Hansen, F.O. 1998. *The Palmyrene Inscriptions: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*. Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.
- Ingholt, H. 1928. *Studier over Palmyrensk Skulptur*. Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzel.
- . 1930. "Quatre Bustes Palmyréniens." *Syria* 11:242–44.
- . 1934. "Palmyrene Sculptures in Beirut." *Berytus* 1:32–43.
- . 1936. "Inscriptions and Sculptures from Palmyra I." *Berytus* 3:83–128.
- . 1938. "Inscriptions and Sculptures from Palmyra II." *Berytus* 5:93–140.
- . 1954. *Palmyrene and Gandharan Sculpture: An Exhibition Illustrating the Cultural Interrelations Between the Parthian Empire and Its Neighbors West and East, Palmyra and Gandhara*. New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery.
- . 1966. "Some Sculptures from the Tomb of Malkû at Palmyra." In *Mélanges offerts à Kazimierz Michalowski*, edited by M.-L. Bernhard, 457–76. Warsaw: Pánstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- . 1970–1971. "The Sarcophagus of Be'elai and Other Sculptures from the Tomb of Malkû, Palmyra." *MUSJ* 45: 173–200.
- . 1976. "Varia Tadmorea." In *Palmyre, Bilan et perspectives*, 101–37. Strasbourg: AECR.
- Joyce, R. 2005. "Archaeology of the Body." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34:139–58.
- Kaizer, T. 2002. *The Religious Life of Palmyra*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Kleiner, D.E.E. 1977. *Roman Group Portraiture: The Funerary Reliefs of the Late Republic and Early Empire*. New York and London: Garland Publishing.
- . 1992. *Roman Sculpture*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Kuniholm, P.I., N.H. Ramage, and A. Ramage. 2003. *A Guide to the Classical Collections of Cornell University*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art, Cornell University.
- Lagrange, M.-J. 1902. "Notes d'épigraphie sémitique." *RBibl* 11:94–9.
- Leroy, J. 1957. "Mosâïques funéraires d'Édesse." *Syria* 34: 306–42.
- Mackay, D. 1949. "The Jewellery of Palmyra and Its Significance." *Iraq* 11:160–82.
- Mattingly, D.J. 2003. "Family Values: Art and Power at Ghirza in the Libyan Pre-Desert." In *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art*, edited by S. Scott and J. Webster, 153–70. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Meischner, J., and E. Cussini. 2003. "Vier Palmyrenische Grabreliefs im Museum von Antakya." *AA* 2:97–105.
- Milleker, E.J., ed. 2000. *The Year One: Art of the Ancient World East and West*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Montserrat, D., ed. 1998. *Changing Bodies, Changing Meanings: Studies on the Human Body in Antiquity*. London: Routledge.
- Morehart, M. 1956–1957. "Early Sculpture at Palmyra." *Berytus* 12:52–83.
- Nehls, H. 1995. "Palmyra in der Gelehrtenvilla." *AntW* 26 (4):271–72.
- Padgett, J.M., ed. 2001. *Roman Sculpture in the Art Museum, Princeton University*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Parlasca, K. 1980. "Ein frühes Grabrelief aus Palmyra." *Äikones* 12:149–52.
- . 1985a. "Roman Art in Syria." In *Ebla to Damascus: Art and Archaeology of Ancient Syria*, edited by H. Weiss, 386–403. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service.
- . 1985b. "Das Verhältnis der palmyrenischen Grabplastik zur römischen Porträtkunst." *RM* 92:343–56.
- . 1987. "Aspekte der palmyrenischen Skulpturen." In *Palmyra: Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der Oasenstadt*, edited by E. Ruprechtsberger, 276–82. Linz: Gutenberg.
- . 1988. "Ikonographische Probleme palmrenischer Grabreliefs." *DM* 3:215–21.
- . 1989. "La sculpture grecque et la sculpture d'époque romaine impériale en Syrie." In *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie* 2:537–56.
- . 1990. "Palmyrenische Skulpturen in Museen an der amerikanischen Westküste." *Roman Funerary Monuments in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, edited by M. True and G. Koch, 133–44. Malibu: The J. Paul Getty Museum.
- . 2005. "Zu palmyrenischen Inschriften auf Reliefs." In *A Journey to Palmyra: Collected Essays to Remember Delbert R. Hillers*, edited by E. Cussini, 137–49. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Pierson, F. 1984. "Recherches sur les costumes des enfants dans l'iconographie palmyréniennne." *RALouvain* 17: 95–108.
- Ploug, G. 1995. *Catalogue of the Palmyrene Sculptures, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek*. Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.
- Porter, H., and C.C. Torrey. 1906. "Inscribed Palmyrene Monuments in the Museum of the Syrian Protestant College, Beirut." *AJSL* 22(4):262–71.
- Rautman, A. 2000. *Reading the Body: Representations and Remains in the Archaeological Record*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Ronzevalle, S. 1902. "Notes d'épigraphie palmyréniennne." *RBibl* 11:408–18.
- Rumscheid, J. 2000. *Kranz und Krone: Zu Insignien, Siegespreisen und Ehrenzeichen der römischen Kaiserzeit*. *IstForsch* 43. Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth.
- Sabeh, J. 1953. "Sculptures palmyréniennes inédites du Musée de Damas." *AAS* 3:17–26.
- Sadurska, A. 1972. *Les portraits romains dans les collections polonaises*. Warsaw: Editions Scientifiques de Pologne.
- . 1982. "Portrait funéraire de Palmyre, problèmes et méthodes des recherches." In *Römisches Porträt: Wege zur Erforschung eines gesellschaftlichen Phänomens. Wissenschaftliche Konferenz (12–15 Mai 1981)*, 269–71. *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin* 31(2–3). Berlin: Humboldt-Universität.
- . 1983. "Le modèle de la semaine dans l'imagerie palmyréniennne." *ÉtTrav* 12:151–56.
- . 1994. "Recherches sur les sculptures." In *Les sculptures funéraires de Palmyre*, edited by A. Sadurska and A. Bounni, 181–95. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider.
- . 1995. "La famille et son image dans l'art de Palmyre." *Arculiana*:583–89.
- . 1996. "L'art et la société: Recherches iconologiques sur la sculpture funéraire de Palmyre." In *Palmyra and the Silk Road*, 285–88. *AAS* 42. Damascus: Directorate

- General of Antiquities and Museums.
- Sadurska, A., and A. Bounni, eds. 1994. *Les sculptures funéraires de Palmyre*. Rome: Giorgio Bretschneider.
- Saito, K. 2005. "Palmyrene Burial Practices from Funerary Goods." In *A Journey to Palmyra: Collected Essays to Remember Delbert R. Hillers*, edited by E. Cussini, 150–65. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Saliby, N., and K. Parlasca. 1992. "L'hypogée de Sassan fils de Malé à Palmyre." *DM* 6:267–92.
- Sartre, M. 1996. "Palmyre, cité grecque." *AAS* 42:385–405.
- Schmidt-Colinet, A. 1997. "Aspects of 'Romanization': The Tomb Architecture at Palmyra and Its Decoration." In *The Early Roman Empire in the East*, edited by S.E. Alcock, 157–77. Oxford: Oxbow Books.
- . 2004. "Palmyrenische Grabkunst als Ausdruck lokaler Identität(en): Fallbeispiele." In *Lokale Identitäten in Randgebieten des römischen Reiches: Akten Des Internationalen Symposiums in Wiener Neustadt, 24–26 April 2003*, edited by A. Schmidt-Colinet, 189–98. Vienna: Phoibos.
- Scott, S., and J. Webster, eds. 2003. *Roman Imperialism and Provincial Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Seyrig, H. 1933. "Textes relatifs à la garnison romaine de Palmyre." *Syria* 14:152–68.
- . 1934. "Antiquités syriennes 17: Bas-reliefs monumentaux du temple de Bel à Palmyre." *Syria* 15:155–86.
- . 1937. "Sur quelques sculptures palmyréniennes." *Syria* 18:31–53.
- . 1939. "Antiquités syriennes." *Syria* 20:177–94.
- . 1941. "Antiquités syriennes." *Syria* 22:31–48.
- Smith, A.H. 1918. "L. Ampudius Philomusus." *JRS* 8:179–82.
- Sommer, M. 2005. "Palmyra and Hatra: Civic and Tribal Institutions at the Near Eastern Steppe Frontier." In *Cultural Borrowings and Ethnic Appropriations in Antiquity*, edited by E.S. Gruen, 285–96. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Starcky, J. 1984. "Note sur les sculptures palmyréniennes du Musée de Grenoble." *Syria* 61:37–44.
- Starcky, J., and B. Delavaut. 1974. "Reliefs palmyréniens inédits." *Semitica* 24:67–73.
- Stucky, R.A. 1973. "Prêtres syriens I: Palmyre." *Syria* 50:163–80.
- Taha, A. 1982. "Men's Costume in Palmyra." *AAS* 32:117–32.
- Tanabe, K., ed. 1986. *Sculptures of Palmyra*. Tokyo: Ancient Orient Museum.
- Tanner, J. 2000. "Portraits, Power, and Patronage in the Late Roman Republic." *JRS* 90:18–50.
- Teixidor, J. 1997. "Nouvelles inscriptions palmyréniennes." *Semitica* 47:65–71.
- Vermeule, C.C. 1964. "Greek and Roman Portraits in North American Collections Open to the Public: A Survey of Important Monumental Likenesses in Marble and Bronze Which Have Not Been Published." *PAPS* 108(2): 99–134.
- . 1981. *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America: Masterpieces in Public Collections in the United States and Canada*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Vermeule, C.C., and A. Brauer. 1990. *Stone Sculptures: The Greek, Roman and Etruscan Collections of the Harvard University Art Museums*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Art Museums.
- Walker, S., and A. Burnett. 1981. "A Relief with Portraits of Two Freedwomen." In *The Image of Augustus*, by S. Walker and A. Burnett, 43–6. *BMOP* 16. London: British Museum.
- Wartke, R.-B. 1991. "Palmyrenische Plastik im Vorderasiatischen Museum." *FuB* 31:67–100.
- Will, E. 1957. "Marchands et chefs de caravans à Palmyre." *Syria* 34:262–77.
- Woolf, G. 1998. *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Yon, J.-B. 1999. "La présence des notables dans l'espace périurbain à Palmyre." In *Construction, reproduction et représentation des patriciens urbains de l'Antiquité au XXe siècle*, edited by C. Petitfrère, 387–400. Tours: Université François Rabelais.
- . 2002. *Les notables de Palmyre*. *BAH Beyrouth* 163. Beirut: Institut Français d'Archéologie du Proche-Orient.
- . 2009. "Personnel religieux féminin au Proche-Orient hellénistique et romain." In *Femmes, cultures et sociétés dans les civilisations méditerranéennes et proche-orientales de l'Antiquité*, edited by F. Briquel-Chatonnet, S. Farès, B. Lion, and C. Michel, 197–214. *Topoi* Suppl. 10. Lyon: Maison de L'Orient Méditerranéen.
- Zouhdi, B. 1983. "La femme dans l'art de Palmyre." *DM* 1: 315–16.