

## A Two-Sided Mold and the Entrepreneurial Spirit of Pilgrimage Souvenir Production in Late Antique Syria–Palestine

*This article offers a new interpretation of a two-sided mold reportedly found near Jerusalem. It argues that the mold was used in the off-site manufacture of clay or soft-metallic souvenirs that could be sold to pilgrims at the cult sites themselves or further afield. It provides a reconsideration of the iconography of the mold, arguing that one side features the unique iconography of Aphrodite of Aphaca, whose shrine was reportedly destroyed under Constantine. It further asserts that the mold's other side depicts the angels at Mamre in a manner reflective of the site's cultic topography and designed to appeal to the diverse pagans, Jews, and Christians reported to have visited the site in the fourth century. It thus challenges previous interpreters who have seen the mold's Mamre image as exclusively Christian and argues that its divergent religious imagery reveals the economic motivation of pilgrimage souvenir manufacture. Based on the mold's depictions of Aphrodite of Aphaca and Mamre, the literary sources describing the sites, and the visual style of the mold, it contends the object should be dated between the early and mid-fourth century.*

Late antique pilgrimage souvenirs have received significant scholarly attention in the last half-century. Studies have tended to focus on object typology, the holy sites and biblical scenes depicted, and the religious meanings and ritual potency of the objects.<sup>1</sup> Less well understood are the methods and motivations for manufacturing and distributing such souvenirs.<sup>2</sup> However, a previously published two-sided mold sheds light on the commercial nature

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Grabar 1958; more recently, Vikan 2010, with bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> Frank 2008, 834, with n. 8, on the presumption of origins of pilgrimage goods, and the lack of evidence. Overview of the state of knowledge of pilgrimage souvenir production in Sodini 2011, 77–140, who notes the present study's two-sided mold at p. 83.

of pilgrimage souvenir production in ways that have not been appreciated. The mold indicates that in the fourth century, off-site workshops produced multiple types of pilgrimage souvenirs, depicting different religious sites, and designed to appeal to pilgrims from diverse and divergent religious traditions. In the case of this mold, it was designed to produce clay or metal goods with images of the angels at Mamre and goods depicting the mourning Aphrodite of Aphaca. Exclusive religious devotion to a single deity appears not to have been a motivating factor in the production of these goods. Rather, the purpose appears to have been the market-driven goal of manufacturing appealing products for the diverse pilgrim population of fourth-century Syria and Palestine.

### *Object Description*

The two-sided mold is made of limestone (3.5 cm thick, 14 cm diameter). It was first published by Frazer in Weitzmann's *Age of Spirituality*, a catalogue of items appearing in the synonymous 1977–1979 exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and it now resides at the University of Toronto Art Centre.<sup>3</sup> The mold is un-provenanced, but was reported in Weitzmann's publication to have been found near Jerusalem. As discussed below, the object is designed for molding products out of clay or a soft metal, rather than for stamping bread, which was previously assumed.<sup>4</sup> As seen below (Fig. 1), one side prominently features three men, identifiable as the angelic visitors to Abraham and Sarah at Mamre, as narrated in Genesis 18:1–15. The Mamre side of the mold is inscribed εἴλεως μοί οἱ ἄγγελοι, “May the angels look favorably upon me.” The invocation formula εἴλεως μοί is of polytheist pedigree and was used in the second and third centuries for Serapis and, in earlier centuries, for Zeus, Aphrodite, and other deities.<sup>5</sup> The other side of the mold features the seated goddess Ourania, wearing a starry robe and calathos (Fig. 2). Her head rests on her left hand, and four trees surround her chair. The goddess side of the mold contains an inscription stating δέχομε χαίρων τὴν Οὐρανίαν “Rejoicing, I welcome Ourania.” Iconographic and textual evidence, discussed below, demonstrates that Ourania is the mourning Aphrodite Ourania of Aphaca, whose sanctuary rested on Mt. Lebanon a day's distance inland from Byblos. The mold's letter forms are of types that were widely used in the Hellenistic, Roman, and late antique periods.

<sup>3</sup> M. Frazer 1979a.

<sup>4</sup> Frazer 1979b, 141 considers both uses a possibility.

<sup>5</sup> Serapis: *SEG* 31.663; *IDR* III, 3.400 (*SEG* 27.414); Zeus: *BCH* 7 (1883) 322, 52. Zeus and Aphrodite: *SEG* 30.1602.



*Fig. 1: Visitation at Mamre. Two-sided mold, Byzantine, fourth century, limestone, 13.8 cm diameter, Malcove Collection M82.271, Gift of Dr. Lillian Malcove to the University of Toronto, 1982 (courtesy of the University of Toronto Art Centre, photo by Toni Hafkenschaid).*



*Fig. 2: Aphrodite of Aphaca. Two-sided mold, Byzantine, 4th century, limestone, 13.8 cm diameter, Malcove Collection M82.271, Gift of Dr. Lillian Malcove to the University of Toronto, 1982 (courtesy of the University of Toronto Art Centre, photo by Toni Hafkenschaid).*

### *The Mold's Style and Date*

As argued below, the mold's subject matter and the historical circumstances of Aphaca and Mamre indicate that the mold probably dates between the early and mid-fourth century, and possibly to the late fourth century. Its style is consistent with such a date. Frazer summarized her consideration of the mold's date by stating that the style is "unlikely to be pre-Constantinian, but may well date from the fifth or early-sixth century."<sup>6</sup> This span of two hundred years is fairly broad, but additional considerations allow for greater precision. First, the style appears likely to be in the earlier part of Frazer's range when one considers that the mold lacks the overt Christian symbolism typically found on fifth- and sixth-century pilgrimage art produced in Syria and Palestine, where, for example, even the smallest souvenirs depicting the first Symeon the Stylite regularly feature crosses.<sup>7</sup> Second, the mold's arrangement of the angels at Mamre appears remarkably similar to depictions of the sons of Constantine on coins issued by Constans and Constantine II between 337 and 340.<sup>8</sup> Frazer briefly noted one such coin in her original publication of the mold, but the comparison warrants more attention here.<sup>9</sup>

The coins depict Constans or Constantine II on the obverse, and the reverse depicts the three successor-sons of Constantine, as in the example below (Fig. 3). The similarity between the coins' depictions of Constantine's sons and the mold's depiction of the angels at Mamre is striking and reveals the compatibility of the mold's style with a fourth-century date. As seen below, the figural arrangement of the sons of Constantine, their postures, the gesture of the central figure, and the folds of their clothing are quite similar to those found on the mold's depiction of the angels at Mamre. Thus, the mold's stylistic and compositional similarity to coins securely dated between 337 and 340, its general compatibility with fourth-century styles, and the lack of distinctively Christian symbols found on later products, in combination with the historical and literary evidence discussed below, indicate that the object most likely dates between the early and mid-fourth century.

<sup>6</sup> Frazer 1979b, 142.

<sup>7</sup> See Sodini 2011, 92–106 for examples of such Symeon tokens; 77–140 for frequency of distinctively Christian symbols on fifth–sixth-century products in general. Examples of similarly sized fifth–sixth-century products with distinctive Christian symbols, see Weitzmann 1979, nos. 524, 526, 527.

<sup>8</sup> Silver Four-Siliquae minted by Constans, *RIC* VIII.41; Gold solidus minted by Constantine II, *RIC* VIII.18a.

<sup>9</sup> Frazer 1979b, 137, noting Weitzmann 1979, 74, no. 63, an example of *RIC* VIII.41, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, that is nearly identical to the Berlin example, pictured below in fig. 3.



*Fig. 3: Silver multiple of four siliquae from the mint of Siscia, 337–340 CE (Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. 18200860, photo by Lutz-Jürgen Lübke).*

### *Purpose of the Mold*

Details in the design and shape of the mold indicate that it was most likely intended to manufacture clay or metal objects with the impression of either Aphrodite of Aphaca or the angels at Mamre rather than to stamp bread, which Frazer considered to be a possibility.<sup>10</sup> The intended purpose of the mold, while perhaps seeming of secondary importance to the mold's iconography, has significant implications for our understanding of the production and distribution of its products. If the mold were used to stamp bread, then it would necessarily have been used at or near the pilgrimage sites. More durable products could, however, be manufactured further from their intended destinations and then transported over long distances.

While granting that the mold could have been used in a way other than its designed purpose, such as for stamping bread, the mold is missing key features associated with bread stamps. Most obviously, the mold lacks a handle, which would make it ill-suited for pressing into dough.<sup>11</sup> Bread stamp handles appear to have been so important for ancient bread stamps that their absence is truly

<sup>10</sup> Frazer 1979a, 141; 1979b, 584. Also Gregg 2009, 112.

<sup>11</sup> My thanks to John McBryde, owner/baker of Prairie Thunder Bakery in Oklahoma City for discussing the mechanics of bread stamps with me. Opinions and conclusions in this study are my own.

exceptional. Indeed, even two-sided bread stamps tended to be made in an elongated, cylindrical form so that the other side could function as a handle.<sup>12</sup> A large, wide, flat, handle-less object like the Mamre/Aphaca mold would be difficult to press into and retrieve from bread dough. The raised outer lip of the mold, which causes the carved figures and inscriptions to be further recessed, would also make the object ill-suited for stamping dough. Bread stamps collected by Galavaris demonstrate the ways in which their designs were intended to make the stamped impression advance further into the bread dough, not recede from it. In contrast to our mold's raised outer lip, circular bread stamps typically feature a recessed outer edge, which allows the central design to imprint further into the bread.<sup>13</sup> While the raised lip of our mold would appear to make it ill-suited for bread stamping, it would seem to make it well suited for containing materials like clay that were pressed into it. The mold's lack of a handle and its consequent ability to lie flat would also serve such purpose well, as clay could be forced into the mold on a level surface.

Bread stamps that do not feature a recessed outer edge often display raised letters and intaglio carvings that allow the stamp to press its designs into the bread.<sup>14</sup> The Mamre/Aphaca mold is made in the opposite way, with figures carved into and further recessed into the mold, which would make it more difficult to stamp the design into bread. The recessed carving would, however, make the mold well suited for making medallions with raised letters and figures, such as the large (9.7 cm) token of St. Phocas found in Chersonesus and now in the Hermitage.<sup>15</sup> The mold is also made of limestone, which, while not unknown in bread stamps, is an unnecessarily durable and costly material for such a purpose, as evidenced by the quantities of terra cotta and wooden bread stamps that survive from antiquity.<sup>16</sup> Limestone is, however, well suited for molding clay, a purpose for which softer and porous materials like wood do not work well.<sup>17</sup> Thus, the shape, design, and material of the mold all point to its use in the molding of clay or metallic objects rather than its use as a bread stamp. As argued below, the use of the mold for manufacturing such durable and transportable objects helps to explain how the distinct iconographies of Aphaca and Mamre—two sites separated by ca. 360 kilometers—came to be carved on opposite sides of the same mold.

<sup>12</sup> See Galavaris 1970, 98 fig. 51 for example of elongated, cylindrical, two-sided bread stamp.

<sup>13</sup> Galavaris 1970, figs. 10, 14, 17, 18, 19, 23, 27, 28.

<sup>14</sup> Galavaris 1970, fig. 80.

<sup>15</sup> Vikan 2010, 21, fig. 7; Hermitage image and description available at <http://www.hermitage-museum.org>, search term: St. Phocas. Cf. Grabar 1958, pl. LVI, Bobbio medallion no. 4.

<sup>16</sup> For examples, see Galavaris 1970, *passim*, whose study collects far more terra cotta and wooden bread stamps than limestone ones, which would presumably have survived better.

<sup>17</sup> Galavaris 1970, 18.

### *The Iconography of Aphrodite Ourania at Aphaca*

The mold's veiled goddess with her cheek on her left hand belongs to a type of mourning goddess often termed simply the *dea lugens* and identified with Aphrodite or Astarte mourning the loss of Adonis. Frazer noted that the mold's depiction of the *dea lugens* most closely matches portrayals of Aphrodite of Aphaca on early third-century coinage of Caesarea in Lebanon (Arca Caesarea) and an undated stone carving from Qassuba (near Byblos), both of which depict a veiled goddess wearing a calathos with her cheek resting on her left hand (Fig. 4).<sup>18</sup>

Similar forms of the *dea lugens* also appear on metal leaf engravings found in other locations in Syria and an unprovenanced ring and lamp likely to come from coastal Syria.<sup>19</sup> In addition, the mourning goddess appears to be depicted in a relief sculpture at Ghine, between Aphaca and Byblos, where she is carved into a rock face overlooking the Adonis River as it descends from its source at Aphaca and flows towards the sea at Byblos. In this cliff-face representation, the female figure looks on, her face resting on her cheek, as a hunter with a spear challenges a wild animal, possibly a depiction of Adonis about to meet his tragic end.<sup>20</sup> The cluster of coins, sculpture, and artefacts around Aphaca all employing this particular manner of representing the mourning goddess (with features such as the hand on the left cheek, veil, and calathos) suggests that this was the standard means of depicting the form of Aphrodite worshipped at Aphaca, indicating a distinctive iconography for the site's goddess. As scholars have observed, the use and promotion of distinct iconographies for deities associated with pilgrimage centers is characteristic of Syria, Phoenicia, and Asia Minor in the second and third centuries.<sup>21</sup> The use of a standard, recognizable iconography for Aphrodite of Aphaca would appear to be no exception. The mold calls its goddess "Ourania," a title most commonly associated with Aphrodite, and according to Sozomen, the name used for Aphrodite at Aphaca.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the mold's use of such standard iconography along with the title "Ourania," which was used for Aphrodite at Aphaca, combine to produce a readily recognizable image.

<sup>18</sup> Frazer 1979b, 140, drawing on the work of du Mesnil du Buisson 1970 109–10. For a photo of the Qassuba relief sculpture see Soyez 1977, 32–33, pl. IX. Coins published in Hill 1910, 109, nos. 6–7 = Pl. XIII, nos. 7–8; and Pl. 41, no. 15, supplementary, not described in catalogue.

<sup>19</sup> See *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae (LIMC)*, vol. 3, 1078, s.v. Astarte, A.1 "Venus lugens."

<sup>20</sup> The relief sculpture is described by J. Frazer, 1914, 29–30. See also Seyrig 1940, 114–116, pl. XV, 1, who suggests that the relief could be a funeral monument inspired by the Adonis myth. Further discussion in Soyez 1977, 31–32, Pl. 4.

<sup>21</sup> Elsner 1997, 178–99; Butcher 2003, 336–42.

<sup>22</sup> Soz. *HE* 2.5.5.



Fig. 4: *Dea lugens*. (a) Coin of Caesarea (Arca) of Lebanon. Bust of Elagabalus (218–222 CE) on reverse; (b) Stone Carving from Qassuba. (images drawn by author after Ronzevalle 1930, pl. XXVI–XXVII, reprinted in du Mesnil du Buisson 1970, 110).

Literary sources also support the identification of the mold's image as Aphrodite of Aphaca. Praetextatus' speech in Macrobius' *Saturnalia* (430s) contains a description of Aphrodite of Aphaca that is particularly evocative of the image on the mold, the coins of Arca Caesarea, and the reliefs at Qassuba and Ghine.<sup>23</sup> The text states as follows:

On Mount Lebanon they fashion an image of Venus with a veiled head, sad expression, resting her face on her left hand behind her veil; her tears flow (they believe) when people look upon her. Beyond the fact that it represents a grieving goddess, as I said, this image also represents the earth in winter, when it is veiled in clouds, bereft of the sun, and paralyzed, when the springs that are, as it were, the earth's eyes flow more copiously, and when the fields, untilled and unadorned, are the picture of depression.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> On date, see Kaster 2011, xi–xxiv.

<sup>24</sup> Mac. Sat. 1.21.5: *Simulacrum huius deae in monte Libano fingitur capite obnupto, specie tristi, faciem manu laeva intra amictum sustinens; lacrimae visione conspicientium mandare credentur. quae imago, praeter quod lugentis est ut diximus deae, terrae quoque hiemalis est, quo tempore obnupta nubibus sole viduata stupet, fontesquae veluti terrae oculi uberius manant, agrique interim suo culto vidui maestam faciem sui monstrant.* Text and translation from Kaster 2011, 279–81.

Macrobius' Venus of Mt. Lebanon is known in other sources as Aphrodite of Aphaca, whose sanctuary was located in the mountainous slopes of Mt. Lebanon, near the source of the Adonis River, approximately ten kilometers from Byblos.<sup>25</sup> The veiled head, and more importantly, the distinctive posture of resting her head upon her hand, are easily recognizable on the mold. Here, Macrobius' speaker Praetextatus is telling the learned company gathered for the Saturnalia what appear to be the distinguishing, and perhaps widely known, features of the cult statue of Aphrodite at Aphaca.<sup>26</sup>

### *Aphaca and Its Annual Festival*

Literary sources describe the secluded, ancient, and wooded nature of Aphrodite's shrine at Aphaca. One of the earliest sources to describe the site is the second-century author Lucian, in his treatise on the Syrian Goddess. Lucian comments upon the distance of the site from Byblos, a city famous for its yearly mourning of Aphrodite's ill-fated lover, and Aphaca's mountainous placement, stating "I also went up from Byblos into [Mt.] Lebanon, a day's journey, having learnt that there was an ancient temple of Aphrodite there, which Cinyras had founded. I saw the temple, and it was ancient."<sup>27</sup> Lucian's description here corresponds to the known location of Aphaca and indicates that the site's location a day's journey from Byblos, and the north-south road that passed through that port city, would have made it an attractively secluded yet reachable pilgrimage destination.<sup>28</sup> Byblos and nearby cities no doubt profited from the traffic of religious travelers, like Lucian, which is probably one of the reasons why Arca Caesarea used the distinctive image of Aphrodite Aphactis on its coinage.

Writing in the early fourth century, Eusebius also describes the rural character of the shrine and its popularity—in this case as a way of justifying the site's destruction under Constantine. He states:

This [the shrine at Aphaca] was a grove and a precinct, not a city center, nor among squares and streets, such as frequently adorn the cities for decoration, but it was off the beaten track away from the main roads and junctions, founded for the hateful demon Aphrodite in a mountainous part of Lebanon at Aphaca. This was a school of vice for all dissolute persons and those who had corrupted their bodies with much indulgence. Womanish men, who were

<sup>25</sup> On the ancient names used for the site, see Lightfoot 2003, 328–329.

<sup>26</sup> On Macrobius' sources for Praetextatus' speech, see Liebeschuetz 1999, 197–200.

<sup>27</sup> Lucian. *Syr. D.* 8, trans. Lightfoot 2003, 253. See also Lightfoot 2003, 328–9, on the identification of this passage with Aphaca.

<sup>28</sup> For a pilgrimage route through Byblos, stopping at Arcas, Tripoli, and Beirut (*civitas Birito*) see *Itin. Burd.* 583.2–8 (Cuntz 1929, 94).

not men but had rejected the dignity of their nature, propitiated the sick with their effeminacy, and infamous practices went on at this shrine as in some lawless and ungoverned place. There was no one to find out what was being done because no respectable man dared set foot there. But what was practiced there could not escape the notice of the great emperor. Having observed even these things for himself with imperial forethought, he decided that such a shrine was not fit to see the sun's light, and ordered the whole to be entirely demolished, dedications and all.<sup>29</sup>

Eusebius' description of the practices at Aphaca should perhaps be taken with a grain of salt, as he simultaneously suggests that Aphaca was the scene of sexual debauchery and states that "no one was able to find out what was going on." The seclusion of the mountainous grove probably contributed to the rumors and speculation concerning the rituals and practices at Aphaca, but the placement of the shrine, a day's journey from Byblos, in a remote and wooded area of Mount Lebanon, appears to have contributed to the ritual power and distinctive nature of the shrine as well. The wooded character of the site, so strongly evoked in Eusebius' description, may help to explain the depiction of trees surrounding the goddess on the mold. Indeed, cypress trees similar to the trees on the mold are characteristic of the area.<sup>30</sup> Thus, the trees on the mold would have evoked the wooded shrine to which devotees of Aphrodite journeyed. Significantly, Eusebius' description also provides a possible *terminus ante quem* for the mold, as it is unlikely that a mold depicting Aphrodite of Aphaca would have been produced after the site was destroyed. However, as considered below, it is possible that Eusebius has exaggerated the extent and immediacy of the site's destruction and that Aphaca survived into the mid- to late fourth century.

In their subsequent histories, Socrates Scholasticus (ca. 439–43) and Sozomen (ca. 445) repeat Eusebius' assertion that Constantine destroyed the shrine

<sup>29</sup> Eus. VC 3.55.2–4 (Winkelman, GCS): ἄλσος δὲ τοῦτ' ἦν καὶ τέμενος, οὐκ ἐν μέσαις πόλεσιν οὐδ' ἐν ἀγοραῖς καὶ πλατείαις, ὅποια τὰ πολλὰ κόσμου χάριν ταῖς πόλεσι φιλοτιμεῖται, τὸ δ' ἦν ἔξω πάτου τριόδων τε καὶ λεωφόρων ἐκτὸς αἰσχυρῶ δαίμονι Ἀφροδίτης ἐν ἀκρωρείας μέρει τοῦ Λιβάνου τῆς ἐν Ἀφάκοις ἰδρυμένην. σχολή τις ἦν αὕτη κακοεργίας πάσιν ἀκολάστοις πολλῆ τε βραστώνη διεφθορόσι τὰ σώματα. γύννιδες γοῦν τινες ἄνδρες οὐκ ἄνδρες τὸ σεμνὸν τῆς φύσεως ἀπαρνησάμενοι θηλείᾳ νόσῳ τὴν δαίμονα ἰλεοῦντο, γυναικῶν τ' αὖ παράνομοι ὁμιλία κλεψίγαμοί τε φθοραί, ἄρρητοί τε καὶ ἐπίρρητοί πράξεις ὡς ἐν ἀνόμῳ καὶ [ἀπροστάτῃ] χώρῳ κατὰ τόνδε τὸν νεῶν ἐπεχειροῦντο. φῶρ τ' οὐδεὶς ἦν τῶν πραττομένων τῷ μηδένα σεμνῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτόθι τολμᾶν παριέναι. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν οἶά τ' ἦν τὰ τῆδε δρώμενα λανθάνειν, αὐτοπτήσας δὲ καὶ ταῦτα βασιλικῆ προμηθείᾳ οὐκ ἄξιον εἶναι ἡλίου ἀνγῶν τὸν τοιόνδε νεῶν ἔκρινεν, αὐτοῖς δ' ἀφιερῶμασιν ἐκ βάθρων τὸ πᾶν ἀφανισθῆναι κελεύει. Translation from Cameron and Hall 1999, 144–145. The passage is repeated nearly verbatim at Eus. LC 8.5–6.

<sup>30</sup> See du Mesnil du Buisson 1970, plates IX and X. In plate X, slender cypresses similar to those on the mold are clearly visible.

at Aphaca.<sup>31</sup> However, Sozomen's description of the shrine provides additional details not found in Eusebius or Socrates that enhance our understanding of the mold's representation of Aphrodite and the character of Aphrodite of Aphaca. According to Sozomen:

And at Aphaca, in accordance with a certain prayer and on a specified day, a fire shooting from the ridge of Mt. Lebanon like a star plunged into the adjacent river. And this was said to be Ourania, which is what they call Aphrodite.<sup>32</sup>

As noted above, Sozomen confirms that Aphrodite of Aphaca was called Ourania. Furthermore, the identification of a star-like fire on Mount Lebanon with Aphrodite Ourania may account for the single star that appears on the goddess' calathos and may partly explain the goddess' starry veil, although her starry veil could also be explained by the name Ourania itself. Sozomen's account is also revelatory concerning practices at Aphaca, stating that this phenomenon occurred on a certain day and in response to a certain prayer. This suggests that there was a periodic festival day at Aphaca on which the goddess was believed to respond to specific prayers by descending from Mount Lebanon and arriving at the nearby river, presumably the River Adonis, which originated near the site. The participants in the festival would surely welcome the arrival of the goddess, and this may help to explain the invocation on the mold, "Rejoicing, I welcome Ourania." The mold's products would have been particularly appropriate on such an occasion.

Zosimus, writing c. 500, reveals additional details about rituals at Aphaca and suggests additional contexts for the products of the mold. Zosimus states:

There is a place between Heliopolis and Byblos, Aphaca, where stands a shrine to Aphrodite Aphactis. Near it there is a pool similar to a man-made reservoir. Now around the temple and the area adjacent there appears a fire in the air after the manner of a torch or ball, whenever at stated times meetings are held in the place; and it has continued to appear right down to our own era. Those who appeared at the pool used to bring in honor of the goddess gifts fashioned of gold and silver, and in addition goods woven of flax and of linen and of other more costly material. And if these were seen to be acceptable, equal in weight with other pieces of cloth they would sink; but if unacceptable, and to be rejected, one might see them swimming above

<sup>31</sup> Soc. *HE* 1.18.10; Soz. *HE* 2.5. On date of Socrates' work, see Urbainczyk 1997, 19–20.

<sup>32</sup> Soz. *HE* 2.5.5 (Bidez and Hansen, *GCS*): ἐν Ἀφάκοις δὲ κατ' ἐπικλησίν τινα καὶ ῥητὴν ἡμέραν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρωρείας τοῦ Λιβάνου πῦρ διαίссον καθάπερ ἀστὴρ εἰς τὸν παρακείμενον ποταμὸν ἔδυνεν. ἔλεγον δὲ τοῦτο τὴν Οὐρανίαν εἶναι, ὡδὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην καλοῦντες. Here and elsewhere, translations are by the author unless otherwise noted.

the water, whether they were fabrics or whether they were made of gold and silver and other materials which by nature do not float on the water but submerge.<sup>33</sup>

The context of Zosimus' description is his account of Aurelian's defeat of Zenobia and the Palmyrenes in 273, whose offering at Aphaca had been rejected. Zosimus describes the celestial fire at Aphaca, stating that it "continued into his own day," which suggests that it was a natural phenomenon of some sort. Zosimus' "fire in the air" appears to be the same phenomenon that Sozomen describes as a "star shooting from the ridge of Mt. Lebanon." The two sources thus appear to describe an annual festival, timed to correspond with the appearance of the fiery phenomenon, when religious travelers would meet at the site to witness the manifestation of divine presence and, according to Zosimus, offer gifts to the goddess.

### *The Destruction of Aphaca and Its Implications for Dating the Mold*

As noted above, Eusebius indicates that devotees of Aphrodite met at Aphaca until its destruction under Constantine. Approximately a century later, Socrates (ca. 439–443) and Sozomen (ca. 445) repeat this claim in their histories. After Aphaca's destruction, pilgrimage to the site and the production and sale of souvenirs for devotees of Aphrodite Aphactis would presumably have declined or ceased. Thus, Eusebius' testimony indicates that the mold should date no later than first third of the fourth century. However, caution may be called for in accepting Eusebius' claims concerning the complete destruction of Aphaca under Constantine at face value. As Cameron and Hall have observed, immediately after Eusebius' description of the destruction of Aphaca, the text asserts that Constantine utterly destroyed the shrine of Asclepius at Aigai in Cilicia, a site that other late antique sources report continued to function into the age of Constantius II or Julian.<sup>34</sup> Thus, it appears

<sup>33</sup> Zos. 1.58 (Paschoud, *Budé*): Ἄφακα χωρίον ἐστὶν μέσον Ἡλιουπόλεως τε καὶ Βύβλου, καθ' ὃ ναὸς Ἀφροδίτης Ἀφακίτιδος ἴδρυται· τούτου πλησίον λίμνη τις ἔστιν εὐοικία χειροποιήτω δεξαμενῇ· κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἕρπον καὶ τοὺς πλησιάζοντας τόπους πῦρ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος λαμπάδος ἢ σφαιράς φαίνεται δίκην, συνόδων ἐν τῷ τόπῳ χρόνοις τακτοῖς γινομένων, ὅπερ καὶ μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐφαίνετο χρόνων. Ἐν δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ εἰς τιμὴν τῆς θεοῦ δῶρα προσέφερον οἱ συνιόντες ἕκ τε χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου πεποιημένα, καὶ ὑφάσματα μέντοι λίνου τε καὶ βύσσου καὶ ἄλλης ὕλης τιμιωτέρας· καὶ εἰ μὲν δεκτὰ ἐφάνη, παραπλησίως τοῖς βάρεσι καὶ τὰ ὑφάσματα κατεδύετο, εἰ δὲ ἄδεκτα καὶ ἀπόβλητα, αὐτὰ τε ἦν ἰδεῖν ἐπιπλέοντα τῷ ὕδατι τὰ ὑφάσματα καὶ εἴ τί περ ἦν ἐν χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ ὑφάσματα καὶ εἴ τί περ ἦν ἐν χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ ἄλλαις ὕλαις, αἷς φύσις οὐκ αἰωρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀλλὰ καταδύεσθαι. Translation adapted from Buchanan and Davis 1967, 35–36.

<sup>34</sup> Eus. *HE* 3.55.5–56.3; Cameron and Hall 1999, 301–5, referring to Zon. 13.12, who indicates that Aigai was functioning but despoiled prior to Julian and then partially restored under his rule,

possible that Aphaca, like Aigai, continued to function at some level into the 350s or 360s.

If, however, Aphaca continued to function as an Aphrodite shrine into the mid-fourth century, it seems unlikely that it survived much longer. Socrates' and Sozomen's repetition of Eusebius' claim that Constantine destroyed Aphaca suggests that the site had been abandoned or destroyed prior to the lifetimes of the two later historians. Sozomen in particular betrays his knowledge of the region elsewhere in his writings.<sup>35</sup> If Aphaca had survived into his own lifetime, it is unlikely that he would have attributed its destruction to Constantine. Thus, the affirmation of Eusebius' claim by Socrates and Sozomen indicates that if Aphaca did last into the mid-fourth century, the site did not survive much longer. In sum, Eusebius' description of Aphaca indicates that the mold dates no later than the reign of Constantine, but considerations of Eusebius' tendency to exaggerate Constantine's destruction of pagan shrines indicate that the mold could date to the 350s or 360s. However, the reports of Sozomen and Socrates concerning the destruction of Aphaca suggest that the mold should date no later than the late fourth century.

### *The Iconography of Ritual at Mamre*

The Mamre side of the mold portrays the angels and site in a manner consistent with descriptions of Mamre in the fourth century. The mold combines elements from the biblical visitation narrative from Genesis 18:1–15 with the cultic topography of the site, most prominently the Oak of Mamre, mentioned in fourth-century descriptions of the site, and a well that appears to have been the ritual focus at fourth-century Mamre.<sup>36</sup> The mold's Mamre depiction does not display any uniquely Christian symbols, such as the cross or haloes, or religious architecture, such as typically appear on fifth- and sixth-century Christian pilgrimage art of a similar size.<sup>37</sup> The mold's image focuses primarily on the three angels at the oak and secondarily on the hospitality of Abraham and Sarah, depicted in the exergue. The angels are depicted as men, as described in Genesis 18, without angelic attributes such as wings.<sup>38</sup> Genesis famously complicates the identity of the three men/angels at Mamre when it states at 18:1 that the "Lord" visited Abraham at Mamre, and at 18:13, when

---

and Libanius, who alludes to the restoration of the shrine by Julian, *Ep.* 727, 695, 1052.

<sup>35</sup> Soz. *HE* 3.14.21–28, where the author describes topographical details near Gaza; 5.15.13–15, where he discusses the flight of his grandfather to Bethleia during the reign of Julian.

<sup>36</sup> *Itin. Burd.* 599; Egeria, as re-told by Peter the Deacon, N1; Soz. *HE* 2.4.5.

<sup>37</sup> E.g. Palestinian ampullae like those found in Weitzmann, 1979, nos. 524, 526, 527 and the St. Philip bread stamp from Phrygia, no. 530.

<sup>38</sup> On non-winged angels, see Peers 2001, 23–25.

the Lord speaks to Abraham at Mamre in the context of the angels' visitation. This apparent equation of one of the visitors with the Lord led to a Christian tradition that understood one of the three as the pre-incarnate Christ—an interpretation expressed as early as Justin Martyr in the second century and advocated by Eusebius in the fourth century.<sup>39</sup> The slightly larger size of the central figure combined with his raised-hand gesture led Frazer to suggest that this figure was the “Lord” of Genesis, as identified in early Christian tradition.<sup>40</sup> As she noted, other late antique depictions of Mamre like those at Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome and San Vitale in Ravenna do indeed suggestively juxtapose the Mamre narrative with other biblical appearances of Christ in an apparent visual representation of the pre-incarnate Christ interpretation of the Lord at Mamre.<sup>41</sup> However the (admittedly smaller) scene on the mold does not contain such explicit Christological symbolism. Indeed, the raised-hand gesture of the central angel does not appear to be a speaking gesture when viewed alongside the pointing gestures of his angel companions.

Viewing the angels in the image together reveals that each of them points to a key feature of the site. The angel on the left points below to the depiction of the hospitality of Abraham and Sarah, which is the foundation story for the site; the angel on the right points to the Well of Abraham, which was the focus of ritual activity; and the central angel points to the Oak of Mamre, a focus of the site in Genesis 18 that was observed by fourth-century pilgrims and described by Jerome as surviving into the age of Constantius (337–361), during whose reign the Oak of Mamre apparently died.<sup>42</sup> The Oak, appropriately, is rooted in the lower scene with Abraham and Sarah and continues into the main scene with angels, thereby visually linking the site's biblical foundation story with the ongoing presence of the angels. The central angel's gesture to the Oak of Mamre, interpreted by Frazer as indicative of the mold's Christian character, upon reconsideration, is better understood as emphasizing the site's ritual and biblical topography.

The mold features what Frazer understood to be a birdcage hanging from the Oak of Mamre. The Genesis story of Mamre does not mention a birdcage, nor do any of the extant literary sources for late antique Mamre. Frazer contended that this birdcage was an esoteric and distinctively Christian symbol

<sup>39</sup> Just. Mart. *Dial. Trypho* 56. Eus. VC 3.53.3 (in a supposed letter of Constantine) and *Dem. Ev.* 5.9. 6–7. For other church fathers on Mamre, see Miller 1984, 43–95.

<sup>40</sup> Frazer 1979b, 137.

<sup>41</sup> Frazer 1979b, 137.

<sup>42</sup> Eus. *Dem. Ev.* 5.9.3, states that Abraham's tree is still there, noted in his *Onomasticon*, s.v. Arba, Drus Mambre. See also Jerome's *Onomasticon*, which notes under “Arba” that the Terebinth tree lived until the reign of Constantius, and Jer. *Ep.* 108.11.3 notes that Paula saw the remains of the tree. The Bordeaux pilgrim (ca. 333) reports seeing a tree, but Egeria (ca. 381) does not, seeming to confirm its mid-fourth century demise. The Piacenza Pilgrim (570s), sec. 30, refers to the site as the Oak of Mamre, suggesting that a new tree may have replaced the original.

that revealed the Christian character of the mold.<sup>43</sup> There are two problems with this argument. The first is that the birdcage can also function as a Jewish symbol in Late Antiquity. The second is that what Frazer understood to be a birdcage appears to be the well at Mamre, depicted here in the main scene with the angels, as well as in the exergue with Abraham and Sarah.

First, let us examine the meaning of the birdcage. Frazer's argument concerning the symbolism of the birdcage rested upon the studies of Grabar and Hjort, who discussed the motif of the birdcage in early Christian art, principally church mosaics, dating to the sixth century and afterwards.<sup>44</sup> Grabar demonstrated that in church mosaics the birdcage motif can symbolize the immortal soul engaged within the mortal body. However, the birdcage was not a uniquely Christian symbol, and Grabar's work, the very study cited by Frazer, showed that the birdcage motif could appear in non-Christian contexts. For example, Grabar discusses a birdcage that appears in a sixth-century synagogue mosaic from Palestine where, he argues, it symbolizes protection rather than a caged soul.<sup>45</sup> Additionally, as Hjort proposed, the birdcage may be a symbol of protection in a floor mosaic that probably dates to the fifth century found near the Damascus Gate in Jerusalem.<sup>46</sup> Thus, the birdcage does not have to be a Christian symbol of the engaged soul on the mold.

More importantly, this does not appear to be a birdcage at all. The object understood to be a birdcage is a visually similar but slightly larger version of the well depicted with Abraham and Sara below the angels. This is especially clear on clay impressions made by the mold (Fig. 5), and it is, of course, the impression of the image that most people would have seen, not the reversed-negative image on the mold itself. The mold's special emphasis on the well makes sense given the central role that the well played in ritual activity at Mamre, as discussed below. Thus, the mold does not focus on esoteric and mystical Christian symbolism and does not try to teach about the pre-incarnate Logos. Rather, the mold was designed to create souvenir objects that appealed to the site's diverse visitors through a straightforward presentation of its foundation story and its cultic topography.

The visitors to fourth-century Mamre were indeed diverse. Sozomen famously describes the visitors and rituals there prior to the Christianization of the site under Constantine between 323 and 333.<sup>47</sup> He states:

<sup>43</sup> Frazer 1979b, 137.

<sup>44</sup> Grabar 1966, 9–16; Hjort 1968: 21–32.

<sup>45</sup> Grabar 1966, 10–12, figs. 5–6.

<sup>46</sup> Hjort, 1968, 31, fig. 8.

<sup>47</sup> On the Christianization of Mamre, see Cline 2011, 105–118; Taylor 1993, 86–95. Accounts similar to Sozomen's, but without descriptions of rituals at the well, are found at Eusebius, *VC* 3.5.1.1–4 and Socrates Scholasticus *HE* 1.18.5–6.



*Fig. 5: Mold Impression of Angels at Mamre (Courtesy of the University of Toronto Art Centre, photo by Toni Hafkenscheid).*

And in this place [Mamre] even now, the locals as well as the Palestinians, Phoenicians, and Arabs hold a brilliant festival every year in the summer. And many come together, both merchants and customers, on account of the market. The festival is extremely popular with everyone, with the Jews because they take pride in Abraham as their patriarch, with the Hellenes because of the angels' presence there, and with the Christians because he who was born afterwards of a virgin for the salvation of mankind showed himself clearly to a pious man.<sup>48</sup>

Shortly afterward, Sozomen goes on to say:

For the place [Mamre] is unenclosed and under cultivation and does not have buildings except for those near the ancient tree of Abraham. And around the time of the festival no one drew water [from the well]. For, according to

<sup>48</sup> Soz. *HE* 2.4.2–3 (Bidez and Hansen, *GCS*): ἐνταῦθα δὲ λαμπρὰν εἰσέτι νῦν ἐτήσιον πανήγυριν ἄγουσιν ὥρα θεροῦς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ οἱ προσωτέρω Παλαιστῖνοι καὶ Φοίνικες καὶ Ἀράβιοι· συνίασι δὲ πλείστοι καὶ ἐμπορείας ἔνεκα πωλήσοντες καὶ ἀγοράσοντες. πᾶσι δὲ περισπούδαστος ἡ εορτή. Ἰουδαίοις μὲν καθότι πατριάρχην ἀνοχοῦσι τὸν Ἀβραάμ, Ἕλλησι δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐπιδημίαν τῶν ἀγγέλων, τοῖς δ' αὖ Χριστιανοῖς ὅτι καὶ τότε ἐπεφάνη τῷ εὐσεβεῖ ἀνδρὶ ὁ χρόνος ὕστερον ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου γένους διὰ τῆς παρθένου φανερώς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδείξας.

Hellenic custom, some placed burning lamps there, and others poured wine or threw in cakes, and still others threw in coins, myrrh, or incense.<sup>49</sup>

Excavations at Mamre have revealed the existence of a well containing numerous coins dating to the reign of Constantine and lamps dating from the fourth through sixth centuries.<sup>50</sup> Thus, Sozomen's description appears to be supported by the remains of the site.

The mold's particular depiction of Mamre fits well with Sozomen's description of the religious character of the site in the early fourth century. The site attracted a diverse group of visitors, and the mold's image of Mamre could appeal to all of them by focusing on the angels, the story of Abraham, and the site's ritual topography without including unique religious symbols that would alienate potential buyers of the mold's products. Sozomen describes people coming from all around to visit the yearly festival and market at Mamre. To commemorate such a trip, an image of Mamre's angels along with the features of the site, designed to appeal to a variety of religious visitors, would make an attractive object for merchants to sell and visitors to purchase.

### *Conclusion: Off-Site Manufacture and the Pairing of Divergent Images*

As the discussion above illustrates, objects with the impression of Mamre could be sold at the yearly festival at Mamre, described in our sources, and objects with the impression of Aphrodite of Aphaca could be sold to those who wished to welcome the arrival of the Ouranian goddess, celebrated at her seasonal festival at Aphaca. Of course, such objects could also have been sold in other cities and towns where the pious might acquire objects with such holy images. Assuming that the mold would have been used near either site or at some point in between, let us briefly examine the distances involved. The overland route between Aphaca and Mamre spanned over 360 kilometers and would have taken approximately fourteen days to travel; a similar route incorporating coastal travel by sea would have taken about five days.<sup>51</sup> This is

<sup>49</sup> Soz. *HE* 2.4.5 (Bidez and Hansen, *GCS*): αἶθριος γὰρ καὶ ἀρόσιμός ἐστιν ὁ χώρος καὶ οὐκ ἔχων οἰκήματα ἢ μόνον τὰ παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν δρῦν πάλαι τοῦ Ἀβραάμ γενόμενα καὶ τὸ φρέαρ τὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ κατασκευασθέν· περὶ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς πανηγύρεως οὐδεὶς ἐντεῦθεν ὑδρεύετο. νόμφ γὰρ Ἑλληνικῶ οἱ μὲν λύχνους ἡμμένους ἐνθάδε ἐτίθεσαν, οἱ δὲ οἶνον ἐπέχεον ἢ πόπανα ἔρριπτον, ἄλλοι δὲ νομίσματα ἢ μύρα ἢ θυμιάματα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ὡς γε εἰκός, ἀχρεῖον τὸ ὕδωρ ἐγένετο τῇ μετουσίᾳ τῶν ἐμβαλλομένων.

<sup>50</sup> Mader 1957, 151–64. Less detailed but more recent discussions of the well and contents in Appelbaum, 1975, 778; Magen 1993, 942; Tsafirir, Di Segni, and Green 1994, 177.

<sup>51</sup> Travel distances and times were estimated using Orbis: The Stanford Geospatial Network Model for the Roman World, at [www.orbis.stanford.edu](http://www.orbis.stanford.edu). Times are based on travel from Byblos to Eleutheropolis in June with one day added to the Byblos–Eleutheropolis route to approximate

a considerable distance to be sure, but such distances were a regular feature of regional trade in late Roman Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine.<sup>52</sup> The durable nature of the mold's intended products and the characteristics of trade in the region would have made the conveyance of the mold's products to their destinations feasible. The mold's ability to produce objects that appealed to a variety of pilgrims would have increased the potential profitability of such a regional enterprise.

Given the diversity of holy places in late Roman Syria and Palestine, however, one wonders why these two *particular* sites, separated by a considerable distance, would be paired on a single mold. Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* suggests at least one reason. In a seemingly odd coincidence, Eusebius nearly pairs the same two places when he discusses Aphaca following Mamre.<sup>53</sup> The amount of detail Eusebius devotes to the sites and their close textual proximity indicates that he considered Aphaca and Mamre to be two of the most prominent religious sites in early fourth-century Syria and Palestine. To illustrate this point, it is worth considering how the two sites appear in the text. Eusebius' description of Mamre concludes his list of major Constantinian building projects in the Holy Land, and, as he notes, work at Mamre involved converting a mixed pagan pilgrimage site into an exclusively Christian one.<sup>54</sup> Mamre's mixed pagan and Christian character then provides a logical transition for Eusebius to begin his descriptions of Constantine's assault on pagan treasures and destruction of two major pagan sites, starting with Aphaca and continuing on to Aigai in Cilicia.<sup>55</sup> Thus, it appears that Eusebius links Mamre and Aphaca because he considered them to be particularly significant and Constantine's actions there to be especially noteworthy. The significance of the two sites as indicated by Eusebius is suggestive of the reason for pairing them on a single mold. Although considerable geographic distance separates the two sites, the mutual regional prominence of Mamre and Aphaca likely made them a suitable pair in the eyes of a manufacturer intent on producing appealing souvenirs for large numbers of fourth-century pilgrims.

The design of the mold thus reveals the economic motivations for pilgrimage souvenir manufacture in the fourth century. In addition, the geographic separation of Mamre and Aphaca indicates that a workshop produced at least one of the mold's images (and perhaps both) away from the holy site it

---

travel from Aphaca to Mamre. Actual travel times could vary due to factors such as weather and road conditions.

<sup>52</sup> Butcher 2003, 186–88.

<sup>53</sup> Mamre: Eus. *HE* 2.51–53 and Aphaca: 2.55. The intervening section (2.54) concerns the removal of pagan valuables to Constantinople.

<sup>54</sup> Eus. *HE* 2.25–53.

<sup>55</sup> Eus. *HE* 2.54–56.

represented, providing evidence for off-site pilgrimage souvenir manufacture. In doing so, the mold contributes to a body of evidence from Alexandria and Qal'at Sem'an that suggests pilgrimage souvenirs did not have to be made at the pilgrimage sites themselves.<sup>56</sup>

But more than this, the Mamre/Aphaca mold provides evidence that a single manufacturer could produce objects commemorating holy figures associated with two distinct holy sites that were associated with divergent religious traditions. The mold could create objects featuring Aphrodite of Aphaca, the popular and widely recognizable goddess associated with a mountainous, woodland shrine in Phoenicia. The mold could also create objects depicting the appearance of the angels at Mamre in a manner that could appeal to pagans, Jews, and Christians—all of whom are reported to have frequented Mamre's annual festival in the early fourth century. While some religious authorities might have objected to the mold's combination of a pagan deity with biblical angels, the mold itself was not intended for liturgical use and such authorities may never have seen it. The mold was designed to create objects that would appeal to the Levant's religiously diverse visitors, and while it is impossible to know how successful its products were, its design reveals the entrepreneurial spirit of manufacturing pilgrimage goods in fourth-century Syria and Palestine.

*University of Oklahoma*  
*rangar.cline@ou.edu*

## References

- Appelbaum, S. 1975. "Mamre." In *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 3, edited by M. Avi-Yonah and E. Stern, 778. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Buchanan, J., and H. Davis. 1967. *Zosimus: Historia Nova*. San Antonio: Trinity University Press.
- Butcher, K. 2003. *Roman Syria and the Near East*. Los Angeles: Getty Publications.
- Cameron, A., and S. Hall. 1999. *Eusebius: Life of Constantine*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cline, R. 2011. *Ancient Angels: Conceptualizing Angeloi in the Roman Empire*. Leiden: Brill.
- Cuntz, O., ed. 1929. *Itineraria Romana*, vol. 1. Leipzig: Teubner.
- du Mesnil du Buisson, R. 1970. *Études sur les dieux phéniciens hérités par l'empire romain*. Leiden: Brill.

<sup>56</sup> On urban workshops for St. Menas flasks, see Haas 1997, 193–94. On off-site production at Qal'at Sem'an, see Sodini 2011, 131–37; Gerard et al. 1997, 9–24; Vikan 1991, 74–92.

- Elsner, J. 1997. "The Origins of the Icon: Pilgrimage, Religion, and Visual Culture in the Roman East as 'Resistance' to the Center." In *The Early Roman Empire in the East*, edited by S. Alcock, 178–199. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Frank, G. 2008. "Pilgrimage." In *Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, edited by S. Harvey and D. Hunter. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Frazer, M. 1979a. "Mold with Three Angels at Mamre." In *Age of Spirituality*, edited by K. Weitzmann, 583–584. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- . 1979b. "Syncretistic Pilgrim's Mold from Mamre (?)." *Gesta* 18: 137–45.
- Frazer, J. 1914. *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, vol. 5.1, Adonis, Attis, Osiris. New York: Macmillan.
- Galavaris, G. 1970. *Bread and the Liturgy: The Symbolism of Early Christian and Byzantine Bread Stamps*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Gerard, M., et al. 1997. "Argiles et eulogies en forme de jetons: Qal'at Sem'an en est-il une source possible." In *Materials Analysis of Byzantine Pottery*, edited by H. Maguire, 9–14, illustrations 1–23. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks.
- Grabar, A. 1958. *Ampoules de Terre Sainte*. Paris: C. Klincksieck.
- . 1966. "Un thème de de l'iconographie chrétienne: L'oiseau dans la cage." *Cahiers archéologiques* 16: 9–16.
- Gregg, R. C. 2009. "A Pagan and Christian 5th–6th Century Bread Mould?" In *Studies on Patristic Texts and Archaeology*, edited by G. Kalantzis and T. F. Martin, 111–62. Lewiston, Queenston, and Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Haas, C. 1997. *Alexandria in Late Antiquity: Topography and Social Conflict*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Hill, G. F. 1910. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phoenicia*. London: British Museum.
- Hjort, Ø. 1968. "L'oiseau dans la cage: Exemples médiévaux à Rome." *Cahiers archéologiques* 18: 21–32.
- Kaster, R. 2011. *Macrobius: Saturnalia*, Books 1–2. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Liebeschuetz, W. 1999. "The Significance of the Speech of Praetextatus." In *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity*, edited by P. Athanassiadi and M. Frede, 185–205. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lightfoot, J. L. 2003. *Lucian: On the Syrian Goddess*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mader, E. 1957. *Mambre: Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen im heiligen Bezirk Ramet el Halil in Südpalästina 1926–1928*. Freiburg: Erich Wewel.
- Magen, I. 1993. "Mamre." In *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 3, edited by E. Stern et al., 942. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Miller, W. 1984. *Mysterious Encounters at Mamre and Jabok*. Chico: Scholars Press.
- Peers, G. 2001. *Subtle Bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Ronzevalle, S. 1930. "Notes et études d'archéologie orientale. Venus lugens et Adonis Byblius." *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 15: 139–204.
- Seyrig, H. 1940. "Antiquités syriennes." *Syria* 21: 113–22.

- Sodini, J.-P. 2011. "La terre des semelles: Images pieuses ramenées par les pèlerins des Lieux saints." *Journal des Savants*: 77–140.
- Soyez, B. 1977. *Byblos et la fête des Adonies*. Leiden: Brill.
- Taylor, J. E. 1993. *Christians and the Holy Places*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Tsafrir, Y., L. Di Segni, and J. Green. 1994. "Mamre." In *Tabula Imperii Romani: Iudaea Palestina*, 177. Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities.
- Urbainczyk, T. 1997. *Socrates of Constantinople: Historian of Church and State*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Vikan, G. 1991. "Guided by Land and Sea." *Tesserae: Festschrift für Josef Engemann*. Münster: Aschendorff, 74–92. Reprinted in G. Vikan. 2003. *Sacred Images and Sacred Power*. London: Ashgate.
- . 2010. *Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*, rev. ed. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks.
- Weitzmann, K., ed. 1979. *Age of Spirituality*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.