

THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS

THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.

(PLATES 80–83)

AS we have seen in the previous articles of this series, Athens during the 3rd century B.C. produced an abundance of figurines of which the Agora excavations obtained a fair, if fragmentary, sampling. For the coroplastic work of the 2nd century, we have not discovered so much material nor so much chronological evidence. This period was evidently not very productive. The groups of terracottas which we have studied above (pp. 276–292), the Komos Cistern and Group C, moreover, did not end neatly with the end of the 3rd preChristian century, but they evidently included a certain amount that must be dated within the next half-century. The line of demarcation is vague between work of the latest 3rd century and of the earlier 2nd century. Similarly, at the other end, the natural limit of chronological grouping falls not at 100 B.C. but at 86 B.C. when the sack of Athens by Sulla filled wells and cisterns with destruction debris. This discussion is therefore devoted to the period *ca.* 200–86 B.C. and will be divided into three sections.

PART IV: THE EARLY SECOND CENTURY ¹

CONTEXTS

To form a proper transition between the Komos Cistern and the material that is definitely to be dated up to the mid 2nd century, we shall begin with a deposit K 18:2, which like the Komos Cistern contains many 3rd century terracottas and a few that apparently go down to *ca.* 180 B.C. This deposit also contained a “Tarentine” Altar which was previously published in connection with altars from the Satyr Cistern.²

We shall then consider various other characteristic pieces from contexts of which the dating is reasonably certain. The total contexts in which many of these pieces occur are not worthy of study as a whole for various reasons. Either the number of terracottas may be too small, or the figurines may be too fragmentary, or the contents may include too many moulds of large plaques or masks to tell us much about the development of figurine types. The details of the contexts of these miscellaneous pieces is given in a deposit list (below, p. 317). Since no one group is large, we shall treat this series of terracottas as a whole, cataloguing them by types and entering the provenience under each item in the Catalogue.

It might reasonably be expected that our study of this period could draw evidence

¹ In this article all the photographs (except one from the British Museum) are by Alison Frantz.

² *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 259 f., pl. 91.

from the large quantity of figurines that was found in the construction fillings of the wide-flung building operations of the mid 2nd century in the Agora. Unfortunately, surveys of the pottery, lamps, coins and stamped amphora handles discovered in these fillings have revealed that much of the material was very old when it was discarded. Most of the figurines found in these contexts are also of indubitably early types and techniques. The lowest date possible for the latest filling in the complex of Hellenistic Stoas that was built during this period must be the death of Attalos II of Pergamon, in 139 B.C.³ We may therefore regard *ca.* 150 B.C. as the lowest probable date for the manufacture of figurines from these fillings. A few refinements on these dates will be found in the chronological list of contexts.⁴

TECHNIQUE

In this selection, if we regard fabric and technique alone, we find considerable variety. The variety is due not so much to the transitional character of early 2nd century work as to the fact that the deposits listed contained pieces of decidedly earlier date than the latest objects in those contexts. Our evidence dates only the latest possible time for manufacture. Often the manufacture of a piece must have been much earlier. These studies therefore may seem confused by earlier styles, but considering our ignorance of chronology, it is more honest to include these old discards along with those pieces of a style more prevalent at the given date.

One head (Group D, **D1**), though well preserved, is comparable with the work of the early 3rd century and technically unlike any other piece in this series. Several other pieces show fabric characteristic of that found in the Komos Cistern.

Others (Nos. **1,4**) are made of clear buff clay, hard baked and brittle like one in the Komos Cistern (No. 14).⁵ It is more tan in color in Nos. **7, 8, 12, 13, 14**. We shall find various reasons, besides their similarity to work in the Komos Cistern, to place these in the later 3rd century or early 2nd century. The buff-tan clay becomes pinker and even light red in what appear to be later pieces (Nos. **1-3, 11, 15, 16, 17**). All the evidence points to the existence of this fabric *ca.* 200-180 B.C., but just how long it prevailed cannot be said. It is hard and micaceous, apparently just a later variant of the hard tan-buff clay. But with the pale "blond" clay⁶ that shows no red and very little mica, the fabric becomes less hard, till by the later part of the century it is no better baked than in the 4th century. As we saw in the study on the Komos Cistern, this "blond" fabric is completely novel in Attic ceramics and coroplastics. At the moment, we can only speculate on the reasons for its adoption. The pieces of this

³ For the most recent dating, H. A. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora*², Athens, 1962, pp. 81, 101, 106.

⁴ Below p. 317.

⁵ Cf. also *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 186, figs. 2, 3, T 46 and T 55 found with stamped amphora handles dated by Miss Grace (1962) in the early 2nd century.

⁶ First appearance in the Komos Cistern, above, p. 277.

fabric that we shall discuss are obviously the latest in our series (Nos. **6**, **10**, **18**, **19**, **21**, Group D, **D 2**).

One head (No. **20**) is of a strange orange-colored sandy fabric with a gray core, and full of bits; it is surely not Attic, as we shall show.

These figures have, where preserved, in all but one case (No. **2**), the rectangular vent that is most characteristic of "Tanagras." We may assume then that the rectangular vent continued in Athens well through the 3rd century. The preserved backs are unworked. This is also true of most of the heads. Only a little color survives: madder pink on Nos. **10** and **12** and on Group D, **D 3**. Brownish red is the usual hair color and a sun-tan or an orange-red appears on the male flesh as in earlier generations.

This group of figures is particularly interesting for the abundance of added plastic detail. Ornaments and attributes had previously always been modelled separately and attached before baking, but the addition of large sections of hair or areas of drapery first becomes a technical mannerism in the later 3rd century. It is strikingly elaborate on our Nos. **4** and **5** and on the heads, Nos. **14-17**. On the figures (Nos. **4**, **5**) strips of clay had been applied to the mouldmade cast and then worked over in order to give the appearance of a hand-modelled piece. The hair was often very plastically rendered, as on Nos. **14-17**, although the features were often left without retouching. The crisp detail given nostrils, lips and chin in the earlier phase (as on No. **14**) are by the mid 2nd century left dull. With the eyes thus blurred, the features soft and expressionless, the face becomes blank within a rococo setting.

DRAPED FIGURES: Nos. **1-13**

In this limited selection of pieces, only draped fragments and heads are worth discussing. Nude figures of this period are rarer and not sufficiently well dated to warrant close study. This selection also omits unusual subjects.

The insignificant little figures, Nos. **1-3**, are of considerable interest for the history of Athenian coroplastic style. They are obviously descendants of types that originated in Athens in the third quarter of the 4th century and that soon became diffused all over the Greek world.⁷ The archetypes of Nos. **1-2** have a height only of *ca.* 8 cm. and are made of a thin soft, pale buff fabric, bearing a tall rectangular vent, all characteristic of their age. The chubby arms and body of the child and the fine folds of her chiton are well rendered, even on burned examples from the Sanctuary on the Pnyx⁸ (Pl. 80). Our Agora pieces form excellent paradigms for the development of the 4th century type in the next hundred years or so. Our No. **1** retains the original measurements, but the mould type (this surely is not from the actual mould in which the Pnyx examples were cast) has grown very dull so that the drapery

⁷ TK, II, p. 123, 5, 6; *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 118 and note 12 (3); J. Sieveking, *Terrakotten und Bronzen der Sammlung Loeb*, Munich, 1930, pl. 12,2. H. 9 cm.

⁸ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 172, fig. 18, e¹, e².

scarcely shows. The coroplast has carelessly accented the neck-line to redeem the dullness. To enliven the figure, the child has been made to hold something, apparently an animal facing to her right. The technique of this piece reveals its later date. The color is a strong golden buff, exactly like that of our No. 4; the fabric is thick and baked hard. This fabric, as we noted above, belongs to the later part of the 3rd century. In this piece, then, we have valuable evidence that such types were repeated with increasing carelessness but with no distortion for a full hundred years.

No. 2 takes the development still further. It has not only shrunk somewhat in height, but even more in width, growing slender, as is the usual result in a series from self-renewing moulds.⁹ To judge from the measurements, we have a revision of the old mould, in which the lower part has maintained about the same height, but the upper part has been remodelled, with the right hand resting at the waist; the body above the knees has shrunk. The surface of this specimen is even duller than on No. 1; the depth has also dwindled. Since No. 2 was found in the footing trench for the walls of the Stoa of Attalos, we must date it sometime before *ca.* 150, but, to judge from its fabric, not so late as 150. It probably represents a generation or two after our No. 1 and shows how in 30 years or a little more the type which had survived virtually intact for over a century becomes stunted.

This degeneration of early "Tanagra types" is also vividly illustrated by No. 3. It comes from a stratum deposited at least as late as the third quarter of the 3rd century. Its light pinkish buff clay is not far from that of No. 1; the back and fabric are also similar. It shows an old woman holding a baby in her arms; he tugs at the neck of her dress. We would give this dull piece only a passing glance, were the archetype not known. It occurs in many copies, mostly from Tanagra,¹⁰ of which examples from the British Museum (Pl. 80) and from the excavations of the Greek Archaeological Society now in the National Museum¹¹ give the details in all their humorous vigor. The bent old woman, whose stocky frame, heavy face, and short curly hair mark her as a foreign slave, affectionately holds her naked charge. The simple folds of her ample dress are reminiscent of those on figures from the Coroplast's Dump.¹² The clay and technique of both the British and National Museum pieces are unmistakably Athenian and must stand among the earliest of those finely conceived renderings of theatrical characters that were created in the third quarter of the 4th century. She is right out of the pages of Menander. Our fragment is a sorry descendant of this splendid ancestor. Repetition has not altered a single detail, but all

⁹ Cf. E. Jastrow, "Abformung und Typenwandel in der antiken Tonplastik," *Opus. Arch.*, II, 1941, pp. 21-25.

¹⁰ Cf. *TK*, II, p. 461, 7; of these *g* is almost completely modern.

¹¹ British Museum, 1911, 4-16 1; H. 13.7 cm. Photograph by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. Athens, National Museum, No. 4089, H. 14 cm.; clay reddish buff; no vent; for illustration see *Enciclopedia Italiana d'Arte antica*, s.v. Tanagra.

¹² *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 33, No. 15.

the virtue has gone out of the conception. The old woman no longer bends in her effective pose; she is a drab echo of her former self. No coroplast attempted to recast or revivify the traditional figure. Like the other type, the seated girl, it no longer interested people.

As the classical tradition in the coroplasts' shops was slowly expiring, a new style was beginning. This might be called the "additive" style because, as has been mentioned in our discussion of technique, it depends for its effects on the addition of plastic detail. This style is well exemplified by our No. 4, which comes from a mid 2nd century context. That the basic figure was mouldmade is clear at the breaks. To this figure the coroplast added fresh strips of clay that he worked to give a sharp, plastic quality to the drapery. These portions include the overfold with its scalloped edge and the roll of drapery around the hips. A telltale transition between the supplementary roll and the moulded vertical folds of the himation reveals the difficulties of amalgamation that often betray the technique. The original folds do not emerge with conviction from the rolled edge, and bits of superfluous clay survive to indicate the reworking of the surface. This piece has interesting parallels. We see in simpler dancing figures¹³ the amusing scalloped edge of the overfold. This rare detail occurs in a marble relief¹⁴ which has a plastic spirit more like that of our fragment. It probably dates in the late 3rd century. Major sculpture of that time shows an interest in overlapping masses of drapery worked in intense, but not very rich masses, as, for example, on the Menelaos and Patroklos group or on the Penthesileia in Rome.¹⁵ Were our figure complete, we might be able to make further fruitful comparisons, but with so little, it is possible only to comment on the close relations between clay and sculpture at this period.

A little more advanced in style is a vigorous torso, presumably representing Artemis (No. 5). The type occurs at Priene.¹⁶ Our piece was taken from a mould, but only the chiton with its belt remains in as shallow modelling as on a piece from the Satyr Cistern.¹⁷ The long side fold, the baldric, the chlamys rolled round the hips, and the section of the overlap below it have all been added and detailed by hand. To unite old and new the graver has accented two folds, to give continuity with those above the roll. Beneath the overfold, we can see the original fine folds of the chiton. The style of the retouched areas is slap-dash, with grooved rather than modelled shadows. An even more mechanical example of the style with unassimilated sidefolds

¹³ M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York, 1961, figs. 551, 553.

¹⁴ R. Horn, *Stehende weibliche Gewandstatuen in der hellenistischen Plastik*, Munich, 1931, pl. 13, 2, p. 46.

¹⁵ Bieber, *Hell. Sculpt.*, figs. 274, 278; cf. the Doris on the Pergamon Altar, fig. 467, for the further development of this motif.

¹⁶ T. Wiegand, H. Schrader, *Priene*, p. 335, fig. 375.

¹⁷ *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pl. 88, No. 5.

occurs in a pre-Mummian context in Corinth.¹⁸ The coroplast has also left flecks of adhesive and dabs of clay on the surface, an impressionistic technique observable in other Agora figures of the same period.¹⁹ Stylistically, we see a somewhat similar spirit on the Pergamon Altar. Artemis and Dionysos²⁰ both wear deeply shadowed flying edges of drapery or thick rolls around the hips. The looping up of the end of the chlamys is logical when it is bound tight about a nude abdomen, as on Eros and on a bronze negro in the Metropolitan Museum.²¹ Here it is purely ornamental and would not, as shown, long remain in place on a striding figure. This baroque taste presages the arbitrary over-elaboration in marble on the Nike akroterion from Samothrace.²² Two examples of one type from the Agora (Nos. 6, 7) of about the same period form an interesting contrast. The larger (No. 6) must have stood *ca.* 25 cm. in height; the smaller (No. 7), scarcely 7 cm. They both represent a woman, possibly a Muse, wearing a close-fitting chiton beneath a heavy himation, which is dropped down low on her hips. The artistic theme is derived from earlier prototypes in which a slim nude body rises from a calyx of drapery.²³ This old theme, frequently repeated during the 3rd century, is here recast. Instead of being composed of two contrasting elements, the lower heavily draped, the upper almost nude, the figure (as seen at least on No. 7) is broken into three parts by the emphasis on the overfold of the himation. Weight is created at the bottom by spreading the folds. The theme was also treated by contrasting the areas not only by texture, but also by setting them at angles to each other, as on a terracotta in the Metropolitan Museum.²⁴ Later, this horizontal emphasis shifts to a vertical movement, in which the elongation of the figure draws upward the line of the roll of drapery. This sequence is well illustrated by R. Horn, in a series beginning with a terracotta from Myrina of *ca.* 180 B.C. and extending through the 2nd century to a long-drawn-out statue in Leiden.²⁵

Stylistically, No. 7 fits into this sequence not far from the Myrina example cited above. It is composed on a broad base and is rather like the ponderous, if much more elaborate, larger figurines and statues of the 2nd century.²⁶ This tiny echo may

¹⁸ *Corinth*, XII, pl. 22, No. 256.

¹⁹ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 186, fig. 2, T 46, T 55. The filling in which these pieces were found dates in the early 2nd century. See above p. 302, note 5.

²⁰ Bieber, *Hell. Sculpt.*, figs. 463, 468.

²¹ *Ibid.*, fig. 380.

²² *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 128, pl. XXV; K. Lehmann Samothrace, *A Guide to the Excavations and the Museum*², Locust Valley, New York, 1960, p. 91, fig. 46; Phyllis Williams Lehmann, *The Pedimental Sculptures of the Hieron in Samothrace*, Locust Valley, 1962, figs. 44, 51. The example in Vienna from the earlier excavations seems to me also very close in style.

²³ *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pl. 26, No. 7.

²⁴ Bieber, *Hell. Sculpt.*, fig. 602.

²⁵ Horn, *op. cit.*, p. 85, pl. 30, 2 to pl. 31, 3; cf. Bieber, *op. cit.*, figs. 674, 711.

²⁶ *Figurines*: TK II, p. 86; *Priene*, p. 351, fig. 416 has recently been dated earlier than previously by the reconsideration of the burning of its context, which Kleiner, *R.E.*, Suppl. IX, 1960, s.v. Priene, col. 39, considers probably took place *ca.* 155 B.C. My previous dating of 2nd century

indeed have been made sometime after its prototypes, but it gives a clear-cut version of a type characteristic of Asia Minor. It is interesting to find it purely reproduced in Athens. The fabric supports our suggestion that this piece falls before *ca.* 170 B.C. Another such miniature was found in the Agora²⁷ and one closely similar at Abdera.²⁸ It is interesting to compare the stance and construction of our type with those of the Nike akroterion of Samothrace.²⁹ On this statue the theme is elaborated: the torso is even taller and leaner; the wide curtain of drapery around the legs is more fantastic; the spirit is purely baroque. On our miniature, the coroplast has retained the human structure, which, though unduly elongated and markedly slouching, yet retains something of the willowy elegance of the original conception.

The fragment (No. 6) must have originally represented a more careful version of the same type. The torso is also elongated, but more erect than on the miniature. The breasts are equally high-set and diminutive. The torso is rendered in full beneath the light veil of the chiton—a strong, muscular body, well felt by a competent coroplast. In contrast with the richly developed texture of an even more sculptural example from Delos,³⁰ the handling of the drapery is reminiscent of the very simple style of the earlier 3rd century. But the conventional roll around the hips is not far from examples in the Komos Cistern (Nos. 4 and 16).³¹ The fabric of No. 6 is of gray-blond clay and the context also implies a date in the earlier 2nd century.

The lower part of a dancing figure (No. 8) was found in a similar filling. It is harder fired than the preceding piece and the color of the clay is tan, like that of late 3rd century examples.³² It is unusual in showing a faint transparency of the himation on the left side of the figure. The folds are wiry and widely spaced, accented by the graver which, however, neglected to carry them out to the hem.

This type has a long history, which presumably found its finest expression in bronzes, like the Baker Dancer.³³ Our example is built up on a central axis, from which the skirts draw the movement slowly backward, a type well represented by various examples of the 3rd century.³⁴ It can be dated in the latter part of that century by its

material, which was based on the earlier assumption that the Priene context should be placed *ca.* 125 B.C., is therefore too late. Recent study of other material also tends to confirm the dating at the mid 2nd century. *Statues*: Bieber, *Hell. Sculpt.* figs. 512, 514, 515; Horn, *op. cit.*, pls. 29, 31 etc.

²⁷ T 1952, from a Byzantine context.

²⁸ D. I. Lazarides, *Πήλινα Εἰδώλια Ἀβδηρῶν*, Athens, 1960, pl. 10, B 46 (probably dated, like much of the Abdera material, on now antiquated assumptions; see above, note 26).

²⁹ See above, note 22.

³⁰ *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 67, No. 663.

³¹ Above, pp. 283-284, pl. 74.

³² Above, pp. 277, 288, 289, Nos. 8, 9, 13, 14.

³³ *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, pp. 374-377; figs. 1-3. Our No. 8 is shown in fig. 10. The provenience given on p. 379 in note 29 should be altered to read: "South Stoa II, South Foundation, to *ca.* 160 B.C." The date assigned this piece, *ibid.*, p. 379, is too late; cf. above, note 26.

³⁴ *TK*, II, p. 150, 2, 6, 10; p. 151, 4, 5; *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 63, No. 634. Lazaridis, *Abdera*, pl. 22, B 85.

resemblance to certain figures on the oinochoai of Ptolemy IV.³⁵ Its hard fabric and incisive style accord well with that date. The gradual loss of spiral movement that ultimately results in the "einansichtige" figure by the coroplast Nikostratos³⁶ is not very far away.

The trend is made evident by a later version of this theme, our No. 9. The general scheme of folds is similar on the two figurines, but No. 8 is a smaller and duller cast, rather mechanical in execution. This dancer raises her right hand to cover her chin, as on the Baker Dancer and in a series of variants from Abdera.³⁷ The fact that she was winged seems to have no especial significance, as one type can appear in both forms.³⁸ The Dionysiac fillet hanging across her forehead presumably links her with the thiasos of that god. The wide-open eyes and the hard finish not only suggest metal-work, but warn us against placing the piece among the first members of the type. These details, taken in conjunction with the character of the fabric (which is like that of No. 2), point to a date not far from the mid 2nd century.

A minor variant of the theme (No. 10) comes from a deposit that, according to its stamped amphora handles, does not go down later than *ca.* 180 B.C. (Deposit M 18:10). This fragment is surprisingly advanced toward composition in the late "single view" manner, but it is not yet so spread out as an example from Delos.³⁹ Our fragment is made of a dull blond clay like several pieces in the Komos Cistern, and its commonplace character are reminiscent of the small dancer, No. 15, from that same context.⁴⁰ No. 10 carries a step further the trend that we noted in Nos. 2 and 3. These were degenerations of early types, whereas No. 10 is a recasting of an old type in a commercial replica. The rectangular vent and the low base of older days still survive, but the rigid folds and the awkward movement ally it rather with the academic echoes of good conceptions that grow more prevalent during the course of the 2nd century.

A large semi-draped fragment (No. 11) from the same deposit as our small dancer (No. 10) invites comparison with Nos. 6 and 7. Essentially, it shows the same theme, but in this case the torso is nude. What is preserved is less well modelled than on No. 6. The scale of this figure is about the same as that of No. 6, but the fabric is hard and mottled tan to red, as on No. 7. The type is that of the famous Aphrodite of Arles or, more precisely, terracotta renderings of that goddess like that from Abdera.⁴¹ The large surfaces and careful but conventional zigzags of drapery

³⁵ Cf. Bieber, *Hell. Sculpt.*, figs. 357 f. The head on the vase is wrongly restored.

³⁶ TK, II, p. 151, 6; G. Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren*, Berlin, 1942, p. 94, pl. 42b.

³⁷ Lazaridis, *Abdera*, pl. 21, B 87; pl. 22, B 85, 86.

³⁸ E.g. TK, II, p. 157; cf. Troy, *Supplementary Monograph 3, The Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period*, Princeton, 1963, pp. 100 f.

³⁹ *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 64, No. 648.

⁴⁰ Above, pp. 282-283, pl. 74.

⁴¹ G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, New Haven, 1950, fig. 685; cf. Lazaridis, *Abdera*, pl. 16, A 33.

at the side betray a growing academicism. The figure comes from a soundly modelled archetype, but its coroplast did not work lovingly over the surface as on earlier pieces. The sparkling improvisation of our Artemis (No. 5) has been replaced by a formal correct manner. This is a veritable school piece; it lacks the freshness of the example from Abdera. Our example therefore seems to fall in the mid 2nd century.

No. 12 is a simplified version of this same type. The arm is clumsier, the vigorous zigzag of the hanging fold has been reduced to a serpentine edge that winds its way in and out of elongated hollows. The fabric, however, seems not to date very much later. This piece is just another step in the degeneration of the type. The final stage is vividly illustrated by No. 13. It was found in a disturbed late context, but its soft blond fabric certainly places it later than the two preceding examples. The flaccid body is definitely plump. Most startling is the chaotic treatment of the drapery, which looks more like the convolutions of brain tissue than like the folds of a textile. It is absurd, but it is inventive, not academic. Something of the same trend from naturalism to fantasy is also visible in the folds of a series of Nikai from Myrina.⁴²

HEADS: Nos. 14-21.

Several heads were also found in the same deposits. These can be considered as characteristic of various stages of the development of Hellenistic facial types.

First, we must mention a childish head (**D 1**) from Group D, which was closed very near the middle of the 2nd century. The two heads from this deposit differ so markedly that we are driven to the conclusion that their date of manufacture must have been widely separated. One (**D 1**) is well preserved; it represents a round-faced girl whose general facial type is like that of the heads of Chatby⁴³ and close to one from the Agora.⁴⁴ The latter parallel itself resembles several less detailed heads from the Altar Well and even Group B.⁴⁵ The following earmarks appear on all: clear cut features, open eyes with defined lids, hair in a deeply-cleft part, with lively retouching, drawn over the ears to a small added knot at the nape. No side curls are applied. The crown of the head is high and well shaped at the back. All these elements belong to the typical "Tanagras" of the early 3rd century.⁴⁶ Confirmation of this dating is found in the reddish buff color of the clay that is at home among the terracottas of the Satyr Cistern.⁴⁷ In the Komos Cistern, however, it occurs in only three pieces.⁴⁸ Since

⁴² Cf. D. Burr, *Terracottas from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Vienna, 1934, pls. XXIX f., Nos. 72-75.

⁴³ E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, Cairo, 1912, pl. LXX, 194 (No. 414); pl. LXXI, 210 (No. 430).

⁴⁴ T 3026, from filling just under the Stoa of Attalos, but obviously of earlier style.

⁴⁵ *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pl. 37, No. 16 (Group B); *ibid.*, XXVIII, 1959, pl. 28, Nos. 22-24 (Altar Well).

⁴⁶ Cf. Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren*, pl. 28b.

⁴⁷ *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 244-245, 261-262, Nos. 1, 3, 6, 8-12, 19.

⁴⁸ Above, pp. 288-290, Nos. 2, 12, 23.

these technical details appear to remain consistent within fairly limited times, they are significant criteria. This compact little head could easily have been about 100 years old when it found its way into the Pithos. We might compare this head with two (Nos. **15**, **16**) from an early 2nd century deposit (K 18:2). The most striking difference is in the proportions. The little girl's head (**D 1**) is deep and completely finished in the back. The two later heads (Nos. **15**, **16**) are shallower.

The female head (No. **14**), a large and fine piece, tells us much about the style of its period. It was buried at least by 160 B.C., but its style suggests an earlier date as do the tan fabric, the plastic wreath and retouched curly hair. The plump face with squinting eyes, pursed mouth and small prominent chin is that visible on the oinochoe of Berenike II from Xanthos that must date between 243 and 222 B.C.⁴⁹ This facial type appears, presumably slightly later, on terracottas from Myrina and Ilion probably under Alexandrian influence.⁵⁰ It is rare in Athens and in Corinth, where, however, a derivative type occurs in a deposit with coins of Ptolemy V.⁵¹ We have in this vivid head the bloom of the florid style that prevailed in the prosperous courts of Egypt and Asia Minor. How the more austere Athenian coroplast became acquainted with this court beauty we should love to know.

Our next heads (No. **15**, **16**) are much more characteristic Attic examples. The back of No. **15** is unworked and flat, an early specimen of this careless tendency to leave backs unmodelled. Both these heads have long necks, masses of added, retouched hair, but rather flat features. The eyes are dull, the mouths level, totally lacking in the sensual fulness visible on that of No. **14**. Most striking, in the front view, is the marked inclination of the neck on which the head is tipped backward. Such abrupt inclinations of the head are observable first in the period *ca.* 220 B.C. and reach an acute stage in the early 2nd century.⁵² This lively device is continued for some time in the 2nd century until growing carelessness permits the heads to revert to stiff frontality. The fabric of these heads (Nos. **14-16**) is still soft with a tan surface, but with an interior like that of several pieces in the Komos Cistern (Nos. 11, 19).⁵³ This fabric contrasts markedly with that of the child's head (Group D, **D 1**).

It is interesting to see that the back hair of No. **15** is arranged in a bowknot, a fashion that becomes increasingly popular during the late Hellenistic age. Its fairly low shape fits well into the phase that can be dated *ca.* 225 B.C., the period to which we may assign the head on other grounds.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ P. Demargne, *Fouilles de Xanthos*, I, pl. XIV, No. 707.

⁵⁰ Burr, *op. cit.*, pls. XVI, No. 45, XXVI, Nos. 65, 67; Troy, *Supplementary Monograph*, 3, p. 32, Nos. 186, 187, 194 ff.

⁵¹ *Corinth*, XII, pl. 24, No. 285.

⁵² Cf. Kleiner, *op. cit.*, pl. 6a, p. 16; pl. 9e, p. 56; Troy, *Supplementary Monograph*, 3, p. 31, No. 206.

⁵³ Above, pp. 277, 289.

⁵⁴ Troy, *Supplementary Monograph*, 3, pp. 42 f.

These heads are dramatic and sharply accented in comparison with the delicate earlier "Tanagras." By *ca.* 200 B.C. such types have reached so advanced a stage that they can no longer rightly be called "Tanagras." At Myrina the bolder, more dramatic taste of major sculpture was imitated skilfully by the coroplasts. To a lesser degree the same phenomenon is visible in Athens. An excellent example of this period, which can be dated reasonably closely from its context,⁵⁵ is a large bold female head, No. 17. The head must have been discarded *ca.* 180 B.C. It is larger and more coarsely modelled than the preceding examples. The back of the head has been made in a mould; it is deep and well proportioned, showing slightly grooved melon-waves to which a rolled-up knot just below the crown has been added by hand. The head was encircled by some sort of elaborate stephane. Curly locks have been added below the ears. The front hair has been so much retouched as to lose its melon character and to appear as independent, crisply rendered strands. Exactly this treatment is characteristic of heads of Arsinoe III (217-205 B.C.).⁵⁶ The corners of the mouth and the nostrils have been jabbed with the graver and the dimple in the chin emphasized as on heads of the same queen. The rings on the long, conical, inclined neck are still plastically modelled. The eyes, long and narrow, under shallow arched brows, are obviously derived from the thick-lidded half-closed eyes that we noted as characteristic of the late 3rd century.⁵⁷ A comparison with No. 14 is most revealing. That earlier head is, as we observed, plastically modelled, giving the face flesh and the features, deep set into that flesh, life and expression. The face of No. 17 is a shallow echo; the smooth area of the face is unmodulated and the features applied upon it. The same rapid degeneration is observable in the faces on the faience oinochoai between *ca.* 240-200 B.C. It is interesting to note a like trend in Athens. We must place our head No. 17, therefore, at a date not far from 180 B.C.

As a member of the "Tanagra" tradition, this head (No. 17) is coarse and late; as an imitator of a new style, it is a good example, for the old crispness and respect for proportions and features are retained. When we compare it with its successors, Nos. 18-19, we note instantly its greater liveliness without sentimental slurring of detail.

A sizable head (No. 18) forms an interesting transition between No. 17 with its slightly Alexandrian aspect and No. 19 which belongs to the new style both technically and stylistically. No. 18 shows no hair-knot and no part, so that despite the profusely curly locks, we call it male. This is a convention, for such faces are feminine. Appar-

⁵⁵ Two stamped amphora handles found in this context are dated (1962) by V. Grace as no later than 180 B.C. The presence of a bronze New Style coin, which presumably must date after 196 B.C. when the silver New Style were first issued (M. Thompson, *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, V, 1952, pp. 25-33), confirms this dating.

⁵⁶ *British Museum Catalogue of Coins: The Ptolemies*, pl. XV, 6; cf. Troy, *Supplementary Monograph*, 3, p. 41.

⁵⁷ See above p. 310 on No. 14.

ently at this time, as we shall see in the following examples, a feminine face with curly locks but without knot (possibly omitted just from laziness) was used for both sexes indiscriminately. The taste in bodies also ran to the effeminate.

This sturdy head is set on a coarse neck, which is not carefully finished behind. The clay and technique are much like those of the preceding head. The features are dull and conventional, with markedly sloping chin. The wreath has been briskly touched with neat rows of rounded punching; the hair, composed of lumpy units, has been only slightly more irregularly punched than the wreath. The wreath itself, for the first time in our series, has been attached to the head behind by a series of short jabs that flattened it against the head while the clay was still damp, a technique used more and more commonly as time goes on. In scale and style this head would look at home on the draped fragment, No. 11. Since both the body and these two closely similar heads (Nos. 17, 18) come from fillings dated *ca.* 180-160 B.C., we may consider them characteristic of the first few decades of the 2nd century. Their features are common enough elsewhere at the period, but the hair in added masses with deep retouching (which appears in modest form in the mid 3rd century⁵⁸) seems not to appear in such ambitious versions outside Athens.

The next two heads (Nos. 19, 20) follow the same tradition as No. 18, but they look differently because they are made of "blond" clay. They both come from fillings of the third quarter of the 2nd century, but they are included here because they were probably made in the first half of that century. The first (No. 19) wears a soft cap over hair that has been added to the mouldmade head and treated with deep jabs of the graver to look much wilder than the curly locks of No. 18. The long face has small, rather blurred features, unsuited to its ruddy complexion. It was presumably drawn from a mould of old Praxitelean style. From the "Phrygian" cap and the violent toss of the head, we may assume that this head belonged to a Phrygian dancer, of the type common at Delos.⁵⁸ The renovation of an old mould was evidently easier than the creation of a new head. Few coroplasts were as independent as the one who made our No. 14.

The other head, No. 20, wore two wreaths and a fillet; it probably belonged to a Dionysiac figure, possibly a floating Eros. The face was left as it came from the mould with small features and blurred eyes, whereas the hair and wreaths were retouched carefully and added to the cast. This head is less markedly tipped than the previous. Its lumpy features are not unlike those of the large Satyr head that we placed *ca.* 150 B.C.⁵⁹ The complexion of the face is a dull sun-tan also like that of the Satyr.

Looking back on this series of heads, we can see a stylistic development that appears logical. No. 14 (before *ca.* 220 B.C.) is richly and pictorially modelled; Nos. 15 and 16 (*ca.* 220-200 B.C.) are still plastic and tossed in dramatic movement.

⁵⁸ *Délos*, XXXII, pl. 40, Nos. 364, 365, 367, 368.

⁵⁹ *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pp. 246-247, pl. 87, No. 2.

Nos. **17** and **18** (*ca.* 180 B.C.) have somewhat coarsened; whereas Nos. **19** and **20** (*ca.* 170-160 B.C.) show the dull faces contrasting with dramatic hair and expression that reach their climax in the Satyr head of *ca.* 150 B.C.

Another fine feminine head (No. **21**) was found in a footing-trench of the Stoa of Attalos. It contrasts in every way with those which we have presented. In the first place, as we have noted, the clay is entirely different from any normal Athenian clay. The type of the head is like that of well developed "Tanagras": tipped on a long neck, oval, with clearly modelled features, especially the chin, and melon coiffure in narrow, deeply retouched waves. But we have only to place it beside our Nos. **14** and **15** to see that the spirit is different. This head is handled like a bronze statuette rather than like a figurine. It is laid out on large lines, modelled in a deeper and more telling manner; it is classical and sculptural rather than casual and coroplastic. It translates readily in one's imagination into bronze or marble. It must surely with all these earmarks of Asia Minor, both technical and stylistic, be an import. Its style, which might be called "classical Praxitelean"⁶⁰ is somewhat but not rigorously academic. In precision and in sensitive skill, it surpasses most 2nd century pieces even from Asia Minor. It certainly throws its Athenian contemporaries into the shade. It has the sculptural quality that we associate with the shops of Smyrna, but in our present state of knowledge, we must not suggest a provenience.

The last scrap of head in this series (Group D, **D2**) probably belonged to an Eros. It is a shockingly slipshod specimen. Its narrow eyes are clearly defined; one appears to squint. Its stubby nose and level mouth have been accented by the graver. Its hair and wreath retain some plasticity. In this sloppy impressionism it is paralleled by two similar faces in the Komos Cistern (No. 19).⁶¹ The blond clay confirms the late appearance. This head represents bad work of the period just before 150 B.C.

MISCELLANIES: No. **22**

The little palmette (Group D, **D3**) is, though from the same deposit as the preceding head, a much neater piece of work. Its buff clay and nicely preserved slip suggest an earlier date. Perhaps it crowned a stele on which a figure leaned;⁶² or it may have been an akroterion of a small altar.

The wing (No. **22**) has been included here because it was found in a footing-trench of the Stoa of Attalos and presumably dates before 150 B.C. The marked wing-bone and the thick plastically rendered pinions can profitably be compared with those on a wing from the Komos Cistern (No. 23).⁶³ The difference is striking. The earlier wing is delicately modelled in a deep reddish clay; each feather is rather pointed, with the vanes of the barbs carefully detailed. Our present example (No. **22**) is made

⁶⁰ Troy, *Supplementary Monograph*, 3, p. 31.

⁶¹ Above, pp. 284-285, 289, pl. 73.

⁶² TK, II, p. 108,3.

⁶³ Above, pp. 286, 290, pl. 75.

of tan-blond clay, with rounded tertiaries, pointed secondaries and heavily outlined vanes and quills, but the barbs must have been rendered in paint. The former is naturalistically sketched in an incisive, metallic style; the latter is boldly plastic without surface detail. These two specimens must be very nearly one hundred years apart. Both styles occur at Myrina, but the latter is greatly in preponderance.⁶⁴ This dating is in accordance with our knowledge of the relative output of the factories of late Hellenistic Asia Minor.

Our wing (No. 22) would, in its technique, scale, and style, fit a figure of the type for which our Nos. 19 or 20 would be suitable heads. Large winged Dionysiac Erotes were popular at this period.⁶⁵

CONCLUSIONS

It is not wise to draw many conclusions from the study of only 25 pieces from different sources. We can only note that the old draped female types are still popular, that dancers are numerous and that winged figures, though present in Athens, are not so common as in Asia Minor.

The interest in plastic modelling, rich in chiaroscuro and lively surfaces, that we have enjoyed in the 3rd century, appears to flag fairly early in the 2nd century. We see how quickly drapery becomes flaccid, faces dull, and a commercial slapdash style becomes the fashion. Whatever is novel comes from over the seas, from Alexandria (Nos. 14, 17) or from Asia Minor (Nos. 5-10, 19, 21). By the mid 2nd century "Tanagra" themes and types are finished and the trade awaits new ideas.

CATALOGUE

The terminology used in this Catalogue is that already outlined in *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 158, except that the measurements are here given in centimeters.

For reasons indicated above, this set of figurines is not grouped according to context. The context is indicated before the measurements. For its character and date, see p. 317. The grouping is in general by types.

CHILDREN

1 (T 3179) Seated Draped Girl. Pl. 80.

Undated context. P. H. 5.1 cm. Buff clay, hard fabric. Traces of rectangular vent. Head and legs missing.

High-girt, thin chiton. Three paws remain of a dog facing to her right in her lap.

2 (T 507) Seated Draped Girl. Pl. 80.

Footing-trench for wall of Stoa of Attalos. P. H. 6 cm. Pinkish buff clay; fine, hard fabric. Traces of round vent. Head missing.

Wears thin chiton. No objects in hands.

DRAPED FIGURES

3 (T 100) Nurse with Infant. Pl. 80.

Area H 5. P. H. 6.2 cm. Pinkish buff clay, hard fabric. Blue on dress. Traces of rectangular vent. Back flat.

She holds a naked baby against her left side, her right hand supporting its knees; the infant

⁶⁴ Earlier: Burr, *Boston Myrinas*, pl. XXII, No. 54, pl. XXIII, No. 58; later: pl. XXI, No. 53; pl. XL, No. 117. Since wings could be attached to any figure, they cannot be relied upon as evidence for the date of any single specimen.

⁶⁵ E.g. *Priene*, p. 340, figs. 386-390.

pulls at the neck of her dress. The nurse has curly hair under a *sphendone*. Dull impression.

4 (T 3254) Draped Fragment. Pl. 80.

Filling south of Middle Stoa over waterclock. P. H. 8.2 cm. Buff clay. Broken all round.

Portion of left thigh and torso of female figure wearing chiton with overfold and himation.

5 (T 2346) Draped Fragment: Artemis? Pl. 81.

Hellenistic Filling of Great Drain. P. H. 10.8 cm. Yellow-buff clay; hard fabric. Broken all round. Back missing.

Female figure wearing chiton with overfold, girt outside by belt and baldric. Over this a himation hangs down the left side and the other end is drawn in a roll across the body and looped within itself to hang down on the other side.

6 (T 3207) Draped Fragment. Pl. 81.

Terrace of South Stoa II. P. H. 11.5 cm. Blond-tan clay. Back missing.

Female figure wears thin chiton high-girt, with himation in thick roll around hips. She raised her right arm high and probably rested her left on a support.

7 (T 3241) Standing Draped Female. Pl. 80.

Building Filling of South Stoa II. P. H. 6.4 cm. Buff-tan clay, mottled to light red. Solid; curved flat back. Head and arms missing.

Stands with weight on left leg, wearing thin, high-girt chiton and himation wound round hips.

8 (T 851) Dancer: fragment. Pl. 81.

Building Filling of South Stoa II. P. H. 10.5 cm. Tan clay, hard fabric. Back and base missing.

Steps forward, grasping her thin himation with her right hand, her left probably held a mass of drapery at her side. Wears full chiton and soft shoe.

9 (T 3553) Winged Dancer. Pl. 82.

Deposit O 17:7. P. H. 10.5 cm. Pale pinkish buff clay; hard fabric. Rectangular vent. Wings, left arm, lower part missing.

Dances toward her left, wearing chiton and himation wrapped over her head and drawn across lower part of face. On her head a thick wreath, with Dionysiac fillet looped below it. She raises her right hand to her chin.

10 (T 3542) Dancer. Pl. 82.

Deposit M 18:10. P. H. 6.7 cm. Blond clay. Pink on drapery. Rectangular vent.

Seen from side. Wears chiton probably with overfold. Right leg bears weight, left extended backward. Low oval base.

11 (T 3544) Semidraped Fragment. Pl. 82.

Deposit M 18:10. P. H. 15.2 cm. Tan clay, mottled to red; hard fabric. Large rectangular vent.

Probably female; stands with himation wrapped over left shoulder and around hips; torso naked; left arm bent and extended forward.

12 (T 1309) Draped Fragment. Pl. 82.

Deposit N 19:1. P. H. 12.5 cm. Pinkish tan clay; pink on drapery; hard fabric. Broken all round.

Probably from same type as preceding.

13 (T 3549) Draped Fragment. Pl. 82.

Deposit O 17:5. P. H. 6.6 cm. Blond-tan clay, soft fabric; traces of pinkish (directly on clay?). Broken all around.

From same type as two preceding.

HEADS

14 (T 2968) Wreathed Head: Female. Pl. 82.

Filling over floor of Square Building under Stoa of Attalos. P. H. 4.2 cm. Tan-buff clay. Careful retouching.

Round face; squinting eyes. Wears earrings,

wreath of leaves and fruits over curly hair which is bound in a loose knot at the nape.

15 (T 1355) Head with Bowknot: Female. Pl. 82.

Deposit K 18:2. P. H. 6 cm. Dull buff clay, with reddish core; red on lips. Back rough.

Retouched in added hair; crisply modelled features, with narrow eyes, prominent cleft chin. Wore stephane and leech earrings.

16 (T 1358) Wreathed Head: Male(?). Pl. 83.

Deposit K 18:2. P. H. 4.6 cm. Dull buff clay. Retouching.

Wears thick wreath over cropped hair with added curls. Half closed eyes.

17 (T 3370) Head with Diadem: Female. Pl. 82.

Area G 13. P. H. 7.1 cm. Buff to light red clay. Traces of glaze used as glue. Retouching. Back of head worked.

Wore a diadem behind wreath of fruits, earrings, long locks. Features sharply modelled, corners of mouth and chin touched with graver; long narrow eyes.

18 (T 3216) Wreathed Head: Male(?). Pl. 83.

Middle Stoa Building Filling. P. H. 6 cm. Buff to light red clay. Tan flesh color. Damaged on left side of face. Retouching.

Wears a thick wreath and large bunches of curls around face.

19 (T 2964) Head in "Phrygian" Cap: Male(?). Pl. 83.

Construction Filling of Stoa of Attalos. P. H. 7 cm. Blond clay. Dark red on cap; pinkish red flesh. Retouching.

Head much tilted to its left; wears soft high "Phrygian" cap without flaps.

20 (T 3252) Wreathed Head: Male(?). Pl. 83.

Filling south of Middle Stoa over water-clock. P. H. 7.5 cm. Blond clay; sun-tanned flesh. Back of head unworked.

Head tipped toward its left, wearing thick wreath over one of leaves.

21 (T 3131) Female Head. Pl. 83.

Footing-trench of Stoa of Attalos. P. H. 6 cm. Orange clay with black core, soft fabric. Back broken away.

Wears melon coiffure, earrings. Sharply modelled features.

MISCELLANY

22 (T 2910) Wing. Pl. 83.

Filling of Stoa of Attalos. Max. dim. 6 cm. Blond clay. Retouching. Solid. Back flat.

Right wing from near point of attachment.

GROUP D (Deposit H 16:4)

D 1 (T 226) Wreathed Head: Female. Pl. 83.

P. H. 3.1 cm. Reddish buff clay. Worked behind. Retouching.

Childish head wearing wreath of pointed (myrtle?) leaves. Hair in deep melon waves, with knot added at nape.

D 2 (T 227) Child's Head. Pl. 83.

P. H. 2.5 cm. Blond clay; reddish on hair. Back missing.

Wears central plait and wreath of fruits over forehead. Clumsy work.

D 3 (T 228) Palmette. Pl. 83.

P. H. 3.1 cm. Buff clay. Solid; flat back. White slip on both sides; pink on front. Traces of attachment beneath. Seven rounded petals.

CONTEXTS

Listed below are the contexts in which the figurines discussed in this article were found. Each context is recorded at the beginning of each entry in the Catalogue. The evidence for the dating of these contexts is too full to be given in detail here; it will ultimately appear in the relevant Agora publications. In every case it must be considered as subject to correction on the final correlation of all the material. For assistance in obtaining these tentative dates, I owe much to Virginia Grace (for the stamped amphora handles) and to H. A. Thompson (for the sequence of building construction). G. R. Edwards has not completed his study of the pottery. The chronology of the bronze coins has not been brought up to date in relation to that of the Athenian New Style silver as recently made by M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, 1961. The lamps have been published by Richard H. Howland, *Athenian Agora*, IV, *Greek Lamps*. The areas referred to are those of the National grid, to be found on the Actual State Plan in the volumes of the *Athenian Agora* series.

Area G 13, behind Great Drain—to *ca.* 180 B.C.: **17**

Area H 5 over poros blocks—to *ca.* 225 B.C.: **3**

Deposit H 16: 4—to *ca.* 150 B.C.: **D 1, D 2, D 3**

Deposit K 18:2—to *ca.* 180 B.C.: **15, 16**

Deposit M 18:10—to *ca.* 180 B.C.: **10, 11**

Deposit N 19:1—to late 1st century B.C.: **12**

Deposit O 17:5—early 2nd century B.C., disturbed in early 1st century A.D.: **13**

Deposit O 17:7—to *ca.* 150 B.C.: **9**

Great Drain, Hellenistic Filling—to *ca.* 170 B.C.: **5**

Group D—See Deposit H 16:4

Middle Stoa Building Filling: Main Part—to *ca.* 160 B.C.: **18**

Over Waterclock—to *ca.* 125 B.C.: **4, 20**

South Stoa II: South Foundation—to *ca.* 160 B.C.: **8**

Terrace Filling—to *ca.* 150 B.C.: **6**

Behind Wall—to *ca.* 150 B.C.: **7**

Stoa of Attalos: Destruction of preceding Square Building—to *ca.* 160 B.C.: **14**

Construction Filling—to *ca.* 150 B.C.: **2, 19, 21, 22**

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON

PRINCETON,
NEW JERSEY



Pnyx (cf. 1, 2)

1

2



British Museum 1911
4-16 1 (cf. 3)



3



4

7



5



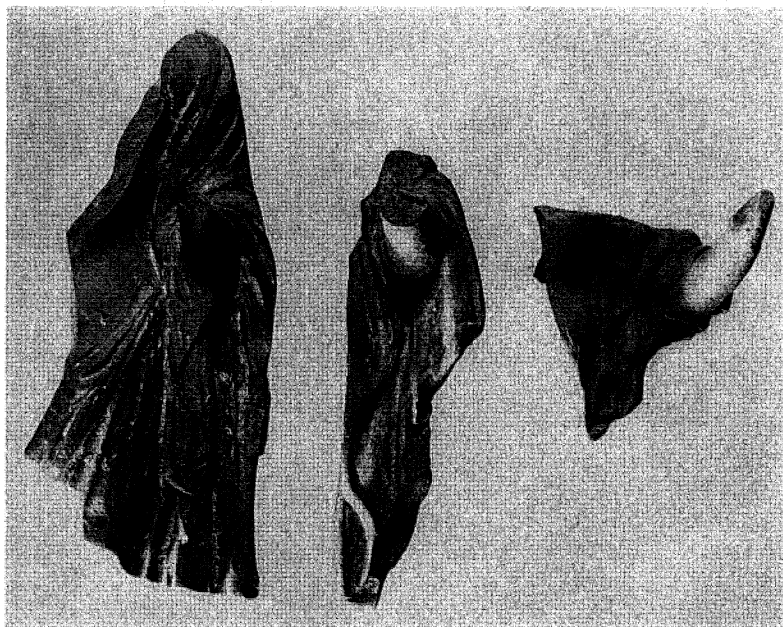
6



8



9



11, 12, 13 (1:2)



10



14



15



17





16



19



18



20



22



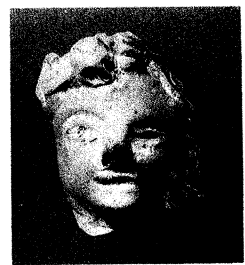
21



D3



D1



D2

GROUP D