

ARCHITECTURAL TERRACOTTA SCULPTURE FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 32–38)

THE earlier sections of this article publish the fragments of architectural terracotta sculpture in the round, or possibly in very high relief, as found in the American excavations in the Athenian Agora.¹ These are generally of a weather-resistant fabric analogous to that of simas and roof tiles and are probably mainly from akroteria or pedimental sculptures on public buildings. Internal evidence suggests that some of them indeed served as akroteria, but the precise function of several others remains unresolved, although it is to be noted that there seem to be no surviving traces of the kind of relief-ground often associated with pedimental terracotta sculptures. Where such criteria offer any reasonable hope of associating them with actual buildings in the Agora, these pieces are arranged according to the areas where they were found and the distinctive characteristics of their fabric. A short final section deals with the figured terracotta antefixes, etc., of a more or less sculptural character. This is unavoidably selective, but the coverage is otherwise as complete as possible.²

The material as a whole is very fragmentary and hard to evaluate and the conclusions wrung from it here are correspondingly tentative. The dates of the contexts in which the different pieces were found are discussed, although of necessity briefly, in the main account that follows. In the catalogue entries they are simply cited by their Agora grid serials. In accordance with a procedure recently adopted for terracotta objects from the Agora excavations, the descriptions of clay colors are made with direct reference to a small body of control examples.³ All measurements are given in centimeters.

¹ This study was originally intended to appear, for completeness' sake, as an appendix to the volume or volumes publishing the terracottas of Greek date from the Athenian Agora. It is now, instead, issued independently because it has been found to need a rather different treatment from that appropriate to the smaller votive statuettes. Apart from isolated negatives by Miss Alison Frantz and Mr. James Heyle, the photographs are the work of Mr. Eugene Vanderpool, Jr.

² There are rare instances from Athens of the employment of a clay resembling that used for architectural terracottas in making votive statuettes or their archetypes. Such pieces are naturally omitted here. Also excluded are the examples of a class of large relief moulds being studied by Miss Clairevè Grandjouan.

³ The following are used here: "blond" as Agora T 2640; "greenish blond" as Agora T 887, T 3113; "orange-blond" as Agora T 2340; "ocher" as Agora T 947; "tan" as Agora T 560, T 851; "yellow-buff" as Agora T 2346; "pinkish buff" as Agora T 2157; "light red" as Agora T 1651, T 3131; "reddish" as Agora T 3474; "dark red" as Agora T 2638. The few other color descriptions employed here are either necessarily broader general terms or else are specially coined to indicate intermediate shades between the control samples.

The terracotta sculptures in Corinthian clay show the technical characteristics discussed by Weinberg.⁴ They are fashioned, for the most part hollow, from a coarse greenish or pinkish blond clay and in some sections are built up in layers of decreasing coarseness. This coarse clay contains stone grits added to reduce its shrinkage and avoid cracking. These are graduated in size according to the coarseness of the clay and black or pinkish brown in color. The surface of the sculptures is finished in a layer of purified Corinthian blond clay and is often burnished and coated with a transparent "glaze" wash. Painted decoration is limited on the present fragments to a blackish brown "glaze" and a fired reddish color. It is difficult to assess how far these sculptures were commissioned in Corinth and how far they were made locally of imported Corinthian clay, but the consistency of the added grits and other technical details may favor Corinthian manufacture in most cases.

The Attic examples are of a fabric similar to that of Attic roof tiles, etc.⁵ They are made of a coarse buff or pinkish buff Attic clay, often containing numerous reddish grits or small dark stones. The surface of some of the archaic pieces is finished with a coating of fine pinkish buff or reddish Attic clay, but later the Attic blond clay is more usually employed for this surface layer, presumably under the influence of Corinthian practice. Sometimes this surface coating is so thin as to be little more than a slip. Painted decoration is in black "glaze" and a fired purplish red and white.

The present meager fragments of sculpture can yield little fresh technical information, but there is one matter that their very fragmentary nature renders more apparent than usual and this is the use of armature rods for strengthening the sculptures in the round during manufacture. All that survive are the impressions of these cylindrical rods in the coarse body clay and it is by no means certain of what materials they were made. The heavier rods seem to have been withdrawn once the clay had hardened, but some of the tiniest, which may have been of reed, may have been left in and have burned out in the firing. The armature impressions are sometimes of help in reconstructing the sculptures. For reasons of structural stability, a single main internal rod carrying most of the weight of a figure would normally need to be vertical and the same presumably applies to some of the other load-bearing supports. The rods serving simply as skeletons on which arms and legs were built up must inevitably have followed the general line and angle of those limbs. Rods merely reinforcing surface detail may frequently have had their angles dictated by that detail, but, where not, in the present fragments they seem also to have shown a certain tendency to approximate to the vertical.

⁴ *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 289-319. Cf. also the sculptures from Olympia, *Olympiaberichte*, III, 1938-9, pp. 119-132, V, 1956, pp. 103-127, VI, 1958, pp. 169-194.

⁵ A close technical study of the characteristics of the Attic fabric and an analysis of its added grits are lacking from Buschor's *Tondächer der Akropolis* and much to be desired, but must be based on a broader and more representative range of material than that published here.

A. FROM NEAR THE THOLOS (Pl. 32)

The two fragments discussed here, Nos. **A1** and **A2**, were found a little to the northeast and north of the Tholos.⁶ They are of outstanding quality and, although **A2** seems to have suffered from subsequent staining in the soil, of the same fabric, which is fairly distinctive among the architectural terracotta sculptures from the Agora. They have been fashioned hollow of an originally greenish blond Corinthian clay, comprising a very gritty coarse core about 1½ centimeters thick and a thinner surface layer of fine clay of somewhat variable thickness, the musculature having been built out from various intermediate layers. The flesh surface has been burnished and, save on the inner side of **A1**, coated with a clear and even transparent "glaze" wash. Both seem to be fragments from bare human limbs, most probably male. **A1** appears to be from the left upper arm of a figure of about life size. Too little survives of **A2** for any certain identification as to position or scale, but it could be from the thigh of a statue of the size indicated by **A1**. In his original publication of the Tholos, Professor H. A. Thompson suggested that both fragments might have formed part of an akroterion set over the apex of that building when it was first erected in ca. 470 B.C.⁷ The context of **A2** indicates that the sculpture had apparently already been broken and discarded by the late fifth century B.C., for this piece was found with marble chips that seem to be associated with the start of work at that date on the new Bouleuterion.⁸ There is also evidence that the Tholos itself was badly damaged at about this time and its original roof destroyed.⁹ **A1**, on the other hand, is simply from a disturbed context in the wall of a mediaeval pit.

B. FROM THE NORTH SIDE OF THE HELIAIA (Pls. 32-34)

The three fragments dealt with here were all found in the same vicinity to the north and northwest of the large enclosure now tentatively identified as the Heliaia.¹⁰ They show the same clay and technique and seem to have been of about the same date and scale.¹¹ They consist of a small scrap of trailing drapery, No. **B2**, the head of a helmeted warrior, No. **B1**, and part of a face, most probably that of a satyr, No. **B3**.

⁶ H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, 1940, pp. 44-148; *idem*, *The Athenian Agora, A Guide to the Excavations and Museum*², Athens, 1962, pp. 45-46.

⁷ *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, 1940, p. 70, note 47.

⁸ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 140-156.

⁹ *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, 1940, pp. 128-132.

¹⁰ On its identification see *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 33-39, 61-62; R. E. Wycherley, *Athenian Agora*, III, Princeton, 1957, pp. 145-146; *Agora Guide*², pp. 106-108; *Athenian Agora*, XIV, *Topography and Monuments* (forthcoming). At one time the enclosure was identified provisionally as the Theseion; cf. *A.J.A.*, LXIX, 1965, p. 177; *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, pp. 37-50.

¹¹ Although **B3**, in accordance with its different nature, has a broader nose and larger eyes than **B1**, its overall scale seems to be the same, the distance from the center of its lips to the inside corners of its eyes being actually very slightly less than that of **B1**.

For all the marked difference in their subjects, the two heads, Nos. **B1** and **B3**, show several features in common, in particular the incision on their beards, their heavy lower lips, and their eyes, with the irises ringed in "glaze" and with similarly rendered tearducts and grooves over the upper lids. It remains an interesting but as yet unprovable hypothesis that they may be from the decoration of the main north entranceway to the post-Persian Heliiaia enclosure.¹² The best-preserved fragment, No. **B1**, has been dated towards 460 B.C. on the basis of the style of its modelling and of that of its painted decoration in red-figure technique. The sculptures were apparently discarded at the time of the remodelling of this whole area in the second century B.C., to judge from the context of **B1** and probably also that of **B2**. For **B1** was recovered in many fragments from the basin of the water-clock set against the outer north wall of the Heliiaia in the fourth century B.C. and abandoned at the time of the building of the western part of the Middle Stoa in the second century B.C.;¹³ it was found in association with debris from this abandonment. Also **B2** was found in spoil from the clearing of the basin and seems likely to be from the same context. The remaining fragment, **B3**, was recovered from an early Roman fill.

The three fragments are in a blond clay, not very typically Corinthian to the eye, but identified as from the Corinthian plain by the scrutiny of a sample from **B2** carried out by Dr. Marie Farnsworth. They consist of a coarse core, for the most part only 1-1½ centimeters thick, containing a moderate amount of added grits and remarkably smoothly and evenly worked both inside and out, and a layer of fine surface clay which varies considerably in thickness as it carries most of the detailed modelling. But where this upper modelling is in especially high relief, e.g. at the volutes of the helmet of **B1**, a further layer of moderately coarse clay has been used for the lower part of the necessary build-up, covered with an additional coating of fine surface clay. The flesh and drapery do not seem to have received an overall wash of transparent "glaze" and only the helmet of **B1** seems to have been so treated. The resultant powdery surface of these pieces distinguishes them from all the other Agora architectural sculpture in Corinthian clay. In their painted decoration, brownish "glaze" was extensively used and a fired red color more sparingly.

Although there are very cogent reasons for assigning all the fragments to the same system of decoration, presumably on the same building, it does not necessarily follow that all three pieces are from one and the same sculpture. Indeed, it seems probable that more than one group may be involved.

The warrior's head, **B1**, is shown as wearing a Thracian helmet of a type popular at the time,¹⁴ with the missing cheek-guards in the raised position, to judge from

¹² Cf. *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 62, on the possible source of **B1**.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38; *Agora Guide*², pp. 106-108.

¹⁴ *Jahrb.*, XXVII, 1913, pp. 317-344; A. M. Snodgrass, *Arms and Armour of the Greeks*, New York, 1967, pp. 69, 94-95.

the holes for the armatures re-inforcing them. The sides of the helmet are painted with figures of Pegasos, long a popular motif for the decoration of Greek helmets. The red-figure technique used for these drawings probably represents what would be engraved work on the actual metal. But it is at least worthy of remark that a method of engraving achieving an analogous effect of contrast with the help of a thin gold overlay was just starting to come into vogue on metal vessels at this date. Indeed, the extremely meticulous red-figure drawing on the helmet seems to show much in common with engraving of this class as well as with contemporary vase-painting.¹⁵ The warrior's full lips are not parted, but the head has been felt to show a certain tenseness, as possibly appropriate to a battle group. More importantly, his mouth, cheeks and eyes show a very marked asymmetry, implying that the head was meant to be seen obliquely, turned somewhat to one side. Experimentation in viewing the head from below at various angles suggests that these refinements are of the kind rather heightening than compensating for the effect of the oblique angle by drawing down the features on the off-side, a treatment most recently discussed by Bielefeld¹⁶ and attested in some of the sculptures at Olympia.¹⁷ In that case the head was intended to be seen from below turned towards the right. There is no sign that a main armature ever supported the interior of the head.¹⁸ This could be either because the figure was only assembled after the different parts had hardened or because its pose, possibly far from static, allowed only of external support, whether temporary or, as in the case of a pedimental high relief, permanent. When the building with which this fragment seems to be associated was identified as the Theseion and when one recalled the later akroterion showing Theseus and Skiron that once stood on the Royal Stoa,¹⁹ it was tempting to identify this head as possibly from a group portraying some exploit of Theseus. But even on their sacred buildings the Greeks seem to have exercised a measure of freedom in selecting the themes for their decorative sculptures and now that the building seems to have been a law court it is safer for the Agora warrior to remain nameless.

The fragment of drapery, **B2**, seems as if it might be from the edge of a cloak trailing from the arm of a figure in motion. Possibly it is to be linked with the warrior's head, **B1**, with which it appears to be associated by circumstances of finding, conceivably in a composition consisting of two figures in combat. If the fragments

¹⁵ Cf. Bellerophon and Pegasos in the center medallion of the silver cup from the second tumulus of the Seven Brothers in the Kuban, *Compte Rendu de la Commission Impériale Archéologique*, St. Petersburg, 1881, pp. 5-48, pl. 1, 3; D. E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Silver Plate*, London, 1966, pp. 78-79, pl. 15, a.

¹⁶ *Pantheon*, XXV, 1967, pp. 153-159.

¹⁷ E. g., B. Ashmole, N. Yalouris and A. Frantz, *Olympia, the Sculptures of the Temple of Zeus*, London, 1967, pls. 31-40.

¹⁸ Cf. **D2** below.

¹⁹ See below, p. 120.

are indeed from akroteria rather than from a pediment, then such a group might be quite appropriate as a crowning akroterion.

The remaining fragment, **B3**, preserves part of a bearded face with a broad nose and rather animal features. It seems just possible, but unlikely, that a centaur is intended. Much more probably the head is that of a satyr. It has a heavy, drooping moustache that masks much of the upper lip, save from below, and the way that the incised wavy lines are continued on the underside of the moustache beside the mouth also helps to suggest that the head was meant to be seen from below. If the fragments are from akroteria and not a pediment, then possibly a satyr may have served as one of the lateral akroteria.

C. FROM THE STOA OF ZEUS (Pl. 35)

Four of the fragments dealt with here (Nos. **C1-C4**) are from the vicinity of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios.²⁰ They were recovered from the late Roman filling of a plundered foundation trench for the west end of the annex built on to the back of that stoa in early Roman times.²¹ These fragments were first published by Professor H. A. Thompson, who suggested identifying them as from a group representing Hemera (or Eos) carrying off Kephalos, one of two terracotta akroteria described by Pausanias as mounted above the Royal Stoa, the other of which portrayed Theseus and Skiron.²² On the basis of this and other evidence, it has been proposed to regard the Royal Stoa as identical with the Stoa of Zeus.^{22a}

Of these fragments, **C1** preserves a nude right hip and buttock, presumably of a male figure, and the impression of the clenched left hand of a second figure, either gripping it or fending it off from below. But the tight, oblique line of the clenched finger-tips is precisely of the form naturally adopted in lifting or carrying a person with one's left arm under his thighs and this interpretation, as originally adopted by Professor Thompson, seems vastly preferable. **C4** is a small fragment of drapery from just below the girdle and, as it seems blown backwards, is quite probably from the back of a figure. The other two fragments call for some re-assessment. **C2** seems originally to have been published upside-down. It preserves part of the chest and left breast of a figure wearing a thin garment, probably a chiton. The projection of the breast is not very pronounced and it is difficult to be quite certain whether the figure is male or that of a young or very slender female. **C3**, formerly interpreted as a draped thigh and buttock, appears clearly to consist of the knee and shin of a female figure in a long garment, probably a chiton, and of the drapery behind on the right side of the partly bent leg. Small armature rods were introduced slightly obliquely

²⁰ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 5-77; *Agora Guide*², pp. 61-64.

²¹ *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, pp. 171-187.

²² *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 37-39, 64-67. Cf. Pausanias, I, 3, 1; R. E. Wycherley, *Athenian Agora*, III, p. 24, no. 16.

^{22a} When this article was in page proof, another stoa was found to the north of and distinct from the Stoa of Zeus; this is clearly the Royal Stoa [Ed.].

at the bottom, to either side of the leg, to strengthen the drapery below where it fluttered out away from the ankle. The drapery folds at the side are elaborately and deeply worked, but over the front of the knee and shin the modelling is rather coarse and summary. As a result, it is difficult to be sure whether this is a left leg or a right, although a slight hollow beneath the knee on the right side and a faint swelling of the calf below this might possibly suggest a left leg.

All of these fragments have been modelled by hand in the same greenish blond or orange-blond Corinthian clay. This consists in the main of a moderately coarse core with a limited amount of added grits, between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 5 centimeters thick, the walls being markedly heavier on the fragment from the lower part of a figure, **C3**, than higher up on **C2**, or for that matter, on **C1**. The surface is covered by a moderately thin outer layer of much finer blond clay that has been much worn by weather on the drapery fragments, **C2-C4**. Unlike the drapery, the flesh surface of **C1** has been finished with a highly distinctive even lustrous wash of transparent "glaze" which shows a marked tendency to crack and craze. To these four fragments a fifth, **C5**, is here tentatively added on technical criteria. It is of the same clay and fabric and, as will be seen below, appears to be of the same scale and character. Its clear "glaze" surface is very like that of **C1** and has suffered precisely the same crazing, suggesting that it may indeed be from the same group. It was found a considerable distance away in a disturbed level on the south side of the Agora, but, as will be seen in discussing the other pieces from that area (Nos. **D1-D6**), it hardly seems to have had any connection with the slightly later South Stoa I in whose vicinity it was found. It preserves an almost solid unshod left foot and ankle, probably for a load-bearing leg as it was planted firmly on the plinth. The leg above was bent slightly forward to judge from the hole for the armature rod through the ankle, apparently at an angle not unlike that suggested by the knee and shin of **C3**.

Various details give a tolerable control as to scale. The impress of the left hand on **C1** is not preserved entire, but enough survives to suggest that the width of the palm excluding the thumb was over 4 centimeters, perhaps about $4\frac{1}{2}$ centimeters or so. The foot, **C5**, has a preserved length of $13\frac{1}{2}$ centimeters, but lacks the ends of the toes and the back of the heel. When complete it should have been some 16 centimeters or so long. These calculations would seem to indicate a height for the figures of perhaps a little over a meter and a scale for them not too far from two-thirds life size. Such evidence as can be deduced from the other fragments seems to concur with these indications fairly well. Difficulties are only met with in the case of **C2**, which may, especially if male, possibly suggest a somewhat smaller scale. As only the left breast is preserved, calculations as to the width of the chest and, coupled with this, the projection of the breast must rest on assumptions as to the symmetry of the drapery. External stresses seem to have pulled the folds tight across the left breast, whereas they appear softer and fuller further to the right where the fragment has

been broken away and the surface clay is also rather deeper here, whether simply to accommodate yet looser folds or for other reasons.

Marble Victories of somewhat larger size have in the past been interpreted as the lateral akroteria flanking this terracotta group as a crowning akroterion, but, in the final publication still in preparation Professor E. B. Harrison has suggested that these Victories may instead be from the Temple of Ares.²³ She has also offered some shrewd observations about the present terracotta fragments. These are not conclusive, nor could they be in the present state of the material, but their cumulative effect is one of greater caution in interpreting the function and subject of the fragments and even in attributing them to the Stoa of Zeus.

These observations fall under three main heads. First there is the question of the scale of the fragments, which has been somewhat exaggerated in the existing reconstructions of the Stoa of Zeus.²⁴ Against this, if one accepts for the moment Professor Thompson's original interpretation, the group could still well have occupied about as much space as implied in the reconstructions, allowing for the spread of the goddess's wings and the way one figure is lifted on high, simply because previously only minimal allowance was made for these features.

Secondly, the issue has been raised as to whether the fragments might not in fact be from a high relief, e.g. from a pediment, rather than from an akroterion. Given their very fragmentary state, this as we have seen remains a real possibility with several of the Agora architectural terracotta sculptures and can hardly be categorically denied in the present instance. Possible evidence for this function has been adduced from the coarse work over the knee and shin of **C3**, on the assumption that this was concealed by the close proximity of the background of the relief. But here there seem to be other complicating factors. The slightly sloping armature rod to the left of the leg probably precludes the presence of a relief-ground in its immediate vicinity and the folds to the right of the leg, modelled deeply and at an angle, might possibly suggest that the offending knee and shin were actually turned obliquely to the front. Perhaps some other explanation is called for here. Again, without at this stage prejudging the question of subject, it is to be observed that, if Professor Thompson's original interpretation is justified, Kephalos was represented as no little boy but as a youth of some size, doubtless requiring further external support in the group for purely structural reasons, whether this took the form of trailing drapery or of a third subsidiary figure. Support to his feet and legs might quite naturally have come across in front of the legs of the goddess, obscuring a part of her drapery.

²³ The volume in preparation in the *Athenian Agora* series publishing the marble architectural sculpture of classical date is referred to here on the basis of a section of the draft text generously made available by its author, but still subject to revision. Meantime, for the Victories see *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 374-379, figs. 4-7, pl. 4, VI, 1937, p. 37; *Agora Guide*², pp. 136-137, pl. 9.

²⁴ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 54-55, fig. 34; R. M. Cook, *The Greeks till Alexander*, London, 1961, pl. 27; R. L. Scranton, *Greek Architecture*, London and New York, 1962, fig. 66.

The final and most telling observations concern the stylistic date of the fragments, which, by comparing their drapery with that of the sculptures of the Parthenon, Professor Harrison has placed as not too far from *ca.* 440 B.C. A vital contribution is the resemblance that she has remarked between the folds of **C2** and those of a male relief figure copied from the shield of the Athena Parthenos.²⁵ The Stoa of Zeus, on the other hand, was not begun much before *ca.* 430 B.C., to judge from its style and the pottery found in its fill²⁶ and its sculptural decoration might be expected to be slightly later still. If this apparent discrepancy is pressed home, it is possible to argue that these fragments cannot have belonged to the Stoa of Zeus, in whose vicinity most of them were found. But it seems nevertheless hard to tell how long these Pheidian influences would have taken to reach an artist practising in a different medium and possibly thereby also denied the unifying experience of helping with the Parthenon marble sculptures, whether he was actually working in imported Corinthian clay in Athens or in local clay in Corinth.

The preserved elements of these sculptures seem to consist of parts of a male figure, at least partly nude, being lifted up (**C1**), a female figure in a chiton (**C3**, **C4** and possibly **C5**) and possibly the subsidiary figure of a child in a chiton (**C2**). To the author it still seems that something not too utterly unlike the somewhat later Eos and Kephalos akroterion from the west front of the Athenian Temple of Apollo in Delos is by no means to be excluded.²⁷ But it must equally be admitted that, in their present fragmentary state, this is far from being the only and inevitable interpretation of these sculptures. And the healthy scepticism recently exercised on them serves also as a timely reminder that the stage may not yet have been reached for giving a final answer on the important topographical issues that have come to be closely linked with the interpretation of the present fragments.

D. FROM SOUTH STOA I (Pl. 36)

Of the six fragments discussed here (Nos. **D1-D6**), five were found in the immediate vicinity of South Stoa I and it has already been suggested several years ago that certain of these may have formed part of akroteria on that building.²⁸ Significantly, four of them, Nos. **D1-D4**, are from near the east end of the stoa and, as all four appear to be from the same sculpture, it might seem not implausible to link them with the decoration of that end of the building. Two of these, Nos. **D3**

²⁵ *Corolla Ludwig Curtius*, Stuttgart, 1937, pp. 85-86, pls. 19, 2, 20, 1; P. D. Stavropoulos, *Ἡ Ἀσπίς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Παρθένου τοῦ Φειδίου*, Athens, 1950, pp. 9, 56-57, figs. 27, 27a; *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 124, no. 22. More especially the Berlin example, on which see also C. Blümel, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Katalog der antiken Skulpturen*, V, Berlin, 1938, p. 33, no. K 252, pls. 73-74.

²⁶ Fill H 7:1. See *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 47-53.

²⁷ F. Courby, *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, XII, Paris, 1931, pp. 237-241, figs. 270-272, 274-275, pl. 14.

²⁸ *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 42.

and **D4**, were found in the fill of the middle of the second century B.C. behind the stoa's successor, South Stoa II, where it overlaid the levelled remains of the eastern part of the colonnade of South Stoa I. A third fragment, No. **D2**, was found in a more or less contemporary Hellenistic fill by the east end of South Stoa I. It would thus seem that the sculpture was destroyed by the time that South Stoa II was built. The remaining fragment from the east end, No. **D1**, was recovered from a late Roman level over the east wall of South Stoa II. In addition to these four pieces there are two other fragments, identical in fabric, but apparently not from the same sculpture as the remainder. One of these, No. **D5**, was found in a modern level near the middle of South Stoa I. The other, No. **D6**, was discovered away to the northwest in the disturbed fill of the west end of the Middle Stoa and is here assigned to South Stoa I on the basis of its distinctive fabric. The westernmost part of the Middle Stoa was apparently somewhat later in construction than the rest of that building.²⁹ The implication is that, although South Stoa I was apparently still standing when the construction of the main part of the Middle Stoa was begun in ca. 170 B.C., it had already been demolished when work was put in hand on this western part in the second half of the second century B.C. It is of interest to note that a piece of sima from South Stoa I was also found in a later level in the same vicinity.³⁰

All six fragments are from terracotta sculptures in the round, apparently over two-thirds and under three-quarters life size and distinguished by their rather careless and hasty execution. They are of Attic clay of a coarse and gritty texture, varying in color between ocher and buff. The limbs (**D3-D4**) and the snake's head (**D5**) are solid apart from the armature holes. Solid, too, is the hanging mass of drapery, **D6**, but this was attached against part of a hollow-fashioned body. This last and the other human and animal body fragments (**D1-D2**) are generally built up hollow in narrow strips to a basic thickness of about 2-3 centimeters, although this thickness has been more than doubled in the angle behind the neck of **D2** by the great weight of applied hair over the original hollow model, and the back of the head on this fragment appears also to have been nearly solid. Over the flesh areas, drapery and snake's head the coarse clay has been covered by a very thin layer of fine blond clay, presumably also of Attic origin. This is at times so thin as to be little more than a heavy slip. It is absent on the human hair and animal pelt of **D1** and **D2**, although on **D1** it is used over a panel on the animal's back, possibly representing a kind of saddle cloth. A wash of lusterless brownish "glaze" covers the hair of **D2** and the sides and top of the snake's head, **D5**. Similar "glaze" is used to pick out the detail on the animal's back of **D1**, including reciprocating pairs of curved lines apparently intended to indicate spots or dappling rather than tufts of fur. Nos. **D2**, **D4** and **D5** show traces of internal strengthening with armatures.

²⁹ *Agora Guide*², p. 106.

³⁰ A 2230. See p. 127 below.

The four fragments from the east end of South Stoa I (**D1-D4**) seem to be from a group comprising a human figure and an animal. The human component may have been naked, apart from skin boots probably bound with thongs and extending up to a little under its knees (**D4**) and traces of what may be a chlamys that it trails on to the animal's back (**D1**). It would thus seem to be male and presumably youthful, to judge from the mass of long, curling, brownish black hair (**D2**). The rather careless workmanship is a considerable handicap when one comes to reconstructing the pose more closely. Nevertheless, it appears difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile the hunched forward angle of the upper body of **D2** and its heavy internal vertical armature with anything save a seated figure. Further, the way that the right arm appears to have been pressed slightly back and the manner in which the right hand rests on the animal's neck just beyond its shoulders (**D1** and **D3**) would seem to indicate that the human figure was actually seated sideways on the animal. One can only assume that there was a heavy clay support through the missing middle part of the animal along the line of the vertical armature mentioned above, as beyond this part the creature's body (**D1**) is not otherwise of a particularly heavy construction, doubtless to limit the load on the thin animal legs.

The group would thus seem to have consisted of a youthful male figure, quite possibly the god Dionysos, turned somewhat to his left and seated side-saddle on a spotted animal, most probably a panther. The creature was presumably arched high on its back legs and crouched low in front, as though at bay, allowing the corner of a chlamys or similar garment to spill down along its back from its rider's body and causing the latter to brace himself against the slope with his right arm. It had its head turned to its left, presumably towards the front of the group. If this reconstruction is justified (and the fragments suggest that it may be) then this would seem a rather remarkable composition for the end of the fifth century B.C. In Attic vase-paintings of the late fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Dionysos is more usually mounted astride on his panther. Such side-saddle renderings may occasionally be reflected in fourth century metalwork and the metal-inspired clay plastic lekythoi,³¹ but they are best typified by later works such as the Hellenistic mosaic in the House of the Masks in Delos.³²

If this identification of the subject of the sculpture from the east end of South Stoa I is justified, one should still hesitate to ascribe any valid topographical signifi-

³¹ Cf. *Compte Rendu, St. Petersburg*, 1869, pl. 1, 3; R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of Terracottas in the British Museum*, II, London, 1959, no. 1719, pp. 68-69, pl. 43 (may possibly be originally Dionysos on a panther, with inappropriate wings added to fill out the lekythos shape, rather than Eros on a lion as there suggested). Still, Dionysos is well attested riding side-saddle on a panther on Paestan vases of the mid fourth century B.C.; see A. D. Trendall, *Paestan Pottery*, London, 1936, pp. 32-34, fig. 14, pls. 6, b, 8.

³² J. Chamonard, *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, XIV, Paris, 1933, pp. 11-26, pl. 3.

cance to the siting of a statue of Dionysos at this point.⁸³ The need for caution in such matters has already been touched on in discussing the identification of the figures from the Heliaia and doubtless Dionysos is to be seen as no more than an apt choice for a building with some convivial associations. But it must, nevertheless, be admitted that this is not the only Dionysiac element from the buildings in this region. The evidence for a satyr among the architectural terracotta sculptures from the Heliaia has already been discussed⁸⁴ and an isolated Hellenistic antefix in the form of a dramatic mask was found near the west ends of South Stoa I and II, although there seems no sound evidence to link it with either.⁸⁵

Such indications as are available favor interpreting this sculpture as an akroterion. It seems to have been modelled completely in the round and as a self-supporting unit and is also much too large to have served as a pedimental sculpture on South Stoa I. It is accordingly provisionally regarded as a crowning akroterion from the east end of that building, precisely where all its fragments were found, although there are a number of associated problems which will require further consideration below. Because of its modest scale, South Stoa I can hardly have had more than one figured akroterion at each end and, on this premise, one might tentatively assign the remaining two fragments, **D5** and **D6**, to its west end. Their evidence is meager—part of the bottom edge of the himation of a human figure and the head of a great crested snake or sea-serpent, reared up high and turned to its right and apparently affording minor support, e.g. to a hand or arm of the human figure. If, on the analogy of the east end, one may infer that the human figure is that of a deity, it is still not possible to establish even its sex with any certainty.

To judge from the pottery found in its fill,⁸⁶ South Stoa I would seem to have been begun in the last quarter of the fifth century B.C. It was not a very pretentious building and, above socle level at least, it was probably completed fairly quickly, in view of its employment of impermanent materials such as mudbrick. It seems to have consisted of a one-storey colonnade opening on to the Agora, with a row of rooms at the back, apparently in two storeys.⁸⁷ The rooms are conjectured to have served as offices and eating places for various administrative boards.⁸⁸

The six fragments of architectural terracotta sculpture associated with South Stoa I present serious problems and it is because of this that they must claim rather more space than their quality merits. Their careless workmanship is quite unlike that

⁸³ Cf. *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 72-76.

⁸⁴ See p. 120 above (No. **B3**).

⁸⁵ No. **F5** below. See pp. 133-134.

⁸⁶ Fill O 16:1-2. *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, p. 53.

⁸⁷ *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 43-56. For earlier accounts see *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 28-29, XXIII, 1954, pp. 39-45; J. N. Travlos, *Πολεοδομική 'Εξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, Athens, 1960, pp. 62-63; *Agora Guide*², pp. 100-101.

⁸⁸ Presumably linked in function with the adjacent Heliaia.

of any of the other pieces of the fifth century B.C. and, among the sculptures dealt with here, their fabric is closest to that of the Hellenistic Athena, No. **E4**, although their execution is in this case, if anything, slightly better. Their summary execution and fragmentary state also make it hard to arrive at a stylistic date for them, although details such as the writhing hair of **D2** again seem to have more in common with Hellenistic work than with the late fifth century B.C.³⁹ Problems analogous to those met with in these sculptures also arise with certain of the other, more functional architectural terracottas from South Stoa I and it will be necessary to consider these briefly for what light they may shed on the date of the akroteria.

Evidence for a completely consistent system of decorative architectural terracottas has been found in unmistakable stratigraphical association with South Stoa I and its demolition. These consist of two pieces of raking sima,⁴⁰ eaves tiles, including one complete specimen,⁴¹ and part of a convex lateral sima,⁴² together with two joining pieces of a splendid small lion's head spout from it.⁴³ The roof of South Stoa I has been restored as on two levels.⁴⁴ The north roof over the colonnade opening on to the Agora may have used the lateral sima along its north front, although it is not so shown on the published reconstructions. The raised south roof over the two-storeyed rear part of the building must have employed the plain eaves tiles along its northern edge apart, doubtless, from very short sections of lateral sima at the ends to provide a return from the raking sima. Whether its south edge had the same treatment or was provided from the outset with a continuous lateral sima is harder to tell, beyond what may be inferred from later developments. In addition to these late fifth century elements, there is also rather more evidence for a much larger lateral sima of cyma reversa profile and with lion's head spouts in a much later style. A piece of this sima and three of these spouts were found in clear association with the demolition of South Stoa I and the fill of its successor and in circumstances possibly favoring their ascription to the south face of South Stoa I's upper roof.⁴⁵ Two more of the spouts occurred in the close vicinity of South Stoa I⁴⁶ and a further piece of the sima was discovered near the west end of the Middle Stoa.⁴⁷

³⁹ Cf., for example, the Ludovisi head in Rome, H. Brunn, F. Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur*, Munich, 1888 f., pl. 238; A. W. Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, London, 1927, pl. 35.

⁴⁰ A 2319, A 2403.

⁴¹ A 3596.

⁴² A 2523.

⁴³ A 2351 and A 3593 (Pl. 36).

⁴⁴ *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 43-48, figs. 2-3, pl. 17.

⁴⁵ A 2348; A 2300, A 2306 and A 2325 (Pl. 37). A curious and unexplained circumstance affecting the surviving remains of the simas from South Stoa I is the higher incidence of detached lion spouts than of other fragments from the simas.

⁴⁶ A 2110, A 3259. Further afield, A 2800 (from the late Roman fortification in Area R 16) may also be from the same sima.

⁴⁷ A 2230, from a 3rd century A.D. level. See p. 124 above.

On the basis of a recent study of such objects, the lion spouts would seem datable to about the third century B.C.⁴⁸ Indeed, although outwardly more restrained in appearance, their moulded elements are already not far from the lion spouts of the second century B.C. from the Middle Stoa in the Athenian Agora, both in style and scale, although the latter were given a distinctly livelier and more baroque appearance by extensive retouching after they had issued from the moulds.⁴⁹

One may thus propose a date in the third century B.C. or not too much later for this second lateral sima from South Stoa I and tentatively regard it as a late modification to the south face of the building's upper roof. It is of somewhat careless workmanship and rather too tall for the proportions of the building. The terracotta akroteria under discussion seem likewise disproportionately large, although the considerable height of the upper roof may have gone some way to compensate for this. They seem possibly of late execution and perhaps closer in fabric to the second lateral sima than to any of the other decorative architectural terracottas from the stoa. Their condition and quality do not admit of any close stylistic dating, but it is possible at least to ask whether they might not in fact have been added at the same time as the sima. Indeed if, as seems likely but cannot be proven from the surviving fragments, the raking sima was also replaced at this time on the upper roof, then it might have been the installation of the akroteria that necessitated the modifications to the revetments.

A fragment of architectural terracotta sculpture, No. **C5**, dating from the fifth century B.C. and found in the vicinity of South Stoa I, has, for fairly compelling reasons, been assigned above to the Stoa of Zeus.⁵⁰ Here let it only be said that its fabric is completely unlike that of anything else from South Stoa I and that its discovery in a disturbed level affords no clear stratigraphical link with that building. Most probably, as originally constructed, South Stoa I may have been quite without figured akroteria. But it seems that it may have ended its days with lavish but cheap added embellishments.

E. OTHER FRAGMENTS OF SCULPTURE IN THE ROUND (Pl. 37)

Of the four fragments discussed here, three were found in the periphery of the Agora and only one in the Agora area proper. They all seem isolated pieces, unrelated in style and fabric either to each other or to the four groups of fragments already dealt with. On present evidence, there seem no strong grounds for associating any of them with buildings in the vicinity of where they were found and some may merely owe their presence to the industrial character of parts of the region. Being

⁴⁸ F. Willemsen, *Olympische Forschungen*, IV, *Die Löwenkopf-Wasserspeier vom Dach des Zeustempels*, Berlin, 1959, especially pp. 63-81.

⁴⁹ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 151, pl. 38, 2.

⁵⁰ See above, pp. 121-122.

thus meager and isolated scraps, they are not easy to date with any precision, but, in the case of the first two, both from the south side of Kolonos Agoraios, some help can be derived from the contexts in which they were found. Thus No. **E1** was found in association with pottery of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. It appears to be a late archaic Attic fragment from a himation, most probably as worn transversely on a female figure. Similarly, the next fragment, No. **E2**, was recovered from a pit whose fill dates from the second half of the fifth century B.C., although it was apparently not deposited until the second quarter of the fourth century B.C. It consists of a relatively tiny left hand, quite probably that of a child, and its style and fabric would also seem to favor a date in about the later fifth century B.C. This piece is in Corinthian clay, but whether it is a waster affording evidence of the local production of such sculptures in imported clay or simply part of an imported piece that fell an early victim to damage, e.g. in the troubled times of the last decade of the fifth century, is something much more difficult to assess.⁵¹ Its surface is coated with a wash of transparent "glaze" which probably establishes that this fragment is from an architectural sculpture in its own right, despite its small scale, and not from an archetype in a clay of "architectural" type for making moulded votive figurines.⁵²

The other fragment from the outskirts of the Agora, No. **E3**, was found along the Panathenaic Way near the Eleusinion. It is of Attic fabric and consists of the right hand of a draped male figure, possibly still a child in view of its soft forms. Here it is necessary to rely wholly on style and technique as a guide to dating. The clay core has been fired to a hard light red color rather unusual in Attic terracotta sculpture in the round of Greek date, although not uncommon among Attic antefixes, etc. This may be due to an accident in the kiln or subsequent burning, for the technique seems otherwise essentially that of Greek times. The fragment rather calls to mind Attic marble figures of children of the second half of the fourth century B.C. and itself might well date from about the fourth century B.C. or not too much later. It is the only architectural terracotta sculpture from the Agora excavations to use a reddish flesh tone for a male figure. The remainder simply employ the natural surface color of the clay, most commonly blond, for the skin of both sexes.

The only one of these isolated terracotta sculptures to be found in the Agora area proper is the torso of Athena, No. **E4**. This was discovered in late Roman fill near the east end of the Middle Stoa. Its date, as will be seen below, seems to be Hellenistic and it presumably served an architectural role. But its tiny scale may preclude any association with the Middle Stoa or the other major Hellenistic buildings in the vicinity. The total height of the figure when complete probably did not greatly exceed 40 centimeters. The technique again still seems thoroughly Greek, not Roman, although its execution is very degenerate. Indeed, this is easily the coarsest of the

⁵¹ Cf. also p. 116.

⁵² See also p. 115, note 2.

sculptures dealt with in this study. Among the other material it probably stands technically closest to the fragments from South Stoa I.⁵³ The over-slender proportions and the style (if one may use the term for so inadequate a work), with its mannered adaptations from the fifth century B.C., most probably indicate a date in the Hellenistic period and not necessarily an early one.⁵⁴ Some attempt is made in the catalogue section to suggest the pose of the figure, but a combination of poor workmanship and poor preservation make this a hazardous and uncertain task.⁵⁵

F. FIGURED ANTEFIXES, ETC. (Pl. 38)

This section is confined in the main to the better preserved of the more truly sculptural figured terracotta antefixes from the Athenian Agora and those antefixes, for example, whose reliefs are subsidiary to their palmette form are excluded from treatment here in accordance with the limits originally set for this study. But it is to be observed that the few pieces that do seem to claim attention under the present head are often, nevertheless, rather fragmentary and that it is sometimes impossible to be completely certain about their function.

Whereas the sculptures so far considered have been modelled by hand, those dealt with in this section have normally been shaped with the aid of moulds. But the first piece, No. **F1**, is, however, part of an archetype from which moulds would be taken, in this case for the forepart of a bovine head, most probably that of a calf. It seems to be the oldest surviving Attic terracotta archetype yet known and, as such, a piece of considerable technical interest and importance. As compared with the calf on the shoulders of the marble moschophoros from the Acropolis,⁵⁶ it seems markedly more primitive, with its large eye with bold plastic modelling of both pupil and iris. Perhaps rather closer seems the calf attacked by a lioness from an Acropolis poros pediment⁵⁷ and the eye treatment is faintly reflected in early marble works such as the horses from a chariot, Acropolis Nos. 575, 578-580.⁵⁸ But, once again, despite realistic touches such as the pattern of wrinkles above the nostril, the Agora archetype seems cruder and more rudimentary. Still, one may reasonably doubt whether it

⁵³ Nos. **D1-D6**. See pp. 123-128 above.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Röm. Mitt.*, Ergänzungsheft II, R. Horn, *Stehende weibliche Gewandstatuen in der hellenistischen Plastik*, Munich, 1931, p. 82, pl. 33, 2. Also, more loosely, P. Arndt, W. Amelung, etc., *Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulpturen*, no. 3855; F. Poulsen, *Katalog over Antike Skulpturer*, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, 1940, no. 105, p. 97, pl. 8; O. Waldhauer, *Die antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage*, III, Berlin and Leipzig, 1936, no. 220, p. 6, fig. 2.

⁵⁵ See pp. 137-138.

⁵⁶ H. Payne and G. M. Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*², London, 1950, pp. 1-3, pls. 2-4; H. Schrader, E. Langlotz and W. H. Schuchhardt, *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis*, Frankfurt am Main, 1939, no. 409, pp. 278-281, pls. 153-154.

⁵⁷ R. Heberdey, *Altattische Porosskulptur*, Vienna, 1919, no. VII, pp. 77-87.

⁵⁸ Payne and Young, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52, pl. 16; Schrader, Langlotz and Schuchhardt, *op. cit.*, no. 418, pp. 293-298, pls. 171-172.

could be any earlier than the second quarter of the sixth century B.C. Some at least of its primitive character seems to be due to the limitations of its artist and some, too, to the experimental nature of the piece. In the case of the rather awkwardly positioned eye, there is evidence on the surface that it had previously been tried at a totally different angle and on a somewhat smaller scale and its relative flatness is probably in large measure due to the difficulty, mainly self-imposed, of providing for a lateral eye in a frontal mould. Indeed, even in its present form, it is doubtful if moulds could be taken from this archetype without losing much of the detail behind the eye. It seems, in fact, a distinctly experimental piece of work and it can by no means be taken for granted that calves' heads ever actually went into production from moulds taken from this archetype. Technically it is probably to be considered against the large Attic votive female protomai in terracotta of this period, apparently produced from single frontal moulds.⁵⁹ Its context affords little information about its date or the location of the workshop that produced it, the fragment having simply been found in the fill of the late Roman fortification near the southeast corner of the Agora.

The intended function of any heads taken from this archetype is also not easy to assess, particularly as it seems uncertain whether any were, in fact, ever made. The archetype seems definitely intended only for a protome consisting of the forepart of the head, the splay at the levelled back edge ruling out any possibility that it was severed in the production of piece-moulds for a head in the round. So far as can be judged, the proposed function was architectural, since large animal-head protomai seem unknown among the fairly abundant Attic votive terracottas from this period. If this is so, however, the piece acquires a special interest in the light of the great importance of bovine heads in the architectural ornament of much later times, perhaps itself deriving ultimately from the practice of nailing the actual heads of sacrificial victims on to the timbers of sacred buildings. It has previously been presumed that the present archetype was for an antefix and this certainly cannot be gainsaid on the present evidence. But one might also just possibly visualize it as an early and probably abortive attempt at an unusual animal-head spout for a sima, especially if one bears in mind its rather tentative and experimental character.

The antefixes that one might most plausibly associate with a known building in the Agora are the two Gorgoneia, Nos. **F2** and **F3**. These were found in dumped fill of about 480 B.C. in a well by the archaic public buildings on the site later occupied by the Tholos and especially close to the large structure, Building F, dating from the third quarter of the sixth century B.C. and possibly serving as the archaic Prytaneion.⁶⁰ The context of the Gorgoneia would thus suit their having been on a building destroyed in the Persian sack of Athens. For the date when they were made

⁵⁹ E. g. **Εργον τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*, 1957, p. 11, fig. 7.

⁶⁰ *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, 1940, pp. 15-33; Travlos, *op. cit.*, p. 36, fig. 15; *Agora Guide*², p. 46.

one must otherwise rely on stylistic criteria. They seem definitely earlier than the Gorgoneion antefixes from the Athenian Acropolis that Buschor has assigned to his Roof 9 and aptly compared with the shield Gorgoneion on the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, implying a date for them not too far from about 525 B.C.⁶¹ The Agora Gorgoneia might thus be assigned to the third quarter of the sixth century B.C. They can hardly be earlier than the middle of the century, despite primitive vestigial traits in the treatment, e.g., of the ears and nose. Comparisons with vase-painting are more difficult. The painted Gorgoneia seem often to become more conservative than their counterparts in relief and much more reluctant to dispense with tusks, beards and other extraneous features. The two dots on the brow, as shown by the antefixes, seem especially popular on black-figure Gorgoneia of the later sixth century, but they provide no real chronological control as they have, in fact, a long life in Attic vase-painting, occurring, e.g., on the François vase.⁶² Both the Agora Gorgoneia seem to have been from the same mould-series and generation.⁶³ All that can probably be said for sure is that this series would seem to have begun in the third quarter of the sixth century B.C., but that it could have remained in production for quite some time after that. It is thus not certain, but not impossible, that these antefixes are to be associated with the original construction of Building F.

Another Gorgoneion antefix from the same mould-series as the Agora examples was found in Boeotia at the Ptoion.⁶⁴ Very little has been published about its find circumstances, dimensions or fabric and it is not possible to determine whether or not it is of the same mould-generation. Indeed, the author finds himself at a disadvantage so far as certain of the technical aspects of the Agora Gorgoneia are concerned as well, in that he has been unable to examine the better preserved example, **F2**, at first hand. This was stolen from the Agora Museum in about November, 1956, and the present publication has had to rely wholly on the inventory description and photograph and such inferences as can be based on the surviving fragment, **F3**. But **F2** seems to have been regarded as definitely of Attic fabric and **F3** is certainly Attic. As the Ptoion antefix shows exactly the same painted decoration it would seem most likely also to be of Attic origin.

The fragmentary protome of Herakles, No. **F4**, was moulded hollow in Corinthian clay. There are some faint traces of attachment at the back edge and the head presumably functioned as an antefix. Stylistically it shows resemblances to the fragments in the round from the vicinity of the Heliaia Nos. **B1-B3**,⁶⁵ and it,

⁶¹ E. Buschor, *Die Tondächer der Akropolis*, II, *Stirnziegel*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1933, pp. 40-41, 72, fig. 53, pl. 5.

⁶² A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Munich, 1900-1932, pls. 1-2.

⁶³ For the technical terms used, see *B.S.A.*, XLVII, 1952, pp. 217-226.

⁶⁴ *B.C.H.*, XXXI, 1907, p. 185, fig. 1; E. D. Van Buren, *Greek Fictile Revetments in the Archaic Period*, London, 1926, p. 137, no. 6.

⁶⁵ Pp. 117-120.

too, may date near the middle of the fifth century B.C. Indeed, the treatment of its eye, hair and beard suggest interesting comparisons with **B1** and **B3**, notwithstanding that there are distinct differences in surface finish. This Herakles antefix is an isolated find from near the middle of the slope between the Areopagus and the Agora. It is of technical interest to note that this head, as it issued from the mould, does not seem originally to have represented Herakles at all and the lion's scalp and jaw appear to have been added by hand after moulding. This seems fairly clear from the way in which some of these additions have flaked away and revealed the original moulded surface underneath.

The last piece to be discussed here, No. **F5**, was moulded flat and solid in a single frontal mould, like the Gorgoneia, Nos. **F2-F3**. It is much broken about the edges and very incompletely preserved, but seems quite likely to have served as an antefix. The fabric again is Attic. The surviving fragment seems to be from a work of mature Hellenistic date and preserves the upper half of a dramatic mask of a most singular form. The face, seemingly that of a New Comedy slave or old man, is surmounted by a very narrow cranium covered with a rather inappropriate hairstyle in the form of two tiers of corkscrew curls, apparently crowned by a small topknot which is itself flanked by what may be the ends of ribbons. Tiered corkscrew curls are, of course, a frequent feature on the *onkos* of tragic masks, but here the effect is rather one of general incongruity. This mask is not included in Professor T. B. L. Webster's article on the dramatic monuments from the Athenian Agora, presumably because it was felt to fall just outside the chronological limits of that study.⁶⁶ In correspondence with the author, Professor Webster has suggested that the antefix appears to be a conflation between the mask of a slave and the hair of a youth or girl. He feels inclined to attribute this odd combination to the whim of the coroplast rather than theatrical practice and does not think that the juxtaposition of these disparate elements can be accounted for at all in terms of the orthodox forms of dramatic masks. Among these, the only comic type combining a face at all like this with corkscrew curls seems to be that identified as the curly-haired Lykomedeian old man of Pollux and mainly known from the rather later architectural terracottas of Campania.⁶⁷ But these show only a single tier of corkscrew curls without a topknot and are thus distinctly different in effect. A close dating is not easy for so singular a work, but the character of the fabric seems to suggest the second century B.C. and some stylistic features may favor a date in the second half of that century or not too

⁶⁶ *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 254-284.

⁶⁷ *University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin*, Suppl. XI, T. B. L. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy*, London, 1961, nos. NT 31-34, pp. 30-31, 198 (where earlier bibliography). Cf. also one of the gold masks from the late Hellenistic Palaioakastro Treasure, variously identified as an old man or a slave: *Ath. Mitt.*, L, 1925, p. 172, pl. 8, *g*; Webster, *op. cit.*, no. AJ 1, p. 49; H. Hoffmann and P. F. Davidson, *Greek Gold Jewellery from the Age of Alexander*, Brooklyn, 1965, no. 134, p. 284, fig. 134, left.

much later.⁶⁸ The piece was found in late Roman fill not far from the west ends of South Stoa I and II. But at present it remains a completely isolated fragment without grounds for being associated either with the later of these two buildings or with the final phase of its predecessor.⁶⁹

CATALOGUE

A. FROM NEAR THE THOLOS

See p. 117 on clay, fabric and presumptive date (ca. 470 B.C.).

A1 Part of a Left Upper Arm. Pl. 32.
T 887. Area G-H 10. Max. dim. ca. 10.3 cm.
Hesperia, Suppl. IV, 1940, p. 70, note 47.

A2 Leg Fragment (?). Pl. 32.
T 1712. Area G 11, in context of late 5th century B.C. Max. dim. ca. 7 cm. Blond clay stained buff.

Loc. cit.

Possibly from a thigh.

B. FROM THE NORTH SIDE OF THE HELAIA

See pp. 117-120 on clay, fabric and date (ca. 460 B.C.).

B1 Helmeted Male Head. Pls. 32-34.
T 3253. Area I 14, in basin of water-clock with debris of 2nd century B.C. P. H. ca. 21 cm. W. 13.2 cm.

Archaeology, VI, 1953, p. 144; *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 61-62, pl. 14, a; *J.H.S.*, LXXIV, 1954, p. 148, fig. 5; G. M. A. Richter, *Handbook of Greek Art*⁴, London, 1959, p. 83, fig. 112.

Assembled from many fragments. Nose, most of beard and parts of helmet missing, including crest and raised cheek-pieces. These last apparently modelled separately and each strengthened in position with aid of two small armature rods, ca. 0.3 cm. in diameter, for which holes survive pierced through cheeks. Where helmet has broken away in front, it is clear that

brow underneath was extensively modelled first and this part of helmet was then added in a separate layer of clay, there being traces of a preliminary and a final guide-line for its lower edge, the latter falling almost along the eyebrows. Eyebrows, eye outlines, pupils and irises picked out in dull brown "glaze." Similar brown "glaze" used for main surfaces of Thracian helmet, with figures of Pegasos in red-figure technique at sides and meander pattern along crest-holder. Contrasting fired red, now deteriorated to soft orange, used around lower edge of neck-piece and for volutes at sides.

B2 Fragment of Drapery. Pl. 32.

T 3282. Context probably as for **B1** (recovered from dump; earth from same point). P. H. ca. 3.2 cm. Section removed for laboratory study and identified as clay from the Corinthian plain with hornfelstemper.

Preserves part of a fold from the edge of a trailing garment, possibly a cloak as it seems to have been free-hanging and is finished on both sides. Its vertical surfaces are curved, suggesting that it may have been draped over an arm or other member of a figure in motion and was swept back somewhat below.

B3 Fragment from Head of a Satyr (?).

Pl. 32.

T 3357. Area H 14. P. H. 7.5 cm.

Fragment from bearded face with broad, rather animal features, possibly representing a centaur but much more probably a satyr. Dull brown "glaze" for eye outline, iris and pupil.

⁶⁸ In correspondence with the author, Professor Webster has suggested that the framing of the eyes may indicate a date no earlier than the mid 2nd century B.C. and has felt in tentative agreement on a late Hellenistic dating.

⁶⁹ See also pp. 127-128 above.

Heavy, drooping moustache rendered with incised wavy lines. Faint traces of similar incision on beard below mouth.

C. FROM THE STOA OF ZEUS

See pp. 120-123 on clay, fabric and date (*ca.* 440-425 B.C.).

C1 Nude Male Rump. Pl. 35.

T 1261*a*. Area G 5-6 in late Roman filling in plundered foundation trench. Max. dim. 12.5 cm.

Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 38-39, no. *a*, fig. 25.

Part of the nude right hip and buttock of a male figure, apparently bent in a half seated posture, with traces of where it was gripped by the left hand of another figure.

C2 Draped Breast of a Child (?). Pl. 35.

T 1261*b*. Context as for **C1**. P. H. 10.5 cm.

Ibid., no. *b*.

Preserves the chiton-clad left breast of a male or young female figure, possibly on a slightly smaller scale than the other fragments. Some of the folds running obliquely over the breast seem drawn tight by the movement of the figure or by external stresses.

C3 Draped Leg of a Woman. Pl. 35.

T 1261*c*. Context as for **C1**. P. H. *ca.* 11 cm.

Ibid., no. *c*.

Preserves the knee and much of the shin of the partly bent leg (possibly, but not certainly a left leg) of a figure, presumably female, wearing a long chiton. The drapery is summarily treated over the front of the leg, but behind, to its right, the folds are deeply channeled at an oblique angle. The missing drapery below seems as if it may have billowed out slightly to either side of the ankle. Cylindrical armature rods, 0.7 cm. in diameter and set one on each side of the leg, were used to strengthen it. The holes for the upper parts of these armatures are preserved just under the surface, set at a slightly oblique angle to follow the flow of leg and drapery.

C4 Drapery Fragment. Pl. 35.

T 1261*d*. Context as for **C1**. P. H. 6.1 cm.

Ibid., no. *d*.

Fragment of drapery, apparently from just under the girdle and blown somewhat backwards as if from the back of a figure.

C5 Unshod Left Foot. Pl. 35.

T 3717. Area L 15. P. L. 13.5 cm. P. H. 7.7 cm.

Dull black "glaze" on the traces of the flat plinth surface surviving below the foot. The foot has been built up almost solid about an armature rod, 1.2 cm. in diameter, the hole for which survives passing up through the ankle, inclined forward at a slightly oblique angle. Delicate modelling, with finely shaped toes and ankle and a vein picked out in shallow relief over the top of the foot, above the big toe and its immediate neighbor. The foot pressed flat on the plinth throughout its length and apparently carrying a load-bearing leg.

D. FROM SOUTH STOA I

See pp. 123-128 on clay, fabric and presumptive date (uncertain, but possibly late additions of about the 3rd century B.C.).

D1 Back of a Panther (?). Pl. 36.

T 3138. Area O 15. P. H. *ca.* 15 cm. P. W. *ca.* 14.5 cm. P. L. *ca.* 14 cm.

On the most reasonable interpretation, from the shoulders and start of the neck of an animal with its head somewhat raised and turned to its left. Its pelt is indicated by the natural buff of the clay, decorated with short curving lines of dull brown "glaze" set in reciprocating pairs to form more or less oval shapes, suggesting that spots are intended rather than tufts of fur. Pressed against the start of the animal's neck, there are preserved part of the thumb and two fingers of a human right hand, rendered with a thin coating of blond clay and showing traces of the same white deposit as on the right arm, **D3**. On the tentative reconstruction offered here, this is the hand of Dionysos seated side-saddle on the animal. Above the creature's shoulders there is drapery, presumably the edge of a cloak trailed from the same figure, the way it lies suggesting that the animal's back

sloped down somewhat from rump to fore-quarters. This drapery is also coated with blond clay and the same treatment is extended as well to a considerable panel below it on that side of the animal that seems to have been facing to the front of the group. This may represent a kind of saddle-cloth, but it shows no independent modelling and was perhaps added as an afterthought when the piece was being decorated. Its edge is picked out with "glaze" and with double incised lines, presumably to suggest a hemmed border, and the line of this seems also to confirm the slope of the animal's back. It does not seem to have been extended round to the other side of the animal.

D2 Back of Head and Shoulders of Dionysos (?). Pl. 36.

T 3297. Area O 16, in Hellenistic fill near the east wall of South Stoa I. P. H. *ca.* 21.5 cm. P. W. *ca.* 21 cm.

From a figure modelled hollow around a central vertical armature, 2.5 cm. in diameter, which has left a clear impression inside the head. The evidence of this armature and of the deep angle between the head and shoulders reveals that the upper part of the body was bent forward to a marked degree and the head much less so. The head was also turned to the left in relation to the shoulders. A great curly mane of hair has been applied as numerous wavy strips of clay, with heavy incisions following the waves to suggest the hair strands and with the surface coated with a dull brown "glaze." There seems to have been a deep hollow between the shoulder-blades and the right shoulder may have been pressed back. Below the hair, the surface of the back, finished in blond clay, seems to indicate bare flesh, implying that the upper part of the figure at least was largely naked.

D3 Right Upper Arm of Dionysos (?). Pl. 36.

T 3275. Fill M-N 15:1. P. L. 13 cm.

Part of a bare right upper arm, fashioned solid. The musculature, summary though it is, and the traces of attachment below the armpit suggest that it was pressed back slightly

against the side of the figure in its upper part, but below turned somewhat out to the side. The surface coating of fine blond clay was mostly very thin on this piece and has partly flaked away; some of the surface has been discolored with a white deposit like that on the right hand on **D1**.

D4 Part of Right Leg of Dionysos (?). Pl. 36.

T 3317. Fill M-N 15:1. P. H. *ca.* 16.5 cm.

Apparently the front part of a right leg from a little below the knee to well above the ankle. It was apparently modelled solid around an armature, 1.2 cm. in diameter, the hole for which is partly preserved. The surface of the coarse clay has been scratched with horizontal and vertical lines and the scant surviving traces of the fine blond clay suggest that these were echoed in the surface modelling. If these lines are thus to be explained as a guide for the surface detail, the most likely interpretation seems to be that the leg was represented as wearing a high skin boot bound with thongs and terminating just below the knee.

D5 Snake's Head. Pl. 36.

T 3750. Area M 16. Max. dim. 13.7 cm. P. H. *ca.* 9 cm.

Solid head of a crested snake or sea-serpent, seemingly raised at an angle of about 30° above the horizontal and turned fairly sharply to its right. Brownish "glaze" over sides and top of head. Closed mouth and wrinkled folds of scales on underside of head indicated by broad incised lines in the blond clay surface. There are traces of a considerable crest on top of the creature's head, now broken away, originally strengthened by tiny vertical armatures, *ca.* 0.6 cm. in diameter, for which parts of the holes survive. The crest was placed somewhat left of center on the reptile's head, favoring the view that the ill-preserved right side of the head was more to be seen from the front of the composition, an opinion strengthened by the rather better modelling of what little detail does survive on that side. It is, however, extremely battered and so only the left side is illustrated. Below the head, the creature's neck seems to

have been raised nearly vertically. A control as to angle seems to be afforded by the bottom of the hole for an armature rod, *ca.* 1.1 cm. in diameter, extending up from the back of the snake's head and presumably pierced approximately vertically. It would thus seem that the reared snake also served to provide support to (or else obtained support from) some other part of the composition above.

D6 Fragment from a Himation (?). Pl. 36.

T 3201. Area I 12, from disturbed fill of Middle Stoa near its west end (i.e. probably later phase of Fill H-K 12-15). P. H. 13.5 cm.

Bottom of a hanging fold of a heavy woollen garment, very probably a himation. Its lower edge is hanging somewhat obliquely. The hanging fold has been fashioned almost solid, but the garment continued also above, to either side and, for a short way at least, below, built up of strips of coarse clay, doubtless as part of the hollow body of a human figure. The surface originally had a thin coating of blond clay.

E. OTHER FRAGMENTS OF SCULPTURE IN THE ROUND

See also pp. 128-130.

E1 Himation Fragment. Pl. 37.

T 1293. Area D 12, with pottery of 6th and 5th centuries B.C. P. H. 6 cm. Attic pinkish buff clay consisting of a gritty core, *ca.* 1.5-2 cm. thick, with a fairly generous surface layer of fine pinkish buff clay.

The garment seems almost certainly a himation, most probably a woman's transverse himation, although, from so tiny a scrap, it is impossible to be sure. Part of its lower edge is preserved at the side, showing that it was drawn upwards in zigzag folds. It is painted in a fired dark red, with a matt black border. The fragment seems late archaic, most probably in the vicinity of 500 B.C.

Ca. end of 6th or beginning of 5th century B.C.

E2 Left Hand, Perhaps of a Child. Pl. 37.

T 1267. Pit B 12:3. P. L. 5.6 cm. Ocher Corinthian clay, consisting of a slightly gritty

core with a thin, fine, surface layer covered with transparent "glaze."

The plumpness of the hand and its small scale, as compared with that usual for such architectural terracotta sculptures, seem to suggest that it may have belonged to a young child. It was pressed hard against a curving surface, perhaps part of the body of another human figure.

Ca. later 5th century B.C.

E3 Right Hand of a Boy (?). Pl. 37.

T 3559. Area S 19. Max. dim. 10.6 cm. Micaceous light red Attic clay with some grits and with a surface layer of finer yellow-buff clay.

Remarkable in that the surface clay has disappeared from the back of the hand, save between the fingers, suggesting that this side was exposed to the weather for a very long period and that the hand was turned at such an angle that the palm was protected. Over the surviving surface clay there are traces of fired matt red on the flesh. Just below the wrist part of the edge of a garment is preserved, perhaps a himation, with possible faint "ghosts" of color on the hem. The half-closed hand is presumably male, on the evidence of the surface color, but apparently that of a boy rather than an adult, to judge from its soft, youthful forms.

Ca. 4th century B.C. or later.

E4 Athena. Pl. 37.

T 3130. Area O 12. P. H. 19 cm. Very coarse pinkish buff Attic clay containing large grits and with traces on its surface of a blond color, which seems to be all that survives of a thin layer or slip of finer surface clay.

Preserves the torso of the goddess, fashioned solid. Neck strengthened with an armature rod, 0.65 cm. in diameter, part of whose hole survives. The left leg may have been very slightly advanced. The left shoulder reveals that the left upper arm was lowered somewhat, but still held away from the body. The right shoulder is missing, but the summary treatment of the drapery on the right side might suggest that it was concealed by a lowered right arm

which did not, however, make contact with the body. The goddess wears a peplos with a very long overfold and with her girdle apparently passing over the overfold at the back but under it in front. Over her breast there is a much damaged aegis, decorated with a deeply cut scale pattern.

Hellenistic.

F. FIGURED ANTEFIXES, ETC.

See also pp. 130-134.

F1 Archetype Fragment: Calf's Head.

Pl. 38.

A 1843. Area P-R 13-15, in late Roman fortification. P. H. *ca.* 11.6 cm. Hard, even Attic clay, varying in color between ocher and tan, with a slight surface slip of even smoother clay.

Apparently modelled by hand in superimposed layers, with the interior subsequently largely hollowed out with a knife from behind, but leaving a bridge of clay inside above the level of the nose, below which there was apparently further hollowing behind the nostrils. The fragment preserves the right side, from the eye to just above the nostril, of a bovine head, most probably that of a calf. The muzzle was marked with an incised outline and there is a pattern of parallel incised wrinkles above. The eye has iris and pupil indicated in relief. The piece was only a protome representing the forepart of the head and the back edge was trimmed level where it was apparently intended to be set against a vertical surface. But the present head was never attached to another member in this position, nor was it apparently ever glazed or painted. Instead it seems to have served as the archetype from which the moulds for such protomai might be taken.

Ca. second quarter of 6th century B.C.

F2. Antefix: Gorgoneion. Pl. 38.

A 2296. Well H 12:15, in dumped fill of *ca.* 480 B.C. P. H. 15 cm. P. W. 14 cm. Reddish Attic clay.

Mouldmade. Face the natural reddish clay color. Applied white on eyes and teeth. Dull

black "glaze" for hair, eyebrows and irises and pupils. Fired purplish red for mouth, tongue, nose, outlines of teeth, ears and eyes and for round dots on forehead and in front of ears.

Ca. third quarter of 6th century B.C.

F3 Antefix Fragment: Gorgoneion. Pl. 38.

A 2345. From the same context and from a mould of the same series and generation as **F2**. P. H. 4.5 cm. Gritty reddish Attic clay.

Mouldmade. Preserves right eye and parts of nose, brows and left eye.

Ca. third quarter of 6th century B.C.

F4 Antefix Fragment: Head of Herakles.

Pl. 38.

A 887. Area O 18. P. H. 8.4 cm. Blond Corinthian clay with small added grits and with an even surface layer of fine greenish blond Corinthian clay, covered with lustrous transparent "glaze" over the flesh areas.

Mouldmade, in two layers of clay. Open at the back, but the vertical back edge is not finished, and the head seems to have broken away along the edge of the moulded part. Remains of blackish "glaze" on eye details. Traces of fired purplish red on, or against, the edge of the beard. The hair and beard are largely concealed by handworked additions over the moulded brow and cheek. These are now much broken away, but seem to have consisted of the scalp and jaw of a lion.

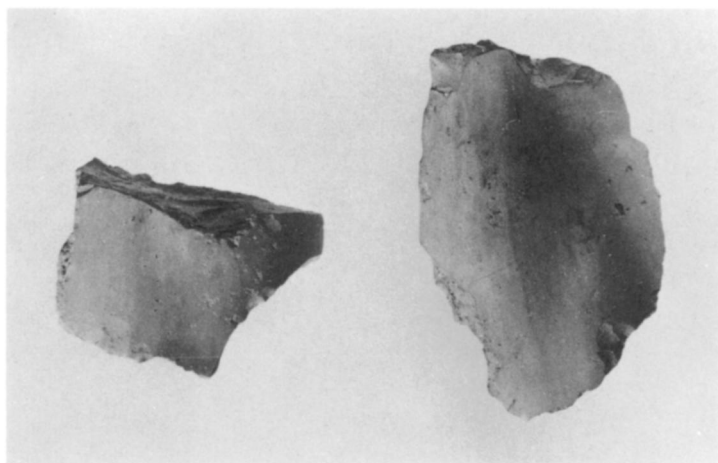
Ca. mid 5th century B.C.

F5 Antefix (?): Dramatic Mask. Pl. 38.

A 642. Area L 14. P. H. 15 cm. T. 6 cm. Dark red Attic clay, fairly even and compact near the moulded surface, otherwise gritty. Orange-blond slip.

Mouldmade. Preserves the upper half of a mask, possibly that of a slave, but with a seemingly inappropriate hairstyle consisting of two tiers of corkscrew curls, surmounted by the remains of a small topknot and what may be a ribbon to either side. Creamish white on eyes. Red "glaze" over hair and for picking out details of eyes and face.

Ca. mid to late 2nd century B.C. (?).

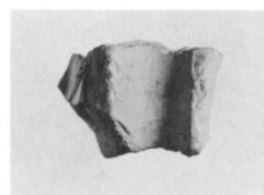


A2

A1



B3



B2

(1:2)



B1 before Mending

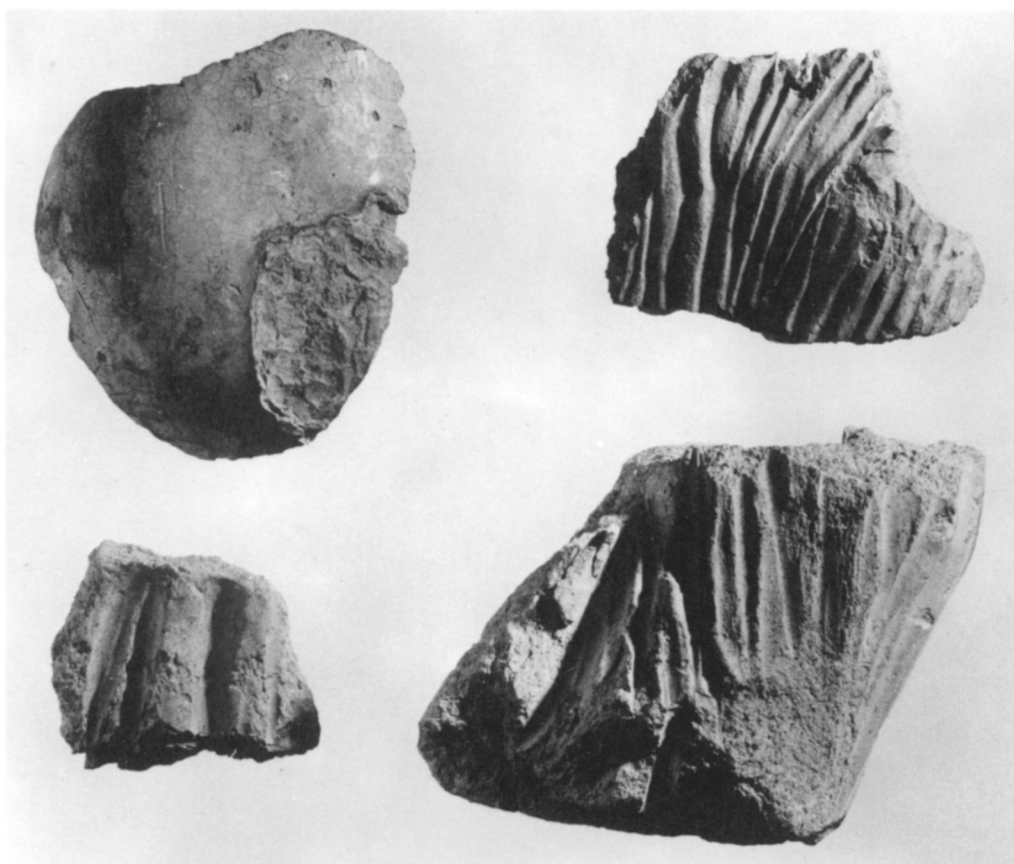


B1

RICHARD NICHOLLS: ARCHITECTURAL TERRACOTTA SCULPTURE FROM THE ATHENIAN AGORA



B1 (1:2)



C1
C4

C2
C3



C3



C3



C5



C5



C5

(1:2)



D1



D1



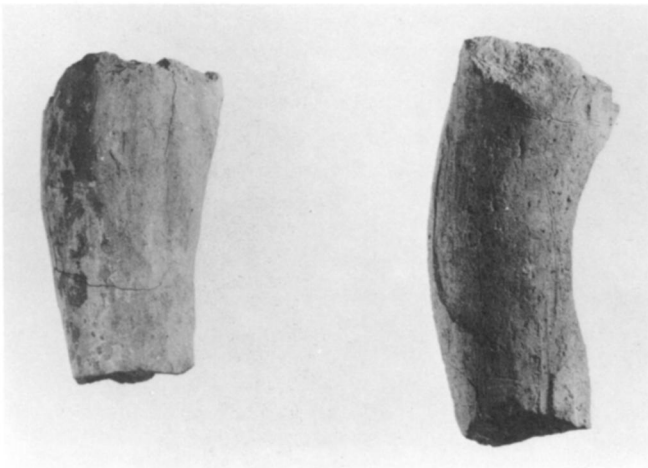
A 2351 + A 3593 (note 43)



D2

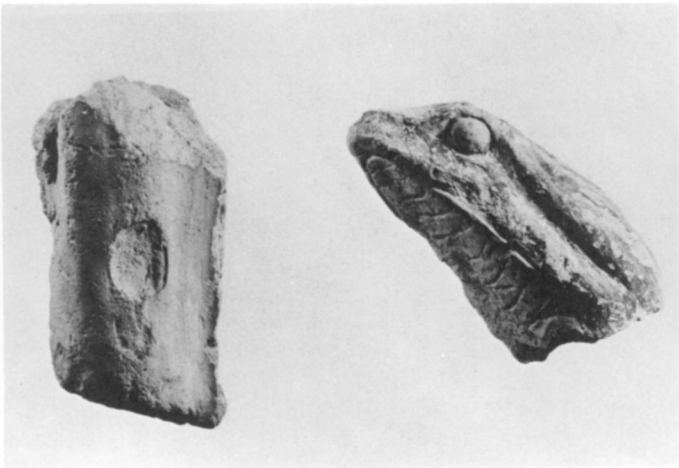


D2



D3

D4



D6

D5

(1:3)



A 2300 (1:3) (note 45)



A 2306 (1:3) (note 45)



E1 (1:2)



E3 (1:2)



E2 (1:2)



E4 (1:3)





F1



F3



F4



F2



F5

(1:2)