

THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS

(PLATES 68–71)

VII THE EARLY FIRST CENTURY B.C. B. THE MASK CISTERN

OUR next group of Hellenistic terracottas was found in a cistern (Deposit N 20: 4)¹ that came to light high up on the slopes of the Areopagus where it had served an Hellenistic house that was damaged during the sack of Athens by Sulla in 86 B.C. It was filled up a little later than the Kybele Cistern of which the contents have previously been described² as characteristic of Sullan debris.

CHRONOLOGY

The evidence for dating the contents of this cistern is extensive. A slight supplementary filling was thrown in on top of the original packing after it had settled, but it is of no significance for us. The upper filling was devoid of interesting material. Most of the material in the lower filling can be dated in the second quarter of the 1st century B.C. The coins are still being studied and cannot yet be used as evidence for chronology.³ The latest stamped amphora handles fall very slightly after Sulla.⁴ The pottery also apparently contains some post-Sullan material.⁵ Most of the lamps belong to the upper filling, but fall into the same period.⁶

Although the stratification seems to have no significance for the study of the figurines, we should record that one scrap (No. 9) was also found in the upper filling. In the central part of the original filling, which was almost devoid of pottery, two well preserved pieces were discovered: a draped figure (No. 3) and the mask (No. 8) for which we name this cistern. These appear to be pieces that fell in after the cistern was abandoned but before it was finally closed. One draped fragment comes from the period of original use (No. 2). The rest were found in the mass of debris that was gathered after the sack. They too, however, may well have been made before the disaster.

¹ Deposit N 20: 4 was excavated in 1938 by Margaret Crosby. The photographs for this article are by Alison Frantz and James Heyle.

² *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, pp. 1-19.

³ The bronze coins of this period are being studied by Martin Price.

⁴ Virginia Grace kindly checked the handles from this deposit in 1964.

⁵ Several "Pergamene" bowl and plate fragments will be published by Roger Edwards in his general study of the Hellenistic pottery. I also benefited by discussions with John Hayes on the dating of the latest Hellenistic wares. Cf. Paul W. Lapp, *Palestinian Ceramic Chronology*, New Haven, 1961, for recent dating of the wares of the 1st century B.C.

⁶ R. H. Howland, *Athenian Agora*, IV, *Greek Lamps*, Princeton, 1958, nos. 471, 495, 499, 695, 698.

TECHNIQUE

The fabric of all these pieces (with one exception) is soft and varies in color from gray to very light yellow. This is the blond clay that we have observed as characteristic of the late 2nd century B.C. Certain pieces (particularly No. 7) seem less well fired than the characteristically late 2nd century examples. This fabric is like that of the herms previously assigned on various grounds to the post-Sullan period.⁷ Most fragments, however, are very much like those from the Herakles Deposit and the Kybele Cistern.⁸ On the best (Nos. 3, 8) the slip is tenacious, but little color survives; on the softer pieces (except No. 6), the slip is thin and poorly preserved.

Entirely different from all these examples is the fragment of a shield (No. 9). It is well baked of buff brownish very micaceous clay. Since it finds no parallels either of fabric or of type among our other pieces from Athens, we may have to regard it as an import.

The bases in this group are high and moulded. No. 10 seems to be the older. It is carefully modelled with a rounded upper moulding and a strongly projecting lower half round and fillet. It is not possible to assign any of the surviving fragments to it, though its fabric and style would suit No. 5. The other base (No. 7) is large and clumsy. The upper moulding is fairly careful; the lower slips forward to an irregular edge. The contrast between these two bases is shocking. The first retains the firm Greek sense of transition; the curves give volume to the block. Beside it, the other is utterly sloppy.

The only existing complete vent, on No. 3, is an irregular oval. Its back is also irregular and handmade, an early type. Enough remains of the backs of other pieces to show that they are markedly smooth and convex, as in previous examples of the late 2nd century.⁹

The yellow-blond fabric does not show much slip. The colors best preserved are dark red (No. 7) on the vertical face of the base; yellowish on female flesh (No. 5), strong orange on male flesh (Nos. 6, 7) and brownish red on the furry legs of the satyr (No. 7) and hair of the boy (No. 6). The latter is a coarsely colored group with a garish color tone.

TYPES AND SUBJECTS

The types in this group are all original and a few unique in our series. Unfortunately, most are in too poor a condition to be very useful for a reliable study of the period.

⁷ *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, pp. 10-11. Cf. *ibid.*, XXXII, 1963, p. 309, no. 13, pl. 82.

⁸ *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 53-54; XXXV, 1966, pp. 2-3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 35, 54.

MALE FIGURE: No. 1

A comic male head suggests a type from the stage, but although the mouth is pierced, the head is not masked. The pudgy face is childish with squinting eyes and a stubby nose. The bound wreath is stippled only lightly; it stops at the level of the ears and is attached by jabs. The little fellow is hunching up his right shoulder, perhaps to fondle an animal or to snuggle into his cloak like similar boys from Myrina.¹⁰ The lively style and the form of the wreath suggest that the piece was made not long before the Sullan siege.

DRAPED FIGURES: Nos. 2-5

The draped pieces form a peculiar group. No. 2 was found at the bottom of the cistern and therefore presumably dates before Sulla. This dating is consistent with the fabric which is close to that characteristic of the Herakles Deposit.¹¹ It is difficult to assign this piece to a definite part of a draped figure. The markedly disparate sections are set at an angle that makes it impossible to interpret as hanging on a human figure. Possibly it is a section of drapery that was thrown over a post (of which the line of the top may appear at the central break). Independent posts supporting drapery that seem never to have been used in conjunction with figures occur in other late Hellenistic contexts.¹² They look for all the world like the drapery arrangements introduced by Victorian artists and photographers to dignify their subjects.

The little standing girl and a scrap from the same mould (Nos. 3, 4) are in a different style. This type has been discovered in the Coroplast's Dump of the third quarter of the 4th century and on the Pnyx in a context of less certain date.¹³ The type is a characteristic creation of the period and here it appears in the early 1st century. It has retained its original size and its patterns, fold for fold, although the proportions have become slimmer and the large awkward feet have been added. We have already discussed this type and its long history. These two fragments are not made of the usual pale blond clay of this period, but, like the mask (No. 8), of redder clay like that of a good parallel from the Herakles Deposit.¹⁴ We may therefore consider them the last true Athenians in our group. The style is weak and reminds us of No. 2 of the Kybele Cistern¹⁵ which is also revivalistic. We have yet once again

¹⁰ S. Mollard, *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs, Musée du Louvre*, II, *Myrina*, Paris, 1963, pl. 155, e.

¹¹ *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 53.

¹² Cf. Mollard, *Myrina*, pls. 188, a, c, 187, f.; Agora T 2362, T 2801.

¹³ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 34, no. 20, pp. 132-136. Add an example from Eleusis, *Δελτ.*, 1960, *Χρονικά*, p. 44, pl. 42, B 4; pp. 54 f.

¹⁴ *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 70, no. 14.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, XXXV, 1966, p. 6, pl. 2, no. 2.

evidence of the revival of old 4th century types in the last days of Athenian independence.

The little archaistic figure (No. 5) has also already been analyzed in relation to the series of 'idols.'¹⁶ They apparently represent small votive statues of votaries or of xoana that were often set up in sanctuaries. Like herm and Priapus figures, they offered convenient support for relaxing human beings, providing rigidity as an attractive contrast to living curves. Ours is a particularly vigorous specimen, with clear marks of attachment at the back to a large draped figure. The drapery of the statuette is emphasized by a central fold; the girdle is clearly rendered as is the tiny fawn that the votary holds to her breast. It is possible that the base, No. 10, supported the pier on which this figure stood.

GROUPS: Nos. 6, 7

In this deposit appears more evidence of the growing taste for groups and little scenes that we saw beginning in the late 2nd century.¹⁷ The group of the boy and his dog has antecedents in the painted stelai of the 3rd century.¹⁸ Here the narrative mood dominates. Instead of showing a closed composition, the coroplast represents the boy as hurrying away a big basket of food from a small dog which eagerly follows at his heels. The composition is "one-sided" and based on the movement of the diagonal. This frontal aspect was very popular at this period.¹⁹ It is interesting to note the variations on the theme that occur in terracotta. It is particularly common at Myrina. Sometimes the dog (or goose) jumps vertically toward the boy's hanging right hand.²⁰ Again, the child extends the food sideways to the dog or a cock stretches toward a bunch of grapes,²¹ forming the same attractive oblique movement that occurs on our piece. It seems more likely that our piece copies the imaginative creations of Asia Minor than that the idea was essentially Athenian at this period. The modeling, moreover, is highly inferior to the eastern examples; the face is featureless, though a bit humanized by paint. The fact that the wreath is made in the mould with the head and that plasticity is entirely forgotten implies that this group is post-Sullan. Only one such scene has been found complete at Delos²²; those from Myrina, on the ground of the signatures of coroplasts and of their style, appear all to be as

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 133-135, pl. 27.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 60-61.

¹⁸ E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, Cairo, 1912, pls. XX-XXI, 25 ff.

¹⁹ D. Burr, *Terra-cottas from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Vienna, 1934, (hereafter, Burr, *Myrinas*), p. 43, nos. 24 ff.

²⁰ Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 163, a-c. Only one other fragment of this type survives from the Agora, T 947, from Deposit E 14:3, dating in the late 3rd to early 2nd century.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pls. 162, f, 164, c, f; Burr, *Myrinas*, pl. XI, no. 25.

²² *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 56, no. 559.

late as the latter part of the 1st century B.C. and later.²³ The excellent preservation of our piece suggests also that it is post-Sullan and therefore must date near the mid 1st century. Perhaps both Athenian and Myrinan creations were independently derived from the painting and group sculpture of the day.

The other group (or groups) from this deposit gathered together as No. 7 was evidently complex and the surviving fragments only hint at its character. A large oval base supports a rocky area on which a lion skin was spread; one paw remains. It suggests a composition like that of a complicated late Hellenistic marble relief in the British Museum that shows satyrs and a nymph on rocky ground.²⁴ The fragments of a goat-legged Pan may also be associated with our group, as the scale and fabric are suitable. Pan may have possibly stood alone, as on marble representations of the god in his pastoral setting.²⁵ Or possibly, he may have been associated with a youth, of which a draped and a naked arm survive, as on similar pastoral compositions.²⁶ The draped arm is a degenerated example of a type already discussed.²⁷ A fragment of a tree stump, very like one from Myrina²⁸ can readily be fitted into the setting. Such trees begin to appear in the background of late Hellenistic reliefs.²⁹ On Roman reliefs they spread lush shade over even more elaborate scenes.

MASK: No. 8

The little female mask with flowing locks and creamy skin must represent the Maiden in Pollux' series (his No. 33).³⁰ She has a nervous expression about the brows, produced by a deep cut over the upper eyelid, as in certain Roman portraits.³¹ She looks as though she were involved in innocent distress. Her golden hair and blue eyes show how blondes in ancient Greece, as to-day, were admired for their fresh coloring.

The small size of this mask and the unpierced eyes in conjunction with the open mouth occur on other late Hellenistic types both in Athens and in Delos.³² In general

²³ Burr, *Myrinas*, pp. 43-47, nos. 25-33, dating near the turn of the Christian era; Mollard, *Myrina*, pp. 133-135.

²⁴ A. H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, London, 1904, III, pl. XXV, no. 2195; T. Schreiber, *Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder*, pl. LXIII, 2.

²⁵ G. Mendel, *Catalogue des Sculptures, Musées impériaux ottomans*, II, pp. 326 ff., nos. 593 f.

²⁶ E.g. M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York, 1961, fig. 628; cf. figs. 633-635.

²⁷ *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pl. 82, nos. 11-13, pp. 308 f.

²⁸ Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 188, b.

²⁹ Schreiber, *Reliefbilder*, pls. XV, XVII.

³⁰ T. B. L. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy*, London, 1961, p. 22; p. 55, AT 22.

³¹ E.g. E. B. Harrison, *Athenian Agora*, I, Princeton, 1953, pp. 12 ff., no. 3, pl. 3, dated mid 1st century B.C. Cf. the treatment of the eyes on the larger masks, Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 229.

³² *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 92, no. 1217; pl. 93, no. 1231. Cf. T. Wiegand, H. Schrader, *Priene*, p. 361, fig. 446, larger, with pierced eyes.

the eyes were pierced at this time on comparable larger types, but the technique probably depended also on the scale.³³ The fabric is close to that of a late 2nd century example that was found in a context similar in nature to ours.³⁴

SHIELD: No. 9

A small oval shield bears a relief blazon of a winged thunderbolt. The shield is of the type known as *θυρεός*; it appears in Greece in the 3rd century, probably brought into the Greek repertory by the Gauls.³⁵ Our fragment is carefully modelled, perhaps as a votive, but also possibly to accompany a soldier.³⁶ The thunderbolt is shown as crossed by the twisted stalks of the *narthex* or giant fennel in which Prometheus brought down the fire from heaven. The pair of wings is represented as single, not double as on the well known earlier coins of Elis.³⁷

This "fire-bearing weapon of Zeus" (Aristophanes, *Birds*, 1714) is an apt ornament for a shield. It appears on a round example on the balustrade of the Propylon of Athena Polias at Pergamon in the early 2nd century.³⁸ The form is also close to that on the coins of Athens issued in 162/160 B.C.³⁹ Our particular combination, the thunderbolt on an oval shield, is found at Sidon at about this same date on the funerary stele of a mercenary from Lydia.⁴⁰ The *thyreos* was particularly popular with the mercenaries who served the Seleucids and the Ptolemies.⁴¹ It is interesting, though tantalizing, to find it without its owner in Athens.

CONCLUSION

Despite the miscellaneous nature of this deposit, it shows clearly how in their last days the coroplasts of the Hellenistic period in Athens were adjusting to new tastes. In the late 2nd century, we have seen them reviving popular old types, deliberately copying them from antecedents of the 4th century, not just using exhausted moulds. In the opening years of the 1st century, however, the coroplasts were obviously less interested in these revivals than in new types: masks, trivial genre scenes and pastoral fantasies. From the large size, the careless manufacture and the Neo-Attic flavor of these scenes, we may assume that they were made after the sack of Athens, but before Roman taste had hardened the style.

³³ In general, M. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, Princeton, 1961, pp. 98f., fig. 367. Cf. Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 229, a, d; cf. pl. 230, a.

³⁴ *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pl. 21, no. 3.

³⁵ P. Perdrizet, *Rev. arch.* (4e série) III, 1904, I, pp. 241-244.

³⁶ An example: E. Paul, *Antike Welt in Ton*, Leipzig, pl. 61, no. 227. Cf. Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 150, b, d.

³⁷ Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. *fulmen*, p. 1358, figs. 3308 ff.

³⁸ *Altertümer von Pergamon*, II, pl. XLVII, 3, p. 108.

³⁹ M. Thompson, *The New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, New York, 1961, pp. 160-164.

⁴⁰ Mendel, *Cat. Sculptures*, I, p. 263, no. 104.

⁴¹ Perdrizet, *op. cit.*, pp. 240 ff.

CATALOGUE

1 (T 1636) Male Head. Pl. 68.

P. H. 6.5 cm.; H. of face 2.6 cm. Buff-blond clay; orange on flesh; red on hair. Back mould-made. Broken below.

Child's head, wearing heavy bound wreath with fillets hanging to shoulders. Mouth open in twisted grin.

DRAPED FIGURES

2 (T 1635) Draped Fragment. Pl. 68.

P. H. 10 cm. Buff-blond clay. Finished edge on left side.

Mass of hanging drapery, perhaps thrown over a post.

3 (T 1626) Draped Female Figure. Pl. 68.

P. H. 8.3 cm. Buff-tan clay; thick white slip. Irregular vent in back, which is handmade. Head missing.

Draped in fine chiton and heavy himation that is drawn across body to left side and held up in thick fold; right hand emerges.

Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 35, pp. 132 ff.; *Troy, Suppl. Monograph 3*, p. 20, note 1.

4 (T 3679) Draped Fragment. Pl. 68.

P. H. 4.3 cm. Reddish buff clay. Broken all round.

From right upper side of female figure; same mould as No. 3.

5 (T 1629) Archaistic Figure. Pl. 68.

P. H. 8. cm. Soft gray-blond clay. Cream color all over figure. Solid; marks of attachment behind.

Female figure in archaistic dress, high-girt, with overfold, holding her left hand down, her right upward with a small fawn against her breast. Long locks on shoulders.

Hesperia, XXVIII, 1959, pl. 27, p. 135.

GROUPS

6 (T 1634) Boy and Dog. Pl. 68.

P. H. 11.5 cm.; P.W. 7.3 cm. Blond-buff

clay; orange on flesh; red on base, on hair and some of fruit; yellow on rest of fruit and on dog. Mouldmade back partly broken away; parts of cloak missing.

Boy moves to his left, carrying basket of fruit, looking back at small dog that jumps up his right leg. Wears cloak fastened at throat and thick wreath. Features not modelled; eyes touched with black, mouth with red.

7 (T 1631, 3673, 3674) Pastoral Group(?). Pl. 69.

T 1631 a) P. H. 6.5 cm.; P. W. 11 cm. b) P.H. 8.5 cm.; W. 7 cm. Yellow-blond clay. Red on base; orange on rock.

Moulded high base with a little rocky ground on which traces of a cloven hoof (?) and lion's paw (?).

T 3673 a) P. H. 6.5 cm.; b) 7 cm.; c) 3.3 cm.; d) 7.4 cm. Yellow-blond clay; pinkish orange on flesh; reddish on hair.

Fragments from a goat-legged figure; d) trunk of a tree, hollow at ends of branches.

T 3674 a) P. H. 7.4 cm.; b) 7.5 cm. Blond clay. Pinkish orange flesh; cream on drapery.

Two arm fragments; right naked; left supports end of hanging drapery.

All these fragments are very similar in fabric, technique and coloring, but they may come from several different pieces.

MISCELLANIES

8 (T 1625) Votive Mask. Pl. 69.

H. 5.4 cm.; W. 4.2 cm. Gray-reddish clay; cream on face; yellow on hair; red on lips; trace of blue on eye. Mouth pierced; hang-holes on top of head; open back. Lower left side broken away. Burned.

Mask of maiden with flowing locks.

T. B. L. Webster, *Mons. Illust. New Comedy*, p. 55, AT 22.

9 (T 1624) Oval Shield. Pl. 69.

P. H. 5.3 cm. Micaceous buff clay. Solid; convex.

Lower right side of a small oval shield with raised border decorated with wavy scroll pattern. Relief blazon consisting of winged thunderbolt with stalks of fennel.

10 (T 3688) Base. Pl. 69.

P. H. 3.5 cm.; P. W. 4.5 cm. Gray-blond clay; cream on front; dark blue on top. Back missing; broken at ends.

Base, with small moulding at top, markedly projecting lower half-round moulding at bottom.

VIII THE LATE FIRST CENTURY B. C.¹

The depression that followed the Sullan sack of Athens in 86 B.C. was deep and prolonged. By seizing the gold and silver reserves on the Acropolis, by looting the city of columns, statues and paintings, by confiscating the slaves and devastating the harbor from which Athens had drawn her wealth, the Romans brought the city to a state of demoralization.² This condition is reflected with startling vividness in the Agora even to this day by the paucity of material discovered, except war debris, of the period between the cleaning up after the sack and the limited indications of improvement under Augustus. In fact, it becomes more and more clear that real recovery did not take place until the reign of Hadrian.³ The few figurines that appear in the few deposits of the 1st century B.C. are as wretched as the surviving citizens themselves must have been. It is perhaps surprising to find any terracottas, for the Greek feeling for coroplastic art soon died out and almost none have survived from the Agora for the first two centuries of the Empire.⁴ It is even not impossible that the few examples that we shall tentatively present here are only survivors from an earlier period and were not actually made after Sulla. Their interest is certainly only as social documents and not as works of art.

The author of the volume on Agora pottery of the Roman period⁵ takes the siege of Sulla as the dividing line between the ceramics of the Greek and Roman periods. The study of the figurines of the Roman period begins with the figurines from con-

¹ The pottery from these deposits will mostly be published by G. R. Edwards; the rest, of the Roman period, by H. S. Robinson. In the meantime I have had the benefit of consultation on the dating of the later Hellenistic and Roman periods with John Hayes, who is studying this particular phase. The photographs are by Alison Franz and James Heyle.

² A vivid picture of the period is given by W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, London, 1911, pp. 454-459.

³ This view, expressed by Pausanias (I, 20, 7) and by several other authors, has been contested at length by John Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination*, New York, 1942, pp. 120-176. The results of the Agora excavations, however, tend to support this ancient tradition, although it may have been overdramatically expressed.

⁴ C. Grandjouan, *The Athenian Agora*, VI, Princeton, 1961, p. 2.

⁵ H. S. Robinson, *Athenian Agora*, V, Princeton, 1961, p. 2. For the appearance of "Pergamene" (East Sigillata A) in Greece after 75 B.C., cf. Lapp, *Palestinian Ceramic Chronology*, pp. 80 f., 214.

texts that contained characteristically Roman pottery, such as Arretine ware.⁶ On the other hand, the manufacture of lamps, a more vital commodity, was found to have resumed its development after the sack without so marked a change of character.⁷ On our present evidence, it seems that the production of figurines continued in sparse quantity throughout the 1st century B.C. and perhaps even a little later, to follow Hellenistic tradition. Our dating of the technique of large coarse figures, such as have already been discussed from the Mask Cistern⁸ as post-Sullan is supported by the striking absence at Delos, finally sacked in 69 B.C., of similar pieces. Parallels for a few of our specimens can also be found in Myrina, which was very active just at this period.⁹

Besides the examples mentioned above from earlier deposits,¹⁰ the most interesting pieces from the limited contexts of this date are heads. We shall select those that illustrate the trends of style. The dating of the deposits that are listed for each piece in the Catalogue is given on p. 267.¹¹

TECHNIQUE

Technically, this material varies immensely. The soft blond clay characteristic of the later 2nd century continued to be used, but often it was not so well fired and took on a very livid yellow hue (Nos. 3, 4, 6, 7). Along with it also appears a more traditional buff, very much like that of the better productions of the late 2nd century (Nos. 1, 2, 8, 9). Plaster moulds were used, but not often (Nos. 6, 10). Tiny, slovenly types also occur as though in response to the poverty of the inhabitants (Nos. 3, 7).

MALE HEADS: Nos. 1-3

The upper filling of a deposit of which the lower filling has already been discussed appears from its pottery to have been dumped in as late as the last quarter of the 1st century B.C.¹² It contained two heads (Nos. 1, 8). They are well preserved, despite considerable plastic detail, and may therefore be considered to have been manufactured shortly before their discard. The firmly baked fabric and careful modelling, particularly at the back of the head, however, are at variance with the

⁶ Grandjouan, *op. cit.*, p. 1, note 2.

⁷ R. H. Howland, *Agora*, IV, p. 1; J. Perlzweig, *Athenian Agora*, VII, Princeton, 1961, p. 4. The discussion by J. Day, *op. cit.*, p. 153, must be corrected by this new evidence.

⁸ See above p. 253.

⁹ Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 105, e; pl. 108, d, f.

¹⁰ See above pp. 255-256, nos. 6, 7.

¹¹ Until all the evidence has been fully studied, the dates suggested here must be regarded as tentative. They must be related to those given by Lapp, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-90.

¹² The lower filling of this deposit, N 19:1, has been discussed, *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 66-68. For an analysis of the upper filling, Lapp, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-84.

nature of other pieces found in the other contexts of this period. We might be dubious about their date, were there not a few stylistic peculiarities. The male head (No. 1) shows rough hair, thick eyelids and bowed lips rather in the manner of the third quarter of the 2nd century.¹³ Yet the style is not exactly alike; it lacks the sensitive feeling of clay work of Greek times and seems slicker; moreover, these heads have been slipped with clay.¹⁴ If we turn to the contemporary shops of Asia Minor, we note immediately many examples with large coarse features, plastic leafy crowns surmounted by thick bound wreaths made in the shops of Diphilos and his associates in Myrina.¹⁵ It is not impossible that this head is an import, made to supplement the lamentable local supply, much as Italian lamps were brought to Greece for the same purpose at this same time.¹⁶

The next head (No. 2) points the contrast between this vigorous purely Hellenistic style that continued into the late 1st century B.C. in Myrina and the impoverished post-Sullan character of Athenian work. It comes from the filling of a post-Sullan drain along with Pergamene ware and a few early Roman sherds.¹⁷ The fabric is a grayish buff, not unlike that common in the Herakles Deposit.¹⁸ The face is damaged, but the features must always have been dull. The large wreath, which stops at ear-level, is stippled in horizontal strokes and attached separately, but without the jabs usual at this time. Perhaps this is the work of an older coroplast, perhaps a survivor. The hair is arranged in a fringe over the forehead; the thin neck is stiff. These features are similar to those of ephebes from Myrina datable at the same period or a little later.¹⁹ This is presumably a local piece of the same general class.

The miserable little head (No. 3) was found built into the rubble wall of a latrine that was erected over the ruins of the Theseion some time after the sack of 86 B.C. but before Augustus.²⁰ The soft blond clay has the strong yellow hue common after Sulla. The fabric is so degenerate and poorly fired that it is covered with fine hair-cracks, a phenomenon virtually unknown among Greek figurines. Small though the head is, it has been made in two moulds which incorporate the wreath. The stippling of the wreath is done with vertical strokes. The face is so worn that the features cannot be detected, but that they were originally lumpish is all too clear from the

¹³ E.g. Group E, *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 52, no. 3.

¹⁴ Cf. *Corinth*, XII, pl. 37, no. 408. My attention was drawn to this pinkish slip by Judith Perlzweig, from whose full knowledge of Corinthian terracottas I have gained much enlightenment. An applied clay slip is also noted in W. van Ingen, *Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris*, Ann Arbor, 1939, p. 15. It does not appear on Athenian pieces of the pre-Sullan period.

¹⁵ Mollard, *Myrina*, pls. 55, e, 197, c, 221, a.

¹⁶ Perlzweig, *Agora*, VII, p. 4.

¹⁷ In the general area B 21.

¹⁸ *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, p. 53.

¹⁹ Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 143, b-d; pl. 171, e; cf. *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 76, nos. 836, 849, 855.

²⁰ Area I 15; H. A. Thompson, the excavator, provided the dating.

prognathous profile. This head, however, differs from genuine early Roman work, which, in Athens at least, usually copied sculptural styles. We see here the Graeculus who fawned upon the Romans and who makes us unsympathetic with his kind.

FEMALE HEADS: Nos 4-10

Most of the interesting heads found in the Agora in deposits of the later 1st century B.C. are, contrary to the situation in the late 2nd century, of female types.

No. 4 comes from a drain filling of the time after Sulla, probably fairly close to the mid 1st century.²¹ Its yellow fabric and fresh condition suggest that it was manufactured after the sack. The sharply incisive treatment is novel; it follows that of bronzes and markedly differs from the sloppy coroplastic style observable on most figurines made before the time of Sulla. We note that this head develops from the tradition of metallic looking heads that we observed on one piece from the Kybele Cistern.²² On that example, however, the face is plump whereas on our No. 4 the face is long and thin, with precise, tiny features and an elongated neck showing marked rings of Venus. This head can be paralleled on Roman coins of the 40's of the 1st century B.C.²³ This is a foretaste of the crisp classicism that becomes the characteristic idiom of the Augustan era. The ringlets that fall on the neck in little coils are often seen on the shoulders of figurines of that period in Myrina.²⁴

The stephane worn by this head is rendered as a serrated diadem with a ring base like several on stodgy-faced women from Delos and, more like our type, on a thin-necked type from Abdera and Myrina.²⁵ This stephane should mark our head as divine, but at this period, consistency cannot be assumed.²⁶

From another context of this period, namely mid 1st century to Augustus, a more stolid head (No. 5) brings us close to the vacuity of Roman types. The clay is buff and well fired, as in Roman figurines. The face has a stodgy expression not seen hitherto in Athens. We should like to know whether this represents an Italian trader's wife or an Athenian trying to imitate her. The doughnut-shaped wreath stops at the level of the ears and resembles that on a small head that was previously regarded,²⁷ perhaps wrongly, as made before the sack. The wreath, like that on our No. 3, was made in both front and back moulds and then awkwardly joined. The back

²¹ Deposit A-B 19-20: 1.

²² *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 18, no. 17, pl. 3.

²³ E.g. H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins*,² London, 1960, pl. X, 14 (ca. 49 B.C.); pl. XV, 3 (ca. 46 B.C.); pl. XIX, 13 (ca. 44 B.C.).

²⁴ Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 192, g-i.

²⁵ *Délos*, pl. 80, nos. 964, 969; D. I. Lazaridis, *Πήλινα Ειδώλια Ἀβδηρῶν*. Athens, 1960, pl. 6, B6; cf. Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 203, c and an interesting prototype, pl. 203, e.

²⁶ See D. B. Thompson, *Troy, Supplementary Monograph*, 3, p. 49. (Hereafter, *Troy*.)

²⁷ *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 9, no. 17, pl. 3.

of the head is given substance by a large protruding bun, of which we note the prototype at Myrina, Delos, Ilion.²⁸ The smug face, however, is missing at those sites.

Our next series of heads is more informative. They all wear the hair, however it may be arranged in front, drawn up to a tall bow-knot on the crown of the head, a fashion particularly popular in the late 2nd and 1st century B.C.²⁹ No. 6 is a good example from near the beginning of this period. It was found in a cistern chamber adjacent to that which held the Kybele deposit.³⁰ It was also filled with Sullan debris. The fabric of No. 6 is soft yellow-blond clay, smoked gray in places. Pellets in the hollows indicate that the head was made in a plaster mould.³¹ The modelling is enlivened by some retouching. The facial type derives from earlier forms with squinting eyes and pursed mouth.³² The wavy ridges of the melon coiffure radiate outward from a point in the center of the forehead, rather than run parallel to each other. This form occurs on the large head of Despoina by Damophon, of which the face is also not dissimilar.³³ The bow-knot, added to the coiffure rather than an integral part of it, is fairly low and curly; the knot at the nape projects far outward. The surface of the head is still alive and shows that the use of a plaster mould need not, though it often does, deaden the vividness of the terracotta. We may therefore safely regard this head as a product of the late 2nd century, perhaps from an imported mould.

The vitality of this head is immediately striking when we compare it with a foolish little piece (no. 7) that reduces the type to an absurdity. This was found in a context apparently no later than the late 2nd century.³⁴ It reminds us of a similar miniature³⁵ in many details: the buff fabric, the gay coloring, even to the red hair and gilding on its stephane. The face is blurred almost to the vanishing point, but the curly hair is still a bit crisp. It is close to heads from Myrina that are the dull Hellenistic prototypes of late 1st century Nike heads³⁶ of harder and less individual spirit.

The next two heads (Nos. 8, 9) at first glance might seem to precede rather than to follow the baroque little piece just studied. They revert in fabric to a dull gray-buff fired as hard as many specimens of the mid 2nd century. They also resume the larger size of good Hellenistic pieces. Both, however, were found in late contexts and probably represent the revival of old styles which took place in many fields in the time of Augustus.

²⁸ Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 125, f.; *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 81, no. 975, pl. 82, no. 1012; *Troy*, pl. LV, no. 280.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

³⁰ Deposit E 15: 3.

³¹ Grandjouan, *Agora*, VI, p. 3, note 12; cf. *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 35-36.

³² Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 205, c; *Troy*, pl. LIII, no. 266.

³³ Bieber, *Sculpture*, fig. 670.

³⁴ Area B 16.

³⁵ *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pl. 21, no. 2.

³⁶ Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 218, h. Cf. Burr, *Myrinas*, no. 105, pl. XXXIX.

No. 8 was found in the same filling as No. 1, datable in the last years of the 1st century B.C.³⁷ In photographs, that is in essential forms, these two heads resemble each other closely, but in the hand they can be seen to differ in details. The female head (No. 8) is made of dull buff clay. Its surface is not so smoothly worked as that of the male head and its ornamentation is coarser. This head may be the local version of the more purely Hellenistic style of Asia Minor. In any case, it is a fine example of what we may call the flamboyant style. The towering bow of hair, decorated in the center with a disk, springs up behind a stephane that evidently rose high from the head. The back of the head is rounded and lightly worked in tresses that draw up to a bow without having the second knot at the nape visible on the two preceding specimens. This detail is in keeping with the tendency to omit such low knots on late heads from Ilion.³⁸ The face is carelessly modelled with hard eyelids of which the lower dips markedly.³⁹ The nose is thick and the mouth coarse. The profiles of Nos. 1 and 8, however, show such a close relation that they cannot be far apart in time, though the female face has been carelessly wiped and is covered with bits of clay like warts on the skin. The joint between the front and back sections has been slovenly finished and emended by large lumpy earrings. The big ball earrings do not seem to occur before the 1st century B.C. and reach flamboyant proportions at the end of that period. The hair bow likewise belongs to the latest Hellenistic phase, for it finds parallels on the Nikai from Myrina signed by the coroplasts Theodotos and Menophilos.⁴⁰ On our head the bow is wilder and the style livelier than the Myrianan and can better be placed with No. 7 and its parallels. It would seem therefore to fall into the time just before or at the beginning of the Augustan period.

The difference between this careless but still lively Hellenistic style and the genuine classicism of the Imperial Roman age is made clear by a comparison of the preceding heads and our No. 9. Its fabric is novel to us, a dull buff mixture brushed with a thin pinkish slip. This is like a pinkish slip found on terracottas of the first century after Christ at Corinth.⁴¹ No white coating is visible, but dark red paint has been applied direct to the hair. This head was found in a drain together with sherds as late as the mid 1st century after Christ.⁴² The peculiar mixture of elements in this head can best be explained by assigning it to the earlier years of the Imperial age. It is also un-Greek in the absurdity of the treatment of the hair-bow, which on our previous examples and indeed also on early Roman examples from Myrina⁴³ is

³⁷ See above note 6.

³⁸ E.g. *Troy*, nos. 274, 279, pls. LIV f.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, nos. 270 f., pl. LIII.

⁴⁰ Cf. Mollard, *Myrina*, pls. 122, d, f, 202, i, 204, g, i, 206, f (by Diphilos). Seeming exceptions, such as pls. 114, b and 125, f, are, on other grounds, considered as 1st century copies of earlier types.

⁴¹ See above note 14.

⁴² Area B-C 17.

⁴³ See *Troy*, pp. 38f., nos. 186, 252-254; Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 218, e-i.

composed of the long ends of hair that were obviously combed back from the face and upward. On this head, however, the underlying coiffure is the popular melon type pulled flat to a tight coil at the back of the head, as on 2nd century examples.⁴⁴ Upon this logical style of hairdressing a large bow has been irrelevantly grafted as a mere ornament by an artist indifferent to the logic of feminine hairdressing. He then added a disk ornament and round earrings to enliven his dull work. The facial type is equally incongruous, for it is drawn from an old Praxitelean mould such as was in use in the Agora in the 2nd century.⁴⁵ This correct beauty is somewhat like that of Diphilos' best classicizing heads at Myrina,⁴⁶ but decidedly more frigid. We might speculate just how a Greek coroplast working in Athens could competently have created just the same pseudo-Greek flavor as the marble workers who inspired him. It is interesting to note the widespread popularity of the type. The classic face, the rippling hair and extravagant bow occur in several excellent specimens from Seleucia in contexts of the late 1st to 2nd century after Christ.⁴⁷

To set off the recast Roman style of No. 9, we should glance at the final stage of the degeneration of the untouched Hellenistic tradition of the late 1st century after Christ or even a little later.⁴⁸ A trashy little head, No. 10, of pale blond clay is also washed over with a pinkish slip and a thick red paint is applied directly to the hair. It is in a way the counterpart of the male head No. 3, but it has borrowed the irrelevant melon waves over the forehead while retaining the wide head band like that worn by Kleopatra VII.⁴⁹ The bow has become very lumpy and the earrings big and round. The damage done to the face in the moulding was hastily corrected by scratches on the eyes and lips. This is the sort of work often found at Seleucia,⁵⁰ but Ilion and Myrina do not seem to have fallen so low. Our head is more like a fantastic specimen from Tarsos of the 2nd century after Christ.⁵¹

CONCLUSIONS

We have ranged far in this discussion and we have selected difficult examples of styles little known and understood in the city of Athens. We might summarize our brief findings, emphasizing however our full consciousness that these are but snatches of the complex story of the times.

Technically, we have noticed two disparate manners, apparently co-existing

⁴⁴ E.g. *Troy*, pl. LI, nos. 252-254.

⁴⁵ *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, pl. 3, no. 15. Cf. Bieber, *Sculpture*, fig. 524 for a marble counterpart.

⁴⁶ Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 206, h.

⁴⁷ van Ingen, *op. cit.*, pl. LXI, no. 440 (Cat. 1018e).

⁴⁸ From a deposit in I 14, dated by H. A. Thompson in the 1st to 2nd centuries after Christ.

⁴⁹ Bieber, *Sculpture*, figs. 364-367.

⁵⁰ van Ingen, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII, 98 (Cat. 191c), pl. LXII, 448 (Cat. 1057c)

⁵¹ H. Goldman and others, *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus*, I, Princeton, 1950, fig. 248, no. 508.

or following closely one on the other. The Hellenistic tradition continues, but degenerates rapidly. The new Roman competence picks up the technical standards, but makes Greek terracottas essentially Italian. Artistically, a dichotomy is also visible, but it does not exactly follow the same lines. The late Hellenistic tradition is carried on, in certain examples even in the Roman manner (Nos. 2, 6, 8, 9); others are as degenerate in style as in technique (Nos. 3, 5, 7, 10). One piece alone, No. 4, shows a novel style of which the inspiration can be related directly to Italian sources. By the end of the 1st century B.C. the craft had apparently recovered sufficiently to produce fairly respectable pieces for which a small demand continued into the 1st century after Christ. But the production of terracottas seems virtually to have ceased by the end of that century.

With this last flicker of the Hellenistic tradition our survey of three centuries of Hellenistic terracottas from the Athenian Agora comes to an end. The figurines of the Roman period have long since been published.⁵² A similar volume presenting the terracottas of the earlier periods is now in preparation. S. Immerwahr and E. W. French will deal with those of the Neolithic and Bronze ages. R. V. Nicholls will cover the material from *ca.* 1100 B.C. to *ca.* 400 B.C. The present writer will be responsible for that of the remaining centuries, including, in condensed form, what has been presented in the preceding series of articles. In addition a great deal of hitherto unpublished material will be included and an attempt made to synthesize the results of all these studies into a coherent, if by no means complete, account of the craft of the Athenian coroplasts down the ages.

CATALOGUE

MALE HEADS

1 (T 1310) Male Head, wreathed. Pl. 70.

Deposit N 19:1. P. H. 5.8 cm.; H. face 2.6 cm. Brownish gray clay; pink on wreath.

Wears ivy wreath under thick bound wreath, with two large fruits. Hair worked behind.

Mentioned *Troy, Suppl. Monog.* 3, p. 45, notes 69, 71.

2 (T 2296) Male Head, wreathed. Pl. 70.

Area B 21. P. H. 4.2 cm.; H. face 2 cm. Dull buff clay. Wreath applied separately; its right end missing.

Wears thick bound wreath, stippled horizontally.

3 (T 3377) Male Head, wreathed. Pl. 70.

Area I: 15. P. H. 3.6 cm.; H. face 1.5 cm. Greenish blond clay, full of cracks.

Wears thick bound wreath.

FEMALE HEADS

4 (T 2083) Female Head with Stephane. Pl. 70.

Area A-B 19-20:1. P. H. 4.5 cm.; H. face 1.8 cm. Greenish blond clay. Back of head unworked; curls applied.

Wears a radiate stephane over parted hair, with curls hanging down neck.

⁵² Grandjouan, *Agora*, VI.

5 (T 2390) Female Head, wreathed. Pl. 70.

Area A-B 18. P. H. 4.4 cm.; H. face 2.1 cm.
Yellowish blond clay; traces of red on hair.

Wears hair parted in center, drawn back to large flat bun at back; short, thick, lightly stippled wreath.

6 (T 927) Female Head, wearing bow-knot. Pl. 70.

Deposit E 15:3. P. H. 5.2 cm.; H. face 3 cm. Blond clay, somewhat smoked. Red on hair. Nose and left side of bow broken.

Hair worn in multiple melon coiffure, but drawn to small projecting knot below and large bow on top; wide head band in front of knot. Squinting eyes.

7 (T 2573) Female Head, wearing bow-knot. Pl. 71.

Area B 16. P. H. 4 cm.; H. face 1.3 cm. Blond clay; red on hair, gilding on stephane. Curls missing from right shoulder.

Wears parted hair in low projecting knot and high bow behind stephane; curls on left shoulder.

8 (T 1308) Female Head, wearing bow-knot. Pl. 71.

Deposit N 19:1, Top filling. P. H. 6.7 cm.; H. face 2.8 cm. Gray buff clay; red on hair. Most of stephane missing; nose chipped.

Wears hair parted and drawn up behind to large bow-knot, fastened by central disk. Thick-lidded eyes, large earrings.

Mentioned *Troy, Suppl. Monog.* 3, p. 43, note 57; p. 45, note 71; p. 94, note 138.

9 (T 2442) Female Head, wearing bow-knot. Pl. 71.

Area B-C 17. P. H. 6.3 cm.; H. face 3.2 cm. Dull buff clay with pinkish slip.

Wears hair in melon coiffure with projecting coil at crown; six waves on each side. Large bow with central disk on top. Large ball earrings.

Mentioned in *Troy, Suppl. Monog.* 3, p. 43, note 57.

10 (T 3658) Female Head. Pl. 71.

I 14. P. H. 3.8 cm.; H. face 2.8 cm. Blond clay; hard fabric; red on hair.

Wears head band, melon coiffure and large bow and earrings.

CONTEXTS

A-B	18	Mid 1st century B.C.
A-B	19-20	Post-Sullan drain
B	16	Late 2nd century B.C.
B-C	17	Late 1st century B.C.
B	21	Drain, post-Sullan filling
E	15:3	About the time of Sulla
I	15	Mid 1st century B.C.
N	19:1	Last quarter 1st century B.C.
I	14	1st-2nd centuries after Christ

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON

PRINCETON
NEW JERSEY



2



1



5



3



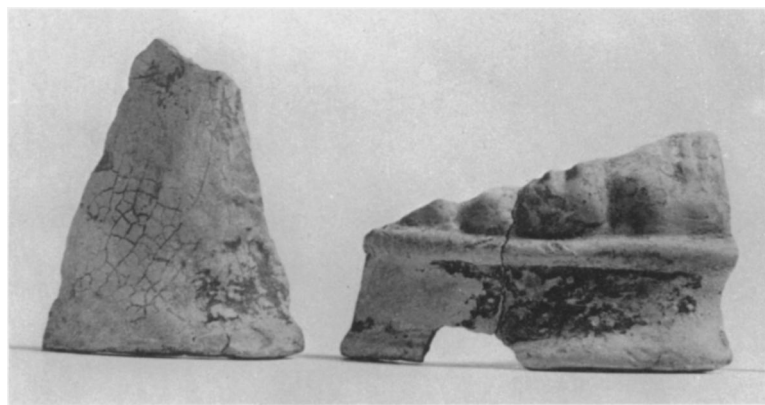
4



6

VII B The Early First Century B.C., The Mask Cistern

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON: THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS



7: T 1631 (1:2)



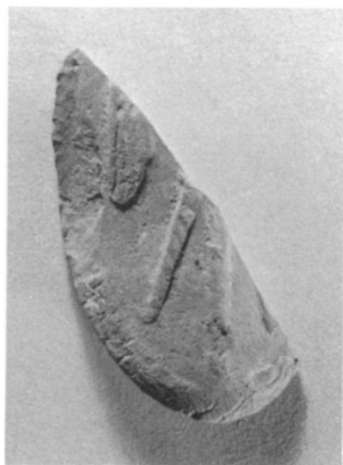
7: T 3674 (1:2)



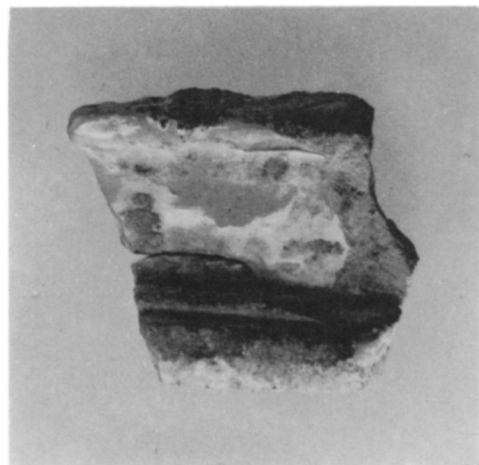
7: T 3673 (1:2)



8 (1:1)



9 (1:1)



10 (1:1)

VII B The Early First Century B.C., The Mask Cistern

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON: THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS



1



2



3



4



5



6



VIII The Late First Century B.C.

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON: THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS



8



9



7



10

VIII The Late First Century B.C.

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON: THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS