

THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS

I, B AND C

(PLATES 18–24)

PART I: THE LATE FOURTH CENTURY B. C.

TO continue the study of Hellenistic terracottas from the Athenian Agora that was begun two years ago,¹ this article will deal with two small groups. The first, which we may call from its most striking object, the “Hedgehog Well,” offers a varied collection of figurines roughly contemporary with those published in the Coroplast’s Dump. The second, interesting chiefly for the ritual character of most of the figurines, will be called the “Demeter Cistern.” It also produced several pieces that show the trends of taste in the last decades of the fourth century B.C.

B. THE HEDGEHOG WELL

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE DEPOSIT

On the north slope of the Areopagus, about fifty meters west of the cistern that yielded the Coroplast’s Dump, a small stone-curbed well was excavated in 1938.² Its diameter, roughly 0.60 m. by 0.70 m. was smaller than that of the usual Athenian well, which approximates three Greek feet. It was also shallow, reaching a total depth of 6.25 m., of which the lowest 0.50 m., cut in bedrock, were uncurbed. No water-level was detected. It may therefore have proved a failure as a well and subsequently served only as a storage pit, which the presence of a complete wine jar and of fragments of others would suggest.

CHRONOLOGY

The complete wine jar, from Thasos, has been dated by Virginia Grace as little, if at all, after 350 B.C. and the two other stamped jar handles as not later than the last quarter of the fourth century.³

¹ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 116 ff., Part I: A, The Coroplast’s Dump. The photographs of the present article are by Alison Frantz except two, as noted in the text. I am under considerable obligation to Lucy Talcott and to my husband for checking many matters for me in Athens. I have also made a final check myself with the terracottas here discussed.

² Designated as Section Ψ , well at 37/KA, on the new grid as O 18. It was excavated by Eugene Vanderpool. It was mentioned in *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 118, note 8.

³ I am indebted to Miss Grace for giving me this information. The jar is inventoried P 13570;

The rest of the pottery and lamps for which no stratification could be detected is entirely consistent with that dating. A characteristic selection is presented to indicate the range of the most significant pieces ⁴ (Pl. 24) :

1. Kantharos with moulded rim. Pl. 24, a.

Inv. P 13528. H. 0.085 m., D. 0.11 m.

Spur of one handle restored. A scraped line at the junction of the large and small mouldings of the foot; grooved resting surface with a scraped line in the groove. Within, four impressed palmettes surrounded by rouletting.

The shape shows a definite advance over the latest examples from Olynthos (e.g. D. M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, XIII, Baltimore, 1950, no. 513, pls. 184, 185), but is somewhat less developed than Kantharos no. 2 from the Demeter cistern (our Pl. 20, b). Third quarter of the fourth century B.C.

2. Kantharos. Pl. 24, b.

Inv. P 12698. H. 0.083 m., D. 0.083 m.

A scraped line at the top of the smaller moulding of the foot; grooved resting surface with a broad scraped line irregularly in and around the groove. Within, four impressed palmettes surrounded by rouletting.

No example of this type is known from Olynthos, but by comparison with the kantharoi with moulded rim, above, the vase should belong to the third quarter of the century.

3. Kantharos. Pl. 24, c.

Inv. P 12699. H. 0.076 m., D. 0.085 m.

Resting surface flat; the profile of the foot oblique on the inside. Glazed all over except for a roughened ridge around the outer edge of the resting surface, from which the glaze has chipped away. Glaze firm but dull.

Both shape and fabric are non-Attic. The vase is probably Boeotian, though superior in glaze and technique to the average Boeotian kantharos. Compare the examples from Rhitsona, e.g. P. N. Ure, *Black Glaze Pottery*, London, 1913, pl. IX, Grave 76, no. 21 and *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery*, London, 1927, pl. X, nos. 36.18, 114a.12, 34.37.

4. Skyphos, Corinthian type. Pl. 24, d.

Inv. P 12700. H. 0.095 m., D. 0.087 m.

Fragments of lip and foot restored. Above the foot, a reserved zone, cross-hatched. Underside reserved, with two unevenly drawn glazed circles.

About the same stage of development as an example from a pyre in the area west of the Areopagus (Inv. P 16602: *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pl. 50 b, Pyre 2, no. 5) found with a cup-kantharos with moulded rim and the kantharoid cup-kotyle closely paralleling Nos. 6 and 7 here. Third quarter of the fourth century.

5. Skyphos, Attic type. Pl. 24, e.

Inv. P 22671. H. 0.097 m., D. 0.101 m.

Both handles restored, with parts of rim, wall and foot. Resting surface unevenly glazed; underside reserved, with two coarse glazed circles.

One of the latest vases from this well; compare Inv. P 1829 (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 320, fig. 5,

the handles, SS 8210-8211. These will appear in the final publication of the stamped amphoras from the Agora.

⁴ I owe the analysis of the pottery and the selection of the plate to Lucy Talcott and to Peter Corbett of the British Museum, who is studying the fourth century pottery from the Agora. He found that this group fell very close to that from the Coroplast's Dump and did not date later than the end of the third quarter of the fourth century.

A 26) and no. 3 from the Demeter Cistern (Pl. 20, c). End of the third quarter or beginning of the last quarter of the fourth century.

6. Cup-kantharos with moulded rim. Pl. 24, f.

Inv. P 12690. H. 0.085 m., D. at lip, 0.10 m.

A reserved line around the foot at the junction of the large and small mouldings; a shallow groove in the reserved resting surface. Within, a rouletted circle.

More advanced than the latest examples from Olynthos (e. g. *Olynthus*, XIII, no. 506, pls. 187, 189); a good parallel is Inv. P 16601 (*Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pl. 50 b, Pyre 2, no. 4) noted above under No. 4 here.

7. Kantharoid cup-kotyle. Pl. 24, g.

Inv. P 13530. H. 0.063 m., D. 0.10 m.

Part of one handle restored. Rilled base; scraped line around wall just above foot; a groove in the unevenly glazed resting surface. Within, four palmettes surrounded by rouletting.

More advanced than *Olynthus*, XIII, no. 498, pls. 184, 187. Compare Inv. P 16600 (*Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pl. 50 b, Pyre 2, no. 3) cited above under No. 4.

8. Bowl-shaped cup-kantharos. Pl. 24, h.

Inv. P 13531. H. 0.065 m., D. 0.10 m.

Most of one handle restored, and fragments of rim and wall. Rilled foot similar to that of No. 7. A broad reserved line just above the foot; a groove in the reserved resting surface. Within, four palmettes surrounded by rouletting.

See No. 9.

9. Bowl-shaped cup-kantharos. Pl. 24, i.

Inv. P 22670. H. 0.065 m., D. 0.089 m.

Parts of rim and wall restored. A scraped line at the junction of the large and small mouldings of the foot; a groove in the reserved resting surface.

The development of this shape, which was never very popular, has not yet been established in detail, but the available evidence suggests that its history began near the middle of the fourth century and continued for perhaps fifty years.

The two examples shown here, Nos. 8 and 9, belong to the third quarter of the century, No. 9 being the later. A further stage is represented by a vase from the Demeter Cistern, No. 3 (Pl. 20, d), which is probably to be dated in the last quarter of the fourth century.

10. Cup-kantharos. Pl. 24, j.

Inv. P 13529. H. 0.087 m., D. 0.085 m.

Part of one handle and fragments of rim and body restored. Broad reserved line around the foot at the junction of the large and small mouldings; a light groove in the reserved resting surface.

Markedly more developed than *Olynthus*, XIII, no. 497, pls. 184, 185, hence well on in the third quarter of the century; but less advanced than examples from the last quarter, e. g. Inv. P 572 (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 345, fig. 26, no. B 46).

This selection is characteristic for the pottery from this well, and includes the latest pieces noted. The group is thus a fairly compact one, with a lower limit close to the end of the third quarter of the fourth century, or perhaps in the opening years of the last quarter. For the reader's convenience in checking the chronology, on Plate 24 is added the pottery from the Coroplast's Dump discussed in *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 122, note 23: P 19530, P 19531, P 12406.

The lamps also date from this period.⁵ There were seven pyramidal and six conical loom weights. No other significant material was found and not a single coin.

The pottery and the figurines appeared together from depths 3.10 m. to 6.25 m.

⁵ These will appear in the publication of the Agora lamps by Richard Howland: L 3397, 3398, 3418, 3566-3568.

and must have been thrown in all at one time. The range of date for this well group, then, extends over about a quarter century, from *ca.* 350 to 320 B.C.

TECHNIQUE

This small group does not lend itself to such full analysis as was possible for the Coroplast's Dump. No moulds were found. In general, the fabric of the figurines is similar to that described in the preceding article. The backs of the figures are moulded but unmodelled, except that of No. 1. Three base fragments show the early block and stepped forms, as in the Coroplast's Dump. Nine other small scraps have been left unidentified and uncatalogued. The technique of the plastic vases, though not exactly that of the figurines, brings them in close enough relation to coroplastic art to warrant their inclusion in our discussion. Indeed, a full study of the interrelation of the two classes and techniques just at this period would be most illuminating and deserves much fuller treatment than is possible here.⁶

The condition of the pieces from this well suggests that the "doll" fragment (No. 1), the bits of drapery (Nos. 5 and 6) and the heads (Nos. 7-9) are the oldest specimens. The fresher examples, such as the male torso (No. 2), the male head (No. 3), the girl (No. 4), the column (No. 12) and the plastic vase fragment (No. 14) could not have been long discarded before they reached their final resting-place. The mask (No. 10), the hedgehog (No. 11), and the almost complete plastic vase (No. 13) must have been in perfect condition when they were tossed out. These pieces are stylistically well advanced. We may therefore consider that the order of condition (as was also true in the Coroplast's Dump), follows roughly, at least, the order of manufacture.

TYPES AND SUBJECTS

JOINTED FIGURE: No. 1

The battered torso of an articulated nude female "doll" (No. 1, Pl. 18) is characterized by small breasts, a lightly modelled stomach, and a very slight curve from the shoulders to the waist, such as appear on "dolls" from Olynthos of the less developed type.⁷ Several more advanced pieces date from about the middle of the fourth century, e. g. from Olynthos, the Pnyx and Corinth,⁸ thus indicating that this fragment was old when it found its way into our well. It is noteworthy that the back is fully modelled. These articulated figures must have been immensely popular during the fourth century, for a representative appears in almost every deposit. They also

⁶ For a beginning, see P. Knoblauch, *Arch. Anz.*, LIII, 1938, pp. 338 ff.

⁷ *Olynthus*, XIV, pl. 99, Nos. 296, 297, 300.

⁸ *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 23, No. 257; *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 136, fig. 53, Nos. 5, 9, 10; Corinth, XI, i, pl. 41, No. 66. Cf. also below, p. 89, Demeter Cistern No. 1, Pl. 20, which is even flatter and more conservative than this.

turn up in cemeteries and in sanctuaries. Their significance has been discussed in a previous study.⁹

MALE FIGURES: Nos. 2-3

The fragment from the figure of a heavily bearded man is tantalizing (No. 2, Pl. 18). The loose, realistically rendered beard and moustache drooping over the thick lower lip show that it is not the figure of an actor. It is more like Silens, which are shown even in the form of plastic vases.¹⁰ The closest parallel is the figure of an old man or paidagogue, said to come from Tanagra,¹¹ which appears to be richly modelled in the finest style so far as one can judge from the drawing. The folds of the cloak of our piece are rendered as long high ridges varied by indented pockets in a style visible also on a terracotta from Olynthos.¹² This style represents a conservative trend based on the more formal sculptural styles of the major arts. It forms an interesting contrast with No. 6, which echoes the contemporary more naturalistic style of the mid fourth century. Yet the two figurines could not have been made at very different dates.

A male head, wearing a tall hat (No. 3, Pl. 18), is an unusual piece. This conical hat is a truncated form of *pilos* with a rolled brim. Presumably it was made of felt like hats from Central Asia of the present day.¹³ The physiognomy of our head is evidently not Greek but foreign. It is characterized by deep-set eyes, of which the right shows a marked squint, a thick nose, high cheekbones, and a drooping moustache over a shaved, rather fleshy chin. These features might be those of a Scythian, but most Scythians of this period are shown with long hair and straggling beards. The broad boney face, with moustache, however, appears frequently on representations of Celts and Gauls. Several close parallels to our head come from the Fayum. These Gauls often sit hunched up against their high shields that stand by their left sides in a position such as might have resulted in the angle of breakage of our Agora head.¹⁴

⁹ *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 114 ff.

¹⁰ *TK* II, p. 400, particularly No. 4.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 402,3. (H. 0.165 m.)

¹² *Olynthus*, XIV, pl. 78, No. 244. A fragment from a plastic vase in the Agora (T 1054) is sufficiently similar to suggest that our piece may also derive from this class.

¹³ Daremberg and Saglio, *s. v. Pileus* (P. Paris), pp. 479 ff., fig. 5669. Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen*, pl. 22, No. 382. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 54, fig. 8 and p. 96, fig. 27. *Olynthus*, XIV, pl. 97, No. 290, a similar *pilos* is shown covered with rounded indentations to simulate leather. Cf. a contemporary representation on a red-figured sherd from the Pnyx (Inv. P 224), to be published shortly in *Hesperia*, Suppl. X.

¹⁴ Cf. P. Bieńkowski, *Les Celtes dans les arts mineurs gréco-romains*, Cracow, 1928, p. 137, fig. 205 (for the face); p. 138, figs. 207-208 (for the pose). These figures wear a hood which is somewhat more pointed than ours. Cf. A. J. Reinach, "Les Galates dans l'art alexandrin," *Mon. Piot*, XVIII, 1910, pl. VIII, p. 77, which Reinach calls a Gaul; cf. figs. 14, 17. I owe this reference to Professor Erik Sjöqvist. Breccia, *Mons. I.1*, pl. XXVI, 1, calls the same head a "European Scythian."

We should like to give our foreigner a name, but despite recent studies on the subject of foreigners in the Graeco-Roman world, we have not yet sufficient knowledge to identify any one of these ancient tribes with certainty. Among many, the one most like our head is that of a "Tokhara" or Indo-Scyth but the profile is straighter.¹⁵ It is indeed possible, considering the movements of the Gauls and Scythians at this period, that one could have been brought to Athens as a slave.¹⁶ In any case, the subject does not belong to the stock-in-trade of the shop, but is a fresh study of a barbarian face with a wicked squint, which caught the observant eye of the coroplast as they moved together among the crowds in the Athenian market-place.

FEMALE FIGURES: Nos. 4-6

The little figure of a girl holding a bird (probably a duck) in her left hand (No. 4, Pl. 18) has already been mentioned in connection with pieces of this class from the Coroplast's Dump.¹⁷ Despite the condition of the surface, it can be compared with the well known statue in Munich of the Girl with the Dove.¹⁸ In the lower part it is treated with the boxpleat type of fold that appears on terracottas from the Pnyx of the third quarter of the fourth century.¹⁹ That the type, which is a modernized version of the old votary carrying her offering, originated in that creative period seems clear from its absence from the rich variety of types at Olynthos. It soon develops into a wide repertory of scenes of children carrying fruit or birds, to the delight of their pet geese or dogs, which enjoyed great popularity, on stelai and in clay, from the latter part of the fourth well into the third century B.C.²⁰

A scrap of which the hand escapes from the drapery (No. 5, Pl. 18) evidently comes from a seated figure of large scale. Presumably this is an example of the same monumental class as the following; it may actually belong to it, as the fabric is identical.

No. 6 (Pl. 18) derives from a sizable draped figure of a woman wrapped in her himation, standing so that her right leg is flexed. The delicate folds, not so formal as the folds on No. 2, belong to the new, naturalistic style of rendering drapery by

¹⁵ Maud Gubiaud, "Les Caravaniers asiatiques et les riverains de l'océan indien vus par les coroplastes de la Smyrne romaine," *Artibus Asiae*, X, 1947, pp. 324 ff. and XI, 1948, pp. 123 ff. The head like ours is shown in XI, 1948, p. 129, No. 384, referring to fig. 10 on p. 331, of volume X, 1947. I owe this reference to Professor Harald Ingholt.

¹⁶ Professor Wace makes the attractive suggestion that this might represent an Athenian policeman. For Gaulish mercenaries in Greece after 369 B.C. see *C.A.H.* VI, pp. 93, 130 ff.

¹⁷ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 136, note 78, where the context should read: Section Ψ, 37/KA, that is, our Hedgehog Well.

¹⁸ Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, p. 17, pl. 21.

¹⁹ *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 138, fig. 54, No. 18 and fig. 55, No. 22.

²⁰ E. g. Early examples: Sieveking, *Samm. Loeb Terrakotten*, I, pl. 60; cf. an early stele from Chatby, Breccia, *Sciatbi*, pl. XX, No. 23.

the most varied and sensitive modulations of the surface. A piece, similar in type and in scale, but a little less ambitious, was found in the Pnyx deposit of the third quarter of the fourth century.²¹ This is the beginning of the translation of the subtleties of bronze work into the cheaper medium of clay. By setting the Pnyx piece beside the obviously older rendering of the theme in a late figure from Olynthos,²² as well as by looking ahead at a riper example from the Hellenistic group in the Agora that will be published among third century material,²³ we can place our fragment very near to 325 B.C.

FEMALE HEADS: Nos. 7-9

A rubbed head (No. 7, Pl. 18) appears to belong to a traditional type of which good examples can be cited in large numbers.²⁴ The latest representatives were found in deposits close to ours in date, from the Pnyx and in Corinth.²⁵ It shows how long it took for the formal Kore of the fifth century to weaken its hold on the heart of the Athenian woman when she chose her dedications for the goddess.

No. 8 (Pl. 18) is also a votive piece, the head, presumably, of an articulated figure, but too large to fit our torso, No. 1. The peak of hair over the forehead, surmounted by a large erect knot of hair which is tied up stiffly behind it, is also traditional, a coiffure popular during the fourth century.²⁶ This particular form seems most at home on a "doll" which would also, as an entertainer, wear earrings. It probably dates no later than the mid fourth century.

Markedly unusual, on the other hand, is the coiffure of No. 9 (Pl. 18). The left side has unfortunately suffered too much for complete understanding, but it seems to show a broad fillet worn around the head and crossed at the back by a second rounded fillet, over which a wreath of fruit is set. The features of this head are those of a girl: round-faced with wide-open, sharp-lidded eyes and a smiling mouth. It is not possible to guess at the body of this curious piece; the head was turned sharply to the left.

MASK: No. 10

This little mask is perfectly preserved, retaining even a good deal of the white sizing (No. 10, Pl. 19). The hang-holes indicate that it is a small votive, but it is

²¹ *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 138, fig. 55, No. 24; cf. the smaller version, fig. 54, No. 20.

²² *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 22, No. 181 = Kleiner, pl. 4, a and b.

²³ Group B in "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery," *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 330 ff., T 291.

²⁴ E. g. Breitenstein, *Cat. of Terracottas in the Dan. Nat. Mus.*, pl. 29, Nos. 264-265; *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 19, No. 158.

²⁵ *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 142, fig. 57, No. 42 (probably dated too early, as No. 41 seems to be the early fourth century type); *Corinth*, XII, pl. 22, No. 259 (from a deposit of the late fourth century).

²⁶ For earlier versions, *Corinth*, XV, i, pl. 33, No. 30; pl. 34, Nos. 31-34, all of the middle of the fourth century. Mrs. Stillwell suggests that Nos. 33-34 were for jointed "dolls." Cf. *Corinth*, XII, pl. 9, No. 133 and Breitenstein, *Cat. Dan. Nat. Mus.*, pl. 72, No. 591. Many other variants occur.

not a commonplace example. The coiffure is decidedly peculiar. A wreath of pointed leaves is crowned by two bunches of flowers over the forehead. Doubled across the base of these flowers are the ends of broad bands which apparently are drawn up from a turban-like swathing that covers the hair in a large mass. These ends hang from the temples in the way that a woollen fillet hangs from a wreath on a grotesque mask of about the same size that was found in the late fourth century filling of the Assembly Place of the Pnyx.²⁷

The face of this mask is unusually well modelled. The shape of the face is a long oval, not unlike that of the Praxitelean canon. The eyes, which slant downward at the outer corners, are lightly modelled, with clear-cut, rounded lids. The classic nose maintains an even width and has rather narrow nostrils. The rather full lips are slightly parted; the upper is bowed. All these features find close analogies on a large terracotta head from Corinth²⁸ and to a lesser degree in certain head-vases from Olynthos.²⁹ Our mask should also be compared with a head (No. 9) from the Demeter Cistern, which shows the softening of the type. This "classic" type of face gradually softens even more and becomes smaller of feature, as is evident from a mask-like head from Corinth, presumably of the third century.³⁰ These examples indicate the trend of the facial canon throughout the fourth century.

ANIMAL: No. 11

The little figure of a hedgehog (No. 11, Pl. 19), which gave its name to this well group, is a vividly modelled little creature, decorated with curious knobs on top of his spines. The Greek name for a hedgehog was *ἐχῖνος*, or "prickly urchin." This species is the *erinaceus vulgaris* (or *europaeus*), the most common of the three varieties known in the Mediterranean region.³¹ The prickly character of the hedgehog, though less dangerous than that of the more formidable porcupine, made him seem to the Greeks to be a creature of ill-omen suitable to show beside the scorpion as a warning of impending doom at the departure of Amphiaraos.³² His cunning was early admired; Archilochos tartly praised his ability to roll into a ball and spike his enemies: *πολλ' οἶδ' ἀλώπηξ, ἀλλ' ἐχῖνος ἐν μέγα* (Diehl, *Anth. Lyr.* frg. 103). That he is sharper than the fox is also pointed out in the Aesop's fable on the Fox and the Hedgehog, which relates how the hedgehog refused to remove the fox's fleas, lest he gather hungrier

²⁷ *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 149, fig. 62, No. 73.

²⁸ *Corinth*, XIV, pl. 31, No. 3.

²⁹ *Olynthus*, XIV, pl. 122, No. 403; pl. 123, No. 404.

³⁰ *Corinth*, XII, pl. 24, No. 290.

³¹ The others are: *erinaceus auritus* (large-eared) and *erinaceus aethiopicus* (from the African desert), shown on Egyptian faïences. For full bibliography, see O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, I, pp. 17 ff. and *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, IV, s.v. *Igel*, cols. 668 ff.

³² Cf. the Amphiaraos Krater, Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 179.

successors.³³ The Aristotelean corpus adds to his accomplishments the ability to adjust the entrances of his burrow to the direction of the wind.³⁴ More clever even than this is the trick reported, so far as I know, first by Pliny (*N.H.*, XXXV, 155): Praeparant hiemi et irenacei cibos ac volutati supra iacentia poma adfixa spinis, unum amplius tenentes ore, portant in cavas arbores. "The hedgehogs also prepare food for winter by rolling on windfall apples, which stick to their spines, and holding one more in their mouths, they carry them into hollow trees." A similar, but more detailed account of this undertaking is given by Plutarch (*Moralia*, 971F, ff.): "Even cleverer (than the trick of rolling up into a ball) is the hedgehog's providence for his cubs. In the late autumn, creeping under the vines and shaking with his feet the grapes from the clusters, to the ground, he rolls around on them and takes them up on his spines. To all of us who have seen him, he has often offered the appearance of a creeping or walking bunch of grapes. Thus filled up, he goes off, loaded with harvest. Then going down into his burrow, he turns it over to his cubs to take from him as stewards, for their use."

It is perfectly clear, then, that our little hedgehog has been loading himself with winter provender. What are the fruits affixed to his spines? The stem and the blossom end are alternately shown.³⁵ The lateral groove clearly indicates a definite fruit, which cannot be either the apple or the grape. The most likely fruit seems to be the fig, which is characterized by splitting into a marked lateral indentation.

Despite the mention in literature of this amusing habit of the hedgehog, no other representation, to my knowledge, exists from Greek times. Faience figures of hedgehogs are common in Egypt, particularly in the Saite period. These were imitated by Ionic and Corinthian potters, but they show only spines, no fruit.³⁶ Much later, among Graeco-Egyptian terracottas, appear figures of pig-like hedgehogs covered with irregular bumps, which probably represent spines, not fruit.³⁷

This same pig-like species is presumably that shown in a series of Roman rattles. Our hedgehog also contains loose pellets of clay, which may have been introduced in antiquity. These Roman examples, however, all have rounded bodies, large ears, short snouts, and curly tails, like those of hogs; they are covered with irregular protruber-

³³ Cf. B. E. Perry, *Aesopica*, I, Urbana, 1952, p. 490, No. 427.

³⁴ Aristotle, *Anim.*, IX, 5.

³⁵ I owe this interpretation to Miss Christine Alexander.

³⁶ Miss Nora Scott of the Metropolitan Museum has kindly looked into the Egyptian evidence for me, but she has found none, either in art or literature, that implies the gathering of fruit on the spines. See in general for the early period O. Keller, *loc. cit.*; M. I. Maximova, *Les Vases plastiques dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 1927, pp. 101 ff., pl. VII, No. 24; pl. XXXII, No. 121; pl. XXXIX, No. 147; pl. XL, No. 148; Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 74, note 9; p. 176, fig. 79.

³⁷ P. Perdrizet, *Les Terres cuites grecques d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet*, Nancy-Paris-Strasbourg, 1921, p. 148, pl. CXX, Nos. 1,6,7(?) (Cat. Nos. 406-408). Perdrizet identifies the creatures as the long-eared species of hedgehog (*Erinaceus auritus*).

ances filled by bits of colored glass. A typical example is shown on our Plate 19.³⁸ This rare class of figure has been linked by Lullies, following Robert Zahn, to a class of early Roman pottery that imitates the precious *pocula gemmata* in its ornamentation with gems of glass paste, set *au cabuchon* in barbotine decoration. These small jewel-like cups all come from Italy.³⁹ The only figurines known to me from this class are those of porcine creatures, which have previously been identified as hogs.⁴⁰ But comparison with the Graeco-Egyptian figures mentioned above and with a photograph of the animal itself, implies that a hedgehog might be intended.⁴¹ Not only is there no plausible explanation for the presence on hogs of litter and fruit, which are easily understood on hedgehogs,⁴² but the modelling of the head, though formal on all these examples, still shows one characteristic not proper to pigs, namely a sort of cornice over the eyes, beneath which the creature can draw in his head like a turtle, to retreat within the armor of his spines. This appears clearly on a Graeco-Egyptian example⁴³ and lightly even on our Agora specimen. The fact that the Roman examples and ours were probably rattles also forms a link between them.

Whether or not the Roman examples represent thieving hedgehogs, the story survived into mediaeval times. The earliest example known to me is in a ninth century manuscript of the *Physiologus*, where all manner of fabulous animal stories, some doubtless of ancient origin, are collected and illustrated.⁴⁴ A clearer drawing, surpris-

³⁸ Metropolitan Museum Inv. 17.194.1893. For the photograph and the permission to reproduce it, I am indebted to Miss Alexander and the Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum. L. 0.089 m. Published Froehner, *Coll. Julien Gréau*, p. 229, No. 1770; Warren E. Cox, *Pottery and Porcelain*, p. 72.

³⁹ R. Lullies, *Arch. Anz.*, LIII, 1938, cols. 465 ff. with bibliography. I owe this reference to Miss Alexander.

⁴⁰ E. g. Walters, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Roman Pottery*, pp. 9 ff., K 63 (L. 0.102 m.) of red ware; with raised leaves modelled on its back and insertions of blue glass; K 64 (L. 0.089 m.) similar, with knobs, like flattened fruit, filled with blue and green glass; *Arch. Anz.*, XLII, 1929, col. 23, No. 66, fig. 24 (L. 0.085 m.), with modelled fruit and wheat on its back, filled with bits of glass.

⁴¹ J. R. Crossland and J. M. Parrish, *Wild Life in Our World*, 1934, p. 182. The *Handwörterbuch des Aberglaubens* also mentions, IV, col. 669, a hog-nosed type of hedgehog, but I have not been able to obtain a picture of this species.

⁴² A. C. Brehm, *Säugethiere*, II, Leipzig and Vienna, 1890, p. 367 specifically mentions that hedgehogs roll in straw, hay, and moss, which they use for their beds. I owe this reference to Dr. William Heckscher.

⁴³ Perdrizet, *Terres cuites Fouquet*, pl. CXX, 1 (No. 406) and p. 149.

⁴⁴ H. Woodruff, "The *Physiologus* of Bern," *Art Bulletin*, XII, 1930, p. 249, fig. 36. I owe this reference and much help to Miss Rosalie Green of the Index of Christian Art at Princeton University. Cf. M. D. Anderson, *Animal Carvings in British Churches*, Cambridge, 1938, pp. 38 f., fig. 15 (a hedgehog, covered with apples, at New College, Oxford). Dr. William Heckscher has also enlightened me on the subject of the appearance and symbolism of the hedgehog in the Middle Ages, referring in general to G. C. Coulton, *Art and the Reformation*, New York, 1928, pp. 270 ff. The figure on p. 271 shows two hedgehogs climbing on vines and rolling on grapes and apples. This reference was given him by Dr. Erwin Panofsky.

ingly similar in appearance to our representation, comes from a psalter of the fourteenth century in the British Museum ⁴⁵ (Pl. 19).

Naturalists have long argued about the accuracy of these accounts.⁴⁶ Just recently a study of the subject has been made by Dr. Maurice Burton in the *Illustrated London News*,⁴⁷ in which the number of apparently trustworthy accounts by eyewitnesses of today make him (and the reader) question scepticism. The only matter really in doubt is the intention of the animal in rolling on the fruit. That problem, however, does not concern us. What we find interesting is that this document from the fourth century B.C. shows a consciousness of zoological fable just at the time when Greek scientists were gathering vast corpora of natural phenomena that were to form the groundwork of later science. Consideration of the exactitude with which the mediaeval illustrations follow the descriptions by Pliny and Plutarch makes us sceptical of their origin in individual observation. We should probably regard the mediaeval pictures rather as evidence of the respect given classical literature at the time when the written word was revered above any single observation. Doubtless the texts were illustrated without a thought of verification.

Nevertheless, the story became part of common folk-lore, for it is interesting to note that the workmen who found our figure instantly identified it as a hedgehog that had rolled on grapes. That grapes were the usual fodder in Greece we can tell from two charming poems in the Greek Anthology. These poems refer to hedgehogs which have been caught in the vineyard and dedicated to placate Dionysos, whose anger no Greek would wish to arouse (*Anth. Pal.*, VI, 45, and 169). We might render the first into English:

Bristling with sharpest of spikes and with arrogant pride,
This fruit-stealing hedgehog was caught, rolling grapes on his spines.
Now, as befits such a thief, he hangs crucified,
Komaulos' gift to great Bacchos, the lord of the vines.

MISCELLANEOUS PIECES (Nos. 12-14)

The lower part of a column shaft with its Ionic base (No. 12, Pl. 19) should be compared with the example from the Coroplast's Dump (No. 69). The curve of the torus is similar, though the whole is less well modelled. It may have been intended for a leaning figure or it may have been merely votive.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ G. Warner, *Queen Mary's Psalter*, 1912, pl. 155.

⁴⁶ Cf. Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 19; Brehm, *Säugethiere*, II, p. 367, asserts that the tale has often been doubted, but had been observed by Lenz.

⁴⁷ August 16, 1952, p. 264 and November 15, 1952, p. 821 with a picture taken from a tenth century manuscript showing hedgehogs rolling on fruit and carrying it into their burrows.

⁴⁸ Cf. Pottier and Reinach, *Néc. de Myrina*, p. 572, Nos. 392 ff. I owe this reference to Mrs. Stillwell.

Two, possibly three, examples of plastic lekythoi found in this deposit are particularly interesting as coming from a dated Athenian context. This class of vase seems to have been a peculiarly Attic product which was first produced in the late fifth century and continued in great favor all through the fourth century. In this class of vase the Athenian coroplast began to show originality in the creation of sculptural types in clay. Preliminary studies of the subject indicate that the field offers rich possibilities for further investigations into the relationship between the work of potter, metal-worker, and coroplast at this creative period.⁴⁹

The technique of these vases combines, in an ingenious manner, the qualities of both vase and figurine. The back, lip, and handle are usually treated like pottery, decorated in black glaze. The base, however, adjusts itself to the figurine, often taking on a double form or a spool base. The figure or scene is so modelled against the vase as to lend its body to receive the liquid. This figure or group of figures, often sufficiently elaborate as to make up a scene, is treated as a figurine, often with the addition of so much hand modelling as to seem entirely hand-made rather than mould-made. Added flying drapery, background, or ornaments, like rosettes or fruit, besides many details, like hair or objects held in the hand, tend to make the coroplast overexuberant. Likewise, touching the figure parts in color often leads him to excess. Certain of these lekythoi are positively baroque in fussy detail and in the richness of color and of gilding. The best, however, bear a close relationship to metal-work in the precision and finish of their modelling. These stand far above the ordinary figurines of the period and may have played a vital rôle during the middle of the fourth century by developing a taste for miniature sculpture in clay, thus forming a transition between the plastic vases that merely copy metal and those that ingeniously invent a new style, from which the delicate "Tanagras" inevitably develop. More evidence for this development will be offered later.

One piece from the Hedgehog Well (No. 13, Pl. 19) is almost perfectly preserved. It is shaped like a cave, rendered in scallops, decorated fittingly by a grapevine from which clusters hang. Within this cave of the nymphs stands the child Dionysos. The type is fairly common, showing Dionysos, as a child or youth, carrying grapes, cornucopia, or jug, with the phiale.⁵⁰ These boys, or Dionysiac youths, are evidently about to pour a libation.⁵¹ Our child, who is probably the godling himself,

⁴⁹ P. Knoblauch, *Arch. Anz.*, LIII, 1938, cols. 338 ff. has sketched the subject and given full earlier bibliography.

⁵⁰ E. g. *Arch. Anz.*, LIII, 1938, p. 350, fig. 7; *TK II*, p. 245, 4, 5 (= Walters, *Cat. of Vases in the Brit. Mus.*, IV, p. 237, G5) and p. 272, 2 (= *Cat. of Brit. Mus. Vases*, IV, p. 237, G3); p. 198, 3; p. 246 (winged versions, but similar). *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 162, fig. 72, No. 125 and fragments p. 164, fig. 75, Nos. 134-135.

⁵¹ For the type of the god offering a libation, see the recent study, B. Eckstein-Wolf, "Zur Darstellung spendender Götter," *Mitt. d. deut. arch. Instituts*, V, 1952, pp. 39 ff., particularly the list of the Dionysos type on vases, where, however, our child-god is not mentioned.

carries an oinochoe and a large phiale with eight petals in relief. The phiale is very large and seems peculiar in that the omphalos is low and that the eight large petals which decorate the bowl are shown convex rather than, as we should expect, concave. The same features, however, appear on phialai of the late fourth and early third centuries in Ptolemaic Egypt, where the Eastern form of low omphalos prevailed. It also appears in a form like ours on the frieze of the Arsinoeion of Samothrace of the early third century.⁵² That these are phialai not just rosettes Lushey considers to be proved by their frequent use in alternation with boukrania.⁵³ It is interesting to see how our little figure echoes the contemporary fashion.

This vase shows an interesting transition in styles. The child's body is slim and rather tall, rendered as that of an ephebe, as on terracottas of the early fourth century.⁵⁴ It is not so well proportioned as the examples in the British Museum, G3 and G4, which have almost achieved a childish chubbiness. Our piece attains its child-like effect chiefly by increasing the size of the head, which is rendered as very round-faced. This seems almost the very moment when the coroplast has faced the problem of rendering children in a more accurate manner than was prevalent in the early fourth century, but he has not yet mastered the proportions. This change must come very shortly after the fall of Olynthos, where none of the children is realistically rendered, but where the squatting children already have plump bodies.⁵⁵ Our coroplast has also shown a charming feeling for scale, in making the child small within his great cave, a sophisticated device to win our tenderness for the little god, the *κισσοκόμην Διόνυσον*, who appears to us as in the Homeric Hymn,

ὁ δ' ἀέξετο πατὸς ἔκητι
ἄντρω ἐν εὐώδει μεταρίθμιος ἀθανάτουσιν.

Another scrap of a plastic lekythos (No. 14, Pl. 19) is tantalizing. We should very much like to know the type, which seems to be that of a figure seated on a rock. Only the right side and arm are preserved, with drapery flying out behind the arm in an arc, a favorite device in this class of lekythos.⁵⁶ This particular fragment gives us a date for the type. Indeed, the third quarter of the fourth century seems to have been a period of great popularity for this class of plastic vase, for the Pnyx deposit of that date contained many examples.⁵⁷

⁵² H. Lushey, *Die Phiale*, Bleicherode am Harz, 1939, pp. 68 ff. Conze-Hauser-Benndorf, *Archäologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake*, Vienna, 1875, I, pl. LXI.

⁵³ Cf. D. S. Robertson, *Greek and Roman Architecture*, Cambridge, 1945, p. 210, note 1, a list of the early occurrence in architecture of the motive, seen also on grave reliefs, Möbius, *Ornamenten griech. Grabstelen*, pl. 39a. J. D. Beazley, *J.H.S.*, LIX, 1939, p. 36 and fig. p. 37, a frieze of phialai and boukrania on a vase of the fourth century.

⁵⁴ Not quite so slim as the Erotes of *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 34, but rendered on the same lines.

⁵⁵ E. g. *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 56, Nos. 397-398.

⁵⁶ Cf. *TK* II, p. 199, 2, 4, 6; *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 163, fig. 74, No. 126 (Dionysos).

⁵⁷ *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 131 ff., Nos. 119 ff., figs. 72 ff.

MINIATURE VOTIVE POTTERY

A number of miniature vases were also in the filling: two small, well made, black-glazed oinochoai and two similar palmette lekythoi,⁵⁸ and also unglazed miniatures: the base of what appears to be a thymiaterion like C.D. 87 (pl. 42) and two kantharoi, shown on our Plate 18.⁵⁹ They have slightly more flaring lips than those from the Coroplast's Dump (No. 86), and are a trifle squatter in proportions.

CONCLUSION

Although the figurines from this well are limited in quantity, they provide a pleasant variation from the routine types that were predominant in the Coroplast's Dump. Only a few of the pieces from the well duplicate those from the Dump: the "doll," a draped female figure, and the column. One traditional type of head (No. 7) is similar to those found on the Pnyx.

Otherwise, the types are original. The piece of drapery (No. 6) shows a beginning interest in folds and texture. Novel head types occur: the foreigner, presumably a northerner (No. 3), and the mask with its strange turban (No. 10). The plastic vase (No. 13), a fine example of its class, dates for us the beginning of the interest in naturalistic representation of the child, its actual proportions and its relation to its environment, as well as in the mystic appeal of its purity, all interests that developed intensely in Hellenistic times. Finally, the hedgehog, unique for its period, attests to the humor and invention of a coroplast who went for inspiration not to the well-worn moulds of his teachers, but rather to the nursery tales or country sights of his youth. All these novelties in a field that hitherto had clung close to the old traditions show that new spirit of curiosity and zest for innovation that stimulated every alert Greek during the days of Alexander.

The only deity of whom the figurines give any indication is Dionysos. The plastic vases, the hedgehog (probably a toy), the Silen (? No. 2) and the mask (No. 10) may all have been intended for the Dionysiac cult. It is tempting to suggest that they may have come from a sanctuary of Dionysos in the neighborhood. But in view of the paucity of evidence for either the relation of figurines to cults or for a sanctuary in that region, we had best make no attempt to explain these peculiar pieces. Their chief value to us is their association with other pieces of the period and the light that they throw on the subjects and styles that were predominant among coroplasts during the third quarter of the fourth century B.C.

⁵⁸ P 12727 and 13557; P 12725 and 12815.

⁵⁹ 15. (P 12726) H. 0.021 m., D. 0.043 m.

16. (P 13550) H. 0.03 m., D. 0.05 m.

Both are intact except for one handle. Fairly neatly made of reddish buff clay.

CATALOGUE

This catalogue follows the form that was adopted for the publication of the Coroplast's Dump.⁶⁰ The clay, unless otherwise stated, is the usual Attic pinkish buff. The fabric is like that of the previous publication. White sizing originally covered all the figurines and is not specifically mentioned in the catalogue. Surviving color is noted where it is preserved. In subsequent articles, the numbers of this catalogue will be preceded by the letters H.W., to denote the Hedgehog Well.

*Jointed Figure***1** (T 1730) Nude Female "Doll." Pl. 18.

P. H. 0.059 m. From depth 6.00 m. Brownish buff clay. Made in two moulds. Back carefully modelled.

Most of the torso preserved, from the neck to the thighs. Pierced at the shoulders for articulated arms.

*Male Figures***2** (T 1824) Fragment from a Male Draped Figure. Pl. 18.

P. H. 0.063 m. From the dump. Left edge finished off. Inside roughly finished by fingers.

Fragment of the torso to the waist of a bearded man, wrapped in a cloak which covers his bent right arm.

3 (T 1821) Male Head. Pl. 18.

P. H. 0.047 m. From the dump. Made in two moulds. Back flat. Tip of *pilos* broken away. Traces of pink paint on the face.

The head of a man with a squinting right eye and drooping moustache, wearing a cloak and a high hat with rolled brim.

*Female Figures***4** (T 1823) Standing Female. Pl. 18.

P. H. 0.083 m. From the dump. Made in two moulds. Back rounded.

The torso, from the neck to the knees, of a standing girl wearing a high-girt chiton with long overfold and holding a bird against her breast with her left hand.

5 (T 1868) Fragment: Seated Female. Pl. 18.

Max. dim. 0.048 m. Left side of mould-joint preserved.

A left hand emerges from under an himation, resting on the left draped knee of a seated female figure.

6 (T 1867) Fragment: Draped Thigh. Pl. 18.

Max. dim. 0.077 m. Right joint of mould preserved.

The draped right thigh to just below the knee of a female figure.

7 (T 1822) Female Head. Pl. 18.

P. H. 0.047 m. From the dump. Made in two moulds, then stuffed with clay.

The head of a woman wearing stephane and earrings. Her hair falls in long locks on her shoulders.

8 (T 1820) Female Head. Pl. 18.

P. H. 0.042 m. From the dump. Forehead chipped. Back of head unworked; solid. Traces of red paint on the hair knot.

The head of a woman wearing large earrings. Her hair is drawn up in a peak over the forehead behind which it is tied up in an erect knot of loose hair.

9 (T 1866) Female Head. Pl. 18.

P. H. 0.042 m. Front mould-made; back carelessly filled out by hand. Solid. Gashed on the left side of the face. Features badly rubbed.

The head of a girl wearing short hair and a wide fillet over her forehead, over which is bound a second fillet with knobs (fruits?).

*Mask***10** (T 1819) Female Mask. Pl. 19.

H. 0.05 m. From the dump. Hollow. Face mould-made; top finished by hand. Two sus-

⁶⁰ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 158 ff.

pension holes in the top of the head. Chip off back. Traces of red paint on the mouth.

Mask of a female head, wearing its hair bound with broad fillets as in a turban, on top of which rests a wreath of flowers and triangular leaves with flowers over the forehead.

Animal

11 (T 1731) Hedgehog. Pl. 19.

H. 0.042 m., L. 0.077 m., W. 0.045 m. From depth 6.00 m. Traces of thick white paste discolored to dull black on back and of yellow on some of the knobs. Feet and one of the knobs missing. Tail, which curled against the body, broken off. Vent hole beneath. Loose clay inside.

The figure of a hedgehog, his eyes and nostrils indicated. His spines indicated by low irregular ribbing. Over his body, also, in three rows were originally ten hemispherical knobs, representing fruit, alternately cut with a deep groove and pierced with a round hole. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 242, fig. 42; *Illustrated London News*, July 9, 1938, p. 59.

Miscellaneous

12 (T 1869) Fragment of Column. Pl. 19.

P. H. 0.052 m., Diam. of shaft 0.015 m. Solid.

Upper part broken away. Bottom finished off smooth.

Shaft and base of Ionic type column with large upper and smaller lower torus.

Plastic Vases

13 (P 12822) Plastic Lekythos: Dionysos in a Cave. Pl. 19.

P. H. 0.095 m., W. 0.062 m. From depth 6.00 m. Made in two moulds. Back rounded. Neck of vase broken away; bottom open; base detached. One bunch of mould-made grapes missing from right side. Back covered with dull black glaze much rubbed off.

The child Dionysos, wearing a high soft cap, a chlamys hanging down his back, and boots (?), and carrying a jug in his right hand and a phiale in his left, stands in a cave, around the face of which hang clusters of grapes. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 242 f., fig. 43.

14 (P 13573) Fragment of Plastic Lekythos. Pl. 19.

P. H. 0.072 m., P. W. 0.038 m., T. 0.045 m. Front and back both seem hand-made. Black glaze on the back.

A fragment from the right side of the vase, preserving the extended right arm of a figure seated on rock, with drapery behind it.

C. THE DEMETER CISTERN

The second group to be considered in this article, from what we shall call the Demeter Cistern, contains only a few figurines, but these claim our attention by their peculiar character. Along with these, for their better elucidation, we shall include also several similar pieces that help to build up our understanding of the group in question.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE DEPOSIT

In February and March, 1932, a small cistern was cleared at the northwest foot of the Areopagus, some 200 meters to the west of the Coroplasts's Dump, not very far from the Hedgehog Well.¹ It had evidently belonged to one of the small houses in that thickly populated residential district. That sculptors lived near by is attested

¹ Designated during excavation as Section ΣT, Cistern at 9/B; on the new city grid plan as F 16 1. It was excavated by the writer.

by the presence in the filling of two unfinished works roughly blocked out of re-used marble.²

The chamber, lined with the usual waterproof cement, was roughly rectangular at the bottom, measuring north side 1.25 m., east side 1.80 m., south side 2.06 m., west side 1.70 m., and reaching a maximum depth of 3.80 m. Except for a small intrusion of the third and fourth centuries after Christ, which filled the mouth, the contents of the cistern were homogeneous, consisting of household rubbish and 22 coins, of which only one was legible, dating *ca.* 294 B.C.³

CHRONOLOGY

The coin seems to set the lower limit on the material found within this cistern. The lamp fragments all belong to fourth century classes.⁴ The pottery includes wares that are characteristic of the period just after the middle of the fourth century B.C. but probably not reaching down to the end of the century. As is so often the case, it antedated the coin found with it.⁵ A selection of characteristic examples of the latest types of vases is shown on Plate 20.⁶

² S 195, Mother of the Gods. See below, p. 105 and S 201 Relief Head.

³ I owe the dating of this coin to Margaret Thompson.

⁴ L 417 (Howland Type 25B', which is very close to L 4529 from the Coroplast's Dump); L 429 (Howland Type 25A); L 635 (Howland Type 26A). These references are to the types of lamps set up by Richard Howland, which are to appear soon in his volume on the Agora lamps.

⁵ Cf. *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 121, note 21.

⁶ I owe this selection and the analysis of the pottery to the kindness of Lucy Talcott and of Peter E. Corbett, who is at present engaged in studying the fourth century pottery from the Agora. They supplied the following descriptions of our Plate 20, left to right.

1. Bowl, everted rim. Pl. 20, a.

Inv. P 262. H. 0.035 m., D. at lip 0.088 m.

Small piece missing from rim. Ring foot with groove in resting surface. Rouletted circle on floor. Glazed all over, mottled red to black and in part peeled.

2. Kantharos, moulded rim. Pl. 20, b.

Inv. P 2552. H. 0.11 m., D. at lip 0.095 m.

Part of rim and wall and of one handle restored. Scraped line at the junction of the two mouldings on the lower part of the foot, and the groove in the resting surface scraped. Black to red-brown glaze, in part peeled.

By analogy with kantharoi with plain rims, this piece belongs to the last quarter of the fourth century, but probably before the very end.

3. Skyphos, Attic type. Pl. 20, c.

Inv. P 318. H. 0.102 m., D. at lip 0.096 m.

One handle restored. The resting surface reserved, and the space inside the ring foot, with two glaze circles at the centre. An X roughly scratched across this space. Glaze fired mostly red, with a pronounced stacking line; considerably peeled on inside and on upper part of outside.

About the same stage of development as Inv. P 12480, from the Coroplast's Dump. Advanced third quarter of fourth century, or just possibly last quarter. Compare Inv. P 1829, perhaps a shade more developed, from Hellenistic Group A (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 319-320, fig. 5, A 26); probably not one of the very latest elements in the group.

TECHNIQUE

In general, the technique of the figurines from this deposit is like that of the two preceding groups. Fewer votives and more unusual types, however, occur, suggesting that the coroplasts are beginning to shake off rigid traditions and are creating new types. Only one, much abraded, unidentified piece of a mould was found, of which the back is fairly smooth, with a tab. In addition, one other uncatalogued piece should be mentioned here: a ball of clay, entirely unworked, but crowned with a thick, stippled wreath (like C. D. 70). The outer layer, on which the face of this head was worked, has evidently been broken away.

For the chronology of style, this group offers no significant data. The depth at which the pieces were found seems to have no bearing on their relative dating. The variation in the condition of the fragments, on the other hand, does seem related to their original date of manufacture. The most worn, Nos. **1**, **12**, **4**, **5 a** and **b**, **7**, **11**, are just those for which we would argue an early date from both type and style. But the well-preserved figure of the boy (No. **10**), the grotesque (No. **2**) and the charming head (No. **6**) are well advanced stylistically. Three other pieces (Nos. **3**, **8**, **9**), which still have fairly fresh surfaces and retain traces of the white slip, are less easily classified, but they do not offer any contradictions. The more advanced pieces certainly do not seem out of key with the best from the Hedgehog Well. We have moved almost imperceptibly from the conservative mood of Olynthos to the more vigorous and imaginative spirit of the end of the fourth century. Although there are no exact duplicates with the preceding groups, the general effect is homogeneous. We can only express our amazement at the variety presented by these small cross-sections of the coroplast's line during this period.

The subjects in this group of figurines indicate that the source was connected with a sanctuary of which the nature will be discussed in the conclusion.

TYPES AND SUBJECTS

JOINTED FIGURES AND RELATED PIECES: Nos. **1-3**

Three fragments belong to the class of "dolls" that were also numerous in the preceding groups. No. **1** is unlike No. 1 of the Hedgehog Well, in that it shows almost no curve from the shoulder to the waist and no modelling of the ribs or stomach. It is more like the older types⁷ and probably was long-discarded before it found its way into the cistern.

4. Bowl-shaped cup-kantharos. Pl. 20, d.

Inv. P 2550. H. 0.078 m., D. at rim 0.10 m.

Part of rim and wall restored; the handles missing. Scraped line at junction of two mouldings on foot; shallow groove in reserved resting surface. Mottled red glaze.

The shape of the base indicates a date in the late third quarter of the fourth century, or early in the last quarter.

⁷ Cf. K. M. Elderkin, *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 461, fig. 8; *Corinth*, XII, pl. 9, No. 130.

No. 2 (Pl. 21) is also a "doll," but of an unusual sort. It had articulated arms; the legs, on the other hand, are pressed tight together in standing position. It represents a grotesquely obese woman, whose head, to judge from the break at the neck, may have drooped forward on her chest, as in a similar example in the Louvre.⁸

That these obese figures, like most other "dolls," represent hetairai seems highly probable.⁹ Tatooing, the mark of the foreign slaves, is shown on the shoulders and chest of a well-preserved example in the British Museum¹⁰ (Pl. 21). This figure also wears a necklace with pendants and huge earrings; a gay fillet ties her hair into the *lampadion* coiffure, which was popular during the earlier fourth century. These ornaments are supplemented by a smile and by the epideictic gesture with which she unbinds her breasts. Her action is explained by comparison with a fully preserved example from Thisbe, which shows an obese woman unbinding her breasts in the manner of Aphrodite and brides.¹¹ The band, variously called the *στρόφιον*, *κεστός*, *ταυνία*, *ἰμάς*, *ἀπόδεσμος*,¹² is usually described by scholars as shown being bound around the breasts, but the provocative way in which Myrrhina in the *Lysistrata*, 931, removes her *strophion* confirms the implications of the gesture of the British Museum example. The terracottas must caricature some more serious composition, presumably in bronze.¹³ Other figures of obese women caricature other well known types of, for example, Aphrodite and Eros. Miss Haspels has pointed out this predilection for caricature in her publication of an amusing figure in Athens.¹⁴ Two ribald caricatures of Eros may also be cited. One, from the Agora (T 1403; Pl. 21),¹⁵ represents an

⁸ J. Schneider-Lengyel, *Griechische Terrakotten*, Munich, 1936, fig. 83 (H. 0.13 m.).

⁹ I have discussed this subject fully in *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, pp. 114 ff. Our piece from the Demeter Cistern is mentioned in note 131, where it is dated too early. For a graphic picture of an hetaira like ours returning from a party, see *J.H.S.*, LXVII, 1947, p. 14, fig. 2; note that she also wears pointed slippers with heels; cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, p. 115.

¹⁰ Walters, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Terracottas*, C 243. "From Tanagra." (H. 0.19 m.). Gray clay with slip burned to a frit-like condition. The arms from the elbows down are restored, probably correctly. *TK II*, p. 456, 7. I am indebted to Mr. R. A. Higgins and to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to examine this and other figurines and for the photograph, reproduced on Plate 21.

¹¹ *TK II*, p. 456, 6 = 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1895, p. 188. Cf. *Ibid.* pp. 187 f.; *TK II*, p. 215, 7 and 8; also Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, I, p. 246, pl. XXXIV, 2, a prostitute exhibiting herself.

¹² Pollux, *Onom.*, VII, 65 ff.

¹³ Pottier and Reinach, *La Nécropole de Myrina*, pp. 296 ff. show that this motive is confined, with sure feeling, to the minor arts.

¹⁴ "Terracotta Figurine," *Bulletin van de Vereniging . . . antieke Beschaving*, Leiden, 1951, pp. 54 ff., a figurine of a fat woman in the pose of Aphrodite Anadyomene. Cf. a kneeling obese figure from South Italy in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which seems to caricature the Doidalsas type of crouching Aphrodite.

¹⁵ From Section ΔΔ, in a modern filling. P. H. 0.065 m. The technique and style point to a well advanced Hellenistic date. For similar Erotes, cf. Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. I; other Agora specimens will be published later.

enormously fat naked woman who wears only a scarf of drapery twisted around her hips and looped up at both sides exactly as it is worn by Erotes and Hermaphrodites of the Hellenistic period. The presence on a fat woman of this obviously male costume must have struck the Greeks as ridiculous. The same type of joke is shown in a figurine of a drunken obese woman in Boston, who wears her hair in a central plait, the usual coiffure of little girls and boys and of the child Eros (Mus. of Fine Arts Inv. 01.7895). It is a question whether these figures actually caricature well known works of art or whether they represent old hetairai, who entertained the guests by dancing burlesques on the solemn poses of famous statues and paintings.

Such later ribaldries are elaborations on the theme of obese figures; actually, our example from the Demeter Cistern must be among the earliest. Its rigid pose and unmodelled back place it among the technically earlier group, such as the actors, Nos. 43 and 44, of the Coroplast's Dump. Nor is the fabric much different from that of the same deposit. Neither is there a suggestion of flexibility or of sculptural manner in its style. We might easily regard this figure as the ribald invention of some imaginative coroplast. Actually, however, the creator of this appalling comment on Athenian womanhood was modelling from life and following, with amazing fidelity, the horrible truth. His work can now be diagnosed as a clinical specimen. We have only to compare the proportions, the contours, the folds of flesh of our fourth century figure with those on the photograph of a medical survey to concede, with astonishment, the mastery of the Greek coroplast (Pl. 21).¹⁶ It is significant that this accurate observation of anatomical detail on the part of the coroplast is to be dated at the same time as the taking of plaster casts of the face in order to get life-like detail in portraiture¹⁷ and as the Hippocratic corpus was being embellished with treatises full of observations.¹⁸

¹⁶ I owe the photograph to the kindness of Dr. J. L. Angel of the Daniel Baugh Institute of Anatomy of the Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia. Dr. Angel found these Greek obese examples most interesting in connection with his studies of modern obesity. He considers these figures not pregnant, but merely obese. Dr. Chauncey D. Leake of the University of Texas Medical Branch at Galveston also examined the photographs for me and added the following note: "None, in my opinion, indicate pregnancy. The Agora item (D.C. 2) suggests Fröhlich-Cushing syndrome, which is a pituitary disorder and which also seems to be suggested in the case of Dr. Angel's photograph (on Pl. 21). The pendulous breasts in this item, as well as in T 1403, suggest pathology. T 1403 indicates a smooth and large abdomen, suggesting ascites. It seems too much for pregnancy and too smooth and unfolded for simple obesity. Ascites usually results from cardiac or renal disease." He considers that the British Museum example, C 243, does represent simple obesity. For previous studies of obesity in antiquity, see A. Laumonier, *B.C.H.*, LXX, 1946, p. 315, pl. XIV, 3 with references.

¹⁷ Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXV, 153. Note also the realistic portrait study from the Hedgehog Well (No. 3).

¹⁸ C. Singer, *The Legacy of Greece*, Oxford, 1942, p. 217 remarks that the treatise on anatomy was written "perhaps ca. 330 B.C." Edelstein, *R. E.*, s.v. Hippokrates, Suppl. to vol. VI, 1934-5, col. 1316, merely lists this treatise among the non-Hippocratic pieces.

A leg from a sizable "doll," No. 3 (Pl. 20) can profitably be compared with C.D. 7a and 7b. The foot from the Demeter Cistern, however, definitely droops in hanging position and the sole is unevenly finished. In size it is smaller; in style it shows more realistic modelling than those of the Coroplast's Dump. It is therefore to be dated slightly later. A fragmentary articulated leg of the straight type, exactly like C.D. 1 was found, but not catalogued.

DRAPED FEMALE FIGURES: Nos. 4-5

A small draped fragment (No. 4, Pl. 20) finds parallels in the draped female figures of the Coroplast's Dump, Nos. 19-20, and in the more advanced piece of the Girl with the Bird, No. 4, of the Hedgehog Well, which is not unlike it in the lower part. The dragging of the foot behind the body is a somewhat more advanced pose than that of the mid fourth century examples. It may well have belonged to one of our following heads.

No. 5, a and b, probably both come from one figure representing a seated goddess, presumably the Mother of the Gods, holding phiale and tympanon. Similar pieces have been found at Corinth and at Olynthos.¹⁹ These hold lions in the lap, but no trace remains of a lion on these Agora fragments.²⁰ On both these pieces, the phiale shows a small omphalos surrounded by thin rays, presumably representing the *φιάλη ἀκτινωτός* which is mentioned in Attic and Delian inscriptions of the mid fourth century.²¹

FEMALE HEADS: Nos. 6-7

No. 6 (Pl. 20), an extremely battered piece, gives an interesting cross-reference between the Demeter Cistern and the Coroplast's Dump. It shows the round face, fat cheeks, and snub nose of the girl type which is common in the Coroplast's Dump (e. g. Nos. 31-32). But whereas those seem to have been among the later pieces within their own context, this fragment looks to be among the earlier in this deposit. This overlap gives us a check on the relative dating of the two groups.

The most attractive piece from the Demeter Cistern is the sizable head of a young woman (No. 7, Pl. 20),²² who wears her hair drawn up high above her forehead and parted down the center. At the back of the head are traces of an object, which had been supported by a crown of double plaits, of which a little remains. It may have been a votive object like those shown on Pl. 22. The scale of this head is large, imply-

¹⁹ *Corinth*, XII, pl. 35, No. 388 (described as of non-Corinthian dark red clay). *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 36, Nos. 355-356; XIV, pl. 59, No. 181. Cf. also larger fragment of a type identical to ours from a deposit of the second half of the fourth century (T 3105, P. H. 0.05 m.).

²⁰ But see below, p. 102, and Pl. 23.

²¹ Cf. Luschey, *Phiale*, p. 26, fig. 32.

²² The photograph of the front view is by Hermann Wagner.

ing a figure of *ca.* 0.28 m. in height. The carefully modelled features and richly retouched hair are unusually handsome for this period.

In style, the head is more monumental than the "Tanagras." The features bear comparison with those of major sculpture. The forehead is triangular. The eyes are wide-open, sloping downward to the outer corners; the upper lip is slightly bowed. The face may be compared with those on late fourth century reliefs.²³ The peaked, yet parted hair seems to derive from the simple peaked coiffure of the early and middle fourth century,²⁴ but the part is evidently more advanced and ultimately develops into the characteristic coiffure of the "Tanagras," in which the hair springs up, high but loose, on either side of the part.²⁵ It must be contemporary with the earliest melon coiffure in which the plaits are wound forward on the head.²⁶ The general head and face type finds a close parallel on a very large head that was found in an Agora deposit of *ca.* 300 B.C.^{26a} A large head from Corinth of about this same period, if a little earlier, shows the same eyes that slant downward at the outer corners, the same straight nose with wide nostrils, the same rather short mouth with equally thick lips and small rounded chin as those of our head from the Demeter Cistern.²⁷ Our head must be but slightly later than the mask No. 10 from the Hedgehog Well. The general head shape, with its extremely shallow crown, emphasizing the vertical, is also found on several heads of the latest period at Olynthos.²⁸ These are all evidently earlier than a bronze mirror relief dated *ca.* 300 B.C. by Züchner, in which all these characteristics have been softened.²⁹ These various parallels serve to fix the date of our head fairly closely to the earlier part of the last quarter of the fourth century. It is a representative of the large, rather monumental style of figurines that existed apart from the delicate "Tanagras" and seemingly belonged to another tradition.³⁰

²³ E. g. *Encycl. phot. de l'art*, Louvre, III, p. 211.

²⁴ *Corinth*, XV, i, p. 101, on No. 8.

²⁵ Cf. *B.C.H.*, XI, 1887, pl. V, No. 9, p. 438, No. 99 (from Elateia) and, later, Köster, pl. 45.

²⁶ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 138.

^{26a} T 1213, Section Γ, Well i, late fourth century.

²⁷ *Corinth*, XIV, pl. 31, No. 3 (H. 0.243 m.).

²⁸ E. g. *Olynthus*, XIV, pl. 43, No. 126 A; pl. 45, No. 127 A.

²⁹ *Griechische Klappspiegel*, Jahrb. Ergänzungsheft XIV, 1942, p. 75, fig. 38, KS 108. Note how the eyes of this figure are narrowing toward a squint.

³⁰ This style has been noted by Kleiner, p. 133, where he cites as an example from the Agora the sizable figure of a seated woman with a mirror in her lap, provisionally published in *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 389, fig. 8, (T 139), from an early third century context. It is with this class that Bernhard Neutsch, *Studien zur Vortanagräisch-attischen Koroplastik*, XVII Jahrb. Ergänzungsheft, Berlin, 1952, makes his attack on the vital problem of the rôle played by Athens in the creation of the "Tanagra style" and Hellenistic coroplastics in general. The number of such pieces from Athens still remains small. I hope at some time to summarize the evidence from the Agora excavations on this important subject. See *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 158; Kleiner, *Gnomon*, 1953, pp. 535 f.

FEMALE RITUAL FIGURES: Nos. 8-9

The most interesting pieces from the Demeter Cistern are those that are connected with ritual activities. Since they can better be understood in connection with other examples of a similar kind, the class will be studied as a whole, but the extraneous pieces will be referred to only by their inventory numbers.

To begin with the two examples from the Demeter Cistern itself, the first is a small head (No. 8, Pl. 20).³¹ It represents a woman wearing her himation drawn over her head and across her mouth, leaving only the nose and eyes visible. Such veiling is suitable for the bearer of sacred objects, although it was not apparently essentially a ritual costume.³² On top of her head, this lady carries a strange object, like a large disk wrapped in a napkin from which a tall central protrusion has been broken away. I know of no exact parallel. A figure in the British Museum, from Kyrene, bears on her head a disk of relatively the same size and thickness, but the top is smooth, with only a slight boss in the center.³³ Another head from the Agora (T 1623, Pl. 22) carries a somewhat similar thick disk upon its plaits.³⁴ It was found very near the Eleusinion in a late Hellenistic deposit. Though this object is smaller, it is clearly related to that on our head from the Demeter Cistern and may indicate that the cult for which this object was carried was Eleusinian.

With our present knowledge, it seems impossible to identify the object on the head of our small piece. It might possibly be a ritual cake wrapped in a cloth, a cake of the type referred to on inscriptions as *πόπανον ὀρθόνφαλον* or in literature as *ὀρθοστάται*.³⁵ These cakes were commonly offered in the Eleusinian Mysteries.

Our second head (No. 9, Pl. 22) carries on her head a tall object, for which there are many parallels. Miss Richter has convincingly identified it as a sacred basket, probably a *κανοῦν*, made of metal to hold ritual objects, very possibly the image of the

³¹ The photograph of the front view of this head on Pl. 20 is by Hermann Wagner.

³² For veiling, A. Heydemann, "Verhüllte Tänzerin," IV *Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1879, pp. 14 f.; C. Galt, "Veiled Ladies," *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, p. 393.

³³ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas*, C 812 = *TK II*, p. 77, 3 (H. 0.153 m.); see Plate 22. Walters calls this object a hat, but it is far thicker and wider than any hat known to me. The veil hanging over the back, as it hangs on ritual objects, is also unknown to me as an adjunct of a hat. It is interesting to compare the piece with our No. 4, which shows similar stance and the long overfold and which also may well come from a ritual figure. I owe this photograph to the kindness of Mr. R. A. Higgins and the Trustees of the British Museum.

³⁴ From Section AA near the Circular Building. Ruddy brown clay. P. H. 0.048 m. A female head wearing her hair in melon coiffure with two plaits wound round the head to support a thick circular disk from which a stout central projection has been broken away. One other head from the Agora wears the hair in the same manner and has the back of the head broken away in such a way as to suggest that it too carried a votive object: T 2127, from a context of the third century B.C., unpublished.

³⁵ *I.G.*, II², 1367, lines 10, 13 etc., on Eleusinian ritual. Euripides, *Helena*, 547, *τύμβον 'πὶ κρηπιδ' ἐμπύρους τ' ὀρθοστάτας*; *ὀρθοστάται* defined by Pollux as "*ἱεροῦ ἄρτους εἶδος*."

deity.³⁶ It is also frequently shown in connection with weddings and with the worship of Aphrodite. It is also carried by Pan and by Nike.³⁷ It must therefore be considered a ritual vessel for general use, but chiefly employed at women's festivals.

A real *kanoun* must have been made of metal, very probably gilded. A few may have been made in gold. It had three high handles, separated by cross-bracings. On the vases it is usually shown empty or with a fruit or two on the bottom. On certain terracottas, including the Agora example, a figure in relief appears beneath the arch of the front handle. Other *kana* of this type come from eastern Greece. Two of these³⁸ show dancers, wrapped in flying draperies; another in Copenhagen may be of the same type, while a series from Lindos presents a standing figure, which Blinkenberg considers to be Athena Lindaia.³⁹ Ours is of still another type, the goddess with upraised arms, standing on a base. The base would certainly suggest a cult statue. The type with upraised arms is that of the earliest representations of deities and their votaries. It is perhaps not without significance that the most important Athenian representation of this type was found not far from the Demeter Cistern itself, a plaque of the seventh century B.C.⁴⁰ Not only is the gesture of the little figure on the *kanoun* similar to that of the figure on the early plaque, but even the outline, with its bell-shaped skirt, is strikingly alike. Possibly both these figures go back to the inspira-

³⁶ Furtwängler, *F.R.* on pl. 78,2, p. 100, called the object a brazier for burning incense, but his identification has not met acceptance. L. Deubner, "Hochzeit und Opferkorb," *Jahr.*, XL, 1925, pp. 215 ff. identified this object as a *κανοὺν ὀρθόν*. G. M. A. Richter, *A.J.A.*, XI, 1907, pp. 422 ff. and XXX, 1926, pp. 422 ff. summarizes the earlier literature. In *Red Figured Vases in the Metropolitan Museum*, 1936, p. 216 she concludes that these baskets contained sacred objects that were carried through the streets in processions. To Miss Richter's list of examples, I might add the following:

Athens, Pnyx Excavations, No. 100, fragment of a pyxis lid showing a woman seated with a *kanoun* on her knees; a second woman advances, holding out a string of beads or branch with which to decorate it. It is to be published shortly in *Hesperia*, Supplement X, by Barbara Philippaki to whom I owe this information.

Athens, Vlastos Collection, Semni Karouzou, "Eine Choenkanne der Sammlung Vlastos," *Festschrift Rumpf*, 1952, pp. 119 ff., pl. XXIX. This is the unpublished example mentioned by Miss Richter, *Ath. R. F. Vases*, p. 215, note 5. I owe this reference to Mrs. Karouzou.

See recently, H. Metzger, *Les Représentations dans la céramique attique du IV^e siècle*, Paris, 1951, pp. 350 ff.

Another example will appear shortly in a new *C.V.A.* volume of the National Museum, Athens, kindly shown me by Mrs. Karouzou.

³⁷ Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 212 lists the *κανὰ νυμφικά* mentioned on the inscriptions dealing with the temple treasures. Pan: *A.J.A.*, XVII, 1913, pp. 206 ff. Nike: *C.V.A.*, Palermo, Mus. Nat., I, III-1-c, pl. 28, No. 1.

³⁸ *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, A 388, pl. XIV; Heuzey, *Fig. ant. de terre cuite du Louvre*, pl. 16 bis, 3 = TK I, 158, 3b.

³⁹ Breitenstein, *Cat. Dan. Nat. Mus.*, pl. 7, No. 59. *Lindos*, I, *Petits objets*, pp. 706 ff., Nos. 3014-3016, pl. 140. C. Blinkenberg, "L'Image d'Athana Lindaia," *Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Hist.-filolog. Meddelelser*, I, 2, Copenhagen, 1917, pp. 2 ff.

⁴⁰ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 604 ff., No. 277.

tion of an ancient image of the sort that Pausanias often mentions. If so, the proximity of their places of finding implies that the sanctuary that housed them originally was one and the same. We must leave this interesting speculation for our later discussion of the whole subject.⁴¹

That this little figure in relief is connected with the cult for which the *kana* were carried seems self-evident, but it is not so clear just how the relief on our terracottas is intended to be interpreted. Blinkenberg considered that it was a reproduction of a repoussé relief inserted in the gap under the handle of the metal vessel.⁴² Excellent analogies are offered by the plaques that fill out the spaces between the legs of tripods.⁴³ Miss Richter, on the other hand, interpreted the figures not as reliefs under the handles, but as representations of the actual images of the deities intended to be thought of as carried inside and seen through the open metal work.⁴⁴ The shape of the *kanoun* is indeed highly suitable for carrying in a procession images which are to be seen by the crowd and yet protected from their fingers. We know that images were so carried and we know of no representation of this period of a more suitable vessel for their accommodation. No other use can be hypothecated for it, as it is usually shown empty, decorated with branches, on the vase-paintings. On two unpublished lekythoi in the Hermitage, Miss Richter noted the *kanoun* resting on the ground and beside it, a small statuette, which seemed intended to go in it, to be carried by a girl, who was preparing for the procession. It is unfortunate that at the moment we cannot cite more definite evidence, but what we have tends to support Miss Richter's theory that these *kana* were used to carry the images of deities in processions on their days of festival.

Related to these two heads from our Demeter Cistern (Nos. 8-9), several other pieces from the Agora should properly be discussed here. They should help to cast light on the confusing problems of the identification of the cults with which the whole group is to be connected. It must be borne in mind that these pieces come from different contexts and must not be included in the chronological aspect of the subject.

The first is a female head carrying a *λίκνον* or winnowing basket (T 431, Pl. 22).⁴⁵ It is to be dated somewhere around the end of the third century B.C. Two wreaths or stalks are curled in the bottom of the *liknon*; possibly they are intended to represent wheat. In the center rests a sizable bun with three divisions; it is probably a *πλακοῦς τριάβλωμος*.⁴⁶ The conical object beside it might be a *πυραμῖς*, often shown on

⁴¹ See below, p. 105.

⁴² "L'Image d'Athana Lindaia," p. 56.

⁴³ E. g. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, pl. L.

⁴⁴ *Ath. R. F. Vases*, p. 216.

⁴⁵ From Section Θ, filling of the Middle Stoa, i. e., before ca. 150 B.C. P. H. 0.06 m. Traces of flesh color and of red and green on the fruits.

⁴⁶ For *πλακοῦς* cf. Suidas, s. v. *ἀνάστατοι*. The modifier *τριάβλωμος* is inferred on the analogy of *δκτάβλωμος*. Cf. Daremberg and Saglio, s. v. *Pistor*, fig. 5698, p. 496.

representations of cakes on offering trays.⁴⁷ These cakes were also probably those called *ναστά*,⁴⁸ which were cone-shaped, made of raisins and almond paste. At the back of our *liknon*, lay two flat cakes, presumably *πλακοῦντες*, with their upper edges broken away.

The use of a *liknon* as an offering tray is well known in the cults of Demeter and Dionysos.⁴⁹ The winnowing-fan was inevitably associated from earliest times with agricultural ritual.⁵⁰ Later its symbolic use as a vessel of purging was employed in other cults and in marriage-ceremonies. It is recorded that the *liknon* used in the service of Demeter carried a *πλακοῦς* and salt.⁵¹ Our girl is obviously performing the function of carrying the *liknon* for the cult of a goddess.⁵² Unfortunately, since the deposit in which our head was found was brought in with a general filling, it gives no direct clue as to what cult is involved. The natural inference is that the cult was that of Demeter or of the closely associated Mother of the Gods or Oriental goddess.

One other *liknon* was found in the Agora, which seems to bear out that attribution. It comes from a cistern on the north slope of Kolonos Agoraios, just south of the railway cut. This is the figure of a goddess (T 1547, Pl. 22) wearing a polos, seated on a high-backed throne, holding a phiale in her right hand and a *liknon* on her lap.⁵³ The *liknon* contained objects, only one of which, a small round cake, survives. This particular type of seated goddess is clearly a creation of the fifth century.⁵⁴ But the hair and the soft modelling of the drapery of our piece betray a later date. The Olynthian parallels tend to place its manufacture in the fourth century B.C. Even at that, its discovery in a context probably of the late third to early second century is interesting, for it seems to have survived an unusually long time before it was discarded.

The *liknon* was evidently added to this old type as an after-thought. That is, the type was established and frequently used in the shop before the coroplast thought to put on the *liknon*. He did not trouble to make a new model and new moulds, but

⁴⁷ G. R. Davidson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 109, No. 3.

⁴⁸ For *nasta*, see Pollux, VI, 75, but Athenaeus, III, 111, defines them otherwise.

⁴⁹ For its resemblance to an offering tray, cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, p. 156, No. 106, which contains the same offerings. Cf. *B.C.H.*, XXIX, 1905, p. 311, fig. 30 (from the sanctuary of the Mother at Troizen).

⁵⁰ H. G. Pringsheim, *Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleusinischen Kults*, Munich, 1905, pp. 29 ff. gives a summary of the subject, still useful, though much developed by Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena*, 1908, pp. 517 ff. Cf. M. Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, Lund, 1950, pp. 568 ff. where the Phrygian origin of the child Bacchos in the *liknon* is associated with the early Earth-Mother, Hipta.

⁵¹ V. Magnien, *Les Mystères d'Éleusis*, Paris, 1938, p. 126.

⁵² Hesychius defines the role: *σ. ν. λικνοστεφεῖ: λίκνον στεφανούμενος θρησκεύει.*

⁵³ From Section ΛΑ, a cistern at 99/K. H. 0.19 m., W. at shoulders 0.063 m. Much weathered. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 352 f., fig. 38.

⁵⁴ Examples of the prototype: TK I, p. 74, particularly 6 and 7. Cf. *Olynthus*, XIV, pl. 44, Nos. 127 ff.

added the attribute by hand to an existing type. This would suggest that the use of the *liknon* on this type was something of an innovation. The addition of an attribute to give, as it were, a specific name to a generalized type, is in keeping with the trends of Hellenistic religion. We shall consider later the cults to which these figurines are to be related.⁵⁵

One other piece from the Agora belongs to this group of ritual heads. It wears a polos (T 1004, Pl. 23).⁵⁶ That it is not the goddess herself is made clear by the twisted roll around the head, which is the sacred band or *στροφήιον*. Nor is the face divine, but rather childish. Very possibly it is the face of Eros, to judge from a counterpart, said to come from Tanagra. This Eros is clashing cymbals; he wears the turreted crenellated polos of Kybele.⁵⁷

The polos of the Agora head is a high somewhat flattened segment of a cylinder. In the front a relief shows on very small scale a goddess seated frontally, with a phiale in her extended right hand and a tympanon held high in her left. A lion sits frontally to the left of her throne; to the right an attendant stands holding a long torch. Despite the scale and the dullness of the impression, it is clear that the goddess herself wears a low polos; she seems to hold a tiny lion in her lap. This is the type well established by late Hellenistic times, the period to which this head belongs, for Kybele or the Mother of the Gods.⁵⁸

In connection with these pieces we might note two minor fragments that were found in the Agora. One is a small polos (T 1962, Pl. 23)⁵⁹ probably intended for the head of a figure. The relief is illegible.

The other is a tiny plaque or relief showing the goddess seated extending a phiale in her right hand (T 892, Pl. 23).⁶⁰ A tympanon rested along her left side, its front edge broken. It is clear that she too wears a polos from which a veil hangs down her

⁵⁵ See below, p. 102.

⁵⁶ From Section II@ on the lower slopes of the south side of Kolonos Agoraios, cistern, at 42/© in a late Hellenistic to early Roman context. P. H. 0.064 m., H. of polos 0.027 m. The breaks indicate that the polos was draped at the top and sides by a veil. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 204, note 1.

⁵⁷ Schneider-Lengyel, *Gr. Terrakotten*, fig. 97. (H. 0.012 m.). A number of unpublished female heads wearing poloi, veiled, decorated, or crenellated are in the National Museum, Athens.

⁵⁸ General earlier type: TK II, p. 174; develops into the later types of p. 175. One of the best is p. 175, 1 = Wiegand and Schrader, *Priene*, fig. 367; *Olynthus*, XIV, pl. 59, No. 181, with bibliography. Cf. *Jahrb.*, Suppl. IX, 1911, pl. XI for examples found near Pergamon in the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods at Mamurt-Kaleh; similar examples have recently been found at Gordion and Troy. For a list of the type as found in Greece, see H. Graillet, *Le Culte de Cybèle, Mère des Dieux, à Rome et dans l'empire romain*, Paris, 1912, pp. 505 ff.

⁵⁹ From Section OA, on the north slope of the Acropolis, in a pit in bedrock. P. H. 0.033 m. Finished smooth beneath, broken on top. Traces beneath of a wreath. Low relief in front with traces of red paint; no trace of a veil at the sides.

⁶⁰ From Section B, Bouleuterion Plateia, near the Metroon from a context of the first century after Christ. P. H. 0.052 m., W. 0.031 m. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 204 f., note 1.

back. What was the function of this relief cannot be determined until we find a parallel.

Finally, in our study of this type, a much more important piece must be taken into consideration. This is a sizable votive polos (T 1546, Pl. 23).⁶¹ It was found near the figure of a goddess holding a *liknon* (T 1547, Pl. 22). This large polos represents the same type as is shown on the head of the child (T 1004, Pl. 23).⁶² The tall cylinder stands on a flaring base which is treated lightly like fluting or folds.⁶³ It is crowned by two wreaths, the lower one stippled, probably to represent flowers, the upper both stippled and bound by a broad *strophion*. From under these wreaths flows a veil wide enough to cover the face of the cylinder if drawn across it. The cylinder itself is fashioned at the top beneath the wreath in open-work turrets or crenellations, evidently intended to be those of the wall-crown of the Asiatic city-goddess.⁶⁴ The body of the cylinder is divided into three zones which decrease in size toward the bottom and are divided from each other by raised fillets. The upper zone shows a scene like that on our smaller polos. A female figure sits on a high-backed throne in three-quarter view to the right. Her right arm appears to rest in her lap; no phiale is discernible. In her left hand she holds an upright tympanon. On her head rests a polos itself apparently also wreathed, from which hangs down a veil. In front of the seated figure stands a female figure extending a torch in her right hand; behind the throne stands another woman, holding a round object, presumably a tympanon. The whole composition closely resembles that of the well known relief in Berlin⁶⁵ except that the phiale and the lion are absent. In the middle zone appear four figures, who are moving left, holding hands in a circular dance, toward another woman who holds a torch and faces toward the dancers. In the lowest zone, which is very sketchily modelled, five more figures are indicated, which appear, so far as one can make out, also to be dancers, tightly wrapped in drapery.⁶⁶

This polos is, so far as I know, unique in terracotta. Figurines wearing even

⁶¹ From Section ΛΑ on the north slope of Kolonos Agoraios in a context of mixed material ranging from the late fourth to the second century B.C. H. 0.137 m., W. at the top 0.062 m. Pinkish clay with traces of blue color on the veil. Complete save for chips from the veil and one crenellation. Slightly concave with traces of attachment beneath. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 352 f., fig. 39.

⁶² See above, p. 98.

⁶³ Does this hem possibly represent drapery and should we consider the whole polos as an aniconic form of the goddess like the rudimentary Ephesian Artemis?

⁶⁴ Cf. the polos noted above, note 57. For the polos in general, V. K. Müller, *Der Polos, die griechische Götterkrone*, Berlin, 1915; particularly for this type, pp. 46 ff. For veiled poloi on coins, F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, Vienna, 1901, II, pls. XII, XXVIII, etc. and G. Radet, *Cybèbé*, Paris, 1909, pp. 68 ff., pls. II ff.

⁶⁵ F. Winter, *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*, p. 293, No. 2; A. Conze, "Hermes-Kadmilos," *Arch. Zeit.* XXXVIII, 1880, pp. 1 ff., pl. 1. This article also presents many close variants of this type.

⁶⁶ The drawing of this polos, made by Piet de Jong, is necessarily somewhat interpretive; the photograph should be closely studied in comparison with it.

undecorated polos of this type are not common. This piece must represent a votive such as would be dedicated in a sanctuary. The original would have been metallic, ornamented with repoussé reliefs. Thin, gilded bronze, or even thin gold would be suitable for such an elaborate headdress. We may gather an idea of its probable appearance from a couple of crowns that were found in graves in South Russia. One, of gold, is of a *kalathos* shape, but not unlike our polos; the decoration shows an Arimasps attacking two griffins. It comes from a tomb, which, from its contents, has been identified as the grave of a priestess of Demeter.⁶⁷ Even closer to ours is a thin plate of gold from a headdress that was found in a barrow by the head of a young woman.⁶⁸ This plate was apparently cut down from a larger object, possibly more like our polos. It also was divided into three zones of relief. At the top, a single female figure is preserved; in the center, a chariot faces out; in the lowest zone, a magnificently dressed female figure sits frontally among five attendants. One offers her something on each side; two women stand behind. The side figures are obviously mutilated. What is especially interesting to us is the headdress of the central figure, which is a triangular polos, from which floats a long veil. Whether this lady is a queen or a goddess (I should prefer the latter identification), the parallel between this piece and ours is striking: they both represent a scene in which the polos figures on a polos. The polos must then be of decided importance in the cult.

It is impossible to limit the polos to one definite deity. Müller has shown that it can be worn by Aphrodite, Artemis, Demeter, Hekate, Hera, Persephone, Nemesis and several others, chief of which is Kybele, or the Oriental Goddess, called by the Greeks the Mother of the Gods.⁶⁹ The latter usually wore the type of crenellated polos that developed late in Greek lands by a *contaminatio* of the Oriental polos, worn only by male gods, with the Hittite wall-crown, worn by the city-goddess. This is also worn by brides, who presumably took it from Kybele.⁷⁰

The remaining reliefs on our polos can also be referred to the cult of the Mother of the Gods. The middle zone certainly shows a circular dance, probably around a leader with a torch. Frenzied dancing formed, as we well know, part of the ritual of the worship of Kybele. Our figures can be compared with those of dancers on the sides of a large terracotta relief showing Kybele seated on her throne caressing her lion.⁷¹

⁶⁷ E. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 425, fig. 315.

⁶⁸ Minns, *op. cit.*, p. 218, fig. 120.

⁶⁹ *Der Polos*, pp. 56 ff. Cf. C. Robert, "Archäologische Miszellen: Polos," *Sitzber. der Bayer. Akad. phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1916, Abhand. 2, pp. 14 ff., who considers that Müller has not proved that the term is a *terminus technicus* and that therefore it should be dropped from archaeological terminology. But, like many other terms that we have made more precise than they ever were to the Greeks, the word is now accepted by archaeologists to refer to the object that we are discussing and its variants.

⁷⁰ Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 46 f. and 87 f.

⁷¹ Furtwängler, *Samm. Sabouroff*, II, pl. CXXXVII; Harrison, *Myth. and Mon.*, p. 48, fig. 11.

These dancers must be the devotees of the Goddess, the *θαλαμηπόλοι*, or the *κερνοφόροι* who performed the *κερνοφόρον ὄρχημα*, and the *τυμπανίστριαι* who took part in wild revelry in processions and in the sanctuaries of the Mother.⁷² They sang the *θρονισμούς μητρώους* of a sort that Pindar wrote for the sanctuary next his house, where the revelries kept him awake at night.⁷³

Similar figures of three dancers holding hands in a ring, moving toward the left, appear on a fragment of a cornucopia of the Hellenistic period from the Agora (Pl. 23).⁷⁴ Such dancers are also shown on the polos worn by a kore which was found at Vouni.⁷⁵ They are lumpy little figures twisting in the dance, not unlike those on the lowest zone of the Agora polos. Gjerstad associates the cult of the Paphian Aphrodite, to whom this statue was probably dedicated, with Aphrodite Ourania, who was in Roman times identified with the Great Mother.⁷⁶

One of the most important dances of the cult of the Mother was that which took place during initiation ceremonies. We are told that after undergoing teasing or hazing by the *mystai*, the initiate was enthroned and the initiators, the *τελοῦντες*, performed a dance around him.⁷⁷ Thus the initiate was identified with the god while the energy of the dance projected the divine force into him.⁷⁸

Our polos, indeed, may show just such a scene of initiation, with the *mystes* seated on the throne and the dancers below. I suggest this interpretation rather than that the upper scene shows the goddess herself because of the unusual absence both of the lion and of the phiale. These attributes are almost fixed elements in the ikonography of the Mother during the later Hellenistic period, to which our polos belongs. The numerous small marble shrines found in Athens show her thus in the frontal

⁷² For a summary of all that we know about the ritual of Kybele, see *R.E.*, s.v. Kybele, cols. 2259 ff. (Schwenn).

⁷³ E. Hiller, "Die Verzeichnisse der Pindarischen Dichtungen," *Hermes*, XXI, 1886, pp. 364 ff.

⁷⁴ T 550. From a road filling in Section Γ, 94-98/Κ-ΚΤ. P. H. 0.095 m. Broken off at top and bottom. The context was mostly Hellenistic, with a little Late Roman. The soft light buff clay, with traces of yellow paint, probably for sizing of gilding, seems to be late Hellenistic. At the top, imbrication, presumably to suggest leaves protruding from the cornucopia. Rings surround the horn, which was presumably held by a large figure. The dancers appear in relief in the upper zone of decoration.

⁷⁵ E. Gjerstad, *Die Antike*, IX, 1933, pl. 29 = G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, I, Cambridge, 1940, p. 218, Frontispiece (limestone, of the early fifth century B.C.).

⁷⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 75, note 4.

⁷⁷ Plato, *Euthydem.* 277 D: ὅπερ οἱ ἐν τῇ τελετῇ τῶν Κορυβάντων, ὅταν τὴν θρόνων ποιῶσι περὶ τοῦτον ὃν ἂν μέλλωσι τελεῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ χορεία τίς ἐστι καὶ παιδία . . . Dio Chrysostom, XII, 33: εἰώθασιν ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ θρονισμῷ καθίσαντες τοὺς μυουμένους οἱ τελοῦντες κύκλῳ περιχορεύειν.

⁷⁸ For full discussions of the initiation rites in the cult of Kybele and the related Korybantes, see Magnien, *Les Mystères d'Éleusis*, pp. 191 ff. and Graillot, *Culte de Cybèle*, pp. 182 ff. These authors do not differentiate sharply between the initiations into various cults, believing, probably correctly, that the fundamental processes of initiation did not differ greatly among them. For the psychology of initiation, see A. D. Nock, "A Cabiric Rite," *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1914, pp. 577 ff. I owe this reference to Professor Nock.

pose, just as she appears on the small terracotta polos which we have discussed.⁷⁹ However, as the *mystes* identifies himself with the god, it is never possible to separate the two. At least, we are safe in associating our polos with the cult of the Oriental Goddess of Athens.

What name shall we give this goddess as she appears in Athens? There is reason to associate the terracotta *liknophoros* (T 431) with the goddess holding the *liknon* (T 1547) and that goddess, because of the proximity of provenience, with the polos-crowned head (T 1004) and the votive polos (T 1546). The *liknon* is obviously the possession of that goddess who used it in the harvest, namely, Demeter. The polos, on the other hand, though worn in a modest form by Demeter, is, in the form on these terracottas, much more closely related to its Oriental prototypes. The scenes in relief upon both these poloi evidently refer to the cult of Kybele or of the Mother of the Gods. This apparent inconsistency, however, is not inexplicable. In the Metroon at Athens, Demeter and Kybele seem from the earliest days down into late Roman times to have been closely associated, if not identified. Inscriptions dealing with the Eleusinian cult were set up in the precinct of the Mother; *kernoi*, originally the little harvest-vessels for offerings to Demeter, were carried by those who performed a ritual dance for Kybele.⁸⁰ Votive *kernoi* have been found in quantities around the Athenian Metroon.⁸¹ Very possibly as time passed, the goddess divided her functions, the old fertility goddess concentrating her activities within the Eleusinion and the Thesmophorion and the Phrygian goddess, brought in directly from Anatolia in the fifth century, taking up her abode in the Metroon. This analysis explains why our earlier figurine of the seated goddess appears to be more like Demeter, though it was found so close to the polos of later date as to be probably from the same sanctuary, which evidently in Hellenistic times was devoted rather to the aspect of Anatolian inspiration.

We might note at this point that the place where the polos and the seated goddess with the *liknon* were found is too far from the Metroon, considering their excellent preservation, to have derived from that sanctuary. Nor is the north slope of Kolonos Agoraios near any known Demeter sanctuary. Pausanias offers an attractive candidate for their place of origin. He says (I, XIV, 6-7), "Above the Ceramicus and the Royal Colonnade is a temple of Hephaestus . . . Hard by (*πλησίον*) is a sanctuary (*ιερόν*) of Heavenly Aphrodite (*Ἀφροδίτης Οὐρανίας*)" (transl. Frazer). When the north slope of the hill above the modern railroad tracks was excavated in 1937-8, no clear indication of a sanctuary was found, but these two figurines were discovered in Hellenistic strata. We might tentatively suggest that they come from this sanctuary, which Pausanias and others associate with the Oriental goddess, who is the Greek

⁷⁹ Above, p. 98. Cf. a fragment found on the north slope of the Areopagus (T 2178, Pl. 23). P. H. 0.07 m., showing a variant type in clay.

⁸⁰ See above, p. 101.

⁸¹ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 206 ff.

form of the ancient Semitic goddess of fertility and of the heavens, which control all fertility.⁸² This goddess would probably be an humbler variant of the great goddess of the Metroon, who presided over the official cult. Aphrodite Ourania would, rather, appeal to the artisans who worked on the hillside; she was brought in, very probably, by eastern metal-merchants who must have flocked to Athens at her most prosperous period. We need not be surprised by the apparent duplication in the sanctuaries and of functions of one deity. The ancient worshippers did not analyse, but accepted intuitively the identity behind the variant forms which sprang up locally or through historical causes of which they knew nothing. The ordinary Athenian woman, intent upon her purpose of attaining all divine aid that was available from any source, domestic or foreign, would not select her dedications, but unconsciously, appreciating the fundamental identity of all fertility goddesses, would confuse aspects and names, even as today she worships these ancient deities gathered under the name of the Panagia.

MALE FIGURE: No. 10

The one well preserved male figure is most interesting (No. 10, Pl. 24). The boy is very effeminate; the stomach is rounded and long locks hang on the shoulders. The cloak is wrapped around the hips in such a way as to support a short object, broken at the top and stippled to represent a rough surface, that is tucked into the crook of the left arm. This is clearly a *βάκχος*. The folds of the cloak on the right side are interrupted, showing that the arm, or some missing object, hung down at the right side. No scar remains on the thigh. The figure resembles that of youthful initiates as they are shown on vases, plastic lekythoi, and sculpture showing scenes from the Eleusinian Mysteries.⁸³ In all these representations, the initiates wear short cloaks and carry a tightly bound bundle of leaves or of wheat-stalks called a *βάκχος*. The *bakchos* is well known from its appearance on coins, vase-paintings, and sculpture.⁸⁴ It seems probable, then, that our terracotta represents a youthful initiate. The plump, almost childish contours of this boy are in accordance with the inscriptions that record the initiation of children along with their grandparents.⁸⁵

⁸² Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, pp. 128 f. Judeich, *Topog. von Athen*², pp. 368 f. with bibliography.

⁸³ For the subject of initiation see Pringsheim, *Arch. Beitr.*, pp. 20 ff., Magnien, *Les Mystères*, pp. 153 ff. The closest parallels for our figure are collected in Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, III, pp. 245 ff., pls. XVII-XIX. For plastic lekythoi: *TK* II, p. 245, 2a = Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, p. 333, fig. 142. This boy carries a pig in the right hand. Marble statuette from Eleusis: *Ath. Mitt.*, XX, 1895, p. 357 = K. Kourouniotes, *Eleusis*, pp. 30, 87, fig. 42.

⁸⁴ Coins: J. Svoronos, *Trésors des monnaies d'Athènes*, pl. 103, Nos. 1-16, pig standing on a *bakchos* (coins dated ca. 335-295 B.C.). Vases and reliefs: See preceding note and lists by Deubner, *Att. Feste*, pp. 74 ff., pls. 5 and 6, 1, with full bibliography.

⁸⁵ *I.G.*, II², 3480, 3648. I owe these references to Mr. George Stamires. The expression *ὁ ἀφ' ἐστίας λεγόμενος παῖς*, Porphyry, *Abst.* 4,5, also implies youth. But the suggestion of Pringsheim, *op. cit.*, p. 38, that the phrase, *μνηθεὶς ἀφ' ἐστίας* is illustrated by a terracotta from Eleusis, *TK* I, p. 92, 4 is

MASK: No. 11

The fragment, No. 11 (Pl. 24), is too small for certain identification. It appears to be a water-worn bit of mask, wearing a thick wreath. It is probably an earlier piece that came into the cistern after wandering about in the earth for some time.

ANIMAL: No. 12

A hand-made horse or mule head (No. 12, Pl. 20) should be mentioned because it was found in this dated context. It is crude, but not exactly like the early, truly primitive types common in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. The head is slightly modelled, with nostrils, open mouth and teeth indicated by the graver. In the shape of the head, which is wide across the eyes and pinched below the protruding nostrils, it resembles the head of a mule from Corinth.⁸⁶ It is decidedly interesting to note that such crude animal figures were still made in Athens during the fourth century. Since in Corinth they actually became more popular in the late fifth and fourth centuries than they were earlier, we can assume that our fairly fresh piece is an Athenian counterpart, perhaps a child's toy, rather than a survivor from the previous century. It is not at all out of character that even at the time when the exquisite Tanagras were being created, these simple figures were being purchased by the poor folk of Athens. They can, in fact, be bought to this day in the markets at times of festival.⁸⁷

MINIATURE VOTIVE POTTERY: No. 13

Several votive miniature pots were found in this cistern: three little oinochoai, covered with dull black glaze (but decidedly inferior to those in the Hedgehog Well), one flaring bowl on a stemmed base, one black-glazed krater, one kernos and two kantharoi. The kernos and kantharoi are practically identical with those found in the

scarcely tenable, since the two fragments shown certainly do not belong together and the upper represents, not a boy, but a mature woman. The lower part may indeed show a boy initiate, as he holds a pig. The object on which he sits, however, is not certainly an altar, nor is there any evidence that the phrase, ἀφ' ἑστίας, implies sitting on an altar. Cf. Magnien, *Les Mystères*, pp. 170 ff.

⁸⁶ A. N. Stillwell, *Corinth*, XV, ii, class XXIV, 6, p. 179, pl. 39. G. R. Davidson, *Corinth*, XII, pl. 2, No. 28 is somewhat similar, but dated in the early sixth century. Cf. Schneider-Lengyel, *Gr. Terrakotten*, fig. 96, a fourth century example.

⁸⁷ E. g. Köster, *Gr. Terrakotten*, pl. 2b, a figure of a horse carrying panniers, said to be in the Dardanelles, before 1926. Köster says that it is of "einer neugriechischen Manufaktur," which phrase implies that he knew that it was not Turkish. I myself bought an identical horse, so close in style and detail as to seem from the same shop, in Athens in 1948. Had these two pieces been found in an excavation, they would undoubtedly have been attributed to the same hand and to the same year. They must serve as a warning against too great precision in arguments based on identity of types in figurines.

Coroplast's Dump (Nos. 84 and 86, pl. 42). Fragments of a plump unguentarium of the type of Group B⁸⁸ with white bands on the shoulder was also discovered. One kantharos is shown for comparative purposes (No. 13; Pl. 18).⁸⁹

CONCLUSION

As in the case of the Coroplast's Dump, so also in this cistern, the subject matter of the figurines is largely religious. Can we identify the cult for which these little votives were intended?

The piece that most definitely points to a cult is No. 10, which represents a youthful initiate of the Eleusinian mysteries. Also Eleusinian in connotation, although not exclusively so, are the "dolls" (Nos. 1-3), especially the grotesque "doll," No. 2. No. 5, a seated figure holding a phiale and presumably also a tympanon, may show Demeter or the Mother of the Gods. In this connection, it is significant that an unfinished marble statuette of Demeter or the Mother of the Gods was also found in this cistern (S 195).⁹⁰ The head, No. 8, carrying a strange object, is identifiable at least as a devotee of a goddess. Likewise, No. 9, which carries a *kanoun*, must represent a girl in the service of a female deity, possibly Aphrodite or Artemis. Both these goddesses may have had sanctuaries on the slopes of the Acropolis.⁹¹ It is also possible that such *kana* were used in the ritual of Demeter. The other pieces do not give us much evidence, but several may well also have been votives.

A fertility or Earth goddess, then, seems to be the deity with whom most of the figurines should be associated. Two sanctuaries are possible candidates: one, the Eleusinion, lying about two city blocks to the east of our cistern, the other, the precinct of Demeter Chloe, known chiefly from literary references to have lain close to the entrance to the Acropolis.⁹² From either of these places, scraps of figurines could have made their way. Of the two, the Eleusinion seems the more likely, since it was a large sanctuary, presumably with a western entrance as well as that on the Panathenaic Way. The fact that a votive deposit of the seventh century was found very near this cistern, containing a plaque that must be referred to the Eleusinion, would strengthen this hypothesis.⁹³

Though this is a small group, it gives us further evidence of the vigor of Athenian

⁸⁸ *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 330 ff., B 44, fig. 22.

⁸⁹ 13. (P 22810). H. 0.028 m., D. 0.041 m. About half missing; restored in plaster.

⁹⁰ See above, pp. 88, 102.

⁹¹ Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, pp. 124 and 245 ff.

⁹² Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, pp. 246 ff. Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 285 f.

⁹³ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 542 ff., particularly pp. 637 f. where the source was suggested but discarded in favor of the theory that the deposit came from the sanctuary of the Furies on the Areopagus. Since extensive subsequent digging on the Areopagus failed to reveal any sign of a sanctuary or any similar material, we now believe that the deposit is more probably to be associated with the Eleusinion. See also above, p. 95; cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 447, note 5 for a useful summary of the evidence.

coroplastics just at the beginning of the Hellenistic period. The taste for hieratic votives is yielding to a more aesthetic interest in sculptural quality that will blossom into a truly plastic creative movement during the third century B.C.

CATALOGUE

This catalogue follows the form set up for that of the Coroplast's Dump.⁹⁴ The figurines are mould-made, unless otherwise noted. The clay is pinkish buff, rather soft, very like that of the two preceding groups. In subsequent articles, the numbers of this catalogue will be preceded by the letters D.C., signifying Demeter Cistern.

Jointed Figures

1 (T 91) Fragment of Female "Doll." Pl. 20.

P. H. 0.051 m. Clay burned grayish, white slip blackened. Very smooth inside, strengthened with clay for arm-holes.

The front half of the torso, preserved from neck to waist, of a "doll" with articulated arms.

2 (T 97) Nude Female "Doll": Caricature. Pl. 21.

P. H. 0.104 m. Light red clay. Back rounded, hand-made.

Caricature of the nude "doll" type with articulated arms; very obese, with pendulous breasts. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, note 131 (where the date should be "late fourth century").

3 (T 105) Articulated Leg. Pl. 20.

P. H. 0.046 m. Solid.

The right lower leg and foot of a "doll," preserved from the knee down; the foot droops, the sole is rough, showing that the figure originally hung.

Draped Female Figures

4 (T 101) Standing Draped Female Fragment. Pl. 20.

P. H. 0.058 m. Surface much rubbed. Back missing.

The lower part of a small standing draped figure, resting the weight on the right leg, of which the foot protrudes beneath the folds. She

wears a chiton with overfold hanging to the knee. The left leg is drawn back.

5 Seated Female. Fragments. Pl. 20.

a) (T 102) P. H. 0.039 m. Very smooth inside. Broken all around.

b) (T 331) Greatest dimension 0.053 m. Back flat. Joint between front and back moulds preserved. Tympanon solid. Traces of red paint on tympanon.

Non-joining fragments from a) the right side of a seated female figure, holding a phiale resting on the right arm of her seat, b) a left hand holding up vertically a large tympanon.

Heads

6 (T 126) Head of a Girl. Pl. 20.

P. H. 0.035 m. Solid. Back roughly hand-made. Much worn.

The head and part of the shoulders of a young girl. She wore her hair in melon coiffure with plaits at the back.

7 (T 109) Female Head. Pl. 20.

P. H. 0.046 m. Solid. Traces of glaze, for attached object which has been broken away from the top of the head. Hair sharply re-touched with graver.

The head of a female figure, wearing earrings. Her hair is brushed into a high peak above her forehead and parted in the middle. The head is inclined slightly to the left.

⁹⁴ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 158.

8 (T 98) Female Head. Pl. 20.

P. H. 0.035 m. Solid. Broken on top and beneath.

A female head is covered by the himation, which is drawn up over the mouth. On top of the head rests a large circular object, from which a central peg is broken away; the edge of the rim is folded back in a series of eight scallops.

9 (T 104) Female Head. Pl. 22.

P. H. 0.051 m. Made in front mould; back of head filled roughly with clay as No. 6.

Female head, wearing her hair hanging down on her shoulders. She raises her hands to support a large *kanoun* that rests on her head. Beneath its arch a small draped figure is visible, holding its arms raised, and standing on a base.

*Male Figure***10 (T 106) Youthful Male. Pl. 24.**

P. H. 0.072 m. Solid. Made in two moulds. Back modelled carefully. Right arm is broken

away below the shoulder, leaving a trace of itself or of an object held against the drapery at the right side. Tip of *bakchos* broken away.

A plump boyish figure, wearing a cloak around his hips, stands holding a *bakchos* against his left arm. His hair hung down on his shoulders.

*Mask***11 (T 103) Fragment of a Mask. Pl. 24.**

P. H. 0.04 m. Hollow, made in two moulds. Bottom edge preserved at back. Much worn.

Fragment from the right side of a mask, showing the prominent eye and roll of hair, treated with striations.

*Animal***12 (T 132) Head of a Mule. Pl. 20.**

P. H. 0.024 m. Solid.

Hand-made mule's head, retouched at mouth and nostrils by the graver.

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY



1



2



1



4



3



6



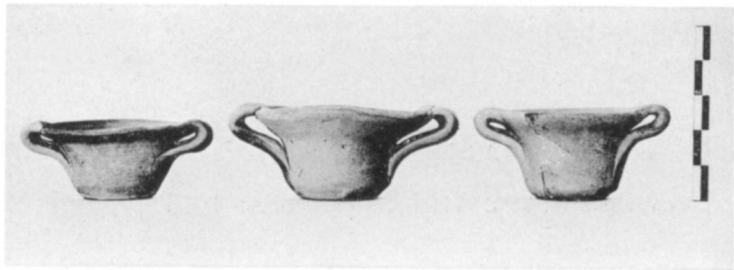
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15

16

Demeter
Cistern 13

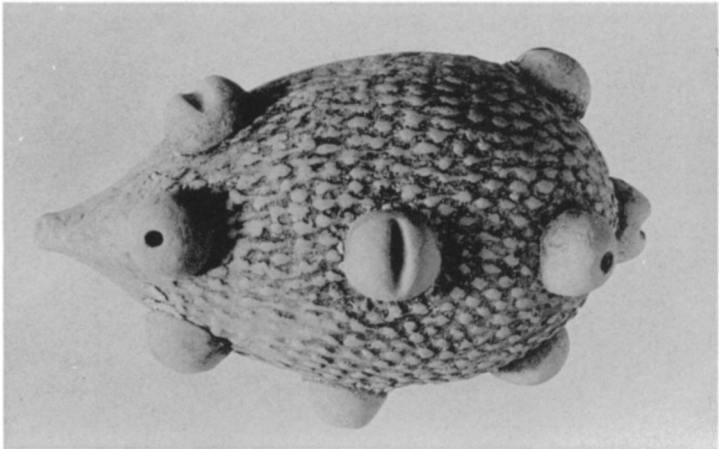


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The Hedgehog Well



10

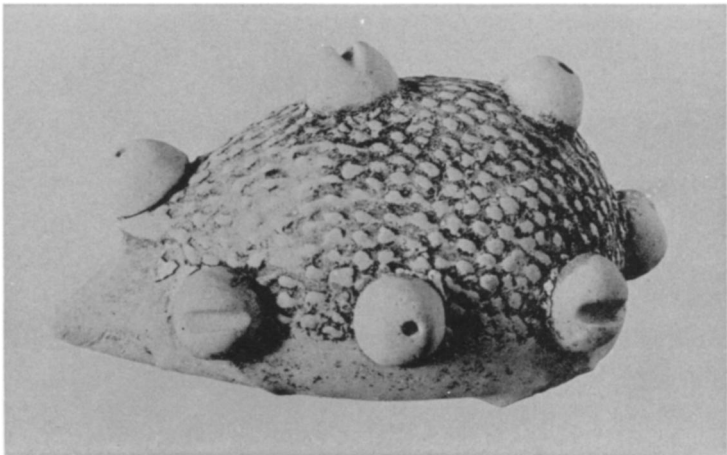


11



Pig

Courtesy of Metropolitan Mus. of Art
(Inv. 17.194.1893)



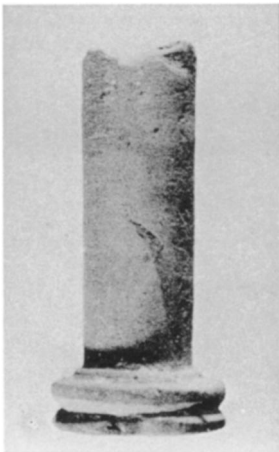
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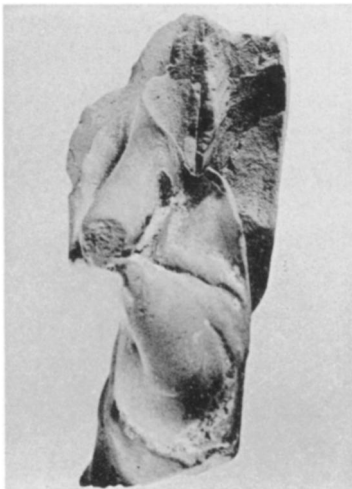
13



Hedgehog from Warner, *Queen Mary's Psalter*
(By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum)



12



14



a

b

Pottery

c

d



1



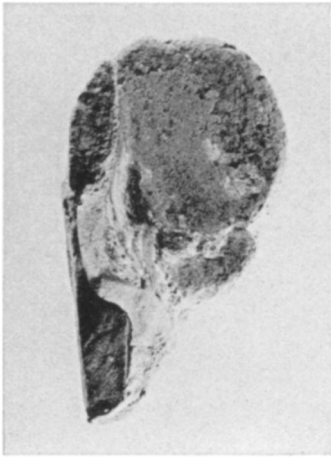
3



4



5a



5b



6



12



7



7



8



8

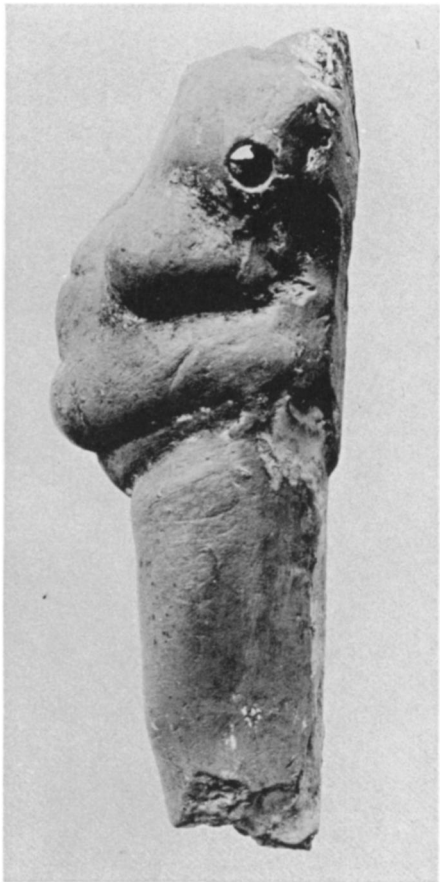
The Demeter Cistern



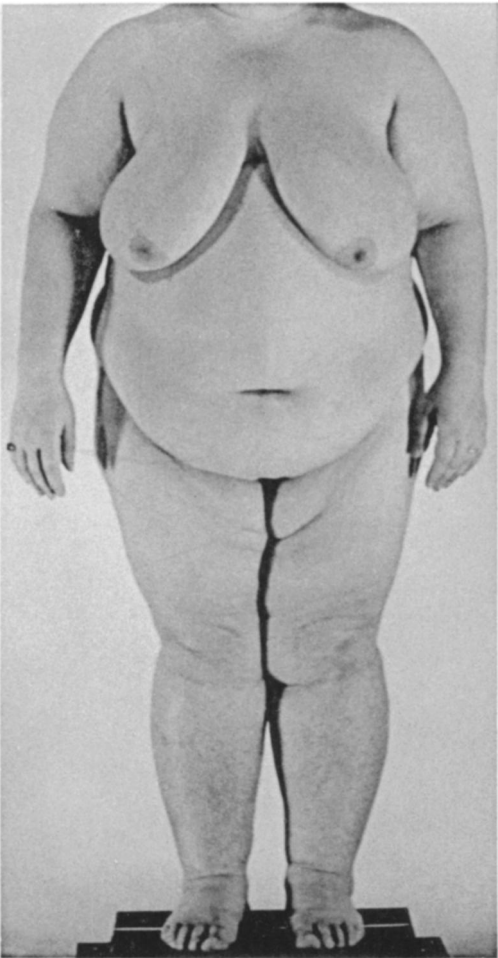
The Demeter Cistern 2



Agora T1403



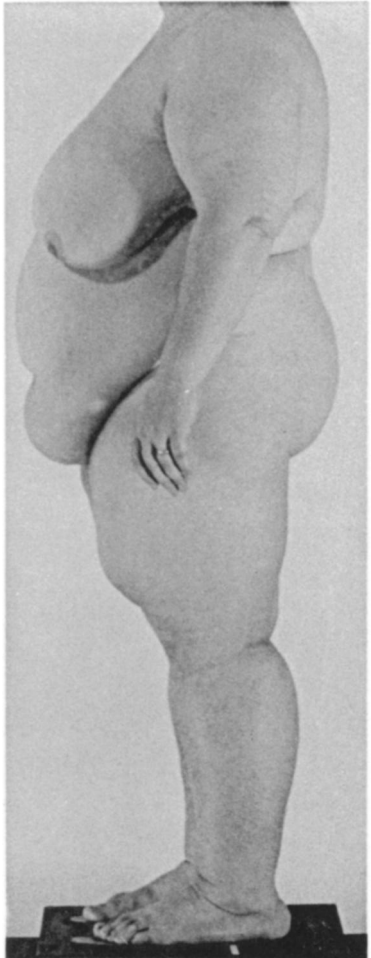
The Demeter Cistern 2



Courtesy of Jefferson Medical College



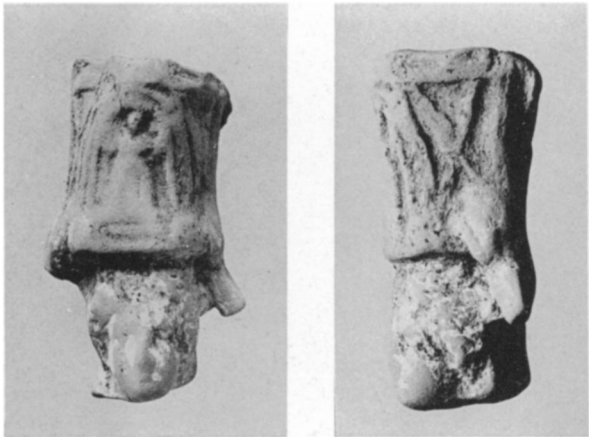
Courtesy of British Museum
(C243)



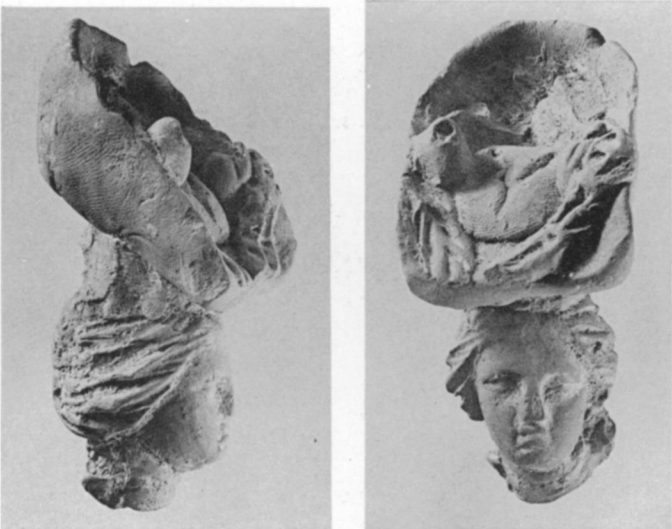
Courtesy of Jefferson Medical College



Agora T1623



The Demeter Cistern 9



Agora T431



Courtesy of British Museum (C812)



Agora T1547



Agora T1004



Agora T1962



Agora T1546



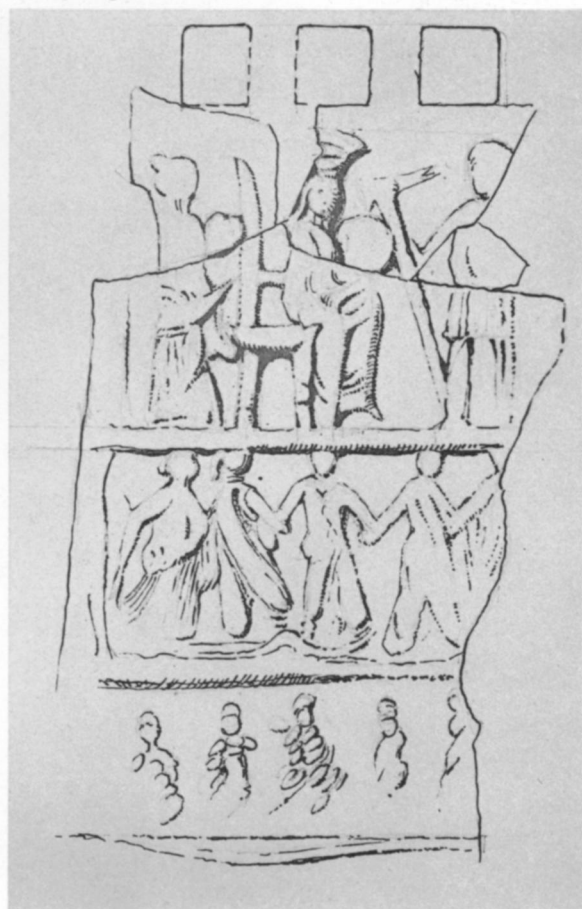
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Agora T2178

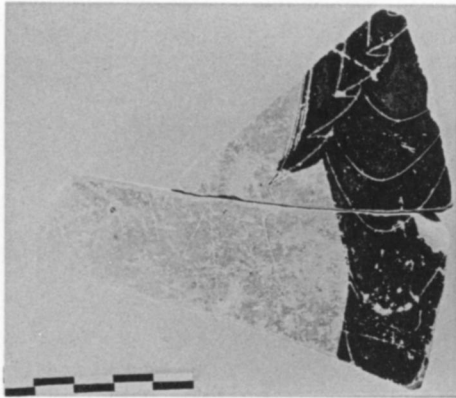


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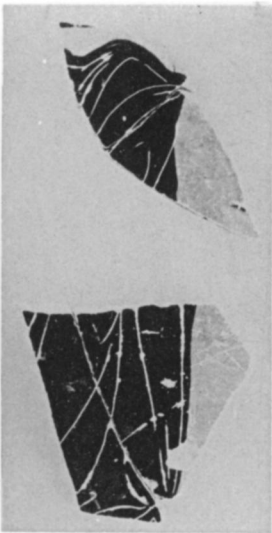




The Demeter Cistern 10



Agora P19531



Agora P19530



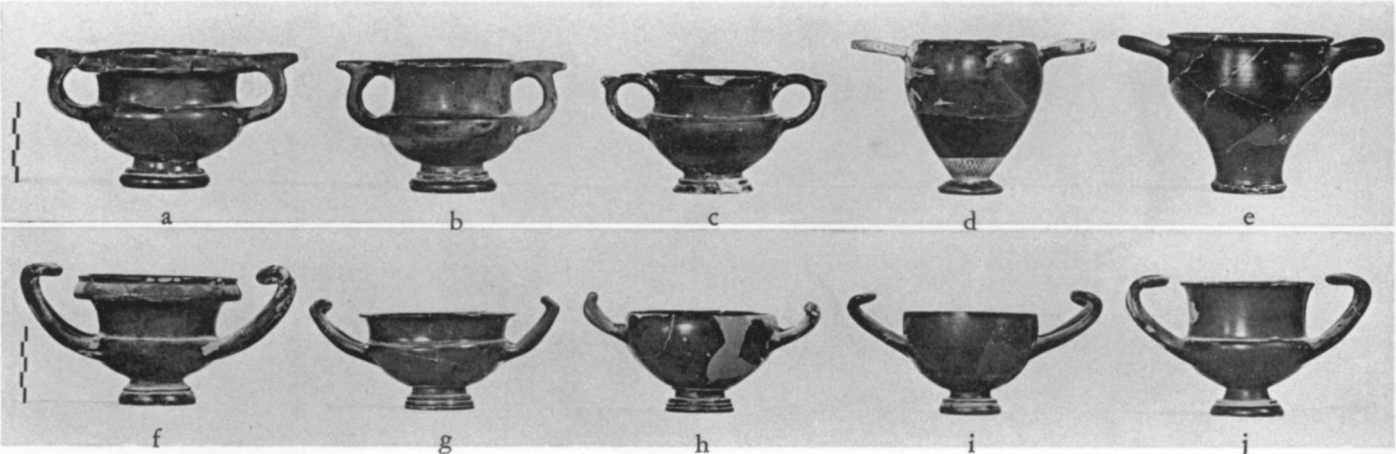
The Demeter Cistern 11



Agora P12406



Pottery from the Coroplast's Dump



Pottery from The Hedgehog Well