

THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS

I, A

(PLATES 32-42)

WHEN "Two Centuries of Hellenistic Pottery" was published in 1934, it was suggested that a similar treatment of the stamped amphora handles and of the terracottas found in closed deposits would be profitable.¹ Thereafter an immense amount of material accumulated from the excavations and it appeared unwise to attempt these studies until the bulk of excavation had been completed. It now seems desirable to begin to study the Hellenistic material. Virginia Grace is preparing the stamped amphora handles for final publication. G. Roger Edwards has worked through the pottery and is able to date most of the Hellenistic deposits. Richard Howland is classifying the lamps. The coins have been cleaned and identified. By reference to this varied and abundant material it should now be possible to attack that most obscure and confusing of subjects, the figurines. The present article is the first installment of such a study, which is to cover the Hellenistic period, from the beginnings of the "Tanagra style" to the appearance of Italian wares in Athens, that is, roughly from *ca.* 350 to 50 B.C. or from Alexander to Sulla.

The material will be presented in groups as it was found. These groups have been selected from a much larger number on the basis of the quantity and quality of the figurines alone. For those groups of which the associated pottery has been studied by G. Roger Edwards, the chronology will be accepted as established by him.² If he has not prepared the pottery from a particular group for publication, the dating has been at least discussed with him.

The terracottas from the Agora excavations, though abundant, are very frag-

¹ H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 311 ff.; see p. 313, note 1. The figurines in these groups were too scanty to warrant independent study. They will be treated in forthcoming articles in this series. This suggestion of my husband's and his constant inspiration and help have formed the basis of this attempt. I also owe much to the wide knowledge and interest in all Hellenistic problems which Dr. Berta Segall has generously shared with me. The photographs have profited by the skill of Alison Frantz and the text by the criticism of R. E. Wycherley.

² Since few of the best pottery groups contain good terracottas, it was considered inadvisable for me to present the figurines that were found in those groups selected on the standards applicable to pottery alone. Unfortunately many of the best figurines were found in contexts without evidence for dating. Figurines are usually found in cisterns, which Mr. Edwards considers unreliable sources of dated material, owing to their being much more subject to disturbance than deep wells. It should therefore be borne in mind that the dating of many of the groups studied here is not infallible. In all the chronological problems I have profited from Mr. Edwards' generosity and willingness to discuss his material with me. His publication of the Hellenistic pottery from the Agora is forthcoming.

mentary. Few complete figurines have been found. But even scraps can tell much, particularly as regards types and technique. Such a study must be fundamentally archaeological; it will not attempt to include the evaluation of artistic elements, but it will afford documentary basis for such evaluation.³ This evidence from datable contexts will help gradually to build up our knowledge of this obscure field of ceramics and, when correlated with other material, it should throw light on the still confused story of Hellenistic art.

The material from each group is arranged according to types. It is described in catalogue form. The discussion is concentrated in an introductory commentary. The stylistic chronology and the general value of the deposit will be summarized at the end of each article.

We know very little at present of the origin of the Hellenistic style in terracottas. During the classical period clay had been the modest medium for inexpensive votives and humble grave-offerings. By Hellenistic times it had taken its place beside marble and bronze as a sensitive material for the creation of minor works of art. It is fascinating to watch the way in which, during this period, the coroplast comes into his own. The process is complex and difficult to follow, but its general course is now clear. The shift in emphasis seems to have begun during the third quarter of the fourth century. "At this time," as Hetty Goldman has indicated, "there was a change in terracotta styles, unaccompanied by pronounced ceramic developments, in anticipation of the flowering of the Tanagra period."⁴ By the end of the century has come that phase described by Schefold, "Es ist die Zeit, in der überhaupt eine neue Freude an der kleinen Tonfiguren erwacht, die, einmal erfunden, rasch so beliebt wurden, wie es ihre reiche Zahl und stilistische Einheitlichkeit annehmen lässt."⁵

Our study of Hellenistic terracottas, then, should begin at the critical period. The present article offers the best group of that period from the Agora. Called for convenience the "Coroplast's Dump," it is one of the largest groups of figurines which were found, and luckily it can be assigned to a fairly limited period, *ca.* 350-320 B.C. Another group, from a cistern containing ritual terracottas, is a much smaller and less significant deposit, which carries the story down to the end of the fourth century; this will appear shortly in a second article, "The Demeter Cistern."

³ B. Neutsch, *Studien zur vortanagräisch-attischen Koroplastik* (17 *Erganzungsheft zum Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*) was just announced as this article went to press. Unfortunately, I have not been able to consult it. A recent study of Hellenistic terracottas, based on as much documentary material as was available at the time, will often be referred to in this article: G. Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren, Untersuchungen zur hellenistischen Kunst und Geschichte*, 15tes *Erganzungsheft zum Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, Berlin, 1942 (hereafter abbreviated, Kleiner). An evaluation of the methods and results of this study will be found in a review, *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, pp. 440 ff.

⁴ *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 406.

⁵ J. Boehlau and K. Schefold, *Larisa am Hermos*, III, 1942, p. 47.

Subsequent articles are planned to trace as closely as the evidence permits the development of the Athenian Hellenistic styles. For the first half of the third century material from the Hellenistic group already published as B and a fuller supplementary series from the "Altar Well,"⁶ will be treated. A study on the late third century will cover the "Komos Cistern," which has already been noted as an interesting deposit.⁷

For the second century, since the material is distressingly scanty, one article should suffice. A longer article should cover the material from the first century B.C. Luckily this little known period is clarified by a series of closely dated groups, which, though small, illuminate the trends during the late Hellenistic period.

Finally, it is hoped to present the last article in two parts. The first should summarize the general history and add any significant material which cannot be included in the group studies. The concluding article should attempt an integration of all this evidence, setting forth the history of technique, fashion, types, and styles of Hellenistic coroplastic art in the great centre of Athens.

PART I: THE LATE FOURTH CENTURY B. C.

COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

Since in this article and the following on the two groups of the late fourth century we shall frequently refer to other material of the same period, we had best first summarize and evaluate this evidence.

A few Agora groups were consulted that will be dealt with only in the final publication.⁸ Olynthos gives us the common stock of the coroplasts of a small town of the mid fourth century.⁹ Vital is the *terminus ante quem* of the destruction of Olynthos in 348 B.C. The graves of South Russia, as dated recently by Schefold's study of the pottery, throw light on a few of the types and styles that we shall discuss.¹⁰ Certain deposits from the excavations of Corinth are more useful.¹¹ The figurines from three deposits on the Pnyx form an excellent check, as they provide more closely related material.¹² Other comparable groups not only give but also receive

⁶ *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 330 ff. (Group B); *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 376 (Altar Well).

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 376 f.

⁸ In the meantime their excavation designations will be listed: Section NN, Brown Fill with marble chips, early fourth century; Section EE, Cistern at 31/K, mid fourth century; Section ΓΓ, Cistern at 38/M, mid fourth century; Section Ψ, Well at 37/KA, third quarter of the fourth century.

⁹ *Olynthus*, IV, VII, XIV. The grave-groups listed in vol. VII, p. 110 and XI, p. 258 offer very little comparative material for our study.

¹⁰ K. Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1934, pp. 68 ff.

¹¹ A. N. Stillwell, *Corinth*, XV, i, Princeton, 1949 and ii (in press). G. R. Davidson, *Corinth*, XII (in press), chap. II. I am indebted to both Mrs. Stillwell and Miss Davidson for letting me consult their manuscripts and for giving me the benefit of their expert knowledge on many matters.

¹² 1) From the filling of the third period of the Assembly Place, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 112 ff. Since this publication, the lower limit of this filling has been placed during the time

light on their chronology when they are compared with our deposit.¹³ By far the most reliable and illuminating study of fourth century terracottas, however, is that made by Hetty Goldman and Frances Jones on the figurines from the necropolis of Halai in Lokris.¹⁴ The grave-groups are made available for checking by the reader. Despite the fact that the pottery from this cemetery has not been studied in the light of present knowledge, the dating of the graves stands firm and checks closely with the results of recent excavations. But as Halai was a country town and as the number

of Lykourgos, that is, 338-326 B.C. Cf. *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 300. Much of the contents of this filling, however, was made during the first half of the fourth century.

2) A more limited group of figurines found in the filling of the Compartment period of the City Wall, dating in the third quarter of the fourth century, namely Nos. 23, 24, and 80 in the above publication.

3) The deposit from the "Thesmophorion," *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 170 ff. On the identification of the sanctuary, cf. Broneer, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 250 ff. The dating, on p. 177, in the third century, is probably too late. The evidence adduced from Pagasai and Chatby is only general and that from the miniature vases (p. 180) not in the least close. Indeed, the whole "Thesmophorion" deposit so closely resembles the Coroplast's Dump, including examples from what appear to be the same moulds, that the two deposits must be placed close together. Further evidence for this earlier dating now comes from Corinth. The figure of a seated girl shown in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 171, fig. 18, e¹ and e² is practically identical with one which was found in the North Cemetery of Corinth, Grave 372, to be published in *Corinth*, XIII, T 2717 (P. H. 0.057 m.). This grave is probably to be dated late in the third quarter of the fourth century. I am indebted to Miss Hazel Palmer and to Mrs. Stillwell for giving me the date of the pottery in advance of publication. A good example of this type of seated girl is in the Acropolis Museum, D. Brooke, *Catalogue of the Acrop. Mus.*, p. 390, No. 1424 (P. H. 0.093 m.). I owe this reference to R. V. Nicholls. Another replica, of local manufacture, was found in a deposit in Larisa, which the excavators date before ca. 300 B.C., Schefold, *Larisa*, III, p. 47; on this dating see below note 13 b. The type was found at Tanagra, cf. F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* (hereafter, *TK*), II, p. 123, 3, and at Chatby, E. Breccia, *Monuments de l'Égypte gréco-romaine* (hereafter, *Breccia, Monuments*), II, i, 1930, pl. XIV, 6.

¹³ (a) *Fouilles de Delphes*, V, 5, pp. 163 ff., pl. XXII. This grave was dated by its excavators ca. 400 B.C., but several archaeologists have suggested that it may be later. Cf. H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 473, note 1; H. Goldman, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 402; A. N. Stillwell, *Corinth*, XV, i, p. 102, note 117, where the evidence from the pottery and lamps is fully analysed and the grave dated close to 350 B.C.

(b) Schefold, *Larisa*, I, pp. 42 and 91. Schefold associates the deposit of figurines with the destruction by the Gauls in 279 B.C. The relation of the Stoa in question to the deposit does not seem perfectly clear, even to the excavators. The figurines as shown in III, pl. 9, pp. 40 ff. obviously belong to a long range of time and the dating does not have to fall very close to the time of destruction.

(c) Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, Les petits objets, Berlin, 1931, Petit Dépôt, p. 55, Nos. 2866 ff. Blinkenberg believes that most of this deposit comes from one shop and that it dates from after 300 B.C.; Kleiner, p. 93, agrees with Kinch that it must rather be assigned to the period before 300 B.C. Even this date as a lower limit seems conservative as all the figures are pre-Tanagra in character; note Blinkenberg's own remark, p. 715. It is yet to be determined how long styles lingered in provincial towns.

¹⁴ "Terracottas from the Necropolis of Halae," *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 365 ff.

and variety of its figurines were limited, even this series cannot be regarded as fully representative of its period.

Finally, for the lower limit of our deposit, we must consult the contents of the graves of the cemetery of Alexandria at Chatby.¹⁵ It can have been established no earlier than the date of the founding of the city, *ca.* 320 B.C. But recently Kleiner has expressed a doubt that many of the graves containing terracottas actually come from the earliest days of the city. From the scanty and degenerate red-figure, from the poor quality of the Attic black-glaze, from the absence of grave-reliefs of the Eridanos type and particularly from the coins (of the twenty-two only one or two were from the life-time of Alexander), and on other grounds adduced by Adriani, Kleiner dates the terracottas from the cemetery as ranging in general from 300-200 B.C.¹⁶ Actually we shall not find many close parallels between the material from Chatby and our own deposit. We may, then, safely regard these Chatby parallels as forming our lower limit.

A. THE COROPLAST'S DUMP

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE DEPOSIT

In 1938 a pair of deep pits was excavated on the north slope of the Areopagus just west of the "Valerian Wall."¹⁷ Although a little of the material that filled these pits may have strayed in from the hillside, most of it was obviously composed of waste dumped from a coroplast's shop. This is clear from the numerous figurines in the deposit, which contained a large number of moulds (twenty-five catalogued specimens), and from the repetition of types from single moulds. The shop must have catered to sanctuaries, to judge from the predominantly votive character of the figurines and also from the presence of miniature cups and kernoi. Lumps of red and white coloring matter were also discovered. Such dumps from shops have been found elsewhere in the region of the Agora. They serve to illustrate the vigorous activities of the small artisans who worked on the slopes of the Areopagus and of Kolonos Agoraios. Recently a group of their houses has been published.¹⁸ In the humble shop of our coroplast no masterpieces were created, but the taste, though modest, is not

¹⁵ E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, Cairo, 1912, pp. 107 ff. Most of these figurines are also reproduced with others from Alexandrian cemeteries in Breccia, *Monuments*, I and II. *La Necropoli di Sciatbi* will be referred to hereafter as *Sciatbi*.

¹⁶ Kleiner, pp. 31 ff., note 7 on p. 276. From the more accurately dated material from the later cemetery of Moustafa Pacha, Adriani argues back to the date of Chatby. This is a treacherous method. It should be noted that many of the lamps and vases from Chatby are so similar to those from Olynthos that it is highly probable that many of the graves still date in the fourth century. Cf. H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 315. See further discussion below p. 157.

¹⁷ T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 15. These pits were excavated by Rodney Young, to whom I owe many details. The pits bore the designation, Section AA, Cistern at 17-18 / AA, Pit at 18-20 / Α-ΑΓ.

¹⁸ R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 135 ff.

bad; the variety of the styles and types is surprisingly extended. This deposit may be taken as typical of the stock-in-trade of an ordinary coroplast of the day when figurines were still following the old traditions and were intended primarily for dedicatory purposes. A new spirit, however, is noticeable in a few of the pieces, which, in the miniature character of their style presage those figurines generally known as "Tanagras." The deposit, then, comes from the critical period of transition from the old votives to the new works of art in clay. It should, therefore, form a suitable group with which to begin our study of Hellenistic terracottas.

CHRONOLOGY

Context:

Of the two pits under discussion the one to the north had been disturbed in Roman and Byzantine times, but so many of the figurines discovered in it resemble those from the undisturbed South Pit that they have been included here. Their provenience is noted in the Catalogue.¹⁹

The South Pit probably originated as a cistern. It had collapsed and then had been filled by a mass of rubbish deposited in two layers. The first layer to be thrown in, that is, the lower, contained considerable broken bedrock from the collapse of the sides, mixed with brownish earth that was full of sherds, figurines and moulds. It looks like the surface earth that lay in the backyard of the little shop. The upper filling, reddish in color, contained no figurines, but thirteen coins, dating from the late fourth to the early third century B.C.²⁰ It had evidently been thrown in after the first filling had settled and, being so sterile, would seem to have been brought from elsewhere. In the disturbed North Pit, but along with the figurines that are so closely related to those of the Cistern, three coins were found, of the same general period.²¹

¹⁹ Catalogue numbers: 6, 20b, 40, 45c, 48b, 77.

²⁰ I owe the identification and dating of these coins to Margaret Thompson.

²¹ Coins from the South Pit:

		Coins from the North Pit:	
"Greek "	3	Athens (330-307 B.C.)	1
Athens (330-300 B.C. or later)	6	Athens (330-300 B.C.)	1
Athens (335-295 B.C.)	1	Athens (307-283 B.C.)	1
Athens (fourth to third cent.)	2		
Unidentified	1		

It will be observed that these coins date generally later than the other contents of the pits. They came in the upper filling, which therefore has been assumed to be considerably later than the lower. In many Agora wells and cisterns the coins are later in date than the other material discarded with them. This fact indicates that much of the material survived some time before it was actually thrown away. It has also been noted by G. R. Edwards that coins, being made of metal, work their way down into earlier strata than that in which they must, on all other evidence, have first been dropped. The dates that we assign to objects in a deposit are naturally those of manufacture and not of dumping, which is the *terminus ante quem*.

The South Pit contained little but pottery and figurines. There were no stamped amphora handles. Of the ten loomweights, one was pyramidal, and nine conical, which proportions would indicate a date late in the fourth century B.C.²² The lamps were of Broneer's type VII b, typical of the late fourth century. The pottery, to judge from its close resemblance to the wares prevalent at Olynthos at the time of its destruction, must date around the middle of the fourth century. Fragments of Panathenaic amphorae must be placed very close to 350 B.C.²³ The waste material, then, was mostly made and used around the middle of the century. The best evidence for the lower limit of the Coroplast's Dump is provided by sizeable fragments of a red-figured bell krater of a class well analysed and closely dated by Schefold.²⁴ Our pieces fit into the class of 330-320 B.C. This is also the date implied by the dates of the coins which were found in the deposit that was thrown into the cistern after the filling that contained the figurines.²⁵ The final filling, then, took place at some time from 320-300 B.C., a time when many other cisterns in this region were also filled.²⁶

TECHNIQUE

The more one studies terracottas, the more it becomes apparent that the technique with which they are executed must be taken into account in any attempt to establish their chronology. Certain details, scarcely visible in a picture and of no significance to most observers, nevertheless reveal much to the expert eye. It seems desirable therefore to include here a full analysis of the significant peculiarities that can be used as criteria for dating.

²² Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 76.

²³ Lucy Talcott kindly sent me the following note on the Panathenaic fragments: "P 19530-1. Athena's drapery somewhat resembles that on the Alexandria amphora of the Asteios group (Asteios was archon in 373/2 B.C.; Beazley, "Panathenaica," *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, p. 455) and shows but a slightly greater degree of archaistic exaggeration. The goddess, however, faces right, a change of pose which took place no earlier than the mid-century (between 359/8 and 348/7 B.C.; cf. Beazley, *op. cit.*, p. 457). Our fragment is perhaps one of the earliest to show the new stance and might thus be dated close to 350 B.C." Cf. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-figure*, Berkeley, 1951, pp. 97 ff.

²⁴ P 12406 from the South Pit.

A. Arimasps and Griffin P. H. 0.235 m.

B. Three cloaked Youths P. H. 0.21 m.

Lucy Talcott and Barbara Philippaki have most kindly provided me with the following information: "For the shape compare another of the same subject and of the same general date, Schefold *Untersuchungen*, No. 129 (Langlotz, *Würzburg*, pl. 213, No. 635). For the dating see also Schefold, Nos. 516 and 375, pl. 23: two pelikai, both dated 330-320 B.C." H. A. Thompson suggests a comparison with the pelikai from Hellenistic Group B from the Agora, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 333 f. and 427 ff. which seem about a decade later.

²⁵ On the generally later date of coins, see note 21; cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 332.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Group A and probably Group B.; G. R. Edwards will note others. Cf. also *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 398.

Technically, the figurines from the Coroplast's Dump are consistent. The clay is typically Attic, fine in texture and varying in color from light red to yellow. The fabric is fairly friable, a condition which may have been produced by the damp condition of the cistern in which they lay. Variation in the hardness of the fabric and in the color of the clay can, however, be due to firing. In the case of one particular clay, the higher the temperature of firing, the harder the fabric and the lighter the color of the baked clay. In general, it can be observed that certain practices of firing were followed in all the ceramic fields alike during any one period. In the Agora material, fifth century lamps, plastic clay work, and pottery are usually of buff-colored clay, which is baked fairly hard. In the fourth century the color is generally buff to yellow, but it is also sometimes reddish and the clay is very friable. In the third century, however, the fabric becomes very hard and brittle and the surface color changes from yellow to light tan.²⁷ Color and texture have been noted in the Catalogue only where words can convey an idea of their significance. A fuller study of the history of technical details will be given in the final summary.²⁸

The bases on which the figurines stood also vary with the period. Those from the Coroplast's Dump show several types. The simple plaque base, made in the same mould as the figure, is common (Nos. **18**, **21**, **82**). They are, as is usual with this type, irregular in size and shape. In one case the front is stepped (No. **83**). No high block base of the commonest early form appears in the deposit. Of the thin plaque base that was made separately and attached later to the figure, twelve separate examples survive. Their fresh condition suggests that these bases are among the latest in the deposit. (No. **79** and uncatalogued examples). Their size implies that our coroplast made larger figures than were found in the Dump. Two such bases were double (Nos. **80**, **81**), an arrangement which was used in Athens, so far as I know, only on plastic lekythoi.²⁹ These bases indicate that in the Coroplast's shop more figurines of the "Tanagra style" were manufactured than the other evidence would suggest.

The surviving figures in the round, except No. **16**, have no vents; they are so small that the opening beneath sufficed. Many of these figures were solid with flat backs; the mould-made backs that survive are all unworked, except No. **15** and a few moulds.³⁰

²⁷ Cf. Kleiner, p. 89.

²⁸ Archaeologists have varied their policy in considering the color of the clay worth reporting. The evidence is of course valuable, but it cannot be put into words that convey a sharply-defined meaning to the reader. A full technical study of clays must soon be made that will put the matter on a scientific basis and make definite terms available. At the moment one simply has to take on trust the assignment of a clay to a site. Cf. S. Weinberg *A.J.A.*, LIII, 1949, pp. 263 f.

²⁹ *TK II*, p. 224, 3.

³⁰ Nos. **36**, **41**, **59**. The theory of Knoblauch, *Arch. Anz.*, LIV, 1939, pp. 413 ff. that hand-modelled backs were a characteristically Athenian product meets with no support in this deposit. Cf. Kleiner's reasonable objections, p. 134 f.; cf. *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 443.

Owing to the conditions in the cistern, little color was preserved and rarely even the white slip.

The moulds show more differences among themselves than do the figurines. This is presumably due to the fact that the moulds are sturdier than figures and usually survive much longer. In only one possible case (No. **4 b**) does a mould from this deposit fit a figurine found with it (No. **4 a**). In general, the figurines made from the moulds would have been almost twice as high as the average height of the surviving figurines. On the assumption that the moulds were not thrown away until they were no longer useful, we might conclude that the small figurines were later than the larger. In general, this assumption is borne out by the evidence from other deposits. The miniature style was fashionable during the latter part of the fourth century and probably died out at least as early as the middle of the third century.³¹

The fabric of the moulds does not seem to follow exactly the same tendencies that we have noted in the finished ceramic products. Perhaps it was more difficult for the Coroplast to fire a thick mould as high as a thin figure, but this does not seem to have been true at Corinth, where archaic moulds were both heavier and harder than later ones.³² The various classes of moulds found in the Coroplast's Dump may be summarized as follows:

- 1) The clay is reddish in color, very soft and friable. These moulds were made by pressing soft clay in thin layers against the model; the irregular exterior, still showing the finger marks, is left rough.³³

Examples: Cat. Nos. **40, 42, 50, 55, 56.**

- 2) The more common type of mould was made of harder, lighter-colored clay than the above. The exterior of the mould, after it had been pressed against the model, was completely finished. Sometimes it was wiped and rounded neatly with a damp cloth, which has left its impress on the back. Many of these moulds have been dipped in a thin clay slip. Short clay tabs were sometimes attached evidently to hold two moulds together while the figurine was setting.³⁴

Examples: Fairly neat: **6, 7, 14, 41.**

Perfectly finished: **11, 18, 35, 36, 58, 59, 61, 72, 73.**

- 3) A few moulds were made of a much coarser clay, showing particles of tempering grit. They appear to have been used for sizeable plaques.³⁵

³¹ Kleiner, p. 60. This statement refers only to the average height of all types; the figures of children continue to be made small.

³² *Corinth*, XV, i, p. 82.

³³ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

³⁴ No. **41**. In Corinth no form of tab appears to have been used at any period, but the moulds were tied together with string, a method also used at Athens. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

³⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

Examples: **77** (the clay seems to be Corinthian) and an uncatalogued fragment of similar character.

In general, these technical differences among the moulds, both in the color of the clay and in the treatment of the exteriors, may be said to correspond with differences in date. Very carelessly finished exteriors are characteristic of the moulds from the Agora that date in the fifth century. Those of this class from the Coroplast's Dump are certainly much worn. They may be assigned to the early fourth century at the latest. This does not seem to hold for Nos. **42** and **50** (of which the fabric is that of the earliest class). On the Pnyx and in Corinth the exterior of the moulds from deposits of the third quarter of the fourth century are worked fairly smooth.³⁶ In general, then, the moulds may be arranged in order of degree of finish and thus show their chronological order. Certainly the best preserved and the crispest have the most perfectly finished backs. The exception, No. **50**, has been pressed so carelessly against the model that it seems to have been taken as an impression for study purposes rather than intended for the manufacture of figurines, a practice well attested at Athens.³⁷

One other technical point must always be taken into consideration for the dating of a figurine, that is, its condition. In a deposit of figurines, as in a hoard of coins, the relative condition of the pieces is of significance for the relative dating of the group. Since terracotta is very fragile, it is obvious that the most worn (not necessarily, of course, the most fragmentary), are presumably the oldest. On the other hand, pieces of which the surface is fresh, the color abundant, and the protrusions of wreaths, hair, or hanging drapery and extended limbs are crisp or the breaks sharp, are probably among the latest pieces in the deposit. Though it is always possible in one case that some freak of fortune has preserved an heirloom intact long beyond its normal life expectancy, all likelihood is against the frequent occurrence of such chances. The statistics seem to indicate that in a group the sequence of condition should be trusted to give in general the sequence of manufacture. Moulds, which are less fragile and do not have protrusions, are less susceptible to these rules, but even with moulds the general sequence seems to hold.

In the Coroplast's Dump, most pieces were fragmentary, but fairly well preserved in such a condition as one might expect from discards. A few, however, were extremely battered or preserved only in tiny scraps. These included the masks (**52-54**) and the small votive heads (**24-26**). Of the moulds, those for masks (**55-56**), the charioteer relief (**78**), and the seated woman (**42**) were much worn. Of all these only No. **42** appears to be of a late type.

The best preserved figures from the deposit, on the other hand, were some of the numerous limbs from dolls (**1-3**), the wing fragment (**12**), the figures of draped

³⁶ *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, Nos. 31, 32, 34; *Corinth*, XV, i, p. 83.

³⁷ Cf. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 285; Suppl. VIII, 1949, p. 370.

women (15-16, 19-21), the small heads that belong with them (27-34), the actors with large-mouthed masks (45), the squatting negroes (48), the bust (51), and the thin plaque bases (79-81). These are all, in general, typologically of obviously later date than the preceding group. The freshest moulds were those of the Eros (11), the hermaphrodite (50), the dog (57), the ape (59), the shell (61), and the tripod (73). Again, there is no apparent contradiction on other grounds against the hypothesis that these moulds are the latest in the deposit.

We may venture, then, to consider that condition can safely be regarded as a criterion for relative age within a given group, but that it should not be relied upon exclusively for the dating of any one piece in that group.

TYPES AND SUBJECTS

JOINTED FIGURES AND RELATED PIECES: NOS. 1-10

The jointed figures usually called "dolls," though evidently one of the most popular types in our coroplast's shop, are not sufficiently well preserved to furnish much evidence about this interesting subject. Some nineteen fragments of arms pierced for articulation and thirteen legs as well as other miscellaneous fragments were found in the deposit. They follow the usual types already familiar from other sites. A good example of the arm, which is thin, flattened inside and often, as here, bent sharply at the elbow, is No. 1. The hand in mitten form (No. 2) and the stiff, straight leg (No. 3) are typical of this class. It is interesting to note that these limbs are not always articulated, but sometimes the legs are shown in a sitting position, pressed closely together (No. 4).³⁸ This piece seems to be the only one in our deposit for which the mould was also found (No. 4 b). Though these "dolls" are usually female, pairs exist of similar male and female figures from Attica. It is interesting to find an example of the nude "doll" in this deposit (No. 6), as well as several others in the Agora.³⁹ This mould (No. 6) is also unusual in bearing an incised inscription on the back, probably a name.⁴⁰ The maker's signature, common in later days at

³⁸ Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, p. 136, fig. 53, Nos. 9-10.

³⁹ Agora examples: T 290, 408, 470, 2055, 2098. Cf. Brooke, *Acrop. Cat.*, II, p. 428. Cf. E. Pottier and S. Reinach, *La Nécropole de Myrina*, p. 422, pl. XXXVI, 1, 3. This type has usually been associated with the male companion of the Oriental Aphrodite or it might represent Aphroditos, a male god known on Cyprus. Cf. Roscher, *Lexikon*, s. v. Hermaphroditos, cols. 2314 f. But considering the appearance of the male and female types in pairs, it would seem that they simply represented the simple fertility concepts of the peasants, who would perhaps not even give the figure specific names. Cf. Elderkin, *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 471, fig. 22, A and B; N. Breitenstein, *Catalogue of Terracottas . . . in the Danish National Museum*, Copenhagen, 1941, pl. 28, Nos. 268-269.

⁴⁰ No trace of a letter can be detected before *υριου*. George Stamires does not think that the reading *κ|υριου* is plausible and considers that it is probably all that is left of a long proper name. As it is scratched, rather than incised in the wet clay, it may be a later graffito.

Myrina, is not found on terracottas from the Greek mainland, although occasionally letters do occur.

More ambitious and unusual are the two large legs, No. **7 a** and **b**. They must have belonged to a figure *ca.* 0.28 m. in height. The delicate modelling of the ankle-bones and toes places them in a class apart from that of the ordinary small "dolls." Yet the level position of the feet, which nevertheless have not borne the weight of the figure, indicates that they must come from a "doll" of the same type as handsome pieces attributed to Athens.⁴¹ The sizeable hand (No. **8**) may also have come from the same figure, as it is close to those of the Athenian parallels. The peaked coiffure of the Berlin example is exactly like that on a Corinthian votive head from the Asklepion, which probably dates about the middle of the fourth century.⁴² The hand holding a *phiale* (No. **9**) also comes from a sizeable figure, probably of Demeter or Kybele, performing a ritual.⁴³ The hand from a negro figure (No. **10**) must come from a plastic vase of the same sort that provided a similar hand from the Pnyx though of later style.⁴⁴

MALE FIGURES: NOS. **11-14**

The only nude male figure beside the doll is represented by a mould for a flying Eros (No. **11**). The body, though not plump, is much more like that of a child than of a youth. Kleiner has traced in detail the history of the change from the youthful Eros of the fifth century to the child type which was a characteristic product of Hellenistic taste.⁴⁵ He shows that the ephebe was still the only type known at Olynthos, but by the time of the formation of the "Tanagra style," the youth had taken on a shorter and more boyish form.⁴⁶ On examples of the Tanagra period, the body is still rather slim and hard, but the face is round and boyish. On No. **11** the legs and arms are spread out in a bold attempt to suggest flight without any twisting of the body. This is a new departure from the conceptions of Olynthos where the figures were all kept compact and the limbs close to the torso.⁴⁷ Not dissimilar is an Eros from Halai, found in a grave dating in the period *ca.* 335-280 B.C.⁴⁸ All these

⁴¹ Acrop. Mus. No. 1464. The limbs probably do not belong to this piece, but to a similar example. I owe the photograph to R. V. Nicholls. A. Köster, *Die griechischen Terrakotten*, Berlin, 1926, pl. 29.

⁴² Cf. *Corinth*, XIV, pl. 31, No. 3; cf. XV, i, pl. 35, No. 38.

⁴³ Cf. Köster, *op. cit.*, pl. 80.

⁴⁴ *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, No. 117.

⁴⁵ Kleiner, pp. 172 ff. Cf. an analysis of the development of the Eros conception, T. Rosenmeyer, "Eros-Erotos," *Phoenix*, V, 1951, pp. 11 ff.

⁴⁶ Kleiner, pl. 37a. Slightly later, of true Tanagra type, is pl. 39a.

⁴⁷ *Olynthus*, VII, pls. 34-35; cf. also the figurines of the period from Corinth and even those from Tarsos, H. Goldman, *Tarsus*, I, p. 306. Extended limbs, being difficult to make, are actually not common except in the expert centres.

⁴⁸ *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 409, V-h-2, pl. XXII; cf. the Eros from Tanagra, Köster, *Gr. Terrakotten*, pl. 78a.

examples cited must fall closely together in the third quarter of the century as even the earliest pieces of "Tanagra style" are a little plumper and the body more turned.⁴⁹

In connection with this Eros, the little wing (No. 12, Pl. 40) is decidedly significant. It is too large for a figure taken from our mould and therefore implies another flying Eros of even larger size. The feathers are delicately modelled in the manner of bronze work.⁵⁰

Five little male figures (Nos. 13, a, b, c, and two uncatalogued examples) are distinctive and unusual. They represent a man wearing a *pilos*, short chiton and chlamys, moving forward as though lunging with a javelin or possibly an axe. The implement, apparently made in bronze, was inserted in a pin-hole in the right hand; another hole, perhaps for a sword, pierced the left hand. As a terracotta type, this has, to my knowledge, no parallel. On jewelry, youths in similar dress are shown hunting animals.⁵¹ The costume is also that of the Dioskouroi, who, however, as heroes are generally shown nude at this period. Since the Dioskouroi in Athens were identified as Anakes and since the Anakes were frequently themselves the Kabeiroi, it is possible that our figures can be related to the Kabeiroi.⁵² It is impossible in our present state of knowledge to be sure of the identification of these little figures.

FEMALE FIGURES: STANDING, DRAPED: NOS. 15-23

The draped female figures all represent women and girls in simple poses of everyday life. They are clearly derived from the earlier types of votaries, who, dedicating themselves to the deity in the ritual, also dedicated their images in the temple. During the fourth century this kore type undergoes a change of emphasis. Still hieratic at the beginning of the century, the terracotta type follows that of the goddess or of the priestess or votary, performing a ritual, bringing a gift, or playing music for the procession. But by the middle of the century the emphasis is beginning to shift, so that the female figures appear less in the rôle of dedicant than of a simple human being as she is in daily life. These ladies no longer carry offerings or perform rituals; they stand empty-handed or they carry the frivolous fan or mirror. The religious intention behind the dedication is finally forgotten and the ladies of Tanagra emerge as women from the boudoir, intent only on pleasing men and mindful of no god but Eros.

In our deposit both the earlier and later types of female figures are found. The

⁴⁹ Cf. *Ibid.*, pl. 78b. A similar but more advanced example was also found in the Agora, T 2280, from the Altar Well, to be discussed in a subsequent article.

⁵⁰ Cf. *TK II*, p. 324, 2 and the previously cited examples.

⁵¹ F. H. Marshall, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Jewellery*, No. 2195c, pl. XLII, two little hunters (H. 0.032 m.).

⁵² Daremberg and Saglio, *s. v.* Dioscures, p. 254. B. Hemberg, *Die Kabiren*, Uppsala, 1950, pp. 264 ff.

small simple votive figures are fragmentary or are represented by moulds. Larger, more ambitious draped types and their miniature variants also occur. We should examine these for the interesting stylistic sequence which they reveal.

The earlier phase of the more ambitious figures is well represented by No. **15**. This would have approximated 0.18-0.20 m. in height and would presumably have stood on a plaque base. The woman wears a chiton over which the himation falls in a deep curve, a curve visible on a few terracottas of the late classical style.⁵³ The parallels also show a similar stance, in which the weight is almost evenly distributed between the feet, but the freer leg is thrust forward rather than sideways or backward, that is, the axis of movement is from back to front, in the old classical manner. Moreover, the way in which the chiton on No. **15** reveals both legs and falls in simple folds between and beside them is also traditional for terracottas, going back to the fifth century tradition, which apparently persisted far longer in figurines than in major sculpture.⁵⁴ All these characteristics are observable in many conservative fourth century deposits, for example, those of Eutresis and Lindos.⁵⁵ An incipient interest in texture and in folds is, however, visible across the front of the himation of No. **15** and also in the end of drapery that hangs down in an informal zigzag at the left side. The pattern of these folds is rudimentary, with both zigzags facing the same way. But this is certainly more advanced than the latest draped figure from Olynthos, which is formal in comparison.⁵⁶ The side fold is rather a precursor of the hanging ends that furnish the coroplasts of the third century with one of their most congenial opportunities for elaboration.

Nos. **16-18** also belong to this stage. Their bases, however, are made in the same mould with the figure, which is the more old-fashioned technique.⁵⁷

Although we have no closely dated parallels for this style, which Kleiner calls pre-Tanagra,⁵⁸ it bears sufficiently close relations to that of the latest pieces from Olynthos to be datable fairly close to the middle of the century.⁵⁹

⁵³ Kleiner, pp. 124 f., pl. 11a, a later development of the type of J. Sieveking, *Sammlung Loeb, Terrakotten*, Munich, 1916, pl. 44, which seems fairly close to ours; Kleiner (*loc. cit.*) also calls it, on the ground of its high base and undeveloped *contra-posto*, "pre-Tanagraic." Cf. *Encyclopédie photographique du Louvre* (Editions Tel) II, p. 180A, a slightly more advanced example.

⁵⁴ Professor Rhys Carpenter, in a letter to me, has summarized the character and illuminated the origin of this style in sculpture: "Fifth century diaphanous drapery seems to have been an accidental corollary to the transitional period's perplexity about what to do between the ridges after archaic incised drapery had been reversed into protruding ridge drapery. If one did nothing at all with the cloth between the ridges, it naturally followed the anatomy of the figure and hence looked nude."

⁵⁵ H. Goldman, *Excavations at Eutresis*, Cambridge, 1931, figs. 313, 316, 317, etc.; *Lindos*, I, pls. 140 ff.; note for the leg thrust forward pl. 142, No. 3048.

⁵⁶ *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 22, No. 181; cf. Kleiner, p. 10.

⁵⁷ See above p. 123.

⁵⁸ Kleiner, p. 124, on the "vortanagräische Stufe."

⁵⁹ *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 21, No. 223; VII, pl. 22, No. 181.

Along with these conventional figures of draped women were found others of a different character (Nos. **19-23**). They are all miniatures, of which the greatest complete height is 0.10 m. They all stood either without base or on separately made plaque bases. Their backs are flat and unworked; they have no vents. They are delicately modelled; their heads and faces as well as the drapery show that refinement which we associate with the "Tanagra style." Shall we call them "Tanagras"? Perhaps in this connection we should define that term for clarification and reference.

The term "Tanagra style" is, of course, derived from a class of figurines that was first found at Tanagra in Boeotia. Figurines of this style or local imitations thereof have been found all over the Greek world. The term has therefore become generic and as such it can be defined so that it has no implication of limited provenience.

Technically, "Tanagras" are sufficiently uniform to suggest that their origin at least was in one centre. They range from *ca.* 0.12 to 0.30 m. in height, seldom passing this range in either direction, except for the figures of children. They are normally made in several moulds and are retouched. The backs are shaped, often fully modelled. The bottoms are open, but when the figures are set on a base, they usually show a vent, commonly rectangular in shape. Other types of base, particularly the spool, which is sometimes seen in museums, is not, so far as I can tell, attested from excavations in Athens.

The repertory of "Tanagras" is surprisingly limited and is drawn exclusively from daily life. Draped women form the most popular subject, but boys and children do appear. Seated, dancing and flying figures also occur. Nude types and representations of deities, except Eros, are not found among them.

Although these criteria define a specific class, variations and echoes carry the range farther, especially at remote places and in later times. Kleiner has made a full study of the later development of the "Tanagra" type.⁶⁰ We are concerned here chiefly with their origin, with the inherent difference, which we can all feel, between them and contemporary or earlier terracottas which do not fall in their class. Fundamentally, the difference is subjective. "Tanagras" are, particularly at the beginning, tiny works of art, true pieces of miniature sculpture, not made for any dedicatory purpose, but created for delight. They imply a discriminating taste among the ordinary citizens, who could at that time apparently take pleasure in the infinite variations of a few simple themes. Seldom in the history of art has a craft produced such success without religious, dramatic, or even sentimental appeal. The exuberant or clumsy imitations from Italy, Egypt and Asia Minor show how rare was such taste, and how soon it faded, even among Greeks.

Most of these criteria outlined above are satisfied by our figures, Nos. **19-23**, but their tiny size, frontality, and evident naïveté place them among the very earliest examples of their class.

⁶⁰ Kleiner, pp. 85 ff.

Let us consider their affiliations. The standing woman (No. 19) wearing her himation like a shawl about her shoulders is a simple version of a theme that continues all through the Hellenistic period. During its long history life and variety are imparted merely by swinging the stance or changing the head-type or proportions. Nothing else, fundamentally, differentiates this girl from her sisters of Myrina.⁶¹ In one significant point, however, our piece differs from all these others: her free leg is not relaxed sideways, but is thrust forward as on our No. 15. The plan of this figure on its base, then, would appear as a triangle with its apex toward the front, whereas the plan of a normal "Tanagra" is an elongated oval.⁶² Our Athenian piece, then, retains the traditional pose, but it is more maturely conceived and more delicately modelled than the pre-Tanagras. It should fall, therefore, among the very earliest figures that can rightly be assigned to the "Tanagra style," but that it belongs there seems clear from the direct line of descent which can be traced from it down even to the first century B.C.⁶³ Once conceived, the "Tanagra type" crystallized, continuing with amazing vitality as long as the coroplastic tradition held its own against that of bronze work and of major sculpture.

We must try to fix the date of this creation of "Tanagra" types and of this example in particular. As one of the best preserved of the pieces in the Coroplast's Dump, it must date after the middle of the century. But probably it was made very shortly thereafter. A parallel, not exact, though very similar, from a grave in Rhitsona in Boeotia, is dated by Ure about the middle of the fourth century.⁶⁴ This figurine, he notes, "appears to be of a different fabric from the rest (i. e. of those found in other graves at Rhitsona). It is so far the only figurine from Rhitsona that makes us think at all of Tanagra."⁶⁵ In size, in pose, in proportions, in type of head (and very probably also in coiffure), and in the fine drapery that differs markedly from the simpler traditional style visible on the other Rhitsona pieces, this figure is remarkably like our No. 19. The characteristically "Tanagra" versions of the type are, unfortunately, undated, but they must be slightly later than ours.⁶⁶ The early

⁶¹ For the development of the type in later times, see Kleiner, p. 92, pl. 13d and e (from Myrina).

⁶² Kleiner, p. 8, and pp. 141 f. analyses this movement in terms of balance as it is usually related to pre- and post-Lysippan schools. Such a fundamental change of pose would naturally derive from the concepts of major sculptors, not from the coroplasts themselves.

⁶³ Kleiner, p. 92; Burr, *Terra-cottas from Myrina*, pl. XXXIII, No. 90 of which the dating may be too late. In general, *TK II*, pp. 72 f.

⁶⁴ P. N. Ure, *Black Glaze Pottery from Rhitsona in Boeotia*, London, 1913, pl. XIV, 6, p. 30 (on grave 56) (H. 0.12 m.). I am indebted to Mrs. Ure for the photograph reproduced on Pl. 34.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 27. A similar piece was found in a grave of the mid fourth century at Halai, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 398, note 71 (Grave 63, dated by cross-reference with Graves 110-111), p. 406, V-j-3.

⁶⁶ Good parallels for ours, but somewhat more advanced, Breitenstein, *Cat. of Terracottas in Dan. Nat. Mus.*, pl. 66, No. 544 (H. 0.188 m.) "From the excavations at Tanagra"; J. Schneider-

third century examples from Chatby, like one from Larisa, are elongated, high-waisted, and obviously in a further stage of typological development.⁶⁷

Presumably by the same hand as No. 19 are two other pieces from our deposit, Nos. 20 a and b. In the imaginative cross-play of drapery, they belong to the true "Tanagra style." But actually, so far as I can find, of the other known examples of the type, none was found at Tanagra. In most of these examples the clay seems definitely Attic and most of them were bought in Athens.⁶⁸ Three other fragments were found in excavations on the Pnyx in a deposit very similar to the Coroplast's Dump.⁶⁹ Another comes from Aigina, and it certainly appears to be a local imitation of the Attic type;⁷⁰ one in the Nauplia Museum is of unknown provenience.^{70a} Finally, a most important example (T 1626) was found in the Agora in a cistern deposit that can be definitely dated down to the third quarter of the first century B.C.⁷¹ We have, then, a series that should illuminate for us the general course that a type followed as it passed through the hands of various coroplasts down the years.

Let us study the stylistic development. The pieces from the excavations on the Pnyx and in the Agora are obviously the earliest. They are strictly frontal, including the heads. The faces, where preserved, are round, doubtless intended to be childish, but still retaining a stiff maturity, so that the figure looks like an adult on a small scale. All are of nearly identical size, but all do not seem to come from one mould. They appear to come from one shop, probably that of our coroplast. Certain details in the modelling of the area around the right hand show interesting affiliations with a scrap found on the Acropolis.⁷² On this, as on our pieces, the edge of the himation is lifted by the slightly protruding right hand. This lower edge falls into two main and several subordinate cord-like folds, springing from a small triangle, itself nicked, which forms just below the last two fingers of the hand. These systems appear, though

Langyel, *Griechische Terrakotten*, Munich, 1936, pl. 75 (H. 0.268 m.) "Said to be from Lesbos"; *TK II*, p. 70, 5b lists a similar piece from within the precinct of the lion monument of Chaironeia (therefore post 338 B.C.), but unfortunately no picture is available. Kleiner, p. 126, calls it "more like a pre-Tanagra."

⁶⁷ Schefold, *Larisa*, III, pl. 9, No. 11, p. 47; Kleiner, p. 92; *Sciatbi*, pl. XLII, 156, No. 367 (P. H. 0.17 m.); pl. LXV, Nos. 169, 171 (H. 0.15 m.). Kleiner, pp. 56 f.

⁶⁸ I owe the information on the Metropolitan figures to the kindness of Miss Christine Alexander, who allowed me to examine them. The same courtesy was given me by Mr. R. A. Higgins in the British Museum and by the authorities of the Bibliothèque nationale.

⁶⁹ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 173, j¹ and j² and an unillustrated piece. P. H. of the largest fragment, 0.075 m. See above, p. 119.

⁷⁰ British Museum Cat. C 36. From Aigina, 1893.

^{70a} Φιλαδελφεύς, Ἀνέκδοτα μνημεία ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ Ναυπλίου, Ἀρχ. Δελτ., IV, 1918, Παρ. p. 5, fig. 5.

⁷¹ T 1626, from Section Ω, cistern at 74 / H. P. H. 0.083 m. Oval vent. The evidence for the dating of this cistern will be presented by G. R. Edwards. He places the contents from the late second century into the second quarter of the first century B.C.

⁷² Acropolis Inv. 1273. I owe my knowledge of this fragment to a photograph kindly given me by R. V. Nicholls and permission to reproduce it to Mr. Miliades.

worn and dull, on our **20a** and even weaker on **20b** and on the Pnyx pieces. But the Acropolis fragment does not actually derive from the same type as ours, because the right leg is advanced and the drapery is drawn tightly rather than loosely over the right breast. The type must rather have been very close to that of a figure in the Metropolitan Museum (06.1113, Pl. 34),⁷³ which shows all these details in a style very like that of our No. **19**, if finer. The head of this Metropolitan piece is also similar to our No. **28**. The drapery style is of the simplest "Tanagra" phase. The linear folds drop directly from waist to hem, keeping flat surfaces and maintaining an even flow like that on the drapery of the Mantinea Basis and of other reliefs of that period.⁷⁴ These two types, then, would seem to have been created in Athens.

Certain other Museum pieces indicate the further development.⁷⁵ Since this type is rare, distinguished, and definitely related to our shop, it might be profitable to trace the sequence so far as it is known, down to the latest datable example mentioned above (Agora T 1626).

To date Museum pieces, which have no context, is at best a treacherous undertaking. The arrangement that I suggest is based not only on stylistic analysis, but even more on technical analysis, which at the moment seems more reliable. By comparing these Museum pieces with dated fragments from the Agora, I have been able to place them in general periods; the detailed evidence for this analysis must await the publication of full evidence in my later articles.

It is of especial interest to note that the scale of all the child examples, from the earliest to the latest, is almost identical. There was, then, no unchanged series of moulds taken from figurines, but apparently, the repetition of the type, virtually unchanged, by coroplasts of succeeding generations, who, however unconsciously, did manage to infuse something of the spirit of their own age into each re-creation. It is for us to formulate and evaluate these changes.

Three fine and one poor version of this type are known to me in Museums. The finest of these from an artistic point of view, is the piece in the Metropolitan Museum (07.286.31, Pl. 35). It remains frontal, but the modelling is far more delicate than on ours, or indeed, on the somewhat similar Metropolitan piece mentioned above (06.1113). The simple linear folds of our No. **19** have been enriched by reworking

⁷³ Metropolitan Museum 06.1113. H. 0.148 m. No vent. *TK II*, p. 14, 2.

⁷⁴ Kleiner, pp. 127 ff. dates the Mantinea Basis *ca.* 330-320 B.C. which date seems to fit our evidence more reasonably than Süsserott's dating of shortly after 300 B.C., *Griechische Plastik des 4. Jahrhunderts vor Christus*, Frankfurt, 1938, p. 124. C. Blümel, *Hermes eines Praxiteles*, Baden-Baden, 1948, pp. 46 ff. dates the Basis in the period *ca.* 340-320 B.C.

⁷⁵ Most are listed in *TK II*, p. 55, 8: a) British Museum C 308 (H. 0.10 m.), Pl. 35; b) Vienna (apparently not exactly the same type); c) Paris, Cabinet de médailles, now Bibliothèque nationale, No. 69 (H. 0.12 m.), oval vent, Pl. 35. Add d) Metropolitan Museum 07.286.31 (H. 0.115 m.), no vent, Pl. 35; and e) British Museum C 36 (H. 0.113 m.), rectangular vent, from Aigina, Pl. 36; f) Nauplia No. 358 (H. 0.27 m.).

into systems and by delicate variations of strength and of texture. The head, realistically childlike, wearing the hair in twisted rolls, a variant of the melon coiffure, is tilted at an engaging angle. It is a little masterpiece in the finest "Tanagra style." But the fabric, which is of deeper buff clay, harder and technically more advanced than that which characterizes the work of our coroplast, indicates that we should place this piece somewhere around the turn of the fourth into the third century. Probably at about the same time was made the adult version in Nauplia, which cannot lie far from Metropolitan Museum 06.1113.

Another example, in the British Museum (C 308, Pl. 35), despite a superficial resemblance, is really very different in spirit from the preceding pieces. The formulae for the folds are the same, but the mood has changed. The folds of the himation do not swing clearly across the body, as they do on the Metropolitan example, but they start, hesitate, and die in mid course. In the lower part of the figure, the rhythm is no longer gently repeated in vertical ruling, but the course of the folds is now vague, without clear systems, even without much definition of surface. The features of the head also betray the same impressionistic flavor; the squinting eyes are defined only by their upper lids. In the hair, this vagueness is somewhat redeemed by hasty touches of the graver, incisive rather than plastic. The fabric is dark, fairly hard, retaining considerable chalky white slip;⁷⁶ there is no vent. These details all point to a date in the late third or early second century for this version.

Somewhat out of the direct Athenian course of development is the figure of a little girl with a fan from Aigina, in the British Museum (C 36, Pl. 36). It deviates from the foregoing type in the following elements: the figure is thin and pinched; the himation is almost without folds; the chiton falls in systems of tubular folds that find parallels on many figures of the late third century; the left foot, protruding awkwardly, seems out of scale. All these details would fit well among figures of the later third century, as would also the type of face, the wreath, the coiffure, with a bunched knot low on the neck, the dark fabric, retaining its thick slip, and the fact that the figure has a rectangular vent. It seems to me that this piece is an interesting example of a local imitation of a good Attic type, possibly even earlier than British Museum C 308.

The evidence regarding a version in the Bibliothèque nationale (Pl. 35) is rather surprising. Superficially it too resembles the Metropolitan Museum No. 07.286.31. But it is more elongated, particularly below the waist. It is of hard, light yellow fabric and carries an oval vent. The feet protrude (the left foot is missing) with the toes pointed sharply outward. The neck is long. The head is somewhat like that of British Museum C 308, but is different in significant details. In the plump face

⁷⁶ Cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 335; IV, 1935, p. 211 (on a piece of the second century B.C., a thick white chalky slip).

the features are small and casually set rather than growing as integral parts of the whole visage. The eyes are completely blurred. The mouth is set high under the lumpy nose and emphasized by two lines that run to the corners from the nostrils. The lips run parallel, without meeting at the corners. These features find close analogies in the heads from an Agora cistern of the first century B.C.⁷⁷ If this seems surprising, one has only to check the drapery with several fragments from the same cistern. The deep regular folds run with rounded ridges and deep furrows of almost exactly the same width and of a mechanical evenness, particularly over the shoulders. Occasionally the monotony of these flutings is relieved by a slight waver or nick, just as it occurs on the lower chiton of the figure in the Bibliothèque nationale. Moreover, the fabric not only is very close to that of the parallels indicated, but a careless tendency to leave the surface of the figure unwiped, with tiny bits of clay still adhering to it, apparent on the hat, face and drapery of the Paris example, is observable in many of the terracottas found in the later Hellenistic deposits of the Agora. Finally, the stylistic affinity between this figure and that from the Agora (T 1626) would indicate that they are not very far apart. As most of the figures mentioned above, though found in first century deposits, seem to have been made in the later second century, and since T 1626 is in fresher condition and more likely to be later, we might assume that the Paris example can still be dated in the late second century.

T 1626, found in a deposit of the third quarter of the first century B.C. is a suitable candidate for the last in our series. It is of coarse, dark, thick-walled fabric, covered with a chalky white slip; it carries an oval vent. The proportions are surely later than those of the preceding figure, for they are markedly elongated, with pinched shoulders. The protruding feet are very large and upset the balance by their sharp angles. Although the drapery follows the original model with surprising fidelity, plasticity and even the formula to which plasticity had been reduced in the second century have both died out, to be echoed in an incised linear style, clearly a further degeneration of the linear style of T 2628.

The relative sequence, then, seems clear. A glance at the succession indicates graphically how the tendency toward emphasis on the vertical makes for elongation and a loss of mass down the long Hellenistic age. Such a tendency is visible in all Hellenistic art, from architecture to sculpture; it is vividly exemplified in the development of this one type. Later, as we study the groups of other phases of the Hellenistic period, we shall be able to check our suggested dating and to indicate the full picture of which this glimpse gives us a foretaste. The Agora and Pnyx fall between 350-325 B.C. The latest of the series, T 1626, found as it was in fairly good con-

⁷⁷ Cistern in Section Γ, 95 / KΘ, called the Kybele Cistern, to be published later by both G. R. Edwards and myself. Mr. Edwards considers that the contents are Sullan debris, discarded in the third quarter of the first century B.C. One head (T 909) is shown on Pl. 35; also the drapery (T 2628).

dition in a deposit of the third quarter of the first century B.C., can scarcely be placed earlier than the very late second century. It is startling to realize the implications of this analysis. The type must have lived for some 250 years virtually unchanged. We can now begin to appreciate the difficulties involved in the dating of Hellenistic figurines. Type and style, even, tell us little over wide periods; the most variable element is the technique. We must therefore place as much emphasis as possible on technical minutiae during the course of our study of terracottas.

The relation of these figures to major sculpture is a study which can be profitable only after a great deal of material has been reviewed. Suffice to say here that the type of the round-faced girl, standing simply, lifting a corner of her drapery, appears in marble sculpture, both in relief and in the round, at about the time that it was most popular in terracotta, that is, *ca.* 325-275 B.C. Such, for example, are the girls on the grave reliefs of the end of the fourth century, presumably all before 317 B.C.⁷⁸ Others are statues, like those in the Glyptothek and in Delphi.⁷⁹ The general style is very like that of the Mantinea Basis, which is probably to be dated at this period.⁸⁰ As has frequently been noted, the Muses are essentially "Tanagras" undoubtedly of Attic inspiration.⁸¹ Their folds hang in thin, clear-cut verticals in much the same spirit as the folds on our figurines. The other reliefs of this cycle show the same facial canon, the same proportions, the same gently furrowed verticals, uncomplicated by secondary movements.⁸² These characteristics also occur on many other early "Tanagras."⁸³ We have therefore reason to relate the whole body of material to the mood of the period just at the end of the career of Alexander. The correlation between figurines and sculpture is new and presages the interrelation of the media that is to become so much exploited during the Hellenistic age.

Of the two draped fragments, Nos. **22-23**, little can be said save that they increase the number of miniatures in our deposit. Even more insignificant fragments were left uncatalogued. In No. **22** the larger scale, higher waist, and closer-fitting chiton differ from those of No. **19**, but these two cannot be very far apart in date. No. **21**,

⁷⁸ A. Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, Berlin, 1900, pls. CLVI, No. 815; CXLVII, No. 878; CCXXVI, No. 1100. Cf. also Agora T 1823, a figurine of a girl holding a bird, in much the same spirit, from 37 / KA, a context mostly of the third quarter of the fourth century, and also *Sciatbi*, pl. XX, 23 (a grave relief).

⁷⁹ Professor Bernard Ashmole kindly showed me an excellent example in a marble statuette presumably of the fourth century, recently acquired by the British Museum, Inv. 1951-8-1.1. The advanced leg is relaxed. This figure has much in common with the spirit of our figurines. Cf. for somewhat more ambitious works, A. W. Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, pl. 21, p. 17; M. Bieber, *Griechische Tracht*, Berlin, 1934, pl. 36. Note that on these the pose is similar and the relaxed leg is thrust forward.

⁸⁰ See above note 74.

⁸¹ Kleiner, pp. 127 ff.

⁸² Cf. Süsserott, *op. cit.*, pl. 25.

⁸³ *Arch. Anz.*, LIV, 1939, pp. 447 ff., figs. 14 ff.

although complete save for the head, adds nothing to our information, largely because it is a dull piece from a dull mould. In scale and in theme, it is comparable with types later than Nos. **19-20**, but it is not easily duplicated. It seems most at home among the figurines of the same scale and fabric from the Thesmophorion on the Pnyx.⁸⁴ The undifferentiated detail and the base, cast in one mould with the body, suggest that it is still a product of the earliest "Tanagra" style.

FEMALE RITUAL FIGURES: NOS. **24-26**

Three heads derive from types that belong to the old terracotta tradition. One is No. **24**, a head carrying a well-shaped hydria. It comes from a common votive type that is present in many fourth century deposits.⁸⁵ No. **25** follows the ancient mourning type which appears in just this form even as early as the seventh century; the hands are laid flat on the head.⁸⁶ These two types died out during the Hellenistic period. But that of No. **26**, the flute-player, continued.⁸⁷ This head, with the hair pulled into a peak over the forehead according to a fourth century fashion, probably dates around the middle of the century, like the one from Olynthos.⁸⁸ Both resemble the head of a piece said to come from Athens⁸⁹ of which the lower part of the figure is also like that of one of the actors from an Attic grave-group of the same date.⁹⁰

FEMALE HEADS: NOS. **27-36**

A number of heads, now detached from their bodies, belonged to simple draped female types. The large number implies a preponderant interest in that subject at the time of the dumping of material from our shop. These heads are all miniature, ranging from 0.019 m. to 0.029 m. in height. The figures, then, would have been *ca.* 0.11 m. to 0.20 m. high. They are homogeneous in fabric and in style. They are sufficiently well-preserved to be late products of our shop. Most of them belong to types of the earliest "Tanagras," such as Nos. **19 ff.** Two wear the himation drawn up over the head, a very popular style at Tanagra (Nos. **27-28**). The oval face with

⁸⁴ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 173, fig. 19, especially h and m.

⁸⁵ *TK* I, p. 156, 4-6; K. A. Rhomaios, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, VI, 1920-21, pp. 90 ff., figs. 24 f.; Goldman, *Eutresis*, pp. 255 ff., figs. 315 ff., particularly fig. 316, 6; *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 472, fig. 164, No. 52; Newton, *Discoveries*, pl. LX, fig. 10, p. 379; *Lindos*, I, pp. 705 ff., Nos. 3003-12, pl. 140; Wiegand and Schrader, *Priene*, p. 159, fig. 140 may belong to the third century.

⁸⁶ Early examples: *Arch. Anz.*, XLVIII, 1933, p. 282, fig. 16. Breitenstein, *Terracottas in the Dan. Nat. Mus.*, pl. 41, No. 340.

⁸⁷ Cf. *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 37, No. 298 (H. 0.126 m.) *Lindos*, I, pl. 142, No. 3043 (P. H. 0.073 m.).

⁸⁸ *Olynthus*, VII, No. 298, pl. 37. (H. 0.126 m.).

⁸⁹ *TK* II, p. 140, 3 (H. 0.155 m.).

⁹⁰ See below p. 143, note 129.

small features, thin cheeks, and pointed chin, is often called "Praxitelean." No. 28 finds an interesting parallel in the Metropolitan Museum.⁹¹ The scale seems identical with ours; the small mouth and sharply defined eyelids seem to belong to the earliest phase of the "Tanagra style."⁹²

Another facial type also occurs among these heads: the round childish shape with chubby cheeks and pursed features (Nos. 31-32). It comes in on the latest grave-reliefs from Athens. Judging by the earlier character of the modelling of the few children's faces at Olynthos,⁹³ we may suppose that the new attempt to differentiate the face of a child from that of an adult, like the attempt to show the boyish body, began just after the middle of the century. Our figure (No. 19) of which the head and body are both preserved, shows that no really childish form had been achieved at the time of the Coroplast's Dump. Both heads and bodies are still fairly mature.

The hair on several bare heads (Nos. 29-32) is arranged in a coiffure generally called "melonenfrisur." A series of deep parallel waves or twists run back from the forehead to a large flat coil of plaits at the back of the head. This coiffure also occurs on the complete figure, No. 19. That gives a total of five examples in our deposit. It seems clear that they must all date at about the same time as the draped figure, that is, in the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. These examples of a coiffure usually considered to have begun in Hellenistic times are decidedly interesting.⁹⁴ Variants, or prototypes, of this coiffure occur on a few grave-reliefs that must date before the decree of Demetrius in 317 B.C.⁹⁵ On these reliefs, the plaits are wound round the head rather than at the back of it. This seems to be an early stage of the true melon coiffure. The plaits appear wound in a coil around the back of the head not only on the heads from the Coroplast's Dump, but also on a contemporary head from the Agora that was found in a context probably to be associated with the building activities of Lykourgos (338-326 B.C.).⁹⁶ A similar coiffure is more delicately

⁹¹ See above p. 133 and Pl. 34.

⁹² Cf. *Arch. Anz.*, LIV, 1939, p. 434, fig. 23.

⁹³ E. g. *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 42, No. 384; VII, pl. 36, No. 280, pl. 56, Nos. 397-8.

⁹⁴ Kleiner, p. 15, places the beginning of this coiffure in the last quarter of the fourth century. Cf. E. Schmidt, *Jahrb.*, XLVII, 1932, p. 284, who cites grave reliefs that do not seem to me so pertinent as those listed in the following note.

⁹⁵ Conze, *Att. Grabreliefs*, pl. CCXXXVIII, No. 1131 (dated by H. Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, Berlin, 1931, p. 47 as of ca. 350 B.C.) and pl. LXXI, No. 297 (dated by Diepolder, *op. cit.*, p. 51, as of ca. 340-330 B.C.). Cf. Süsserott, *Gr. Plastik*, p. 124, pl. 25, four reliefs showing related coiffures, dated by Süsserott ca. 300 B.C., which, on our evidence, appears to be too late. Cf. A. Adriani, "Annotazioni su alcune Teste del IV secolo a Cristo," *Arti Figurative*, II, 1946, pp. 218 ff., pls. LXXIV, f. Adriani dates this head ca. 400 B.C., but, as Dr. Segall has pointed out to me, the style is due to the restoration of the features in plaster, which should more properly be like those on pl. LXXVI.

⁹⁶ T 2983, from a cutting in the floor of the Square Building which preceded the Stoa of Attalos; for its character and date, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 322; XX, 1951, p. 53. (P. H. 0.045 m.).

rendered on the head of a fine figurine in the Metropolitan Museum (Pl. 36).⁹⁷ The features, with the crisp-lidded eyes, the long, straight nose, and the mouth set off by grooves running up to the nostrils are not unlike those of our small head No. 29. Another similar, much-battered head comes from an Agora well closely contemporary with the later Demeter Cistern terracottas, that is, belonging to the very end of the fourth century.⁹⁸ All this evidence indicates that this type of melon coiffure flourished during the latter part of the fourth century. The Metropolitan figure just cited also ties in with others of its type,⁹⁹ and with the way in which our No. 19 lifts the drapery with the left hand. Thus we find close interrelations between figures which wear the same type of melon coiffure. The single phases of the variants of coiffure do not seem to have had a very long life, probably not more than twenty or thirty years.

The second phase of the melon coiffure, in which the plaits at the back of the head have lost the nature of a coil and assumed that of a bun, is presumably to be dated early in the third century B.C., on the evidence of an example from Corinth and of others from Chatby.¹⁰⁰ The bun turns into a knot fairly early in the third century and becomes the best known form of melon coiffure, of which innumerable examples exist from all over the Greek world.¹⁰¹ Its subsequent history will be treated in later articles.

The moulds for standing draped types of women from the Coroplast's Dump are mostly too fragmentary to be of interest. None shows a "Tanagra type." The moulds for female heads (Nos. 35-36) show that these heads were modelled in the same mould with the figure instead of separately as on more elaborate pieces. The curious "Directoire" curls projecting from the back of the head on No. 36 find parallels only on a group of ambitious figures of which the Girl with the Duck is the most famous.¹⁰² It is perhaps significant of the close stylistic interrelations of these pieces with our mould and with Metropolitan Museum 07.286.31 (Pl. 35) that several also incline

⁹⁷ Metropolitan Museum Inv. 06. 1138 (H. 0.182 m.).

⁹⁸ T 1214 from Section F, Well I, dated by a kantharos and loomweight as close to the time of the Demeter Cistern, that is, at the very end of the fourth century B.C. I owe this dating to Lucy Talcott.

⁹⁹ *Arch. Anz.*, LIV, 1939, p. 431, figs. 21-22; Kleiner, pl. 2, p. 52.

¹⁰⁰ *Corinth*, XII, pl. 23, No. 268: the deposit was dated by three coins, ranging from 300-243 B.C.; *Sciatbi*, pl. XXI, No. 26 (a stele), pl. XLII, 154 (No. 350), pl. LXV, 167, 169 ff. (Nos. 155, 368) (figurines). Cf. above undated specimen, probably from Athens, *Arch. Anz.*, LIV, 1939, p. 431, figs. 21 f.

¹⁰¹ E. g. Züchner, *Gr. Klappspiegel*, figs. 108-112; for others, see Kleiner, p. 15 and notes on p. 271.

¹⁰² *TK II*, p. 7, 5 and 7. Schneider-Lengyel, *Gr. Terrakotten*, pl. 72, which is related to Breitenstein, *Terracottas of the Danish Nat. Mus.*, pl. 75, No. 609 with full bibliography of the related group. Cf. Kleiner, p. 168, who dates the group in the mid third century, which appears to me too late; see *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, pp. 443 f.

the head markedly and wear the sleeve cords, which have a brief popularity at the very end of the fourth century.¹⁰³

FEMALE FIGURES: SEATED, DRAPED: NOS. 37-42

The seated female figures in our deposit are all miniatures. Two (Nos. 37-38) are among the tiniest figures made, even smaller than others of this ancient type. Originally it represented a goddess or votary with her hand to her breast. A few of these degenerate miniatures of the old line continued to be made in the fourth century.¹⁰⁴ No. 39 is a descendant of an old type that Furtwängler identified on good grounds as mourning women, who are sometimes shown seated by grave stelai.¹⁰⁵ Our example represents an old woman, almost in caricature. The motive of the crossed legs, though it occurs earlier, became very popular in the latter part of the fourth century.¹⁰⁶

The moulds for seated women lead us farther back in time. The earliest, and actually one of the oldest types in our deposit, is No. 40, which represents the head and upper part of a seated woman. Similar figures from Olynthos probably date early in the fourth century.¹⁰⁷ The rounded mass of wavy hair that surrounds the face is a coiffure that was popular early in the century at Corinth, Athens, Olynthos, and elsewhere.¹⁰⁸ The mould for the back of a seated woman and child (No. 41) is the prototype for more elaborate groups composed of a woman and child, often treated as Eros, in complicated positions.¹⁰⁹ The only mould for a miniature, No. 42, represents a seated lady wrapped in her himation, which is drawn up over her peaked hair and across the lower part of her face. It is extremely small and delicately modelled in the spirit that we have defined as "Tanagraic." The taut drapery across the arm, the deep folds between the legs, the careful rendering of the face are all in the best "Tanagra" manner. Yet there seem to be no parallels from Tanagra; only echoes

¹⁰³ I base much of my understanding of this group on an unpublished study by Mrs. Stillwell, which she generously shared with me.

¹⁰⁴ *TK* I, p. 86, 1-4 (early examples); cf. II, p. 108, 6; *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. LXXXVI, E 21, from a Corinthian well of the period ca. 300 B.C. (H. 0.061 m.).

¹⁰⁵ *Sammlung Sabouroff*, pls. XV-XVII; cf. *TK* II, p. 108, 7; Heuzey, *Terres cuites de Louvre*, pl. 28, 4. These figures might possibly represent women fasting, sitting on the ground during the Thesmophoria, cf. Deubner, *Att. Feste*, p. 56 and note 8.

¹⁰⁶ Züchner, *Gr. Klappspiegel*, p. 17, figs. 3-4, KS 18-19. Züchner remarks that crossed legs are a common motive by the end of the fourth century B.C. But it often occurs earlier, as, for example, on the Sarcophagus of Mourners and on certain figurines of actors, see below p. 142. Crossed legs are also common on reliefs of ca. 330-320 B.C. (Süsserott, *Gr. Plastik*, pl. 22) in a more relaxed form than on the figures mentioned above.

¹⁰⁷ *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 29, Nos. 229-236.

¹⁰⁸ *Corinth*, XV, i, pl. 34, Nos. 36-39; *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, p. 142, fig. 57, No. 42; *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 48, Nos. 384-385.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. *TK* II, p. 200, 2 and 6, developing to those types shown on p. 201.

of the type exist.¹¹⁰ This piece seems to derive from a tradition apart. The close muffling may indicate that the figure is an initiate.

This is the mould that we previously noted as of an earlier technique than most of its fellows.¹¹¹ It may possibly be explained by comparing the delicate scale and modelling with similar work on plastic reliefs and lekythoi, which seem much more closely related to metal work than do the small votive terracottas.¹¹² The possibility of a new relation springing up between the coroplast and the metal-worker of this period must be considered in another place.

An interesting descendant of this type of simple seated muffled figure has been found in an early second century deposit on the North Slope of the Acropolis.¹¹³ Untouched by any feeling or delicacy such as distinguish our piece, this last representative of a long line comes from a dull mould, apparently derived from one like that we are considering. The history of the type, like that of the one we have just discussed, is the story of a slow degeneration of unchanging features over a period of about 200 years.

COMIC FIGURES: ACTORS: Nos. 43-47

Subjects drawn from the comic stage are prominent in the deposit. Two belong to types that are commonly associated with Old Comedy, but actually the terracottas are not popular until Old Comedy has died out. The first, No. 43, represents a slave dressed in travelling costume, wearing a *pilos* and carrying, slung round his neck, an oval basket and a flat-bodied canteen or *askos*. Others of this type also bear a huge roll slung behind their shoulders, of which an unattached example survives in the Coroplast's Dump (No. 71).¹¹⁴ We can see the details of the accoutrement from clearer impressions, possibly from the same mould, in the British Museum and the Bibliothèque nationale (Pl. 38).¹¹⁵ Thus Xanthias must have looked as he carried the *stromata*, about which he was everlastingly groaning on his journey to the underworld.¹¹⁶ No. 44 is of the same old tradition, of equal scale and dull impression. Both belong to the type of actor most popular at Olynthos.¹¹⁷ Our second example shades

¹¹⁰ TK II, p. 108 for the general type.

¹¹¹ See above p. 125.

¹¹² Cf. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 313 f.; F. Courby, *Les Vases grecs à reliefs*, Paris, 1922, pp. 169 ff.

¹¹³ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 210, fig. 14c (H. ca. 0.05 m.).

¹¹⁴ TK II, p. 414, 4; cf. 5 and p. 415.

¹¹⁵ *Brit. Mus. Cat.* C 238 (H. 0.086 m.). Bought in Athens in 1880. Solid. Clay brownish; might be Boeotian. The photograph is by the courtesy of R. A. Higgins and the Trustees of the British Museum. Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, No. 157. H. (restored) ca. 0.09 m. Clay light yellow; could be Attic. Solid. I owe the photograph to the courtesy of M. Babelon and the Bibliothèque nationale.

¹¹⁶ Aristophanes, *Ran.*, 165 and *passim*.

¹¹⁷ *Olynthus*, VII, No. 297.

his eyes with his hand as he gazes into the distance.¹¹⁸ This is the attitude taken by a performer in the *Skops*, the horned-owl dance mentioned by Aeschylus.¹¹⁹ It has been variously described by the lexicographers, but by far the best elucidation of our type is given by Athenaeus:¹²⁰ "The *Skops* is a figure (of the dance) in which men look away with the tips of the fingers arched over the forehead." It is easy to imagine a scene in comedy, as in *Alice in the Looking-Glass*, in which a slave would look off stage and humorously describe the coming visitor in parody of tragedy.

These two pieces wear the costume that appears to be that of Old Comedy.¹²¹ It consists of a short, close-fitting jerkin, showing a large *phallos*; the hair is left plain or a pointed cap, the *philos*, is worn. The mask has a long, sharply-pointed beard (*σφηνηπώγων*) below a broad, grinning mouth, of which the opening is only a wide slit. The deep-set eyes are rather small.

In the following examples (Nos. **45, a-d**), though the costume remains the same, the mask differs markedly. The hair rises around the face in a thick roll, known as the *σπείρα*; the brows are arched sharply above the popping eyes; the beard is rounded, forming the rim of a large, gaping mouth, which is shaped like a megaphone. All this is considered by Dr. Bieber as the costume of Middle Comedy.¹²² It still shows the *phallos*, but in other respects it approaches the costume of New Comedy. We have in our deposit, therefore, an interesting combination of both early and later types, indicating that this is a period of transition.

Our four fragments from the same or very similar moulds (Nos. **45 a-d**) are on a slightly larger scale than Nos. **43-44**. Their type is that of the seated slave. The upper parts are certainly to be related to the lower parts (Nos. **46-47**), none of which, unfortunately joins. Together they make up a type of which the British Museum possesses a well-preserved example (Pl. 38).¹²³ The slave has evidently fled to the household altar for refuge, to nurse his ear, which has just been boxed. The impudent

¹¹⁸ *TK* II, p. 418, 1 and 2.

¹¹⁹ Aeschylus, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* (Nauck, 2nd edition), 26.

¹²⁰ *Deipnosophists*, XIV, 629 f., ἦν δὲ ὁ σκῶψ τῶν ἀποσκοπούντων τι σχῆμα ἄκρα τὴν χεῖρα ὑπὲρ τοῦ μετώπου κεκυρτωκότων. Cf. Pollux, IV, 103; Hesychius, *s. v.* ὑπόσκοπον χεῖρα. F. Weege, *Der Tanz in der Antike*, Halle, 1926, p. 90.

¹²¹ M. Bieber, *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1920 (hereafter *Theaterwesen*), p. 135, pl. 73, 4.

¹²² M. Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theatre*, Princeton, 1939 (hereafter, *History*), p. 86; cf. T. B. L. Webster, "South Italian Vases and Attic Drama," *Class. Quart.*, XLII, 1948, pp. 19 f. suggests that the shift to the more modest costume of New Comedy may be connected with the legislation of Demetrios of Phaleron in 317 B.C.

¹²³ *Brit. Mus. Cat.* C 90. Bought in Athens; marked "Peiraeus, 1868;" H. 0.12 m. Orange-yellow clay; could be Attic, but unlike the fabric of the Coroplast's Dump. I owe the photograph to the courtesy of R. A. Higgins and the Trustees of the British Museum. The type is shown *TK* II, p. 418, 9. Examples have been found at Tanagra. Cf. A. Körte, "Archäologische Studien zur alten Komödie," *Jahrb.* VIII, 1893, p. 82, fig. 6, Nos. 59-62. H. Lushey, "Komödien-Masken," *Ganymed*, Heidelberger Beiträge zur antiken Kunst, Heidelberg, 1942, pp. 71 f.

slave, enjoying the immunity of the altar, was a very popular type even into Roman times; ours are among the earliest examples. The later developments are numerous and delightfully varied.¹²⁴

Enough evidence is now at hand to indicate the typological development of actor statuettes through the fourth century. The technique and style of our earlier examples (Nos. 43-44) clearly belongs to an earlier stage than the other group. We can safely assume, then, since, as we pointed out, this is the type most common at Olynthos, that it is a creation of the first half of the fourth century. Just when did the new type come in?

In general, the Olynthos type of mask is transitional between the earliest and the intermediate types. The *speira* and the pop-eyes occur, but the beard is still pointed and the mouth is only partially open. An approximation of the megaphone type of beard appears on a bronze statuette, which, however, is not yet the fixed New Comedy type.^{124a} Evidently at the middle of the century, the mask was undergoing a change, which we find a little more advanced in our Coroplast's Dump.

A number of moulds for actors' heads were found in a deposit in Corinth which dates *ca.* 350-325 B.C.¹²⁵ These are predominantly of the earlier type, but one mould found among them for a figurine of an actor shows the megaphone type of beard.¹²⁶ Masks of a somewhat transitional character appear in a group at Halai that falls into the period *ca.* 390-350 B.C.¹²⁷ These are typologically earlier than the masks found on the Pnyx in the deposit of the third quarter of the fourth century.¹²⁸ This dating is confirmed by a group of actors in the Metropolitan Museum, said to come from a grave in Athens, of which the types show the wedged-shaped beards with grinning, but not gaping mouths and a modest *speira*. The group can be closely dated by a series of interlocking parallels close to the middle of the fourth century.¹²⁹

All this evidence, then, indicates that our small early actors (Nos. 43-44) date in the early part of the fourth century, probably *ca.* 375 B.C., that the Metropolitan group and its affiliates must fall within the period 360-340 B.C., and that our Nos. 45 and others with the new type of mask must come slightly later, *ca.* 330 B.C.

This sequence is interesting in connection with the development of the drama

¹²⁴ *TK II*, pp. 418 f. Bieber, *History*, figs. 209, 210, 416, etc.

^{124a} *Olynthus*, X, pl. I, No. 1.

¹²⁵ *Corinth*, XV, i, pls. 35-36, Nos. 43-47.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 50.

¹²⁷ *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pl. XXIII.

¹²⁸ *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, p. 149, fig. 62, Nos. 71, 75.

¹²⁹ Bieber, *History*, pp. 85 ff., figs. 122-135. *Met. Mus. Bull.*, IX, 1914, p. 235. Webster, *Class. Quart.*, XLII, 1948, pp. 20 f. Princeton Art Museum, *The Theatre in Ancient Art*, Princeton, 1951, Nos. 14-27. I had the privilege of examining this group, both at Princeton, when they were on loan there, and in the Metropolitan Museum, by the courtesy of the curators of both Museums, Miss Jones and Miss Alexander. The group presents a most interesting combination of stylistic unity and technical disparity; it should be studied in detail.

during this period.¹³⁰ Much of the ribald spirit of Old Comedy seems to have lingered on through the rather uninventive stage called Middle Comedy. Then just as New Comedy was beginning, *ca.* 330 B.C., new masks and types come in.¹³¹ The change of mask type may also probably be associated with the enlargement of the auditorium of the theatre under Lykurgus.¹³² For an audience numbering 14,000 or more, now seated in orderly and fairly roomy quarters upon built seats, a mask that threw the voice like a megaphone would obviously soon be developed. This type, once established in Athens, undoubtedly spread over the Greek world; an example dating *ca.* 325 B.C. from Corinth would be perfectly in order. It looks indeed, as though innovations and new styles now found an immediate response in contemporary crafts, which once had heeded only the voice of tradition.

Tradition, however, even at this time evidently still held firm the various forms at various stages. That is, at any one time, the mask type for young or old men and women, slaves, gods, etc., was clear-cut and consistently followed. The changes came slowly until the new megaphone mouth was invented. The beard slowly grows less sharp; the hair grows thicker; the characterization becomes more defined. But apparently the fourth century did not develop the individual characterization of the types as described by Pollux (*Onom.* IV, 143 f.). Evidently the Hellenistic repertory took old and new traditions and differentiated between the various types in order to characterize the different old men and slaves in the large casts. It seems at present to be impossible to assign a Hellenistic mask to any one period on the evidence of the type of face alone. A good example of this difficulty can be seen in the figure of an actor as a soldier or traveller, which wears the wedge-shaped beard and the *pilos* of Old Comedy, but which we know from its technique and from the signature of its coroplast, Nikostratos, was made no earlier than the end of the second century B.C.¹³³

PROPHYLACTIC FIGURES: Nos. 48-50

A group of small, poorly made votives holds considerable interest. They are so bent and technically poor that they may be discarded (No. 48, a-d). This is a type

¹³⁰ Lushey, *Ganymed*, pp. 76 ff. traces the general development of the mask, without giving such specific dating as is now made possible by our evidence, but without glaring discrepancies with our conclusions. A different approach is made by T. B. L. Webster, "The Masks of Greek Comedy," *Bull. of the John Rylands Library*, XXXII, 1948, pp. 97 ff., who attempts to identify the types mentioned by Pollux with extant vase-paintings and terracottas. He admits that the evidence before New Comedy is hazardous. It is certainly true that even in the fourth century examples, the types do vary, but so far as I can see, the variation seems to be temporal rather than for purposes of characterization, except in such clear-cut cases as the mask of Herakles, men and women, age and so on. There seems to me very little difference in the masks of the Metropolitan group mentioned above.

¹³¹ Bieber, *History*, p. 86.

¹³² A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Theatre of Dionysos in Athens*, Oxford, 1946, pp. 136 ff.

¹³³ D. Burr, *Terra-cottas from Myrina*, p. 6; Kleiner, p. 247.

now known from the finer specimen from the Pnyx.¹³⁴ The presence of the herm shows that the group had a Dionysiac connection.¹³⁵ Another fragment of this type has been found in the Agora¹³⁶ and an unpublished example is in the Chalkis Museum.¹³⁷ The type is descended from an archaic ancestor, with surprisingly few variations.¹³⁸ The parallels for our group, from Olynthos¹³⁹ and the Pnyx, show that the type was at the height of its popularity in the middle of the fourth century B.C. The small herms found with our groups presumably are to be closely connected with them (Nos. 49 a and b and an uncatalogued example).

A sizeable but carelessly made mould (No. 50) presents a subject which is unexpected at this period, an hermaphrodite *sese ostendens*. Perdrizet, in a full analysis of the hermaphrodite type, shows that it became a concept, artistic rather than realistic, during the fourth century.¹⁴⁰ The first artistic form seems to have been derived from that of Priapos; indeed, our mould might represent Priapos himself. But it is remarkably close to a type of hermaphrodite that was popular somewhat later in Alexandria.¹⁴¹ The examples from Chatby and Hadra can scarcely be so early as our mould. The fertility cults naturally occupied themselves with such concepts; the cult of Kybele seems at Chatby to have been the centre of this particular conception.¹⁴² Our piece, so far as I know, is a rare subject in clay on the Greek mainland; ¹⁴³ later, many variants were developed all over the Mediterranean.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁴ *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, No. 87, pp. 124 ff., fig. 65, with bibliography on the type. Add also an unpublished example in the Louvre.

¹³⁵ H. Goldman, "The Origin of the Greek Herm," *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, pp. 58 ff. For the polos on the heads of the herms, cf. those on Priapos in Egypt, Breccia, *Monuments*, II, pl. CIV, pp. 35 ff.

¹³⁶ T 621, P. H. 0.033 m. Soft buff clay; style and type exactly like those from the Coroplast's Dump. From a late Roman filling south of the Middle Stoa.

¹³⁷ Chalkis Museum Inv. 806, unpublished so far as I know.

¹³⁸ See above note 134.

¹³⁹ *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 58, No. 406, a plastic vase. The position of the legs on our examples, reducing the emphasis on the phallos, and the fact that the figure and the herm were moulded separately and set on a plaque base all point to a date slightly later than that of the Olynthos and Pnyx pieces.

¹⁴⁰ P. Perdrizet, *Bronzes grecs d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet*, Paris, 1911, pp. 6 ff., pls. II-III. Cf. Kleiner, p. 53 and notes with bibliography. The first mention of the name Hermaphroditos, occurs in Theophrastos, *Characters*, XXVIII, 26 (Jebb), written ca. 325-320 B.C. For ithyphallic figures in general, B. Hemberg, *Die Kabeiroi*, Uppsala, 1950, pp. 266 ff.; for the Kabeiroi in particular, pp. 283 f.

¹⁴¹ Breccia, *Sciatbi*, pl. 75, 239 (No. 490); *Monuments*, I, pl. XLVII, 15, (No. 153) from Hadra.

¹⁴² The piece mentioned in the preceding note was found in a grave along with the figure of a musician in Phrygian costume, which suggests an association with the cult of Kybele.

¹⁴³ Another hermaphrodite was found in a late second to early first century B.C. context in the Agora, a crude piece, T 3002 (P. H. 0.065 m.).

¹⁴⁴ T. Schreiber, *Expedition Ernst von Sieglin*, II, 2, pl. XLIII; Pottier and Reinach, *Néc. de Myrina*, pl. XV, No. 86.

PROTOMES, MASKS ETC.: Nos. 51-56

Detached heads or busts, in the fourth as in the fifth century, are usually treated as plastic vases. Our No. 51 and fragments from similar pieces are peculiar in being, protomes like busts, finished off below the shoulders. This form, though rare, does occur during the fourth and third centuries.¹⁴⁵ Both plastic vases and busts usually represent a goddess of nature and fertility, Demeter, Kore, or Aphrodite.¹⁴⁶

The closest parallels to our Agora examples are those from Olynthos.¹⁴⁷ They too show the same severe features, the hair brushed back from the face to hang in long curls on the shoulders and the rosettes on a cap or band around the face. These rosettes seem to take the place of the tendrils and floral ornaments which always surround the goddess in painting or relief. Over the forehead of No. 51 is a peculiar ornament, like a bud or fruit between two leaves, which resembles one from Olynthos and another from the distant sanctuary at Sele in South Italy.¹⁴⁸ Possibly this ornament is derived from the Egyptian lotos-bud or lotos-fruit, which became excessively popular later in Graeco-Roman Egypt.¹⁴⁹ It had long been regarded as the emblem of immortality. On the evidence of the Phrygian cap worn by an Olynthian specimen, Robinson suggests the identification of the goddess with Artemis Bendis.¹⁵⁰ But she might well also be Kybele. Other busts follow the same type without any definite indication of the deity intended.¹⁵¹ The type shows such hieratic conservatism that it is difficult to date exactly.¹⁵² The excellent condition of our piece, however, on which

¹⁴⁵ For the origin and variations of the bust type see P. Knoblauch, *Studien über archaisch-griechischen Tonbildnerei*, Nieft, Bleicherode am Harz, 1937, pp. 167 ff.; *Arch. Anz.*, LIII, 1938, cols. 354 f.

¹⁴⁶ General discussion: E. Jastrow, *A.J.A.*, L, 1946, pp. 73 ff. For the lekythoi, which seem to represent Aphrodite, G. Treu, *35tes Berlin. Winkelmannsprog.* 1875, pl. I; *C. R.* 1870-1871, pl. I, 3 (dated ca. 380 B.C. by Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, p. 71). Knoblauch, *Arch. Anz.*, LIII, 1938, p. 354, fig. 9. For similar heads, cf. Marshall, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Jewellery*, pl. XLII, Nos. 2169 ff.

¹⁴⁷ *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 18, Nos. 149 ff.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. 18, No. 156. *Mon. Ant.*, VII, 1897, pp. 247 f. (Kore); *Not. Scavi*, XIII, 1937, p. 226, fig. 13 (Hera). I owe my acquaintance with the closest piece from Sele to Dr. Paola Zancani-Montuoro, who kindly sent me a drawing, as she was unable to photograph the figure on account of war conditions. One leaf and a sort of pyramidal bud remain, on the head of a nude seated female "doll."

¹⁴⁹ For a discussion of this symbol, Perdrizet, *Terres cuites Fouquet*, p. 28; *Bronzes Fouquet*, p. 30.

¹⁵⁰ *Olynthus*, VII, pp. 42 ff.

¹⁵¹ Particularly in the later examples cited in the following note.

¹⁵² A series may be indicated beginning with the humanized bust of the masks of the late fourth century from Ithaka, *B.S.A.*, XXXIX, 1938-1939, pl. 20, No. 58. Other examples: *Bulletin Vereeing.-ant. Beschaving*, IV, 1 1929, p. 17, fig. 9 (fourth century); A. Adriani, *Annuaire du musée gréco-romain*, 1939, pl. XLVIII, 1 (third century); Pottier and Reinach, *Néc. de Myrina*, pl. IX, 2 (third to second century); *Arch. Anz.*, XXIX, 1914, p. 218, fig. 26 (dated by Pharmakowsky in the Roman period).

even the back and such fragile details as the rosettes are well preserved, certainly indicates that it must fall after the middle of the century, probably close to 330 B.C.

Other fragments from protomes and masks represent the goddess in a more common form (Nos. 52-54). An admirable series of these masks from Halai and Olynthos¹⁵³ show that they were losing their popularity by the middle of the century. No. 52, **a** and **b** come from a sizeable mask, wearing puffy waves of hair incised with small lines and a veil that hangs down on the shoulders. This follows a fifth century type well preserved at Halai and Olynthos.¹⁵⁴ A similar piece of veil comes from a Corinthian mask of the third quarter of the fourth century.¹⁵⁵ No. 54 wears a polos decorated with relief palmettes, as on examples from Olynthos.¹⁵⁶

A mould fragment (No. 55) evidently was made for a large mask, of which the heavy-lidded eye, with its steep inner corner, belongs to fifth century canons. It is on a much bigger scale than the other masks from the deposit.¹⁵⁷ These facts, taken in conjunction with its worn condition, place it earlier in our group. Very possibly it even survives from the fifth century.

Another mould gives us a Gorgoneion (No. 56). It shows the modified type, not so horrific as the archaic. It still extends the tongue;¹⁵⁸ snakes appear to be tied under the chin as on a gold plate from harness in a South Russian tomb of "ca. 300 B.C."¹⁵⁹ But it is not so human as the tongueless plaster heads from sarcophagi of the third century from Russia and others from Alexandria.¹⁶⁰ Technically, the mould belongs to our earlier group in the cistern, but the humanized character of the type cannot be very early; we must probably date it around the middle of the century.

ANIMALS: NOS. 57-61.

Animal figures are rare in the deposit, nor do two examples of any one type occur. Fragments of a bovine creature (No. 57) are fairly well modelled, especially the head of a calf or heifer. Scraps of a similar subject from Olynthos are simpler in style.¹⁶¹

¹⁵³ For a recent discussion of protomes, H. R. W. Smith, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 353 ff. Halai: *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 380 ff.; *Olynthus*, IV and VII, pls. 1 ff.

¹⁵⁴ *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pl. XVI, type IV-a-10, p. 384; *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 12, No. 66; pl. 14, No. 93; pl. 22, No. 240, etc.

¹⁵⁵ *Corinth*, XV, i, pl. 32, No. 28. Other masks from Corinth will be published shortly in *Corinth*, XV, ii.

¹⁵⁶ *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 27, Nos. 297-8.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. the early large masks, *Olynthus*, IV and VII, pls. 1 ff.

¹⁵⁸ Roscher, *Lexikon*, s. v. Gorgonen, cols. 1718 ff., middle type, which Furtwängler dated mid fifth to fourth centuries.

¹⁵⁹ E. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 168, fig. 59.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 372, fig. 274; Breccia, *Sciatbi*, pl. LXXIX, 256 f.

¹⁶¹ *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 41, Nos. 340, 344.

Closer is the rendering of a bull-calf on a gem,¹⁶² which shows the same flat treatment of the eye and the muzzle set clearly off from the rest of the head; it is dated in the late fifth century B.C. The style and fabric of our piece tend to place it fairly early in our deposit.

A mould for a reclining dog (No. 58) is unusual. The animal lies extended with his head resting on his forepaws. His mane is so thick that his nose and eye are just barely visible in profile at the extreme left. Body hair and haunch are carefully modelled. The tail is very thick also and seems as large as the head, which is decidedly blunt. This type of dog—one can hardly call it a breed—seems too heavy for the house-dog most popular in antiquity, the Spitz, but it is more like that of the farm-dog, described by Columella as having a large head, shaggy mane, hairy body, and drooping rather than prick ears.¹⁶³

A mould of the back of a seated ape (No. 59) is larger and more carefully modelled than the figures of squatting apes of earlier times.¹⁶⁴ This piece, on which the hair is indicated, most closely resembles the tailless baboon, which is often shown among Graeco-Egyptian terracottas.¹⁶⁵ It is an animal form of Thoth which is presented in this squatting position, sometimes even clothed.¹⁶⁶ I am aware of no comparable examples from Greece. After a full study of the ape in antiquity, McDermott came to the conclusion that the ape had no mythological implications for the Greeks, but was merely a comic subject without religious significance.¹⁶⁷ Apes were favorite pets at the time of Theophrastos.¹⁶⁸ The close resemblance of our mould to Egyptian types, however, may well point to a cult connection.

The little hand-made bird (No. 60) belongs to a class of which a number was found in the Agora in what seems to be a sanctuary deposit of the late fourth to third century B.C.¹⁶⁹ Better examples from Corinth date in the fifth century; one from Halai would seem to fall in about the same period as ours, though it is larger and more carefully modelled.¹⁷⁰

The mould for a shell (No. 61) is approximately on the same scale as a terra-

¹⁶² G. M. A. Richter, *Animals in Greek Sculpture*, New York, 1930, pl. XXXIII, fig. 99, dated in the late fifth century.

¹⁶³ O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt*, Leipzig, 1909, I, pp. 115 ff., fig. 44; Columella, VII, 12.

¹⁶⁴ *TK* I, p. 225; W. C. McDermott, *The Ape in Antiquity*, Baltimore, 1938, pp. 162 ff.; *Lindos*, I, pl. 113, Nos. 2391-2, the fifth century version with worked backs. Cf. *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 38, No. 314.

¹⁶⁵ Keller, *Ant. Tierwelt*, I, pp. 7 ff.; Perdrizet, *Terres cuites Fouquet*, p. 145, pl. LIII, Nos. 389-392; cf. pl. XXXIII, No. 92.

¹⁶⁶ Breccia, *Monuments*, I, pl. XLIX, 13 (No. 166).

¹⁶⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 156 f.

¹⁶⁸ Theophrastos, *Characters*, (Jebb), VII, 15, p. 64.

¹⁶⁹ Section X, 73 / M, T 1366-69.

¹⁷⁰ *Corinth*, XII, No. 66, pl. 5; *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 475, No. 69.

cotta shell which was found in a late fifth century deposit in the Agora (Pl. 41).¹⁷¹ Both represent a mollusk of the type that the Greeks called *κτεῖς* or *κτένιον* from its resemblance to a comb.¹⁷² The mollusk was considered a delicacy, as are scallops to-day. The attractive shell, both natural and imitated, was much used as a decorative and symbolic motive, signifying immortality.¹⁷³

One of the most popular of shell designs in clay comes of the association of Aphrodite with the sea. According to well-known legends, she was born of the sea foam; later versions derive her from the shell itself.¹⁷⁴ The Agora examples were presumably made for figurines and lekythoi, which were used as perfume vessels during the fourth century, rendering the legend in the round for the delight of the ladies. On a base representing the sea waves, these lekythoi open the valves of a shell like a diptych, to reveal the charms of the goddess, Aphrodite.¹⁷⁵ The most elaborate example of this conceit, from the Taman peninsula, is dated by Schefold *ca.* 380 B.C.,¹⁷⁶ a dating that fits well enough with that of the pieces from the Agora.

The two Agora examples, however, are not exactly alike. The fifth century piece is a faithful copy of a genuine shell (very possibly from a mould made by pressing a shell directly into clay); whereas our example from the Coroplast's Dump (No. 61) shows a peculiarity, namely, that the plications do not fan out from the beak, but run almost parallel to each other. It is irregular in the grooves and summarily treated at the edges. As these details are not characteristic of natural formation, we must conclude that this mould was made free-hand by a coroplast whose knowledge of conchology was sketchy.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷¹ T 1529. P. E. Corbett, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 339, No. 120, pl. 99 (H. 0.098 m.). An Agora specimen from a context of the late second century is very crude and really large (T 2237; P. L. 0.22 m.; P. W. 0.23 m.).

¹⁷² Athenaeus, III, 86 C gives a full account of the edibility of shell-fish. The modern classification, Pectinidae, retains the ancient analogy with a comb. Our examples are, however, not strictly of this class, according to Dr. Madeleine Fritz of the Royal Ontario Museum of Palaeontology in Toronto. Dr. Fritz kindly examined photographs of our terracottas and said that they resembled Pelecypods with non-plicated wings.

¹⁷³ C. Picard, *Rev. arch.* XIII, 1939, I, pp. 136 f., p. 267; II, p. 79; M. Bratschkova, "Die Mäuschel in der antiken Kunst," *Bull. de l'Institut arch. bulgare*, XII, 1938, pp. 1 ff. with full bibliography of the abundant earlier literature.

¹⁷⁴ Keller, *Ant. Tierwelt*, II, pp. 560 f.; W. Déonna, *Rev. arch.*, VI, 1917, pp. 393 ff.; *Olynthus*, XI, p. 199; Bratschkova, *op. cit.*, pp. 8 ff.

¹⁷⁵ Bratschkova, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 ff. for a full catalogue of vases and statuettes portraying this theme. *TK* II, pp. 202 ff.; *Olynthus*, V, pp. 123 f., No. 144, pl. LXXXIX. (*Ca.* 370 B.C.)

¹⁷⁶ *C.R.*, 1870-71, pl. I; Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, p. 71.

¹⁷⁷ Although Dr. Fritz admitted the possibility that a shell unknown to her might be represented, the balance of probability is in favor of poor modelling on the part of the coroplast as the explanation of the peculiarity. I am indebted to Miss Barbara Philippaki for checking details in Athens for me.

MISCELLANEOUS VOTIVES: Nos. 62-73

At a sanctuary numerous small votives were often dedicated, of which the significance remains obscure. In this deposit a surprisingly large number of miniature objects appeared, looking like children's toys rather than serious adult offerings.

The tiny pointed hat or *pilos* (No. 62) is clearly rendered with its steep back and longer front, just as it is shown on the vase-paintings.¹⁷⁸ This is the felt cap of the workman, the sign manual of the laboring classes, but worn also for convenience by hunters and travellers.¹⁷⁹ Thus it was popular with the Dioskouroi and came to be their symbol, often shown separately on coins.¹⁸⁰ So far as I am aware, the *pilos* is not a common dedication, although one has been found at Corinth.¹⁸¹ Ours may be a dedicatory offering to the Dioskouroi, or intended to be put on a figurine.

Possibly also connected with the Dioskouroi are the knuckle-bones (No. 63 and unpublished examples), the favorite playthings of those typical Greek ephebes.¹⁸² These *astragaloi* are usually the natural bones of sheep or goats, but they are sometimes imitated in bronze, glass, ivory, and even, like ours, in clay. That they were dedicated for good luck or even for foretelling the future would make the coroplast naturally include them in his stock.

Possibly the small clay disks (Nos. 64-65 and an unpublished example) are to be connected also with games of chance.¹⁸³ They are neat little counters; possibly they are differentiated from each other by the ridge across the centre in two, which does not appear on the third. We might identify them as *πέσσοι*.¹⁸⁴

The tiny pestle (No. 66) is an attractive miniature of a common instrument. In type, with its pointed handle in the shape of a finger, it resembles one from Lindos, which was inscribed with the owner's name.¹⁸⁵ Similar clay votive pestles have been found in the Corinthian Kerameikos,¹⁸⁶ and the stone originals are numerous all over the Greek world.¹⁸⁷ Such small examples were probably used to grind herbs or paint.

¹⁷⁸ E. g. G. M. A. Richter, *Attic Red-Figured Vases*, New Haven, 1946, fig. 53.

¹⁷⁹ Daremberg and Saglio, *s. v.* Pileus, p. 480.

¹⁸⁰ Roscher, *Lexicon*, *s. v.* Dioskuren, cols. 1154 ff., particularly 1172.

¹⁸¹ *Corinth*, XV, ii, pl. 52, No. XXXVII-65.

¹⁸² Roscher, *loc. cit.*, col. 1174. For full bibliography, *Olynthus*, X, pp. 503 ff.; XI, pp. 197 ff.; a clay example, VII, pl. 47, No. 376. Cf. *Délos*, XVIII, pp. 332 f. *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 340, No. 134, five fifth century examples from the Agora.

¹⁸³ Clay disks, also probably game counters, have been found in many periods; e. g. the Geometric and Proto-Attic examples from the Agora, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 603.

¹⁸⁴ These disks might represent sacrificial cakes, *πόπανα*, cf. Arist. *Thesm.* 285. But the ridge on top is hardly suitable for a cake.

¹⁸⁵ *Lindos*, I, pl. 152, No. 3229.

¹⁸⁶ *Corinth*, XV, ii, pl. XXXVII, Nos. 26-29.

¹⁸⁷ For full bibliography, *Délos*, XVIII, pp. 117 f., pl. XLVII, Nos. 347 ff. H. Goldman, *Tarsus*, I, p. 387, No. 4. Unpublished Agora examples: ST 347, ST 405, ST 462. None of these is of the fourth century, but all are later. L. varies from 0.08 m. to 0.14 m.

The lion's foot support (No. 67) may come from a miniature mortar to accompany the pestle. Its scheme is closest, however, to that of the foot-bath, *ποδανίπτηρ*.¹⁸⁸

The footstools (Nos. 68 and an unpublished example T 1789) are of the type that are placed beneath thrones. They show the moulded animal feet and cross-bracings characteristic of footstools.¹⁸⁹ This type of stool was frequently used as a base for the veiled dancing figures which were very popular during the early fourth century.¹⁹⁰ Our pieces seem to belong to this category because they have clearly been made separately and never set under the feet of women seated on a throne. The breaks on our examples, suggest figures of the type of those in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, on which veiled dancers are pirouetting.¹⁹¹ No fragments from dancing figures of this type, however, have survived from the Coroplast's Dump.¹⁹²

The small columns (No. 69 and an unpublished example, T 1782) are presumably discards of unused supports for leaning figures, which were coming into favor at this time. It is noteworthy that the top fillet of the scotia is set back of the projection of the torus above, unlike the normal Greek form of Attic base in which the scotia projects beyond the upper torus. The form used here occurs regularly later in Italy, but only very rarely in Greece.¹⁹³

It is interesting to note a fragment of stippled roll, probably representing a thick woolen fillet or wreath (No. 70) of the type that becomes immensely popular in Hellenistic times. A few examples occur at Olynthos.¹⁹⁴

An amusing object (No. 71) appears to be a blanket roll, tied firmly around its centre for convenience in carrying. Such rolls appear slung over the shoulders of soldiers and travellers, the inevitable *stromata*, to which Aristophanes loves to allude.¹⁹⁵

Of the miscellaneous moulds the only interesting examples are two: one for an almond (No. 72) and the other for a tripod (No. 73). The almond was a popular nut in antiquity. Since cosmetic oil was made from it, the shell formed a suitable shape for small lekythoi to contain perfumed oil.¹⁹⁶ Our piece is merely a tiny votive.

¹⁸⁸ M. J. Milne, *A.J.A.*, XLVIII, 1944, pp. 26 ff.

¹⁸⁹ G. M. A. Richter, *Ancient Furniture*, Oxford, 1926, pp. 72 f., type b, figs. 41-43.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. *TK II*, p. 145, 2 and 3; p. 146, 5 and 8, etc.

¹⁹¹ *A.J.A.*, XXXV, 1931, p. 376, fig. 3.

¹⁹² But compare the fragments from the contemporary deposit on the Pnyx; their condition suggests that they were old pieces at this time, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, fig. 55, Nos. 28-29.

¹⁹³ E. G. Sieveking, *Sammlung Loeb, Terrakotten*, II, pl. 66. L. T. Shoe has kindly provided the architectural comment.

¹⁹⁴ E. g. *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 39, No. 36; pl. 46, No. 404; pl. 51, No. 410.

¹⁹⁵ Bieber, *Theaterwesen*, pl. 71 (early fourth century); pl. 73 c (later fourth century); pl. 72 c (by the coroplast, Nikostratos, second century B.C.), cf. pl. 83, pp. 134 f.

¹⁹⁶ A much better Agora mould, T 1297, shows the type. It too dates from the fourth century. Athenaeus, II, 67 B and 52 C ff. Pottier and Reinach, *Néc. de Myrina*, p. 229, fig. 31. G. Bruns, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben*, I, Berlin, 1940, pl. 17, 1, p. 92. J. D. Beazley, *B.S.A.*, XLI, 1930, p. 14, note 2.

The mould for a tripod stand, also miniature, is not a common type. Votive tripods were frequently made in bronze, though clay examples do occur, even as early as the seventh century.¹⁹⁷ Tripods were dedicated to many gods, not exclusively to Apollo.¹⁹⁸

PLAQUES: NOS. 74-78

The hang-hole on No. **74 b** indicates that this type should be classified as a plaque although the back is very rough. The female figure wearing a polos and a long veil may represent a goddess or a votary; it is impossible to determine. The original mould would seem to have followed an old hieratic tradition, but no identical type is known to me.¹⁹⁹

No. **75** is even more difficult to interpret. It shows two upright panels crossed by two (possibly three) horizontals (or vice versa). The lower cross-band, as shown in the photograph, is slightly wider than the other bands. The relief suggests the panelling of a door or throne, but I know of no parallels. Another possible explanation is that it represents the *δόκανα* of the Dioskouroi, certain curious horizontal and vertical beams that symbolized, according to Plutarch, the close ties of their brotherhood.²⁰⁰ Too little of our plaque is preserved to permit of certain identification.

A bit of curved relief showing two petals of a palmette (No. **76**) comes from a mould similar to No. **77**, although not from that mould itself. The type of circular mould covered with palmette designs is Corinthian.²⁰¹ Corinth manufactured and exported many; one bears a Medusa head in the centre.²⁰² They evidently served as cheap substitutes for *à jour* reliefs in bronze, apparently solely for decoration. This is an interesting instance of the importation by one centre of a mould for the peculiar local product of another centre. We shall note other instances of this practice. As Mrs. Stillwell has pointed out, the fragility of these thin openwork plaques made it more feasible to export the moulds than the finished product.²⁰³ One mould even found its way as far as Olynthos.²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁷ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 621, No. 329, with references.

¹⁹⁸ W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, Cambridge, 1902, p. 385.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. *TK* I, p. 63, 2, etc.

²⁰⁰ Plutarch, *de fraterno amore*, I, (478A). M. C. Waites, "The Meaning of the Dokana," *A.J.A.*, XXIII, 1919, pp. 1 ff. Tod and Wace, *Cat. of the Sparta Museum*, fig. 14, cf. No. 588, and pp. 114 ff. F. Chapouthier, *Les Dioscures au service d'une déesse*, Paris, 1935, pp. 4, 109. G. Demangel, "II," *Eph. Arch.*, 1937, pp. 144 ff.

²⁰¹ Mrs. Stillwell considers that the clay also is probably Corinthian,

²⁰² *Corinth*, XIV, pp. 139, 141; the date of this piece is not clear, but stylistically it appears to be later than ours. Cf. a similar example from Tarentum, *Rev. arch.*, XXXV, 1932, p. 58, No. 41, pl. II, 4. These both appear to date in the late fourth century. For earlier examples of openwork plaques, see *Corinth*, XV, i, No. 103 ff., pl. 46, with references; XV, ii, pl. 47; XII, No. 212-3, 215.

²⁰³ *Corinth*, XV, i, p. 112.

²⁰⁴ *Olynthus*, VII, pl. 45, No. 372.

The bent tips of the palmettes of our pieces and their general style compare best with early fourth century examples,²⁰⁵ but in the deep dentation, in the shape of the petals, our mould, though probably of Corinthian clay, cannot at present be duplicated at Corinth. Actually it is far more like two other pieces that were found elsewhere in the Athenian Agora (Pl. 42).²⁰⁶ One impression (T 2415), though not from the same part as our mould, is close enough to have come from another section of it. The other (T 123) is squatter, with a splayed central petal, which would seem to date in the third quarter of the fourth century.

An interesting connection with Olynthus can be seen in a mould of a relief of a charioteer and his horses (No. 78). It shows in reverse the same scene as a vase from Olynthos.²⁰⁷ The compact composition of rearing horses is characteristic of early fourth century vase-painting and metal-work. Our piece seems to echo metal-work, although it is not a direct impression from metal.²⁰⁸ Its condition suggests that it is one of the earliest pieces in the deposit, as is also indicated by its style.

Only a few other fragments of indeterminate character unworthy of publication have been omitted from this discussion.

MINIATURE VOTIVE POTTERY: Nos. 84-87

Miniature pottery was often associated with figurines among the dedicatory deposits of sanctuaries, especially those belonging to the Eleusinian and other deities related to fertility cults.²⁰⁹ A summary of the types of this miniature pottery that was found in our deposit should be added here.

Technically, the miniatures are more like figurines than like vases. The clay is soft, lightly-baked; the vase is covered with a lime slip on which soft colors were applied. Glaze rarely occurs.

The shapes are few. One of the most popular is the *kernos* (No. 84), for which type a mould also survives (No. 85).²¹⁰ This was a miniature ritual vessel, in which offerings were made. Grain, as a token offering, was probably placed in these tiny vessels. Most prevalent in our deposit are the cups (No. 86) with ribbon handles, no doubt intended for the draughts of wine that accompanied the gifts of food. These

²⁰⁵ For the palmette with spurred spiral at its base, Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 596; Schefold, *Untersuchungen*, No. 292, fig. 43, p. 140, dated 365-350 B.C.

²⁰⁶ T 2415, from the Agora Terracotta Factory, H. 0.067 m. T 123, from the foundation of the Stoa Annex, of the first century B.C., P. H. 0.073 m., P. W. 0.073 m.

²⁰⁷ *Olynthus*, IV, pl. 39, No. 371.

²⁰⁸ Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 584 (Melos Amphora); cf. Richter and Hall, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum*, No. 172, pl. 167; Richter, *A.J.A.*, LIV, 1950, p. 362, fig. 5 (silver version).

²⁰⁹ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 128; V, 1936, pp. 179 f. (later); *C.V.A.*, Michigan, 1933, p. 68. Corinthian examples will appear in *Corinth*, XV, iii.

²¹⁰ *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 447 ff.

cups do not follow any contemporary type, but retain the shape that they originally derived from the Geometric kantharoi right down into Hellenistic times.²¹¹ Rarer are the votive incense-burners, the *thymiateria*, of which a sizeable base is preserved (No. 87). All these miniatures were originally copies of ritual vessels used by the initiates, but ultimately they seem to have retained their character through religious conservatism so that they became divorced in shape and nature from the actual vessels and became a ritual series themselves of an independent votive character, for nominal offerings.

CONCLUSION

Even a glance over this series of terracottas reveals the votive character of the contents. The tiny objects, the masks, the figures of animals, and especially the *kernoi* and miniature cups, are all suitable for dedication in a sanctuary. Can we determine the nature of the deities for whom they were intended?

It is notoriously difficult to argue from votives to deities. As early as the fourth century, apparently, people no longer had any feeling for strict propriety in this matter; indeed even in early days, there was no rigidity in types for definite deities. Dedicators bought what was available, offering what they wished to whatever god seemed likely to be helpful, just as to-day Greek peasants buy the same little silver votives for any saint in any church.²¹² Certain types, however, became appropriate for certain deities, not exclusively, but usually given only to them. Leaving aside the common votives, such as belong to the stock-in-trade of any coroplast, let us review our deposit to see which pieces indicate a specific deity.

Jointed figures or "dolls" have indeed been found in children's graves, but they are also common dedications in the sanctuaries.²¹³ The ritual types, the masks, the bust, the footstools, the actors, the prophylactic figures, the plaques that may represent a goddess (No. 74), and the figures of women and girls are all suitable for the Eleusinian goddesses. In four cases, however, namely, the *pilos*, the little cloaked figures (No. 13), the *dokana* plaque, and the *astragaloi*, we have suggested a possible connection with the Dioskouroi, or possibly the Kabeiroi, who were often associated with Demeter.

The great mass of the votives, then, is to be associated with the Eleusinian cult. Referring to Pausanias' description of the region where our Coroplast's Dump was found, we note two precincts eminently suitable for the products of his shop. The Anakeion, or sanctuary of the Dioskouroi, was situated on the North Slope of the

²¹¹ Many others will be published in G. Roger Edwards' study of Hellenistic pottery.

²¹² For general discussions, Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, pp. 348 ff.; A. N. Stillwell, *Corinth*, XV, ii, Chap. I.

²¹³ For a general discussion and bibliography, see *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, pp. 114-118. See also *Corinth*, XV, ii, Class XX, pl. 31.

Acropolis near the Aglaurion, whence Lucian describes the philosophers scrambling up to the Acropolis.²¹⁴ It lay, then, just above our cisterns, to the southeast and might well offer opportunities for an energetic tradesman. Much closer, however, indeed right across the Panathenaic Way from the deposit, lay the buildings which are now identified by the excavators as the Eleusinion complex.²¹⁵ All around them in pockets and holes in the rock, as well as in our cisterns, deposits of *kernoi* were found, which as characteristic Eleusinian votives, have helped to fix the location of this sanctuary. Other evidence is also at hand for this identification.²¹⁶ It is clear, then, that our coroplast, whether he set up his shop within the precinct or just outside, catered especially to the demands of the devotees of the Goddesses.²¹⁷ The variety of his offerings and their inexpensive nature form an interesting commentary on the vigor of the cult and on the class of pilgrims who visited the sanctuary. Since much finer figurines were actually being made in Athens at this time,²¹⁸ it is apparent that already a difference existed between sculpture in clay and mass-produced votives which were bought for a trifle by the pious, just as they are bought to-day in the August festival of the Virgin that crowds the "Theseion" market-place with the working-people of Athens.

Within a closed deposit like the Coroplast's Dump, it should be possible to trace some stylistic development. Unless a dump consists of one year's produce, which appears to be rare in archaeological discovery, the older types or pieces should be differentiated from the new. We have indicated this difference in our discussion of the techniques and types. In summary, we might note that the hieratic types, like the hydrophoroi or fluteplayer, the "dolls," certain actors and little warriors, the small votive miniatures, belong to the first half of the fourth century. Masks and protomes, which were popular at Olynthos, Rhodes, Corinth, and Halai during the late fifth and fourth centuries, were evidently on the wane in Athens before *ca.* 350 B.C.

On the other hand, on the basis of comparative evidence from other sites we may assign other types from the Dump to the third quarter of the fourth century. The

²¹⁴ *Pausanias*, I, 18, 1; Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, pp. 164 ff. Lucian, *Piscator*, 42.

²¹⁵ E. Vanderpool, "The Route of Pausanias in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 134 ff.; cf. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 207 ff., figs. 7 and 8.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.* and *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 447. On *Kernoi*, E. Groline, "Die Koppel-Ring und Tüllengefässe," *Schrift der Brenner Wissenschaft. Gesell.*, Reihe D, Abhandl. und Vorträge, 1933, pp. 74 ff.

²¹⁷ Nos. 74 a and b might conceivably be figures of Artemis, as a much battered fragment of an archaic Artemis, also found in the Coroplast's Dump (uncatalogued, T 1779) seems to indicate. I owe this suggestion and interpretation to Miss Claireve Grandjouan.

²¹⁸ Several very small fragments of the most exquisite delicacy have been found in the excavations, but scarcely warrant publication before the final catalogue of figurines from the Agora. For other examples, cf. *A.J.A.*, XXXVI, 1932, p. 389, fig. 8, and *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, pp. 112 ff., especially figs. 70, 73. The German excavations at the Kerameikos produced few, but some good fourth century pieces.

bust protome, the moulds of ape and dog, the hermaphrodite, and the flying figures are among the most significant of these later pieces. Even more important are the early "Tanagra types" and their related heads showing the melon coiffure. These seem to fit into the decade 340-330 B.C. when the "Tanagra style" was being formed.²¹⁹

Correlations with comparable figurines from other sites, particularly Olynthos, Halai, Corinth, and the Pnyx, all indicate that the Athenian figurines as a whole are well ahead of their time. Since the pottery and lamps from our deposit all support our dating of the great majority of the terracottas before or around *ca.* 350 B.C., we must conclude that these few pieces of later style can scarcely fall later than the third quarter of the fourth century. We must assume, therefore, that the early "Tanagras," the hermaphrodite, and the flying Erotes, all Hellenistic types, came into being before 325 B.C.²²⁰

This early date may seem surprising to those who have carefully studied the terracottas of Olynthos, which in no way presage the Hellenistic styles.²²¹ But there is surely no reason to believe that the delicate sophistication of the Hellenistic style should have had its inception anywhere but in a great artistic centre. Its dissemination to the provincial towns would inevitably have taken a little time, particularly as many of them never made anything but traditional votive figurines.

The evidence from our deposit indicates that the elements of what is commonly called the "Tanagra style" were coming into existence in Athens during the course of the third quarter of the fourth century. The examples which have survived in the Coroplast's Dump cannot, unfortunately, be relied upon to tell us just how far and to what degree of excellence the style had actually gone by the last quarter of that century. It is illuminating, however, to compare the character of our deposit with that of the work found in the graves of the cemetery of Alexandria, Chatby. Even if the earliest material there dates as early as the end of the fourth century,²²² it still supports our dating for the Athenian material, because it is typologically definitely more advanced.

²¹⁹ This supports Kleiner's observations, pp. 134 ff., that no "Tanagra type" is preserved which certainly dates before the fall of Thebes (335 B.C.). He points out that considering this fact, the style could scarcely have originated in Boeotia, but "möglich, ja wahrscheinlich" it originated in Athens. In this connection, it is significant that a few Boeotian "Tanagras" show a very close relation to Athenian coroplastic work.

²²⁰ Kleiner, pp. 139 ff. considers that the fundamental basis for the Hellenistic sculptural style was laid during the last two quarters of the fourth century. Our evidence suggests that the most creative period was the first rather than the second quarter, at least in Athens.

²²¹ This is true also of the unpublished figurines from Olynthus from the latest campaigns, of which Dr. Robinson kindly writes me, "Rest assured that there are *absolutely no* Tanagras among them."

²²² See above p. 120.

Let us compare the two groups. Although the small size of the figurines is characteristic of both regions, it is also common to the earlier "Tanagras" from Boeotia and must therefore be regarded as a chronological rather than a topographical criterion.²²³ The technical differences between the figurines of Chatby and of the Coroplast's Dump are marked. Technically our pieces show the solidity, plain backs and lack of vents characteristic of early manufacture, whereas the Chatby figures are made in two moulds, and usually have vents. On the other hand, many Chatby figures stand on round or oval bases which are usually made in the same mould as the figure, which is an early type in Athens. Most seem never to have had a base at all. The separately made plaque base, which is typical of "Tanagras" is common in our coroplast's shop, but only one of the Chatby figures had a plaque base preserved.²²⁴ These differences appear to be local and should be studied in relation to Kleiner's plausible suggestion that refugees from Thebes settled in Alexandria, bringing with them the Boeotian coroplastic tradition.²²⁵

Although the styles and types found at Chatby are not totally dissimilar to ours, they seem in general to be later developments of the Athenian prototypes. There is no exact duplication of pose. Only one head (but not necessarily its missing body) bears a really close similarity to one of ours (No. 28).²²⁶ The variants of our standing draped girl type (No. 19) are more elongated and high-waisted; they actually seem as closely related to their descendants in Myrina as to their Athenian forebears. The simple figures and particularly the faces of the children from Chatby are more genuinely immature than any of ours. Flying Erotes do not occur at this cemetery. In general, then, the Chatby material, even those figures that Kleiner plausibly calls the earliest, bears no striking resemblance to the material from the Coroplast's Dump. In every way, on the contrary, the Alexandrian material, whether it dates from the third century, as is now argued, or earlier,²²⁷ is still decidedly later than that which we are discussing.

It seems safe, then, to date the latest figurines from the Coroplast's Dump in the latter part of the third quarter of the fourth century along with the pottery and lamps with which they were found and to consider that the coins of the late fourth and early third centuries which were found above them mark the time of the final filling of the cisterns.

²²³ Kleiner, p. 51, notes that these figurines average around 0.15 m. in height. Those from our Dump are of course smaller, not more than 0.10 m. high. In general, the smaller the figure (of adults), the earlier. Kleiner, p. 60, considers that the miniature style is well over in Alexandria by the middle of the third century. We shall examine the evidence for Athens in a later article.

²²⁴ Kleiner, p. 282, note II A 5, No. 1.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 43 ff.

²²⁶ See above p. 138.

²²⁷ On the ground of the Athenian evidence, the Chatby figurines could well be brought back into the last quarter of the fourth century, as originally dated by Breccia, but they might be merely conservative.

These figurines illustrate an interesting period of transition in coroplastic conception. The old hieratic types of the votive style lie side by side with more imaginative creations that were clearly inspired by major works of sculpture. The beginnings of the "Tanagra style" may be observed as they come into the repertory of the humble coroplast. That Athens may well have been the centre where this style was created has, of course, long been argued by archaeologists.²²⁸ Our evidence from this group tends to strengthen this hypothesis. Considerable additional material is also at hand to suggest that it was indeed Athens where the first shift in the interest and style of the coroplasts took place. A full analysis of the circumstances and tendencies that brought this shift about will be attempted at a later date.

CATALOGUE

This catalogue aims to present the material in as brief a form as possible. Unless otherwise noted, therefore, the clay shall be understood to be a pinkish buff, the fabric rather soft. Slight traces of the white slip that normally covered figurines will not be specifically noted, but any trace of color will be mentioned. The figurines are mould-made. The T number in parentheses is that of the Agora inventory. All objects come from the South Pit, unless the provenience is specifically mentioned. H. refers to Height; P. H. to Preserved Height; W. to width; L. to length. In subsequent articles, the numbers of this catalogue will be preceded by the abbreviation C. D., for Coroplast's Dump.

Jointed Figures and Related Pieces

1 (T 1743) Articulated Arm. Pl. 32.

H. 0.043 m., P. W. 0.042 m. Fingers and thumb missing.

The left arm from a "doll," bent at elbow, with palm outstretched. Pierced at the shoulder, flat inside.

2 (T 1747) Arm and Hand. Pl. 32.

P. H. 0.054 m.

Right arm and hand from the elbow; no fingers indicated.

3 (T 2610) Articulated Leg. Pl. 32.

P. H. 0.062 m.

Leg to ankle, pierced at the top.

4 Legs of a seated figure. Pl. 32.

a (T 1768) P. H. 0.08 m. Toes missing. Traces of pink.

b (T 1769) P. H. 0.068 m. Mould. Broken at the bottom.

a the legs of a seated nude "doll," and **b** apparently the mould from which **a** was taken.

5 (T 2612) Mould: Side of a seated "Doll." Pl. 32.

P. H. 0.027 m. Broken on side. Thin clean edge to bottom.

Part of a mould for the left side of a seated nude "doll."

²²⁸ R. Kekulé, *Gr. Thonfiguren aus Tanagra*, Stuttgart, 1878, pp. 23 f. Furtwängler, *Samm. Sabouroff*, 1883-1887, II, pp. 7 f. Both these scholars suggest the Attic-Theban school of painting as the primary inspiration of the Tanagra conceptions. Knoblauch, *Arch. Anz.*, LIV, 1939, pp. 446 ff. offers the suggestion on slight grounds. Kleiner, pp. 46 and 127, summarizes previous views and contributes an illuminating historical account of the relations between Athens and Boeotia at this period. More can be done to illuminate the Athenian side of the picture when all the coroplastic evidence from the Agora has been studied.

6 (T 1849) Mould: Legs. Pls. 32, 33.

From the North Pit. P. H. 0.065 m. Right side only preserved.

Fragment of a mould for the upper legs of a seated nude male "doll." Incised on the back of the mould: YΠIOY

7 Leg and Foot. Pl. 32.

a (T 1749) P. H. 0.089 m.

b (T 1750) P. H. 0.086 m.

a Left leg and foot from the knee down. Well modelled.

b Right leg and foot from the knee down. From the same type as **a**, but on a slightly smaller scale. Toes less well modelled.

8 (T 1745) Arm and Hand. Pl. 32.

P. H. 0.033 m. Traces of red.

A left hand with the fingers curved as though grasping a round object. A similar hand, T 1936, was also found in a fourth century context.

9 (T 1687) Arm and Hand. Pl. 32.

P. H. 0.064 m.

A right arm and hand holding out a *phiale mesomphalos*.

10 (T 1917) Hand. Pl. 32.

From the upper filling. P. L. 0.018 m. Excellent black glaze.

Right hand, clenched around some object.

*Male Figures.***11** (T 1688) Mould: Flying Figure. Pl. 32.

H. 0.088 m. Complete. Well rounded outside.

Mould for the front part of a flying nude male figure.

12 (T 1777) Wing. Pl. 40.

Max. dim. 0.04 m. Back smooth.

Fragment of a right wing, sharply modelled.

13 Warrior or Hunter. Pl. 32.

a (T 1773) P. H. 0.057 m. Feet missing. Solid.

b (T 1774) P. H. 0.043 m. Feet and top of head missing. Solid.

c (T 1775) P. H. 0.049 m. Left foot missing. Solid.

A male figure, wearing chlamys and *pilos*. Hands pierced in **a** and **b**. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 15.

14 (T 1797) Mould: Draped Male. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.059 m. Broken at top.

The mould for the base and lower part of a draped standing male figure.

*Female Figures, Standing, Draped***15** (T 1753) Standing Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.10 m. Carefully worked back.

A standing female figure, wearing a chiton and himation wrapped closely around her and hanging in a curve in the front.

16 (T 1754) Standing Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.04 m. Trace of vent in the back.

Fragment from the lower part of a figure like the preceding.

17 (T 1761) Standing Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.083 m.

Fragment from the upper part of a standing draped female figure, wrapped tightly in an himation under which she holds out her left arm.

18 (T 1692) Mould: Standing Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.11 m. Broken off above. Well rounded outside.

The mould for the front part of a standing draped female figure wearing a closely wrapped himation.

19 (T 1680) Standing Female. Pl. 34.

H. 0.097 m. Complete. Back unmodelled.

The figure wears a straight, high-girt chiton and an himation around her shoulders and drawn to the side by her left hand in which it

is wrapped. Her right hand rests on her hip. Her hair is dressed in the melon coiffure, with a coil of braids at the back. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 16.

20 Standing female. Pl. 34.

a (T 1755) P. H. 0.085 m. Back flat. Head missing.

b (T 1861) P. H. 0.082 m. From the dump of the North Pit. Back flat. Head missing.

Two pieces from similar moulds showing a figure draped in a chiton and an himation that is drawn across the body to the left side.

21 (T 1679) Draped Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.105 m. Head missing and chips at bottom.

Standing female, wrapped in an himation, under which her right arm is bent across her chest.

22 (T 1758) Draped Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.057 m. Back rough.

The lower part of a standing female figure wearing a chiton and an himation to the knees.

23 (T 1756) Draped Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.05 m. Back rough.

The upper torso of a female figure wearing a chiton.

Female Ritual Figures

24 (T 1675) Head of an Hydrophoros. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.036 m.

The head of a female figure, wearing her himation over her head on which she holds an hydria.

25 (T 1670) Head of a Mourner. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.04 m. Flat back.

The head of a female figure, and part of her right shoulder and arm, which is raised to the top of her head.

26 (T 1736) Head of a Flautist. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.034 m.

The head of a female figure wearing her hair in a peaked coiffure over her forehead; she puffs out her cheeks in playing the double flutes.

Female Heads

27 (T 1676) Female Head. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.029 m.

The head of a woman, wrapped in her himation, leaving the face clear.

28 (T 1681) Female Head. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.024 m.

The head of a woman, wrapped tightly in her himation, which is drawn over the chin.

29 (T 1693) Female Head. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.028 m.

The head of a woman, wearing her hair in the melon coiffure with a coil of braids at the back of the head.

30 (T 1667) Female Head. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.023 m.

Similar to the preceding, except that the braid is broken off from the back of the head.

31 (T 1682) Female Head. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.019 m.

Similar to No. **30**; the coil of braids is preserved at the back. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 215.

32 (T 1737) Female Head. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.02 m.

Similar to No. **30**.

33 (T 1668) Female Head. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.19 m.

The head of a girl wearing a thick wreath.

34 (T 1738) Female Head. Pl. 36.

P. H. 0.021 m.

The head of a female wearing her hair drawn up carelessly to a knot at the back of her head.

35 (T 1803) Mould: Female Head. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.043 m. Broken on three sides. Well rounded outside.

Fragment of a mould for the back part of a female head and shoulders.

36 (T 1711) Mould: Back of a Female Figure. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.10 m. Broken at bottom. Two tabs preserved. Well rounded outside.

The upper part of a mould for the back of a female figure, showing the hair in curls or tied in a kerchief of which two ends project. One shoulder is markedly raised.

*Female Figures: Seated, Draped***37** (T 1673) Seated Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.034 m. Solid.

A seated draped female figure, wrapped in an himation; her right arm is bent up under it, her left rests at her side.

38 (T 1752) Seated Female. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.029 m. Solid.

Similar to the preceding.

39 (T 1735) Seated Female. Pl. 33.

H. 0.066 m. Part of the head missing. Traces of red paint. A seated woman, meditating, her head resting on her left hand, her elbow on her knee.

40 (T 1709) Mould: Seated Female. Pl. 37.

P. H. 0.075 m. From the North Pit.

The upper part of a mould for a seated draped female figure, possibly holding a baby. The back of the throne shows behind.

41 (T 1710) Mould: Seated Female and Child. Pl. 33.

P. H. 0.088 m. Tabs outside.

The lower part of a mould for the back of a female figure seated on a plain seat, wearing a roll of drapery around her hips. The child, apparently nude, stands at her right.

42 (T 1799) Mould: Seated Female. Pl. 37.

H. 0.07 m. Chipped.

Mould for a female figure wrapped tightly in an himation, which is drawn over the lower part of her face.

*Actors***43** (T 1685) Comic Actor. Pl. 38.

P. H. 0.073 m. Solid. Back plain.

A comic actor, dressed as a soldier or traveler, wearing a short padded garment, chlamys, and *pilos* and pointed beard. He holds his right arm akimbo; with his left he holds a jug in front of a basket against his body. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 215.

44 (T 1683) Comic Actor. Pl. 38.

P. H. 0.075 m. Solid; back rough.

A comic actor, wearing a short padded garment, chlamys, and tights. He raises his right hand to his brow and looks off to his right; his left arm is bent under his drapery. His pointed beard hangs down to his waist. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 215.

45 Comic Actor, Seated. Pl. 38.

a (T 1742) P. H. 0.061 m.

b (T 1684) P. H. 0.06 m.

c (T 1651) P. H. 0.047 m. From the North Pit.

d (T 1672) P. H. 0.056 m. Solid.

Four examples from one mould. A comic actor, as a slave, seated, holding his right ear with his right hand. He wears a short garment and a mask with *speira* and megaphone-type mouth. (See Nos. **46** and **47**).

46 (T 1770) Legs of a Seated Actor. Pl. 38.

P. H. 0.05 m.

The legs of an actor of the preceding type, seated on a seat, probably an altar. Traces of a hand on the left knee.

47 (T 1771) Legs of a Seated Actor. Pl. 38.

P. H. 0.043 m. Trace of red.

The trousered legs of an actor of the type of No. **45**.

Prophylactic Figures

48 Negro Boy squatting by a Herm. Pl. 39.

a (T 1665 + T 1689) H. 0.083 m., W. 0.026 m. Solid; back plain. Complete.

b (T 1701) P. H. 0.055 m. Solid. From the North Pit. Herm broken away.

c (T 1740) P. H. 0.062 m. Solid, bent in firing. Top broken away.

A negro boy, resting his head against his hands, which are clasped against his left cheek, squats by a herm, which wears a polos. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 215.

49 Herm. Pl. 39.

a (T 1664) H. 0.082 m. Complete.

b (T 1666) P. H. 0.032 m. Head only.

Herms of the type of the preceding. One uncatalogued example, T 1739, shows the same type.

50 (T 1808) Mould: Hermaphrodite. Pl. 37. P. H. 0.074 m. Broken all around.

Fragment of a mould for the abdomen and legs of a nude male figure holding up his drapery to reveal his genitals.

Protomes, Masks, etc.

51 (T 1763) Female Protome. Pl. 39.

H. 0.186 m. Hole for suspension on top. Dark red paint on face and hair. Ornaments attached separately. Back moulded.

The protome of a female head, wearing her hair in waves back from the face and hanging in long curls down the shoulders. On her hair, a wreath, with bud and leaf ornament in the centre and disk rosettes on the sides. Fragments of similar protomes were also found (T 1764-65).

52 (T 1767) Mask Fragment. Pl. 39.

a P. H. 0.08 m. b P. H. 0.055 m.

Fragment from a female mask, showing the hair arranged in deep waves beneath a *stephane* decorated with a beaded ring at its base. Frag-

ment from the lower part shows a trace of wavy veil hanging down the side.

53 (T 1794) Protome Fragment. Pl. 39.

Max. dim. 0.067 m.

Fragment showing a part of a wavy veil, hanging down the side of a protome.

54 (T 1766) Protome Fragment. Pl. 39.

P. H. 0.068 m. Suspension hole at the top of the hair.

Fragment from the upper left corner of a protome, showing wavy hair beneath a *stephane* on which are traces of palmette decoration in relief.

55 (T 1805) Mould: Mask. Pl. 40.

Maximum dimension 0.074 m.

The mould for a mask of a face with a large eye, probably a Gorgoneion.

56 (T 1690) Mould: Mask, Gorgoneion. Pl. 40.

Diameter 0.11 m. Complete except for chips.

Circular mould with a thickened edge for a Gorgoneion with extended tongue and snakes under her chin.

Animals

57 (T 1780) Calf. Pl. 40.

Three non-joining pieces: a) Max. dim. 0.075 m. b) Max. dim. 0.08 m. c) Max. dim. 0.055 m.

a) The head and neck of a calf, b) its base and feet, c) its rump and the upper part of the hind legs. The area between the legs is filled in solid.

58 (T 1694) Mould: Dog. Pl. 39.

L. 0.125 m., H. 0.049 m. Well rounded outside.

The complete mould for the left side of a reclining dog, with its base.

59 (T 1691) Mould: Ape. Pl. 40.

H. 0.087 m. Well rounded outside.

The complete mould for the back and base of a squatting ape.

60 (T 1778) Bird. Pl. 40.

P. L. 0.039 m. Hand made. Suspension hole through the centre. The body of a flying bird; all the extremities are missing.

61 (T 1650) Mould: Mollusk Shell. Pl. 41.

P. H. 0.074 m. Broken at top. Splotches of red glaze outside; well rounded outside.

The mould for a mollusk shell, with sharp-ridged plications.

Miscellaneous Votives

62 (T 1785) *Pilos*. Pl. 39.

H. 0.013 m.

A pointed cap, or *pilos*, modelled completely in the round.

63 (T 1671) *Astragalos*. Pl. 40.

H. 0.02 m., L. 0.032 m. Solid.

An astragal, fully modelled in the round. Another uncatalogued example, T 1741, was also found.

64 (T 2609) Disk. Pl. 40.

Diam. 0.02 m. Solid, flat.

A plain disk.

65 (MC 494) Disk. Pl. 40.

Diam. 0.022 m. Solid, flat.

A disk with a ridge across the centre. A similar uncatalogued example, MC 472, was also found.

66 (T 1784) Pestle. Pl. 39.

P. H. 0.017 m. Solid.

A pestle modelled roughly in the shape of a bent finger.

67 (T 1788) Lion's Claw Foot. Pl. 40.

P. H. 0.033 m. Solid. Broken at the top.

The lion's claw foot of a piece of furniture or vessel, decorated at the top with a volute.

68 (T 1790) Footstool. Pl. 41.

P. H. 0.03 m. Solid. Broken off above.

A footstool with braces across the front. Another example, T 1789, was also found.

69 (T 1781) Column. Pl. 40.

P. H. 0.122 m. Solid. Top finished smooth.

A round shaft, with upward taper, stands on an Ionic base.

70 (T 1787) Wreath Fragment. Pl. 41.

P. L. 0.03 m. Broken at each end.

The detached end of a thick wreath.

71 (T 1786) Traveller's Pack. Pl. 41.

P. L. 0.025 m. Knob broken off one end. Solid.

A thick roll tied around the centre, ending in a knob at the end.

72 (T 1806) Mould: Almond. Pl. 41.

P. L. 0.034 m. Broken at one end. Well rounded outside.

Part of the mould for half an almond.

73 (T 1678) Mould: Tripod Stand. Pl. 41.

H. 0.042 m. Well rounded outside.

The mould for the stand of a tripod, blunt at the top, with grooved sides and claw feet.

Plaques

74 Plaque Fragments. Pl. 42.

a (T 1686) P. H. 0.084 m. On the left upper corner, a suspension hole.

b (T 1759) P. H. 0.086 m.

A plaque showing a standing female figure in relief, with her right arm bent across her body; her left hangs down her side. She wears a low polos and a long veil hanging down behind her. Another similar uncatalogued piece was found.

75 (T 1795) Fragment of a Plaque. Pl. 39.

Max. dim. 0.052 m. Broken all around.

In relief on the surface of what appears to be a plaque, low vertical and horizontal bands cross each other.

76 (T 1783) Plaque Fragment. Pl. 39.

Diam. of plaque *ca.* 0.20 m. Max. dim. of the fragment 0.041 m. Broken on three sides; edge preserved. Part of a circular flat plaque with two leaves of a palmette in low relief.

77 (T 1700) Mould: Plaque. Pl. 42.

From the North Pit. Max. dim. 0.105 m. Outside edge preserved.

Mould for a plaque showing a dentated edge, with lotus and palmette band inside, in low relief.

78 (T 1810) Mould: Relief. Pl. 41.

Max. dim. 0.089 m. Broken all around; much disintegrated.

The mould for a relief scene of Nike in a chariot; the neck of the horse is very close to the right hand of the driver, which is extended.

Bases

79 (T 1677) Plaque Base. Pl. 42.

P. L. 0.046 m., W. 0.05 m., T. 0.007 m.

A rectangular plaque base. Smear of yellow paint on top. Similar uncatalogued fragments were found.

80 (T 1791) Base. Pl. 42.

H. 0.034 m., W. 0.063 m., L. 0.114 m. Fragments missing. Traces of pale blue paint.

A shallow rectangular double base, open at the back. Traces of the figure that stood on top.

81 (T 2615) Base. Pl. 42.

L. 0.11 m., W. 0.058 m., T. 0.018 m. Traces

of red paint. The lower element of a double base like the preceding.

82 (T 2613) Base. Pl. 42.

P. H. 0.039 m.

Fragment of a flat base made in one with the figure and open beneath it.

83 (T 2611) Base. Pl. 42.

P. H. 0.024 m., W. 0.026 m. Flat back. Solid.

A stepped base, on which are preserved two flat feet.

84 (P 12481) Kernos. Pl. 42.

H. 0.046 m., diam. 0.046 m. Considerable remains of white. Chipped.

Small kernos on flaring base, flat beneath. Narrow flange with two sharply projecting ribbon handles, the loop providing a piercing. Very slightly flaring lip. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 219, fig. 215.

85 (P 13106) Mould: Kernos. Pl. 42.

H. 0.028 m., L. 0.055 m., W. 0.044 m. Complete.

Mould for the upper body, handles and flange of a very small kernos.

86 (P 12998) Votive Cup. Pl. 42.

H. to lip 0.024 m., diam. at lip 0.037 m. Complete.

Miniature kantharos, roughly made on the wheel. Band handles, rising from rim.

87 (P 19535) Base of Thymiaterion. Pl. 42.

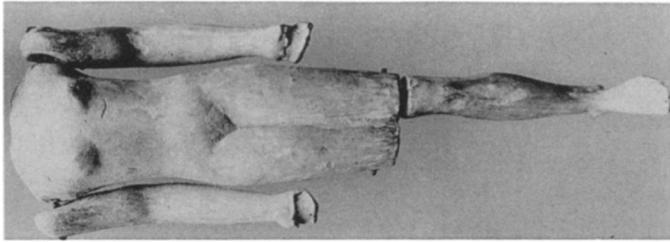
P. H. 0.087 m., P. W. 0.064 m. Top missing.

A tall stand composed of three disks.

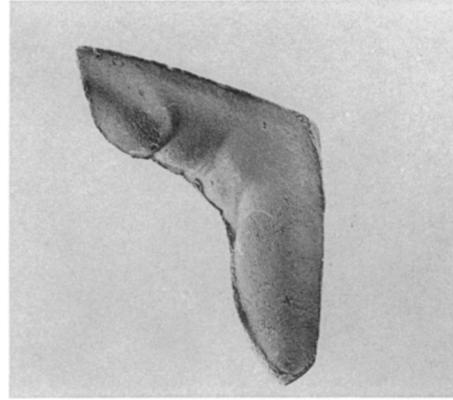


4a 4b

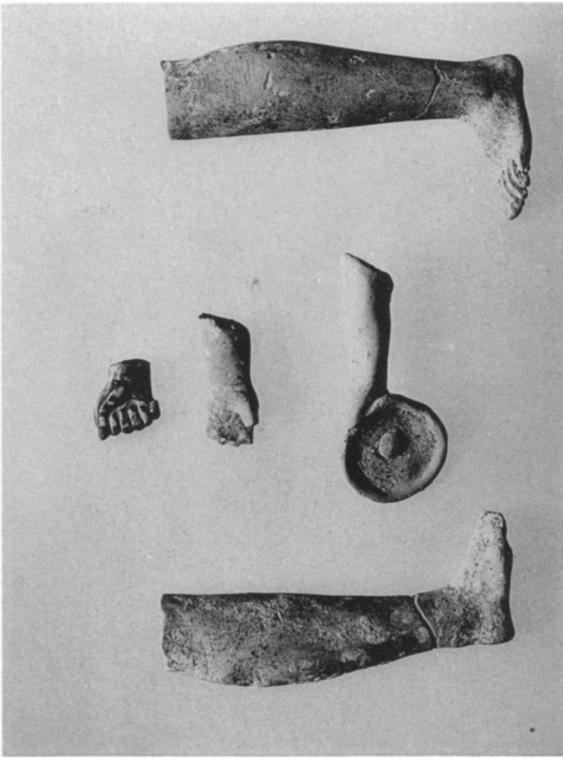
1 2 3 6 Cast



Acropolis Mus.
1464



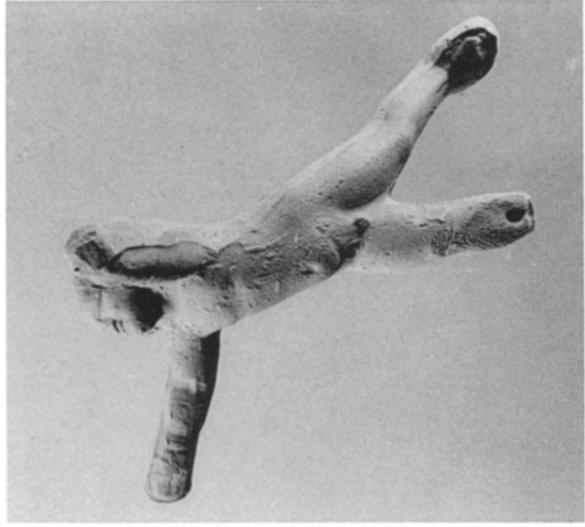
5 Cast



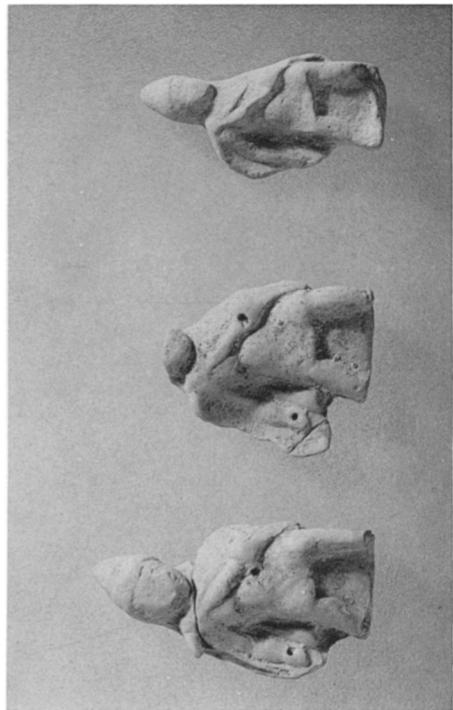
7a

10 8 9

7b



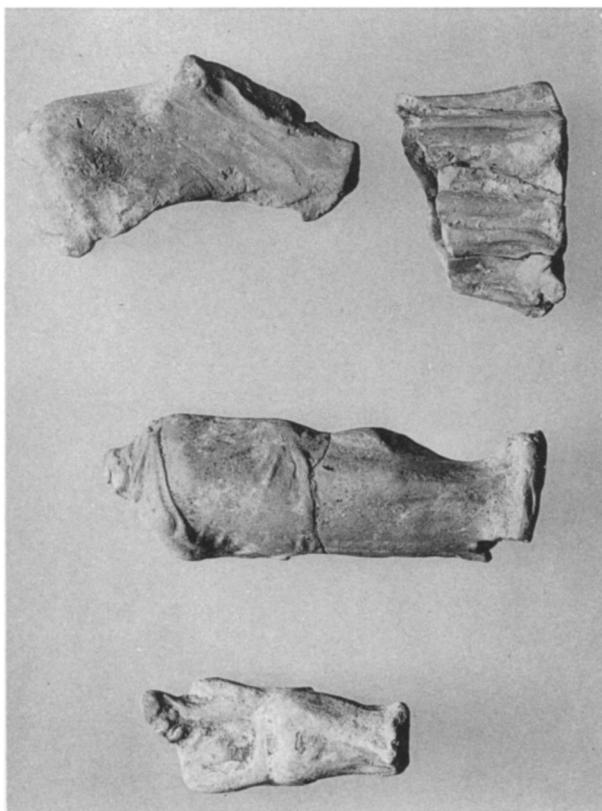
11 Cast



a 13 b c



6b Exterior

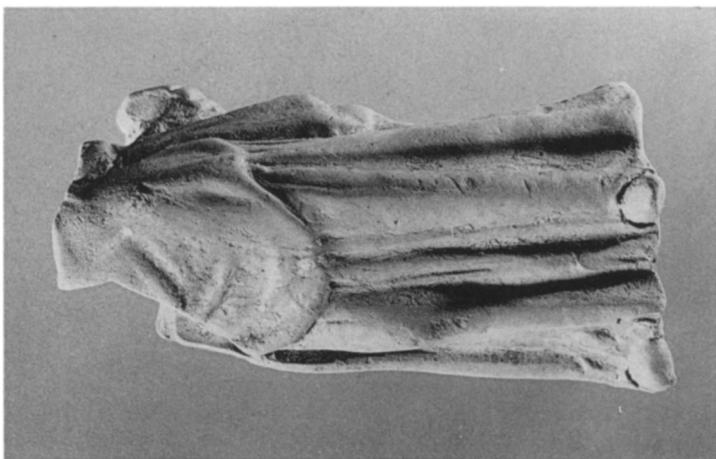


39

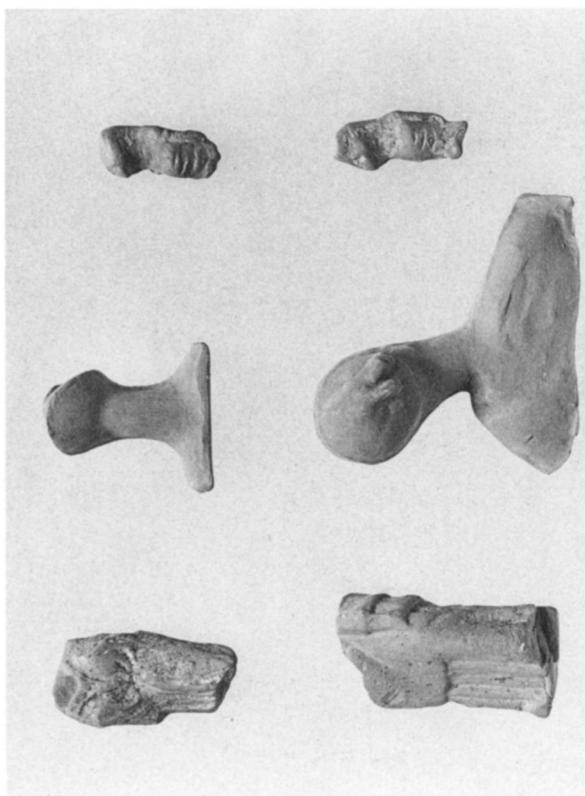
21

17

16



15



23

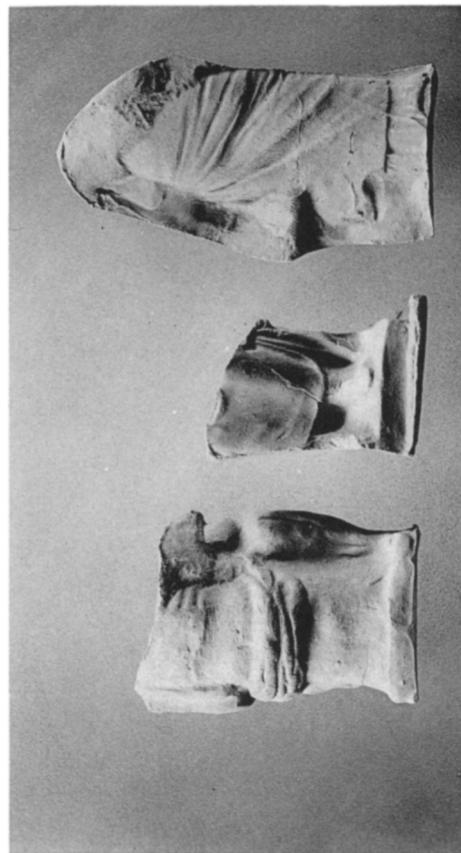
22

35 Cast

36 Cast

38

37



41 Cast

14 Cast

18 Cast



19



Acropolis Mus. 1195



Figure from Rhitsona



Acropolis Mus.
1273



20a



20b



Courtesy of Metropolitan Mus. of Art (06.1113)



Courtesy of Metropolitan Mus. of Art
(07.286.31)



Courtesy of British Mus. (C 308)



Agora T1626



Courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale



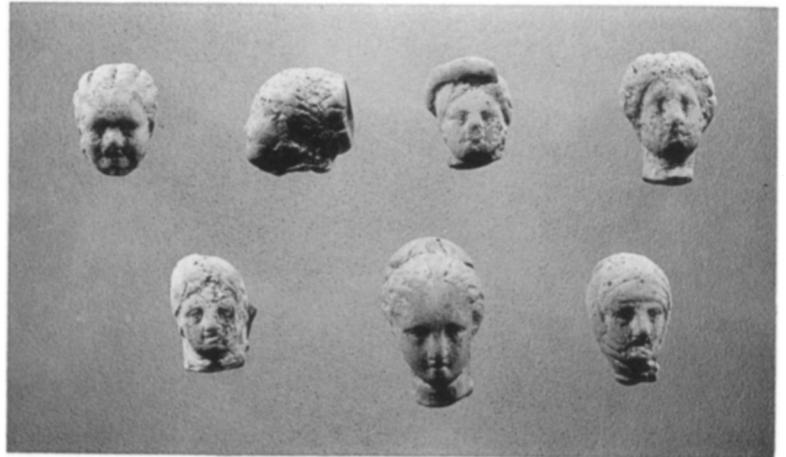
Agora T909



Agora T2628



Courtesy of British Museum (C36)



31 32 33 30
34 29 28



Agora T2983



Courtesy of Metropolitan Mus. of Art (06.1138)



24
27

26
25



40 Cast



42 Cast



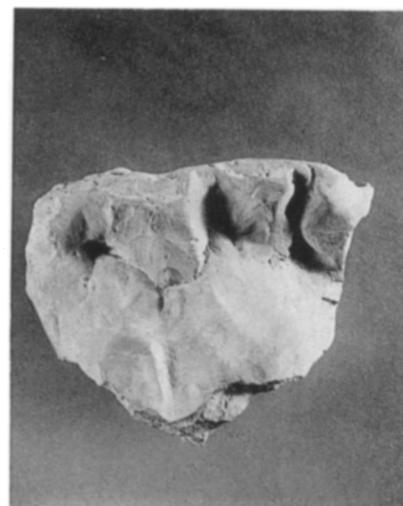
40 Interior



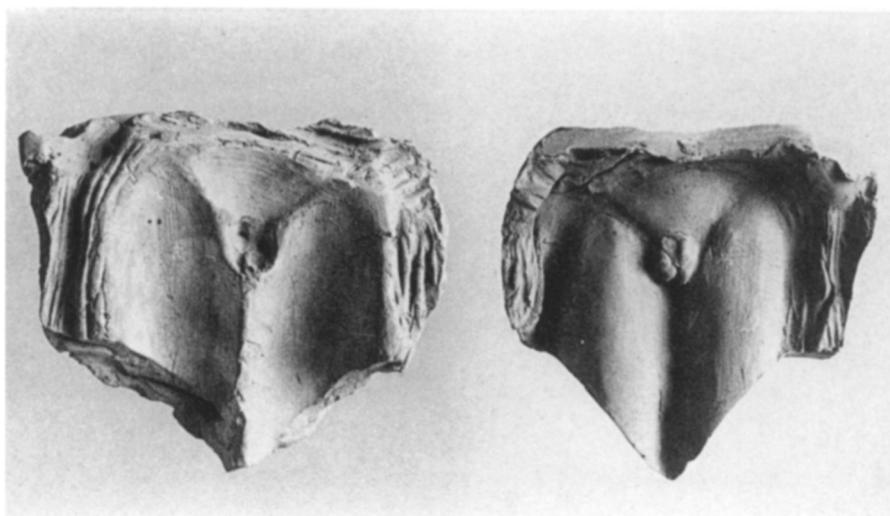
40 Exterior



42 Exterior



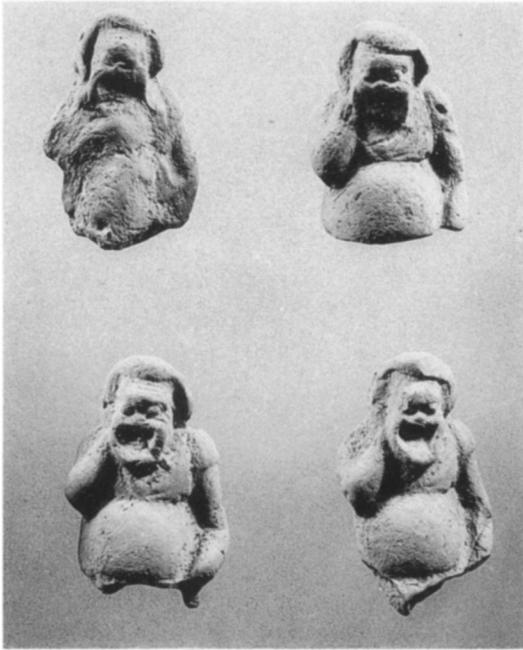
50 Exterior



Interior

50

Cast

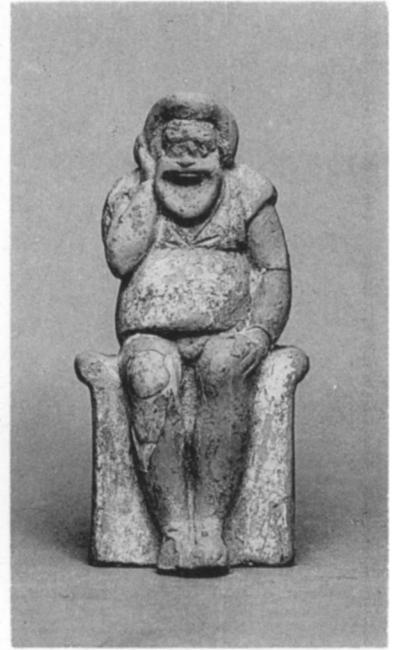


45d
45b

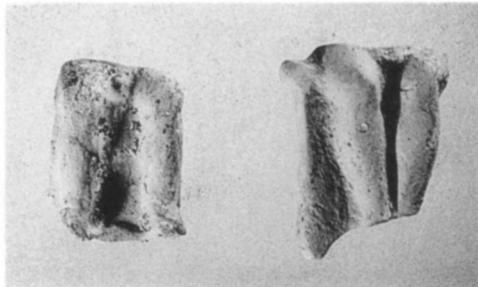
45c
45a



44



Courtesy of British Mus.
(C90)



47

46



Courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale



43



Courtesy of British Mus. (C238)



Agora T621



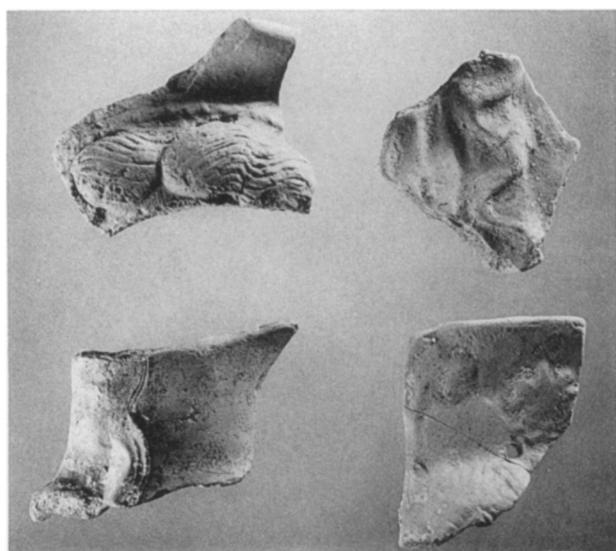
48c

48b

48a



49b

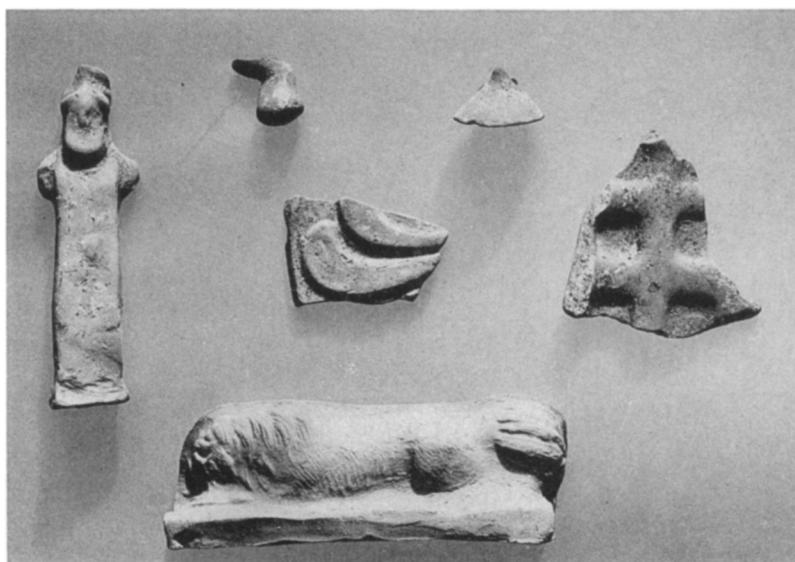


52a
52b

53
54



51



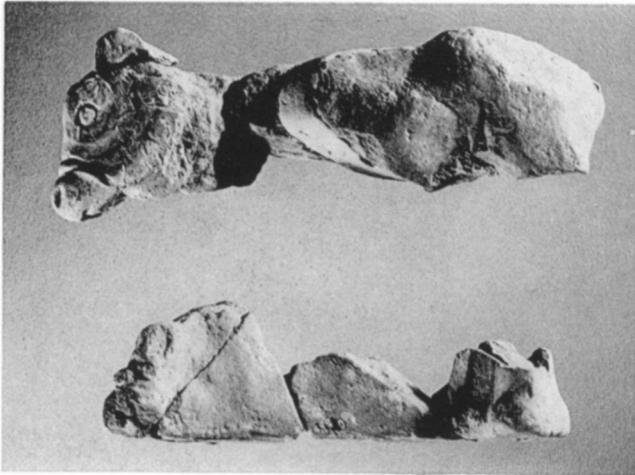
49a

66

76
58 Cast

62

75

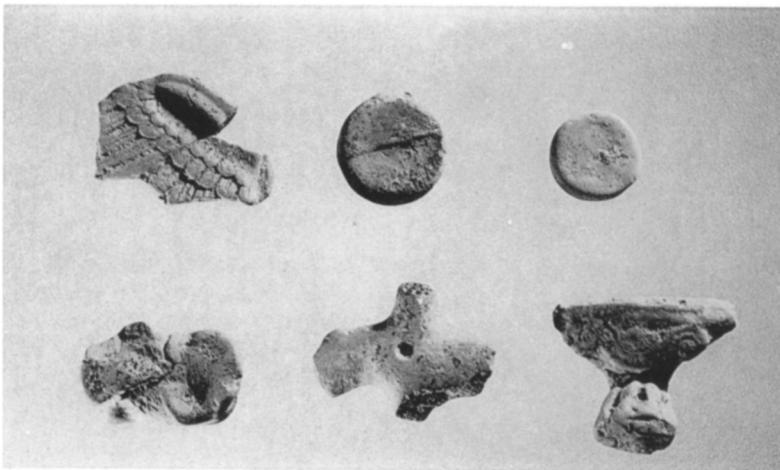


57



55 Cast

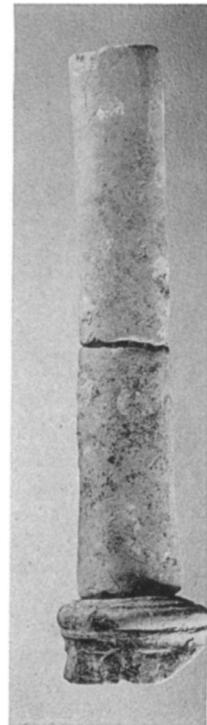
56 Cast



12
63

65
60

64
67



69



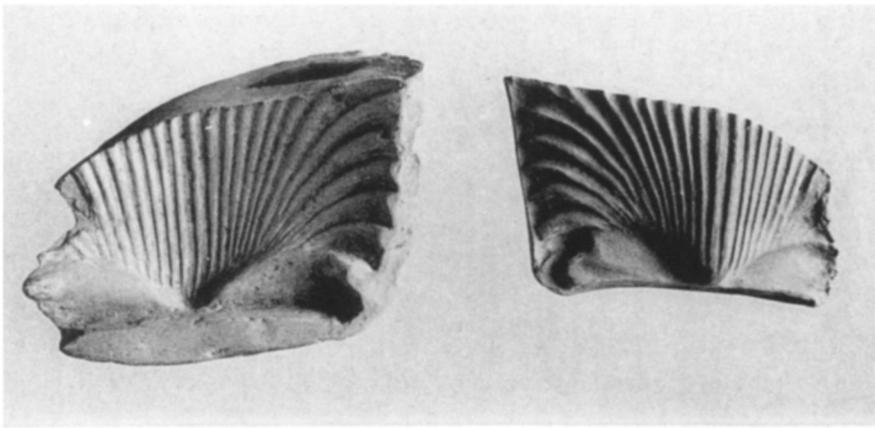
Interior

59

Cast



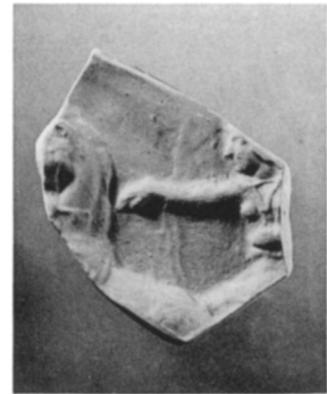
59 Exterior



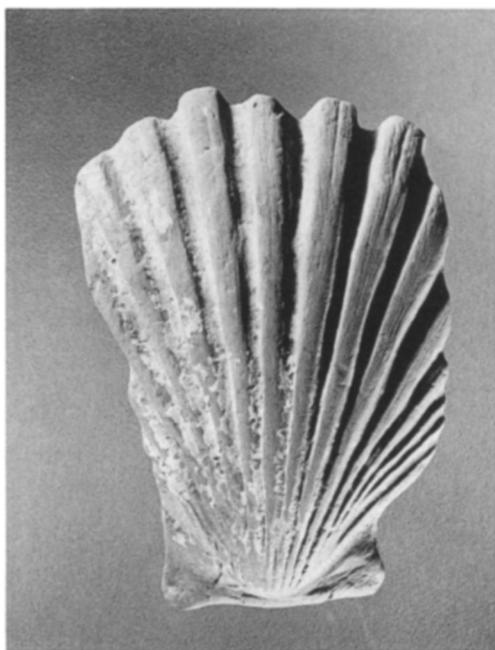
Interior

61

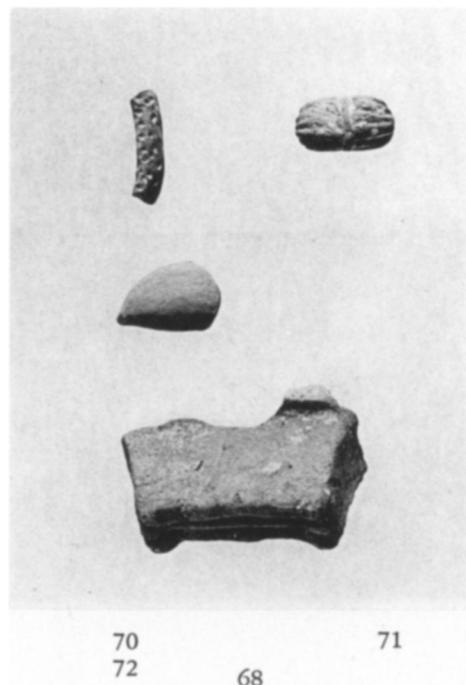
Cast



78 Cast



Agora T1529

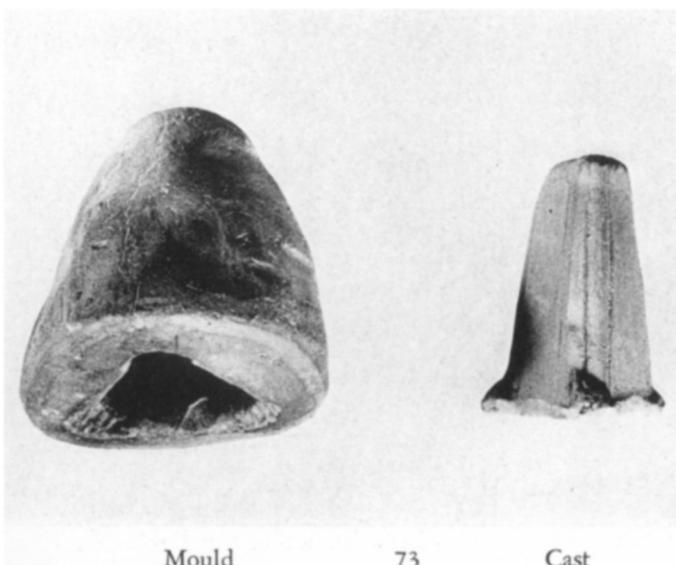


70

72

68

71



Mould

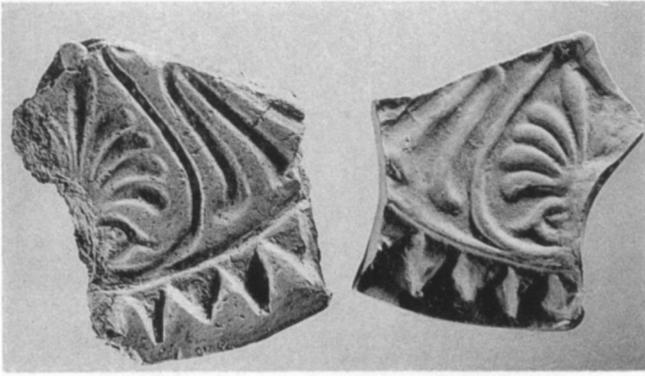
73

Cast



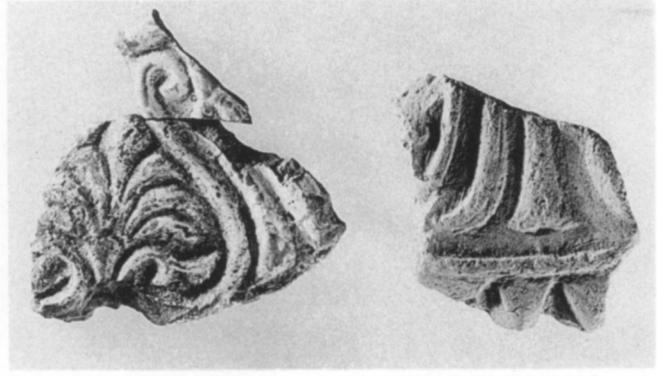
74b

74a



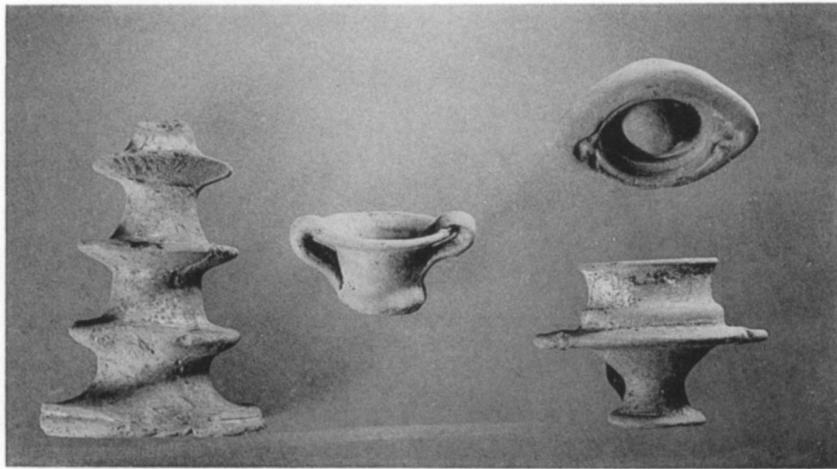
77 Mould

77 Cast



Agora T123

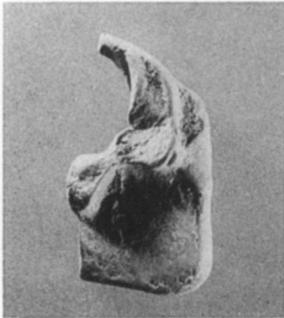
Agora T2415



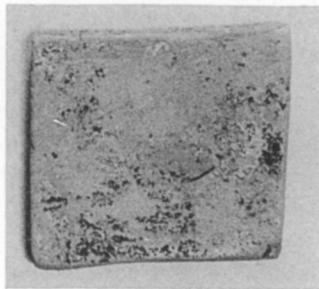
87

86

85
84



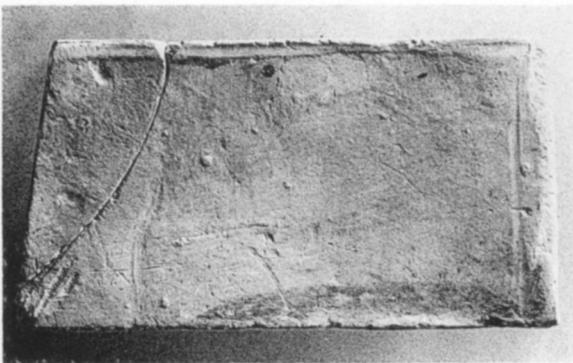
82



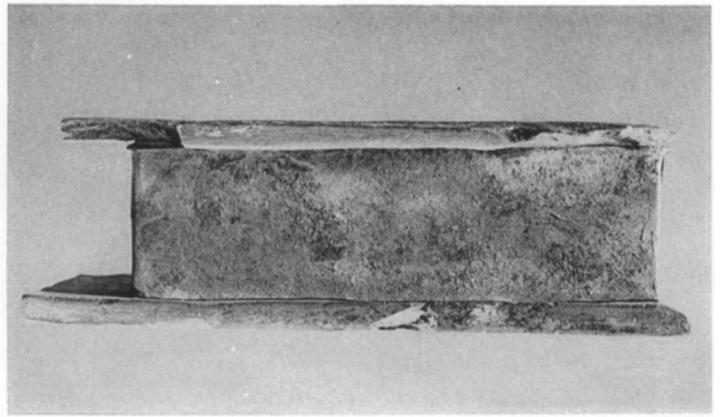
79



83



81



80