THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS

II C THE SATYR CISTERN

CHRONOLOGY

In 1939 a cistern was excavated on the slope of the Areopagus just north of the church of Dionysius the Areopagite.\(^1\) It lay in an ancient residential area and contained a discarded mass of material from an otherwise completely obliterated house.

Except for a refilling of the upper part of the cistern as the surface sank, both in late Hellenistic times and in the 1st century of our era,\(^2\) the material was apparently discarded at one time. The coins, as well as the pottery, set the first period of discard as fairly early in the second quarter of the 3rd century B.C. The coins of Athens from the filling probably date after 330 B.C.;\(^3\) one from Myrina on Lemnos in the period 307-300 B.C. Among the 14 stamped amphora handles none was Knidian.\(^4\)

This deposit is therefore of almost the same period as Group B and the Altar Well, which have previously been published and to which many cross-references will be made.\(^5\)

TECHNIQUE

Since the fabric of the figurines of this deposit is reasonably homogeneous, they probably come from a fairly limited period. The color of the clay, in contrast with that of the Altar Well, is reddish, as though it had been fired under more oxygenated conditions. That this variation is due to firing is made clear by fragments from two altars made in the same mould. One (No. 20) is of tan-buff clay, like that most prevalent in Group B; the other (No. 19) is light red in color, like Group B Nos. 7 and 15. This clay shows one peculiarity rare in Attica; it burns gray at the core. The thin, harder-baked fabric of buff-tan color appears to become more common in the 3rd

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\(^1\) Excavated by Eugene Vanderpool in Section EE at 53/E, on the new grid designated as N 21:4. The photographs are all by Alison Frantz. The dates are all B.C. Figure 1 is by J. Clapton; Figure 2 by K. Windisch.

\(^2\) According to G. R. Edwards, to whom I owe my dating of the pottery, the uppermost filling dates in the 1st century after Christ, on the evidence of coins, sherds and lamps.

\(^3\) The coins of the lower filling are as follows:

- Athens: 4 of period ca. 330-300 B.C. (?)
- 7 of 307-283 B.C.
- 4 of uncertain, probably 3rd century, date

\(^4\) V. R. Grace kindly checked the handles and jars from this cistern in 1961.

\(^5\) Group B: *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 108-128;
Altar Well: *ibid.*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 127-152.
century than it was in the 4th. In a few cases the backs of the figures are mould-made (Nos. 1 and 6); most are left rough and unmodelled. The trace of an oval vent is visible on Nos. 4 and 7. The interiors are pressed irregularly by the fingers, as in Group B (except No. 12) and the Altar Well. One plaque base (No. 6) survives. The plinth base, made in one piece with the figure, is usual with animal figures (No. 13). The earlier type of block base on No. 4 was opened from below by thrusting a stick upward, so that the solid mass of the feet was lightened.

Not much color is preserved, except on the satyr head (No. 2). In general, the white slip is firm, retaining occasional traces of color: yellow on the shield (No. 16) and on the drapery of the seated girl (No. 6). The Satyr head (No. 2) is particularly gay: the skin is a sun-burned tan, the hair dark red, the horns black, the lips scarlet, the eyebrows also delicately outlined in red.

The condition of most examples is decidedly poor, a fact that suggests that they were discarded some time after manufacture. Only two pieces show both crisp edges and well-preserved color, namely, the seated nymph (No. 6) and the Satyr head (No. 2). Both were clearly fresh when thrown away, particularly the Satyr head, for its crisp locks and horns retain very nearly their original appearance. These must be the latest pieces in the deposit.

Types and Subjects

This group serves to emphasize the imagination of early 3rd century coroplasts. The range of subjects is wide and where sufficiently well-preserved to speak, the modelling is decidedly skilful. Again, however, our group is but a random selection. A wing (No. 11) alone suggests the flock of Erotes we should expect to find; a phiale (No. 18) suggests a goddess.

Male Figures: Nos. 1-2

The seated nude "doll" (No. 1) is an ambitious example of its class, but more naturally modelled than examples from the Pnyx. Male seated "dolls" are rare; they were probably made merely as counterparts of the female types, very possibly as toys to be dressed by children. Its long smoothly modelled rib-cage is slim and soft, without much muscular articulation, like post-Lysippian bronzes, such as the Praying Boy in Berlin. This is the only male body in the deposit, though others are attested by certain fragments to be discussed later (Nos. 10-12).

6 Hesperia, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 118; p. 136, fig. 53, Nos. 11-12.
The only male head, that of a satyr (No. 2), is a most interesting piece. Its size is startlingly out of scale with the rest of the figures in this group; the whole figure was ca. 35 cm. high. The sharp horns and wild locks suggest metallic prototypes. But the coroplast has not recast his subject in clay nor even followed canonical versions like the Dancing Satyr from Pompeii. He has, rather, added the Satyr's attributes to a type of head that was frequently used for large flying Erotes. The contrast between the dull, rather coarse features, which are unaccented, and the deeply retouched locks is a new mannerism in the history of coroplastic art.

Since this head came not from the lower filling of the Cistern, but only from its dump, it cannot be dated by context. It is, at first glance, strikingly different from the rest of the material and should therefore be closely studied in order to be placed in its proper period. The fabric is a pale buff-tan more at home in later deposits. The head, on analysis, proves to have certain marked characteristics; it is tipped slightly backward on a short thick neck. The facial type is also individual; it is fleshy, with rounded forehead, broad nose with heavy angular tip, and markedly bowed mouth set high under the nose, of which the upper lip is much wider than the lower. The eyes are shallow and little modelled, but the eyeballs are just slightly indented, as though the craftsman were copying a bronze. He also lightly touched the corners of the mouth. Most individual of all is the treatment of the hair, which has been added by hand and modelled in a bold style with the graver. Not only do the locks project from the head, but they twist and turn like the flames of a radiate crown. Each lock moreover is grooved deeply so as to produce a marked effect of chiaroscuro.

This style, which is reminiscent of certain heads of Satyrs and Gauls in the major arts, is not common in terracotta. It is illuminative to consider any examples that can properly be compared with our Satyr head.

First, let us look at a head of Herakles from an early 3rd century context (Pl. 87). The fabric is soft, of reddish clay, like that of our Nos. 3, 5, 7, 13. It is much elaborated by plastic additions and retouching. The face is vigorously modelled in the mould; the curly beard is treated more carefully and naturalistically than the locks on the Satyr head. The Herakles head has been modelled thoughtfully, in the manner of a bronze, whereas the Satyr head, as we remarked before, is not a close copy of a bronze in clay, but a terracotta head adorned with metallic-looking locks. It is, beside the Herakles head, a mechanical piece of work.

Next, to find closer parallels for our Satyr, we might look at the masks of Dionysos from Delos. Though fragmentary, several present many of the characteristics of our head: the same wreath, moulded with the head, not applied separately, the

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9 Ibid., figs. 95-96.
10 T 1336, H. 6.3 cm. Deposit N 18:3. The lamps, pottery and amphora handles are of the early 3rd century. Most of the coins are of the same date, but one might date as late as ca. 172 B.C.
same stumpy horns, the doughnut-shaped fruit and even the twisted locks with central groove.\textsuperscript{11} One head may even resemble ours in facial appearance, but its condition makes comparison difficult. The profile, with the curved forehead, the blunt tip to the nose and thick lips, is also close to that of a bearded Dionysiac mask of the same class.\textsuperscript{12} One of these Delian pieces comes from a shop (No. 2) that was destroyed in the Mithradatic Wars.\textsuperscript{13} The mechanical bold style, the abundant plastic additions, producing dramatic chiaroscuro are characteristic of that period.\textsuperscript{14} Our head certainly is not so over loaded, nor is the face so dull and clumsy as that of Delos Nos. 335-337 from the same period, but it surely is not far from them in date. If we suggest the late first half of the 2nd century, we cannot go far wrong.

The Delian examples of Dionysiak heads have been identified by M. Laumonier as representing the horned Dionyso himself, the \textit{άξειος ταύρος}.\textsuperscript{15} Our head may indeed represent the god. In the coroplasty tradition, however, Dionysiak Satyrs are more common and\textsuperscript{16} follow well known marble and bronze prototypes so closely as to make preferable this simpler interpretation.

If we look a moment at these sculptural works, we find a similar facial type and hair waving in leaf-shaped locks on many figures of the late 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. Those in marble seem to be late copies, and several bronzes, especially examples from Herculaneum, must go back to very similar prototypes.\textsuperscript{17} These all seem to derive from the Pergamene School, where heads on the Great Altar have the same lean faces with upward glance, bowed mouth and twisting furrowed locks.\textsuperscript{18} The hair is particularly individual on our head and can be likened to that of a bronze satyr from the Mahdia wreck of about 100 B.C.\textsuperscript{19} Though this head shows no horns and no wreath, the hair is wrought in deeply furrowed pointed locks that toss dramatically hither and thither, following almost exactly the same outlines and patterns as those on the Agora head. Our clay version of this dramatic style is therefore not out of place in the first half of the 2nd century. It is particularly interesting as an Athenian echo of bronze work and as an example of a vigorous style that we usually associate with Asia Minor of a time from which few pieces have survived. It is interesting to note

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\textsuperscript{11} A. Laumonier, \textit{Délou}, XXIII, p. 123, pl. 34, Nos. 311-314.
\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Ibid.}, No. 315.
\textsuperscript{13} No. 311, from Shop 2.
\textsuperscript{14} Cf. a discussion of the work of Shop 2, \textit{Gnomon}, XXXI, 1959, p. 638.
\textsuperscript{15} Laumonier, loc. cit.
\textsuperscript{16} Cf. a head with similar horns, but fat face and eyes characteristic of the period around 200 B.C., D. I. Lazarides, \textit{Πάτρα Εκδόσεις Α'Βεδεφρόν}, Athens, 1960, pl. 31, B 120 (date 2nd century B.C.)
\textsuperscript{17} Bieber, \textit{Hell. Sculpt.}, figs. 575 f.
\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Ibid.}, title-page and fig. 462.
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that the cargo on the Mahdia ship derived at least in part from Athens. We can explain the presence of this later piece in our cistern of the early 3rd century only by assuming that the original filling, as so often in ancient Athens, settled and was augmented at a later period.

**Female Figures: Standing Draped: Nos. 3-5**

Only a few fragments of standing female figures survive. The earliest (No. 3), to judge from its soft reddish fabric and delicate folds, is probably a survivor from the late 4th century. In all details, it closely resembles a scrap from a context of that date (Pl. 87). The modelling is characteristic of the miniature “Tanagra” style, but the broad cross-bands on this parallel suggest its identification as Artemis. Again, another piece of the same scale, fabric and type as ours (but not from the same mould) can be identified by her aegis as Athena (Pl. 87). It appears to have been broken away on the line of the overfold. If so, our fragment could come from the lower part of just such a figure. This suggestion is supported by traces of a curved line of attachment along the left side in the place where the shield of the Parthenos would normally rest. The figure thus restored shows a long overfold of the type on the coins of Aphrodisias or an Athena from Kos which are assumed to reflect the Athenian statue. A representation of the Parthenos in late 4th century coroplastic art is indeed rare but must not take on too serious weight as evidence, for the aegis is merely incised on the chest. It is clear that the coroplast used an existing type, which he converted in one case into Artemis, in the other, into Athena. The later version of this terracotta form is found at Delos. It is particularly interesting to find a figurine of Athena in Hellenistic Athens.

Another goddess may also be represented in our deposit. No. 4 is a small piece of soft fabric and of unique type. The garment hangs in straight folds to the top of boots with rounded toes of the type called endromides. They were made of soft leather laced up the front, with no marked differentiation of the feet and were used chiefly by travellers and hunters. Neither so high as Dionysiac boots nor decorated with flaps, they were apparently originally worn by women and therefore could be useful to Artemis. Usually, however, the goddess wears her dress only to the knees. This piece may therefore merely represent a woman. Another possible interpretation is offered under No. 9 below.

A draped torso (No. 5) without attributes shows us feminine fashion in the early

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20 T 941; P. H. 4.5 cm. From Well W within the Tholos.
21 T 3038; P. H. 6.8 cm. From a context well previous to the erection of the Stoa of Attalos.
23 Launonier, *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 29, Nos. 286 f., p. 115 considers that these late examples follow earlier pieces of the 2nd century.
3rd century. The chiton is narrow, close-fitting, with deep V-neck that reaches almost to the girding. The folds are shallow and relaxed, presumably representing linen. They are somehow drier than the more irregular, sensitive folds on No. 3. The fabric too is a little harder and later-looking. This costume, but ungirded, is found on a mould from a well in the South Stoa of Corinth of the later 3rd century. It too has the deep V-neck and the shallow clinging folds. This style is more commonplace than the sensitive and sharply modelled example on a plastic relief from the Altar Well. Our piece represents the generally quiet mood of the early 3rd century. A number of small uncatalogued scraps belong to the same class.

Seated Figures: Nos. 6-8

A new interest appears in this deposit, namely, the theme of the seated figure. It is illuminative to trace the emergence of this sophisticated theme from the stiff frontal and rigidly symmetrical archaic type of seated goddess. That type continues unchanged, though it grows slimmer and softer, during the 4th century. By the 3rd century the conception has to be recast. The basis of the new form was undoubtedly sculptural. Its earliest stage in terracotta is visible in a fine but headless seated figure from the Agora of a lady who was apparently looking at herself in a mirror (Pl. 88). Although the context in which it was found can date no earlier than the third quarter of the 3rd century, its clear buff fairly soft fabric and its simple style must be earlier. The deep V-neckline, however, which is an early stage, is not likely to appear before ca. 300 B.C. The style of the drapery which delicately clings to the

26 Hesperia, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 144 ff., pl. 30, No. 40, with evidence for dating the first appearance of this neckline ca. 300 B.C.
26a For a recent analysis of the type in sculpture see T. Dohrn, Die Tyche von Antiochia, Berlin, 1960.
27 T 139; P. H. 20 cm. Fine buff, slightly micaceous clay. A.J.A., XXXVI, 1932, p. 389, fig. 8. This type has a few parallels: cf. W. Züchner, Griechische Klappspiegel, Berlin, 1942, p. 134, fig. 61 and note 1; p. 118, fig. 54. Closest of all is that in Doughty House, Richmond, Burlington Fine Arts Club, Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art, London, 1904, p. 83, pl. LXXXV, No. 67 (H. not given; it is smaller than ours). The woman is binding her hair and appears to be glancing at a mirror, now missing. Mrs. Saul Weinberg kindly examined this figurine for me, through the courtesy of Mr. Brockwell, its curator, and wrote me, Feb. 18, 1939, as follows: "So far as I can see the two (i.e. this piece and the Agora example) must be practically contemporary. The treatment of the drapery on the breast is a little freer and less conventional in the English figure than in yours ... the drapery is also a little sharper than in your piece. I should venture to say that yours is a trifle earlier."
28 The context of T139 was early Hellenistic, set by a piece of Megarian bowl with large leaves as late as the third quarter of the 3rd century; cf. Hesperia, Suppl. X, 1956, p. 90, pl. 44, Nos. 61-66. Fragments of Kernoi suggest that the figurine may have come from a Demeter Sanctuary.
30 See above note 26.
body is simple and sensitive as though an earlier precursor of the style of our No. 5. The little pockets or "Augenfalten" in the folds at the waist are found in sculpture of the late 4th century. Indeed, in general character this sizable figurine has the monumental quality of sculpture rather than the miniature delicacy of "Tanagras." This must be due to a difference of school or shop and not of period, as has been noted by Kleiner.

The pose of this seated figure marks an advance from the frontality of the 4th century toward the complexities beloved by the Hellenistic age. The woman sits quietly, but movement vitalizes her body. Her left shoulder is slightly raised and with it her left breast. Her right arm, which was evidently modelled in the round must have extended forward to support the lid of the open box-mirror toward which the glance must have been directed. Similarly, the left knee is raised because the foot rests on a stool, whereas the right leg is extended free of the stool and forward. This placement makes a less compact, more vigorous composition than the cross-legged pose of the simple "Tanagra" version from the Altar Well. The scheme is therefore not chiastic, but rather, deliberately asymmetrical and bold. The drapery skilfully enhances the contrasts of the structure; the clinging chiton reveals the body, and the strong folds of the himation follow in widely-spaced curves the contours of the thighs and legs. The slightly flaring ends of the hanging drapery at the sides frame the body and, together with the spreading folds of the chiton, give stability to the whole composition. It recalls the sophisticated simplicity of the seated philosopher types of the 3rd century, each apparently casual, yet, on analysis, thoughtfully constructed. Among all the terracottas from Athens it is one of the most monumental, exemplifying the transition from the sculptural manner occasionally seen in 4th century figurines to that, often in a metallic style, which we shall find in the later 3rd century.

In the Satyr Cistern a fragment representing a woman sitting on a diphros (No. 6) follows the somewhat rare type which we have just discussed. The legs of the figure show clearly through the drapery, which is but lightly indicated. This articulation of the legs is rarer than the muffling that characterizes the figures of Tanagra and Chatby. This figure, however, is smaller and more delicate than the

32 Tanagrafiguren, Berlin, 1942, p. 133.
33 Hesperia, XXVIII, 1959, pl. 28, No. 9; cf. Bieber, Hell. Sculpt., figs. 204 f. for the pose on a tomb statue.
34 This theme appears on an Agora mould of slightly smaller scale, T 2030, of which the very fine detail is more in the "Tanagra" style.
36 G. M. A. Richter, Ancient Furniture, Oxford, 1926, fig. 94, p. 32 calls this a diphros type b.
lady with the mirror and may well date with the very fine miniature style of "Tanagras" of ca. 300 B.C.

Another Agora figure, from an early Hellenistic context,\textsuperscript{37} develops this theme toward greater refinement. It shows a girl sitting also on a diphros, but of another type,\textsuperscript{38} wearing a soft yellow chiton and a bright pink himation wrapped around her legs (Pls. 88, 89).\textsuperscript{39} She may have held a tympanon in the groove set within the drapery on the left side of her lap. This figure resembles a miniature version from the Altar Well.\textsuperscript{40} It forms an admirable paradigm in the history of this type as it shifts from the classical feeling of the Lady with the Mirror to the plastic baroque style of the late 3rd century.

Comparing the two figures, we note how the proportions differ. The strong broad body of the earlier piece has become slighter and taller. The folds of the chiton now bunch over the stomach and pull tight between the breasts. The torso emerges from a dense roll of drapery which emphasizes the edge of the cloak. In the Lady with the Mirror contrasts are effected by texture, not by mass. Actually the structure of the cloaks is similar, but the disappearance of the left leg of the smaller piece within the drapery serves to emphasize its weight. An interesting contrast is also visible in the hanging folds on the left side of each figure. That of the Lady with the Mirror repeats quietly two elongated, rounded, rather shallow triangles (probably also one more at the bottom). On the Girl in the Pink Cloak the end hangs from a confusion of drapery at the hip, turning its edge in five zigzags that vary in size, shape, depth, angle and surface. The coroplast evidently delights in variety and elaboration; nor can he leave quiet the rest of the cloak. This surface sparkle is gay and charming; it is the natural expression of a pliant medium like clay; it translates well into metal. The contrast between these two figures exemplifies the artistic preoccupations of their periods. The σχήματα διανοίας of Attic classicism is giving way to the σχήματα λέξεως of Asianism.

To return to the examples of the Satyr Cistern, which can only be understood by these comparisons with other better preserved material, we can now try to place this later style chronologically. In fabric and in general appearance, in the twisting end of hanging drapery and in the richly modeled texture of the folds over the thighs, our No. 7 is not unlike the Girl in the Pink Cloak. It is interesting because it shows for the first time in our series a theme beloved by the coroplasts of the 3rd century, the figure seated on rocky ground. The coroplasts evidently derived this type from sculpture, as it was used for Herakles or for Apollo and a Muse on the Mantineia

\textsuperscript{37} In the same context as the Herakles head; see above note 10.
\textsuperscript{38} Probably Richter, Anc. Furniture, p. 37, type e.
\textsuperscript{39} T 1339, P. H. 11.5 cm.; W. (with seat) 8.4 cm.; pinkish buff clay.
\textsuperscript{40} Hesperia, XXVIII, 1959, pl. 28, No. 19.
The theme was evidently first created in painting, where it appears on red-figure vases as early as the time of Meidias and continues throughout the 4th century: nymphs, maenads, deities and the blessed dead relax on the rocky slopes of Paradise. It was apparently not until the very late 4th century or later that the coroplasts began to appreciate the opportunities offered by this informal resting place. Instead of sitting frontally and with dignity, their figures could now loll, in sloping or twisted poses that give variety, depth and, later, three-dimensional volume to the composition. Moreover such figures, elongated in their extension, now become interesting from the side, with a tendency more and more to compose only from this point of view. The tympanon resting on the knee identifies our girl (No. 7) as a Maenad, but others are probably nymphs. Surely Athenian (or even Boeotian) ladies of elegance seldom sat on the harsh Greek hillside. The rocks refer to Helikon or to the Elysian fields, as on the vases, thus bringing to the conception an artificial idyllicism which seems in keeping with the poems of Theokritos. Our girl, like one of his shepherds (Id., XI, 17 f.)...καθεξόμενος δ’ἐπι πέτρας ὑψηλᾶς..., is a creature of intellectual longing, not of the real world. This escapist flavor has been noted by Langlotz,\(^4^2\) who plausibly suggests that many of the sepulchral terracottas of the Tanagra period gave the Elysian setting that was considered suitable for the heroized dead.

The shattered condition of our piece from the Satyr Cistern makes its composition and charm only faintly discernible. The drapery is plastically handled, but without exaggeration. The elongated plaque base that is adjusted to the spreading configuration of the ground implies that the side view was preeminent. The general type is common at Tanagra and survives into elaboration at Myrina.\(^4^3\) Parallels from Chatby seem early. These parallels and its fresh condition indicate that our piece was one of the last to be discarded; we may date it in the second quarter of the 3rd century B.C. rather than with the Satyr head in the later refilling.

A tantalizing fragment of this class is No. 8, which is on a slightly larger scale than the preceding. The rocky area is high; against it leans the naked torso of a boy in the manner of the plastic vases of the 4th century.\(^4^4\) He appears to be standing against the legs of a draped woman who sits further back on the rock. Only her right arm and hand, wrapped in drapery from which hangs a long end, still survive. To judge from the breaks, the boy’s right elbow rested against her lap. The composi-


tion is decidedly reminiscent of the figures of Aphrodite and Eros on the Parthenon frieze, in which the goddess points out to her son the oncoming procession. This version is merely an idle moment of relaxation. Most terracottas of this type also show Aphrodite. We may venture to assume that the boy is Eros with his divine mother.

Stylistically and technically this fragment seems to come from the same shop as the preceding. The drapery folds are rounded, separated by channels, but they are somewhat more cursorily rendered than on the Maenad (No. 7). The long hanging end zigzags in the same pattern of four elongated triangles, turning back on themselves so as to diminish slightly. They are not, however, so emphatically grooved as those of the Maenad, nor so complicated as those of the Girl in the Pink Cloak. Complete, this must have been a lovely piece, another example of the originality of the Athenian coroplast of the early 3rd century.

**Theatrical Figure: No. 9**

This curious little old man, bearded and wearing a polos, might be taken at first for a Priapos. His mask, however, looks theatrical, though his costume, a fine chiton under a closely wrapped himation, seems more feminine than should be associated with that god of fertility. Perhaps he is an actor masquerading in female dress, of which one is listed from Kition in Cyprus.45 This bearded Silenos is wrapped in a cloak like a woman and wears a short skirt and high Dionysiac boots. It is conceivable that the lower part of No. 9 looked like our No. 4, but the scale of No. 4 is much too large to belong to No. 9. Possibly, however, two figurines of this rare type existed in our cistern.

**Miscellaneous Human Subjects: Nos. 10-14**

Two scraps, not from the same figure, indicate that the flying child Eros, which was ever popular during the 3rd century, was not absent from this group. The buttocks of a child (No. 10) come from a figure of about the scale and character of the Eros of the Altar Well.46 These both seem a trifle earlier than the dumpy little Erotes from a mid-3rd century grave at Abdera.47 To be associated with this scrap is a wing (No. 11) on a larger scale. It is flat and lightly modelled, with an emphasized wing-bone. The system of feathers is also like that of the Erotes from Abdera, thus being stylistically consistent in date with the general filling of the cistern. This wing might of course belong to a Nike.

46 Hesperia, XXVIII, 1959, pl. 26, No. 2.
47 Lazarides, Abdera, pl. 13, A 26, A 28.
Three non-joining scraps (No. 12) can be assigned without much doubt to a type representing Eros asleep on a flower. This interpretation is based on better preserved fragments from the Agora of similar character, which clearly show a large flower with rounded petals lying open (probably a rose). These are not exactly like our examples in which the petals rest on top of each other, as in a deeper petalled rose, but the resemblance is sufficient to make comparison with complete figures possible. At Abdera Eros reclines in a lily, as also at Ilion. Our pieces show a pillow doubled up, with a dent probably for the head and a bit of drapery. These would not be enough to reconstruct the type, were it not well known from a study by Bielefeld. Our fragments appear to fit into the series, but as an early example, which unfortunately cannot clearly be restored.

The lily flower (No. 13) appears to be an independent piece, but perhaps related in some way to the foregoing. The cup is too deep to have supported an Eros. It may conceivably have adorned the head of a goddess, like Hera, but more probably, to judge from the narrow stem that approximately fits the base, it stood on a high support, as a thymiaterion.

A single sleeved arm (No. 14) (to judge from the creases at the wrist) indicates the presence of a figure in Phrygian costume, but the type is not clear.

ANIMALS: Nos. 15-16

The body of a sheep (No. 15) and the head apparently of another sheep (No. 16) are the only animal representatives in our deposit. The larger piece forms an interesting contrast with a similar fragment that was found in the filling of the Pnyx Assembly Place III, that is, of the third quarter of the 4th century. This example is made of light buff clay; ours, of reddish color; it apparently stood on a plaque base; ours stands on a plinth cast in with the figure. The Pnyx sheep is carefully modelled in two moulds, making it visible from both sides. That from the Satyr Cistern presents only the left side and front of the animal. The earlier modelling is precise, each tuft of wool neatly rendered over the solidly constructed body. The later piece depends on

48 T 2733-2735; T 2737.
49 Lazarides, Abdera, pl. 3, B 54; Troy, Suppl. 3, No. 302; fragments of a lily-like flower have also been found in the Agora, T 2736.
51 Cf. R. P. Dellatre, C.R.A.I., Paris, 1923, pp. 354-365, fig. p. 358. Another smaller well-modelled lily, Agora T 1586, comes from a 3rd century filling. H. 1.8 cm., diam. 4.3 cm. Judith Perlzweig suggests that it might have rested on the head of our Satyr, as on a similar head from Corinth (unpublished).
sharp but careless retouching and does not aim at showing more than an impressionistic mass of wool. These differences are marked and indicate a different artistic point of view: the one literal within artistic convention, the other volatile and seeking its effects largely by light and shadow.

Similar in fabric and in sharp modelling is the sheep's head (No. 16); it was to be seen from both sides. Both the body and the head follow the usual form for a classical sheep, as is visible from that rendered on a Melian relief. The type to be restored from Nos. 15 and 16, non-joining fragments, probably resembled a sheep from Abdera, which is dated in the late 2nd century and which has passed on to a dull stage.

If we wonder why figures of sheep are fairly frequent in Athens, we must presumably attribute them to the old tradition that provided votive animals for the sacrifice. Attica produced good wool and a sheep was a favorite offering by those associated with the pastoral life of its uplands. Particularly, the Athenians offered a sheep at the Apaturia, in honor of the registration of a child or a bride with a phratry. This sacrifice was presented to Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria. One of their small sanctuaries probably stood not far from our cistern down in the Agora. Though very probably made as votives, such figures often served merely as toys.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS: Nos. 17-21

A small shield bears traces on its back of attachment to a figure, rather than the smooth interior of a simple votive. It had presumably been held, probably by a soldier, like the small figures from the Demeter Sanctuary on the Pnyx. His shield is exactly the same size as ours, but ours was held not by the rim, but by a strap beneath it. An amusing parody of this type occurs at Larisa in Aeolis, where the soldier has the face of a monkey. We cannot tell which of these types ours may have been.

Only the phiala with its relief-petals (No. 18) survives from what must have been the statuette of a deity pouring a libation. It looks like the petalled saucers that were often portrayed as sacrificial vessels on Hellenistic temples. Many are listed in the Delian inventories; ours is a floral version of the rayed type of earlier days, called ραβδώραι.

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54 Lazarides, *Abdera*, pl. 29, B 129.
58 E.g. A. Conze etc., *Samothrake*, pl. XL.
59 Daremberg and Saglio, *s.-v. phiala*, p. 434.
The most unusual objects in this cistern are the fragments from two miniature altars (Nos. 19, 20), of the type used for burning incense. They form an identical pair; the dimensions, where preserved, are sufficiently close to show that the two come from the same moulds. There are no signs that stamps were used to make the moulds. A joint between the two casts, however, is visible on both pieces. The dentil moulding above and the Lesbian leaf below are carefully modelled, but the latter in reverse position from that shown on the Corinthian example from the Altar Well. That from our cistern is obviously later; it has lost its profile and become merely surface decoration for a sloping band.

Fig. 1. Altar 19 and 20 (1:1).

It is surprisingly difficult to find parallels to this cylindrical altar type; most such arulae with reliefs are later and different. Nor is the treatment of the subject here, which is clearly the Iliupersis, found in similar contemporary renderings in any media.

Since the scenes on the two fragments are apparently identical, we shall refer to the altar type as one single unit (Fig. 1). The scene of the warrior attacking

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60 C. Yavis, Greek Altars, St. Louis, 1949, pp. 171-175; full bibliography p. 173, note 22.
61 For detail, see the Catalogue.
62 Other examples of earlier types from the Agora, Hesperia, XXVIII, 1959, pl. 30, No. 33.
king on his throne is preserved in part on both pieces: the armed warrior on No. 20 alone and the rest on No. 19 alone. The running narrative is told in three episodes of a pair of protagonists each. The clearest pair consists of a naked youth, wearing a crested helmet, seizing a seated bearded (? ) figure by the hair and striking at him with his sword. This appears to be an uncanonical representation of Neoptolemos killing Priam. The second pair, consisting of a fully armed warrior aiming his spear at a shrinking woman, must be Menelaos and Helen. Of the third scene, little survives: the shaft of a xoanon set upon a base on which a draped woman kneels. Advancing toward her are the helmet and shield of a warrior who presumably is Ajax.

Though we have to do with some of the most famous scenes of the Iliupersis, the iconography is unusual. Arktinos of Miletos gives the tale also in this order: 64 the slaying of Priam who had taken refuge at the altar of Zeus Herkeios; Menelaos discovering Helen; Ajax seizing Cassandra. The first scene on our relief frieze, unlike all the vase-paintings and many other representations, does not show the king on or near the altar of Zeus Herkeios, but on his throne. He is being pulled down from it as he extends a suppliant hand, a pathetic rendering but not so melodramatic as that on a well-known Megarian bowl. 65 A not dissimilar scene, but at the altar and in reverse, occurs on the very late tabula Iliaca A. 66 No rendering, so far as I know, shows Priam on his throne, except the early 6th century pediment at Corfu. 67 This example can scarcely be cited as a parallel for ours except in that it may indicate the existence of another tradition in an obscure poem that was used by the artists of later metal work. Scholarly research certainly lay behind many Hellenistic creations, as we learn from the Great Altar of Pergamon. Or, and perhaps more likely, we may suggest that the artists, careless of tradition, used any convenient type, forming a contaminatio with other representations of regicide, for instance, that of Aigisthos, who was always murdered on his throne. 68 In any case, the other two scenes fix the story as the sack of Troy and give us new and interesting re-creations of the old themes.

In the next scene to our right, Menelaos speeds after a fleeing Helen, spear ready for revenge. She throws up her hands in terror, but looks back; her thin drapery


66 Ibid., fig. 56 and parallels.

67 G. Rodenwaldt, Die Bildwerke des Artemisontempels von Korkyra, Berlin, 1939, p. 163 identifies the figure as Priam, seated on a backless seat.

68 E. g. E. Pfuhl, Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen, figs. 370, 478; Jahrb., XXIX, pp. 30 f.; C. Robert, Bild und Lied, Berlin, 1881, pp. 149 ff. considers that the inspiration came from the Polygnotan School. I owe this suggestion to Dr. Cambitoglou.
reveals her charm. This composition follows the outlines of the scene as portrayed occasionally on advanced red-figure paintings, but not in detail. The episode does not occur on Megarian bowls, but it lived on, as attested by a Hellenistic relief and by the melodramatic wall-painting in the House of Menander in Pompeii and other Roman versions. Hellenistic poetry, though generous with allusions to Helen's beauty and her pastoral love, follows the strange tradition of Helen's sojourn in Egypt and apparently was not in any way influential on our Attic coroplasts. The iconography of our scene, therefore, goes back to Athenian prototypes, probably to those which suggest that Helen, like Cassandra, was rushing to the xoanon of Athena for protection.

It is this xoanon, then, the focal point of two scenes, that draws the episodes together. It stands stiff, a bit of arm protruding; the girl at its base is draped in an himation that covers her legs as she kneels or crouches; the angle of her body suggests that she was reaching up to grasp it. This is a composition that is well-developed in red-figure painting and continues in many media for a long time down to the tabulae Iliacae. The ingenuity of artists in rendering this dramatic theme can scarcely be imagined without glancing at the numerous plates of Mlle. Davreux' book on this subject. There we find a fairly close parallel for the details of our scene on an onyx cameo in the British Museum. On this gem (Pl. 90) the position of Ajax, the base of the image and the drapery over the legs are close to ours, but the xoanon is of squatting type. It too could have been inspired by metalwork. Like ours, it does not closely resemble the scene on Megarian bowls. These evidently drew their repertory of figured scenes from some other source. Our altar alone retains more purely the tradition as it must have appeared on 4th century metal altars or bowls, perhaps those that inspired Nero's beloved crystal "scyphos Homerios."

Closely related stylistically to these altars are those of the type often called

70 Ibid., pl. LXXIV f., Nos. 201-204, pp. 247 f.; pl. LXXXVIII, 2, No. 196, p. 245.
71 The literary evidence is summarized, ibid., pp. 203-211.
72 E.g ibid., pl. LXVI f., Nos. 72 f.; p. 91 (late 5th century).
74 Davreux, op. cit., pl. XLI, fig. 78; p. 176, No. 122. The date is probably early Imperial. I owe the photograph on our Plate 90 to the courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.
75 Weitzmann, op. cit., fig. 57; Hausmann, op. cit., p. 49; p. 54, H B 16 a; cf. H B 17 c; pls. 30-31.
"Tarentine," which share the scenes upon their sides with Megarian bowls. Three fragments, of Attic fabric, were found in the Agora (Fig. 2; Pl. 91). They are all very fine examples, with exquisite egg and dart mouldings, their bases of exactly the same height (1.6 cm.) as those of our cylindrical altars. The base (T 950; Pl. 91) is among the crispest known and would seem to be very near the beginning of the series of which Hausmann dates the best extant examples in the mid-3rd century. Our pieces, though not limited by context, certainly seem earlier, both in fabric and in style. Are they not probably among the first made, the prototypes of the first copies on Megarian bowls? For the scene of the Girl Crowning the Trophy, Schwabacher lists eleven examples on altars and eleven on Attic bowls. The style also looks Attic and need not for any reason come from South Italy. Similarly, the Dionysiac group of the god being supported by a satyr and kissed by a nymph (or Ariadne) is characteristic of these altars and of the bowls, especially those from Attica. We also probably have, on our altar, the usual scenes of Poseidon and Amymone and of Apollo and Leto, of which recognizable traces survive. Of the former scene, among 28 examples on Megarian bowls, 21 are from Attica; both scenes occur on 9 altars. Stylistically, all these compositions are sufficiently close to have derived from contemporary originals, which Schwabacher very reasonably assigns to Athenian sources. The reason for the selection of seemingly irrelevant scenes for the decoration of these altars is obscure. It is also puzzling to observe that of the Agora altars, among the

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78 T 1376 a (Pl. 91); P. H. 6.2 cm.; T 1376 b (fragment from an identical altar), P. H. 3.5 cm. (both from a context of the late 3rd to early 2nd century); see V. R. Grace, The Aegean and the Near East, Studies Presented to Hetty Goldman, Princeton, 1956, p. 95 and T 950 (Pl. 91), P. H. 1.8 cm.; P. L. 7.6 cm. (from a context chiefly of the 3rd century), an even sharper impression of the above type but maintaining the same height for the base.
80 Cf. our Dionysos-Ariadne and Girl and Trophy scenes with those on the Kassel bowl, Schwabacher, op. cit., pl. II, 1.
81 Ibid., pp. 192 f.
82 Ibid., pp. 185 ff.
83 Ibid., pp. 188 ff.
84 Ibid., p. 190.
85 Ibid., pp. 187 f.
few ever found in a context, both sets came in identical pairs. Presumably, they must have served as incense burners before a household shrine of twin deities, possibly of the Anakes, the young hero-gods of Athens, by whose names the women of Athens loved to swear and who were called Ἐφέσιοι. 86 Certainly nothing in our knowledge explains the choice of subjects for these altars or why the “Tarentine” set became popular all over the Greek world from Italy to Troy, 87 whereas the other, with its consistent and original handling of that beloved topic, the sack of Troy, should have apparently died stillborn in the ateliers of Athens. Other versions, more conventional, were picked up elsewhere by the manufacturers of bowls and diffused all over the Graeco-Roman area. These modest altars raise many tantalizing questions and comment with fresh voices on an old story.

MOULDS: Nos. 21-22

Only two moulds come from this cistern. One (No. 21) makes a completely plain and smooth rounded object which might conceivably form the back of a small figurine or might even be for a lamp nozzle. 88

No. 22 is a mould provided with a handle to assist in its use as a stamp. The design is a very coarse palmette. Its shape and character imply that we have the positive, which was used to stamp an impression in a mould for relief ware. No such palmette occurs on Megarian bowls. This object is about the size and shape of the feet sometimes placed on such bowls, in the form of masks or shells, but no parallel is at hand.

Conclusions

Like the pottery, the terracottas of this Satyr Cistern cover a wide range of time. Certain scraps (Nos. 3, 4, 9) appear to survive from the 4th century; only one can be dated from its costume as late as ca. 275 B.C. (No. 5). The new type here is the developed seated figure (Nos. 6-8); it becomes a characteristic creation of the 3rd century because it readily lends itself to three-dimensional treatment. Two pieces relate the craft in clay to that in metal, namely, the Satyr head (No. 2) and the little relief altars (Nos. 19-20). Earlier clay casts or copies of metal work appear to have been used for technical purposes; there are, rather, cheap copies of objets d’arts for the poorer purse. We have noted the strong influence of metallic styles on certain pieces in the Altar Well. 89 We see here the beginning of the next phase, the reproduction of metal work in clay. The commercialization of this trend is inevitable.

88 Cf. R. Howland, Athenian Agora, IV, pl. 46, No. 534 of type 42 C, dated (p. 131) in the second to third quarters of the 3rd century. I owe this suggestion to Clairève Grandjouan.
89 Hesperia, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 148 f.
The Satyr head (No. 2) must apparently be regarded as an anomaly in this setting; its affiliations and character will best be understood when we study the style of the 2nd century.

CATALOGUE

The terminology used in this Catalogue is that already outlined, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 158, with the exception that measurements are here given in centimeters, as more convenient for small objects. For identification and interpretation, see the preceding discussion.

**MALE FIGURES**

1 (T 2055) Seated Jointed Male. Pl. 87.

P. H. 10.5 cm.; P. W. at shoulders 4.5 cm. Reddish buff clay. Holes for attachment of separate arms.

Body well modelled in front and back.

2 (T 2072) Head of Satyr. Pl. 87.

P. H. 7.7 cm. Tan clay; hard fabric. Orange flesh; red on hair, eyebrows, lips, wreath; yellow on fruit, black on horns. Back of head, one fruit, several chips missing.

Wreathed and horned head inclined slightly to proper left; vigorous retouching.

Cf. T 1336, p. 246, Pl. 87.

**FEMALE FIGURES**

3 (T 3171) Standing Draped Female: fragment. Pl. 87.

P. H. 5.2 cm. Reddish buff clay, very soft fabric. Back missing; rough interior.

Stands, wearing chiton with overfold; traces of a curved object broken away from left side.

Cf. T 941, T 3038, p. 248, Pl. 87.

4 (T 3175) Lower Part of Standing Female. Pl. 87.

P. H. 5.1 cm. Pinkish buff clay. Back preserved with trace of curved vent.

Figure wears garment to the top of high laced boots.

5 (T 2074) Draped Standing Female. Pl. 88.

P. H. 7.1 cm. Light reddish tan clay. Trace of circular vent in back, which is partly broken away. Right arm was extended; left, with object (?), was close to side. Mark of attachment (or damage during manufacture?) on right side. The figure stands quietly; object (?) was held close to side.

**SEATED FIGURES**

6 (T 2181) Seated Female. Pl. 88.

P. H. 8 cm.; P. W. 6.9 cm. Reddish buff clay; soft fabric. Large rectangular vent. Yellow on drapery. Red glaze used as adhesive on base.

The lower part of a figure seated, lightly draped, on a diphros.

Cf. T 139, T 1339, pp. 249, 251, Pls. 88, 89.

7 (T 2180) Seated Female. Pl. 89.


Lower part of a draped female figure, sitting on a rock; tympanon on knee; plaque base.

8 (T 2182) Seated Figure with Boy: fragment. Pl. 89.


A naked boy leans against the draped lap of a missing figure that sat on a rock.

**THEATRICAL FIGURE**

9 (T 2073) Standing Bearded Male. Pl. 89.


Masked, bearded figure wearing polos, long chiton and himation wrapped over the arms.

(Missing from Agora Museum since 1955).

**MISCELLANEOUS HUMAN SUBJECTS**

10 (T 3178a) Nude fragment. Pl. 89.

P. H. 3.6 cm. Reddish buff clay; soft fabric. Broken all round.
Fragment of buttocks, probably from a child's figure.

11 (T 3176) Wing.  
Pl. 89.  

Left wing from a small flying figure.

12 (T 3178 b, c) Fragments: Eros in Flower (?).  
Pl. 89.  
P. H. b) Max. Dim. 5.5 cm.; c) Max. Dim. 7.2 cm. Reddish buff clay, soft fabric. Outside smoothly finished, with mark of attachment.

Two fragments from a large floral group, probably representing Eros reclining on a pillow within the petals.

13 (T 3177) Flower.  
Pl. 89.  
a) P. H. 4.5 cm., diam. 6.1 cm.  b) Diam. 6.1 cm. Tan buff clay. Edges chipped. White slip inside and outside both fragments.

The calyx of a lily, apparently broken from the flaring circular base, which is of the same diameter.

14 (T 3174) Arm.  
Pl. 89.  
P. L. 5.5 cm. Reddish buff clay; broken at both ends and behind.

A sleeved left arm, showing two creases at wrist; apparently it was held close to the body.

ANIMALS

15 (T 2183) Sheep.  
Pl. 90.  
P. H. 8 cm.: P. L. 5.3 cm. (at base). Reddish buff clay.

Forepart of a sheep with area between legs filled in; back not modelled.

16 (T 2184) Head of Sheep.  
Pl. 90.  
P. H. 3.2 cm. Reddish buff clay. Solid. Broken at both ends. Head of an animal, probably a sheep, with sharply accented eyes.

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS

17 (T 3172) Shield.  
Pl. 89.  
Diam. 3.8 cm. Solid. White slip has run down inside. Yellow paint. Signs of attachment inside.

Small shield with rim; traces of a right hand within rim.

18 (T 2071) Phiale.  
Pl. 90.  
Diam. 3 cm. Tan clay. Solid. Convex beneath.

Small phiale showing traces of a hand beneath. Decorated in relief with rim, petals and spears and boss.

19 (P 15,233) Small Altar.  
Pl. 90.  
H. 8.9 cm.; diam. at base 6.9 cm.; diam. at top 6.5 cm. H. frieze 4.4 cm. H. base 1.6 cm. Reddish buff clay; soft fabric. Many fragments missing; floor of fire-box broken away. Restored.

Altar made in two moulds, showing blurred joint behind the throne and between Menelaos and Helen. Dentil moulding above and Lesbian leaf, pointed downward, below the frieze. Plain rim to fire-box. Scenes in low relief: three groups of two figures each, presumably Neoptolemos attacking Priam on throne, Menelaos pursuing Helen, Ajax attacking Cassandra. From same mould as No. 20.

Cf. T 1376 a and b, p. 259, Fig. 2, Pl. 91.

Pl. 90.  
P. H. 5.6 cm. Diam. of base 6.9 cm.; H. of base 1.6 cm. Tan clay; firm fabric. Broken on top and at sides.

Fragment from same mould as No. 19; preserves part of scene of Neoptolemos and Priam, practically all of figure of Menelaos.

MOULDS

21 (T 2037) Mould fragment.  
Pl. 91.  
P. H. 4.8 cm. W. 5.6 cm. Buff clay; rounded exterior. Tab and string grooves outside.

Mould for nondescript object, possibly a lamp nozzle.

22 (MC 578) Stamp.  
Pl. 91.  
H. of stamp 3 cm.; L. with handle 3.7 cm. Buff clay. One side of stamp slightly broken.

Stamp with grip to impress rough palmette design.

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON
DOROTHY B. THOMPSON: THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS, II C, THE SATYR CISTERN
Agora T 1339 (1:2; see under 6)

DOROTHY B. THOMPSON: THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS, II C, THE SATYR CISTERN
DOROTHY B. THOMPSON: THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTLAS, II C, THE SATYR CISTERN
Agora T 1376a

22

21 (1:2)

Agora T 950

DOROTHY B. THOMPSON: THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS, II C, THE SATYR CISTERN