THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS

II B. THE ALTAR WELL

(Plates 26–30)

General Character of the Deposit

THE deposit from the “Altar Well” was found in 1946 to the west of the Areopagus, near the Great Drain that led down to the Agora.\(^1\) Nothing survived of the small house or industrial establishment which had been served by the well. The deposit from it is one of the very few from the Agora excavations that contain both good pottery and a number of figurine fragments sufficiently interesting to warrant publication. It therefore falls naturally into the series of Agora deposits of Hellenistic figurines on which I hope to base a fuller understanding of the character and chronology of Athenian terracottas. Previous studies of groups of earlier date have already appeared under convenient names by which they will be designated without further reference in the following pages, namely, the Coroplast’s Dump, the Hedgehog Well and the Demeter Cistern, and Group B.\(^2\)

Chronology \(^3\)

The filling of the well was deposited in three distinct layers. The first period of use “may be placed within the first quarter of the third century B.C.,” according to Dr. Edwards. He adduces as evidence two lamps of characteristic type and several fragments of kantharoi with handles with exaggerated spurs. Only one figurine fragment was found in this layer, a mask (No. 30).

The debris from the second period of use contained no figurines.

The final filling, which yielded the bulk of our deposit, “covers a wide period.

\(^1\) Deposit B 20:7 (see Athenian Agora, IV, p. 234 for explanation of deposit numbers). This well was excavated by Rodney S. Young. Its position is shown on the plan in Hesperia, XX, 1951, p. 136, fig. 1 in the region of wavy rock lines just to the right of the tank marked 64.30 and below the Roman north-to-south wall. This article profits by the photographs taken by Alison Frantz and by suggestions and help from many colleagues, especially Evelyn Harrison and G. Roger Edwards.

\(^2\) These deposits were treated in Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pp. 116 ff. (Coroplast’s Dump, Deposit S 19:3); XXIII, 1954, pp. 72 ff. (Hedgehog Well, Deposit O 18:1 and Demeter Cistern, Deposit F 16:1), and XXVI, 1957, pp. 108 ff. (Group B, Deposit H 16:1).

\(^3\) This account of the chronology based on the pottery is taken from a letter from G. R. Edwards, dated April 5, 1956. Since the pottery is to be published elsewhere, no illustrations are included here.
There is a little of the fifth century, a very large proportion of the fourth and a relatively small amount of the third century. The most distinctive and probably the latest pieces in it are a number of Megarian bowls and fragments thereof. Several of these would seem to be of the very earliest types, bowls with floral decoration and others with imbricate leaves, of a high standard of workmanship; others are of the figured variety. The considerable number of bowls represented in the filling would indicate that the filling occurred at a time when the production of Megarian bowls was beginning to get into full swing. There is reason to believe that their production began near the middle of the third century B.C., and that these bowls began to gain popularity in the third quarter; it is probably to that time that the filling should be assigned. This dating would seem to be in accord with the archaeological evidence, making allowance for the second period of use filling, for which independently there is no certain indication of date.” A coin from this level is attributed to Athens, 307-283 B.C. The lamps vary considerably in date. One, of Howland Type 43 C, is placed late in the third quarter and into the fourth quarter of the third century.\(^4\) The stamped amphora handles range as follows: Rhodian (early to mid third), Thasian (mid third [?]), Knidian (early).\(^5\) All this evidence implies that our terracottas were thrown away in the third quarter of the third century, but that most of them are likely to have been made considerably earlier. Thus they overlap those from Group B of the late fourth century and also show close relations with others from the Demeter Cistern of the third quarter of the fourth century.

**Technique**

The clay is in general like that employed in the previous groups, a yellow-buff in color, fired at times to pinkish or even to light red. The exceptional colors stand out clearly. The mask (No. 30) from the earliest deposit is smoked gray. The color of an Eros (No. 2) is peculiar and is probably due to stain; that of the boy’s head (No. 6) and of a boot (No. 4) are more the normal tan-buff that appears frequently in the Satyr Cistern.\(^6\) The clear tan-buff of the drapery (No. 15) finds a likeness in the Satyr head of that Cistern (T 2072) and in the bit of drapery from Group B (No. 11). The clay of the small altar which gives this deposit its name (No. 33) is patently Corinthian. One piece only is made of an unusual fabric (No. 11), hard-baked and like an egg-shell in fineness. The color and appearance of the clay, however, are enough like those of the others to indicate that it too is Attic.

One group of pieces from this deposit is strikingly individual in being much

\(^4\) The lamps are classed by Richard Howland, *Athenian Agora*, IV, pp. 59, 74, 135 as types 23 C, 25 B Prime and 43 C respectively.

\(^5\) In the order mentioned in the text: SS 9654, 9660, 9663; SS 9659, 9683; SS 9709. I owe this dating to an analysis made by V. R. Grace dated August 10, 1949.

\(^6\) Deposit N 21: 4, a mid-third century group to be published next in our series.
thicker and heavier than the rest (Nos. 13-14). The surface has been much eaten by acids and is sandy, but seems Attic. A few similar pieces have been found in a large deposit to be published later, known as the Terracotta Factory. Two of these (T 2816 and T 2800) are obviously "patrices" or archetypes from which moulds were to be made. It is significant that not one of the fragments of this kind from the Altar Well shows even a trace of slip. The unusually thick walls and the fact that these pieces, though themselves mouldmade, have been retouched by hand, make them excellent candidates for interpretation as patrices. The likelihood is that they were mouldmade pieces of popular types reworked for use in making new moulds. Since a number of moulds were found in the well along with these figurines, the existence of a coroplast's factory near by seems highly probable and supports our hypothesis.

Little other technical evidence survives. Of the preserved backs only one is modelled (No. 1). The only vent is triangular (or irregular) (No. 7) except the very large opening on No. 11. The backs of the human heads are not modelled, except for No. 6, on which the boy's hair is slightly indicated.

The bases are varied; they will be discussed in the commentary.

The sizable fragments of moulds from this deposit, of which in addition to the eight listed below about twenty scraps are uncatalogued, compare well with those of the Coroplast's Dump. Several are of the soft buff or reddish buff fabric with carelessly indented backs that we have reason to date in the fourth century; they are also well worn (Nos. 20, 31, 32). Others are made of a firmer fabric, fired yellow, but their backs are not very well finished (Nos. 17, 20, 21). Only one (No. 10) resembles the latest from the Coroplast's Dump and Group B in being of a firm, pinkish buff fabric carefully rounded behind. Almost all these moulds bear grooves to hold cord for fastening the moulds together and only one shows traces of having been held together by means of tabs of clay, which seems to be a later method of fastening.

The condition of the figurines is, in general, poor, as might well be expected from the fact that they were found with pottery much of which was over fifty years old when it was discarded. Only four pieces retain sharp edges, plastic detail or color, namely, the boot (No. 4), a draped fragment (No. 15), a female figure and an Eros from a relief vase (Nos. 40, 42). In style, most of these certainly seem to be among the latest pieces from the deposit.

7 The walls vary from 0.01 to 0.015 m. in thickness, as opposed to the more usual 0.005 m. and 0.002 m. on No. 15.
8 T 2893, 2895 a-b, 2800, 2816, from Deposit C 20: 2.
9 For the process, see R. V. Nicholls, B.S.A., XLVII, 1952, p. 220. Evidence of similar procedure in the making of lamp moulds has been observed by Judith Perlzweig.
10 See below p. 144.
The four fragments from relief vases will be discussed after the figurines, for they seem to have been made by coroplasts.

**Types and Subjects**

No "doll" fragment worth publishing appears in this group, but one large articulated arm not inventoried and a smaller one with mitten hand (T 2675) belong in this category. The "dolls" with articulated arms and legs seem to have passed their peak of popularity by the beginning of the third century, to be superseded by the seated nude type with articulated arms only.

**Male Figures: Nos. 1-6**

Male figures are also few. No. 1, which from the curve of its back appears to have been seated, has a narrow but strong chest, in which the rib cage is muscular and compressed. The bony structure is well presented, not in terms of linear pattern, but clothed with flesh. It compares well with a smaller figure from the Pnyx (No. 57). A torso from Corinth, more emphatically modelled on the same lines, probably dates in the late fourth to early third century. The pose suggests that the youth sat in relaxation or perhaps he was drinking. He may well be a Dionysos, the favorite young male of the period. We cannot derive any clear understanding of the type, but we can appreciate the sculptural feeling. This reflects the spirit of the crisply enunciated bronze reliefs of the earliest third century.

The midpart of an Eros (No. 2) who held a bit of drapery at his left side, must have been similar to Erotes wearing twists of drapery around the hips (Pl. 26) and others, more babyish, from the chamber-tomb at Eretria. Its closest parallel is an Eros from the Pnyx (No. 58). It is interesting to add this other example, which presumably dates in the period after 300 B.C., showing Eros still boyish if not lean, rather than a plump "putto" in "correct" flying position. Dated examples from Halae show how well established was the boyish floating type ca. 300 B.C. The

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13 G. R. Davidson, *Corinth*, XII, pl. 29, No. 321.
14 W. Züchner, *Griechische Klappspiegel, Jahrbuch, Ergänzungsheft XIV*, 1942, p. 65, pl. 27, KS 92; cf. p. 140, fig. 66, KS 78 (p. 57 dated ca. 275 B.C.; this is more fleshy).
15 T 880, 882, from the Agora Cistern, Deposit E 14:1, dated 275-225 B.C.
18 G. Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren*, *Jahrbuch, Ergänzungsheft XV*, 1942 (hereafter Kleiner), pp. 173 ff. suggests that early examples did not react properly to suspension in the air, but this is not true of Coroplast's Dump No. 11.
19 *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 409, pls. XXII, V-h-2, XXIV, V-h-3. These seem to be among the latest terracottas, dating ca. 280 B.C., found in this cemetery.
Agora series suggests that the baby type was not created in terracotta until nearer the middle of the third century.20

The limited appeal of this most sentimental of Greek coroplastics is surprising. Eros is rare, for instance, in Corinth 21 and Alexandria,22 two cities where the god of love was not without followers. Athens, which seems to have created the type, exported it to Boeotia,23 whence it spread to south Italy and Sicily 24 and Asia Minor.25 In those areas flocks of baby Erotes fluttered around the ladies and were responsible in no small way for the sentimentality of Roman taste when it fell under the spell of the Graeculi from those regions.

The curious costume shown on No. 3, which is virtually a chiton doubly exomis and gathered in the center of the chest by a clasp or brooch, is occasionally worn by Artemis, Maenads, and other figures in active movement.26 More rarely, it appears on males.27 The modelling of the chest of our piece is vague, but seems possibly female; or the figure may have been of hermaphroditic or Dionysiac character.28 In this connection we should note that our No. 4 is a leg wearing an elaborately modelled high soft leather boot with flaps.29 It differs from the stage boot in having an open toe. Considering that the scale and fabric of these two pieces are similar, we may well assign them to a sizable statuette of Dionysiac character. Since, moreover, the leg modelled completely in the round is not common on standing male figures of this period, it seems more probable that our piece represents a Dionysiac Eros, floating in the air, such as are common in Myrina.30

Another foot (No. 5), apparently from a female flying figure, should be men-

20 Kleiner (p. 175) noted that the first plump baby Eros appears on a coin dated 300-289 B.C., but he correctly placed the flowering of the type ca. 250 B.C.
21 A wing shown as Corinth, XII, pl. 31, No. 354 suggests that the flying Eros type was used, but only one baby Eros from the Corinthia is known to me (Hesperia, XXIV, 1955, pl. 56, b), which was presumably held, not floating.
22 No flying Erotes appear in E. Breccia, La Necropoli di Sciatbi, Cairo, 1912, or among the many denizens of the Alexandria Museum publications. The only visible example in that immense collection, No. 19896, was sequesterated and therefore may well have not come from Egypt.
23 TK II, pp. 320 ff.
24 Ibid., pp. 344 ff.; cf. P. Willeumier, Tarente, Paris, 1939, pl. XXXVI, 1-3; G. Libertini, Centuripe, Catania, 1926, pl. XXV.
25 TK II, p. 328, 5 ff., p. 333 etc.
27 Jahrb., XXIX, 1914, p. 147, pl. 9; note 2 gives full bibliography.
28 Cf. A. Laumonier, Délos, XXIII, pl. 72, Nos. 709, 711.
29 A. Alfeldi, Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr., Princeton, 1955, pp. 50 ff. identifies this boot as the Persian ἐναπος.
30 Cf. TK II, p. 338, 5-6, p. 339, 1-3 (Professor C. H. Morgan has kindly informed me that No. 5 is now in the Mead Art Gallery, Amherst, Mass.).
tioned here. It wears a pointed closed shoe with a thick sole (probably of cork) which was popular, chiefly among the ladies, during the third century. But it could also conceivably be worn by a floating Eros.

**Male Head: No. 6**

The one preserved male head from this deposit gives us a touchstone for the boyish type of the early third century. It is too large for our little Eros and must have come from the figure of a boy of the type that played with the "Tanagra" girls, for example one in the National Museum in Athens of the same scale and character. These boys have small features, characterized by marked grooves in the forehead and under the lower lip, eyes squinting; a grooved neck and short hair treated with lightly impressionistic curls. A thick stippled wreath sits well back on the head. Such wreaths were made up of small flowers and tied on the head by ribbons that often hang down on the shoulders. They make an appearance before 348 B.C. in Olynthos, on large-sized heads, but do not reach their heyday of popularity until the third century B.C. The facial type, the wreath set back on the head and the whole aspect of this head are like those of advanced Tanagras and indicate a date well down in the third century, probably in its third quarter.

**Female Figures: Semidraped: Nos. 7-8**

This type of female figure, nude to the hips, must originally have represented Aphrodite. But by the third century many such figures are evidently no more than mortals, who take on, for artistic purposes, the attributes of the goddess. Many variants exist in all media. In terracotta, they stand or sit preparing for the bath or relaxing in private. Our No. 7 is an excellent example of the simplest type. She stands with right leg markedly relaxed, but though she does not lean, the chiasmos in her body still follows fourth century tradition. Her right arm was extended forward, but not to play a cithara as in examples from Centuripe. The slim body rises from its sheath of drapery and contrasts with it—the revelation is enough in itself to create its effect. This is the first phase in the development of this distinctly Hellenistic motif. Like an example in Berlin which stands cross-legged, it presents itself in simple frontality and its drapery, muffling the legs, falls in greater simplicity with scarcely any folds. A heavy roll around the hips and more sharply articulated

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33 E. g., *Olynthus*, VII, pls. 54 ff. on head-vases.
34 Libertini, *Centuripe*, pl. XXIII, 2, 3; cf. Kleiner, pl. 4, c-e.
35 Inv. 8041, Köster, *Griechische Terrakotten*, pl. 89 (Myrina).
folds in four areas of contrasting structural patterns divert the eye on the Berlin piece. The Centuripe examples just cited are more sophisticated, built into a pyramidal composition, enhanced by raising the leg, turning the torso and elaborating the drapery. Perhaps the finest variation on this theme is a beautiful piece also in Berlin, a work of subtle balances and skilful contrasts; one feels vividly the difference between our early third century piece and this truly sculptural creation of about a hundred years later. This "Aphrodite" raises her cloak with her right hand in a gesture of revelation. Our No. 8 follows this same motive, but its slighter body seems considerably earlier. The flat, high-set breasts of both our pieces as well as their direct presentation remind one of the girlish figures in copies of the Niobid group.

**Female Figures: Standing Draped: Nos. 9-18**

Our first draped female type (No. 9) is a representative of a large class of which the Agora specimens are shown on Plate 27. These figures are often called "archaistic idols." On analogy with many other examples, we can safely restore on ours a head wearing a polos and long locks of hair on the shoulders. The garment is a long clinging peplos, girded high, with overfold to the hips and marked central fold in the lower part; this is worn over the chiton that shows beneath it.

These little figures appear on vases as early as the last quarter of the fifth century and on statues such as the Aphrodite from Corneto or the Artemis of Larnaka. They stand on bases, posts or pillars and seem much more like figures of votaries or dancing temple attendants than, as has been suggested, archaic statues of the deity who leans on them. Muthmann shows that this interpretation is contradicted by the fact that different deities and even males lean on identical figures. Since these supports appear to be merely the female counterparts of herms and Priapus figures (which later supersede them), why should they not be stylized repre-

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36 Inv. 8151, *ibid.*, pl. 88 (Myrina); cf. *Boston Myrnas*, No. 6.
39 *TK II*, p. 84, 7, p. 85, 1, 8, etc.; E. Pottier and S. Reinach, *La Nécropole de Myrina* (hereafter *Néc.*), pls. VII, 6, XXVIII, 1, XLIV, 6; A. Philadelpheus, Πηλώνα Εἰδώλια ἐκ Μυρινής, Athens, 1928, pl. XIV, No. 4999.
40 For this combination of chiton and peplos, see Hans Weber, "Griechische Frauenstrachten im vierten Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende," *Beiträge zur Trachtsgeschichte Griechenlands*, Wurzburg, 1938, pp. 114, 142. Examples occur on Attic grave reliefs, the Mantineia Basis, etc.
41 Déonna, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
42 Certain examples, like that of the Artemis of Larnaka, hold out the drapery as though in the dance, reminding us of the dancing children from the Sanctuary of Demeter in Priene (Wiegand and Schrader, *Priene*, p. 160, figs. 142-143). I hope to deal with this topic more fully in my forthcoming publication of the terracottas of Ilion.
43 Déonna, *op. cit.*, pp. 53 ff.
sentations of actual statues of votaries that were seen by the artists and coroplasts in the sanctuaries? There is no reason to believe that these artists were not showing a contemporary type as they do in their other supports upon which figures lean. Since the pose is obviously that of the votary or temple attendant, these statuettes might well represent small offerings set up in the sanctuaries, as on the Acropolis and elsewhere, by pious girls who had served the goddess. Other votaries too, as was often the custom, might have dedicated their statues in the form of priestesses or temple attendants, thereby identifying themselves with these holy women. These little figures, deliberately archaized by the artist in order to show clearly that they are images in contrast to the living figure beside them, would logically serve as supports for Aphrodite and other goddesses who were concerned with the needs of women.

The history of this type in terracotta can be traced down through the centuries in a series of Agora examples shown on Plate 27. The central one certainly represented a statuette standing against something; the others may have acted as supports. The type remains virtually unchanged for over 200 years. Our earliest piece (T 2942) comes from a fourth century filling. Long locks remain on the shoulders; the girding is fairly low. Compared with it the piece from the Altar Well looks somewhat more sophisticated. Closer are examples from Corinth of the fourth and third centuries. Sedately they clasp an offering (a kernos) to the breast and touch their drapery with their left hands. They are obviously descendants of the earlier, familiar Corinthian votaries who wear a tall polos and carry two offerings. Our next Athenian representative (T 3186) comes from a disturbed Hellenistic filling; she is obviously more advanced than the girl from the Altar Well. She differs more markedly from her Corinthian cousins of the mid third century. In Corinth the broad, stocky proportions continue, stolidly rendered. The Athenian example, which is, however, probably later, is extravagantly elongated and her drapery more clinging. Still later, probably in the second century B.C., a more decorative and sharply modelled piece from the North Slope serves as a transition to the most highly characterized of our Agora.

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45 E. Bielefeld, “Götterstatuen auf attischen Vasenbildern,” *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Ernst Moritz Arndt-Universität Greifswald*, IV, 1954/5, p. 385 points out that cult statues are not shown on high columns or posts. All such figures, which include numerous examples of our type, are votives.


47 I owe this suggestion to my husband who compares the representations of statues in the pediments of the Argive Heraion and of Epidaurus; their archaic style effectively differentiates them from the “living” figures of the pedimental composition.

48 From Area D 18, H. 0.056 m.

49 *Corinth*, XII, pl. 8, No. 114 (holding a kernos), pl. 20, Nos. 236-238.

50 Cf. *ibid.*, pls. 6-7, Nos. 89 ff.

51 From the filling of the Middle Stoa, H. 0.054 m.

52 *Corinth*, XII, pl. 20, Nos. 239-244.

53 *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 212, fig. 15 f.
figures (T 1629), from a deposit of the late second to early first centuries B.C. She is the modest counterpart of the painted and even more extravagantly archaizing figures on late Panathenaic amphorae. Her pinched waist, swelling hips and elongated proportions recall those on the Lagan frieze, as do the sharply-cut folds, rigid and emphatic. Late and odd as this may be, the Athenian votary still stands unchanged before us, clasping a tiny fawn to her breast as piously and as hieratically as did her ancestors of the days of Peisistratos. The amazing conservatism of Greek figurines is thus once again brought to our attention. We need not be surprised also to note two minor echoes of this ancient class (T 1966, T 2256). These have lost every vestige of artistic significance, but serve once more to remind us of the vitality of one of the oldest of artistic motifs.

A rather fine fragment in the sculptural manner is the mould, No. 10. The upper part of a female figure wears a chiton which still has sufficient fullness to drop in a triangular fold between the breasts. This fold appears on most Attic grave reliefs, even the more advanced, but it disappears when the narrow Hellenistic chiton becomes popular. The himation is drawn across the left breast with a broad, emphasized edge from which tension folds fan out. This new style, in which design is built up of opposing rather than harmonious elements, can be seen beginning on reliefs of the mid-fourth century and gaining intensity toward its end. Our mould (to judge also from its technique) expresses the mood predominant at the end of the fourth century.

A very delicate torso, No. 11, belongs, in contrast, to that phase of third century style which speaks in the lowest voice of the quietest topics. No mass of drapery, no deep opposing folds, but a muffled torso stands in utter simplicity, wrapped in an almost foldless mantle. The garment makes itself felt by a few taut lines. This restraint is that of the finest Tanagras, those dated by Kleiner to the end of the fourth century. Technically, our piece would seem to be a trifle later. It is most interesting to find in Athens so perfect an example of the "Tanagra" style at the time of its greatest flower. This piece has the thin, crisp quality of a bronze and seems to echo metal-work. In that it presages a bronze masterpiece, the Baker Dancer, which will, some fifty years later, dramatize the same theme and set the tranquil pose into spinning motion.

Unfortunately no complete figure of the "Tanagra" class survives in this deposit,

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54 Deposit N 20:4. It is interesting to compare these degenerate pieces with a more ambitious example from Sardis, from a grave of the first century B.C. (A.J.A., XXVI, 1922, pp. 401 ff., fig. 9).
55 Bieber, Hellenistic Sculpture, figs. 704-707.
56 From Hellenistic fillings of no specific date.
58 Kleiner, pl. 5.
but a series of lower parts of figures indicates how the styles changed within a relatively short time. The smallest and obviously the earliest member is No. 12, which is a typical "Tanagra" of the stylistic phase that is represented in the Coroplast's Dump by Nos. 19 and 20. The folds fall simply, but they are plastically felt and modelled; the base is early. The piece can not date much later than ca. 320 B.C.

With Nos. 13 and 14, the drapery is rendered in another, a monumental sculptural style which, as Kleiner has already noted, coexisted in Athens with the miniature style which we call "Tanagran." The representatives from the Altar Well are typical and serve to establish the style in its setting in Athens. It differs from the Tanagran not only in its larger and more plastic handling of drapery folds, but in its stronger feeling for the body beneath, which dominates the drapery in the old classical manner. This effect is attained by an intensification of fifth-century techniques, by contrasting bold untreated areas over the structural volumes of the body with deeply shadowed and emphatic folds. No longer is the front of a figure virtually flattened into one plane, but the movement swings forward and sideways making free use of the third dimension. No. 13, with its powerful left leg, its independent, flaring tubular folds, its strong pleat in the himation, instantly suggests not so much terracotta parallels as those in major sculpture. The Artemis Larnaka and other copies of late fourth century statues often ascribed to Praxiteles show these elements that soon go on, in early third century statues, to develop simplified forms. Since this style is barely hinted at even on late Attic grave reliefs, which are almost all in the manner of No. 12, we must assume that it developed after 320 B.C. and probably did not last long into the third century.

No. 14 shows a more advanced stage, in which tubular folds, flaring a little more mechanically, fall into groups, like musical phrases. These contrast sharply with the untreated plain surface of the himation which hangs lightly over them. "Untreated" is, however, not strictly a correct description, for, in a raking light, this edge of himation can be seen to yield sensitively, if very slightly, to the contours of the sturdy folds of the chiton beneath it. In other words, we have the first appearance of transparent drapery over drapery. This significant piece has already been related to other examples of its class. These highly organized and emphatically treated folds produce an entirely different effect from the homogeneous rhythm of our No. 12 and

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60 Kleiner, pp. 132 ff.
61 Kleiner, pls. 5b, 13d (Kleiner dates pl. 13d in the mid third century, which seems a little late on our evidence).
62 E. g., Bieber, Hellenistic Sculpture, figs. 40-42; cf. C. Picard, Manuel d'archéologie grecque, IV, 2, p. 383, fig. 168 (Demeter Grimani).
63 Diepolder, Att. Grabreliefs, pl. 54 shows an intimation of the style.
64 A.J.A., LIV, 1950, p. 376, fig. 7. I now incline to place fig. 7 earlier than fig. 6, but obviously they are not far apart in date, although they represent different styles.
of most late fourth century figurines\textsuperscript{65} and sculpture, as, for instance, on the Mantineia Basis. Our No. 15 is even more subtle. It has already been likened to the bronze Baker Dancer.\textsuperscript{66} Every centimeter of the surface of this piece bespeaks thought and sensitive care in modelling which remind us of the same delicacy on the drapery fragment from Group B (No. 11). The movement is not vertical, but it flares from an off-center axis which is set on the deeply shadowed right leg. The legs are, in fact, not felt as supports, but merely as hidden axes in the design. The flaring diagonal courses of the main folds are not firm; they bend, waver, and strike off in other directions at the bottom. This liveliness is enhanced by the variations in the width and character of each fold, as they turn their faces this way and that so that the hem of the garment traces an irregular plan. The surface of these box-pleat folds, moreover, is covered with delicate nicks so that the clay takes on the feeling of textile. It is tragic that our deposit did not contain more pieces of this quality. No. 16 is a mould in somewhat the same style.

The relative chronology of this series of draped fragments seems clear; their absolute dating can be approximated from parallels. Kleiner, on varied evidence, has placed the Tanagras which are closest to our No. 15 after the middle of the third century.\textsuperscript{67} This seems reasonable. Since our well was not closed until the third quarter of that century, the latest fragments (Nos. 15-16) were, most probably, made close to 250 B.C. or a shade thereafter. We find thus a reasonable sequence for the stylistic development: the simple Tanagra, No. 12, would then date \textit{ca.} 320 B.C., the sculptural No. 13 at the turn of the century, so that the merging, as it were, of the two styles in No. 14 would come at \textit{ca.} 275 B.C. and its enrichment just after the mid century (Nos. 15-16).

No. 17 is sadly fragmentary. It shows the lower part of a woman wearing a thin chiton with overfold to the thighs, who moves forward rapidly. It would be interesting to know whether the figure originally had wings and could be called a Nike. A little of the base is preserved to indicate that the figure was not suspended. We had best therefore call it a Dancer. The evolution of this rapidly moving type will be discussed when our first good Nike is published. It suffices here to note how the streaming S-folds that vividly traced this movement on fourth century terracottas have subsided and how dull the slight fluttering of the edge of the chiton appears, for instance, beside the rushing of skirts on examples from Group B (Nos. 7-9) or even on the following mould.

A finer treatment of a figure in rapid motion is given by the mould, No. 18. It shows a woman rushing sideways in haste, the right foot just visible, extended for-

\textsuperscript{65} E. g., Kleiner, pls. 2a, 5, 8a (late fourth century), pls. 8b, 9b-c, 10c (early third century).

\textsuperscript{66} \textit{A.J.A.}, LIV, 1950, p. 376.

\textsuperscript{67} The treatment of the himation is comparable to that on the Leukon Terracottas, dated in the third quarter of the third century, Kleiner, pp. 16 f., pl. 6a-b.
ward from the drapery. The pose is reminiscent of those of statues of a running Niobid, but in reverse. On our mould, the motion lines move more obliquely in patterns no longer based on the simple S-curve, as in Group B, No. 7, for the lines are less systematic and more nervous. We must therefore place this mould slightly later than that of Group B. It seems, however, to retain far more of the Classical spirit than the mechanical fragment just mentioned (No. 17).

**Female Figures: Seated, Draped: Nos. 19-21**

Seated figures, though probably numerous at the time of the Altar Well, are not so well preserved. One sadly battered piece, No. 19, belongs to the finest class of Tanagras. The lady sits with her legs crossed, wearing her delicate garments with an air of dignity and repose. This is a more sophisticated version of the tiny mould from the Coroplast's Dump (No. 42), but not much different in feeling. It probably dates also in the late fourth century. There are also two very fragmentary bits from the lap of seated figures, possibly goddesses; one, a mould (No. 20), holds a phiale and what may well be the head of a lion cub; the other (No. 21) holds a tympanon. These are reminiscent of the scrap (No. 5a) seen from the right side in the photograph from the Demeter Cistern. The tiny piece, No. 21, is technically close to Coroplast’s Dump No. 42. These both therefore probably survive from the third quarter of the fourth century and relate to the cult of the Mother of the Gods. Nothing can be said of their style.

**Draped Fragments**

An unusually large number of fragments from this deposit has been left uncatalogued because they are so small and so insignificant as to offer nothing whatever on the plates of a book. To the student, however, they are tantalizing, for they speak of all we miss in our hopelessly shattered collections and they give a better basis for generalization. At least it can be said of the drapery scraps and of the moulds for drapery that the style is consistent. The general tenor is quiet; the folds run their courses evenly, with rounded profiles, varying somewhat in width. A few bits show slight movement. This quiet subsidence of the purely classic tradition must, to judge from the extremely worn state of all these bits, belong to the later years of the fourth century. For the swing toward new directions, we must turn to the larger pieces discussed above.

The fragments also show, like a few catalogued pieces, that the scale of figures varies considerably. Most are of the usual “Tanagra” size, ca. 0.15-0.25 m. in height, but certain scraps indicate much bigger statuettes; e.g., the fragment of a

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right breast on a scale of a height of ca. 0.33 m. and an arm and hand extended (holding a phiale?) of scale considerably larger still.

**Female Heads: Nos. 22-26**

Although this group contains more female heads than the others we have published except the Coroplast's Dump, it gives us little evidence because the features are badly blurred.

These heads are commonplace types already recognized as normal in the early third century. **No. 22** is a long oval in shape; the sober face is much damaged. Nos. 23-24 are more childish in character; they are tilted slightly upward, which gives them animation. The neck of **No. 24** is bent sharply to the right, but the head is set vertically upon it, a lively, if unnatural position.69

The hair on these heads is worn simply parted, with curls hanging down the sides of the neck in a manner not encountered in our earlier groups or in early Tanagras. On **No. 22** a pair of leaves is set at the back and two round fruits over the forehead, such as occur also on early Tanagras.70 **No. 24** wears a plain wool fillet.71 **No. 23**'s fillet is pitted, probably to represent flowers as on **No. 27**.72 The size of the wreath and the plastic treatment of the hair of **No. 23** indicate that it is among the most advanced pieces from the well. It should be noted that, in addition to hanging curls, this girl wears a double flaring knot rising from the crown behind the wreath.73 This is further development of the lampadion coiffure often shown on figures of courtesans or "dolls" of the fourth century B.C.,74 which soon develops into a "bow."

It is interesting to note how these coiffures and these facial types compare with their contemporaries from other sites. They bear only a general similarity to heads from Chatby, which seem to retain for a long time the fourth century canon—the larger, more piquant features, and simpler hair styles.75 From Corinth come a few heads of the early third century that show the same round face with very slight features, naturalistically rendered without any of the emphasis or plastic feeling

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69 E. g., other early examples, Kleiner, pls. 22a, 23a-b (dated fourth to early third centuries). Cf. A. W. Lawrence, *J.E.A.*, XI, 1925, p. 184, "a trick of tilting the head into some strained position in order to heighten the expression."

70 Kleiner, pl. 22; *Arch. Anz.*, 1954, col. 280, fig. 16. I plan to discuss the chronology of wreaths in my forthcoming study of the terracottas from Ilion.

71 This type of wreath appears on Coroplast's Dump, No. 33.

72 The earliest dated example known to me from the Agora is T 1967, from a mid fourth century cistern, Deposit O 22:1. *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pl. XIII gives two examples from Halai dated 335-280 B.C.

73 This coiffure also appears on an uncatalogued larger fragment from this well.


75 E. g., *Sciatbi*, pl. LXXIII, which presents no striking parallels.
that appears in examples from that site which are dated in the later third century.\textsuperscript{76} Boeotia, as might be expected, provides the best parallels in its charming faces of children with undifferentiated features.\textsuperscript{77}

Another example (No. 25) on a larger scale lies out of the ordinary run of children’s heads. Wreath, face and curls have all been cast in one mould, which was dull, so that the features are not easily distinguishable. The small blurred eyes and full cheeks are, however, not dissimilar in feeling to those of the preceding heads. A tall top-knot or bow of hair has been broken from the crown. In style, it resembles another Agora head, T 2132, that was found in a second century context. Our piece indicates that more ambitious variants on a scale of ca. 0.36 m. were being made at a time when smaller figures were the norm. Its clumsy style seems also out of key with that of the other heads and bits of drapery from this well. In style this head is close to that of a dancer from Corinth.\textsuperscript{78}

The delicate mould of a head (No. 26), with its sharp tiny features in an oval face beneath a wreath of leaves, is typically “Tanagran.” The back was made in a separate mould. Many delicate heads of the late fourth century resemble it, not only in the piquant features, but in the slightly tipped carriage of the head on a long neck, with its downcast glance and hint of a smile.\textsuperscript{79} This is the “Tanagra” style \emph{par excellence} and here again we find that a mould was made in Athens.

\textbf{Actors’ Heads: Nos. 27-28}

The two actors’ heads are good examples on a larger scale and of more varied nature than those from the Coroplast’s Dump.\textsuperscript{80} No. 27 is thrust forward in inquiry, wearing a wedge-beard and stippled wreath. This type is close to that of moulds which were found in Corinth in deposits of the third quarter of the fourth century.\textsuperscript{81} Webster classifies\textsuperscript{82} the type as that of an elderly and “rather embittered” man. This fellow wearing a banquet-wreath is undoubtedly a free-man, animatedly discussing some plot or secret.

The other head (No. 28) is more unusual. It is bald, wearing a Dionysiac wreath of leaves and a flowing beard which was apparently made by adding long locks to a

\textsuperscript{76} E. g., \textit{Corinth}, XII, pl. 21, No. 247, pl. 31, No. 355; cf. pl. 31, No. 353 (late third century), pl. 32, No. 357 (ca. 250 B.C.).

\textsuperscript{77} E. g., from Halae, \textit{Hesperia}, XI, 1942, pl. XXII, V-h-2; pl. XXIV, various examples (ca. 335-280 B.C.); from Boeotia, Sieveking, \textit{Loeb Collection}, I, pl. 63.

\textsuperscript{78} \textit{Corinth}, XII, pl. 21, No. 248 (third century B.C.).

\textsuperscript{79} E. g., Tanagras: Met. Mus. 06.1113, \textit{Hesperia}, XXI, 1952, pl. 34; Kleiner, pls. 5b, 11d; grave reliefs: Diepolder, \textit{Att. Grabreliefs}, pls. 51, 2, 52, 1.


\textsuperscript{81} \textit{Corinth}, XV, i, pl. 35, Nos. 43-46.

\textsuperscript{82} \textit{Greek Theatre Production}, London, 1956, pp. 63 f., 119, pl. 11, c. Cf. Agora T 2065 from a deposit of the late fourth to early third century.
mould that originally showed a rounded "megaphone" mouth.\textsuperscript{83} The eyes are small and deepset. This is the typical head of the Grand Old Man, Papposilenos, who often carries the child Dionysos.\textsuperscript{84} Our head, with counterparts from Corinth and Pergamon,\textsuperscript{85} is an early and lively variant of a type that becomes very popular in later days. Our heads presumably were made during the years around 300 B.C. or a little later.

**Masks: Nos. 29-30**

The large female face (No. 29) most probably comes from a mask, although it might derive from a bust of the type found in the Coro plast’s Dump.\textsuperscript{86} The face is that of a sober young woman, with large eyes, of which the upper lid is clearly accented, but the eyeballs are not pierced. The general type may be likened to several theatrical masks from South Italy.\textsuperscript{87} The closest parallel, however, is an example from Corinth,\textsuperscript{88} which has much the same sober expression as ours and also dates in the early third century. These are both a little later than the fine but peculiar mask from the Hedgehog Well of ca. 320 B.C.\textsuperscript{89} The exact significance of these votive masks is uncertain. They may represent theatrical masks, like those painted on Gnathia vases,\textsuperscript{90} but this is by no means certain when the mouth and eyes are closed. The markedly triangular forehead, the large eyes and the bowed mouth all suggest that our piece was made during the latter part of the fourth century. In these details and particularly in the broad surfaces and shallow set eyes, it finds itself more at home among works of the Praxitelean circle, such as the formal copies of the Knidian Aphrodite or Apollo Lykeios, than with those of the later Praxitelean School, such as the heads from Kos.\textsuperscript{91}

In the bottom of our well, that is in the deposit of the first quarter of the third century, was found another mask fragment, No. 30. A close parallel (T 88, Pl. 29) comes from a context of the last quarter of the fourth century. Both resemble a complete mask in Berlin which represents an Oriental potentate in the Persian tiara.\textsuperscript{92}

\textsuperscript{83} Other examples will be published in the Agora Cataolgue of Terracottas. Professor Harald Ingholt refers me to R. E. M. Wheeler, *Antiquity*, XXII, 1949, p. 11, pl. VII, for similar practices in making Indian stuc coes. Miss Grandjouan reports the same technique for lamp moulds.

\textsuperscript{84} TK II, pp. 400 ff. E.g., Bieber, *Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen*, pls. 88, 89, 94.

\textsuperscript{85} Corinth, XII, pl. 30, No. 333; Pergamon, I, p. 259, No. 12. A close parallel is exhibited in the Tarentine Museum.

\textsuperscript{86} Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 39, No. 51; Olynthus, XIV, pl. 140.

\textsuperscript{87} E. g., Libertini, *Centuripe*, pl. XXXVI, 3-5.

\textsuperscript{88} Corinth, XII, pl. 24, No. 290.

\textsuperscript{89} Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pl. 19, No. 10.

\textsuperscript{90} Webster, *Greek Theatre Production*, pl. 11, a, b, d.

\textsuperscript{91} Bieber, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, figs. 17-25 compared with figs. 33 ff.

\textsuperscript{92} T 88 from Deposit H 6:9. P. H. 0.067 m. Berlin mask, Bieber, *Denkmäler*, pl. 65, 1 (less delicately modelled). Cf. Pergamon, I, p. 261, No. 18 (Herakles). Weak late echoes of this type have been found in Corinth, Corinth, XII, pl. 41, Nos. 443-444 (first century A.D.).
All these examples show a powerful, bearded face with large aquiline nose ending in a projecting tip, staring eyes, and sharply arched brows beneath a furrowed forehead. This is the mask of the Great King or potentate, of Oedipus or Darius. A fine terracotta (T 862, Pl. 29) representing such a personage at a dramatic moment of tragedy was found in an Agora context of the mid third century. These Agora pieces vivify the stock type of the earlier fourth century as seen at Olynthos. It is interesting to observe how the same Persian head with the same long-tipped hooked nose appears on coins showing Persian satraps.

A few other scraps of larger masks or protomes were found, but are not worth cataloguing.

**Animals: Nos. 31-32**

Although the mould, No. 31, is worn, the impression shows the sensitively modelled head and dewlap of a bull with curls on its forehead, a mild, round eye, and a soft muzzle. In feeling, however, and presumably in date, it is closer to the calf from the Coroplast's Dump (No. 37). Only a few such fine terracottas of bulls survive, of which the most impressive and ambitious comes from Priene. The technique and style of our mould belong to the late fourth century.

Another mould, No. 32, represents the neck of a shaggy animal. The fleece, which is shown in long, thin tufts, too flat for those of a sheep, and the hanging hair at the right of the positive both suggest that the animal was a goat, like those ridden by children. These types appear both as figurines and as plastic lekythoi.

**Miscellaneous Objects: Nos. 33-37**

A fragmentary miniature altar or arula (No. 33) is the most unusual and striking object found in this deposit and therefore has been selected to designate the well as the "Altar Well." It is made of Corinthian clay. Recently a small group of these arulae has been discovered at Corinth and a not dissimilar but much later example from Italy may also have come from there. The development of our type,

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93 Cf. the types in A. Alfoldi, *Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend*, pls. IV-VII (but none has the aquiline nose).
94 T 862 from Deposit E 14: 1 (cf. note 15), P. H. 0.08 m.
95 E. g., Olynthus, IV, pl. 43, No. 390.
98 E. g., TK II, p. 304, 4, p. 305, 8, 9.
99 I was supported in my ascription of the clay by the late Mrs. Stillwell.
which bore crown and base mouldings with Lesbian leaf ornament, can be traced from the early through the late fifth century B.C. The leaf grows wider with time and the area between is treated as a marked loop with sharp tongues in the interstices. Our piece most closely resembles the fifth century example from the Corinthian Kerameikos, but probably itself dates in the early fourth century. The traces of a horse in relief prancing to the left suggest that the subject was a horseman, a descendant of the riders on the early fifth century arulae. Probably these altars were used in the service of a hero cult, of which many traces survive from the Corinthian Agora. It would be interesting to know whether our fragment travelled to Athens in the hands of the pious or merely in the role of a souvenir.

Another architectural votive is No. 34, a miniature fluted column with a flattened echinos capital. The possible uses for such columns have been discussed previously.

The wheel fragment, No. 35, is unusual at this period. Solid clay wheels occur for the numerous early chariots and carriages, but by the fourth century the subject has apparently died out of the terracotta repertory. Yet this specimen must belong to that date, because it shows the typical four spokes and narrow rim characteristic of that period. We may suppose that this piece was intended as a votive of the type very common in metal and shown hanging as a symbol on fourth century vases.

The little object, No. 36, with gable ends and on small feet represents one of those jewel-boxes that appear in the hands of lovely ladies on Kertch vases. A tiny figure is painted on the end of a similar miniature chest which is carried by an attendant on a tomb painting at Kazanlak in Bulgaria. No. 36 shows an attachment at its back for its use as an adjunct for a freestanding figurine or possibly a plastic lekythos.

102 The order would seem to be: Hesperia, XVI, 1947, pls. L, 5 and LII, 1; Corinth, XV, ii, pl. 59, No. 65; Hesperia VI, 1937, p. 313, No. 239, figs. 43, 44. Another unpublished Agora fragment (T 2146) from Deposit C 18:11, an early fifth century context, confirms this sequence.
103 Corinth, XV, ii, pl. 59, No. 65.
104 I owe this chronology to Miss Lucy Shoe, who, however, warns against attempting to date terracotta mouldings so closely as is possible with stone.
105 Cf. Hesperia, XVI, 1947, pl. LII, 1 and the horseman plaques of later date, Hesperia, XI, 1942, p. 111, fig. 3.
108 Corinth, XV, ii, pp. 198 ff.
109 Délos, XVIII, pp. 343 f.
111 E. g. C. W. Lusinshg Scheurleer, Griegische Ceramie, Rotterdam, 1936, pl. XL, fig. 114.
Cf. also R. Pagenstecher, Expedition Ernst von Sieglin, III, 2, Leipzig, 1913, pl. XVII.
113 V. Micoff, Le tombeau antique près de Kazanlak, Sofia, 1954, pl. XXXII.
Bases: Nos. 37-39

Fragments of bases of three types show the range characteristic of the fourth and third centuries B.C. No. 37 is a block with an accented lower moulding; this appears to be a fourth century variant of the plain block base that prevailed in the fifth century. Another more elaborate variant is the stepped base No. 38, not just a single small block set on a plinth, as in the Coroplast's Dump (No. 83), but an elaborately grooved creation. These elaborations of sculptural bases yield in popularity to the flat plinth base of Tanagra fashion, of which No. 39 is a good example, although rare in having black glaze painted along its edges. This feature suggests that it may have been intended for a plastic lekythos. The flat plinth base obviously was copied from the form employed for small metal statuettes and is another indication of the influence of bronze work on terracottas at this period.

Plastic Applied Reliefs: Nos. 40-43

Several fragments in this group derive from a small class of reliefs that were applied to the surface of vases, not, as in the case of the ordinary plastic lekythos, forming an integral part of the body of the vase. These reliefs were made into shallow plaquettes by the use of a mould and much additional hand modelling and retouching. No. 40 shows a back that must have been attached to a curved surface which bore black glaze. Nos. 41 and 42 are also thin; their backs broke away clean from the background. These reliefs were not glazed, but treated like those on lekythoi with attached reliefs, slipped with white and touched with matt colors. Gilding was also used on No. 42, on the necklace and on the object held in the hand. Our figures are much larger than the plaquettes taken from metal prototypes that decorate later relief vases. They belong to a peculiar class of lebes gamikos of which numerous other examples have recently been found in the excavations of M. Meliades on the South Slope of the Acropolis.

The style of No. 40 is unusual. The head is carried on a tilted long neck like that of No. 27, but the features are different. The head is egg-shaped; the forehead is domed, the cheeks full, and the large eyes with markedly curving, wide-open lids are shallow. The lids do not meet at the inner corners. The mouth is smaller than on the head from the Demeter Cistern (No. 7) that might otherwise be compared

114 Hesperia, XI, 1942, pl. XXI, V-e-3 (early fourth century); Sieveking, Sammlung Loeb, I, pl. 44.
115 Ibid., pl. 60.
116 E. g. Handbook of the Metropolitan Museum, 1953, pl. 95 d, f; Lunsingh Scheurleer, op. cit., pl. XLIX, Nos. 142-144.
118 I. Meliades, Практіка, 1957, p. 51.
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with No. 40. Though the upper lip is wider than the nostrils, the lower lip is narrower and pouts forward, set off by a groove beneath it. The chin is also set off, jutting firmly forward, with a dimple set into it. This is our first instance of the dimple that becomes very popular during the third century.\(^{119}\) This facial type is so carefully rendered and so distinctive that it can be compared with coins and with metal and stone prototypes, such as a head of Arsinoe II, dated \textit{ca.} 270 B.C.\(^{120}\) This date is confirmed by the high girding, the impressionistic treatment of the drapery, and the dress with its plunging deep-V neckline. The condition of this fragment also tends to suggest that it is among the latest in our group, probably in the second quarter of the third century.

The deep-V neckline is a fashion that often appears on Hellenistic figurines, though rarely in other media. At all periods, of course, the neckline often droops between its fastening on the shoulders into a V-shaped fold. But this type of plunging V-neck is evidently cut low deliberately and appears only on the sleeveless, narrow Hellenistic garments. Sometimes the point reaches almost to the girdle. This deep V appears often on the upper garment or "peplos" when it is worn over a chiton and often on the chiton when it alone is worn.\(^{121}\) The single chiton began to work its way back into favor during the third century. It is sometimes heavy and sometimes of thin, clinging material, presumably linen. This is an interesting variation from the muffling that was in general most popular at this period.\(^{122}\)

Rizzo, in discussing two painted portraits from Centuripe that wear this garment and date in the third century B.C., calls attention to the fact that this cannot be the classic chiton. It is obviously narrow and draws up to the back of the neck in such a way as to show that it was composed of two narrow lengths sewn together down the center.\(^{123}\) The later examples are much tighter than the earlier.\(^{124}\) Still later, decorative borders are woven along the edge of the neck on the selvedge and joined down the center of the front to form a wide band \(^{125}\) called \textit{παρυφή}. This decoration derives


\(^{121}\) See above note 40.

\(^{122}\) A good example from the Agora (T 139, \textit{A.J.A.}, XXXVI, 1932, p. 389, fig. 8) owes its too early dating to lack of recognition of this garment.

\(^{123}\) A. Rizzo, \textit{Monumenti della Pittura antica: Centuripae}, I, p. 31, pls. A, B.


from Hittite and Persian garments, but is not applied to the deep-V neck until late Hellenistic and Roman times.\textsuperscript{126}

The origin of this narrow garment is obviously Egyptian. A tight-fitting chiton with a deep-V neck reaching almost to the waist is well-known on Egyptian monuments from early times; it continued on indefinitely, as on the reliefs of Nefer-Sechem-Psamtik from a period when the Greeks could obviously have been influenced by it.\textsuperscript{127} When the Greeks settled in Alexandria, they presumably used the Egyptian native linen to make their clothes and as it was woven in narrow lengths, the Egyptian type of neck and tight chiton would naturally develop, even if it never reached so tight a form as the Egyptian (or as artistic convention so represents it). The earliest dated Greek example known to me appears on a jug showing Arsinoe II, which dates 275-270 B.C.\textsuperscript{128} A good many examples appear in Alexandrian cemeteries.\textsuperscript{129} They come also from South Italy,\textsuperscript{130} from the chamber tomb at Eretria, noted by Kleiner as typically Alexandrian,\textsuperscript{131} and even from Tanagra.\textsuperscript{132} This same fashion occurs on many pieces from Ilion, Myrina, Kharayeb in Syria, Tarsus, Seleucia and in an ever-widening circle into Roman times.\textsuperscript{133} It is rare, however, on marble statues, of which the most interesting examples are the Niobids.\textsuperscript{134} Like many other Alexandrian fashions, it spread, probably soon after the Greeks settled in Egypt,\textsuperscript{135} all over the classical world.

\textsuperscript{126} Boston Myrinas, No. 1; Déonna, \textit{L'Antiquité classique}, XIX, 1950, pp. 53 f., pl. IV discusses the oriental origin of the garment on an image of a goddess.

\textsuperscript{127} Encyclopédie photographique de l'art, \textit{Le Musée de Caire}, 1949, fig. 191.

\textsuperscript{128} Jug bearing both name and relief: H. B. Walters, \textit{Catalogue of Roman Pottery in the British Museum}, pl. V, K77 (note that this jug is erroneously labelled K76 on the plate). Several other fragmentary reliefs so closely resemble this as to imply that they represent Arsinoe: e.g. D. K. Hill, \textit{Rev. Arch.}, XIII, 1954, p. 45, fig. 1. I hope to be able to make a corpus of these jugs in a special study.

\textsuperscript{129} From Chatby: Breccia, \textit{Sciabti}, pls. LXII, 156, LXVI, 172, 174, LXX, 188 etc. (but not of the very earliest style, as on pl. LXV, 169, 171); \textit{Breccia, Mons.}, I, pls. O, XLVII, 4. From Hadra: \textit{ibid.}, pl. LIII, 5, No. 117).

\textsuperscript{130} Levi, \textit{Terrecotte di Napoli}, pl. II, 2 (Canosa) and examples in the Museum of Tarentum.


\textsuperscript{132} At least listed as “Tanagra,” \textit{TK} II, p. 14, 5, p. 60, 1, p. 71, 2, 3.


\textsuperscript{134} Bieber, \textit{Griechische Kleidung}, pls. X, 1, XXV, 1.

\textsuperscript{135} Negative evidence also supports this dating, for the V-necked chiton alone does not appear on Attic grave reliefs or bronze mirror reliefs (except Züchner, \textit{Klappspiegel}, p. 40, fig. 18, KS 52, dated ca. 300 B.C.). It is significant that the coins of Berenike I show clearly a round neckline, those of Arsinoe II a pointed neckline. Cf. Bieber, \textit{Hellenistic Sculpture}, figs. 306, 308.
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Though No. 41 has suffered badly with time, it still shows delicate modelling of the body and hand and fine folds of drapery. The touches of gold on necklace and bracelet speak for its high quality. The back is smooth and flat, clearly made for attachment. We can assume, therefore, that it also was intended for a relief vase of a smaller scale and more conventional shape than No. 40. Presumably the figure was seated, holding a gilded alabastron or ornament. A plastic lekythos of conventional form gives us the closest parallel for the type—Aphrodite, seated beside a censer, holding a jewel-box, and accompanied by one standing and one floating Eros.\(^\text{186}\) Our piece surely represents Aphrodite in a slightly different pose. It seems to show the prototype of what later became a baroque composition.

Another fragment, No. 42, appears also to belong to this class. It represents a childish naked Eros, running or flying upward toward his right with arms extended. He reminds us of the little Eros perched on a stele from Group B (No. 4), but he is an older boy and his slim, hard body is much more like that of the Eros mould from the Coroplast’s Dump (No. 11). This similarity suggests a fourth century date. Since another close parallel comes from Halai, dating ca. 335-280 B.C.,\(^\text{187}\) we can safely place our piece in the later years of the fourth century. The fact that the figure is only a thin plaquette with a flat back, like that of the preceding piece, implies that it also comes from a relief vase of a composition dealing with Aphrodite and Eros; it is however too large to fit our No. 41.

One more fragment, No. 43, seems to have been made for attachment to a vase. This is a small colonnaded structure. It is finished behind for attachment in such a way that four columns appear on the front and one on the return at the spectator’s left. The colonnade was therefore intended to project from the background. Its horizontal top with corner akroterion suggests identification as an altar, such as occasionally occurs as a background for dancers.\(^\text{188}\) The fact that this piece bears no trace of breakage from the background suggests that it was never actually used.

Conclusions

The preponderance of figurines from the Altar Well, like those from Group B, concerns subjects drawn from daily life. Even the few figures of the deities, Aphrodite (Nos. 7-8) and Eros (Nos. 2, 42) are so conventional that they seem to have lost their religious feeling and to have become decorative motifs. The two small fragments which seem to represent the Mother of the Gods holding her phiale (Nos. 20-21) are, however, true votive types, which are concerned with a cult that was

\(^{186}\) TK II, p. 199, 4 = Knoblauch, Arch. Anz., LIII, 1938, p. 347, fig. 5 (in Berlin). H. 0.26 m. The scale of this vase is smaller than that of our fragment.


\(^{188}\) Priene, p. 363, fig. 433; cf. fig. 571; TK II, p. 143, 6.
apparently gaining force at this time. The little *arula*, presumably used for a pinch of incense in some tiny house shrine or niche, also bears witness to the importance of domestic cults. We find this group, therefore, an admirably representative selection to illustrate the interests of ordinary citizens during the earliest phase of the Hellenistic period. It shows primarily a preoccupation with quiet subjects of the world of manners but also a growing interest in the world of major arts, now being imitated in cheap materials for the delectation of the humblest citizens, and with just a hint of the penetration of Oriental cults into their homes.

Stylistically, the figurines from this well show wide variations, as is to be expected from Dr. Edwards’ comment on the wide range covered by the pottery from the final filling.¹³⁹ His analysis, “a little of the fifth century, a very large proportion of the fourth and a relatively small amount of the third century,” in general diagnoses the proportions of datable coroplastic material from this well.

The earliest fragment, possibly of the late fifth, probably of the first half of the fourth century, is the little *arula* (No. 33). Several pieces, on analogy with material from the Coroplast’s Dump, appear to belong in the third quarter of that century: the little “Tanagra” (No. 12) and the two scraps of Cybele type (Nos. 20, 21). Many others fall, so far as evidence is available, into the latter part of that period or in the last quarter: several draped female types (Nos. 10, 13, 18, 19) and two heads (26, 29), animal figures (Nos. 31, 32) and plastic reliefs (Nos. 41, 42). In this period, around 300 B.C. and probably a little after it, the largest number of pieces of which the style is clear enough to be analysed appears to belong. Among them we note most of the ordinary, rather unimaginative types: the male torso (No. 1), draped females (Nos. 14, 17), female heads (Nos. 22-25), actors’ heads (Nos. 27, 28), and the one fragment from the lowest deposit, the tragic mask (No. 30). This, from its context, cannot have been made later than the first quarter of the third century, but its parallels, which have been analysed above,¹⁴⁰ suggest that it may well be a trifle earlier.

It is interesting and possibly significant for the history of sculpture that the most original, most ambitious and artistically attractive specimens all appear to date later than the first quarter of the third century. The well-modelled torso of the little Eros (No. 2), the Aphrodites (Nos. 7, 8), and the more subtly modelled draped female figures (Nos. 9, 11, 14, 40) all indicate a new phase in coroplastic style. These are, if not direct imitations of bronzes, at least modelled in the manner of sculpture. They are small, cheap works of art rather than votives. Conventional pieces continued, of course, to be made, among them ordinary figures of women and men, which we have for various reasons attributed to the previous quarter century. But owing to their traditional types they cannot be closely dated. We have suggested

¹³⁹ See above pp. 127-128. ¹⁴⁰ See above pp. 141-142.
that the male head (No. 26) is the latest of these, and other fragments, such as the boot from a Dionysiac floating figure (No. 4), presumably also belong in the second quarter of the century. To the period just after the middle of the century, when our well was sealed, we have tentatively assigned only two pieces—the draped fragments, of which the advanced treatment can scarcely be much earlier (Nos. 15, 16).

The most unusual piece in our deposit is No. 15, with its close resemblance to the Baker Dancer and to bronzes in general, a piece that does honor to its creator and makes us regret once more the tragic condition of most Athenian terracottas. It indubitably shows transparent drapery over drapery, which has already been adumbrated in No. 14, a slightly earlier or at least less sophisticated piece. This is in itself the most important evidence for the general chronology of sculptural styles to be derived from the study of this group of figurines. Kleiner had previously indicated that transparent fine linen was already of interest to Alexandrian coroplasts of the third century.\(^{141}\) The Baker Dancer reveals how much the theme fascinated the metal-workers of that city.\(^ {142}\) But to find transparent drapery over drapery treated twice on figurines from the same deposit in Athens is startling indeed. By the mid third century or shortly before, then, and presumably in metal-work now lost to us, this brilliant device for enlivening and enriching the surface patterns of drapery must have been developed by artists well acquainted with transparent linen. We must assume, therefore, that the style originated in the home of fine linen, Alexandria. From Alexandria, the theme then travelled to Athens and to thence to Boeotia\(^ {143}\) and to Asia Minor, where, during the second century, it reached a brilliant apogee in \textit{tours-de-force} in marble and in many sculptural terracottas. But the medium most congenial to such treatment is undoubtedly metal and in the vanished masterpieces of silver and bronze alone could we trace the whole story.

\textbf{CATALOGUE}

\textit{Male Figures}

P. H. 0.052 m. Buff clay. Back modelled.
Nude male torso preserved from neck to waist except arms.

P. H. 0.048 m. Brownish buff clay.

Fragment from a nude boyish figure preserved from waist to knee, a little drapery against left side.

P. H. 0.06 m. Soft buff clay.
Fragment from chest with drapery crossing in center.

\(^{141}\) Kleiner, pp. 178, 186.
\(^{143}\) Kleiner, p. 87, noted that transparency rarely occurs on true Tanagras. S. Besques-Mollard, \textit{Mon. Piot}, XLV, 1951, pp. 53 ff. detects a slight transparency on Tanagra types of the second quarter of the third century.
P. H. 0.06 m. Buff clay.
Male leg wearing high boot, preserved from knee to ankle.

5 (T 2679-80) Upper Part of Draped Female. Pl. 27.
P. H. 0.053 m., W. 0.045 m. Very fine buff clay; very thin walls. Large opening in back.
The upper part of a draped female figure, her right arm bent across body, her left extended sideways, beneath a closely wrapped himation.

P. H. 0.037 m. W. 0.029 m. Tan clay. Face somewhat chipped.
Boy’s head, wearing thick, stippled wreath.

Female Figures

7 (T 2271) Semidraped Female. Pl. 26.
P. H. 0.104 m., W. 0.04 m. Buff to red clay.
Back unworked.
Triangular vent; traces of attachment for base. Head missing.
Standing female figure, extending her right hand forward and holding against her left side a heavy himation that is wrapped around her legs.

P. H. 0.043 m. Buff clay.
Female torso preserved from neck to waist; left arm broken away above elbow; right lifts himation behind her. A cord crosses body from right shoulder to waist between the breasts.

9 (T 2684) Draped Girl. Pl. 27.
P. H. 0.076 m. Buff clay. Traces of reddish paint on flesh.
A girlish figure wears an archaic costume, peplos over chiton; she held an object to her breast with her right hand and lifts her skirt with her left.

10 (T 2667) Mould: Draped Female. Pl. 27.
P. H. 0.082 m. Soft buff-red clay; back smoothed.
Mould for the left side of a draped female figure preserved from neck to thigh.

11 (T 2676) Lower Part of Draped Female. Pl. 27.
P. H. 0.048 m. Buff clay, back unworked. Low base cast with figure.
Lower part of a standing female figure wearing chiton under himation.

12 (T 2683) Fragment: Draped Female. Pl. 28.
P. H. 0.062 m. Buff gritty clay, very thick walls.
Fragment, broken on all sides, from left side of a standing female figure wearing chiton under himation.

13 (T 2682) Fragments: Draped Female. Pl. 27.
(a) Front: P. H. 0.089 m. (b) Back: P. H. 0.075 m. Buff gritty clay; very thick walls.
Fragments from front and back of standing female figure (or similar figures) wearing chiton and himation; left foot in forked, thick-soled shoe.

14 (T 2282) Lower Part of Draped Female. Pl. 28.
P. H. 0.081 m., P. W. 0.065 m. Buff clay baked hard. Pale blue paint on drapery; dark red border on himation.
Lower part of standing female figure, wearing chiton and himation and forked sandals.

P. H. 0.06 m. Soft buff clay; irregular back with cord-mark. Much worn.
Fragment of mould for lower part of drapery on standing female figure.
17 (T 2685) Dancer. Pl. 27.
P. H. 0.081 m. Soft buff-red clay.
Central part and right leg of moving female figure.

18 (T 2665) Mould: Lower Part of Draped Figure. Pl. 28.
P. H. 0.074 m. Pinkish buff clay; back irregular. Much worn and chipped.
Mould showing (in positive) a female figure in flying drapery moving rapidly to her left.

19 (T 2681) Fragment: Seated Female. Pl. 28.
P. H. 0.049 m. Soft buff clay; irregular back.
Seated female figure, from waist down; right leg extended forward, wearing chiton and himation draped over knees.

20 (T 2668) Mould: Seated Female. Pl. 28.
P. H. 0.043 m. Gritty buff clay; indented back.
Fragmentary mould showing lap of seated draped female holding phiale in her right hand and traces of object (lion?) in her lap.

21 (T 2669) Mould: Seated Female. Pl. 28.
P. H. 0.042 m. Soft buff clay; back indented. Worn.
Fragment from mould of a draped seated female holding up tympanon in her left hand.

22 (T 2270) Female Head. Pl. 28.
P. H. 0.036 m. Buff clay. Right eye and cheek damaged.
Female head wearing curls down her neck and an ivy wreath.

23 (T 2275) Girl's Head. Pl. 28.
P. H. 0.029 m. Buff clay. Knot broken away.
Girl's head wearing top-knot and curls down her neck and thick, stippled wreath.

24 (T 2279) Girl's Head. Pl. 28.
P. H. 0.029 m. Buff clay.
Girl's head, wearing curls down her neck and a thick roll.

25 (T 2272) Girl's Head. Pl. 28.
P. H. 0.045 m. Buff to red clay; cracked.
Girl's head, wearing curls down her neck and a thick stippled wreath.

26 (T 2277) Mould: Female Head. Pl. 29.
Max. dim. 0.038 m. Buff clay, back indented. Worn. Complete.
Mould for front of female head with round face, wearing a wreath of leaves.

Theatrical Figures

27 (T 2273) Comic Actor Head. Pl. 29.
P. H. 0.032 m. Buff clay. Solid. Broken off at neck.
Actor's head wearing pointed beard, speira and thick, stippled wreath.

28 (T 2278) Actor's Head: Silenos. Pl. 29.
P. H. 0.052 m. Buff clay, smoked.
Head of bald bearded actor as Silenos, with megaphone type of mouth, wearing wreath of leaves.

29 (T 2673) Mask: Female. Pl. 29.
P. H. 0.064 m. Soft buff clay.
Mask of a large-featured female with a little hair over her forehead.

30 (T 2292) Tragic Mask: Male. Pl. 29.
From lowest deposit in well. P. H. 0.048 m. Soft brownish buff clay. Pinkish flesh, red paint around eyes. Chipped.
Fragmentary tragic mask of frowning male face with beaked nose; eyes, nostrils and mouth pierced.

Animals

31 (T 2664) Mould: Bull's Head. Pl. 29.
P. L. 0.073 m. Soft red clay, back rounded. Worn. Broken along neck.
Fragmentary mould for a bull's head to right in the positive.
Fragmentary mould representing neck and shoulders of a shaggy animal.

Miscellaneous
P. H. 0.063 m., P. W. 0.089 m., T. 0.028 m. Buff clay with gravelly grits; fine greenish surface. Hollow.
Lower corner of a small altar with base moulding of Lesbian cymation in relief beneath a fascia. Trace of relief (probably extended leg of a horse) preserved on two sides.

34 (T 2692) Column. Pl. 30.
P. H. 0.043 m. Buff clay. Solid. Finished smoothly on top.
Small column with flattened echinos capital preserved; numerous shallow flutings.

P. W. 0.041 m. Buff to red clay; traces of black paint on rim.
Fragment of a four-spoked wheel, one quadrant mostly preserved.

H. 0.034 m., W. 0.032 m., T. 0.02 m. Traces of black glaze and attachment at back.
Small chest covered by gable roof with central ornament. One foot remains.

Bases
37 (T 2853) Base. Pl. 30.
P. H. 0.032 m. Buff-red clay.
Front of a base with wide lower moulding and traces of a figure on top.

38 (T 2852) Base. Pl. 30.
P. H. 0.031 m. Buff clay.
Corner of a stepped base, broken at top and back.

39 (T 2851) Base. Pl. 30.
P. W. 0.06 m. Buff clay. Black glaze on edge.
Corner of a plinth base with traces of upper part.

Plastic Reliefs
40 (T 2276) Head and Torso. Pl. 30.
P. H. 0.085 m., T. 0.017 m. Hard buff clay. Traces of pink on flesh and black glaze behind. Much retouching. Head split behind.
The head and upper part of a female figure wearing a chiton, high-girt with deep-V neck; traces of wreath on her head.

41 (T 2283) Female Torso. Pl. 30.
Max. dim. 0.057 m. Hard clay, much discolored. Traces of pale blue against breast, gold leaf on object in hand and on necklace and bracelet. Flat behind.
Torso of a female with drapery over her right arm, from which her hand emerges to hold an object.

42 (T 2280) Eros Flying. Pl. 30.
P. H. 0.055 m. Buff clay. Pinkish flesh. Flat back.
Torso of Eros with spread wings and arms extended forward, stretching upward.

43 (T 2269) Altar. Pl. 30.
H. 0.055 m., W. 0.031 m. Buff-red clay. Intact except for left akroterion broken off. Back finished for attachment at an angle to the background; slight protrusion beneath.
Small altar decorated with four Ionic columns on a base across front, with return of one column on left side.
DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON: THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS
Dorothy Burr Thompson: Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas
DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON: THREE CENTURIES OF Hellenistic Terracottas
DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON: THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTA
PLATE 30

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON: THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS