

THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS

(PLATES 13–22)

V THE MID–SECOND CENTURY B.C.

THE Agora deposits that are datable within the two central quarters of the 2nd century are more reliable than those of the early part of the century. Owing to the fact that a large building program was undertaken during the period *ca.* 160–140 B.C., a number of deposits can be given a lower limit in that period. As has previously been noted, however, the terracottas from such building fillings were usually old material.¹ It is therefore necessary to select examples from these contexts with care, checking their fabric and style with other dated material and regarding their contexts as merely *termini ante quos*. A list of the contexts is given on p. 50. The dating indicated is based on preliminary study of the pottery, lamps and stamped amphora handles.² Only two small deposits of the third quarter of the 2nd century contained more than one interesting figurine fragment. These we call the Papposilenos Cistern³ and the Egyptian Cistern.⁴ We have therefore added a few more selected specimens from other, less reliable contexts of the period. These pieces have been listed in numerical sequence for easy reference. Details are given in the Catalogue. In this article we use the term “mid century” to cover roughly the second and third quarters of the 2nd century B.C.

TECHNIQUE

Apart from certain earlier pieces that we have used as comparanda in order to clarify a series of types, the clay of the figurines in the present selection falls into two classes. The fabric is well washed and fired soft. The color of the clay varies from a buff or dull brownish tone (Nos. **5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13**) to the light color that we first noted in the Komos Cistern and called “blond.”⁵ This is probably the same clay as that from the Herakles Cistern which is to be discussed below (p. 53) as of Corinthian origin. Several examples occur in the mid 2nd century (Nos. **6, 11, 14–19, 21**). It is interesting to see that this is the period when the sack of Corinth in 146 B.C. would have driven coroplasts to take refuge in other cities, just as Theban craftsmen

¹ Cf. *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 301 f. I owe the photographs in the present article to Alison Frantz except that of No. **2** which is by H. Wagner; the drawings are by Jean Porter.

² Virginia Grace kindly rechecked the dating of the amphora handles in 1963. Roger Edwards has not yet reviewed our previous tentative dating of the pottery. The lamps have been published, R. H. Howland, *The Athenian Agora*, IV, Princeton, 1958.

³ Deposit D 17:5 in the list of Agora deposits. The name was given by the presence of our No. **5**.

⁴ Deposit E 6:1–2, named from the presence of several Egyptian objects.

⁵ *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 277, on nos. 1, 30.

did in 335 B.C. Here we find both the buff or brownish Athenian fabric beside the Corinthian. As both fabrics are lightly baked, the friable surface rubs away, carrying with it the slip and color.

The two bases surviving in this selection revert to earlier models. The block base is decorated on its upper and lower edges with mouldings (No. 5), which owe their inspiration to the bases of monumental sculpture. This type of base appears more and more frequently in the later Hellenistic period. The step base (No. 15), representing a small block set on a wider plinth, is also a revival of a type popular in the 5th and 4th centuries in both stone and clay.

The large rectangular opening in the back of the Papposilenos (No. 5) is presumably due to the size of the figure, but it is unusual in Attica where the vent comes in late and remains small.⁶ It may indicate that this peculiar figure has foreign connections. The oval vent that occurred on the back of No. 15 is the common type at this period. This back is uncanonical in being markedly convex, giving the figure a disproportionate depth that becomes characteristic in the late 2nd century.

Another interesting feature is observable also on No. 15 for the first time in certain pieces of this series, namely, the use of moulds made of plaster of Paris. If we look closely at three fragments from the "Egyptian Cistern,"⁷ we note certain telltale peculiarities; these are a thin wall and a smooth mechanical surface, on which appear tiny spheres, especially in the hollows. These spheres are caused by the air bubbles that occur in plaster, particularly if it is much stirred; the clay penetrates the broken bubbles and appears as beads upon the cast.⁸ It seems strange to find evidence for the use of plaster in Athens where excellent clay is abundant. No small plaster moulds, to my knowledge, have been found in Greece, but large pieces of the Roman period have recently been discovered.⁹ Certain lamps, however, that have been found in Athens copy lamps made from plaster moulds, presumably from Alexandria; they appear in contexts of the 3rd century B.C.¹⁰ No figurines made from plaster moulds of so early a date are known to me from any site, although specimens, perhaps as early as the late 2nd century B.C., bearing the unmistakable signs of plaster moulds have been noted in Morgantina,¹¹ in Tarsus,¹² and in Ilion.¹³

⁶ The "wide door" in the back is characteristic of Boeotian and other provincial work in the classical period.

⁷ Nos. 15, 16 and a small uncatalogued scrap, T 1282.

⁸ For plaster moulds at other sites, see D. B. Thompson, *Troy, Supplementary Monograph 3, The Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period*, Princeton, 1963, p. 16.

⁹ Large pieces of plaster of Paris were found within the Late Roman Fortification Wall in the Agora near a sculptor's studio where they may have been used for taking casts of statues.

¹⁰ Howland, *Greek Lamps*, pl. 47, no. 590; cf. no. 583. The context of this lamp, E 44:1, is not a reliable deposit; it may run down into the late 3rd century.

¹¹ I owe the privilege of examining these interesting pieces to Professor Erik Sjöqvist, who had previously noted the presence of the technique at Morgantina.

¹² H. Goldman, *Excavations at Gözlu-Tepe, Tarsus*, I, Princeton, 1950, p. 299.

¹³ For Ilion, see above note 8. No telltale bubbles appear on photographs of figurines from Delos and Myrina.

These first examples from plaster moulds in Athens were found in a cistern along with faience and bits of pottery with vitreous glaze. It seems possible that the figurine scraps might have been made in moulds brought into Greece from Alexandria¹⁴ by a craftsman from that region. Since the clay is identical with that of other Athenian pieces of the period, the probability is that they too were made in Greece. We can readily understand how the Greeks in Egypt, who found no good local clay, adopted the ancient Egyptian technique of employing plaster moulds, particularly for the manufacture of fine metal work, as is attested by a large body of such moulds found at Memphis. Lamps of Greek types and plaster moulds for them have also been found in Egypt.¹⁵ That this technique spread to eastern parts of the Roman world has long been known; that it was occasionally used in late Hellenistic times seems perfectly plausible. In Athens, however, it appears to have been rare in local work. A fuller understanding of the distribution of the technique would help us in our study of trade routes, particularly those followed by the crafts, in the late Hellenistic period.

TYPES AND SUBJECTS

SILENS AND SATYR: Nos. 1-7

Increasing enthusiasm for the Dionysiac cult in all its various aspects inspired the coroplasts of the Hellenistic period to develop many forms of satyrs and silens. In general they followed the theatrical canon, sometimes copying accurately the theatrical masks, sometimes merely representing the types without the open mask mouth. Two characters are clearly differentiated: the youthful silen or satyr and the leader of the chorus, the old, hairy Papposilenos. Both these types were found together in our "Papposilenos Cistern." In order to understand them, we must refer to much comparative material.

We can give in outline the development of the Papposilenos type during Hellenistic times from examples in Athens.¹⁶ By the late 4th century the theatrical types seem to have been established among coroplasts.¹⁷ Our first example (No. 1) comes from earth deposited just before South Stoa II was erected, that is before *ca.* 160 B.C. But it is obviously much earlier and may belong to the deposits laid down just after the building of South Stoa I. The black glaze and marks at the back indicate that the figure formed part of a plastic vase of the sort that died out in Athens in

¹⁴ For lamps from Alexandria, Howland, *Greek Lamps*, pl. 56, Benachi 1-4.

¹⁵ C. C. Edgar, *Greek Moulds*, Cairo, 1903, pls. XXVIII, XXXI-III, nos. 32287-32310.

¹⁶ For a recent analysis of the character and iconography of Papposilenos, see E. Simon, *Röm. Mitt.*, LXIX, 1962, pp. 146f.

¹⁷ T. B. L. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating Tragedy and Satyr Play*, London, 1962, pp. 38-41, AT 1-5, 9, 11, 12; cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 147, fig. 61, nos. 66-68.

the late 4th century.¹⁸ The fat body of the Silen is covered with thick fur, which is indicated by shallow, irregular gouging. This furry garment, the *χορταῖος*, was worn by the Silen of the stage to make him look wilder.¹⁹ This treatment of the fur continues the earlier tradition without any attempt toward plasticity. The old fellow sprawls on an uneven surface, probably a rock, as on an example from Boeotia.²⁰ His vigorous movement suggests a merry drinking bout rather than the child tendance that preoccupied the older figures of Papposilenoi. As this form of lekythos is the latest of its class and as the modelling is full of life, we must date the piece in the late 4th century.²¹

Found with much pottery of the late 4th and early 3rd century is the upper part of a smaller Papposilenos (No. 2) whose mild demeanor is in keeping with the quiet taste of the 3rd century. The fabric also suits this period. This figure wears the same shaggy garment as his predecessor; his mouth is not open, but the type is still close to the stage. His drooping eyelids and long soft moustache and gently curling beard give him the benign visage of the paedagogue, the kindly teacher of the child Dionysos.²² Indeed he is differentiated from the paedagogue only by his shagginess. He may well have carried the child on his left arm.

An interesting larger fragment (No. 3) shows the reworking of the theme in a more Hellenistic mood. The fragment shows a hairy right leg emerging from an himation, which is drawn tightly around the thigh. The thick hard fabric without a trace of white slip has been entirely hand worked: the folds carved into the firm clay, the hair rendered by shallow gouging with the graver. It is clearly an artist's model, an archetype for many later moulds. A trace of adhesive implies that the figure was cut into pieces for convenient firing and then reassembled in order to make the complete model.²³ The golden fabric and the plastic spirit place the piece somewhere in the later 3rd century.

Another fragment, this time of a mould (No. 4), is of about the same scale. It shows the left leg and drapery at the side. The himation is less vigorously modelled than on the preceding piece; the hair on the leg, however, is more meticulously rendered. Wavy lines of curly locks reverse their direction in alternate rows to suggest an artificially combed shagginess that presages the tiered arrangement of the

¹⁸ R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*, II, London, 1959, p. 57.

¹⁹ M. Bieber, *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*², Princeton, 1961, pp. 12f. and figs. 31-33, 36-38, etc.

²⁰ F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, Berlin and Stuttgart, 1903 (hereafter TK), p. 396, 4.

²¹ Higgins, *op. cit.*, pl. 42, no. 1714; cf. TK, II, p. 400, 1.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 400f.; *Corinth*, XII, pl. 29, no. 331, p. 51 (with parallels).

²³ B. Neutsch, *Studien zur vortanagräisch-attischen Koroplastik*, Berlin, 1952 (*17tes Ergänzungsheft des Jahrbuches*), p. 9, Beilage 3, 16, 17; 4, 18-23.

fur on the legs of figures from Myrina and, nearer home, from Akraiphiai near Ptoon and on our No. 5. Both these pieces also resemble a figure from the Peiraeus (Pl. 13).²⁴ The warm buff of the clay of our mould as well as the style certainly do not appear to date later than the 3rd century.

Our primary interest in these earlier specimens lies in their relation to our big Papposilenos, No. 5. This is on a much larger scale than its predecessors. The himation is rendered in heavy, cord-like folds of a leathery texture. The shaggy garment lies in thick, plastic rows of coarse locks. The mechanical regularizing of the fur suggests a stage garment; it also appears on smaller Silens. One theatrical type from Myrina is more dramatic than ours; on another from Alexandria the himation is academically handled.²⁵ The Alexandrian figure carries a large cornucopia, decorated in zones like a torch, but its shape is not that of a torch. The cornucopia will be seen below to be a favorite attribute of the old Silen, but probably was not held by our own. There are absolutely no traces of attachment on the left shoulder, where such a horn is usually carried. The stance of our big Papposilenos is frontal and non-committal; the aspect is pompous and "classicizing." The figure is more like a marble statuette of the period than like a bronze or terracotta. This shift of the coroplasts to the imitation of stone rather than metal sculpture is characteristic of the taste of the period. The large size and the base are also indications that the archetype or at least the inspiration was in marble. Few Agora terracottas are comparable in size. Various large versions of sculptural types occur at this period particularly in Delos, Corinth and elsewhere.²⁶

The head of this Papposilenos must have been at least 7 cm. in height. It would have been bearded and wreathed. We may safely assume that the face would not have been so benign as those previously noted, for according to the taste of the day, it should have been rendered in a more baroque style. The nearest Agora parallel is a smaller head of early 2nd century context (No. 6). Made of the gray-blond clay of the period, it shows a fleshy face with thick, parted lips and a heavy beard hanging in lumpy curls and a stupid, if not bestial, expression.

Our Papposilenos, in his pompous manner, must have led his chorus in a satyr play. The declaiming Papposilenos is a common terracotta type.²⁷ Traces of attach-

²⁴ S. Mollard, *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs et romains*, II, *Myrina*, Paris, 1963, pl. 97, e; pl. 172, e (Myrina); *TK* II, p. 398, 2 (Akraiphiai); p. 397, 1 ("Peiraeus"; H. 17 cm. our pl. 13, I owe the photograph to the Staatliche Museen, Berlin).

²⁵ Mollard, *op. cit.*, pl. 172, c. A. Adriani, *Annuaire du Musée gréco-romain*, Alexandria, 1935/9, pl. LXIX, no. 5, p. 171.

²⁶ *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 59, no. 601; cf. pls. 72 ff., *Corinth*, XII, pl. 18, nos. 222f., p. 41 (dated too early?); *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pl. 14, no. 6; Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, p. 49, note 105.

²⁷ *TK* II, pp. 397, 1, 4, 5; 399, 1; cf. D. I. Lazarides, *Πήλινα Ειδώλια Ἀβδηρῶν*, Athens, 1960, pl. 27, B 121, 122 (2nd century) and G. M. A. Richter, *Greek Portraits*, II (*Collection Latomus*, XXXVI, 1959), p. 40, pl. XV, nos. 52, 53, considers one example to represent Socrates. In view of

ment on his right shoulder do not seem suitable for a child, but may merely indicate attached pieces of drapery or locks of hair. In sculpture we might note an interesting parallel in the hairy Silen that plays the syrinx on the frieze of the temple of Dionysos at Teos.²⁸ If the dating of this temple *ca.* 193 B.C. is sound, the similarity of type to ours gives support for the assumption that our piece can be placed somewhat before the middle of the century.

A most peculiar fragment was found along with our Papposilenos. It represents a male head and the upper part of a large cornucopia (No. 7). The head would have had a height of *ca.* 9.5 cm. Long locks hang down beside the thick neck. The jowls are carefully modelled as though withered and furrows run down between cheeks and chin. The throat sags, but the type is not exactly that which appears on baroque marble satyrs.²⁹ The piercing of the mouth as though for a mask suggests relation with the stage. The figure presumably represented a satyr from a chorus, but there seems to be no obvious parallel, either in marble or in terracotta. The scale and fabric of this fragment are close to those of the Papposilenos (No. 5). It seems not unlikely that both pieces come from the same shop. Nor is it impossible that they formed part of a set that represented the cast of a satyr-play, like the set from a tomb in Attica that is now in the Metropolitan Museum.³⁰ The large satyr head from the Satyr Cistern is also of about the same scale and might fit into such a series.³¹ A bronze group of Dionysiac figures suggests that clay replicas might well have existed in the 2nd century.³²

The cornucopia held by our present satyr (No. 7) is an elaborate example of a hackneyed attribute of the Dionysiac cycle which later belonged to all divinities who offered prosperity. It is often shown on the arm of Papposilenos himself, but is not commonly held by his more active satyr companions. The cornucopia was known in antiquity as the "horn of Amaltheia." Amaltheia, a nymph or goat-goddess, possessed horns that exuded nectar and ambrosia. She generously broke off one to give Zeus as a symbol of plenty.³³ It poured forth unstintingly all that was desired without

the typical form of this figure and the informal, even indecorous arrangement of the himation, unthinkable on a philosopher, it seems to me impossible that it has any connection with Socrates, but is merely a Papposilenos leading his chorus. The hairy garment of the theater was not always shown.

²⁸ W. Hahland, *Jahresh.*, XXXVIII, 1950, pp. 77, fig. 32 (now lost, but the drawing gives the type). Cf. a similar figure on a marble relief, M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*², New York, 1961, fig. 594 (Silen rather than shepherd?)

²⁹ *Ibid.*, figs. 573, 576, 582. The modelling is more like that shown on old women, as *ibid.*, figs. 585f., 590.

³⁰ Bieber, *Theater*², pp. 46f., figs. 185-198.

³¹ *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, p. 246, pl. 87, no. 2.

³² J. Charbonneaux, *Les bronzes grecs*, Paris, 1958, pl. XXX, p. 102. The group consists of two maenads, a satyr and Dionysos.

³³ Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, s.v. Amaltheia (Wernicke); Daremberg and Saglio, s.v. Cornucopia, cols. 1514 ff. (Pottier).

ever running dry. Although this story is recorded only in Hellenistic sources, the conception occurs earlier. In the 4th century the goddess of chance, Tyche, was endowed hopefully with the generous horn. Filled with fruits rather than nectar, it was carried by the Ptolemaic queens, impersonations of the Good Fortune of that prosperous kingdom. Examples of its early, stocky form appear on coins of Berenike II (247-222 B.C.) (cf. Pl. 15).³⁴ In the Agora no complete terracotta figures have been preserved, but fragments of the horns from their hands permit us to trace the development of the form in clay. Since it is one of the few Athenian 2nd century types that can be studied in any depth, we shall present this series here.

CORNUCOPIAE: Nos. 8-14

Our series begins with an almost complete plain specimen from a context of *ca.* 160-150 B.C. (No. 8). Its fresh condition suggests that it was manufactured fairly near that date. Its fabric finds parallels in the Komos Cistern.³⁵ The shape is long and slender like the horns on the faience oinochoai in the hands of Queen Arsinoe III (221-205 B.C.).³⁶ The leaves that spring from the lower part as a calyx for the upper portion also appear on the jugs, as well as the tall ears of wheat that rose behind the bunch of grapes. The wide upper zone is left plain on this piece or perhaps it was painted with decoration.

Another scrap (No. 9) derives from the top of a similar cornucopia. Its coarse rings and shrunken rim mark it as a modest specimen of its type.

Other Agora pieces (Nos. 10-13, Fig. 1) are more elaborately decorated with relief scenes that imitate the magnificent horns of gold and silver that must have been made in Alexandria. These relief horns can be compared with other clay copies of relief metal work, such as *arulae* and Megarian bowls. The first example (No. 10) comes from a context of the first quarter of the 2nd century. It is larger in scale than the preceding example. The relief zone is crowned by dentils. Beneath the scene the horn was apparently fluted.³⁷ The relief zone (Fig. 1) shows three draped women; the two outer face in toward the third, who appears to be moving toward her right. This composition, which is common on plaques from Sicily and South Italy,³⁸ sometimes represents nymphs or again, musicians and priestesses. Since our figures are not clearly legible and one seems to be dancing, we should probably call

³⁴ Athenaeus, XI, 476 on horns in the form of rhyta; XI, 497 on the horn of queens; one is shown on a coin of Berenike II, *Sylloge Numorum Graecorum*, The Burton Y. Berry Collection, II, pl. 57, no. 1487, reproduced here (Pl. 15) by the courtesy of Margaret Thompson.

³⁵ *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 288, no. 4.

³⁶ The development of the horn shown on the faience oinochoai will be studied further in my publication on the oinochoai.

³⁷ *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 96, no. 1274.

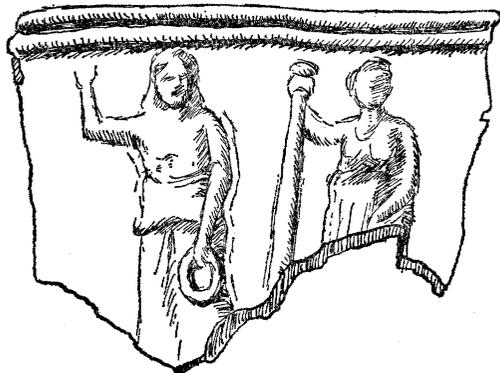
³⁸ E.g. P. Wuilleumier, *Tarente*, Paris, 1939, pl. XXVII, 3, 4; L. Bernabò Brea, *Κόκαλος*, IV, 1958, pl. 47, figs. 2, 3.



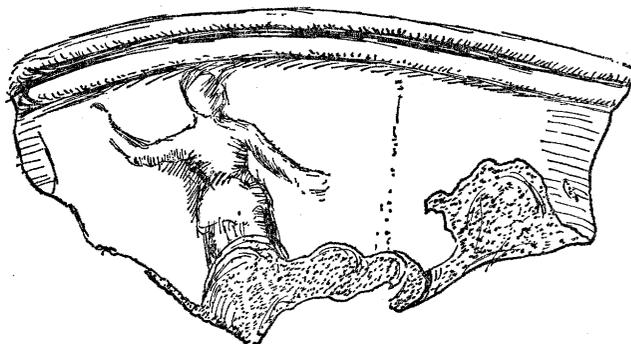
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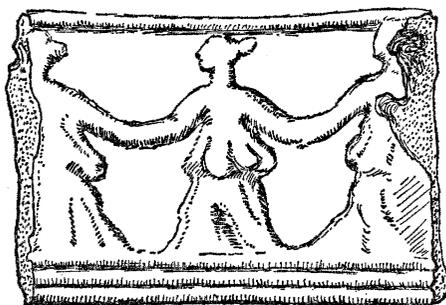
10



12



13



14

FIG. 1. Cornucopiae (1:1)

them nymphs. Perhaps they no more deserve names than the similar vague female figures on contemporary Megarian bowls.³⁹ The modelling of the original must have been delicate, in "Tanagra" style, but our piece was carelessly finished.

Even more sloppy is No. **11**, from the same archetype. Its context was slightly later than that of the preceding specimen, at least as late as the second quarter of the 2nd century. The clay is blond, somewhat smoked, as is natural at the period. The dentils are lost; the figures almost illegible. The contrast between these two pieces is marked. We should like to know whether this degeneration is merely technical or whether it is indicative of the lowering of standards during the quarter century that probably lies between them.

Somewhere near this time we must place the cornucopia carried by our satyr (No. **7**). It is much larger than those we just considered. Double rings, like those of No. **11**, set off a decorated zone that is wider than on most pieces. This zone was probably surmounted by a plain flaring rim as is shown on No. **12** from the Egyptian Cistern that must be considered with it. The relief scene on the fragment carried by the satyr (No. **7**) shows two figures (Fig. 1): a bearded semi-draped male at our left and a draped female at our right. Both lean on trees or posts. Their style, like that of the preceding relief figures, is conventional, rendered with little care. A vague resemblance may be noted to a relief in the Villa Albani in Neo-attic style.⁴⁰ On another similar cornucopia fragment, No. **12**, of which the scale is a trifle larger, the details crisper, and the color fairly well preserved, the fabric is harder baked, tan on the outside and reddish inside. These are all earmarks of earlier work, finding parallels in the Kosmos Cistern.⁴¹ Despite the discovery of this piece in a context of the second or possibly the third quarter of the 2nd century, we must probably place its origin somewhat earlier and consider it a prototype of the coarser version carried by the satyr (No. **7**). The relief scene (Fig. 1) is similar. It consists of two gilded frontal figures. That at our left raises her arm as though to hold a scepter, although none is modelled; it might have been added in paint. She also holds her wreath in the other hand. Beside her stands another figure holding a scepter.

A small fragment, No. **13**, from a pre-Sullan deposit retains a surprising amount of color. The background is an unusual mauve, produced by the superposition of pink on blue; the fruits are red. The single figure (Fig. 1) raises her arm as though in the dance. She is probably related to the dancing figures on the other horns.

The last example in our series of cornucopiae, No. **14**, was found with "Pergamene" pottery of the period after Sulla. The fabric is extremely blond. On its surface many tiny nodules indicate manufacture in a plaster mould. It must presum-

³⁹ Cf. F. Courby, *Les vases grecs à relief*, Paris, 1922, p. 349, fig. 72, no. 34.

⁴⁰ W. Fuchs, *Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs (21tes Ergänzungsheft les aJhrbuches)*, Berlin, 1959, pl. 4, d, pp. 166, no. 13, 168.

⁴¹ *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 277.

ably be dated in the middle of the 1st century. The coarse style, the strange imbricated top (of a pine cone?) and the squat shape with its sharply bent lower portion⁴² all belong to the latest Hellenistic phase.

The relief on No. 14 (Fig. 1) gives a new type: three dancing figures holding hands, their skirts trailing. These figures have previously been likened to a set on a polos of Kybele,⁴³ perhaps initiates into her cult. Here we can only say that they are dancers.

Are the reliefs on these horns related to the figures who bore them or are they related rather to the horn itself? Since the bearer might readily change with the whim of the coroplast, it seems more likely that the decoration was conceived for the horn, which was made separately and later attached. In that case, it is tempting to identify the male and female figures on the horn of our satyr (No. 7) as Amaltheia, the generous nymph, and Zeus, her beneficiary. The ladies who grace the other scenes would then be Amaltheia and the nymphs of her cortège. It is possibly significant that the nymph who leans on the tree (No. 7) was drawn, as we noted above, from the repertory of marble reliefs. The dancers may well be related to the long line of honorable maidens that dance holding hands as nymphs or graces on many reliefs from archaic times onward.⁴⁴ Werner Fuchs has suggested that our cornucopia No. 14 shows the adoption of the type in a new Neo-attic spirit.⁴⁵ It is a humble member of its class and seems rather to continue the old coroplastic tradition. Our girls do not wear the archaizing flowing garments, but the short-waisted chiton with overfold that was the contemporary everyday costume. Nor do these stumpy little figures exhibit any trace of the flutter that characterizes the Neo-Attic style. Our figures are much more like the anonymous dancers and deities on relief vases, figures that were originally drawn from the common repertory of the 3rd century by unimaginative potters of the early 2nd century.⁴⁶ Ultimately, we suppose, these figures were derived from the decorative reliefs that covered all sorts of metal vessels created by the demand of the wealthy Hellenistic princes. Of these creations, described for us by Kallixeinos' account of the procession and banquet of Ptolemy II, a golden cornucopia formed one item.⁴⁷ Unfortunately our small clay copies tell us all too little of their splendid models. But they do show us the ordinary specimens that were

⁴² Cf. Mattingly, *Roman Coins*², London, 1960, pl. XXIV, 7 (ca. 135 B.C.), pl. XXI, 1 (ca. 121 B.C.), 11 (ca. 38 B.C.), pl. XX, 8 (41 B.C.).

⁴³ Cf. *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 101, pl. 23.

⁴⁴ For a summary of the types, Fuchs, *op. cit.*, pls. 3ff., pp. 21ff.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 33, note 63. A group of similar dancers appears on a Megarian bowl in the Volo Museum.

⁴⁶ E.g. Courby, *op. cit.*, p. 342, fig. 69, no. 2; p. 345, fig. 70, nos. 13, 16, 17; p. 461, fig. 102, no. 21. Cf. a similar survival on a relief alabastron, D. B. Thompson, *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann*, pp. 328-336.

⁴⁷ Athenaeus, V, 198a.

carried during the 2nd century by Tyche and Isis-Tyche all over the Hellenistic world.⁴⁸

FEMALE FIGURES. APHRODITE: Nos. 15, 16

Two fragments appear to show the same type. Aphrodite stands on a step base in much the same attitude as the Aphrodite of Melos. With her right hand she raises her himation which is blown up by the wind to form a sail-like or shell-like background for the naked upper part of her body. This scheme, doubtless inspired by painting, appears in a tentative form in terracottas already in the 4th century. At Myrina the contrast between the nude body and the rich color and texture of the material is fully exploited in several brilliant pieces. One is in Boston;⁴⁹ another, in Berlin, is full of movement.⁵⁰ Our piece, even when complete, would have been a vapid echo of these finer examples. The shell or sail-like aspect of the drapery is often played upon as a theme, at first on plastic lekythoi, then on terracottas, in order to suggest the marine origin of the goddess.⁵¹

A little Eros stands beside our Aphrodite, but he does not play a vital part in the composition. He is an adjunct, a symbol no more significant than the fan or the flowers that on No. 16 enliven the edge of the drapery, as though carelessly caught there. These flowers are plastic additions intended to give life, but they cannot hide the limp modelling of the hand and drapery. Despite the depth of the figurine, noted above, it is an "einansichtige Gruppe," a scene translated from painting into clay. The same spirit is visible in the marble statuettes that were popular at this period.⁵² This type of figure, a creation of the 4th century, is by some unknown process revived thus at the end of the 2nd century. It was picked up by the Romans and even survived antiquity to be recast at length with vitality and ingenuity by Botticelli.

No other draped scraps worthy of consideration have been found in our deposits of this period.

HEADS: Nos. 17-21

During this period the old Praxitelean facial types and their variants were dying out⁵³ and new forms were being created for the new repertory. The first class still

⁴⁸ TK II, pp. 170-173.

⁴⁹ D. Burr, *Terra-cottas from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Vienna, 1934, pl. II, no. 6. The date of this piece now seems to me to lie in the late 3rd century B.C.; cf. *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 102, no. 1367 (mould).

⁵⁰ A. Köster, *Die griechischen Terrakotten*, Berlin, 1926, pl. 88. Cf. T. Wiegand, H. Schrader, *Priene*, Berlin, 1904, p. 352, fig. 418, a more commonplace treatment.

⁵¹ Cf. Mollard, *Cat. II Myrina*, pls. 32, 33. Roman variants are numerous, for example, B.S.A. and Hellenic Society Archaeological Reports, 1961-62, p. 50, fig. 7 and in the Kocabaş collection in Istanbul, no. 1024.

⁵² *Priene*, pp. 371-373, figs. 465-469.

⁵³ Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, pp. 31-33.

retains the soft features of the coroplastic tradition which had descended with only slight changes from the 4th century. The second class, on the other hand, turns to sculpture and to bronzes for new inspiration. These modern faces have large coarse features, clearly articulated, but without any subtlety in the modelling of details. Our Nos. **17-19** will illustrate the first class for us here; Nos. **20, 21**, the second class. These styles are naturally found in contemporary deposits. They represent the old and new traditions in the Athenian shops, traditions that coexisted well down to the end of the Hellenistic age.

A good example of the treatment of the traditional type in the mid 2nd century is a female head from our "Egyptian Cistern" (No. **17**). It could readily have belonged to an Aphrodite, but it is too large for our existing fragments (Nos. **15, 16**). The gray-blond clay, the blurred features, with incisive touches only in the neck rings and hair, are characteristic of the style. The coiffure is a complex version of the bow-knot that adorned many Aphrodite figures of the earlier Hellenistic period. In this phase the hair is drawn in two strands back from the forehead to be tied in a spreading, butterfly-shaped bow at the crown; two other strands are rolled back beside the face and tied in a bun at the nape.⁵⁴ The face itself ultimately derives from the Praxitelean type, but it has lost its piquancy. The mouth is small, set high and level; the chin descends in an almost straight line into the neck. The profile is angular, almost hatchet-shaped, as it slopes out from the hair to the nose-tip and back at a similar angle to the neck. The cheeks have little fullness. The verticality of the old classical profile is lost, largely from carelessness in the modelling of transitions. This sloppy face has a vapid expression like that on the faces of many marble Aphrodites of the period.

The same profile and much the same expression appear on a male head (No. **18**). The thick locks of hair surrounding the face in loops derive from bronzes. They have no longer the wild movement of the locks on our large Satyr head.⁵⁵ The orange flesh color of No. **18** becomes common among males at this time. The head would therefore be suitable for an Eros or a Dionysiac figure. The soft yellow-blond fabric and the style, then, as well as the context, place this head a little before *ca.* 160 B.C.

The next head (No. **19**) belongs to the same type as No. **18**. Its measurements indicate that it is a shade less than 10% smaller than its predecessor, a difference that may well represent a coroplastic generation.⁵⁶ It closely follows the archetype, not only in the locks of hair but in the tense forehead and down-turned mouth. But it looks entirely different. A deft hand has changed the character by sharpening details—by intensifying the frown, accentuating the eyelids, strengthening the muscles of the cheeks and chin. The use of tan-blond clay and the strong white slip that

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-44.

⁵⁵ *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, pl. 87, 2.

⁵⁶ Cf. R. V. Nicholls, *B.S.A.*, XLVII, 1952, p. 220, note 23.

we shall observe frequently in the next groups of terracottas is peculiarly characteristic of the late 2nd century and on to the time of Sulla. In work of this technique the pale flesh color is contrasted with the dark red hair, a color painted directly on the clay. The effect is thus made pictorial. This head calls to mind the marble portrait of an unknown man sometimes identified as King Kotys of Thrace.⁵⁷ Both have the rumpled hair, the furrowed forehead, the tense frown, the small alert eyes, the nervous mouth. Seldom does a clay head look so much like a portrait, but the earlier specimen of the same type (No. 18) shows that these elements belong less to an individual than to a style. Portraits of this style are rare. It is interesting to find an example dated before the Sullan catastrophe which presumably owes nothing to Italian influences.⁵⁸

Within the same quarter century we can also probably place two female heads (Nos. 20, 21) from contexts that date definitely later than 150 B.C. but decidedly before the sack of Sulla. Both have been burned, perhaps in the sack itself. Their style is bolder and less sensitive than that of No. 19. Both heads are tipped markedly backward, a favorite pose at this period. The wreath of No. 20 was attached by a series of jabs of the graver to the unworked back of the head, a technique that we first noted on an example of the second quarter of the 2nd century.⁵⁹ The hair has been brushed back in wide flanges on either side of the face; the eyes are shallow and thick-lidded; ⁶⁰ the mouth bowed; the narrow cheeks slope sharply to give the face the "hatchet-shape" mentioned above. The total effect is expressionless.

Similar in features and possibly from the same archetype is a head (No. 21) wearing a bank of curls above the forehead. This coiffure is neither the high *onkos* of tragedy nor the Flavian court fashion. It can be observed in Asia Minor as early as the time of the statue of "Artemisia" and reaches considerable popularity in the 2nd century.⁶¹ The face of this head resembles that of a Nike from Myrina which wears this same coiffure.⁶² Since our head appears to be of Athenian manufacture, we may regard it as another example of the influence of Asia Minor on terracotta style in Athens.⁶³ The hard, unmodulated finish suggests that here, as also on Nos. 5 and 15, the coroplast was following marble prototypes.

⁵⁷ *J.H.S.*, XVII, 1897, p. 324, pl. XI, identified as a king who died before 17 B.C. L. Laurenzi, *Ritratti greci*, Florence, 1941, p. 121, pl. XXX, no. 75, dated ca. 200 B.C.

⁵⁸ G. M. A. Richter, *Greek Portraits*, III (*Collection Latomus*, XLVIII), pls. XXXf., figs. 141f., pp. 35f. shows a marble head in Copenhagen not unlike ours.

⁵⁹ *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 312, no. 18.

⁶⁰ Cf. Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, pp. 28f.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 39f.

⁶² Burr, *Boston Myrinas*, pl. XXIX, no. 72.

⁶³ *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 310, no. 15.

CONCLUSION

Obviously we do not have sufficient evidence for many concluding comments on the style of the mid 2nd century. In passing we have noted the growing predilection for mythological types, a reaction from the almost exclusive preoccupation with genre that characterized the preceding century. The large scale of the figures of Papposilenos and the satyr suggests that the shrines or house niches were becoming larger and religious interests increasing. It is also noticeable that at this time clay begins to follow marble rather than bronze and to produce a number of academic "objets d'art" for those who could not afford the better media. The number of pretentious cornucopiae that we reviewed implies, even in the absence of their bearers, a rising interest in symbolism, a taste soon to be converted to a banal formula.

The heads that were studied here point to the dichotomy between the traditional coroplastic style and the academic revival. It is an eclectic period. As men began to travel widely and to desire souvenirs, the demands of the tourist trade aroused a new coroplastic energy, but in an entirely different spirit than in the classical period. In our next article we shall see how the coroplasts met the new demands.

CATALOGUE

The terminology used in this Catalogue is that previously followed in this series of articles; see *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 288. The contexts are indicated before the measurements; for their chronology, see the list, p. 50. The grouping is not by contexts but by types.

SILENS AND SATYR

1 (T 3296) Seated Papposilenos. Pl. 13.

Area M 16. P. H. 11 cm.; P. T. 4.8 cm. Buff clay; burned. Traces of red on left leg. Black glaze on back with marks of attachment. Back closed, without vent.

Torso and thighs of fat hairy figure that was originally attached to a vase.

Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, p. 279, A 13; T. B. L. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating Tragedy and Satyr Play*, p. 40, AT 12.

2 (T 111) Papposilenos fragment. Pl. 13.

Area G 17, disturbed late 4th to early 3rd century context. P. H. 4.4 cm. Buff clay, fired grayish. Pinkish flesh; yellow on fur;

blue-green on leaves. Back broken away.

Wears a hairy garment, long beard, moustache. On head bound wreath over ivy wreath.

3 (T 2959) Papposilenos fragment. Pl. 13.

Disturbed context. P. H. 7.3 cm. Golden buff clay; thick hard fabric; glaze adhesive on joint; very smooth surface with no slip. Burned. Broken all round.

Model for a silen figure wearing himation drawn tightly over a hairy right leg.

4 (T 2601) Mould fragment: Papposilenos. Pl. 13.

Disturbed context to 3rd century. Max. dim. 12.5 cm.; T. 3 cm. Pinkish buff clay with fine slip outside. Back much broken.

Lower part of left side of sizable figure wearing himation over hairy left leg.

5 (T 2929) Papposilenos. Pl. 14.

D 17:5. P. H. 38 cm.; H. base 4.8 cm.; W. base 12.5 cm.; Max. dim. shoulder fragment

11.3 cm. Dull buff clay. Red glaze at joint and on top of right shoulder. Back mouldmade but unmodelled; large rectangular opening. Square opening inside arm.

Much of figure preserved, including non-joining right shoulder. Wears hairy garment under himation; traces of beard. Double-sole'd forked sandal. High moulded base. Many small non-joining fragments uncatalogued.

Webster, *Mon. Illust. Trag. and Sat. Play*, p. 41, AT 15; he associates with this figure the cornucopia that was later found to join our No. 7.

6 (T 3555) Head of Papposilenos. Pl. 13.

O 17:7. P. H. 5.3 cm. Blond-gray clay; orange flesh. Broken across forehead.

Bearded head with thick-lidded eyes, stubby nose, thick lips. Wears an ivy wreath.

7 (T 3671) Satyr fragment. Fig. 1; Pls. 13, 14.

D 17:5. P. H. cornucopia 9 cm.; satyr fragment 4.5 cm. Dull buff clay; reddish flesh; dark red on hair. Most of head missing. Mouth pierced; hole in corner of left jaw (for firing?). Upper part of cornucopia hollow.

Chin and neck of figure that held cornucopia high against left shoulder. On the cornucopia double ring mouldings from relief scene of two figures: draped bearded male looking to his right, draped female looking to her left. Both lean on trees.

CORNUCOPIAE

8 (T 3133) Cornucopia. Pl. 15.

Filling that immediately preceded Stoa of Attalos. P. H. 9.5 cm.; diam. of top 2.6 cm. Pale buff clay, reddish at core. Hard fabric; solid. Back flattened. Yellow sizing on spiral; pink on upper part. Broken at both ends.

Thin stem, spirally twisted at bottom; smooth upper part emerges from leaf calyx and is bound by fillet; flaring rim with grapes hanging over it; other fruit missing.

9 (T 2712) Cornucopia fragment. Pl. 15.

C 20:2. P. H. 4.3 cm. Buff clay; traces of red glaze adhesive at lower right. Solid. Broken at bottom. Most of fruit missing.

Upper part with ring mouldings. Traces of attachment to left arm.

10 (T 3557) Cornucopia fragment. Fig. 1; Pl. 15.

M 18:10. P. H. 5.3 cm.; W. top 3.1 cm.; H. frieze 2.2 cm. Pale buff clay. Broken below, top, back. Mouldmade front, with hand-flattened back; solid.

Grapes, apple, fig preserved on top with traces of rising wheat behind. Dentil moulding above relief frieze showing three draped female figures. Stem apparently fluted below.

11 (T 1922) Cornucopia fragment. Pl. 15.

E 15:4. P. H. 5.2 cm.; W. top 3 cm.; H. frieze 2.5 cm. Blond clay, gray at core. Solid. Broken at both ends. Fruit missing.

Dull impression of three draped females in upper zone, as on No. 10.

12 (T 1246) Cornucopia fragment. Fig. 1; Pl. 15.

E 6:1-2. P. H. 9.4 cm.; diam. at top 5.3 cm.; P. H. relief 4.3 cm. Tan clay, reddish core. Two moulds; join by glaze adhesive. Broken at back and bottom. Yellow sizing covered with black indicates gilding⁶⁴ on mouldings and figures. Some fruit missing.

Cornucopia had been held against left arm of figure. Grapes and cake(?) preserved on top, which is rounded. Flaring mouth decorated with ring mouldings. Relief zone shows one draped female facing out, with upraised right arm; the other holds a scepter.

13 (T 2557) Cornucopia fragment. Fig. 1; Pl. 15.

C 20:2. P. H. 6.4 cm.; diam. at top 3.5 cm.; P. H. frieze 3.3 cm. Buff clay; yellow sizing for gilding on mouldings and figures. Mauve

⁶⁴ See Burr, *Boston Myrinas*, p. 23.

background composed of blue and pink; red on fruits. Two moulds; join by glaze adhesive. Traces of attachment to left side of figure. Broken all round.

Ring mouldings above a single dancing figure.

14 (T 550) Cornucopia fragment. Fig. 1; Pl. 15.

Late Hellenistic context with some late Roman disturbance. P. H. 9 cm.; diam. at top 3.7 cm.; H. frieze 2.6 cm. Blond clay. Traces of yellow sizing for gilding on mouldings and background; pink on drapery. Broken at both ends. Hollow; front part only preserved. Plaster mould.

Imbricated top and ring mouldings. Frieze shows three dancers holding hands moving to their right. Lower shaft plain with ring mouldings.

Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, p. 101, pl. 23.

FEMALE FIGURES

15 (T 1244) Aphrodite and Eros. Pl. 15.

E 6:1. P. H. 12 cm.; H. base 2.5 cm. Blond clay, soft fabric. Traces of oval vent. Back convex, unmodelled. Step base. Plaster mould. Restored at proper left side.

Lower part of group; Eros stands at left of Aphrodite. Her himation is wrapped around her legs and lifted by her right hand.

16 (P 8593) Drapery from Aphrodite figure. Pl. 15.

E 6:2. P. H. 7.8 cm. Blond clay. Yellow sizing for gilding on fan; pink on flowers. Glaze adhesive at join between back and front. Most of back missing.

Fragment, perhaps from plastic vase, of right hand holding up himation; apparently from

preceding type, but larger in scale. Quatrefoil flowers attached along edge of drapery.

HEADS

17 (T 1245) Female Head. Pl. 16.

E 6:1. P. H. 5.8 cm. Blond-gray clay. Dark red on hair. Back of neck and top of hair broken away.

Tipped slightly to left. Wears hair in part, drawn up to bow at top of head and to knot at nape. Grooves on neck.

18 (T 3343) Male Head. Pl. 16.

Area H 14. P. H. 4.6 cm. Blond clay; orange flesh. Incised band and traces of adhesive for attachment of wreath. Back unworked.

Hair in curls around face. Grooves on neck.

19 (T 1026) Male Head. Pl. 16.

D 12:2. P. H. 4 cm. Dull buff clay; dark red on hair; pinkish flesh. Back broken.

Head from same archetype as preceding, but smaller.

20 (T 3543) Female Head. Pl. 16.

Area A 9, under modern ticket office, Channel 7. P. H. 5.5 cm. Tan-reddish clay. Burned. Back unworked.

Wears wreath of fruit beneath thick wreath, which is attached by jabs of graver. Head tilted backward to left.

21 (T 993) Female Head. Pl. 16.

E 10:1. P. H. 5.3 cm. Blond-gray clay, burned. Red on hair; yellowish flesh. Back missing; traces of glaze adhesive.

Wears double row of curls topped by wreath, which is partly missing. Head tipped backward.

CONTEXTS

Listed below are the contexts in which the figurines discussed in this article were found. The Deposit numbers of these contexts are those of the National grid, to be found on the Actual State Plan in the volumes of the *Athenian Agora* series. For the evidence on which the dating is based, see detailed references given in *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 317.

- Area A 9, channel 7—late 2nd century to Sulla sack: **20**
 Area H 14, working floor for Middle Stoa—to ca. 160 B.C.: **18**
 C 20:2 Terracotta Factory deposit—to sack of Sulla: **9, 13**
 D 12:2—late 2nd century to Sulla and after?: **19**
 D 17:5 Upper Filling—third quarter of 2nd century: **5, 7**
 E 6:1-2—third quarter of 2nd century: **12, 15-17**
 E 10:1—late 2nd to early 1st century: **21**
 E 15:4—second quarter of the 2nd century: **11**
 M 18:10—early 2nd century: **10**
 O 17:7—to ca. 150 B.C.: **6**

VI LATE SECOND CENTURY B.C. TO 86 B.C.

The siege of Athens by Sulla and its resultant sack in mid March, 86 B.C. set a firm lower date for the late Hellenistic period in Athens.¹ Sulla came, he said, not to learn ancient history, but to punish rebels, which he did so effectively that he virtually ended ancient history in that metropolis. Although he is said to have spared the houses of the citizens, our excavations bear testimony to considerable damage in the residential sections near the Agora, sufficient indeed to cause the filling of many wells and cisterns with refuse. This abundant material provides us with clearer evidence for the style and technique of coroplastic art during the decades preceding the destruction than we possess for the preceding century. We shall therefore use the date of the siege of Athens as the line of division between the Middle and Late Hellenistic periods. Owing to the existence of this body of material larger than we could present for the earlier decades, we shall revert to our previous system of study of the material by groups. This article deals with those that were deposited no later than the time of Sulla. They inevitably also contain some earlier pieces. The first group in this series includes the pottery which was published under the title, "Group E"; the next is the Herakles Deposit and finally we give selections from two miscellaneous deposits.²

VI, A: GROUP E (E 15:2, F 15:2)

A fragment of a marble inscription dating from 122/1 B.C. found in the filling of the cistern sets a formal upper limit for the deposit; in all likelihood, however, the stele was broken in 86 B.C. and discarded soon thereafter.³ The amphora handles

¹ A vivid account of the catastrophe, with full ancient references, is given by W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, London, 1911, pp. 448ff.

² The photographs are all by Alison Frantz.

³ The pottery from this group was published by H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 392-427.

appear to fall well before Sulla, but the pottery goes down into the early 1st century.⁴ The drawshaft (E 15:2) contained a terracotta head (No. 3); the chamber (F 15:2), which apparently was filled a little later, held the draped fragment and the kithara (Nos. 1, 2).

TECHNIQUE

The technique of the few pieces found in this cistern is not homogeneous. The draped figure (No. 1) has been fired hard; its surface remained a golden buff, but its core turned pinkish as in pieces from the Kosmos Cistern and in other examples of the early 2nd century.⁵ This hard ware with glossy surface has previously been encountered in deposits of the first half of the 2nd century.⁶ We must therefore regard our No. 1 as probably a survivor from a period long before the date of its discard. The common fabric of the late 2nd century is markedly different, as is well attested by the groups that follow.

The head (No. 3), on the other hand, is different from either of the two fabrics just mentioned. Its color is brownish, not unlike that of the Papposilenos and satyr of the preceding article in this series, but even browner.⁷ The head is poorly joined between back and front so that the neck appears very thick. The hair is carefully stippled all over the head to give the effect of closely cropped hair. Glaze was used to set the flat-bottomed neck on the body, a new technique in Athens. These details all seem to be of earlier date than techniques prevalent at the time of Sulla.

TYPES AND SUBJECTS

The draped figure (No. 1) probably held the kithara (No. 2), though the fabric is not identical. The kithara is often played by ladies from Myrina who may or may not be regarded as Muses.⁸ The breaks on the left of the figure and on the right of the kithara suit the hypothesis that the instrument was resting beside her on a post.

The size and quality of this figure are unusual in Athens. It is interesting to see how the rendering differs from the small genuine "Tanagras" of the early 3rd century. Structurally, the body retains an old form that has been called the "Sophokles-type" because it follows the Lateran Sophokles.⁹ Owing to the damaged condition

⁴ Though this cistern was probably abandoned in 86 B.C., it contained much earlier material. V. Grace believes that the stamped amphora handles are appreciably earlier than the time of Sulla (June, 1963).

⁵ *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 283, no. 4; p. 305, no. 4.

⁶ *Corinth*, XII, pl. 22, no. 256.

⁷ Above, pp. 34-35.

⁸ E. Pottier, S. Reinach, *La Nécropole de Myrina*, Paris, 1888 (hereafter *Nécropole*), pl. XXXIII, 6; *TK*, II, p. 67, 3, 4.

⁹ G. Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren*, Berlin, 1942, pp. 95-105, pl. 5. The E scratched on the back of our figure must be discussed later in our final publication.

of this example, we cannot appreciate the pose or structure of the figure but only the drapery. The folds follow their original courses, but not in the luxuriant variety of earlier days.¹⁰ They emphasize the main lines, leaving most of the surface restfully quiet. These folds are light and thin; but they still retain their proper structure. The rounded upper edge of each fold curls like a rising wave over the material beneath. Such folds exhibit marked profiles along the contour of the body. In Myrina late "Tanagra" types are often lightly etched with folds like these, which are fundamentally linear in effect.¹¹ Large dramatic figures treated in this style appear in Abdera and in Ilion in the early 2nd century.¹² Coroplasts as well as artists were beginning to elevate the modest women of old Greece to the station of court ladies as was suitable for the subjects of an Asiatic kingdom.¹³ Indeed the fabric and style of our piece are peculiar in Athens and more like those of the period in Pergamon.¹⁴ Our present knowledge does not permit us to decide whether or not it is an import.

The male head (No. 3) is well enough modelled to suggest comparison with other pieces. The style, like the fabric, indicates that it was made somewhere in the middle of the 2nd century. It invites comparison particularly with a head from the Komos Cistern.¹⁵ Both heads are sharply inclined, but our head is tipped markedly backward in the manner of other mid 2nd century heads.¹⁶ The features on the two heads also differ. That from the Komos Cistern follows the coroplastic tradition. The modelling is plastic. The brows are tensely drawn; the eyes are deep-set; the mouth is soft and mobile; the chin prominent. The features on the head from our present group, in contrast, though bold are fundamentally shallow, applied, as it were, upon the rounded surface rather than growing out of it. The strong-lidded eyes and thick-lipped mouth are emphatic rather than subtle, like those of no. 21 in our mid 2nd century series.¹⁷ The hair is stippled like that on the Komos Cistern head, but more carelessly. This analysis stresses trifling stylistic differences, but they are consistent and serve to show the trend, all through the 2nd century, from the subtle plastic modelling of the old coroplastic tradition to a bolder, coarser treatment. The sculptural type of our head, with its upward tilt of the head and gaze past the spectator, reminds us of the bronze

¹⁰ Cf. *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pl. 18, 6; XXVI, 1957, pl. 34, no. 11.

¹¹ Burr, *Boston Myrinas*, pl. XXXVIII, no. 102; *Nécropole*, pl. XXXVII, 4, 5; pl. XXXVIII, 2.

¹² Lazaridis, *Abdera*, pl. 16, A 33. Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, pl. XXXII, no. 156; pl. XXXIII, no. 153.

¹³ Cf. the courtly style of the 3rd century figures in the tomb paintings of Kazanlık, V. Micoff, *Le Tombeau antique de Kazanlık*, Sofia, 1954, pl. XXVIII.

¹⁴ This resemblance is best to be observed on material in the Bergama Museum, to be published by Miss Eva Hoffmann; a head suitable for our piece appears in *Altertümer von Pergamon*, I, 2, Beibl. 34, p. 265, no. 51.

¹⁵ *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pl. 72, no. 8.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. 83, no. 20.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 83, no. 21.

head from Delos¹⁸ and perhaps even more of the vigorous realistic coin portrait of Mithradates IV (170-150 B.C.).¹⁹ Our head then, like the draped figure, must have been old when it was discarded into the cistern.

VI, B: HERAKLES DEPOSIT (C 18:3)

CONTEXT

A compact mass of waste, presumably from a coroplast's shop, was found just under the hypocaust of a Roman Bath, called the "East Bath," at the western foot of the Areopagus.²⁰ The pottery was composed of typical late Hellenistic wares, such as late Megarian bowls, incised West Slope ware, barbotine ware, and one early Pergamene plate, all very much like that found in the preceding Group E.²¹ It presumably was all discarded at the time of Sulla. Among innumerable terracotta fragments, only a few were decently preserved, but they warrant publication as the largest group of the period from the Agora. Quantities of very small scraps of terracottas that did not join nor even reveal their types, as well as bits of clay and kiln props, indicate the origin of the dumped material in a factory, but are not worthy of publication. The recognizable types are numerous and varied, showing a new fashion in Athenian coroplastics.

TECHNIQUE

Except for one markedly different specimen, which looks earlier (No. **16**), the fabric of the terracottas in this as in the following contexts is strikingly homogeneous. The clay is "blond" (sometimes tan in hue, Nos. **3**, **6**), often smoked gray. This clay can be shown by analysis of the tempering material to derive from Corinth, a mixture of the red clay from Acrocorinth and white clay from the valleys.²² The fabric is lightly fired and soft. The white slip is usually very thick, smooth and tenacious; it is used not only as a sizing for color, but as a color itself, on a cloak or on a face (No. **11**). The color itself is more fugitive and rather crass. The flesh has a strong jaundiced tone, rather than the healthy orange suntan of the mid 2nd century. The dark red of the hair is dull; the madder pink of the drapery sharp. In

¹⁸ G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, New Haven and London, 1962, fig. 240.

¹⁹ M. Bieber, *Sculpture*², fig. 325.

²⁰ See *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 279 ff.

²¹ The dating of this pottery was kindly provided by H. S. Robinson and John Hayes, who consider that it falls well before Sulla. The stamped handles were checked by V. Grace in 1963.

²² Miss Marie Farnsworth kindly analysed specimens from this deposit for me and found them identical with the clays found in these areas of Corinth. She assures me that the minerals found in them are not found in Attic clays.

size the figurines of this group are in general decidedly smaller than those of the mid 2nd century. They are neatly, if mechanically, made in two moulds, both the heads and the bodies. The backs are markedly convex, giving the figures an unattractive clumsiness (Nos. **2, 10-13**), noted previously in the earlier examples of this style.²³ This bulkiness was, however, little noticed, for the composition of all the pieces is in one plane, even the groups and scenes (Nos. **7, 8**). By this time vents were all oval.

Bases are all moulded, as in other late 2nd century deposits such as the shops of Delos.²⁴ Plastic ornament is very common, applied as surface elaboration as in the Egyptian Cistern; ²⁵ it becomes more luxuriant in the 1st century.

TYPES AND SUBJECTS

JOINTED FIGURE: No. **1**

One tiny fragment of a seated figure may have been articulated; that more such figures were not found is strange, for the type was flourishing at the time.

MALE FIGURES: Nos. **2-3**

The pair of stocky legs (No. **2**) is a new type which is more fully illustrated in a fragment from the same mould (T 3550; Pl. 17).²⁶ The short chiton suggests that the type was that of an actor-slave.

Another small figure (No. **3**) is nude. He holds his hand on his hip in a position frequent in the dance, with his cloak drawn up over his head.²⁷

MALE HEADS: Nos. **4-7**

The head of Herakles (No. **4a**) that gives this deposit its name is a good piece of modelling which stands out among the commonplace material with which it was found. Its gentle expression might perhaps identify it with Zeus or Asklepios but for the presence of the strophion, the athlete's crown. This must be the hero who was adored particularly in the Hellenistic period.

This particular head is so close to the head of a Herakles Epitrapezios recently found at Alba Fucens ²⁸ that we might venture to identify it as copying the famous statue of Lysippos. This hypothesis is supported by the presence in our deposit of

²³ This type of back was first noted in our Egyptian Cistern, above p. 35.

²⁴ Above, p. 35. Cf. Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, pl. LIV, nos. 272f.

²⁵ See above note 23.

²⁶ From Deposit O 17:5, of the early 2nd century, disturbed in the early 1st century after Christ. P. H. 7.5 cm.

²⁷ Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 147, fig. 61, no. 63, a satyr dancing with his arms akimbo; cf. Webster, *Monuments Illustrating Tragedy and Satyr Play*, p. 39, AT 2.

²⁸ F. De Visscher, *Heracles Epitrapezios*, Paris, 1962 (*L'Antiquité classique*, XXX, 1961, 1), pls. IV-VI; cf. L. Pernier, "Copie italiche dell'Herakles Epitrapezios di Lisippo," *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1937, I, pp. 33-39, publishes a copy, not unlike ours, that was found with a coin of Julius Caesar.

a large left leg (No. 4b) of suitable scale and fabric to go with the head and bearing the same suntanned flesh color. The musculature of this leg is very pronounced. The protruding heel never touched the base, a detail which can be paralleled on certain copies of the Herakles Epitrapezios.²⁹ We cannot, however, rule out that our fragments may come from a figure of Herakles in another pose.

In this connection it is interesting to compare our head with two others from the Agora. The first (T 1336; Pl. 18) has already been discussed in relation to our large Satyr head.³⁰ Its context permits it to date as late as the early 2nd century,³¹ but the vivid plasticity of the modelling, the fairly soft fabric and the treatment of the eyes all suggest that it was made before the end of the 3rd century. The head is tossed sharply to its right and tipped backward so that it accords well with Martial's description of a small bronze version of Lysippos' famous statue:

“ quaeque tulit spectat resupino sidera vultu ”
(*Ep.* IX, 43)

The crown was apparently composed of leaves bound by a twisted fillet or strophion as on several versions of this statue.³² The eyebrows are knotted and the right eyeball, which would have been heavily shadowed, was touched by the graver to give it life. The back of the head is left unmodelled, an unusual feature in a rendering like a bronze. This looks like a study piece, not unlike the silen head from our Group B.³³ Indeed, were it not for the structure of the face and of the hair, which appear to have been drawn from a mould, and for the color, we might regard this head as a model. As it is, we may merely note its resemblance to the heads of Herakles in Stuttgart and in Vienna³⁴ and surmise that the inspiration was a work of the Lysippan school.

The second head to be discussed (T 2297; Pl. 18) comes from a context that contained early Megarian bowls and West Slope ware. It is mouldmade from the same prototype as the preceding piece, but it was not made from that head as archetype. Both heads wear the strophion, but on the second example the wreath has been cast with the head, not applied to it. The eyes are also very like. The hair, on the other hand, is worked in shallow waves all over the head as on a bronze. The fabric of this second head is like that of some of the later pieces in the Komos Cistern;³⁵ its color is a warm buff, fired fairly hard, pinkish at the core. We may therefore place it

²⁹ De Visscher, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV, fig. 22; pl. XXVI, fig. 24.

³⁰ *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1962, p. 246, pl. 87, T 1336.

³¹ Deposit N 13:3 was in general not later than the second quarter of the 3rd century, but further investigations show a fragment of a Megarian bowl, two lamps and a coin of ca. 172 B.C. that bring the date of abandonment down into the early 2nd century.

³² De Visscher, *op. cit.*, pls. XX, XXIII, fig. 19.

³³ *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pl. 35, no. 6.

³⁴ De Visscher, *op. cit.*, pl. XVIII, fig. 9; pl. XXVI, fig. 24.

³⁵ *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pl. 74, nos. 4 and 16.

slightly later than the preceding example, say in the early years of the 2nd century. Spiritually, it seems less intense than the first head. Although the eyes are still deep-set and alert, the forehead furrowed, the beard somewhat wild, the glance seems to be turned inward rather than upward. A calmer mood prevails as on a large marble head from Pergamon and on a clay version in Florence.³⁶

The vitality that fills these two small heads has faded from the third, that is No. **4a** from the Herakles Cistern. In size it is identical with the two preceding pieces. It obviously follows the same archetype. Certain slight differences, however, have altered the whole aspect of this version. The head sits straight on the neck, a pose inevitably suggestive of calm. The strophion has been attached by jabs of the graver, a technique that we first observed in the second quarter of the 2nd century.³⁷ The hair is lightly incised, as on the preceding example. The forehead is higher than on the other pieces, an intellectual rather than an athletic brow. The eyes are small and benign, without focus and without fire. The nose is thick, with a blunt tip of the same width as the bridge. The lips are smaller and less sensuous than previously. In the beard we observe the greatest change; it has shrunk and grown neat. All in all, this head looks like an academic rendering of the previous types. In spirit it has close analogies in many academic bronzes, in many terracottas which have been collected by M. Laumonier,³⁸ and even in certain marbles.³⁹ Of these perhaps the closest is the head of the colossal statue of the Epitrapezios type recently found at Alba Fucens.⁴⁰ De Visscher sees in this statue the older Herakles, not the rugged athlete. This is the Herakles who was highly regarded by the Romans, the hero who had successfully accomplished his tasks, who had vanquished death and achieved immortality.⁴¹ In this mood Herakles received his devotees as *parasitōi* at a ritual banquet over which he presided, *epitrapezios*, as the beneficent genius of the feast.

The artistic taste that created the first heads can be related reasonably closely to the Lysippan School. The spirit that infuses our latest head is rather the sober academic mood of Damophon and Eukleides.⁴² Another example from the same cycle is a bearded protome to be discussed below (p. 67, No. **6**).

Another male head, a mere fragment (No. **5**), is of even larger scale; unbearded, the face would have had a height of at least 6 cm. The knotted forehead and untidy locks are like those of Gauls and Satyrs.⁴³ The eyes protrude, with thick narrow lids,

³⁶ De Visscher, *op. cit.*, pl. XVI, fig. 8; cf. J. Vogt, *Expedition Ernst von Sieglin*, II, 2, pl. XXXV, 3, p. 119. P. H. 7.6 cm., handmade?

³⁷ *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 312, no. 18.

³⁸ *Délos*, XXIII, p. 132.

³⁹ De Visscher, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV, fig. 4; pl. XV, fig. 6; pl. XVII, fig. 10.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pls. IV-VI, p. 14 dated in the early 1st century B.C.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-39.

⁴² Bieber, *Sculpture*², figs. 665f., 671f.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, figs. 373, 424f.

a form of eye that reached its greatest popularity *ca.* 200 B.C. but continued for some time thereafter.⁴⁴ This head seems also to revert for its inspiration to the art of the Pergamene School.

It is distressing that a small bearded head (No. 6) has lost most of its surface. The pointed beard is modelled in soft shallow locks that also look as though they had been copied from a classical prototype. It appears softer and more academic than the Papposilenos head which we considered characteristic of the mid 2nd century⁴⁵ and again illustrates the emasculation of once vigorous types.

DRAPED CHILD: No. 7

In keeping with our previous observation that male types seem to predominate at this period, we note that only a few scraps of drapery and one poor figure represent the honorable "Tanagra" tradition. This figure of a child (No. 7) stands in quiet pose, wrapped in an himation. The surface and the surviving part of the head are almost blank. Only the right arm and leg are sufficiently articulated to indicate the type. It is in fact a common type. In its earliest Hellenistic stages, it represents a bright little boy, the counterpart of a little girl whom we first met in the Coroplast's Dump.⁴⁶ It is illuminating to trace this type through the long history that ended in its effacement.

The Hellenistic type goes back ultimately to the canonical draped figure of the early 4th century. The difference between a specimen from an early 4th century well in the Agora and an example from a context of the very latest 4th century⁴⁷ is striking. The right arm is bent upward under the himation which is drawn to the left hip by the left hand gathered in a large fold. The earlier figure is rigid and the drapery merely indicated. The later piece has more volume than the photograph suggests. The right arm asserts itself through the cloak; the left leg is firmly advanced; the himation hangs down the left side in a series of overlapping edges. A little later in style is a pretty piece in the British Museum (Pl. 19).⁴⁸ The theme has here been delicately refined by articulating the right arm and leg with clarity, by drawing a few fine folds across the body and by curling the fold of the himation into a spiral that suggests both weight and volume. Such subtlety is characteristic of the years around 300 B.C. The next step is visible in a number of run-of-the-mill copies of this type that were found on the Pnyx in a sanctuary deposit of conservative character.⁴⁹ In a context

⁴⁴ Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, p. 29.

⁴⁵ Above, pp. 38-39.

⁴⁶ *TK*, II, p. 240, 3, 4. *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 132-136, pl. 34, no. 20.

⁴⁷ Agora T 3363; from Deposit Q 15:2, H. 11 cm.; T 168, from Deposit F 16:6, P. H. 8 cm.

⁴⁸ H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Terracottas . . . in the British Museum*, London, 1903, pl. XXX, C 334, here reproduced by the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. H. 9.8 cm. Acropolis Museum 1275 is a delicate elaboration of the type, which may well have inspired the Boeotian copy.

⁴⁹ Cf. examples from the Pnyx, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 173, fig. 19, 1, m.

in the Agora that dates from the mid to the late 3rd century we find a spirited reworking of the type (T 884; Pl. 19).⁵⁰ Its fabric is harder and duller in color than the previous examples and it has an oval vent. We may date it therefore probably not long after the middle of the 3rd century. It exhibits the strong plastic sense characteristic of the period. The rather flat composition has now a marked volume; the right arm is sharply bent to set off a triangular area at an angle to the front. The figure tapers toward the bottom, giving an effect of slenderness to the type that retains its original height.⁵¹ It is interesting to note that whereas on the earlier examples the depth was produced by the advanced leg and the rounded body, on this figure the structure of the body is lost under the enveloping himation and the hanging fold swings forward to replace the function of the advanced leg in the earlier composition. In other words, the feeling for the structure of the body has been replaced by an interest in the mass of textiles. Beside these skilful pieces, our specimen from the Herakles Deposit is indeed a decadent descendant. It has so flattened out that all sense of volume is lost. That it was not alone in its period is shown by the numerous fragments of dispirited figures that fill museums. The most degenerate form, decidedly smaller than our figure, appears in an early Roman context in the Agora (T 3063; Pl. 19).⁵² To judge from its pale blond fabric and complete lack of modelling, it was probably made in the 1st century B.C. It is thinner in relation to its height than No. 7 and even more indistinct.

FEMALE HEADS: Nos. 8, 9

A head fragment (No. 8) of about the same scale as our No. 5 is more mechanically rendered than the other heads in this deposit. It resembles a complete large face that will be discussed below (Miscellaneous Contexts, No. 4) and might indeed be derived from the same archetype. An earlier rendering occurs in a head from the Pnyx.⁵³ The nose on both is thick and stubby; the open eyes have sharp lids of which the upper lid is strongly arched; the lids do not meet at the inner corners. This facial type appears in sculpture of the 2nd century, as, for example on a head from Alexandria.⁵⁴ Our clay version has a smooth surface that seems to relate it to certain masks, but they have pierced eyes.⁵⁵ These sizable clay heads are unfortunately too seldom well preserved to indicate their character.

⁵⁰ T 884, from Deposit E 14:1. P. H. 8.5 cm.

⁵¹ The same tendency was noted on other similar versions of old types, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 303 ff., nos. 1-3.

⁵² From Area I 10. P. H. 6 cm.

⁵³ Cf. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, fig. 58, no. 48.

⁵⁴ Bieber, *Sculpture*², figs. 328f. A. Adriani, *Testimonianze e Momenti di Scultura alessandrina*, Rome, 1948, pp. 5ff., pls. I, II.

⁵⁵ Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, p. 120, pl. XXIX, no. 134. Agora T 965 of blond clay is a coarse rendering of the same type.

In contrast, the girl's head (No. 9) follows the older coroplastic tradition. We all recognize the full face with small, lively features, the thick curls hanging to the shoulders, the high bow of hair that once stood erect at the back of her head behind the narrow unbound wreath. These elements are like those of a head in the Komos Cistern.⁵⁶ We note, however, that the fabric, though redder than the usual blond clay of this deposit, is still not far removed from it in texture, that the back of the head is shallow and unworked, and that the wreath has been attached by jabs of the graver. We need not date this head much earlier than the rest of the pieces found with it though it certainly represents an earlier tradition.⁵⁷

ACTOR: No. 10

Another example of the long life of certain creations of the 4th century is the example of the actor seated on an altar, meditating mischief (No. 10). The type is remarkably close to that found in our Coroplast's Dump.⁵⁸ It differs in certain telltale ways, however, from the archetype of the third quarter of the 4th century. Though it is of almost the same height, it is much more slender, following the trend toward elongation that we noted in No. 7. The broad paunch of the earlier type has been compressed by crossing the left arm over it and resting the right elbow upon it in a pose called *os columnatum*. The vivid mask of the earlier head is skillfully reduced to one plane. The convex back gives the figure greater actual thickness, but no sense of volume. Only these small differences can be noted between these products that were made at least two hundred years apart. Coming down to our period, we should compare our Athenian representative of this common type with Delian examples of the time just before the Mithradatic Wars.⁵⁹ These are so close as to indicate a high degree of standardization at this period. This is one of the Athenian types that continued intact far into Imperial times. An example from the Agora of the mid 3rd century after Christ⁶⁰ shows our pose in reverse. This actor wears a gaily colored quilted garment, but he is the same saucy slave after 600 years of repetition.

A variant of this type, in which the actor's hands are crossed at the wrists, is given by a handsome bronze statuette in the Princeton Art Museum.⁶¹ An Agora terracotta fragment from a context of the 1st century B.C. (T 2581; Pl. 20)⁶² shows

⁵⁶ *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pl. 73, no. 17.

⁵⁷ For a somewhat similar late version of an earlier type of head, cf. Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, pl. LI, no. 256.

⁵⁸ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 38, nos. 44-46.

⁵⁹ *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 92, no. 1219; cf. no. 1220.

⁶⁰ C. Grandjouan, *Athenian Agora*, VI, Princeton, 1961, pl. 32, no. 1110.

⁶¹ *TK*, II, p. 419, 6,7; Bieber, *Sculpture*², fig. 382f., p. 96. Cf. *Corinth*, XII, pl. 39, no. 427 (1st century A.D.?).

⁶² P. H. 5.4 cm., found with "Pergamene" pottery.

the same type with the hands reversed. This example was made in a plaster mould; the blond clay looks local.

GROUPS: Nos. **11-13**

In contrast with the foregoing hackneyed versions of old themes the novel types in this deposit are more interesting. Aphrodite is prominent in the repertory, but not as a statuesque goddess; rather, as the protagonist of pictorial scenes. On one example (No. **11**) the goddess sits like a mere nymph on a rock, half-naked, lifting her long lock of hair and holding high her himation so that the wind blows it up like a sail behind her, as in an example in the preceding article of this series.⁶³ As on that piece, here too the wind that blows out the cloak like a sail—or shell—behind her brings with it quatrefoil flowers that catch on the edge—a revival of the rosettes on plastic lekythoi of the 4th century.⁶⁴ The pose of the goddess, who looks sharply back at her son, as he opens her mirror, is frequently seen on Hellenistic terracottas. Our piece bears a close resemblance to an *arula* of the same period from Abdera.⁶⁵ On both pieces the Aphrodite is essentially the same figure, although larger and better modelled on the altar. But there she holds the edge of her cloak rather meaninglessly, for the sail-like portion has been omitted. On the altar, the Eros, also fundamentally the same type, does not stand at the left of the goddess to receive her glance and close the composition, but he runs up to her with the mirror on her other side. The shifts of composition and the adjustments of detail on the larger relief to the requirements of a smaller scene are interesting in showing the tendency toward pictorial compositions that began to preoccupy the coroplasts of the later period. It is significant of the growing enthusiasm for the past that they owe much of their inspiration to the plastic lekythoi of the 4th century.⁶⁶

Similar in spirit is another little group involving Aphrodite and Eros (No. **12**). The goddess leans lazily upon her son as a support. To help bear her weight, the little god, doubtless here represented as a statue, patiently clasps his hands under his chin, thus parodying a Telamon. The pose is reminiscent of that of Eros beside Aphrodite that we found in the Egyptian Cistern,⁶⁷ but not enough of that survives for adequate comparison. The strong *déhanchement* of the figure resembles that of many late Hellenistic marbles, from the Aphrodite of Melos onward.

We may wonder how the subjects and the treatment of these two groups can so closely resemble those of the 4th century originals in terracotta. Where did the

⁶³ Above, p. 44.

⁶⁴ Cf. *TK*, II, p. 199, 4 and *Hesperia*, XXXI, 1952, pl. 35, T 909, from the Kybele Cistern.

⁶⁵ Lazaridis, *Abdera*, pl. 17, B 60; cf. similar types, *TK*, II, p. 130, 5, p. 201, 5,7.

⁶⁶ Even the base copies those of the 4th century; cf. R. A. Higgins, *Catalogue of the Terracottas . . . in the British Museum*, II, London, 1959, pls. 42 f., nos. 1716-1718.

⁶⁷ Above, p. 44.

coroplasts find the archetypes? Did old pieces survive some 200 years on back shelves of the shops or in the sanctuaries? Or were the subjects drawn from the great paintings that we have long suspected to have influenced the later artists down into the Roman period? The terracotta versions that we study here have the flavor of chinoiserie, trivial if pretty confections for a jaded market.

CHILD ON BIRD: No. 13

Among the most popular Hellenistic terracotta types in Italy that moved eastward with Italian merchants are figures of children riding animals. They become prevalent in Greek lands only in late times.⁶⁸ We have already noted the type in our Group C.⁶⁹ The libation jug in the hand of this child and the absence of wings imply that he is the baby Dionysos.⁷⁰ Miss Toynbee has suggested that the type represents the soul on its journey to the underworld.⁷¹ In any case, the innocent child is a favorite Hellenistic theme.

MISCELLANIES: Nos. 14, 15

A fragment from a bust (No. 14) is very like one previously published from the Altar Well.⁷² They both show a girlish chest draped by an himation that is drawn together between the breasts by a brooch. The bottom of our present piece is finished; that of the other fragment, previously thought to have been broken, on re-examination is seen to be finished. The two pieces are of identical scale and evidently derive from the same prototype though not from the same mould type. No. 14 is more sharply curved at the side and more crisply modelled. Its disk brooch, in keeping with the taste of its day for plastic ornament, is large. These busts are probably similar in character to one of slightly smaller scale that was originally published as an Attis.⁷³ On reconsideration we might prefer to identify the very feminine features and cap as those of Artemis, perhaps in her Thracian form, who we know was worshipped in the Peiraeus. Such an offering might well have been offered by votaries in one of her sanctuaries near the Agora.⁷⁴

A solid little wing (No. 15), reasonably well modelled, gives a good touchstone for the type of wing common in the late 2nd century. Charbonneaux has traced the

⁶⁸ *TK*, II, pp. 305-316; Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, pp. 137f.

⁶⁹ *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pl. 78, no. 2.

⁷⁰ J. P. Lauer, C. Picard, *Les statues ptolémaïques du Serapieion de Memphis*, Paris, 1955, p. 234.

⁷¹ *Antiquity*, XXXIV, 1960, p. 314.

⁷² *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 131, pl. 26, no. 3, with references to the costume.

⁷³ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pl. LXI, fig. 1, T 2425.

⁷⁴ *Olynthus*, VII, nos. 148-151, pl. 18. I owe this interpretation to M. J. Vermaseren, whose knowledge of Attis types made him doubt our former interpretation. Cf. W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², Munich, 1931, p. 452.

development of the wing type in late Hellenistic times, particularly in relation to bronzes and marbles.⁷⁵ We have noted that on an example from the Komos Cistern the long primaries or tip feathers were incised carefully and the secondaries were crowded and thick, whereas the tiny tertiaries against the wing-bone were but lightly etched.⁷⁶ A specimen of the mid 2nd century, on the other hand, was more boldly modelled without fine detail in the vanes.⁷⁷ On the present wing the primaries are long and shallow, also differentiated from the secondaries and rounded tertiaries. This shows a more perfunctory form than that of the wing of the Agon of Mahdia (before 85 B.C.), but it is not unrealistically stylized as the Roman type.⁷⁸ Other bits of wings, one colored bright pink, were found in our deposit, attesting to the continued popularity of the child Eros of which only minute scraps of bodies survive.

BIRDS: Nos. 16, 17

To be honest in publishing the contents of this deposit we must include the figure of a bird (No. 16), probably a dove, with neatly folded wings and a long rounded tail. Its fine, reddish buff fabric is decidedly early; it suggests the 5th century. This piece can be compared with a solid, less sophisticated version from a context previous to the mid 2nd century.⁷⁹ It is difficult to be sure that such pieces are as old as they look, but the markedly different fabric surely places this specimen well back of its fellows in the deposit.

The little cock (No. 17), on the other hand, is made just like all the other pieces in this group; it is also modelled with the shallow *insouciance* of the period. Smaller than the bird that carries the child (No. 13), it is more like the contemporary cocks from Abdera and Ilios⁸⁰ and probably formed part of a group with Eros.

OBJECTS: Nos. 18, 19

A deep wicker basket with handles is an attractive genre piece. It is full of fruit, of which apples, figs, grapes and a cucumber appear on top. These are the very same fruits that a grateful gardener offers to Priapos in a charming poem of the Anthology (VI, 102).⁸¹ A simpler deep cylindrical container of an earlier period (T 2441; Pl. 21)⁸² suggests that such large baskets of fruit were not uncommon votives to the deity, more capacious than the trays of earlier days.⁸³

⁷⁵ J. Charbonneau, *Les bronzes grecs*, Paris, 1958, pp. 107-109.

⁷⁶ Cf. *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pl. 75, no. 23.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. 83, no. 22.

⁷⁸ Charbonneau, *op. cit.*, p. 106, fig. 18; p. 109, fig. 21.

⁷⁹ From the Middle Stoa Building Filling, ca. 160 B.C.

⁸⁰ Lazaridis, *Abdera*, pl. 30, B 131; cf. Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, pp. 140f., no. 288, pl. LV.

⁸¹ *Garden Lore of Ancient Athens* (Agora Picture Book No. 8), 1963, fig. 20.

⁸² H. 3.8 cm. from Deposit C 20:2 with pottery of the late 5th century.

⁸³ E.g. *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 156, no. 106.

Many bases were found, usually moulded, in this large deposit. No. **19** can serve as an example. It bears double mouldings at the top and bottom of a large block, looking not unlike that for our Papposilenos.⁸⁴ These bases copy those of contemporary statues and bronzes and indicate how the coroplasts now regarded their works as small copies of such works, rather than, as in earlier days, independent creations in their own tradition.

VI, C: MISCELLANEOUS DEPOSITS

In addition to the sizable homogeneous deposit in the Herakles Cistern, two smaller groups provide well dated comparative material of this same period, namely Deposit M 18:2 and N 19:1. Since each group is very small, it seems more convenient to place them together, numbered consecutively.

DEPOSIT M 18:2

This group was dumped into an irregularly shaped hollow in the badly disturbed residential area on the north slope of the Areopagus, south of the southeast street that bordered the area.⁸⁵ It was full of pottery characteristic of the late 2nd century and the 13 stamped amphora handles date before Sulla.⁸⁶

Three figurines from this context are worthy of consideration. Technically they are homogeneous and can not be seen to differ in any detail from figurines from the Herakles Deposit. It is not at all impossible that the two groups came from one shop.

ARTICULATED FIGURE: No. **1**

This representative of a common class missing in the previous group is apparently female. The way in which the shoulder caps bend over the holes that have been pierced for the attachment of arms makes it difficult to see how arms were ever attached. This is not an uncommon phenomenon among late pieces. The modelling of our figure is perfunctory, the breasts flat, and the excessive thickness of the body, characteristic of the period, makes it look very clumsy. The "doll" is a persistent type throughout Hellenistic times.⁸⁷

HEADS: Nos. **2, 3**

A lumpy little head (No. **2**) belongs to the series of which we saw the beginnings back in the third quarter of the 2nd century⁸⁸ It is shocking to think that this ugly

⁸⁴ Above, pp. 35, 38, 48.

⁸⁵ On the main plan of the Agora in the *Guide*, 1962, note the area among the houses just south of the stone aqueduct.

⁸⁶ The coins are tentatively dated as follows: one after 166 B.C.; another, Athens 3rd century B.C.

⁸⁷ In general, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, pp. 114-118, p. 136, fig. 53.

⁸⁸ Above, pp. 45-46.

head could date within fifty years of those interesting male heads. We may safely regard this as a bad example; we might concede that it was dropped in after the sack, but we have to admit that it fits into its background. In order to understand how typical it is of the period under discussion we might look at a few pieces that show its antecedents. They are selected from the water courses that ran hither and thither to supply the residential section on the southern slope of the Kolonos Agoraios. After the sack of the city the debris of damage choked these water pipes and drains and in the depression of the following years many were never cleaned out.

The first head to be analyzed (T 2082; Pl. 21)⁸⁹ cannot be much later than Nos. 20 and 21 of our mid 2nd century series.⁹⁰ The size is the same as theirs; the fabric is yellow-blond clay. Certain differences are however immediately apparent. This head is not bent like the earlier; it is set on a stiff neck. The face is as stiff as the neck, with the chin drawn in like a soldier's and the eyes as unflinching. The features are shallow, particularly the eyes, despite their emphatic lids. The nose is stumpy and the mouth rigid. Only the wreath, attached by tabs, like that of No. 20 in the earlier series, is fairly carefully rendered, tied with a diagonal ribbon which is forgotten at the back of the neck. The earlier heads are still human; this is as wooden as a toy. It finds fairly close parallels in Ilion and Myrina at the same period.⁹¹

Our next head is decidedly more advanced (T 995; Pl. 21).⁹² It is smaller, as most late 2nd century figurines are smaller than the earlier. The fabric is dull blond clay, covered with the thick white slip that we have noted in deposits of the last quarter of the 2nd century. The features are thick, scarcely differentiated, with blurred eyes, a lumpy nose and small, high-set mouth. Beside it the preceding head is well modelled. Moreover, another sign of further degeneration appears in four innovations in the treatment of the wreath: 1) the ring is too large for the head; 2) it shows only one stretch of the binding ribbon or *lemniskos* and that is set vertical in the center, whereas on all previous examples it has been shown at an angle, twisted around the wreath at least three times; 3) the stippling on the wreath, once deliberately made arbitrary to suggest the calyxes of flowers,⁹³ is here rendered in three stiff parallel rows; 4) the wreath, which previously always encircled the head, here stops at ear level, giving the wreath the nature of a halo. The effect is so artistically inept as to shock us.

But when we return to consider the head No. 2 from the context under discussion, we find that it is even worse, a virtual *reductio ad absurdum* of the male head. It is tiny, without shape or profile—a lump on which features are vaguely recognizable. The thick roll of the wreath was made in two plaster moulds and the front and back

⁸⁹ Deposit A-B 19-20:1; P. H. 5.4 cm.

⁹⁰ Above, p. 46.

⁹¹ Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, pl. LIII, nos. 270f.; Mollard, *Cat. II, Myrina*, pl. 221, a, c.

⁹² Deposit E 10:1 with stamped handles of the late 2nd to early 1st centuries. P. H. 4.4 cm.

⁹³ Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, pp. 45 ff., pl. LXa.

sections were badly joined. The nasty yellow complexion and madder pink wreath could scarcely have looked any more attractive in their pristine state.

So far as our present knowledge goes, the first head discussed (T 2082) can scarcely date far from 125 B.C.; the next (T 995) is characteristic of the last quarter of the 2nd century. Our No. 2 probably falls in the earlier years of the 1st century. Although it may well be a very poor piece of its day, it must stand as the last representative of a long line. It is a grim comment on the swift collapse of technique and taste in Athens in the last years of her independence and makes us less sorry for her fall. It is important to note that this collapse took place before rather than after the sack of the city.

Luckily, we find occasionally at this period a head that has still character and merit. Such a head is that of an elderly woman (No. 3) from this same deposit. She belongs technically to the class that we saw in the Herakles Deposit; diminutive, minutely modelled, brightly colored. The woman wears short curly hair; her chin and cheeks sag; a weary expression pervades the backward tilted face. The back of the head is broken in such a way as to suggest that it was covered by a head scarf. This is the type of head suitable for a slave nurse, such as we previously discussed.⁹⁴ It is not however a late descendant of the old type; it is a reworking in the new style of the day. In certain general ways it reminds us of the realistic head in the previous article.⁹⁵ They have in common the same miniature scale, the same finicking treatment of the features, the same Victorian type of realism. This is a style that is noticeable on a few statues and helps us to place them in their world. These statues have been praised for their break with tradition and for their keen observation of the ugly minutiae of the aged face. But if we look closely at such heads, we see how they, like the terracotta heads, still base their structure upon canonical types. As we have observed on a pair of earlier heads,⁹⁶ so here we find that the clay and marble canons are typical rather than individual. No. 3 shows a face that is almost square, due to the emphasis on the drooping cheek muscles that dictate the contour of the jaw. The eyes are baggy; the chin sags; the little mouth has a plaintive expression. These same details appear on marble statues of the aged, for instance, on the head of the old market woman in the Metropolitan Museum, of the shepherdess of the Conservatori, and on a similar head in the British Museum.⁹⁷ Our little head thus demonstrates

⁹⁴ *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 304f., pl. 80, British Museum 1911 4-16 1.

⁹⁵ Above, p. 46.

⁹⁶ Above, p. 46.

⁹⁷ Market-woman: Bieber, *Sculpture*², fig. 590, G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Cambridge, Mass., 1954, p. 111, no. 221, pl. CLIV (cf. no. 224, pl. CLVI c, d). Shepherdess, Bieber, *op. cit.*, fig. 591. Old Woman's Head: R. Delbrück, *Antike Porträts*, Bonn, 1912, pl. 21. This head has been related to that of a priestess of the 4th century; whatever its original source, the execution of this copy must surely fall not far from the date of the heads of the preceding two statues, which cannot lie far from our period.

how late Hellenistic “verism,” like late Egyptian,⁹⁸ was produced by certain formulae. Figurines were cheap replicas of statuettes in marble and bronze which themselves copied contemporary major sculpture with fidelity.

DEPOSIT N 19: 1

Our last deposit of this period comes from a cistern chamber that lay some 25 meters farther down the slope of the Areopagus than the preceding. In fact, the two deposits lay so close together that the figurines from them could have been drawn from the same shop. The cistern under consideration also contained an imported lamp⁹⁹ and pottery and stamped amphora handles of the period just before Sulla.¹⁰⁰

TECHNIQUE

Among the three figurines selected from this group for consideration, one (No. 4) will be seen probably to date in the preceding period. Its fabric is hard and dull buff in color, not far from that of the Papposilenos of the third quarter of the 2nd century. The two other pieces are of the gray-blond clay that characterizes the material from the Herakles Deposit and in all other details they are similar.

HEADS: Nos. 4-6

Even the few heads from this deposit have something to contribute regarding the style of their period. No. 4 is a sizable face set straight and unbending on the neck. It is of the same size as a similar mask-like face from the Altar Well,¹⁰¹ which has youthful life, but this example is cold. The wide-open eyes have sharply defined lids, like the similar eye on No. 8 of the Herakles Deposit above. The lids do not lie flat, but are given an effect of convexity by curving markedly and being left open at the inner corners. The profile of the blunt nose dips slightly; the nostrils are narrow. The mouth is not bowed nor is it treated with any plasticity. The profile reminds us of a head from the Pnyx,¹⁰² but this is a classicizing version. This calm aloofness, this disdain for the sparkle of Attic wit is, as we know from, say, the Athena of Euboulides,¹⁰³ the fashion of the period. We are probably safe therefore in dating our head not far from the middle of the 2nd century.

Is this head from a large figure or is it a mask? Not only the lack of life but also the break suggests that this face protruded from a flat protome like No. 6

⁹⁸ Cf. B. V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, 1960, p. xxxviii.

⁹⁹ Howland, *Agora*, IV, p. 174, pl. 50, no. 682, related to the lamps from Ephesos and Knidos.

¹⁰⁰ This deposit is the upper filling of Group F in H. S. Robinson, *Athenian Agora*, V, Princeton, 1959, p. 10. The pottery and stamped handles in the upper filling indicate that the cistern went out of use in 86 B.C. Miss Grace checked the handles for me in 1963.

¹⁰¹ *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1959, pl. 29, no. 29, p. 141.

¹⁰² *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, 1943, p. 143, fig. 58, no. 48.

¹⁰³ Bieber, *Sculpture*², fig. 669.

in this series. Such protomai, as was mentioned in connection with No. 8 of the Herakles Deposit, begin to be popular at this period. They are the natural expression of the desire for classical idealism in a world that could not possibly have created this concept, but sighed for it.

The other female head from this context (No. 5) is well preserved. The thick white slip erases any refinement of features which are as wooden as the poise of the neck. The nose is straight; the long line from nose to chin almost vertical; the eyes are raised blank ovals and the mouth is small and tight. This face occurs at Ilion, in a somewhat later form.¹⁰⁴ The head itself appears on a bronze Aphrodite from Paramythia (Pl. 22),¹⁰⁵ which has exactly the same coiffure and expression. Our head therefore probably belongs to a similar Aphrodite adjusting her sandal, and is presumably to be dated in the years just before Sulla, like one from Shop II at Delos.¹⁰⁶

Let us round off our selection of typical heads of the late 2nd century with a bearded protome (No. 6). This is a new creation which we first meet in the Agora series in a fragment from an undated Hellenistic context (T 2538; Pl. 22).¹⁰⁷ Although this latter piece shows only the lower part of the face, it helps us in understanding the type and its development. The scale is somewhat larger than that of our No. 6 and the fabric is more like that of No. 4. On these technical grounds we may date it in the third quarter of the 2nd century. The break, which has left the face clear of the background, as in No. 4, indicates that the face comes from a protome. The modelling is competent though not retouched. The convolutions of the beard are more varied and the expression a little more lively than those of No. 6.

On our later example (No. 6) we see even more clearly the classicizing character of the type. The hair is carried in a great roll over the forehead; on it snaky locks are defined running almost parallel with the sides of the face. This treatment is visible on the Mylasa head of Zeus in Boston.¹⁰⁸ On this mass of hair rests a ring or circlet from which springs a row of leaves that rise against the background of the upper part of the protome.¹⁰⁹ Such pointed leaves are worn by Erotes from Myrina and by goddesses from Delos of the latest Hellenistic period.¹¹⁰ They presumably represent bay leaves of precious metals. In the center was set a gem, as on the wreaths of the terracottas mentioned above.

¹⁰⁴ Thompson, *Troy Figurines*, pl. LV, no. 280.

¹⁰⁵ H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes . . . in the British Museum*, London, 1899, pp. 37f., no. 280, pl. VII. I owe the photograph to the courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

¹⁰⁶ *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 47, no. 473; cf. *Gnomon*, XXXI, 1959, p. 638.

¹⁰⁷ P. H. 5.9 cm.

¹⁰⁸ Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, fig. 609.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Lazaridis, *Abdera*, pl. 15.

¹¹⁰ Burr, *Boston Myrinas*, pls. XXIII f., nos. 59, 60; *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 43, nos. 392ff.; pl. 46, no. 461.

The face of this piece bears no trace of flesh color, though the lips were red. It was evidently intended to look like marble. The features are clearly modelled with features not at all unlike those of the Herakles head from our deposit of that name. But that head retains the spark, if only the spark, of the vigor that one expects of the hero. In the large blank eyes, in the absence of modelling of the forehead and cheeks, we see the dispassionate father of gods. The arrangement of the beard like that of the hair follows a traditional pattern, but it has no chiaroscuro. Two large clumps of locks project, allowing the side locks to become dull so that when we compare the faces of the hero and of the god the difference between them defines itself as the difference between figurine and protome. This Zeus is the clay equivalent of the Zeus of Otricoli,¹¹¹ which it resembles closely in the narrow forehead, small mouth and well groomed massive beard. But it has none of the benignity of 4th century types. Thus we find Athenians of later days returning to the archaic taste for the symbol, the type of the god, rather than to the humanized form which for centuries they had spent so much labor in developing. These late protomes, however, were a mere fashion and never reached the importance that they held in archaic times.

CONCLUSIONS

Aside from certain pieces assigned for various reasons to earlier dates,¹¹² the general character, both technical and intellectual, of the deposits of the turn of the 2nd into the 1st centuries is surprisingly homogeneous. It is even more surprising to discover that the clay of which these figurines are made is almost exclusively Corinthian. We have seen (above p. 53) that in the third quarter of the 2nd century Corinthian clay was employed in Athens, but to find that it had soon taken over the market is astonishing. Moreover, we see in this study that new types and styles have come in along with the clay, which we may well have to ascribe to the entrance of foreigners into the field. Possibly it was only the clay that was imported for its excellent technical properties for the making of figurines. Possibly the Athenians were weary of their old traditions and gladly adopted new ideas from the refugees, as has often happened on other occasions. A full study of the Agora material is necessary before we can understand this interesting chapter in the history of Athenian coroplastics.

In summary, we note two trends. The traditional continues to the end of the period, but completely without life. The new shows vivacity and imagination within a limited field. Many novel types are really only revivals of classical prototypes in new dress. They transform the creations of the 4th century into *objets de vertu*, pretty, porcelain-like echoes of serious themes. They also bring back the childish

¹¹¹ A. W. Lawrence, *Classical Sculpture*, London, 1929, p. 276, pl. 97b.

¹¹² As follows: Group E, Nos. 1-3; Herakles Cistern, No. 16; Miscellaneous Deposits, No. 4.

figures and groups that pleased the 3rd century, little trifling scenes with pets and Erotes who are no more than innocent babes. They also turn to contemporary sculpture for inspiration and produce realistic portraits that are really not portraits at all. A solemn pseudo-religion creates once again the protome, the essence of the god, to bring virtue to the house. We can readily envisage the appeal of these protomes to the Roman tourist who would see in one such as our Zeus "the embodiment of peace and gentleness, the guardian of Hellas" (Dio Chrysostom, XII, 74) and in the Herakles the successful hero whose decision exemplified the moral choice that all Romans should follow. We can note also a similar decline in major sculpture in various marble statues and statuettes that derive from Sullan contexts.

To us the interesting problem is the cause of this sudden decadence. Was it due to the failure of Athenian nerve or to the demands of the tourist trade? Did the appalling collapse of Athenian technique and taste that we have traced step by step through the 2nd century owe more to the degeneration of a weary spirit or to the debilitating effects of Roman reverence? A closer study of the figurines of this period, a body of documented, if modest material, might help us assess the various forces that pressed upon Athens long before her actual surrender.

CATALOGUE

GROUP E

- 1** (T 559) Draped Fragment. Pl. 17.
P. H. 15.7 cm. Golden buff clay, firing to reddish; hard fabric; dark blue band on left side. Incised in damp clay on unworked back: E. Joined by glaze adhesive. Traces of oval vent. Broken at top, bottom and part of back.
Female figure stands wrapped in himation, weight on left leg.
- 2** (T 588) Kithara. Pl. 17.
P. H. 7.7 cm. W. 5.9 cm. Buff clay. Solid. Broken at top, left corner, chipped on left side.
Kithara with seven strings.
- 3** (T 560) Male Head. Pl. 17.
P. H. 5.2 cm. Tan-brownish clay. Bottom of neck flat with trace of glaze adhesive.
Head markedly tilted; probably wore a wreath.

HERAKLES DEPOSIT

Jointed Figure

- 1** (T 3669) Legs. Pl. 17.
P. H. 2.4 cm. Gray-blond clay; burned. Solid.

Male Figures

- 2** (T 2502 b) Male legs, striding. Pl. 17.
P. H. 3.8 cm. Blond clay; orange flesh. Broken all round.
Figure with thick legs moves to its left; wears a short chiton to mid thigh. Actor?
- 3** (T 2502 a) Dancer? Pl. 17.
P. H. 4.4 cm. Blond clay; orange flesh; red drapery. Broken at bottom.
Dances to left, right hand akimbo; right leg extended; chlamys swung diagonally from right shoulder.

4a (T 2495) Head of Herakles. Pl. 18.

P. H. 7 cm. Blond clay; orange flesh; red on beard. Worked behind.

Wears strophion, made separately and attached with jabs.

b (T 3663) Leg: of Herakles? Pl. 17.

P. H. 8 cm. Blond clay; orange flesh. Broken at top and tip of foot. Mark of attachment beneath foot.

Carefully modelled left leg.

5 (T 2497) Head Fragment. Pl. 18.

P. H. 4.4 cm. Blond clay; orange flesh. Broken all round.

Upper part of face and shock of hair; eyes narrow and thick-lidded.

6 (T 3664) Silen Head. Pl. 18.

P. H. 5 cm. Blond clay; yellow on face and beard. Broken on top; most of face sliced away.

Bearded head was wreathed.

*Draped Figures***7** (T 2500) Standing Draped Child. Pl. 19.

P. H. 9.2 cm. Blond clay; burned. Broken all round; partly broken back shows trace of oval vent.

Right arm raised and left bent forward under himation.

8 (T 2498) Female Head Fragment. Pl. 18.

P. H. 3.7 cm. Blond clay; yellowish flesh. Broken all round.

Upper part of face, including right eye, nose and bit of hair. From a protome?

9 (T 2496) Head of Girl. Pl. 18.

P. H. 3.6 cm. Blond-reddish clay; yellowish flesh. Wreath and hair added and retouched. Worn.

Wears wreath, bowknot, curly locks to shoulders.

*Actor***10** (T 2501) Seated Actor. Pl. 20.

P. H. 9.4 cm. Blond clay; red on mask;

yellowish on garment. Broken at bottom.

Sits on volute altar. Rests cheek on right hand; right arm supported by left at elbow. Peaked *speira*, fillet hangs to shoulders.

Webster, *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy*, AT 23, p. 55.

*Groups***11** (T 2505) Aphrodite and Eros. Pl. 20.

P. H. 10.9 cm.; H. base 1.5 cm. Blond clay. Pink on drapery; yellowish flesh; yellow on rock; black on mirror; red on hair and base. Oval vent. Broken in many places, front and back.

Aphrodite holding hair and drapery sits on rock. Wears hair in bow at top of head. At her left Eros holds up a mirror. Flowers attached separately to edge of drapery. Oval moulded base.

12 (T 2499) Aphrodite and Eros. Pl. 20.

P. H. 8.1 cm. Blond clay; yellowish flesh; pink drapery. Oval vent; back slightly worked. Much missing.

Aphrodite stands with left leg crossed over right, leaning at her left on figure of Eros. Traces of ornament crossing between breasts.

13 (T 2504) Child on Cock. Pl. 20.

P. H. 10.8 cm. Blond clay; yellowish flesh. Oval vent; back unworked. Bottom missing and chips elsewhere.

Unwinged child sits on cock that faces to left, holding jug in right hand; left around cock's neck. Cloak wrapped round his legs. Child has round face and curly locks.

*Miscellanies***14** (T 3665) Bust. Pl. 20.

P. H. 3.7 cm.: P. W. 5 cm. Reddish tan clay; yellowish flesh: pink drapery. Finished beneath; broken on other sides. Smooth inside.

Female bust wearing drapery fastened in center by brooch and dropped below each breast.

15 (T 3666) Wing. Pl. 21.

Max. dim. 4 cm. Blond clay. Solid. Tip missing.

Small right wing.

*Birds***16** (T 3667) Dove. Pl. 21.

P. H. 4.5 cm.; P. L. 9.3 cm. Light reddish clay. Modelled all round. Head and feet missing.

Carefully modelled with long wings folded over tail.

17 (T 3668) Cock. Pl. 21.

P. H. 4.8 cm.; P. L. 6.6 cm. Blond clay. Broken at left side; back and feet missing.

Cock faces to proper left.

*Objects***18** (T 2503) Fruit Basket. Pl. 21.

P. H. 3.8 cm.; P. W. 5.8 cm. Blond clay; slightly burned. Red on top of basket; yellow on front. Bottom and left side missing.

Wickerwork is carefully indicated; had loop handle over the top. Traces of attachment (to figure?) at top left. Fruit: grapes, apples, figs, cucumber; traces of others.

19 (T 3670) Base. Pl. 21.

P. H. 3.7 cm.; P. W. 4.2 cm. Blond clay. Much worn. Back and left side missing.

Block base with neat double mouldings at top and bottom.

MISCELLANEOUS DEPOSITS

1. DEPOSIT M 18 :2

*Jointed Figure***1** (T 1347) Seated Female. Pl. 21.

P. H. 6.5 cm. Blond clay; orange flesh.

Arms pierced. Poorly joined. Head and lower part missing.

Thickened in thighs, presumably for sitting position.

*Heads***2** (T 1346) Wreathed Head: Male? Pl. 21.

P. H. 3.5 cm. Blond clay. Yellow flesh and hair; pink wreath, moulded with head. Made in a plaster mould.

3 (T 1345) Elderly Head: Female. Pl. 21.

P. H. 3.7 cm. Blond clay; yellow flesh; red lips; dark eyes. Back missing.

Worn face wearing curly locks.

2. DEPOSIT N 19 :1

4 (T 1414) Female Head. Pl. 22.

P. H. 6 cm. Dull buff clay. Back missing. Worn.

Severe face, with blunt nose. From protome?

5 (T 1397) Female Head. Pl. 22.

P. H. 3.8 cm. Blond clay; creamy flesh; gold on wreath. Back hair broken away.

Head poised on raised right shoulder. Wore a thin stippled wreath and hair in knot, probably bow, behind.

*Protome***6** (T 1412) Bearded Head: Zeus? Pl. 22.

P. H. 11.4 cm. Blond clay; blue wreath; red lips. Interior rough. Broken all round.

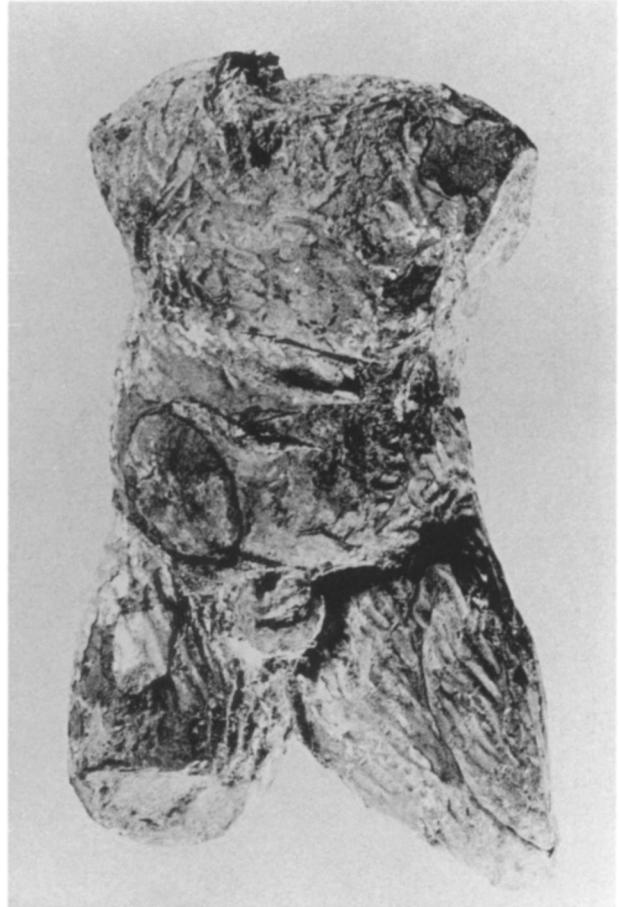
Wears leafy crown on thick hair; disk originally in center.

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON

PRINCETON
NEW JERSEY



Papposilenos from Peiraeus, Staatliche Museen Berlin
(somewhat reduced)



1 (1:1)



2 (slightly reduced)



3 (1:2)



4 (1:2)



6 (1:1)



7 (1:2)

V The Mid Second Century B.C.



5 (1:2)



7 (ca. 2:3)

V The Mid Second Century B.C.



8



9



10



11



12

8-14 (1:2)



13



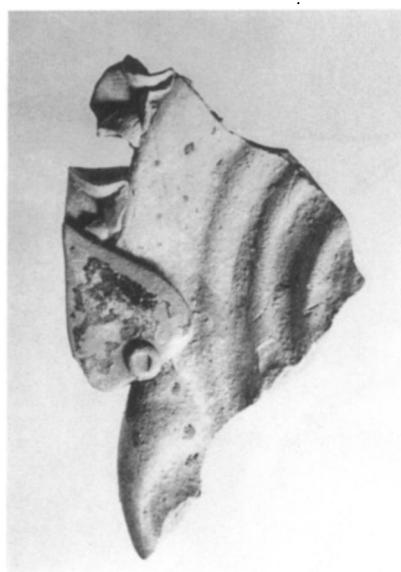
14



15 (1:1)



Coin of Berenike II,
American Numismatic Society



16 (4:5)

V The Mid Second Century B.C.

PLATE 16



17



17



20



19



19



18



21



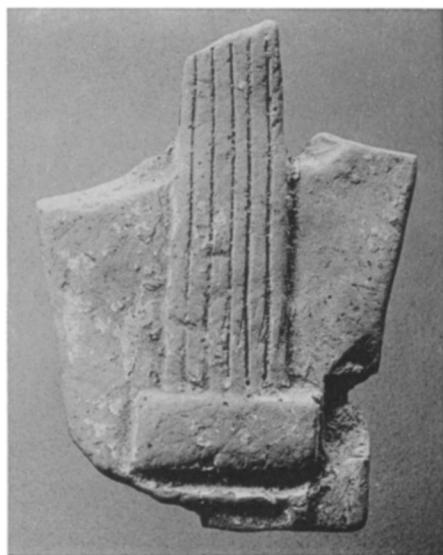
21

(1:1)

V The Mid Second Century B.C.



1



2



3

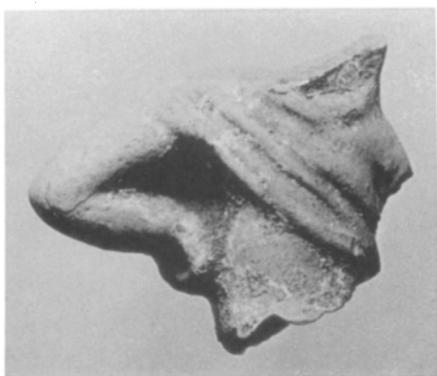
Group E (4:5)



1



2



3



T 3550



4 b

Herakles Deposit (1:1)

VI Late Second Century to 86 B.C.



4a



4a



T 1336



T 2297



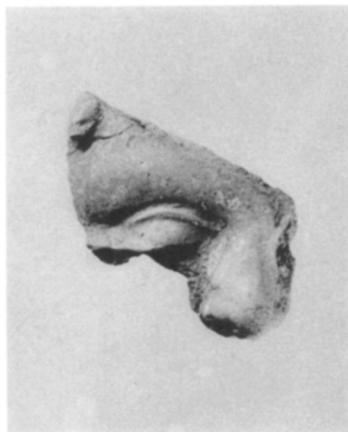
T 2297



5



6



8



9

Herakles Deposit (1:1)

VI Late Second Century to 86 B.C.

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON: THREE CENTURIES OF HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTAS



T 3363



T 168



British Museum C 334



T 3063



Herakles Deposit 7
(1:1)



T 884

VI Late Second Century to 86 B.C.



10



T 2581



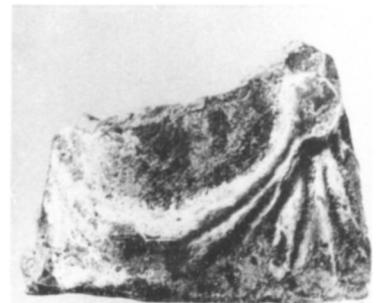
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11



12



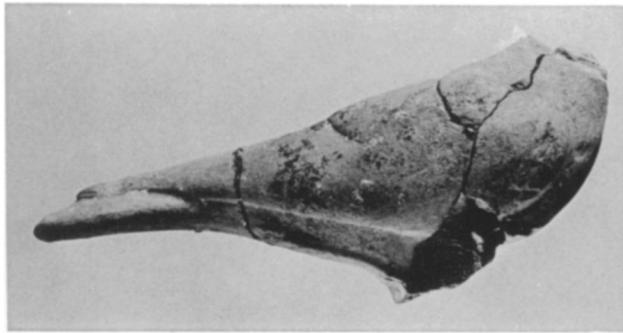
14

Herakles Deposit (1:1)

VI Late Second Century to 86 B.C.



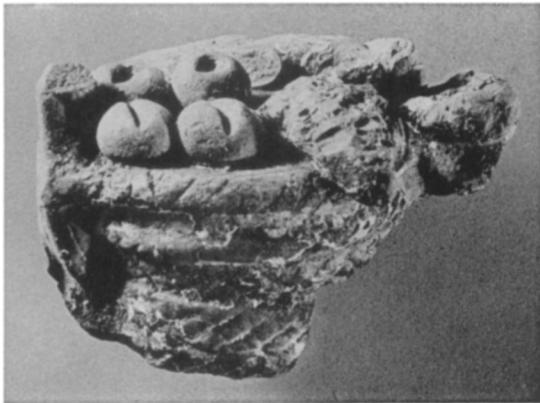
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16



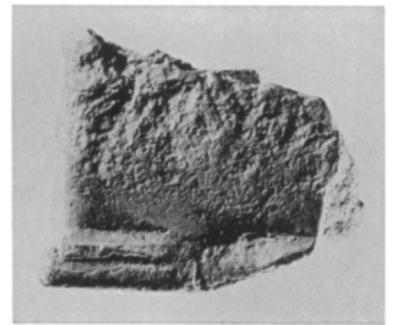
17



18



T 2441



19

Herakles Deposit (1:1 except 16 and 17 4:5)



1



2



T 2082



3



T 995



Miscellaneous Deposits (1:1)
VI Late Second Century to 86 B.C.



5



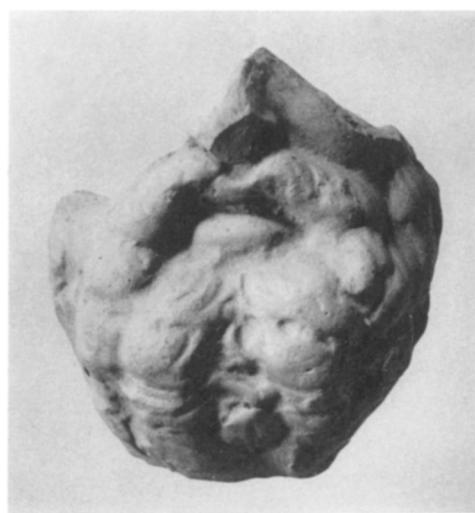
Aphrodite from Paramythia



5



4



T 2538



6



T 2538

VI Late Second Century to 86 B.C.
(1:1)