THE previous article in this series dealt with terracottas from the Agora from deposits that were sealed just after the capture of Athens by Sulla in 86 B.C.¹ We have now to consider the deposits that were composed of debris from the damage and destruction of that catastrophe. The presence of wall plaster, flooring, and roofing material as well as quantities of smashed household property, especially pottery, in these dumps attests the widespread havoc caused by the Roman soldiers. They, like the Persians before them and the more recent “occupying forces” after them, systematically threw rubbish into the wells and cisterns in order to foul the water supply and to annoy the survivors. The waste thus deposited must date at least as late as the time of the retreating army. Most of it, however, was in the houses when the invaders found them and contained at least some earlier material. On the other hand, since the deposits were not necessarily filled to the top on the day of the victory, a little post-Sullan material may well be presumed to have found its way into the dumps. The task of distinguishing old from new is not easy and would be impossible were the comparative material from other Sullan destructions not available. At best, however, our results are tentative. It is hoped that further discoveries will fill in more facts.

In this article we shall present the most important of these Sullan destruction deposits, which we shall designate the Kybele Cistern. Subsequently we shall treat other deposits that seem to have accumulated somewhat later in the first century.

A. THE KYBELE CISTERN (Deposit E 14:3)

This deposit was found in the drawshaft of a system of two cistern chambers united by a passage. It was set down in the southeast foot of Kolonos Agoraios near the valley road.² The north chamber was filled in the 3rd century (Deposit E 14:1); the south chamber (Deposit E 15:3) at about the time of Sulla; the drawshaft (E 14:3) was put out of use some time in the next decade. Only this last deposit concerns us here.

CHRONOLOGY

The numerous coins found in this deposit appear to go down as late as ca. 50 B.C.³ The latest lamp is signed by a fabricant whose activity can safely be placed in the

¹ Hesperia, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 50-71.
² Excavated in 1941 by R. S. Young. The photographs are by Alison Frantz.
³ As the bronze coins of this period have not yet been fully studied, it is unwise for us to base our chronology upon them.

Hesperia, XXXV, 1
decade just before Sulla. The stamped amphora handles do not extend in date beyond the same period. The pottery contained the latest type of Megarian bowls, very little decorative West Slope ware and some Pergamene. Enough material of the 2nd century survives to indicate that the temporal range is wide. A large number of clay props and working discards (but no moulds) are witnesses to the presence not far away of a coroplast's shop.

**Technique**

As might be expected in such circumstances, the figurines from this deposit are not so homogeneous as those last studied in the Herakles Cistern. Indubitably earlier fabrics stand out: the soft reddish fabric of No. 15, which is close to that last noted in the later 3rd century. Probably slightly later is the hard fabric of No. 22 that ranges from light red to buff in color in a mottled effect. The buff-tan fabric that characterizes the Kybele figure, which gives the deposit its name, as well as a few other similar scraps seems like that of the 2nd century. Finally, the majority of the fragments was made in some form of blond clay, occasionally fired pinkish, but oftener either yellowish or smoked gray. Since we have established that this gray-blond clay was a fabric most prevalent in the period just before Sulla, we may assume that the other rarer fabrics are earlier. It is interesting to note that there are no specimens made in plaster moulds.

The bases are discussed below, pp. 15-16.

The backs, where preserved, are all mouldmade, with oval vents. The herm (No. 18) has merely a small slit for a vent, the usual form for a shaft.

White slip is well preserved on only a few pieces. Madder pink is by far the most brilliant surviving color (Nos. 11, 20). With the exception of the bust (No. 20) the figurines from this cistern deposit are all in poor state. They are scraps from many different types, gathered evidently not from a single source, but from destruction everywhere. The bust wears a crown of plastic flowers that relate it to the pieces from deposits of the late second century. But the fact that the wreath is cast with

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5 Virginia Grace, in 1964, considered the amphora handles as a consistent lot of the period just before Sulla.
6 The pottery will be published in full by G. R. Edwards. The various groups were re-checked for me in 1964 by John Hayes, who is making a study of the latest Hellenistic wares. For the probable date of the appearance of "Pergamene" (East Sigillata A) after ca. 75 B.C. in Palestine, see Paul W. Lapp, *Palestinian Ceramic Chronology 200 B.C.-A.D. 70*, New Haven, 1961, pp. 80-81, 214.
the head instead of added makes it probably later; nothing requires that it be brought down after the period of Sulla.

The technique of the large group of Kybele on the lion (No. 1) will be discussed individually (below).

Types and Subjects

In general these figurines are too fragmentary to reveal much about their subjects. The herm is novel in our repertory. Of the draped figures only No. 1 is of real significance.

Draped Figures: Nos. 1-9

The group of Kybele riding a lion is a most unusual piece among Athenian terracottas. Each figure, goddess and beast, was made separately and united while the clay was damp, leaving a large rectangular opening in each back. The bottom of the figure of the lion was left open and set on a large plaque base. The figure of the goddess was mouldmade, but many pieces of drapery were added by hand. The lion was also mouldmade, apparently in such a dull mould that additional clay had to be added to the top of its head and mane and freshly retouched.

The group was brilliantly painted, but only flecks remain to suggest the scheme of coloring: The inept modelling of the lion was compensated for by a tawny yellow all over the body, a gilded mane, a mouth lined with bright pink and a flashing row of white teeth. The goddess wore a white chiton with a red stripe (?) and a white mantle with a pink border.

Mention should be made here of two battered fragments found with this group and made of the same fabric. One is an arm bent at the elbow and wearing a long sleeve. It may well be the left arm of the goddess herself. The other is a fragment of leg as large as those of the lion with traces of drapery hanging against it, but it finds no place on our group unless, conceivably, it belonged to a large figure standing beside the right flank of the lion where certain breaks indicate that something was originally attached. An attendant or even Attis might have accompanied the goddess.

Kybele sits sideways on the lion’s bare back, facing outward on his proper right side. Her left foot is crossed over her right at the ankle. She wears a thin full chiton and a heavy mantle which covers her knees. It probably was held up in a wide sweep behind her by her missing right arm as on the Kybele of the Pergamene Altar.\(^\text{12}\) The left arm may have rested on a tympanon that might have fitted into a groove that survives on the lion’s neck. Marks of attachment along his neck and on the arms below the elbow suggest this restoration. The upper torso would then have been somewhat turned toward the left as on a similar figure from Delos that very possibly

also sat upon a lion.\(^{13}\) Fragments of a large lion were also found at Delos of which more of the body is preserved than is suitable merely for the adjunct of a throne to which it has been assigned.\(^{14}\) Another figure from Delos, somewhat smaller in scale than ours but comparable in character, also presumably rode upon her lion, resting her tympanon upon its head.\(^{15}\)

Although the type of these Delian lions is like ours, the style of its modelling is so different as to require comment. Our lion was obviously modelled by a craftsman who had never seen the powerful, thick-necked beast. It looks like a mastiff giving its paw. The stance is too rigid, the body too slight, the legs too tall and thin, the neck too long, the mane too skimpy. The head is many times removed from that not only of a living lion but even from those of the somewhat dog-like lions that filled the cemeteries of the 4th century on guard over their masters.\(^{16}\) Ours is far more canine than leonine. The forehead is low; the eyes, usually rendered as round and deep-set, are long and narrow and positively human. The nose is not properly wrinkled; the jaw is imperfectly constructed, carrying a large, lolling tongue. Lions pant on the Delian representations, as well as earlier,\(^{17}\) but with decent feline restraint. In short, this creature is absurd. It is made even more ridiculous by the contrast with its rider. It seems scarcely possible that the same hand could have modelled the absurd Beast and the charming Beauty. It would also be surprising for a careful shop to permit the collaboration of two such ill-mated craftsmen. It is hard to explain this anomaly.

Kybele herself is modelled by an artist who was obviously well versed in the idiom of the Pergamene Altar. The heroic proportions of the body with its strong thighs clearly defined beneath the himation and the powerful torso rising out of the mass of folds are reminiscent of many figures from the Altar frieze itself. Innumerable mannerisms of the Pergamene style are recognizable. The roll of drapery around the hips turns over on itself much as that of the Zeus on the Altar.\(^{18}\) Long drawn-out spherical triangles sweep down from the girdle as on the Doris of the Altar and also on the Nike of Samothrace.\(^{19}\) On the Nike and to a stronger degree on the Pergamon Altar, the edges of the chiton fly out in major and minor trumpet folds that seem to have been caught in an instant of motion. Particularly characteristic is the way in which they tip their trumpet mouths upward. All this excitement must be caused by a strong breeze, native to the windy city of Pergamon, certainly not to the

\(^{13}\) Délos, XXIII, pl. 68, no. 679, pp. 193-194; cf. pl. 39, no. 362.

\(^{14}\) Ibid., pl. 39, no. 361 has a hole for attachment to its back.

\(^{15}\) Ibid., pl. 39, no. 362.

\(^{16}\) G. M. A. Richter, Animals in Greek Sculpture, New York, 1930, pl. VIII, pp. 8-9.

\(^{17}\) Ibid., figs. 23-26; cf. Délos, XXIII, pl. 39, nos. 361-363; P. Perdrizet, Les terres cuites grecques d’Égypte de la collection Fouquet, Nancy-Paris-Strasbourg, 1921, pl. CX; C. Sittel, Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer, Leipzig, 1890, p. 90 interprets the protruding tongue as indicative of blood-thirst, but the apotropaic intention seems more likely.

\(^{18}\) M. Bieber, The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age, New Haven, 1960, fig. 459.

\(^{19}\) Ibid., figs. 493-496.
motion of the steed. He stands rooted to the ground while the divine afflatus plays over the group. This is a strangely non-Attic creation; it seems essentially Asianic, like contemporary oratory.

These drapery details are also found on certain fragments from Delos, but in no case is the movement so lively or the style so close to the genuine Pergamene. If we were to make so bold as to compare our figurine with the Kybele on the Great Altar itself, the similarity would surprise us. Though on the frieze the goddess rides a galloping lion into battle, drawing an arrow from her quiver, the general composition is not far from that of our group. Particularly the rendering of the drapery of the lower part, of which the restless folds flare out and swing back, almost looks like the model for those on our terracotta. The small relief from Pergamon in the same manner indicates that the type was established in Pergamon and must imply that ours is somehow a copy. Even the Pergamene lions, though better modelled, have rather canine faces and benevolent expressions.

We should like to know how this type reached Athens. It certainly has not survived in an Attic original of the period. On the other hand, certain other figurines show Pergamene connections. The peculiar anomaly between the goddess and the lion suggests that the mould for the Kybele might have been imported or copied from an imported piece. It seems reasonable to associate these connections with Pergamon with the presence in Athens of Pergamenes during the building of the Stoa by Attalos II (159-138 B.C.). That large, ambitious pieces were popular during the third quarter of the 2nd century has already been indicated by the dating, on other evidence, of the large statuette of Papposilenos at that time. The Delian parallels would also seem to fit into this general period.

Since we must probably regard this group as foreign in character, we cannot take it strictly as indicative of the cult interests of Athens at this date. Figures of Kybele are rarer here than in most Greek sites of the 2nd century. Few of the enthroned types that were frequent in Asia Minor or Delos have been found in the

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20 Delos, XXIII, pl. 67, no. 663.
21 A. von Salis, Der Altar von Pergamon, Berlin, 1912, pp. 60-65 analyzes the origin and style of this piece.
22 Ibid., p. 64, fig. 7.
23 Dionysos on a panther, a more popular Hellenistic type, occurs on Agora T 2369, from Deposit C 19:5, with mixed Hellenistic material.
24 Hesperia, XXXII, 1963, pl. 83, no. 21, p. 313.
26 E.g. D. B. Thompson, Troy, Supplementary Monograph 3, The Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period, Princeton, 1963 (hereafter, Thompson, Troy), pls. VIII-XV, nos. 16-50; Delos, XXIII, pl. 39, but surprisingly few at Myrina; S. Mollard, Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite, grecs et romains, II, Myrina, Paris, 1963 (hereafter, Mollard, Myrina), pl. 177. This discrepancy is probably due to the fact that the cult was largely domestic and would not be represented in the graves of Myrina.
Agora.\textsuperscript{27} Kybele in Athens remained the dignified Mother of the Gods, who appears for centuries virtually unchanged as the sober enthroned goddess of the Metroon.\textsuperscript{28}

We must turn to other sources for the type of the riding Kybele. Although it does not appear in sculpture until the Pergamene creations of the early 2nd century,\textsuperscript{29} the conception must somehow spring from the representations of the Hittite lion-goddess who stands authoritatively upon her beast.\textsuperscript{30} The astronomical and astrological symbolism of such figures has been fully studied.\textsuperscript{31} None of this occult lore is visible in our piece, which seems in type to go back to terracottas of the 4th century from Greece and Asia Minor.\textsuperscript{32} It is possible that they embody an old tradition, made famous by Nikias, who painted Nemea on a lion. His work perhaps echoed one by Nikomachos of Isthmia, who in the mid 4th century portrayed "deum matrem in leone sedentem" (Pliny, \textit{N.H.}, XXXV, 109).\textsuperscript{33} Fundamentally, the goddess is conceived as being the Mother of Gods and Beasts, who subdues their ferocity by riding upon the King of animals. This theme appealed to late Hellenistic and Roman taste and spread over the world, even as far east as Gandhara.\textsuperscript{34}

Although numerous bits of drapery survive in this deposit, their poor condition conceals the character of the figures from which they come. They can be discussed only with regard to style.

The best preserved example is the lower part of a figure (No. 2), wearing a chiton that hangs down in straight limp folds which are rendered as ridges. The only variation in their course is created by their wavering edges which widen slightly at the bottom. The weak monotony of these folds is the last stage in the old tradition. On other scraps (Nos. 3, 4) we see an effort to stiffen this aging process by hardening the edges of the tubular folds into metallic rigidity.\textsuperscript{35} Nothing could be more remote from the lively imagination of the Kybele. Not a waver of line, not a subdivision or a bifurcation tempers the movement. The orange-blond clay of these specimens finds parallels in other pieces of this group (No. 26). It may well belong to the early 1st

\textsuperscript{27} T 1488, 174(?) ; \textit{Hesperia}, XXIII, 1954, pl. 23, T 2178.

\textsuperscript{28} The Dutch scholar, M. Vermaseren, is collecting all representations of Kybele; see his article, \textit{Revue archéologique de l'Est}, V, 1954, pp. 105-132, esp. 116, 130, fig. 55, on the Roman versions. The Agora stone figures will appear in the volume on 5th and 4th century Agora sculpture by E. B. Harrison.

\textsuperscript{29} von Salis, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 60-65.


\textsuperscript{33} Cf. also Pliny, \textit{N.H.}, XXXV, 27.


\textsuperscript{35} Cf. \textit{Corinth}, XII, pl. 36, no. 395 (1st century after Christ); Mollard, \textit{Myrina}, pl. 141, a-c, etc. (late 1st century B.C.).
century. The style itself also continues well into that century. With these fragments were found others of a somewhat more sensitive style. No. 5, of gray-blond clay, represents drapery as wrapped over a shoulder in a series of concentric loops varied a little by a slight blurring of the tubular ridges. It recalls the style of an early 1st century piece previously studied and is similar to No. 6. No. 6 repeats precisely a patterned fold that also occurs on No. 7. This pattern is a zigzag that falls into symmetrical steps twisting into mirror images on either side of a central axis. Both pieces presumably come from the same mould for a sizable figure. A parallel occurs at Delos.

Another draped fragment (No. 8) is related in style. The fold drooping back from the knee is emphatic, as on many 3rd century prototypes, but the surface is utterly dull. The other draped fragments belong to the same category of mechanical, pompous figures like many at Delos. The folds are treated like cords, bunched in repetitive masses, echoing more subtle Pergamene originals. The head, No. 16, in both scale and technique, belongs to the same world. Small and trifling, but also characteristic, is a scrap from a Nike or possibly a dancing figure (No. 9), which is reminiscent of others published earlier. With it might belong the little head wearing a stephane, No. 17.

Little can be said of the style of these pieces as a whole, except that the vital force which had invigorated drapery through many long centuries is finally spent. The monotonous and stiff folds, often cut out by shadows rather than modelled as an organic whole, are like those on contemporary marbles. They are found particularly on the Lakrateidès relief from Eleusis (ca. 100-90 B.C.), on the Tower of the Winds in Athens and on the Euripides relief in Istanbul. These all show the same weary traditions not yet revived by the fresh, if fidgety breeze that turned Neo-Attic drapery into patterns.

**Fragmentary Limbs: Nos. 10-14**

The evidence for the poses and types of this group of figurines is not much increased by the contemplation of the numerous broken pieces that were gathered up after the people and the figurines alike had been subjected to the ferocity of the

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38 Cf. *ibid.*, pl. 116, e, pl. 118, e, pl. 141, f (dated late 1st century B.C.).
38 *Délos*, XXXIII, pl. 74, no. 731.
39 *Délos*, pl. 71, nos. 715-716, pl. 64, no. 644; cf. Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 140, a, c, f.
40 *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pl. 74, no. 15, pl. 82, no. 10; cf. the somewhat later versions from Myrina, Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 89 and, closer, pl. 90, f, pl. 91, b. Cf. W. Fuchs, *Der Schiffsfund von Mahdia*, Tübingen, 1963, pl. 64, no. 53.
41 Note this type of head on earlier Nikai, Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 86, a-c.
Roman soldiers. We select a few specimens among some twelve fragments of various sizes. Two are legs of which one (No. 10) is male of the type that probably belonged to a flying figure, such as a Dionysiac Eros. A wing (No. 14) also attests the continuing popularity of flying figures. This wing was made in two moulds with the markedly convex back that is characteristic of the late 2nd century and probably continued into the 1st century B.C. The clumsy detail of the feathering shows the general decadence of this period, as on similar wings from Myrina.\(^{43}\)

The arms vary. It is rarely possible to assign a pair to one figure, except for two pairs (Nos. 11, 13) that certainly belong together. One pair of arms (No. 11) is clearly male; the other (No. 13) presumably female. Four arms wear long white sleeves with pink bands (e.g. No. 12); others, uncatalogued, are also sleeved. These must belong to the Oriental dress that the Greeks usually called "Phrygian"; they are commonly worn by the dancers that are found at Myrina and Delos.\(^{44}\) This Asiatic figure, which appears frequently in the repertory of the 4th century B.C. in mainland Greece, is rare thereafter until this period in Athens, where it suddenly reappears, like so many other 4th century types.\(^{45}\)

**Female Heads: Nos. 15-17**

The surviving heads in this cistern are female. No. 15 appears, as we have noted from the clay, to be a survivor from earlier days. Its Praxitelean face with small squinting eyes, marked neck-rings, and decided inclination of the head on the neck also suits the fashions of the late 3rd century.\(^{46}\) The fine tresses of the hair as they came from the mould were carelessly retouched. No. 16, however, belongs to the period of our deposit. It is a shade smaller; its blond fabric is typical of the late 2nd century. The hair is worn in a bow; the eyes squint; the face is fleshy; the mouth pursed. This facial type was probably created in the early 2nd century, but it has been modernized by the addition of large earrings and a thick ring fillet applied to the top of the head, like many Delian heads of the Mithradatic period.\(^{47}\) This head is only slightly inclined. The absence of any parallel from Corinth and the number from

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\(^{46}\) Cf. *Hesperia*, XXXIII, 1963, pl. 72, no. 7a; cf. *Corinth*, XII, pl. 22, no. 266, also found in a much later context.

\(^{47}\) *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 77, nos. 885-890; for the face, cf. Mollard, *Myrina*, pls. 199, f, 200, i, cf. pl. 207, b. The type was revived by Diphilos, pl. 206, h; cf. Lazaridis, *Abdera*, pl. 6, B3.
Delos indicate that this head was made toward the end of the 2nd century. Certain fragments (Nos. 5-7) suggest the original setting on a well draped figure.

No. 17 probably brings us nearer to the period of the Sullan destruction. It is much smaller than the preceding heads, but clearly modelled. The fabric is blond and well fired. The hair is vaguely rendered under a low stephane with a ring base. Prototypes at Myrina and Corinth 48 and later pieces at Mahdia and Delos 49 imply that this head was made before the Sullan attack. The face is plump and alert, with round cheeks and clearly defined eyes open at the corners near the nose. The lips and chin are strong. In contrast with the manner of the preceding period, the features are more emphasized than the hair. This head may have belonged to a Nike (No. 9 ?). In style it is a small edition of the more ambitious early 2nd century heads.

Herm: No. 18

A fragment from a sizable herm adds another topic to the late Hellenistic repertory. The bearded archaic herm was a common adjunct to leaning figures 50 and even sometimes a separate offering during the 4th century. 51 It then became superseded by more elaborate types of herm and by archaizing "idols" on posts. 52 This appears to be a new fashion: a tall shaft, tapering upward. A counterpart, found in a post-Sullan deposit (T 2338, Pl. 4) 53 gives more details. Both herms are large, made in two moulds, the sections joined by glaze. The arms were sizable and square in section, set a little forward of the back. One long plaited tress survives on one shoulder of our piece. It is so stylized as to imply that the head was archaistic, probably like one from Priene. 54 A number of similar herms are shown in the studies by Winter and Lullies, 55 but without much indication of their dates.

The history of the terracotta votive herm will be traced through a number of examples from the Agora in the final publication of the figurines. 56 Its relation to the example from the Kybele Cistern can be briefly shown here. In our Hellenistic series the little pieces from the Coroplast's Dump of the third quarter of the 4th century 57 are simple renderings of the traditional herms that stood outside houses and sanctu-

48 Mollard, Myrina, pl. 86, a-c, later rendered as pl. 201, f, g; Corinth, XII, pl. 24, no. 288.
49 W. Fuchs, Der Schiffsfund von Mahdia, Tübingen, 1963, pl. 14, no. 5; Délos, XXIII, pl. 50, nos. 481-483, pl. 80, no. 970; cf. Lazaridis, Abdera, pl. 6, A16.
50 R. Lullies, Die Typen der griechischen Herme, Königsberg, 1931, pp. 64-65.
51 Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pl. 39, nos. 48, 49, a, b.
52 Ibid., XXVIII, 1959, pp. 133-135, no. 9.
54 T. Wiegand, H. Schrader, Priene, p. 344, fig. 401.
57 Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pp. 145-146, nos. 49 a, b, c.
aries to protect their owners and to receive defilement before the sailing of the Syracusan expedition. They are essentially conservative and carry on the old classical form. The Agora produced few examples from the 3rd century, but in the more creative 2nd century herms became varied and took on new shapes. A fine example comes from a cistern filled, like the Kybele Cistern, just after the time of Sulla.\(^{58}\) Technically, however, it is decidedly different. Unlike our stiff herm, this piece (T 1006, Pl. 4) is well fired of heavier clay, tan in color and covered with a thin white slip and considerable resistant color. It was made in one frontal mould with a rounded back, in contrast to our piece that is made of thin fabric in two moulds. The arms of the parallel are small and set well forward. It does not taper at all. The head is modelled in a rather baroque style; the locks of the beard flow freely. On the ring circlet rests a wreath of plastic flowers not unlike that of our No. 20. The face is formal, looking like a sculptural head and reminds us of the mask of Zeus from the Herakles Deposit.\(^{59}\) In style, this herm is later than those from the mid 2nd century in Priene and more like those from the pre-Mithradatic period at Delos.\(^{60}\) It surely dates after the middle of the century, but probably before its end.

Not unlike our No. 18 is a smaller herm, T 916 (Pl. 4).\(^{61}\) Both are similar in essential details, but the smaller piece is solid and made of gray-blond clay. Both these pieces exhibit an academic sort of archaism, which is often visible at this period. The shaft on both pieces tapers slightly downward, a mannerism that comes in also on marbles of the later Hellenistic age.\(^{62}\)

The final stage is presented by two large fragments of yellow-blond clay, both thrown out after the Sullan siege (T 2338 and T 1566, Pl. 4).\(^{63}\) Both are coarsely made in two moulds; loose locks hang on the shoulders (T 2338). The shafts taper downward. The fruits deposited on the arms are just like those on contemporary herms from Delos.\(^{64}\) Both these Agora herms are otherwise closely related to the Dionysiac examples from Delos and Ilion.\(^{65}\) The head wears triple rows of archaistic curls and a thick bound wreath attached by jabs treated with rows of vertical strokes characteristic of the 1st century B.C.\(^{66}\) It seems probable that these two large flamboyant examples date after the Sullan sack. Their fabric is decidedly softer than that of the 2nd century specimens and the work is much coarser.

These late herms with their ornate wreaths and offerings of fruit piled high on

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\(^{58}\) T 1006 from Deposit D 12:2, a Sullan filling. P. H. 12.6 cm. Tan clay, hard fabric. Red on hair, beard, black on phallos, decorated with pink ribbons. Oval vent.

\(^{59}\) Hesperia, XXXIV, 1965, pl. 22, no. 6.

\(^{60}\) Priene, p. 344, figs. 402-403; Délos, XXIII, pl. 35, nos. 323, 325.

\(^{61}\) From Area E 15, mixed to early Roman. P. H. 11.2 cm.; Top W. 2.4 cm.; Bottom W. 2.2 cm. Gray-blond clay. Red on shaft. Slit vent.

\(^{62}\) Cf. Lullies, Typen, p. 82.

\(^{63}\) See above note 53 (T 2338). T 1566 comes from Deposit D 12:2. a) P. H. 3.5 cm., W. 5.9 cm.; b) P. H. 4.5 cm., P. W. 4 cm.

\(^{64}\) Délos, XXIII, pl. 36, nos. 335-336.

\(^{65}\) Thompson, Troy, pl. LVIII, no. 299.

\(^{66}\) Ibid., p. 47, note 90.
arms and base certainly have a Dionysiac flavor. Laumonier, following the interpretation given by many scholars, particularly Picard and Macardé,\(^67\) calls the Delian herms definitely Dionysiac. Lullies, on the other hand, who has fully studied the long development of the herm type, insists that fundamentally the herm itself always represented Hermes and that it took on only superficially the attributes of Dionysos.\(^68\) In the late 2nd and early 1st centuries, the minds of worshippers seem consistently to have broken down clear-cut barriers of definition and callously to have confused the gods and their attributes, thus preparing the way for a vague pantheism. Within this climate of thought the Athenian herms need not be regarded as disturbing documents.

**Protome:** No. 19

One fragment may come from a large herm or from a Dionysiac protome.\(^69\) Its pinkish fabric and careful modelling place it back in the 2nd century, earlier probably than the Zeus protome of the previous group.\(^70\) The leafy crown and naturalistic hair resemble those of protomai from Delos.\(^71\) As on the Zeus protome, a stephane seems to have risen behind the wreath, thus indicating that the piece is probably not a herm.

**Bust:** No. 20

Also Dionysiac in flavor is a bust cut off below the shoulders.\(^72\) It is one of few nearly complete specimens from the Agora later than the much larger example from the Coroplast's Dump.\(^73\) In previous articles \(^74\) we have noted two fragments and one virtually complete specimen. The type is in general rare in mainland Greece.\(^75\) It seems to have originated as a variant form of protome in the home of Demeter and Kore, Western Greece.\(^76\) Life-size busts, draped in real garments, seem to have been carried in processions to be placed on couches in the *lectisternia*,\(^77\) a custom that survived into mediaeval Italy. Votive busts of the same types and of varying sizes were also made for dedication. Since these busts usually wear poloi and are decorated with flowers, we may perhaps regard them as originally representing Kore at her rising from the earth or Anodos.\(^78\) Later the form was adopted by related deities.

\(^{67}\) *Délos*, XXIII, p. 125, with references.
\(^{68}\) Lullies, *Typen*, pp. 52-54.
\(^{69}\) This term is used for a piece open at the back and intended to be hung.
\(^{70}\) *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 67-68, 71, no. 6, pl. 22.
\(^{71}\) Cf. *Dél.*, XXXIII, pl. 34, nos. 311-314.
\(^{72}\) This term is used for a piece with closed back, cut off below the shoulders and made to stand.
\(^{73}\) *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pl. 39, no. 51.
\(^{74}\) *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pl. 26, no. 3, pl. 29, no. 29; XVII, 1948, pl. LXI, fig. 1; XXXIV, 1965, p. 61, no. 14, pl. 20.
\(^{75}\) *TK*, I, pp. 252-254 shows Hellenistic examples only from western and eastern Greek lands; those from mainland Greece are all late.
\(^{78}\) M. W. Stoop, *Floral Figurines from South Italy*, Assen, 1960, pp. 45-50, discusses the large Italian class of similar character.
It is not certain what deity is represented by our bust. No breasts are shown, but this is common even on obviously female divinities. The absence of the characteristic mitra across the forehead that occurs on similar heads at Delos probably excludes the identification as Dionysos himself. The head is elaborately crowned with three different kinds of wreaths. Pointed leaves rest on the hair that is brushed back in thick strands from which a long tress falls down on the shoulder. Above the wreath of leaves rests a thick circlet bound by a broad fillet of which the end also hangs down on the shoulder. All this in turn is surmounted by a crown of large quatrefoil flowers of the type that we found decorating plastic scenes associated with Aphrodite. This rich floral headdress, typical of the period, overwhelms the head; it certainly refers to a deity of growth and fertility. Perhaps she is Kore or Aphrodite herself, perhaps the Great Mother. The presence in our deposit of a figure of that deity and of several arms wearing "Phrygian" dress (Nos. 11, 12 and uncatalogued specimens) may indicate the proximity of a shrine to the popular divinity of late Hellenistic times, Demeter-Kybele.

The face of our bust belongs to the stodgy form of classicistic visage often used in the later Hellenistic period, as for instance on a marble head from the Mahdia wreck. A close terracotta parallel comes from a shop in Delos that was destroyed during the Mithradatic Wars. These two might go back to the same model, though the bust is smaller. It has a round face with heavy-lidded eyes open at the inner corners, a thick-bridged stumpy nose and a thick-lipped mouth. This face is not unlike that of the earlier herm (T 1006, Pl. 4). The same glum, classic effect is also characteristic of the Zeus protome from Deposit N 19:1. The present head is clumsier and shallower. The fact that the wreath was cast in the mould and the abundant plastic ornament imply that this piece was made not long before the Sullan sack. Its good preservation supports this assumption. A head from Ilion shows the later, perhaps post-Sullan style, when the flamboyant manner becomes grandiose.

**Cornucopia: No. 21**

We have previously traced the development of the single form of this popular emblem of prosperity. Two fragments in this deposit make up to an example of the double form of cornucopia. Though the double horn or dikeras was created as an attribute for Arsinoe II early in the 3rd century and was retained as her peculiar

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79 Delos, XXIII, pl. 34, nos. 310-314.
80 See above p. 2, note 11; cf. Lazaridis, Abdera, pl. 7, B9, pl. 8, B15.
81 Fuchs, Schiffsfund von Mahdia, pls. 10 f., pl. 54, no. 44.
82 Delos, XXIII, pl. 36, no. 336.
83 Hesperia, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 67-68, 71, no. 6, pl. 22.
84 Thompson, Troy, pl. LIV, no. 272.
85 Hesperia, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 40-44, nos. 8-14, pl. 15.
86 On coins other than those of Arsinoe II, British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins: The Ptolemies, pl. XVIII, 5-8 (Ptolemy VI); pl. XXX, 6-8 (Cleopatra VII); M. Thompson, The
symbol long after her death, it did not become generally fashionable on coins or figurines until well into the 2nd century.

In mechanical competence of modelling as well as in fabric, this piece belongs in the late 2nd century. The upper part is double, containing two grape clusters, a pomegranate and two spiky cakes. Behind the fruit rises a shield, probably representing the nimbus of rays that appears first on the cornucopias on the coins of Ptolemy Epiphanes (205-180 B.C.). For the coroplast this disk forms a good background against which to show the fruit with which the horn overflows. Another scrap (No. 21 b) comes from the fluted stem of a cornucopia, which in scale and fabric accords with those of the upper fragment, though we cannot be certain that the two pieces belong together. A restoration is suggested on Plate 5.

Similar fragments from Delos indicate the period and nature of our piece. It presumably was held by a figure; marks of attachment imply that it was carried against the left arm. It was probably a figure of Tyche, of which many pompous specimens from the late Hellenistic period fill the museums.

**ANIMALS:** Nos. 22, 23

The tiny ram’s head is a peculiar piece. As a rule figures of sheep are sizable and made in an ordinary style as though for votives or toys. But this little creature is sensitively rendered and his horns were gilded. The wool between the horns and around the neck is delicately modelled; the eyes and muzzle are likewise treated with feeling. In fact the piece is virtually handmade. It is to be seen only from one side and is just roughed out behind. It is not impossible that this head was intended to hang on a necklace or to end a bracelet of the type in gilded clay that imitated gold jewelry for those who could not afford the original. Rams’ heads from Delos of other types are also sensitively modelled.

The goose head (No. 23) is a typical piece, simply modelled in blond clay. Its fabric places it at about the time of Sulla. It may have been a toy or it may have been the playmate or the mount of Eros, as the break along its back suggests, though the scale is small.


88 The drawing was kindly made by Jean Porter Nauert.

89 *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 96, no. 1270, cf. no. 1274.

90 Cf. Burr, *Myrinas*, pl. IV, no. 11; Mollard, *Myrina*, pl. 49, f. This figure of Harpokrates underscores the Egyptian associations of the dikeras. He carries a more degenerate specimen of the 1st century B.C.


93 *Délos*, XXIII, pl. 97, no. 1304, pl. 98, no. 1331.

PLAQUES: Nos. 24-26

In earlier deposits we have noted a few fragments from plaques, which become more prevalent toward the end of our period. This deposit contains fragments of three such relief plaques. No. 24 is broken from the left side (spectator’s) of a scene of sacrifice over a flaming cylindrical altar. It stands before a tall stele that probably carried a statue. A hand extends a phiale over the altar. The plaque is bordered by a frame. The fabric of soft yellow blond clay is like that of the post-Sullan herm (T 2338, Pl. 4). The scene suggests the sacrifices on Campana reliefs, but it finds no close parallel among them. They are much more mannered in the Augustan style. The architectural setting and the flaming altar are also reminiscent of marble plaques of the Roman period, developments of the scenes prevalent at Delos and in Asia Minor at the time of the Mithradatic Wars. The clumsy arm and careless detail are in the late Hellenistic manner rather than in the classicizing Roman spirit. These clay plaques are evidently cheap copies of the more expensive reliefs that were popular in the late 2nd century.

Another fragment (No. 25) may well come from the same type, but it is of slightly different fabric and better modelled. The nude legs of a sturdy male figure face outward, resting the weight on the left leg in a slightly swaying posture. The stance and the general aspect suggest Herakles and the hanging mass at his left looks like an animal skin with a paw. The hero may be resting after a labor or he may be pouring a libation over an altar as on the other fragment. The gray-tan fabric and the sunburned orange flesh are those of the late 2nd century.

In connection with this plaque, we should mention a better preserved Herakles plaque of gray-blond clay that bears an unique Hellenistic representation of Herakles on his way to Olympos (T 2466, Pl. 6). It is a careful bit of pictorial modelling in low relief, against a red ground, with a brownish frame. The scene is set on an exergue that leaves a narrow space beneath it and suggests that the composition was not designed for this shape but copied from elsewhere. Herakles, wearing a chiton exomis, sits on his own lionskin as a saddlecloth and beats his mule with his club.

96 As on the “Icarius relief,” Bieber, Sculpture, fig. 656.
97 The “frame” might be a pilaster such as enclose the Horseman plaques of the 2nd century from Iliion, Thompson, Troy, pl. XXVIII, nos. 127-128.
98 E. G. T. Schreiber, Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder, Leipzig, 1894, pl. CIII; Richter, Sculpture, fig. 510; Arch. Anz., 1941, p. 602, figs. 116-117.
101 Richter, Sculpture, fig. 39; Hesperia, XVII, 1948, pl. 34; Mendel, Cat. Sculptures, III, pp. 72-74, nos. 859-860.
103 The size of the animal and the analogy with the mount of Hephaistos make it probable that this is a mule rather than a donkey, as first suggested.
The mule responds with comic alacrity, prancing upon one foot, ithyphallic, raising eager ears and muzzle to Olympos, his goal as much as his master's. Humorous details, like the pomposity of Herakles despite his lazy adoption of the steed of Hephaistos and the mule parodying a stallion, suggest that the scene is drawn from burlesque. Herakles, the comic character of the stage, hitching a ride to Olympos is a conception still worthy of Attic wit. These plaques give a glimpse of the taste in house decoration in the Athens which the Romans looted.

Our last scrap of relief (No. 26) is of orange blond clay and too small to tell us much. It shows a leg, probably of a dancing figure of the fluttering type shown later on Campana reliefs. The fabric and style divide this piece from the others and indicate that it is post-Sullan.

Altar: No. 27

Fragments of a small altar or arula of the same fabric as No. 26 represent the late Hellenistic descendants of the well known "Tarentine" altars, now shown to be Athenian. This altar had Ionic columns at the corners on which rested the dentil frieze, which is partially preserved in fragment a. Such Ionic altars are not uncommon in Hellenistic times. The firebox which rises above the cornice is decorated with an akroterion (a sphinx?) and a running pattern of palmette scrolls exactly like those common on Megarian bowls. Only a portion of one side of the altar survives. It shows two Erotes facing each other, perhaps over an altar. One raises his hand; the other lifts something, perhaps a wreath. The modelling is shallow, the impression is dull, like that of the plaques. This seems to be a late specimen of a type that must have been created in the late 3rd or early 2nd century, like other altars that we have discussed.

Bases: Nos. 28, 29

Of the numerous fragments of bases from this deposit we shall select two to represent the characteristic types. None survives together with its figure, except the broken plaque base of the Kybele group. It was presumably dictated by the size of the group. The moulded base was preferred during the 2nd century.

No. 28 is moulded only at the bottom; No. 29 is a rounded example with clumsy mouldings at both top and bottom. No. 28 shows a marked batter, flaring outward toward the bottom even more than the closely similar example from the Herakles.

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104 E.g. Délos, XXIII, pl. 101, no. 1364, a prototype of the Roman versions.
105 Thompson, Troy, p. 142, pl. LVII, nos. 293-295. A fine early example of this type has recently been found in Athens.
106 Cf. Lazaridis, Abdera, pl. 17, B60.
108 Cf. Thompson, Troy, pl. LXIII, d, from the Troad.
Deposit.\textsuperscript{110} This flare is also visible on bases of the late Hellenistic period from other sites.\textsuperscript{111} It is an earmark of sloppy work.

Conclusions

This group contains a curious mixture of types. The Kybele is an unusual piece on several counts. It is a large ambitious work, like the Papposilenos of the mid 2nd century;\textsuperscript{112} it shows close affiliations with the style of Pergamon. The arms wearing "Phrygian" costume also point in that direction. The complex repertory of late Hellenistic times also adds new types, such as the votive herm, the cornucopia, the relief altar, the plaques and the bust. Interest in draped figures continues, but without vigor. A tendency to revive subjects popular in the 4th century appears here also as in the preceding deposits.

The artistic quality of the work, with the exception of that unusual piece, the Kybele, is as dull as in our late 2nd century groups. Most of the modelling is competent, but mechanical. It is sometimes enlivened, as on the bust, by plastic additions that look crisp, but cannot redeem the vapid construction. In general, the material belongs to the pre-Sullan period, but a few pieces have been assigned to the decade after Sulla (Nos. 18, 26, 28, 29).

Concordance

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\textsuperscript{110} Ibid., XXXIV, 1965, pl. 21, no. 19.
\textsuperscript{111} Burr, Myrinas, pl. II, no. 4, pl. XIII, no. 33.
\textsuperscript{112} Hesperia, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 38, 47, no. 5, pl. 14.
CATALOGUE

Draped Figures

1 (T 915) Kybele on a Lion  Pl. 1.
  P. H. 32.5 cm.; P. L. 29.5 cm.; T. 17 cm.
  Buff-tan clay. Red on chiton; cream with pink border on himation. Solid bottom to skirt with two holes for pins to secure missing left foot. Yellow on lion; gilt on mane; pink on mouth; black on eye. Large rectangular openings in back of both figures. Area between lion's legs filled in. Back unworked. Many fragments missing, including upper part of Kybele. Scraps of plaque base, non-joining, preserved. Lion's hind leg burned. Surface much worn.
  Kybele sits sideways on lion's back, facing outward. Lion stands with uplifted right paw; his head turned outward, tongue extended.

2 (T 2625) Draped Fragment  Pl. 2.
  P. H. 7.9 cm. Yellow-blond clay; soft fabric; red on drapery. Traces of base moulded with figure.
  Lower part of standing draped female, wearing high-soled sandal on preserved left foot.

3 (T 2627 c, d, f) Draped Fragments  Pl. 2.
  P. H. a) 2.5 cm.; b) 3.0 cm.; c) 4 cm. Blond clay; pink on drapery. All pieces broken all around.
  Fragments of identical style and fabric from one or more small draped figures.

4 (T 2627 a) Draped Fragment  Pl. 2.
  P. H. 7.5 cm. Blond clay; red glaze adhesive. Pink on drapery. Broken all round.
  Probably from standing draped female.

5 (T 2630) Draped Fragment  Pl. 2.
  P. H. 5.6 cm. Gray-blond clay. Back missing. Probably from left shoulder of figure.

6 (T 2628) Draped Fragments  Pl. 2.
  P. H. a) 13.5 cm.; b) 5.5 cm. Gray-blond clay. Proper left edges finished (?)

Possibly from protome.

7 (T 2629) Draped Fragment  Pl. 2.
  P. H. 8.6 cm. Gray-blond clay; cream on drapery. Broken all round.
  From figure similar to preceding; protome (?)

8 (T 2626) Draped Fragment  Pl. 2.
  P. H. 7 cm. Yellow-blond clay. Broken except on proper left side.
  From large scale figure like preceding.

9 (T 3678) Draped Fragment  Pl. 3.
  P. H. 3.7 cm. Blond clay. Broken all round.
  From the thigh of a female figure wearing an overfold and advancing left leg.

Limbs

10 (T 2632) Male Leg  Pl. 3.
  P. H. 6.2 cm. Blond-tan clay. Broken top and bottom.
  Nude male right leg; traces of attachment at side.

11 (T 849) Draped Arms  Pl. 3.
  P. L. a) 5 cm.; b) 6 cm. Blond-tan clay; pink on sleeves. Broken top and bottom.
  Two arms wearing long sleeves. a) is a left arm, bent at elbow; b) a right arm, bent and extended.

12 (T 3677) Draped Arm  Pl. 3.
  P. L. 6.5 cm. Gray-blond clay; white on sleeves. Broken top and bottom.
  Left sleeved arm and part of hand, bent at elbow.

13 (T 3676) Nude Arms  Pl. 3.
  P. L. a) 5 cm.; b) 8 cm. Blond-tan clay. Broken top and bottom.
  Nude arms, probably from same figure. a) is a left arm, bent forward from the elbow; b) a right arm extended. Both retain parts of hands. Probably female.
14 (T 913) Wing


Feathers clumsily indicated.

FEMALE HEADS

15 (T 910) Female Head

P. H. 5.4 cm.; H. face 3.3 cm. Light red clay. Traces of wreath or diadem attached by glaze. Much worn.

Head inclined to left. Small thick-lidded eyes; earrings. Fillet falls at left side of neck. Hair parted to knot at nape. Marked neck grooves. Bottom of neck flat.

16 (T 911) Female Head

P. H. 5.6 cm.; H. face 3 cm. Blond-tan clay. Glaze adhesive. Back missing.

Head inclined to left. Hair in strands tied in bow at crown. Wears ring fillet; large earrings. Squinting eyes and bow mouth.

17 (T 853) Female Head

P. H. 3 cm.; H. face 1.9 cm. Blond-tan clay. Burned.

Wears ring fillet and low stephane over hair rolled to knot at nape.

MISCELLANIES

18 (T 850) Herm

P. H. 14.4 cm.; W. of side at top 4 cm. Blond clay; hard fabric. Yellow on hair; dark on shaft; glue adhesive joining front and back.

Tall shaft, tapering upward, with long lock on shoulder.

19 (T 2631) Protome Fragment

P. H. 3.7 cm.; P. W. 5.5 cm. Buff clay. Broken all round.

A little hair, wreath of leaves; thick wreath; above, stephane(?)

20 (T 909) Bust


Draped bust wearing thick wreath above wreath of leaves, below crown of flowers. Wide fillet and lock hang on shoulder.

_Hesperia_, XXI, 1952, pl. 35.

21 (T 912) Cornucopia

Pl. 5.

a) P. H. 7 cm.; P. W. 4.1 cm.; b) P. H. 3 cm. Blond-tan clay. a) Hollow; three small holes pierced in back; left side broken. Red on shaft and fruit. b) Broken top and bottom.

Double cornucopia with two clusters of grapes, pomegranates, spikes of wheat against shield. Double shaft springs from calyx of leaves above two ring mouldings, crowning a fluted stem.

ANIMALS

22 (T 2863) Ram’s Head

Pl. 5.


Right side view. Retouched.

23 (T 908) Head of Bird

Pl. 5.

P. H. 5.8 cm. Blond clay; pink on bill.

Probably a goose.

PLAQUES

24 (T 914 a) Sacrificial Scene

Pl. 6.

P. H. 13 cm.; P. W. 5.8 cm. Soft blond clay. Irregular behind.

Side preserved showing hand holding phiale over flaming cylindrical altar decorated with relief garland. It stands in front of a pier or stele. Frame preserved at spectator’s left.

25 (T 914 b) Herakles(?)

Pl. 6.

P. H. 8.7 cm.; P. W. 7.5 cm. Gray-blond clay. Orange-yellow on flesh and lion’s skin. Irregular behind.

Nude legs of figure standing frontally; bit of hanging lion skin.

26 (T 914 d) Dancer(?)

Pl. 5.

P. H. 4.1 cm.; Orange-blond clay. Irregular back. Finished right edge.
Part of bent left thigh and leg preserved, apparently dancing in flowing drapery. Finished edge at right(?)

27 (T 3675) Altar Fragments Pl. 6.
  a) P. H. 3.7 cm.; P. W. 6.5 cm.; b) P. H. 5.6 cm.; P. W. 4.3 cm. Yellow-blond clay. Broken behind.
  Fragments from small Ionic altar with firebox decorated with palmette scrolls and rosettes; sphinx(?) akroterion. Relief with confronting children (Erotes?).

28 (T 2616) Base Pl. 5
  P. H. 4.5 cm.; P. W. 7.8 cm. Blond clay. Red on upper part; dark on lower. Broken at left side and back.
  High block with two rounded lower mouldings.

29 (T 2622) Base Pl. 5.
  P. H. 3.9 cm. Blond clay. White on top; red on scotia. Broken on sides.
  Clumsy tori separated by scotia.

DOROTHY BURR THOMPSON
Dorothy Burr Thompson: Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas
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