A HELLENISTIC TERRACOTTA GROUP
FROM CORINTH
(Plates 67 and 68)

When considering large-scale terracotta sculpture of the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, one tends to think of Italy more than of Greece and of the architectural and votive terracottas from Etruscan and Campanian sites. The amount of known and published material from Greece is comparatively slight. Summed up by Laumonier in 1956 in his publication of a large-scale head from Delos, the corpus has not changed noticeably. 1

That Corinth was an active center in the 4th century B.C. is clear. The votive and anatomical members from the Asklepieion 2 and the votive statues from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore 3 are evidence of her productivity. How long the city continued to produce, however, is open to question. With the exception of one leg, the votives from the Asklepieion were found in contexts of the late third or early fourth quarter of the 4th century B.C. and had to have been made before that time. 4 The Demeter material for this period is quite fragmentary but does not show characteristics which need be later than the 4th century. It has seemed, in fact, as if the disasters which caused great damage to the city in the late 4th century brought an end to the sculptural production, despite the fact that small-scale figurines, large coarse-ware pottery, and architectural terracottas continued to be made.

It is for this reason that the most recent discovery of four small fragments of terracotta sculpture, more advanced stylistically than anything yet found in Corinth, is especially welcome.

The four fragments, namely, a right upper arm, the left half of a face, and two indeterminate pieces of anatomy, are modeled fully in the round in the same clay, are fired consistently to the same color, and are covered with the same paint. Despite possible differences in scale, they undoubtedly belong to one group.

1. A. Laumonier, Délos, XXIII, Les figurines de terre cuite, Paris 1956, pp. 120–122. Indeed, it has scarcely changed since W. Deonna, Les statues de terre-cuite en Grèce, Paris 1906. Nevertheless, Hellenistic terracotta sculpture has never been drawn together and discussed in detail as a body. One of the major problems in so doing is chronology, and I have purposely avoided any discussion or refinement of such. The purpose of this article is to draw the attention of more people to the corpus of existing material and to point out the general tendencies in style and technique. It is a special pleasure to be able to offer this exploratory probe to Mrs. Thompson who has done so much for the study of Hellenistic terracotta.


4. Roebuck, op. cit. (footnote 2 above), p. 125, V 83; found in a context of the early 3rd century B.C. This, however, does not necessarily make the leg 3rd century. Laumonier (op. cit. [footnote 1 above]) is incorrect when dating the votives to the 4th and 3rd centuries. The latest piece from Corinth published by S. S. Weinberg, “Terracotta Sculpture from Corinth,” Hesperia 24, 1957, p. 319, belongs to the first half of the 4th century; cf. also p. 293. We shall return to this fragment below (footnote 18).
The sculptures were found in the 1981 excavations just to the east of the Theater and to the west of the Classical pebble-mosaic floor discovered in 1929. Three of the four pieces were recovered from the backfill in the trench of a dismantled wall together with quantities of discarded Hellenistic pottery (grid square 94:BF). The latest material, of very early Roman date, suggests that the removal of the wall and the subsequent back filling took place early in the 1st century after Christ. The fourth piece (No. 3) was recovered from later debris of the 6th century after Christ a short distance to the west (grid square 96:BE). The context indicates that the group was modeled no later than late Hellenistic times, since thereafter there scarcely would have been time for it to have been modeled, set up, dismantled, and discarded.

The clay from which the group is modeled is mixed with a small amount of very fine inclusions and fewer coarse red and gray inclusions averaging 5 mm. or less in size. In all the pieces the clay has fired throughout a consistent light tan. Both color and consistency can be paralleled in earlier statues from Corinth. Although, beginning in the mid-5th century B.C., statues were modeled more commonly in fine clay without visible inclusions, the use of coarser tempering was never wholly abandoned.

No. 1 is an upper right arm of about life-size, broken just below the shoulder cap and above the elbow (Pl. 67:a). The beginning of the back is visible at the rear upper break. A triangular section of summarily worked surface just below the armpit indicates that the arm rested against the side of the body (Pl. 67:b). The arm is bare and muscular. Deltoid, biceps, and triceps muscles are all clearly defined and are bulging from exertion. Modeling is confined to front and side faces while the back is finished in a much more sketchy manner.

The arm is covered with a matt reddish purple color, slightly lighter on the inside surface to more purple on the back. The paint was applied directly to the clay without an intermediate white slip and was fired together with the statue.

At the lower break are halves of two horizontal holes, 0.013 m. in diameter, which enter the arm from front and back on the same horizontal axis but do not meet. They are respectively 0.030 and 0.013 m. deep. A black substance, possibly pitch, adheres to the sides of the front hole. The holes do not join broken segments and are not for lead mending pins. They occur well above the elbow and cannot have served to join upper and lower arms, were joins made that way in clay. A separate element must have been added to the arm at this point, presumably in a different material, much like the bronze arrows restored in several of

5 I should like to thank C. K. Williams, II, Director of the Corinth Excavations, for allowing me to publish this material and for his frequent advice and discussions. Cf. his excavation report in *Hesperia* 51, 1982, 115–163. The photographs on Plates 67 and 68 are by I. Ioannidou and L. Bartzioti. For the 1929 mosaic and earlier work, see T. L. Shear, "Excavations in the Theatre District and Tombs of Corinth in 1929," *AJP* 33, 1929, pp. 526–528.

6 Pottery storage lot 1981-34.

7 *Munsell Soil Color Charts*, Baltimore 1972, 7.5YR 7.5/3 to 10YR 7.5/4.

8 SF-1981-2. P.H. 0.180, W. through biceps 0.068, W. front to back 0.086 m. Single fragment.

9 2.5YR 5/6 to 10R 4/5. The paint has worn away on most of the front and outer faces.

10 The application of white slip before firing was the more common approach to painting in the 5th and 4th centuries. Delicate colors were then added after firing. Both methods occur among the Demeter fragments, and similar red paint occurs not only on a 5th-century fragment from there but also on the Asklepieion votives.
the pedimental figures from the Temple of Aphaia at Aigina. The material could have been wood or metal.

Insofar as it is preserved, the arm is solid. It is clearly handmade. On the back side one can see how wads of clay were added to build out the muscles but were not subsequently smoothed. Even on the better finished surfaces fingerprints are apparent. There is no attempt to mask either this work or the inclusions with a fine slip, as the earlier Classical sculptors generally did. The over-all appearance is sketchy.

No. 2 is very small (Pl. 67:c). From its similarity to the preceding piece and from its thickness it, too, probably belongs to an arm. The surface is softly rounded without the prominent muscles of No. 1. It could have belonged either to a forearm or possibly to the lower part of the left upper arm. It also preserves part of a hole drilled to 0.025 m. below the surface.

No. 3 derives from some part of the anatomy having a pronounced curvature and a circumference greater than that of an arm (Pl. 67:d). Although hollow at the core, the fragment is very thick, and the interior opening is small. The interior surface is rough without finger impressions. In other words, the fragment belongs to a part of the body not frequently handled during modeling, such as the leg. The surface is quite irregularly finished. Along one side the outer surface is missing. Deep finger strokes show that originally drapery or another anatomical member was attached here. Faded red paint covers the remaining surface.

No. 4 is the most interesting of the group (Pl. 68). It is the head of a grimacing, bearded old man about two-thirds life-size. The head is preserved from just proper left of the nose to the helix of the left ear and from the left temple to about the top of the neck. Most of the eyebrow, upper eyelid, and inner corner of the left eye are broken away, as are the tips of the curls of the beard. Its fine quality deserves description in some detail.

The impression of old age is created by an emphasis on the underlying bone structure of the head and by the contrast between bone and sagging flesh. The hollow temples make the skull, brow ridge, and cheekbone stand out. These, in turn, make the eye appear small but prominent. Indeed, the eye is so deeply modeled in profile that it nearly pops out of the head. The fleshy part of the cheek forms a heavy, sagging roll above the grimacing mouth, thereby defining the cheekbone even more and making the pouch beneath the eye seem sunken. A heavy mustache mirrors the fleshy roll and apparently covers most or all of the upper lip. The distance between the eye and the mustache is quite small, suggesting that the nose was short and probably snub. Through the open mouth faint crenellations delineate the lower teeth.

My thanks to M. Katz for suggesting an arrow and for identifying the pitch. For the Aiginetan examples, see D. Ohly, Die Aeginetan I, Munich 1976, p. 80. Such combinations of materials are not unattested at Corinth as the poros head with terracotta ornaments shows: N. Bookidis, "Archaic Sculptures from Corinth," Hesperia 39, 1970, p. 315, no. 2, pl. 77.

In the upper break at the back of the arm is a third hole, 0.008 m. in diameter, made vertically into the wall of the arm to a depth of at least 0.085 m. It is possible that this hole originally held a stick or rod to strengthen the shoulder and arm attachments during drying.

SF-1981-3. P.H. 0.083, P.W. 0.057, Th. 0.035 m. Single fragment.
SF-1981-4. P.H. 0.122 m. Single fragment.
SF-1981-1. P.H. 0.137, P.W. 0.102, Th. 0.015 (left temple) to 0.045 (lower break), L. eye ca. 0.022, L. corner mouth to corner eye ca. 0.04 m. Single fragment.
Most of the face is covered by a curly beard which begins on the cheek as finely incised lines and grows into large plastic locks. These seem to make no regular pattern but project, each in considerable relief. The ear is partially obscured by the beard. It is set abnormally low. Helix, antitragus, and tragus are somewhat summarily modeled. The upper part of the helix is missing, and it is therefore unclear whether the ear was normal.

Within these general outlines there are fine details of interest. The eye appears to look downward because the iris is flattened almost to concavity. An incised circle with central dot delineates the pupil and the iris. The lower lid is heavy but straight, without any curvature or flare. Its upper, flattened edge has been cut with a sharp tool. The overlap of upper over lower lid is not so distinctly rendered as in stone. Deep incision is used to separate the upper lid from the brow ridge, and finely incised wrinkles radiate from the outer corner of the eye. A faintly incised line offsets the base of the lower lid from the pouch beneath the eye. The latter has a rough, crinkly-textured appearance which contributes to the impression of weariness.

Skin, mustache, and beard are covered with the same deep red paint applied directly to the clay. The eyeball is painted white. The iris is reserved, but the original color there is uncertain.

The head is hollow (Pl. 68:c). Beneath the beard the wall is of a fairly consistent thickness. The interior surface preserves numerous impressions of fingers pressed into it. No joints or overlapping wads of clay are visible. It is not apparent from the interior whether the head was made in a mold or freely by hand. The hairs of the mustache have a mechanical look to them which suggests the use of a mold. If this was the case, however, there was a great deal of retouching with sharp tools over nearly all the surface which eradicated all other traces of the mold. The locks of the beard, too, were added as separate pellets, then incised.

It is unlikely that all the pieces belong to one figure. It is difficult to reconcile the scale of the arm with that of the face. Moreover, while the head is clearly that of an elderly man, the arm is strong and vigorous, surely more youthful. There must have been two figures, at least, and there may have been more. We are therefore dealing with either a freestanding group or large-scale architectural decoration.

The fragments were found not far from the east parados of the Theater, and it is tempting to associate them with that structure. Although little is known of the pre-Roman plan of the Theater, nevertheless, it seems unlikely that there can have been any sort of pediment large enough to take a nearly life-sized group over the scene building. As for any other form of theatrical decoration, our knowledge of such uses from other, better documented, sites is insufficient. Passages in some plays imply that statues of gods stood on the stage, but they do not suggest anything as elaborate as a narrative group. Outside the Theater the possibilities are infinite, for very little of the area has been excavated.

18 Parts of at least four terracotta statues were found in the excavations of the 1920's. These, however,
If the placement of the group is problematic, so also is the reconstruction of the composition and subject matter, for too little is preserved. A scene of combat was probably depicted. The bearded head expresses pain or fear for which, presumably, the muscular arm is responsible. But whether the head belongs to a satyr, a centaur, an aged "seer", or a figure from Old or New Comedy is not distinctly demonstrable.

The interest of these pieces lies primarily in the date of their manufacture, in the implication of that date for Corinth, and in the technical advances which they display.

The fragments reflect two tendencies apparent in marble sculpture of the Hellenistic period, namely, the influence of philosophers' portraits and, related to this, the realistic depiction of old age carried to exaggeration. This interest in old age, moreover, obscures the distinction between human and monstrous, the latter previously depicted in masklike stereotypes. As a result, without ears or hair, the identity of our bearded head is uncertain. Even the proposed snub nose is a feature which becomes ambiguous once portraits of Socrates begin to circulate. The same tendencies are apparent in small-scale figurines and bronzes at this time.

For closer parallels one must look to other terracotta sculpture. Apart from the life-sized votive limbs dedicated in the Corinthian Asklepieion, the number of large-scale sculptures from Greece and Asia Minor is small, probably less than a dozen. These few examples consist almost exclusively of votive heads or idealized portraits, unfortunately so, since all narrative expression is lacking in them. Similarities must be sought in technical details and in general stylistic approach.

The 4th-century votive limbs from the Asklepieion appear slack and boneless beside the newly found arm, while the heads from the same site are completely stylized. Among these the bearded Asklepios offers a useful contrast to the new head. The contours of the face are regular, the eyes are large and shallowly set. Although covered with incision, the beard is essentially a flat mass. The beard of the 1981 head, by contrast, is irregular and plastic. Such beards can be found on two Hellenistic heads. One is a portrait from Thera, the other a head of Zeus, formerly in the Hirsch collection. All three heads differ considerably in appearance but are related in their greater plasticity. This tendency is also apparent in the treatment of hair. A youthful head from Poros, showing some influence from portraits of

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19 I should like to thank Professor Caroline Houser for drawing my attention to this element of exaggeration.


21 In publishing a small head from the Athenian Agora, Mrs. Thompson discusses the evolution of the philosopher type in figurines: "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas, Part II: The Early Third Century B.C.," Hesperia 26, 1957, pp. 115-119, with references therein. For a recent discussion of the influence of philosopher types on Hellenistic bronzes, see E. Raftopoulo, "Remarques sur des bronzes provenant du sol grec," Actes du Ve colloque sur les bronzes antiques, Lausanne 1979, pp. 43-45.

22 Roebuck, op. cit. (footnote 2 above), p. 119, no. 1, pl. 29.


25 A. Furtwängler, Die Sammlung Sabouroff I, Berlin 1883-1887, pl. 41.
Alexander, has tufted locks which stand out from the forehead. The arrangement differs from the smoother hairstyles of the 4th century and is well suited to the medium of clay.

Another characteristic of the newly found pieces is a poorer surface finish, in particular on the anatomical parts, since faces, as a rule, are more carefully executed. Such a careless finish distinguishes a fragmentary acroterion from the Athenian Agora, depicting Dionysos on a lion. Because of the finish, R. V. Nicholls associated this group with a remodeling of the South Stoa I in the 3rd century B.C. Also apparent on the Corinth pieces is a considerable reliance on uneradicated incision.

The use of incised pupils and irises is especially interesting. The detail appears on the following heads, all of which have been assigned generally to the Hellenistic period:

a. The head from Poros.

b. An enormous Pan from Tralles in the collection of J. Gréau.

c. A face from Tarsus in the same collection.

d. A statuette of Artemis from Delos.

e. The bearded Zeus from the Hirsch collection.

f. A satyr’s head from Olympia, now lost, but originally identified as Roman by analogy with incised pupils in marble sculpture.

Incised irises are mentioned by Deonna in conjunction with a bearded head from Athens, unillustrated and otherwise unpublished.

The use of incision in the eye may have its source in metalwork as a simple alternative to the inset eye. In metal it undoubtedly can be taken back to the 5th century B.C. In Corinthian terracotta sculpture, however, it appears on only one other example, to be discussed below, but on none of the heads from the 5th or 4th centuries.

Turning away from votives and from idealized portraits, one must look to Italy for parallels to narrative groups and to statues preserved below the neck. There, where good stone was missing, the numbers of terracotta statues are so great that to discuss them all would be beyond the scope of our study.

Two examples can be singled out. The first is a bearded “seer” from the pediment of the Belvedere temple at Orvieto which could be considered a predecessor of our head.


27 W. Fröhner, Terres cuites d’Asie de la collection Julien Gréau I, Paris 1886, pp. 1–2, pls. I–III.

28 Ibid., pp. 8–9, pl. 9.


30 In the early excavations the upper part of a satyr’s head was found. Unfortunately, the head disintegrated in cleaning and is known only from a small photograph and from a drawing of the latter. The head was life-sized, of pale clay, and had incised pupils. E. Curtius, F. Adler, G. Hirschfeld, Die Ausgrabungen von Olympia I, ii, Berlin 1894, p. 17, no. 3, pl. XX. G. Treu, Olympia, III, Die Bildwerke, Berlin 1894, pp. 242–243, fig. 280.

31 Deonna, op. cit. (footnote 1 above), pp. 71–72, no. 28.

32 In Etruria it is clear that the incised pupil begins at an earlier date. Important is the so-called Malavolta head from Veii in the Villa Giulia, dated to the late 5th century B.C. The date is secured by the destruction of Veii in the first years of the 4th century B.C. Cf. G. Q. Giglioli, “Testa fittile veiente del Tempio dell’Apollo,” Studi in onore di Bartolomeo Nogara, Vatican 1937, pp. 179–181, pl. XIX. R. Bianchi Bandinelli, Policleti, Florence 1938, pl. XVI:91.

33 A. Andrén, Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples, Leipzig 1940, p. 174, no. II.6, pl. 66:214. One of the more difficult aspects of dealing with Etruscan sculpture is the fluctuating chronology.
There are faint creases on the cheeks and incision in the eyes, but the beard is more orderly, and the face is still somewhat smooth.

Of more importance are the fragments from Civitá Castellana or Falerii Veteres and, in particular, the pedimental statues from the site of La Scasato which have been dated to the end of the 4th or early 3rd century B.C. The statues are a seated "Apollo" from head to hips, a youthful standing "Mercury" also broken below the hips, a third male head, and the head of a woman. Although the composition of the pediment was apparently static and did not include an elderly figure, there are, nonetheless, useful similarities. The seated "Apollo" preserves the kind of muscularity of the Corinth arm. If the muscles are not so knotted, it is because the figure is passive. Plasticity is apparent in the individualized, rounded contours of the faces, the muscles of the bodies, and in the treatment of the hair. This is different for each statue, varying from long free locks for "Apollo" and short tufts for the other two heads. The males are painted red, the eyes are incised, and the surface finish is quite close to that of the Corinth pieces. They are modeled entirely by hand.

Although it has been suggested that Greek artists living at Falerii may have been responsible for the terracottas, it is not this fact which relates the material from the two sites. Rather, it is the similarity in the approach to modeling clay, a similarity which is not regional but chronological and which can be seen more easily in the better preserved statues from Italy.

It is commonly accepted that clay modeling differs from stone carving in that the one is additive and builds out, while the other cuts away superfluous surfaces and is sharper. In point of fact, this distinction cannot be seen in sculptures of the 6th and 5th centuries because at that time the desired end product of the modeler is much closer to that of the sculptor. To achieve this the modeler relies much more than in later times on molds and on cutting. The results are sharp and rigid, not soft and plastic as one would expect of clay. What differences there are between stone and clay (and such there certainly are) are based more on the different properties and strengths of the respective materials and on the exigencies of firing a hollow statue.

The Corinthian group and the Faleriian pediments represent a complete break with the earlier, stiff tradition. The statues can now be said to be additive. Small pellets of clay
are applied to block in anatomy, fill out a muscle, hair, or drapery. Incision supplements the modeling. Cutting does not define the form. Little or no attention is given to a smooth surface finish. The result is much more vigorous and lively. Of importance are the general form and a sense of movement.

For Corinth the new group represents not only a more sophisticated technique but a continuation of large-scale modeling for a longer time than previously thought. Given this fact, it is tempting to add to the corpus two pieces which previously were thought to be earlier in date.

The first is a chance surface find from the north side of the city, a small fragment from the upper left quarter of a female face, ca. two-thirds life-size (Pl. 67:e).\textsuperscript{35} In the arrangement of the hair with central part and roll above the left ear and in the broad, shallow structure of the face, the head appears to derive from the same 5th-century prototype as the head of Persephone from the Sanctuary of Demeter at Corinth.\textsuperscript{36} At the same time, the very high triangular forehead and small eye with heavy upper lid and narrow lower lid are indicative of the 4th century. That the head may be even later is suggested by the following details: the simplification of the hairdo into straight lines drawn from the central part, rendered by deeply incised strokes; the incised pupil and iris; the deep line which offsets the upper lid from the eyebrow. Although the coarse fabric is masked thinly by slip on the face, the inclusions show up liberally through the hair. Could this head be a Hellenistic pastiche of classical styles?

The second piece is a fragmentary relief\textsuperscript{37} identified by Weinberg as a metope and dated by him in the first half of the 4th century (Pl. 67:f). The relief preserves the bust of a man draped in a chlamys that is pinned at the right shoulder. His head, now missing, would have been worked in the round. The piece was not quite correctly oriented in the original publication. The finished edge which can be observed along the right deltoid and pectoral muscles is not straight but rounded, and if the fragment is tipped to align sternal notch and sternum, the result is a medallion. The form can be seen in two very good parallels from the H. Stathatos collection which were published after Weinberg’s study.\textsuperscript{38} These are terracotta busts of Alexander the Great and are said to have derived from Macedonia. Although they are hollow and the Corinth piece is solid and flat in back, they are otherwise similar and very close in size. Four more terracotta medallions now in the Louvre came originally from

\textsuperscript{35}SF-1963-1. P.H. 0.089, L. eye 0.023, Th. 0.011–0.037 m. Hard-fired clay with numerous fine and coarse pieces of mudstone, white inclusions, fired light red at the core to light tan surface inside and out, 10YR 6/4. In section, two layers are apparent, an outer and an inner. The head may well have been blocked out in a mold and heavily retouched. Parallel finger striations cover the interior surface. Found near the baths of Kamil Bey to the east of the Asklepieion.


\textsuperscript{37}SF-5. Weinberg, \textit{op. cit.} (footnote 4 above), p. 319, no. 48, pl. 74. The clay is extremely fine without visible inclusions, fired from buff at the surface, 10YR 7/3–7.5/3, to a light pinkish gray at the core, slightly yellower than 5YR 7/3. W. from outside right arm to sternal notch ca. 0.087 m.

\textsuperscript{38}G. M. A. Richter, “The Origin of the Bust Form for Portraits,” \textit{Χαριστήριοι εἰς Ἀναστάσιον Κ. Ὀρλάνδου} Ι, Athens 1965, pp. 59–62; \textit{eadem}, \textit{The Portraits of the Greeks} III, London 1965, p. 256, no. 7, fig. 1739. It is beyond the scope of this article to enter into an examination of the origins of portrait busts. Despite the absence of the head, the Corinth piece should take a part in such discussions. Cf. R. Winkes, \textit{Clipeata Imago}, Bonn 1969, pp. 10–15 for references.
Turkey. Three of these were said to have come from a tomb near Broussa where they undoubtedly hung on a wall in the manner of the medallions from the Heroon at Kalydon.

Richter dated the Macedonian busts to the 2nd century B.C. on the basis of the “sfumato” style of portraiture. While certainly later than the first half of the 4th century, as originally published, the Corinthian piece may not necessarily be that late. The gathered folds of the chlamys and more particularly its folded edge on both right and left shoulders seem characteristic of the late 4th century B.C. or later. The particularly careful workmanship, however, may argue against a very low date. Characteristic, again, is a heavy use of incision in the drapery.

It has been customary to think of terracotta either as a preliminary model for bronze or as a cheap substitute for stone. That this need not be the case is shown by our new pieces. The medium of clay is beautifully exploited by means of varied and textured surfaces to give a very vivid impression of old age to a degree that stone could not achieve. No doubt the new approach to modeling was an outgrowth of accumulated experience in the handling of clay. Were more examples preserved from the 4th century, a growing dexterity probably could be charted. But it is surely the freedom of the Hellenistic period which provides the catalyst for the refinement of the new technique, when terracotta can be said to come into its own.

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40 Cf. for example the chlamys worn by Alexander on the Alexander sarcophagus or, better, that of Demetrios Poliorketes on the portrait herm in Naples. M. Bieber, Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art, Chicago 1964, pl. 18; eadem, Hellenistic Sculpture, New York 1961, p. 50, figs. 145, 146.
Nancy Bookidis: A Hellenistic Terracotta Group from Corinth
a. No. 4, left side. Scale 1:1

b. No. 4, front. Scale 1:2
c. No. 4, inside. Scale 1:2

Nancy Bookidis: A Hellenistic Terracotta Group from Corinth