

THE STELE-GODDESS WORKSHOP

TERRACOTTAS FROM WELL U 13:1

IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

(PLATES 101–113)

THE SETTING OF WELL U 13:1 in a complex of shops or workshops of the late 5th and 4th centuries B.C. to the east of the Athenian Agora, deep under the later stoa of the Library of Pantainos that lined the way to the Roman Agora, has been provided by T. Leslie Shear Jr.¹ The terracottas from its upper fill constitute a major find, and the author is greatly indebted to Leslie Shear for this opportunity to try to explain their significance. They range stylistically from the Early Classical period to a quite advanced phase of the Rich Style, chronologically probably from *ca.* 470–460 B.C. down to a little before the filling of the well shaft itself, placed in *ca.* 380 B.C. or, at latest, no lower than the 370's on conventional ceramic chronology by Alison Adams Dickey, the last person to make a detailed study of its pottery.² Somewhat fragmentary, these terracottas comprise elements from one archetype (the original model from which molds were taken) and a minimum of forty molds of various kinds,³ as well as parts of at least twenty-one finished figurines⁴ and six vases in the form of statuettes. They are all from Layer 1 of the upper fill of the well, with the following four exceptions: **1**, **8**, and part of **28b** from Layer 2; **4** from Layer 5. These exceptions, however, tend to confirm the impression given by the pottery that these strata in the upper fill may be of similar source and date. Certainly the other fragments of **28** are from Layer 1, including one making a direct join with that from Layer 2. Also, more tentatively, one may hesitate to separate the Layer 5 mold, **4**, from the apparently related contemporary mold from Layer 1, **5**.

This find, the largest by far of Attic terracotta molds of this date, indicates that some of the material for these layers of the fill was probably from the vicinity of a major terracotta factory. As a result, it sheds significant new light on the way in which these figures were made, some of it quite unexpected, such as the form taken by the Rich Style archetype **3**. It is also a very important body of terracottas in its own right, in particular helping to chart

¹ Shear 1975, pp. 346–361, figs. 4, 5, pls. 77–81; also briefly mentioned, Camp 1986, p. 143; Camp 1990, p. 138. The tally of fragments of terracottas and molds originally given (Shear, *op. cit.*, p. 359) was considerably reduced in their subsequent study when many were found to join, although a few more were also added from the uninventoried material in storage.

² It had originally been planned to devote a *Hesperia* Supplement to the finds from this well, the author contributing the present account of the terracottas and Alison Adams Dickey that of the pottery, but she has unfortunately had to withdraw from the project, and the full publication of the associated pottery may now be delayed for a few years.

³ On the basis that, although **35** and **36** show somewhat similar intaglio detail, they appear not to have formed part of the same mold.

⁴ Allowing for the possibility that **59** and **60** could have belonged to a single figurine and that **61** and **62** probably did so and, on the other hand, excluding any likelihood that **46** and **48** could be from the same statuette because of differences in scale and fabric.

the transition between the Classical and the Rich Styles and confirming the rapid evolution of the latter. As Attic terracottas of this period are still not at all abundant, this addition to the tally provides much that is new and some that is surprising, such as the importance of the large Attic protomai. The technical aspects will be discussed first, followed by the different types of terracottas represented, and finally, and only briefly, by the more vexed questions of the general changes to which they bear witness and their place in the history of Attic terracottas.

The format adopted also calls for comment. In a masterly series of articles in this journal Dorothy Burr Thompson has established the main framework of our present knowledge of Attic terracottas of the Hellenistic period by her detailed publication of the examples from a succession of contexts in the Athenian Agora.⁵ Although he cannot hope to match the unique blend of scholarship and human understanding with which she brought her statuettes so vividly to life, the author knows of no better model to follow in presenting a find-group of comparable importance for the history of Attic terracottas in the 5th and early 4th centuries B.C. He also adopts it as a modest token of his deep indebtedness to her guidance and inspiration over many years.⁶

TECHNIQUE

The material in the Catalogue at the end is arranged, in the first instance, on the basis of the way in which it was made and of its technical role. This makes simpler the evaluation of its significance for the context as a whole and facilitates its discussion in the present section. On the other hand, it is much easier and clearer to consider molds and terracottas of the same kind together in the detailed treatment of their subjects and styles that follows after that and to present them side by side in the Plates. Only brief explanations are given of the technical terms used.⁷

NONMOLDED ELEMENTS: 1, 2, 71, 72

The period of concern here saw small numbers of simple Attic terracottas still being made wholly by hand, but none of the handmade fragments from this well is really typical of these. **1** (Pl. 101) and **2** (Pl. 106) seem likely to have carried molded human heads when complete, and **71** (Pl. 111) may be from the handmade base of a largely molded vase in

⁵ D. B. Thompson 1952, 1954, 1957, 1959a, 1962, 1963b, 1963c, 1965, 1966a, 1966b. Republished with her own afterthoughts and with comments on the revised dating of the contexts by S. I. Rotroff: Thompson, Thompson, and Rotroff 1987, pp. 181–459, pls. 2–64.

⁶ The author also wishes to acknowledge her encouragement in his preparing this article and the aid of the A.S.C.S.A. Publications Committee and its readers, especially Gloria S. Merker, and also of John M. Camp, Homer A. Thompson, Margret S. Pond Rothman, and Lucilla Burn in going through it and offering their help and suggestions. The considerable assistance of Susan I. Rotroff on chronological questions was invaluable. The author is also indebted to the work of the late Spyros Spyropoulos and Olympia Theophanopoulou in assembling the statuettes and molds and in taking clay impressions from the latter. The Agora photographs are from earlier negatives by Eugene Vanderpool Jr. and more recent ones by Craig A. Mauzy; the few pictures of items from other collections are from the author's negatives. Jan Jordan has smoothed his path throughout, and the staff of *Hesperia* have provided editorial guidance.

⁷ For fuller accounts see Nicholls 1952, 1984.

the form of a statuette. **72** (Pl. 111) is one of the almond vases that can be shown to have been made rather more laboriously on the potter's wheel and by hand instead of being molded like many of its counterparts.

ARCHETYPE: **3**

3 (Pl. 110) preserves two non-joining fragments from the upper part of an archetype, the carefully handmade fired model on which the molds for statuettes were made by having their moist clay pressed against it. To judge from what survives of its subject, it belongs to an important phase, of the late 5th and 4th centuries B.C., in which terracotta statuettes and groups became much more complex at the expense of a much shallower and almost relieflike treatment of the figures themselves. This seems to be the first time⁸ that an original archetype from this phase of the Rich Style has been identified, and it reveals that, to give them adequate strength, these models could actually be fashioned in relief against a plain, flat ground, the edges of the molds presumably being formed by contact with this background.⁹ On the present example this fairly substantial backing extended up to about what was originally the level of the top of the figure's neck. It is not, however, flat but bent around at an angle, suggesting that this archetype is for one of the rare examples of this class in which the composition gave the effect of being centered on the corner between two adjoining sides of the rectangular plinth on which it stood.¹⁰ Interesting correspondences exist between what survives of the figure and a statuette of this kind representing a veiled dancer beside an altar from a burial in the Athenian Kerameikos; the Agora archetype may represent the initial stage in that same series or in a similar one.¹¹

The figure's himation-wrapped left arm is carried well forward and modeled in considerable depth, but her back-thrust right shoulder is shown very shallowly indeed. Her head has been removed by deep cuts at the sides and base of the neck, presumably to form the archetype for separately fashioned head molds. On the other hand, the part of the himation that formed her veil has been left to continue up to the top of the background and has been cut off at that level. The surface of one of the fragments has been severely abraded, suggesting that the archetype may have been discarded some while before it was incorporated in the well fill.

⁸ See note 306 below on secondary (i.e., derivative, as explained in note 19 below) archetypes for plastic vases of this stage.

⁹ It may have been this feature that, in addition to ensuring the smooth edges to these molds, also allowed them from time to time to add on variable areas of relief ground as well, notably on the plastic vases; see pp. 432, 449 below on **67** and **39** and also note 204.

¹⁰ E.g. the plastic lekythos of a winged dancer from Phanagoria: Stephani 1854, pl. LXX:1, 2; Winter 1903, II, p. 141, fig. 6, p. 185, fig. 6; Trumpp-Lyritzaki 1969, no. 96, p. 37.

¹¹ Kerameikos Museum T 41, from the child's grave hS 264 (p. 470), dated ca. 400 B.C. (Vierneisel 1965, p. 29; Knigge 1988, p. 145) or in the early 4th century B.C. (Higgins 1973, p. 66, note 3; D. B. Thompson 1984, p. 33, but child's identity apparently unresolved); most of contents shown in group photograph: Vierneisel, *op. cit.*, pl. 27; Thompson, *op. cit.*, fig. 1; Knigge, *op. cit.*, fig. 141 (the statuettes only); present item appears second from right. The author is indebted to the excavators and to Dr. B. Schlörb-Vierneisel for past access to the Kerameikos material.

MOLDS: 4–43

Most of the terracotta molds from this context are quite distinctive in fabric, but some are more carefully finished than others, and it will be useful to divide them up on this basis.

The finest class comprises **5–9, 14, 20, 24, 25, and 28–30**. These are mostly thick walled, and their clay forms a kind of sandwich, with an ordinary buff, pinkish buff, or gray layer in the center and with front and back surfaces of a much finer, paler clay: blond, blond buff, or ocher blond in color. This finer clay was presumably used because it registered detail better, and it would appear that, in making the mold, the archetype had first been covered with a thin layer of it to form the contact surface before the ordinary main layer was added. The evenly rounded blond-clay backs of these molds were also very smoothly finished and sometimes burnished. Two of the molds for protomai, **5** and **8**, have had fine stone grits added to the ordinary body clay that formed the central layer of the “sandwich”; these two were fired much harder than the remainder, and their layered structure proved more durable than that on the other examples. This addition of grits occasionally occurs on 5th-century Attic figurines¹² and seems to be a technical borrowing from architectural terracottas. It also suggests that the layered structure of these molds may owe its inspiration to the similar practices adopted on architectural terracotta sculpture.¹³ Coarser grits similarly occur in the body clay of **25**.

The next class is made up of the molds: **4, 10–12, 16, 17, 23, 26, 27, 39**, and possibly also **13, 15, 18, 19, 21, 22, 31, and 33–37**. These are mostly lighter, thinner-walled molds, without the blond layer over their backs, which consist simply of the body clay and are frequently much rougher, often still showing the finger marks from being pressed against the original model from which they were taken. They still retain, however, the distinctive layer of finer blond clay inside, forming their contact surface. But on some of them this is very thin, too shallow to have been a separately applied layer. On these, might the two clays have simply been mixed together, the finer forcing its way to the surface with the pressure of forming the mold? It seems likely that the distinction between this second class and the previous one is by no means clear-cut, since it appears that some of the present examples may once also have had smooth blond backs that have become detached. Here the shield molds, **34–38**, offer useful evidence. Most of these would appear also to belong to the present class, but one of them, **38**, which has lost its contact surface entirely, still

¹² E.g. Athenian Agora T 763, a head, from a Group attested from the Akropolis, of a large early-5th-century seated goddess found in the Building Fill E–F 12–14 (to the mid-5th century B.C., but mainly pre-480) in the Strategeion(?). It shows an initial, experimental, heavy-walled stage of hollow molding (see p. 467 below). Undecorated and possibly made to serve as a secondary archetype (see note 19 below), it has a layer of finer clay on its molded surfaces but not its back. Gloria Merker has advised the author of heavy-walled, normal Corinthian-clay and gritty, local “architectural”-clay molds for figurines that she will be publishing from the Tile Works at Corinth (sent there to achieve a harder, more durable firing?).

¹³ Weinberg 1957; Nicholls 1970; Boukidis 1982a, 1982b. Here Corinth seems to have taken the lead and to have influenced Attic practice. In the absence as yet of analyses, it may be rash to assume that the fine, blond surface clays of these molds were necessarily local or Aiginetan (Thompson, Thompson, and Rotroff 1987, p. 197, note 12; attested in Attic terracottas of this date: Fillières, Harbottle, and Sayres 1983, pp. 62, 67), since there may well have been a wider trade already in specialized clays, and existing analyses suggest that Corinthian clay may have been playing a part in Attic production (note 248 below). Other known blond clays, e.g. from East Greece, also remain possibilities. For a layered construction on an apparent Attic archetype from the Pnyx, see D. B. Thompson 1943, no. 138, p. 166, figs. 77, 78.

retains the pale, smooth, finer back surface characteristic of the first class. Also the mold **11**, assigned here, shows the same grits in its body clay and the same general fabric as **25** among the previous examples. The piece molds **31** and **33a, b** seem to belong to the present class, but the rather similar piece mold, **32**, is wholly in fine, blond clay. The three molds **13**, **18**, and **19** (Pls. 104, 105) are clumsily made, almost like rough impressions taken from their models, but are, it seems, rather to be regarded as poorly finished derivative molds of this same second class, to which they otherwise conform.

The remaining molds belong to a class recently studied by the late Clairève Grandjouan¹⁴ and are quite different from those already considered. They are in two kinds of clay. The roundels **42** and **43** are in a hard-fired pinkish or pinkish buff clay not entirely unlike that of large Attic vases. The others, **40** and **41**, are in a mostly buff clay. The grits, often accompanied by grog, that are a feature of the majority, although not all, of the other molds of this class are not in evidence. The reason for using a finer clay here may not be far to seek. Although dogmatism is not possible, e.g. in the face of the poor surface condition of **40**, and although some of the coarse incision on **43** (Pl. 113) was cut on the archetype, these molds seem to have followed the normal practices of contemporary terracotta figurines in adding some of the finer surface detail by intaglio work on the mold before firing, e.g., the hair stranding of **42** and, possibly, the raised dots of the flower center of **41**. Such details could not be evenly cut on molds made almost entirely of coarse, gritty clay, and the many molds of this class in such clay would seem to have played a more purely replicative role.

The fabric of these molds has been considered at some length because, with the exception of the last four items, it seems to show a remarkable measure of consistency. The employment of a finer surface clay is not unknown on isolated Attic molds of this period,¹⁵ but its common use on the examples from this well suggests that they may nearly all be connected with a single, rather distinctive factory. It is also the cause of the main problem presented by the condition of these molds, the flaking away of large areas of their contact surfaces. This account covers all the molds from this context whose subjects could be identified, but there were many more mold fragments that apparently did not join these and whose contact surfaces have been lost completely.¹⁶

The best available evidence for terracotta factories in this period is provided by the remains of that excavated in the Potters' Quarter in Corinth.¹⁷ Unfortunately, this factory seems to have been largely devoted to the derivative production of already outmoded figurines and gives all too rare indications of the quality and creativity of which Corinthian craftsmen were capable, particularly in the 4th century B.C.

It is much more difficult to try to establish the image of a factory from the present evidence of the discarded material in a fill. But the workshop that it suggests appears to have been an innovative one, based on the evidence of the archetype already discussed. Further,

¹⁴ Grandjouan 1989. For the normal fabric of these molds, *ibid.*, pp. 2–3; for various degrees of the alternative lower-grit, higher-fired fabric, see the gorgoneion molds, *ibid.*, nos. 84–86, 89.

¹⁵ E.g. on a Rich Style dancer mold from the Athenian Agora, T 1616, from Area R 19; Nicholls 1984, p. 30, fig. 13, bottom right. Obviously, those of the present examples where this layer is no more than surface deep shade off more readily into the more general contemporary mold usage.

¹⁶ Stored in PP' containers T.291 and T.396.

¹⁷ For the buildings of the factory see *Corinth* XV, i, pp. 34–49, pls. 9–14, 52; for the molds see *ibid.*, pp. 82–113, pls. 28–46; for the figurines also found there see *Corinth* XV, ii, pp. 3–243, pls. 1–54.

some of the molds indicate that the workshop had also instituted production from various other new archetypes that have not survived.

Especially interesting are those for shields of Athena, **34–38** (Pl. 112), which constitute a set of what are called “parallel molds”. This term is mainly applied, as here, to the first-“generation” molds taken directly from the same archetype, and thus largely identical, but differing in the subsidiary detail that was cut in intaglio afterwards on each mold. Here the variations are particularly clear in the different renderings of the aegis, and the least worn of the molds also record traces of the slightly different preliminary sketching of that aegis on the archetype, as a rough guide to this subsequent intaglio work on the molds.

A number of the other molds from this context appear to represent an early stage in production and are probably likewise of the first generation. The better preserved of the piece molds for a large bird, **33** (Pl. 112), probably a goose (or swan) and intended to take a rider, also shows evidence of another interesting practice on the lost archetype that can best be described as texturing. A pattern of shallow, curving, parallel grooves was apparently added when the clay was leather-hard, penetrating more deeply where the surface of the archetype was still not quite firm. It was presumably intended to suggest the layers of small feathers over the bird’s body. An analogous device may be attested on drapery on an Attic mold of about this stage, possibly in that case to indicate the weft of the cloth.¹⁸ Also, although the effect is rather different, the apparent use of a modified form of the potter’s rouletting tool to make rows of pittings on the almond vase **72** (Pl. 111) may usefully be compared.

Also notable is the close stylistic relationship existing between the mask **4** (Pl. 103) and protome head **5** (Pl. 102), possibly indicating that both belong to the same Group and that their archetypes were the work of a single craftsman who had some direct connection with the present workshop.

The mold for the group of seated figures **23** (Pl. 109) reveals that, despite its tiny size, all three heads had been removed from its archetype, much as on **3**, before it was itself taken. Separate molds must have been made for each of these small detached heads.

Nevertheless, other statuettes, **25** (Pls. 105, 107) and **30** (Pl. 111), show the head molded integrally with the body. This practice may help account for the high level of consistency, the same head so often being associated with the same body in each series, and may be more a feature of the “derivative” stages of the series. This last term is applied to all generations in the series after the first, this subsequent production occurring when, as often, new molds were taken from the actual molded figures of the same series, a process that might be repeated many times over. Each time that it happened it was marked by a significant reduction in size due to the shrinkage of the clay of both statuette and mold, thereby providing the criterion

¹⁸ Agora T 2004, from the lower fill of Cistern F 19:2 (ca. 375–340 B.C., on current dating). D. B. Thompson (1984, p. 37, fig. 21) follows an earlier interpretation of it by Ellen Reeder Williams as an impression from metalwork. A recent reexamination of it by Margret Rothman and the author reveals it rather as a derivative body mold, of much the same kind as **13** (p. 411 below), taken from a complex early Rich Style composition of the class discussed on pp. 446–449 below, the mold having also caught the edge of the drapery of an adjoining figure. The original behind this mold was a clay archetype on which the initially ribbed peplos overfold of this figure was lengthened further while the clay was still damp. Its original texturing thus seems analogous to that of **33**.

for distinguishing each subsequent generation in the series.¹⁹ The protome molds **8** and **9** (Pl. 102) attest two such successive generations in a single series. Further clear evidence of representing a derivative stage is also displayed by the mold for a plastic vase, **39** (Pl. 109), whose flaked surface still retains the rough outlines of the appliqué rosettes that had been added around the edge of the actual vase from which it was taken. Here the head of the figure seems to have been broken away before the mold was taken, which brings us back to the question of separate head molds. It is to be noted that the mold for a young woman or goddess, **13** (Pl. 104), includes only the lower half of the head. This is probably a derivative mold taken from an existing statuette whose head, already in position, could not easily be excluded from the mold. It appears, however, to have been the coroplast's intention to make a separate mold for the head and neck too, which may explain why only part of them has been allowed to register on the body mold.

Identifying marks are not yet common on the backs of these molds and are limited to letters or strokes on **7** (Pl. 103) and possibly **39**. There is no evidence of tie marks, a possible semblance of such on **13** proving on closer inspection to be the product of subsequent surface damage.

MOLDED FIGURINES AND PLASTIC VASES: **44–70**

In the well context, the finished products are far outnumbered by the molds. Their clays show the wide variety typical of Attic terracottas in this period, between blond and reddish or brown but mostly in the buff or pinkish buff range; many, too, had misfired gray. The much finer clay of the roundels **64** and **65** (Pl. 112) seems to mark them as Corinthian imports; along with **66** (Pl. 112), these also show successive generations of the kind dealt with in the last section.

The retouching of the soft clay after molding was not originally a normal feature of Attic terracottas, the fine tooling of the hardened clay on some Early Classical examples giving a quite different effect; but, at the end of the 5th and in the early 4th century B.C., retouching began to become commoner for such things as hair and garland details and the pelt of animals, as on **49**, **52**, and **69** (Pls. 106, 105, 111); compare also the similarly tooled hair on **1** (Pl. 101), whose moldmade part is lost. On **51** (Pl. 106) retouching seems to have been used to conceal the attachment of a separately molded head and enhance the scrawniness of the neck of a "grotesque" figure in the process. The statuettes had plain handmade backs added. On the smaller figures, **50** and the human part of **49** (Pl. 106), these were unpierced, but otherwise they normally had a rectangular vent hole cut in them, partly preserved on **46**, **47**, **51–53**, and **57**. On the vases in statuette form, **67** and **68**, the plain backs appear to have been molded. Because of their different, pottery-type firing, the plain clay slip used as an adhesive in their assembly is also liable to turn black (e.g., on **68** and possibly **71**). With the apparent exception of **50** (see below), all these figures had been coated with the usual white clay slip that served as the ground for their polychrome painting. The white slip, however, often survives only patchily and usually little is left of the colors above, just traces of black on **55** and of red on **68**; but on **69** (Pl. 111) the decoration in

¹⁹ The term "secondary archetype" is applied to those mold impressions, sometimes retouched, that were never completed as figurines and that served simply as the models from which derivative molds were taken.

both red and black is rather better preserved. Evidence of painting also remains on **64**, but this roundel has been in a fire and its colors have been burnt gray and black. As usual, on the plastic vases this white-slipped polychrome treatment was confined to their figurine elements, while their backs, plinths, and functional vase features were normally black glazed.

Whereas the molds clearly came from terracotta workshops and their shared idiosyncracies suggest that only a single factory may have been involved, the finished products dealt with in this section might have found their way into the well fill from many other kinds of establishments, whether domestic or public, commercial or religious. This is particularly the case with the plastic vases, although, even here, it is to be noted that the workshop that we have hypothesized was apparently engaged in the derivative production of elaborate examples, as attested by the mold **39** (Pl. 109). Indeed many of the links that do exist between the figurines and the molds might be due simply to coincidence. Thus **44** (Pl. 101) represents a later version of the kind of Athena protome attested by the mold **5** (Pl. 102). **58** (Pl. 110) might conceivably be from the same series as the mold **26** (Pl. 109), and **59** and **60** (Pl. 110) might be of the same series as **27** but, if so, apparently from a different “parallel” mold.

Some details, however, seem to tie certain of the statuettes much more closely to our suggested workshop of the molds. The figure of a little girl, **50** (Pl. 105), is an imperfect impression and seemingly a factory reject, although fired, perhaps as part of the packing of the kiln. It appears never to have been decorated because it retains no traces of white slip, even in the gaps right through its walls which had been left by its faulty molding and which could surely be expected to preserve evidence of any slip applied.

Most interesting of all, however, is the largest of all the statuettes found in this context, that of a goddess by a stele pouring a libation, **57** (Pl. 108). The polos on her head has fine lotus-and-palmette decoration in relief, which above her right brow has been lost because of flaking on the surface of the mold used, flaking of the kind that is an unfortunate feature of the molds of this workshop and that largely arises because of their layered construction. **57** thus bridges the gap between the statuettes and the molds from Well U 13:1 and can probably be rightly claimed as a product of the same factory as the molds. Dorothy Thompson has given delightfully apt and distinctive names to her main Hellenistic terracotta contexts in the Athenian Agora (note 5 above). May we follow more clumsily in her footsteps in naming this the Stele-Goddess Well and the factory to which it bears testimony the Stele-Goddess Workshop?

The special class of relief molds **40–43** (Pl. 113) may have little connection with this workshop. Their role is controversial, and their fabric cuts them off from the other terracottas of this deposit. They may thus have been the equipment of a different establishment, quite separate from the Stele-Goddess Workshop; but, even so, at this stage it doubtless required a terracotta factory at least to produce them, if not to use them afterwards. Later, however, in their more replicative phase, their fabric (pp. 409 above, 461 below) may imply that the necessary molds were more usually made at tile works.

CONDITION AND ITS INTERPRETATION

It now remains to consider a different pattern of evidence, that of wear by surface abrasion. For it appears that a number of the items may have lain about as fragments in the open for some years before they were incorporated in the well fill. Among the figurines, one of these, part of a seated goddess of *ca.* 470–460 B.C., **45** (Pl. 105), dates from near the beginning of this workshop, the others, **63**, **48**, and **54**, from its time span. Possibly more

significant is that similar wear occurs on certain of its more advanced molds, **9** (Pl. 102), **28** (Pl. 107), and **33b** (Pl. 112), and on part of its Rich Style archetype, **3** (Pl. 110).

The question raised by this wear is whether these objects are simply very short-lived casualties of the production line or whether they imply that the factory itself had come to an end some while before the well was filled. Some other indications may support the second interpretation, although, on present evidence, it is hard to reach a firm conclusion. Some thirty-nine percent of the terracotta items from this well, including the molds, have to varying degrees been misfired gray, a rather large proportion to be due simply to the vagaries of the kiln. Is it possible that some of them might have been affected subsequently by a fire that destroyed the factory, and might the heat of this have contributed also to the surface flaking afflicting so many of the molds? One terracotta from this deposit was certainly damaged by fire some time after it was made: the apparently imported roundel **64** (Pl. 112). Its link with the workshop is admittedly more tenuous but not impossible if it has been inferred correctly that other fragments of the same series found with it, listed as **66**, testify to a local Attic derivative production of these very disks. Also, the way in which the main core clay of certain of the molds (e.g., **6** and **17**) has been reduced to a mass of thin, friable striations suggests subsequent exposure to heat far in excess of that of their original firing.

Unless the stratification of **4** in Layer 5 indicates that it had in fact been discarded somewhat earlier than the rest, its good surface condition and that of **5** raise the question whether they might have been retained in the factory to the end, even when their style had become outmoded, either because of their quality or because their subjects, a ritual mask and a protome, were ones where conservatism remained acceptable.

THE TYPES REPRESENTED

Protomai	Figures given a shallow treatment: standing; groups; dancers
Mask	Detached heads
Figures of ordinary depth: standing; seated	Residual elements from plastic vases
Crouching and reclining figures	Birds
Riders	Shields of Athena
Articulated figure	Decorative relief disks
"Grotesque" figures	"Architectural" relief molds

PROTOMAI: **1, 5–9, 44**

It will be simplest to begin with what would seem to be the most primitive protome from this well, **1** (Pl. 101), even though it appears also to be one of the latest. A mere fragment and one with unique features, its interpretation can only be tentative, but it does seem to preserve the bottom corner of the plaque of a plaque-protome. The Attic plaque-protome appears to have evolved in the second quarter of the 6th century B.C. A schematically rendered bust of a goddess, it consisted in essence of a flat, normally handmade plaque with a molded head attached to its upper part.²⁰ As it developed, projecting forearms were also added at the

²⁰ Winter 1903, I, pp. 238–240, especially the more complete examples, p. 238, figs. 1–7, p. 239, figs. 2–6, 8–10; Sedgwick 1939, p. 39; Besques 1954, no. B 92, p. 16, pl. XII; Nicholls 1982, p. 91; Croissant 1983, pp. 19–20 (the majority of the Attic examples that he deals with, pp. 235–307, are in fact from plaque-protomai, some with the plaques still largely preserved, e.g., pls. 99, 101, 110, 113, 117, 118).

bottom corners of the plaque, and multiple (almost invariably triple) forms also emerged, with three heads attached to the same plaque. Although the vast majority of the examples are Archaic, the Athenian Agora excavations have shown that these primitive protomai continued on through the Classical period and probably down to about the end of the 5th century B.C.²¹

In the present case, the retouching of the shoulder locks at the vertical edge of the plaque appears to suggest a date no earlier than the late 5th century and possibly into the early 4th.²² More strangely, in the schematic rendering of these locks and other details this example seems almost to be trying to hark back to the early days of these protomai. There was no projecting forearm at the bottom corner, and the lower edge of the plaque takes the form of a raised band, which at present can be paralleled only on a very early Agora example apparently with a molded plaque;²³ a flanged edge admittedly also occurs on some early Attic examples and, more especially, their Boiotian imitations, but this is confined to the sides and top of the plaque.²⁴ The painted decoration of the lower half of these plaques appears to have been a highly formalized representation of the embroidered garment worn. Here old-fashioned dot rosettes have been incised, presumably intended to show through the slip and be picked out in color. Two small hollows made in the raised lower band may also have had something to do with articulating the lost painted decoration. The long continuance of this primitive kind of protome may make these apparent retrogressive traits intelligible. Otherwise, apart from residual Archaic features in some work of the Early Classical period, deliberate archaism in Attic terracottas of the Classical and Rich Styles is seen mainly in the revival of Archaic drapery patterns on some of the more traditional figurines²⁵ and the old-fashioned types sometimes adopted, e.g. for subsidiary ritual (?) images in elaborate groups.²⁶

The large mold for a bust-protome of Athena, 5 (Pl. 102), seems a splendid evocation of traditional religious beliefs in Athens a little before the middle of the 5th century B.C. She is shown dressed in a peplos worn with an overfold that still hangs in early-looking folds. Over this she wears her aegis, fringed with the rearing foreparts of snakes and with her gorgoneion, whose right cheek alone survives, set in the middle of it. She also has a low polos or else a stephane (it is difficult to tell which because its shape at the sides is not preserved), worn with a veil over the back of her head.²⁷ Despite a Classical serenity, her still heavy lower lip and the treatment of her centrally parted wavy hair suggest a date yet in the Early Classical

²¹ Early Classical: Agora T 3159 from Area R 8 with late-5th and early-4th-century B.C. pottery. Classical (early) multiple protome: Agora T 785 + T 786 from Well E 13:1 (ca. 470–425 B.C. and perhaps beyond). More advanced Classical: Agora T 3692 from Area E 29, Agora T 3366 from Well Q 15:2 (late 5th century to ca. 400–390 B.C.). No earlier than the late 5th century B.C., on style: Agora T 2949 from Area D 18.

²² On the technique see p. 411 above.

²³ Agora T 1953 from Well S 21:2 (ca. 600–550 B.C., disturbed). Function presumptive; plaque made with the aid of an architectural mold (the revetment, Agora A 2889 from Well T 18:2, of ca. 575–500 B.C. and earlier, of same series and generation). A painted bottom band (signifying a schematic girdle?) is commoner.

²⁴ Lullies 1955, no. 117, pp. 45–46; Besques 1954, no. B 91, p. 16, pl. XII; Spyropoulos 1971, p. 326, fig. 8; *Bomford Collection*, no. 111, p. 43, with pl. (H. W. Catling). Schematic rendering of a veil?

²⁵ E.g., on the three similar small enthroned goddesses from the child's grave hS 264, Kerameikos Museum T 5A–C. For bibliography see note 11 above (only T 5A, B illustrated).

²⁶ See note 212 below, the discussion of the Stele Class (pp. 445–446), and Pl. 108. Cf. also the fragmentary Italiote(?) Rich Style group with an archaistic statue: Schmidt 1994, no. 222, p. 140, pl. 40.

²⁷ See 8 (p. 417 below) on how this veil may have been contrived.

period. There are traces near her right shoulder of a peg hole, presumably for securing the protome to a wall.²⁸

There are also clear indications of the attachment of the goddess's right forearm, bent forward at right angles in the same way as those encountered on the much more primitive plaque-protomai (p. 413 above), so that, in a sense, this bust-protome can also be seen as their naturalistically rendered successor. The forearm had to be detached from the archetype before the mold could be taken, but the evidence for its presence is unmistakable. On the plaque-protomai these forearms tended to have the hand closed,²⁹ often as if to hold something, or else extended.³⁰ Analogous votive terracotta forearms with extended hands were also produced in Athens in Classical times and placed in graves, possibly as emblems of divine protection.³¹

Fragments from two very similar bust-protomai, both with such appliqué forearms, were found in the Athenian Agora in a well fill of the late 5th century B.C. (Pl. 103).³² Too little survives to tell for sure whether or not they could be from different parallel molds of the same series and generation as 5. T 1579 b shows the same rendering of the overfold but has a straight bottom edge under the arm; T 1579 a reveals the same rounded shape under the arm but may treat the overfold rather differently. Their context also does not necessarily prove that this series continued in production as late as the late 5th century B.C. Both are in poor condition (so much so that they were originally misinterpreted as fragments from terracotta furniture models) and are thus possibly to be reckoned among the earlier finds from this well. Similar but coarser Boiotian bust-protomai of Athena are also known.³³ They presumably drew their inspiration from Attic works such as 5 but avoided the telltale appliqué forearms.

The fragment 44 (Pl. 101) is also from a bust-protome of Athena but of a different and later series. The overfold of the peplos and its folds below now follow ordinary Classical

²⁸ It may be that this is the product of its having been marked out on the archetype and not a vestigial feature from a previous generation, identifying the mold as derivative.

²⁹ Agora examples, Archaic: T 1535 from Area T 22; mainly Classical (partly closed): T 2381 from Fill B 19:7 (ca. 430–410 B.C.), T 1036 from Area B–C 9–10, T 3868 from Well and Cistern F 16:8 (ca. first quarter of 3rd century B.C. but with earlier material; see note 317 below); Miller 1974, no. 143, p. 245, pl. 47.

³⁰ Agora examples, Archaic: T 1816 and T 1905 from Well U 25:2 (early 6th century to ca. 520–500 B.C.), T 1912 from Well Q 18:1 (ca. 550–525 B.C.), T 2048 from Well F 19:4 (ca. 490–450 B.C.); late 5th century (?): T 2005 from lower fill of Cistern F 19:2 (note 18 above; ca. 375–340 B.C. but including earlier, Archaic terracottas), but fingers as T 1905 above.

³¹ Unless they were made as attachments for something that has otherwise perished completely, such as wooden *pinakes* with such frontal painted busts of goddesses. Unlike the protome attachments, they consistently show hollow forearms. Higgins 1954, nos. 687–690, pp. 172, 183 (from the mid-5th-century tomb A1); *Délös* XXIII, nos. 230–255, pp. 98–101, pl. 25; Kübler 1935, pp. 271–272, fig. 6 (Kerameikos, Sarcophagus HTR 13, ca. 450–440 B.C.); Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, no. 6, p. 50, Beil. 40:4 (Kerameikos, Grave hS 163, end of 5th century B.C.); possibly Miller 1974, no. 143, p. 227, pl. 47 (earlier, out-of-context find from Well and Cistern F 16:8; notes 29 above and 317 below).

³² Agora T 1579 a (shown askew), p.H. 9.5 cm.; T 1579 b, p.H. 5.3 cm.; both from Well B 15:1 (last quarter of 5th century B.C.) and both mentioned but not illustrated, Corbett 1949, p. 339. Kerameikos T 260 C is also part of a bust-protome of Athena with similar forearms and of about this stage but of the smaller scale of the later Agora T 2489 (note 34 below).

³³ E.g. Paris, Louvre CA 1835, MNB 803: Winter 1903, I, p. 246, figs. 2, 3; Besques 1954, nos. C 78–79, p. 96, pl. LXIX.

conventions. Again the goddess was wearing a snake-fringed aegis, here with a broad-jawed gorgoneion with a protruding tongue. The side-swept hair of the gorgoneion covers the ears, and this treatment may carry the creation of the protome down past the Classical period into the later 5th century B.C. Nothing survives to determine whether or not **44** also had appliqué forearms, but evidence from the Athenian Agora suggests that bust-protomai of goddesses may occasionally have continued to be so endowed right through the Classical period and even later.³⁴

Among the more orthodox bust-protomai, **8** and **9** (Pl. 102) are fragments from molds apparently for two successive generations of the same series representing a veiled goddess, probably Aphrodite. The larger-scale and thus earlier-generation mold, **8**, preserves her right shoulder and parts of her neck and right arm and shows how her peplos and veil were fastened at the shoulder. Indeed, it is one of a number of examples (is **5** another?) that suggest that on many of these protomai the veil is simply to be understood as the rear overfold of the peplos carried up over the back of the head. **9** preserves the left side of the goddess's polos, and her head, neck, and left shoulder, but the detail is blurred because of its worn surface. The closest parallels for these molds appear to be provided by local derivatives from Olynthos of protomai of a goddess, doubtless Aphrodite, wearing a peplos with an overfold and holding a dove by its wings in her right hand and a round fruit(?) in her left. Two different series appear to be involved. The earlier,³⁵ of which two generations are attested there, would seem, on style, to have begun no later than Classical times and possibly late in Early Classical. The other, to which the Agora molds seem likely to belong, still has simple Classical drapery and a Classical head but may have continued in production for a long time after that. Parallel variations are responsible for the presence or absence of an under-chiton beneath the peplos, showing at the arms (bare on **8**), the occasional appearance of a relief necklet, and some differences in the height of the polos. The published Olynthos terracottas in Greece, now in the Thessalonike and Polygiros Museums, have been inventoried with the volume and catalogue number of their publication, and this shorter form of citation is followed here. Ignoring for the moment the more modest material in America (in Oxford, Miss., and Cambridge, Mass.), the author has drawn up the following preliminary schema of this series at Olynthos:

Generation 1(+): IV 52 + IV 72; fragments XIV 41, XIV 50; uninventoried fragments.

Generation 2(+): fragments IV 35, IV 152, IV 189, possibly XIV 118.

Generation 3(+): XIV 19; fragments IV 40, IV 54, IV 70.

Generation 4(+): Salonica O 1791 (unpublished); fragments IV 41, IV 50, IV 225, XIV 13.

Generation 5(+): fragment VII 76.

Generation 6(+): VII 30; fragment VII 124 (both modified variants with much higher polos and relief necklace of Rich Style type).

³⁴ Remains of the mold for such a bust-protome probably of Classical date: Agora T 3425 a, b, discovered in Area P 17 with a late-5th-century red-figured sherd; more summary headless bust-protome of this kind, possibly already dating into the 4th century: T 2489 from Fill C 19:5 (currently dated late 5th to mid-4th century B.C.).

³⁵ E.g. *Olynthus* VII, nos. 31–33, pls. 7, 8, and various fragments. The author is deeply indebted to Dr. Ioulia Vokotopoulou and her colleagues and staff for all their help when he reexamined the Olynthos terracottas in the Thessalonike and Polygiros Museums in 1989.

These Olynthos examples appear to be local derivatives and presuppose an anterior Attic production of the same series. If **8** represents an earlier generation (as it definitely appears to), then at least seven generations would seem to be attested; if **9** is also anterior, then production extends to eight generations. This in turn may help one to understand the way in which many such protomai apparently continued to be made far down into the 4th century, particularly in North Greece.

6 (Pl. 101) consists of three non-joining sets of fragments apparently all part of the same mold for a bust-protome of a goddess with her hands placed under and between her breasts. She, too, is dressed in a peplos with an overfold and what is probably a low polos, worn with a veil at the back of her head and about her shoulders, although it is less immediately clear how this is contrived. A fragment from the Athenian Akropolis³⁶ and another from the Coroplast's Dump in the Athenian Agora³⁷ appear plausibly of the same series. Direct comparison has established that, in that case, the Coroplast's Dump fragment is one generation earlier than **6**. Once again, however, it is the local derivative material from Olynthos that helps fill out the picture: the only complete example of the series³⁸ is much smaller than the Agora mold, but there seem also to be an earlier and larger generation, attested only by uninventoried scraps, and a fragmentary earlier one still,³⁹ nearer the size of **6**. Further, the Olynthos evidence reveals that this protome series is closely related to a cluster of others which we may usefully call the Tiny Eros Group, the name series consisting of busts of Aphrodite with a very small Eros standing on her left arm.⁴⁰ Although this may create a certain presumption that the other veiled goddesses in poloi of this Group are also intended as Aphrodite, a fragment of a protome seemingly near it in style shows Artemis holding a little fawn.⁴¹ The faces of these protomai seem to have moved a little beyond the strictly Classical style, and their stranded wavy hair has acquired a somewhat different character. They are, as a result, more difficult to date, but the most plausible interpretation is probably to treat them as starting in about the last quarter of the 5th century B.C.⁴²

The last fragmentary protome mold, **7** (Pl. 103), is in an extremely poor, flaky condition, making it very difficult for its pieces to hold together for photography. This is why it (though not its cast) is shown not quite at the right angle on Plate 103, tipped rather too far forward. It is so poorly preserved that even the sex of the subject is uncertain. There was no polos as on **6**, **8**, and **9**, and the top of the mold is about where the bottom of the polos fell on those examples. The hair, which extends far down onto the low brow, was rendered much as on **6** but with the stranding running rather more towards the top and back of the head. Apart from the brows, the corner of the right eye and a part of the right ear seem to be preserved. Between these last there are what might be vestiges of wisps of hair or beard, but the semblance of heavier banding which appears on the cast below this is actually the

³⁶ Akr. Mus. no. 12808 (fragment of polos, hair, right eye, and cheek).

³⁷ Agora T 1767 a from Cistern S 19:3 (on whose date spread see note 250 below): D. B. Thompson 1952, pp. 147, 162, no. 52 a, pl. 39.

³⁸ *Olynthus* XIV, p. 83, no. 18; for other fragments of this generation, see *Olynthus* IV, nos. 40, 126, 145.

³⁹ *Olynthus* IV, nos. 13, 66, 93, 240.

⁴⁰ *Olynthus* XIV, pp. 84–85, nos. 20, 21.

⁴¹ *Olynthus* IV, no. 69.

⁴² Their hairstyle seems to recur more summarily on small statuettes of that time, e.g. the veiled seated goddess, Agora T 1471 from Well B 13:5 (last quarter of the 5th century B.C.).

product of the layered flaking of the surface of the mold. Nevertheless, on its back this mold has the best identifying mark occurring in this context (pp. 411 above, 477–478 below).

The few items published here go some way to transforming our understanding of Attic terracotta protomai in this period. Hitherto, tantalizing fragments that confirmed that Athens was still producing large protomai of splendid quality⁴³ were too incomplete to give an adequate idea of their type or appearance, while numerous derivative examples known only in other fabrics appeared to be Attic in style, though not in clay. The new molds and protomai enable us to start to see what had been happening, but much more remains unresolved. The Attic evidence has hitherto been scant because, unlike the Rhodians, Boiotians, and North Greeks, the Athenians only rarely placed terracotta protomai in graves. Also, such protomai seem no longer to have been so welcome as dedications at the great Attic marble temples of Classical times. As any museum curator is all too aware, faced with the problems of exhibiting them within the constraints imposed by modern showcases, these terracotta protomai had their gaze turned downwards and were apparently designed to be hung on a wall surface above eye level. Was it this circumstance that increasingly restricted their acceptability at many temples? During the Archaic period, terracotta protomai were common Attic dedications, although the finer, larger varieties occurred only spasmodically. Does the splendid range of examples of these last of the Nymph Group, from the Sanctuary of the Nymph by the Athenian Akropolis,⁴⁴ represent their rapid appropriation of the available wall space there soon after the large-scale Attic protome had come into being? Or do the carefully buried, largely East Greek examples from the Heraion in Delos⁴⁵ demonstrate the appropriate wall capacity of a tiny Late Archaic shrine?

Whatever the circumstances, it is clear from this context that Attic protomai enjoyed a splendid “Indian summer” in the Early Classical, Classical, and Rich Style periods before declining into an increasingly backward-looking and derivative genre. Their main types, however, have much earlier Archaic beginnings in which Athens played a leading part. Small-scale molded neck-protomai had evolved in Attica in the 7th century B.C. and persisted on into the 6th,⁴⁶ and when, by about the beginning of the second quarter of the 6th century at the latest, Athens gave birth to the large-scale molded votive protome with certain of the examples of the Nymph Group,⁴⁷ these were apparently at first greatly enlarged versions of the same type. The primitive plaque-protomai, into which these were quickly debased (p. 413 above), had already acquired arms by the mid-6th century and had thus evolved into highly schematic bust-protomai, while a kind of solid bust was matched by molded, almost full bust-protomai of plaque type.⁴⁸ In addition, the full bust-protomai, wholly molded and veiled, current in Late Archaic East Greece, show a veil treatment that seems to have

⁴³ E.g. notes 36 and 37 above.

⁴⁴ [Meliades] 1958, p. 11, fig. 7; Meliades 1962, p. 25, pl. 3:α.

⁴⁵ *Délos* XI, pp. 164–166, figs. 122–126; *Délos* XXIII, nos. 103–160, pp. 53–64, 73–80, pls. 9–18 (there are also isolated Attic items, most notably a local modified derivative from Attic, no. 148).

⁴⁶ Jenkins 1936, pp. 50–51, pl. VI:8; Stais 1917, p. 208, pl. 9; Sedgwick 1939, pl. 1:2, 3, 6; Croissant 1983, nos. 152, 153, pp. 237–241, pl. 94.

⁴⁷ In particular the examples whose molded shoulder locks frame the head (e.g. top right in the photograph in the publications cited in note 44 above), as opposed to those that had been debased into early plaque-protomai (e.g. *ibid.*, top center). The author is indebted to Mrs. Maro Kyrkou-Tsone’s help with this material.

⁴⁸ E.g. Winter 1903, I, p. 240, fig. 10 (better attested from Eleusis) and the more evolved variety, *ibid.*, fig. 5.

appeared earlier on the Attic molded short bust-protome,⁴⁹ raising the question whether their new type might not also have had links with Attica. Although whatever developments in Attica may have preceded **5** are not known, it is starting to become clear that Archaic Athens played a leading role in evolving the wholly molded, short bust-protome, showing only the part of the body immediately adjoining the neck.⁵⁰

MASK: **4**

The mold for the mask of a bearded god, **4** (Pl. 103), seems close in style and date to that for a protome of Athena, **5**, discussed above. Almost certainly it is to be associated with the masks of Dionysos depicted on Attic black- and red-figured vases, but here the top of the head is lost and, with it, all traces of any garland or polos that may once have confirmed the god's identity. The plain, flat treatment of the generous beard, with the detail presumably to be added in the painted decoration of the finished products, strikes an earlier, almost Archaic note but is probably here to be understood as an older feature retained as part of the convention for such masks. Otherwise the style seems to fall in the latter part of the Early Classical period. Splendidly idealized, he still shows a fairly heavy lower lip and has centrally parted, wavy hair, much as on Warrior A of the Riace bronzes.⁵¹

The vase scenes depicting the use of these masks frequently show them tied to a draped column to form an impromptu image of Dionysos.⁵² The surviving examples of the actual masks themselves of Archaic, Classical, and Rich Style date seem to fall into three main categories:

(1) The usually life-size or larger marble masks seemingly to be associated with some sanctuaries of Dionysos in Attica.⁵³ These can hardly be what is shown tied to columns

⁴⁹ E.g. the veil fragment from a distinctly larger example, Akropolis Museum, old number 1387, and, of a different series, a complete protome showing only the upper part of the bust (Brouskari 1974, p. 118, fig. 228); a further, later series, probably already of Early Classical date, appears to be attested by the protome *Berl. Privatbesitz*, no. 147. Similar veils also occur on Archaic Boiotian short bust-protomai apparently of Attic derivation or inspiration. For the Late Archaic East Greek veiled full bust-protomai referred to, see Higgins 1954, nos. 147, 148, p. 70, pls. 27, 28. An Agora fragment from the veil of a bust-protome, T 1708 from Well O 19:4 (dumped fill: mostly late 5th century B.C. but deposited in the 2nd century B.C.), seems later, near to the East Greek Early Classical type: Higgins, *op. cit.*, nos. 237–242, pp. 89–90, pls. 40–43, and Besques 1954, nos. C 75–77, p. 96, pl. LXVIII.

⁵⁰ The most significant new evidence for Attic large-scale short bust-protomai is that provided by two fragmentary molds from Pit H 4:5 in the Athenian Agora (to ca. 425 B.C. but including Archaic terracottas): T 4051 a–c, MC 1227 a; T 4052, MC 1227 b (Rotroff and Oakley 1992, no. 365, pp. 33, 127, pl. 61). They recall known examples, e.g. Akr. Mus. no. 12729 (Winter 1903, I, p. 241, fig. 9; Brouskari 1974, p. 36, fig. 42), but are much larger. Croissant (1983, pp. 20–21) devotes scant space to these questions of typological evolution, although he has done much to establish the sculptural credentials of such Archaic protomai.

⁵¹ *Bronzi da Riace*, pls. A 10–A 14, A 18, A 19, A 40, A 43.

⁵² Insecurely linked with the Lenaia or Anthesteria festivals: Jahn 1862, pp. 72–74; Frickenhaus 1912; Wrede 1928; Hoorn 1951, pp. 24–29; *LIMC* III, 1986, pp. 424–428, pls. 296–300, *s.v.* Dionysos (C. Gaspari); Bérard *et al.* 1989, pp. 124, 139–142, 151–156, figs. 166, 190, 194, 207, 209–214; Frontisi-Ducroux 1991. But the masks are also depicted decked with the grapes of the Oschophoria or lying in a harvest liknon.

⁵³ Wrede 1928. This remains the most comprehensive account, although the Berlin mask probably does not represent Dionysos and the Ikaria example may be the face from a statue (Romano 1982). Some smaller stone masks may possibly be connected: the crude poros ones from the Akropolis (Brouskari 1974, p. 121) and a marble example from the Agora (Shear 1973, pp. 402–404, pl. 74:d). For a clue as to their ancient positioning see Pausanias 1.2.5.

in the vase scenes, although they may well have played some analogous role in the public cult of the god.

(2) Elements from two life-size Archaic terracotta masks from the Athenian Agora, T 2659 and P 17782 (two non-joining fragments from the same mask from Fill A 18–19:1, to the mid-5th century B.C. but mostly early 5th century; Pl. 103); T 3116 (from Area O 15). These were hand-modeled and show a plain, concave back suitable to fit to the cylindrical shape of a column of modest, domestic dimensions, and the example illustrated here also preserves part of one of the holes for the cord to tie it to the column. Presumably produced in pottery workshops, they are decorated in a largely black-figure technique. Indeed, some black-figure artists adorned their vases with big full-face views of just such masks of Dionysos, and the present examples are remarkably close to certain of these.⁵⁴ They seem to be the only extant examples of the actual masks shown tied to columns in the vase paintings noted earlier, and their own form suggests that these scenes may be concerned more with the domestic than the public cult of Dionysos, whatever the festival being marked. Indeed, in that case, did they possibly simply have a role in the household celebration of various Dionysiac feasts at different times in the year (see note 52 above)?

(3) Molded terracotta votive or decorative versions of (2). What distinguishes them from (2), apart from their technique, is that they were designed to be hung high on a flat wall, like protomai. The early examples tended at first to be under half life-size, but larger versions were soon also attested.⁵⁵ The present mold appears to belong to this type. The earliest such examples consist of two series of the same Group known from Boiotia and thought to have originated there around 500 B.C.⁵⁶ Their facial type and hair treatment, however, set them somewhat apart from other Boiotian terracottas but find ready parallels in Attic work of about the last quarter of the 6th century. It is thus possible, but at this stage unprovable, that they may be Boiotian derivatives from an Attic Group that has yet to be attested from Athens itself or the Boiotian products of an expatriate Athenian.

STANDING FIGURES OF ORDINARY DEPTH: 10–16

Although it is clear that Attic terracottas had become technically more sophisticated, much more creative and innovative, and sometimes of superb quality in the Early Classical period, it is distinctly more difficult to trace their development through this phase because they are no longer so abundantly attested from votive deposits as they had been in Late Archaic times, although the evidence from the Athenian Agora confirms that their production continued unabated. In order to form some idea of their role, it is often necessary to use

⁵⁴ Most notably those of the Class of Neck Amphorae with Masks: *ABV*, p. 275; *Paralipomena*, p. 121; *Addenda*², p. 72. Among other vase representations one may cite those on cups of the Group of Walters 48.42 within the Krokotos Group: *ABV*, pp. 205–207; Bell 1977. On both, see now Frontisi-Ducroux 1991, pp. 178–185, 253–255, figs. 104–109; cf. also the masks on lekythoi: *ibid.*, pp. 162–166, 252–253, figs. 99–101.

⁵⁵ E.g. the following Boiotian masks, the concept of Dionysos Perikionios being common to both Attica and Boiotia: mid-5th century B.C., Schneider 1972; Frontisi-Ducroux 1991, pp. 208–209, 259, fig. 117 (for hanging on a wall, despite the extra peg holes); of Rich Style date, Besques 1954, nos. C 85, C 86, p. 97, pl. LXX; Frontisi-Ducroux, *op. cit.*, pp. 209–210, 260, figs. 118, 119.

⁵⁶ Most usefully listed in Schürmann 1989, p. 42, under no. 89. Series A, e.g. *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 425, nos. 11, 12, pl. 296, *s.v.* Dionysos (C. Gaspari); Frontisi-Ducroux 1991, pp. 207–208, 257–258, figs. 115, 116. Series B, *LIMC* III, *loc. cit.*, no. 14, pl. 296 (the quite different Akropolis head, *ibid.*, no. 21, pl. 297, is probably from a vase).

the documented surviving Attic fragments to identify the derivatives from Attic terracottas in other, better preserved Greek fabrics. This in turn suggests that Athens may have played a much more important part than has hitherto been allowed in the evolution of Early Classical statuettes and that relationships between the different fabrics may have been more complexly interwoven than had been anticipated when their products were first used to distinguish local trends in the chiton- or peplos-clad figures of that period.⁵⁷

The mold fragment **10** (Pl. 104) preserves the lower part of a woman or goddess standing with her right leg slightly advanced and flexed and clearly outlined through her clinging chiton. It finds close parallels in a well attested Rhodian series in which the chiton is worn with an indistinct deep kolpos (or else overfold?) and with, over it, a narrowly bunched himation across the left shoulder and carried around the body and over the left arm.⁵⁸ The problem is that the Agora mold is on a distinctly larger scale than these and so seems unlikely to be derived from them. The explanation is to be found in another, taller series, known from foreign derivatives,⁵⁹ that is closely similar throughout save that its drapery is rendered in much greater detail and that it wears a polos and has a head in Attic style. The Rhodian examples probably represent a separate series copying the Athenian one, or a hypothetical earlier Athenian version yet to be discovered, or the same original that inspired them all. The Rhodian figures are already attested from tombs of advanced Early Classical date, while the Attic series seems unlikely to be much earlier than this, based on the style of its head. The beginnings of the type, however, are probably to be sought in Attic rather than Rhodian terracottas because it was among the Attic figures and not their Rhodian counterparts that this distinctive way of wearing the himation had evolved at the end of the Archaic period.⁶⁰

The same parallelism occurs with similar, intimately related figures that flex the other leg but that are otherwise almost identical with those just described. Again, there are a rather smaller Rhodian series⁶¹ and antecedent(?) Attic versions, both a bare-headed one⁶² and one with a polos, known mainly from foreign derivatives.⁶³ In this case there is also a variety in a

⁵⁷ Poulsen 1937.

⁵⁸ E.g. Winter 1903, I, p. 59, fig. 5; Lindos I, no. 2269, p. 549, pl. 105; Poulsen 1937, p. 82, fig. 51; Breitenstein 1941, nos. 251, 443, pp. 26–27, 49, pls. 26, 56; Besques 1954, nos. C 45, C 135, C 595, pp. 90, 106–107, 159, pls. LXIII, LXXVII, CIII; Higgins 1954, nos. 210–218 *bis* (including items from Fikellura Tombs 147, dated *ca.* 460–440 B.C., and 171, dated *ca.* 475–450 B.C.), pp. 83–84, pl. 37; Higgins 1973, nos. 17, 19, pp. 59–60, pls. 33, 67; *Sindos* nos. 27–31 (B. Misaelidou; from Tomb 40, dated *ca.* 460–450 B.C.), pp. 25–27.

⁵⁹ E.g. Brussels, Musées Royaux M 773; Verhoogen 1956, p. 24, fig. 14, right. (Some Boiotian versions with poloi, however, seem more related to the Rhodian series of note 58 above, e.g. Athens, N.M. 4532 and Nauplia Museum nos. 322, 499; for the phenomenon see note 64 below).

⁶⁰ Athens, N.M. 14385; the same series seems to have continued later with an early Early Classical head (Winter 1903, I, p. 59, fig. 8), and a headless example in Chicago, Smart Gallery U.C. 446 (TC 62), may rather belong to this stage.

⁶¹ E.g. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B 379 (Schürmann 1989, no. 320, p. 94, pl. 57, where apparently treated as an Italiote derivative); possibly Higgins 1973, no. 20, p. 60, pl. 37.

⁶² New York, M.M.A. 1972.118.125. Local derivatives of this(?) now in Thessalonike and Oxford, Miss.: *Olynthus* VII, nos. 168, 169; also *Délos* XXIII, no. 241, pp. 101–102, pl. 23.

⁶³ Winter 1903, I, p. 59, fig. 6; Poulsen 1937, p. 76, fig. 44 (Istanbul Museum, from Chalke); Athens, N.M. 4558; Nauplia Museum no. 1009; Washington, D.C., Corcoran Museum no. 26.540; Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden no. S 727 (Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, no. 185, p. 92, pl. 31); Paris, Louvre MNB 3053 (Besques 1954, no. C 46, p. 91, pl. LXIV); perhaps also *Délos* XXIII, no. 240, p. 101, pl. 23.

polos near in style to the Rhodian series but known mostly from Boiotia.⁶⁴ But, among these Early Classical chiton- and himation-clad terracotta figures of women or goddesses, the series that range themselves around the superb Attic name piece in Paris of the Group of Hett Collection 239⁶⁵ provide some of the most interesting evidence. Here there was also a second, later Attic series of a different Group of nearer the mid-5th century⁶⁶ based on the same original sculptural type and a more humdrum Rhodian series⁶⁷ that seems to have drawn most of its inspiration from this second version.

The mold **13** (Pl. 104) is for a small statuette of a young woman or goddess, clad in a chiton and himation (see also p. 411 above). Her missing extended left forearm was to have been added after molding. Agora T 1706 (Pl. 104)⁶⁸ is an Attic statuette of the same series and generation. It reveals that her right hand, not preserved on the mold fragment, held a ribbed *phiale mesomphalos* vertically against her side. This series may have been based on a lost sculptural original known from later marble copies and perhaps to be dated near the beginning of the Classical period proper, the Kore of the Museo Nuovo Capitolino.⁶⁹ Such near-contemporary versions of major works, however, seem rarely to have been meticulous copies. In most cases the aim may simply have been to capture the iconography that had come to be accepted as part of the identity of a particular mythological figure or deity, the artist possibly often working simply from memory and apparently feeling free to vary minor details.⁷⁰ In the present instance, the himation does not extend so high across the chest as on the Capitoline Kore, and a Classical convention has been adopted for rendering the wavy hair. By the same token, the evidence of this series that the goddess was holding a *phiale* need not carry great weight. Further, as such works were based on already well established sculptural types, it follows that they were, to varying degrees, later than their originals. The present series seems more likely to date from the end of the Classical period proper than its beginning. This is most clearly indicated by its small scale. The tiny versions of the ordinary standing and seated divine statuettes that coexisted with their larger counterparts in Late Archaic Athens appear to have passed into eclipse in the Early Classical and Classical

⁶⁴ E.g. Higgins 1954, no. 811, pp. 216–217, pl. 111; Detroit, Institute of Arts no. B 4697.

⁶⁵ Deposited in the Louvre for many years past and its authenticity established by thermoluminescence testing (on information kindly provided by Alain Pasquier); in the opinion of the author, who noted it in 1952, outstandingly fine Early Classical Attic work. A weak derivative of the same series from Athens in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, holds an indeterminate appliqué animal, possibly suggesting that the goddess is Artemis(?): Winter 1903, I, p. 61, fig. 7. Their early date is confirmed by the intimately related seated figures of the Group (cf. **45**, p. 427).

⁶⁶ New York, M.M.A. 1972.118.112: Bothmer 1961, no. 178, p. 47, pl. 62; Madrid, Museo Arqueológico, inv. no. 3167, with alien (Rhodian) head(?): Laumonier 1921, no. 1, p. 2, pl. I.

⁶⁷ British Museum, from the child burial, Fikellura Tomb 253, dated *ca.* 475–450 B.C.: Higgins 1954, no. 220, p. 285, pl. 38; Berlin, Staatliche Museum, from Corinth: Winter 1903, I, p. 178, fig. 4; Köster 1928, pp. 60–61, pl. 35; Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 94, from Camirus, 1865; New York, with aberrant head: Bothmer 1961, no. 175, p. 46, pl. 62; *Lindos* I, no. 2272, p. 550, pl. 105.

⁶⁸ From Area O 20, with 4th-century B.C. pottery. P.H. 6.4 cm. For the *phiale*, see the fragment from a different miniature standing figure of this stage, Agora T 3372 (from Area H 13).

⁶⁹ Mustilli 1939, no. 5, pp. 116–118, pl. 74; Helbig⁴ II, no. 1758, pp. 534–535 (H. von Steuben).

⁷⁰ Cf. p. 468 below. A similar phenomenon occurs where known sculptural types are used for deities, etc., on the marble reliefs dedicated as votives or set at the head of public documents, and a similar, but slighter variability is also in evidence in the near-contemporary small votive marble copies of them in the round (e.g. note 77 below). On the broader issues see now Bartmann 1992.

periods there, to be revived again at the end of the Classical stage, perhaps from *ca.* 430 B.C. on, continuing on into the Rich Style. It seems simplest to link our series with the early part of this revival.

The mold **11** (Pl. 104) is for a woman standing with her right leg slightly flexed and her right arm raised. It is of rather limited depth, almost borderline to the shallower figures dealt with separately on pp. 444–446. Unless this implies a deliberate conservatism, as well it may, her drapery with its flattish, formally arranged zigzag folds would suggest a date still early in the Classical period. But, with the upper part of her shoulder missing, it is hard even to be sure in distinguishing the garments worn. The main one appears to be a peplos with an overfold. Either that overfold is to be understood as also fastened partway along the upper arm from which its outer folds descend, or else a second garment is shown here, a short (doubled?) himation of the same length as the overfold presumably hanging down her back from her shoulders, the situation being obscured by minor illogicalities in the detail. The wearing of such a short mantle down the back behind the peplos or a peplos-like chiton is known from the Classical period, e.g., on the Parthenon frieze and on the Capitoline Demeter and related works (note 77 below). Further, she also displays a differently rendered sleeve of thinner material fastened along the rest of her arm, suggesting that she is also wearing an under-chiton under the peplos.

The closest terracotta parallel is provided by a series already of Rich Style date where the combination appears to be that of a chiton and a himation and where the weight is on the other leg.⁷¹ There the woman had both arms raised to steady something fashioned separately and no longer preserved that she was carrying on her head. What survives of her arms, however, does not preclude this from being of only modest width, and it may be that such statuettes are simply more elaborate versions of the similarly dressed Rich Style kanephoroi.⁷² On the Agora mold, however, the angle of her preserved right forearm reveals that if she was indeed carrying an object on her head, it was something very much wider. This also rules out the other common types with raised arms, the hydrophoroi and the mourning women. That the right hand appears to have been removed before the mold was taken, presumably because it was molded with the object held, makes it most unlikely that the raised arm held something in a different material such as a staff or spear. There remains another possibility in the Attic repertory of this date, found in the statuettes of a woman carrying a little girl on her shoulder, usually identified as Demeter and Kore and probably rightly so in view of the polos or divine dignity of the child. These, to be sure, normally have the girl on the goddess's left shoulder, but her right arm is raised to grip the child's extended

⁷¹ Hutton 1899a, p. 33, fig. 16; *Burlington Greek Art*, no. 24, p. 75, pl. 78; *Sotheby's, 18 June 1930*, no. 152, p. 23, pl. 9; Higgins 1967, pl. 31:F. Of the same series is the Berlin example from the Piraeus: Winter 1903, I, p. 78, fig. 1. An older, still Early Classical version of such a subject in a symmetrical himation is attested by the Agora mold T 1379 from Well M 20:3, lower fill (last quarter of 5th century B.C.). For the persistence into the Rich Style of conservative, Classical-type drapery of the kind shown by **11**, see Besques 1954, no. C 24, p. 86, pl. LIX and the analogous but different figures discussed under **12** below.

⁷² Usefully assembled: D. B. Thompson 1954, pp. 270–272 (Linda Roccas has since observed that *ibid.*, nos. 4 and 9, pls. 20, 22, are probably from the same statuette); also Higgins 1954, p. 195 under no. 729 (the British Museum head from Larnaka now no. 66.1-1.149), and Schürmann 1989, pp. 40–41 under no. 86. Add, from Amarynthos, Eretria, Sapouna-Sakellarake 1992, p. 213, pl. 122:β, bottom left. On their significance, see the Thesmophoria figure on the calendar frieze incorporated into the Little Metropolis (Agios Eleutherios) in Athens: Deubner 1932, no. 4, pp. 50–60, 250, pl. 33:4.

right hand or wrist, as on an advanced Classical version in the Louvre⁷³ and the early Rich Style series now also attested from the child's grave hS 264 in the Kerameikos.⁷⁴ These examples show little correspondence with the drapery of the present mold, but a different version in Bonn wears a short mantle down her back.⁷⁵ Little more can be said while the Agora mold remains unique. As noted on p. 409 above and in note 185 below, **11** shows the same fabric as the more characteristically Rich Style mold for a woman or goddess, **25** (Pls. 105, 107), but it seems impossible for the two to be physically linked.

The fragment **14** (Pl. 105) is from a mold of a different series from the last but perhaps for an analogous figure, this time with what seems more definitely a longer cloak hanging down her back and with her left leg slightly flexed. Among extant terracottas it appears to have been closest to the Rich Style Copenhagen and Berlin statuettes cited in note 71 above, although these show a different treatment of the folds at the ankle and there is little to indicate that our mold need be so advanced; a pedestaled Rich Style Nike in Berlin may also be compared.⁷⁶ Among the major sculptures known from copies, the concept seems to be enshrined in the Capitoline Demeter and the smaller, near-contemporary version in Venice.⁷⁷ But early Rich Style Attic terracottas and plastic vases were capable of developing this into something much more sophisticated, with the underlying body structure showing through much lighter drapery, as witness the series of the Athens Nike lekythos.⁷⁸

The mold fragment **15** (Pl. 104) belongs somewhere near these last in type, but with its contact surface almost entirely lost, it is impossible to be any more precise than that.

The remaining two molds raise problems of a different kind. **12** (Pl. 105) preserves the lower part of a woman standing with her left leg slightly flexed and dressed in shoes and a peplos, the latter worn with an overfold, its bottom preserved where it descended lower at her right side but, despite that adjustment, also slightly too long and trailing on the ground a little at her feet. The drapery folds suggest a Classical date, but the slender hips and over-long garment seem alien to the Classical style in Athens. These features, however, are well matched on a splendid Early Classical series of a young woman in a peplos, standing in the same way and with the overfold giving the effect of descending lower to her right,

⁷³ Besques 1954, no. C 98, p. 100, pl. LXXII; *LMC* IV, 1988, p. 870, no. 302, pl. 582, *s.v.* Demeter (L. Beschi).

⁷⁴ Kerameikos no. T 40; see note 11 above (fifth from right in published group photograph). Others: Winter 1903, I, p. 144, fig. 5 and the examples there listed, except *c* and *f*; Besques 1963, nos. Bo 104 and MYR 1138, pp. 5–6, pl. 5; Higgins 1973, no. 60, p. 66, pl. 39; Vysmavkts 1976, no. 80, p. 29, with pl.; Athens, N.M. 5842, 10155; earlier generation (?): Corinth XII, no. 140, p. 34, pl. 10.

⁷⁵ Winter 1903, I, p. 144, fig. 4; also the example formerly in the Erlenmeyer Collection, Basel: *Sotheby's*, 9 July 1990, no. 80, p. 46, fig. on p. 45.

⁷⁶ Winter 1903, II, p. 179, fig. 1; Köster 1928, pl. 33; Rohde 1968, p. 41, pl. 18:a.

⁷⁷ BrBr 358; bibliography: Helbig⁴ II, no. 1387, pp. 193–194, (H. von Steuben). The statuette in Venice: Kabus-Jahn 1972, pp. 23–28, pls. 10–13; cf. also the other types, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–40, 61–67, pls. 14–22, 36–40; Ridgway 1981, pp. 192–198.

⁷⁸ Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, nos. 10–15, pp. 7–9, pls. 3, 4; Derksen 1993; perhaps also the statuette fragment from the Pnyx, Assembly Place Period III (to the third quarter of the 4th century B.C. on the evidence of the Thasian jar stamps, according to Virginia Grace), D. B. Thompson 1943, no. 19, p. 139, fig. 54, and the head archetype, note 306 below. Near it are the Agora fragments, T 2395 (Area C–D 17–18) and T 2859 (Pit C 19:2, to the third quarter of the 4th century B.C.).

where it merges into the open edge of the garment.⁷⁹ Her drapery, though, hangs quite differently, in simpler, more fluid folds that suggest the weight of the cloth. If **12** is a modified derivative of this same series, then such drastic changes have been made in updating it on an anterior secondary archetype as to obliterate most of its character and leave its identification quite uncertain.

The alternative is to link it with a curious later Group that seems to have tried to hark back to the Early Classical idiom. The author suggests that this be named the Maying Group. The name series shows a slender young woman holding out the bottom edge of her peplos overfold which she is using to carry three large rosettelike flowers, possibly conceived as the material for a garland since these figures are also often adapted as Nikai by adding wings.⁸⁰ Other series in the Group depict a young woman plucking at the right edge of her peplos and adjusting its hang at her left shoulder⁸¹ or, related to this, holding a bird in her left hand⁸² or a tambourine.⁸³ The peplos is treated in a very shallow linear fashion, and the overfold tends to extend a very long way down at the sides, particularly at the right, which the Maying series renders quite clearly as the open edge of the garment. Although the drapery might seem at first still Early Classical, the heads of these figures suggest that they extend down into the time of the earliest Rich Style in Attica. Although some of them are reputedly from Athens, their style seems somewhat alien there and perhaps more at home in the periphery of Corinth,⁸⁴ an impression strengthened by the fabric of certain of the examples.

On the other hand, the Agora mold **12** is separated from this Group by the harsher and heavier rendering of its drapery folds, and if it is for modified Attic derivatives of one

⁷⁹ E.g. the complete Athens, N.M. 17386, and the fragmentary Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum V 2050 (Poulsen 1937, p. 50, fig. 27, where wrongly linked with a quite different series). Paris, Louvre MNB 420 (Besques 1954, no. C 1, p. 82, pl. LV) may be a weak modified derivative in which the detail has been much debased (?).

⁸⁰ Stackelberg 1837, p. 45, pl. LXIII:2 (from Athens); Winter 1903, I, p. 78, fig. 4, II, p. 179, fig. 2 (excluding the different Sicilian, etc., versions of similar subjects, e.g. Poulsen 1937, pp. 12, 93, figs. 7, 55–59; Breitenstein 1941, no. 442, p. 49, pl. 56), the examples from Eretria in Athens, National Museum, being inv. nos. 3976 (Hutton 1899b, pp. 31–32, fig. 4) and 12402 and the Lanckoronska Collection example subsequently Bomford Collection (*Life in Miniature* no. 52, p. 20, pl. 36, right [F. Nicholson]; *Bomford Collection*, no. 117, p. 44, with pl. facing [H. W. Catling]; *Sotheby's, 10 July 1979*, no. 258, p. 112, with pl. facing); Besques 1954, no. C 228, p. 119, pl. LXXXVI.

⁸¹ E.g. *Olynthus* XIV, nos. 186, 187; Athens, N.M. 3977, from Eretria (Hutton 1899b, pp. 31–32, fig. 5); Providence, Rhode Island School of Design inv. no. 06.329.

⁸² E.g. *Olynthus* VII, no. 159; Athens, N.M. 12403, from Eretria.

⁸³ E.g. Athens, N.M. 12308, from Atalante.

⁸⁴ Gloria Merker reports the presence of this Group (for which she prefers a different classification) among the abundant terracottas from the Demeter Sanctuary at Corinth. Their heads bear some resemblance to Rich Style Attic (e.g. to Athens, N.M. 10224, from the Piraeus), but their bodies, although clearly later, stand in a close stylistic relationship with those of the main class of Early Classical bronze karyatid mirrors, mostly variously ascribed to Sikyon, Corinth, or Argos (Keene Congdon 1981, pp. 150–203, pls. 26–91). The author has in the past employed the term “Corinthian periphery” to embrace Corinthian-type terracotta production not known from Corinth and possibly from outside that city. That situation will change dramatically with the publication of the rich new finds from Corinth, but there may still be the need for some such wider term until we know much more about the terracottas of Corinth’s artistically active neighbors, such as Sikyon, and the relationships between these and those of Corinth. There may also be the possibility of expatriate Corinthian production (cf. note 248 below).

of its series there has been a deliberate attempt to bring the treatment here more into line with local practice, as, e.g., on the Berlin Nike and the series of the Athens Nike lekythos cited earlier.⁸⁵ Or is it simply an independent local work loosely inspired by this Group?

The mold 16 (Pl. 104) is for a large statuette of a woman or goddess clad in a chiton and himation and standing with her right leg slightly flexed and her weight on her other foot. What survives compares well with major marble works of developed Classical date, most notably the "Kore" Albani.⁸⁶ When we look for parallels among known terracotta statuettes, however, we come up against a puzzling phenomenon: the Variable Goddess.⁸⁷

It will suffice here to cite the variations on a single original from two quite different Groups, as these comprise most of the relevant material. The Variable Goddess Group I includes such standing female figures, usually with the chiton off the right shoulder:

- (a) holding an apple(?) in her right hand and with her left hand on her hip;⁸⁸
- (b) with her right hand drawing her himation over her right shoulder and her left hand on her hip;⁸⁹
- (c) with her lowered right hand holding the edge of the large hanging fold of the himation and her left hand on her hip;⁹⁰
- (d) with her lowered right hand as on the previous version but holding a small swan in her left.⁹¹

The Variable Goddess Group II shows such a figure:

- (a) with her lowered right hand holding the edge of the large hanging fold of the himation (as on I c) and her left hand on her hip;⁹²
- (b) with her right hand gripping the edge of the himation (here worn as a veil) at shoulder level and her left hand on her hip;⁹³

⁸⁵ Notes 76 and 78 above. For the effect one can more readily compare weak derivatives of other series of peplophoroi elsewhere, e.g. *Corinth* XV, i, no. 25, p. 96, pl. 33.

⁸⁶ *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 24, no. 149, pl. 18, *s.v.* Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias *et al.*); also attested among the Grimani statuettes in Venice: Kabus-Jahn 1972, no. 149, p. 24, pl. 18. Looser parallels for the lower drapery can be also drawn with other works, such as the "Hera" Borghese, the "Hera" Barberini, and the Athena Velletri.

⁸⁷ Cf. p. 468 below. Some of these relationships have been suspected earlier, e.g. Higgins 1954, pp. 229–230, 234.

⁸⁸ Berlin, S.M. 8497, from Salamis, Cyprus (Winter 1903, I, p. 80, fig. 7; Köster 1928, p. 62, pl. 37); Louvre CA 1502 (Besques 1954, no. C 226, p. 112, pl. LXXXV; *LIMC* II, 1984, pl. 20); Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, inv. no. SL 124 (Sieveking 1916, I, p. 23, pl. 32; also variant with appliqué veil, *ibid.*, p. 24, pl. 33); mold from Olynthos (*Olynthus* XIV, no. 259).

⁸⁹ Winter 1903, I, p. 83, fig. 3; London, B.M. 73.8-20.610 (Higgins 1954, no. 875, p. 234, pl. 127); Chicago, Art Institute inv. no. 1959.111; *Lindos* I, nos. 3058, 3062, 3063, pp. 716–717, pl. 143.

⁹⁰ Stackelberg 1837, p. 45, pl. LXVI:2 (from Athens); Winter 1903, I, p. 81, figs. 1, 2 (the latter Corinthian derivatives); Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, inv. no. LKA 941 (Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, no. 55, pp. 34–35, pl. 11); Oxford, Ashmolean, inv. no. 1951.363; London, B.M. 75.10-12.18, from Thisbe (Higgins 1954, no. 876, p. 234, pl. 127); Frankfurt, Liebighaus, inv. no. 476, Corinthian derivative (Bol 1981, pp. 73–74, fig. 96); *Lindos* I, nos. 3054–3056, 3059, pp. 716–717, pl. 143; New York, M.M.A. 59.48.17; San Francisco, De Young Museum, inv. no. 1925.28.38.

⁹¹ Winter 1903, I, p. 81, fig. 4; London, B.M. 73.8-20.609 (Higgins 1954, no. 877, p. 234, pl. 127); Cambridge, Girton College (*Life in Miniature*, no. 81, p. 25, pl. 16 [F. Nicholson]).

⁹² Winter 1903, I, p. 81, fig. 6; Brussels, Musées Royaux, inv. no. A 1325 (Verhoogen 1956, pl. IX).

⁹³ Winter 1903, I, p. 83, fig. 4; Oxford, Ashmolean, inv. no. 1927.2117 (Vafopoulou-Richardson 1981, no. 23, p. 25, pl. 23); Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, inv. no. 1006 (Scheurleer 1986, no. 29, p. 44,

- (c) with her right hand as on the previous example, but with her left holding a small swan.⁹⁴

There are also other variants in and near this Group, but these deviate rather more from the underlying type. The figures with a swan, I d and II c, have in the past been identified as Leda or Nemesis, but the bird seems to be held more as a divine attribute than as a lover. The simplest interpretation would seem to be that all the variants of each Group were created together as sets to show different aspects of the same goddess, whose identity was felt to be enshrined in the underlying sculptural type. Various details, such as the apple apparently held by I a, would appear to suggest that Aphrodite is intended, and this seems to be confirmed by other versions of the type outside the Groups considered here, in particular a Corinthian variant in Athens in which the goddess wears a polos as well as a veil and holds the hand of her child, Eros;⁹⁵ this last belongs rather to a stage, which the author has suggested naming the “Evolved Style”, whose advanced work may bridge the transition to the Tanagra Style (pp. 474–476). Internal evidence suggests that the derivative production of Group I may have continued for a long time. Indeed, its rigid structure and its treatment of the chiton folds over the chest raise the question whether the original behind them all might not go back at least to early in the Classical period. Group I, however, would seem itself to have begun in the late 5th century B.C., to judge from the initial hairstyle used; this seems subsequently to have been modified with shoulder locks, a hair knot, or the tall *lampadion*, testifying to a production continuing far down through the 4th century. The Group II figures are larger and much freer in style but may not have begun so very much later.

Up to now there has been little evidence that Attic workshops took much cognizance of the Variable Goddess type, although with these figures so widely attested in other mainland fabrics and with isolated Attic finds of its examples, it would be surprising if they did not.⁹⁶ With **16** so incomplete, no certainty is possible. Its style is naturally closer to Group II than Group I, but its scale is distinctly larger and its drapery treatment was once rather finer and more detailed than on the examples of Group II cited above.

SEATED FIGURES OF ORDINARY DEPTH: **17, 18, 45–48**

The worn fragment **45** (Pl. 105) in the heavy fabric of the Attic Early Classical style preserves the chest of a seated woman. From what can be made out of the outline of her himation carried up obliquely over her left shoulder and the extremely faint vestige of the lower edge of the overfold of her chiton, this piece may belong to a known series depicting an

with pl.); London, B.M. 1926.11-15.12, from Lake Kopais area (Higgins 1954, no. 862, pp. 229–230, pl. 123); Louvre MNB 569, from Tanagra (Besques 1954, no. C 36, p. 80, pl. LXII); Chicago, Oriental Institute, inv. no. A 25537; Boston, M.F.A. 87.405; Würzburg H 5075 (Schmidt 1994, no. 62, pp. 57–58, pl. 15); *Berl. Privatbesitz*, no. 161.

⁹⁴ Winter 1903, I, p. 82, fig. 5; Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, inv. no. 1004 (Scheurleer 1929, p. 15, fig. 2); London, B.M. 1940.6-10.13 (Higgins 1954, no. 863, p. 230, pl. 123); Würzburg H 4278 (Schmidt 1994, no. 64, pp. 58–59, pl. 14); formerly Bomford Collection (*Life in Miniature*, no. 79, p. 25, pl. 17 [F. Nicholson]; *Bomford Collection*, no. 118, p. 44, pl. on p. 45 [H. W. Catling]; *Sotheby's*, 10 July 1979, no. 231, p. 96).

⁹⁵ Athens, N.M. 4160 (Winter 1903, II, p. 6, fig. 5; Karouzou 1980, p. 153, with fig.; Latimore 1987, pp. 419–420, fig. 5).

⁹⁶ Cf. also the mold fragment from the Pnyx, Assembly Place Period III (see note 78 above on dating): D. B. Thompson 1943, no. 33, p. 140, fig. 56. For other U13:l standing types, see pp. 439–440, 443–446.

enthroned goddess, represented by an example formerly in the Bomford Collection.⁹⁷ This can be assigned to the Group of Hett Collection 239, whose name series is briefly discussed on p. 422 above.

The mold fragment **17** (Pl. 105) retains parts of the throne and footstool and of the draped right leg and foot of a seated goddess. The drapery forms a distinctive pattern of flat, Early Classical folds, with the lower edge of a deep kolpos at the knee. Precisely this pattern is first attested on a seated goddess in the Serpieri (formerly Vlastos) Collection in Athens,⁹⁸ with a fine Early Classical head of the same series as one from the North Slope of the Akropolis.⁹⁹ She apparently wears a peplos with both a hip-length overfold and a knee-length kolpos, a not unusual combination on Attic and Attic-derived statuettes of this period,¹⁰⁰ but here with quite distinctive fold patterns. This same sculptural type reappears updated in quite different Groups clearly of Attic derivation at the end of the Early Classical and the start of the Classical period, either with the hair still bound in a kerchief, probably a sphendone,¹⁰¹ or else wearing a polos and shoulder locks.¹⁰² All would appear to have been inspired by the same original, including the few examples introducing minor variations, e.g., also showing a short, hip-length kolpos under the overfold as well as the deep one! The influence of this original is possibly also to be seen in parts of the fold treatment of otherwise quite different contemporary enthroned goddesses¹⁰³ and in still later echoes.¹⁰⁴

The other mold fragment relevant here, **18** (Pl. 104), preserves part of the throne back and the left arm of a seated figure, probably that of a goddess. She seems to have held her left hand by her breast, but here there is less certainty because the contact surface has flaked away over this area. The style would seem to date from the Early Classical or the earlier part

⁹⁷ Recorded by the author on Paris market, 1952; subsequently Bomford Collection (*Sotheby's*, 10 July 1979, no. 211, p. 90, with pl. facing). Heads apparently of this series, but of an earlier generation from the Athenian Akropolis: Akr. Mus. 12352, 12398, 12400 (Winter 1903, I, p. 72, fig. 2); also Agora Museum, North Slope excavations, AF 1196; and (present generation) Akr. Mus. 12404 (plain hair), 12411.

⁹⁸ Poulsen 1937, p. 59, fig. 36. The author is deeply indebted to Mrs. Serpieri for access to her collection some years ago.

⁹⁹ Agora Museum AF 250; Morgan 1935, p. 207, fig. 12:a.

¹⁰⁰ It implies a peplos of extremely generous length, perhaps more appropriate to a goddess than a mortal woman.

¹⁰¹ Winter 1903, I, p. 72, figs. 6, 9; Louvre CA 2544 (Besques 1954, no. C 233, p. 120, pl. LXXXVI); Oxford, Ashmolean, inv. no. 1893.95, from Thebes (Poulsen 1937, p. 57, fig. 35); Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, inv. no. 6659; Yeroulanos Collection ΣΤ' 33/165 and smaller derivative examples, including one from Trakhones Grave B74; *Clara Rhodos* VIII, no. 17, pp. 187–193, fig. 179 (from Ialysos, Marmaro, Grave 78, mostly second quarter of 5th century B.C. but with a few later items); Simon 1989, no. 271, p. 165, pl. 104 (H. Froning).

¹⁰² Winter 1903, I, p. 72, fig. 3; Copenhagen, National Museum, inv. no. 7337 (Breitenstein 1941, no. 264, p. 28, pl. 29).

¹⁰³ E.g., with slightly different fold patterns and throne: New York, M.M.A. 59.48.6; also close but without the deep kolpos at the knees: Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, inv. no. 1927.37, Chaironeia Museum, inv. no. 432 from Abai, *Olynthus* VII, nos. 218, 223, and weaker derivatives, including modified examples such as VII, no. 249; likewise without the kolpos but with an under-chiton showing at the bottom under the peplos: Copenhagen, National Museum, inv. no. 6349 (Poulsen 1937, p. 58, fig. 37; Breitenstein 1941, no. 265, p. 28, pl. 29).

¹⁰⁴ E.g. Copenhagen, National Museum, inv. no. 6591, from Polygiros (Breitenstein 1941, no. 349, p. 39, pl. 40), differently proportioned and apparently a much later version of the same subject as the Vlastos/Serpieri figure.

of the Classical period, but it is not possible to identify the series with any confidence from what remains. Although this pose, with the left hand to the breast, is occasionally attested on peplos figures,¹⁰⁵ it seems more appropriate to chiton-clad women with the end of the himation draped above held in the bent crook of the arm, as on one of the seated goddess series of the Group of Hett Collection 239.¹⁰⁶ The only evidence of such draping of the himation here is a faint bulge across the upper arm, but this detail became quite faint on some of the derivatives of that series,¹⁰⁷ and these also occasionally developed the practice shown here of indicating the uprights as well as the crossbar of the throne back.¹⁰⁸ This series, however, has the left hand rather further over, more between the breasts. A separate series, which seems to be a debased version of the same type, appears to hold its hand more as here but not quite so high.¹⁰⁹

46 (Pl. 105) is part of a statuette of the Mother of the Gods, shown seated with a lion on her lap. She is wearing a chiton and has a himation draped over her left shoulder. Closest to this is a series attested from Olynthos revealing that the goddess held a phiale in her right hand and clasped the lion with her left.¹¹⁰ Its style suggests a date near or of the early Rich Style. Already early Rich Style Attic is a second series known from Naukratis in which both the goddess's hands clasp the lion.¹¹¹ The underlying sculptural type shown by the drapery, etc., is that imperfectly attested in the Attic marble statuettes and stelai of the Mother of the Gods and in some of the wider Graeco-Roman iconography of Cybele.¹¹² It is thought to be that of the cult image variously ascribed to Pheidias or Agorakritos, apparently housed in the Old Bouleuterion in the Athenian Agora until the Hellenistic Metroon was built nearby to receive it.¹¹³ The lion on the goddess's lap was a much older attribute on Attic terracotta statuettes of the Mother of the Gods, regularly appearing from Late Archaic times on, and may here be more of a vestigial feature. On this subject, perhaps the most interesting of these near-contemporary Attic terracotta versions from around the beginning of the Rich Style is that from Kerameikos tomb hS 264,¹¹⁴ in which the goddess's lap is left empty, although the lion seems to have appeared on that of the figure in relief on a small stele added beside her.

The badly worn fragment **48** (Pl. 106) preserves much of the legs, the right somewhat advanced, of a woman dressed in chiton and himation and apparently seated on a klismos. Probably the most straightforward interpretation is to regard this as being from the same

¹⁰⁵ E.g. Besques 1954, no. C 58, p. 93, pl. LXV.

¹⁰⁶ Winter 1903, I, p. 70, fig. 6; Athens, N.M. 3975; Copenhagen, National Museum, inv. no. 7304 (Breitenstein 1941, no. 282, p. 31, pl. 31); formerly Erlenmeyer Collection, Basel (*Sotheby's*, 9 July 1990, no. 68, p. 38, with fig.). Quite close in drapery treatment is the standing name series of this Group (p. 422 and note 65 above); for a different seated-goddess series of the same Group, see note 97 above.

¹⁰⁷ E.g. Besques 1954, no. C 187, p. 114, pl. LXXXII.

¹⁰⁸ E.g. on an example recorded by the author on Athens market, 1949–1950.

¹⁰⁹ Winter 1903, I, p. 70, fig. 3; Washington, D.C., Corcoran Museum, inv. no. 26.536.

¹¹⁰ *Olynthus* IV, nos. 355, 356, XIV, no. 181; Higgins 1954, no. 718, p. 191, pl. 93.

¹¹¹ Oxford, Ashmolean, inv. no. G 75, from Naukratis (Gutch 1898–1899, no. 74, p. 84, pl. 12); possibly “parallel” (?): Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, inv. no. 910.108.37 (G 2805).

¹¹² E.g. Svoronos 1908, pls. 116–120, 198, 239, 240; *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque*, *passim*, for variations of the same enthroned type.

¹¹³ H. A. Thompson 1937, pp. 115–217; Vermaseren 1977, pp. 32–35.

¹¹⁴ See note 11 above (sixth from right in published group photograph); also D. B. Thompson 1984, p. 33, fig. 2. Previously wrongly ascribed to a somewhat similar Demeter type. On the stele see also p. 445 below.

series as **46** above, although differences in scale and fabric seem to preclude its being from the same actual statuette. Pose and drapery treatment fit the type, and the Olynthos series (note 110 above) substitutes a klismos for the goddess's throne. The drapery motif and the pose do, however, also occur on other quite different contemporary series of women or goddesses seated on klismoi, and fine distinctions cannot be drawn with the fragment in such poor condition. The most important of these others are two different modified versions of a major sculptural type usually dated *ca.* 440–430 B.C., the Aphrodite on a Klismos (“Olympias”), of which part of the marble original survives (from the Athenian Akropolis), as well as later copies.¹¹⁵ Probably simply because of the technical exigencies of frontal molding, both series have changed the sprawled posture of the marbles to a rather more upright one and have modified the position of the left arm over the back of the klismos, but their adoption of such similar solutions to both problems suggests that the one has been influenced by the other. What is possibly the earlier and truer is bareheaded and may have begun in the late 5th century B.C., although it is already near the Rich Style CD Group and its production doubtless also continued much later.¹¹⁶ The other, its leg treatment nearer to **48**, has added the conventional polos of a goddess;¹¹⁷ its head enables it to be ascribed to a different early Rich Style Group. There are also other possibilities for **48**, for example, among the figures characteristic of this period seated on openwork klismoi.¹¹⁸

47 (Pl. 106) preserves the upper body and arms probably of a goddess, similarly dressed in chiton and himation but seated this time on a throne. The date is probably again near the beginning of the Rich Style, to judge, for instance, from the palmette in relief on the throne back. This seems closest to the series of the Naukratis Mother of the Gods cited earlier (note 111 above), but here there is no lion. There is, however, an area extending from below the breasts to behind the hands where the detail has been obliterated and from which such an attribute might have been cut away while the clay was still soft (perhaps on the secondary archetype from which this figure's mold was taken?). Or is it that a separately fashioned lost attribute, such as a child, had been added here on this example?

Other seated figures are dealt with under more specialized headings on pp. 446–447, and it seems that the detached head **69** (p. 453) may also belong with these.

¹¹⁵ The original: Akr. Mus. 6692. Langlotz 1954; Delivorrias 1978; *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 90–91, nos. 819–841, *s.v.* Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias *et al.*).

¹¹⁶ Stephani 1861, p. 87, pl. IV:3; Winter 1903, II, p. 107, fig. 9. Classification of the Olynthos examples: Generation 1+: *Olynthus* XIV, no. 176; Generation 2+: *Olynthus* XIV, nos. 178(?), 477; Generation 3+: *Olynthus* IV, no. 246, VII, nos. 220, 229–240 (VII, no. 234 now Fogg Museum, inv. no. 1960.539), XIV, nos. 139, 149, 154; Generation 4+: *Olynthus* VII, no. 221. On the subject, the Aphrodite figures with an Eros whispering in her ear may be related: *Olynthus* VII, no. 248 and, with modified hair, IV, no. 375. For the CD Group see p. 447 below.

¹¹⁷ Winter 1903, II, p. 127, fig. 1; Besques 1954, no. C 621, p. 163, pl. CV (= *LIMC* II, p. 91, no. 824, pl. 82); Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, no. 26, pp. 20–21, pl. 5; Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, no. 10, p. 53 (from Kerameikos Cremation hS 156, shortly after 400 B.C.); the fragment, Agora T 2209 (from Area A 19–20) and, perhaps, the heads T 1389 (from Pit D 5:1, currently dated first half of 4th century B.C.) and that published by D. B. Thompson 1943, no. 41, p. 142, fig. 57 (from Pnyx, Assembly Place Period III, on whose date see note 78).

¹¹⁸ E.g. the late-5th-century series, attested by Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, inv. no. H 1621 (Schmidt 1994, no. 49, pp. 50–51, pl. 12), and the fragmentary Kerameikos Museum no. T 93. Cf. p. 438 below on the type.

CROUCHING AND RECLINING FIGURES: **19, 20, 50, 52, 67**

The mold fragment **19** (Pl. 105) preserves part of its bottom and side edge but has lost most of its contact surface. What detail remains is of drapery, apparently a himation, looped over a left arm, and of a socket for the separate forepart of that arm to be added after molding. Only two possibilities suggest themselves: that it is from the lower corner of a protome with added projecting forearms like **5** or that it is part of a reclining figure, such as that of a banqueter. Shape and proportions tend to argue against a protome, and the indications of the surviving underlying layer of the clay favor the propped-up upper body of a figure lying on a mattress. Originally for technical reasons connected with their venting, Late Archaic Attic terracottas showed reclining and banqueting figures on their mattress but without their couch.¹¹⁹ The same practice continued into Early Classical times,¹²⁰ to which this mold seems to belong, but the whole couch was apparently already beginning to be depicted before the start of the Classical period.¹²¹ Added appliqué arms had already made their appearance on Attic reclining statuettes in the Late Archaic period with the name piece of the Group of the Brussels Hetaira.¹²²

The remaining items dealt with in this section are Rich Style products of the end of the 5th and early 4th centuries B.C. **20** (Pl. 105) is a mold fragment retaining the right hand and right knee of a kneeling figure. This belongs to a known series showing a young woman in chiton and himation in a half kneeling, half squatting posture with her left hand in her lap.¹²³ Later figures in the same posture are used to depict knucklebone players, and this may be what is intended here, although it does not seem to have been made explicit.¹²⁴

It has already been pointed out (p. 412) that **50** (Pl. 105) was a faulty statuette that was fired but that may have been discarded undecorated. It shows a long-haired child in what is almost a junior version of the banqueting posture, seated with its legs to one side, its weight on its left hand, and holding a small jug, apparently of chous type, in its right hand. It is dressed in a thin, long-sleeved, ankle-length chiton and is apparently also to be understood as having had a cloak, visible at the sides, hanging down its back and carried up as a veil behind its now missing head. On the basis of its dress, this would seem to be a statuette of a little girl taking part in the festivities of the Anthesteria. Possibly related is a similarly dressed standing statuette seemingly of a veiled little girl wearing earrings and holding such a

¹¹⁹ E.g. Ear-Muffs Group, series N, O, P, and Enigmatic Group, series Q (Winter 1903, I, p. 191, figs. 4, 6; Nicholls 1982, pp. 103–104, 118–119, pl. 25:a–c).

¹²⁰ E.g. the Herakles figure: Winter 1903, I, p. 191, fig. 7; Higgins 1954, no. 664, pp. 177–178, pl. 87.

¹²¹ E.g. from Sarcophagus Z 25, West Cemetery, Eleusis: Mylonas 1975, pp. 273–275, pls. 322, 323.

¹²² *FR* II, pp. 18–19, fig. 8; now Brussels, Musées Royaux, inv. no. A 1032; same series: the head, Akr. Mus. 12314 and, probably one generation later, the body, Kerameikos T 106 (from Grave HTR 61).

¹²³ Apparently originally of or near the CD Group (on which see p. 447): Kapetanakes 1973, p. 285, figs. 18, 19; *Olynthus* IV, no. 320, XIV, nos. 251 (now Oxford, Miss.), 254. Series later modified and also more freely copied: Stackelberg 1837, p. 45, pl. LXIV (from Athens); Winter 1903, II, p. 134, figs. 5–7; Jameson 1969, p. 320, pl. 81:d; *Lindos* I, no. 2967, pp. 697–698, pl. 137; Breitenstein 1941, no. 275, p. 30, pl. 30 (from Attica); Peredolskaya 1964, pp. 17–18, pl. 16:5. There are also doubtful (Bloesch 1943, pp. 104–105, pl. 57) and spurious examples (Higgins n.d., p. 170, fig. 209). Discussed further on p. 476.

¹²⁴ She seems to have held no knucklebone bag, and crouching and kneeling figures also had other roles in Rich Style Attic terracottas, e.g. as attendants. The action of the right hand has also been variously interpreted, e.g. by Peredolskaya (1964) as picking flowers.

jug;¹²⁵ the distinctive style of her round, puckish face links her to a much wider Group. The same series, however, or a closely related one of the same Group is adopted for plastic vases, and these also show the garlands, fillet, etc., more appropriate to the little Dionysos.¹²⁶ This raises the question whether, with these at least, the coroplast may not have intended normal female attire but a junior version of the long formal chiton often adopted by Dionysos and, possibly, the veil of an initiate. Even more puzzling pairs of children that seem to be without Dionysiac links are attested from Olynthos among contemporary plastic vases apparently not of Attic derivation: a naked boy and a chiton-clad girl(?), squatting side by side, the latter possibly holding a dove(?),¹²⁷ and a chiton-clad girl(?) in a pose much like that of **50**, holding a bird and a fruit(?), with a standing boy in an oriental tiara beside her.¹²⁸

The statuette fragment **52** (Pl. 105) preserves a portion of a reclining youth, his upper body bare but with indications near the fracture line that its lower regions were draped, presumably in a himation. His face is in the fully developed Rich Style. His hair is worn long after the fashion already widespread in Athens by the later 5th century B.C.; here, however, an appliqué knot at the top and extensive retouching of it after molding suggest placing the figure's execution into the 4th century. The fragment is apparently to be understood as part of a banqueter, presumably shown reclining on a couch. It is treated here because it may simply have been an isolated figure like its predecessors from Archaic to Classical times, apparently including **19** above. But there is a tendency for Attic Rich Style banqueters to form part of more complex groups of the kind mainly dealt with on pp. 446–449, the more formal of them with the full iconography of the “funerary banquet” reliefs (initially mainly commemorating heroes or chthonic deities), with the reclining god or hero, a goddess or heroine seated at his feet and often also an attendant.¹²⁹ But these Attic Rich Style terracotta examples show curious features in the gestures of endearment and the consistent youth of the “hero” and, occasionally, other anomalous details such as an attendant Eros. Might some of them have had a much more specific relevance, for example, to the chthonic aspects of the union of Aphrodite and Adonis, whose love seems to have been a popular subject with the Rich Style coroplasts?

The plastic-vase fragment **67** (Pl. 105) retains the himation-wrapped right leg and right forearm of a child, apparently to be understood as in a sideways crouching position somewhat

¹²⁵ Athens, N.M. 14546; also the variant mold from the Pnyx, Assembly Place Period III (note 78 above): D. B. Thompson 1943, no. 60, p. 146, fig. 60.

¹²⁶ Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, nos. 234–236, pp. 71–72, and cf. *ibid.*, nos. 237–239 and Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum, inv. no. 721; Higgins 1959, nos. 1708, 1709, pp. 62–63, pl. 40. The oddity of having a thin chiton reveal all the modeling of a male body and yet conceal its genitals is not unknown in Attic Rich Style figures, particularly of Dionysos and Eros, e.g. Trumpf-Lyritzaki, *op. cit.*, no. 33, p. 15, pl. 5; Reeder Williams 1978, no. 37, pp. 389–390, pl. 96.

¹²⁷ *Olynthus* IV, no. 385; Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, no. 299, p. 82.

¹²⁸ *Olynthus* VII, no. 399; Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, no. 298, p. 81; for the squatting girl(?), but wearing a himation as well, cf. *Olynthus* XIV, no. 278.

¹²⁹ Stackelberg 1837, pp. 40–41, pl. LXVIII; Winter 1903, I, p. 196, figs. 1–4; *Olynthus* IV, no. 316 + XIV, no. 284 + unpublished fragment O 2687; Kallipolites 1966, p. 70, pl. 68:α (from burial at Aigaleos of ca. end of 5th century B.C.); occasionally more clearly showing a pair of lovers on the couch, e.g. Kanellopoulos Museum, inv. no. 2097. For the banquet reliefs: Thönges-Stringaris 1965; Dentzer 1982. For indications as to their underlying significance from the closely related funerary iconography of early Carian, etc., stelai from Egypt: Masson, Martin, and Nicholls 1978, pp. 70–85 (R. V. Nicholls).

analogous to that of **50** above. Its right hand holds an oinochoe of chous type against its right knee. A small boy in such a posture is a common subject on such Attic vases of this phase.¹³⁰ Here he seems to be shown in front of a semicircular cave, its edge framed by an elaborate garland of close-packed, overlapping leaves, partly a device to give the vase a more functional shape but partly also suggesting that we may be dealing with the child Dionysos himself in front of a sacred grotto. Much larger appliqué ivy leaves, more appropriate in scale to the vase itself than to its molded scene, are attached to the edge of the vase back, forming an outer garland framing the possible grotto.

Another reclining figure, **51** (Pl. 106), occurs among the so-called grotesques on p. 439.

RIDERS, VARIOUSLY MOUNTED: **2, 49, 68**

2 (Pl. 106) is a solid handmade statuette of a swimming dolphin with a little boy seated sideways on his back; of the child only the lower body and upper legs survive, nude apart from possible traces of a chlamys behind. The closest parallels for this group are to be found in the equally solid small statuettes of little boys riding sidesaddle on dolphins from Attic mobiles of the late 5th century B.C.¹³¹ On these the dolphin is likewise handmade, but the child is molded, with a suspension hole in the top of the head; despite his tender years he is shown wrapped in adult dignity and a formally arranged himation and has an “everlasting” garland on his head. It has been suggested that these figures may have inspired early Rich Style plastic vases depicting a similarly mounted Eros.¹³² Just who the small boy of the mobiles is remains more problematic. Arion seems unlikely here. He might be Taras (or Phalantos), but such young dolphin riders tend to be much more active jockeys, astride their mounts.¹³³ More plausibly, he could be Palaimon (Melikertes), but actually this dignified child of the mobiles seems, in fact, very like his counterparts of plastic vases and statuettes shown mounted sideways on goats or panthers or carried by a Papposeilenos.¹³⁴ Is he perhaps, as they are, intended as the little Dionysos, since the Agora mobile involved may have shown other links with that god? His choice of mount may in that case have anticipated the later occasion when he transformed the pirates into dolphins. If so, the same interpretation presumably applies for the present group. Too little survives of this to determine whether it too served as a mobile. It is larger than these usually are, and also it seems once to have had something attached under the middle part of the dolphin. This could have been the base for an earthbound group or simply some representation of the waves of the sea under a floating suspended one.

¹³⁰ Cf. Trumf-Lyritzaki 1969, no. 260, p. 76, pl. 28, and the mostly nude examples with which it is listed, *ibid.*, nos. 253–276.

¹³¹ Stephani 1880, p. 264, pl. VI:3, 4; Winter 1903, II, p. 194, fig. 9; Reeder Williams 1978, nos. 35, 54, pp. 388, 395, pls. 96, 100 (Agora T 1472 and, dolphin only, T 1465 from Well B 13:5 of the last quarter of the 5th century B.C., wrongly as models for plastic vases; on possible Dionysiac links, notes 138, 139 below.)

¹³² Stackelberg 1837, pp. 40–41, pl. L:2; Winter 1903, II, p. 310, fig. 2; Reeder Williams 1978, no. 34, p. 388, pl. 96 (Agora P 18345).

¹³³ Kray and Hirmer 1966, pp. 313–316, pls. 102–109. Perhaps also the Akropolis bronze appliqué, Athens, N.M. 6626: *Voyage into Time*, no. 121, p. 104, pl. on p. 45 (R. Proskynetopoulou).

¹³⁴ Higgins 1959, nos. 1713, 1714, 1719, pp. 65–66, 68–69, pls. 42, 43; Trumf-Lyritzaki 1969, nos. 142–146, 300–310, pp. 53–54, 82–83, pls. 21, 29; Reeder Williams 1978, no. 24, p. 385, pl. 93; and here, **49** and **68** below.

As the 5th-century Attic terracotta mobiles have received scant attention up to the present, it may be helpful to devote a few words to them here, with special reference to the dated examples from the Athenian Agora. Their function is identified by their suspension hole for a cord from which they hung evenly balanced, by their small scale, rather too tiny to have served as independent statuettes, and by their occurring in clusters when part of coherent finds.¹³⁵ All are fashioned solid. The earliest are tiny handmade flying doves, of which the mobile apparently represented a flock. These seem to have begun about the middle of the 5th century and to have persisted to around its end.¹³⁶ Partly or wholly moldmade figures were added later. Wingless suspended flying women, possibly Aurai, seem on style and context to have begun near the end of the Classical period proper.¹³⁷ The small boys on dolphins discussed in the last paragraph fall near the beginning of the Rich Style and date from the last quarter of the 5th century. Contemporary with these and found with their Agora counterparts is a similar but nude small boy on a swing, the looped cord carrying the seat of his swing also serving as his means of suspension.¹³⁸ This may be not so much a genre figure as one reflecting the Dionysiac Aiora festival on the last day of the Anthesteria.¹³⁹ Other rather larger solid statuettes of about this date may or may not have been from mobiles.¹⁴⁰ The production of such figures seems not to have continued much into the 4th century B.C., but it is possible that the small, solid, suspended Erotes of Hellenistic times mark a revival in such mobiles, although they are slightly larger than most of the Classical statuettes just considered.¹⁴¹

The two fragments that constitute what remains of **49** (Pl. 106) appear to preserve the hind leg, rump, and tail of a goat with indications that it had a rider on its back and the

¹³⁵ One of the most interesting early finds is an apparently unpublished set of flying doves from a Classical burial, in the Mykonos Museum.

¹³⁶ Examples from the Athenian Agora: T 1366–T 1369 from Well M 18:8 (to ca. 430–420 B.C.); Lamberton and Rotroff 1988, p. 9, fig. 16; T 1571 from Well B 13:5 (last quarter of 5th century B.C.); T 1778 from Cistern S 19:3 (in the main to ca. 315 B.C., in Rotroff's current view, but with earlier material); D. B. Thompson 1952, no. 60, pp. 148, 163, pl. 40. Other examples: Stephani 1880, p. 264, pl. VI:5; *Winterthur*, no. 41, p. 18, pl. 11; Besques 1963, nos. MYR 382–387, p. 10, pl. 8 (remains of anterior, 5th-century burial in Myrina Tomb 96); Andreiomenou 1968, p. 80, pl. 83:β (from child's grave in Athens); Dremisvova-Nelchinova and Toncheva 1971, pp. 104, 111, fig. 24 (from Apollonia); Guggisberg 1988, nos. 22, 105, pp. 180, 219, 229, 233, figs. 5, 22 (from Argos); Schmidt 1994, no. 42, p. 46, pl. 11. The subsequent large molded flying doves may also have been suspended but seem too big for mobiles.

¹³⁷ Agora T 1371, from Well M 18:8 (to ca. 430–420 B.C.); Agora T 1958, from Area B 22; Agora T 1968, from Unfinished Cistern O 22:1 (currently dated ca. 360–325 B.C., but this item, in any case, clearly earlier); Andreiomenou 1968, p. 80, pl. 83:β (same Athenian child's grave as note 136); formerly Erlenmeyer Collection, Basel (*Sotheby's*, 14 December 1990, no. 183, p. 121, with fig.); earlier(?) stage: Athens, N.M. 17225, from royal stables. There may be some typological link between these suspended Aurai(?) and certain larger earthbound fleeing women: Winter 1903, I, p. 69, fig. 5; Higgins 1954, nos. 420, 421, p. 123, pl. 60; Bol 1981, pp. 72–73, fig. 95; Vafopoulou-Richardson 1981, no. 21, p. 23, pl. 21; also the rather different series: Winter 1903, II, p. 142, fig. 1; Schürmann 1989, no. 83, pp. 39–40, pl. 17.

¹³⁸ Agora T 1573, from Well B 13:5 (see note 131; last quarter of 5th century B.C.). The child's genitals are partly broken away, but what survives suggests that he may have been shown as ithyphallic.

¹³⁹ Deubner 1932, pp. 118–122; Simon 1983, p. 90.

¹⁴⁰ A solid Nike of the later 5th century B.C., T 365 from the Middle Stoa Building Fill H–K 12–15 (to first quarter of 2nd century B.C., see note 273 below) in the Athenian Agora, and **2** above.

¹⁴¹ E.g. the very large number of these found together in a tomb at Eretria: Vollmoeller 1901; Lawrence 1927, p. 9, pl. 1; Kleiner 1942, pp. 19–20; Higgins 1967, p. 101, pl. 46:B, C.

head, body, and arms of a child, nude as far as preserved and once mounted sideways on an animal, both seemingly from the same statuette. Both were molded separately and then assembled together. The head of the child also has various handmade appliqué additions: a braid of hair running back along the crown of the head, a substantial headband worn across the brow in a fashion appropriate to Dionysos, and what appears to have been a garland, parts of which have been obliterated in the subsequent handling of the still moist clay. It is hard to tell whether the remaining tiny cylindrical members meeting its stems at around 45 degrees are intended as long leaves (e.g. of laurel) or as clusters of needles (e.g. of pine). Similar small boys riding sideways on goats are a not uncommon subject for Rich Style Attic plastic vases, both as here¹⁴² and also with the animal proceeding in the opposite direction.¹⁴³ They show the same retouching of the goat's fleece but are inevitably differently fashioned, with beast and rider molded as one. The small boy is presumably the little Dionysos, the child Zeus being a much less likely candidate since, where the sex of the goat is indicated, it is male and thus unlikely to be Amaltheia in goat form.

68 (Pl. 106) conserves much of a Rich Style plastic vase in the form of a small boy riding sideways on the back of a bounding panther. Of the child all that survive are the bare legs and groin and traces of trailing drapery (part of a chlamys?). This is a known but less common subject for plastic vases of this stage.¹⁴⁴ It seems closest in type to an example in the Kanellopoulos Museum¹⁴⁵ but belongs to a different series. It also lacks the spool base of the latter; here the lower part of the molded Group is coated with black glaze as a plinth, save where the animal's hind leg extends down through it. A possibly slightly later mold fragment from the Athenian Agora still shows a similar treatment of the panther's head and neck, but it is for a rather bigger figure with the creature looking straight ahead.¹⁴⁶ Presumably, here again the child is intended as the young Dionysos.

The piece molds **33a** and **b** (p. 455 below) are for a bird apparently with marks for positioning a rider on its back. This rider was presumably to have been molded separately, like that of **49** above, but nothing of it now survives.

ARTICULATED FIGURE: **63**

63 (Pl. 106) is the flat-backed, solid body of a girl dressed in an extremely short chiton worn with a hip-length kolpos and with holes pierced right through her shoulders, her groin, and the sides of her buttocks to take the thin rods on which her separately fashioned arms and legs were pivoted; her head is missing. Although there was eventually some stylistic evolution, one can with reasonable confidence assume the head to have been of Late Archaic Corinthian type, with a polos-like headdress and with a hole pierced in the top to take a suspension cord.¹⁴⁷ The seemingly early character of these figures may be largely due to

¹⁴² Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, nos. 300–307, pp. 82–83, pl. 29. Agora T 2904 (from 3rd to 2nd century B.C. fill in Area B 18) is a contemporary Rich Style statuette with child and animal molded together.

¹⁴³ Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, no. 308, p. 83; Reeder Williams 1978, no. 28, p. 386, pl. 94 (Agora P 25467).

¹⁴⁴ Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, nos. 309, 310, p. 83.

¹⁴⁵ No. 1296; is this the same as the example recorded (Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, no. 310, p. 83) as on Athens market?

¹⁴⁶ Agora T 2453, from Fill C 19:11 (3rd century B.C., over a well of the last quarter of the 5th century B.C.).

¹⁴⁷ The following selective list will in due course be superseded by the full publication of the abundant new material from Corinth. Winter 1903, I, p. 169, fig. 1; *Corinth* XII, no. 1301, p. 33, pl. 9; *Corinth* XV, ii, nos. XX:

the conservatism of the 5th-century Corinthian terracotta industry. Their main currency in Athens as imports or, as apparently here, as local derivatives from them was probably in Early Classical and Classical times.¹⁴⁸ The most important advance in our understanding of such figures and their successors has come from Dorothy Thompson's recognition that their short garments or total lack of them and the castanets or cymbals that they sometimes hold in their hands mark them out as dancing girls.¹⁴⁹ They are presumably a rudimentary form of *νευρόσπαστον*, their movable limbs being set in motion by a jerk of the suspension cord. To judge from the way in which their successors are shown being carried about,¹⁵⁰ they may not have been kept permanently hanging up, as was presumably the case with the mobiles already considered (p. 434 above).

This class of figures and others in various ways connected with them have tended to be grouped together, not very aptly, as "dolls" by modern scholars. Such "dolls" underwent some remarkable developments in Athens within the period spanned by the present context. Next came the "torso-dolls" with arms and legs cut off, both the clothed (Kore or, less probably, Ge Anadyomene?)¹⁵¹ and the nude varieties (Aphrodite Anadyomene?),¹⁵² the latter

10, 11, pp. 149–150, pl. 31; *Délos* XXIII, nos. 258–260, p. 105, pl. 25 (from Rheneia, including *Katharsis* Pit); Besques 1954, nos. C 93, C 215, C 216, C 566, C 567, pp. 99, 117–118, 155, pls. LXI, LXXXIV, XCIX; Higgins 1954, nos. 909–916, 924–929, pp. 248–250, 252–253, pls. 132, 133; the last of these from Attica (note 148 below), as also: Akr. Mus. 12464–12470; Agora T 2224 (from Agora, Area A 19–20), T 1515 (from Athens: Boulter 1963, no. 39, p. 135, pl. 53); Oxford, Ashmolean, inv. no. 1880.129 (from the Piraeus). Apparently an Attic version from Athens: Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner Museum, inv. no. H 4475 (Beckel, Froning, and Simon 1973, no. 53, pp. 120, 184, with fig.; Schmidt 1994, no. 5, pp. 26–27, pl. 3). There are also occasional specialized performers, e.g. the pyrrhic dancer, Higgins, *loc. cit.* no. 930.

¹⁴⁸ As witness the example from the mid-5th-century Attic grave, Burgon Tomb A1: Higgins 1954, no. 929, pp. 172, 253, and those in London from Early Classical and Classical Rhodian burials (on both see also note 147 above), *op. cit.*, pp. 24–30: Papatouloures, Tomb 14: no. 910; Fikellura, Tomb 28: no. 927, Tomb 81: no. 926, Tomb 122: no. 924, Tomb 123: no. 925, Tomb 252: nos. 913, 928; Ialysos Tomb 19: Maiuri 1926, p. 272, fig. 17; Kameiros, Makri Langoni Tomb CVII: *Clara Rhodos* IV, no. 22, p. 214, fig. 229, pl. XXIII.

¹⁴⁹ D. B. Thompson 1943, pp. 114–118. For general accounts see also Elderkin 1930; Dörig 1958.

¹⁵⁰ Kastriotes 1909, fig. 1; Dörig 1958, pl. 23; Clairmont 1993, I, nos. 0.851, 1.263, 1.329, pp. 172–173, 283, 316, II, no. 2.204, pp. 137–138.

¹⁵¹ Winter 1903, I, p. 63, figs. 4–5, p. 170, fig. 4; Hermann 1898, no. 1, p. 60, with fig.; Kübler 1935, p. 272, fig. 6 (Kerameikos, HTR, Sarcophagus 13, ca. 450–440 B.C., with two other such figures); Poulsen 1937, pp. 50–52, figs. 28, 29; Besques 1954, nos. C 10, C 11, p. 88, pl. LVI; Higgins 1954, nos. 678, 679, (from mid-5th-century Burgon Tomb, A1), 682, pp. 181–182, pl. 89; *Délos* XXIII, nos. 249–251, p. 103, pl. 24 (Rheneia, Child Burial A, *Katharsis* Pit); Verhoogen 1956, p. 24, pls. VI, VII; Schlörb-Vierneisel 1964, p. 98, no. 4, Beil. 55:2, 3 (Kerameikos Grave hS 193, of Lissos, shortly after 430 B.C.); *Antiken, Bonn*, no. 58, pl. 37; Alexandre 1970, p. 86, pl. 65:β (from tomb at Megara); Vafopoulou-Richardson 1981, no. 15, p. 17, pl. 15; Schürmann 1989, no. 71, pp. 36–37, pl. 15; Simon 1989, no. 271, pp. 169–170, pl. 104 (H. Froning); also Yeroulanos Collection (from Trakhones burial B75); Athens, N.M. 5664; Dhimitsana Museum, no number; Eleusis Museum, no number; Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, inv. no. 4576; Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, inv. no. 5279. Occasional examples with arms also occur, e.g. in Boiotia. The suggested identification as Kore Anadyomene would explain their funerary role in Attica and the placing of statues of figures of this kind, but with arms, in cemeteries, e.g. at Durrësi (i.e., Durazzo: *Götter Heroen Menschen*, no. 114, p. 42, pl. 23 [W. Oberleitner]) and at Cyrene (where they include a local variety with an aniconic face: Rowe 1959, pp. 3–4, pls. 2, 27:a, 28–30; Goodchild 1971, pp. 166–171, pl. 127).

¹⁵² Winter 1903, I, p. 170, fig. 3; Breitenstein 1941, no. 266, p. 28, pl. 29; Besques 1954, no. C 12, p. 84, pl. LVI, also nos. C 208–210, p. 117, pl. LXXXIII (Cyrenaican copies); Higgins 1954, no. 683, p. 182, pl. 89,

skillfully molded completely in the round. These were essentially a Classical phenomenon, but the latter persisted on into the Rich Style; they also have earlier antecedents, e.g. in Attica, in the Late Archaic Torso Group. In the late 5th century B.C. Corinthian workshops developed more advanced and more usually nude figures of articulated dancing girls with their bodies molded in the round and their legs now jointed at the knees, not the groin,¹⁵³ and these were imitated in Early Rich Style Attic,¹⁵⁴ to be followed by a more evolved nude

also nos. 373, 1437–1442 (these last Cyrenaican examples), pp. 115, 383, pls. 56, 197; Higgins 1967, pl. 30:B (Copenhagen, National Museum, inv. no. 12952); Rohde 1968, p. 41, pl. 19:a; Lullies n.d., no. 147, p. 58, pl. 21; *Antiken, Bonn*, no. 58, pp. 50–51, pl. 37; Bol 1981, p. 46, fig. 52; *Münzen und Medaillen, Auktion XVIII*, no. 55, p. 18, pl. 13; *Münzen und Medaillen, Auktion 51*, no. 200, pp. 90–91, pl. 53; *Sotheby's, 14 December 1990*, no. 210, p. 131, with fig. (formerly Basel, Erlenmeyer Collection); examples from Athenian Agora: T 463 (from Area J–K 11), T 3108 (from Fill J 11:1, ca. 400–325 B.C., on Rotroff's current dating); from tombs in Athens: Alexandre 1968, p. 115, pl. 98:γ; Alexandre 1972, p. 82, pl. 65:β; Alexandre 1979, p. 126, pl. 99:γ; from Salamis: Dekoulakou 1990, pp. 16–18, pl. 36:α; also Akr. Mus. 12417; Athens, N.M. 16276; Kanellopoulos Collection (residence), inv. no. 1325; Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, inv. no. 4569 (Scheurleer 1986, no. 10, p. 29, with fig.); Berlin, S.M., inv. no. 1975.3; Würzburg, Martin-von-Wagner-Museum, no. H 2529 (Schmidt 1994, no. 58, pp. 55–56, pl. 14); New York, M.M.A. 26.60.49; Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Museum, inv. no. 1959.192. Their Rich Style continuation is shown by Kerameikos Grave hS 163 (Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 49–50, Beil. 40, where one occurs with an early jointed doll of the type of note 154 below and one of the draped statuettes seated in a separately fashioned chair that seem to be the direct predecessors of the “seated dolls” of note 156 below) as well as by the style of some of the examples, e.g., one from Athens, Syntagma Grave LVIII (Charitonides 1961, pp. 45–46, fig. 83) and also Athens, N.M. 2364, and by the representations of them on grave reliefs extending into that period (see below). Their identification as Aphrodite Anadyomene (e.g. Nicholls 1993) rests on the use of such a figure to depict the birth of Aphrodite on Rich Style plastic vases (Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, no. 3, pp. 4–5, pl. 2; possibly also Agora T 2484 from Fill C 19:5, late 5th–mid-4th century B.C.), their role in jewelry (Segall 1966, pp. 13, 37–38, pls. 8, 20, 22, 24; Williams and Ogden 1994, no. 50, p. 97, with fig.) and a subsequent Italiote terracotta version of them with arms depicting Aphrodite Anadyomene (Segall, *loc. cit.*, pl. 25) and later marble versions; the large poloi worn by some of the Cyrenaican examples doubtless also mark them as goddesses. For funerary reliefs showing these figures being held: Kastriotes 1909, figs. 2–4, pl. 4; Clairmont 1993, I, nos. 0.869a, 0.915, 0.918, 1.247, 1.296, 1.307, 1.311, 1.312, 1.328, 1.757, pp. 188–189, 204–206, 277, 301, 307–309, 315–316, 430.

¹⁵³ *Corinth XII*, nos. 131–136, p. 33, pl. 9; *Corinth XV*, i, nos. 66–68, p. 106, pls. 28, 41, 42; *Corinth XV*, ii, nos. XX: 1–7, p. 149, pl. 31; Besques 1954, no. C 236, p. 121, pl. LXXXVI; Higgins 1954, nos. 941–944, 959, 973, pp. 256–257, 260, 265, pls. 134, 135, 137. Again, this selective interim list will shortly be superseded by the full publication of the new material from Corinth. Until then, it is not always easy to distinguish Attic derivatives from Corinthian among the Attic examples cited in note 154 below; the status of some of these may then be changed, although the majority of their heads seem to tie them firmly to known Attic Groups.

¹⁵⁴ The Corinthian figures were also imported into Athens (e.g. Nicholls 1981, p. 41, fig. a), and the Early Rich Style Attic examples copied their rather awkward knee jointing: Akr. Mus. 12477, 12483–12485, 12500; D. B. Thompson 1943, nos. 5–8, p. 136, fig. 53 (Pnyx, Assembly Place Period III; see note 78 above); Charitonides 1961, pp. 28–29, 43, 46–47, 60–61, figs. 40, 78, 84, 103, pl. 3:α (Athens, Syntagma Graves CXII, LXIII, LVIII, LXXXIV respectively); see also note 152 above on the example from Kerameikos Grave hS 163; reasonably preserved others from the Athenian Agora: T 62 from Area H 17, T 1323 vestigial earlier find from Hellenistic Cistern E 5:2, T 1477 from Area L–N 16–18, T 1523 from Well B 15:1 (last quarter of 5th century B.C.: Corbett 1949, no. 122, pp. 339–340, pl. 100); Themeles 1984, pl. 118:β (from Eretria); also Scheurleer 1986, no. 11, p. 30, with fig.; Lullies 1955, no. 172, p. 58, pl. 62; Zurich University no. 2266. See also note 153 above; it is even harder to identify the stylistic origins of foreign derivative fragments, e.g. *Olynthus IV*, no. 257, XIV, nos. 296, 297, 300. A variant clad in a short chiton also persisted (e.g. Higgins 1954, no. 721, p. 192, pl. 94), as at Corinth.

variety with the body terminating at the lower thighs, exactly as on the naked “torso-dolls”, their legs, which now included shapely knees, being socketed inside the hollow thighs.¹⁵⁵ Finally, occasional experiments at the start of the Attic Rich Style with fretting away the in-fill between the legs, etc., of the thrones and klismoi of statuettes of seated goddesses and sometimes of fashioning the furniture separately from the figures seem to have led directly to the start of the nude “seated dolls” with only their arms articulated (possibly again depicting Aphrodite, in which case the matching nude youthful male versions that soon developed alongside them may represent Adonis).¹⁵⁶ These continued far down into Hellenistic times, but the examples with separately made openwork terracotta thrones seem to be largely of Rich Style date, suggesting that their later successors might often have been provided with miniature wooden furniture. These developments all had a considerable impact on Attic terracottas of the Classical period and the Rich Style. Although it is difficult to argue from negative evidence, the complete absence of “dolls” (apart from the one foreign derivative described above) from the present major factory deposit spanning this period raises the question whether, at this stage, such “dolls” may not have been the prerogative of some workshops and eschewed by others.

“GROTESQUE” FIGURES: 22, 51, 53

The statuettes considered here are sometimes known as the “Kabirion idiots” from the developed examples of them found at the sanctuary to the Kabeiroi near Thebes.¹⁵⁷ Their

¹⁵⁵ On style, these would appear to have begun still quite early in the Rich Style (e.g. Higgins 1954, no. 701, p. 186, pl. 91) and to have persisted to about its close. Winter 1903, I, p. 170, fig. 1; Akr. Mus. 12475 (D. B. Thompson 1952, p. 127, pl. 32), 12476; D. B. Thompson 1943, no. 13 a, d, p. 137, fig. 53 (limbs from Assembly Place Period III; note 78 above); Besques 1954, no. C 219, p. 118, pl. LXXXIV; Besques 1972, no. D 445, p. 72, pl. 97; Higgins, *op. cit.*, no. 734, p. 197, pl. 97; Rohde 1968, p. 42, pl. 19:b; Lullies 1955, no. 173, p. 59, pl. 62. The best external evidence for dating seems to be that provided by representations on Attic tombstones (note 150 above). On depictions of special kinds of performers of this and the previous type, see note 217 below on the oriental dancers.

¹⁵⁶ Winter 1903, I, p. 87, fig. 4, p. 165, figs. 1–6; Akr. Mus. 12488, 12496, 12501, 12507 (female), and 12487, 12490–12492 (male); Alexandre 1969, p. 46, pl. 26:α (from grave; still early Rich Style?); Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, no. 5, p. 98, Beil. 60:3 (advanced example from Kerameikos Grave hS 30 of ca. 320 B.C.); D. B. Thompson 1943, nos. 9–12, pp. 136–137, fig. 53 (both male and female examples from Assembly Place Period III, on which see note 78 above); D. B. Thompson 1952, nos. 1–8, pp. 208–209, 240–241, pl. 32 (from Coroplast’s Dump, S 19:3, mainly to ca. 315 B.C. [Rotroff] but also with earlier material); D. B. Thompson 1954, no. 1, pp. 251–252, 262, pl. 18 (from Hedgehog Well, O 18:2, to ca. 320 B.C., Rotroff’s dating); Miller 1974, nos. 78–81, pp. 211–212, 239–240, pl. 36 (advanced examples, both male and female, from Menon’s Cistern, F 16:8, to the first quarter of the 3rd century B.C., note 317 below); Higgins 1954, nos. 702, 703, pp. 186–187, pl. 91, from Tomb A2, end of 5th century B.C. (?); Verhoogen 1956, p. 23, pl. XIII; Lullies 1955, no. 174, p. 59, pl. 62; Besques 1972, nos. D 213, 215, pp. 38–39, pl. 47; Athens, N.M. 12988. Although the humbler late examples have been described as *hierodouloi* (D. B. Thompson 1963d, pp. 87–94), it is to be observed, on the question of their divinity, that the female “dolls” had apparently evolved out of enthroned draped figures of goddesses and that in some areas they eventually reverted to an elaborately adorned treatment of such a goddess (the so-called oriental Aphrodite, e.g. Higgins 1967, pls. 50:A, 56:A). Were the jointed arms and removable thrones of the nude figures to enable them to be similarly decked out on feast days?

¹⁵⁷ *Kabirenheiligtum* V, nos. 312–320, p. 177, pls. 24, 25 and numerous other such figures (in the National Museum, Athens) recorded as of similar provenance. The caricatured scenes painted on the Kabeiran vases (*Kabirenheiligtum* I, pp. 95–128, pls. 5–17, 26–34, 37, 44–61 and *Kabirenheiligtum* IV, pp. 1–74, pls. 1–24) suggest

heads tend to be over large in relation to their bodies, giving an almost dwarflike effect, and they are depicted with an unrelentingly harsh realism that departs far from the Classical ideal. They tend to have flat, broad noses, and their heads are frequently prognathous, although it seems clear from other indications that negroes are not normally intended but simply rather curious-looking Greeks. What may be the earliest documented example from Athens seems to date from the end of the Archaic period or soon after and is an imported East Greek figure of a banqueter from the Kerameikos.¹⁵⁸ Although Athens may thus not have been responsible for first originating the class, it clearly played its part in adding to its range, as witness a splendid 5th-century archetype from the Athenian Agora.¹⁵⁹ They persisted abundantly far down into the 4th century but are harder to trace through the Early Hellenistic period.

22 (Pl. 106) is a fragment from the mold for such a figure, of which it preserves part of the head. Actually the contact surface survives for only a little of the left side of the face, but this is enough to allow little doubt as to the identification. Elsewhere the surface has flaked away leaving only the approximate indications of the main clay layer underneath as to its shape. These suggest a high domed head and the lower part of a large cylindrical object carried on top of it, which continues on out through the top of the mold. The object might thus be a shallow round tray, but, more probably, this is another instance of a derivative mold retaining the vestigial edge of a feature that was to be formed separately, as noted (p. 411 above) in the part of the head remaining on the body mold **13**. In that case the present fragment finds its closest counterpart in "grotesque" statuettes of women carrying a large cista-shaped basket on their heads.¹⁶⁰ The Agora fragment, however, seems to be from an early, perhaps still 5th-century B.C. version of the subject, to judge from what survives of its face.

The statuette fragment **51** (Pl. 106) preserves the upper part of a naked woman of this kind apparently reclining, presumably on a couch. She appears to represent a hetaira of only moderate ugliness. One may compare other treatments of the same subject in different series. One from Olynthos seems similarly plump and youthful but may be earlier.¹⁶¹ Another from Eleusis seems nearer in date but much more decrepit.¹⁶² All show similar prominent ears.

The fragment **53** (Pl. 106) is part of the body of a man wrapped in his himation which he wears somewhat after the so-called Sophocles fashion. With his head missing, less dogmatism

stage performances, some of them linked with the cult of the Kabeiroi, but often show other conventions, e.g. in the matter of beards.

¹⁵⁸ Kerameikos no. 1484 (T 335) from the child's grave HTR 32, dated by its excavators *ca.* 490–480 B.C. but assigned by Schmaltz (*Kabirenheiligtum* V, p. 117, note 582) to the second quarter of the 5th century; the associated early black-glazed vases do not seem inevitably incompatible with the higher dating and, more relevantly, the East Greek technique of the statuette, with a completely sealed underside, would seem unlikely much after 480 B.C.

¹⁵⁹ T 1662 from Deposit G–H 11–12 in the Tholos area (with material down to the last quarter of the 5th century B.C.): D. B. Thompson 1959b, fig. 53; Nicholls 1984, p. 27, fig. 7.

¹⁶⁰ The finest, Athens, N.M. 12507 (Pfisterer-Haas 1988, no. IV 39, pp. 76, 142, fig. 135) is clearly somewhat later. Possibly nearer is Leiden, inv. no. RO.II 177 (*ibid.*, no. IV 36, fig. 134). A taller such wickerwork container is carried by a series of Middle Comedy slaves (Webster and Green 1978, no. AT 46, pp. 78–79).

¹⁶¹ *Olynthus* VII, no. 327.

¹⁶² Eleusis Museum, marked 10/9/87; same series but less complete: Winter 1903, II, p. 457, fig. 8 (also Eleusis).

is possible, but he is clearly not an ordinary idealized statuette in this pose,¹⁶³ on the evidence of his proportions and his protruding belly. Closely similar figures of about Early Rich Style date with beardless “grotesque” heads, noted by the author on the London market, appear to confirm him as a “grotesque” and not as one of the rare early figures of comic actors. “Grotesques” so dressed had already begun to appear in the Early Classical period¹⁶⁴ and became common in the second half of the 5th century, continuing on well into the 4th.¹⁶⁵

A 5th-century terracotta from the Athenian Agora (Pl. 106) sheds important new light on the interpretation of these “grotesques”; it depicts part of a “grotesque” mask formed with a domed back to fit right over the wearer’s head, like those of actors in tragedy and comedy.¹⁶⁶ Taken with the more problematic evidence of another such mask in Munich,¹⁶⁷ this would seem to indicate that the “grotesques” may also be players in some kind of stage performance, that their strange proportions may simply be due to their having large masks over their heads, and that the grinning or gaping mouths shown by many of them may not be a sign of idiocy but a touch of functional realism in depicting the orifice through which the actor spoke. The dramatic forms associated with Dionysos in Athens probably coexisted at this time with various other kinds of farce throughout the Greek world, the most widespread of which appears to have been the mime. That these “grotesques” may be mime players emerges as a strong probability when one notes their characteristics and compares them with those shown by the terracotta figures of Late Hellenistic and Roman times already regarded as depicting actors in the mime.¹⁶⁸ Both tend to render women’s hair more or less normally, but that of men is usually fairly short, where they are not, as often, quite bald. Also, in marked contrast to the practice of comedy, men of all ages are normally shown clean-shaven in both. Further, where called for, both sexes are depicted

¹⁶³ Although such figures occur much earlier in Attic vase painting, they seem only to become common in Attic terracottas with the small statuettes of youths of the later(?) third and last quarters of the 5th century B.C.: e.g. Knigge 1981, pp. 389–393, fig. 15 (context still of third quarter of the century); Agora T 1479 from Well B 13:3 (last quarter of 5th century B.C.); Agora T 3363 from Well Q 15:2 (late 5th century to ca. 400–390 B.C.: D. B. Thompson 1965, p. 57, pl. 9); Athens, N.M. 14545. The pose, however, was apparently current much earlier in East Greek terracottas (Higgins 1954, nos. 345–348, p. 110, pl. 53), which may also explain its early incidence in the “grotesques”.

¹⁶⁴ *Sindos*, no. 24, pp. 24–25, with fig. (B. Misaelidou; from Grave 40, ca. 460–450 B.C.).

¹⁶⁵ Winter 1903, II, p. 436, especially figs. 2, 4; *Kabirenheiligtum* V, no. 318, p. 116, pl. 25; Paul n.d., no. 245, pp. 50, 90, pl. 69; cf. also *Délos* XXIII, no. 1191, p. 257, pl. 89 (bearded).

¹⁶⁶ Agora T 3399, found in Area P 8 in a late-5th-century B.C. stratum. P.H. 3.9 cm. Its lower edge is shaped as if its rear part was to rest on the wearer’s shoulders, with its chin extending lower over the top of his chest.

¹⁶⁷ Sieveking 1916, I, p. 21, pl. 29: a mask from Salamis with a similar domed top and similarly shaped to fit to the shoulders, hitherto interpreted as that of a negro because of its features and the outline of its cropped hair, but its flesh color is dark red, not black, and though much more idealized than is usual, it still has its face pulled well askew in the fashion of the “grotesques”. It now merits reassessment in the light of the Agora mask, which is undeniably that of a “grotesque” old man. Schmaltz (*Kabirenheiligtum* V, p. 116, note 579) indicates that the relevant terracotta from the Kameiros grave, Makri Langoni Tomb CVI (*Clara Rhodos* IV, p. 214, fig. 228, context to ca. 420 B.C.?), is not a mask but simply the head from a “grotesque” statuette of a banqueter.

¹⁶⁸ Bieber 1961, pp. 86, 106–107, 248–250. On the later, predominantly Doric literary evidence see Reich 1903; Wiemken 1972. The implications of the archaeological testimony offered here are that these performances may have arisen as a popular art form and that their preliterary stages may have been much more widespread and diverse and have had much earlier beginnings than hitherto allowed.

unflatteringly naked or partly so, incidentally leaving little doubt that, in both categories, female roles were played by women, presumably by hetairai and the like.

The case for this interpretation in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. is very strong indeed. The problems arise with the lower incidence of these figures, particularly the distinctive male types,¹⁶⁹ in the 3rd century B.C. when the mime was clearly flourishing. It is clear that in the 4th century B.C. the South Italian *phlyax* farce had adopted the masks and costumes as well as the themes of Attic Comedy.¹⁷⁰ Is it possible that, in many parts of the Greek world, the mime similarly took on the conventions of New Comedy, at least for a time, and thus left less evidence of its independent existence? The reemergence of distinctive mime figures in Late Hellenistic and Roman times is accompanied by changes in physiognomy and proportions, the nose becoming much more prominent and the heads being frequently of more normal size, possibly suggesting a growing reliance on makeup and a diminishing use of masks. The new types were eventually inherited not only by Greek lands but also by the whole Roman world, and interestingly, their earlier, Late Hellenistic phase seems to be absent from some major Greek centers such as Athens. It has been widely inferred that the changes in usage that they imply may have been inherited from the Atellan farce and that their spread may have been due to the growing influence of the increasingly important Roman mime.

As has been seen earlier, the class represented by the fragments published here seems on present evidence to have reached Athens at about the end of the Archaic period. It remains to be considered whether there were older local antecedents of a different kind. A curious pattern of evidence from the Athenian Agora now seems relevant. There, the first wholly molded local statuette of this kind (Pl. 106) dates, on fabric, from early in the Early Classical period.¹⁷¹ It shows a naked woman in the crouched posture of vertical childbirth¹⁷² and has the usual over-large head but, anomalously, a normal nose (perhaps

¹⁶⁹ There are some plausible exceptions (e.g. Uhlenbrock 1990, no. 17, p. 124 and possibly Schürmann 1989, no. 630, p. 174, pl. 105), and such types clearly persisted in certain areas such as Ptolemaic Egypt (where they apparently merged with or developed into the so-called obscene statuettes at a stage well before the 2nd-century B.C. emergence of the fully developed Graeco-Egyptian terracottas now documented by the Polish finds at Athribis). Although some types such as the female nudes continued more widely for a time, they seem to have moved away from straightforward representations of players, being adapted, e.g., into jointed “dolls” on bases: Winter 1903, II, p. 456, figs. 2, 3; Besques 1972, no. D 214, p. 39, pl. 47; D. B. Thompson 1954, no. 2, pp. 90–91, 106, pl. 21 (Demeter Cistern, F 16:1, ca. 350–290 B.C., with 2nd- to 1st-century B.C. disturbance [Rotroff]). Were the movable arms to enable them to be dressed, too, as suggested for the “seated dolls” (note 156 above)?

¹⁷⁰ Trendall 1967, *passim*; Trendall and Webster 1971, pp. 127–129, 134–144.

¹⁷¹ Agora T 2358 + T 2378, respectively from Area A 18 (with ostraka of Themistokles and Kallixenos) and from Fill A 18–19:1 (mostly early 5th century B.C. but extending down to the middle of that century). P.H. 14.0 cm. Kerameikos Museum T 234 is a later Attic version of the same subject with her hair concealed under a tightly bound turban and a wholly human “grotesque” head; it is fashioned completely in the round but could, notwithstanding, be of Rich Style date (cf. pp. 473–476 below) on the evidence of the mold for the back of such a turbanned head, 21 (p. 453 below); cf. also D. B. Thompson 1943, no. 86, p. 152, fig. 64 (Pnyx, Assembly Place, Period III, on which see note 78 above).

¹⁷² Despite the reticence of ancient literature and more formal art on such matters, this seems the likeliest interpretation, since the internal evidence precludes an excretory or coital explanation of the posture. It also brings Greek practices into line with those of other parts of the ancient world, particularly in the Middle East, and accounts for the similar posture of nude representations from Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Crete

suggesting a transition from a different tradition?) and the mouth and fangs of a Gorgon. The bodies of two further early statuettes of naked women in this pose are attested from the Agora,¹⁷³ but these are Late Archaic solid handmade figures that once had molded heads and one of them seems on a birth stool. I am tempted to link them with a similarly fashioned Attic statuette in Oxford, apparently contemporary with them and shown nursing a baby and equipped with the molded head of a Gorgon.¹⁷⁴ Is it possible that the family life of the Gorgons was a subject of mime or some related kind of farce, the popularity of such mythological subjects perhaps also preceding that of their more genre-like successors? The Polyphemos statuettes have similar early beginnings and show masks sometimes completely in what I have here tentatively inferred as the main mime tradition and sometimes with quite anomalous features such as beards.¹⁷⁵ But whatever the interpretation of the Agora childbirth statuettes, it appears that the Gorgon sisters may have been the subject of much earlier Greek stage performances, to judge from the primitive, slightly over life-size terracotta masks from Tiryns of a domed, wheelmade construction to fit right over the head.¹⁷⁶

There is, of course, other evidence for early mimelike plays in Greece, in particular that provided by the great numbers of 6th-century B.C. terracotta masks from the Temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta.¹⁷⁷ These are purely frontal and may be simply votive

(Levi 1931, p. 506, fig. 597; Gesell 1985, pp. 50, 57, 59, 82, pls. 67–69). Figures on birth thrones or birth stools are graphically shown in Cypriot terracottas (e.g. Karageorghis 1989, p. 86, fig. 85), the material being progressively published by V. Karageorghis (1991–). In Greece, terracottas in this pose also became commoner from the later 5th century on (Pfisterer-Haas 1988, p. 73, figs. 120–129). They have been widely interpreted as representing Baubo, with possible justification in a tiny number of later instances where they are shown with a pig: *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 83, no. 3, pl. 67, *s.v.* Baubo (T. G. Karagiorgha-Stathacopoulou; the quite different type, *ibid.*, no. 1, seems more plausibly Baubo), but there appears to be no firm early evidence to support this identification of them and even less to mark them as the bogymen haunting young children, such as Mormo or Gello. Some of these figures seem less obviously pregnant and may be not so much parturient as mimicking childbirth, whether as part of a ritual (in that case, possibly not entirely unrelated to Baubo's display of cult immodesty?) or, as suggested here, as players acting a part.

¹⁷³ Agora T 3264 from Well H 12:15 (to *ca.* 480 B.C.) and T 4040 from Pit H 4:5 (to *ca.* 425 B.C. but also yielding Archaic terracottas): Rotroff and Oakley 1992, no. 367, pp. 33, 127, pl. 61.

¹⁷⁴ Price 1978, no. 44, p. 20, fig. 7; Nicholls 1982, no. A 1:8, p. 105, pl. 24:h.

¹⁷⁵ Fellmann 1972. The Munich reclining Polyphemos (*ibid.*, no. V4, pp. 102–103, 130–131, fig. 20) seems to belong near the same early(?) 5th-century East Greek tradition as the Kerameikos banqueter (note 158 above), and its slightly later Boston counterpart (*ibid.*, no. V5, pp. 103–104, 131, fig. 21) seems also a typical 5th-century mainstream “mime” figure. Anomalous beards are shown on the East Greek squatting Polyphemos in his cave with Odysseus and the ram from Kameiros, Makri Langoni Tomb XXV (*ca.* mid-5th century: *Clara Rhodos* IV, pp. 98–101, fig. 87; Fellmann, *op. cit.* no. FL46, pp. 96–97, 128), and on the isolated squatting figures of him (Fellmann, *op. cit.*, nos. BR5, 6 pp. 55–56, 103–104) which may still be of the mid-5th century, although a different (Attic?) version in Boston (M.F.A. 01.7756) seems already, on technique, no earlier than the late 5th century. In view of their nudity and early date, the anomalous bearded figures may, if connected with the stage, relate not so much to Old Comedy as to some other tradition of the farce or mime.

¹⁷⁶ A proper publication of this find is still awaited. Hampe describes the stratum in which the masks were found as Subgeometric (i.e., presumably of the early 7th century B.C.), but E. Kunze (oral communication) gave it as still Late Geometric. They are of appropriately early technique. Hampe 1936, p. 63, pl. 42; Riccioni 1960, pp. 144–146, fig. 26; Karagiorgha 1970, pp. 19, 37–38, 45, 82, 90, pls. 14, 15; *LIMC* IV, 1988, p. 289, no. 2, pl. 163, *s.v.* Gorgo, Gorgones (I. Krauskopf). Does the curious frontality of the Archaic gorgoneion derive as much from an original mask iconography as from possible oriental prototypes?

¹⁷⁷ Perhaps copying those worn by early Spartan δεικλιχταί, as players in the local farce or mime there were called? Dickens 1929; on their date, Boardman 1963, p. 6, a 6th-century B.C. dating being also borne out by the

representations of the types of mask actually worn, to be hung on a wall like *protomai*. The later rapid development of the stagecraft of Dionysiac drama in Athens may also have been made possible by earlier Greek experience with such other kinds of performance.

The rather irreverent entertainments hypothesized here could either have taken place at religious festivals (as apparently at the Temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta and, possibly, at the Theban Kabirion) or else have been wholly profane (as may have been the case in Athens). I am aware that this theory involves a reappraisal of early Greek life, with the preliterate phase of some of the local kinds of farce from which the mime seems to have evolved apparently already established by about the end of the Dark Age, to judge from the Tiryns masks, but I cannot otherwise explain a vast body of neglected evidence.

There is finally a negative aspect to the testimony of this well to be considered. Although it included the figures here tentatively identified as mime players, it yielded no statuettes of comic actors. Realistic terracotta representations of Old Comedy players in their masks and costumes seem only to have begun to appear in Athens towards the end of the 5th century B.C.¹⁷⁸ and to have been at first quite rare. At some point before the mid-4th century B.C. their Middle Comedy successors apparently became very abundant, above all in the wake of the innovating New York Group (pp. 473–474).¹⁷⁹ Since, in view of their later ubiquitousness, one can hardly have recourse here to the hypothesis of workshop specialization (invoked on p. 438 above to explain the dearth of “dolls”), there is a presumption that that phase had not yet been reached in the time span of the present large context.

As already observed (note 171), the mold for the back of a woman’s turbaned head, **21** (p. 453), might also have been for a “grotesque” figure.

STANDING FIGURES GIVEN A SHALLOW, ALMOST RELIEFLIKE TREATMENT: **24, 25, 28, 29, 57**

The statuettes of the kind dealt with here and in the next two sections are considered further on pp. 468–471 below. They represent a major development within the Rich Style, apparently beginning late in the 5th century B.C. and continuing in the 4th century, their reduction in three-dimensionality facilitating an elaboration of subsidiary detail only rarely matched before and after.

The mold **24** (Pl. 107) is for a statuette of a woman or goddess with her left leg crossed over her right, standing leaning against a column to her left and with her right hand on her hip. She wears shoes and a chiton, the latter visible at the bottom and, possibly, at her right breast, but most of it is hidden under the himation wrapped round her body; a corner of the latter appears also to have been brought over her right shoulder and swathed about her right arm. A fragment of a statuette of the same series and generation from

style of the less grotesque examples, where this can be related to that of contemporary sculpture. Carter (1987) probably overstates their dependence on Phoenician, etc., models. The concept of the frontal, votive mask (as opposed to the kind actually worn, fitting right over the head) may well have been acquired by the Greeks from that quarter, as also, perhaps, the wrinkled treatment of the faces of the elderly, but the rest of the range, young men, warriors, satyrs, etc., is surely wholly Greek in conception, as were, doubtless, also the local religious performances that the votive masks themselves apparently commemorated.

¹⁷⁸ Webster and Green 1978, pp. 29–30; see pp. 469–470 on Agora T 1468 + T 1575, the comic terracotta most securely dated to this period.

¹⁷⁹ Webster and Green 1978, pp. 42–60, where a higher chronology is proposed; for the present author’s views and the vexed question of the dating of Agora T 4062, see note 320 below.

the Athenian Agora (Pl. 107) preserves a little more of the body.¹⁸⁰ In marble sculpture its general character and pose recall the “Leaning Aphrodite,” known from copies,¹⁸¹ and the similar but differently draped fragmentary original, the Aphrodite of Daphni,¹⁸² works apparently of the last quarter of the 5th century B.C. But, although standing leaning in the same way, these also reveal marked differences in dress and in the position of the right arm. Indeed, the way in which the himation is here worn tightly swathed about the body and arm of the terracotta series seems to have more in common with some of the Rich Style dancers (for examples from this context that seem more certainly such dancers see pp. 449–453).

The situation is considerably complicated by the circumstance that there are other terracotta versions of the same subject in other styles and, it seems, with rather different drapery. One, apparently of or near the Rich Style CD Group, is from the Kerameikos child’s grave hS 264.¹⁸³ Set at a more upright angle than the others, it seems to be a derivative figure, whose drapery details can no longer be made out very well. Probably the woman is to be understood as dressed in a thin chiton, readily revealing the modeling of her body, and her himation is probably only hanging behind her, one side of it trailing down from her right hand on her hip, more like some of the variations on the type of the Daphni Aphrodite. Against her left hand she has an appliqué tambourine, firmly identifying her as a resting dancer. To judge from its proportions, an example in Paris seems a later (Hellenistic?) reworking of this Rich Style theme.¹⁸⁴ Here the woman seems to be wearing a chiton, with a himation draped over her left shoulder, and the tambourine(?) hanging from her left hand is part of the molded detail and is smaller than shown in Winter’s drawing. It is much less clear whether this subject of resting dancers could account for any of the variations on the “Leaning Aphrodite” theme in marble sculpture.

The smaller mold fragment **25** (Pls. 105, 107) preserves half of the head and the left shoulder and breast of a woman or goddess, apparently with centrally parted, backswept hair and a shoulder lock hanging behind the ear. It is not easy to interpret the drapery of so small a fragment, but it seems that she may be wearing a chiton, whose neckline is visible, and a thinnish himation, carried up over her left shoulder. If so, the treatment of the folds of the latter is rather similar to that of **24** above. This fragment, however, is not part of the same mold as **24**,¹⁸⁵ and the line interpreted as the top edge of the himation diverges from that on Agora T 1285 (Pl. 107) of that series and generation.

The mold fragments **28** (Pl. 107) are a tantalizing puzzle, consisting as they do of the plinth and a little of the figure that stood above in a complex setting. A full factual description is given in the Catalogue. The interpretation offered here can only be tentative. Beside

¹⁸⁰ Agora T 1285 from Pit E 6:3 (ca. 375–310 B.C. on conventional pottery chronology but also with much of late 5th-century date). P.H. 9.5 cm

¹⁸¹ Bieber 1977, pl. 72:437–440; the Aphrodite in the Gardens of Alkamenes? (but see note 115 above): *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 30–31, pl. 22, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias *et al.*); its variants, *ibid.*, pp. 29–30, pl. 21.

¹⁸² Aphrodite of Daphni and modified copies from it: *LIMC* II, 1984, s.v. Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias *et al.*); the original: Delivorrias 1968.

¹⁸³ Kerameikos T 42. On Grave hS 264 see note 11 above (this item, right-hand figure in published group photograph). H. 16.6 cm. On the CD Group see p. 447 below with note 197.

¹⁸⁴ Cabinet des Médailles, Oppermann Collection, no. 149: Winter 1903, II, p. 93, fig. 8. The author is indebted to Irène Aghion for providing a photograph.

¹⁸⁵ See pp. 408–409, 424 above; as already observed there it cannot have formed part of the mold **11** which it otherwise resembles in fabric.

a small tree(?) or vine(?) a bare-legged booted figure with a cloak hanging behind stands turned obliquely towards an altar or stele (if the latter, this is perhaps to be added to the Stele Class discussed below), with, beyond this, a column on a base apparently covered with thin drapery which trails down onto the plinth below. According to Rich Style conventions, the column could carry a small image appropriate to the deity shown, perhaps Artemis or Dionysos. But the circumstance that this shaft is also draped raises the question whether we may not here be dealing with one of the more impromptu images formed by the attachment of drapery and a mask of Dionysos to an ordinary column, as discussed on p. 419 above. That this is not entirely fanciful is confirmed by the apparent mold for one of the details of such a Rich Style composition recently found in the Athenian Agora (Pl. 107).¹⁸⁶ This seems to show such a mask of Dionysos attached to a possibly lighter shaft with the aid of the kind of broad headband appropriate to that god.

29 (Pl. 105) is a small fragment of a mold of this date preserving the end of the plinth and part of the left leg and foot of a woman or goddess wearing a shoe and a chiton and himation. It appears to be for the kind of statuette described here or for part of one of the similar groups of figures dealt with in the next section.

The statuette **57** is the name piece of the Stele-Goddess Workshop (Pl. 108). It shows a standing goddess facing front, her left hand on her hip and her right wrist resting on the gabled top of a stele as she pours a libation from a tilted *phiale mesomphalos* appropriately gripped from its underside in her right hand. She has disk earrings and a low, flaring polos with lotus-and-palmette decoration in relief,¹⁸⁷ and she is dressed in a sleeved chiton with a himation draped over her left shoulder and wrapped about her left arm. The initial effect, however, is almost one of near nudity because the chiton is very thin and is shown clinging to her body as if wet. Its existence is only made clear by its faint neckline, by the fastening of its sleeve along her right upper arm and the folds of that sleeve hanging below, and by slight rucks in the material at her groin. The rich polos and the sense of presence and importance conveyed by the frontal stance seem to imply that a goddess is intended. The revealing dress suggests that the likeliest candidate is Aphrodite herself.

The conceit of having a deity adopt the role of worshipper in pouring a libation, as if implying an identification with the latter or else suggesting a wider hierarchy of ritual to which the immortals too were subject, was already common by Classical times.¹⁸⁸ But the introduction of a stele as here is a peculiar feature of the Rich Style Stele Class which seems to span various different stylistic Groups of Attic terracottas. The clearest evidence as to its interpretation seems that provided by the statuette of the Mother of the Gods from the child burial hS 264 in the Athenian Kerameikos.¹⁸⁹ There the stele over which the goddess is pouring her libation appears to carry an indistinct relief of the Mother of the Gods herself of traditional type with a lion on her lap. In other words, she appears to be pouring her libation over her own stele. The Agora goddess has lost almost all the relief on her stele, but the slight remaining traces of its top suggest a centrally placed figure possibly with a polos. The most interesting analogy is that provided by a somewhat humbler Rich Style statuette in

¹⁸⁶ Agora T 4171, found in Area J 4 with pottery of about the second half of the 4th century B.C. P.H. 6.1 cm. (mold), 5.7 cm. (cast). Shallowly modeled, somewhat blurred (derivative?) mold with A incised on its back.

¹⁸⁷ See p. 412 on the incomplete registration of this and its significance.

¹⁸⁸ Simon 1953.

¹⁸⁹ See notes 11 and 114 above.

the Kanellopoulos Museum in which the goddess is fully clad in both chiton and himation (Pl. 108).¹⁹⁰ There the relief on the stele under the phiale in her right hand shows a goddess in a polos standing rigidly in the center, dressed in a smooth, tight garment of Early Archaic type and with her arms stretched out stiffly and obliquely to each side, the hands apparently empty. Was a relief of this kind once also present on the stele of the Agora statuette, and is this another instance of the association of Aphrodite with primitive or archaistic images of goddesses? A statuette of a quite different series from Kition in Cyprus shows Aphrodite leaning against a small Ionic naïskos or naïskos-stele, but not pouring a libation.¹⁹¹

Other examples of the Stele Class are much less complete. Thus a mold for a bearded god, possibly Hermes, pouring a libation appears to show vestigial traces of the top of a stele under the phiale.¹⁹² Although the evidence is as yet too limited for conclusions to be drawn with any certainty, it does seem that the reliefs on these stelai may serve to confirm the identity of the deity shown, something that it often becomes increasingly difficult to establish as the Rich Style terracottas edge away from conventional sculptural iconography. Does this observation also extend to other figures where no libation is shown, e.g. the so-called Adonis statuettes and plastic vases at Olynthos showing a youth taking off (or putting on) his chlamys, with a narrow plinth (or winning post) to one side and a stele with a relief of a youthful herm (*pace* Robinson, surely male) to the other.¹⁹³ On the evidence of the stele, do these in fact show the youthful Hermes, perhaps as patron of young athletes? A fragment from a well in the Athenian Agora suggests that this practice of setting a stele or stele-like construction beside a statuette may also have slightly older antecedents in a different technique near the beginning of the Rich Style in the last quarter of the 5th century.¹⁹⁴

GROUPS OF FIGURES, MOSTLY GIVEN A SIMILAR SHALLOW TREATMENT: 23, 26, 27, 58–62

Another distinctive feature of the Attic Rich Style is seen in its groups of human figures standing or seated side by side and molded together as a single unit. Although the participants sometimes clasp each other, they only rarely seem to be conceived as conversing together because their gaze is in most cases directed not at each other but outwards towards the spectator. It is more as if they are to be viewed as grouped images of deities or heroic figures. It is, however, by no means easy to establish their identity if this is the case. One important example of this class from the Athenian Agora has previously been published but merits reassessment. This is part of a mold from the Early Hellenistic Coroplast's

¹⁹⁰ No. 1465. H. 18.1 cm., of face 1.7 cm. Partly restored. Published with permission, for the Kanellopoulos Museum, of the First Ephoreia of Antiquities and of Alain Pasquier (responsible for a future catalogue of this material). For the association of Aphrodite with such primitive images, see note 212 below; *LIMC* II, pp. 12–14, *s.v.* Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias *et al.*); Alroth 1992, pp. 26–29, figs. 12–15.

¹⁹¹ Karageorghis 1976, p. 116, pl. 99 (import; from bothros of last phase of Temple of Astarte at Kition).

¹⁹² Agora T 2422 from Fill A–B 19–20:1 (possibly Sullan context but material mostly 4th to 2nd centuries B.C.): Nicholls 1984, p. 30 fig. 13, top.

¹⁹³ *Olynthus* IV, nos. 372, 373, 373A, VII, nos. 265–271, XIV, no. 214; Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, nos. 38–40, p. 17.

¹⁹⁴ Agora T 1572 from Well B 13:5 (last quarter of 5th century B.C.). Fragment of flat, solid relief, seemingly a stele in the form of a naïskos or a similar small structure, with part of the adjoining drapery of a larger, shallow, hollow Rich Style figure.

Dump,¹⁹⁵ although of a series that had clearly started long before. The complete bodies of the appropriate group appear to be preserved in a statuette in Athens (Pl. 110);¹⁹⁶ this shows two women, both clad in chiton and himation, the one on the left holding a small animal in her himation-wrapped left hand and pointing to it with her right, the other with legs crossed and her left hand on her hip under the himation, leaning against her companion and with her right hand on the other's right shoulder. Are they possibly Artemis and Leto? The well-preserved head of the left-hand figure on the Agora mold enables it to serve as the name piece for the Rich Style CD Group (CD being short for Coroplast's Dump).¹⁹⁷

The most anomalous item, the mold **23** (Pl. 109), is more deeply modeled than the others. This belongs more with the miniature figures which have been seen (p. 422) as having been resumed in Athens late in the Classical period and as having continued through that of the Rich Style and beyond.¹⁹⁸ The present mold appears by its very composition an early Rich Style product. It shows three figures seated side by side. That to the left appears, so far as preserved, to be dressed in a himation only and may thus be that of a man. The garment is wrapped around his bent right arm somewhat after the so-called Sophocles fashion and his left hand rests on his knee. The central figure is that of a woman with long hair wearing a chiton and with a himation draped symmetrically about her shoulders and apparently also carried up over the back of her missing head as a veil. Her right hand rests on her lap, but surface loss leaves no clear evidence of her left arm. The remaining figure is that of a long-haired woman, or perhaps rather a girl, wearing a chiton and with a himation carried up over her left shoulder, enveloping her left arm, and wrapping right around her lap and lower body. The poor survival of the contact surface obscures the other details of this figure, too. So far as it is preserved, the mold gives no indication of what the three are seated on. This group appears to be unique and, as so often, there are no attributes to guide its interpretation. Is it an Eleusinian triad consisting of Demeter and Kore, possibly with Hades or Triptolemos?

The mold **26** belongs to the more usual shallowly modeled groups of figures standing side by side (Pl. 109). Unfortunately the surviving parts of this mold have suffered severe surface loss, and it has also proved necessary in their assembly to introduce a broad band of plaster above the waist of the better-preserved left figure. The mold seems to have shown

¹⁹⁵ T 1709 from Cistern S 19:3 (mostly to *ca.* 315 B.C. [Rotroff] but including much earlier material): D. B. Thompson 1952, no. 40, pp. 140, 161, pl. 37.

¹⁹⁶ Athens, N.M. 5772. P.H. 13.75 cm. The inappropriate heads formerly associated with it apparently rightly removed some years ago. Reproduced by permission of the Director of the National Museum.

¹⁹⁷ Already referred to (p. 430) in connection with one of the series of Aphrodite seated on a klismos. Here let it suffice to cite examples from other series from contexts that provide better guidance to its date: the resting dancer with a tambourine from the child's grave hS 264 in the Kerameikos (here p. 444 and notes 11 and 183); the woman seated on a separately fashioned klismos from the Kerameikos grave hS 163 of about the end of the 5th century B.C. (Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, no. 3, pp. 49–50, Beil. 40:5; here note 152); and the standing woman from the Kerameikos burial hS 226, of the beginning of the 4th century B.C. (Knigge 1966, p. 121, Beil. 67:5). Near it is the standing woman with a phiale in each hand from Athens, Syntagma Grave L (*ca.* end of 5th century B.C.): Charitonides 1961, p. 49, pl. 3:β, left.

¹⁹⁸ They may also have persisted some while thereafter. Thus, from the Coroplast's Dump (Cistern S 19:3, mostly to *ca.* 315 B.C. [Rotroff] but with earlier material) the following "miniatures" seem post-Rich-Style, although the last four of them are seated figures in the same chairless state as **23**: D. B. Thompson 1952, nos. 13a–c, 37–39, 42, pp. 128, 140–141, 159, 161, pls. 32, 33, 37.

two figures standing on a plinth, but virtually nothing survives of the right-hand one. The left-hand figure is of a woman or goddess with her weight on her left leg and with her right slightly flexed, dressed in a chiton and himation, the latter draped around her body up to above waist level and carried up over her left shoulder. There is a generic resemblance to the name series of the CD Group noted earlier, but the statuette fragment **58** (see below) from the present context seems to have been much closer; given the poor preservation of **26**, however, it is hard to establish their relationship further.

The mold fragment **27** (Pl. 110) preserves the lower part of a group of two women or goddesses, each dressed in shoes, chiton, and himation and each standing with the outer leg slightly flexed. On a slightly raised surface beside the right-hand one is set what appears to be the lower part of a vase, possibly a hydria. As on **12** and **16** (pp. 424–427), the plinth was apparently fashioned separately. Various interconnected series presumably created together (or in some cases perhaps parallel variants in the same series) offer exact counterparts for the two female figures but none for the adjacent vase, so that the present mold introduces a yet further variation. On the others the left-hand figure appears to have unfastened her chiton from her right shoulder, baring her breasts and much of her upper body. In one series she is shown with her right hand gripping a large vertical phiale by the underside of its omphalos,¹⁹⁹ in another simply holding its edge,²⁰⁰ in another without the vessel,²⁰¹ and in yet another equally lacking the phiale but with a tall, narrow plinth or stele against her right side.²⁰² Is she possibly the goddess Aphrodite? And is her companion, who appears to be similarly partially disrobed, although this is less clear, an attendant goddess such as Peitho?

Although the three statuette fragments **58–60** (Pl. 110) are very similar to each other in fabric, it seems that they must be from at least two quite different works of this kind. **59** and **60** seem to belong somewhere among the different versions of the group of two goddesses side by side considered in the last paragraph and could thus indeed be from a single terracotta. As **59** preserves the right edge of such a group without any sign of the apparent hydria, it seems unlikely to have been taken from **27** itself. **60** appears to be the left edge of the kind of variant cited in note 202 above, although it seems to have a narrower stele than the Olynthos example noted there.

58 preserves the upper part of the draped body of a standing woman or goddess from a quite different composition of this kind and the edge of the right shoulder of a companion. Here the chiton is worn quite normally, and the transverse part of the himation is carried up higher, more as, for example, on the name series of the CD Group (p. 447), and across the left shoulder, from which one end of it also hangs down. The left hand protrudes from the folds of the latter garment, cupped palm upwards, while the right arm was apparently bent, with the hand resting on that garment's upper transverse edge, into which its thumb may have been tucked. It is clear that this is totally different from the variously modified pair of goddesses considered immediately above, but it has proved difficult to identify further examples; it is possible but unprovable that the poorly preserved mold **26** (p. 447) might be for a derivative of such a series.

¹⁹⁹ Lullies 1955, no. 188, p. 63 (with alien heads); *Olynthos* XIV, no. 267.

²⁰⁰ Higgins 1954, no. 732, p. 196, pl. 95.

²⁰¹ Stephani 1874, p. 162, pl. II:1; Winter 1903, II, p. 3, fig. 6; *Olynthos* XIV, no. 266.

²⁰² *Olynthos* XIV, nos. 262 + 264.

61 and **62** (Pl. 110) are two plinth fragments of identical fabric that appear very plausibly to have been part of a single terracotta. As it has been trimmed, the plinth seems to have sloped down gently and evenly from right to left, suggesting that if the two fragments belong together, they were set much further apart than they are shown in the photograph. Both fragments preserve the edges of trailing garments above, that on the left a great mass of oblique folds appropriate to someone moving. The two figures indicated by these drapery traces would seem to have been set further apart than those of the groups so far considered, and that being so, they could well have been dancers similar to, though not identical with, the famous pair from In Tepe in Istanbul²⁰³ (compare also the other, apparently single, dancer figures from the present context, pp. 449–453).

Finally, the mold for a plastic vase, **39** (Pl. 109), is included here because it appears that, when complete, it too probably showed a group of figures, although only part of one of them now survives. The statuette elements of plastic vases often acquired a partial relief ground behind them, sometimes disguised as a subsidiary feature (e.g. the possible grotto of **67**, p. 433), which helped enlarge and simplify the vase shape behind.²⁰⁴ In the present instance a circular outline was apparently adopted, edged with rosettes, but much less than half of that circle is preserved, carrying with it the remains of one human figure, so that it can reasonably be assumed that the complete composition consisted of at least two. Unfortunately most of the contact surface has flaked away, and what still survives is not very sharp, this being clearly a derivative mold. The remains consist of parts of the body of a seated woman or goddess, her left hand on her lap and her right arm possibly extended sideways, perhaps towards a missing second figure. Her head was molded separately. Her lower body and legs are draped, but her breasts and much of her upper body seem bare, although it is hard to be completely certain about this. A coarsely retouched wavy band runs down over her left shoulder, possibly just a long hanging lock of hair or possibly the edge of a garment such as a himation across that shoulder. Are we here dealing with an Aphrodite with a now missing Adonis or an Ariadne once flanked by Dionysos? In either case it could approximate to a reversed version of a known Rich Style composition.²⁰⁵

DANCERS GIVEN A SIMILARLY SHALLOW TREATMENT: **3**, **30**, **54–56**

In addition to the scraps from a possible group of this kind dealt with in the last section, **61**, **62** (p. 449), and the resting figure mold, **24** (pp. 443–444), there are various other elements from the statuettes of dancing women that are one of the delights of the Rich Style in their movement, vitality, and variety.

²⁰³ Reinach 1891, p. 293, pl. VIII; Winter 1903, II, p. 145, fig. 6; Mendel 1908, no. 1868, pp. 176–177, pl. IV; Bulle 1922, p. 86, fig. 58; Besques 1978, pp. 618, 620–621, pl. 183:2. Cf. also Besques, *ibid.*, pl. 185:8 and *Olynthus* XIV, no. 225.

²⁰⁴ The relieflike form that **3** (pp. 407 above, 450 below) shows some Rich Style archetypes to have adopted doubtless played an important part in allowing considerable variation as to how much of the resultant “relief ground” was incorporated into or excluded from the molds taken from them.

²⁰⁵ E.g. the statuette, Karlsruhe no. B 834, the name piece of the Group of the Karlsruhe Aphrodite: Winter 1903, II, p. 367, fig. 6; Schürmann 1989, no. 39, pp. 25–26, pl. 7 (but the youth beside her more probably a juvenile Adonis than a wingless Eros?). Also cf. the plastic vase, Agora P 320 from Deposit G 17:2 (*ca.* 325–300 B.C. [Rotroff]): Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, no. 147, p. 54, pl. 21; Reeder Williams 1978, no. 33, pp. 387–388, pl. 95.

Because of their great importance for our understanding of the way in which Rich Style figures were made, the archetype fragments, **3** (Pl. 110), have already been dealt with at some length in the technical section (p. 407). It is there pointed out that they are apparently from the archetype for the body of a veiled woman dancer from one of the rare series where the composition gives the effect of spanning two adjacent sides of the theoretically rectangular plinth on which it stands. Among the few relevant extant statuettes showing this feature, one from the child's grave hS 264 in the Athenian Kerameikos comes closest,²⁰⁶ but the poor preservation of the archetype makes it difficult to tell whether it marks the first stage in that very series or in another rather like it. The Kerameikos figure is shown, castanet in hand, dancing beside an altar, and the considerable width of the relief-ground-like backing to the archetype would seem compatible with its being intended to carry such an additional feature as the altar.

The drapery fragment from statuette **54** (Pl. 110) is in even poorer condition, being cracked, bruised, and badly worn. It seems to show part of a chiton, curling outwards at the bottom and also revealing the outline of an advanced leg behind. It is tentatively included here because the way in which the lower edge of the garment seems to have flown outwards appears to link it with the statuettes of dancing women, either those clad in a long chiton only²⁰⁷ or in the more usual Rich Style dress of both chiton and himation, but with the latter kept clear of the lower legs.²⁰⁸ Further than this it is not possible to go.

55 (Pl. 110) appears to preserve part of the rounded plinth and the tiptoed left foot of a dancer statuette of this stage. What is unusual is that the foot is shown bare. Although the entertainers that performed in the nude or in only a short chiton (noted earlier as represented by the articulated figures, pp. 435–438) normally performed barefoot, as did usually *kalathiskos* dancers and maenads (cf. p. 465), the rich dress of the present class of dancers regularly included shoes. The exceptions, to which this fragment is probably to be related, are rare.²⁰⁹

Another statuette fragment, **56** (Pl. 110), preserves a dancer's left arm, completely swathed in her himation, and more of that garment flapping below. The pose recalls the archetype **3** above, but here the woman seems to have been more completely muffled up. The closest parallel for the drapery folds seems to be provided by a headless example from Olynthos,²¹⁰ which appears to place it in the range of the so-called mantled dancers, a special class among these figures that sprang into being with the Rich Style.²¹¹ These are much

²⁰⁶ See note 11 above.

²⁰⁷ E.g. Athens, N.M. 13600, 13601, and the later(?) statuette and mold fragments, D. B. Thompson 1957, nos. 7, 8, pp. 119–120, 127, pl. 36 (from Group B, Cistern H 16:3, ca. 320–240 B.C. [Rotroff]). The twirling chiton-clad figures of flute-players from Olynthos have a much simpler and bolder fold pattern: *Olynthus* VII, no. 187, XIV, nos. 224, 230, and the unpublished O 2624.

²⁰⁸ E.g. the dancers holding a *thymiaterion* (Higgins 1954, no. 715, p. 189, pl. 93) or torch(?) (Agora mold T 1827, from Well O 19:4, in mostly late-5th-century dumped filling, apparently not deposited till the 2nd century B.C.; on its clay see note 248 below).

²⁰⁹ E.g. Winter 1903, II, p. 146, fig. 2, although other examples even of this same series are shown shod, e.g. Washington, D.C., Natural History Museum, inv. no. 391 049.

²¹⁰ *Olynthus* VII, no. 184. The motif, but with different fold patterns, is not uncommon, however, on other kinds of Rich Style dancers, e.g. the more loosely veiled Athens, N.M. 4136 and 5767 (the latter, *Democracy*, no. 70, p. 83, top left in fig.); also closely comparable is the unveiled Eleusis Museum, inv. no. 2099.

²¹¹ E.g. Winter 1903, II, p. 145, figs. 1–3, 5, p. 146, esp. figs. 5, 8, p. 147, figs. 2, 4, p. 148, figs. 2, 6, 10. D. B. Thompson 1963d, pp. 102–105. These persisted into Hellenistic times, and though at first apparently

more heavily wrapped in their himation, which is always carried around the head as a veil and normally also across the lower part of the face. It may be that their heavier dress is to be linked with a different dance form or associated ritual, but, as it runs through most of the dancer types, it may simply be connected with the weather, these figures being shown wrapped against the cold to perform outdoors in winter.

The broad range of these Rich Style dancers tends to portray women decked out in all their finery and often also provides subsidiary detail suggesting what is going on. Where they brandish instruments as well, these are usually tambourines, more rarely castanets, the players of lyre, *kithara*, or pipes being usually in less vigorous motion and so perhaps more often to be taken as striding musicians or Muses. None of them carry Dionysiac accoutrements, and so, presumably, none are maenads. Several of them are shown beside altars, implying that the dances were out of doors in sanctuaries and were sacred, not profane. Less obviously outdoor are other examples depicting the dancer stepping onto a footstool or performing on the top of its small surface as on a miniature stage (p. 469). The most puzzling evidence is that of a lost group from Athens seemingly showing the goddess Aphrodite beside an early classicizing image and possibly with a resting dancer, loosely holding a tambourine(?) and leaning against her in much the pose of **24** (pp. 443–444 above), apparently her equal.²¹² Does this imply that the dancers are themselves θεαὶ συγχορευταί, in some cases at least associated with Aphrodite, possibly Charites or Horai? If the latter is so, could the “winter garb” of the “mantled dancers” of the last paragraph simply signify a Season? Nymphs, on the other hand, are apparently precluded because their linked-hands dance known from votive and similar reliefs is nowhere in evidence. The rarer dancers with wings (e.g. note 10 above) may represent different deities (e.g. Aurai?).

The final example in this section, the mold **30** (Pl. 111), is much better preserved and belongs to a special class best treated separately. It shows a dancer in oriental dress beside an

having a religious connotation, possibly connected with the cult of Aphrodite or Adonis, they seem later to have represented ordinary entertainers (see D.B. Thompson 1950, pp. 379–380 on the suspected links between some of them and the profane βαυκισμός).

²¹² Certainty is not possible because Baron von Stackelberg regarded the object held as a large inverted hand mirror; on the basis of its being a mirror, the group has since been interpreted as “the two Aphrodites”. Stackelberg 1837, p. 46, pl. LXIX; Winter 1903, II, p. 3, fig. 7; Besques 1978, p. 621, pl. 186:12; *LIMC* II, p. 30, no. 192, with fig., *s.v.* Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias *et al.*). For extant fragments of the same series: Heuzey 1923, nos. 193, 195, pp. 184–187; Besques, *loc. cit.*, pl. 186:11. For a somewhat similar composition, different series: Winter, *op. cit.*, p. 4, fig. 1; Schmidt 1994, no. 301, pp. 179–180, pl. 54. The associated statue seems more classicizing than archaizing in style, but similar though more archaistic support figures were later fashioned separately: D. B. Thompson 1959a, no. 9, pp. 133–135, 150, pl. 27; close to these last is the statue beside Eros in a Rich Style bronze hydria relief (Richter 1983, p. 217, figs. 309, 310), which in turn suggests links with Late Archaic Corinthian terracotta statuettes of goddesses. It is noteworthy that when women dancers are depicted in groups, normally only two, not three, of them are shown together. Although there may be technical reasons for this, setting a limit to the breadth of composition that could be handled in these single molds, it remains puzzling. Is it partly due to the requirements of the dance itself? The Eros with a tambourine shown beside such a pair of dancers in Paris may strengthen the link with Aphrodite: Winter 1903, II, p. 144, fig. 3; Besques 1972, no. D 422, p. 97, pl. 90; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 909, pl. 648, *s.v.* Eros (A. Hermary *et al.*). So, too, may the similar Eros beside single dancers: *Lindos* I, no. 2985, pl. 138; Higgins 1953, no. 970, pp. 263–264, pl. 137; New York, M.M.A. 06.1069 (*LIMC* III, p. 910, no. 699, pl. 648); cf. also the Eros beside a standing veiled woman with a tympanon in Berlin: Rohde 1968, pp. 23, 43–44, pl. 23.

altar. With some exceptions,²¹³ other such Rich Style terracotta dancers are usually clearly shown as women, but here the light modeling of the chest leaves it open whether a girl or a youth is intended, it being possible, too, that the heavy dress was regarded as hiding the figure. The way in which the hair has been retouched at an earlier stage in production (this being apparently a derivative mold) leaves no ready means of resolving this issue of gender. The figure's hat is an oriental *mitra* worn with the flaps hanging down and the other clothing consists of boots, trouserlike *anaxyrides*, and a Scythian or Persian sleeved jacket, covered in turn by a short chiton with an overfold. The dancer's hands are clasped above the head, and the figure is on tiptoe with ankles crossed, as if in a turn or pirouette. A common motif in the depiction of such dancers in Rich Style plastic vases and statuettes has the figure still with the hands clasped above the head but down on one knee and often with the upper body bent forward in a bow.²¹⁴ On the basis of this pose, the dance has been identified as the *oklasma*.²¹⁵ The presence of the altar with this and some other statuettes suggests that it has ritual associations here and is not just an exotic turn at a banquet.

The identity of the dancers themselves is once again a problem. On most of the plastic vases, but not usually on the statuettes, the figures are shown winged, implying that they are no mere mortals. Beazley has observed that the occurrence of such dancers in contemporary Attic vase painting is mainly confined to Dionysiac scenes,²¹⁶ and Trumpf-Lyritzaki felt that the plastic vases of this form might also have some such Dionysiac significance.²¹⁷ But, on the evidence that the vases themselves are more usually lekythoi than oinochoai, Ellen Reeder Williams has suggested that they may belong more to the world of Aphrodite.²¹⁸ What little guidance can be gleaned from the terracotta statuettes seems to confuse the issue even further. Here the most interesting example is one in Athens (Pl. 111).²¹⁹ This shows the dancer stepping forward beside an altar, her hands clasped above her head. Perched on the altar and in direct communion with her is a large water bird, almost certainly intended as a swan. Is it present as an emblem or manifestation of Aphrodite or Nemesis or of a god such as Zeus or Apollo? In recent years M. J. Vermaseren has proposed identifying the

²¹³ E.g. Agora T 3044, the mold for a statuette(?), also heavily dressed with an oriental jacket under the chiton, its sleeves and cuffs remaining visible: Reeder Williams 1978, no. 49, pp. 393–394, pl. 98; *LIMC* III, 1986, p. 33, no. 246, pl. 29, *s.v.* Attis (M. J. Vermaseren and M. B. De Boer).

²¹⁴ E.g. Winter 1903, II, p. 158, figs. 6, 8; *Olynthus* IV, nos. 340, 341, VII, no. 388; Higgins 1959, no. 1705, pp. 60–61, pl. 39; Rohde 1968, pp. 20, 45–46, pl. 28; Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, nos. 98–100, 106–109, pp. 37–38, 40, pls. 14, top right, 15, bottom right.

²¹⁵ Weege 1926, pp. 97–98, figs. 150–156; D. B. Thompson 1963d, pp. 100–102. The bowing posture possibly to be related to the *igdisma*.

²¹⁶ Beazley 1939, pp. 25, 31–33.

²¹⁷ Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, pp. 137–138. Her argument (*ibid.*, note 284) that the round altars (as associated, e.g., with the Olynthos examples in note 214 above) have been misidentified and were not normal in the 4th century B.C. is clearly mistaken, in the light of the currency of such altars from the 6th century B.C. on (Yavis 1949, pp. 136–137, 142–154; J. M. Cook 1967, pl. 11). On the other hand, the contemporary articulated-“doll” versions of the subject, lightly clad or even nude apart from the *mitra* (e.g. Athens, N.M. 13606), may well represent dancing girls for a symposion. A krater is present on two series of the plastic vases of this kind, but it is harder to tell whether this identifies the scene as a symposion or a temple banquet.

²¹⁸ Reeder Williams 1978, p. 394.

²¹⁹ Athens, N.M. 4722, from Tanagra. H. 17.7 cm. The swan is a handmade appliqué. Fabric hard to establish because of surface “patination” but could be Attic(?). Reproduced by permission of the Director of the National Museum. Of the same series, but in poorer condition, is Athens, N.M. 12405, from Eretria.

performers of this kind that may be youths, such as **30**, as the god Attis dancing.²²⁰ This would readily explain their oriental dress and offer evidence of the early establishment of that god's cult in Athens, but it does involve separating this tiny number of examples from the main body of such terracottas and plastic vases, where the dancers are clearly girls, and also from the contemporary vase-painting evidence. Any resolution of this problem may imply that modern thought has conflated two quite different classes of representation: (a) ordinary exotic entertainers and (b) symbolic deities. The identity of the latter rests obscure. Might the winged examples, in particular, be Winds or Breezes, analogous to the likewise youthful, winged, capped, and chiton-clad depictions of Boreas (or a Boread?; more dubiously claimed as Thanatos or a demon of death), as shown carrying off Oreithyia(?) on Rich Style plastic vases,²²¹ and might their dress, in that case, indicate links with the Persian east or with the Scythian northeast, and could the swan have similar local associations?

DETACHED HEADS: **21, 69**

21 (Pl. 111) is a piece mold for the back of the head of a woman, her hair tightly confined in a headcloth. Separately molded heads, often executed in the round although usually attached to more humbly fashioned bodies, began to be common in Attic terracottas near the start of the Early Classical period (p. 467), women's heads with the hair bound up behind, although more loosely in a *sphendone*, being a popular subject. In the present instance, however, the tightness of the binding, holding the hair close to the skull, amounts almost to a kind of turban, and this and the more naturalistic rendering of the resultant shape probably suggest a date no earlier than the late 5th century B.C. The nude articulated dancing girls (pp. 435–438) occasionally had their hair closely bound, but these face resolutely to the front. Here, the edge of the mold is marked by striations from the cutting apart of the piece molds; the angle at which this is set suggests that the head was turned at a three-quarter angle to the right. (There are also traces of where a modeling tool was jabbed in at the top to free the molds from the archetype.) This leaves the closest parallels for the present kind of turban to be sought among certain of the “grotesques” molded in the round, such as Kerameikos, inv. no. T 234 (p. 441 above and note 171).

The remaining item, **69** (Pl. 111), consists of the Rich Style head of a woman from a plastic vase, attached to that vase's functional neck whose upper part probably provides a good guide as to a true vertical against which to gauge its angle. Retouching has added an ivy garland and a broad headband of Dionysiac type. Because the vase neck is conceived as passing through the middle of her head, this headband is shown as running above across the junction between the two. It is fastened with large bows to either side of the head just above the garland, with its loose ends hanging down onto her shoulders. The woman's head was turned at a three-quarter angle to her left and, to judge from the line preserved by the trailing ends of the headband, was set remarkably obliquely in relation to her shoulders. These curious angles are matched on two known Rich Style series. The more relevant of these is attested by a statuette from the Athenian Akropolis which, discounting the details

²²⁰ Most recently *LIMC* III, 1986, pp. 33–35, *s.v.* Attis (M. J. Vermaseren and M. B. De Boer).

²²¹ Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, nos. 132–136, pp. 47–49, 139, pls. 17–19; Reeder Williams 1978, no. 48, pp. 368, 393, pls. 90, 99; *LIMC* III, p. 139, nos. 80–83 *s.v.* Boreas (S. Kaempf-Dimitriadou).

added by hand, appears to be a weak derivative of the same series (Pl. 111).²²² It shows a woman seated on rocks, her upper body bare and her right arm cradling a small child. The infant is shown in the dignified dress of an adult god, following what appears to have been a Rich Style convention for the little Dionysos (see p. 433). The woman has her head turned to her left and her left arm raised to protect herself and the child against something frightening that lay beyond the group. I would like to suggest that it depicts a nymph nursing the infant Dionysos and that the awesome presence hinted at may be that of the child's father, which had already been the undoing of his mother.

The ease and fluidity of Rich Style modeling often blind one to its gaucheries. The other series appears to belong to a different Group and is known, *inter alia*, from a complete plastic vase from a grave at Rhamnous and now in Athens, an incomplete one in London, and a fragmentary vase and statuette from the Athenian Agora.²²³ They show a woman seated on a klismos, one breast bare, and in the complete example, with a small boy standing beside her holding her right hand. The only explanation that I can offer for the uncomfortable and illogical angles of the woman's head and shoulders is that these are derived from the iconography of the previous series and that the Rhamnous vase may be intended as a more conventionally domestic and far less satisfactory reworking of the same subject. Its origin need not be much later, for the child is related to the cheeky-looking youngsters noted earlier (p. 432).

RESIDUAL ELEMENTS FROM PLASTIC VASES: 70–72

Because of the way in which their series overlap, it has been simplest to deal with a number of the Rich Style plastic vases alongside their statuette counterparts (on pp. 432–433, 435, 449, 453 above). There remain, however, some minor fragments that can less readily be accommodated in this way.

70 (Pl. 111) is part of a wing, with molded feather detail on one side and smooth on the other, which is of slightly convex, possibly airfoil section, tapering away to the faintly scalloped trailing edge. Both coverts and flight feathers are shown as flat overlapping stepped surfaces, following a convention that would seem to favor an Early Classical date or, anyway, one no later than Classical, and the flight feathers are probably still secondaries, not too far out from the body. It appears that the wing may have been of the narrow, curving,

²²² Akropolis Museum, old no. 1442 (not recatalogued): Winter 1903, I, p. 140, fig. 5; Brooke 1921, p. 394; Brouskari 1974, p. 119, fig. 232. H. 12.15 cm. Published by permission of the Ephor of the Akropolis. This is a derivative statuette that has apparently retained much of the "relief ground" of its secondary archetype (for the phenomenon on plastic vases, see note 204). The interpretation offered here has already been adopted for a contemporary plastic vase of a different series: Huish 1900, p. 94, pl. 19; Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, no. 47, p. 20; Price 1978, no. 293, p. 36. The status of a further plastic vase assembled with a head apparently related to the present series seems more uncertain: *Münzen und Medaillen, Auktion XXXIV, May 6, 1967*, no. 67, p. 32, pl. 17; Price, *loc. cit.*, no. 294. See also, from the Pnyx, Assembly Place Period III (note 78): D. B. Thompson 1943, no. 128, p. 162, fig. 74.

²²³ Higgins 1959, no. 1704, p. 60, pl. 39 (ivy-garlanded); Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, nos. 50, 51, 54 (nos. 52, 53 apparently also same series; possibly also no. 5, p. 92?: Reeder Williams 1978, p. 383), pp. 21–22, pl. 6; Reeder Williams, *loc. cit.*, no. 17, pl. 93. The statuette fragment Agora T 2464 from Fill C 20:2 (mostly 200–150 B.C. with a few later pieces [Rotroff]): Trumpf-Lyritzaki, *op. cit.*, p. 22, pl. 31.

sickle-shaped variety, appropriate, for example, to a sphinx, and that it may be a fragment from an Attic rhyton.²²⁴

71 (Pl. 111) is an obscure fragment from a plastic vase. It may be part of a tier in the base for a Rich Style vase representing the birth of Aphrodite. This involves the assumption that there was once a lower, true base with vertical waves around its edge and that the present piece was set on top of this, its dimples marking the points where it rested on the tips of the waves, while its own outer edge curved upwards as a ring of fluted, leaflike members possibly also intended as breaking surf. The bust or torso of the goddess was probably, in that case, once attached on top of its center. Both these devices for indicating the sea from which she was born are well attested on these figures,²²⁵ but they are not usually combined. The second is also associated with some other subjects, such as sirens.²²⁶

72 (Pl. 111) is a wheelmade amphoriskos in the form of an almond, its shape finished by hand and with the aid of a rotating(?) tool to mark the pittings. It is presumably of about early Rich Style date like its molded counterparts.²²⁷

BIRDS: **31–33**

Although East Greek workshops had already mastered the techniques for hollow-molding subjects such as birds and sirens by the 6th century B.C., their Attic counterparts seem to have been much slower in following suit. Nevertheless, the Berlin sirens are eloquent testimony that Attic coroplasts were already conversant with the piece molding involved by the mid-5th century B.C.²²⁸ The first two molds to be dealt with here are presumably of this period or a little later.

31 (Pl. 111) is apparently a mold for the back of a dove with its wings furled, the feathers picked out in relief although the detail is a little blurred, possibly suggesting that it is derivative work. **32** (Pl. 111) seems to be part of a piece mold for the underside of the body of a similar bird, but as regularly on the underbody, the surface is smooth, without feather detail. Its edge shows clear evidence of the striations from the cutting apart of the piece molds as they were separated from the archetype and each other.

The final item, **33** (Pl. 112), comprises parts of two piece molds that, from their identity of fabric and shared details, seem securely for the same figure, this time apparently that of a rather larger bird, perhaps a goose. Their surface texturing has been commented on earlier (p. 410). Their preserved edges also show striations from their original cutting apart and separation. Both carry two steeply oblique, almost parallel lines that were incised on the archetype from which they were taken. These stop where they meet a line at right angles near the top of the upper piece mold. They seem to have been intended as a guide in locating

²²⁴ Cf. the sphinx rhyta from the Brygos Tomb, Capua, in London, B.M. E 787 by the Tarquinia Painter and E 788 by the Sotades Painter: *CVA*, British Museum 4 [Great Britain 5], III.I.c, pl. 40 [233]:1, 2; *ARV*², pp. 764, no. 8, 870, no. 89.

²²⁵ E.g. Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, pls. 1, 2; Sokolov 1974, no. 43, p. 58, with fig.; *Voyage into Time*, no. 134, p. 108, pl. on p. 52 (R. Proskynitopoulou).

²²⁶ E.g. Sokolov 1974, no. 45, p. 59, with fig.

²²⁷ It has been suggested that these vessels were intended as containers for almond oil. See Mercklin 1929, pp. 330–334, figs. 49–53; Beazley 1946, p. 14; Reeder Williams 1978, nos. 65, 66, pp. 376–377, 397–398, pl. 102.

²²⁸ Berlin, S.M. 8335 and 8478 (both with heads of the same series and generation, but the smaller body of 8335 may mark it as a parallel variant): Winter 1903, I, p. 227, fig. 5. Cf. also Schmidt 1994, no. 3A, pp. 25–26, pl. 2.

a rider on the back of the bird, presumably separately molded like that of **49** and, on such a mount, most likely Aphrodite or Eros. Too little survives for one to be able to be sure whether this group was fashioned in the round or was one of the shallow, frontal creations more usual at the time of the Rich Style. It is, however, quite deeply modeled, and the use of piece molds, particularly for the upper and lower parts of the bird's body (as on **31** and **32**), suggests quite strongly that it may have been executed completely in the round. Though much rarer, such creations are not unknown from the Rich Style, the most relevant being a plastic vase apparently of the Group of the Karlsruhe Aphrodite, found between Athens and the Piraeus and showing a winged goddess holding a cornucopia on the back of a swan, seemingly a syncretistic Aphrodite-Nike with the emblem of plenty.²²⁹ Like other Rich Style versions,²³⁰ however, this depicts the swan as swimming. Here the apparent goose is standing on dry land. It does, in fact, find a remarkably close parallel in a frontally fashioned group of both Aphrodite and Eros on a goose found in, or ascribed to, Southern Italy.²³¹ But although this is a notably early instance of the Rich Style in the West, it does not necessarily follow that it is an Attic derivative, partly because its idiom seems slightly different from Attic, partly because this treatment of such subjects seems also at home there in Italy,²³² and, not least, because the markings for positioning the rider on the Agora molds suggest a distinctly different composition. These seem more consistent with a figure mounted astride (i.e., more probably male and thus more likely to be Eros), close behind the neck of the apparent goose.

SHIELDS OF ATHENA: **34–38**

As observed earlier (p. 410), these are apparently fragments from a set of first-generation parallel molds of the same series (Pl. 112). As some are in poor condition (**37**, **38**), the discussion inevitably concentrates on the better-preserved pieces. These round shields have only a narrow, plain rim. Within this their decoration consists of an aegis shown as a radiating pattern of overlapping scales (or feathers?), represented on the finished products as raised outlines, with or without center ribs. This pattern does not, however, extend right out to the rim at the bottom of the shields (**35**, **36**). In the middle of the aegis is set a gorgoneion, the Medusa head being shown as that of a beautiful and tranquil woman (**34**, **35**). The pupils and irises of her eyes are indicated by incision on the archetype from which the molds have been taken (**34**), as also on the very different gorgoneion mold, **42** (p. 462 below). As such details were normally rendered in paint on marble sculpture, as also on terracottas, and were inlaid on bronze statues, the main influence here was probably other metalwork, including that in *repoussé*. The hair curls naturalistically. It projects forward somewhat at the side of the head, but this may not be entirely due to the shape of the hair locks. It may be that the artist originally showed the ears on the archetype (this feature is rather low for a wing), although these were to be covered by hair, and an unobliterated vestige

²²⁹ Athens, N.M. 2044: Winter 1903, II, p. 194, fig. 2; for the name piece of the Group see note 205 above.

²³⁰ E.g. Knigge 1993, pp. 129–131, fig. 10 (mold from Kerameikos context of last quarter of 5th century B.C.); *Olynthus* XIV, nos. 257, 258; Petsas 1970, p. 292, pl. 292:α; and the distinctly later Kanellopoulos Museum no. 1432 (*Voyage into Time*, no. 136, p. 108, with fig. [E. Spathari]); see also *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 96–97, *s.v.* Aphrodite (A. Delivorrias *et al.*).

²³¹ Higgins 1954, no. 1308, p. 356, pl. 179; cf. Winter 1903, II, p. 193, fig. 9.

²³² Hornbostel *et al.* 1977, p. 142, no. 114, with fig. (= *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 97, no. 909, pl. 89); also cf. the plastic vase with Eros riding a swan: Higgins 1959, no. 1720, p. 69, pl. 43.

of this explains this projection under the intaglio-work finishing of the hair on the molds. The idiom of this completely idealized head belongs to the Classical rather than the Rich Style, although, given the time lag that some ideas showed in reaching terracotta production, this does not necessarily preclude a slightly later date for the molds. It is not possible to be sure about the function of the shields themselves, but it seems more likely, given the number of their molds and the apparent lack of correspondingly large ones for Athena statuettes from this context (but see note 86 above on **16**), that they were complete in themselves and intended to be hung, for instance on a wall; such shields persisted much later, as witness those of rather similar type in Boston from the Eretria tomb mentioned earlier (note 141 above).

Although the Classical period had transformed the fearsome Archaic gorgoneion into something much gentler, it still normally remained broad faced and often with a certain fatness or coarseness of feature. The idealized beauty of the present Medusa heads is something quite different, with a narrower structure to the face and high cheekbones. It finds its closest counterpart in the Medusa Rondanini,²³³ although it clearly never had the encircling snakes of the latter and too little survives to show whether it ever had the wings on top of its head. The surrounding snakes, however, would have been quite inappropriate on the present molds. They seem to have figured on the Parthenos shield in lieu of the aegis, leaving the rest of the surface free for the other figured relief decoration, a circumstance that, along with its large scale, has given rise to the view that the original of the Medusa Rondanini is perhaps to be sought in that very work.²³⁴ Here the aegis is present, and if the snakes were to be shown, they could be expected to fringe its outer edge, as on **5** and **44** (pp. 414–417 above), rather than frame the gorgoneion. The chronology of the Medusa Rondanini is much disputed. Evelyn Harrison revived the arguments for the Classical date of its original with the suggestion that it adorned a shield as part of the bronze cult images by Alkamenes in the Hephaisteion.²³⁵ The terracotta workers of this period never set out to be precise copyists, although they sometimes tried to capture the essence of well-known works. The Agora molds clearly establish the currency of such a treatment of the gorgoneion in this period and could have been inspired by a major masterpiece. If, however, they were attempting to follow it closely, they also raise new questions about the origins of the Medusa Rondanini. In that case, was the unadorned gorgoneion of that monument subsequently copied again as part of a major later Classicizing work, this time with the wings and snakes added,²³⁶ and was that successor the source of the Medusa Rondanini and related versions that we have today, apart from those of the terracotta shields themselves?

²³³ Buschor 1958; Schlörb-Vierneisel 1979, no. 7, pp. 62–67, figs. 31–35; Floren 1977, pp. 3–4, 154–157, 216–217; *LIMC* IV, 1988, pp. 347–348, no. 25, pl. 196, *s.v.* Gorgones Romanae (O. Paoletti).

²³⁴ E.g. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1979, pp. 62–67; to the contrary: Floren 1978.

²³⁵ Harrison 1977, pp. 162–164. She has compared the clay impression from a metal belt relief, Agora T 3393 (D. B. Thompson 1969), where the hero's shield device of a gorgoneion is encircled by snakes and set on a plain ground and where, so far as one can judge from its profile rendering (Thompson, *op. cit.*, fig. 1, pls. 64:a, 65:a, b), the Gorgon is of the older, heavier-faced kind and not the present beautiful type; being taken from repoussé metalwork, it does, however, show the same form of iris and pupil treatment as **34**.

²³⁶ Belson (1980) and Callaghan (1981) have suggested that this original was the gilt bronze aegis dedicated on the Akropolis by Antiochos III (or IV); this presumably rests on the assumption that, by that date, the encircling snakes had become so much a part of the gorgoneion that no incongruity would have been felt in their being retained around it when it was itself set on an aegis. They had once, after all, sometimes also been an integral part of the actual head of the Gorgon (e.g. on the Corfu pediment and Karagiorgha 1970, p. 18, fig. 1) and persisted later as such.

DECORATIVE RELIEF DISKS: **64–66**

As noted earlier (p. 411), these belong to two successive generations of the same series (Pl. 112), **64** being the larger, earlier-generation relief, while the fragments listed under **65** and **66** appear to be from at least two derivative examples a generation later. Although now discolored by burning, the clay of **64** suggests that it is a Corinthian import, as may also be the case with **65**, but the **66** fragments could represent one or more local Attic derivatives.²³⁷ These objects took the form of flat disks with serrated edges apparently intended to be hung up as decoration, doubtless on interior walls since their painting would not resist the weather. Their relief ornament consists of an outer zone in the form of a laurel garland with rather stiff, pointed leaves and an inner one comprising an elaborate version of the floral “star” or so-called sun-burst motif. The combination of these devices may have had more than ornamental significance. Such vertical garlands, this being the laurel of victory, are frequently meaningful adjuncts in Greek art, and the central motif appears to have become the emblem of the Macedonian royal house, for example, adorning the lid of the gold cinerarium of Philip II in his tomb at Vergina.²³⁸ Its message could thus have been “Victory to Macedonia’s king.” What gives one pause is the wider use of the same motif in Athens, both earlier and in the late 5th and 4th centuries B.C.²³⁹

It was Dorothy Burr Thompson who first identified fragments from the floral outer zones of three other series of such decorative disks from the Athenian Agora and who first ascribed them to Corinth.²⁴⁰ It will be helpful to relist these here, along with subsequent additions to the tally:

(a) Plain-edged with simple palmettes with flat-faced petals: T 1783,²⁴¹ T 3593.²⁴²

(b) Serrated-edged with rounder-petaled, more evolved palmettes linked by volutes with tendrils to alternating, highly schematic lotus blossoms: earlier of two generations T 1700,²⁴³ T 2415,²⁴⁴ one generation later T 3719.²⁴⁵

²³⁷ It does, however, seem not impossible that the difficulties met with in identifying the local derivatives of the kindred palmette relief disks dealt with below, in the light of their clay analysis (see note 248 below), could indeed be repeated with the present disks, whose clays have yet to be so studied, and **66** be, in fact, in a Corinthian fabric of unusual appearance.

²³⁸ *Search for Alexander*, no. 172, pp. 35, 187, fig. 17, pl. 35 (M. Andronicos, C. Paliadeli); Andronicos 1984, pp. 168–171, pls. 135, 136; cf. the same motif on gold disks (from a hanging?) in the antechamber: *ibid.*, p. 177, pls. 143, 144.

²³⁹ Quite apart from indicating stars, e.g. for the Dioskouroi, it continued not only as a Macedonian but also as an Athenian shield device, e.g. of Athena (as earlier on the Swing Painter’s amphora in London: *LIMC* II, 1984, p. 1001, no. 493, pl. 755, *s.v.* Athena [P. Demargne]), on a calyx-krater by the Kadmos Painter (Webster 1956, pls. 4:b, 5:b; *ARV*², p. 1185, no. 7) and on relief vases in St. Petersburg and Paris (Zervoudaki 1968, nos. 9, 78, pp. 16, 37, pls. 22:1, 2, 23:1); also as a more general shield device, e.g. that of a pyrrhic dancer by the Kiev Painter (Stephani 1865, pp. 230–239, pl. VI:5; *ARV*², p. 1346, no. 3). Or was this ambiguity simply used to cloak such partisanship?

²⁴⁰ D. B. Thompson 1952, pp. 152–153, 164, publishing the examples from the Coroplast’s Dump in the Athenian Agora, Cistern S 19:3 (mostly to ca. 315 B.C. [Retroff]), but also with earlier material).

²⁴¹ D. B. Thompson 1952, *loc. cit.*, no. 76, pl. 39.

²⁴² From Road Fill S 17:3 (4th century B.C. and earlier).

²⁴³ D. B. Thompson 1952, *loc. cit.*, no. 77, pl. 42 (a mold for this generation).

²⁴⁴ D. B. Thompson 1952, *loc. cit.*, pl. 42, from Area C 18 (with mostly 5th- and 4th-century B.C. pottery).

²⁴⁵ From Area R 19.

(c) Serrated-edged, patterns as (b) but cruder: T 123.²⁴⁶

The inner zones of none of these are preserved and only (c) retains a little of its edge, enough to show that it took the form of cut-out reliefwork and thus probably to explain the poor survival of them all. (Fretted relief plaques, seemingly mostly 5th-century, with a circular border usually with a serrated edge and both with and without such a floral zone, are a known Corinthian product.²⁴⁷) Clay samples from the examples of (a)–(c) listed above have subsequently been firmly established as Corinthian from their examination by Dominique Fillières and colleagues at the Brookhaven National Laboratory, the results being also confirmed by Marie Farnsworth, although the appearance of a very few of them had earlier led me to question whether they might not be local Attic derivatives from Corinthian!²⁴⁸ Also, although the series of 64–66 seems to have originated as Corinthian, it has yet to be attested in published finds from Corinth, and similar uncertainties may attend the manufacture of its examples from Athens. The plaques (a)–(c), have previously been dated, on their contexts, to the 4th century B.C.,²⁴⁹ but a slightly higher chronology may be appropriate. This is partly because of the wide date range of the terracottas from the Coroplast's Dump, which appear to have spanned a century and a half,²⁵⁰ and partly because, just as some molds clearly enjoyed a life above ground well after the age that

²⁴⁶ D. B. Thompson 1952, *loc. cit.*, pl. 42, from Area H 5.

²⁴⁷ Again, the evidence of the new material from Corinth is still awaited, and this account is based on that published earlier. With palmette, lotus, or similar decoration: *Corinth* XII, nos. 215, 469, pp. 40, 62, pls. 17, 44; *Corinth* XIV, no. 32, p. 141, fig. 27, pl. 55; *Corinth* XV, i, nos. 103–106, pp. 112–113, pl. 47; *Corinth* XV, ii, nos. XXXV:1–9, pp. 213–216, pl. 47. Disks simply with figured scenes: *Corinth* XII, nos. 212 (as square relief wall plaque?), 213, 214, p. 40, pls. 16, 17; *Corinth* XV, i, no. 103, p. 112, pl. 46 (double-sided mold, with lotus-and-palmette disk on reverse; see also note 251 below); possibly also the much smaller *Olynthus* VII, no. 372. Both categories seem to be directly linked to the characteristic Corinthian cut-out relief figures of the 5th century representing sphinxes, Gorgons, cocks, etc. It is to be noted, however, that although it provides extremely close parallels, the Corinth material, as published so far, does not seem yet to include exact duplicates of the Athenian Agora series. The types considered here are probably to be segregated from certain later Tarentine disks, which, though superficially similar, appear to have served a different role: Wuilleumier 1932, p. 44, pl. II:4; Vafopoulou-Richardson 1981, no. 11, p. 13, pl. 11. More closely connected, though smaller, seem the Kynouria palmette disks, Athens, N.M. 19479–19481, 19484.

²⁴⁸ Fillières, Harbottle, and Sayres 1983, pp. 62, 66–67. Although this has amply confirmed Dorothy Thompson's hypothesis, it does highlight wider problems that may also require investigation. At this stage there are two known molds for these disks from Athens (notes 243, 251), and these would normally lead one to expect a local derivative production there, even though the molds themselves are apparently imported Corinthian products (cf. *Corinth* XV, ii, pp. 214–215). The circumstance that all the finished Attic disks themselves are also in Corinthian clay (or perhaps in a blend of it with Attic in the less typical cases?) raises the possibility that these disks were being made in Athens in imported Corinthian clay, its purity perhaps being compromised at times when supplies became difficult. The alternative, that all the disks known from Athens are Corinthian imports, some of them in clay of untypical appearance, and that nothing survives of the local Attic production attested by the molds, seems rather more problematical. Does Fillières' identification of Corinthian clay also in some contemporary statuettes from Athens that seem Attic in style, e.g. the mold T 1827 (note 208 above), have any bearing on a possible imported source for the blond clay that played a significant role in the making of the clearly Attic molds of the present Stele-Goddess Workshop itself? Perhaps light will be shed by the new Corinth material or future studies of the clays involved.

²⁴⁹ D. B. Thompson 1952, p. 153.

²⁵⁰ Cf. notes 37, 136, and 195 above for items of the later 5th century B.C. cited here. The terracottas from this context actually seem to begin in Early Classical times, e.g. a seated Artemis, T 1779 (unpublished).

gave them being, so the very fragility of these reliefs may sometimes have ensured their longevity, hung high on a wall out of harm's way and possibly surviving as long as the building they adorned. The firm forms of (a) seem to relate best to 5th-century Corinthian work and probably befit a date in the second half of that century. Some confirmation for this is provided by part of a round double-sided mold in Corinthian clay from the Athenian Kerameikos apparently falling between (a) and (b),²⁵¹ the one side for a serrated-edged plaque with normal Classical lotus-and-palmette decoration, the other, plain edged, preserving the rump and tail of a horse, akin to the figured cut-outs. For the chronology of (b) and (c), it is to be noted that somewhat similar palmettes combined with precisely the same quite distinctive, highly stylized lotus blossoms sometimes occur in the relief ornament of the poloi of early Rich Style *protomai*.²⁵² They may thus be close predecessors of **64–66** if, as seems probable, these last are to be reckoned among the later items from the Stele-Goddess Well.

The serrated edge adopted by so many of these roundels may have been inspired by that of earlier disk akroteria.²⁵³ Although of foreign origin, they seem to have enjoyed considerable popularity in Athens. Those with a floral outer zone described in the last paragraph may possibly also have had a direct impact on the local so-called architectural molds of the Grandjouan Class dealt with in the next section. At least, this seems a possible explanation for the occurrence in the Athenian Agora of fragments of molds for disks in the coarse, gritty "architectural" fabric associated with these, with a scalloped (instead of serrated) edge and with lotus decoration in relief.²⁵⁴

It remains to consider the possible wider significance of the relief disks themselves. Interesting resemblances exist between the laurel-garland outer zone of **64–66** and those of some of the earliest Neo-Attic marble *oscilla* of the 1st century B.C.²⁵⁵ The *oscilla*, to be sure, have smooth, not serrated edges, but already within the time span of the present context, the relief-disk mold **43**, dealt with in the next section, seems to be making the transition to their kind of outer border. Their inner zones, of course, carried figured scenes, and sometimes, instead of garlands, they displayed floral or foliate decoration as an alternative in the outer zone. It is thus tentatively suggested that these terracotta disks hung high on walls in the 5th–4th centuries B.C. may have been the remote ancestors of their double-sided marble counterparts suspended under the architraves of colonnades from the 1st century B.C. on. A phenomenon that might possibly have linked them is discussed in the next section.

²⁵¹ Kerameikos Museum, Mold 120; for such a double-sided mold, see also note 247 above.

²⁵² E.g. *Olynthus* IV, no. 297, in Polygiros Museum. There the lower petals of the palmettes also occasionally spring from the volutes, giving them a side-spurred effect. This feature was formerly used as evidence for a lower dating for these disks, but, in Attic vase painting at least, seems already to have developed rather earlier: cf. Boardman 1989, figs. 309, 311.

²⁵³ E.g. Lawrence, Tomlinson 1983, fig. 106; on the more vexed question of its original significance, see p. 462 below with note 262.

²⁵⁴ Large fragment, Agora T 2143 from Area G–H 18 (omitted, Grandjouan 1989) and, closely with this, the smaller scrap, Agora T 3108 from Deposit J 11:1 of ca. 400–325 B.C. on Rotroff's current dating (Grandjouan, *op. cit.*, no. 92, p. 55, pl. 22). Unless a true architectural role can be found for these or they served to make elaborate pottery handles (cf. the somewhat similar but earlier relief fragment from Corfu: Kalligas 1969, p. 312, pl. 252:α), they may well both belong to this Class (pp. 461–465 below).

²⁵⁵ Corswandt 1982, pls. 1–3, 5, 6, 10–12, the earliest being reckoned to be Agora S 934 (H. A. Thompson 1949, pp. 220–221, pl. 44:2; Corswandt, *op. cit.*, no. K 8, pp. 10–12, 74, pl. 1).

SO-CALLED ARCHITECTURAL RELIEF MOLDS (THE GRANDJOUAN CLASS): 40–43

These molds have previously been alluded to as “architectural” because the clay used for the majority of them has the added grits and, sometimes, grog appropriate both to the terracottas used to fit out the roofs of buildings and to the molds with which these were made. This is doubly unfortunate, both because it does not allow for the examples, including all of those from the present context,²⁵⁶ that do not show this fabric while remaining inseparable from the others and also because it tends to prejudge the function of these molds and their products. They need a distinctive designation of their own. The author proposes naming them the Grandjouan Class in recognition of the contribution of his former colleague, the late Claireève Grandjouan, in providing the first detailed account of them.²⁵⁷

40 (Pl. 113) preserves part of the mold for a large rectangular relief of a woman in motion, probably dancing. It retains much of her chiton-draped legs and, obliquely above, the lower part of an overlying himation, its edge apparently to be understood as held out in front of her in her left hand. For the best explanation of what is going on, one has to turn to a Neo-Attic marble relief type, best known from two examples in Athens from the Theater of Dionysos.²⁵⁸ These show a veiled dancer on tiptoe in similar dress but with slightly differently positioned legs, possibly executing a turn with the lower part of her himation trailing back obliquely from her left hand as she does so. On the terracotta relief it is the dancer’s left leg, shown frontally, that is vertical and that may thus be supporting her weight in such a turn, whereas her profile right leg is bent. The suspected twisting effect may be obscured by the convention of presenting the body frontally where a similar motif seems to have been attempted in Rich Style terracotta statuettes of dancers.²⁵⁹

The small scrap **41** (Pl. 113), from the mold apparently for another such rectangular relief, has an importance for this whole Class out of all proportion to its size. It, too, preserves part of the left edge of the relief, but it does not produce a neat vertical line because, as it approaches that point, the whole relief turns through a tight curve of 90 degrees, so that the edge presents the irregular outline of the relief itself in profile, as it continues in a different plane. In other words, we seem to be dealing with a frieze that proceeded on around a right-angled corner. The subject of what survives of the relief is even more surprising, consisting as it does of plants, presumably as subsidiary features in the landscape of the frieze. Just above the lower break is set an eight-petaled rosettelike flower with a large center. To each side of it grows a reed with long, broad leaves. That to the right has partly perished in the breaks but seems to have continued on upwards; that to the left, against the junction between this relief plaque and the next, appears to have reached its top, marked by a quite different smaller crinkly growth (immature leaves or a flower or seed head?). Botanical accuracy may be too much to expect. What is remarkable is that a reed with a similar rosettelike flower and with a contrasting feathery top is a feature of the kalathiskos dancer

²⁵⁶ Their fabric is discussed on p. 409 above.

²⁵⁷ Grandjouan 1989. The present examples briefly mentioned, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

²⁵⁸ Fuchs 1959, pp. 99–101; his ascription of the original to after the middle of the 4th century B.C. is clearly contradicted by the present context and by the close kinship of these figures with the early Rich Style of Attic terracottas, both implying a date around 400 B.C. or not too long after. For the Athens examples see now *LIMC* V, 1990, p. 504, nos. 10, 11, pl. 345, *s.v.* Horai (V. Machaira).

²⁵⁹ E.g. the right-hand figure of the In Tepe group, note 203 above.

reliefs of this Class.²⁶⁰ Is this fragment from an early and, to judge from its plant life, much finer continuous frieze of such dancers?

The commonest of the disk-shaped reliefs among the molds of this Class are those showing gorgoneia.²⁶¹ **42** (Pl. 113) is a fairly typical example, the frontal head adapting itself to fill almost all the round space available, as especially evident here in the splendidly wild hair. This circumstance also leads to a preference for the traditional heavy, broad features. The pupil and iris of the eye are indicated in relief (see p. 456).

Despite its diminutive size, **43** (Pl. 113) seems also to belong here as the mold for a small decorative disk. It shows the same fabric as **42** above, as well as the rather coarse detail characteristic of this Class. Further, the only other possible role for it, as a mold for toy wheels, seems quite ruled out on two grounds: the wheel is surrounded by a decorative border completely inappropriate to such a toy, and it reveals only a summary treatment of the hub, whereas the functional ones for models were of necessity equipped with large, wide hubs. It offers a distinctly cursory relief rendering of a four-spoked chariot wheel surrounded by a shallower flat outer border incised with a zigzag. This incision may well have been intended as a guide in the painting of the end product, but it might be rash to take it as indicating a radiant wheel of Helios' chariot.²⁶² It may after all be no more than a direct reflection of the serrated border normal on the Corinthian decorative disks still popular in Athens at this time and possibly also echoed in some of the molds of this very Class (see p. 460 above under **64–66**). But it is of interest to note that, if so, it is here reduced to a vestigial feature in an otherwise plain, smooth outer border. Detached chariot wheels were apparently appropriate offerings hung high up in the shrines or naiskoi of chthonic deities and, even more, of the dead conceived of as heroes.²⁶³ This might explain the aptness as a votive or as wall decoration of such a modest relief representation as this.

The molds of this Class appear to have been taken, in the usual terracotta fashion, from clay archetypes. It is also clear that terracotta reliefs could be made from them,²⁶⁴ but the extant fragments of these from Attica are so few as barely to meet the need for secondary archetypes for the replication of the molds themselves. In other words, the ordinary reliefs

²⁶⁰ Known only from possible scraps from the Athenian Agora (Grandjouan 1989, nos. 16, 17 [and also no. 15?], pp. 1–2, 5–6, 47, pls. 5, 26:b) but attested by a complete mold from Eretria (Kahil 1967, pl. 335:a, b) and by actual terracotta reliefs from such molds from Praisos (Halbherr 1901, p. 390, pl. XII:5; Forster 1904–1905, no. 31, p. 255, fig. 17). A variant mold of this type from Delos (*Délös* XXIII, no. 1364, pp. 282–283, pl. 101) has substituted acanthus volutes for the reed.

²⁶¹ Higgins 1954, no. 708, pp. 187–188, pl. 92; Grandjouan 1989, nos. 84–89, pp. 15, 54–55 and, possibly, nos. 90, 91, 93, pls. 21, 22. Perhaps closest, but not of the same series, is Grandjouan, *op. cit.*, no. 84. The treatment of the hair is remarkably like that of a gorgoneion relief medallion on a lekythos in Leiden: Zervoudaki 1968, no. 9, p. 21, pl. 20:1. For a gorgoneion apparently used as wall decoration in a house in Eretria: Metzger 1979, no. 1, pp. 14–15, pl. 5:1.

²⁶² As sometimes claimed for earlier Greek motifs of this kind: Roes 1933, pp. 7–17, figs. 1–3; Goodison 1989, pp. 75–76, 94–96, 129–131, 151–157, figs. 132, 274, 275, 288.

²⁶³ Especially attested in Apulian vase scenes: Smith 1976, figs. 4, 9, pls. 1:a, 3:a, 4:b; Lohmann 1979, pls. 40:2, 46:2 (where they presumably fall under the armor and weapons particularly appropriate to heroes, pp. 167–169, but are not mentioned specifically); Trendall 1982, pls. 165:3, 194, 196, 198, 325:1.

²⁶⁴ Grandjouan 1989, nos. 106, 107, 109, 110 (less probably the obscure scraps, nos. 103–105, while no. 108 is a primary archetype), pp. 2, 56, pls. 23, 24. That these molds could be used to make terracotta reliefs is clearly shown by the examples from Praisos (note 260 above), but it is equally clear that they were not normally so employed in Athens.

made for sale from this large Class of molds have not survived, presumably because they were in a perishable material.²⁶⁵ There are only two serious contenders for the material used, unbaked clay (rather favored by Grandjouan) and plaster, and there are real difficulties with the first of these. Several of these reliefs were very large by terracotta standards and, if molded in clay, would have needed to be kept damp and dried very slowly indeed to prevent cracking. If, however, this difficulty were overcome, it is hard to see why they should not have been fired too, as this would then have been comparatively easy. Also, there is the problem of explaining the relative coarseness of their detail, which sets them apart from other terracotta work. It seems much more likely that these molds were for making reliefs of gypsum plaster as cheap, mass-produced alternatives to marble ones, whose coarser detail they emulated. They would have been largely restricted to indoor use by their choice of material, and coming into being before the Athenians had mastered the use of plaster molds, they employed an intermediate technology based on that of terracotta working. The molds lack rear grips for vertical use, such as for pargeing in stucco work, and it seems more likely that the reliefs were made in plaster of Paris on workshop benches. If our hypothesis is correct, then the seeming unity of these molds may simply have been that of the material in which their casts were made, the functions of the finished reliefs being rather more diverse. Thus the banquet-type hero scenes were presumably votive or commemorative, like their marble counterparts.²⁶⁶ The role of the greater part of these reliefs would seem, however, to have been largely decorative, perhaps as occasional adornment of the walls or fittings of domestic or commercial buildings.²⁶⁷

The sources of some of these ornamental motifs are of some interest. It has already been seen how the contemporary work from which **40** apparently drew its inspiration was later copied in Neo-Attic Classicizing marble reliefs (p. 460). The terracotta artist had not, however, followed it closely. He seems more to have carried its image in his head and to have created his own original work of its type and in its style. The same phenomenon recurs elsewhere in this Class. One of its best attested examples is a dancing maenad.²⁶⁸ This is conceived in the style of a whole range of such maenads which are later standard subjects of Classicizing Neo-Attic relief work and which modern scholars have regarded as copied

²⁶⁵ Clairève Grandjouan has set out the possibilities in exemplary fashion (Grandjouan 1989, pp. 32–34). Unfortunately, her account was never completed to the point of fully evaluating their degrees of probability and thus arriving at what, at this stage, seems the likeliest hypothesis.

²⁶⁶ Grandjouan 1989, nos. 41–44, pp. 9–11, 33, 49–50, pls. 10–11, 29, 31, 32; on their interpretation, see note 129 above.

²⁶⁷ There is hardly anything among these molds to link them with a system of formal architectural decoration, and the room interiors with which they may, on this hypothesis, have been associated could still have been relatively plain and simple. Apart from the gorgoneia and other disks, most are for rectangular relief panels. **41** seems to indicate that, at least initially, these were capable of forming continuous friezes (the larger reliefs perhaps serving as dados²); in their later replication their range may have become much more restricted into standardized isolated panels. Apart from interior walls, they could have decorated plinths and other indoor fittings.

²⁶⁸ Grandjouan 1989, nos. 1–8 and, possibly, 9–14, pp. 1, 4–5, 46–47, pls. 1–4, 25, 27; already current in the 4th century B.C., on the evidence of nos. 5, 7, 9, from the 4th-century contexts Well A 16:3 and Fill J 11:1. A variant of this type appears to have persisted much later at Chalkis (Sampson 1982, no. 46, pp. 147–148, 160, pl. 54), like the more canonical types of Roman decorative sculpture.

from Attic originals of the end of the 5th century B.C., possibly by Kallimachos.²⁶⁹ But, again, the terracotta-mold version is a replica of none of these but is an independent, wilder, and more abandoned creation in their idiom, perhaps also first devised near the start of the Class early in the 4th century B.C.,²⁷⁰ although endlessly repeated thereafter. Precisely the same relationship exists between the *kalathiskos* dancer of our Class²⁷¹ and her various counterparts of Neo-Attic marble work, which have themselves been regarded as possibly copied from the Laconian Dancers of Kallimachos.²⁷² Once again the Grandjouan Class type emerges as a matching independent work in the same style.

This brings us also to the vexed question of the date range of this Class, since, although attested from the early 4th century B.C. on, the vast majority of its molds from the Athenian Agora are from Hellenistic contexts. If, however, we have rightly inferred that it did not have a backward-looking Classicizing phase so much as a continuing production of some of its own early works, the style of its molds would seem to suggest that most of its creativity had fallen in the 4th century B.C., the subsequent stages in the industry becoming increasingly merely replicative. The large, late finds of its molds may also, in part, represent the progressive abandonment of the now outmoded technology that they represented.²⁷³ Ancient tradition seems to imply that Greek sculptors acquired the skill of making plaster casts during the later 4th century B.C.,²⁷⁴ although it could well have taken longer to adapt the new techniques to the production-line requirements of our suggested plaster-relief workers.²⁷⁵ May one, however, hypothesize a further stage, now quite lost because of its perishable materials, in

²⁶⁹ Fuchs 1959, pp. 73–91, fig. 1, pls. 15–19; see now also Touchette 1992. On Kallimachos: Gullini 1953; Schlörb 1964, pp. 45–53.

²⁷⁰ On the basis that the molds of this Class are absent from Agora contexts down to the end of the 5th century B.C. or just beyond but are clearly attested from the well published here, it is taken that they probably had their beginnings quite early in the 4th century B.C.

²⁷¹ See note 260 above. The evidence that they were already current in the 4th century B.C. rests on the fragments (Grandjouan 1989, nos. 15, 17) from Wells R 13:11 and A 16:3; but 41 from the present well (U 13:1) may indicate that different and finer versions were already in existence by the early 4th century.

²⁷² Blümel 1931, nos. K 184, 185, pp. 45–46, pl. 77; Fuchs 1959, pp. 91–96, fig. 2; Tiberios 1983, figs. 1, 2, pls. 4:β, 5, 6.

²⁷³ Their abandonment is not easily dated because many of the largest finds of them have been in building fills, which can also incorporate a great deal of much earlier material, as clearly demonstrated by the ordinary terracotta statuettes from their richest source, that of the Middle Stoa (Fill H–K 12–15), whose lower limit is now set at *ca.* 183 B.C. (Grace 1985). Even so, this last may imply that they were already passing out of use by the early 2nd century B.C. In support of an early end to their regular employment, it may also be significant that the deviant types of the Grandjouan Class just considered seem to have had no impact on the repertoire of the emerging Neo-Attic sculptors. Note, however, the late continuation of a somewhat divergent but apparently connected type at Chalkis (note 268 above).

²⁷⁴ The innovator was, according to Pliny (*N.H.* 35.153), the Sikyonian Lysistratos, the brother of Lysippos. The necessary technology, however, albeit possibly in a simpler form, had long been current in other regions such as Egypt, as witness, e.g., the fine range of 14th-century B.C. casts from the Amarna studio of the sculptor Tuthmosis. On Graeco-Roman techniques see Landwehr 1985.

²⁷⁵ Plaster molds for terracotta figurines are in evidence in Corinth from the 3rd century B.C. on (Boukidis and Fisher 1972, p. 316; Uhlenbrock 1990, p. 16; Merker 1990, pp. 57–58) and in Athens from the 2nd century B.C. on (D. B. Thompson 1965, pp. 35–36; Uhlenbrock, *op. cit.* p. 16). But there was apparently an inbuilt resistance to plaster molds in the finer terracotta fabrics because they did not lend themselves to adding details in intaglio. This terracotta evidence thus does not necessarily gainsay the likelihood that the appropriate new plaster technology may have been already in place early in the Early Hellenistic period.

which their new plaster molds began to be taken directly from originals such as the reliefs of Kallimachos, thus finally bridging the gap between the decorative art of the Grandjouan Class and that of the emerging Neo-Attic marble workers, who may themselves thus have been simply drawing on an already established repertoire?

THIS CONTEXT AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF ATTIC TERRACOTTAS

This concluding section provides a brief outline of the main developments that occurred in Attic terracottas during the period spanned by the examples from Well U 13:1 and also a little to either side, the better to evaluate the contribution made by the new material published here.

A better perspective on the Early Classical items with which this context begins may be gained by glancing back at the situation just before, in Late Archaic times. The last thirty years of the Archaic period, 510–480 B.C., saw the volume of votive terracottas dedicated at the great public sanctuaries on the Akropolis and in Eleusis reach its height. Although this coincided with the new democracy, it may have had other causes. Terracotta offerings had already been growing steadily in number for a long time before, and slightly earlier Attic advances in the frontal molding of whole statuettes had made this final surge possible. The great number of the terracottas makes the assembly and study of their stylistic Groups reasonably straightforward.²⁷⁶ When this is done, however, it becomes clear that a few significant areas of Attic terracotta production are largely missing from this sanctuary material.²⁷⁷ It thus seems likely that even as early as this a somewhat wider range was already on the market for adorning the homes and workplaces of ordinary citizens and, more rarely, for placing in their graves or those of their children.

This abundance of votive terracottas came to an abrupt halt at the very end of the Late Archaic period. On the Akropolis this interruption in the votive-terracotta sequence was not total: a small trickle of such items continued on through the Early Classical period, dwindled in Classical times, and resumed with the Rich and Tanagra Styles, when there was even a minor revival. But there is a vast difference between series attested by hundreds of examples and those represented by at most a mere handful. That the immediate cause of the break was the Persian occupation of 480–479 B.C. seems confirmed by the numerous statuettes extending down to advanced Late Archaic in date (discarded by the original excavators²⁷⁸) whose clay walls appear to have crumbled under intense heat. At Eleusis the cutoff at this stage may have been rather more complete.²⁷⁹ A similar interruption is evident at other

²⁷⁶ E.g. the two such Groups: Nicholls 1982, pp. 93–122.

²⁷⁷ E.g. the scant representation of certain types of protome which other evidence is starting to reveal as having evolved in Athens at this stage (p. 418 above).

²⁷⁸ Part of a formidable body of material apparently recovered *ca.* 1940 from the original dumps of the 19th-century excavators and seen by the present author in 1949–1950, stored on the flat roof of the National Museum in Athens.

²⁷⁹ The terracottas identifiably from the Demeter sanctuary now held in the Eleusis Museum seem to have come to a complete halt *ca.* 480 B.C., and the same story seems to be told by the better documented finds, e.g. from the Sacrificial Pyre outside the terrace wall of the Archaic Telesterion (Mylonas and Kourouniotis 1933, pp. 280–282, fig. 15) and the offerings from the “Sacred House” (Kourouniotis and Travlos 1938, pp. 42–52, figs. 8–11). On the other hand, terracottas appear, naturally, to have continued in use in the town and its

major Attic sanctuaries where terracottas had been abundant,²⁸⁰ although the more modest dedications at various minor shrines apparently continued.²⁸¹ Although the initial break thus seems to have been caused by Persian action, the subsequent dearth of terracottas appears more likely to have been due to a deliberate policy of restricting the clutter caused by such humble offerings as certain of the main temples were reinstated.

This phenomenon seems of great importance for our understanding of Attic terracottas. First of all, it provides a chronological fixed point in their development and one that, with due allowance for the derivative production that is a feature of moldmade terracottas everywhere, accords quite well with conventional pottery and sculpture dating for the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods.²⁸²

Secondly, the abrupt reduction in the more prestigious votive role of Attic terracottas must have had a profound effect on the industry producing them. Henceforward, although the rarer intact surviving examples seem mostly to have been from graves and the archaeological record of local household practices in this regard is woefully inadequate, the main role of Attic terracottas was presumably as simple adornments or displays of piety or children's playthings in the homes and businesses of ordinary citizens. Although not necessarily reflecting the same usages as in Athens, the Olynthos excavations provide a fascinating record of the rooms in houses where such figures were found.²⁸³ North Greece has also afforded clear evidence of how a terracotta protome (here pp. 413–419) was hung high on the wall of a room,²⁸⁴ and it seems possible that the masks, shields, and decorative disks (pp. 419–420, 456–460) were similarly located. The mobiles (pp. 433–435) were presumably hung from ceilings, lintels, or architraves, but there is less evidence as to how the ordinary statuettes and plastic vases were kept and displayed.

This change of emphasis in the role of Attic terracottas had a more gradual influence on the types involved, apart, perhaps, from a certain shift in the choice of deities represented, but, from the end of the Classical period on, the cumulative effect of it seems to have become all-pervasive, leading to the emergence of the quite new and initially uniquely Attic concepts that characterized the Rich Style. Much of the new spirit widely regarded as informing Hellenistic terracottas seems in fact to have had its beginnings in Attic work of this date.

cemeteries. Winter (1903) records some post-Archaic terracottas as then in the Eleusis Museum, but their source is not clear, as is true of some other items currently there (e.g. note 162 above).

²⁸⁰ E.g. at Brauron where, so far as one may judge from the material on public display in the Brauron Museum, there was some Early Classical revival of terracotta dedications after the interruption of 480 B.C. but a rapid tailing off thereafter.

²⁸¹ E.g. from the Caves of Pan at Eleusis (Travlos 1962, pp. 54–55, pl. 42:β) and at Oinoe near Marathon ([Papademetriou] 1959, pp. 15–22; the terracottas in Marathon Museum, unpublished).

²⁸² I have, accordingly, followed conventional dating for the artifacts of these periods, as opposed to the lower chronology recently advanced by M. Vickers, E. D. Francis, and their colleagues, their earlier articles usefully listed and discussed by R. M. Cook (1989); for their proposed revised dates for developments within the Athenian Agora over this period: Francis and Vickers 1988 (rebutted, Shear 1993).

²⁸³ *Olynthus* VII, pp. 9–15; *Olynthus* XIV, pp. 63–67. A much more detailed analysis would be useful, but there are special problems at present in allowing for the chronological dimension in the architectural history of the houses involved and also for the spread of the material in the collapse of these apparently frequently two-storied structures.

²⁸⁴ By the inside of the sarcophagus in the Thessalonike Museum from Tomb II (ca. 350–325 B.C.), Nea Mechaniona mound, decorated to represent the interior of a room.

Its essence seems to have lain in the new freshness and freedom with which its subjects are handled, but it would, on the whole, be wrong to regard this as a change from sacred to profane iconography. Traditional beliefs and attitudes seem to underlie much more of this new Rich Style world than is usually conceded; the difference is in the way in which these are completely humanized. Over most of the rest of Greece their continuing votive role still dictated many of the types of terracottas, leading to a growing gulf between these and Attic products. This circumstance may also explain how these other fabrics seem often to have been somewhat selective in imitating or making derivative copies of the new Attic creations.

The ending around 480 B.C. of the massive record of Attic production provided by the great votive deposits also has drastic consequences for the modern study of the subsequent history of terracottas there, as already observed on p. 420. Documented later finds of them are much more modest and not very abundant, and it is against this background that the present context assumes considerable significance.

The break in large-scale votive usage around 480 B.C. also coincided with a major technical change, which became universal at the start of Early Classical times. Late Archaic Attic molded statuettes had been heavy and required a great deal of clay because they were fashioned solid apart from a skewer hole, pierced from below and enlarged at the bottom by knife-hollowing, whereas the Early Classical ones were formed hollow, usually still in simple frontal molds with plain added backs, normally with square vents. Because of their contacts with East Greece, Archaic Attic craftsmen had long been aware of the more advanced techniques for hollow-molding figures completely in the round, but although they had adopted them for plastic vases, they had only rarely used them for statuettes.²⁸⁵ Their Early Classical successors developed the practice of molding the statuettes' heads separately, and these were often fashioned in the round. The technique of the Attic head-vases may have been part of the inspiration for this, but a few of the best of these heavier-walled or solid statuette heads surpassed even the head-vases in quality.²⁸⁶ The plastic vases of the Early Classical potter Sotades made further spectacular advances in hollow molding (the wing fragment, 70, p. 454, Pl. 111, might even be linked with his workshop),²⁸⁷ and a new confidence, already in evidence by the start of the Classical period, in treating whole statuettes in this way may mark the influence of his new approach on terracottas. This is attested in the doves and sirens hollow-molded in the round (pp. 455–456) and, above all, in the nude "torso-dolls" (pp. 436–438).

As already indicated, the main types continued to be the traditional ones of protomai and standing and seated figures, particularly of goddesses (pp. 413–430). But now some of the statuettes can be identified as modeled on known Early Classical and Classical sculptural

²⁸⁵ E.g. the statuette molded in the round (but in this case solid): Nicholls 1982, no. D1:1, p. 122, pl. 29:f; see also note 12 above. Hollow molding in the round was a regular feature of Archaic Attic plastic vases, beginning with the kneeling boy from the Athenian Agora, P 1231 (Vanderpool 1937; *Human Figure*, no. 48, pp. 42–43, 136–137, with pls. [R. V. Nicholls, M. Pandou]).

²⁸⁶ E.g. Berlin, S.M. 8230 (Winter 1903, I, p. 178, fig. 1; Knoblauch 1937, no. 362, p. 183, fig. 18) or, showing some incision afterwards: Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, inv. no. SL 96, 1120 (Sieveking 1916, I, pp. 10–11, pl. 14:4); more commonly evinced in secondary-archetype-like heads (e.g. the Frankfurt example illustrated, *ibid.*), which appear to have been produced as busts.

²⁸⁷ Buschor 1919; *ARV*², pp. 764–768, 769, 772–773. For the associated animal-head vases: Hoffmann 1962, pp. 19–25, pls. VI–XI.

types, sometimes possibly merely imitating a motif but perhaps more often loosely adopting an established iconography as part of the identity of the deity or figure type depicted;²⁸⁸ this may also explain the frequent time lag between that original and the terracotta versions. Another phenomenon is the way in which various quite different terracotta series seem to be inspired by the same, otherwise unknown, lost work, although here it is harder to tell whether the vanished original was a major sculpture or a smaller creation in the minor arts, even perhaps among the terracottas themselves.²⁸⁹

The main new development in Attic terracottas in the period covered by this context has hitherto lacked even a generally accepted name. The author has attempted to remedy this by adopting a term, now rather neglected in the other arts but which fits the character of the terracottas that now emerged tolerably well, the Rich Style.²⁹⁰ It is probably convenient to regard the beginning of the transition to it as marked by the reemergence of miniature statuettes towards the end of the third quarter of the 5th century B.C. (p. 422 and the molded mobiles, pp. 433–434) and continuing in the 4th century (p. 447), although most of its products were of more normal size. Its early style is a direct continuation of the Classical but with growing attention to the more complex treatment of drapery folds characteristic of Attic sculpture of the later decades of the 5th century and, on vases, of the work of artists such as the Meidias Painter (modest examples of or near this stage are **11**, **14**, **46–48**, Pls. 104–106). Associated with this was an increasing preoccupation with subsidiary relief detail, particularly of hair and jewelry. Much of this seems to have been achieved by fine intaglio work on the molds, sometimes involving the use of miniature dies for impressing tiny rosettes or necklet pendants (heads of this kind are not preserved from our context, but one may cite the polos ornament of the more evolved **57**, Pl. 108).²⁹¹ The growing elaboration also led to the start of retouching after molding and an increasing use of appliqué details (as, e.g., on **49**, Pl. 106). In extreme cases the effect could be one of an almost sugary ornateness. Some of these series doubtless continued to be made far into the 4th century.

Alongside these rather more normal statuettes a quite different tendency was also evolving in which the flat-backed figures were considerably reduced in depth so that they acquired almost the character of detached high reliefs. The new technique allowed much more attention to subsidiary detail, particularly to the setting of the scene, and to enabling different figures to be grouped together in the same composition (pp. 443–453). **3** (pp. 407, 450 above) provides the first evidence of how the primary archetypes for the bodies of these shallower statuettes were made. The way in which the resultant figures accomplished so much with a single undulating molded clay surface suggests the influence of the contemporary

²⁸⁸ As probably with **13** (p. 422 above). Others such as **24** (pp. 443–444) and, possibly, **16** (pp. 426–427) suggest a much looser connection.

²⁸⁹ Most interestingly here, the Variable Goddess Groups (pp. 426–427 above) and the name series of the Group of Hett Collection 239 and the others copying it (p. 422); cf. also the other series repeating the types of **10** and **17** (pp. 421–422, 428–429).

²⁹⁰ The name adopted for plastic vases of this stage by Trumpf-Lyritzaki (1969); already proposed that it should be extended to the terracottas as well: Nicholls 1984, p. 28.

²⁹¹ More typical are Higgins 1967, pl. 31:E, F. The higher chronology confirmed here establishes the currency in the late 5th and early 4th centuries B.C. of the remarkable developments in Greek jewelry to which such works bear witness.

art of repoussé metalwork.²⁹² But today the main local analogies for these statuettes are provided by Attic pottery vessels whose raised decoration was doubtless inspired by such metalwork but was executed much more shallowly.²⁹³ Higher metal relief work more akin to these figures in depth may have occurred earlier²⁹⁴ and is certainly attested later in the 4th century²⁹⁵ and probably flourished right through this period as well,²⁹⁶ so that these terracottas may not originally have been quite so unusual as they now appear. But, as things stand, they and the plastic vases related to them seem, after their early stages, to have moved increasingly away from their former dependence on sculptural models and into a freer world of remarkable originality and creativity.

Their very uniqueness has made them hard to date stylistically, and they have variously been ascribed to periods between the late 5th century B.C. and Hellenistic times,²⁹⁷ none of these estimates being in fact too far from the truth, as they appear to have had both an early start and a long derivative production. That they had already begun by the late 5th century B.C. seems established by their occurrence in contexts of about that date in the Athenian Agora and Kerameikos. Partly to lay at rest any uncertainty about the pottery chronology on which these judgments depend, I have done my best to arrive at an absolute date for the best preserved of the early Agora figures executed in this way, a statuette of a dancing Old Comedy actor.²⁹⁸ Although this is a tentative suggestion, it may be useful to set it out here. In the 5th century B.C. it may have been normal, on the interpretation offered earlier (pp. 438–443), to show mime players in their costumes and masks; the present statuette, however, is one of the very first attempts in terracotta to depict a comic actor realistically, and the artist may have been lured into doing so by the very incongruity between a high point in the action of a play and the quaint mechanics by which it was portrayed. It seems that the mask may be a caricatured personal likeness. The polos on his head may mark him out as one of the blessed or “heroized” dead, on the analogy of similar headgear of heroes on funerary banquet reliefs.²⁹⁹ He is dressed in the long, formal chiton of poets and

²⁹² Although some of the earliest lidded-mirror reliefs seem close to Attic work (Züchner 1942), the main evidence from Athens for local repoussé metalwork of this period is provided by ancient terracotta impressions taken from it; for the examples of these from the Athenian Agora: D. B. Thompson 1939, 1949, 1969; Reeder Williams 1976 (for examples from elsewhere, *ibid.*, p. 41, notes 2, 3).

²⁹³ Zervoudaki 1968; Barr-Sharrar 1990.

²⁹⁴ E.g., to judge from later copies, the reliefs of the Parthenon shield: Simon 1976; Harrison 1981; *LIMC* I, 1981, pp. 602–603, no. 246, pls. 472, 473, *s.v.* Amazones (P. Devambez and A. Kauffmann-Samaras).

²⁹⁵ Best attested farther afield by the Derveni krater: Gioure 1978; color plates: *Search for Alexander*, no. 127, pp. 164–165, pls. 20, 21 (K. Rhomiopoulou); Andronicos 1987, pp. 16–17, pls. 32–35.

²⁹⁶ E.g. on the evidence of the earliest lidded-mirror reliefs (note 292 above) and of the Agora “mourning Odysseus” impression (notes 235, 292) and, even more, of contemporary Greek repoussé metalwork from outside Attica (e.g. Richter 1983, p. 220, fig. 313).

²⁹⁷ Earlier views on the subject are usefully assembled by S. Besques (1978), who provides the best general account to date of Attic Rich Style terracottas, although she places their main creative phase rather too late, in the middle years of the 4th century B.C.

²⁹⁸ Agora T 1468 + T 1575 from Well B 13:5 (to the last quarter of the 5th century B.C.). H. 12.35 cm. Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, pl. 31; Webster and Green 1978, no. AT 1, p. 29.

²⁹⁹ See note 129. This may also reopen the question whether the various “grotesques” (interpreted on pp. 438–443 as mime players) with polos-type headdresses are not irreverent portrayals of heroes (or the “heroized” dead) or of deities, and possibly whether such interpretations may not also apply to the Middle

charioteers, here with an overfold with the comic phallus hanging from under it, and (as part of the byplay?) has wrapped his upper body and arms in a skimpy mantle, mimicking the dress of Rich Style dancers (see pp. 450–453). Further, like some of these last, he is bounding onto a footstool ready to perform. The tentative suggestion is that this lively “deceased” figure may be the Euripides of Aristophanes’ *Frogs* and that the byplay with the dancerlike mantle and footstool may have accompanied the delivery of some of his verses in the contest with Aischylos, perhaps to stress their insubstantiality and feminine sensitivity.³⁰⁰ The long, lank, slightly wavy locks and the unimpressive beard seem at least compatible with later portraits of Euripides.³⁰¹ On this interpretation, one gains a date of 405 B.C. for the creation of this series, while ephemeral public recollections of the original stage directions were still current.³⁰² Further, its parody of the Rich Style dancers and the footstool performances suggests that terracotta versions of these were already in fashion by the time that it was made.³⁰³

The chief early find of such statuettes from the Kerameikos is that from the child’s grave hS 264.³⁰⁴ This has been variously dated to ca. 400 B.C. or to the earliest years of the 4th century. What is significant is that the statuettes in question seem nearly all to be weak, indistinct derivatives, probably implying that the different series to which they belong had already been in production for several years before these examples were made.

The corresponding Rich Style plastic vases in statuette form also seem to have had their beginnings in the late 5th century B.C. At least, this appears to be indicated by the occurrence of the lower part of such a plastic vase in an Agora context whose pottery has been conventionally dated ca. 430–410 B.C.³⁰⁵ (This need not surprise one since it is already generally accepted that the Rich Style head-vases were directly continuing the tradition of their Classical predecessors.) Henceforward both statuettes and plastic vases could even occur within the same series. Because of their superior clay and higher firing the plastic vases are often in better condition, but the statuettes seem to have enjoyed a much wider range of subject. The question of primacy is not easily resolved. The only archetypes that we appear

Comedy choruses of the Agora reliefs, S 1025, S 1586, and S 2098 (Webster 1960, nos. B7, B33, pp. 263–265, pl. 66; Webster and Green 1978, nos. AS 3, AS 4, pp. 118–119, pl. IX).

³⁰⁰ *Ranae* 830–1481. Perhaps some interlude such as lines 1285–1295? Probably not the actual “weighing” of the verses (1378–1406) because the balance is not in evidence. Webster and Green 1978, p. 29 (cites both this interpretation and that of E. W. Handley as the dithyrambist Kinesias).

³⁰¹ Richter 1965, pp. 133–140, figs. 717–767; Richter 1972, p. 6, figs. 744:a–d, 756:a.

³⁰² If this is so, the way in which the polos was hidden by a garland on the plastic-oinochoe version of the same series in Vienna (Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, no. 97, p. 37, pl. 13, where misinterpreted as a Papposeilenos; Webster and Green 1978, no. AV 2, p. 31) may suggest how fleeting such memories were.

³⁰³ A woman footstool-dancer in essentially the same pose (as Winter 1903, II, p. 148, fig. 4) is Athenian Agora T 830 from Well E 16:1 (late 5th century B.C. down to the first quarter of the 4th century), but this is a blurred, weak derivative, suggesting that its series had already been in production for a considerable time beforehand.

³⁰⁴ See note 11 above.

³⁰⁵ P 789, from Pit I–J 18:1 (one of the fragments omitted from the publication of such plastic vases from the Athenian Agora; Reeder Williams 1978); too little of it survives for certainty, but the figure seems to have been that of a crouching child with its weight on its left hand (cf. **50** and **67**), a type with excellent 5th-century antecedents, especially in East Greece. The adaptation of the series of the late-5th-century actor statuette cited above (note 298) into a plastic oinochoe (note 302) likewise confirms the early currency of such vases as does the context of the discarded Kerameikos archetype (note 306).

to have for such plastic vases seem secondary ones for derivative production.³⁰⁶ Perhaps the truth is that, at this stage, series could begin either as plastic vases or as statuettes and that each could change its status to the other.

Some of the Groups of these new statuettes and plastic vases continued the very ornate style mentioned earlier, while others followed the less florid idioms now emerging in sculpture and other media. The important thing to observe is that these different styles seem to have coexisted, according to the choice of the different craftsmen involved. The principal contribution made by the present context is that it establishes that the evolution of these Rich Style terracottas was a very rapid one indeed through the late 5th and early 4th centuries B.C. This is because this well includes not only identifiably early items but also what have previously been regarded as quite advanced ones whose series or types had been ascribed to the middle and third quarter of the 4th century or even later.

As mentioned earlier (pp. 405, 412), on conventional pottery chronology the fills of Well U 13:1 have been dated to *ca.* 380 B.C., or anyway no later than the 370's, and the Stele-Goddess Workshop might itself have been destroyed a few years before that. That 4th-century ceramic dating may now need to be revised somewhat to accord with that more recently established for the 3rd century B.C. on the evidence from the Ptolemaic encampment at Koroni apparently of the time of the Chremonidean War.³⁰⁷ As it stands, 4th-century pottery chronology largely rests on the assumption that the latest vases from Olynthos date from the time of that city's capture and destruction by Philip II in 348 B.C., an assumption already queried on various grounds.³⁰⁸ A small number of terracottas from Olynthos in the Tanagra Style would seem in fact unlikely to date much before the last quarter of the 4th century B.C.,³⁰⁹ and a few others, though earlier, may still be later than

³⁰⁶ Kerameikos Museum, T 349 from burial SA 40 (*ca.* 400 B.C.): youth (Theseus?) with bull. Agora T 3255: female head (Reeder Williams 1978, no. 2, pp. 361, 379–380, pl. 91, where assigned to the series of the Athens Nike lekythos [here note 78] or, anyway, the same Group). Although the latter had been retouched, both had clearly been molded.

³⁰⁷ Vanderpool, McCredie, and Steinberg 1962; 1964. On the controversy over dating that resulted and its resolution by V. R. Grace (1974), see S. I. Rotroff (Thompson, Thompson, and Rotroff 1987, pp. 5–6).

³⁰⁸ Ferguson 1935; Bellinger 1953; Thompson, Thompson, and Rotroff 1987, p. 184 (Rotroff; where further bibliography); résumés of papers by the following on different aspects of the problem appeared in 1990 (Olynthos Colloquium 1990): N. Cahill, J. Heskell, J. A. Dengate, M. Rose, S. I. Rotroff, J. Tidmarsh, H. Williams, B. Barr-Sharrar, and A. S. Benjamin. On the basis of restudying part of the Olynthos pottery, Wolf Rudolph (1988 and in correspondence with the author) favors the view that occupation had continued there until the foundation of Kassandria in 316 B.C. In point of fact, the problem was partly recognized by the original excavators and is well set out in *Olynthos* VIII, pp. 1–17, where it is readily accepted that settlement had clearly continued after 348 B.C. on parts of the North Hill there.

³⁰⁹ Most obviously the women's heads, *Olynthos* IV, nos. 365–369, VII, no. 289; also the Artemis, *Olynthos* VII, no. 192, and the standing woman, *Olynthos* XIV, no. 190; in addition, the unpublished figures, the Eros O 2589 and the standing woman O 2688; possibly also the (decent) actor, *Olynthos* XIV, no. 388, as perhaps already of New Comedy date, although treated as earlier (Webster and Green 1978, p. 101, no. OT 2). An even more problematical unpublished Attis figure with the Olynthos terracottas in the Salonica Museum (old no. 806) is marked as only "probably from Olynthos". The Tanagra Style heads from nearby Mkyberna, *Olynthos* XIV, nos. 491, 492, cause fewer problems because it had been recognized that occupation had continued later there. It is also to be noted that a few scraps from Olynthos may be much later still. The advanced mime head, *Olynthos* IV, no. 387, could be Late Hellenistic or Roman, and the boy's-head attachments, *Olynthos* VII, no. 257, XIV, no. 455, seem possibly Roman and perhaps to be linked with the Roman blown glass from the site.

348.³¹⁰ It is clear, however, that these demonstrably later items are relatively few in number, possibly implying that any continuing occupation or reoccupation there was itself quite modest.³¹¹

As observed on p. 466 above, the Attic terracotta evidence suggests that conventional Early Classical dating may be tolerably correct, and the same is surely true of Classical chronology. I suspect that, as a result, any subsequent adjustments needed in the late 5th and early 4th centuries may still be quite small. In correspondence with the author, Susan Rotroff has expressed the view that the current mid-4th-century pottery chronology, based on the destruction of Olynthos, may also be not too wide of the mark, since the major corrections needed are in the late 4th century B.C.³¹² The terracottas published here can only make a modest contribution to the discussion. The only items that may suggest an absolute date as a control appear to be the decorative disks, **64–66** (pp. 458–460). If we have rightly surmised that their motif carried a political message of support for the Macedonian king (and, as has been seen, this is far from sure), then might not the introduction of these Corinthian reliefs into Athens have coincided with an event that made them specially apposite, such as the treaty between Athens and Amyntas III of ca. 374–373 B.C.?³¹³ This falls within the lower range of the conventional dating of this context, although, if the burning of **64** is to be connected with the destruction of the Stele-Goddess Workshop, the suggested time lag between that event and the relevant well fills might just imply a modest lowering of current ceramic chronology at that stage. On that basis, however, the lower limit for all the developments in these more advanced Rich Style terracottas within the Stele-Goddess Workshop would seem unlikely to be very much later than the end of the first quarter of the 4th century B.C. As a result, in a period of a little over thirty years from our earlier, so tentatively suggested fixed point, they would seem to have passed through most of their later evolution.

These Rich Style statuettes and plastic vases also clearly continued as part of normal Attic terracotta production at least down to earliest Hellenistic times, but it would appear that,

³¹⁰ Various statuettes already executed in the round and apparently belonging in the main to the Evolved Style (see pp. 475–476 below) of about the third quarter of the 4th century and marking the transition towards the Tanagra Style: the standing women, *Olynthus* VII, no. 181 and XIV, no. 218, the crouching women of the knucklebone-player types, *Olynthus* IV, nos. 379, 380 and IV, no. 381, the seated nurse, *Olynthus* IV, no. 378, and possibly also the seated woman, *Olynthus* VII, no. 241. A few of the latest protomai and latest local plastic vases might also belong with these, but this is less sure.

³¹¹ There is no way of determining whether the main body of Rich Style derivatives from Olynthos stopped in 348 B.C. or continued into earliest Hellenistic times, but there is equally nothing to show that they did not end in 348. It is also far from certain that the few later, Tanagra Style examples (note 309 above) are all earlier than 316 B.C.

³¹² She bases this partly on the small volume of the material from Olynthos that seems securely post-348 and, even more, on the pottery from the third phase of Building Z in the Kerameikos to which Mrs. Knigge has kindly allowed her access and which seems firmly dated numismatically to the earlier part of the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. “If Olynthos had continued to be heavily populated until 316, the pottery from Olynthos and that from Building Z should look very much alike, but there is clearly a long gap between them.” She has been able to identify only isolated vases of Building-Z date from Olynthos. It is to be hoped that the resumed Greek excavations at Olynthos (Drougou and Vokotopoulou 1989) may finally resolve the matter by producing clear-cut examples of houses destroyed in 348 and of the apparently limited number of others that were reoccupied after that date.

³¹³ *IG II/III*² 102; Tod 1948, no. 129, pp. 90–92; Bengston 1962, no. 264, pp. 220–221. On present indications, the subsequent treaty between Athens and Philip II in 346 B.C. would seem too late a possibility.

after that initial creative explosion, most of these later examples may have been derivative. This presumption is strengthened by the way in which the drapery folds of so many of their more elaborate compositions still echo the conventions characteristic of Attic sculpture of the late 5th century and the early-4th-century continuation of this tradition, e.g. by Timotheos. Until these terracottas become more abundant it will be possible to assemble only some of them into stylistic Groups, but, insofar as this can now be done, its effect is to identify increasing numbers of them as having had their beginnings in the main creative phase of the late 5th and early 4th centuries. New additions were doubtless made to the repertoire over the rest of the 4th century, but they are less easy to identify. Hairstyles were sometimes updated³¹⁴ or even whole heads, but this does not necessarily preclude an earlier origin where the stylistic idiom remains otherwise the same. The circumstance that most of the Rich Style terracottas from the main Early Hellenistic contexts in the Agora seem identifiable as having originated early may also be significant,³¹⁵ although these could equally represent extraneous older material as much as the final stages of production, particularly in the case of the Coroplast's Dump³¹⁶ and Menon's Cistern,³¹⁷ where even earlier figures are attested.

At this stage it is necessary to turn to other quite different categories of Attic terracottas to signpost subsequent development through the 4th century rather more clearly. The Old Comedy statuette discussed earlier (p. 469) is unusual in being treated wholly in the shallow Rich Style fashion. Some of the few other early terracotta figures of comic actors are shown much more in the round,³¹⁸ possibly influenced by bronze statuettes which may initially have played a larger role.³¹⁹ The New York Group of Middle Comedy terracottas, as defined by Webster and Green,³²⁰ does seem indeed to comprise the main body of a major

³¹⁴ See the updating of the hairstyles of the Variable Goddess Groups, pp. 426–427 above. In Besques 1978, pp. 619–620, 625, the lampadion hairstyle of the Aphrodite with a codex (or tablets?) and Eros, Louvre N 4866 (*loc. cit.*, pl. 184:5, 6; Besques 1954, no. C 199, pp. 115–116, pl. LXXXIII), is used to justify a date between 355 and 340 B.C., but, even here, in an example of the series that lacks the topknot (Besques 1978, pl. 184:7), the hair treatment does not seem so very advanced. A few Rich Style compositions do, however, seem on stylistic grounds possibly to belong near her later date range, e.g. the series showing Theseus(?), Ariadne, and Eros in a vine arbor (Stackelberg 1837, pl. XLIV; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College: Nicholls 1978, no. 100, p. 19, fig. on p. 18; New York, Metropolitan Museum no. 35.11.1). See also note 338 below on the nurse and child “grotesques” still in the Rich Style.

³¹⁵ E.g. nos. 6, 7, 13, 14 from the Hedgehog Well, O 18:2 (*ca.* 350–320 B.C. [Rotroff]): D. B. Thompson 1954, pp. 72–87; and nos. 1, 3, 4, 6, 9 from the Demeter Cistern, F 16:1 (*ca.* 350–290 B.C., with later disturbance, Rotroff): *op. cit.*, pp. 87–107.

³¹⁶ Cistern S 19:3, conflated with Pit S 19:5 (in the main to *ca.* 315 B.C. [Rotroff]): D. B. Thompson 1952. The Rich Style most strikingly attested by the name piece of the CD Group (p. 447); for much earlier items from this context, see note 250 above.

³¹⁷ Miller 1974. The Rich Style probably in evidence in nos. 118, 138–140; a small amount of yet earlier material (e.g. no. 135) dates from Archaic times on (*cf.* notes 29, 31 above). For the dating of this context (Well and Cistern F 16:3) in the first quarter of the 3rd century B.C., perhaps *ca.* 287–286, see Rotroff 1984, pp. 346–347.

³¹⁸ E.g. Webster 1960, no. B 14, pp. 268, 280, pl. 67; Besques 1972, no. C 636, p. 5, pl. 5; Webster and Green 1978, pp. 29–30.

³¹⁹ Webster and Green 1978, pp. 39–42.

³²⁰ Webster and Green 1978, pp. 45–60, where dated earlier on the evidence of Agora T 4062 (*ibid.*, no. AT 23d, found in Area T 13 with several sherds of the late 5th and beginning of the 4th century B.C.), a debased example apparently of the stage when these figures were already common and, on this evidence,

innovative stylistic Group in coroplastic terms also. Although sometimes debased in later derivative frontal molding, these small statuettes were originally made completely in the round. Also, most unusually, they seem to have had almost all their surface detail executed on the archetype (i.e., in the positive), with little added by intaglio work on the mold in the usual terracotta fashion. Indeed, this positive incision has much more in common with the fine work on bronze statuettes, whether cut into the surface of the preliminary wax model or chased into that of the finished casting. These very different comic statuettes and their successors coexisted abundantly with the much shallower Rich Style figures throughout the later history of the latter; their complete absence from the present context and, with the curious exception discussed in note 320, from all others of similar or earlier date, may imply that, at that stage, they had yet to appear in any quantity (see also p. 443).

These figures of comic actors were by no means the only terracottas fashioned completely in the round to share the world of the shallower, flat-backed Rich Style statuettes. It has already been seen (pp. 436–438) how the Attic nude “dolls” were made fully in the round and how the “torso dolls” continued down into the Rich Style, the developed Attic articulated dancing girls coincided with it, and the “seated dolls” evolved during it. Also, occasionally other works more completely in the Rich Style idiom were executed wholly in the round, the piece molds **33** (p. 455) being possibly for one of these.

If comparisons are made between typical standing draped female figures of the Rich Style and those of the succeeding early Tanagra Style, the characteristic horizontal body sections of the first have a shallow curved front and flattish back, whereas those of the second tend to be oval or round. There are isolated statuettes, however, some apparently dating still quite early in the Rich Style, formed completely in the round and of a more truly cylindrical character than the Tanagra figures themselves. Here let it suffice to cite just one series, the dove girls of the Akropolis (Pl. 113).³²¹ These show a small girl standing holding an apple and a dozy dove(?) and with two more doves at her feet. She is dressed in a polos and chiton and is apparently wearing an oriental jacket in place of a himation over the latter. Quite probably a juvenile goddess is intended, but, if so, her identity is problematical, since Aphrodite is not a deity usually credited with a normal childhood.³²² Her long hair and cylindrical body give a heavy, strong, almost karyatidlike structure, and her head suggests an early Rich Style date. Despite the great achievements of the mainstream Rich Style, it seems that throughout its history there was also some awareness of its limitations, as expressed by the making of such very differently conceived figures, and that these carried the germ of a new idiom that was eventually to replace it completely.

seemingly pushing the start of the Group back into the 5th century. In my view, however, it appears wiser to treat this association between sherds and terracotta as a purely fortuitous one, since there is no corroboration for such a high chronology for this main body of comic statuettes from any of the numerous other more securely dated contexts of the late 5th and early 4th centuries.

³²¹ Akr. Mus. 12438 (reproduced here by permission of the Ephor of the Akropolis; H. 11.7 cm.), 12439, 12440. Winter 1893, p. 147, fig. 30; Winter 1903, I, p. 58, fig. 8; Brooke 1921, nos. 528–530, p. 385.

³²² The fullgrown birth of Aphrodite from the sea foam or a sea shell is the subject of various Rich Style plastic vases (cf. those cited on p. 455 under **71**), but the cult of Dione, then newly introduced into Athens, may have brought with it a tradition of Aphrodite's more normal birth and, presumably, childhood as the daughter of Zeus and Dione. It seems less in the spirit of the Rich Style to interpret these figures as young mortal priestesses, such as the ἀρρηφόροι.

The uncertainties already mentioned surrounding 4th-century pottery chronology are even more of a problem in determining the point at which the Tanagra Style effectively replaced the Rich Style as the dominant force in Attic terracottas. But where the dates of the relevant Early Hellenistic contexts have been tentatively adjusted to fit the new 3rd-century evidence, it still appears that the Tanagra Style may have been beginning to emerge in Attic workshops by about the start of the last quarter of the 4th century.³²³ The question for consideration here is how it may have developed out of its predecessor in the light of the antecedent works in the round already touched on. I suggest applying the term “Evolved Style” to a small class of advanced examples of these, apparently on this basis mainly datable in the third quarter of the 4th century, that appear to have been making the transition between the two while belonging to neither.³²⁴ Likewise fashioned in the round, these seem also to have caught up again with the characteristics of contemporary sculpture. Examples in other fabrics have already been mentioned from Olynthos (note 310 above) and Corinth (p. 427 above and note 95). The latter is of interest for its completeness and for its showing a typical Rich-Style-type composition of two figures executed in a way completely alien to that style. Indeed, in view of the subsequent wide spread of the Tanagra Style, it is worth noting how its predecessor was already becoming established in other fabrics as well as Attic.

The most extensively illustrated Attic terracottas of this stage consist of a small body of fragmentary examples in Heidelberg,³²⁵ three of them claimed as archetypes and found together on the West Slope of the Athenian Akropolis in 1895,³²⁶ and two statuettes also from the West Slope,³²⁷ one of them possibly part of the same find.³²⁸ With these have been linked two further statuettes of this stage in Heidelberg, the one of Attic provenance³²⁹ and the other claimed as Attic in fabric.³³⁰ To judge from the way in which they were fashioned in two halves, the archetypes can only have been secondary ones, and clear technical evidence of Athens’ preeminence at this stage comes only a little later with the primary archetype

³²³ In Thompson, Thompson, and Rotroff 1987, pp. 184–185, Susan Rotroff tentatively suggests provisional revised datings for the relevant contexts in Dorothy Thompson’s “Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas” series, and these she has since refined further. She is now inclined to place the lower limit of the Hedgehog Well (O 18:2; see note 315 above) at *ca.* 320 B.C., although its terracottas would seem to have extended into the early Tanagra Style (e.g. no. 9) and in the main to assign that of the Coroplast’s Dump (S 19:3; note 316 above) to *ca.* 315 B.C. and that of the Demeter Cistern (F 16:1; note 315 above) to *ca.* 290 B.C., both of these yielding typical early Tanagra Style figures. Corroboratory evidence from the Kerameikos seems to confirm the late-4th-century currency of such statuettes in Athens: Knigge 1980, pp. 263–265, fig. 14; Rotroff 1990, p. 27, fig. 17.

³²⁴ I had originally proposed using this term rather more widely for such statuettes in the round (Nicholls 1984, pp. 28, 30), but it seems better and clearer to limit it to this short transitional stage and treat the earlier examples as an anomalous part of the Rich Style, to which they tend themselves to relate more closely.

³²⁵ Neutsch 1952. The evidence of this stage from the Athenian Agora is to be published in the Catalogue prepared by Dorothy Thompson and now being completed by Margret Rothman. It seems to suggest a move away from the Rich Style towards greater depth and three-dimensionality (attested, e.g., in the growing use of piece molds), possibly already getting underway in the second quarter of the 4th century.

³²⁶ Nos. Tk 93, Tk 94, Tk 95: Neutsch 1952, pp. 17–24, pls. 2, 3:1, 4:3, 5, 12, 13, 19, 20:1.

³²⁷ Tk 96: Neutsch 1952, pp. 11–17, pls. 1:3, 10:1 and 2, 11:1. Tk 90: *ibid.*, pp. 34–38, pl. 8.

³²⁸ Tk 90 (note 327).

³²⁹ Tk 92: Neutsch 1952, pp. 38–54, pls. 3:2, 22.

³³⁰ Tk 86: Neutsch 1952, pp. 54–59, pl. 31.

for a seated youth of the early Tanagra Style found to the north of the Athenian Agora and identified by Dorothy Thompson.³³¹ Some of these Heidelberg figures are themselves also already of the Tanagra Style,³³² but the others belong to the Evolved Style or to a transitional stage between the two. Some echo distinctly earlier sculptural types³³³ but seem, on technical grounds, to belong firmly to this phase. The unprovenanced item among them is a squatting woman of knucklebone-player type.³³⁴ Similar figures, but of two different series, are attested from Olynthos and have accordingly hitherto been dated before 348 B.C., although they appear rather to belong to the Evolved Style of about the third quarter of the century.³³⁵ As 20 (p. 431 above) has shown, figures in this posture had in fact begun to be made quite early in the Rich Style, but according to the quite different conventions of that phase. Indeed, several such series flourished in the Rich Style, as is perhaps most readily to be seen from the plastic vases,³³⁶ although, again, there the final stage brings us to the quite different Evolved Style world with which we are now confronted.³³⁷ Dorothy Thompson has also observed how other recently created types, now likewise molded in the round, notably the nurse with a child, were also becoming more prominent at about this stage.³³⁸

With the appearance of the Tanagra Style, Attic terracottas would seem once more in the vanguard of new sculptural developments. Also it may be that, once the adjustments to the pottery chronology of the period are firmly established, the evolution of the Tanagra Style will emerge as no less sudden and dramatic than that of the Rich Style, although having a much more enduring effect. These questions, however, lie beyond our present horizons.

CATALOGUE

These terracottas and molds emerged badly broken. When separately inventoried fragments have subsequently been found to belong to the same piece, their numbers are linked with plus signs where they make direct joins and separated by commas where they do not. On account of their length, the inventory numbers begin the technical portion of the entry, a procedure also to be followed in subsequent catalogues of the Greek terracottas from the Athenian Agora. The descriptions of clay colors use terms evolved by Dorothy Burr Thompson during her studies (note 5 above), based on a range of control samples to be set out in those forthcoming catalogue volumes.

All measurements are given in centimeters, with the following special abbreviations: E.M., distance from center of mouth to inside corners of eyes; F., height of face (from chin-neck junction to hairline); S., width

³³¹ D. B. Thompson 1963a, pl. 32.

³³² Tk 93: Neutsch 1952, pp. 31–34, pl. 20:1; also probably Tk 90 (note 327 above).

³³³ Notably Tk 92 (note 329 above).

³³⁴ Tk 86 (note 330 above).

³³⁵ *Olynthus* IV, nos. 379, 380; IV, no. 381 (note 310 above).

³³⁶ Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, nos. 87–89, 364, pp. 34–35, 90, pls. 11, 12, 14.

³³⁷ Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969, no. 82, p. 32, pl. 11.

³³⁸ D. B. Thompson 1966c, pp. 56–57, pls. 17:3, 4, 18:5–7; Pfisterer-Haas 1988, pp. 36–46; also the Olynthos example (here note 310) which should probably likewise be assigned to the Evolved Style. The earliest instances, however, e.g. Kanellopoulos Museum no. 2076 (Pfisterer-Haas, *op. cit.*, p. 123, fig. 41) are not fashioned in the round and seem no later than the Rich Style. Dorothy Thompson has suggested that they may have had dramatic associations. In their facial treatment and unflatteringly depicted partial nudity, these earliest examples appear to relate to the “grotesques” (tentatively identified as mime-players on pp. 438–443). But the remainder, surely rightly of Evolved Style and Hellenistic date, appear eventually to have developed a rather more idiosyncratic character.

at shoulders. All items are from Layer 1, unless otherwise specified. References to the discussion above are given at the end of each entry.

HANDMADE

Both **1** and **2** may once have had molded human heads, but these are not preserved.

- 1.** Plaque fragment Pl. 101
(from a plaque-protome?)

T 4153. Layer 2. P.H. 6.9; max. D. 1.2. Pinkish buff clay. Modeling tool used to impress small dot rosettes on main part of panel and two small, shallow holes on its raised lower border and for detail of lower part of shoulder lock at its vertical edge.

Seems to preserve bottom corner of archaizing protome. Pp. 407, 411, 413–414.

- 2.** Statuette of a boy on a dolphin Pl. 106

T 4056. P.H. 4.0; p.L. 8.85. Pale ocher clay. Molded completely in round. Dolphin with large appliqué eyes. Once attached to something beneath.

Preserves only the lower body and upper legs of a small boy who sits sideways on a dolphin; he is apparently nude apart from a possible chlamys behind. Pp. 407, 433–434.

MOLDED

ARCHETYPE

- 3.** For a statuette of a woman dancing(?) Pl. 110

T 4147; p.H. 4.75. T 4148; p.H. 5.35. Even pinkish buff clay. Carefully hand tooled. Surface worn on T 4147. Two nonjoining fragments from the upper part of the archetype for the body of a shallow statuette that has been built up in relief against a slab of clay (D. 0.9–1.7), which has itself been bent into a curved angle of *ca.* 120 degrees. Head cut away at base of neck, presumably to form a separate archetype for a separate mold.

A woman apparently swathed in her himation, which seems also to have been drawn up as a veil. Pp. 407, 413, 450, 468.

MOLDS

Measurements of clay impressions are also given for the molds, as these allow for the inevitable shrinkage in the terracottas made from them and enable

them to be assigned to the appropriate “generation” in the series. “Left” and “right”, whether of individual figures or of the layout of the whole composition (the latter from the spectator’s viewpoint), refer always to the cast.

MASK AND PROTOMAI

- 4.** Mask of Dionysos Pl. 103

T 4065. Layer 5. P.H. 11.0 (mold), 10.0 (cast); F. 9.45 (cast); E.M. 1.77 (cast). Pinkish buff clay, grayish at core, with ocher-blond contact surface. Pupils of eyes marked by faint incision (on archetype?).

A smaller (votive or decorative?) version of the ritual masks of the god. Top of head lost. Pp. 408, 410, 413, 419–420.

- 5.** Bust of Athena Pl. 102

T 4099 + T 4102 + T 4105 + T 4116 + T 4149. H. 34.0 (mold), 28.1 (cast); E.M. 2.86 (cast); D. of walls 1.0–1.5. Hard, gritty, grayish buff clay with even ocher-blond surfaces, now stained. Socket for forearm, to be added separately. Hole for suspension peg marked.

She wears a polos (or stephane?) and veil, a peplos with overfold, and a snake-fringed aegis with a gorgoneion. Pp. 408, 410, 412, 413, 415, 416.

- 6.** Bust of a goddess Pl. 101

Three units that are all part of the same mold: (a) T 4066 + T 4068. P.H. 22.2 (mold), 20.7 (cast). (b) T 4069. P.H. 8.9 (mold), 7.9 (cast). (c) T 4096 + T 4145. P.H. 16.7 (mold), 15.5 (cast). (a–c) D. of walls 0.9–2.0. Clay with even ocher-blond surfaces and a flaky grayish or reddish core.

She wears a peplos with overfold, a veil, and a low polos(?) and holds her right hand below her right breast and her left hand rather higher, to the right of her left breast. Pp. 408, 413, 417–418.

- 7.** Part of the head of a protome Pl. 103

T 4088 + T 4094. Max. dim. 14.6 (mold); p.H. *ca.* 8.0 (cast). Flaky orange-buff clay with small surviving areas of original buff interior contact surface in poor condition. Inscribed on buff back while clay still moist: $\square \perp$.

Curiously proportioned and apparently without either stephane or polos, the fragment preserves much of the hair over the brow, the area beside the right eye, and apparently part of the right ear. Pp. 408, 411, 417.

- 8.** Fragment, bust of a veiled goddess Pl. 102
T 4110. Layer 2. P.H. 14.0 (mold), 12.6 (cast). Hard, gritty, pinkish buff clay with smooth, even, ocher-blond surfaces. Heavy walled (max. D. 2.4). Faint incision on mold to indicate stranding of hair inside veil, against side of neck.

Preserves her right shoulder with her peplos fastened over it, the rear part of its overfold apparently carried up behind her head as a veil. Pp. 408, 411, 416–417.

Apparently the same series as **8**, but one generation later:

- 9.** Fragment, bust of a veiled goddess Pl. 102
T 4081 + T 4086 + T 4103. P.H. *ca.* 18.5 (mold), *ca.* 17.0 (cast). Soft grayish pink clay with vestiges of ocher-blond surfaces. Worn.

Preserves her left shoulder and the left edge of her head, including part of a low polos. Pp. 408, 411, 413, 416–417.

STATUETTES OF ISOLATED HUMAN FIGURES

Standing

- 10.** Woman or goddess Pl. 104
T 4077. P.H. 10.5 (mold), 8.2 (surviving molded surface on cast); W. of plinth at front 7.3 (cast). Hard pinkish gray clay with ocher-blond contact surface (preserved at and beside right leg).

Preserves the top of the plinth and part of the chiton-draped legs, barefooted and with the right leg slightly flexed and advanced. Pp. 408, 420–421, 468.

- 11.** Woman or goddess with her arm raised Pl. 104
T 4064. P.H. 13.2 (mold), 11.3 (cast). Pinkish buff clay with grayish core containing grits. Right wrist and hand, excluded from mold, to be added separately.

The right side of a woman standing with her right leg slightly flexed and her right arm raised, seemingly wearing a peplos whose overfold is also secured above her arm(?), unless a separate short mantle is also worn behind, and a sleeved under-chiton(?). Pp. 408–409, 423–424, 468.

- 12.** Woman or goddess Pl. 105

T 4067. P.H. 7.75 (mold), 7.1 (cast). Pinkish buff clay with ocher-buff surfaces. Thinnish walled (D. 0.3–1.3).

There is no integral plinth or base. Preserves lower part of a barefooted goddess wearing a peplos with overfold and standing with her left leg slightly flexed and a little advanced. Pp. 408, 424–425.

- 13.** Young woman or goddess (Kore?) Pl. 104

T 4104. P.H. 9.2 (mold), 8.5 (cast); H. from top of plinth to top of shoulders 6.75 (cast); D. of walls 0.5–1.2. Pinkish buff clay with traces of lighter surface. Left forearm, excluded from mold, was to be added after molding. This body mold, being apparently derivative, also includes lower half of head.

Small breasted, she stands with her right leg slightly flexed, dressed in thin chiton and himation. Pp. 408, 411, 422, 468.

- 14.** Fragment, woman or goddess Pl. 105

T 4106. P.H. 6.0 (mold), 5.25 (cast); D. of walls 0.5–1.6. Grayish clay with light buff surfaces.

Part of the slightly flexed left leg and foot of a woman dressed in a chiton(?) and with a himation hanging down her back. Pp. 408, 424, 468.

Similar to **14**, but not the same series:

- 15.** Fragment, woman or goddess Pl. 104

T 4113. P.H. 9.6 (mold), 8.65 (cast). Flaky, pinkish buff clay, slightly gray in core; contact surface almost entirely destroyed.

Similar drapery(?); left leg less flexed. Pp. 408, 424.

- 16.** Goddess Pl. 104

T 4076 + T 4101 + T 4111. P.H. 16.6 (mold), 14.6 (cast); D. of walls 0.9–2.5. Grayish pink and buff clay. Rather worn but early-stage (first-generation?) mold, which excluded any plinth or base.

She wears a chiton and a himation, slightly advances her right foot, and stands with her right leg somewhat flexed. Pp. 408, 426–427, 468.

*Seated, Crouching, or Reclining***17. Seated goddess** Pl. 105

T 4118. P.H. 9.75 (mold), 8.7 (cast). Pinkish buff clay with gray core and pinkish blond contact surface. Early generation.

Preserves part of her peplos-clad right leg and foot, with parts of the throne and footstool and the edge of a deep *kolpos*. Pp. 408, 413, 428, 468.

18. Seated goddess Pl. 104

T 4120. P.H. 8.6 (mold), 7.8 (cast). Pinkish gray clay with remains of a finer blond contact surface. Details indistinct.

Preserves her left shoulder and arm, her hand placed above her left breast, and part of the back of the throne. Pp. 408, 409, 428–429.

19. Reclining banqueter (?) Pl. 105

T 4119. P.H. 10.35 (mold), 8.1 (cast). Pinkish buff clay with dark gray core and vestiges of blond contact surface which has flaked badly, losing most of detail. Part of bottom and one side edge preserved, and socket for separately fashioned left forearm.

Apparently had a himation over the left arm. Pp. 408, 409, 431.

20. Kneeling young woman (knucklebone player?) Pl. 105

T 4202. PP' container T.291. P.H. 6.5 (mold), 5.3 (cast). Hard-fired pale gray clay with blond and buff surfaces.

Preserves the top of the plinth with part of her draped right knee and the right hand and arm with which she supported herself. Pp. 408, 431, 476.

*Detached Heads***21. Back of a woman's head** Pl. 111

T 4121. P.H. 6.9 (mold), 5.1 (cast). Pinkish buff clay with remains of buff surface. Oblique rear piece mold.

Woman's head with her hair tightly confined by a kerchief. Pp. 408, 441, 443, 453.

22. "Grotesque" face Pl. 106

T 4080. P.H. ca. 5.0 (mold), 1.05 (cast). Pinkish buff clay with only small area of contact surface surviving, rest having flaked away.

Part of a face with thick lips and spreading nose. Indications that something was carried on top of the head. Pp. 408, 439.

HUMAN FIGURES IN ELABORATE SETTINGS OR GROUPS**23. Seated god or hero and goddesses(?)** Pl. 109

T 4093. P.H. ca. 4.15 (mold), ca. 3.1 (cast); W. 7.6 (mold), 6.0 (cast). Pinkish buff clay with blond contact surface, parts of it lost. Miniature mold, excluding the figures' heads, which, it reveals, had been cut away on the archetype.

Left to right on the cast: a man(?) wrapped in a himation; a long-haired woman in a chiton and symmetrical himation carried up as a veil; a long-haired woman in a chiton and with a himation about her lower body and over her left shoulder. No integral seat, plinth, or base. Pp. 408, 410, 447.

24. Woman or goddess (resting dancer?) Pl. 107
beside a column

T 4063. P.H. 19.05 (mold), 16.65 (cast); H., top of plinth to shoulder, 14.1 (cast). Grayish buff clay with even blond-buff surfaces; back of mold finished smooth.

She wears shoes, chiton, and himation and stands with her himation-wrapped right hand on her hip and her legs crossed. The column has a profiled rectangular base with roundels (summary rosettes?) at its corners. Pp. 408, 443–44, 468.

25. Head and shoulder of a woman Pls. 105, 107
or goddess

T 4108. P.H. 8.0 (mold), 7.2 (cast); F. 1.93 (cast); E.M. 0.82 (cast). Fine, even-surfaced, gray-blond clay with grittier gray core.

Preserves the left side of the head and left shoulder and breast of a woman, clad in a chiton and himation(?). Pp. 408, 410, 444.

26. Standing figures Pl. 109

T 4079 + T 4084 + T 4091. P.H. 15.6 (mold), 14.4 (cast); D. of walls 1.0 average. Pinkish buff clay, lighter at surface and grayish in core, with much of contact surface lost. Surface partly restored.

Two figures standing on plinth: to left a woman wearing chiton and himation, apparently with her right leg slightly flexed. Cf. 58? Pp. 408, 412, 447–448.

27. Standing women or goddesses Pl. 110

T 4074 + T 4114. P.H. 8.1 (mold), 7.4 (cast); p.W. 15.1 (mold), 14.3 (cast); D. of walls 0.6–3.0.

Pinkish buff clay with a blond-buff surface. Plinth or base excluded from mold and apparently to be fashioned separately.

Two women or goddesses side by side: figure to the left stands with her right leg flexed while that to the right slightly bends her left; both wear shoes, chiton, and himation. To the right of the right-hand figure there is a vessel, possibly a hydria, on a stand now lost. The break has obliterated whether there was anything beside the other figure. Cf. **59, 60**. Pp. 408, 412, 448.

28. Deity(?) by a column Pl. 107

(**a**) T 4078. P.H. 6.7 (mold), 6.2 (cast). (**b**) T 4083 + T 4152. Layer 1 and Layer 2, respectively. P.H. 7.5 (mold), 6.8 (cast). (**a, b**) D. of walls 0.8–2.0. Pinkish buff clay with blond surfaces. Nonjoining fragments linked by identity of fabric, plinth height, etc., but composition may have been wider than as assembled in photographs.

The poor preservation makes a fuller description necessary. To the left is an irregularly rounded, obliquely upright member, perhaps the trunk of a tree or vine. To the right are the faint traces of the right foot and better preserved, seemingly booted left foot of a human figure; behind the latter, what may be the bottom of a plain garment (cloak?). To the right again is the corner of a square structure, perhaps an altar or stele. The other fragment preserves part of a column on an indistinct base. The imprecision may be partly due to drapery hanging over these, to judge from blurred folds, which also extend down onto the face of the plinth. Pp. 408, 413, 444–445.

29. Fragment, standing woman or goddess Pls. 105, 107

T 4112. P.H. 7.15 (mold), 6.1 (cast). Grayish buff clay with gray interior and with blond-buff surfaces and knife-smoothed back.

Preserves the end of the plinth and part of a woman's left leg and foot with shoe; she wears a chiton and a himation. Pp. 408, 445.

30. Oriental dancer by an altar Pl. 111

T 4072 + T 4073 + T 4075. H. 22.2 (mold), 20.15 (cast); F. 2.0 (cast); E.M. 0.72 (cast); D. of walls mostly 0.5–1.5. Buff clay with even ocher-blond surfaces.

Dancer (youth or girl?) in front of an altar, hands clasped above the head and ankles crossed, wearing boots, *anaxyrides*, *mitra*, oriental sleeved jacket and,

over it, a short chiton with a *kolpos*. Pp. 408, 410, 451–453.

BIRDS

31. Back of a dove Pl. 111

T 4115. P.L. 7.4 (mold), 6.4 (cast). Pinkish buff clay with lighter buff surface.

Piece mold. Wings folded. Feathers indicated in relief. Pp. 408, 409, 455–456.

32. Fragment, underside of a bird's tail(?) Pl. 111

T 4203. PP' container T.291. P.L. 6.1 (mold), 4.8 (cast). Soft blond clay throughout.

Probably a piece mold. Pp. 409, 455–456.

33. Goose(?), to take a rider Pl. 112

(**a**) T 4070. P.H. 8.0 (mold), 6.6 (cast). (**b**) T 4082. P.L. 10.0 (mold), 8.3 (cast). Both grayish buff clay with blond surface. Surface of **b** worn; **a** shows banding to suggest feather texture (apparently produced by fine tooling on archetype).

Two piece molds for different parts of the same side of the same bird, **a** for its legs and lower body and **b** for its back. Both carry setting-out lines incised on the archetype for locating a separately molded rider. Pp. 408, 409, 410, 455–456, 474.

SHIELDS

34–37. Shields of Athena, with gorgoneia Pl. 112

Fragments from parallel molds of the same generation, possibly all made at the same time. Est. diam. 15.0–16.0 (cast); E.M. of gorgoneion 2.02 (cast). Softish pinkish buff clay with ocher-buff contact surfaces.

Apparently first-generation molds, with some of the detail added directly by intaglio work on their surfaces, notably the eye outlines and some of the stranding of the hair of the gorgoneia and, above all, the variable treatment, whether as scales or feathers, of the aegis occupying the main surface of the shields around the gorgoneia. This last was intended from the outset because the better-preserved fragments, **34** and **35**, also retain faint traces of a preliminary sketching out of the aegis by very light incision on the archetype. The irises and pupils of the eyes appear to have been incised on the archetype. Pp. 408–409, 410, 456.

34. T 4095. P.H. 5.9 (mold), 4.7 (cast).

35. T 4109. P.H. 9.7 (mold), 6.5 (cast).

36. T 4092. Near **35** but apparently not part of same mold.

37. T 4090. Unillustrated. Part of gorgoneion with surface largely flaked away.

Probably also:

38. T 4085.

Unillustrated. On size, shape, and fabric probably another of these shield molds but with its contact surface now entirely flaked away, although still retaining a blond clay back.

PLASTIC VASE

39. Seated woman or goddess Pl. 109

T 4089 + T 4100 + fragment from PP' container T.291. P.H. *ca.* 19.3 (mold), *ca.* 16.2 (cast); p.H. of body of woman *ca.* 7.0 (cast). Flaking, pinkish gray-buff clay with small vestiges of the finer blond contact surface.

It has an incised stroke on the back, possibly the letter I. A derivative mold, to judge from the vestigial rosettes; the woman's head was apparently removed from the vase being copied before the mold was taken.

The contact surface survives only at her shoulders and left thigh, on which her left hand also rests. Her lower body is draped and there is a coarsely retouched hair lock (or himation edge?) across her left shoulder. Pp. 408, 411, 412, 449. (Mold more revealing than cast in photographs.)

"ARCHITECTURAL" RELIEFS

40. Dancing(?) woman Pl. 113

T 4087 + T 4117. P.H. 23.5 (mold), 20.0 (cast); p.W. 24.4 (mold), 21.5 (cast). Softish orange-buff clay with a gray core.

Preserves the vertical edge of a relief with the draped legs of a woman in motion in chiton and himation, the edge of the latter apparently held out in front of her. Pp. 409, 412, 461.

41. Plants (part of a larger frieze?) Pl. 113

T 4071. P.H. 10.1 (mold), 9.1 (cast). Well-fired buff clay, its surface partly stained black.

Preserves one edge of the plaque, which is quarter-round in section. Relief decoration continues around the curve: reeds and an eight-petaled rosettelike flower. Pp. 409, 412, 461.

42. Gorgoneion Pl. 113

T 4098. Diam. 18.2 (mold), 15.3 (cast). Hard-fired pinkish clay with a buff surface.

Part of a circular relief preserving the top of the head and the right eye and ear; the iris and pupil of the eye boldly indicated. Pp. 409, 412, 462.

Apparently also, based on fabric:

43. Wheel Pl. 113

T 4107. Diam. 12.4 (mold), 8.8 (cast). Hard-fired pinkish clay with a pinkish buff back surface (very like that of **42**). Coarsely executed.

Preserves about a quarter of a four-spoked wheel, probably that of a chariot, surrounded by a slightly recessed border decorated with a zigzag incised on the archetype. Pp. 409, 412, 462.

COMPLETED FIGURINES

PROTOME

44. Fragment, bust of Athena Pl. 101

T 4125 + T 4127. P.H. 9.0; p.W. 7.7. Gorgoneion: F. 3.85; E.M. (from under teeth) 1.38. Blond clay, grayish at core.

From the bottom edge of the protome, preserving part of the goddess's peplos with its overfold and part of her snake-fringed aegis with its gorgoneion. Cf. **5**. Pp. 412, 415–416.

ISOLATED HUMAN FIGURES

Seated

45. Fragment, goddess Pl. 105

T 4126. P.H. *ca.* 7.1. Pinkish buff clay with gray core. Worn.

Preserves some of the upper part of her body. She wears a chiton and a himation that is draped obliquely over her left shoulder. Pp. 412, 427–428.

46. Mother of the gods Pl. 105

T 4130. P.H. *ca.* 6.3; p.W. 5.4; S. *ca.* 5.2. Attic pinkish blond clay. Large rectangular vent cut in back.

Seated, wearing chiton and himation, she has both arms lowered, her left hand around the forepart of a small lion on her lap. Pp. 411, 429, 468.

47. Enthroned Goddess Pl. 106

T 4151. P.H. 5.3; S. 4.92. Grayish buff clay, reddish at core. Rectangular vent cut in back.

She sits with her hands in her lap, wearing a chiton and with a himation over her left shoulder and arm and apparently across her lower body. Palmette in relief on the outer part of the throne back. Attribute lost or removed (?). Pp. 411, 430, 468.

48. Fragment, goddess on a *klismos* Pl. 106
T 4131. P.H. ca. 4.2; p.W. 3.8. Light red clay. Worn.

Preserves her legs, draped in chiton and himation, and the edge of the *klismos* on which she is seated. Pp. 412, 429–430, 468.

Riding

49. Child Dionysos on a goat Pl. 106
Two nonjoining fragments: (a) T 4124. P.H. 4.8; E.M. 0.37. (b) T 4142. P.H. 5.8. Combined H. ca. 10.3. Both pinkish buff clay with some grits and a mostly blond surface. Molded separately with plain added backs, then assembled with a layer of clay added between them to make the join, traces of which remain on the goat's back near the break and under the child's rump. Retouched after molding on the goat's pelt and the child's hair, and an appliqué head band, central braid, and garland(?) added on the latter.

Preserved are the head, arms, and body, its upper part nude, of the child, seated sideways (a), and the rump, tail, and hind leg, apparently of a goat (b). Pp. 411, 434–435, 468.

Reclining and Banqueting

50. Child at the Choes festival Pl. 105
T 4141. P.H. 4.75; W. 5.9. Attic blond clay, pinkish at core. Possibly a workshop reject, fired but apparently never decorated; a faulty impression in over-dry clay that has cracked as a result and that has failed to cover the mold at all at two points between the legs.

Head missing. A long-haired child (little girl?) supporting herself on her left arm and holding an oinochoe of chous type in her right hand. She wears shoes, an ankle-length sleeved chiton, and a himation hanging down her back and apparently extending up to cover the back of her head as a veil. Pp. 411, 431–432.

51. Naked hetaira (“grotesque”) Pl. 106
T 4128. P.H. ca. 6.65; F. 2.85; E.M. 0.95. Grayish brown clay. Rectangular vent cut in back. Scrawny neck retouched after molding.

She was apparently lying on her left side, supported on her missing left elbow; an indistinct object (possibly part of a small vase?) appears below her right breast, perhaps being held in her missing left hand. She has shortish hair, a grinning mouth, squinting eyes, projecting ears, and, apparently, a dumpy, plumpish body. Pp. 411, 439.

52. Youth Pl. 105
T 4137. P.H. ca. 7.6; F. 1.92; E.M. 0.6. Pale grayish buff clay, light red at its core. Large rectangular vent cut in back. Hair retouched after molding, with appliqué knot added.

He is apparently reclining with his weight on his missing left elbow, his upper body nude, although changing contours at the break suggest that the lower part just beyond was draped. He has long hair, some of it gathered into a knot above his brow. Pp. 411, 432.

Standing or Dancing

53. Man in a himation (“grotesque”?) Pl. 106
T 4154. P.H. 5.0. Pinkish buff clay. Rectangular vent cut in back.

He is shown standing, swathed in his himation, which envelops his bent right arm, and is probably identified as a “grotesque” by his type, dumpy proportions, and protruding belly. Pp. 411, 439–440.

54. Fragment, drapery Pl. 110
T 4123. P.H. ca. 5.4. Pinkish buff clay with reddish interior. Much worn, particularly at the edges.

Apparently part of a chiton that curls outward slightly at the bottom and elsewhere sweeps back against a leg behind. Pp. 412, 450.

55. Fragment, dancer Pl. 110
T 4140. P.H. 4.1. Pinkish buff clay. Traces indicate background at top of plinth was painted black, with foot apparently left in white of underlying slip.

Part of a cylindrical plinth with, above, a bare left foot on tiptoe. Pp. 411, 450.

56. Fragment, dancer Pl. 110

T 4139. P.H. ca. 4.75. Pale grayish buff clay.

Preserves the himation-wrapped left arm of a woman in motion. Pp. 450–451.

HUMAN FIGURES IN ELABORATE SETTINGS OR GROUPS

57. Libation-pouring goddess beside a stele Pl. 108

T 4122 + T 4136 + T 4138 + T 4143 + T 4144 + T 4146 + T 4150 + fragment from PP' container T.396. H. 25.5; F. 2.42; E.M. 0.78. Pinkish blond clay with blond surface. Rectangular vent cut in back. Appliqué disk earrings. Faulty impression of decoration of goddess's polos above right side of head suggests flaking from mold surface; detail also blurred by mold wear or derivative copying, as in poor and only intermittent registering of chiton details.

She is shown standing, wearing earrings, a low, flaring polos, a thin, almost transparent chiton, and a himation draped over her left shoulder and enveloping her left arm. Her right arm rests on top of a stele of naïskos type as she pours a libation from a phiale. Pp. 411, 412, 445–446, 468.

The fragments **58–60** are similar in fabric and condition but come from at least two different series:

58. Group of standing women or goddesses Pl. 110

T 4133. P.H. 7.5. Hard-fired, even, grayish buff clay.

Standing woman wearing a chiton and himation; beside her left shoulder a small part of the draped right shoulder of a second similar figure standing next to her. Cf. **26**(?). Pp. 412, 448.

59. Fragment from a group of standing figures Pl. 110

T 4155. P.H. 5.5. Hard-fired, even, buff clay, partly grayish buff.

Preserves the right edge of a group and part of the himation-draped legs of a standing woman, the underlying chiton appearing at the bottom between them. Cf. **27**. Pp. 412, 448.

60. Fragment from a group of standing figures Pl. 110

T 4132. P.H. 4.8. Hard-fired, even, grayish buff clay.

Preserves part of the plinth and the left side of a group, with the edge of a stele(?) and the right shoe and himation-draped leg of a standing figure. Cf. **27**(?). Pp. 412, 448.

The fragments **61** and **62**, in the same fabric, may well have belonged to the same composition:

61. Fragment from a group of figures (?) Pl. 110

T 4134. P.H. ca. 3.15. Pinkish blond clay.

Preserves part of the plinth and the edge of a mass of drapery trailed from a moving figure (?). P. 449.

62. Fragment from a group of figures (?) Pl. 110

T 4135. P.H. 2.45. Pinkish blond clay.

Preserves part of the plinth and a trace of drapery above it. P. 449.

ITEMS OF FOREIGN ORIGIN OR DERIVATION

*Suspended Articulated Figure***63.** Girl dancer Pl. 106

T 4129. P.H. 6.05. Buff clay. Attic(?) derivative from Corinthian. Surface worn.

Preserves her torso wearing a short chiton with a *kolpos* and with holes pierced for the rods to take her separately fashioned, pivoted arms and legs. Pp. 412, 435–438.

*Decorative Relief Disks***64.** Disk with a garland and “floral star” Pl. 112

T 4156. Max. dim. 14.4; diam. ca. 18.8, excluding serrations 17.0; D. 0.5–0.6. Very smooth-surfaced, fine, even, gray clay, light red at its core, probably Corinthian, but the fire damage makes certainty difficult. Carries remains of slip and of colored painted decoration over it, both now burnt gray, and of overlying black linear details.

Disk with a serrated edge and with two concentric zones of relief decoration, the outer in the form of a laurel garland and the inner occupied by the “floral star” or so-called sunburst motif. Pp. 411, 412, 413, 458–460, 472.

Same series, but one generation later, the fragments seemingly from at least two examples:

65, 66. Fragments from disks with garlands and “floral stars” Pl. 112

T 4157 a–d, T 4158. Diam. ca. 16.5, excluding serrations 15.0. Grayish buff to pinkish buff clay.

Probably Attic derivatives from Corinthian, with apparent exception of T 4157 a (65, bottom in Pl. 112), whose finer clay seems to mark it as Corinthian.

Decoration as 64 (*q.v.*) but smaller. Citations as for 64.

PLASTIC VASES

67. Squatting child (Dionysos?) at a grotto(?) Pl. 105

P 30560. P.H. 5.5; p.W. 7.3. Hard-fired pinkish buff clay, reddish on interior. Made in front and back molds, with appliqué ivy leaves. Black-glazed back and plinth.

Preserves the draped right leg of a child seated sideways on the ground, his right forearm holding an oinochoe of chous type. Curved background (a grotto?) is bounded by a thick garland of small overlapping leaves, with larger ivy leaves attached above its outer edge. Pp. 411, 432–433.

68. Child Dionysos riding on a panther Pl. 106

P 30561 + P 30563 + two fragments from PP' container T.396. P.H. 8.4; p.W. 6.0. Hard-fired pinkish clay. Made in front and back molds, with appliqué forelegs for panther attached by slip. Black-glazed back and most of front of plinth. Only color surviving over white slip is red in panther's nostril.

Rearing panther with a boy seated sideways on its back. All that survives of the child are his bare legs and groin and possible traces of his trailing drapery(?). Pp. 411, 435.

69. Woman's head Pl. 111

P 30559. P.H. 5.1, of molded part 3.5; F. 1.82; E.M. 0.63. Hard-fired pinkish buff clay. Garland retouched after molding with appliqué ivy leaves and fruit; headband apparently also added after

molding. Black-glazed back and neck of vase. Black eye details over white-slip flesh color; red on edges of headband.

Head of a woman wearing an ivy garland and a broad headband tied with bows. Pp. 411, 453–454.

Apparently also:

70. Wing fragment Pl. 111

T 4097. Max. dim. 5.35. Lighter-surfaced, smooth, pinkish buff clay. It has an even, curved back, thinning towards one edge where shallow scalloping marks the tips of the flight feathers; the overlapping feathers themselves are shown flat and "stepped". Traces of white slip.

From a sphinx rhyton (?). Pp. 454, 467.

NON-MOLDED ELEMENTS OF PLASTIC VASES

71. Fragment from a plastic vase (?) Pl. 111

P 31831. PP' container T.396. Max. dim. 5.5; p.H. *ca.* 1.5 (?). Well-fired, fairly thin-walled buff clay. Apparently shaped by hand from thin sheet of clay. Traces of black glaze (possibly partly slip making joins fired black) on both sides.

Apparently part of a base with a ring of dimples, rising beyond in broad, undulating fluting. Pp. 407, 411, 455.

72. Fragment, almond amphoriskos Pl. 111

P 31830. PP' container T.396. P.H. 6.5. Buff clay with a paler exterior. Wheelmade vase, with almond shape built up around it by hand. Almond pittings in regular rows, probably added by some form of rouletting. Dull black glaze on neck of vase and traces also inside handle.

Preserves parts of body, neck, and handle. Pp. 407, 455, 474.

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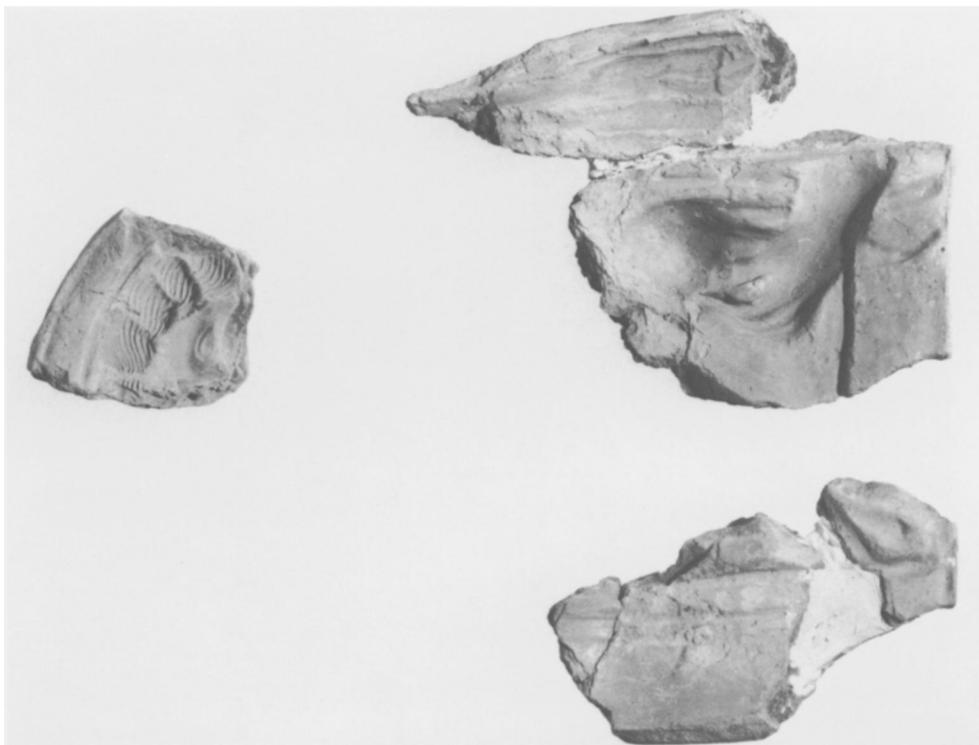
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RICHARD VAUGHAN NICHOLLS

1 Heron's Close
Cambridge CB1 4NS
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Protomai



6



6 (cast)



1 1:2



44 1:2

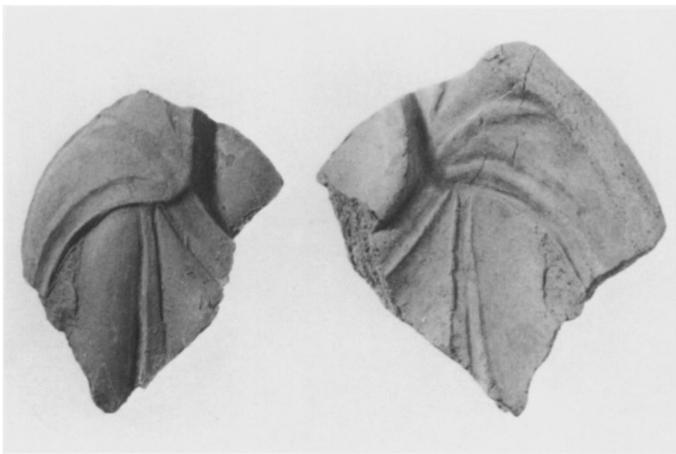
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5 (cast)



5



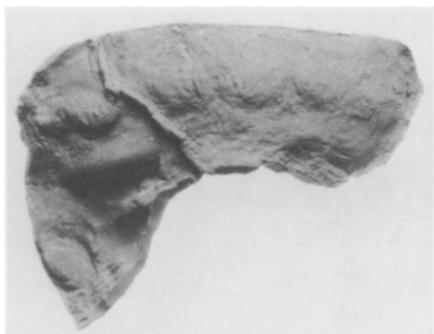
Cast and 8



9 and cast

Protomai

Scale 1:3

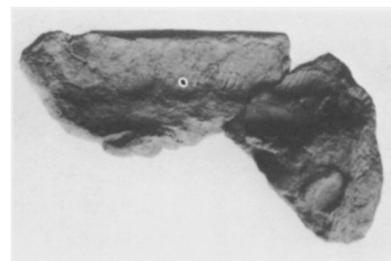


7 (cast)



7 (back detail)

1:1



7

1:3

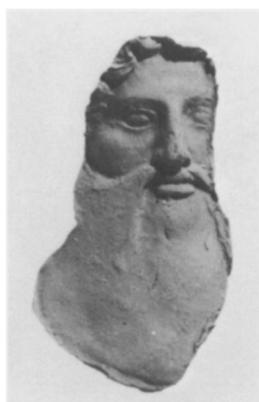
Protome: 7



Agora P 17782, T 2659



Agora T 1579 b, T 1579 a



4 (cast)



4

Mask: 4

Scale 1:2, except where indicated

PLATE 104



Cast and 15 1:3



11 and cast



13

Standing Figures:
10; 11; 13; 15; 16



16 1:3



10 (cast)

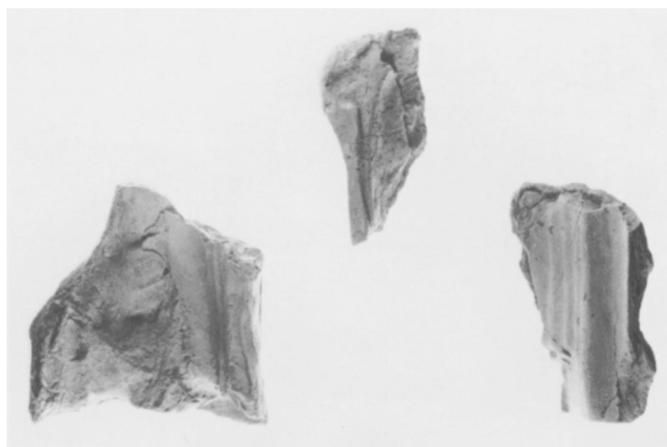


Agora T 1706

13 (cast)

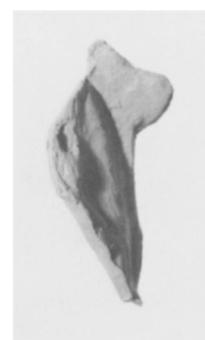


16 (cast)



10 (left), 18 (center), 17 (right)

1:3



18 (cast)

Seated Figures:
17; 18

Scale 1:2, except where indicated

Crouching and Reclining Figures:
19; 20; 50; 52; 67



50



19 (cast)



20 (cast)



20



52



67



19 (top left), 12 (bottom left), 14 (center), 25 (top right), 29 (bottom right)

1:3

Shallow Figures: **25; 29**



12 (cast)



14 (cast), front



14 (cast), side

Standing Figures: **12; 14**



17



17 (cast)



45



46

Seated Figures: **17; 45; 46**

Scale 1:2, except where indicated

PLATE 106



47, from slightly above



47, normal front view



48



68

Seated Figures: 47; 48



2, front



2, back

Rider Figures: 2; 49; 68



22 and cast



51



53

"Grotesque" Figures: 22; 51; 53



49, rider from side



Agora T 2358 + T 2378

Articulated Figure:
63



63, front



63, side



Agora T 3399, side



Front

Scale 1:2



Agora T 1285



24 (cast)

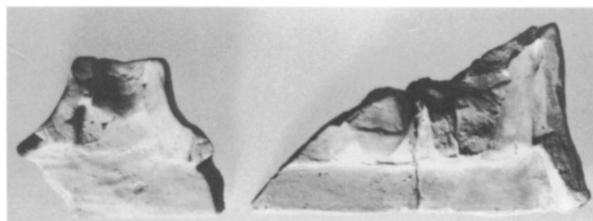


24 1:3



25 (cast)

Shallow Figures



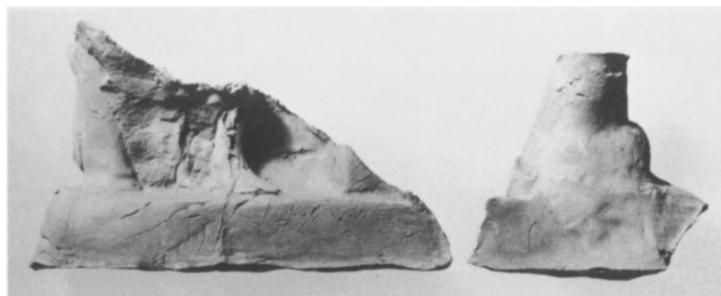
28 1:3



Agora T 4171



Cast



28 (cast)



29 (cast)

Scale 1:2, except where indicated



57



Kanellopoulos Museum 1465

Shallow Figures



57 (detail), front 1:1

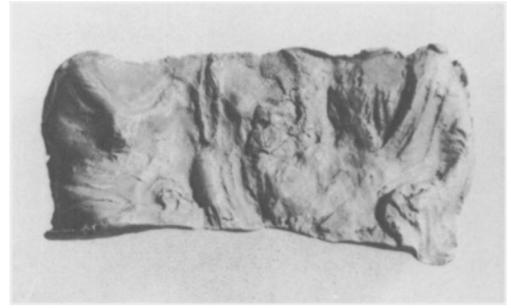


57 (detail), side 1:1

Scale 1:2, except where indicated



23 1:1



23 (cast)

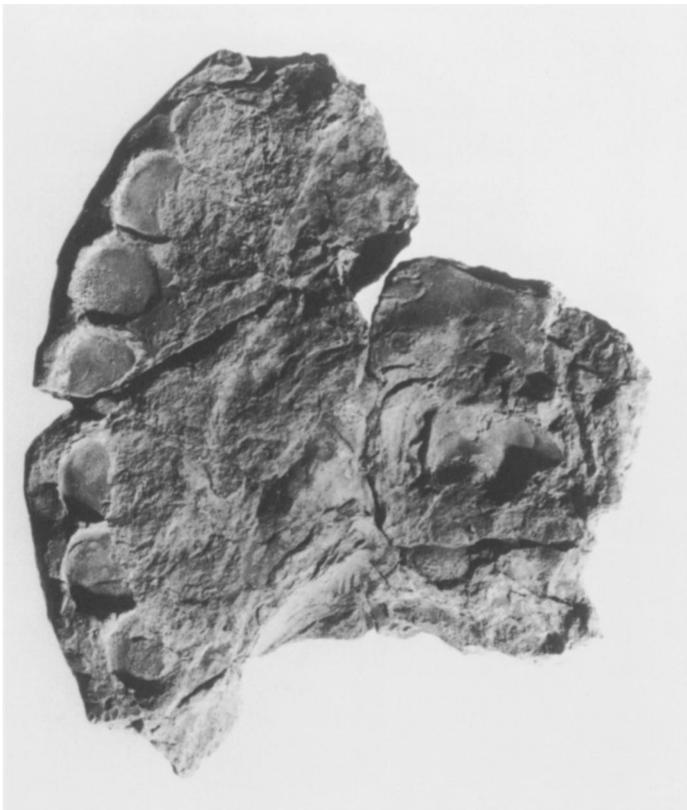
Shallow Groups



26 1:3



26 (cast)



39



39 (cast) 1:3

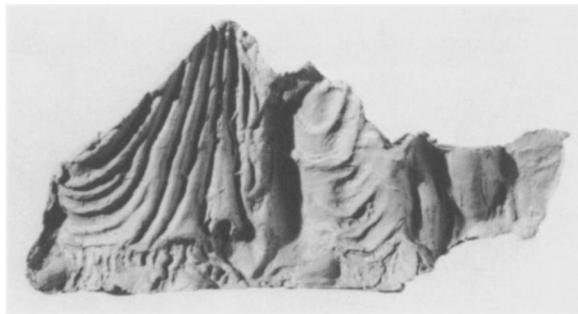
Scale 1:2, except where indicated



27

1:3

Shallow Groups:
27; 58-62



27 (cast)



Athens, N.M. 5772



61 (left), 62 (right)



55

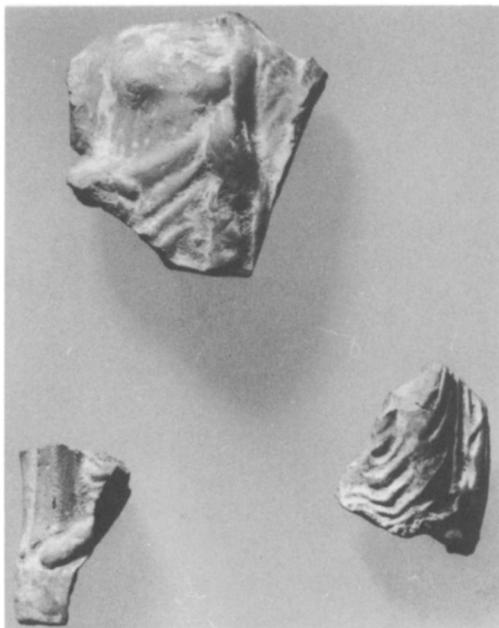


54

Dancers: 3; 54-56



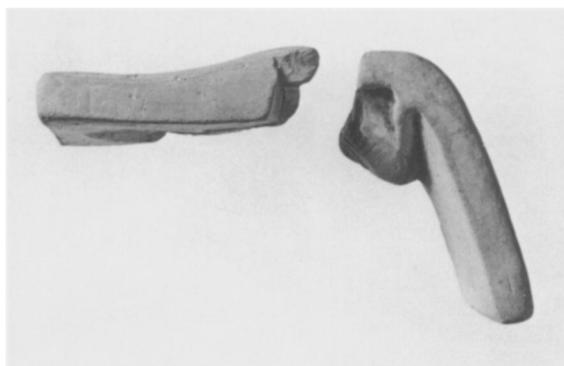
56



58 (top), 60 (bottom left), 59 (bottom right)



3, front



3, from above

Scale 1:2, except where indicated

Dancer: 30



30 1:3



30 (cast)



Athens, N.M. 4722



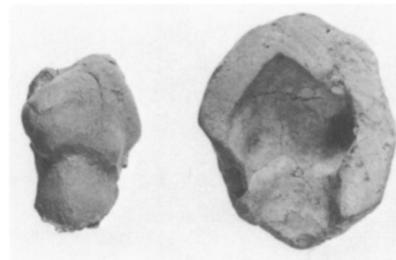
Akropolis Museum
old no. 1442



69, side



69, front



Cast and 21

Heads: 21; 69



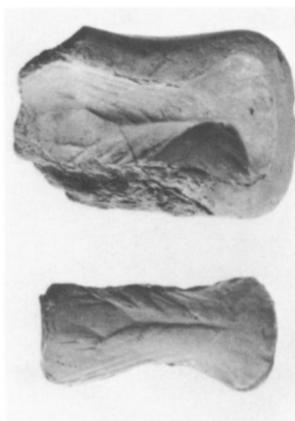
70



71



72



31 and cast



32 and cast

Birds: 31; 32

Remaining Plastic Vases: 70-72

Scale 1:2, except where indicated

PLATE 112



33a (detail) 1:1



33 (casts)



34 (top left), 35 (right), 36 (bottom left) 1:3

Bird: 33



33 1:3

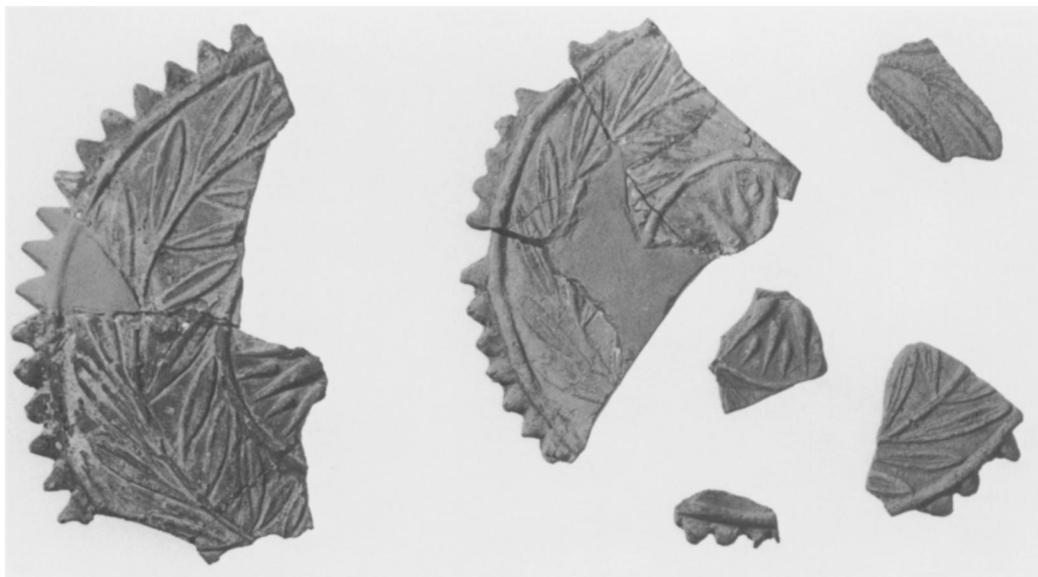


34 and cast



35 (cast)

Shields: 34-36



64 (left), 65, 66 (right, 65 at bottom)

Relief Disks: 64-66

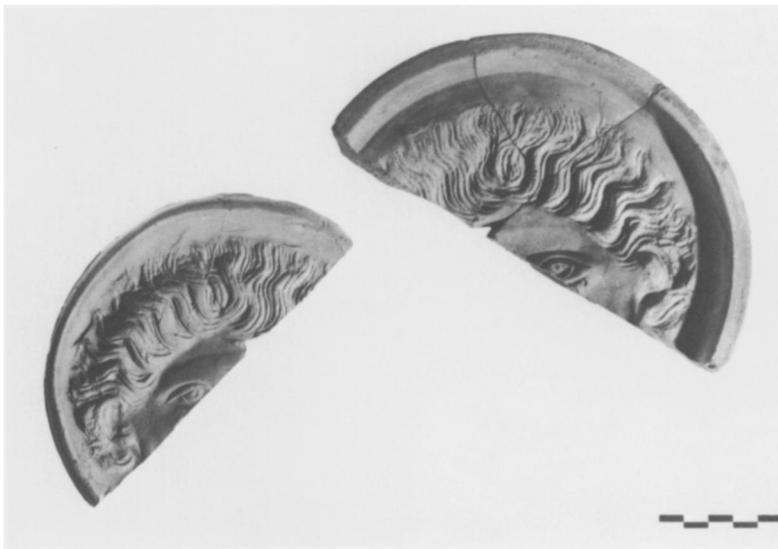
Scale 1:2, except where indicated



40



40 (cast)



Cast and 42



Cast and 41

“Architectural”
Relief Molds:
40-43



1:2

“Dove girl”

Akropolis Museum 12438



Cast and 43

1:2

Scale 1:3, except where indicated