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School group agrees well with the... associated at Halai in clay and figural types.<sup>3</sup> The stated provenience thus seems accurate, although without exact proof the origin of the figurines must remain open.

The terracottas fall into two main groups; one datable to the 5th century B.C., and the other to the 4th. Within these broad groups there is considerable variance in the stylistic date of the individual objects. This makes the reassemblage of any grave-groups difficult. A further problem which deters assignment to specific tombs lies in the observation of the excavators of Halai that many unassociated figurines were found in the earth-enclosed graves to which they did not belong.<sup>4</sup> Similar conditions seem to have prevailed at Olynthus and Corinth.<sup>5</sup> It appears in these cases that the action of repeated plowing and other disturbances had broken up some graves and reinterred their offerings in the topsoil. Given these problems, it seems high or impossible to reconstruct with any certainty the original groupings of the figurines, although some speculation as to possible associations will be advanced

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later in this paper.

A group of terracotta figurines has recently been donated to the collection of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens.<sup>1</sup> They were reportedly purchased in the mid-1950s from an old Greek peasant who gave their provenience as Atlanti in Opuntian Lokris. This is near the site of ancient Halai, which possesses extensive cemeteries partially excavated by H. Goldman and L. Walker Kosmopoulos in 1911-1914.<sup>2</sup> The necropolises there have been plundered from the 19th century onward,<sup>3</sup> and the American School group agrees well with the terracottas excavated at Halai in clay and figural types.<sup>4</sup> The stated provenience thus seems accurate, although without exact proof the origin of the figurines must remain open.

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later in this paper.<sup>7.</sup>

The first group of figurines is datable to the 5th century B.C., but to over a half-century span. This dating is, of course, open to correction, since the types are conservative,<sup>8.</sup> and could simply represent survivals of old moulds. Generally, however, moulds were replaced and reworked at frequent intervals,<sup>9.</sup> and it is more likely that the 5th century terracottas divide into two periods.

The earliest figurines are numbers 1 and 2 of the catalogue. Number 1, a small *δίσκος*, is paralleled in tomb-groups from Attica, Rhodes and Argos.<sup>10.</sup> All of these dated to the first half of the 5th century B.C., and the only terracotta stool found at Halai was from a grave of ca. 520-480 B.C.<sup>11.</sup> The reason for placing a miniature piece of furniture in a tomb is not totally clear. Stools of this sort were commonly used in Greek houses for a variety of purposes, and were of course quite portable.<sup>12.</sup> The miniature examples may then imply an interest on the part of the bereaved in providing a convenient means for resting during the journey to the underworld. Alternatively it was simply a symbolic offering of a small but useful creature comfort, or even a toy.<sup>13.</sup>

The other early figurine (no. 2) is an enthroned lady of the type common throughout the 6th and 5th centuries B.C.<sup>14.</sup> Like many of her sisters from Halai she wears a stephane on her head with a long veil falling down over her chiton.<sup>15.</sup> In the absence of any attributes it is difficult to determine any symbolic value of figurines of this type, although it is tempting to associate them with tutelary deities.<sup>16.</sup> The archaic smile of this lady distinguishes her from the other figurines of this

type in the group (nos. 3-6), and her closest parallels at Halai are again dated to the late 6th or early 5th centuries B.C.<sup>17</sup>. Number 2 may in fact be a Rhodian import, since her clay is unlike that of the other figurines from the group or Halai, but similar to that of Rhodian terracottas. The technique of leaving a small firing hole in an otherwise closed under-surface is also characteristic of figurines from Rhodes.<sup>18</sup>. Although it is well-known that Boeotian coroplasts copied Rhodian models and technique in the earlier 5th century,<sup>19</sup> the evidence of the fabric together with close correspondance of facial features with enthroned women from Rhodes suggests that number 2 represents one of the archetypes for Boeotian production rather than a local derivative.<sup>20</sup>.

The other ladies of this common type seem later. Numbers 3-5 are clearly from the same mould, and their parallels at Halai are from later 5th century tombs.<sup>21</sup>. Again they wear stephanai with veils over a foldless chiton, but the heads show the features characteristic of Boeotian ladies of this type in the second half of the 5th century.<sup>22</sup>. The extensive remains of paint on number 3 clearly distinguishes the garments, and checks closely with the painting preserved on similar figurines from Halai, thus strengthening the case for the derivation of the terracottas from that site.<sup>23</sup>.

The last of the enthroned women (no. 6) possesses little of the charm of the other figurines of this type. Her indistinguishable features and scant detail suggest a third-generation mould, as does the presence of added clay on her base.<sup>24</sup>. Her basic form, however, seems close to that of numbers 3-5. She must represent the dissolution of the type, and thus may date as late as the first quarter of the 4th century.<sup>25</sup>.

There are three other 5th century terracotta types in the American School group. Number 7 is a squatting Silenus, a type common in 5th century graves and votive deposits.<sup>26</sup> In the former category the type is generally associated with child burials,<sup>27</sup> where its presence may well refer to the kourotrophic affiliations of these creatures.<sup>28</sup> Silenoi of other types appear at Halai in the 3rd quarter of the 5th century B.C.,<sup>29</sup> and the non-ithyphallic variety, such as number 7, seems not to have become common elsewhere until the last half of the century.<sup>30</sup> The muddy features of our piece suggests that it comes from a well-used mould,<sup>31</sup> and a date in the last quarter of the 5th century thus seems likeliest.

Number 8 is a type with much the same history and distribution as the Silenus.<sup>32</sup> Often called "squatting shepherds",<sup>33</sup> these figurines appear elsewhere in the earlier 5th century, but their earliest manifestation at Halai is late in the century.<sup>34</sup> A date late in the series is suggested by the rude incision of the folds of the cloak of the American School piece. This indicates that it comes from a reworked mould,<sup>35</sup> and again the date of manufacture should fall in the last quarter of the 5th century B.C.

The last of the figurines of 5th century type is a standing kore holding a votive to her breast (no. 9). Again there are signs that the mould was not of the first generation in the blurred appearance of the features and drapery. Although the closest parallels to this lady at Halai appear in the third quarter of the 5th century,<sup>36</sup> the late position of our piece in the series implies a date in the last quarter.<sup>37</sup>

The changes which occurred in the standing draped female types during the course of the 4th century are particularly

well illustrated in the American School group. With the demise of the old kore type in the early 4th, new variations came into existence.<sup>38</sup> Number 10 wears a chiton and himation in place of number 9's peplos. She retains the old gesture of the right hand to the bosom, but the motif has become merely formal, retaining none of the original sense of holding a votive.<sup>39</sup> By the last quarter of the century the gesture will have become purely secular, with the hand clutching at the drapery around the neck.<sup>40</sup> This creates interesting patterns in the interplay of loose and taut drapery over the body, an effect already implicitly sought in the coroplast's attempts in Number 10 to differentiate between the thin crinkly folds of the chiton and the rich fall of the heavier mantle's border. This quality is further heightened by the torsion in the contraposto stance. Figurines of this type appear at Halai in the first half of the 4th century and herald the changes which revolutionized Greek terracottas in the latter half of the century.<sup>41</sup>

Despite the increased artistic impulses implicit in number 10, the figurine remains essentially flat and two-dimensional. The last two draped women in the group show the linear and plastic tension of body and garment used to emphasize three-dimensional depth characteristic of the later 4th century.<sup>42</sup> Number 11 draws her himation up over her head, a motif which increases in popularity after the middle of the century.<sup>43</sup> This style of dress is often associated with mantled dancers,<sup>44</sup> but the close correspondance of pose with that of number 12, as well as other parallels,<sup>45</sup> suggests that the coroplast sought only to vary a stock type through variations of dress. Despite the interesting twisting pose and some attempts at careful delineation of the folds of the garments, the piece is of ex-

tremely low quality, with a sfumato appearance which suggests a well-used mould. Although the type seems to represent the stage of the "pre-Tanagra" of the third quarter of the century,<sup>46</sup> our figurine seems most likely to have been produced some time after the archetype was evolved, probably in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C.

The only true Tanagra of the group is number 12.<sup>47</sup> Her fabric is similar to that of number 11, and form has its closest parallels in the late 4th century.<sup>48</sup> The form of the mantle, with its folds spreading across and around the figure to emphasize depth, resembles that in the latest of the Attic grave reliefs.<sup>49</sup> The headdress and coiffure also point to the later 4th, and it is interesting to observe that no figurines were found at Halai datable after the first half of the 3rd century B.C.<sup>50</sup> The figurines in the American School group thus cover exactly the same range in date as those excavated from the necropolis of Halai.

As with number 12, the last of the figurines (no. 13) brings us to the beginnings of the Hellenistic period. This is a type generally called a "doll" and most recently identified as a "hierodoulos".<sup>51</sup> The piece does not possess the articulated limbs characteristic of the type, which suggests that it was produced for the grave.<sup>52</sup> A date in the late 4th century is suggested by the delicate if somewhat high-breasted modelling of this lady, with close parallels from the Pnyx and an early 3rd century cistern in the Agora of Athens.<sup>53</sup>

The problems of attempting any reconstruction of the original tomb-groups should be apparent from the above discussion. The figurines stylistically date to four distinct periods: the first half of the 5th century (nos. 1-2), the last quarter of

the 5th century (nos. 3-5, 7-9, 6?), the first half of the 4th century (nos. 10, 6?), and the late 4th century (nos. 11-13). Even given the occasionally retardataire qualities of terracottas from Halai,<sup>54</sup> this spread in date precludes any close hypothesizing concerning the original groupings of the figurines.

It does, however, seem likely that some of the pieces may be associated. The presence of three enthroned women from the same mould (nos. 3-5) implies that they probably derive from the same tomb, since this phenomenon has been noted at Olynthus as well as Halai.<sup>55</sup> A parallel situation exists in the large numbers of similar and low-quality lekythoi found in 5th century graves in the Kerameikos in Athens.<sup>56</sup> It seems likely that these cheap offerings were often purchased in bulk, without particular interest in variety. In terracotta figurines this tendency is primarily manifested in child burials,<sup>57</sup> a fact of interest since seated ladies are often found in such tombs.<sup>58</sup> It has already been noted that Silenus and satyr types are associated with child-burials, a fact true also of the "squatting shepherd".<sup>59</sup> Since kore types also appear in burials of young people,<sup>60</sup> it may thus be possible to isolate all of the surely later 5th century figurines in the American School group (i.e. nos. 3-5, 7-9) as deriving from one child-burial of the last quarter of the 5th century B.C. Given the strictures in dealing with figurines without sure provenience, as well as the figurines frequently found at Halai disassociated from their tombs, further speculation seems fanciful.<sup>61</sup>

It remains only to reiterate that the figurines in the American School group, with the exception of the possible Rhodian import number 2, relate closely in fabric and types to the terracottas found in the excavations of the Halai necropolis.



Since it seems likely that figurines were made at that site,<sup>62.</sup> there seems little reason to doubt the attribution of the seller. It thus seems likely that the new group of figurines furnishes additional evidence of the terracotta industry which flourished at Halai in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. As has been noted,<sup>63.</sup> the figurines from Halai bear witness to close cultural as well as economic ties between Boeotia and Opuntian Lokris in the Classical age, facts which correspond gratifyingly with historical evidence suggesting that the city came under Boeotian control in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.<sup>64.</sup> Although the American School figurines attain little real artistic worth, particularly in the standing draped women it illustrates well the transition from the hieratic votive types characteristic of 5th century terracottas to the secular and artistically motivated forms of the early Hellenistic age. As such the group repays study, since it embodies paradigmatically in a small scale the processes of change in conceptions of life and art in these centuries.

Buff clay with inclusions. H. 3. H. 9.1 cm. V. 7. P. 1.1 cm. Stephens red, hair red, lips red, chiton red; veil yellow white, himation white; throne white. Back rounded with prints. Open beneath. Broken slightly upper left side. P 4: H. 9 cm. Traces of white and yellow paint. P 5: H. 9.1 cm. Traces of white and yellow paint. Backs and bottoms of thrones turned slightly to right, hair brown. Back over curve of phasel with long veils extending down to sides, long seat of thrones. Beneath veil himation very far. All three from same mould.

CATALOGUE

T 1. Stool (*Stipos*). Pl. 1. **AST 43**

Dark brown clay with inclusions. Top fired to a mottled gray/brown. H. 3.3 cm. Top 6x6 cm. Traces white primer on top. Fingerprints on bottoms and sides. One leg broken off 1/2 way down, chipped on top.

Stool with moulded upper terminations of legs and indication of cushion on seat. Top mouldmade, legs handmade.

T 2. Enthroned Woman. Pl. 1. **AST 44**

Soft fine buff to light orange clay with small micaceous inclusions. H. 11.5 cm. H. face 2 cm. White primer on body and throne. Rounded back, wiped but traces of fingerprints. Small vent hole in otherwise closed bottom.

Woman sits on armless throne. Wears stephane on head, from which long veil extends to mid-calf over foldless chiton. Hands on knees. Whole figure tilted upward at front by placement of front feet of throne higher than rear.

T 3-5. Enthroned Women. Pl. 2. **AST 45-47**

Buff clay with inclusions. T 3: H. 9.1 cm. H. face 1.3 cm. Stephane red, hair red, lips red, chiton red; veil yellow; skin white, himation white, throne white. Back rounded with fingerprints. Open beneath. Broken slightly upper left side.

T 4: H. 9 cm. Traces of white and yellow paint. T 5: H. 9.1 cm. Traces of white and yellow paint. Backs and bottoms as T 3.

Women sit on armless thrones with hands on knees. Heads turned slightly to right, hair drawn back over ears. Wear stephanai with long veils extending down to waists, then back along seat of thrones. Beneath veil himation over foldless chiton. All three from same mould.

T 6. Enthroned Woman. Pl. 2. **AST 48**

Hard buff clay with inclusions. H. 10 cm. H. face 1.3 cm. White primer on body, traces yellow paint. Flat back rough with fingerprints. Bottom open. Separately added clay between feet and on bottom.

Draped woman sits with hands on knees. Apparently wears stephane with veil, chiton and himation (?).

T 7. Squatting Silenus. Pl. 2. **AST 49**

Fine buff to orange clay. H. 6.9 cm. H. face ca. 1.7 cm. White primer on body, traces yellow paint on base. Flattened, slightly rounded back with fingerprints. Open beneath block base. Broken slightly on right side of head.

Silenus squats with hands on knees. Below protruding belly penis hangs limply on base. Beard melts into chest.

T 8. "Squatting Shepherd". Pl. 2. **AST 50**

Fine orange clay with inclusions. H. 10 cm. H. face 1.5 cm. White primer on body, some traces of red paint. Face made separately and poorly attached to body. Back rounded with fingerprints. No base, open bottom.

Beardless male wearing pilos squats with cloak drawn closely around him. Face looks up, has long hair drawn back behind ears. Hands apparently on knees, tips of feet protrude at bottom of cloak. Crude grooving indicates folds of cloak.

T 9. Kore. Pl. 3. **AST 51**

Fine red-brown clay with inclusions. H. 13.8 cm. H. face 1.8 cm. H. base 2.1 cm. White primer on body, traces of yellow paint. Back flat, bellling out at bottom. Block base

Hard brittle buff clay with large inclusions. H. 10.5 cm. H. face 1.6 cm. Traces white primer. Large oval vent rear.

broken at bottom of front.

Standing female wears sleeved peplos with overfold to waist. Stephane on head, perhaps veil down back. Right hand holds offering to breast, left hangs at side. Extends left leg forward slightly. High block base has slight indication of moulding at bottom.

T 10. Standing draped woman. Pl. 3. **AST 52**

Fairly hard buff clay with inclusions, covered with grainy orange slip or primer. H 16.7 cm. H face 2.0 cm. Large rectangular vent in rear. Bottom open beneath plaque base.

Woman wearing chiton with himation extending to knees stands looking slightly left. Wears stephane over hair drawn back over ears and hanging down back. Right arm under himation bends up with hand under right breast, left hand wrapped in folds himation at left hip. Right leg free and slightly to side.

T 11. Standing draped woman. Pl. 3. **AST 53**

Hard buff clay with large inclusions. H 12.8 cm. H face ca. 1.5 cm. White primer on body and head, some traces red (?). Back has large vent. Base formed by turning out bottom. Open beneath.

Standing woman wears himation drawn up over stephane and across mouth, extending down over chiton to waist. Looks left. Holds right arm under himation with hand on hip, left arm wrapped in himation folds at left hip. Left leg free and to side.

T 12. Standing draped woman. Pl. 3. **AST 54**

Hard brittle buff clay with large inclusions. H 14.8 cm. H face 1.6 cm. Traces white primer. Large oval vent rear. No

base. Broken at right foot. Consolidated with coat of unknown glue.

Standing woman wears wreath of large pointed leaves over braided hair wrapped around top of head in disk-bun, chiton with himation extending to mid-thigh. Right arm under himation bends up to grasp end of himation between breasts, left hand at left hip wrapped in folds. Left leg free and to side.

T 13. "Doll". Pl. 2. **AST 55**

Hard buff clay with inclusions. H 9.2 cm. H face 1.2 cm.

White primer all over, traces red paint. Back flat and bell-shaped out at bottom, bottom open.

Nude female sits with legs pressed together and arms at sides. Wears wreath over long hair falling behind ears and down back.

Higgins GT- R.A. Higgins Greek Terracottas (London, 1937).

Kleiner- G. Kleiner Terracottas Jahrbuch Erg. 15 (Berlin, 1931).

Olynthus IV, VII, XI, XIV- D.E. Robinson Excavations at Olynthus

IV, the Terracottas (Baltimore, 1931); VII, the Terracottas (Baltimore, 1933); XI, Mediolanthis (Baltimore, 1941); XIV, Terracottas, Lamps and Coins found in 1924 and 1925 (Baltimore, 1952).

Schmalz- E. Schmalz Das Kabinenschilderung bei Athen V: Terracotten (Berlin, 1974).

Thompson "Tanagra"- D.E. Thompson "The Origin of Tanagra" JHS 70 (1966) 51-63.

"Three Centuries Ia, Ib-c"- D.E. Thompson "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas Ia: the Coroplast's Dump" Neapolis 31 (1952) 116-164; "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas I, b and c: the Hedgehog Well and Demeter Cistern" Neapolis 32 (1954) 72-107.

TK I, II- P. Winter Die Typen der figuralischen Terrakotten I, II (Berlin, 1903).

FOOTNOTES

1. I am indebted to Professor H.R. Immerwahr, the Director of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, for permission to work on this material. Most of my knowledge of Greek terracottas has been learned from Ms. D.B. Thompson. Ms. R.A. Huddleston read the manuscript and made many corrections. Needless to say, with such aid any mistakes which remain are my own responsibility. The following abbreviations have been used:

Clara Rhodos-III, IV= G. Jacopi Clara Rhodos III: Scavi nella Necropoli di Jalisso (Bergamo, 1929); IV: Scavi nelle Necropoli Camiresi (Bergamo, 1931).

Goldman and Jones= H. Goldman and F.F. Jones "Terracottas from the Necropolis of Halae" Hesperia 11 (1942) 365-421.

Higgins= R.A. Higgins Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum I (London, 1954).

Higgins GT= R.A. Higgins Greek Terracottas (London, 1967).

Kleiner= G. Kleiner Tanagrafiguren: Jahrbuch Erg. 15 (Berlin, 1942).

Olynthus IV, VII, XI, XIV= D.M. Robinson Excavations at Olynthus IV, the Terracottas (Baltimore, 1931); VII, the Terracottas found in 1931 (Baltimore, 1933); XI, Necrolynthia (Baltimore, 1942); XIV, Terracottas, Lamps and Coins found in 1934 and 1938 (Baltimore, 1952).

Schmalz= B. Schmalz Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben V: Terrakotten (Berlin, 1974).

Thompson "Tanagras"= D.B. Thompson "The Origin of Tanagras" AJA 70 (1966) 51-63.

"Three Centuries Ia, Ib-c"= D.B. Thompson "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas Ia: the Coroplast's Dump" Hesperia 21 (1952) 116-164; "Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas I, b and c: the Hedgehog Well and Demeter Cistern" Hesperia 23 (1954) 72-107.

TK I, II= F. Winter Die Typen der figurlichen Terrakotten I, II (Berlin, 1903).

pp. 217-226, Schmalz pp. 7-8, E. Jastrow "Abformung" pp. 1-4  
 Troy= D.B. Thompson Troy Supplementary Monograph III: the  
 Terracotta Figurines of the Hellenistic Period (Princeton, 1963).

2. Cf. Goldman and Jones for the terracottas from these excava-  
 tions. For the necropolis cf. H. Goldman and L. Walker "Report  
 on the Excavations of Halae in Locris" AJA 19 (1915) 423-432.

For other terracottas from the site cf. H. Goldman "The Acro-  
 polis of Halae" Hesperia 9 (1940) 462ff. and the list Goldman  
 and Jones p. 365 n. 1.

3. Goldman and Jones pp. 365-6.

4. Goldman and Jones p. 371 distinguish a dirty-gray, a brick-  
 red and a light yellow fabric. The first of these does not ap-  
 pear in the American School group. The "brick-red" fabric seems  
 to encompass the clays of catalogue nos. 10-12, and probably  
 nos. 3-6, 9, 1. The "light yellow" seems that of nos. 7-8, 13.  
 For type similarities cf. infra.

5. Goldman and Jones pp. 374, 411-415, 420.

6. Cf. Olynthus XI p. 179, and, for example, Olynthus XIV nos.  
 365b, 371-2; Olynthus VII p. 110 under "Riverside Cemetery" and  
 "East Cemetery". For Corinth cf. C. Blegen, H. Palmer and R.  
 Young Corinth XIII: the North Cemetery (Princeton, 1964) pp. 76,  
 300. Cf. also U. Knigge Kerameikos XI: Der Südhügel (Berlin, 1976)  
 p. 14.

7. Since the vendor was reportedly a peasant and the terracottas  
 are generally not of high quality, it is doubtful that they re-  
 present a selection from an extensive stock. Rather, it seems  
 more likely that the group comprises the contents of a few graves,  
 although of course the number is flexible. For speculations as  
 to groupings cf. infra p. 7 and n. 61.

8. Cf. Goldman and Jones p. 370 n. 12, Higgins p. 7, Olynthus  
 XI pp. 196-7.

9. Cf. R. V. Nicholls "Type, Group and Series" BSA 47 (1952)

- pp. 217-226, Schmalz pp. 7-8, E. Jastrow "Abformung und Typenwandel in der antiken Tonplastik" OpusArch 2 (1938) 1ff.
10. Attic tomb: Higgins p. 691 no. 696 (pl. 90). Rhodian tomb: Clara Rhodos IV p. 99 fig. 85. Argive tomb: S. Papaspyridi-Karousou "Ἀνασκαφή τάφων τοῦ Ἀργεῶς" Deltion 15 (1933-5) p. 40 (pl. 4).
11. Goldman and Jones p. 383 VII.c.1.
12. Cf. G.M.A. Richter Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans (London, 1966) pp. 38ff. esp. 42-3. (type 5), and E. Burger Das Basler Artztrelief (Basel, 1970) pp. 97, 111 with fig. 133.
13. Cf. D. Kurtz and J. Boardman Greek Burial Customs (London and Southampton, 1971) pp. 203ff.; Goldman and Jones p. 373; Olynthus VII p. 13; Olynthus XI pp. 195-7. Higgins' (pp. 7-8) view that the terracottas were the dead's possession in life seems improbable since multiple figurines from the same mould frequently occur in grave-groups (cf. infra p. 7 and n. 55). For a full-size stool in a Greek tomb cf. K. Rhomiopoulou Treasures of Ancient Macedonia (Greece, 1978) p. 76 no. 292 (pl. 39).
14. Cf. Goldman and Jones pp. 376-7, 385, 392, 398 for enthroned women from Halai. Numerous examples TK I pp. 48-52, 54-6, 70-75; Higgins nos. 63-74, 120-131, 224-7, 288-291, 358, 655-661, 675-677, 817-820, 908, 939-940, 962.
15. Goldman and Jones p. 377.
16. Cf. Goldman and Jones p. 376, Kurtz and Boardman (supra n. 13) p. 209 on the problems of identifying these ladies. Higgins nos. 132-3, 662; Olynthus IV nos. 355-6; Olynthus XIV no. 126; TK I pp. 43.4, 49-50 are figurines of this type with attributes of deities. T. Hadzistelidou-Price "The Type of the Crouching Child and the Temple Boys" BSA 64 (1969) p. 110 believes them to be kourotrouphoi, and identification supported by examples such as Olynthus XIV nos. 134-8; Higgins nos. 133, 820; TK I pp. 139-142.



Cf. also Olynthus XIV pp. 51-2, Higgins GT pp. 72, 74.

17. Goldman and Jones p. 379, I-c-3 (pl. 6). Cf. also P.

Girard "Nécropoles de la Grèce du Nord" BCH 3 (1879) p. 217  
no. 10, and TK I p. 51 no. 2k.

18. Cf. Higgins pp. 19-21.

19. Higgins p. 204; Higgins GT pp. 62, 78; Schmalz pp. 6-7.

20. The fine orange, lightly micaceous clay of number 2 does  
not match any of the types cited by Goldman and Jones p. 371.

It fits well with that described by Higgins pp. 19-20 for Rhodes.

For similar Rhodian ladies cf. Higgins nos. 121-3 (pl. 22).

For similar tilting-up of the front of a figurine of this type

cf. Clara Rhodes IV p. 147 fig. 142; C. Blinkenberg Lindos I

(Berlin, 1931) no. 2192 pl. 97; TK I p. 51 no. 6; Higgins no. 675.

21. Goldman and Jones p. 387 I-c-7 and 8, p. 400 I-c-9. The

statement (Goldman and Jones p. 392) that the chiton went out of  
fashion at Halai in the late 5th century should be taken with

a grain of salt since this series of chiton-clad enthroned women  
appears in graves of the 3rd quarter of the 5th and again in the  
early 4th century.

22. Cf. TK I p. 51 no. 8; Schmalz p. 111 nos. 300-305 (pl. 23);

P.N. Ure Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona in Boeotia (Cam-  
bridge, 1934) pp. 74-5 no. 138.10 (pl. 20); A. Keramopoulos

"Θηβαϊκά: Νεώτεροι τύποι" Deltion 3 (1917) p. 218 nos. 5-6 fig.

155b. Also similar and perhaps a Boeotian import is I. Venedikov

Apollonia (Sofia, 1963) no. 801 pl. 144. V.H. Poulsen "Der Strenge  
Stil" ActaA 8 (1937) p. 76 derives this type from Attica. For

the Boeotian affinities of the Halai terracottas cf. Goldman and  
Jones p. 370 and Higgins p. 203.

23. Cf. Goldman and Jones p. 400 I-c-9 and p. 411 I-c-10. On

the painting of the figurines in general pp. 371-2.

24. Compare the series Schmalz nos. 179-184 (pl. 14), discussed on pp. 7 and 111. Cf. also Nicholls (supra n. 9) pp. 219-224; Jastrow (supra n. 9) pp. 21-26; B. Neutsch Studien zur vortana-gräisch-attischen Koroplastik: Jahrbuch Erg. 17 (Berlin, 1952) pp. 3 ff.
25. Cf. Goldman and Jones p. 400. Closely comparable is Higgins no. 288, from a tomb group dating ca. 440-420 B.C. (cf. his p. 31, tomb 257), but for Boeotian enthroned women of the earlier 4th century B.C. cf. Schmalz p. 111 with n. 546. The type survives in Attica to at least the end of the 5th: cf. K. Vierneisel "Kerameikos-grabung" Deltion 18 (1963) Chron. p. 29 pl. 27.
26. The type is discussed by Schmalz, pp. 17-32.
27. Cf. Clara Rhodos IV graves 36, 54, 88, 188; Clara Rhodos III grave 217; Knigge (supra n. 6) graves 135, 181; Vierneisel (supra n. 25) p. 29 pl. 27. The evidence for the satyric types in the graves of Olynthus is somewhat confused. Olynthus XI p. 196 states that an adult burial contained two satyric-type terracottas, but I am unable to find any such grave in the catalogue of that volume. Olynthus XIV pp. 46-7 reports four adult burials containing Silenoi or satyric types, but seems totally confused or inaccurate. Olynthus XIV no. 365b is on p. 46 of that volume assigned to Olynthus XI grave 42. The catalogue entry for that grave (Olynthus XI p. 10) states that grave 42 had "no grave furniture". Olynthus XIV no. 376 is reported on p. 47 of that volume to appear in Olynthus XI grave 172. In the catalogue entry for that grave (Olynthus XI p. 36) it is not mentioned. The actual piece, Olynthus XIV no. 376, is stated in its catalogue entry to be from child's grave Olynthus XI grave 318. In the catalogue entry for that grave it is noted. Olynthus XIV no. 372 is stated on p. 47 of that volume to be from Olynthus XI grave 157.

It is not mentioned in the catalogue entry for that grave, and in its own catalogue entry (Olynthus XIV p. 269) it is reported to be "from near grave 157". The last of the terracottas of this type reported to be from an adult burial is Olynthus VII no. 296. According to Olynthus XIV p. 47 it belongs to the furnishings of Olynthus XI grave 305, in whose catalogue entry it does not appear. The figurine's catalogue entry, Olynthus VII p. 78, states that it was found near a grave. All other satyric type figurines at Olynthus were from child-burials.

28. Cf. Roscher ML IV col. 509-510 s.v. Satyros (Kuhnert), RE III A 1 col. 42-3 s.v. Silenos und Satyros (Hartmann). For an interesting interpretation of the significance of the type cf. Higgins GT p. 63.

29. Goldman and Jones p. 390 V-c-1-3. Cf. also Girard (supra n. 17) p. 219 nos. 42-4.

30. Cf. Schmalz pp. 24-5; Higgins GT p. 63.

31. Compare Olynthus VII p. 7 on nos. 220-221.

32. The type is discussed by Schmalz, pp. 99-103.

33. Cf. Schmalz pp. 102-3; Kleiner p. 270 n. 3, with earlier references; Hadzisteliou-Price (supra n. 16) p. 99 type 2b.

34. Goldman and Jones p. 396 III-c-3, but from a disturbed grave. Cf. Schmalz p. 102 on the chronology of the type.

35. Cf. Jastrow (supra n. 9) p. 26.

36. Goldman and Jones p. 388 II-b-5 and 6, II-c-2. Cf. also TK I p. 62 no. 1; Poulsen (supra n. 22) pp. 74-5.

37. Compare the remarks of Schmalz, p. 110 on no. 291.

38. Cf. "Three Centuries Ia" pp. 128-9; Thompson "Tanagras" pp. 52-3 and 62; Goldman and Jones p. 399; Higgins GT p. 78.

39. Cf. Goldman and Jones pp. 377, 385. For the history of the type cf. Higgins GT pp. 31-2, 34-5, 62, 66, 72-3, 81.

40. Cf. for example, Goldman and Jones p. 407 V-j-5, p. 410 V-j-7 and 9; A.A. Peredolskaja Attische Tonfiguren aus einem südrussischen Grab: AntK beiheft 2 (Switzerland, 1964) pl. 4.2, 8.1-2, 10.1. The motif is certainly developed by the time of the Lateran Sophokles; cf. Neutsch (supra n. 24) p. 30 pl. 18; G.M.A. Richter The Portraits of the Greeks I (London, 1966) pp. 125ff., fig. 580. For the Sophokles type in terracottas cf. Kleiner pp. 95ff.; Thompson "Tanagras" p. 61.
41. Goldman and Jones p. 402 II-c-6 (pl. 12 above, left and right). For the change in terracotta types in the later 4th century cf. Kleiner pp. 9-14, 122-6; E.R. Williams "Figurine Vases from the Athenian Agora" Hesperia 47 (1978) p. 373; and supra n. 38.
42. Cf. A.H. Borbein "Die griechische Statue des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr." JdI 88 (1973) 173-188; F. Hiller "Zum Neapler Aeschines" MarbWinckProg 1962 pp. 55-7; Kleiner pp. 12ff.; Thompson "Tanagras" pp. 52ff.; "Three Centuries Ia" pp. 133, 136.
43. Cf. K. Schefold Untersuchungen zur Kertscher Vasen (Berlin, 1934) pp. 115-7 with pl. 33-4 no. 286; Venedikov (supra n. 23) pl. 142 no. 821a; D.B. Thompson Small Finds from the Pnyx: Hesperia Suppl. 7 (Baltimore, 1943) p. 143 no. 45 (fig. 58). For earlier examples of this motif Olynthus IV pp. 67-9 nos. 361, 363-4; Olynthus XIV nos. 215, 217; Higgins GT p. 63; Troy p. 103 n. 195.
44. Cf. Troy pp. 102-4 on this type.
45. Cf., for example, TK II pp. 26.2, 27.1; S. Mollard-Besques Catalogue Raisonné des Figurines et Reliefs in Terre-cuite Grecs, Etrusques et Romains III (Paris, 1972) pl. 9a, 11a, 12
55. Cf. Olynthus VII nos. 211-212, 219, 220-224; Olynthus XIV

- b-c and f, 13a, 14 a-b and d; Neutsch (supra n. 24) pl. 21.1 and 4. All these seem secular in character.
46. On "pre-Tanagras" cf. Thompson "Tanagras" pp. 51-63; "Three Centuries Ia" p. 129; Kleiner p. 124. The form of the vent on no. 11 further suggests a date in the 3rd quarter of the 4th: cf. Higgins p. 204 and Thompson "Tanagras" p. 53. For the form of the base cf. Goldman and Jones' p. 373.
47. For a definition of Tanagras cf. "Three Centuries Ia" pp. 130, 156-7; Thompson "Tanagras" p. 52.
48. The type is discussed S.G. Miller "Menon's Cistern" Hesperia 43 (1974) pp. 217-220. Cf. also TK II p. 37 no. 3, p. 41 no. 1 (esp. b) and nos. 2-3; Mollard-Besques (supra n. 45) pl. 11d. For the general style of the Tanagras from Halai cf. Goldman and Jones pl. 11 II-c-16 and 17. A similar type of early date is discussed Thompson "Tanagras" pp. 61-2 pl. 20. On the form of the headress cf. Troy p. 44 with n. 63; cf. also Goldman and Jones p. 410 V-j-10. For the hairstyle cf. Troy p. 40 with n. 35.
49. Cf. Neutsch (supra n. 24) pp. 32 ff. pl. 20.2; A. Conze Die attischen Grabreliefs (Berlin, 1900) pl. 153.
50. Goldman and Jones p. 411.
51. The type is discussed Troy pp. 87-91 with earlier bibliography.
52. Cf. Miller (supra n. 48) p. 212.
53. Pnyx examples: Thompson (supra n. 43) p. 136 nos. 9-10 (fig. 53); Agora example: Miller (supra n. 48) pl. 36 no. 80. "Three Centuries Ib-c" p. 75 pl. 18 no. 1 seems older in style than our piece.
54. Cf. Goldman and Jones p. 370 n. 12; "Three Centuries Ia" pp. 119-120.
55. Cf. Olynthus VII nos. 211-215, 219, 229-244; Olynthus XIV

- nos. 129-130 (compare also nos. 308-311); Olynthus XI pp. 195-6. For Halai cf. Goldman and Jones p. 378 I-a-1, p. 379 I-c-6, p. 387 I-b-2, I-c-7 and 8, p. 400 I-e-2, p. 411 I-c-10. Cf. also Knigge (supra n. 6) p. 58 and Hadzistelidou-Price (supra n. 16) pp. 109-110.
56. Cf. Knigge (supra n. 6) pp. 14-15. Particularly notable for the number of lekythoi are her graves 17, 29, 33, 40, 42, 57, 68, 69, 92, 96, 97, 109, 123, 126, 128, 132, 152, 181, 200, 215, 238. For an interpretation of their presence in these graves cf. Kurtz and Boardman (supra n. 13) p. 209.
57. Cf. Olynthus XI graves 69, 254, 370, 563, 584; Knigge (supra n. 6) grave 40; Vierneisel (supra n. 25) p. 29 pl. 27; Clara Rhodos III graves 79, 189; Clara Rhodos IV graves 25, 36, 54, 106, 165, 167; P.N. Ure Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona (Oxford, 1927) grave 138 with pp. 4, 11.
58. Cf. Knigge (supra n. 6) p. 58 and graves 40, 42, 152, 226, 296; Olynthus XI graves 91, 108, 370, 462, 519, 563, 567, 584, 590, 596; Clara Rhodos III graves 90, 91, 122, 189, 217; Clara Rhodos IV graves 25, 36, 54, 63, 65, 66, 75, 87, 106, 167; Blegen, Palmer and Young (supra n. 6) p. 83 and graves 420, 496; Keramopoulos (supra n. 23) p. 216 grave 5; Ure (supra n. 57) grave 107 with p. 4, grave 121 with pp. 3 and 10, grave 138 with pp. 4 and 11; Vierneisel (supra n. 25) p. 29 pl. 27. Clara Rhodos III graves 79, 200; Clara Rhodos IV graves 26, 109; Olynthus XI grave 361 are all adult interments containing enthroned women. The figurine of this type in adult's grave 593 according to Olynthus XIV p. 50 is not mentioned in the catalogue entry for that grave (Olynthus XI p. 115).
59. For Silenoi and satyric types cf. supra p. and n.

On "squatting shepherds" in tombs of Hadzisteliou-Price (supra n. 16) p. 99 type 2, pp. 109ff. At Olynthus all the examples of this type were apparently in child-burials. The only possible exception is Olynthus VII no. 262, which according to Olynthus XIV p. 47 was found associated with adult's grave Olynthus XI no. 240. The catalogue entry for that grave (Olynthus XI p. 49) states that the figurine was found "somewhat higher" than the skeleton, while its own entry in Olynthus VII (p. 70) places it "near unopened grave 1". This suggests that its assignation to the tomb is scarcely secure.

60. Cf. the list Olynthus XIV pp. 46-50; Ure (supra n. 57) grave 114; with p. 10, grave 131 with p. 3; Clara Rhodos III grave 189; Clara Rhodos IV graves 25, 165; Knigge (supra n. 6) grave 34.

61. Although it is notable that, if the later 5th century figurines are associated, the remaining terracottas fall into two main groups (nos. 1-2 and 11-13) of the earlier 5th century B.C. and late 4th century B.C. respectively, with one or two pieces (nos. 10, 6) of the first half of the 4th century. The major problem is number 6, since its date slides between the late 5th and early 4th centuries B.C.

62. Goldman and Jones pp. 370-371.

63. Cf. Goldman and Jones pp. 365, 370; Higgins p. 263; Thompson "Tensgras" p. 52.

64. Cf. Goldman and Walker (supra n. 2) pp. 420-422 and H. Goldman "Inscriptions from Halai" AJA 19 (1915) pp. 444ff. no. 3.



T1



T1



T2



T2





T 6



T 4, T 3, T 5



T 7



T 8



T 13



T 9



T 10



T 12



T 11