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I, Marcie D. Handler, hereby submit this original work as part of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Classics.

It is entitled: Crafting Matters: A Coroplastic Workshop in Roman Athens

Student's name: Marcie D. Handler

This work and its defense approved by:

Committee chair: Jack Davis, PhD

Committee member: John Camp, II, PhD

Committee member: Steven Eliss, PhD

Committee member: Kathleen Lynch, PhD
Crafting Matters: A Coroplastic Workshop in Roman Athens

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Cincinnati in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy in the Department of Classics of the College of Arts and Sciences by

Marcie D. Handler

A.B. Dartmouth College, 1997
M.A. University of Cincinnati, 2004

Committee Chair: Jack L. Davis, Ph.D.
Kathleen M. Lynch, Ph.D.
Steven Ellis, Ph.D.
John McK. Camp, II, Ph.D.
ABSTRACT

This reconstruction of a terracotta figurine and lamp workshop in Roman Athens is based on unpublished workshop debris unearthed in recent excavations outside the northwest corner of the Athenian Agora. Through a detailed analysis of the debris left behind during a century of craft production, I reconstruct the workshop location, chaîne opératoire, and repertoire of a coroplastic workshop on the periphery of the Athenian Agora from the late 1st through the 2nd century A.D.

I present here a study of the Commercial-Industrial Building, a structure with evidence for over 500 years of crafting, located at the northwest corner of the Athenian Agora. The depositional pattern of the workshop debris indicates that a coroplastic workshop was located in one of the three southern rooms of the building. I argue that the craftsmen employed in this workshop maintained close relationships with craftsmen in other industries, namely lampmakers, potters, and bronze sculptors. Finally, I show that the wide range of types manufactured in the workshop reveals artistic influences from Hellenistic traditions, contemporary artistic media, and coroplastic production centers outside of Athens.

The late 1st to 2nd century A.D. was a pivotal time in the history of Athens, as private and imperial benefactors contributed to the physical transformation of the city center, but it was also a period of revitalization in craft production in Athens. This work paints a vivid picture of the daily activities of craftsmen working on the fringes of the Athenian Agora to serve the domestic, ritual, and funerary needs of the local population.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I descend from a family of craftspeople, including a knitter, a quilter, a potter, a milliner, and more than one seamstress. Although I have tried my hand at numerous crafts, I have found the most satisfaction in reading about and studying the handiwork of others. This dissertation was born from a desire to examine everyday objects that were molded by ancient hands, and I was lucky to come upon a body of artifacts brought to life through the plastic art of coroplasty. I supervised the excavation of much of this material for several seasons at the Athenian Agora Excavations before excavation director John Camp wisely suggested that I use it as the basis of a dissertation, and I owe him generous thanks for the permission and encouragement to undertake this study.

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Like any project undertaken at the Athenian Agora, this dissertation embodies the work of a number of different people. I am indebted to the staff of the Athenian Agora Excavations for making the Stoa of Attalos a home away from home. I owe thanks to Bruce Hartzler—without his vision and his tireless efforts to introduce digital records into the field and digitize and organize the older records housed in the Stoa of Attalos, the analysis of the material in this
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I thank my dissertation committee for expertly, and patiently, improving my work over the last six years. Jack Davis, director of my committee, provided welcome critique of my methods and encouraged me to take a step back and look at the big picture. Kathleen Lynch served as the resident expert on ceramics and all things Agora. Steven Ellis provided a necessary and welcome perspective from the rest of the Roman world. John Camp, as excavation director, outside reader, mentor, and friend, provided me with the support and encouragement to undertake this project and instilled in me the confidence to complete it.
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I cannot thank my family enough for their love and support. As I embarked on this journey after college, my father made sure I knew that he believed that I could accomplish whatever I set out to do. My mother has been a source of unflagging comfort and strength to me. I could not have completed the last year of work without the home-front assistance of Peg and Steve Atwood. Lastly, I thank my husband Mark for providing me with unconditional love and much-needed perspective throughout the life of this project.
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CHAPTER 1: CRAFTING MATTERS

Goals of the Study

This study is an examination of debris from the manufacture of terracotta figurines and lamps in a coroplastic workshop at the northwest corner of the Athenian Agora during the late 1st and 2nd century A.D. This thorough analysis of the debris and its archaeological context from a craft production perspective aims to describe and explain the location, agents, and organization of production. Since the debris was found in a context of production and not use, the fragments alone do not reveal how they were used, but comparable pieces in contemporary contexts, along with comparisons with similar iconography in other artistic media, provide clues for the possible functions of these objects.

Handmade crafted objects played an integral role in daily life in antiquity. Cathy Lynne Costin defined crafting as “any transformational process involving skill (knowledge, talent or proficiency, effort), aesthetics, and cultural meaning.”\(^1\) Crafting, the transformation of raw materials into cultural objects, involved the cooperation and input of craftsmen working within a specific cultural context. Finished craft products, therefore, betray the influences of a craft’s traditions, contemporary trends in other artistic media, and the identities of craftsmen. Craftsmen also participated in the ancient economy through the trade or sale of artifacts, making craft production a type of industry. Crafts, then, reveal much about the preferences and intentions of consumers. Ceramic, stone, and metal objects, along with artifacts made of organic and perishable materials, served a wide range of utilitarian and symbolic functions in the daily lives of Athenians. For these reasons, the study of craft production is a valuable area of research for inquiries into a particular culture.

\(^1\) Costin 2005, p. 1035.
Introduction to the Evidence

The Athenian Agora is situated to the northwest of the Acropolis in an area bounded on the south by the slopes of the Areopagus and on the west by the Kolonos Agoraios (on which the Hephaisteion is perched), on land that slopes gently down to the north toward the banks of the Eridanos River. Under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, excavations of the Athenian Agora began in the spring of 1931 and have continued with few interruptions until the present day. Although 75 years of excavations have shed much light on the city of Athens during the Classical period—its “golden age”—they have also helped illustrate the evolution of the area through the ages. The earliest human activity on the site dates to the Neolithic period, and with a few gaps, there is evidence for use of the area from the Late Bronze Age to the present.

During the 1994-2010 excavation seasons in the Athenian Agora, excavators unearthed and inventoried ca. 150 fragments of terracotta figurines, plaques, and molds in the area of Sections BE and BZ outside the northwest corner of the Agora proper. John Camp published a sample of the coroplastic material from the 1994-1995 excavation seasons and suggested that it originated in a coroplast’s workshop. During my first five seasons as a trench supervisor in Section BZ (2001-2005), I noticed the abundance of coroplastic material that student volunteers continued to unearth in the area of the northern end of the so-called “Classical Commercial Building,” and I decided to use the unpublished material for the basis of a study of craft production in Roman Athens.

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2 Camp 1996, p. 239.
3 A preliminary synthesis of the material is in press (Handler forthcoming).
To this end, I spent two years examining the contexts of the coroplastic material. I found an additional 1,400 fragments in the pottery bags and tins and inventoried a representative selection. I also examined the context pottery, lamps, and coins in order to assign dates to the contexts. Furthermore, my detailed study of the notebooks for the excavation of the area within and east of the “Classical Commercial Building” (which remains only preliminarily published) combined with the chronological data from the contexts, resulted in a clearer picture of the stratigraphy of the area. Through comparative research in coroplastic studies and other artistic media, I reached conclusions about the purpose of the objects in their cultural context. Finally, I examined the terracotta fragments for evidence of production processes, enabling me to paint a vivid picture of craft activity on the fringes of the Athenian Agora during the Roman period.

The period under study here was a turning point in the history of the Athenian Agora. The agora had been the center of political, religious, and commercial activity during the Classical period. As Athens lost its political prominence throughout the Hellenistic period, however, the importance of the agora as a civic center gradually faded, and the use of the area changed. Much of the commercial activity in the area shifted east to a market building funded by Julius Caesar and completed under the reign of Augustus. Private benefactors filled the long-standing open space in the center of the Agora with two large buildings. An odeion (covered music hall) dedicated to Agrippa was completed in the late 1st century B.C., and some time during the reign of Augustus, a Classical marble temple was moved from the Attic countryside to the Agora floor and re-erected as a temple to Ares. By the Roman period, although Athens no longer held political power, it retained its cultural authority as the home of several important philosophical schools and the guardian of its own celebrated past. Famous travelers, from Pausanias to

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Hadrian, included Athens—and the Athenian Agora—on their itineraries. Excavations at the Agora demonstrate that the demand for handmade crafts was still very much alive during this period of great change in the city of Athens.

Crafting in the Athenian Agora

Scholars have long recognized that artisans were engaged in the production and sale of crafts in the area of the Athenian Agora. Excavations have revealed various types of evidence that demonstrate the presence of craftsmen in and around the Agora from the Archaic period through the late Roman period. The identification of commercial and industrial architecture, production waste, tools, and discarded finished products has helped locate sites of craft production throughout the history of the Agora. Depending on the individual needs of each craft industry—pottery production, coroplasty, bronzeworking, bone-working, and marble sculpting—these activities took place in homes, dedicated workshops, and out in the open.

In her recent article on crafts and commerce in the Agora, Susan Rotroff focused her attention on more than a half dozen simple structures that she identified as Classical buildings that housed crafting and commerce.\(^5\) The buildings were all located close to entrances to the Agora and consisted of rows or clusters of simple rectangular rooms, each with a single doorway onto a street or a courtyard. She discussed the evidence for metalworking, marble sculpting, and coroplasty in the buildings and argued that craftsmen used the buildings for manufacturing and selling their wares.\(^6\) Craftsmen were not grouped together by industry but rather practiced their different crafts alongside one another in mixed-use buildings. One cannot help but be reminded

\(^5\) Rotroff 2009, p. 40.
\(^6\) Rotroff 2009, pp. 40-46.
of a Middle-Eastern souk or the rows of shops in the flea market of modern Athens located in Monastiraki, where hawkers of brass and iron goods, small stone sculptures, poor replicas of ancient pottery, and t-shirts work side-by-side in simple rectangular structures with a doorway opening onto the pedestrian street.

Craft production in and around the Athenian Agora did not, however, take place solely outside the home. Rodney Young described the evidence for craft production both in workshops and in homes in the residential and industrial district southwest of the Agora.  

Barbara Tsakirgis studied the evidence for craft production activities in Classical houses near the Agora and described the use of domestic spaces for the production and sale of crafts. She observed that the houses that functioned as workshops shared the same central locations as dedicated workshop buildings; they were all located on a major route into or out of the Agora with a doorway opening on to the street.

Scholars of terracotta figurines and bronze and marble sculpture have also documented evidence for craft production sites around the Agora. In her articles about the Hellenistic terracottas from the Athenian Agora, Dorothy Thompson found evidence for coroplasty in eight of the 19 closed deposits included in her studies. While all 19 closed deposits she studied contained figurine fragments and could have originated in a variety of contexts, the eight contexts she singled out as “workshop” deposits also contained evidence for nearby production.

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7 Young 1951, pp. 272-273.
8 Tsakirgis 2005, p. 78.
Thompson interpreted the presence of molds, pigments, unfinished pieces, discards, bits of clay, and kiln props in dumped fill as proof that coroplasts worked nearby. The eight deposits that she identified as workshop dumps were located on the north and west slopes of the Areopagus, west of the Areopagus, and at the southeast foot of the Kolonos Agoraios, indicating that coroplasts were active on the west side of the Agora and in the residential and industrial quarter in the area southwest of the Agora, between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs. Richard Nicholls added one Classical deposit of coroplastic workshop debris to the picture, arguing that terracottas and molds in Well U 13:1 from a Classical complex of shops outside the Agora to the east originated in a “major terracotta factory.”

Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman marble sculptors and bronze- and iron-workers also situated their workshops on the periphery of the Agora. Carol Lawton found evidence for Classical and Hellenistic marble sculptors practicing their trade in the Residential-Industrial neighborhood to the southwest of the Agora and the area outside the southeast corner of the Agora. After the Sullan siege of the city, sculptors set up workshops in the damaged buildings of the South Square and worked there until the 2nd century A.D. Carol Mattusch identified 12 bronze and iron workshops in the area of the Agora, based on the presence of hearths and casting pits, molds, furnace bricks, metal scraps, and slag. In the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods, metalworking activities were concentrated on the west side of the Agora and in the residential and industrial neighborhood to the southwest, but during the Roman period the focus of metalworking activities shifted to the south side of the Agora.

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The picture of pottery production in the area of the Agora is distinctly different from that of coroplasty, metalworking, and marble sculpting. Although the area of the Agora functioned as a cemetery and potters’ field from the Iron Age into the Archaic period, the potters left the area by the end of the Archaic period and moved to the area to the northwest, near the Dipylon Gate in the Kerameikos and further outside the city.\textsuperscript{14} Scholars for years have argued for the presence of potteries in the area of the Agora during the late Archaic and Classical periods, using in particular the fillings of the Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft on the eastern slope of the Kolonos Agoraios and the contents of the Stoa Gutter Well as evidence for nearby potters’ workshops.\textsuperscript{15} Papadopoulos argued, however, that the dumped fills lack any convincing evidence for nearby pottery production.\textsuperscript{16} Lynch agreed and suggested that the dumps were from “salesrooms” and not pottery factories.\textsuperscript{17} According to Papadopoulos, there is no evidence for potters’ activities in the area of the Agora from the late Archaic period until the 1\textsuperscript{st} to 2\textsuperscript{nd} century A.D., when a kiln was built in the ruins of the Heliaia.

If coroplastic production, marble sculpting, and metalworking took place in the same areas bordering the Agora, why was pottery production located elsewhere? Papadopoulos pointed out that cemeteries and potteries were often located near each other because both were usually situated outside of the areas of habitation.\textsuperscript{18} Potters needed regular access to a large quantity of raw materials, especially clay, and may have situated their workshops in close proximity to the source for those materials, if not in a location that was easily accessible for the

\textsuperscript{14} Papadopoulos 2003, p. 279.
\textsuperscript{15} Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft: Vanderpool 1946, p. 266; Stoa Gutter Well: Roberts and Glock 1986, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{16} Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 278-279.
\textsuperscript{17} Lynch 2009, p. 73.
\textsuperscript{18} Papadopoulos 2003, p. 276.
delivery of these raw materials. Furthermore, potteries usually included a kiln, and the dangerous heat and smoke of a potters’ kiln would have been unwelcome in a residential or otherwise non-industrial quarter of the city. On the other hand, the material needs and debris output of small-scale metalworkers, coroplasts, and marble sculptors could be accommodated in the city center, and the high traffic areas surrounding the Athenian Agora made the periphery of the city center an ideal place for the manufacture and sale of crafts.

Coroplastic Production in the Athenian Agora

A detailed outline of the decline in coroplastic production toward the end of the Hellenistic period provides a historical backdrop for an analysis of this Roman coroplastic workshop in the Athenian Agora. Thompson discussed her observations on the Hellenistic figurines found in closed deposits in a series of 12 articles arranged chronologically by the dates of the deposits, but she reserved her final analysis for a final publication that never materialized. Nevertheless, her thoughts on the decline in quality and quantity of figurine production by the 1st century B.C. appear throughout her articles. Based on Thompson’s work, the coroplastic workshops in and around the Athenian Agora would seem to have all but ceased operation by the late 1st century B.C. and early 1st century A.D.

Thompson pointed to the early 3rd century B.C. as the period of the finest coroplastic production in Hellenistic Athens. During this time, figurine subjects were drawn mainly from

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19 Thompson studied the more than 4,000 figurines and figurine fragments excavated between 1932 and 1957 and published her findings in Hesperia between 1952 and 1966.
20 Thompson 1957, p. 126. The timing of this peak in coroplastic artistry is surprising, as archaeological evidence for the state of private homes and the lack of public building in Athens suggests that the 3rd century B.C. was a low-point in the history of the city (Camp 2001, p. 167).
scenes of daily life, so-called genre types. After the 3rd century B.C., the quality of figurines produced in the Athenian Agora declined noticeably, and the range of figurine types changed in the mid to late 2nd and early 1st centuries B.C. Thompson noted that Corinthian clay surpassed Attic clay for the production of figurines at the end of the 2nd century B.C. and suggested that the clay may have arrived in Athens along with foreign craftsmen and new ideas for figurine types. Otherwise, she argued, Athenian craftsmen may have begun using Corinthian clay for its superior modeling qualities and abandoned the types enjoyed in the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. for new types because they were “weary of their old traditions.” In any case, beginning in the mid 2nd century B.C., mythological types began to replace the genre types of the 3rd century B.C., and some 4th century B.C. types were re-imagined as watered-down copies of the originals. Additionally, at this time, coroplasts appear to have turned from small-scale bronze sculpture to large-scale marble sculpture for inspiration.

As for the early 1st century B.C., Thompson described the figurines belonging to the period immediately before the Sullan siege of Athens as “dull” and “mechanical” with “vapid construction.” The figurines produced after the Sullan siege show more innovation of types and less return to Classical predecessors, but as the quality of the coroplastic arts continued to decline, they were carelessly manufactured.

By the late 1st century B.C. the state of figurine production in Athens was bleak. Thompson declared that “the few figurines that appear in the few deposits of the 1st century B.C.

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21 Thompson 1957, p. 125.
23 Thompson 1965, p. 68.
24 Thompson 1965, p. 47.
25 Thompson 1965, p. 47.
26 Thompson 1966a, p. 16.
27 Thompson 1966b, p. 257.
are as wretched as the surviving citizens themselves must have been” and argued that “the Greek feeling for coroplastic art soon died out,” suggesting that the few examples that she assigned to this period may instead belong to the period before Sulla.28 A few “fairly respectable pieces” from the late 1st century B.C. suggest that production limped along but Thompson argued that production “seems virtually to have ceased” by the end of the 1st century A.D.29 The decline of coroplastic production at the end of the Hellenistic period may not have been a direct and immediate result of the sack of Sulla. Nevertheless, excavations in the Athenian Agora in the decades since Dorothy Thompson began her study still bear out her conclusions about the demise of figurine production at the end of the Hellenistic period.

The new evidence for a Roman workshop fits comfortably between Dorothy Thompson’s studies of Hellenistic figurines and Claiève Grandjouan’s study of the Roman figurines. Grandjouan picked up the story of coroplastic production in the 1st century A.D. in her publication of the Roman figurines and plastic lamps from the Athenian Agora.30 At the time of Grandjouan’s 1961 publication, however, the figurines from the 1931-1959 excavation seasons came mostly from late 3rd and 4th century A.D. deposits, with only a handful of pieces dating to the 1st or 2nd century A.D.31 She recognized that her picture of coroplastic production in Roman Athens was limited by this evidence and may be distorted by the predominance of later material. Grandjouan also expressed her surprise at the timing of this virtual gap in production of Athenian terracottas, since workshops were flourishing in cities of the east in the 1st and 2nd centuries

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28 Thompson 1966b, p. 259.
29 Thompson 1966b, p. 266.
30 *Agora* VI.
31 *Agora* VI, p. 2.
Nevertheless, she concluded that coroplastic production did not recover from the late Hellenistic decline until the 3rd century A.D.

Evidence for a 1st to 2nd century A.D. coroplastic workshop in Athens suggests that recovery in the coroplastic industry took place at least a century earlier than Grandjouan concluded. Furthermore, the workshop output, as documented in Chapter 3, reveals skilled craftsmen combining an appreciation of local coroplastic traditions with contemporary trends in other artistic media. The wide variety of types documented in the debris reflects the presence of revived Classical and Hellenistic types, along with types influenced by trends in bronze and marble sculpture, mosaics, and wall painting, as discussed in Chapter 5.

History of Terracotta Research

Jaimee Uhlenbrock’s historiography of Greek coroplastic studies provides the basis for this discussion of the history of the discipline. Her thorough study of the development of the field began with 17th century antiquarians and ended with late 20th century intellectual trends. A brief overview of the first two and a half centuries of developments in the field follows below, ending with a discussion of trends in Greek and Roman coroplastic studies in the late 20th century and first years of the 21st century.

The field of coroplastic studies began with antiquarian interest in Etruscan, Greek, and Roman votives from Italy in the 17th and 18th centuries. At this time, collectors began to amass large private collections of terracottas from sites in Italy and Sicily. Connoisseurship for

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32 Agora VI, p. 2.
33 Uhlenbrock 1993.
34 Uhlenbrock 1993, p. 7.
35 Uhlenbrock 1993, pp. 7-8.
terracotta figurines, and an appreciation for their aesthetic characteristics, followed from Winckelmann’s work on figured pottery.\textsuperscript{36} Early scholars of terracotta figurines focused on the religious contexts of votives found in sanctuaries, but starting in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, scholarship on figurines began to emphasize the funerary contexts and underworld connections of figurines found in cemeteries.\textsuperscript{37}

Archaeological discoveries in the last few decades of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century changed the field of coroplastic studies. Excavations at necropoleis in Tanagra in Boeotia, Greece, and Myrina in Asia Minor, brought to light thousands of well-preserved figurines and shifted the focus of coroplastic studies from the west to the east.\textsuperscript{38} Reinhard Kekulé’s monograph on the Tanagra figurines was the most thorough study of one class of figurines at that time, and he included discussions of context, site of manufacture, technique, and iconography in his work.\textsuperscript{39} Jules Martha followed shortly thereafter with a publication of the figurines in the collection of the Archaeological Society in Athens and organized his study by place of origin.\textsuperscript{40} Iconographic type eventually replaced geographic origin as the organizational scheme used most widely by scholars of collections of terracotta figurines in the late 19\textsuperscript{th} and 20\textsuperscript{th} centuries.

Franz Winter’s 1903 publication of all known Greco-Roman figurines, many of which lacked archaeological provenance, was the first major study of figurines grouped by type.\textsuperscript{41} Winter focused entirely on the iconography of the figurines and their geographical distributions

\textsuperscript{36} Uhlenbrock 1993, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{37} Uhlenbrock 1993, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{38} Uhlenbrock 1993, pp. 11-12.
\textsuperscript{39} Kekulé 1878; Uhlenbrock 1993, p. 12.
\textsuperscript{40} Martha 1880; Uhlenbrock 1993, p. 13.
\textsuperscript{41} Winter 1903.
and included drawings and photographs of only the most complete, exemplary pieces from each culture.

Despite the rise in the number of large-scale excavations of Greco-Roman sites in the late 19th and 20th centuries, and the resulting increase in the number of terracotta figurines with known archaeological contexts, scholars studying excavated figurines frequently disregarded the relationships between figurines and other artifacts found with them. Throughout the early to mid 20th century, scholars working on collections of figurines excavated at archaeological sites in the Mediterranean grouped terracotta figurines together and published them in isolation from other artifacts.42

Beginning in the 1930s, however, there was an increasing interest in issues particular to coroplastic production, and scholars began to treat figurines as objects worthy of more than just iconographic analysis. Dorothy Burr Thompson, in her work on figurines from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, stressed the peculiarities of moldmade production and more generally of working in the clay medium.43 Thompson continued her work in the field of coroplastic studies with her study of the Hellenistic figurines from the Athenian Agora and Troy. Her extensive publications, discussed above, focused on the iconographic, stylistic, and technical details of figurines excavated mainly from closed deposits. Through her work on the figurines of

42 Laumonier (Delos XXIII) published the figurines from the French excavations at Delos; Goldman (Tarsus I) published the figurines from Tarsus in a chapter in the excavation’s first monograph; Davidson (Corinth XII) published the terracottas from Corinth in a volume with all the other “minor objects” of clay, metal, stone, and bone from the excavations. Dorothy Thompson published the Hellenistic figurines from the Athenian Agora in a series of articles, while Grandjouan (Agora VI) published the Roman figurines.
43 Thompson 1934; Uhlenbrock 1993, p. 16.
Myrina, Athens, and Troy, Thompson “succeeded in defining an independent discipline, that of coroplastic studies, and in establishing the model for scholarly research in that discipline.”

Richard Nicholls’ 1952 article on derivative production focused even more attention on the principles of manufacturing moldmade figurines, and he defined the terms that scholars now use to discuss related figurines and molds: type, group, class, and series. By the middle of the 20th century, then, the field of coroplastic studies had been firmly established with its own research questions dictated by the medium and the methods of manufacture.

In the second half of the 20th century, coroplastic studies benefited from advances in the analytic sciences. The development of non-destructive methods of analyses such as neutron activation analysis, X-ray fluorescence spectrometry, electron microscopy, and optical emission spectrometry helped scholars more conclusively answer questions about the composition and origin of ceramics with a minimum amount of damage to the artifacts. As Uhlenbrock pointed out, this type of data can help identify related figurines and illuminate the trade of figurines and molds in antiquity.

Major contributions to the field in the last decades of the 20th century and the first decade of the 21st century have focused on aspects of the production and use of terracotta figurines. Scholars have employed large corpora of figurines from individual sites to develop models of coroplastic production. Gloria Merker, in her work on the figurines from the Demeter and Kore sanctuary on Acrocorinth in Corinth, proposed a decentralized, seasonal model of coroplastic production.

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45 Nicholls 1952; Uhlenbrock 1993, p. 18.
47 Uhlenbrock 1993, p. 20.
production that supplied the needs of worshippers at various sanctuaries throughout the city.\textsuperscript{48} Scholars have also identified products of individual craftsmen based on stylistic and technical details. Besques and Kassab confirmed the products of the so-called “Coroplast of the Victories” through a combination of stylistic analysis and X-ray fluorescence spectrometry.\textsuperscript{49}

Now more than ever, scholars charged with studying and publishing coroplastic material are examining the material from multiple perspectives—archaeological context, cultural and historical context, craft production, and object biography. Recent publications resulting from major excavations, newer museum catalogs, and monographs based on a specific type have embraced this combined approach.\textsuperscript{50} The resulting multifaceted studies contribute greatly to our understanding of the creation, distribution, and use of terracotta figurines in antiquity.

Scholars must continue to position studies of coroplastic material within greater spatial, social, and historical contexts, in order to evaluate the roles of craft products within local economies and examine the relationships between the coroplastic arts and other crafts, particularly crafts in the medium of clay. With a focus on the reconstruction of the chaîne opératoire of a coroplastic workshop, this study sheds light on the producers and consumers of terracotta figurines in Roman Athens.

\textbf{Craft Production and Workshop Studies}

\textit{History of Workshop Studies}

Scholars have taken different approaches to defining and identifying workshops for terracotta figurines. Since there are only rare examples of direct evidence for an ancient craft

\textsuperscript{48} \textit{Corinth} XVIII.4, pp. 19-20; Merker 2003.

\textsuperscript{49} Besques and Kassab 1978.

\textsuperscript{50} E.g. \textit{Corinth} XVIII.4, Burn and Higgins 2001, and Rose 2006.
workshop—workshop tools, products, and waste in situ on the floor of a workshop building—scholars have relied on various types of indirect evidence to argue that a group of figurines originated in the same workshop. Using the term “workshop” loosely in his general work on Greek terracottas, Higgins argued that uniformity in a deposit of figurines suggests that the figurines were produced locally and that the workshop must have been located nearby.\(^{51}\) Higgins’ definition of the “uniform character” of terracotta figurines, however, is unclear. Although it is nearly certain that figurines cast from the same mold originated in the same workshop, figurines of similar types can be related to each other in a number of different ways. For example, a figurine that merely resembles another in type may be one craftsman’s attempt to imitate another craftsman’s work. Furthermore, the practice of making a mold from an existing figurine and manufacturing figurines from the mold (called *surmoulage*) allows for the geographical dissemination of a type, especially considering the portability of terracotta figurines and molds.

Other scholars have sought to assign figurines without precise archaeological provenance to style- and technique-based workshops. A good deal of work on this type of workshop has been done on the late 3\(^{rd}\) century B.C. to 1\(^{st}\) century A.D. terracottas from the city of Myrina in Asia Minor, and scientific analyses have in one instance supported the workshop attributions for groups of figurines.\(^{52}\)

The contents of excavated terracotta deposits have often led scholars to conclude that there must have been a terracotta workshop nearby, even if the site of the workshop has not been identified. Merker studied the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman terracottas from the Sanctuary

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\(^{52}\) Thompson 1934; Besques 1964; Besques and Kassab 1978; Kassab 1988. Calamiotou et al. (1984) used scientific analyses to confirm workshop attributions.
of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth, and although there are no extant remains of coroplastic workshops near Acrocorinth, she was able to make some conclusions about the physical decentralization and seasonality of coroplastic production in the city.\textsuperscript{53}

Aside from the figurines themselves and associated molds, scholars have used the presence of other tools and the archaeological context of a group of terracottas to argue for the figurines’ local production. In her 1991 publication of new finds at Ilion, Stella Miller identified a context as a dump fill from a coroplastic workshop on the basis of figurines, molds, unbaked clay, and bone tools.\textsuperscript{54} Miller’s publication of the finds at Ilion is a rare instance in which the tools of coroplastic production (outside of molds) have been associated with terracottas. Although the artifacts at Ilion were found together in a secondary deposition instead of in situ on a workshop floor, the association of the objects in the fill suggested that they had been discarded together from the same point of origin.

Terracotta workshops with associated architecture have been identified at a number of sites, where the presence of terracottas and molds in primary deposition has led scholars to conclude that the buildings housed workshops. Just as craft production in the Athenian Agora was located both within the domestic sphere and in purpose-built commercial and industrial structures, workshops for coroplastic production elsewhere have been identified in homes and buildings in the public areas of cities. For example, cottage-industry level production of figurines

\textsuperscript{53} Merker (2003, pp. 240, 244) argued that coroplastic production was probably based on the ritual calendar, with coroplasts manufacturing specific types in preparation for annually scheduled festivals. She also pointed out that there were coroplastic workshops both within the Potters’ Quarter and elsewhere in the city, and that the dispersal of workshops throughout the city may account for their “stylistic and technical discrepancies” (Corinth XVIII.4, p. 31).

\textsuperscript{54} Miller 1991, p. 54.
and/or plastic vases took place in homes in Olynthos and New Halos, while dedicated workshop buildings for coroplasty have been identified at Argos, Delos, and Corinth.55

The new evidence for coroplasty from the Athenian Agora provides a fresh opportunity to evaluate craft production in the center of Athens during the Roman period. Beyond identifying the types present in the debris and situating this workshop in the temporal and geographical context of Roman Athens, I scrutinized this new evidence to detail the chaîne opératoire, or full range of coroplastic production processes. In order to construct as detailed a picture as possible of the inner workings of the coroplastic workshop, I turned to anthropological models of craft production, and I analyzed the Agora material with an eye toward understanding and explaining the physical, temporal, and social structure of the newly identified workshop. Furthermore, as I explain in Chapter 2, a thorough understanding of archaeological formation processes, particularly as they relate to craft production, enabled me to determine how and why the production debris came to be deposited where it was found.

Theoretical Frameworks for Studying Craft Production

The archaeological remains of Roman Athens are richly complemented by historical, literary, and epigraphical evidence, but this evidence is nearly silent on the subject of craft production in the city. The physical evidence for crafting stands nearly in isolation from the rest of the historical record. For this reason, the archaeological evidence for a coroplastic workshop offers an excellent opportunity to look at craft production in Roman Athens, especially if the debris is examined with constructive research questions in mind. Examining the debris from

55 Olynthus II, p. 109; Olynthus VII, p. 4; Reinders 1988, pp. 117-134 (New Halos); Van Boekel and Mulder 2003, pp. 109-111 (New Halos); Banaka-Dimaki 1997, p. 318 (Argos); Delos XXIII, pp. 18-21; Corinth XV.1, p. 46.
several different angles using different theoretical approaches yields a more complete picture of the activities of the workshop. In particular, this study aims to explain what processes were involved in the creation of the debris—the transformation of raw materials into cultural objects—and what processes were involved in the destruction, discard, and deposition of the material in an urban environment.

This dissertation is a collective “object biography” for a large group of objects with a singular origin. Unlike most of the products that left the workshop after being sold, however, the pieces studied here were never put to use by consumers as they were intended, since they were discarded prematurely for one reason or another. The goal of this study is not only to present the archaeological context of the workshop and the types manufactured within it, but also to pose the questions “who,” “why,” and “how” of the workshop debris, and to bring into focus as much as possible the identities of the producers and consumers of the craft products.

An examination of the archaeological context of the debris is presented in Chapter 2. The workshop debris was found in dumped fills and pits and incorporated into later features in a relatively large area outside the Athenian Agora at its northwest corner. In order to explain the depositional pattern of the workshop debris, I examined the stratigraphy of the area from the perspective of archaeological formation processes. This chapter employs Michael Schiffer’s work on formation processes, and in particular on artifact discard, maintenance processes, and waste streams. The chapter is also informed by Peña’s work on the life cycle of Roman pottery. Studies on middens and waste streams in central America were particularly helpful in

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57 Schiffer 1987, pp. 47-72.
58 Peña 2007, pp. 6-16.
evaluating indirect evidence for craft production and patterns of refuse disposal.\(^{59}\) Understanding that the workshop debris was not in its primary depositional context, but had instead undergone multiple stages of displacement and transformation, in Chapter 2 I interpret the context of the workshop debris and infer the formation processes involved in its final deposition.

Chapter 3 explores the products manufactured in the coroplastic workshop. Beginning with the most abundant types and ending with the miscellaneous and hard to identify types, the chapter examines the workshop products in the context of the history of coroplastic production in Athens and contemporary trends in terracotta and other media. The analysis of the types present in the debris allows for a comparison between this workshop and other coroplastic production centers in the Roman world and reveals that these craftsmen were combining knowledge of Athenian coroplastic traditions with contemporary trends shared with other production centers to create a diverse assortment of workshop products.

The debris was closely examined in order to gather evidence to reconstruct the production processes employed in the workshop. Chapter 4 presents the sequence of production processes as evidenced in the workshop debris, from the selection of raw materials to the application of finishing touches. The *chaîne opératoire* approach refers to the study of the “range of processes by which naturally occurring raw materials are selected, shaped, and transformed into usable cultural products” within the temporal, spatial, and social contexts of production.\(^{60}\) This approach results in searching for the individuals involved in the creation of cultural objects and evaluating the agency of the craftsmen at every step of craft production. When viewing material through this lens, issues such as technological choice and the impact of technological changes.

\(^{59}\) Moholy-Nagy 1997; Arnold 1990.

\(^{60}\) Schlanger 2005, p. 25.
choice on the rest of the production sequence are brought into focus. The analysis of the technical details of the terracottas with a view toward the chaîne opératoire enabled me to reconstruct in lively detail the tools and techniques employed by the workshop personnel.

In Chapter 5 the workshop, along with its production sequence, is viewed in its spatial, temporal, and social contexts in order to recover the “dynamic processes of the past” from the “static remains recovered in the present.”⁶¹ My synthesis of the evidence for a Roman coroplastic workshop on the fringes of the Athenian Agora was aided by Costin’s work on craft production systems and the organization of craft production.⁶² Costin’s framework for studying craft production involves examining craft production within its spatial, temporal, and social contexts.⁶³ After all, the workshop operated alongside other craftsmen in the urban landscape of Roman Athens, a city located in the Mediterranean climate zone, and all of these factors had implications for various steps in the production sequence. This approach also involved scrutinizing the workshop evidence for the producers and consumers instead of concentrating solely on the workshop’s products, leading me to evaluate the roles played by technological choice and consumer preference. Finally, the workshop debris provided an opportunity to assess coroplastic trends and consumer demand for terracottas during this period in Athens. In Chapter 5 I enumerate the traditions, trends, and other media that influenced this coroplastic workshop. Chapter 5 concludes with an evaluation of the place of this workshop in the context of crafting in Roman Athens.

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⁶¹ Schlanger 2005, p. 29.
⁶² Costin 1991; Costin 2001; Costin 2005.
⁶³ Costin 2005, p. 1036.
CHAPTER 2: CONTEXT AND CHRONOLOGY

Excavations in the Athenian Agora between 1994 and 2010 brought to light the nearly 1,600 fragments of terracotta, 16 molds, and 19 bone, bronze, and ceramic tools that form the basis for this study. The following detailed account of the excavation of the area, combined with a study of the buildings in the area and an analysis of the stratigraphy, will show that a building excavated in sections BE and BZ, here called the Commercial-Industrial Building, was the location of the coroplast’s workshop where the workshop debris originated. This chapter also examines the contexts of the terracottas in order to understand the processes that led to the deposition of the debris.

Excavation History

The area at the northwest corner of the Agora, bounded by Hadrian Street on the south and Hastings Street on the north, was excavated during the seasons of 1980-1982 and 1989-2010. The eastern part of the area was excavated as Sections BE and BH and the western part of the area was excavated as Section BZ. Two building plots further to the northwest were

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64 It is possible that future excavations to the north and west may produce more of the debris, but such a find is unlikely to significantly change the picture of coroplastic production that I present here.
65 Camp (1996, p. 239) hypothesized that the building was the location of a coroplastic workshop in his publication of some of the workshop debris. He called the building the Classical Commercial Building based on the construction date of the building.
66 Section BE consists of city blocks 1370/7, and 1370/8; Section BH consists of city block 1370/27 (Agora Plan/Drawing #2548); Section BZ consists of city blocks 1370/25, 1370/26 and 1370/9.
investigated in the 1950s when the American School was given the opportunity to excavate the area in advance of new construction.\textsuperscript{\ref{fn:67}}

Work in Section BE began with the demolition of a 19\textsuperscript{th} century flour mill.\textsuperscript{\ref{fn:68}} After the removal of the mill, excavations revealed a series of Middle Byzantine houses.\textsuperscript{\ref{fn:69}} The defining feature in the layout of the area was uncovered immediately: a road leading from the north into the Agora at its northwest corner (Fig. 71). This road, the use of which is documented by metalled surfaces dating from the 6\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. through the 15\textsuperscript{th} century A.D., conveniently divided the area into eastern and western sections.\textsuperscript{\ref{fn:70}}

On the west side of the road, excavations revealed a late Archaic altar and an Augustan period podium temple facing south toward the altar (Fig. 71).\textsuperscript{\ref{fn:71}} Shear proposed that the altar and temple belonged to a sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania.\textsuperscript{\ref{fn:72}} Within the temple, excavations revealed the remains of a Late Archaic well and a late Archaic to Classical house.\textsuperscript{\ref{fn:73}} West of the temple were poros foundations for a Hellenistic building and the southeast corner of a Roman bath complex with a latrine.\textsuperscript{\ref{fn:74}}

\textsuperscript{\ref{fn:67}} Vanderpool 1959. Both of these areas were excavated before new foundations were dug for two new buildings. 7 Hadrian Street was investigated in 1956, and 11 Hastings Street was investigated in 1958.
\textsuperscript{\ref{fn:68}} Shear 1984, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{\ref{fn:69}} Shear 1984, pp. 50-57, plan fig. 17, p. 51; Shear 1997, pp. 521-535, plan fig. 7, p. 522; Camp 2003, pp. 243-247.
\textsuperscript{\ref{fn:70}} Shear (1984, p. 5) noted that the road was in use from the mid 5\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. through the 15\textsuperscript{th} century A.D., but an earlier road surface dating to the mid 6\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. was excavated in 2004 (Lots BE 2653 and 2654).
\textsuperscript{\ref{fn:72}} Shear 1984, pp. 37-40.
\textsuperscript{\ref{fn:73}} Well J 2:4 (Camp 1996, pp. 242-252; Lynch 1999; Lynch 2011). House: Shear 1997, pp. 512-514. Floor surfaces in the house dated from the late 6\textsuperscript{th} to the 2\textsuperscript{nd} centuries B.C.
\textsuperscript{\ref{fn:74}} Hellenistic building: Shear 1997, pp. 508-509. According to Shear (1997, pp. 509-512), the original phase of the bath complex post-dates the construction of the podium temple and was
At the south end of the road where it intersected with the Panathenaic Way, excavations revealed two rectangular poros foundations and part of the superstructure for two piers of a Hellenistic gateway providing a monumental entrance into the northwest corner of the Agora.\textsuperscript{75}

East of the road, excavations in 1981 and 1982 uncovered the west end of a Classical building of poros limestone. The building was immediately recognized as a stoa, and Shear argued on the basis of literary evidence, the construction date of the stoa (between 475 and 450 B.C.), and the location of the stoa that it should be identified as the Stoa Poikile.\textsuperscript{76} South of the stoa and running nearly parallel to its southern edge, excavators uncovered the silted-up remains of the Eridanos River, which had been canalized in the Classical period.\textsuperscript{77}

Behind the Stoa Poikile at its northwestern corner, excavations in Section BE in 1982 uncovered the southern end of a long rectangular building along the east side of the north-south road (Fig. 71).\textsuperscript{78} The northern end of the building was excavated in Section BZ in 2004-2010. A narrow alley with provisions for drainage and two terracotta pipes for fresh water separated the back wall of the Stoa Poikile from the south wall of the rectangular building.\textsuperscript{79} Based on the original construction date of ca. 400 B.C., as well as the function assigned to the building, excavators named it the "Classical Commercial Building."\textsuperscript{80} Since the building was used into the

destroyed in the first half of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century A.D., and the second phase of the complex was destroyed in the late 4\textsuperscript{th} century A.D.

\textsuperscript{75} The gateway was constructed in the late 4\textsuperscript{th} to early 3\textsuperscript{rd} centuries B.C., and the foundations for the eastern pier rest on the lowest step on the west side of the Stoa Poikile (Shear 1984, pp. 19-24),

\textsuperscript{76} Shear 1984, pp. 17-19.

\textsuperscript{77} Shear 1997, pp. 514-521.

\textsuperscript{78} The results of excavations in this building from 1982 to 2007 have been published in a series of preliminary reports: Shear 1984, pp. 43-48; Camp 1996, pp. 236-241; Camp 1999, pp. 274-281; Camp 2003, pp. 247-249; Camp 2007, pp. 642-645.

\textsuperscript{79} Shear 1984, pp. 48-50.

\textsuperscript{80} Shear 1984, p. 43.
Roman period, however, and it served more than just a commercial function, as it will be shown below, the building will be called the "Commercial-Industrial Building" here.

The following overview of the architecture and stratigraphy of the building will show that it had a long and complicated history of construction and use. Furthermore, as Camp pointed out, the heterogeneous nature of the architecture of the Commercial-Industrial Building suggests that the building was not constructed in a single phase, but instead was the result of multiple phases of construction and renovation.\(^{81}\)

**Commercial-Industrial Building**

*Architecture*

The Commercial-Industrial Building consisted of a series of at least seven roughly rectangular rooms, each with a doorway opening onto the road to the west (Fig. 73).\(^{82}\) When the building was constructed, the pre-existing constraints to the layout and design of the building were the line of the north-south road to the west, the Stoa Poikile to the south, and the gentle upward slope of the terrain from south to north. The west wall of the Commercial-Industrial Building was aligned with the west wall of the Stoa Poikile.\(^{83}\)

The construction methods and orientations of the walls vary throughout the building, and this variety supports the idea that the building was built and renovated in successive stages. The following detailed examination of the building’s architecture reveals that while the outline of the

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\(^{81}\) Camp 2003, p. 249.  
\(^{82}\) The phrase "at least" is used because Room 7 was found at the northern limit of the current excavations, and no wall representing the northern end of the building has been identified.  
\(^{83}\) Shear 1984, p. 43.
building was probably part of its original design, the interior spaces were delineated and rearranged over time, possibly by different parties.

The southern wall, Wall 1, and the wall on the west side of the building along the road, Wall A, were the only walls in the building constructed of limestone ashlers.\textsuperscript{84} The remaining wall socles were constructed of polygonal or rubble masonry. The western wall of the building, Wall A, which served as the eastern street wall for the North-South Road, was constructed of limestone ashlar masonry. Wall A was repeatedly robbed out and reconstructed as the level of the road and the corresponding floors in the building to the east of the road were raised through the Roman period and into the Middle Byzantine period.\textsuperscript{85} Because of the long and complicated history of this wall, excavators never found foundation trenches for Wall A. A doorway in Wall A is preserved on the west side of Room 1 as a gap in the foundations with a width of 1.89 m, and a similar doorway is preserved on the west side of Room 2.\textsuperscript{86}

Wall B, the eastern back wall of the building, is preserved in five separate segments along the length of the building, and was constructed in polygonal masonry in Acropolis limestone.\textsuperscript{87} Although a segment of Wall B was robbed out on the east side of Room 1, stretches

\textsuperscript{84} All wall names are my own: letters designate north-south walls and numbers designate east-west walls.

\textsuperscript{85} Shear 1984, p. 44.

\textsuperscript{86} Shear 1984, p. 44.

\textsuperscript{87} Shear 1984, p. 44; Camp 1996, p. 236. Excavations in 2010 revealed evidence that the wall, or at least the line of the wall, may predate the construction of the Commercial-Industrial Building. In his final report for Section BZ, Kevin Daly discussed three late Archaic to early Classical clay-lined pits found ca. 1 m east of the eastern face of Wall B (called “Wall 7” in the report) during the 1996, 2005 and 2010 seasons. The arrangement of the pits in a north-south line, and the alignment of this line with the line of Wall B, along with evidence that the area with the pits appears to have been an outdoor space, suggest that Wall B, or an earlier wall in the same location, divided an indoor space to the west from an outdoor space to the east. Future excavation in this area will help confirm the layout and use of the area in the period preceding
of the wall can be traced from Room 2 to Room 7. Since Wall B is not parallel to Wall A, the widths of the rooms increase from south to north, but the rooms have a fairly consistent depth of 6.5 to 7.0 m.

The southern wall, Wall 1, was constructed of two courses of poros limestone ashlers and preserved to a height of 1.28 m above a foundation course. The eastern end of Wall 1 projects to the east beyond Wall B, suggesting that Wall 1 was originally intended for an earlier building with a different layout. There is no other conclusive evidence for this earlier building, although earlier floor surfaces excavated within rooms of the Commercial-Industrial Building confirm the presence of earlier structures in the area.

Wall 2, which divided Room 1 to the south and Room 2 to the north, was preserved to a height of 0.90 m and a width of 0.45 m. Wall 2 was constructed of Acropolis limestone in polygonal masonry set directly on bedrock and included ladder-work in the gaps between the stones. The ladder-work is only present on the southern side of the wall. A wall of this sort with one finished face could have served as a retaining wall to negotiate a difference in elevation between two rooms in a building. It is fairly clear, however, that there was not enough difference in elevation between contemporary floor surfaces in Rooms 1 and 2 to require a retaining wall, so the need for the ladder-work on one side of the wall remains unexplained.

Wall 3 served as the divider between Rooms 2 and 3. Unlike Wall 2 to the south, which was set directly on bedrock with no intervening foundations, Wall 3 was preserved mainly in its

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88 Shear 1984, p. 43; Camp 2003, p. 249.
89 See Table 4 for a listing of the floors that predate the construction of the Commercial-Industrial Building.
90 Shear 1984, p. 44; Camp 1999, p. 277.
91 Camp 1999, p. 277.
foundation course, a .75 m wide level layer of stones with a single surviving orthostate of Acropolis limestone preserved on the west end.\textsuperscript{92}

Excavations in 2009 revealed two candidates for Wall 4, the wall dividing Room 3 and Room 4. The earlier wall, preserved at a lower elevation, appears to have gone out of use in the 4\textsuperscript{th} century B.C., suggesting that it may belong to an early phase of the Commercial-Industrial Building.\textsuperscript{93} This wall shares a parallel orientation with Wall 5 to the north. The second candidate for Wall 4 is just north of the earlier wall, is preserved at a slightly higher elevation, and has an orientation that is perpendicular to Wall A, the street wall. Both candidates for Wall 4 appear to abut the eastern face of Wall A.

At the north end of Room 4, Wall 5 is preserved in two segments of rubble masonry with a width of ca. .60 m. The central portion of the wall was removed when a 3\textsuperscript{rd}-4\textsuperscript{th} century well was dug.\textsuperscript{94} Wall 5 is angled more northeast/southwest than the cross-walls to the south.

The identification of Wall 6 remains uncertain. There are two candidates for the wall that divided Rooms 5 and 6. The best candidate is a wall stub consisting of a large rectangular block of Acropolis limestone projecting from the east face of Wall A. Most of this wall was probably removed during the construction of a large Byzantine built pithos and the hollowing out of a cistern in the area to the east of the wall stub. If this wall stub were identified as the cross-wall for the two rooms, the width of Room 5 on its west side would be consistent with the widths of Rooms 1-2. The other candidate for Wall 6 is a wall stub extending from the west face of Wall B on the east side of the building. This wall is situated further south than the first candidate, and if it were identified as the cross-wall for the two rooms, Room 5 would be significantly narrower.

\textsuperscript{92} Camp 1999, p. 274; Camp 2003, p. 249.
\textsuperscript{93} The wall was covered with fill dated to the 4\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. (Lot BZ 1830).
\textsuperscript{94} Well J 2:18.
than Room 1 and Room 2, but similar in width to Room 4. Excavations in 2010 revealed that a segment of this wall in the center of the room was robbed out in the 3rd century B.C., suggesting that it may have served as the cross-wall dividing the two rooms from the construction of the building ca. 400 B.C. until ca. 225 B.C. The possible significance of the abandonment of this wall in the 3rd century B.C. will be discussed below.

The northernmost preserved cross-wall in the Commercial-Industrial Building, Wall 7, projects from the east face of Wall A at a 90-degree angle and is constructed of polygonal masonry in Acropolis limestone. While a segment of the western part of the wall is preserved above the level of relevant floor surfaces to the north, it is clear that the upper courses of the remainder of the wall were robbed out in antiquity, as the majority of the wall is preserved at a level below the floor surfaces to the north.

This brings us to the northern limit of the current excavations. The presence of floor surfaces in Room 7, north of Wall 7, indicates that area north of Wall 7 was probably an indoor space and may represent the northern continuation of the building. The building, then, may continue even further under the modern structure to the north. Excavations in 1958 included the area to the north of Room 7, but Vanderpool's summary of the findings focused on the road, and his description of the buildings bordering the east side of the road was brief and inconclusive: "to the east there were light house walls of both Classical and Roman times, but owing to the restricted space and limited time at our disposal no attempt was made to disentangle them."

95 The fill within the robbing trench for this wall (called “Wall 9” in the report) was excavated in Lot BZ 1934.
96 Stretches of the robbed-out portion of the wall were revealed under 3rd century B.C. fills (Lot BZ 1857).
97 Vanderpool 1959, p. 297. The plan on p. 296 of this report (fig. 3) shows walls east of the road, but the phase to which these walls belong is unclear.
Due to the constraints of the excavation, then, the total length of the Commercial-Industrial Building remains unknown.

Camp observed that the variety of materials and methods used in the cross-walls of the Commercial-Industrial Building may indicate that the building was built in stages, or else that different parties were responsible for the construction of the individual rooms and used materials and building techniques to suit their particular tastes.\footnote{Camp 2003, p. 249.} The uniformity of the construction styles of the west and east walls along their lengths, however, suggests that at least the exterior walls were part of the original plan of the building. Perhaps a single authority was responsible for the construction of these walls, while the responsibility for the construction and later rebuilding of the cross-walls fell upon the individuals who would occupy the rooms. The slightly varied orientations of the cross-walls also appear to support the idea that the interior walls as they are preserved were not built as part of the original master plan, but were renovated, moved, and/or replaced over time.\footnote{Milbank (2002) studied a comparable commercial and industrial building at the northeast corner of the Athenian Agora. This building had a similar lifespan of 480 B.C. until the 2nd century A.D. While the exterior outline of the building remained the same throughout its history, the interior rooms were renovated and rearranged over the course of four construction phases (Milbank 2002, pp. 88-102).}

\textit{History of Use}

The history of the use of the Commercial-Industrial Building is documented in a sequence of packed earth floors preserved in patches throughout the building's seven rooms. These floor surfaces consisted of a layer of clay spread directly over the underlying floor or on top of a leveling layer of fill. Several methods can be used to assign a date to the period of use of
a floor surface. In cases where there is a layer of intervening fill between two surfaces, the fill provides a terminus post quem for the floor above. In cases where the clay floors are placed one on top of another, the removal of the clay floor itself can yield fragments of pottery that were incorporated into the floor in one of two ways: either the pottery was mixed into the clay used to surface the area, or the sherds were pressed into the surface over the course of time. Unfortunately, in both of these cases, the pottery collected during excavation is often preserved only in small, worn fragments. Nevertheless, a chronology of the building can be gleaned from an examination of all of the evidence from the floor surfaces.

Table 4 combines the evidence for the excavated floor surfaces throughout the rooms of the Commercial-Industrial Building. The Pottery Lot numbers given are the lots in which the floor surfaces were removed, and give termini post quem for the dates when the floors were laid down.

The greatest number of superimposed floor surfaces was excavated in Room 1 in 1982. Ten floor surfaces documenting the period of use for the building, as well as four surfaces that pre-date the construction of the building, were found on the west side of room. The original floor surface for the building, which was level with the top of the toichobate of the southern wall of Room 1, was reached at ca. 51.76-51.65 masl in three different spots in Room 1. In all of these pottery lots, the pottery provided a date of ca. 400 B.C. for the construction of the earliest floor.

The level of the floor in Room 1 only rose about .30 m over a period of over five centuries. Above the earliest floor, excavators found nine more floor surfaces covering the period from ca. 400 B.C. to the late 1st or 2nd century A.D. Identifying the date when the building went

100 Surfaces on the west side of the room were excavated in Lots BE 807 and 808; surfaces in the central part of room were excavated in Lots BE 2412 and 2563.
out of use is crucial to this study. If the building remained in use into the 2nd century A.D., it would be an excellent candidate for the location of the workshop that turned out the terracotta debris. While the available ceramic and numismatic evidence does not give a firm date for the last period of use for the building, it also does not rule out the possibility that at least the southern portion of the building was in use into the 2nd century A.D.

The evidence for the date of the latest floors in the Commercial-Industrial Building is found in Rooms 1, 2, and 3. In Room 1, the two latest floors in the sequence of 10 floors on the west side of the room represent the latest period of use for the room.\footnote{The latest floor was removed in Lot BE 797, and the second to last floor was removed in Lot BE 798.} In his preliminary publication of the building, Shear gave a 1st century A.D. date to the last two floors. He used an Alpha Globule lamp in Lot BE 797 and a coin of Tiberius in Lot BE 798 to assign dates to the floors.\footnote{Coin BE-541, coin of Tiberius struck in Tanagra.} A re-examination of these two pottery lots with the assistance of Hayes’ publication of the Roman fine ware imports in the Athenian Agora, however, introduces the possibility that the latest floors in Room 1 were laid down in the 2nd century A.D.\footnote{Agora XXXII.} The Alpha Globule Lamp from Lot 797 does not restrict the date of the floor to the 1st century A.D. In fact, this type of lamp was produced from ca. A.D. 75 to A.D. 200, with little in the way of traceable development of the features of the lamp.\footnote{Perlzweig \cite{Perlzweig} placed the introduction of the type around A.D. 50. Bailey \cite{Bailey} placed the introduction of Alpha Globule lamps a little later. Rotroff \cite{Rotroff} examined the contexts of inventoried Alpha Globule lamps, and she found that the type was not introduced before A.D. 75 and did not become a predominant type until the end of the 1st century.} The Alpha Globule lamp fragment from Lot BE 797, for instance, may be able to be assigned to Perlzweig's "later" group of this type based on the irregular spacing of
the globules, but assigning a specific date to the floor surface based on one lamp fragment is obviously problematic.\textsuperscript{105}

The second to latest floor surface, removed in Lot BE 798, was originally dated to the 1\textsuperscript{st} century A.D. based on numismatic evidence, but ceramic evidence from the floor may suggest a date into the 2\textsuperscript{nd} century A.D. A rim of a Çandarli Ware plate, for which a comparandum has not yet been found, may push the date for the floor into the 2\textsuperscript{nd} century A.D.\textsuperscript{106}

In the northeast corner of Room 1, a deposit of nearly complete vessels may provide more evidence for the latest period of use for the room. Under a 2\textsuperscript{nd} century A.D. layer, excavators found a deposit with several vessels.\textsuperscript{107} The three inventoried vessels belong to the period from the 1\textsuperscript{st} century B.C. to the 2\textsuperscript{nd} to 3\textsuperscript{rd} century A.D., with additional evidence from the context pottery possibly confirming a date in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} century A.D.\textsuperscript{108} The latest floor surface found in Room 3, in the southeast corner of the room, was laid down after the first half of the 1\textsuperscript{st} century A.D.\textsuperscript{109}

The evidence from the south end of the Commercial-Industrial Building, then, raises the possibility that these rooms were in use into 2\textsuperscript{nd} century A.D. Although the outline of the Commercial-Industrial Building may have been constructed in a single phase, the building did not survive in its original form for the duration of its use. Evidence from the north end of the

\textsuperscript{105} \textit{Agora} VII, p. 15.
\textsuperscript{106} Based on Hayes' description of the ware (\textit{Agora} XXXII, pp. 51-52), the sherd fits nicely into the "later series" of Çandarli Ware imports to Athens, ca. 100-267/8.
\textsuperscript{107} The 2\textsuperscript{nd} century layer was removed in Lot BE 793, and the date was provided by Coin BE-518, which was dated to the mid 2\textsuperscript{nd} century. The deposit underneath was Deposit J 2:2.
\textsuperscript{108} Mug P 31349 is as \textit{Agora} V, G 103 (first half 1\textsuperscript{st} century); Jug P 31350 is as \textit{Agora} V, G 91 (first half 1\textsuperscript{st} century). Cooking Pot P 31351 is similar to two examples from \textit{Agora} V: F 81 (1\textsuperscript{st} century B.C.) and J 43 (mid 2\textsuperscript{nd} to early 3\textsuperscript{rd} century A.D.). Additionally, an uninvetoried cooking pot was found in the tin as \textit{Agora} V, G 192 (late 1\textsuperscript{st} to early 2\textsuperscript{nd} century A.D.).
\textsuperscript{109} Lot BE 2146; date based on Eastern Sigillata B1 conical cup (fragment too small to find exact comparandum), and cup handle similar to \textit{Agora} V, G 80 or G 81 (first half 1\textsuperscript{st} century).
building suggests that while the south end of the building continued in use through the 1\textsuperscript{st} or 2\textsuperscript{nd} century A.D., the north end of the building went out of use in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century B.C.\textsuperscript{110}

While the latest preserved floors were found in the southern end of the building in Rooms 1-3, ceramic evidence from the northern end of the building paints a different picture. North of Room 3, the latest preserved floor surface, found in Room 4, dated to the second quarter of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century B.C.\textsuperscript{111} This evidence suggests that Rooms 4-7 were not in use or no longer interior spaces after the middle of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century B.C.

Additional support for this hypothesis can be found in the stratigraphy of the north end of the building. A segment of Wall B at the north end of the building, east of Room 7, was found under a layer of mixed fill dating to the late 3\textsuperscript{rd} century B.C., suggesting that the upper courses of the wall were removed and the lowest courses of the wall covered over at this time.\textsuperscript{112} Similar evidence was found south of here associated with a segment of Wall B east of Room 5, where the lowest courses of the wall were covered over by the late 3\textsuperscript{rd} century B.C.\textsuperscript{113} Sections of one of the candidates for Wall 6 and a portion of Wall 7 were also robbed out in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century B.C.\textsuperscript{114}

Further evidence for the abandonment of the north end of the Commercial-Industrial Building comes from a cistern complex with a shaft east of Room 6.\textsuperscript{115} The main chamber of the cistern, probably located in the center of Room 6, has not yet been excavated, but a cylindrical

\textsuperscript{110} The contraction of the building is consistent with the generally bleak picture of the city in the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century B.C. (Camp 2001, p. 167).
\textsuperscript{111} Surface removed in Lot BZ 1753.
\textsuperscript{112} Lot BZ 1648; date provided by the presence of numerous moldmade bowls, providing a terminus post quem of 225 B.C.
\textsuperscript{113} Lot BZ 1635; pottery mostly 4\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. with a few moldmade bowl fragments dating to after 225 B.C.
\textsuperscript{114} Lots BZ 1934 and 1857.
\textsuperscript{115} Deposit J 1:7.
shaft that most likely provided access to the main chamber by way of a tunnel was excavated during the 2007 season.\textsuperscript{116} The contents of the cistern shaft provide a date of 250-225 B.C. for the filling of the cistern, suggesting that the cistern went out of use around the same time as the north end of Wall B, Wall 6, and Wall 7. Recent excavations in the area suggest that the cistern may have collapsed in antiquity, but it is not clear the collapse was the cause of the abandonment of the northern end of the building or if the cistern collapsed after the northern end of the building had fallen into disrepair.

After the third quarter of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century B.C., the northern rooms of the Commercial-Industrial Building went out of use, and the building contracted to a three-room structure. The cause of the abandonment of the northern end of the building is unknown, since no uniform destruction horizon was detected across the area of Rooms 4-7. The contraction of the building from a seven-room structure to a three-room structure, however, is consistent with the depositional pattern of the terracotta debris, which will be discussed below.

\textbf{Function}

The Commercial-Industrial Building served two main purposes; it was a building where artisans practiced their crafts and sold their wares.\textsuperscript{117} The floor surfaces and intervening fills provide primary evidence for the types of activities that took place in its rooms. Evidence for 4\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. coroplasts was found in the form of ceramic molds for figurines, appliqué

\textsuperscript{116} Lots BZ 1763-1770. The dates for the upper (ca. 225 B.C.) and lower (ca. 250 B.C.) fill are distinguished by the presence or absence of moldmade bowls.
\textsuperscript{117} Rotroff (2009, pp. 40-43) discussed this building among similar Classical buildings on the fringes of the Agora.
decoration, and pigments embedded in floor surfaces in Rooms 1, 2, and 4.\textsuperscript{118} Evidence for metalworking was found in 4\textsuperscript{th} to 3\textsuperscript{rd} century levels in Rooms 1, 5, and 7.\textsuperscript{119} Finally, fine marble dust and chips found on surfaces in Rooms 1 and 4 and chunks of pumice found in Room 2 may have been left behind by marbleworkers.\textsuperscript{120}

Evidence for accommodations made for water collection and disposal supports the theory that the rooms in the building were used for craft production. Coroplasts and metalworkers share a need for water supply and water disposal, and evidence in Rooms 1 and 6 suggest that these needs could have been met within the Commercial-Industrial Building.

In Room 1, a Y-shaped terracotta drain tile was found embedded in the original floor surface in the doorway in Wall A.\textsuperscript{121} The tile sloped downward out of the room and was probably designed to carry water from the room into a drain in the street. At the level of the latest floor surface, a stone-lined channel probably served the same purpose. Additionally, an early Roman plastered basin built in the southeast corner of the room against Wall 1 was connected to a drain

\textsuperscript{118} An impression taken from a metal vessel that could have been used to produce moldmade appliqué figures for relief vessels (Camp 1999, p. 277, fig. 27, no. 50; T 4461, Lots BZ 2301 and 2302) was found on the east side of Room 2. A fragment of a figurine mold was recovered from an early floor in Room 4 (BZ 1603, Lot BZ 1762). In Room 1, patches of red, pink, blue, and ochre pigment were found directly on the floor (Lots BE 805 and 806; Shear 1984 p. 45). In Room 4, patches of yellow, purple, and blue pigment were found directly on top of the surface (Lot BZ 1579).

\textsuperscript{119} In Room 1, vertical pits cut into a 4\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. floor were filled with bronze shavings (Lot BE 806, Shear 1984, p. 45). In Room 5, the fill above the 4\textsuperscript{th} to 3\textsuperscript{rd} century B.C. floor removed in Lot BZ 1733 contained a large number of small bronze droplets and fragments (Lots BZ 1615 and 1619). In Room 7, the fill above a 4\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. floor removed in Lot BZ 1736 included a number of large fragments of iron slag (Lot BZ 1734).

\textsuperscript{120} In Room 1, marble dust and chips were found on two Hellenistic floor surfaces (Lots BE 800 and 801; Shear 1984, p. 45). In Room 4, a 4\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. floor may have been covered in fine marble dust (Lot BZ 1758). Pieces of pumice were found associated with 4\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. floors in Room 2 (Lots BE 2424 and 2425).

\textsuperscript{121} Shear 1984, p. 45.
in the alley south of the Commercial-Industrial Building by way of a hole drilled through the thickness of Wall 1.\textsuperscript{122}

Further evidence for water supply and drainage was found in Room 6. A cylindrical collection shaft for a cistern was excavated outside the building, east of Room 6, and the cistern probably had its main chamber within Room 6.\textsuperscript{123} Although the main chamber of the cistern has not been located, a tunnel leading west from the cylindrical shaft may point to its location. Furthermore, an area directly west of the cylindrical shaft has for several seasons shown signs that there is a hollow underground feature below.\textsuperscript{124} Unfortunately the area has not been fully explored because of overhanging later walls. Finally, a curved portion of concrete consistent with cistern lining was found in this area.\textsuperscript{125} It is more than likely that the tunnel connects the cylindrical collection shaft that was located outside of the building with a main cistern chamber inside Room 6 of the building.

While the cistern was used to collect water outside the building and provide access to the water from within the building, a stone-lined drain found in Room 6 was probably used to provide drainage for waste-water from the building into the road. A 1 m segment of the stone-lined drain was uncovered on the western half of the room under a layer of Roman fill, and it was probably in use during the late Classical and Hellenistic periods.\textsuperscript{126}

\textsuperscript{122} Shear 1984, p. 45.
\textsuperscript{123} Shaft and tunnel fills excavated in Lots BZ 1763-1770. The dates for the upper and lower fills are 225 B.C. and 250 B.C.
\textsuperscript{124} Fills in the area excavated in Lots BZ 1482, 1577, 1661, and 1663.
\textsuperscript{125} Concrete fragment A 5090.
\textsuperscript{126} The fill covering the drain (Lot BZ 1490) provided a non-descript Roman date, but the level of the drain is consistent with Hellenistic floors. Excavators removed the drain in 2009 (Lot BZ 1824) but the pottery did not provide a conclusive date for the construction of the drain.
These four accommodations made for water supply and drainage—a drain and basin in Room 1, and a drain and cistern in Room 6—provide further support for the identification of the building as a site for craft production. Although Rotroff did not list water supply as one of the shared characteristics of the commercial and industrial buildings she studied, the Commercial-Industrial Building under study here does satisfy the other characteristics she discussed: a location on a road just outside the boundaries of the Agora; scale, building materials, and construction methods that are similar to domestic structures; a plan consisting of a row or grouping of uniformly-sized rooms; and primary archaeological evidence for crafting and commerce (primarily raw materials, tools, and discarded finished objects).\textsuperscript{127}

Rotroff also argued that the presence of small ritual deposits in the buildings she studied, called saucer pyres, may be associated with the commercial and industrial functions of the buildings. Thirteen saucer pyres dated to 400-280 B.C. were found in and around the Commercial-Industrial Building (Table 5, Fig. 72). These deposits included evidence of burning and contained numerous small vessels along with animal bones, all deposited in shallow pits. Pyres have been found in private homes and workshops around the edges of the Agora, and the Commercial-Industrial Building contains the highest concentration of this type of deposit of any other building in the Agora.\textsuperscript{128} Rotroff suggested that the pyres may be remnants of a ritual associated with craft activities, possibly an appeal for the favor of the gods in ensuring the safety of workers in dangerous industries or the smooth execution of craft production processes.\textsuperscript{129}

\textsuperscript{127} Rotroff 2009, p. 40.  
\textsuperscript{128} Pyres: Rotroff 2009, p. 43; Rotroff and Jordan 1999, p. 147. Camp (2003, p. 249) made the observation about the concentration of pyres in the Commercial-Industrial Building.  
\textsuperscript{129} Rotroff 2009, p. 43.
Alternately, Rotroff hypothesized that the ritual may have been associated with building renovations or a changeover of tenants.

In addition to functioning as a site for artisans' workshops, the Commercial-Industrial Building probably also served as a place for the artisans to sell their wares. Industrial and commercial establishments—sometimes incorporated into domestic structures—have been identified immediately outside the boundaries of the Agora square on its southwest, south, east, and northeast sides.¹³⁰ Artisans and merchants sited workshops and shops near the entrances of the Agora in order to take advantage of these high traffic thoroughfares. Situated just beyond the edge of the public square along a road leading off to the north-northwest, the Commercial-Industrial Building would have provided craftsmen with an opportunity to create and show their wares to potential consumers passing in and out of the Agora.

It is difficult to assert with certainty that commerce was conducted in a particular place, since commercial activity often leaves no identifiable physical remains. While the exchange of money for goods may result in a few dropped coins in a doorway, the presence of multiple coins on a floor is in no way unquestionable evidence for commerce. Furthermore, the display of finished wares, whether they are of marble, clay, glass, or bronze, may require little more than a wooden bench or wooden shelves, perishable furnishings that do not survive. The presence of a large quantity of finished products themselves, however, particularly if they are tied to a single

¹³⁰ Young 1951; Shear 1984, p. 43, notes 83 and 84; Milbank (2002) studied a similar commercial and industrial building at the northeast corner of the Agora.
craftsman or a workshop tradition, can be used to argue that a site was used for the sale of craft products.\textsuperscript{131}

**Contexts**

**Ceramic Evidence**

The composition of the debris that forms the basis for this study indicates that the debris originated in a workshop for terracotta figurines and lamps. The debris included 16 figurine and lamp molds and 13 bone tools, all of which were presumably discarded when they were no longer usable. Additional evidence is provided by several pairs of figurines cast from the same mold and a figurine found along with the mold from which it was cast.\textsuperscript{132} A description of the production processes that took place in the workshop can be found in Chapter 4.

The following section gives a detailed account of the contexts for the terracottas and molds found in the area of the Commercial-Industrial Building. An explanation of the contextual evidence available for this study—mainly pottery and lamps—will be followed by an analysis of the depositional pattern of the terracotta debris. The most abundant evidence available for the date of deposit of the terracottas and molds is ceramics. In order to assign dates to the contexts of the inventoried terracottas and retrieve the uninventoried fragments of terracottas and molds from the pottery tins, I re-examined 110 unpublished pottery lots from the area in and around the Commercial-Industrial Building.

\textsuperscript{131} Dumped pottery workshop debris found in the Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft and the Stoa Gutter Well suggest that the shops where pottery was sold were nearby (Vanderpool 1946, p. 266; Roberts and Glock 1986, p. 4; Lynch 2009, p. 73).

\textsuperscript{132} Examples of pairs of figurines cast from the same mold: \textbf{115 and 117}, \textbf{155 and 156}. Mold/figurine pair: \textbf{162 and 163}.  

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Context pottery from stratigraphical units in the Athenian Agora is stored in the reconstructed Stoa of Attalos and labeled with the associated detailed context and excavation information (section, grid location, elevation, dates of excavation, and relationship to surrounding features). Unless a context is a well, cistern, burial, or other type of closed context, only a fraction of the diagnostic pottery, selected by the trench supervisor, is saved and stored. The selection of pottery is usually made only with a view toward providing an accurate date for the stratum or feature, with the result that the chosen group of context sherds often fails to provide information on the character of the context. In other words, unless a context is a closed deposit and 100 percent of the pottery is saved, it is impossible to reconstruct the proportion of fine wares to coarse wares or the full range of vessel shapes. This practice limits the amount of data that can be collected on the makeup and quantity of the context pottery. Since a majority of the contexts for this study are unsealed layers of building fill and debris dumped outside of buildings, only a selection of pottery was saved and is now available for examination. For this reason, the pottery from the selected contexts was used primarily as dating evidence.

Closed deposits defined as sealed and datable groups of pottery and artifacts (including well fillings, graves, cistern fillings, and distinct pits) are given Deposit numbers that denote the 20 meter by 20 meter grid square of the deposit's location, followed by a sequential number. These closed strata will be denoted with the name "Deposit" (capital "D"). Although only a selection of the context pottery from Deposits was kept for most of the history of the Agora Excavations, the current trend is to save all of the pottery from closed deposits. The contexts in this study include three Deposits: J 1:1, J 1:3, and J 1:5. A list of all relevant contexts is included in Appendix 2.
The relevant pottery lots and Deposits were re-examined for this study in order to assign termini post quem to the contexts of the terracottas and molds. Where possible, dates were assigned to the pottery lots based on the presence of diagnostic fine wares and lamps, which provide the most useful dating evidence for early Roman levels (Figs. 58-67).

**Lamps**

Moldmade lamps are a useful chronological tool in the analysis of Roman contexts. For a majority of contexts included in this study, lamps were saved with the diagnostic pottery. An overview of the lamps from each context can be found in the list of contents of the contexts in

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133 For each pottery lot, the sherd(s) and/or lamp that provides the date for the lot was catalogued, disregarding, where appropriate, obviously intrusive later material (Appendix 3). The following resources aided the analysis of the context pottery. Robinson's establishment of a Roman pottery chronology based on the relationships of strata within layered Deposits from the Agora led to the publication of *Agora V*. Robinson's "groups" provided a useful tool for assigning dates to the context pottery, and comparanda for the ceramics in the relevant deposits were found throughout *Agora V*. Robinson's Group G, however, provided the closest comparanda for the ceramics in these deposits. Group G was the filling of Cistern D 4:1, one of two cisterns in a 3rd century B.C. cistern complex northwest of the Hephaisteion (*Agora V*, p. 22). The filling of the cistern chamber was divided into three layers, dating from the 1st century B.C. to the early 2nd century A.D. To date, the only major revision in the chronology presented in *Agora V* was by Hayes (1973, p. 425 and p. 468 n. 110), who re-dated Robinson's Group F from "the last three quarters of the 1st century B.C." to A.D. 1-20. While this volume is an invaluable tool for identifying local and imported wares, Robinson limited his study to a selected group of Deposits, and saved the task of establishing a detailed pottery typology for a second Roman pottery volume, which he never finished. Hayes's volume on Imported Roman fine-wares (*Agora XXXII*) was published after the pottery was examined for this study, but I had access to the unpublished text of the manuscript when I was examining the context pottery in 2006. I am grateful to John Hayes for giving me permission to read the text for this volume before its publication. Unfortunately, the illustrations for the volume were not available to me as I examined the context pottery, but the text contained useful descriptions of wares and discussions of chronology. The identification of Eastern Sigillata A Ware, Eastern Sigillata B Ware, and Çandarlı Ware was aided by the *Atlante delle forme ceramiche II: Ceramica fine romana nel bacino mediterraneo* (*Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale* II). Italian Sigillata Ware forms were found in the *Conspectus Formarum Terrae Sigillatae Italic Modo Confectae* (Ettlinger et al. 1990).
Appendix 2. Several lamps from these contexts were also inventoried at the time they were excavated, providing more evidence for the date when the terracottas and molds were deposited.

Lamps found in 1st and 2nd century A.D. contexts in the Athenian Agora can be divided into two major groups: 1) imported lamps, which include Corinthian lamps and Red-on-White lamps (whose origin is still unclear), and 2) Attic lamps, which Perlzweig subdivided into four groups, reflecting the division between wheelmade and moldmade lamps, the degree to which the lamps reflected continued Hellenistic traditions or Roman-inspired innovations, and the presence of Athenian imitations of imported lamps.134 One type of Athenian lamp, the Alpha Globule lamp, provides crucial chronological evidence for this study.

The Alpha Globule lamp is a readily recognizable type, even in the smallest fragments. The lamp was made in two molds (top and bottom) and is characterized as being "deep bodied, with a plain disk, globules all over the body, rounded nozzle with volutes, a curved ridge defining the underside of the nozzle, and an alpha in relief on the base," along with a moldmade or separately attached band handle.135 Perlzweig and Broneer observed that the Alpha Globule lamp type combined Hellenistic tradition with the Roman innovation of the volute nozzle.136 They did not, however, agree on the longevity of the type. Broneer placed the introduction of the type in Corinth in the early 1st century, and suggested that the type flourished during the Augustan period and declined by the end of the 1st century.137 Perlzweig, on the other hand, observed that the Alpha Globule lamps did not appear in any Augustan closed deposits in the

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134 *Agora* VII, p. 12.
135 *Agora* VII, p. 15.
136 *Agora* VII, p. 12; *Corinth* IV.2, p. 72. Perlzweig (*Agora* VII, p. 17), however, dismissed the evidence that Broneer uses to prove that the Alpha Globule lamps evolved directly from Hellenistic types, suggesting that the examples of "transitional" lamps he uses may in fact postdate the introduction of the Alpha Globule type.
137 *Corinth* IV.2, p. 72.
Athenian Agora, and placed the introduction of the type in Athens in the middle of the 1\textsuperscript{st} century, with production continuing through the 2\textsuperscript{nd} century.\textsuperscript{138} Bailey moved the inception of the type a little later, and most recently Rotroff argued that the type did not appear before A.D. 75 and may have been introduced a little later.\textsuperscript{139} Seventy-eight of the 209 Alpha Globule lamps included in \textit{Agora VII} were found in closed, stratified deposits, many of which dated to the 2\textsuperscript{nd} century A.D.

Perlzweig imagined large scale production for Alpha Globule lamps: the 208 published examples in \textit{Agora VII} represent at least 200 molds, and she suggested that the preserved examples of the type may only represent a small percentage of the original total, so that there may originally have been thousands of molds and hundreds of thousands of lamps.\textsuperscript{140} Not surprisingly, the Alpha Globule lamp is one of the most common lamp types found in deposits of the late 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} century A.D. in the Athenian Agora.

The Alpha Globule lamp was in fact the most common type of lamp found in the deposits included in this study. Fragments of this type of lamp were found in 28 of the 72 relevant contexts in this study. The importance of this lamp type to the chronology of the terracottas should not be underestimated. In some cases, the lamps are the latest datable piece in the assemblage. Furthermore, a mold for the bottom part of an Alpha Globule lamp (280), found together with terracottas in Deposit J 1:5, may be evidence for the production of this type of lamp alongside the production of terracotta figurines.

\textsuperscript{138} \textit{Agora V}, p. 15.
\textsuperscript{139} Bailey 1988, p. 406; Rotroff 1997, p. 110. Alpha Globule lamps from the Kerameikos excavations have also been dated from the turn of the 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} century through the 2\textsuperscript{nd} century (\textit{Kerameikos XVI}, p. 13). Scholars now agree that the lamp was an Athenian innovation of the mid-1\textsuperscript{st} century A.D. and that Broneer’s dates for the Corinthian examples should be down-dated (Camp and Rotroff 1996, p. 267).
\textsuperscript{140} \textit{Agora VII}, p. 17.
Later Material

The pottery and lamps found with the terracottas provide a terminus post quem for the formation of the deposits and a terminus ante quem for the production of the terracottas. Because of nearly continuous activity in the area from the time when the material was deposited through the Byzantine period, the terracotta fragments were found mixed into fills dating from the 1st century A.D. through the 11th century A.D. A careful examination of the contexts, however, shows that the pottery lots with the highest number of fragments and greatest weight of terracotta debris dated to the late 1st and 2nd century A.D. Of the 22 lots with the greatest number and weight of terracottas, 141 15 are dated securely to the late 1st to 2nd century A.D. 142 The seven remaining lots provided dates after the 2nd century:

Lot BE 2184: fill excavated around a Late Roman mortar and tile installation, and the presence of an abundance of early Roman pottery suggests that an early Roman layer was mistakenly excavated together with the remains of the Late Roman installation.

Lots BE 2202 and BE 2212: the removal of the sides of a Late Roman lime slaking pit. It is clear from the excavator’s notes that the terracottas were found in the fill behind the sides of the pit and beneath the floor of the pit.

Lot BZ 1400: fill behind and under the cutting for a Byzantine pithos. This lot contained a mixture of pottery dating from the early Roman period through the 5th century A.D.

Lot BZ 1418: the removal of a Byzantine wall foundation. The trench originally dug for the wall clearly cut into early Roman levels, and the terracotta fragments were found in the fill just under the lowest level of the rubble foundations for the wall.

141 The list of 22 lots consists of the overlap between the list of 20 lots with the greatest number of terracotta fragments and the list of 20 lots with the greatest weight of terracotta fragments, as these two lists contain nearly the same group of pottery lots.
142 Lots BE 2102, BE 2115, BE 2203, BE 2212, BZ 1415, BZ 1496, BZ 1497, BZ 1541, BZ 1551, BZ 1558, BZ 1562, BZ 1563, BZ 1621, BZ 1651, BZ 1666, and BZ 1732.
Lot BZ 1471: the removal of a bulge in the northern baulk of the trench. Since the surface area of the area under excavation was small, changes in stratigraphy were not always apparent, so the material was removed in large vertical sections, resulting in a mixture of earlier and later material.

Lot BZ 1540: the upper level of fill over a deposit of 1st century amphoras. The fill was originally excavated in part in 2001, and then laid exposed for four years until excavation continued in 2005, causing the contamination of the uppermost layer of the deposit with later material from the adjacent baulk. For this reason, once this contaminated layer was removed, the remainder of the deposit was excavated in Lot BZ 1541, providing a mid-1st century date.

In each of these cases, the earlier terracotta debris was either mistakenly excavated together with later material or mixed in with later material as a result of site formation processes.

**Formation Processes**

The terracottas and molds included in this study were found in deposits of debris in an area of approximately 20 m by 25 m on the east side of the north-south road, in and around the Commercial-Industrial Building. The material was found in a variety of different contexts: fill in shallow pits, building fill, and incorporated into later walls and other built features. The debris consisted of a mixture of soil, ceramics, and terracottas, occasionally with roof-tiles, metals, glass, charcoal, bone, coins, and other inventoried artifacts (the contents of the individual contexts are listed in Appendix 2).

The contexts with the most terracotta fragments, calculated by weight and number of both inventoried and uninventoried terracottas, were found in several main clusters. These concentrations of debris will be described here.

Within the original outline of the Commercial-Industrial Building, debris was found across the north end of the building throughout Rooms 4-7. In this area, the terracottas were
mixed into 1\textsuperscript{st} to 2\textsuperscript{nd} century fills. The location of the debris corresponds to rooms in the building that went out of use in the third quarter of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century B.C. It is clear that these areas had only become suitable for dumping by the 1\textsuperscript{st} to 2\textsuperscript{nd} century A.D.

Room 4: Lots BE 1939, BE 1953, BE 1969, BZ 1310, BZ 1561, BZ 1562, BZ 1563, BZ 1568

Room 5: Lots BE 1928, BZ 1299, BZ 1310, BZ 1474, BZ 1477, BZ 1555, BZ 1557, BZ 1558, BZ 1567, BZ 1568, BZ 1621, BZ 1630

Room 6: Lots BZ 1392, BZ 1414, BZ 1417, BZ 1480, BZ 1482, BZ 1483, BZ 1487, BZ 1488, BZ 1490, BZ 1614, BZ 1615, BZ 1651

Room 7: Lots BZ 938, BZ 1192, BZ 1400, BZ 1415, BZ 1418, BZ 1471

Outside of the original outline of the building to the east, the debris was found in seven main clusters:

**Area Directly East of Rooms 5 and 6**
Lots BZ 1496, BZ 1497, BZ 1551, BZ 1554, BZ 1732

In this area, the debris was found in a layer nearly 1 m deep across the area. Terracottas were also found in the fill between the stones in Wall Y.\textsuperscript{143} Just beneath the layer of debris, excavators found a scatter of tiles directly over the line of Wall B, the rear wall of the Commercial-Industrial Building.\textsuperscript{144} The tiles may represent the collapse of the roof and the abandonment of the northern end of the building at the end of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century B.C.

\textsuperscript{143} Wall Y is a segment of a north-south oriented wall found due east of Wall B, most likely belonging to a phase after the abandonment of the Commercial-Industrial Building. Despite extensive excavations in the area around this wall, the function of the wall and the architecture associated with it remains unclear.

\textsuperscript{144} The scatter of tiles was excavated in Lot BZ 1553, and the fill removed with the tiles dated to the 1\textsuperscript{st} century.
Deposit J 1:3 and Vicinity
Lots BE 2095, BZ 1498, BZ 1540-1541 (= Deposit J 1:3)
Near the northeast corner of Section BZ, next to the edge of the excavation on Hastings Street, excavations in 2002 revealed the top of a nearly complete amphora. In 2005, a layer contaminated with soil from the adjacent baulk was removed and a group of six amphoras and a Micaceous Water Jar was revealed. The soil surrounding the amphoras was rich with terracotta fragments. This Deposit is intriguing for several reasons. In addition to the three inventoried amphoras and the water jar, significant portions of three other amphoras were found in the fill and stored with the context pottery. Two of the amphoras (P 35181 and P 34105) with ring feet and made of pale yellow fabric may be from southern France. A stamped mortar rim (BZ 1731) with a Latin stamp points to further ties with the west.

Deposit J 1:1 and Vicinity
Lots BE 2087, BE 2088, BE 2102 (=Deposit J 1:1), BE 2115, BZ 1334
The first evidence for a coroplast’s workshop in this area was found here during the 1995 excavation season. Under a late Roman plaster and pebble floor surface, excavators revealed a layer of reddish-brown clayey soil with some small bits of charcoal, rich in pottery and terracottas. The stratum—Deposit J 1:1—consisted of an irregularly shaped shallow pit, sloping downward from the north toward the south. The southern edge of the pit was cut away by Byzantine activity in this area. This Byzantine disturbance consisted of a loose dark fill with a high concentration of stones, plaster, broken tiles, and sherds.

146 In his final excavation report, Kevin Daly observed that the letters “METR” are stamped on Agora amphora handle SS 5447, which is similar to the stamp on a Calabrian amphora handle found in Brundisium (CIL IX 6079.13).
South and East of Deposit J 1:1
Lots BE 1890, BE 2063, BE 2181, BE 2182, BE 2184

Terracotta debris was found scattered in the area south and east of Deposit J 1:1, although in lower concentrations than in the Deposit itself.

North of Deposit J 1:1
Lots BZ 1326, BZ 1335, BZ 1336 (=Deposit J 1:5), BZ 1492, BZ 1578, BZ 1666

North of Deposit J 1:1, excavations revealed several areas with concentrations of debris. Immediately north of Deposit J 1:1, another shallow pit filled with terracotta fragments and molds was excavated as Deposit J 1:5. Terracottas were also found in fills throughout the area between Deposit J 1:5 and Deposit J 1:3 to the north.

Lime Pit and South of Wall 103
Lots BE 2050, BE 2061, BE 2202, BE 2203, BE 2210, BE 2211, BE 2212, BE 2213

In the process of scraping away the walls and floor of a Late Roman lime-slaking pit, excavators found more terracotta debris in the fill that was removed when the pit was dug. Other fragments of terracottas were found in the fills surrounding the lime-slaking pit.

Fills surrounding the 20th century concrete piers
(pottery was not saved by the excavator)

In the far northern end of Section BZ, excavators in 2001 removed a large quantity of fill mixed with modern material in the pits left by the removal of two large concrete piers that had served as supports for the basement of the mid-20th century building above. The pottery included modern material and a pottery sample was not saved. Nonetheless, numerous terracotta fragments found in these fills were inventoried by the excavator, and it is highly likely—based on the similarity of
the terracottas to others from well-dated contexts—that the material belonged to the debris from the 1st to 2nd century A.D. workshop. An account of the excavation of the fills surrounding the modern concrete piers can be found in notebook BZ XXX, pp. 5033, 5047, 5068, 5069, 5084, 5117, and 5119.

**The Archaeology of Workshop Refuse**

The debris should not merely be viewed simply as dumped workshop refuse. When the right research questions are posed, the contents and depositional pattern of the debris can yield useful information about the various behaviors and processes that influenced the life history of the material. Schiffer’s work on discard, waste streams, and workshop maintenance was particularly useful for the interpretation of the debris.  

The following progression of events leading to the deposition of the debris is proposed. First, within the workshop, fired terracottas, worn and/or broken molds, and tools were slated for discard because they were unusable or unsaleable. Terracottas may have been deemed unsaleable because of technical faults or breakage. Floors in the activity areas of the workshop were undoubtedly swept clean of bulky debris during regular maintenance, making necessary the creation of a provisional dump within the workspace. One of the peculiarities of working in clay, however, is that unfired terracottas can be recycled back into usable clay at any point in the production process until the finished objects are fired in the kiln. This means that objects that did not satisfy the craftsman, or were accidentally broken during the pre-firing production processes,

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147 Schiffer 1987, pp. 47-71.
148 Terracottas that were unsaleable because of conditions or mistakes in the kiln (i.e., wasters) were most likely left at the kiln site. No wasters were found in the workshop debris. The site of the kiln that was used to fire these terracottas has not been located.
149 Schiffer 1987, p. 59.
may easily disappear from the archaeological record. Small-scale debris, however, like pigments and other materials that would not have hindered workshop activities, may have remained in its primary context, even after maintenance activities. In an intermediary phase, the rejected material may have been held in the provisional dump for a period of time.\textsuperscript{150}

Next, the material slated for disposal was taken from the workshop and deposited outside of the activity areas of the workshop as secondary refuse, i.e., artifacts discarded outside of the location of production.\textsuperscript{151} If the workshop was indeed located somewhere in Rooms 1-3 of the Commercial-Industrial Building, the waste stream of the discarded debris was quite short, and the direction of the waste stream was undeniably north and northeast.\textsuperscript{152} The north-south road on the east side of the Commercial-Industrial Building seems to have served as a kind of barrier, “preventing” the debris from crossing the road and being deposited on the west side of the road. A single terracotta wheel fragment found on the west side of the road in a Late Roman context—if it belongs to the workshop debris—must have been carried there through some other process.\textsuperscript{153}

The location of the dump—north and northeast of the building—may not have been chosen at random. Schiffer noted that the "maintenance of activity areas in an industrial city leads mainly to secondary refuse concentrated in a few specialized dumping locations," and he suggested that natural and manmade pits, depressions, and abandoned structures may have been desirable locations for dumping refuse.\textsuperscript{154} Furthermore, he observed that in general "people tend to dump trash where others have previously dumped trash," which suggests that the areas

\begin{footnotes}
\item[150] Schiffer 1987, p. 66.
\item[151] Schiffer 1987, p. 58.
\item[152] Schiffer 1987, p. 68.
\item[153] Lot BZ 1525.
\item[154] Schiffer 1987, pp. 59 and 61.
\end{footnotes}
previously occupied by Rooms 4-7 of the Commercial-Industrial Building, along with the area east of the building, may have been used as a dumping ground before the 1st to 2nd century A.D.\textsuperscript{155}

After its initial deposit, the concentration and composition of the debris continued to change. Some of the debris was undoubtedly removed from its original spot in earth-moving operations, both small-scale and large-scale. This area outside the northwest corner of the Agora slopes gently upward to the north from the Eridanos River, and is it possible that terracing operations were carried out from time to time in order to flatten an area by removing fill from one area and depositing it elsewhere. The terracotta fragments were also incorporated into fills and walls from the 1st century through the Middle Byzantine period. Moreover, if the debris was dumped in an open area accessible to others, it is possible that the debris suffered from scavenging.\textsuperscript{156} Scavenging would have changed the composition of the debris, since choice fragments could have been picked out of the debris and taken away, even by casual passers-by.

In this discussion of the location of the debris, it is also necessary to mention the remarkable lack of debris in Rooms 1-3 of the Commercial-Industrial Building, the only rooms that seem to have continued in use through the 1st to 2nd century. Schiffer emphasized the rarity of finding primary refuse deposits—materials discarded within an activity area—since regular maintenance usually leads to the removal of at least the bulky debris from activity areas.\textsuperscript{157} If the coroplast's workshop was located within one or more of the southernmost rooms of Commercial-Industrial Building, the fact that the 1st to 2nd century floors in the rooms that were still in use

\textsuperscript{155} Schiffer 1987, p. 62. Lynch (2011, p. 41) observed that an area to the east of the Commercial-Industrial Building was used as a dumping ground shortly after the Persian Wars.

\textsuperscript{156} Schiffer 1987, pp. 106-107.

\textsuperscript{157} Schiffer 1987, p. 58.
were swept clean of primary refuse indicates that the secondary refuse was dumped while the workshop was still active, not after its closure and/or abandonment. For this reason, it is likely that the debris was deposited over a period of time after a series of dumping events and not all at once in a single moment in time. Unfortunately, the context pottery unearthed with the workshop debris could be dated precisely enough to reflect successive dumping events within the approximately 125-year span of the life of the workshop.

**Location of the Coroplast Workshop**

This detailed analysis of the stratigraphy and depositional patterns shows that the Commercial-Industrial Building, a long rectangular building consisting of seven or more rooms and situated along the east side of a north-south street leading out of the Agora at its northwest corner, was the location of the workshop where the terracotta debris originated. While the building was first constructed ca. 400 B.C., the northern end of the building went out of use toward the end of the 3rd century B.C., and the southernmost three rooms continued in use through the late 1st to 2nd century A.D. One or more of the southern rooms likely housed the coroplast workshop, and the craftsmen employed in the workshop used the abandoned northern end of the building, as well as the outdoor space immediately east of the building, as dumping grounds for workshop refuse. This depositional pattern, resulting in workshop areas swept clean of debris and refuse piles located at a short distance away, is common for craft production areas.

Without evidence for other workshop installations related to the manufacture of moldmade items, such as storage and processing facilities for raw materials or a kiln, the identification of the Commercial-Industrial Building as the production site for 1st to 2nd century A.D. terracottas and lamps is merely a hypothesis. But the long history of the building as a site for small-scale
craft production, combined with the location of the building at a crossroads just outside the Agora, and the close relationship between the building’s architecture and the deposits of discarded workshop material, provides the best possible supporting evidence for the hypothesis. The next chapter will analyze in detail the types of products manufactured and discarded in the workshop.
CHAPTER 3: TYPES

This chapter is an exploration of the types found in the workshop debris. For each type group, a historical overview of the type (where relevant) is followed by a close examination of the type, possible interpretations of the type, and helpful comparanda. The wide variety of types produced by in the workshop, including standing and articulated figurines, wheeled figurines, and plaques, speaks to the artistic flexibility of the craftsmen who worked there and the variety of products necessitated by consumer demand. The diversity of moldmade products manufactured in the workshop also indicates the relatively large number of different molds employed by the craftsmen. The detailed examination of these coroplastic trends in Chapter 5 sheds light on the revival of some Hellenistic types in Roman Athens, influences from other artistic media, and the existence of a Roman coroplastic koiné.

Wheels

The most abundant type found in the coroplast's debris is the wheel. A total of 110 wheel fragments were found in the relevant contexts, of which 50 were chosen for the catalog in order to present a sample of the different types of wheels and account for any fragments with unique characteristics or clues about the manufacturing process. The 60 remaining fragments were left in the pottery lots.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ An additional four wheels were found during the 2010 excavations, but I have not had an opportunity to examine them. One (BZ 1724) is an open wheel, while the other three (BZ 1725, 1799, 1800) are solid. All four were found in cleaning operations in the area of Deposit J 1:3, where 14 figurine fragments were found during the 2005 excavation season.
Miniature wheels were manufactured in terracotta, bronze, and lead throughout Greece during the Classical and Hellenistic periods.\textsuperscript{159} Thompson included one 4\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. example in her synthesis of Hellenistic terracottas, and she suggested that it was intended to hang on its own as a votive.\textsuperscript{160} Nicholls identified a Classical mold for a relief wheel from the “Stele-Goddess workshop” in the Athenian Agora.\textsuperscript{161} Thompson observed that terracotta wheels had ceased to be manufactured by the 4\textsuperscript{th} century B.C.\textsuperscript{162} The wheels from the coroplast's debris, then, may be the earliest evidence for the reintroduction of the type in the 1\textsuperscript{st} to 2\textsuperscript{nd} century A.D., and the type continued to be made through the 4\textsuperscript{th} century A.D.

Several fragments of Roman terracotta wheels were found in the Agora prior to the discovery of the coroplast’s debris. One wheel from a mid 2\textsuperscript{nd} to 3\textsuperscript{rd} century deposit was published by Robinson as a possible jar lid.\textsuperscript{163} The piece had a central hole, a raised rim, and six spokes in relief. The lid was republished by Grandjouan as a wheel along with three other examples of wheels.\textsuperscript{164} All of the wheels published by Grandjouan were slightly different from the wheels considered in this study. Of these, P 8329 has the same number of spokes as the majority of the new examples (six), but the rim and spokes of P 8329 are undecorated; T 955 has eight spokes; T 553 has seven spokes; and P 24074 has six spokes. One more example of a wheel

\begin{itemize}
  \item Thompson 1959, p. 143; in Olynthus X (pp. 512-513, nn. 109-114) Robinson provided a full bibliography of the use of the wheel motif generally and bronze wheels in particular.
  \item Thompson 1959, p. 143, no. 35 (T 2691).
  \item Nicholls 1995, pp. 462, 481, no. 43, pl. 113. The Stele-Goddess Workshop Well (U 13:1) was found under the stoa of the Library of Pantainos, on the side of a road leading out of the Agora toward the east.
  \item Thompson 1959, p. 143.
  \item Agora V J 54 (P 8329), p. 56, pl. 11; the wheel was found in layers I-III of Deposit C 12:1 on Kolonos Agoraios to the south of the Hephaisteion.
  \item P 8329 published as Agora VI no. 788. Three other examples are Agora VI 786 (T 553), Agora VI 787 (T 955, from the "chiefly Late Roman" filling of a lime pit), and Agora VI 789 (P 24074, from early Roman fill).
\end{itemize}
with a grooved rim and four spokes (T 4506), not published by Grandjouan, was found in the Agora inventory.  

While scholars have suggested that many of the terracotta, bronze, and lead wheels from the Classical and Hellenistic periods may have been used alone as votives, Grandjouan associated the four wheels in her study with 15 fragments of horse figurines, and she called the resulting figurines "horse on wheels" (Fig. 24). Although none of the wheels in the workshop debris were found with horses, the discovery of a complete horse figurine with four wheels in a Neronian period grave in Corinth supports Grandjouan's suggestion (Fig. 25). Many of the fragments of horse figurines published by Grandjouan have holes just below the shoulders and hips to accommodate wooden dowels (now lost) to serve as axles for the wheels. On the basis of securely dated contexts, or similarities to pieces with securely dated contexts, the horse fragments were assigned dates from the late 1st to the second half of the 4th century, and Grandjouan was able to trace stylistic developments in the horses over three centuries.

Wheels were not common in the repertoire of ancient coroplasts, but there are a few examples that serve as comparanda. Four Hellenistic or Roman terracotta wheels with unknown provenance are in the Louvre—one each with four, five, six, and eight spokes—but all of them are 1-2 cm smaller in diameter than the wheels included in this study. In addition to the Neronian wheeled horse with six-spoked wheels from Corinth mentioned above, an additional

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165 T 4506 was found in a 1st century filling in cistern B 14:3.
166 *Agora VI*, p. 28, nos. 771-785, pl. 19.
167 Shear 1930, p. 430, fig. 20.
168 *Agora VI*, p. 28, nos. 772-775, pl. 19, late 1st to 2nd century; *Agora VI*, p. 28, nos. 776-780, pl. 19, second half 3rd century to first half 4th century; *Agora VI*, p. 28, nos. 781-783, pl. 19, first half 4th century; *Agora VI*, p. 28, no. 784, pl. 19, second half 4th century.
169 Besques 1972, p. 369, nos. D 3223-D 3226, pl. 207.
Roman wheel with four spokes was found in Corinth.\textsuperscript{170} Finally, a wheel with six spokes, closed between the spokes and most likely manufactured in a plaster mold, was manufactured in a Cologne production center and dates to the 2\textsuperscript{nd} century A.D.\textsuperscript{171}

Manufactured in a single-sided mold, the Agora wheels have one molded side and one flat side. The flat side received one of two different finishes. While many of the wheels are left with the fingerprints of the modeler on the flat side, two wheels (24, 16) were smoothed or pared with a tool, which left striations in the clay. On all of the examples, the undersides of the wheels were smoothed or pared, presumably to remove the bit of extra clay left around the edge of the piece after removal from the mold.

There are two main types of wheels in the debris: solid wheels without openings between the spokes and open wheels. All of the solid wheels have six spokes, while the open wheels have four spokes. The rims of the solid wheels are grooved, and the spokes are either grooved down the center or have one or two horizontal notches. The open wheels have grooved rims or rims with a central ridge. The evidence suggests that the grooves and notches were present on the mold and were not added to the wheels after removal from the mold. Two wheel fragments (29, 50) have tiny pearls of clay inside the groove or notch on the spoke. Since the pearls of clay are caused by irregularities in plaster molds, these features resulted from the molding process (see p. 152).

The open and solid wheels differ in the number of spokes, but the molds used to produce open and solid wheels may have been similar, and both types of wheels may have been solid between the spokes when they were initially removed from the mold. Smooth marks were left on

\textsuperscript{170} Corinth XII, no. 435.
\textsuperscript{171} Van Boekel 1987, p. 802, no. 279. Van Boekel observed blisters on the molded surface of the wheel, indicating the use of a plaster mold.
the edges of the openings between the spokes, suggesting that the clay between the spokes was cut away when the piece was still leather-hard.

Whether the wheels have four or six spokes, they all have a hole in the central hub where a wooden dowel could have been inserted. The hole was probably hollowed out after the wheel was removed from the mold. On one wheel (16), spiral striations inside the central hole suggest that the hole was made with a sharp-edged hollow tool in a twisting motion.

Although 110 fragments of wheels were found in the coroplast's debris, only two fragments of figurines were found that may have belonged with the wheels. One fragment (52) consists of the rear quarters of an animal with an appropriately-sized hole through the hips and probably belonging to a wheeled horse figurine. In its coarse execution, the piece is reminiscent of the Neronian wheeled horse found in a tomb in Corinth.\textsuperscript{172} A second fragment (53) depicts one side of the rear quarters of an animal—possibly a horse or a bird—with a hole pierced through the hip. Although the wheeled horse figurine from Corinth provides an example of a wheeled figurine made entirely of terracotta, we should not rule out the possibility that these terracotta wheels were attached to carts of wood, a more perishable material that does not survive well in the burial environment of the Athenian Agora.

Alternatively, the wheels may have functioned alone as votives. Numerous bronze and iron wheels—similar in size to the Agora terracotta wheels—were found in excavations on Delos. Deonna observed that stand-alone metal wheels were used as votives in tombs and sanctuaries and found in funerary and ritual scenes on Italian vases and Roman sarcophagi.\textsuperscript{173} A similar

\textsuperscript{172} Shear 1930, p. 430, fig. 20.
\textsuperscript{173} Delos XVIII, pp. 341-345.
Roman period lead wheel from the Athenian Agora was published by Robinson, but he made no attempt to interpret its function.\footnote{Agora V, p. 87, no. M 30, pl. 53.}

**Articulated Figures**

After the wheels, the second most abundant group of terracottas consists of fragments that belong to figures with separately molded limbs. This group includes bodies with separately molded legs that were attached to the figures in such a way as to make them moveable. The group of separately molded arms were attached in a fixed way to figurines, and this technique is discussed separately in Chapter 3.

Kate Elderkin conducted the first general study of articulated figures in 1930. Elderkin presented a diachronic survey of jointed figures, beginning with wooden examples from Egypt and ending with Coptic examples of bone and ivory. She treated the figures as dolls, which functioned primarily as children's playthings and secondarily as votives in sanctuaries.\footnote{Elderkin 1930, pp. 455-456.}

The earliest articulated figurines in Greece were Geometric figurines with attached legs, which were followed by Archaic examples wearing a chiton and polos, with attached arms and legs.\footnote{Neils and Oakley 2003, p. 267. Geometric bell-shaped figurines with articulated legs were used as models for Athena and Phoibos, the mascots of the 2004 Summer Olympics in Athens, Greece.} Beginning in the late 5\textsuperscript{th} century B.C., articulated female figurines were rendered in the nude and carried castanets, which Thompson interpreted as evidence that the figurines were dancing girls.\footnote{Thompson 1943, pp. 114-118.} Thompson observed a peak in the popularity of articulated figurines in the 4\textsuperscript{th} century B.C., when "a representative appears in every deposit," and a subsequent decline in the
quality of the figurines, as she decried the "late technique" of the legs and feet of an articulated figurine from the late 3rd century B.C.  

Thompson argued that the articulated figurine "was a persistent type throughout Hellenistic times" in the Agora, although the late Hellenistic deposits from the Athenian Agora only yielded one fragment of an articulated figurine from the late 2nd to 1st century B.C.  

This scarcity of late Hellenistic examples in the Agora, however, is consistent with the general decline in figurines from this period recovered in the Agora Excavations, which makes the persistence of the type even more notable.

Articulated figures with separately molded and moveable arms and legs have been referred to as "dolls," "jointed dolls," "puppets," and "marionettes," and the underlying assumption has been that the figurines served primarily as toys for children. There is a distinction, however, between the formal characteristics of "dolls," "puppets," and "marionettes." A doll is a small-scale model of a person, used by a child as a toy. Dolls, which are not necessarily made with articulated limbs, are often fashioned in the nude, which may have given a child the opportunity to dress them.  

Puppets and marionettes, on the other hand, are moveable models manipulated by the user for entertainment and often feature articulated arms and legs. These special figurines must be suspended from a string or wire, which can be held in a user's hand. When the user shakes the string, the figurine's arms and legs swing, instilling lifelike movement in the ceramic objects. Unlike regular figurines on a plinth, these are interactive objects and must be picked up in order to carry out their function.

For the purposes of classification, the more neutral term "articulated figures" will be used here to refer to all of the examples of this group, since it highlights the unique characteristic that

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178 Thompson 1954, p. 75; Thompson 1963a, p. 278.
180 Elderkin 1930, p. 464.
sets these figurines apart from other figurines.\textsuperscript{181} The possible functions of these figurines will be discussed below.

The fragments of articulated figures include four body fragments, a nearly complete bivalve mold for a body, 16 legs, and a mold for the front halves of a pair of legs.\textsuperscript{182} The articulated figures can be divided into two types: armed figures and dancing figures. The armed figures will be discussed first.

\textit{Armed Figures}

The evidence for the bodies of articulated armed figures comes in the form of a nearly complete bivalve mold. The mold (54) is for an armed warrior with short hair, wearing a short tunic belted at the waist and with a decorative pattern on the bottom edge. He holds a round shield in his left arm, his right arm is bent and kept close to his side, and a short sword is tucked into his belt.

In addition to the small round shield and the short sword, the articulated figures cast from the Agora mold probably carried long spears in their right hands. While two figurines from the Louvre hold the swords in their right hands, the Agora figure has his sword tucked into his belt and holds his clenched right hand close by his hip (Figs. 26 and 27).\textsuperscript{183} Although it is difficult to know for certain without an extant example of a figurine cast from the mold, it is probable that

\begin{footnotes}
\item[181] Nicholls (1995, p. 435) used this term in his discussion of an example from the 5\textsuperscript{th} to 4\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. Stele-Goddess Workshop deposit (well U 13:1).
\item[182] An additional six fragments of legs were left uninventoried in the pottery lots.
\item[183] Besques 1972, p. 133, nos. E 25 and E 26, pl. 166. An Amazon figurine from the Louvre has a pierced right hand, held close by the hip (Besques 1972, p. 360, no. E 297, pl. 198).
\end{footnotes}
the clenched right hand was pierced through for the insertion of a long spear, most likely made of a different material such as wood or metal.\footnote{184}{Two one-piece (non-articulated) soldier figurines from Seleucia (Van Ingen 1939, p. 138, nos. 405 and 406) have holes in their right hands for the insertion of weapons.}

Two articulated figurines from Asia Minor, along with an Amazon figurine from Troy, all of which were found with at least one leg, confirm that the separately molded legs may belong with the armed figurines.\footnote{185}{Asia Minor: Besques 1972, p. 133, nos. E 25 and E 26, pl. 166. Troy: Thompson 1963b, p. 122, no. 138, pl. XXXIX.} Thirteen related legs and feet were found in the coroplast's debris.\footnote{186}{55, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, and 68. An additional unadorned articulated leg, 56, was found associated with the Commercial-Industrial Building in Section ΒΔ (Milbank 2002, p. 196, no. MI 16). Milbank dated the context of this leg to the last quarter of the 1\textsuperscript{st} to the early 2\textsuperscript{nd} century. A similar articulated leg was found in Eleusis (Breitenstein 1941, p. 102, no. 971, pl. 132).} The legs have flat-bottomed feet and shaped calves, and the top of the leg was pinched and pierced through the top from side to side. Most of the legs bear the marks of having been made in a bivalve mold: the sides of the legs, where the front and back halves were joined with slip, were smoothed after removal from the mold. The smoothing was often done hastily, leaving a smooth raised ridge along one or both sides of the leg. The legs were unadorned, unless details were rendered in pigment that is now lost.

Two types of separately molded legs were found in the debris: legs wearing trousers and bare legs. Legs wearing trousers belong with the dancing figures, discussed below, while the bare legs belong with the articulated armed figures. Subtle shaping on the toe ends of the feet, along with a slight twist of the flattened top of the leg, suggest that there are legs which may be classified as right or left. The slight twist of the top of the leg causes the feet to point outward when the leg is hung from a figurine. Of the 13 legs that have a preserved foot and/or top edge,
nine of the legs may be classified as right legs, and one leg may be classified as a left leg, with three legs showing no signs of belonging to either group.  

While similar figurines were produced in Magna Graecia as early as the 4th or 3rd century B.C., articulated warrior figurines seem to have enjoyed some popularity in Asia Minor in the 1st through 3rd centuries. Winter included six similar figures in his collection of figurine types, but only one is similar in dress and attributes to the Agora type. Similar dress and pose are also found on two figurines from Pergamon (Figs. 28 and 29). Two comparable figures from the Louvre wear short, belted tunics and hold round shields in their left arms and short swords in their extended right arms, and one figure has a second sword suspended on a baldric on his right shoulder (Figs. 26 and 27). A similarly dressed and armed articulated figure is currently in the Hessisches Puppenmuseum in Hanau-Wilhelmsbad. An example from Myrina holds a round shield in his right arm and may have held a short sword in his right arm, which is now missing. A figurine wearing a tunic and holding a round shield and a pair of molds for an articulated figurine of a child dressed as a soldier, both from Asia Minor, provide additional evidence for the popularity of and possible variations on the type.

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187 Right legs: 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, and 63; left leg: 64; neutral legs: 65, 66, and 67.  
189 Winter 1903, Vol. I, p. 173, nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, and 6. No. 5, from the Dardanelles, is the closest comparandum, although the warrior holds an almond-shaped shield in his left arm and a dagger in his right hand.  
190 Töpperwein 1976, pp. 118-120, nos. 495 and 498, pl. 73; other fragments of articulated gladiator figurines nos. 497 and 499-503.  
192 Andres 2000, p. 191, no. 117.  
193 Mendel 1908, p. 402, no. 2740, pl. XI.6.  
The identity of the armed figures is not immediately clear, as they may be interpreted either as soldiers or gladiators. The two (or possibly three) pieces of equipment carried by the articulated figure from the Agora—the small round shield, the dagger, and the spear—are similar to the arms and armor carried by the gladiator type hoplomachus.\(^{195}\) As the name implies, the shield of the hoplomachus gladiator was a smaller version of the round, convex shield of the Greek hoplite.\(^{196}\) The Agora figure is, however, missing key pieces of armor and clothing, namely a helmet, greaves, leggings, and sandals, and wears a tunic instead of the more typical belted loincloth. The two comparable figurines from the Louvre are also missing greaves and leggings, but both wear helmets and sandals, and the example from Myrina wears sandals.\(^{197}\)

A related type from the 1\(^{st}\) to 3\(^{rd}\) centuries A.D. is the articulated Amazon figurine.\(^{198}\) Like the armed male figurines, the Amazons carry round shields in their left hands, and the figurines end at the bottom of the tunic, where the edges are pierced for the attachment of separately molded legs. Unlike the male figurines, however, the Amazons do not carry a sword, and only some of the examples have holes in their hands for a spear. The Amazon figurines wear a short, belted tunic and bare their right breasts, and they wear either a crested helmet or a Phrygian style cap.

Thompson included a 3\(^{rd}\) century example of an articulated Amazon in her discussion of gladiatorial subjects from Troy, and she suggested that the Amazon figurines represented female

\(^{195}\) Burn and Higgins 2001, p. 145, no. 2377, pl. 67.
\(^{196}\) Junkelmann 2000, pp. 52-54, fig. 48.
\(^{197}\) Besques 1972, p. 133, nos. E 25 and E 26, pl. 166. As for the example from Myrina, Mendel (1908, p. 402) admitted that the legs, which are covered in red pigment and have markings for sandals, may not belong to the figurine body.
\(^{198}\) Thompson 1963b, p. 122, no. 138, pl. XXIX; Besques 1972, p. 133, nos. E 23 and E 24 (cast from the same mold), pl. 165; and Besques 1972, p. 360, no. E 297, pl. 198 (provenance unknown).
Thompson pointed out that Septimius Severus barred women from gladiatorial contests in the late 2\textsuperscript{nd} century, and the apparent need for the edict suggests that female gladiators were active in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} century.\textsuperscript{200} The female articulated figurines may indeed depict Amazons or gladiators.

A comparison of the Agora figure with a figurine group from the British Museum, which depicts two gladiators engaged in a duel, shows that the armed figure from the Agora may be interpreted as a soldier or gladiator (Fig. 30).\textsuperscript{201} The two figures in the British Museum group carry two distinctive shields, so that they are easily identifiable as a hoplomachos fighting a thrax. The hoplomachos, on the left, carries a round shield and brandishes a short sword. He wears a crested helmet, and his toes are carefully rendered so that he appears to be barefoot. Although at first glance the hoplomachos may appear to be fighting with his legs unprotected, red pigment on the lower right leg of the figure on the left may represent traces of painted-on greaves.\textsuperscript{202}

The armor of the Agora figurine is similar to the hoplomachos of the British Museum group, but the Agora example is a lone figure, and it is the pairing of two gladiators in the British Museum group that aids the identification of the group as dueling gladiators. If the Agora example functioned alone as an armed figurine, then it should be identified simply as a soldier, since the contrast of the two differently armed men in the British Museum group makes those figures identifiable as gladiators. Alternately, it is possible that the armed figurine from the Agora functioned as half of a pair of differently armed figures, in which case the armed figurine

\textsuperscript{199} Thompson 1963b, p. 122.
\textsuperscript{200} Thompson (1963b, p. 122, n. 19) refers to Dio Cass. LXXV, 16.1 for the ban on female gladiators.
\textsuperscript{201} Burn and Higgins 2001, p. 145, no. 2377, pl. 67.
\textsuperscript{202} Burn and Higgins 2001, p. 145.
may be a gladiator after all. Unfortunately, no other articulated armed types were identified in the debris so the identification of the armed figurine remains open to interpretation.\textsuperscript{203}

Greek and Roman comedy may provide a third alternative for the interpretation of the armed figure, as the coroplast may have drawn inspiration for the figure from a contemporary form of entertainment. The “braggart soldier” recently returned home was introduced as a stock character in Greek Middle Comedy and was used throughout Greek New Comedy and Roman Comedy. Plautus’ \textit{Miles Gloriosus} revolves around this stock character. The figurines of soldiers with moveable legs may depict a generic character of a soldier who appeared in numerous comedies and could have been a useful stock character for casual performances of puppet shows away from the theater.

\textit{Dancing Figures}

The second type of articulated figure found in the coroplast's debris is a dancing figure, as evidenced by molds for a body (69) and a pair of legs (74), four body fragments (70-73), and a leg (75). These figures hold their arms raised above their heads, with their hands pressed together and pierced through the top. The figures wear a long-sleeved tunic, \textit{chitoniskos cheiridotos} (also known as a \textit{tunica manicata}), belted just below the waist, and long trousers, or \textit{anaxyrides}, on separately molded legs.\textsuperscript{204}

The four body fragments consist of the figure's head and raised arms. One leg wearing \textit{anaxyrides} and a mold for the front halves of a pair of legs wearing \textit{anaxyrides} also belong to

\textsuperscript{203} Grandjouan (\textit{Agora VI}, p. 55, no. 415, pl. 9) tentatively identified a figurine from the Athenian Agora as a possible female gladiator, but the figurine dates to the 4th century A.D., and is therefore too late to be paired with the armed articulated figure.

\textsuperscript{204} Similar legs, catalogued as anatomical votives and described as wrapped in cloth, are in Copenhagen (Breitenstein 1941, p. 87, nos. 821 and 822, pl. 105).
this group of dancer figurines. Five other fragments of the bottom edges of tunics, three of which are pierced for the attachment of separately molded legs, may belong to dancers or armed figures.205

In addition to being distinctive for their articulated legs, this group stands out for the figure's dress and pose. Dancers in eastern dress appear on late 5th and early 4th century B.C. vases, and static terracotta figurines of similarly dressed male dancers and musicians have been found throughout the Mediterranean from the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods. The dancer from the Agora, however, is among the earliest occurrences of an articulated figurine of a dancer in eastern dress. Grandjouan published a fully-preserved figurine with the same dress and pose—found in a 2nd century context in the Athenian Agora in 1932—along with an articulated leg associated with the figurine, as an "Asiatic Dancer" (Fig. 31).206

To be sure, the dress of the figurines is definitively eastern, and the pose suggests a figure in the midst of a dance, but this label may be too generic. An examination of the peculiarities of the figure's dress and pose will demonstrate that several different interpretations of these figurines are possible.

From an Athenian perspective, the chitoniskos cheiridotos (literally a short chiton with sleeves) was associated with Persians, Medes, and Scythians, and anaxyrides were also a distinctly eastern garment.207 Easterners and eastern dress were familiar in Athens in both the private and public spheres. Some Classical Athenians adopted several typically Persian tunics and cloaks into their own wardrobes, namely the kandys, the chitoniskos cheiridotos, and the

205 76, 77, and 78 are pierced; 79 and 80 are not.
206 Figurine T 335 = Agora VI, p. 58, no. 492; pl. 11; leg T 1129 = Agora VI, p. 58, no. 493, pl. 11.
In the public sphere, images of Persians and Amazons formed part of the visual culture of the city. Just south of the proposed location of the coroplast’s workshop, paintings in the Stoa Poikile displayed mythical and historical battles of Greeks and easterners. In his discussion of the commemoration of the Roman defeat of the Parthians in Athens, Rose pointed to a long history of Athenian commemoration of victory over the east using images of easterners, particularly on the Athenian Acropolis. For example, the Attalid victory over the Gauls was commemorated alongside scenes of gods and giants, Greeks and Amazons, and Greeks and Persians at Marathon in a series of sculptural groups erected on the southern side of the Acropolis.

An analysis of the pose of the figurines may provide further help in identifying the figures. Naerebout presented a historiography of ancient Greek dance and developed a methodology for identifying dancing figures in ancient Greek art. Under his system of identification, which he established primarily for vase painting but may be applied to other ancient media, dancing figures are identifiable by their formal characteristics, which were presented through a set of conventions used by artists at that time. Naerebout listed the elements particular to images of dance: the presence of costumes and musical instruments, certain arrangements of the legs, figures holding hands, and signs of movement, including the position of drapery.

Using Naerebout's methodology, the articulated figurines in eastern dress qualify as figures of dancers. First, the figures wear eastern dress, which set them apart from most

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208 Miller 1997, p. 185.
209 Rose 2005, p. 50.
210 Stewart 2004.
211 Naerebout 1997.
212 Naerebout 1997, p. 224.
Athenians. Second, the position of the arms may represent a gesture from a particular dance. Third, the articulated figures could easily have been animated with the help of a string or wire attached to the top of the figure, causing lively movement of the legs. In this way, the figurines would be depicted in the midst of active performance.

Next, it is necessary to determine if it is possible to identify the specific dance that the figures are performing. Naerebout argued that since static images of dance are mere snapshots, whole movements cannot be deduced from the images by audiences who have no previous experience with the dance, i.e., modern viewers. The most important function of the images of dance, he argued, is the communication of the image and its underlying idea from the artisan to the audience, and he asserted that an artisan used an abbreviated language of gestures to communicate a dance that he expected the intended audience to understand. It may indeed be impossible for a modern viewer to identify with certainty the dance being performed by the figurines, especially as there are no useful ancient literary passages with detailed descriptions of similar dances. Nevertheless, comparisons with figures in similar poses in terracotta and other media suggest several possibilities for the identity of the dance.

There are numerous examples of terracotta figurines in eastern dress with their hands clasped overhead from Greece and Asia Minor, and the figurines date from the late 5th century B.C. through the early Roman period. Davidson and Thompson observed "dancers, acrobats, and musicians in Asiatic dress were popular down into the third century after Christ in Greece and in

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213 Dancer fragments 70 and 73 have a hole pierced through the hands, which are clasped overhead, and this hole was almost certainly used for the suspension of the figurine.
Hellenized eastern sites. Comparable terracotta figurines from with hands clasped overhead can be divided into two groups: figures leaning over to the side with hands clasped overhead and figures standing upright with hands clasped overhead (Figs. 32 and 33). Scholars agree on the classification of these figurines as "Eastern" or "Phrygian" dancers, but they disagree whether the pose illustrated by these figurines belongs to the igdisma or the oklasma dance.

The igdisma (το ἰγδίσμα) translates as the “pounding dance,” from the verb ἰγδίζω, “to pound,” but there are no ancient literary references to this dance. The two known sources for this word, although they are undoubtedly based on earlier literary sources, are late antique lexica (Suda, s.v. ἰγδίσμα; Pseudo-Zonaras, Lexicon, s.v. ἰγδίσμα). The oklasma (το ὀκλασμα) translates as the “squatting dance,” from the verb ὀκλάζω, “to squat.” There is one ancient reference to the oklasma as the “Barbarian” and “Persian” dance (Arist. Fr. 344b).

Scholars have used the etymologies of the names of these dances to attempt to identify depictions of the dances in ancient art: figures dancing the oklasma should be squatting and bending, while figures dancing the igdisma should be twisting their hips like a pestle in a...
mortar.\textsuperscript{218} Without ancient descriptions of the dance, however, it is impossible to associate a named dance with a depiction in ancient art. While it is impossible to know if figures with hands clasped overhead were dancing the \textit{oklasma} or the \textit{igdisma} (or a dance for which we do not know the name), it is certain that there are numerous comparanda for the Agora dancing figure in terracotta dating from the 5\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. onward.

Robinson identified a 5\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. fragment of a plastic vase from Olynthos in the form of a figure dressed in a Phrygian cap and tunic, clasping his hands over his head, and leaning over an altar, as an \textit{igdisma} dancer.\textsuperscript{219} Other scholars have identified the pose as belonging to the \textit{oklasma} dance. Nicholls identified an early 4\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. mold for a dancing figure as an \textit{oklasma} dancer but admitted that the bowing posture may be related to the \textit{igdisma}.\textsuperscript{220} In Thompson's comment on a 2\textsuperscript{nd} century B.C. dancing figurine from Troy, she referred to the dance alternately as "\textit{oklasma} (because the dancer crouched like a folding stool) or \textit{igdisma} (because he bent in the shape of a finger-pestle) or merely 'Persian' or 'Assyrian.'"\textsuperscript{221} Naerebout defined the \textit{oklasma} as a "dance with squatting postures" and added "hands joined above the head are seen in squatting figures in oriental dress who are supposed to be performing a dance called \textit{oklasma}."\textsuperscript{222} Beazley published two examples of painted Classical vases showing dancers in eastern dress performing the \textit{oklasma}, or "Persian Dance," and included references to

\textsuperscript{218} In his exhaustive appendix of Greek dancing terms, Naerebout (1997, p. 283, s.v. \textit{igdisma}) defined the \textit{igdisma} dance as "a dance with rotation of the loins, like a pestle in a mortar."
\textsuperscript{219} Olynthus XIV, pp. 305-306, no. 428, pl. 133. According to Robinson, four other figures were cast from the same mold: Olynthus IV, p. 60, nos. 340-341, pl. 33; Olynthus VII, p. 98, no. 388, pl. 49; and Olynthus XIV, p. 186, no. 245, pl. 78.
\textsuperscript{220} Nicholls 1995, pp. 451-453, 480, no. 30, pl. 107.
\textsuperscript{221} Thompson 1963b, p. 101. Although the bent finger-style pestle was known in Greece from the 4\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. in Olynthos until the 5\textsuperscript{th} century A.D. (Cleasby 1936, p. 116), the name of the dance ἱγδίσμα derives from the word for mortar (ἵγδης), not pestle.
other painted vases with similar scenes dating back to the early 4th century B.C., although one dancer on a late 6th century B.C. volute-krater seems to be engaged in a similar, if not identical, dance.\textsuperscript{223} The position of the hands of the Agora figurines is similar to the figures in Persian dress on Classical vases. Whether or not this dance can definitively be identified as the \textit{oklasma} or the \textit{igdisma}, it is certain that the gesture of the arms had been associated with dancers from the east since at least the 5th century B.C.

Even modern scholars have sensed the “otherness” of these dances. Lillian Lawler, in her 1947 note on the \textit{igdisma}, suggested that the dance “must have included both a rotation of the hips, the movement which reminded the Greeks of the stirring of a pestle, and also an occasional sharp jerk, suggested of pounding.”\textsuperscript{224} She added that she has heard that similar dances were performed in America:

\begin{quote}
On the burlesque stage, rotations of the hips, I am told, are called ‘grinds,’ and sudden jerks of the body are known technically as ‘bumps’! Rhythmical ‘grinds’ and ‘bumps’, I am informed reliably, make up the typical dance of that estimable branch of our American theater. The ancient ‘mortar dance,’ be it said, was probably of about the same social standing as its modern counterpart!\textsuperscript{225}
\end{quote}

In her report on "Phrygian Dancer" figurines from Troy with arms clasped overhead, Dorothy Thompson reported that she has heard that the same dance continued to be performed in her own time by Anatolians in Greece.\textsuperscript{226}

Although the Agora figurines may depict a generic dancer performing an eastern dance, figurines with similar dress and pose have been interpreted as depictions of Attis, consort of

\begin{footnotes}
\item[223] Beazley 1939, pp. 30-33, nos. 82-83, fig. 82; \textit{ARV}\textsuperscript{2} 1333.11, \textit{ADD}\textsuperscript{2} 365; \textit{ARV}\textsuperscript{2} 1422.1, \textit{ADD}\textsuperscript{2} 376.
\item[224] Lawler 1947, p. 34.
\item[225] Lawler 1947, p. 34.
\end{footnotes}
Cybele, although without a compelling reason. While the dancing figure’s dress is similar to that of Attis, the figures are lacking the Phrygian cap that Attis commonly wears, and there is no convincing reason to associate the pose of the dancing figurines with the dance of Attis. Thompson loosely associated this class of dancing "Oriental" figurines with the cult of Cybele, especially "late Hellenistic examples. . . found in the territory of the Phrygian goddess and along with many figurines representing her." Although Robinson classified the figure on the Olynthos vase fragment as a generic dancer, he allowed for the possibility that the figure could be identified as Attis before an altar of Cybele.

Johnston observed that there are two modes in which Attis is depicted in art: as a mischievous child, sometimes winged and frequently shown in the midst of dancing with his tunic open to expose his genitals, or as a young man, shown with a syrinx or in a pose of mourning, with his head resting on one hand. In his early work on Attis in Greek and Roman art, Vermaseren identified the figurines of the dancing childlike Attis as Attis hilaris. The qualifier hilaris refers to the point in the myth when Attis castrated himself while in an ecstatic state, died, and was resurrected as a child. The Roman priests of Cybele celebrated this part of the myth in a festival called the hilaria. The hilaris identification, however, seems to be restricted to figurines of the childlike, often winged, Attis and cannot be applied to the adult

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227 Roller (1994, p. 250) described the clothing and cap of Greek depictions of Attis as generically eastern, although she argued that figurines of figures in this dress are depictions of the god Attis (Roller 1994, pp. 258-259). Roller (1994, p. 257, n. 77) also pointed out that there was a festival to Attis in the Piraeus beginning in the 3rd century B.C.
228 Thompson 1963b, p. 102.
229 *Olynthus* XIV, p. 305.
231 Vermaseren 1966, p. 41. Vermaseren identified the two modes of Attis as the tristis, mourning his death, and the hilaris, celebrating his resurrection.
232 Vermaseren 1966, p. 47.
articulated dancing figures. Vermaseren added a third depiction of Attis to Johnston's typology, that of Attis dancing the *oklasma*, and included numerous examples of this type in his catalog of depictions of Cybele and Attis.\(^{234}\) Aside from similarities in dress and the reference to dancing, however, there is no conclusive evidence for identifying the figurines as Attis himself.

Vermaseren identified the terracotta figurines from Greece and Asia Minor "in oriental costume wildly dancing with their arms and hands raised above their heads"—in the same pose of the dancing figures—as "oriental dervishes" whose dances resembled the dance of the *galli* (ecstatic priests of Cybele), but he stopped short of identifying the figurines in this pose as *galli*.\(^{235}\) Furthermore, there is no literary evidence to suggest that the dance of the *galli* resembled the pose of the Agora dancing figure. In his later work, the comprehensive catalogs of images of Cybele and Attis, Vermaseren identified the figurines in the *oklasma* pose as Attis himself.

Vermaseren also observed that the various types of Attis figurines "give an impression of the dancers and their attributes in the theatre when they were acting the myth of Attis, his *tristia* and his *hilaris*" and admitted that the distinction between images of Attis and images of his priests is unclear, although figurines of Attis holding a theatrical mask are most likely depictions of the theatrical setting of the Attis myth.\(^{236}\) The epigraphical and literary evidence for the *tristis* and *hilaria* festivals, however, are several centuries later than the dancing figurines Vermaseren associated with the cult of Attis, weakening the link between the dancing figures and the festivals associated with Attis.

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\(^{235}\) Vermaseren 1966, p. 42. Vermaseren called the dance of the dervishes the *oklasma*.

\(^{236}\) Vermaseren 1966, pp. 55-56.
Moreover, there is no evidence that the *hilaria* was celebrated as early as the 1\textsuperscript{st} to 2\textsuperscript{nd} century A.D. In her work on the epigraphical and literary sources for the cult of Attis, Lancellotti argued that while the earliest evidence for the imported cult of the Great Mother comes from private religious associations in Piraeus from the 4\textsuperscript{th} to 2\textsuperscript{nd} centuries B.C., there was no indisputable evidence for a cult of Attis at this early date aside from his associations with the Great Mother.\textsuperscript{237} Furthermore, Lancellotti placed the introduction of the mysteries of Attis in the imperial age, and the origin of the celebrations of the *hilaria* in the 4\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{238} Since this late date for the establishment of the cult of Attis may rule out the demand for cult images of Attis in the form of figurines, the dancing figurines with hands held together overhead may not depict Attis or his followers at all.

A final possibility is that the dancing figurines may depict professional dancer-acrobats in a secular context. Pantomime was a form of popular entertainment that began in Italy under the Julio-Claudians. Pantomimes were masked silent dancers who re-enacted stories drawn primarily from Greek myth to the accompaniment of instruments and a chorus. The dancer used body movements, and especially hand gestures, to illustrate the story.\textsuperscript{239} The rise of pantomime in Italy during the early Empire owed much to the favor of Augustus and other emperors, and pantomime achieved great popularity in the festivals of Greek east by the 2\textsuperscript{nd} century A.D. As it turns out, the Attis myth was a common theme for pantomime performances, and his increasing popularity as a character for entertainment at this time reflected growing interest in the cults of

\textsuperscript{237} Lancellotti 2002, p. 65.  
\textsuperscript{239} Jory 1986, p. 147.
Cybele and Attis. As it was made clear above, however, there is no compelling reason to definitively associate the dress and pose of the Agora dancing figurines with Attis.

A graffito from the theater at Ephesus offers a similar image of a dancer (Fig. 34). Three figures were carved into the threshold block of the central doorway in the *scaenae frons* of the theater at Ephesus, and the image was oriented so that performers on stage could see it. The central figure is a man in a long-sleeved tunic and long pants with his hands joined over his head, an image that is very similar to the Agora figurine in dress and pose. This graffito probably depicts a type of performance that was commonly seen in this theater, and its similarity to the Athenian figurine suggests that this image was recognizable elsewhere in the Greek east.

The articulated dancer figurine, then, may be interpreted in several different ways, and there is not enough compelling evidence to assign a single identification to the figures. The figures’ dress is decidedly eastern, and the pose recalls Persian dancers on painted Classical vases. The pose may suggest the *igdisma* or *oklasma* dance, but without more helpful literary sources on these dances, we cannot correlate the names of these dances with dancing figurines or figures on vases. Moreover, although a dancing figure in eastern dress fits the description of Attis, without the Phrygian cap or the more specific identifying attributes or pose it is impossible to say for certain if the figurines were intended as Attis figurines. Finally, it is remotely possible that the eastern dress and hand gestures help identify the figurine as a pantomime.

It is worth mentioning one last figurine fragment that may belong to this group of articulated figurines. A head of a bearded male wearing a Phrygian cap (81) has a hole pierced through the top of the cap so that the figure may be suspended from a string or wire. Although

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this hole alone does not prove that the figurine had moveable legs, a hole in the top of a figurine head seems necessary only to enable the suspension of the figurine so that the piece may be manually animated. Although the Phrygian cap suggests the costume of Attis, Attis is always depicted as a child or a youth and never with a beard. A positive identification of the figure is impossible without the figure’s body.

**Function of Articulated Figures**

While static figurines are designed to stand upright on a flat surface, articulated figurines cannot stand on their own. These special figurines must be suspended from a string or wire, which may be held in a user's hand. When the user shakes the string, the figurine's arms and legs swing, instilling movement in the ceramic objects. Unlike regular figurines on a plinth, these are interactive objects and must be picked up in order to carry out their function.

The distinction between figurines, dolls, and puppets is clear in Ancient Greek texts. In Greek, terracotta figurines are referred to by their material, πήλινοι, or "made of clay," whereas authors referring to little girls' dolls use the term κόρη. The Greek terminology for puppets, on the other hand, focused on the animation of these otherwise inanimate objects. Plato's references to puppets and puppeteering in his "parable of the cave" in the *Republic* betray his familiarity with the technique of shadow puppets (*R*. 514a-519a). In the "parable of the cave," Plato describes a group of prisoners who were chained in a cave, watching shadows on a wall in front of them. Puppeteers standing behind the prisoners manipulate objects in front of a fire, casting shadows on the wall. Plato uses the parable to explain the qualitative distinction between illusion

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(the shadows) and reality (the objects themselves). For Plato, forms of "popular" entertainment such as puppeteering must be excluded from the republic because the laughter and enjoyment generated by it can only undermine the moral fabric of the polis.\footnote{Gocer 1999, p. 128.} Plato is clearly familiar with this form of entertainment. He uses the word θαύματα for the puppets and θαυματοποιοί, a term used broadly to refer to professional merrymakers, for the puppeteers.\footnote{Gocer 1999, p. 121.} The root θαῦμα conveys the wondrous nature of puppets and puppeteering. Plato also uses puppets to illustrate the relationship between men and the gods. In the \textit{Laws}, Plato suggests that men are puppets in the hands of the gods (\textit{L.} 644e) and argues that the gods pull the strings to steer men toward goodness or evil. This method of puppeteering is further illuminated by another Greek term for puppets (τά νευρόσπαστα), which highlights the jerky way in which the puppets were manipulated with strings.

Articulated terracotta figurines provide nearly all of the available physical evidence for ancient puppets, as other puppets were undoubtedly fashioned out of perishable materials. These two articulated figurine types provide evidence for the types of puppets manufactured for use in Roman Athens. The two male types represent a departure from the almost exclusively female articulated figurines from the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Furthermore, while the dress and pose of the dancer were known from painted vases and static figurines from the Classical and Hellenistic period, the dancer appeared for the first time as an articulated figurine in the early Roman period. The articulated soldier type was also a new innovation in the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods. The figurine may be interpreted as a "braggart soldier," the comic stock character in Greek or Roman comedy, or perhaps a solitary gladiator dressed as a Greek hoplite.
The inclusion of these two moveable types in the coroplastic repertoire in Roman Athens indicates a desire by consumers to breathe life into figurines and make them perform. Puppeteering has always been a "popular" art form that reflects current trends in private and public life. These terracotta figurines were mass-produced in molds in an affordable medium, making them available to a wide spectrum of the population. The two types, the soldier and the dancer, were not manufactured as toys for children, but would have been meaningful miniaturized forms of entertainment for an adult audience.\(^{245}\) These moveable figurines may have been used in casual puppet shows imitating contemporary trends in performance.

**Standing Figures**

**Aphrodite**

*Sculptural Types*

At least 34 fragments of Aphrodite figurines are preserved the workshop debris. The relatively high percentage of Aphrodite figurines in the debris is not surprising for an assemblage of early Imperial date. In her study of the Roman figurines from the Athenian Agora, Grandjouan noted that Aphrodite was "perhaps the most popular single type shown by coroplasts, bronze workers, and makers of marble statuettes all over the Empire."\(^{246}\) Grandjouan observed that the various Aphrodite figurine types from the Agora were developed before the 3\(^{rd}\) century B.C. and that many of the same types continued to be manufactured in the 3\(^{rd}\) century and later.\(^{247}\) Terracotta figurines of Aphrodite were particularly popular throughout the empire in the 1\(^{st}\) and

\(^{245}\) A hybrid of these two types, an armed soldier in eastern dress with his hands clasped together overhead, is in the collection of the Museo Teatrale alla Scala (Fittà 1997, pp. 85-86, fig. 157).

\(^{246}\) *Agora* VI, p. 7.

\(^{247}\) *Agora* VI, p. 8.
2nd centuries A.D. In the east, Iliffe commented on the "considerable number of Aphrodites" in the debris from a potter's store in Jerash, Jordan, while in the west, Van Boekel remarked on the popularity of Venus figurines in Central Gaul and the Rhine-Mosel area, as Venus was the most popular type among figurines of humans and deities.248

The fragments of Aphrodite figurines in the debris include the following nude, semi-nude, and clothed depictions of the goddess: Knidian Aphrodite, Aphrodite Anadyomene, Aphrodite Genetrix, and Aphrodite and Eros. While there are some fragments that can only be identified generally as Aphrodite, many other fragments can be assigned to one of the known Aphrodite "types," depictions of Aphrodite based on full-scale original prototypes that are usually preserved in later copies. The names for these types range from the moment depicted to the provenance or museum location of the first known example of the type. All of the types represented in the debris will be discussed below, beginning with the identifiable nude, semi-nude, and clothed types and ending with the generic Aphrodite figurines that are too fragmentary to assign to a particular type. This section will conclude with a discussion of the implications of the relatively high proportion of Aphrodite figurines in the debris.

While the first full-scale nude Aphrodite was the Knidian Aphrodite, sculpted by Praxiteles around the middle of the 4th century B.C., the proliferation of nude and semi-nude Aphrodite statues and statuettes began in the late Hellenistic period and continued into the early Imperial period.249 In her study of the "aftermath" of the Knidian Aphrodite, Havelock argued that toward the end of the 2nd century B.C., nude and semi-nude replicas of and variants on the Knidian Aprodite became popular in large- and small-scale sculpture in marble, bronze, and

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248 Iliffe 1944, p. 4; Van Boekel 1987, p. 496.
249 Havelock 1995.
terracotta. Havelock divided the descendants of the Knidia into seven Aphrodite types, all of which were original creations inspired by the then 250-year-old nude Aphrodite statue type. Havelock's discussion of sculptures of Aphrodite included versions in terracotta, which she argued may have been the earliest replicas of the new sculpted types. She also argued that the terracottas are especially important for the date often provided by their archaeological contexts. Only two types included in Havelock's discussion of the Aphrodite types were found in the workshop debris—Aphrodite of Knidos and Aphrodite Anadyomene—but Havelock's discussion of the Aphrodite types is useful for the examination of all of the Aphrodite fragments.

A single example of a variant of the Knidian Aphrodite was found in the workshop debris (82). The Knidian Aphrodite type derives from the Aphrodite of Knidos, a mid-4th century B.C. marble statue of Aphrodite by Praxiteles that was famous in antiquity. In the original depiction preserved in two Roman copies, Aphrodite prepares for a bath and holds her right hand in front of her genitals (Figs. 36 and 37). There is often a hydria by her feet; the hydria serves as a prop to remind the viewer that Aphrodite is undressing for a bath. The figurine fragment from the Agora preserves only her nude body, from her shoulders to her hips, and her right hand, which is shown holding a corner of her chiton in front of her genitals in attempt to preserve her modesty. Although the pose of this figurine is not identical to the original Knidia, the figurine should be interpreted as a close variant of the type. Havelock considered the terracotta copies of the Knidia from Myrina and observed the relative freedom with which the 1st century A.D. coroplast Diphilos varied the pose and attributes in his copies of the Knidia. She noted that the

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250 Havelock 1995, p. 73.
251 Havelock 1995, p. 73.
253 "Colonna type" (Vatican 812) and "Belvedere type" (Vatican 4260).
"most ingenuity was applied to the drapery, which, besides falling over the hydria, can be looped and trailed around her back and held over her genitalia." According to Havelock’s typology, our Aphrodite fragment falls within the acceptable range of variety of the Knidia type.

A second fragment (83) may also belong to the Knidia type. Only the lower torso and left arm of a nude female figure are preserved, but the left hand holds drapery in a manner that is similar to the Knidian Aphrodite. Without the right hand, it is impossible to say for certain if the figurine should be attributed to the Knidia type.

Figurines of the Aphrodite Anadyomene type, or Aphrodite "rising from the sea," depict the goddess Aphrodite just after her birth as she emerges from the sea and wrings the seawater from her hair (Hes. Theog. 188-199). The Aphrodite Anadyomene type originated in the 4th century B.C. with a well-known painting by Apelles (Pliny H.N. 35.91). In this type, Aphrodite appears either fully nude or partially draped around the hips (Figs. 38 and 39). She stands in contrapposto with her weight usually on her left leg, and her arms are both bent and raised, lifting locks of hair. Terracotta examples of the Aphrodite Anadyomene type have been found in Pompeii, Pergamon, Smyrna, Myrina, and Tarsus. In addition to the Roman terracotta figurines of Aphrodite Anadyomene published by Grandjouan, one late 1st century B.C. example and one 4th century A.D. example were found in the Agora. Aphrodite Anadyomene was also a popular subject in small-scale marble sculpture in the Agora.

254 Havelock 1995, p. 110.
255 Antipater of Sidon mentions the painting in a 2nd century B.C. poem (Loeb Greek Anthology vol. 5, p. 263, no. 178).
256 The marble prototypes for these two versions are Vatican 807 (half-draped) and Palazzo Colonna 765 (nude).
257 Agora VI, pp. 7-8, nos. 9-18, pl. 2. Late 1st century B.C. example T 3758; 4th century A.D. example T 4426 (Camp 1999, p. 281, no. 61, fig. 33).
258 S 348, S 395, and S 927.
Three figurine fragments can be attributed to the Anadyomene type with certainty: 84, 85, and 86. Two of these, 84 and 86, share a similar pose, although 86 is much smaller in scale. In both of these examples, Aphrodite holds her hair in her clenched hands, with the right hand raised slightly higher than the left hand. The head of 84 is tilted slightly to the right, while the head of 86 is vertical. The backs of both of these figurines are only lightly modeled, with no detailing on the hair. A third example of this type (85) is similar in scale to 84, and the left hand is clenched around a lock of hair, but the hair is more carefully modeled between the head and the hand. A fourth fragment of a left hand grasping a long lock of hair (87) probably also belongs to an Aphrodite Anadyomene figurine.

An additional figurine fragment may possibly belong to the Anadyomene type. A nude torso of a female figure with several locks of hair resting on her shoulders (88) has its arms partially raised, and drapery hangs from the right arm. The function of the drapery is unclear. No other figurines of Aphrodite Anadyomene are draped around the arms or shoulders, but the drapery may have functioned as a backdrop so that the figurine was more of a relief than a freestanding statuette. A completely preserved terracotta figurine of Aphrodite Anadyomene from the Walters Art Gallery stands against a similar background (Fig. 40).259

The Aphrodite Genetrix type is a depiction of Aphrodite in her incarnation as "mother" (Fig. 41). The type is known alternately as Venus Genetrix or the Fréjus Aphrodite, after a late 1st to early 2nd century A.D. marble sculpture originally thought to have originated Fréjus, France, but now known to be from Naples and currently in the Louvre (Louvre MA 525). Although the name in common use for this type is Latin, the type is thought to have originated in Classical Greece as a late 5th century B.C. sculpture possibly by the Greek sculptor Kallimachos,

known only from a reference in Pliny (Plin. *H.N.* 13.146). Aphrodite is draped in a thin, filmy chiton with her left breast exposed. Her right arm is bent and raised, holding the edge of her mantle over her shoulder, while her left arm is bent and extended outward holding an apple, which was her prize from the Judgment of Paris.

The Aphrodite Genetrix type was popular in full size and small-scale marble sculpture in late Hellenistic and early Roman Greece. Twelve fragmentary marble statuettes attributed to this type were found in the Athenian Agora excavations, and a full-size marble variant on the Genetrix type, holding a hydria in her left hand instead of an apple, was found in the Agora. The type was also popular in terracotta. Numerous figurines depicting Aphrodite Genetrix from Myrina indicate the popularity of the type in Asia Minor.

The unique characteristics of the Genetrix Aphrodite are her bare left breast, her gesture with the mantle over her shoulder, and the apple in her hand. These distinct elements of the Genetrix type can be identified in small figurine fragments. Several fragments from the debris belong to a single figurine of Aphrodite Genetrix (89). The lower body and rectangular plinth joins with a fragment of drapery, and the bent right arm and left breast and upper arm are non-joining fragments of the same figurine. The positioning of the arms and the arrangement of the drapery across the body and behind the figure on her right side indicates that the figurine is a

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260 Stewart (1990, p. 271) doubted the attribution to Kallimachos.
262 S 552, S 937, S 1148, S 1322, S 1548, S 1620, S 2126, S 2133, S 2134, S 2137, S 2139, and S 3074. The first five of the statuettes in the list, found before the early 1950s, were discussed by Fuchs (1954, p. 217). The full-size variant of the Genetrix type is S 1654.
263 Thessaloniki Museum 10263.
264 Lyon, Mus. d. Beaux-Arts 1513-69 (image Karusu 1974, pl. 66.3); Mollard-Besques 1963, p. 15, nos. 26 bis, 27, 28, 672, pl. 12 a-b, 13 a-b, 14d; Pottier and Reinach 1887, p. 28, nos. 1-15, pl. 8.
statuette of Aphrodite Genetrix. The back of this figurine’s plinth is signed MAPKOY, and the possible significance of the signature is discussed further in Chapter 4.

Five right hands clutching drapery (90-94) along with five left hands holding spherical objects (95-99) were found in the debris.\(^{265}\) The arms are bent so that when attached to the figurine body, the hand holding the apple extended outward from the body. One additional left hand (100) is shaped as if it was designed to hold a spherical object, but the object is not preserved. These hands and arms may be identified as the Genetrix type, even if the bodies of the figurines are missing.\(^{266}\)

An additional group of hands and arms probably belonged to figurines of Aphrodite Genetrix, but these figurines were variants on the original. Just as coroplasts in this workshop took liberties in their creation of a figurine of the Knidia type, the craftsmen employed artistic license in their interpretation of the Genetrix type. The workshop evidently manufactured a variation on the Genetrix type that was a mirror image of the original. One left hand clutching drapery (101) and six right hands holding apples (102-107) attest to the existence of a "reversed" Genetrix type.\(^{267}\) An additional right hand (108) is shown grasping an object, but it is not spherical like an apple and is more likely a piece of drapery. This type of modification of the original type is also evident in full-scale sculptures of the Genetrix type. A statue of Venus

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\(^{265}\) Three of the right hand fragments (90-92) were manufactured in the same mold, and two of the left hands (95 and 96) were probably manufactured in the same mold. 98 has a finished edge at the mid-forearm and no dowel hole; it was probably attached to the rest of the figurine with plaster.

\(^{266}\) A left hand holding a spherical object (nearly identical to 98) was found in Halikarnassos, but Burn and Higgins (2001, p. 199, no. 2609, pl. 96) argued that while the object may be an apple or pomegranate, it is impossible to determine the identity of the figurine.

\(^{267}\) 102 and 103 were manufactured in the same mold. 104 does not have a preserved apple, but it was made in the same mold as 105, which does have an apple.
Genetrix from the Terme Museum in Rome, for example, has an exposed right shoulder and breast instead of the canonical left.⁸⁷⁶⁸

An additional modification of the type can be observed in two bent right arms (103 and 105). Curiously, instead of holding the apple so that the palm is facing up, these hands hold the apples so that the palm faces sideways. These two arms, along with their fragmentary mold siblings (104 and 102), may have been manufactured in error and discarded.

Aphrodite's bent and extended arm evidently presented a problem to the coroplast, since it reached out too far from the figure to be included in the bivalve mold. These arms, then, were molded separately in small bivalve molds and attached to the body in one of two ways. While some examples have a finished flat edge at the upper arm and are pierced with a dowel hole for attachment to the shoulder, others have a finished edge at the elbow or in the middle of the forearm (97, 98, and 100). Both of these types were fired in the kiln as separate pieces and joined with the rest of the figurine after removal from the kiln (see p. 158).

Finally, eight fragments of separately molded arms (258-265), all with dowel holes, do not have preserved hands, so it is impossible to determine if they were the traditional bent left arm or the reverse bent right arm, or if they originally held spheres at all.⁸⁷⁶⁹ A nearly identical separately molded arm holding a small shield (257) proves that these arms may have held different objects.

_Nonspecific Aphrodite_

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⁸⁷ Bieber 1977, pl. 25, fig. 135.
⁸⁶⁹ 258, 259, and 260 may have been manufactured in the same mold.
Six additional fragments of Aphrodite figurines are too fragmentary to attribute with certainty to a specific type. One fragment (109), preserving a figure from the lower abdomen to just below the knees, depicts a figure draped around the hips, most likely with a nude torso. The navel is clearly visible just above the drapery. This semi-nude mode of dress is frequently found on the Anadyomene type, although without the upper part of the body and the head, the attribution is merely speculative. A fragment of the right side of a larger Aphrodite figurine (114) is probably nude from the waist up, with drapery gathered around the figure's hips.

Four torsos may also depict Aphrodite. The best preserved of these (110) shows mainly the left side of a nude female body, from the breast to the upper thigh. Her curves are softly modeled, and her navel is carefully indented. There is no evidence for the pose of the arms. A similar fragment (116) shows mainly the right side of a nude female body. A smaller fragment (111) preserves the left breast and torso of a female figure. Nude Aphrodite figurines appear in several different types (e.g., Anadyomene, Knidia, and Pudica), and without the evidence of the arms and upper body a specific attribution is impossible. A third nude torso (112) has a flatter chest, and the outward curvature at the broken lower abdomen of the fragment suggests that the figure may have been bent over. The posture of the torso is reminiscent of the "Crouching Aphrodite" type, which probably originated with a sculpture of the middle to late 3rd century B.C.  

One nude torso (113), with a fairly flat chest and drapery wrapped around the figure's lower left arm, may depict Aphrodite. Because of the small size of the fragment, the identification of this figure is uncertain, but the partial nudity suggests that it may be Aphrodite.

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270 Vatican 807 is the best-known example of the type (Havelock 1995, p. 88).  
271 The best-known example of the type is from the National Museum in Rome (108597) (Havelock 1995, pp. 80).
Alternately, the fragment may depict a boyish Eros, who may have stood alone or alongside Aphrodite.

*Aphrodite and Eros*

Two fragments of nude male children identified as Eros (115 and 117) were manufactured in the same mold. Eros stands with his left hand on his hip, and his bent right leg is crossed over his left leg. This is the boyish and ephebic Eros popular in the Classical period, not the winged infant Eros popular in the visual arts from the late 4th to early 3rd centuries B.C. and onward, suggesting that inspiration for the figurine may have come from a Classical sculpture group.272

One of the fragments (115) preserves the edge of a larger figure on Eros’ right side, and the larger figure rests a hand on Eros’ head. The larger figure is almost certainly Aphrodite.

Groups of nude Aphrodite and Eros were popular in large-scale and small-scale sculpture. As the son of Aphrodite and Ares or Hermes, Eros frequently appears by his mother's side, and the two were worshipped together nearby in a sanctuary on the north slope of the Acropolis.273 Dorothy Thompson included two similar group figurines in her study of the late Hellenistic figurines from the Agora.274 A draped Aphrodite leaning with her left hand on the head of a winged baby Eros can also be found in a marble sculpture group in Paris.275

Two different fragments of Aphrodite figurines (114 and 116) belonging to two distinct fabric groups are candidates for the Aphrodite and Eros group figurine represented by the two

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272 Jackson 2006, pp. 51-53. A younger, winged Eros is depicted in a miniature figurine (154) discussed below.
273 Broneer 1932. Use of the sanctuary continued into the Roman period.
274 T 2499 (Thompson 1965, p. 49, no 15) and T 2505 (Thompson 1965, p 70, no. 12).
275 Louvre MA 366.
Eros fragments. The two Eros figurines were made in different fabrics: while 117 belongs to Fabric Group 1, 115 belongs to Fabric Group 4. Similarly, the Aphrodite fragments belong to the same fabric groups: 116 belongs to Fabric Group 1 while 114 belongs to Fabric Group 4. If the group figurine was made in a single mold as it appears, only one of these figurines of Aphrodite belongs with Eros, but without a joining fragment, it is impossible to determine with certainty which Aphrodite type was depicted alongside her son Eros.

The relatively large number of fragments of Aphrodite figurines in the debris is not surprising. Aphrodite enjoyed widespread popularity throughout the Greek and Roman world, and the Athenians revered her with sanctuaries and statues throughout their city. Pausanias mentions five statues of Aphrodite and three shrines to Aphrodite in his account of Athens.\textsuperscript{276} Aphrodite had a particularly strong presence outside the northwest corner of the Agora in the neighborhood of the coroplast’s workshop. On the west side of the street leading out of the northwest corner of the Agora, just across the street from the workshop building, a late 6\textsuperscript{th} century B.C. altar to Aphrodite Ourania continued in use through the early Roman period.\textsuperscript{277} An Augustan-period temple aligned with the altar may also have been built to house her cult.\textsuperscript{278} Figurines of Aphrodite do not seem to have been an archaeologically visible aspect of her worship in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, as no votive deposits of Aphrodite figurines were found associated with the temple or altar.\textsuperscript{279} Nevertheless, her popularity as a deity in the immediate area of the coroplast’s workshop may have been related to the high demand for

\textsuperscript{277} Shear 1984, pp. 24-33.
\textsuperscript{278} Shear 1984, pp. 33-40; Shear 1997, pp. 495-507.
\textsuperscript{279} Shear 1984, pp. 37-39.
figurines depicting her, whether the figurines were intended for use in a sanctuary, home, or tomb.

Aphrodite, or Venus, was popular throughout the Roman world. Images of Venus were placed prominently in the city of Rome in locations with significance to the imperial family. Julius Caesar claimed to be a descendant of Venus and is said to have commissioned a statue of the Genetrix type from the sculptor Arkesilaos in 46 B.C. for the Temple of Venus Genetrix in his Imperial Forum.²⁸⁰ The famous painting of Aphrodite Anadyomene by Apelles, originally housed in the Sanctuary of Asklepios at Kos, was taken by Augustus and placed in the Temple of the Deified Caesar in the Roman Forum (Strabo 14.2.9).

The sculptural types of Aphrodite were copied and replicated throughout the Roman Empire. Aphrodite figurines were popular among the coroplasts of the early Roman Empire from Gaul to Asia Minor and the Black Sea. In Greece, roughly contemporary figurines of Aphrodite Genetrix, Anadyomene, and Knidia were found in early Roman tombs in Thessaloniki.²⁸¹ The ubiquity of these sculptural types suggests that coroplasts may have been capitalizing on consumer recognition of well-known full-scale statues of Aphrodite. The signed figurine of Aphrodite Genetrix from the workshop debris may be evidence for the practice of copying well-known statues. Only a very small number of figurines from this workshop were signed. Imprinting a signature on a figurine that is a miniature copy of a well-known sculptural type may have been the coroplast's method of taking artistic credit for the piece. A consumer could have judged the coroplast's skill by the similarity of the figurine to the copies of the type that were displayed in and around the Athenian Agora and elsewhere in the Roman world, and the

signature may have functioned as an advertisement for the artist. This is not to say, however, that
the coroplast was a mere imitator of sculptors working in marble. Variations in the known types,
such as reversed positions of the right and left arms of the Aphrodite Genetrix, suggest that the
coroplast took artistic liberties with known sculptural types.

**Pan and Silenos**

Pan and Silenos were both members of the god Dionysos' entourage, the Dionysiac thiasos. Along with satyrs, nymphs, and maenads, Pan and Silenos often appear in the visual arts in the company of Dionysos.

The god Pan is represented by seven figurine fragments. Pan was the son of the nymph Penelope and either Hermes, Zeus, or Apollo.\(^{282}\) The cult of Pan was introduced to Athens sometime after 490 B.C. Herodotus reports that just before the battle with the Persians at Marathon, the Athenians sent the messenger Pheidippides (alternately called Philippides) to Sparta to seek help (Hdt. VI, 105). Upon his return to Athens, he encountered the god Pan in Arcadia, and Pan asked Pheidippides why the Athenians had neglected him, as he had been helpful to them and would continue to be helpful. Pheidippides carried the message back to Athens and after the Battle of Marathon the Athenians established a cave sanctuary for Pan on the northwest slope of the Acropolis.\(^{283}\)

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\(^{283}\) The worship of Pan in caves spread from the shrine on the slopes of the Acropolis to other parts of Attica. Wickens (1986, pp. 169-186) listed eight cave sites in Attica where Pan worship began in the Classical period.
In early 5th century B.C. depictions, the god is shown in human form, often with the head of a goat.\textsuperscript{284} The Pan type with a hybrid human-goat head and goat legs appeared in the late 5th century B.C. All of the leg fragments recovered from the workshop debris are in the form of a goat, and the two surviving heads are mostly human with goat horns extending from the forehead.

One small-scale fragment of Pan (118) playing the syrinx, or pan flute, is preserved from the head to the middle of the torso. The figurine is roughly modeled on the back, and pearls of clay are visible on the surface, suggesting that the piece was created in a plaster mold. Two horns extend vertically from the top of his forehead, and the features of his face, including a wide nose, are blurred, indicating that the figurine was at the end of a series of surmoulage.\textsuperscript{285} He wears a beard and holds a syrinx up to his slightly parted lips with his bent right arm. Pan appears to be nude, at least from the waist up, which is not uncommon for depictions of the rustic god.

A second head of Pan (119) was also fashioned from a plaster mold and in addition to the characteristic pearls of clay on the surface, the figurine displays several other irregularly shaped protrusions from the surface of the figurine that resulted from errors in the mold. For example, the inner corner of the figure's right eye was carelessly modeled and the extra clay on the surface was not smoothed away. Additionally, a hole over the figure's left eye indicates that the clay was not completely pressed into the mold, leaving a void in the surface. The seam where the separately molded front and back halves were pressed together and trimmed is very prominent, and the figure's ears are partially cut away by the seam. Despite these signs of careless manufacture, the head is an interesting depiction of Pan. His hair is relatively long and unruly,

\textsuperscript{284} Boardman 1997, p. 29
\textsuperscript{285} \textit{Surmoulage} is the practice of creating a new mold from an existing figurine.
projecting straight up in the front. Two goat horns extend diagonally from the center of his forehead, and he wears a long beard. The figure's mouth is of great interest. The lips are parted, and the mouth is hollowed out as if the figure is in the midst of talking or singing, or perhaps about to bring a (now missing) syrinx up to his mouth to play.

This head of Pan (119) may belong with a pair of goat legs and a base (120). While it is impossible to be certain, as the torso and arms of the figure are missing, the color and composition of the fabrics are the same, and the size of the head is appropriate for the legs. Additionally, the modeling of the shaggy fur on the legs resembles the modeling of the hair on the head. The legs, one preserved from the upper thigh and the other from the knee, were once attached to a low, solid hand-modeled rectangular base.286 The one preserved thigh has indications of shaggy fur, and both legs are slender below the knee and end in cloven hooves. The legs, feet, and base are reminiscent of two large-scale Pan/Satyr sculptures found in the Theater of Pompey in Rome and currently on display in a courtyard of the Palazzo Nuovo at the Capitoline Museums (Fig. 42).287

Two small fragments of the shaggy thighs of Pan figurines may have been fashioned from the same mold. One fragment (121) preserves the nude lower abdomen and two thighs of a Pan figurine with a relatively flat background between the thighs. The uneven placement of the legs and the bent right leg suggest that this may be Pan seated on a rock, as he is often depicted. The second fragment (122) preserves only one thigh of a goat-legged Pan figurine, and like the other fragment, the thigh is raised in relief from a relatively flat background. Traces of yellow pigment survive on the shaggy thigh, and white pigment survives on the fragment of the

286 The legs and base have been left unconnected as the conservators decided that if they joined the pieces the seams would be too vulnerable.
287 Albertoni et al. 2006, p. 29.
background of this fragment, and the other fragment (121) has traces of white pigment on its surface.

Two other leg fragments of goat-legged Pan may belong to the same figurine. The two fragments (123 and 124) represent the shaggy frontal thighs of a Pan figurine made in a bivalve mold. The interior and exterior surfaces are covered with a dark reddish-brown matte slip, suggesting that the hollow figurine was dipped in a wash before firing, an unusual treatment for terracottas in the workshop debris.

The figurine of Silenos (125) is the best-preserved figurine from the workshop debris, although it was found in 14 fragments. The figure is depicted as old and pot-bellied with the following facial features: a high wrinkled forehead, slightly narrowed eyes, a snub nose, fleshy lips, and a long beard. Unlike some earlier man-horse hybrid depictions of Silenos, this figurine has human ears. He wears a thick wreath of leaves and fruit on his head, on top of which he balances a low, wide basket with four objects that are probably also fruit.²⁸⁸ He is nude except for a mantle or panther skin draped over his left shoulder.²⁸⁹ His left hand supports the basket on his head, while his right hand rests on his hip. He stands with his weight on his left leg and his right leg is slightly bent, and on his right side a young goat with short curly fleece rears on its hind legs and faces Silenos.²⁹⁰ The back of the figurine is only roughly modeled.

The figure of a nude, older male with these characteristic facial features can be identified as Silenos, an aged satyr. The definitions and depictions of satyrs, silens (or silenoi), Silenos, and Papposilenos developed over time. In late Archaic and Classical vase painting, satyrs were

²⁸⁸ Dorothy Thompson (1963, pp. 44-45) discussed this type of wreath as it appears on the Hellenistic figurines from Troy.
²⁸⁹ Hedreen (1992, p. 107) observed that the panther skin is part of Papposilenos' costume.
²⁹⁰ A figurine of a figure (now missing) holding a similar goat comes from Seleucia (Tarsus I, 1950, p. 380, no. 593, pl. 253).
depicted as horse-human hybrids. In the Hellenistic period, satyrs began to be depicted more as human-goat hybrids. By the mid 4th century, the terms "satyr" and the generic and lowercase "silen" appear to have become interchangeable.

Silenos emerges as an aged satyr in the late 5th century B.C., and scholars use the names Silenos and Papposilenos for the same character. Papposilenos, "father of the silens" or Silenos, is a character particularly associated with the Greek theater. For convenience, the name Silenos will be used below. As the aged leader of the satyr chorus in satyr plays, he was also known as the tutor of Dionysos. Silenos is distinguished from the other satyrs in depictions of Greek satyr plays by his age. Actors playing Silenos appear frequently in vase painting, where they are depicted wearing bodysuits covered in thick white hair and panther skins, the white body hair an obvious reference to Silenos' age. Even without the thick body hair, the Agora figurine should be identified as Silenos on the basis of facial features, age, and attributes.

The attributes of the Silenos figurine fit nicely with Silenos' role in the Dionysiac thiasos. The fruit basket on Silenos' head may be an adaptation of a more common attribute of the Dionysiac thiasos, the cornucopia. Thompson pointed out that the cornucopia "is often shown on the arm of Papposilenos himself, but is not commonly held by his more active satyr companions." Like the cornucopia, Silenos' fruit basket symbolizes abundance. If the garment draped on Silenos' left shoulder is indeed a panther skin, then it references the involvement of wild animals in the bacchanalia and the wild and rustic origins of Silenos himself. Finally, the young goat at Silenos' right side contributes to the Dionysiac imagery of the Silenos figurine.

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291 Carpenter 1986, p. 76.
292 Carpenter 1986, p. 78.
Satyrs, as well as the god Pan, were often depicted as human-goat hybrids, and the goat was frequently associated with the god Dionysos.\textsuperscript{295}

Although already linked with the patron god of the theater by virtue of being a member of Dionysos' retinue, the characters of Pan and Silenos also have connections to the theater through the display of these figures in Roman theaters. The closest comparanda for the Silenos figurine are life-size and colossal stone sculptures from the decorative programs of Roman theaters. Two over life-size kneeling Silenoi were used to frame the relief panels of the 4\textsuperscript{th} century A.D. Bema of Phaidros in the Theater of Dionysos at Athens (Fig. 43).\textsuperscript{296} The Silenoi are nude except for animal skins draped around their shoulders and covered in body hair in low relief, and they crouch over with one hand raised and holding a cushion, so that the figures appear to be supporting architecture above.\textsuperscript{297} The gesture is reminiscent of the Silenos figurine supporting a basket on his head. Fragments of as many as eight additional Silenoi in three different scales—two small Silenoi attached to pillars, two large Silenoi, and two colossal Silenoi—may also belong to the Hadrianic phase of the stage building.

Silenoi were also part of the Hadrianic decorative program in the theater at Corinth. Fragments of two slightly larger than life-size Silenoi carved onto piers were part of the Hadrianic \textit{scaenae frons} of the theater at Corinth.\textsuperscript{298} Unlike the crouching Silenoi from the Theater of Dionysos at Athens, whose bodies are covered with hair all over, the Silenoi from

\textsuperscript{295} A goat appears as a sacrificial animal on a 2\textsuperscript{nd} century A.D. relief depicting the entrance of Dionysos into Attica in the Theater of Dionysos in Athens (Sturgeon 1977, p. 37, fig. 3). The goat in this relief is shown rearing on its hind legs toward a figure of Ikarios.

\textsuperscript{296} Sturgeon (1977, pp. 45, 49) argued that the Dionysos reliefs and the Silenoi were originally created to decorate a Hadrianic stage building and were reused in the 4\textsuperscript{th} century A.D. Bema of Phaidros.

\textsuperscript{297} Sturgeon 1977, pp. 48-50.

\textsuperscript{298} \textit{Corinth} IX.3, pp. 5-6, 12.
Corinth appear to be wearing hair suits that end at the wrists and the ankles, suggesting that the figures depict actors in Silenos costumes.\footnote{Corinth IX.3, pp. 96-97.} The better-preserved Silenos from Corinth is standing with his right arm down by his side and his left arm raised up to support the end of a wine sack resting on his shoulder. The balance of weight-bearing arms and legs—the left leg bears the weight of the body while the left arm supports the wine sack—mirrors the arrangement of weight distribution on the Agora Silenos figurine. Sturgeon pointed out that the single raised arm in Silenoi serving as architectural decoration is a phenomenon of the Roman period, as similar Hellenistic figures had two raised arms.

In her study of the Silenoi from Corinth, Sturgeon assembled the evidence for Silenoi and the related characters of Pan, satyrs, and maenads serving as sculpted decoration (some as architectural supports) in Roman theaters.\footnote{Sturgeon (2004, pp. 97-98) mentioned a supporting statue of Pan from the theater at Segesta, two statues of Pan from the Theater of Pompey in Rome, satyrs sculpted onto piers from the theater at Ephesos, the numerous Silenoi from the Theater of Dionysos at Athens, and figures of maenads from the theater at Arles.} The popularity of the Dionysiac \textit{thiasos} in the sculpted decoration of Roman theaters is unsurprising, considering the prominent role played by Dionysos in the world of the theater. The Dionysiac \textit{thiasos} was also a popular motif on sculpted stone sarcophagi of the \textit{2nd} and \textit{3rd} centuries A.D.\footnote{Turcan 1966.}

Perhaps the same desire on the part of Roman era consumers to choose sarcophagi with figures and images symbolic of the theater fueled the market in terracotta figurines of the same subjects. In the Hellenistic period, the followers of Dionysos, including Silenos and Satyrs, appear frequently in the corpus of terracotta figurines from the Agora, a trend that Thompson
attributed to increased interest in the cult of Dionysos.\textsuperscript{302} This interest in Dionysos and his followers continues into the Roman period. Pan is also featured prominently in figurines and plastic lamps from the 3\textsuperscript{rd} to 4\textsuperscript{th} centuries A.D., and Pan was a popular figure in small-scale marble statuary found in the Agora.\textsuperscript{303}

\textit{Theatrical, Grotesques, and Caricatures}

The growing interest in the theater during the Hellenistic and Roman periods fueled an increase in the demand for the Dionysiac thiasos in the visual arts. At the same time, figures associated with both formal theatrical performance and informal street performance also grew in popularity, namely actors, grotesques, and caricatures. These three categories are well represented in the debris of the figurine workshop. Scholars in the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century used the terms “grotesque” and “caricature” interchangeably and without clear definition. In his 1975 dissertation on the “pathological grotesque” in Greek and Roman art, Stevenson decried the lack of specificity in scholars’ use of the terms “grotesque” and “caricature” and proposed precise definitions of “grotesque” as a realistic depictions or portraits of figures with physical abnormalities and “caricature” as a depiction involving the exaggeration of physical features (often to the point of physical impossibility) in order to achieve a comic effect.\textsuperscript{304} The workshop debris from the Agora includes examples of grotesques and caricatures, and both of these types of depictions had roots in forms of popular entertainment.

\textsuperscript{302} Thompson 1965, p. 36.
\textsuperscript{303} Figurines and plastic lamps: \textit{Agora VI}, pp. 12, 49, nos. 238-240, pl. 6; \textit{Agora VI}, pp. 36, 77, nos. 999-1003, pl. 28. Small-scale marble statuary: \textit{Agora VI}, p. 12, n. 28.
\textsuperscript{304} Stevenson 1975, p 27.
Scholars agree that the grotesque genre in Greco-Roman art probably originated in Asia Minor and Egypt, and that coroplastic workshops in Smyrna were prolific producers of grotesque terracotta figurines.\textsuperscript{305} It has even been suggested that coroplasts in Smyrna had the opportunity to observe first-hand a wide range of physical deformities because of the presence of a renowned school of medicine in the city in the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods.\textsuperscript{306}

Two heads belong respectively to the categories of “grotesque” and “caricature.” The grotesque head from the Agora debris (\textbf{126}) may be an import from Smyrna. The solid, hand-modeled, oblong head depicts a bald man with large projecting ears, prominent eyebrows, beaked nose, and fleshy lips. While the type is similar to grotesque heads from Smyrna, the micaceous fabric is also unusual for Athens and similar to the fabric of figurines from Asia Minor (Fig. 44).\textsuperscript{307} Uhlenbrock pointed out that these physical traits are found in representations of \textit{mimilogoι}, or performers in the mime, and suggested that individuals with these characteristics may have worked as entertainers in the mime.\textsuperscript{308} The mime was a “burlesque” form of entertainment involving exaggerated facial expressions and gestures that depicted scenes of everyday life, particularly that of the lower classes, and was often performed on the streets. Performers of mime did not wear masks, so individuals with abnormalities of the face and body may have been recruited or otherwise drawn to this type of work.\textsuperscript{309}

\textsuperscript{305} \textit{Tarsus} I, p. 306; Thompson 1963b, p. 119; Stevenson 1975, p. 164; Burn and Higgins 2001, p. 128.
\textsuperscript{306} Leyenaar-Plaisier 1984, pp. 78-79.
\textsuperscript{307} Burn and Higgins 2001, p. 147, no. 2383, pl. 69. The Agora head is similar in type to Burn and Higgins 2001, p. 150, no. 2396, pl. 71.
\textsuperscript{308} Uhlenbrock 1990, p. 149, no. 36.
\textsuperscript{309} \textit{Agora} VI, p. 23; Stevenson 1975, pl. 64; Uhlenbrock 1990, p. 77; Burn and Higgins 2001, pp. 128, 147.
A head from the workshop debris depicts a caricature of a male with African features (127). Only a small fragment of the head is preserved, but it has a broad nose, thick slightly parted lips, and eyes pierced with small holes. Although the features are not exaggerated to the point of physical impossibility (as is the case with many caricatures), the head is clearly a portrait of a person with facial features often described as “African.” Interestingly, a similar head described as “African” was found at the Demeter and Kore sanctuary at Corinth, and Merker suggested that based on the fabric, the piece “could be Athenian” but there were no similar published types at the time that she published the Demeter and Kore figurines.310 The Agora head with African features need not be viewed as a grotesque, but rather a portrait or caricature, as Snowden convincingly argued “there is in ancient art no evidence which demonstrates that there was a stereotyped concept of the Negro as ugly, apotropaic, or comic.”311 A figurine nose (128) may also belong to a face with African features.

Three fragments of erect phalloi may be assigned to the “caricatures” category. Richter pointed out that the large phallos is characteristic of “grotesque” figures, but if we use Stevenson’s strict definitions of “grotesque” and “caricature,” the phalloi are probably not accurate depictions of physical deformities but rather exaggerated for comic value.312 Since no bodies associated with the phalloi have been identified, it is impossible to know for certain if the phalloi are exaggerated in size. In order for the phalloi to be of a normal size, however, a figurine would have to be significantly larger than any terracotta figurine specimen found in the workshop debris. For this reason, it is assumed that the phalloi belong with figurines of a smaller scale.

310 Corinth XVIII.4, pp. 313, 316, no. R4, pl. 73.
311 Snowden 2010, p. 250.
312 Richter 1913, p. 151.
The phalloi are all preserved to ca. 5 cm in length and were all most likely handmade. One phallus (129) is nearly complete and carefully modeled, preserving the triangular end where it was probably attached to a figurine. The shape of the triangular end indicates that when attached to the body, the phallos was either angled upward or downward. A second phallus (130) is cylindrical in shape, with incisions to delineate the shaft from the tip and diagonal lines hastily incised along the shaft. The third phallus (131) is carefully hand-modeled and seemingly anatomically correct, and the shaft-end is broken away. Although the ends of these two phalloi are not preserved, they may have belonged with articulated figurines. Moveable phalloi attached to articulated figurines are known from the Black Sea area during the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods. Muratov discussed “Dionysiac Dancers” with articulated phalloi in her dissertation, and Minns mentioned (but unfortunately did not illustrate) articulated figurines with separately molded and attached legs and phalloi from Kerch and Olbia.313 Muratov’s dancers have articulated phalloi that dangle between the legs to slightly below the knees, and if the two Agora examples were pierced for articulation, they would also have hung down between the legs.314

While the exaggerated phallos has clear Dionysiac connotations—and Egyptian ithyphallic figurines of Priapus, an associate of Dionysos, often have separately molded and attached phalloi—the exaggerated phallos was also a symbol of comic theater and mime.315 Actors in New Comedy wore oversized phalloi as part of their costumes, and these accessories

313 Muratov 2005, pp. 141-147. Muratov (2005, pp. 179-180) also discussed an unprovenanced marionette with an articulated phallos in an appendix. I was unable to see images of the figurines mentioned by Minns (1913, pp. 369-370), as the publication of the figurines in the Odessa Museum is inaccessible.
were adopted by performers of the mime.\textsuperscript{316} Although the phalloi cannot be assigned to a particular figurine type with certainty, they clearly belong to the genre of “caricature” and evoke an association with the Dionysiac sphere, theater, or informal street performance.

The body of a small, solid, probably handmade figurine (132) may also depict an entertainer associated with the theater. The figurine is preserved from the neck to the lower thighs and is missing its head, arms, and lower legs. The figure appears to be wearing a loincloth, an undergarment often associated with a “low grade of society” when worn alone.\textsuperscript{317} The fragment may be a figurine of a mime or an actor in the role of a slave.

Six fragments of small-scale masks also belong to the category of the “theatrical.” Two fragments are rendered at approximately the same small scale (133 and 134). If the masks were fully preserved, they would be ca. 10 cm in height. One (134) is the left side of a male mask with a radiating crown of hair, and his preserved left eye has a pierced pupil and an arched eyebrow. A second fragment (133) is also from the left side of a mask of uncertain gender with a neutral expression, hair radiating from the side of the face, and a pierced left pupil. The fragment also has a hole pierced through the side of the mask, probably for suspension. It is difficult to attribute these two masks to a specific genre of theater without seeing the whole face, since the facial features and expression are needed to identify a mask as tragic or comic. The neutrality of

\textsuperscript{316} Ewigleben and Grumbkow (1991, p. 33, nos. 104, 106, 108) identified ithyphallic Roman figurines from Egypt with separately modeled and attached phallos as slaves, a stock character from New Comedy. Stevenson 1975, p. 70; Richter 1913, p. 153.

the facial expression of 133, as preserved in the left eye, and lack of peculiar facial features make it difficult to assign to a particular type.\(^{318}\)

In addition to these two small-scale masks, four fragments of miniature masks were also found in the workshop debris. Two fragments (135 and 136) may have been manufactured in the same mold. Both fragments preserve the nose and upper lip of a comic mask, possibly the mask of a slave character with a wide-open mouth. The two fragments received different treatments after removal from the mold: the nostrils of 135 were pierced through, while the nose of 136 was left solid. A third fragment of a miniature mask (137) probably depicts the thick upper lip of a comic mask. One last miniature mask fragment completes the group. The fragment (138) has a heavy eyelid and a prominent arched brow. The scowling expression is evocative of comic masks.

A figurine head (139) may also belong to the theatrical category. The face has furrowed eyebrows, slightly angled eyes, and a broad nose. Although the full mouth is not preserved, the bottom surface of the upper lip is preserved, indicating that the piece had an open mouth. It is impossible to know if this head is part of a figurine or a one-sided mask, as the edges are not preserved, but the facial expression is consistent with comic masks.\(^{319}\) One last fragment may belong in the theatrical category. The lower right portion of a figurine face with a broad nose and a wide mouth pierced with a hole (140) may be a depiction of a theatrical mask. The piece may

\(^{318}\) Mask types of Tragedy and Satyr Play, Old and Middle Comedy, and New Comedy were published respectively by Webster, Green, and Seeberg (1995), Webster (1978), and Webster (1967).

\(^{319}\) *Agora* VI, pp. 60-61, no. 576, pl. 11.
have belonged to figurine or a plastic lamp, as the small hole in the mouth may have been used for air-flow.\textsuperscript{320}

The inclusion of actors, miniature masks, grotesques, and caricatures in the workshop repertoire reflects a continued interest both formal and informal performance. Strong consumer demand for images and figures associated with the theater also drove an increase in the production of full-size terracotta mask models during this period (see p. 124).

**Heads**

Five female and five male heads without associated bodies were preserved in the workshop debris. Without bodies and attributes, it is difficult to know if the female figurine heads belonged to figurines of mortals (such as genre figurines) or deities. Four of the male figurine heads, as discussed below, suggest specific types on the basis of headdress, hairstyle, or facial hair. While it is impossible to assign many of the heads with certainty to specific type groups, the heads do serve an important role as a gauge for the style of the time and the apparent skill of the coroplast. In her discussion of terracottas from the late 1\textsuperscript{st} century B.C., Thompson admitted that “the most interesting pieces from the limited contexts of this date are heads” and that the heads “illustrate the trends of style.”\textsuperscript{321} She evaluated the few, poor specimens of heads from these late Hellenistic contexts as “tiny, slovenly types,” manufactured “as though in response to the poverty of the inhabitants.”

\textsuperscript{320} Similar small holes are often pierced in the eyes of later Roman plastic lamps (Agora VI, pls. 24-30), but a plastic lamp of a comic actor (Agora VI, p. 83, no. 1110, pl. 32) has an opening in the mouth.

\textsuperscript{321} Thompson 1966b, p. 260.
The female heads share a number of common traits: blurred facial features, fleshy lips, and wide large noses. The blurred quality of the modeling points to the use of either worn molds—plaster molds in particular would have lost the sharp definition of details over time—or molds at the end of a multi-generational line of surmoulage. This practice, if performed over several “generations” of figurines and molds, can result in molds with blurred detail if the coroplast did not freshen the molds or the resulting figurines in the retouching stage of manufacturing. Only one female head (141) was retouched after removal from the mold, and in this case only the hair, not the face, was enhanced with light incisions.

Four of the female heads display a variety of hairstyles (142 is only preserved below the middle of the face). One example (141) has her hair parted in the center and swept away from a central part, possibly into a chignon, although the back of the head is not preserved. Two small beads of clay on the ears provide the head’s adornment, and torsion in the neck appears to indicate that the figure’s head is turned slightly to its left. A second head (142), which is only preserved below the middle of the face), shares similar facial features as 141, with a wide nose and fleshy lips and chin.

Two female heads wear a diadem, a common headdress for depictions of mortals and deities. One head (143) with particularly blurred features has its hair parted in the center and drawn sideways with a high diadem set on top. A second head (144) has facial features that are so faint as to be hardly distinguishable, but it appears to be wearing a diadem. One last female figurine head (145) is slightly smaller in scale than the other heads, and the figure wears her hair arranged in curls framing the face. The facial features are blurred, and a flaw on the figure’s right cheek was not smoothed away before firing.
The rendering of these female figurine faces is less delicate than the faces of Hellenistic figurines from the Athenian Agora and is smoother than the sharp, incised, linear style of the faces of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. Additionally, the use of worn molds or molds with poor definition indicates a lack of initiative on the part of the coroplast to retouch the molds or create new archetypes and molds. It is likely that the molds used to manufacture these figurines were made from figurines in the coroplast’s own collection. This lack of attention to detail in mass-produced figurines suggests that the appeal and utility of a figurine to a consumer did not hinge on the quality of the image.

Five male figurine heads were also found in the workshop debris. One head fragment (146), fashioned out of a finely levigated and hard-fired clay, stands out both for its fabric and its style and may belong to an earlier period. The fragment preserves the top and sides of a head with short hair rendered in long wavy incisions. Irregularities on the sides of the head may indicate that the figure originally wore a leafy wreath.

A second male head (147) has the facial features and beard of a philosopher. The hole in the top of the head is difficult to explain, as it would not function well as a vent during firing, and the small size suggests that it may have been an appliqué for a vessel instead of a freestanding figurine.

A third male head (148) is only preserved from the middle of the face to the bottom of the beard, but the size and shape of the beard and the neutral expression of the mouth suggest that the fragment may belong to a terracotta herm, in which case the incised texture of the beard may have been an attempt at achieving an archaizing aesthetic. A fragment of a small nose (149) may belong to the same herm figurine. Terracotta herms were a common type in the Hellenistic

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322 Camp 1999, p. 280, no. 60, fig. 32.
coroplastic repertoire as small-scale copies of the statue-pillars that were commonly installed at entrances to homes and sacred places and erected as victory monuments and votive offerings beginning in the 6th century B.C. Numerous stone herms were on display near the workshop in the still-unidentified “Stoa of the Herms.” Although no other Roman terracotta herms were found in the Athenian Agora, the herm was a popular form in Roman marble sculpture. After the beardless herm enjoyed some popularity in sculpture of the Hellenistic period, the archaistic bearded herm reappeared in the 1st century B.C. as part of the Neo-Attic trend in the visual arts.

A fourth head (150), preserved only from the top of the head to the mouth and missing the chin and much of the right side of the face, is a male head wearing a cap that comes to a soft point on the forehead. Like the female head, the facial features are blurred, and the figurine was likely cast in a worn mold or a mold resulting from surmoulage. No traces of retouching are present on the face. The head may belong to a figurine of a warrior wearing a helmet.

The fifth male head (151) belongs to a figurine of a male child or youth. The full, round face with a faint smile and chubby cheeks is childlike in appearance. Only the front of the head is preserved, but the hair at the top of the head is clearly gathered over the center of the forehead. Similar hairstyles have been interpreted as a braid that begins at the forehead and continues back

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323 Thompson (1966a, pp. 9-11) provided a brief overview of Hellenistic terracotta herms in her discussion of late Hellenistic examples. Herms as victory monuments and votive offerings: *Agora XI*, pp. 108-141.
324 Camp (1996, p. 257) noted that the Stoa of the Herms “is to be sought just outside the northwest corner of the Agora, to the northwest of the altar of Aphrodite.”
325 Just down the Panathenaic Way south of the coroplast’s workshop, the stage front of the Odeion of Agrippa was decorated with at least 17 herms of various types (*Agora XI*, p. 139).
across the crown of the head, a tuft or lock, or a loose interpretation of a loop headdress. This hairstyle appears to be limited to figurines of children, either mortal children or the child-god Eros. Without the figurine body and any associated attributes (such as wings), it is impossible to know for certain if the head belongs to a figurine of a mortal child or youth or a figurine of Eros.

In addition to the 10 male and female head fragments, a fragment of a mold for a figurine head (152) was found in the debris. The fragment is a mold for the upper left side of a figurine’s face and hair. Although the piece is poorly preserved, traces of what may be a diadem are preserved in the mold, suggesting that the mold is for a female figurine.

**Miniatures**

Four miniature figurines, all approximately 0.07-0.08 m in height and two made in the same mold, indicate the workshop’s versatility in manufacturing items of different sizes. Three of the figurines have small, flat bottom surfaces with holes pierced into them (the bottom of 154 is missing), suggesting that the figurines may have been attached to a base with the use of a thin dowel, possibly of wood.

Three of the figurines (153-155) were found in the same archaeological context, while the mold sibling of 155 (156) was found approximately 10 m to the west. The three found in the same context appear to have been over-fired in the kiln or possibly burned after removal from the kiln, as all three are fired gray-black on at least part of their surfaces. The shared find-spot and the similar surface condition suggest that the three figurines were manufactured and fired

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together, strengthening the possibility that the figurines may have been designed as a set to be displayed together, possibly on a single base.

The three types depicted in the four miniature figurines are Harpokrates, Eros, and Asklepios. Harpokrates is the child form of the Egyptian god Horus, born from Isis and Osiris, and was introduced into the Greek world in the Hellenistic period.\textsuperscript{328} The Harpokrates figurine (153) is a nude male child standing with his right hand raised to his mouth and his left hand on his hip. He wears a vegetal crown and a roughly-modeled “pschent” crown, or combined crown of upper and lower Egypt, a combination seen in better detail on a terracotta figurine from Alexandria (Fig. 45).\textsuperscript{329} It is possible that this figurine was originally winged, which would explain why the broken edges on the figurine’s sides project outward. Harpokrates acquired the attribute of wings from his syncretization with the Greco-Roman god Eros.\textsuperscript{330} Harpokrates appears elsewhere in the visual arts of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} century A.D. in the Agora: an imported red-on-white lamp has Harpokrates holding a cornucopia on its disk, while a 3\textsuperscript{rd} century A.D. bronze statuette depicts Harpokrates holding a cornucopia.\textsuperscript{331}

The Eros figurine (154) is a winged male youth, nude except for a chlamys fastened on his right shoulder. He has short curly hair (or wears a floral crown) and carries fruit in the fold of his chlamys. The fruit-bearing Eros is called Eros Karpophoros or Harpokratic Eros, as the bundle of fruit in a cornucopia, a basket, or a fold of drapery, is a common attribute of Harpokrates.\textsuperscript{332} The combination of Eros and Harpokrates is unsurprising in the cosmopolitan

\textsuperscript{328} Barrett (2011, pp. 247-261) discussed Hellenistic figurines of Harpokrates from Delos.
\textsuperscript{331} Agora VI, p. 87, no. 168, pl. 6; Thompson 1950, pp. 332-333, pl. 106a.
environment of the Roman Empire, as Eros was the child-god par excellence in Greece from the Hellenistic period onward, while Harpokrates fulfilled the same role in Egypt. A similar but sleeping (and possibly urinating) Eros Karpophoros is depicted in a 3rd century B.C. terracotta figurine from Tarentum, a fruit-bearing winged Harpokrates is depicted in a terracotta figurine from Myrina, a winged nude Eros-Harpokrates holding a cornucopia was found in Pompeii, and an Eros Karpophoros appears on a 2nd century A.D. marble sarcophagus in Istanbul (Figs. 46-49). Several fruit-bearing unwinged youths were found in Pergamon, and Töpperwein identified two of the youths as Harpokrates figurines, further confirming the overlapping iconography of Eros and Harpokrates (Fig. 50).

The third type of miniature figurine, for which there are two examples that were cast in the same mold (155 and 156), is Asklepios. The two surviving examples are preserved in almost an identical fashion: the figurines are broken around the sides and missing both arms and heads, although one of the figurines (155) has a smoothly modeled back. The fragments depict a male figure wearing a himation arranged on the body so that the right shoulder and chest are bare. The figure is standing with his weight on his left leg, and the bend of the right leg is visible through the himation.

A comparison with large-scale statuary allows for the identification of the figures as Asklepios on the model of the “Giustini” type (Fig. 51). Most of the surviving statues of Asklepios are Roman standing types based on 4th century B.C. prototypes, and the standing

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Asklepios types endured through the 3rd century A.D. The “Giustini” type may have derived from a non-extant original that was set up in the sanctuary of Asklepios on the slopes of the Acropolis in Athens in the 4th century B.C. The hallmarks of the “Giustini” type are a standing Asklepios with a flexed right leg, holding in his right hand on a staff entwined with snakes while he rests his left hand on his hip. His himation covers his body except his chest and right shoulder, and the top edge of the himation forms a small roll that crosses the chest and the left shoulder in an arc. A part of the himation covers the left shoulder with vertical folds. With minor variations, the “Giustini” type is well represented in large-scale marble statuary, small-scale marble reliefs, bronze statuettes, terracottas, and gemstones from all over the Greco-Roman world.

Two fragments of a miniature figurine of similar scale but different fabric were also found in the debris. One piece (157) preserves the draped legs of a figurine with a weight-bearing right leg and bent left leg. There is not enough of this figurine to identify its particular type. The other fragment (158) is the lower half of a male figure in relief on the front of a solid slab of clay. The figure wears a knee-length tunic and may be a soldier, as he may have a shield leaning against his body. This piece is different in execution than the other miniature figurines, but it has the same hole in the bottom surface that may have been used to set up the figurine on a base.

The practice of replicating a known full-size sculptural type at a smaller scale in terracotta has been documented above for this figurine workshop. The Athenian origin of Asklepios of the “Giustini” type, along with the proliferation of examples of the type in various

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media, indicates that the type was an easily recognizable depiction of the god, particularly during a time when the type enjoyed widespread popularity. Consumer appreciation of the miniature figurine of Asklepios may have depended on a general familiarity with the type and a knowledge of the Classical original, which may still have been standing in the nearby Asklepieion.

**Animals**

Throughout antiquity, figurines of animals were commonly fashioned out of terracotta, bronze, stone, and other materials. The figurines served as small-scale models of domesticated animals, sacrificial offerings to the gods, and exotic curiosities. The Agora workshop debris includes fragments of several different types of animals, and the figurines may have been fashioned to serve several functions in daily life.

Cows were domesticated animals in antiquity, but they were also valued sacrifices for the gods. Small-scale models of sacrificial animals may have served as affordable votives for the masses, but animal figurines in general may simply have been used as decoration in the home or as children’s toys. Boars, or wild pigs, were the prized targets of hunters in antiquity, and domesticated pigs were also sacrificed in sanctuaries.

Two fragments attest to the manufacture of bovine figurines in various sizes. One fragment (159) preserves the front part of the animal’s face, including the sloped forehead, the eyes, nose, and mouth, while the other (160) preserves only the crescent-shaped nostrils and the

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338 Although Merker (*Corinth* XVIII.4, p. 322) thought that the idea of terracotta figurines of animals or terracotta replicas of full-size statues as substitutes for expensive offerings was “probably an oversimplification,” terracotta animals would certainly have been easily portable and affordable offerings for a visit to a sanctuary. These animal figurines, however, probably served multiple functions from the moment they left the workshop store until the moment of their final deposition. Fjeldhagen (1995, p. 23), for instance, argued for the use of animal figurines as decorative household objects and children’s toys.
mouth. The uneven placement of the nostrils on this fragment suggests hasty retouching after removal from the mold. One additional fragment may belong to a cow/bull figurine, but the identification is uncertain. A fragment of a figurine base with the two rear legs of an animal with cloven hooves (161) may be identified as a bovine, pig/boar, or goat.

Boar figurines are also attested by a mold, a body fragment, and a base with hooves. The mold (162) is a complete mold for the right side of a boar figurine. The boar stands on a low rectangular base and has a ridge of bristles along its back, and its tail rests on its right rump. The head is tilted up slightly, and although the details in the mold are not sharp, there may be teeth and tusks in the mouth. A fragment of a boar figurine that was most likely produced in this mold was also found in the debris. The fragment (163) preserves the rump of the animal with the tail and the rear of the ridge along the spine. Additionally, a rectangular figurine base with traces of two rear cloven hooves (164) may have been cast in the same mold.

Two fragments of horse figurines were found in the debris. The front legs of a very small-scale horse (165) stand on a high rectangular base with a half-round molding at the top. The only fragment remaining from a much larger horse figurine is a hoof (166). The flat underside of the hoof is finished, as if the figurine was not attached to a base, and a triangle, or letter delta was incised on the underside of the hoof. The significance of the marking is unclear. Although the letter may be an indication of the fabricant, it may also have assisted the process of production. Signatures of artisans or fabricants were frequently placed on the rear sides of figurines, in a location where consumers could easily see them. It is possible that each of the legs of the horse figurine were shaped differently and molded separately from the body, so that the letter delta helped the fabricant identify where to attach the leg. Indeed, as the letter delta stood for the number four, each leg may have been unique.
Two fragments from the same archaeological context belong to lion figurines. A fragment of a lion’s head (167) includes the left eye, ear, and mane. Numerous tiny pearls of clay on the surface indicate that the piece was modeled in a poorly fashioned plaster mold. A second fragment (168) has an uneven surface as if to depict the shaggy fur of the back of an animal, possibly a lion.

Three fragments of bird figurines attest to the ingenuity of workshop products. The head of a long-necked bird (169) tentatively identified as a goose or a swan is roughly modeled and details were added during retouching to the eye and beak only on the bird’s left side. A bird’s head and long, curved neck (170) belong to a figurine of an ostrich. The ostrich came to the Graeco-Roman world from North Africa, Syria, and Mesopotamia. Known as struthocameloi (or “sparrow-camels”) from the 1st century B.C. onward, ostriches were captured in North Africa and used for their eggs, feathers, skin, and flesh; exploited in the circus; and kept as curiosities. The earliest depiction of an ostrich in Greek art is a 6th century B.C. skyphos with six young men riding ostriches, possibly a depiction of a chorus from an early Athenian comedy. There are no comparanda for terracotta ostrich figurines. The ostrich was an exotic animal, not a common domestic animal or sacrificial offering. This particular figurine may have functioned simply as playful decoration. A third bird figurine fragment (171) preserves the right breast, wing, and leg of a bird with the feathers rendered in a stippled texture. The long leg and the shape of the body and wing suggest that the bird may also belong to an ostrich figurine.

The variety of animals in the coroplastic workshop repertoire indicates an eagerness on the part of the coroplast to produce miniature models of domestic animals, ritual sacrifices, and

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exotic curiosities. The ostrich figurine in particular is an unusual and playful creation that is evidence of the craftsman’s spirit of experimentation.

**Bases**

The workshop debris included 17 fragments of figurine bases that could not be matched with any surviving figurines. Most of these bases, however, retain traces of the figurines that were once attached, providing a glimpse of even more figurine types to add to the workshop’s varied production. Many of the bases are probably small-scale models of large-scale statue bases, especially as several of the figurine types from the debris were modeled after large-scale archetypes. It is safe to suggest, therefore, that the coroplast creating archetypes for terracotta figurines may have drawn inspiration for base shapes and profiles from well-known large-scale statuary. At the same time, the small size of the figurines and the nature of moldmade production may have prompted the coroplast to simplify the shapes and profiles of the bases.

With two notable exceptions, figurine bases were incorporated into the figurine mold instead of being moldmade or hand-molded separately and attached before firing. The interior surfaces of many of the surviving base fragments attest to the use of a single mold, as they show no evidence of patching or smoothing where the figurine and base meet. Additional evidence for the practice of molding a figurine together with its base is provided by the mold for a boar figurine (162), which includes a low rectangular base.

The two exceptions are a figurine of Pan with its base (120) and a base fragment (172). The Pan figurine’s hooves were attached with slip to a solid, rectangular, hand-modeled base. The right hoof broke above the point of attachment, but the left hoof separated from the base at the point where the two were attached, and the flat original underside surface of the hoof is
visible. A second exception, a solid, hand-modeled base, is unique in the workshop debris and may illustrate an experimental moment for the coroplast. The base fragment (172) was moldmade separately from the figurine. The front surface of the base has two half-round moldings around the edge, and a trace of a central motif in relief is preserved. Since the attached figurine is broken away, it is possible to see how the figurine was attached to the base. The base was finished with a top surface, and a round vent hole was cut through this surface to allow air to circulate through the interior of the hollow figurine during drying and firing. The figurine was attached to this top surface by means of a slip, and the external seams between the figurine and base were smoothed while the interior was left rough.

The figurine bases can be divided into two main groups: rectangular and round. The largest group of rectangular bases has no decorative moldings. Six examples are rectangular in plan (164, 173-177), while two have flat front sides but are rounded in the back (178 and 179). One rectangular base (178) was embellished with two stripes of white ground and pigment near the top and bottom edges of the front of the base, perhaps in an attempt to mimic the three-dimensionality of base moldings. One last base (180) only has one preserved corner, but it appears to have been rectangular in plan.

Four rectangular figurine bases are decorated in various ways. Two bases (181 and 182) have recessed areas in the center. One figurine base (172), discussed above for the unusual way in which the base was molded separately from the figurine, has a rectangular base with decorative moldings and a central motif in relief on the front. A second figurine base (183) preserves traces of relief decoration on the front surface of the base, although it is too fragmentary to identify the motif.
One last figurine base differs slightly from the rest of the rectangular bases. The base (184) has trapezoidal sides that lean in toward the top of the base, and the bottom edges of the base are not straight.

The six figurine bases in the second group are round in plan. Two bases (185 and 186) are plain in profile. The remaining four figurine bases in this group have a half-round molding at the top of the base. The full profiles of 187 and 188 are preserved, showing that there were only moldings at the top of the bases. The bottom of 189 is missing, but its similarity to 188 suggests that the two fragments may come from the same figurine. A fourth round base (190) has two half-round moldings where the base meets the figurine, and the profile of the base is slightly splayed out.

Two other fragments (191 and 192) that are round in plan but have slightly concave walls have been included in this group of bases, but may in fact belong to a miniature terracotta altar. The pieces are taller than the other round bases, and have double half-round moldings at their bottom edges. Additional ornamentation is added to the bottom of the pieces in the form of small hand-modeled globules of clay, possibly representing crude floral decoration.

In addition to a figurine base with two cloven hooves (164) and a figurine base with two front feet of a crouching animal (185), there are nine examples of figurine bases with one or two human feet preserved, providing a glimpse of figurine types that are now otherwise lost. There are several examples of bases with one or two feet with the toes portrayed. Two bases (178 and 179) have feet at a slight distance apart with the right foot in front of the left and the toes pointed outward, and both of these bases have a flat rectangular front and a rounded back. The placement of the feet suggests that the body of the figurine is turned slightly to the left, a nuanced pose that may indicate that the figurine was modeled after a full-scale sculpture. One small-scale round
base (187) preserves the lower legs and feet of a figure in a contrapposto stance with the weight on the left leg and drapery to the figure’s right side. Two bases (186 and 189), one round and one rectangular, preserve a single foot, so it is impossible to speculate on the pose of the figure.

Several examples of figurine bases preserve feet without indications of toes, suggesting that the feet were either plainly modeled and not retouched or are shown with shoes. Two rectangular base fragments that probably came from the same mold (174 and 176) preserve a figure’s right foot with drapery, and the foot is smooth without indications of toes. A similar right foot is shown peeking out from heavy vertical drapery on the corner of a rectangular base (175), and a corner of a rectangular base (177) preserves a figure’s smooth left foot pointed outward next to a pillar base.

**Plaques**

The workshop debris included fragments of 12 flat moldmade plaques. Plaques are flat slabs of clay, decorated on one or both sides in vase painting technique or moldmade relief. In his study of painted votive plaques, Boardman observed that most examples date to the Archaic period, with a few examples from the 4th century B.C. representing the “end of the series.”342 The earliest polychrome Protoattic examples may have been influenced by polychrome wooden predecessors, while the Archaic painted plaques developed alongside vase painting in the pottery workshops of Athens and Corinth.

Based on images from vase painting and find-spots of painted plaques, Boardman argued that painted plaques served as votive offerings in sanctuaries. Most plaques have holes pierced in their edges to allow for suspension on a wall, or, as in the case of plaques with decoration on

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both sides, free suspension so that both sides are visible. Some plaques do not have holes and may have been set on a shelf or table. Votive plaques were probably displayed in sanctuaries along with other small-scale votives, such as pottery, terracottas, and bronze figurines.

Dorothy Thompson’s accounts of the Hellenistic terracottas from the Agora included nine relief plaque fragments dating from the late 4th century B.C. to the early 1st century B.C., and she observed that plaques became “more prevalent” at the end of the Hellenistic period. Clairève Grandjouan’s study of more than 100 fragments of ceramic molds for moldmade relief plaques dating from the late 4th century B.C. to the mid-2nd century B.C. contributed further to our understanding of the manufacture of relief plaques in the Hellenistic period. Since not a single fragment of a plaque made in one of the mold fragments was recovered in the Agora excavations, Grandjouan suggested that Hellenistic relief plaques may have been fashioned out of a perishable material such as plaster or unbaked clay. These materials do not require the use of a kiln, so relief plaques could have been cast from molds in informal workshop settings such as households. Despite the lack of a finished product, the molds provide evidence for the local manufacture of plaques in a wide range of subjects and sizes. Grandjouan suggested several possible uses for the finished products that resulted from these molds, including votive plaques and decorative panels for walls, tomb structures, or sarcophagi.

The best-preserved terracotta relief plaque from the Agora workshop debris is a rectangular plaque with a goddess facing left (193). The raised edge of the plaque is only

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345 Grandjouan (1989, p. 3) lists the themes: “animal combat, Dionysiac or sea thiasos, banqueting hero, and chariot group.”
preserved on the top and right sides, leaving the original height and width of the plaque in doubt. Several pearls of clay on the surface, particularly where the flat background meets the figure in relief, attest to the plaque’s origin in a plaster mold. A draped female figure appears standing facing left, wearing a crested helmet and a quiver and carrying a bow and cornucopia in her left hand. A hint of an aegis may be preserved on the figure’s right shoulder. The figure is winged; the top of one wing appears just above her head, and the other wing is visible to the right of the figure. Her body is in profile, and she extends her right arm toward the broken left edge of the plaque. She may have held a phiale in her extended right hand, possibly over an altar, as depicted in a late Hellenistic plaque from the Agora.\textsuperscript{347}

The identification of the figure is not immediately clear, as she bears the attributes of the goddesses Athena (helmet and aegis), Artemis (bow and quiver), and Nike (wings), along with the cornucopia, often an attribute of Tyche and members of the Dionysiac thiasos. The figure appears to be a syncretized deity with no parallels in ancient art, a goddess in the attire of Athena incorporating the attributes of other goddesses. Since the left side of the plaque is missing, it is impossible to know whether the goddess was depicted alone or with another figure.

The dedication of ceramic plaques depicting the goddess Athena appears to have been a popular practice on the Athenian Acropolis during the Archaic period, as over one-third of the 100 plaque fragments recovered from the Acropolis carry depictions of Athena.\textsuperscript{348} Wagner noted that the most common depiction of Athena on painted plaques from the Acropolis was the armed Athena Promachos type and observed that the Promachos type was dominant during the mid- to

\textsuperscript{347} Thompson 1966a, p. 18, no. 24 (T 914a).
\textsuperscript{348} Wagner 2001, pp. 103-104.
late-6th century B.C. Several painted and relief plaques found on the Athenian Acropolis and dating to ca. 500 B.C. show Athena mounting a chariot (Figs. 52 and 53). A group of late Archaic relief plaques from the Acropolis depict a female figure seated and spinning wool, and the woman has alternately been identified as Athena Ergane herself or a votary. It is surprising that the closest comparanda for the plaque of the goddess date to the Archaic period, but one other aspect of the depiction also has roots in the 6th century B.C. Although the bow and quiver and cornucopia are unusual attributes for Athena, there are several examples of Archaic depictions of winged Athena.

The stylistic rendering of the goddess on the plaque is similar to a figure of Athena on a 1st century A.D. “Campana Relief” found near the Porta Latina in Rome (Fig. 54). This relatively large moldmade terracotta relief plaque, measuring more than .53 by .61 m, shows the goddess Athena assisting in the construction of the ship Argo. The egg-and-dart and palmette moldings above and below the main scene indicate that the relief may have been part of a series embedded in a wall as an architectural frieze. The seated Athena on the Roman relief shares the staid, calm appearance of the goddess plaque from the Agora. Unlike the Roman relief, however, where Athena is one of three figures in a scene that may have been a part of a larger composition, the figure on the goddess plaque stands in isolation (or perhaps with another figure) without scenery. For this reason, the goddess plaque probably served a function similar to a

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351 Hurwit 1999, p. 18; LIMC II, 1984, p. 962, no. 43, pl. 708, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne).
353 Walters 1903, pp. 400-401, no. D 603, pl. XLIII.
three-dimensional stand-alone figurine: an isolated image of a deity for display in a home or deposition in a sanctuary or tomb.

Two additional plaque fragments may depict two other deities. A single fragment with a winged foot or boot (194) probably belongs to the messenger god Hermes, and a fragment with a lyre (195) may belong to a depiction of the god Apollo Citharoedos. It is tempting to associate the winged foot with the goddess plaque, especially as Athena frequently appears with Hermes. The direction of the foot on the plaque fragment indicates that Hermes is facing right, so that the goddess and Hermes would face each other if they were on the same plaque. Hermes and Athena appear together throughout Greek and Roman art, and a Hermes with winged feet appears with Athena/Minerva on one side of a sculpted marble altar from the Augustan period.354

Aside from late Archaic comparanda, this type of plaque with relief decoration on one side, and, as in the case of the goddess plaque, a raised border around the edge, is also similar to a 1st century B.C. plaque from the Agora of Herakles riding a mule (Fig. 55).356 A small plaque fragment with an animal head (196) from the workshop debris may also be a mule, if not a sheep. Rectangular plaques were also popular in the Hellenistic period at Troy, although the examples found at Troy all belong to the same type group: a male rider on horseback.357

Three additional plaque fragments are too small to permit a certain identification of the type. One fragment (197) preserves a tail of drapery and approximately one-half of an ovoid object. A second fragment (198) preserves a small cylindrical object with horizontal bands at

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354 Two examples: Athena mounts a chariot in the presence of Hermes on an Archaic relief plaque (*LIMC* II, 1984, p. 974, no. 175, pl. 724, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne)), and Hermes holds Athena’s wings on the frieze from the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi (*LIMC* II, 1984, p. 974, no. 174, pl. 724, s.v. Athena (P. Demargne)).


both ends and the possible remnants of fingers on one side. A third fragment (199) is a corner of a plaque where the two raised edges with a central groove meet and overlap, creating a cross at the intersection. An additional edge fragment (200) shows a raised edge with a central groove and a hole pierced in the body of the plaque, most likely for suspension.

Three fragments confirm the manufacture of round plaques. One fragment (201) has a grooved raised edge and a hole pierced through the body of the plaque. A second fragment (202) has a raised edge and a second raised ridge 0.03 m from the edge. A third round plaque fragment (203) has a grooved raised edge as 201, and a small portion of the plaque body is preserved with just a hint of the relief decoration. Round plaques, which Grandjouan called “medallion types,” are attested in the 3rd to 4th centuries A.D., with one example in particular—a 3rd century A.D. plaque of Hekate—sharing a similar grooved raised edge.358

Masks

There are 29 cataloged fragments of life-size masks and a mold fragment for an approximately half life-size mask from the coroplast's debris. Very few examples of terracotta masks from the Hellenistic period in the Agora are preserved, and most of the surviving Hellenistic masks are smaller than life-size. The masks from the Roman coroplast's debris illustrate a sharp increase in the production of this type. In the broader context of the Mediterranean, the life-size terracotta mask seems to be a phenomenon of the period A.D. 50-150, although there are some earlier and later examples.359 Examples of Roman terracotta masks

358 Agora VI, pp. 31, 70-71, nos. 881-886, pl. 23; Agora VI, p. 83, no. 1113, pl. 32.
359 Webster, Green, and Seeberg 1995, p. 99. Csapo and Slater (1995, p. 55) traced the rise of terracotta mask production to the late 4th century B.C., with the introduction of New Comedy, although there are few examples in the archaeological record to support this assertion.
are preserved from all over the Mediterranean, from Gaul to Mesopotamia, and analyses of their find contexts, along with mask imagery in other media, confirm that terracotta masks served multiple functions.

These terracotta masks were not worn. Scholars of ancient theater agree that masks used by actors in theatrical productions were probably made of lightweight materials, including linen, leather, wood or cork, and plaster. Unfortunately, not a single example of an ancient mask fashioned out of these perishable materials has survived. While Van Boekel asserted in her study of Roman terracotta masks from the Netherlands that terracotta masks may have been worn in the theater, most scholars dismiss life-size terracotta masks as unwearable. Van Boekel pointed to the functional characteristics of the masks, including the curved, hollow interiors, the pierced eyes and nostrils, and the holes in the top and sides of masks. She did admit, however, that a terracotta mask, which probably weighed over 1 kg, would have been heavy and possibly uncomfortable to wear and proposed that the masks may have been lined in leather or fabric. Rose, on the other hand, dismissed the functional characteristics of terracotta masks as evidence for their use in the theater, pointing out that even miniature masks have pierced eyes and nostrils and holes on the edge for suspension. Webster, Green, and Seeberg and Rose agree that terracotta masks were probably not worn in the theater.

If terracotta masks were not worn in the theater, what functions did they serve? Although the Agora mask fragments were found in production debris, the find contexts of Roman

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364 Rose 2006, p. 69.
365 Webster, Green, and Seeberg 1995, p. 99; Rose 2006, p. 69.
terracotta masks from other sites, combined with the use of the mask motif in other media, suggest that they probably served decorative, apotropaic, and sepulchral functions.

The image of the mask was a popular motif in public and private Hellenistic and Roman art, and the motif may have originated with masks hanging in shrines to Dionysos. Because of the god's association with the theater, actors in Athens commonly dedicated their masks in the shrine of Dionysos after a performance. The relationship between theatrical masks and Dionysos, however, extended beyond his shrines. In the procession of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, masks of tragedy, comedy, and satyr plays hung from a canopy covering a colossal statue of Dionysos (Ath. 5.28). Masks were also used as a decorative motif in architectural sculptures adorning public buildings such as theaters and the propylon of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias. Masks even appear on bone and ivory Roman theater tickets from Rome, Pompeii, and the provinces.

In the private sphere, masks appeared on tomb monuments, on sculpted sarcophagi, in mosaics, and on wall paintings. Masks are also featured on 150 oscilla from Pompeian houses and were a popular decorative device on moldmade Roman lamps. Furthermore, Green and Handley argue that party hosts frequently hung masks along with vines and garlands in their homes in order to simulate the appearance of a sanctuary of Dionysos.

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367 Green and Handley 1995, p. 76.
371 Wootton 1999, p. 318; Green and Handley 1995, pp. 98-99. Oscilla were “little faces,” often hung on trees and in sanctuaries as votive offerings.
Although masks are found as a popular motif throughout architecture, sculpture, mosaics, and wall painting, terracotta masks are the only surviving stand-alone models of theatrical masks, and their portability may speak to the multiplicity of functions they may have served.

Scholars studying Hellenistic and Roman terracotta masks have often assumed that the masks are accurate copies of masks used in the theater and have therefore attempted to identify the mask types. Greek and Roman tragedies and comedies were structured around a common group of stock characters, and actors used masks with exaggerated features to help the audience identify the *dramatis personae*.\textsuperscript{373} For descriptions of the masks associated with stock characters, many scholars turn to the *Onomasticon*, a thesaurus written by Pollux, a 2\textsuperscript{nd} century A.D. professor in Athens. In the fourth book of the *Onomasticon*, Pollux lists terminology related to the theater, and he describes the 44 types of masks used in New Comedy.\textsuperscript{374} There are problems, however, with using Pollux as a source for the identification of theater masks of his time. Although Pollux wrote the *Onomasticon* in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} century A.D., he probably drew from Hellenistic sources, so his typology of masks may not be relevant to early Roman masks.\textsuperscript{375} His interest, as Csapo and Slater and Webster pointed out, was in compiling terminology, not necessarily in describing contemporary theater practices.\textsuperscript{376}

Furthermore, the *Onomasticon* cannot be used to successfully identify the types of the life-size terracotta masks because many of these objects are not faithful reproductions of contemporary or earlier theatrical types. Webster, Green, and Seeberg pointed out that the "flat

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\item \textsuperscript{373} Webster, Green, and Seeberg 1995, p. 2; Green and Handley 1995, p. 94.
\item \textsuperscript{374} Csapo and Slater 1995, p. 393.
\item \textsuperscript{375} Csapo and Slater (1995, p. 393) pointed to three possible sources dating from the late 1\textsuperscript{st} century B.C. to the early 1\textsuperscript{st} century A.D., and suggested that the original source for the terminology may be the early 2\textsuperscript{nd} century B.C. work *On Masks* by Aristophanes of Byzantium.
\item \textsuperscript{376} Csapo and Slater 1995, p. 393; Webster 1995, p. 6.
\end{itemize}

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Roman lifesize masks" found throughout the Roman Empire and dating to the period A.D. 50-150 display no "significant difference in style or types" and argued that they should not be used as evidence for the history of the theater.\textsuperscript{377} Although a few of the masks in the Agora debris have the characteristic features of masks of tragedy or comedy, most of the masks lack the specificity of masks depicted in other artistic media and described by Pollux. The exaggerated features of tragic and comic masks were precisely what helped the audience identify the characters played by actors, and the lack of these features on the terracotta masks indicates that they were not designed to depict specific theatrical types.

If terracotta masks were not worn and were not realistic replicas of contemporary theatrical masks, then how were they used in antiquity? The masks should be viewed as interpretations of theatrical masks, not faithful replicas of known types. In this way, masks were symbols of theatricality for use in non-theater contexts. Jory argued that although representations of real masks do appear in artistic media, there existed a parallel tradition where "masks, particularly from the Hellenistic period, were copied and reproduced with no reference to contemporary stage usage."\textsuperscript{378}

Terracotta masks were displayed in houses to serve decorative and possibly apotropaic functions.\textsuperscript{379} The presence of holes pierced into the top and sides of masks indicates that they were suspended by string or wire on walls or between columns, similar to marble oscilla, small marble plaques found in abundance in Pompeian homes. Oscilla carved with masks depicted in

\textsuperscript{377} Webster, Green, and Seeberg 1995, p. 99.
\textsuperscript{378} Jory 1996, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{379} Zacharidou and Stampolidis argued that a bronze statue head found in the excavations for the Attiko Metro, severed from a statue and set into a limestone block with only its face visible, may have been used for talismanic or apotropaic purposes (Parlama and Stampolidis 2001, pp. 198-203, no. 181).
profile and resing on rocks may be the best comparanda for the display of full size terracotta masks in the home.\textsuperscript{380} Unlike the terracotta mask models, however, the \textit{oscilla} are depictions of masks and may relate more closely to theatrical masks, as the depictions often show the functional backsides of the masks.

Roman wall painting also provides evidence for the use of masks in the decoration of Roman houses. Suspended masks appear as early as Pompeian Second Style, but in the Fourth Style in the 1\textsuperscript{st} century A.D., masks are more prominent decorative elements.\textsuperscript{381} Masks in homes would have served as symbols of the theater and its associated festivity.\textsuperscript{382} Terracotta masks may have served an apotropaic function as well, as the use of the frontal face as an apotropaic device dates back to the Archaic period in Greece.\textsuperscript{383}

Finally, the terracotta masks may have served a sepulchral function. Although there is as yet little evidence to confirm that masks were used as grave goods in Roman Athens, the use of masks as decorative elements on Roman sarcophagi confirms the use of the mask as a common funerary symbol.\textsuperscript{384}

The fragments of full size terracotta masks from the Agora belong to convex masks with pierced pupils and slightly open mouths, and some masks have pierced nostrils. Where the mask edges are preserved, it is clear that the edges were trimmed with a sharp tool. While the majority

\textsuperscript{380} Wootton 1999, p. 318.
\textsuperscript{381} Dwyer 1981, p. 250. A late Republican example of masks hanging from a garland is found on the walls of Room L of the Villa of P. Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale, while the Fourth Style wall paintings in cubiculum 114 of the Domus Aurea in Rome depict masks prominently in the top register.
\textsuperscript{382} Green and Handley 1995, p. 76.
\textsuperscript{383} \textit{Agora} VI, p. 22; Van Ingen 1939, p. 28.
\textsuperscript{384} Publication of the Roman terracotta masks from the Athenian Kerameikos, which will undoubtedly shed light on the link between Roman masks and burials in Athens, is in preparation.
of the mask fragments from the coroplast's debris do not appear to depict a specific type of
tragic, comic, or satyr play mask, a few fragments share similarities with specific types. The tight
roll of hair preserved on a fragment of a mask edge (204) may be the characteristic hairstyle of
the "Old Man," "Young Man," or "Leading Slave" types from New Comedy. The vertical plaits
of hair preserved on the bottom edge of a mask (205) and the mold for a small scale mask (206)
resemble the hairstyle of a tragic mask. A large, crooked, and bulbous nose and upper lip (207)
are similar to a mask fragment that Grandjouan identified as a farce mask and may depict a
grotesque. Three fragments of miniature masks (135-137) have the wide-open mouth of comic
masks.

The best-preserved mask (208) and nine fragments of noses, mouths, and chins (209-217)
have slightly open neutral mouths, different from the wide gaping mouths of comic and tragic
masks. In fact, there are no fragments of life-size masks with wide mouths from the coroplast's
debris. The mouth with slightly parted lips is unusual in the corpus of terracotta masks. Of the 40
preserved masks carved in marble on the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, six masks have slightly
parted lips which contrast with the open mouths of Tragic and Comic masks, but Jory is hesitant
to associate these masks with the closed mouths of pantomime masks. Jory admitted that these
masks have no parallels in tragic, comic, or pantomime masks.

Two of the mask mouth fragments (212 and 210) have an upper row of teeth between the
slightly parted lips of the mouth. The first example (212) has a row of carefully outlined teeth
just below the upper lip. The second example (210) has a smooth flat ledge extending from the
upper lip, and the individual teeth may originally have been outlined with pigment. Grandjouan

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385 Agora VI, p. 62, no. 604, pl. 15.
identified two similar mouths as a "Smiling Mask" of a Faun, Youth, or Female Comic.\textsuperscript{387} The open mouth with teeth is not a common feature of terracotta masks. Two of the masks with slightly parted lips from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias have a similar upper row of teeth.\textsuperscript{388} The toothy grin appears most commonly in terracotta masks from the northwest provinces of the Roman Empire. The terracotta mask of a bald man with teeth is Van Boekel's type II in her typology of masks from the Netherlands, but these masks have upper and lower rows of teeth, and on most of the masks the teeth are pointed.\textsuperscript{389} Numerous mask fragments with toothy grins from the northwest provinces were published by Rose, but unlike the Agora masks with teeth, these masks have exaggerated facial features and rather sinister expressions, and some of the masks have pointed teeth.\textsuperscript{390} The Agora masks with teeth are an unusual type with no close comparanda in terracotta from either the eastern or western provinces.

The remaining mask fragments represent masks with unremarkable features and neutral expressions. The mask ears (218-221) are modeled in varying levels of relief, as 219 and 221 are in higher relief than 218 and 220. With the exception of the grotesque nose mentioned above (207), the noses (209-211, 214-217) are smooth and angled with a straight profile. Five eyes (217, 222-225) all have a circular opening cut through the pupil, and the upper and lower edges of the eyes are lined in relief, while one additional eye (226) has a curled eyebrow over the eye.

Seven fragments of mask edges contribute to the variety of mask types in the workshop debris. Two mask edge fragments (227 and 228) show a basic hairstyle with vertical rolls rendered in relief and the top of the eye. One fragment (229) preserves only the smooth rounded

\textsuperscript{387} Agora VI, p. 61, nos. 593, 595, pl. 13.  
\textsuperscript{388} Jory 2002, pp. 250-251.  
\textsuperscript{389} Van Boekel 1987, p. 809.  
\textsuperscript{390} Rose 2006, pp. 36-43.
edge of the mask, suggesting a hairstyle similar to the nearly complete mask (208). A fragment of the right edge of a mask (230) depicts the hair on the side of the face partially covering the ear. Additional edge fragments preserve suspension holes (231) and hair in relief (232). One final fragment (233) is part of the top or side edge of a mask with wavy hair in high relief.

**Protomes**

Two non-joining fragments of the chest, neck, and hair of a female figure probably belong to a bust or protome (234). One of the fragments consists of the chest and neck with a double necklace draped across the upper chest, along with a plait of hair descending from the head on its left side and resting on the chest, while the other fragment is an identical plait of hair, probably originating from the right side of the head. The fragments were made in a mold, and the plaits of hair were retouched with deep diagonal cuts. Traces of white ground on the surface confirm that the piece was originally painted.

Merker pointed out that scholars often use the terms “bust” and “protome” loosely and proposed that “bust” be used to refer to representations of the head, neck, and shoulders of a figure in the round, while “protome” should refer to similar but backless depictions. The Agora fragments only preserve the front side of the figure, and the side edges are broken away, so it is impossible to know for certain if the piece was one-sided or modeled in the round. Small-scale Roman terracotta busts, however, are almost always fashioned as copies of full-scale marble busts and are designed with an attached base, which is often decorated with moldings. These fragments preserve enough of the bottom edge to see that the piece was not set atop a base, suggesting that they are fragments of protomes. Instead, the edge of the figure comes to a

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391 *Corinth* XVIII.4, p. 73.
point in the front. This uneven lower edge suggests that the piece was not designed to sit on a flat surface, but was probably suspended from string or wire.

Like the goddess plaque above, this protome seems to be a revival of an earlier type. Sturgeon argued that the idea of a truncated statue, such as a bust, was “contradictory to Hellenic aesthetic philosophy” and that stone and terracotta Greek funerary busts from the Classical and Hellenistic periods appear primarily on the periphery of the Greek world, such as North Africa, the Cyclades, and Magna Graecia. Terracotta protomes, on the other hand, were common cultic objects in the Greek world beginning in the Archaic period and continuing through the Classical period. Uhlenbrock found their origin in the Near East, where masks or models of human faces have been found dating back to the Bronze Age, and traced the path of the type from the Near East to east Greek cities and along trade routes to Magna Graecia. Several Hellenistic protomes were found in the Agora Excavations, and the hairstyle and modeling of the Roman example recall several Hellenistic predecessors as well as Archaic and Classical sculptures (Fig. 56). Terracotta protomes never again attained the height of popularity they enjoyed during the Archaic and Classical periods.

Scholars once agreed that the protomes were closely related to chthonic cults. Uhlenbrock argued convincingly, however, that there is not enough evidence to prove that the protome type was linked to one particular cult; she argued instead that female protomes could have been used in the worship of a variety of female divinities. Since the Roman protome

393 Uhlenbrock 1988, pp. 144, 149, 156.
394 Thompson 1952, p. 162, no. 51, pl. 39; also T 1764 and T 1765. The hair, in particular, is reminiscent of korai.
395 Uhlenbrock 1988, pp. 141, 146, 149. For an example of arguments for tying protomes to chthonic cults, see d’Ambrosio and Borriello (1990, pp. 194-207) on the protomes from Pompeii.
from the Agora was found in a context of production, one can only speculate on the intended function of the object. Uhlenbrock’s idea about the flexibility surrounding the use of female protomes in both sanctuary and funerary contexts is attractive, however, and the female protome may have been deliberately designed as a generic type to increase its functionality so that it could be hung, dedicated, or displayed in a number of different contexts.

Three remaining fragments may also belong to protomes. Two fragments (235 and 236) depict knotted drapery and may have been part of the shoulder or chest of a terracotta protome. A third fragment (237) also depicts a knot, although the surface behind the knot is most likely hair, indicating that the fragment may belong to a protome or a mask.

**Miscellaneous and Unidentified**

The remainder of the terracotta fragments found in the workshop debris cannot easily be arranged into type groups, as most of the pieces constitute the only surviving evidence for a figurine type. This does not, however, lessen the importance of the leftover fragments. The wide variety of types represented by the remaining single fragments attests to the diversity of moldmade products manufactured by the workshop and therefore the relatively large number of molds used by the craftsmen working there.

A small group of fragments are objects that were probably attached to figurines. Three fluted cornucopia fragments (238, 239, and 240) may have belonged to a variety of figurine types. One example with a slight curve (239) bears a striking similarity to a 2nd century B.C. cornucopia from the so-called “Koukla Factory” deposit. In the Graeco-Roman past, as today, cornucopiae symbolized agricultural abundance. Cornucopiae with relief bands around the top

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396 T 2713, Deposit C 20:2.
were popular in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. An early Roman figurine of Tyche from the Athenian Agora (1st century BC to 1st century AD) also carries a cornucopia, and Grandjouan attributed two additional cornucopia fragments to figurines of Tyche. Aside from Tyche and Satyrs, and by extension the whole Dionysiac circle, cornucopiae were also attributes of other deities, such as Eros and Harpokrates.

One other example of an object associated with a figurine is a vessel. Two vessels (241 and 242) cast in the same bivalve mold were recovered from the debris, and both were broken at the bottom end where they were probably attached to the associated figurine. The shape of the vessel does not closely resemble the elegant vessels that often appear alongside figurines of Aphrodite as she is bathing, and it is closer to the shape of water jars carried by hydriaphorai figurines.

The last fragment of an object has a relief rosette (243) and may be a pillar serving as support for a figure or a figure’s drapery, or alternately an altar from a group of one or more figures. Four remaining fragments are difficult to classify by type. One fragment (244) may be the forehead of a mask, while three others (245, 246, and 247) are unidentified.

One more object, preserved in two non-joining fragments (248), is a one-of-a-kind piece that does not belong to a figurine. It is a moldmade ceramic object embellished with yellow pigment and may have been manufactured in the coroplast’s workshop. The pieces have a vertical face and are slightly convex, suggesting that they originally belonged to a round stand or

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399 Tyche figurine: Agora VI, p. 44, no. 29, pl. 2; Cornucopiae: Agora VI, p. 70, nos. 868, 870, pl. 22.
base with an estimated diameter of 0.17 m. The function of the object is not clear, but the decoration is worthy of mention. Between a band of relief on the top and bottom, a meander pattern of two lines in relief divides the piece into rectangular sections. Three of these sections are preserved. In one section a bearded and horned head of Pan faces left and in the field surrounding the head are a lagobolon—a shepherd’s staff or a tool for hunting hares—and several other unidentified objects. In the second preserved section, a bald head resembling a skull is shown in three-quarters view to the right, with a lagobolon on its left side. The third section is only partially preserved, but a pan-flute and a lagobolon are clearly visible in relief. The identity of the second head is unclear, but the presence of Pan, several lagobola, and a pan-flute suggest connections with shepherding and the mountains. Additionally, the symbols of the pan flute and the lagobolon are also symbols of Attis.

The remaining items in the “miscellaneous” category belong to figurines, but the pieces are either too fragmentary to assign to type groups or represent the only fragment of a figurine type and therefore do not warrant as thorough consideration as the type groups above. A wing with feathers in relief (249) likely belonged to a figurine of Eros, while a miniature figure with a larger figure’s left hand on its head (250) served as a support for the larger figure. This fragment may have belonged to a figurine of Aphrodite leaning on an archaizing statue or Eros. Similar terracottas from Myrina depict Aphrodite with her forearm leaning on the head of a statue, and the same pose is depicted in an unpublished marble statuette (S 443) and an unpublished fragment of an archaizing figure from a larger-scale marble statue group (S 331) from the Agora.

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400 Barringer 2001, p. 95.
401 The lagobolon appears with a pan-flute on the side of a base for a Roman statue of Cybele in Corinth (Corinth IX.1, pp. 47-49, no. 55), and Sturgeon (Isthmia IV, p. 88) associated the symbols with the cult of Attis.
although the main figure in both of these examples is unidentified.\textsuperscript{402} The placement of the larger figure’s hand directly on the head of the smaller figure in the terracotta fragment, however, is similar to another fragment from the workshop debris of the hand of Aphrodite resting on the head of young Eros (115), as well as a Hellenistic figurine of Aphrodite and Eros from the Agora (T 2499). Another fragment of a pedestal with a small figure standing on top (251) probably also served as a support for a larger figure in a figurine group.

A partial mold for the back of a seated figure (252) provides a glimpse of a type not represented by figurine fragments. The mold is preserved from the middle of the figure’s back down to the figure’s feet and seems to depict a nude figure with its knees apart and its right arm by its side. There are no traces of the left arm in the mold, suggesting that it extended out from the body enough to be excluded from the mold for the back of the figure. The gender of the figure is not immediately clear. Figurines of seated men and women, without the accompanying seats, were popular in the Hellenistic period, when they were often made with articulated arms. Two examples from an early Hellenistic cistern in the Agora are representative of the 4\textsuperscript{th} century type.\textsuperscript{403} Unlike the Hellenistic examples, however, the figurines cast in the Roman mold would have had legs set some distance apart, and at least one arm (the right arm) was modeled along with the body and fixed in place. Chairs for these figurines may have been manufactured separately, but it is more likely that the figurines were meant to be set on a shelf or ledge.

The bottom half of a female figurine seated in a chair with her legs crossed and her feet resting on a stool (253) resembles seated figurines of Matrona, but curiously none of the Matrona

\textsuperscript{402} Mollard-Besques 1963, p. 24, nos. MYR 30, MYRINA 931, and MYRINA 967, pl. 26.

\textsuperscript{403} T 3803 and T 3804 from Menon’s Cistern (F 16:8); Miller 1974, pp. 211-212, nos. 78-79, pl. 36.
figurines from the Agora have crossed legs. A torso fragment of a female figurine with her arms folded across her chest (254) is reminiscent of the linear style of 3rd century A.D. and later Matronae figurines, but none of the existing figurines published by Grandjouan are depicted in this pose. The identity of these two fragments, then, remains uncertain.

A fragment of a mantled figure’s right arm (255) is similar to a roughly contemporary piece from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth. A bent left leg of a draped female figure (256) with the drapery gathered between the legs at the hips may be a figurine of Aphrodite.

An arm with a finished edge just below the shoulder (257) was molded separately from the figurine body and attached after firing by means of the hole pierced in the finished edge. The hand holds an oblong object with a vertical ridge and central boss, which may be a small model of a Gallic-style shield. Figurines of soldiers holding similar shields have been found in Seleucia (Fig. 57).

A fragment of a figurine holding a broad, flat object in an outstretched right arm (266) has no parallels in pose or attribute. Two shoulder fragments belong to very different articulated figurines. One larger, whitewashed shoulder (267) has a large hole for the attachment of a separately molded arm, while a smaller shoulder and torso fragment (268) depicts a figure in a short-sleeved garment, possibly a soldier, and the hole in the shoulder was most likely designed to receive a separately molded arm. A small segment of a leg (269) probably belongs to a male figurine of unknown type.

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404 *Agora* VI, pp. 9-11, nos. 33-72, pls. 3-5.
405 *Corinth* XVIII.4, p. 318, no. R26, pl. 74. Merker assigned the piece to the Roman period with some hesitation.
406 Van Ingen 1939, pp. 137-138, nos. 399-402, pl. XXVIII.
Three fragments from the flat or roughly modeled back sides of figurines (270, 271, and 272) provide useful evidence for the sparing use of detail on the backs of figurines and the use of vent holes, but offer few clues for identification. Finally, three fragments of drapery (273, 274, and 275) and a fragment of an animal figurine (276) belong to unidentified figurines, but depict the wide range of styles of surface modeling used in the workshop.

**Workshop Repertoire**

This coroplastc workshop was engaged in the production of a wide variety of figurines of different types, sizes, and functions. The craftsmen drew inspiration from contemporary trends in other artistic media, such as large-scale sculpture, painting, and mosaic. The workshop repertoire also betrays a familiarity with popular forms of formal and informal performance. The finished products were designed to function in various ways. While some figurines could stand unaided, articulated figurines were suspended from a string or wire, and plaques and masks were probably hung on walls. Upon entering the workshop, consumers would have found a wide selection of objects to satisfy household and ritual needs. A detailed analysis of the output of the workshop in the context of Roman Athens is found below in Chapter 5.
CHAPTER 4: MATERIALS AND TECHNIQUES

Workshop debris provides illuminating evidence for craft production processes. The combination of tools and finished products found in the Agora coroplast's debris offers insight into the materials, tools, and techniques used to design, mold, assemble, and decorate the terracotta objects. Unfortunately debris alone has its limitations as evidence for craft production and cannot provide a complete reconstruction of workshop activity. Only a tentative identification of the workshop site can be made without in situ evidence of workshop activities, and no kiln was found in or near the Commercial-Industrial Building. It is possible, however, to reconstruct the sequence of events for coroplastic production. This chapter will examine the archaeological evidence for the chaîne opératoire, or stages of production, from the choice of raw materials and the creation of the archetypes to the application of white ground and pigments.

Raw Materials

The raw material used most in a coroplast's workshop is clay. Although no raw clay was recovered in the excavations, visual observation of the different fabrics provides evidence for the acquisition of raw materials and the makeup of the fabrics. Visual observation can help characterize the appearance of fabrics, including the naturally occurring and intentionally added inclusions in a clay paste.

Scientific testing can provide a chemical profile in order to match fired ceramics with known clay sources, but attempts to identify clay sources for fired ceramics are not always successful. In 1983, Fillières, Harbottle, and Sayre analyzed Subgeometric to Hellenistic kiln wasters and production debris from the Agora using neutron activation and multivariate
statistical analysis. Their results were compared with the analyses of nearly 100 samples of pottery and figurines from the Athenian Agora presumed to be both local and imported. The clay source matching the chemical profile of the Classical to Hellenistic material has still not been found, as ancient clay sources may have been completely depleted or are now inaccessible. Additionally, the process of turning raw clay into a suitable material for pottery and figurine production may have changed the composition of the clay: "matching pots and clays has proved to be very difficult where the manufacturing technique has involved elaborate refining of or additions to the clay."

In this study, the fabrics of the terracottas and molds in the coroplast's debris were characterized using visual observations, and no attempt was made to match the fabric with known clay sources. Furthermore, no petrographic or chemical analyses were carried out on the material, although future research plans include analyzing samples of uncatalogued fragments with Neutron Activation Analysis and petrographic analysis to determine possible relationships with clay sources, terracottas, and pottery from other periods from the Athenian Agora. All reasonable efforts were made to try to eliminate possible outside influences on the color readings of the terracotta fragments. The terracottas and molds were inspected using a Tungsten photographic lamp bounced off a white-painted ceiling to attain a soft, white light. A photographer's color meter was used to measure the light, and all readings were taken using 3,000-3,300 degrees Kelvin as a baseline. Color readings were taken from a Munsell Soil Color Chart.

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408 Rotroff (Agora XXXIII, p. 13) confirmed that the ancient clay sources in Athens have still not been located.
Visual observation alone, however, is not a reliable measure of the composition and quality of clay. Rice observed that there are two main variables, aside from the chemical composition of the clay source, that affect the color of fired clay. The first variable is the presence of mineral and organic impurities in the raw clay, and the second variable is the firing conditions (time, temperature, and presence or absence of oxygen). Just as the color of a raw clay may not accurately predict the color of fired clay, so too should caution be used in attempts to determine clay sources from the color of fired clay. Using color to identify groups of fragments with similar fabric characteristics, however, may help single out fragments manufactured from similar clays that were fired in the same kiln conditions.

One dominant fabric group (Group 1) is present in the debris. More than half of the terracotta fragments and three lamp molds (280, 281, and 284) belong to this fabric group. The fabric is finely washed and smooth with few inclusions and fired hard to the same color on the exterior, interior, and break. The color is red to light red (2.5YR 5/6 to 5/8, 2.5YR 6/6 to 6/8).

Three minor fabric groups have also been identified using visual observations. Group 2 includes seven mask fragments (139, 207, 212, 213, 214, 224, and 230), two articulated legs (60 and 67) and one figurine hand (100). The color of these pieces is mainly red (2.5YR 5/6 to 5/8).

\[^{410}\text{Rice 1987, p. 333.}\]
\[^{411}\text{Rice 1987, p. 333.}\]
\[^{412}\text{Rotroff (Agora XXXIII, pp. 13-16) detailed the limitations of characterizing fabrics by observation and described how she used scientific analyses to test her categorization of the fabrics. She developed preliminary fabric groups through visual observation of inventoried and uninventoried (context) pottery, recording Munsell color, surface texture, voids, and inclusions. She then tested the fabric groups with petrography, neutron activation analysis, and Raman laser microprobe spectroscopy. The analytical techniques applied to the various fabrics generally confirmed the fabric groups, and suggested closer chemical ties between some fabric groups that seemed very different upon visual observation (Agora XXXIII, p. 49). Finally, she returned to the inventoried pottery to attempt to assign previously uncategorized pieces to the fabric groups and created new fabric groups.}\]
with variations in weak red (2.5YR 4/2), light red (2.5YR 6/8), reddish yellow (5YR 6/6), and pink (5YR 7/4). With the exception of one mask fragment (205), all of the terracottas in this fabric group were found in the same shallow pit in the area to the east of the Commercial-Industrial building.\textsuperscript{413} Aside from color, the defining characteristic of the terracottas in this group is the softness of the fabric. When the deposit was originally found, the terracottas were mistaken for unbaked clay due to the ease with which the objects were scratched with wooden excavation tools. This shared quality, combined with the discovery of almost all of the pieces in this group in a single shallow pit, may indicate that the pieces were poorly or incompletely fired. On some of the fragments, however, white ground and/or pigments were preserved, suggesting that the pieces had reached the final production stages in the workshop after returning from the kiln site, and were not simply discarded immediately after removal from the kiln.

Fabric Group 3 includes seven figurine fragments, 15 wheel fragments, four mold fragments, and two lamp mold fragments.\textsuperscript{414} The fabric color is mainly pink (5YR 7/4, 7.5YR 7/4 to 8/4) to very pale brown (10YR 7/3 to 10YR 8/4), with variations in light reddish brown (5YR 6/4), reddish yellow (5YR 6/6 to 7/6), and light brownish gray (10YR 6/2). This fabric, which is consistently more yellow in hue than Fabric Group 1, is smooth and fired hard, with very few inclusions. The fabric is visually similar to the "blond" fabric of many late Hellenistic figurines from the Athenian Agora.\textsuperscript{415} The presence of figurines, wheels, figurine molds, and

\textsuperscript{413} Lot BZ 1666.
\textsuperscript{414} Figurine fragments 82, 97, 130, 209, 229, 231, and 253; wheel fragments 2-7, 13-16, 34, 30, 31, 35, and 46; mold fragments 69, 277-279; lamp molds 282 and 283.
lamp molds in this group indicates that a special fabric was not used exclusively for molds. Furthermore, the use of the same fabric for figurines and molds supports the hypothesis that at least some of the molds may have been manufactured in the workshop and not acquired elsewhere.

A third minor fabric group, Group 4, is represented by four figurine fragments (113-115, 186). This fabric has a sandy surface texture with white inclusions and is fired light brown (7.5YR 6/3 to 6/4) to pink (5YR 7/4 to 7.5YR 7/4) on the exterior, while the color of the breaks and interior surface is light red (2.5YR 6/6 to 6/8) with variations in reddish gray (2.5 YR 5/1 to 5YR 5/2) and reddish yellow (5YR 6/6). The low chroma value of the "reddish gray" variations in this fabric group, all found in the fabric core or the interior surfaces of the fragments, may be due to incomplete oxidation, which can be caused by a general lack of oxygen in the kiln atmosphere, too low of a firing temperature, or too short of a firing time.416

The existence of multiple fabrics in the same workshop debris is not surprising. One of the fragments in Group 4, a nude Eros from a group figurine of Aphrodite and Eros (115), was made in the same mold as a nude Eros in Fabric Group 1 (117), confirming the proposition that Fabric Groups 1 and 4 represent two clays used in the same workshop. Moreover, the separate find spots of these two pieces, one from inside the Commercial-Industrial Building and the other found in a pit outside the building to the east, suggests that the two different clays may have been used in the same mold—and the finished pieces discarded—at two different times.

but she planned a more thorough discussion of fabrics, incorporating the results of Fillières’ analyses on the fabrics of Hellenistic figurines, in her never-published book on the Hellenistic figurines from the Agora.  

416 Rice 1987, p. 343.
The moldmade wheels are a useful group for investigating the variation among fabrics resulting from a single workshop. Of the 42 cataloged solid wheels, 26 are light red to red (2.5YR 5/6,7 to 2.5YR 6/6,8) and belong to fabric Group 1. Twelve other wheels belong to Fabric Group 3: five wheels are reddish yellow (5YR 6/6 to 7/6) and seven are pink (7.5YR 7/4). The remaining variants (also in Fabric Group 3) are reddish brown (5YR 6/4, two wheels) and brownish yellow (10YR 6/6), although this last variant (41) was clearly over-fired in the kiln or exposed to fire elsewhere before its final deposition in the ground. The open wheels show more variation in fabric color, with examples ranging from red/light red (2.5YR 5/6 and 2.5YR 6/8, Fabric Group 1) to reddish yellow (5YR 6/6 to 75.YR 6/6, similar to Fabric Group 3). One wheel (43) is dark gray in color (5YR 4/1) and was also clearly over-fired in the kiln or exposed to fire elsewhere.

The wheels provide an excellent test group to investigate relationships between fabrics and mold usage, since some of the wheels can be organized into mold groups based on markings left by imperfections in plaster molds (see p. 152). There is a certain degree of consistency in the fabric color exhibited in the members of the wheel groups (Table 1). The implication of the similarities in fabric color is that wheels made in the same molds were usually manufactured from similar raw materials and fired in similar kiln conditions.
Table 1. Relationships Between Wheel Mold Groups and Fabric Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mold Group</th>
<th>Fabric Group</th>
<th>Wheels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Group 3</td>
<td>4 wheels (2, 3, 4, 5): pink (5YR 7/4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Group 3</td>
<td>2 wheels (6, 7): pink (5YR 7/4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Group 1</td>
<td>5 wheels (8, 9, 10, 11, 12): 2 red (2.5YR 5/6), 3 light red (2.5YR 6/6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Group 3</td>
<td>3 wheels (13, 14, 15): 1 light reddish brown (5YR 6/4), 1 reddish yellow (5YR 6/6), 1 pink 5YR 7/4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Group 1</td>
<td>2 wheels (16, 17): 1 light red (2.5YR 6/6), 1 light reddish brown (5YR 6/4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Group 1</td>
<td>2 wheels (18, 19): 2 light red (2.5YR 6/6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Group 1</td>
<td>4 wheels (20, 21, 22, 23): 2 red (2.5YR 5/6 to 5/8), 2 light red (2.5YR 6/6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This preliminary observational study of fabrics present in the workshop debris shows that although the craftsmen in the workshop worked with one dominant fabric, several other fabrics were simultaneously in use in the workshop, often for the same types. The use of multiple fabrics during a single period may indicate a willingness on the part of the craftsmen to work with whatever raw materials are available at any given time, or else a lack of concern with the appearance of the baked fabric, particularly as most terracottas received surface treatments that would have concealed the appearance of the clay. Further testing will be necessary to test if the dominant fabric can be linked to a single clay source.

**Slip**

Slip is a suspension of clay in water that is applied to the surface of a ceramic object before firing, and it usually fires to a different color than the body of the piece because its mineral composition and concentration is different from that of the body clay. The slip used in the workshop may have been levigated and purified in the workshop itself. Although no

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417 Rice 1987, p. 149.
installations associated with this process have been identified in the remains of the Commercial-
Industrial Building, this step in the production process requires only a supply of water and a pit
or basin. Only 10 catalogued terracottas and two molds from the workshop debris were coated
with a layer of slip before firing, so the application of slip was by no means a regular practice in
the workshop. In fact, it seems possible that the slip may have been used experimentally.

Three fragments of Aphrodite figurines (85, 88, and 94) were coated with slip that fired
to a light gray, gray, or medium brown color (10YR 6/1, 10YR 7/2, and 10YR 7/2 to 7/4), and in
all three cases the slip color is lighter than the color of the fabric at the break or on the interior.
The use of slip in this case may have been intended to lighten the color of the surface of the
figurine to more closely approximate natural flesh tone, and the slip may have been used in lieu
of post-firing white ground. Five other fragments were coated in slip that fired to a color that is
darker than the color of the terracotta fabric. Two Pan legs (123 and 124) were coated in a slip
that fired to a brown to dark gray color (5YR 4/1 and 7.5YR 4/1 to 4/4), and the presence of the
slip on the exterior as well as the interior suggests that the slip may have been applied to the
figurine by dipping instead of with a brush. An uneven coating of a similarly dark slip covers the
surface of a wheeled animal figurine (52, 7.5YR 6/3 light brown), and some of the dark slip
appears on the interior surface of the figurine around the hole in the hip. A matte dark slip
appears on the surface of one figurine base (184, 2.5YR 3/1 dark reddish gray), and another base
(172) is coated with a glossy light red slip (2.5YR 6/8). Two fragments of a round base (191 and
192) were coated with a light slip (5YR 6/6 and 7.5YR 6/4, reddish yellow to light brown) that
may have been applied to hide the coarse quality of the fabric.

Slip was also used to smooth the surface of two ceramic molds. A mold for a pig (162)
was coated on the exterior with a smooth very pale brown slip (10YR 7/4), while a mold for a
small-scale mask (206) was coated on the exterior and interior surfaces with a smooth slip of the same color.

The use of slip, therefore, served several purposes in the workshop. Light colored slip may have been used in lieu of white ground to lighten the surface color of a figurine, while darker slip may have been used as a type of pigment. Layers of slip were also applied to the surfaces of molds to create a crisp, smooth molding surface and a uniformly colored exterior surface. The limited evidence for the use of slip suggests that its use may have been a creative experiment.

**Archetypes**

An archetype is a model used in the manufacture of moldmade figurines. Impressions taken from archetypes can be used as molds for the manufacture of more figurines of the same type. Existing terracotta figurines can be used as archetypes, or archetypes can be purpose-made of baked or unbaked clay, plaster, or even wax. Archetypes used to make ceramic molds had to be fired in a kiln, while unfired clay archetypes could be used to make plaster molds. The relative ease with which new molds could be made from existing figurines allowed copyists to copy imported figurines or even reproduce their own figurines for which the mold had been broken or lost. The creation of new archetypes of unbaked clay, wax, or plaster required no

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418 Higgins 1967, p. 2. Wax figurines themselves are not unknown: Plato (*Leges* 11, 933B) refers to wax figurines used in magic rituals. Wax and unbaked clay could have been used to hand-model archetypes in the round, while plaster was probably used in liquid form and poured into an existing mold to make an archetype from which further molds could be taken. Unfortunately, wax and plaster do not survive well in the burial environment of the Athenian Agora, and no examples of wax or plaster archetypes are known from this site.

419 Van Boekel (1987, pp. 229-230) observed that ceramic archetypes used to make ceramic molds have to be fired in order to achieve "a certain solidity and porosity."
specialized facilities in the workshop, and clay archetypes could have been fired in a shared kiln along with a batch of figurines.

In a discussion of archetypes, it is important to consider the possible relationship between coroplasts and sculptors of small bronze figurines. Higgins hypothesized that the molds for Tanagra figurines may have been made using small bronze figurines as archetypes. Merker imagined a closer relationship between bronze workers and coroplasts. She suggested that archetypes for terracotta figurines in Corinth "were developed from models made for small bronzes, perhaps by artisans whose specialty was model making." She also made a distinction between artisans who created the archetypes and molds for small bronze and terracotta figurines and artisans who used the molds to manufacture the figurines, and she suggested that the same artisans may have created the archetypes for both bronze and terracotta figurines.

Although there are no clear examples of purpose-made archetypes in the coroplast's debris, it is possible to make a few conclusions about the archetypes used in the workshop. The worn appearance and lack of detail on a great number of the figurine fragments indicate that some of the molds used in the workshop may themselves have been created from a worn archetype, suggesting serial production with several generations of figurines and molds. For example, three female heads from the debris (143, 144, and 145) have the blurred appearance of having been made from a mold with worn features. Additionally, small blisters of clay on the surfaces of some of the figurine fragments may have originated from the mold used to cast the figurine or possibly from an archetype used to create the mold (see p. 152). In other words,

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420 Higgins 1986, p. 66.
421 Corinth XVIII.4, p. 14.
422 Merker 2003, p. 241. Muller (1996, pp. 510-511) made the same distinction between the two types of artisans at work in a workshop near the Thesmophorion of Thasos. He also suggested that the molders might have been children (Muller 1996, p. 511, n. 60).
blisters of clay on the surface of an archetype would have been carried in negative onto the surface of a mold created from the archetype. If these imperfections are not removed from the surface of the mold, the same flaws will appear on the surface of a figurine cast from the mold. The blisters of clay present on the figurine fragments from the workshop debris indicate that plaster molds were used to create the figurines, or else plaster molds were used to create the archetypes from which the molds for the figurines were made.

Serial production, or *surmoulage*, involves the manufacture of figurines using molds created from other figurines. The practice produces generations of figurines of the same type but with increasingly smaller dimensions, since both ceramic figurines and ceramic molds shrink during firing in a kiln. There is no direct evidence for serial production in the Agora debris. Although this suggests that the workshop did not use existing figurines to create molds to produce more figurines of the same type, the absence of multiple generations of related figurines may also indicate that the debris only represents a limited time span in the life of the workshop.

**Ceramic Molds**

The coroplast's debris included fragments of 16 ceramic molds: 11 molds for the manufacture of terracotta figurines and masks and 5 molds for the manufacture of ceramic lamps. The technical details of the molds will be discussed here.

The molds are thick, and the exterior and interior surfaces were smoothed. In one case (206) a fine slip was applied to the interior and exterior surfaces of the mold. The coating of slip on the interior of the mold may have helped to create a smoother molding surface. It is more difficult to explain the coating of slip on the exterior surfaces of two molds (206 and 162). Three
of the molds (54, 69, and 162) have a convex exterior surface, which may have enabled the mold to fit comfortably into the palm of the craftsman's hand.\textsuperscript{423}

The impressions in ceramic molds were taken from archetypes. Evidence for this step in the production line can be found on a mold for a small-scale mask (206). Two layers of clay are visible in the broken lower edge of the mold, showing that the mold was probably fashioned in two stages. A thin layer of fine clay was applied to the archetype and pressed onto its surface to attain a clear impression, and then a thicker layer of slightly coarser clay was applied on top of the thin layer. A stratum of tiny air pockets was evidently trapped between these two layers of clay. Tests on the fabrics of certain Central-Gaulish figurines shows that the same multi-layer method was used by coroplasts to cast figurines from molds, with the purest clay used in the layer closest to the surface of the mold, and less pure clay used in the backing layers.\textsuperscript{424} This technique ensured that the molding surfaces of the molds (or, in the case of the Central-Gaulish figurines, the molded surfaces of the figurines) were as crisp as possible, while the molds retained the sturdiness necessary for regular use.

The remaining five ceramic molds found in the debris were molds for lamps. Two of the molds were inscribed with letters on their exterior surfaces: one mold for an Alpha Globule Lamp (280) and one mold for a lamp with a raised ring on its underside (284). The inscriptions are discussed in detail below (see p. 170).

The three remaining lamp molds are unmarked: two molds for lamps with triangular nozzles (281 and 282) and a mold for the top half of a lamp with radiating lines (283). Numerous lamp fragments were also found in the debris layers, but none of the fragments correspond to any

\textsuperscript{423} A rounded exterior surface is also detectable in the small mold fragments 277, 278, and 279.\textsuperscript{424} Van Boekel 1987, p. 220.
of the five molds. The lamp fragments may therefore belong to lamps that were used to light the workshop or buildings in the immediate neighborhood and discarded in the workshop dump.

The presence of these five lamp molds in the debris suggests that lamps were manufactured in the same workshop as figurines. The production of lamps and figurines requires similar raw materials, tools, and skills. Many scholars have observed the close relationship between lampmakers, coroplasts, and potters, and it should be no surprise that a workshop could have been the site of both figurine and lamp production.¹²⁵

**Plaster Molds**

In addition to ceramic molds, plaster molds were also used in the production of terracotta figurines in this workshop. Van Boekel presented two modern methods for making plaster molds as possible methods used in the manufacture of ancient plaster molds:

In the first method, the leather-hard model may be cut lengthwise in two parts. Liquid plaster may then be poured over each half separately. In the second method some thin little sticks may be put through the model. The sticks that protrude from the model rest on the rim of a small tray filled with liquid plaster, so that one half of the model is suspended in the plaster. The model is removed when the plaster has set; one half-mould is ready. The second half-mould is then made in the same way. The air-bubbles in the liquid plaster mixture rise to the surface, especially to the top parts of the plaster, and become lodged in the convolutions of the model, in for instance, the grooves for folds and eyes. The protruding details of the mould's negative will thus contain most air-bubbles, and blisters will consequently appear in the grooves of the figurines pressed from the plaster mould.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ *Corinth* XV.1, p. 86; *Corinth* XV.2, p. 3, 18; *Agora* VII, p. 59-62; Uhlenbrock 1990, p. 15; Muller 1996, p. 511; Muller 1999, p. 284; *Corinth* XVIII.4, p. 20; Merker 2003, p. 240. Van Boekel (1987, pp. 211-213) cited two examples of the same signature found on figurines or figurine molds and lamps from the Rhine-Mosel area.

¹²⁶ Van Boekel 1987, p. 230. A modified version of Van Boekel's second method was attempted in a casual experiment in the conservation laboratory of the Athenian Agora on February 7, 2008, and the resulting mold was crisp and smooth.
One of the earliest references to the evidence for the use of plaster molds can be found in William Burckhardt Barker's 1853 account of his travels in Cilicia. Barker and his companion Abington, who owned a pottery workshop, came upon a deposit of terracotta figurine fragments at Tarsus and Abington observed: "The moulds, which the potter made of plaster, were such as I would not tolerate in a manufactory. The plaster was run upon the model to make the mould in such an unskillful way that the air was shut in the deep parts of the work, forming bubbles in the mould. This, when the clay is pressed in the mould, occasions those bead-like protuberances which disfigure the work, and prove that the mould was plaster, and not burnt clay." These characteristic small beads, or blisters, of clay on the surfaces of figurines cast from plaster molds have been observed by scholars studying figurines throughout the Mediterranean. While the formation of beads of clay on the surfaces may seem like a disadvantage of using plaster molds, a skilled coroplast could easily remove blisters from the surfaces of the leather-hard figurines after they are removed from the molds. There are, however, three additional disadvantages of using plaster molds. Unlike ceramic molds, which can be manipulated in the leather-hard stage, it is difficult to add detail to a plaster mold once it has dried. Changes to the surface of a dried plaster mold are irreversible and must be made by polishing, sanding, or engraving. Also, sharp details in plaster molds may be worn away faster than ceramic molds, causing blurred features on the figurines and making ceramic molds a longer-lasting choice.

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427 Barker 1853.
428 Barker 1853, p. 171.
429 The indentations for globules on the mold for an Alpha Globule lamp (280), for example, were added to the mold in the leather-hard stage.
430 *Corinth* XVIII.4, p. 16; Van Boekel 1987, p. 229. While Higgins (1967, p. 108) and Vertet (1983, p. 41) estimated the use life of a plaster mold at 30-100 pressings, Van Boekel (1987, p. 229) argued that clay molds may have survived "hundreds or even thousands of pressings."
Finally, a plaster mold can shatter if it is dropped and will break into too many pieces to allow for mending. Ceramic molds, like ceramic vessels, can be mended with lead.\textsuperscript{431}

There are, however, several advantages to using plaster molds for the production of terracotta figurines. Plaster is, as Dusenbery stated, "an old material," and was probably readily available in a city center where it was used for various purposes.\textsuperscript{432} Fine plaster can take an accurate impression from a detailed archetype, even if the details are blurred over time with heavy use.\textsuperscript{433} Additionally, plaster molds harden as they dry and do not require kiln firing, which is particularly advantageous for an intramural urban workshop without its own kiln. Finally, the use of plaster molds results in a lower shrinkage rate between generations of serial figurine production than the use of ceramic molds. Ceramic molds shrink when fired, and the resulting figurines cast from the mold also shrink when fired, with the result that the final product is considerably smaller than the original archetype. The use of plaster molds can reduce this shrinkage between two generations of moldmade figurines by up to 50 percent.\textsuperscript{434}

Plaster molds were first used in Egypt, and Thompson found the earliest evidence for the use of plaster molds in the Athenian Agora in the middle of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} century B.C.\textsuperscript{435} Plaster molds came into use earlier outside of Athens. Dusenbery asserted that some of the figurines from the nekropoleis of Samothrace as early as the first half of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} century B.C. were cast in plaster molds, and Merker argued that plaster molds were in use in Corinth as early as the second half of

\textsuperscript{431} A Hellenistic relief mold from the Agora (T 883) was broken and so mended in antiquity (Grandjouan 1989, pp. 49-50, pls. 10, 29, no. 41; p. 50, pls. 11, 32, no. 42).
\textsuperscript{432} Samothrace XI, p. 846. Plaster was used to join separately cast parts of figurines after firing at Seleucia (Van Ingen 1939, p. 10), and must have been available as a wall coating.
\textsuperscript{433} Corinth XVIII.4, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{434} Muller 1996, p. 287.
\textsuperscript{435} Tarsus I, p. 305; Thompson 1965, pp. 35-36.
the 3rd century B.C. Nevertheless, plaster molds were already in common use in Athens by the 1st century A.D., and Grandjouan recognized that some of the Roman figurines she studied were cast from plaster molds.

Elsewhere in the Mediterranean, by the 1st century B.C., plaster and ceramic molds were used exclusively or in combination. All of the figurine molds recovered from Tarsus were made of plaster, and a combination of ceramic and plaster molds was found at Seleucia on the Tigris. Plaster molds were used almost exclusively to make the 1st century B.C. figurines from Troy. In the west, plaster molds were used extensively in the Rhine-Mosel area, while ceramic molds were predominant in Central Gaul. Plaster molds were also used to manufacture lamps in Corinth during the 1st to 3rd centuries A.D.

Although plaster molds are more perishable than fired ceramic molds in the depositional environment of the Athenian Agora, and no examples of plaster molds for figurines were found in the excavations, many of the surviving figurine fragments in the Agora deposits bear the characteristic signs of having been fashioned in plaster molds.

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436 Corinth XVIII.4, p. 16; Samothrace XI, p. 846. Dusenbery also referenced a figurine made in a plaster mould found in a late 4th to early 3rd century B.C. context on Acrocorinth (M-F 70-26), and Bookidis and Fisher (1972, p. 316) cautiously acknowledged that if the figurine is the same date as its context, then plaster molds were introduced at least a century earlier than commonly thought. Merker (Corinth XVIII.4, p. 260, no. H401) agreed that the figurine was made in a plaster mold, but assigned it to the Middle Hellenistic period (3rd to early 2nd century B.C.), which still predates the introduction of the plaster mold in Athens.

437 Agora VI, p. 3.

438 Tarsus I, p. 298; Van Ingen 1939, p. 12.

439 Thompson 1963b, p. 65.


441 Corinth XVIII.2, p. 9.

442 Grandjouan (Agora VI, p. 3, n. 13) pointed out that the fragment of a plaster mould for a life-size statue (T 3631) proves that plaster can survive in the Agora.
The terracotta wheels provide an excellent opportunity to examine the use of plaster and ceramic molds. Of the 49 inventoried wheels in this study, 25 have beads of clay on their molded surfaces, proving that they were made in plaster molds. Twenty-two of the wheels made in plaster molds can be assigned to seven mold groups based on the patterns of the clay beads caused by the air bubbles in the plaster molds. Groupings of wheels cast in the same molds are listed in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mold group</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lot BZ 938</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Lot BZ 1471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>surface find at J/7,21-1/3,2/9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Lot BZ 1471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Lot BZ 1471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Lot BZ 1471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>modern fill around pillar 2, J/16-1/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>modern fill around pillar 2, J/17-1/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>modern fill around pillar 2, J/16-1/16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>modern fill around pillar 2, J/11,16-1/4,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Lot BZ 1541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>north baulk under modern basement, J/16,18-1/4,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Lot BZ 1541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Lot BZ 1541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Lot BZ 1415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Lot BZ 1415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Lot BZ 1490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Lot BZ 1541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Lot BE 2202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Lot BE 2210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Lot BE 2202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Lot BE 2202</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The presence of seven distinct groups of wheels suggests that at least seven plaster molds for a single type were used in the workshop over the period of time when the refuse was
discarded. While there is some overlap between the wheel groups and the contexts (see Table 3), it is possible that only a few molds were in use at any one time.

Table 3. Contexts with Wheels Belonging to More Than One Wheel Mold Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Context</th>
<th>Mold groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lot BZ 1471</td>
<td>1 and 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lot BZ 1541</td>
<td>3, 4, and 6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, the similar graying on the edges of the undersides of two wheels in Group 7 (20 and 23) suggests that either they were fired in the kiln together in the same firing conditions or else they experienced the same exposure to fire before or after they were discarded.

There is no evidence that any of the terracotta wheels necessarily served as an archetype for the creation of a plaster mold used to manufacture other terracotta wheels. In other words, there is no evidence for serial production. The wheels are all very close in size, with their diameters and estimated diameters between 0.07 m and 0.08 m. If one wheel had been used to make a mold for further wheels, there would be a greater discrepancy in size, as serial production causes a certain amount of shrinkage between generations of products. The presence of one ceramic wheel mold (1) does, however, attest to the use of ceramic and plaster molds side by side to make the same terracotta objects in the same workshop.

What can the plaster molds tell us about the craftsmen using them? Dusenbery pointed out a correlation between the use of plaster molds and the quality and quantity of figurines. She argued that plaster molds were used in coroplastic workshops located in areas where demand for figurines was low and the quality of the work was not a high priority and in places where the serial replication of figurine types could be carried out without a "true coroplast" to model new
archetypes or make ceramic molds.\textsuperscript{443} She argued that in production centers with complex figurines in high demand, such as Athens and Myrina, ceramic molds were preferred over plaster.\textsuperscript{444} Merker added that most plaster-molded figurines from Corinth were cast in a single piece from one bivalve mold with a modeled back and rarely retouched, as opposed to some clay-molded figurines whose heads and limbs were cast separately and joined before firing, whose backs were often hand-modeled, and which required retouching after removal from the mold.\textsuperscript{445} Merker made the assertion that artisans in workshops using plaster molds required fewer skills than artisans in workshops using ceramic molds.\textsuperscript{446}

To the contrary, the debris from the Agora workshop provides evidence for both plaster and ceramic molds, often used at the same time to produce the same types, as in the case of the wheels. For this reason, it is difficult to use the evidence for plaster molds to argue that the demand for and quality of terracottas in this workshop were low. The presence of both ceramic and plaster molds may instead indicate that craftsmen of different abilities or from different traditions were working alongside each other in the same workshop, employing different techniques to manufacture the same products.

\textbf{Casting and Joining Figurines}

The abundance of fingerprints on the interior surfaces of the moldmade fragments makes it clear that the clay used to cast figurines from molds was pressed into the mold in a solid state.

\textsuperscript{443} Samothrace XI, p. 846.
\textsuperscript{444} Samothrace XI, pp. 846-847.
\textsuperscript{445} Corinth XVIII.4, p. 16.
\textsuperscript{446} Corinth XVIII.4, p. 17.
and not poured into the molds as a liquid.\textsuperscript{447} Furthermore, the thickness of each figurine is relatively even throughout each piece, and there is evidence to suggest that the coroplast rolled out sheets of clay onto a textile and used the textile to lift the sheets of clay and place them onto the molds. The interior surface of one figurine fragment (72) preserves the imprint of a textile, and Van Boekel found evidence for this same practice on Medieval and later figurines.\textsuperscript{448}

Muller observed the use of two different types of clay in a single object in the figurines from the Thesmophorion at Thasos. He noted that coroplasts at Thasos used different clays for the inside and outside layers of the same figurine (a finer, purer clay for the exterior of the figurine) and different types of clay for the front and back halves of a figurine.\textsuperscript{449} While there is some variety in the types of clay used in the manufacture of the Agora figurines, and there is evidence that two types of clay were used to manufacture a mold (206), there is no evidence that more than one type of clay was used to fashion a single figurine.

The terracottas were probably left in the mold until the leather-hard stage, when the pieces could be removed from the mold without any damage to the modelled surface. The terracottas would have been easier to remove from the mold at this stage, since the clay would have undergone shrinkage from the loss of water.\textsuperscript{450} Although there is no archaeological evidence, it is possible that coroplasts used an additional technique to facilitate the removal of

\vspace{1cm}

\textsuperscript{447} Van Boekel 1987, p. 220.
\textsuperscript{448} Van Boekel 1987, p. 201. The imprint left by a textile on 72 has a more uniform pattern than a fingerprint. I thank Karen Lovén for bringing this to my attention.
\textsuperscript{449} Muller 1999, p. 286.
\textsuperscript{450} Rice 1987, p. 71.
the terracottas from the molds. Van Boekel suggested that the interiors of molds may have been
dusted with a powdery substance such as ash, clay, or silica. 451

Four distinct methods of moldmade production are present in this workshop: molding in a
single one-sided mold, molding whole figurines in a bivalve mold, and molding parts of a
figurine separately and joining them before firing or after firing. Each method will be discussed
separately below.

The terracotta wheels, masks, and plaques were cast in one-sided molds. The surviving
ceramic wheel mold (1) and associated wheels illustrate how the wheels were cast. Clay was
pressed into the one-sided mold, and the backs of the wheels were pressed flat by hand or pared
down with a tool. After the wheel was removed from the mold, the central hub was cut out using
a round, hollow tool, and the edges along the back of the wheel were trimmed with a flat-edged
tool. On some wheels (43-48, 50), the clay between the spokes was cut away with a flat blade.

Masks were also manufactured in one-sided molds. Although only one fragment of a
mask mold survives (206), the convex shape of the mask fragments, in addition to the fact that
only one side of the masks were modeled, proves that the masks were cast in one-sided molds.

A third group of products, terracotta plaques, was also manufactured in one-sided molds.
Unlike the wheels, some of which were trimmed with a tool on the back side, all of the plaques
seem to have been pressed flat into the mold, as all of the surviving plaque fragments have
slightly irregular back surfaces covered with fingerprints.

The remaining terracottas were cast in two-part, or bivalve, molds. In this technique,
figurines are divided into "front" and "back" halves, and parts of the figurines (arms, legs, etc.)

production, calling the substances used to ease the removal of the molded piece from the mold
(including powdered clay, ash, manure, pumice, and sand) "parting agents."
rarely project far past the plane of the figurine. After the clay was pressed into the mold halves, the coroplast trimmed and applied slip to the edges. The mold halves were bound together and the figurine was allowed to dry in the mold. One nearly complete bivalve mold (54) was found in the debris, and evidence for the widespread use of bivalve molds in this workshop can also be found on individual mold halves.

Where the backs of figurines are preserved, as on the figurine of Silenos (125), the modeling is not very detailed, indicating that less attention was given to the molds for the backs of figurines than the molds for the fronts. The figurines in the debris that were cast from bivalve molds display a certain amount of two-dimensionality, with an emphasis on the frontal view.

Various markings and keys were pressed or incised into the sides and exterior surfaces of molds to facilitate the alignment of the front and back molds so that the mold halves would fit together snugly as the figurines dried. The flat exterior of a mold for two legs (74) has two V-shaped incisions, and the back half of a mold for a dancing figurine (69) has two half-round impressions on the edge of the mold, one on each side. Further evidence can be found on the molds for lamps. Short vertical or V-shaped grooves are incised on the exterior edges of molds 281, 282, and 284.

The edges of some mold halves (54, 162, and 252) have a wavy, irregular profile where they joined with their matching halves, allowing for a more secure, precise fit between the two molds. All of this evidence indicates that the two halves of the figurines were joined together while still in their respective molds, and the mold halves were bound together as the figurines dried. It is likely that a material such as twine or leather was used to tie together the mold halves. Further evidence for the use of bivalve molds also comes from the figurines themselves, many of which preserve the seam where the front and back halves, cast in separate molds, were joined.
together. When the two mold halves of 54 are held together, there is a wide opening at the bottom, possibly to facilitate smoothing of the join between the two halves on the interior of the figurine while the figurine was drying in the mold.452

The third and fourth techniques, molding figurine parts separately and joining them before firing and after firing, required an additional step beyond the process of molding in bivalve molds. Both of these techniques were used to create figurines with elements that extended beyond the plane of the figurine or were designed to be moveable. At some workshops this technique was used to create a seemingly infinite corpus of figurines with a variety of heads, posed arms, and attributes.

There are three examples of parts of figurines that were molded separately and attached before firing. One torso (174) has an arm that extends outward from the plane of the body. The body was manufactured in a bivalve mold (traces of the join between the two halves are visible on the interior of the piece), but the arm extends too far beyond the plane of the body to have been included in the bivalve mold. The arm was certainly molded separately in a piece mold and attached to the figurine while the pieces were still in the leather-hard stage. The fragments were joined using a fine slip, just as the halves cast in bivalve molds were joined with slip.

A second example of a figurine with parts cast separately and attached before firing is a winged figurine. Only the wing survived in the debris (249). It is clear, however, that the wing was cast in a one-sided mold, and since the wing would have projected past the plane of the figurine, it would have to have been cast separately and joined in the leather-hard stage.

452 Burn and Higgins 2001, p. 19; Muller 1996, pp. 36-37.
A final example is an arm that was molded separately from the body and attached before firing. The arm (97) has a relatively flat finished end at the elbow, and it was attached to the front side of a figurine so that the arm appeared to be reaching out from a draped body.

In the Classical and Hellenistic period, coroplasts commonly used separate molds for the heads and bodies of figurines. Burn and Higgins observed that some Hellenistic figurines from Myrina were combinations of up to 15 separately molded elements.\(^{453}\) When used in different combinations, the separately cast heads and bodies allowed for more possibilities of types.\(^{454}\) This practice also enabled the craftsman to infuse a great deal of variety into moldmade production.\(^{455}\) The only certain type of evidence for the practice of molding heads and bodies separately is a group of figurines with identical bodies and different heads, or vice versa, and no such evidence was found in the Roman workshop debris from the Agora.

The final method of moldmade production involves combining separately molded elements after firing. There are three main examples of this method in the coroplast’s debris: articulated figurines, wheeled figurines, and figurines with attached extended arms. Figurines with articulated legs had bodies and legs that were cast in separate molds and fired in pieces. After the pieces were fired (and, in some cases, after white ground and pigments were applied), the legs were attached to the bodies in such a way as to allow the legs to move freely. The holes through the tops of the legs correspond to holes pierced through the sides of the truncated bodies, so that the legs could be suspended from the body with the help of twine, a leather strap, or possibly a metal wire. The legs, then, were not permanently attached to the bodies, and could be removed or replaced with ease.

\(^{453}\) Burn and Higgins 2001, p. 20.
\(^{454}\) Muller 1996, p. 504.
\(^{455}\) Muller 1996, p. 505.
Similarly, the wheels, which were cast in one-sided molds, could have been joined with animal figurines after firing. While 110 fragments of wheels were found in the debris (50 are included in the catalog), only two fragments of associated animal figurines have been identified. Both are the rear quarters of animals, one possibly a horse (52) and the other a horse or a bird (53), and both have holes through the side of the animal that are similar in diameter to the holes located in the center of the terracotta wheels. In any case, the wheels were attached to the animal figurines with a sturdy axle, possibly of wood or metal; unfortunately, no axles are preserved.

The third group of figurines with elements that were attached after firing is represented by a group of arms that extend outward from the body. Ten examples (103, 105, 257-259, and 261-265) have a preserved shoulder end where a dowel hole was made in the upper part the arm. Based on similarities with the more complete examples, most of the fragmentary examples were also likely pierced with a dowel hole (with the possible exceptions of 98, 100, and 108, which are different in form from the other arms). The arms were probably attached to figurine bodies with the use of a small dowel, perhaps of wood. An adhesive such as plaster—which was certainly available in the workshop as a material for molds—may also have been used to secure the join.\footnote{Goldman (Tarsus I, p. 300) noted that the joining ends of figurine parts were hollowed out or scored, and the pieces attached with plaster.}

The arms are bent at the elbow, and when attached to a body the lower arm would have extended out from the body at a 90-degree angle. Seven arms (95, 96, 99, 102, 103, 106, and 107) have objects in the hands, although instead of holding the object in an upward-facing palm, the hands hold the objects sideways. One fully preserved example (257) holds a miniature shield in its hand.
These arms were molded separately from the figurine bodies because the position of the arm extended too far out from the body to be included in the bivalve figurine mold. Unlike earlier examples, however, these arms were fired separately from the bodies and joined after firing. Unfortunately, not a single fragment of a figurine body certainly associated with these arms was found in the debris. The technique of joining separately fired arms and bodies may have been developed for ease of transport from the workshop to the kiln and back. Figurines with projecting arms and attributes are more three-dimensional than figurines cast in simple bivalve molds and may have been more difficult to transport to and from the kiln without suffering breakage. It may also have been easier to load a kiln with smaller figurine parts modeled in piece molds than complex three-dimensional figurines.

A final comment on the difference between molding figurines whole and molding figurines in pieces and joining the pieces later concerns the use of figurine plinths. Many of the figurines are set atop a hollow rectangular or round plinth. Although it is difficult to determine from the figurines alone if the hollow plinths were molded separately from the figurines and joined before firing, since there is no clear evidence of visible joins between figurines and plinths, one surviving mold for a figurine and its plinth (162) proves that the method of molding the plinth together with the figurine was practiced. In contrast, at some production centers the plinth was customarily molded separately from the figurine and attached before firing.\(^{457}\)

One figurine provides evidence for a different type of plinth. The small, solid, rectangular base for a Pan figurine (120) was modeled by hand, and the rest of the figurine, which was made in a bivalve mold, was attached to the base before firing with the use of a thin layer of slip. The

\(^{457}\)Van Boekel (1987, p. 218) observed that plinths in Central-Gaulish workshops were often cast separately from figurines or hand modeled and attached to the figurines after removal from the mold.
The workshop debris from the Agora provides ample evidence for a variety of techniques used to cast figurines. The use of one-sided and bivalve molds, along with the employment of piece molds in order to cast figurine parts separately and join the pieces before or after firing, indicates that multiple manufacturing methods were in use at the same time. Workshop laborers may have switched between the various manufacturing methods, or else individuals in the workshop specialized in one type of moldmade production. Additionally, the limitations of the workshop resources may have necessitated some techniques. Since the workshop did not have a kiln (see p. 177), the hazards of transporting the figurines to and from a remote kiln site may have made it more convenient to fire some three-dimensional figurines in pieces and join the pieces after they were returned safely to the workshop site.

Retouching Figurines

After the figurines were cast, joined, and removed from the mold, some were retouched in the leather-hard stage. Several terracotta types were routinely worked with tools before firing.

Although Merker argued that figurines cast in plaster molds at Corinth could not be retouched, since their walls were thinner than figurines cast in ceramic molds, evidence for retouching has been found in the Agora workshop debris for terracottas bearing the marks of having been cast in plaster molds.\(^{458}\) Despite the apparent variety of tools available in the workshop, as evidenced below, retouching was not widely used to restore detail to blurred

\(^{458}\) *Corinth* XVIII.4, p. 16.
features on figurines cast from well-used molds or on molds that were taken from archetypes with blurred features.

The edges of terracottas formed in one-sided molds, such as wheels and masks, were trimmed with a blade after removal from the mold. The areas between the spokes on "open" style wheels and the mouths of certain masks were excised using a blade.

Small holes were pierced through the bottom edges of articulated figurines and the tops of separately molded legs to enable the attachment of the legs to the bodies with wire or string. Similar holes were pierced through the top of the head or the joined hands of dancer figurines in order to attach a string or wire for suspension. Holes were also pierced through the top and side edges of masks to allow the suspension of the masks. The holes in the sides of masks were often pierced through or near the ears.

Narrow dowel holes were pierced into the ends of separately molded arms in order to enable the attachment of the arms to the bodies after firing. Ten of the separately molded arms (103, 105, 257-262, 264, and 265) have a preserved shoulder end with a dowel hole. Similar holes were also pierced into the bottom of a group of miniature figurines (153-156), presumably to enable the figurines to be set up on a base.

Holes were cut through the center of ceramic wheels (the surviving wheel mold produces a wheel without a central hole), the eyes of life-size masks, and the sides of wheeled animal figurines (52 and 53). These holes, which are perfectly round in most cases, were probably made with a sharp, hollow, tube-shaped tool used in a twisting motion.

Even larger holes were cut into the backs of several figurines. These holes, traditionally called "vents," were once thought to provide a necessary window for the circulation of hot air during firing in the kiln. In his publication of the figurines from the Thesmophorion at Thasos,
however, Muller argued that only a pin-size hole is needed to enable the escape of hot air from the interior of a figurine during firing, and he suggested that these openings may instead have been cut into the backs of figurines to allow the coroplast to insert his fingers into the figurines to smooth the joins between separately molded parts before firing.\textsuperscript{459} Burn and Higgins cautiously accepted this new interpretation of the “vents,” with the caveat that the smaller holes in some Hellenistic figurines, with a width of less than 1 cm, could not serve this purpose.\textsuperscript{460} Five figurines from the debris (85, 115, 125, 270, and 271) have round holes in the back, while one figurine base (172) has a round hole on its top surface, directly under the area where a figurine would have been attached. These holes are all large enough to allow the insertion of one or more fingers into the interior of the figurines, but there is no reason to rule out the function of these holes as firing vents.

There are also a few examples of figurine fragments that were retouched in order to add surface detail. The beard of a possible herm head (148) was embellished with vertical and horizontal strokes, adding texture and depth. Simple incisions added texture to the tail of a wheeled animal (53) and the surface of two cornucopiae (238 and 240) and anatomical detail to two phalloi (129 and 131).

Tools were also used to add details to ceramic molds before they were fired. The indentations for globules in a mold for an Alpha Globule lamp (280), for example, were not taken from an archetype, but were added to the mold while the mold was still in the leather-hard

\textsuperscript{459} Muller 1986, p. 38-39.
\textsuperscript{460} Burn and Higgins 2001, p. 19.
stage. This added step in the production of Alpha Globule lamps led to the great variety of globule patterns present on surviving lamp fragments.\footnote{Perlzweig (Agora VII, p. 15) observed that of the 280 lamps she studied, "very few come from the same or related molds," and she estimated the original number of molds for Alpha Globule lamps in the thousands.}

**Tools**

A number of bone and bronze implements were found in the coroplast's debris. Many of these artifacts were doubtlessly created for different purposes—styli and dress pins, for example—but it is also possible that these implements had second or third lives as tools in a coroplast's workshop. Stella Miller identified a late Hellenistic to early Roman coroplast's dump beside a road at Ilion and called attention to the bone tools found in the debris.\footnote{Miller 1991, p. 56.} The tools included two styli and one spoon, and Miller pointed out that these types of implements would have been useful in measuring pigments, modeling figurines, and working details into molds.

The coroplast's debris includes 11 bone objects and four bronze objects that may be interpreted as tools. Since the coroplast's debris was a mixture of artifacts discarded from the workshop and other refuse (including pottery), it is possible that these implements were never used by a coroplast at all. It is necessary, however, to consider the role that these objects may have played in a workshop.

The bone objects include a needle (293), a small scoop with a long handle (297), a spoon (299), a completely preserved stylus (200), five fragments of pins (290-292, 295, and 296), and two fragments that may have been implement handles (294 and 301). Although only two of these implements have preserved working ends (293 and 300), many of the other objects originally
tapered to a point, providing a sharp end to use for incising details into unfired molds and figurines. Pointed implements could have been used, for example, to create indentations for globules in the mold for an Alpha Globule lamp (280). The flat edge of the stylus would have been useful in trimming the excess clay from the edges of figurines after they were removed from the mold.

A 2.5 cm length of bone with a small palmette stamp carved into one end (298) was also found in the debris. The size and shape of the stamp is similar to impressions left on late 5th and 4th century black glaze pottery, even if Corbett argued that the Classical stamps were ceramic. \(^{463}\) The palmette stamp is also, however, similar to impressions found on Eastern Sigillata A wares, and could be evidence of local imitation of this ware. \(^{464}\)

The four bronze objects include a hook (285), a cylindrical shaft (286), a pointed tool with a hollow end for the insertion of a handle (287), and a thin blade with one rounded edge (288). All of these implements have potential uses in a coroplasts workshop where unfired ceramic molds and figurines were retouched before firing.

One ceramic object with an uncertain function was also found in the debris. The hand-formed ceramic object has a pinched handle and a slightly convex working surface (303). In addition to the tools that survived in the debris, there is also the possibility that the coroplasts used tools made of materials that did not survive, such as wood.

**Signatures and Other Markings**

\(^{463}\) *Agora* XII, p. 23; Corbett 1955, p. 175.
\(^{464}\) *Agora* XXXII, p. 20.
Five figurine fragments, one figurine mold, and two lamp molds from the workshop debris preserve inscriptions. Two distinct practices can be traced in the inscriptions, and both will be discussed here. Inscriptions preserved on the interior surfaces of molds created a visible signature on the exterior surfaces of figurines and may have been designed to communicate to the consumer information about the origin of the figurine. On the other hand, letters inscribed onto the exterior surfaces of molds were only seen by those who used the molds and were useful only to the craftsmen themselves.

The practice of inscribing names and monograms on terracottas and molds may have originated in Italy. Inscriptions on exterior surfaces of molds can be traced back to the 4th century B.C. in Taras, and figurines dating to the 3rd century B.C. at Capua were inscribed with "maker's marks." Beginning in the late Hellenistic period, coroplasts in Greece and Asia Minor began to incise names, combinations of letters, and monograms onto figurines and the interior surfaces of molds. More than 50 craftsmen's names are known from late Hellenistic and early Roman figurines. Kassab conducted a thorough study of hundreds of inscriptions on terracotta figurines from Myrina, and her observations are useful for interpreting the inscriptions found on the Agora terracottas.

Five figurine fragments from the Agora debris (78-80, 89, and 180) preserve inscriptions in intaglio on the exterior surface of the back of a figurine or figurine base. Four fragments (78, 79, 89, and 180) have slightly blurred letters with smooth surfaces. These inscriptions originated

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466 Burn and Higgins 2001, p. 18; Muller 2000, p. 103; Uhlenbrock 1990, p. 15. Thompson (1934, p. 7) observed that coroplasts at Myrina did not begin to sign figurines until the end of the 2nd century B.C., and most signed pieces from Myrina date between 60 B.C. and A.D. 40.
467 Uhlenbrock 1990, p. 15.
on the archetypes, where the letters were originally inscribed. The inscriptions were then transferred to the molds, where the letters appeared in relief. The inscribed mold (54) also received its relief inscription from an archetype. Small globules of clay at the ends of the strokes on the inscription on the Aphrodite figurine plinth (89) suggest that the letters were incised directly onto the figurine, but the smooth, blurred quality of the letters indicates that the letters were present in the mold. Small pearls of clay in the grooves of the letters also suggest that the mold was made of plaster. One figurine fragment was incised before firing. The inscription on the bottom edge of an articulated figurine or figurine base (80) is sharp and the clay is pushed up where the stylus came to the end of a stroke.

Although only one of the inscriptions is complete (54), several others can probably be interpreted as proper names. Kassab observed that names inscribed on figurines from Myrina can be in the nominative, genitive, or dative cases, and the two best-preserved inscriptions from the Agora (54 and 89) are the genitive form of the same name: Μάρκου.\textsuperscript{469} Kassab suggests that the genitive forms denote possession and indicate the name of the "master" or owner of the workshop instead of a craftsman who created the mold or used the mold to manufacture figurines.\textsuperscript{470} Although it is impossible to prove with certainty whether the names refer to the craftsmen responsible for the handiwork or the supervising workshop owner, several interpretations are possible.

The placement of the signatures on the exterior of the figurines, albeit on the back, along with the high visibility of the letters, suggests that the intended audience for the inscriptions was the consumer. Such identification strengthens the hypothesis that the inscriptions are names of

\textsuperscript{469} Kassab 1988, p. 9.
\textsuperscript{470} Kassab 1988, p. 8.
archetype modelers. The names of craftsmen were prominently displayed on the figurines in order to convey a "brand" or a type of artistic signature. Research on signatures on painted Attic vases provides relevant hypotheses on the function of signatures. Seeberg observed the relative dearth of ἔγραψεν signatures compared to ἐποίησεν signatures on painted vases and suggested that the potter’s name (ἐποίησεν) may be more frequently displayed on vases because consumers dealt directly with the painters. For this reason, it was much more likely that the consumer knew the identity of the painter and not the potter, who may not have had any direct contact with the consumer. The ἐποίησεν signature, therefore, ensured that the consumer knew the identity of the craftsman who had created the pot. In a similar way, the names inscribed onto the backs of archetypes, which eventually made their way in intaglio onto moldmade figurines, could be the names of archetype modelers. If the craftsmen in the figurine workshop acquired archetypes from other sources, the archetype modelers would not have had any direct contact with consumers, and inscribing their names on the backs of archetypes ensured that they would be credited for their creations.

The existence of at least four different “signatures” on terracottas discarded in the debris suggests that the names refer to individual craftsmen. The use of inscriptions on only a small proportion of the figurines, however, raises the question of why only some figurines were inscribed, but there is no clear answer to this question. The inscribed fragments are by no means the pieces that display the greatest technical skill or artistry. Furthermore, there are inscribed and uninscribed examples of the same types.

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The name Μᾶρκος, preserved in the genitive case on the interior of the back mold for an articulated warrior figurine (54) and on the back side of the plinth for an Aphrodite figurine (89), deserves special attention. The same name in the genitive case appears on a figurine of Telesphoros from Asia Minor. Μᾶρκος is Greek for the Latin name Marcus, and the earliest attestations of the Greek name in the literary and epigraphical record are in the 1st century B.C. The name soon gained in popularity, however, and became the fourth most common Latin cognomen in use in Athens. Although the name comes from Latin, it does not necessarily indicate the identity of its holder. Solin illustrates the possibilities for men with Latin names in the Greek East: “Romans or Italics settled in the East and their Hellenized descendants; provincial Greeks with Roman citizenship; and any Orientals who bore a Latin name in lieu of a Greek or local one.”

The letter-forms in the two inscriptions are quite different. The letter "M" on the warrior mold was inscribed with two lambda-shaped strokes, beginning at the bottom left and ending at the bottom right. The same letter was inscribed with at least three strokes on the Aphrodite figurine: two strokes from top to bottom for the first two bars of the letter, followed by a lambda-shaped stroke for the second half of the letter executed from right to left. Furthermore, while the "A" on the warrior mold has a broken bar, the "A" on the Aphrodite figurine has a straight bar. While the name Μᾶρκος probably points to the same archetype modeler for both figurines, it is possible that the names were inscribed onto the archetypes by two different people, suggesting

473 It is worth mentioning that the inscription on the figurine plinth 180 begins with the letter "M," although this is the only letter preserved.
474 Besques 1972, p. 131, no. D881, pl. 162.
475 LGPN II, s.v. Μᾶρκος.
476 Solin 2001, p. 190. Μᾶρκος is technically a praenomen functioning as a cognomen, a common practice in Roman Athens discussed by Solin (2001, p. 196).
that the name should be seen less as an actual “signature” by the artist than as a marker of artistic origin.

The occurrence of the name Μᾶρκος on two figurines also has implications for relationships with lampmakers. Perlzweig insisted that no signature had been found on an Attic terracotta figurine that did not also appear on Athenian lamps. Although the workshop debris provides further evidence for her insistence on the close relationship between coroplasts and lampmakers, to my knowledge the name Μᾶρκος has not yet been found on an Athenian lamp.

Two lamp molds from the Agora debris (280 and 284) were inscribed with letters on the exterior surfaces of the molds before firing. Bailey’s discussions of mold-marks on Italian and Provincial Roman lamps in the British Museum do not include any inscriptions on the exterior surfaces of lamp molds. The inscriptions that Bailey discusses were transferred from the archetype to the mold to the moldmade lamp, and he suggested that these types of inscriptions would have been useful to identify the modeler of a particular lamp in a workshop where multiple copies of the same lamp mold were in use. Inscriptions on the exterior surfaces of molds, however, served a different purpose.

The practice of marking the exterior surfaces of molds can be traced back to Taras in the mid 4th century B.C. Tarantine molds were inscribed with names or groups of two or three letters, and Kingsley interpreted the marks as the names or abbreviations of the craftsmen who created the molds as individuals or in groups. She also pointed out that the markings were seen either by craftsmen using the molds or traders engaged in "commerce in molds," and therefore

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478 *Agora* VII, p. 59.
480 Bailey 1988, p. 117.
may also have been designed to convey the value of the molds.\textsuperscript{482} Uhlenbrock suggested that the names and monograms inscribed on the exterior of molds may indicate "general workshop production" instead of an individual coroplast.\textsuperscript{483}

The location of the inscriptions on the exterior of the two lamp molds from the debris indicates that the intended audience was the individuals who handled the molds, not the consumers of the finished lamps. Furthermore, the letters were inscribed onto the surfaces of the molds before firing, indicating that the messages that the inscriptions conveyed were included in the original design of the molds instead of having been added later by the craftsmen who used the molds.

The two-letter monogram (ΛΟ) inscribed on a lamp mold (284) is similar to the two-letter monograms seen on Hellenistic and early Roman figurines from Myrina, and there are two possible parallels for the horizontal line inscribed over the two letters.\textsuperscript{484} The corpus of signatures and monograms from Myrina is the most thorough study of inscriptions on a group of figurines, and many of the two-letter monograms from the Myrina corpus can be matched with the names of coroplasts known from full signatures on figurines.\textsuperscript{485} Although the intended audiences of figurine and mold inscriptions are different, both types of inscriptions probably refer to an object’s origin, whether that is an artist who created a figurine archetype or a modeler who fashioned a lamp mold. The "ΛΟ" monogram may refer to the name of a coroplast or workshop owner whose name began with those two letters.

\textsuperscript{482} Kingsley 1980, p. 43.  
\textsuperscript{483} Uhlenbrock 1990, p. 16.  
\textsuperscript{484} Kassab 1988, pp. 61-70. There are two examples of a "ΔΙ" monogram with horizontal line across the top, although the line may instead be the line where the bottom edge of the figure meets the plinth (Kassab 1988, p. 64, nos. 179 and 180).  
\textsuperscript{485} Kassab 1988, p. 21.
A second inscription on the exterior of a lamp mold, this one for the bottom part of an Alpha globule lamp (280), is only partially preserved, but five letters are readable. The inscription is divided into two lines. On the upper line, the letters ΟΥΟ or ΟΥΣ are visible, while the bottom line has two letters fully preserved with a vertical stroke for a third letter partially preserved on the right: ΓΓ. It is possible that the top line is shorthand for a name, while the bottom line (the double gamma) is a numerical notation.486

Both of these inscriptions were created for an audience of craftsmen and traders manufacturing, buying, selling, trading, or using the molds. This type of commerce in molds, however, need not have taken place over long distances. The Alpha globule lamp was a distinctively Athenian product, so the mold for this type of lamp found in the workshop debris probably did not travel very far from its place of manufacture. Nevertheless, with the great number of Alpha globule lamp molds of varying craftsmanship in circulation, it may have been useful to mark the artistic origin of the mold.487 While the message of the inscriptions is unclear to viewers today, they may once have conveyed the origin or value of the molds or possibly the type of lamps created by the molds.

Firing

There is little evidence for where the terracotta figurines were fired. The complete absence of wasters in the debris, along with the lack of a kiln in the immediate vicinity of the debris deposits or at the probable workshop site, suggests that the figurines were taken away

486 Gamma was the Attic numerical sign for the number 5 (Tod 1979, p. 3), although a notation including two consecutive fives instead of a delta for the number 10 would be unusual.
487 Perlzweig (Agora VII, p. 15) estimated that thousands of molds for the Alpha globule lamp type were in circulation over its estimated 150-year life span.
from the workshop site and fired in a kiln elsewhere, possibly in the Kerameikos where numerous Roman kilns have been excavated.\footnote{Hasaki (2002, p. 418) compiled a list of Roman kilns excavated in the Kerameikos area.} As a result, losses from breakage during firing, wasters, and test pieces did not return to the workshop and were almost certainly discarded at the kiln site.

The lack of a kiln in the immediate vicinity of the Commercial-Industrial Building, however, does not rule it out as the site of a coroplasts workshop. In his study of figurine production at Thasos, Muller imagined two types of organization of production for the manufacture of terracotta figurines.\footnote{Muller 1999, p. 285.} In one type, the manufacture of moldmade figurines is a secondary activity of pottery workshops equipped with kilns and other necessary installations. In the second type of organization, the molding of figurines is done at a workshop geographically separate from the potteries, but the coroplasts depend on the potteries for the acquisition of raw materials and use of the kiln. Muller added that the second type of organization of production is often found in so-called "cottage industries" in homes or in shops located in an agora.\footnote{Muller 1999, p. 285. Cahill (2002, p. 253) suggested a "cottage industry" model at Olynthos, where moldmade figurines were manufactured in houses and taken outside the city walls to be fired in a kiln. In her analysis of the coroplast's debris from Ilion, Miller (1991, pp. 57-58) imagined a similar situation, where coroplasts worked in a greater industrial district and shared kilns with potters, possibly at some distance from the coroplast's workshops.} The evidence from the Agora debris points toward this second type of workshop organization, with a dependence on outside resources for access to raw materials and a kiln.

Evidence from other sites suggests that figurines may have been fired alongside pottery in the same kiln with the same firing conditions. Analyses of the figurine fabrics and evidence for the firing conditions of the Hellenistic figurines from Thasos and Dura-Europos suggest that figurines could easily have been fired together with pottery in the same kiln, instead of requiring
a special load.\textsuperscript{491} In his examination of Roman figurine workshops in the Rhine-Mosel area, Van Boekel observed that different workshops in the area may have shared kilns, to the extent that a single firing of a kiln may have included products from numerous workshops.\textsuperscript{492}

The lack of a kiln in the Roman coroplast’s workshop in the Agora may have contributed to the widespread use of plaster molds, since a craftsman could have made a plaster mold from an archetype and then cast new figurines or lamps from the mold without having to use a kiln.\textsuperscript{493} The extra step of having to transport air-dried terracottas to and from the kiln may also have influenced molding techniques. As discussed above, figurines with more three-dimensionality may have been fired in pieces and joined at the workshop after their return from the kiln site in order to minimize breakage during the trips to and from the kiln. Moreover, the use of a shared kiln may also have given signatures a utilitarian function, as coroplasts could more easily claim their signed pieces after firing. The scarcity of signatures in the debris, however, suggests that signatures were not widely used in this way in the workshop.

\textbf{White Ground and Pigments}

After the terracottas were fired, they were returned to the workshop for final treatments. Some of the terracotta fragments preserve evidence for white ground and pigments. White ground—also called white wash—is a coating applied to the surface of a ceramic object to provide a uniform light color, and it serves as a smooth and consistent base layer for the

\textsuperscript{491} Muller 1999, p. 284; Downey 1993, pp. 139-140.  
\textsuperscript{492} Van Boekel 1987, p. 211.  
\textsuperscript{493} The foundation of workshops/shops at a distance from the kiln is also seen in the Attic painted pottery industry. Dumped debris found in the Rectangular Rock-Cut Shaft and the Stoa Gutter Well suggests that the shops where pottery was sold were nearby, but no contemporary kilns have been found in the vicinity (Vanderpool 1946, p. 266; Roberts and Glock 1986, p. 4).
application of pigments. White ground is often poorly preserved in depositional environments, and it is especially poorly preserved in the material considered in this study, since many of the terracotta fragments were washed along with pottery before they were identified as figurines and inventoried.

Although it is often unclear if white ground was applied before firing or after, a study conducted on terracottas from the British Museum indicates that identifying the chemical composition of a white ground can help answer the question with some certainty.\textsuperscript{494} According to Middleton, the white ground samples included in the X-ray diffraction analysis turned out to be mostly kaolinitic. Kaolinite breaks down at temperatures above 500-550 degrees Celsius, well below the average firing temperature of terracotta.\textsuperscript{495} For this reason, Middleton concluded that the kaolinitic white ground must have been applied after kiln firing.\textsuperscript{496} The white ground used on terracottas is different from the white ground used on late Archaic and Classical Athenian pottery. Athenian potters applied a clay slip to the surfaces of vessels to provide a light colored background for figured decoration and painted the figures before firing the pieces in a kiln.\textsuperscript{497} Unfortunately no scientific testing was performed on the white ground present on the terracottas from the Agora workshop debris. If, however, the white ground used on the Agora figurines has a similar chemical composition to that of the British Museum specimens, then the white ground was applied to the figurines upon their return to the workshop from the kiln site.

A total of 45 inventoried fragments have some white ground preserved on the surface. The white ground was observed with the naked eye and, in some cases, with a microscope during

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{494} Burn and Higgins 2001, pp. 307-310.
\item\textsuperscript{495} Rice (1987, p. 5) estimated the minimum firing temperature of terracotta at 900 degrees Celsius or less.
\item\textsuperscript{496} Burn and Higgins 2001, p. 309.
\item\textsuperscript{497} Mertens 2006, p. 186.
\end{itemize}
manual cleaning in the Conservation Lab. The wide range of types with preserved white
ground—including articulated figurines, wheels, masks, and figurines—suggests that the burial
conditions of the terracottas and post-extraction processing may be responsible for the relatively
low rate of preservation, and that a larger number of pieces received this treatment after firing.

After the terracottas were coated with white ground, some were decorated with pigments.
One sample of red pigment, contained within a scallop shell (302), was found in Room 6 of the
Commercial-Industrial Building. Yellow pigment was also found adhering to the exterior of the
shell. The pigment collection of the Athenian Agora includes several examples of pigments
found within shells, suggesting that shells were used as painters' palettes.498 Three such examples
(BI 1289, BI 1290, and BI 1291) containing red and yellow pigments were found at the
beginning of the 2007 excavation season on a Hellenistic period floor surface in Room 7 of the
Commercial-Industrial Building. The convex exterior shape of a shell fits nicely into the palm of
a hand, while the concave interior surface works well for mixing mineral or organic pigments
with organic binders.

Twenty-six terracotta fragments have traces of pigments preserved on their surfaces. The
preserved pigments are black, yellow, blue, pink, and red. The best example of a figurine with
preserved pigments is a brightly colored figurine of Silenos (125). The flat background of the
figure (between the sheep and Silenos and between Silenos' legs) is red, while his nude torso is
pink, his drapery is blue, and his headdress is yellow. Pink is also used for flesh color on a
grotesque head (236) and a head of a bearded philosopher (147). Black is used to outline facial
features on two figurines, an Aphrodite (84) and a Harpokrates (151). A leg of Pan (122) is
colored bright yellow.

498 Shells were also used for mixing cosmetics (Parlama and Stampolidis 2001, p. 304, no. 303).
The Agora workshop debris provides ample evidence for the application of white ground and pigments. The fact that these finishing touches were applied at the workshop site, requiring the return of the pieces from the kiln site, provides a clearer picture of the workshop’s workflow. In the study of white ground from the British Museum, Middleton observed some variation in surface treatment of Tanagra figurines of identical type, and suggests that perhaps some workshops produced fired “blanks” that were distributed to other centers to receive the final treatments of white ground and pigments.\footnote{Burn and Higgins 2001, p. 309.} This is clearly not the case in the Agora workshop. Evidence for pre- and post-firing steps in the manufacturing process at the workshop shows that the fired pieces returned to the site of molding, joining, and retouching for decorative treatments.

**Production Processes**

The coroplast’s debris from the Agora provides evidence for the *chaîne opératoire* of the manufacture of terracotta figurines and lamps. Detailed clues for the production of moldmade figurines and lamps are encoded in the fragments and molds left behind in the debris dumps. While there is little evidence for where and how the figurines were fired in a kiln, the figurine fragments, molds, and tools provide confirmation the other stages of production were carried out in the same location. Modeled and dried figurines and lamps were transported from the workshop to the kiln site and were returned after firing to receive finishing touches such as white ground and pigments.

Finally, there is no way to prove irrefutably that the figurines and lamps were sold at the workshop site. The evidence for this type of commerce, such as furnishings for displaying finished objects or money used for the purchase of merchandise, is either perishable or not likely
to survive in an abandoned and overbuilt workshop building. In this case, the best evidence for
the sale of the finished products at the workshop site is the location of the workshop and the
contents of the debris. The Commercial-Industrial Building was built alongside a road leading
into and out of the Agora at its northwest corner, and this road no doubt saw a considerable
amount of pedestrian traffic. The building probably profited from this central location along a
public route. Finally, the presence in the debris of multiple figurines cast from the same mold,
fired in the kiln, and returned from the kiln to the workshop strongly suggests that the finished
products were returned to the workshop site to be displayed, embellished, and sold to consumers.
CHAPTER 5: A ROMAN WORKSHOP IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

In this chapter, the combined evidence from the archaeological context of the workshop debris, along with the techniques and materials employed by the artisans and the types and styles of the finished products, is used to construct a comprehensive picture of the producers and consumers of this workshop.

The chapter begins with a justification for the use of the term “workshop” to describe the origin of the debris. Next, a detailed evaluation of the evidence for the organization of production, based on Costin’s outline of a craft production system, yields a full characterization of the workshop, including conclusions about the location of production, the agents of production (artisans), the structure and timing of the various production processes, and the social context of the workshop (relationships with craftsmen in other media and with consumers). The workshop will then be placed into the historical context of coroplastic production in the Athenian Agora, providing new evidence for production in the 1st to 2nd centuries A.D.

Next, the chapter will turn to an evaluation of the consumers of this workshop’s products. A general characterization of the terracottas produced by the workshop will show that the workshop output represents types and styles shared with contemporary production centers throughout the Roman world and borrowed from the Greek past. The identification of popular types also illuminates trends in the visual arts that can be traced in other contemporary media. Although the workshop debris was found in a context of production and not a context of use, excavated contexts of similar terracottas in the Agora and elsewhere in Athens suggest the possible functions that the objects may have served. Finally, the coroplastic workshop will be evaluated in the context of craft production and the visual arts in Roman Athens.

Costin 2005, p. 1040.
A Coroplastic Workshop

Identifying a “Workshop”

Scholars of the ancient world have taken different approaches to identifying workshops of ancient crafts and have employed the term “workshop” in two main ways: style-based workshops and workshop buildings. Scholars often use the term “workshop” to describe a group of products that share similar stylistic qualities and were probably created by a single artisan or group of artisans. In this use of the term, the city or region of production is usually known but the specific site where production occurred has not been identified. This usage is common in the study of Archaic and Classical Athenian pottery, particularly in cases where vases without provenance are grouped together based on stylistic distinctions attributed to one or more related artisans.  

Style-based workshops without evidence for a workshop edifice have also been identified for terracotta figurines. A great deal of work on this type of workshop has been done on the late 3rd century B.C. to early 1st century A.D. terracottas from the city of Myrina in Asia Minor. Figurines from Myrina have been assigned to workshop groups based on style, signatures, and technical details.  

The term “workshop” has also been applied to the physical locus of craft production, both when the architecture of the workshop has been identified and when it has not. In cases of cottage industry level of production, the locus of production was a home and one or more of the members of the household engaged in craft production on a part-time or full-time basis,

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502 Thompson 1934, p. 8; Besques 1964, p. 310.
seasonally or year-round. Larger-scale production took place outside of the home in specialized workshops often located in the public sector of the city.

In the absence of architectural remains, the presence of finished products (such as terracotta figurines), along with raw materials and the tools of production (including molds, bone tools, and unbaked clay), suggests that a coroplastic workshop was nearby. For example, in her 1991 publication of finds at Ilion, Stella Miller suggested that one context she studied was a dumped fill with evidence for a terracotta figurine workshop that may have been located in a nearby house. In fact, Miller’s publication of the finds at Ilion is one rare instance in which the tools of production (other than molds) have been linked to a figurine workshop, and her findings contribute to existing knowledge of the types of tools employed in a figurine workshop.

Evidence for figurine production with associated architecture, both domestic and non-domestic, have been identified at a number of sites, including Olynthos, Argos, Delos, Pella, and Corinth. At all of these sites, deposits of figurines and production tools excavated within buildings have led excavators to conclude that the buildings housed coroplastic workshops.

This study employs the term “workshop” as a locus of craft production. The analysis of the contents and depositional pattern of the debris presented in Chapter 2 indicates that the debris originated in a coroplastic workshop and that the workshop building where the debris originated is close by. Furthermore, I argue that the workshop was located in one or more of the three southernmost rooms of the Commercial-Industrial Building.

Workshop Location

503 Miller 1991, p. 54.
The Commercial-Industrial Building was built ca. 400 B.C. in an area delimited on the south by the back wall of the Stoa Poikile (which was built in the mid 5th century B.C.) and on the west by a north-south road leading out of the Agora at its northwest corner. The area around the building slopes downward to the south toward the Eridanos River. The building was built with its west wall aligned with the western end of the Stoa Poikile, and there is evidence that the southern and eastern walls of the building (Wall 1 and Wall B) pre-date the building and belonged to earlier structures on the site. The fact that the southern wall of the Commercial-Industrial Building is exactly parallel with the back wall of the Stoa Poikile, and the way in which Wall 1 continues further to the east past Wall B of the Commercial-Industrial Building, suggests that Wall 1 belonged to a building that predated the construction of the stoa. In other words, either the stoa was designed to respect the line of Wall 1, or else Wall 1 belonged to a building that was built after the construction of the stoa in the mid-5th century B.C. In this case, the building did not last long, since Wall 1 was available for reuse when the Commercial-Industrial Building was built ca. 400 B.C.

Although the opportunity to reuse these pre-existing walls probably made the location attractive for prospective builders, the siting of the Commercial-Industrial Building immediately beyond the entrance to the Agora with doorways opening on to what was no doubt a busy street also added to the building’s economic potential. The location of a workshop on the perimeter of the Agora followed a pattern that was established in the Classical period. Dedicated workshop buildings, as well as houses where small-scale craft production took place, were situated on the periphery of the Athenian Agora throughout its history.505 Marbleworkers, bronzesmiths, and coroplasts chose to situate their workshops just outside the civic center, where they could take

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505 Young 1951, pp. 269-272; Tsakiris 2005.
advantage of these high-traffic areas and make their products readily available to consumers in the city center.\textsuperscript{506}

Although there are no textual records to identify the individuals or groups involved in the construction of the Commercial-Industrial Building, an analysis of the location, layout, and construction methods of the building suggests that while the exterior walls of the building in its original form were probably erected as part of a single project, the arrangement of the interior rooms changed numerous times during the life of the building. The uniformity of the western (Wall A) and eastern walls of the building (Wall B) suggests that the building was originally planned to be at least as long as it is preserved, i.e. at least seven rooms long. The variety of masonry types and orientations of the interior dividing walls, however, suggest that the interior space of the building was rearranged and renovated by different parties over time. It seems possible that a single authority was responsible for the construction of the building in its original form, while the occupants of the rooms may have carried out renovations to rearrange the interior spaces to suit specific needs.

The simplicity of the building’s original design offered tenants a certain amount of flexibility in arranging the layout of individual rooms. Simple rectangular rooms, each with a single doorway opening onto the street, could have been adapted to the needs of a number of different types of industry, including coroplasty, metalsmithing, and marble sculpting, and the

\textsuperscript{506} In her articles on the Hellenistic figurines from the Athenian Agora, Thompson identified a total of nine deposits with evidence for coroplastic workshops (Thompson 1952, pp. 120-121; Thompson 1957, p. 110; Thompson 1963a, p. 277; Thompson 1965, p. 53; Thompson 1965, p. 63; Thompson 1965, p. 66; Thompson 1966a, p. 2). These deposits were located on the north and west slopes of the Areopagus, the area west of the Areopagus, and the foot of the Kolonos Agoraioi. Grandjouan (Agora VI, p. 99) identified one context with evidence for a coroplast’s workshop in fill dumped on top of the ruins of the Odeion. Locations of workshops for sculptors and metalsmiths can be found in Lawton (2005), Mattusch (1977, pl. 77), and Milbank (2002).
sale of these industries’ finished products. Indeed, Rotroff identified at least eight purpose-built Classical period shop buildings on the fringes of the Athenian Agora for the manufacture and sale of goods.\textsuperscript{507} Furthermore, there is no reason to rule out the possibility that one or more of the rooms were used for the sale of food and/or beverages. In his discussion of Building Δ on the northeast corner of the Athenian Agora, Milbank suggested that this type of multi-purpose building may have been known in antiquity as a synoikia, a type of publicly owned structure where the rooms were leased out individually to artisans and shopkeepers.\textsuperscript{508}

While it is impossible to say for certain whether the Commercial-Industrial Building was publicly or privately owned, the building was standing in one form or another and in use for a period of at least 450 years, nearly as long as the commercial and industrial Building Δ at the northeast corner of the Agora, which stood for 600 years. The long life of the building suggests that it may have been part of the public domain. The city may have been responsible for the building’s overall maintenance, and as the owner, evidently had a stake in its longevity. It is difficult to imagine how the building could have lasted for centuries under private ownership, which would have consisted of a series of owners over the generations. In the case of public ownership, the individual rooms may have been leased out over time to artisans and shopkeepers, who carried out small-scale renovations to the spaces to suit their changing needs over time.\textsuperscript{509}

The coroplast established his workshop in one or more of the rooms of the Commercial-Industrial Building at least four centuries after its construction, and may have inhabited the

\textsuperscript{507} Rotroff 2009, pp. 40-41.
\textsuperscript{508} Milbank (2002, p. 107) drew comparisons between Building Δ and a similar building in the Thriasian agora whose lease to the deme of Eleusis is documented in an inscription (\textit{IG II}², 2500; \textit{Agora} XIX, p. 160).
\textsuperscript{509} Unfortunately there is no epigraphical evidence from the Athenian Agora to support this type of arrangement.
building for as long as 125 years. In contrast, the eight Hellenistic deposits that Thompson identified as workshop debris dated to 25-50 year periods and were scattered across the north and west slopes of the Areopagus and the southeast foot of the Kolonos Agoraois, suggesting a more decentralized model of production where several different workshops were active in different locations on the west side of the Agora throughout the Hellenistic period.

Since the Commercial-Industrial Building was not purpose-built for craft workshops, each roughly rectangular room had to be altered to meet the needs of its tenant. The needs of a coroplast are simple and similar to the needs of other artisans. The types of functional areas that a coroplast workshop needs can be inferred from the production processes: storage of raw materials and water; space for artisans to prepare the raw clay, press the clay into molds, join the parts of a moldmade figurine both before and after firing, and add white ground and pigments; and areas where the molds could be left while the clay within dries and shrinks back from the mold and where joined figurines could dry until they were ready to be taken to the kiln. If the workshop was also used as a showroom for the sale of figurines, the layout may also have included an area for the display of finished products. While most of these activities could be carried out in an indoor space with minimal furnishings, the need for space for drying figurines presents a special predicament.

The spatial requirements of the workshop can also depend on the climate and whether terracottas were manufactured seasonally or year-round. Terracottas made of fine clay need to be dried slowly and steadily in order to prevent the piece from cracking and warping. If production in this workshop was carried out year round, spatial requirements may have changed with the seasons. The hot and dry summers and cooler rainy winters of the Mediterranean

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510 Rice 1987, p. 67.
climate determined the space and time requirements for drying. Pieces made of fine clay can be left to dry outdoors in the shade or indoors during the hot and dry season, and indoors (possibly near a heat source) during the cold and rainy season.\textsuperscript{511} Drying time depends on the weather and ranges from days to weeks.\textsuperscript{512} Since the rooms in the Commercial-Industrial Building do not appear to have direct access to an outdoor space such as a courtyard, drying may have taken place entirely indoors regardless of the season. Although the terracottas and lamps produced in the workshop were small in size (compared to the larger products of some pottery workshops) and may not have taken as much space during the drying period, most of the objects could not be easily stacked to conserve space. In order to preserve precious workshop space for crafting activities, shelves would have provided much needed vertical space to house figurines and lamps for days or weeks until they were ready to be fired in the kiln.

One last type of functional space necessary for most types of craft production, and certainly for a coroplastic workshop, is a midden. The creation of waste is an inevitable part of the craft production process, and while most workshops probably devoted some indoor space to a dump for provisional discard, bulky waste had to be removed from the workshop when too much accumulated indoors. In the case of coroplastic production, the waste included fired figurines that were discarded because of technical faults or breakage and broken or worn out molds. Unfired terracottas that were broken or faulty could be turned back into usable clay. Since fired terracotta cannot be used again as a raw material in coroplastic production, there would have

\textsuperscript{511} Rice 1987, p. 152.
\textsuperscript{512} Rice 1987, pp. 152-153.
been no reason to bring misfired pieces back to the coroplast work from the kiln.\textsuperscript{513} For this reason, discard of misfired pieces doubtlessly took place at the kiln site. The processes through which the debris found its way into pits, building fills, and walls are discussed above in Chapter 2. I propose that the abandoned northern rooms of the Commercial-Industrial Building, as well as the area behind the building to the east, served as dumping grounds for disposal of workshop refuse.

There do not appear to be doorways in the back wall of the Commercial-Industrial Building to provide access from the rooms to the area to the east. Therefore, although the “waste stream” that the refuse traveled from the workshop to the middens was quite short, there was no direct route from the workshop to the midden. Workshop refuse had to be taken out through the front door and carried a few meters north along the street in order to be dumped north or east of the building.

\textit{Looking for the Artisans}

The agents of craft production are artisans. Costin defined a craftsperson, or artisan, as a person “whose competence comes from skilled mastery of material and technique.”\textsuperscript{514} Artisans are an important component of the full picture of craft production, but studies of crafts only recently began to include inquiries into the identities of the artisans. Artisans, Costin argued, are “the ones who actively create or capture social meaning and transform it into material objects

\textsuperscript{513} Peña (2007, p. 250) details the numerous ways that fired ceramics were reclaimed and reused as a raw material in Roman wall construction, waterproofing, floor paving, and pottery manufacture.  
\textsuperscript{514} Costin 2005, p. 1035.
through craft production,” and the various elements of an artisan’s identity (gender, age, ethnicity, social status, and skill level) act as a filter for this transformative process.\(^{515}\)

Without supporting textual evidence, it is difficult to identify the gender and social status of the various workers engaged in craft production in the Roman coroplastic workshop in the Athenian Agora. Although fingerprint analysis may help determine the age of the craftsmen who pressed the clay into the molds, this type of analysis has not been done on the figurine fragments. The workshop debris does, however, provide evidence for other facets of the artisans’ identities.

The organization of coroplastic production, as evidenced in the workshop debris, allows artisans with different types of skills to work in the same workshop. The absence of obvious archetypes in the debris (solid ceramic figurines often serve as archetypes, although the archetypes may also be made of perishable materials) suggests that the workshop personnel may not have included an archetype modeler. Archetype modeling is perhaps the only “artistic” or creative (as opposed to “artisanal”) role in figurine production. A coroplastic workshop may employ an archetype modeler to create new figurine types, but the workshop may instead use existing figurines (acquired from a nearby workshop or imported) as archetypes for figurine molds. Coroplastic workshops may also have had arrangements with small-scale bronze sculptors, who also employed archetypes in the manufacture of bronze statuettes.

Inscriptions originating on archetypes and replicated on the interior surfaces of molds and the exterior surfaces of figurines, discussed in detail in Chapter 4, probably indicated the identity of the archetype modeler. The use of different letter-forms in two different examples of inscriptions for Μᾶρκος, however, suggests that at least two different individuals were responsible for the inscriptions. Therefore, while the inscriptions almost certainly point to the

\(^{515}\) Costin 2001, p. 279.
pieces’ artistic origin, they are probably not “signatures” in the modern sense of the term. Furthermore, although the examples inscribed with Μᾶρκος include a mold and a figurine, the absence of an inscribed archetype leaves open the possibility that Μᾶρκος worked outside of the coroplastic workshop studied here. Instead, the workshop may have acquired molds taken from original “Μᾶρκος” archetypes created elsewhere.

Although there is no conclusive evidence for the presence of an archetype modeler working in the workshop, craftsmen with a wide variety of other skills were certainly involved in the production activities. Skilled duties in the workshop included preparing raw materials (clay, slip, white ground, and pigments), creating ceramic and plaster molds, fabricating figurines and lamps in multi-part molds and joining the pieces, retouching figurines, and applying decorative finishes after the return of the figurines from the kiln to the workshop. Coroplastic production also involved unskilled labor, especially in bringing raw materials into the workshop and transporting the lamps and figurines from the workshop to the kiln site and back. There is no reason, however, to assume that the skilled workers could not have performed these duties as well. Furthermore, unlike some domestic structures around the Athenian Agora where evidence for craft production activities has been found, the Commercial-Industrial Building did not serve as residential quarters for any of its workers.\textsuperscript{516} The coroplastic workers were therefore not necessarily members of a single family. Instead, the workshop probably employed skilled (and possibly also unskilled) laborers to carry out the various crafting duties.

\textit{Technology and the Organization of Production: Space, Time, and Personnel}

\textsuperscript{516} Tsakirgis 2005.
The sequence of manufacturing processes in coroplastic production, the spatial and temporal organization of production, and the level of skill demanded from the workers were heavily influenced by the technologies employed in moldmade production.\textsuperscript{517} This section will explore the implications of the choice of molds as the technological method employed in the workshop. Artisans in this coroplastic workshop may have chosen to employ the technology of molds in order to achieve a level of visual standardization. Moldmade production inherently lends itself to standardization, as the use of molds leads to uniformity in the resulting images. This type of visual uniformity was crucial in coroplastic production, where the legibility of the final product allowed the artisan to communicate with the consumer. The choice of using ceramic and plaster molds, however, also had implications for the organization of production in the workshop.

There are two facets to the question of temporal organization in craft production: the time that lapses in a single production cycle and the portion of the year that is spent on craft production. The use of molds in coroplastic production has been traditionally been viewed as a more “efficient” manufacturing method than modeling by hand. Dean Arnold, however, challenged the idea that artisans choose molding technology in order to save time. Arnold’s study of 20\textsuperscript{th} century pottery production in Ticul, Mexico, showed that craftsmen who employed vertical-half molding technology for the creation of large vessels required more time compared to craftsmen employing the more traditional hand-modeled (coil) technique.\textsuperscript{518} Using molds, the vessel halves had to dry partially in their molds (tying up the molds for the drying period), and then the vessels had to dry after being joined from the two halves. This intermediate step,

\textsuperscript{517} Arnold 1999, p. 59.
\textsuperscript{518} Arnold 1999, p. 67.
allowing the pieces to dry in the molds, not only added extra time to the production process, but also demanded more space for drying in the workshop. This same multi-stage molding, drying, and piecing process was used in moldmade coroplastic production in the Roman workshop in the Athenian Agora, but the workshop may have reduced the negative impact on the length of the production process by employing plaster molds. Using plaster, the workshop would have been able to quickly fabricate multiple molds from a single archetype without the need of a kiln. Indeed, the surface patterns on the terracotta wheels show that at least seven plaster wheel molds were in use in the period of time when the debris was discarded. While the additional drying stages required by the use of molds lengthened the time of a production cycle, the use of multiple plaster molds may have mitigated this negative impact on the workshop’s efficiency.

A second temporal consideration in coroplastic production is the question of whether production took place year-round or seasonally. The fact that the figurine and lamp production were carried out at the workshop level, outside the home, does not necessarily guarantee that the craftsmen were engaged in craft production year-round. Costin observed “the scheduling of craft production is related to the agricultural cycle and environmental conditions in nonindustrial societies, no matter the level of complexity.” Craft production involving ceramics, in particular, is sensitive to the seasons, since certain processes (like drying) can take significantly longer or necessitate different spatial requirements during the cool, wet winters of the Mediterranean.

Aside from textual evidence, perhaps the only type of evidence that could be used to assess the seasonality of coroplastic production is the identification of organic inclusions in the clay. An analysis of the size and shape of the voids left by the incineration of organic inclusions

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519 Costin 2005, p. 1057.
during firing may help to identify the plants that were used as temper.\textsuperscript{520} If certain plants were only available seasonally, the presence of those plants may indicate the season of production. This type of analysis was not carried out on the Agora terracottas, but it would not produce a conclusive answer to this question. While this method may confirm that production took place during one or two seasons, the absence of plants that flourish during other seasons would not rule out coroplastic production in those seasons. The organic evidence, therefore, cannot be used alone to argue for seasonal production.

Furthermore, although the Mediterranean climate made ceramic craft production easier in the warmer, drier months of the year, modifications to the production cycle, such as lengthening the drying time, changing the drying location, or aiding the drying process using a moderate heat source, could have made production possible in the winter months. Unfortunately, there is no evidence in the workshop debris to confirm either seasonal or year-round production.

The choice to use molds in coroplastic production also had an impact on the craftsmen who worked in the workshop. Unlike hand modeled terracottas, where some artistic skill is required to create an image, and variation in the final products is inevitable, moldmade terracottas recreate an image produced by someone else (the archetype modeler) and the final products are homogeneous.\textsuperscript{521} The work of creating moldmade terracottas in a coroplastic workshop can therefore be carried out by less skilled workers. In his study of pottery workshops, Arnold also found that the use of vertical-half molding for large vessels required less skill than other forming techniques (including hand modeling with coils).\textsuperscript{522} As a result, workers with little

\textsuperscript{520} Rice 1987, pp. 350-351.
\textsuperscript{521} Out of the 268 terracotta objects included in this study, only five appear to be hand modeled (129-131, 191, and 192).
\textsuperscript{522} Arnold 1999, pp. 64-65.
or no previous experience in pottery production could be employed in pottery workshops. He pointed out that the use of molds in figurine production is particularly advantageous because a workshop can produce high quality, uniform figurines using less skilled workers. The highly-skilled “artistic” work of creating archetypes, therefore, is done at the front end of the manufacturing process by the archetype modeler, who may or may not have been attached to this particular workshop.

The use of molds in figurine production in Athens was not new in the 1st to 2nd century A.D. Ceramic molds were used in Greece beginning in the 7th century B.C., and plaster molds were used in Athens beginning in the 2nd century B.C. Nevertheless, the decision to employ both ceramic and plaster molds in figurine and lamp production was a choice by the workshop’s craftsmen, and this choice had significant implications for the organization of production in the workshop.

**The Social Context of Production: Relationships with Other Industries**

The social context of craft production, as defined by Costin, locates an artisan or a workshop in social space and includes relationships among artisans and relationships between producers and consumers. While the relationships between the craftsmen and the consumers will be discussed below (see p. 212), this section will explore connections between the coroplast plastic workshop and craftsmen and workshops in other industries.

The lack of a kiln in or near the coroplastic workshop in the Athenian Agora is the best evidence for close ties with nearby potters. As discussed above in Chapter 4, it was not unusual

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523 Arnold 1999, p. 66.  
for coroplastic workshops to depend on potteries for access to a kiln. Since the firing conditions for terracottas and lamps are often similar to the conditions for firing pottery, coroplasts may not have required a separate firing of the kiln and may have shared space in a single kiln firing with potters’ products. Potters may also have helped coroplasts with the acquisition of raw materials, including clay, plaster, and pigments.

The coroplastic workshop also intersected with the lampmaking industry. Five lamp molds were found in the debris, along with a fragment that may have belonged to a moldmade plastic lamp (140). The production of moldmade figurines and lamps requires similar raw materials, tools, and skills. Just as the workshop debris did not include a single archetype for a figurine, it also did not include a lamp archetype. Lampmakers created molds from archetypes in three different ways. While the workshop may have used archetypes made of perishable materials that were not recovered in the debris (wax or plaster, for example), archetypes may also have been obtained from artisans elsewhere. A third option, surmoulage, results in products that are smaller than the originals. While this reduction in size may not have been much of a problem in figurine manufacture, it would have been more important to maintain consistency in the size of moldmade lamps, so this type of serial production would not have been desirable in lamp production.

Coroplasts in the Agora workshop may also have cultivated relationships with bronzeworkers. If the workshop used purpose-made figurine archetypes but did not employ an archetype modeler, the coroplasts may have acquired archetypes from another workshop. The type of additive, plastic sculpting involved in the creation of archetypes for terracotta figurines was also used employed in the creation of archetypes for manufacturing small-scale bronze sculptures by the indirect lost-wax technique. Alternately, bronze statuettes themselves may have
served as archetypes for terracotta figurines.\textsuperscript{526} This highly-skilled, “artistic” step of the figurine production process may therefore have taken place outside of the coroplastic workshop, and the acquisition of archetypes would have necessitated cooperation with artisans working in bronze. An early Hellenistic clay positive found just east of the Commercial-Industrial Building further illustrates the possible close ties between metalsmiths and coroplasts.\textsuperscript{527} The piece, with an image in relief taken from a metal vessel, may have been used as a stamp for clay.

Craftsmen in the coroplastic workshop in the Athenian Agora did not work in isolation. Rather, the workshop functioned as a member of a network of craftsmen in Roman Athens. These close relationships guaranteed that artisans in the coroplastic workshop maintained relationships throughout the craft community to ensure continuing access to raw materials, tools, and resources.

\textbf{History of a Coroplastic Workshop}

Stylistically, the workshop certainly marks a departure from the traditions of artists who made their mark during the height of Hellenistic coroplastic production, but some of the techniques and types employed by the Roman-era craftsmen are not drastically different from coroplasts working during the decline at the end of the Hellenistic era. The simultaneous use of ceramic and plaster molds, for example, began in Athens in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} century B.C. Furthermore, the evaluation of the types produced by this workshop shows that while the workshop products

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{526} Higgins 1986, p. 66. \\
\textsuperscript{527} Camp 1996, p. 239, no. 11, pl. 68. Barr-Sharrar (2008, p. 108) used the term “clay positive” to describe this type of second-generation impression taken from a metal vessel with decoration in relief. 
\end{flushleft}
included some innovations in types, several of the popular trends began before the inception of this workshop.

The chronological clues provided by the ceramics and lamps recovered with the workshop debris are the best evidence for reconstructing the history of the coroplastic workshop. This evidence is presented in detail in Chapter 2, but it remains to be seen how long the coroplastic workshop was in operation. Unfortunately, the lack of multiple superimposed stratigraphically distinct debris layers, and the fact that the debris seems to have been transformed through a series of formation processes, make it impossible to create a relative chronology of the workshop’s output. Furthermore, for the most part, the dates gleaned from the accompanying ceramics and lamps provide a rather wide range of dates for the deposition of the debris. The stratigraphical layers and deposits containing the majority of the workshop debris date to the late 1st to 2nd century A.D. While it is impossible to pinpoint the exact period of production down to decades or even a half-century, the context dates are secure enough to assert that the deposition of the refuse, and therefore the operational dates for the workshop, took place during this period of about 125 years.

As discussed above, the debris represents multiple dumping events over a period of time, not a single discard of refuse. Nevertheless, 125 years span at least five generations, which is a long period of time in terms of craft production. In contrast, many of the Hellenistic contexts identified by Thompson as workshop debris belonged to a period of a quarter- to a half-century. Although the debris recovered from the excavations almost certainly does not represent 100 percent of the material discarded from the workshop, my working assumption is that it represents a significant portion of the discarded material. The craftsmen seem to have had a preference for dumping refuse in the abandoned northern end of the building and the area to the east of the
building, and all of these areas have been excavated down to levels predating the operation of the workshop.

It is unclear whether the workshop occupied Room 1, 2, or 3 of the Commercial-Industrial Building (or a combination of rooms), and unfortunately floor surfaces excavated in the building do not help narrow down the period of operation of the workshop. In Room 1, two patches of floor surfaces and a deposit of vessels on a surface help assign the latest period of use of the room to the 2nd century A.D., while in Room 3 the latest floor surface dated to after the middle of the 1st century A.D.\textsuperscript{528} In general, clay floors have to be renewed at least every half-century, if not once per generation. Indeed, the full sequence of floor surfaces recovered in Room 1 shows that the floor was renewed at least 10 times between 400 B.C. and the late 1st to 2nd century A.D. Of these 10 surfaces in Room 1, two belong to this room’s latest period of occupation, suggesting that the latest phase of Room 1 lasted several generations. The possibility remains, however, that the workshop was located in Room 2 or Room 3, where the chronology of the floor surfaces is less clear for the latest period of occupation.

The reason for the demise of the workshop is unclear. Although it seems to correspond with the last period of use of the three southernmost rooms of the Commercial-Industrial Building, it is impossible to know if the workshop closed because the building fell into disrepair, or if the building was abandoned after its last inhabitants left. After the abandonment of the building in the 2nd century A.D., the area was transformed. A similarly long and narrow building using the same wall facing the street was constructed on the site of the Commercial-Industrial Building. This new building was narrower, as its back wall was closer to the street than the back wall of the Commercial-Industrial Building, and the interior arrangement was different.

\textsuperscript{528} Floor surfaces: Lot BE 797 and Lot BE 798; Deposit J 2:2 (vessels).
Although recent excavations have failed to reveal clearly the layout of this building in its earliest phase, the interior space appears to have been supported by a series of wide, square pier foundations. This new construction marked a new phase of occupation in the area, a phase that appears to have been devoid of craftsmen and craft production.

**Products and Demand**

This section will explore the variety of types produced in the workshop, and will look to contemporary artistic media, coroplastic traditions in Athens, and terracottas produced in other regions of the Roman world in an attempt to explain the demand for these types. Although these artifacts were found in a context of production, it is possible to speculate on the possible functions that the terracottas were designed to serve.

**Types: Borrowed, Shared, and Innovated**

The coroplastic arts are at once conservative and innovative. Moldmade production results in groups of identical objects, reinforcing the importance of the image and the repeated reuse of the same types. On the other hand, the relative ease with which a coroplast can fashion a ceramic or plaster mold from a new, imported, and/or never-before-seen type, or a newly created archetype lends a spirit of experimentation to the industry. Experimentation is perhaps easier in the medium of small-scale terracottas than in larger-scale, public media such as marble sculpture. Craftsmen in coroplastic workshops gained inspiration for new types from other artistic media, and they were also free to experiment with slip, white ground, and pigments.
The types present in the Agora workshop debris are a mixture of continued Hellenistic traditions, images borrowed from other artistic media, and types that belong to what appears to have been a Roman coroplastic koiné. All of these influences will be discussed separately below.

**Classical and Hellenistic Traditions**

Some of the types present in the workshop’s repertoire reflect a continuation of Classical and Hellenistic traditions. Although at least a century passed from the decline of late Hellenistic coroplastic workshops to the floruit of the Roman coroplastic workshop in the Athenian Agora, there are several different possible explanations for continued production of Classical and Hellenistic types. There may have been scattered, small-scale local production in the intervening decades, or surviving examples of Hellenistic types may have served as models for Roman coroplasts.\(^{529}\) Alternately, consumer demand for certain Hellenistic types may not have changed between the late 1\(^{st}\) century B.C. and the late 1\(^{st}\) century A.D.

Popular Hellenistic types in Athens that became part of the Roman coroplast’s repertoire include types associated with theatricality and the theater: masks, Dionysos’ entourage (Pan, satyrs, and silenoi), theatrical and grotesque figurines, and caricatures. Thompson’s work on the Hellenistic figurines shows a growing interest throughout the Hellenistic period in the Dionysiac cult and masks and figures from Old Comedy and New Comedy.\(^ {530}\) It is unsurprising that a fondness for theatrical types and figures associated with the entourage of Dionysos continued into the Roman period in Athens. Roman appreciation for Hellenistic theatricality and the Greek

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\(^{529}\) No figurines, however, were found in the debris that were obviously manufactured in molds made from Hellenistic archetypes.

cult of Dionysos has been well documented in several media, including wall painting and mosaics. Masks as a decorative motif in domestic settings, in particular, served as symbols of the homeowner’s Hellenophile sophistication and harkened back to the “theatricality of the Hellenistic courts.”

Influences from Sculpture

Coroplasts also found inspiration for new figurine types in other artistic media. Well-known sculptures set up in public spaces, both contemporary and ancient, often served as models for new figurines. Although some scholars have viewed terracotta knockoffs of full-size sculptures (both marble and bronze) as “feeble copies,” it may be more useful to view terracotta imitations of large-scale sculptures as the natural diffusion of the images into a more accessible medium. Any difference in the quality of an image in terracotta may be attributable to the limitations of working at such a small scale and the pitfalls of reusing a mold until the details are faded. Furthermore, although terracotta figurines are created in three-dimensions, there is often a focus on the frontality of a figurine that causes a simplification or flattening of the original composition.

The Agora workshop debris preserves several types that either directly imitated or appear to have drawn inspiration from known large-scale sculptures, including Aphrodite, Silenos, and Asklepios. Although in some cases the coroplasts were imitating contemporary sculptural types, a few of the sculptural types were conceived as early as the Classical period and the coroplasts may have used ancient sculptures still on display in the city as models for new figurines.

531 Hales 2008, p. 239.
Figurines of Aphrodite, who is well represented in the workshop debris, depict three of her sculptural types: Knidian Aphrodite, Aphrodite Anadyomene, and Aphrodite Genetrix. A single example of the Knidian Aphrodite (82) replicates a sculptural type popular in the late Hellenistic and Roman sculptures based on a 4th century B.C. original. Although the 4th century B.C. original by Praxiteles was on display in Knidos in Asia Minor, 10 small-scale copies in marble from the Athenian Agora (and eight additional probable copies) attest to the popularity of the type in Athens.533

Aphrodite Anadyomene is depicted in three definite figurine fragments (84, 85, and 86) and two possible fragments (87 and 88). Unlike the Knidia, the Anadyomene type originated in a 4th century painting, but the type was also popular in small and large-scale sculpture from the late Hellenistic period onward.

The third Aphrodite sculptural type present in the debris, Aphrodite Genetrix, is thought to have originated in the late 5th century B.C. with a masterpiece by the Greek sculptor Kallimachos. The type was copied in full-size and small-scale replicas throughout the Greek and Roman world, and 12 marble statuettes and one full-size statue of this type were found in the Agora excavations.534

A figurine of Silenos also appears to have been inspired by full-size sculptures. The nearly completely preserved figurine of Silenos (125) from the Agora is similar in appearance, attributes, and pose to life-size and colossal stone figures of Silenos from the decorative programs of Roman theaters in Athens and Corinth. While the Silenoi from the Bema of

534 See n. 262 above.
Phaidros of the Theater of Dionysos of Athens crouch to support cushions on their shoulders, and one of the Silenoi from Corinth supports a wine sack on his shoulder with his left arm, the Silenos figurine supports a fruit basket on his head with his left arm.

One last figurine type influenced by full-scale sculpture and preserved in two identical fragments manufactured in the same mold (155 and 156) depicts Asklepios as he appears in sculptures named the “Giustini” type. Surviving full-size sculptures of this type are Roman copies of a 4th century B.C. prototype, but the late Classical original is believed to have been set up in the sanctuary of Asklepios on the south slopes of the Athenian Acropolis.\textsuperscript{535} In this case, the figurine appears to be a direct copy of the sculptural type, as it is identical both in pose and in the exact arrangement of drapery across the shoulders, torso, and hips. The probable Athenian origin of the sculptural type may indicate that the specific type was recognizable for an Athenian audience.

The Roman period saw a dramatic increase in the trade in original Greek sculptures and the proliferation of copies of the same. Greek treasures were viewed as symbols of the city’s glorious past and symbols of Hellenism, making them highly coveted for Hellenophile Romans. A coroplastic workshop producing miniature terracotta copies of full-size sculptures would have profited on this trend, fueling the market for the trade of all things Greek at a low cost and to a broader audience than full-size marble originals and copies.

\textit{Influences from Artistic Performance}

While full-size sculpture appears to have played an influential role for Roman coroplasts in Athens, the craftsmen also turned to contemporary trends in performance arts for inspiration.

\textsuperscript{535} \textit{LIMC} II, 1984, p. 893, s.v. Asklepios (B. Holtzmann); Meyer 1994.
Numerous types present in the workshop debris are drawn from various forms of entertainment, including theater, dance, and street performance. These types allowed consumers to bring forms of public entertainment into the private spheres of their lives, whether they were used as votives, funerary offerings, or decorations around the home.

Dancing figures, dressed in decidedly eastern garments (*chitoniskos cheridotos* and *anaxyrides*) and fashioned with articulated legs, depict a dance that was viewed as distinctly eastern. While the exact identification of the dance may not be possible, professional dancers in eastern dress were probably a common sight in theaters of the Greek east. \(^{536}\) Pantomime, an art that originated in early imperial Italy, also included dancers in eastern dress and remains a possible interpretation for the dancing figurines. The eastern-style dancing figures may have been generic enough to be interpreted as different types of performers in different contexts. Furthermore, the figures’ articulated legs allowed for the figurines themselves to serve as performers with the consumer acting as puppeteer.

Another group of theatrical, grotesque, and caricatural figurines (discussed above on p. 99) also reflected contemporary trends in performance. One grotesque head (126, possibly an import from Asia Minor) may depict a physically deformed street actor engaged in a performance of mime. Three phalloi (129, 130, and 131) probably belonged to caricature figurines of a smaller scale, possibly depicting comic actors or mimes. Although the ends of the phallos that were attached to the figurines are broken away, it is possible that two of the three phallos were attached to figurines in a way that they were moveable, lending these pieces an

\(^{536}\) See especially the graffito on the theater at Ephesos (Roueché 2002, pp. 257-259, no. I, figs. 40-41).
animated quality shared with the articulated dancers. A miniature figurine in a loincloth (132) may depict a mime or an actor in the role of a slave in comedy.

The most obvious evidence for the impact of the theater on the workshop products are the more than three dozen fragments of full-size and small-scale masks. Full-size terracotta masks were not used in the theater, but were displayed in various contexts as generic allusions to the theater and to Dionsysos, the god of the theater. The mask was a popular motif in architectural sculpture, marble sarcophagi, mosaics, and wall painting, but terracotta masks were the only stand-alone full-size replicas of these theatrical props. Nevertheless, although terracotta masks were in essence inspired by contemporary masks used in theater, the majority of the terracotta masks do not depict specific tragic or comic types, but are rather symbols of theatricality for use in non-theater contexts. The sharp contrast between the few Hellenistic terracotta mask fragments and the dozens of Roman terracotta masks reflects a growing interest in bringing visual references to the theater into the private sphere of the home, sanctuary, and grave.

The world of the theater was very much alive in the first centuries of the Roman Empire. Jones demonstrated that in addition to the introduction of mime and pantomime performances, classic comedies and tragedies continued to be performed in Athens alongside new tragic and comic creations. The Augustan era was particularly ripe for the creation and performance of new dramas in Athens. As a well-known Hellenophile, Hadrian was also apparently a patron of the theater, and his reign witnessed a great revival of Greek theatrical performances and competitions. This renewed interest in the theater, which spawned re-stagings of classic plays and the creation of new dramas combined with the introduction of new forms of performance,

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served as a cultural backdrop for the design and manufacture of theatrically-themed terracotta trinkets.

**A Roman Koiné**

Some of the types found in the workshop debris appear to have been part of a Roman coroplastic koiné. These types include some that were Roman innovations and others that existed in the Hellenistic period but enjoyed increased and widespread popularity during the Roman period. Similar terracottas have been found in other parts of the Roman world, both near and far. Types from the Agora debris that belong to this Roman coroplastic koiné, which reflects trends traceable in other areas of visual culture and trends specific to the medium of terracotta, include life-size masks, Aphrodite, and terracottas with moveable parts.

While several Hellenistic terracotta masks were found in the Athenian Agora, the dozens of mask fragments recovered from the workshop debris represent a sharp increase in the production of this type in the 1st to 2nd centuries A.D. Demand for terracotta mask models, however, was not restricted to Roman Athens. Full-size terracotta masks were popular in the Roman west, particularly in Italy and the northwest provinces. Rose documented masks found in Germany and discussed comparanda in Italy, while Van Boekel catalogued masks from the Netherlands. Van Boekel divided the masks from the Netherlands into two groups: female masks related to comedy and male masks with sharp teeth that may be related to farce. Rose’s masks from Germany primarily include types with grotesque or caricatural features related to farce, and Rose pointed out that it is only in the northwest provinces that farce types prevail in

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terracotta masks. While full-size terracotta masks were manufactured throughout the Roman world, there appear to be regional differences in the preferred types.

The mask also enjoyed popularity as a decorative motif in various media throughout the Roman world. In her article on the popularity of Aphrodite and Dionysos, Shelley Hales explored the use of the mask in Roman domestic decoration as a symbol of Dionysos and argued that the mask motif was chosen as decor in the home as a symbol of cultural literacy and a nod to the theatricality of the Hellenistic courts. She observed that the images of masks in various media were not symbols of the theater, but more generally symbols of theatricality and performance. She argued further that masks, as tools of disguise and revelation, symbolized the adoption of various personae, not just in theatrical contexts but in social contexts as well.

Hales traced the popularity of Dionysos and Aphrodite in the decoration of Roman homes, but Aphrodite also appears frequently in terracottas of the Roman period, including the Agora workshop debris. The appearance of various sculptural types of Aphrodite in the workshop debris is discussed above. Additional fragments of Aphrodite figurines that do not necessarily belong to a specific sculptural type, however, reveal a consumer appetite for all things Aphrodite, not just miniature versions of known large-scale sculptures. In the Agora workshop, Aphrodite was celebrated in terracotta in various ways: nude and semi-nude, alone and with her son Eros. The prevalence of Aphrodite in a Roman coroplastics workshop is unsurprising, considering her widespread popularity throughout the empire in various materials from affordable to precious. Aphrodite was a common subject in terracotta from the west to the

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540 Rose 2006, p. 49.
east in the Roman empire, not least because of Julio-Claudian claims to have descended from the goddess.\textsuperscript{542}

One last group from the Agora workshop that belongs to a greater Roman coroplastic koiné includes types with moveable parts, including articulated figurines and wheeled animals. These types required an additional step in the fabrication process, namely assembly after the return of the fired pieces from the kiln to the workshop. This type of piecemeal fabrication was not new in the Roman period, as articulated figurines date back to the Geometric period in Greece. Joining together separately fired pieces, such as bodies with arms and legs or wheels with an animal or cart, allows the craftsman to fashion an animated, moveable object from a rigid material such as terracotta.

While Geometric, Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic articulated figurines in Greece usually depict generic female figures (seated and standing) and female dancers, the presence of two male articulated types from the Roman workshop debris signals an increase in male articulated figurines that is shared with production centers in the Roman east. As discussed above, articulated soldiers and gladiators were popular in Asia Minor in the 1\textsuperscript{st} to 3\textsuperscript{rd} centuries A.D. Wheeled animals and wheeled carts with separately molded and attached wheels were also not Roman innovations, but moldmade terracotta wheels, which were found in great abundance in the workshop debris, have also been found in Roman contexts from Corinth to the Netherlands.

\textbf{Function and Consumer Identity}

\textsuperscript{542} Aphrodite is well represented in figurines from Gaul (Van Boekel 1987, p. 496), Thessaloniki (Korti-Kondi 2006, pp. 307-310), Jerash (Iliffe 1944, p. 4), and Tarsus (\textit{Tarsus} I, pp. 308-311).
Although the Agora terracottas were found in a context of production and therefore provide no direct evidence for how the products were used by consumers, the types present in the debris, along with terracottas found in contexts of use elsewhere in the Roman world, provide clues to the functions that the finished products may have served. Figurines with flat bases were designed to stand unaided on a shelf, bench, or altar. Plaques and masks, equipped with suspension holes, could have been hung in a home or a sanctuary. Articulated figurines were suspended from a string or wire like a marionette.

Terracotta artifacts in the Greco-Roman world have been found in domestic, religious, and funerary contexts. In Roman Athens, the evidence is extremely limited. Contemporary material from the Kerameikos has not yet been published. No comparable, contemporary material was found in the publication of the excavations for the Attiko Metro. Furthermore, the figurines from the excavations for the new Athenian Acropolis Museum are also still unpublished. Although a terracotta figurine found in a context of use can be assigned a single function based on its archaeological context, it is probable that terracottas served multiple functions in their life histories. A figurine purchased for display in the home, for instance, could have been taken by a member of the household and dedicated at a sanctuary. Likewise, a loved

543 I had the opportunity to view unpublished Roman terracotta masks from the Kerameikos in the spring of 2008. Based on my observations and the opinion of the excavation director, Jutta Stroszeck, the masks are later than the Agora debris and date to the 3rd to 4th centuries A.D. In a quick glance through multiple drawers of other Roman material, I surprisingly found no types similar to the Agora material.
545 These figurines are under study by Alexandros Andreou, who is publishing the material in his PhD dissertation. Andreou was kind enough to look at the Agora debris in 2008 but he was at that time still unable to determine how much material he had that was contemporary with mine, especially as most of his objects lacked specific, datable archaeological contexts.
one may have chosen a favorite possession of a deceased family member to accompany the dead to the grave.

In the production, sale, and use of terracottas, consumer preferences entered the equation at several key moments in the life history of a terracotta object. First, coroplasts undoubtedly used perceived consumer appetites to determine the types and styles of terracottas he should produce and those he should discontinue. Next, a consumer chose the objects that he wanted to purchase, probably with a function in mind. The consumer may have used the terracotta for different functions at different times during his possession of the object. Since the consumer actively chose the visual type that he wanted to acquire, and the objects were used primarily as items of display (or in the case of articulated and wheeled figurines, performance), terracottas acted as extensions of the consumers themselves, whether they were used as decoration in the home or left in a sanctuary or grave. In this way, terracottas were inextricably linked to the identities that consumers wished to project.

A Coroplastic Workshop in Context: Crafting in Roman Athens

This coroplastic workshop, producing terracotta figurines, masks, plaques, and lamps, operated in the historical and economic contexts of Athens under Roman rule. An overview of production trends in other ceramic crafts, namely pottery and lamps, will help situate the coroplastic workshop in the context of crafting in Roman Athens. The following survey of the historical events and economic conditions framing the workshop’s life span will shed light on reasons for the boom in coroplastic production in the center of Athens in the late 1st to late 2nd centuries A.D.
The Sullan siege of Athens in 86 B.C. was a turning point in the history of Athens. Sulla and his armies caused widespread damage and destruction in the city from the Kerameikos to the Agora and beyond.\textsuperscript{546} In the aftermath of the attack, some of the damaged and destroyed buildings lay in ruins for decades before they were rebuilt or dismantled for spolia, a powerful indicator of the difficult economic era that followed Sulla’s departure.\textsuperscript{547} Piracy in the Mediterranean interrupted crucial Athenian trade routes, and the exhaustion of the mines in Lavrion in the early 1\textsuperscript{st} century B.C. halted the city’s access to silver.\textsuperscript{548} In order to raise much-needed funds, Athens was compelled to put up the island of Salamis for sale, and even resorted to selling Athenian citizenship.\textsuperscript{549} In short, Athens experienced economic difficulties in the decades following Sulla’s attack.

While the Sullan attack on Athens was not the cause of instant change in material culture in the city, the assault on the city probably damaged some of the sites and tools of craft production and may even have impaired craft industries through the loss of skilled labor. After the attack the city entered a decades-long period of economic depression, during which time the quality and quantity of local products such as pottery and figurines declined. Pottery production was “severely curtailed” in the post-Sullan era, with an increase of imported fine wares throughout the 1\textsuperscript{st} century B.C.\textsuperscript{550} Nevertheless, local pottery production did continue through the 1\textsuperscript{st} century B.C. along the lines of Hellenistic Athenian pottery. The increase of foreign influence

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{546} Hoff 1997, pp. 40-41.
\bibitem{547} Hoff 1997, p. 43.
\bibitem{548} Hoff 1997, p. 44; Day 1942, pp. 127-128.
\bibitem{549} Day 1942, p. 127.
\bibitem{550} Rotroff 1997, p. 105.
\end{thebibliography}
in local pottery accelerated in the 1\textsuperscript{st} century A.D. and by the 2\textsuperscript{nd} century potters in Athens looked toward models in Asia Minor for inspiration.\textsuperscript{551}

The economic depression also had a grave impact on figurine production. Thompson lamented that “the few figurines that appear in the few deposits of the 1\textsuperscript{st} century B.C. are as wretched as the surviving citizens themselves must have been” and argued that “the Greek feeling for coroplastic art soon died out.”\textsuperscript{552} It seems that figurine production in the Athenian Agora limped along through the 1\textsuperscript{st} century B.C. in the Hellenistic tradition but ceased entirely by the early 1\textsuperscript{st} century A.D. That it continued at all after the Sullan siege suggests that workshops with molds and tools were not all destroyed, and that skilled craftsmen were able to continue their trade—if on a much smaller scale—for several generations. Demand for terracotta figurines also seems to have diminished after the Sullan siege, perhaps as a result of the poor economy, as there is no evidence for an influx of imports to make up for the downturn in local figurine production.\textsuperscript{553}

Lamp production, on the other hand, continued hardly in the Hellenistic tradition after the Sullan siege. In her study of the Romanization of pottery and lamps in Athens, Rotroff observed that lampmakers in Athens continued producing lamps in the same Hellenistic styles and techniques from the pre-Sullan period until the Flavian period, even if some lamp molds were destroyed in the attack on the city.\textsuperscript{554} Lamps may have been viewed as a necessary craft product even in a time of severe economic depression.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[551] Agora XXXII, pp. 8-9. Rotroff (1997, p. 111) suggested that Athenian potters were imitating either western shapes or eastern models based on western shapes.
\item[552] Thompson 1966b, p. 259.
\item[553] Thompson 1966b, p. 266.
\end{footnotes}
The evidence from multiple craft industries shows that the late 1st to 2nd century A.D. was an important period of revitalization in all areas of ceramic crafts in Athens, as it marked the realignment of Athenian pottery production on foreign models, innovations in lampmaking, and the renewal of coroplastic arts. Changes in the lamp and pottery industries were spurred on by foreign influences. Local potters began to imitate sigillata shapes imported from the east and west as early as the first quarter of the 1st century A.D. By the middle of the 2nd century, locally made fine wares surpassed imports. In the mid to late 1st century A.D., Athenian lampmakers, who had continued to make lamps in the Hellenistic tradition through the post-Sullan era and into the Augustan period, suddenly began production of a new type inspired by Italian forms. The Alpha Globule lamp, which incorporated the volute nozzle popular on Italian models, marked a significant departure from the preceding types and, according to Rotroff, may even have been the invention of a single innovative lampmaker. This lamp type, along with the related Alpha Ear type, “formed the mainstay of Attic production” in the late 1st and 2nd centuries.

The debris uncovered in and around the Commercial-Industrial Building provides rich evidence for the renewal of coroplastic production on the periphery of the Athenian Agora in the late 1st and 2nd centuries A.D. After a severe downturn in production that followed the Sullan attack on the city, a workshop was established in a building with centuries of evidence for industry and commerce. There, craftsmen created terracotta figurines, plaques, masks, and lamps for several generations.

556 *Agora* XXXII, pp. 8-9.
557 Rotroff 1997, p. 111.
558 Rotroff 1997, p. 111.
559 *Agora* VII, p. 13.
Two centuries of imperial interest and intense building activity in the city of Athens contributed to its recovery. Despite its economic woes, the city always maintained its prestigious reputation abroad as a center of learning. An examination of this phase in the development of the city center will help set the stage for the operation of the coroplastic workshop near the Agora.

Despite an initially strained relationship with Augustus, the city of Athens experienced a renaissance in the guise of a construction boom under Rome’s first emperor. On the Acropolis, a new monopteros adorned the plaza in front of the eastern façade of the Parthenon. Changes in the Agora were more dramatic. For the first time, buildings were erected in the northern half of the Agora floor, which had for centuries remained predominantly free of large, permanent structures, and had instead housed temporary seating for public events and booths for hawkers and traders.\(^{560}\) The Odeion of Agrippa and a Temple and Altar of Ares filled the space bounded by the Panathenaic Way to the east, the Middle Stoa to the south, and the civic and religious buildings on the west side of the Agora (Fig. 68). These new buildings in the once-open floor of the Agora doubtlessly forced some merchants and businessmen conducting business in makeshift structures on the Agora floor to relocate their activities. Outside the northwest corner of the Agora and across from the Commercial-Industrial Building, a podium temple—probably dedicated to Aphrodite—was built in alignment with the Altar of Aphrodite Ourania. These changes may have altered the flow of traffic in the Agora and provided new occasions on which people would find themselves in the Agora.

The construction of the so-called “Roman Agora” may also have drawn some commercial activities away from the ancient Agora. Built between 19 and 10 B.C. in an area east of the ancient Agora that had probably long been the site of informal market activity, the new market

\(^{560}\) Agora XIV, p. 170.
may have housed both retail transactions as well as larger-scale wholesale business once conducted in the Italian Market on Delos.\textsuperscript{561} Hoff argued that it is even possible that this market was designed to house Italian businessmen who fled from Delos after its demise.\textsuperscript{562} Although market activities may have shifted away from the ancient Agora and toward the Roman Agora, the new market building did not house craft activity and did not influence the location of craft production in the center of the city.

A second major construction boom took place in the city of Athens during the reign of Hadrian. Hadrian demonstrated his fondness for Athens with a number of imperial benefactions concentrated in the lower city. He completed the Temple of Olympian Zeus and commissioned the nearby Arch of Hadrian; built the Panhellenion, the Pantheon, and a basilica at the northeast corner of the Agora; constructed a new monumental library just north of the Roman Agora; and began construction on an aqueduct to bring fresh water into the city from Mt. Parnes (Paus. 1.18.6-9). His gifts to the city, which “reoriented the old, densely settled city around new carefully plotted (and very Roman) centers of architectural order” and moved the central focus of the city to the east, turned the ancient Agora into “something of a relic, an archaeological site.”\textsuperscript{563}

A third major construction boom took place in the city of Athens in the mid 2\textsuperscript{nd} century A.D. under the patronage of Herodes Atticus. Herodes Atticus, a Roman citizen of Athenian descent, followed in Hadrian’s footsteps and gifted the city with a new Panathenaic stadium by the Ilissos River and an odeion on the south slopes of the Acropolis. Herodes Atticus was a contemporary of Pausanias, and while the Panathenaic stadium was complete by the time

\textsuperscript{561} Hoff 1989, pp. 1, 7, 8.
\textsuperscript{562} Hoff 1989, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{563} Hurwit 1999, p. 275.
Pausanias was writing about Athens, construction on the Odeion had not yet begun, as Pausanias only mentions the music hall later in his description of Patras (Paus. 7.20.6).\textsuperscript{564} Pausanias described Athens at the height of its 2\textsuperscript{nd} century revival, when the city enjoyed renown for its philosophical schools and admiration for its classical past. By this time, Athens was a destination for foreign students and travelers from all over the Greco-Roman world, and as the ancient center of this once great city, the Agora must have been a tourist attraction in and of itself.

Physical changes in the city of Athens during the 1\textsuperscript{st} and 2\textsuperscript{nd} centuries A.D., therefore, turned the ancient Agora into a cultural and historical relic and moved much of the market activity to the east to the Roman Agora. Several major building programs further developed the Agora floor and the areas around the Acropolis, and the city must have been abuzz with all of the construction. These large projects, funded by imperial and private benefactors, would have created numerous jobs for skilled and unskilled workers and doubtlessly increased pedestrian traffic in the city center. New (if temporary) elements were introduced to the population, as Athens’ reputation as a center of learning and importance as a stop on the “grand tour” attracted visitors to the city.\textsuperscript{565} A coroplastic workshop in a central location could have profited from the city’s renaissance by offering a range of small, portable items with broad consumer appeal.

Future study of the Roman terracottas and lamps from the Athenian Agora may be able to pinpoint the sources of the raw materials and shed more light on relationships between coroplasts, lampmakers, and potters. Publication of the terracottas from the Kerameikos and the excavations for the new Athenian Acropolis Museum will allow a more thorough contextualization of the Agora terracottas in Athenian coroplastic production. And comparisons

\textsuperscript{564} Arafat 1996, p. 196.
\textsuperscript{565} Hurwit 1999, pp. 264-265.
with other systematically excavated coroplastic workshops will highlight commonalities between this workshop’s *chaîne opératoire* and the sequence of processes at other production centers. Meanwhile this work in and of itself paints a vivid picture of the daily activities of craftsmen working on the fringes of the Athenian Agora and provides a complement to the rich literary and archaeological evidence for the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., a pivotal point in the cultural history of the city of Athens.

This reconstruction of the workshop’s *chaîne opératoire* is based on details encoded in the small figurine and mold fragments left behind by the workshop’s craftsmen. At each stage of the production process, the craftsmen made conscious choices about raw materials, crafting technologies, and pre- and post-firing treatments. This evidence for coroplastic production also confirmed that coroplasts maintained close relationships with other craftsmen, including lampmakers, potters, and bronze sculptors. As modelers of images in clay, the craftsmen in this workshop contributed to the visual landscape of the public and private spheres of Athens. In a city undergoing a cultural renaissance, these artisans looked to earlier coroplastic traditions, trends in other artistic media, and contemporary coroplastic creations from other production centers for inspiration and built a full repertoire of products that served the domestic, ritual, and funerary needs of the diverse local population.
Table 4. Floor Surfaces in the Commercial-Industrial Building

Room 1—West half of room (J/15,20-2/16,3/2) (1982)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Level (masl)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Pottery Lot</th>
<th>Notable Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>52.08-52.04</td>
<td>50-200 A.D.</td>
<td>BE 797</td>
<td>Thin layer of greenish-white clay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>52.07-51.99</td>
<td>*depends on Çandarli Ware rim</td>
<td>BE 798</td>
<td>Thin layer of greenish-white clay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>51.99-51.96</td>
<td>late Hellenistic</td>
<td>BE 799</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>51.98-51.94</td>
<td>Hellenistic</td>
<td>BE 800</td>
<td>Marble dust on top of surface, marble chips embedded in floor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>51.97-51.92</td>
<td>3rd century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 801</td>
<td>Marble dust on top of surface, marble chips embedded in floor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>51.93-51.88</td>
<td>3rd century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 802</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>51.91-51.88</td>
<td>3rd century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 803, BE 804</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 8  | 51.90-51.81  | late 4th century B.C. | BE 805      | Thin layer of greenish-white clay. Patches of pigment (blue, pink, red, and ochre) on surface.
| 9  | 51.87-51.75  | 4th century B.C.      | BE 806      | Thin layer of greenish-white clay. Small vertical pits filled with bronze shavings. Patches of pigment (blue, pink, red, and ochre) on surface. |
| 10 | 51.76-51.72  | early 4th century B.C.| BE 807, BE 808 | Original floor, Y-shaped drain tile (A 4722) embedded in floor in doorway.       |
| 11 | 51.72-51.67  | late 5th century B.C. | BE 809, BE 810 | Predates Commercial-Industrial Building.                                           |
| 12 | 51.69-51.52  | third quarter 5th century B.C. | BE 811      | Predates Commercial-Industrial Building.                                           |
| 14 | 51.53-51.32  | early 5th century B.C. | BE 813      | Predates Commercial-Industrial Building.                                           |

Room 1—Northeast corner (J/19,20-2/16,17) (1996)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Level (masl)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Pottery Lot</th>
<th>Notable Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>51.885-51.806</td>
<td>unknown</td>
<td>unexcavated</td>
<td>The date of the floor is unknown, but fills above floor surface excavated in lots BE 2177 and 2178 (3rd to 4th century A.D.).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Room 1—North-central area (J/17,18-2/17,18) (1999)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Level (masl)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Pottery Lot</th>
<th>Notable Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>51.70</td>
<td>late 5th century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2412</td>
<td>Original floor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>51.460</td>
<td>second half 5th century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2413</td>
<td>Predates Commercial-Industrial Building.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>51.277</td>
<td>third quarter 5th century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2414</td>
<td>Predates Commercial-Industrial Building.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Room 1—Center of room (J/17,18-2/18,19) (2001)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Level (masl)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Pottery Lot</th>
<th>Notable Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>51.46</td>
<td>5th century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2529</td>
<td>Floor surface cut by foundation footing trench of the southern ashlar wall, continues to polygonal cross-wall; predates Commercial-Industrial Building.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Room 1—South-central part of room, next to Ashlar Wall (J/18,19-2/20,3/2) (2002)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Level (masl)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Pottery Lot</th>
<th>Notable Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>51.654</td>
<td>400 B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2563</td>
<td>Original floor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>51.60</td>
<td>5th century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2566, BE 2567</td>
<td>Predates Commercial-Industrial Building.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Level (masl)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Pottery Lot</th>
<th>Notable Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>51.810-51.780</td>
<td>late 4th B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2301, BE 2302</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>51.790-51.754</td>
<td>mid 4th century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2307, BE 2308, BE 2310 BE 2397</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>51.685-51.513</td>
<td>late 5th to early 4th century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2314, BE 2315</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>51.513-51.480</td>
<td>unexcavated</td>
<td>unexcavated</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Room 2—West side (J/15,17-2/12,15) (1998)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Level (masl)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Pottery Lot</th>
<th>Notable Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>51.960</td>
<td>late 4th century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2391</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>51.883</td>
<td>third quarter 4th century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2392</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>51.664</td>
<td>mid 4th century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2393</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>51.443</td>
<td>second half 5th century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2394</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Room 2—Southeast corner of room (J/19,20-2/14,16) (1999)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Level (masl)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Pottery Lot</th>
<th>Notable Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>51.82</td>
<td>last quarter 4th to early 3rd century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2423</td>
<td>Disturbed pyre resting against polygonal cross-wall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>51.70</td>
<td>mid 4th century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2424</td>
<td>Pumice stones found in the fill beneath the floor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>51.670</td>
<td>worn black glaze</td>
<td>BE 2425</td>
<td>Fill beneath this floor contained pumice and chalky stones with evidence of use.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>51.56</td>
<td>not necessarily later than late 5th century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2426</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>51.473</td>
<td>5th century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2427</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>51.432</td>
<td>third quarter 5th century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2428</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>51.375</td>
<td>5th century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2429</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Room 2—Under poros block in southeast corner (J/19,20-2/15,16) (2000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Level (masl)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Pottery Lot</th>
<th>Notable Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>51.80</td>
<td>late 4th century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2494</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>51.70</td>
<td>non-descript black glaze</td>
<td>BE 2495</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>51.63</td>
<td>non-descript black glaze</td>
<td>BE 2496</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>51.59</td>
<td>non-descript black glaze</td>
<td>BE 2497</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Room 2—South-central part of the room (J/17,18-2/13,15) (2003)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Level (masl)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Pottery Lot</th>
<th>Notable Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>51.728</td>
<td>Hellenistic</td>
<td>BE 2623</td>
<td>Floors slope upward to north and east.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>51.698</td>
<td>end of the 5th century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2624</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>51.67</td>
<td>early 4th century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2625</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>51.656</td>
<td>late 5th century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2626</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>51.597</td>
<td>second half 5th century B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2627</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>51.545</td>
<td>ca. 400 B.C.</td>
<td>BE 2628</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Room 3—Southeast corner of the room (J/17,19-2/11,12) (1996)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Level (masl)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Pottery Lot</th>
<th>Notable Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>52.222</td>
<td>first half 1st century A.D.</td>
<td>BE 2146</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Level (masl)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Pottery Lot</th>
<th>Notable Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>52.079</td>
<td>TBD</td>
<td>BE 2146</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>51.969</td>
<td>Hellenistic</td>
<td>BE 2149</td>
<td>Covered with 3rd to 2nd century B.C. fill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>51.992</td>
<td>non-descript Classical</td>
<td>BE 2591</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>51.962</td>
<td>non-descript Classical</td>
<td>BE 2592</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>51.919</td>
<td>non-descript Classical</td>
<td>BE 2593</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Room 3 West (J/12,14-2/7,9)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Level (masl)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Pottery Lot</th>
<th>Notable Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>51.905-51.861</td>
<td></td>
<td>In situ</td>
<td>Very hard surface, grayish-black; possibly burned. Seems to have been cut by Wall 11.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Room 4 East (J/15,16-2/3,4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Level (masl)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Pottery Lot</th>
<th>Notable Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>52.702-52.636</td>
<td>4th century B.C. (?)</td>
<td>BZ 1751</td>
<td>Hard white plaster surface.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>51.030-51.050</td>
<td>non-descript Classical</td>
<td>BZ 1836</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>52.001-51.995</td>
<td>non-descript Classical</td>
<td>BZ 1837</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>51.667-51.657</td>
<td>In situ</td>
<td>BZ 1841</td>
<td>Late 6th to early 5th B.C. fill excavated on top of floor.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Room 4 Center (J/12,14-2/4,6) (* surface numbers (#) correspond to numbers for Room 4 West below)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Level (masl)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Pottery Lot</th>
<th>Notable Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>52.446</td>
<td>after 380 B.C.</td>
<td>BZ 1842</td>
<td>White powdery substance on surface; .20-.25 m of fill (with marble chips and worked marble) between this floor and floor #5 below.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>52.246-52.218</td>
<td></td>
<td>thrown</td>
<td>Gray clay with patches of gravel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>52.232-52.196</td>
<td></td>
<td>thrown</td>
<td>Gray clay with areas of white plaster.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a</td>
<td>52.219-52.194</td>
<td></td>
<td>thrown</td>
<td>Gray clay with areas of white plaster.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b</td>
<td>52.217-52.189</td>
<td></td>
<td>thrown</td>
<td>Reddish-brown clay.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>52.208-52.156</td>
<td></td>
<td>In situ</td>
<td>Surface coated in white (lime/plaster?).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Room 4 Southwest corner (J/11,13-2.6,8) (* surface numbers (#) correspond to numbers for Room 4 West below)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Level (masl)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Pottery Lot</th>
<th>Notable Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>52.281-52.224</td>
<td>after 380 B.C.</td>
<td>BZ 1848</td>
<td>Rooftile embedded in surface @ 52.275.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6a</td>
<td>52.260-52.253</td>
<td>4th B.C.</td>
<td>BZ 1849</td>
<td>Rooftile removed with this surface.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6b</td>
<td>52.253-52.238</td>
<td>5th B.C. or later</td>
<td>BZ 1850</td>
<td>Blue, pink, and yellow pigments embedded in surface.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7a</td>
<td>52.223-52.219</td>
<td>non-descript Classical</td>
<td>BZ 1851</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7b</td>
<td>52.214-52.208</td>
<td>4th century B.C.</td>
<td>BZ 1852</td>
<td>Patches of bright orange clay on surface.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>52.162-52.158</td>
<td>In situ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Room 4 West (J/9,14-2/4.8)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Level (masl)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Pottery Lot</th>
<th>Notable Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>52.552</td>
<td>after 275 B.C.</td>
<td>BZ 1755</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>52.503-52.444</td>
<td>second half 4th century B.C.</td>
<td>BZ 1758</td>
<td>Pyre (Lot 1757) in fill north of this floor; red and blue pigment embedded in floor. Floor surface covered with white powdery substance (possibly marble dust).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>52.256-52.240</td>
<td>5th to 4th century B.C.</td>
<td>BZ 1761</td>
<td>Grayish-brown clay floor with patches of colored gravel and white plaster.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>52.243-52.232</td>
<td>5th to 4th century B.C. (?)</td>
<td>BZ 1762</td>
<td>Thin layer of clay with some patches of hard gravel (possible repairs). Figurine mold (BZ 1603). Based on its date, this surface is probably close to the original floor of the CIB.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>52.215-52.193</td>
<td>mid 4th B.C.</td>
<td>BZ 1853</td>
<td>Coin BZ-2028.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>52.180-52.173</td>
<td>In situ</td>
<td></td>
<td>Two circular cuttings full of fine gravel; area of gravel on west side.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Room 5 (J/11,13-1/19,2/2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Level (masl)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Pottery Lot</th>
<th>Notable Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52.358-52.201</td>
<td>late 4\textsuperscript{th} to late 3\textsuperscript{rd} century B.C.</td>
<td>BZ 1733</td>
<td>Surface sloped downward to the north; fill above this surface (Lots BZ 1615 and 1619, 1\textsuperscript{st} century A.D.) contained an unusually high number of small bronze bits (both broken pieces of bronze and droplets of bronze).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Room 6 (J/10-1/20)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Level (masl)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Pottery Lot</th>
<th>Notable Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>52.322</td>
<td>4\textsuperscript{th} B.C.</td>
<td>BZ 1860</td>
<td>(J/10-1/20); Fill on top of floor (Lot 1738) dated to 300-275 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>52.314</td>
<td>4\textsuperscript{th} B.C.</td>
<td>BZ 1860</td>
<td>(J/10-1/20) Pyre J 1:8 found 2.5 meters northeast of this surface.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>52.188</td>
<td>ca. 500 B.C.</td>
<td>BZ 1861</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>52.094</td>
<td></td>
<td>In situ</td>
<td>Possible floor surface found under Pyre J 1:8.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Room 7 (J/8,10-1/13,15)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>#</th>
<th>Level (masl)</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Pottery Lot</th>
<th>Notable Features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>52.569</td>
<td>pottery non-descript</td>
<td>BZ 1657</td>
<td>Clay floor with remnants of paving tiles; fill underneath (Lots 1656, 1658, 1660) 5\textsuperscript{th} century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>52.483-52.445</td>
<td>4\textsuperscript{th} B.C.</td>
<td>BZ 1736</td>
<td>Two shells with pigment (BZ 1558 and 1559), Reversible Lid (BZ 1562), ceramic Stand (BZ 1605), and a large quantity of iron slag were found directly on top of the floor surface.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>52.485-52.479</td>
<td>4\textsuperscript{th} B.C.</td>
<td>BZ 1873</td>
<td>Large piece of iron slag found in the fill under the floor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>52.297-52.256</td>
<td>4\textsuperscript{th} B.C.</td>
<td>BZ 1737</td>
<td>Clay floor directly under a layer of sterile fine gravel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>52.294-52.240</td>
<td>5\textsuperscript{th} to 4\textsuperscript{th} B.C.</td>
<td>BZ 1875</td>
<td>Clay floor directly under a layer of sterile fine gravel with vertical holes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5. Pyre Deposits Found in and around the Commercial-Industrial Building

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deposit Number</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J 3:2</td>
<td>Room 1</td>
<td>ca. 250 B.C.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J 3:7</td>
<td>Room 1</td>
<td>ca. 325 B.C.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J 2:13</td>
<td>Room 2</td>
<td>ca. 300 B.C.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J 2:3</td>
<td>Room 2</td>
<td>ca. 375-350 B.C.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J 2:12</td>
<td>Room 2</td>
<td>ca. 400-390 B.C.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J 2:16</td>
<td>Room 2</td>
<td>ca. 275-260 B.C.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J 2:9</td>
<td>Room 3</td>
<td>ca. 300 B.C.*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J 2:27</td>
<td>Room 3</td>
<td>late 4th century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J 2:28</td>
<td>Room 4</td>
<td>late 4th to early 3rd century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J 2:23</td>
<td>Room 5</td>
<td>first quarter 3rd century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J 2:24</td>
<td>Room 5</td>
<td>after 275 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J 1:8</td>
<td>Room 6</td>
<td>4th century B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J 1:6</td>
<td>Disturbed pyre found in mixed fill east of Room 7</td>
<td>last quarter 3rd century B.C.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*dates provided by Susan Rotroff*
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APPENDIX 1: CATALOG: TERRACOTTAS, MOLDS, TOOLS

The following catalog presents detailed data on the inventoried terracottas, molds, bone and bronze tools, and shells:

**Catalog Number:** Sequential number assigned to artifacts included in this study.

**Title:** Descriptive title of the artifact.

**Agora Inventory Number:** T (Terracotta), MC (Miscellaneous Ceramic), I (Inscription, for inscribed fragments), BI (Bone and Ivory), B (Bronze).

**Figure number**

**Context:** Pottery Lot.

**Measurements:** Measurements taken using calipers with an analog dial.

**Munsell color:** Munsell color readings were taken on unmoistened terracottas and mold fragments using a Tungsten photographic lamp bounced off a white-painted ceiling, using a color meter, with 3,000-3,030 degrees K as a baseline.

**Description:** State of preservation, description of the artifact, technical details observed, and relationships with other inventoried artifacts.
Wheels

1  Wheel mold (T 4371) Fig. 1  
Lot BE 2102  
Diam. 0.090; Th. 0.016  
Munsell 2.5YR 6/8  
Mold for wheel with grooved rim and spokes. Surface of exterior of mold chipped away. Similar to wheel 38. Interior diameter of mold 0.075 m. Camp 1996, p. 240, no. 14, pl. 69.

2  Wheel (T 4484) Fig. 1  
Lot BZ 938  
Est. Diam. 0.075; Th. 0.014  
Munsell 5YR 7/4  
Grooved rim. One notch in each spoke. Bottom and central hole smoothed with a tool. Pearls of clay on molded surface. Made in same mold as 3, 4, and 5.

3  Wheel (T 4698) Fig. 1  
Lot BZ 1471  
Est. Diam. 0.080; Th. 0.013  
Munsell 5YR 7/4  

4  Wheel (T 4699) Fig. 1  
Est. Diam. 0.080; Th. 0.013  
Munsell 5YR 7/4  
Lightly grooved rim. One notch in each spoke. Bottom and central hole smoothed with a tool. Pearls of clay on molded surface. Central hub projects beyond surface of wheel. Made in same mold as 2, 3, and 5. Possibly belongs with 3.

5  Wheel (T 4706) Fig. 1  
Lot BZ 1471  
Est. Diam. 0.075; Th. 0.013  
Munsell 5YR 7/4  

6  Wheel (T 4696) Fig. 1  
Lot BZ 1471  
Est. Diam. 0.080; Th. 0.014  
Munsell 5YR 7/4  
7  Wheel (T 4697)  Fig. 1
Lot BZ 1471
Est. Diam. 0.080; Th. 0.014
Munsell (surface) 7.5YR 7/4; Munsell (break) 5YR 7/4

8  Wheel (T 4611)  Fig. 1
Diam. 0.074; Th. 0.012
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6
Grooved rim. One notch in each spoke. Part of bottom edge and central hole smoothed with a tool. Pearls of clay on molded surface. Made in same mold as 9, 10, 11, 12, and 42.

9  Wheel (T 4612)  Fig. 1
Diam. 0.079; Th. 0.011
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Grooved rim. One notch in each spoke. Bottom edge and central hole smoothed with a tool. Pearls of clay on molded surface. Made in same mold as 8, 10, 11, 12, and 42.

10 Wheel (T 4615)  Fig. 1
Est. Diam. 0.080; Th. 0.011
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Grooved rim. One notch in each spoke. Bottom edge and central hole smoothed with a tool. Pearls of clay on molded surface. Made in same mold as 8, 9, 11, 12, and 42.

11 Wheel (T 4619)  Fig. 1
Est. Diam. 0.075; Th. 0.011
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Grooved rim. Bottom edge and central hole smoothed with a tool. Pearls of clay on molded surface. Made in same mold as 8, 9, 10, 12, and 42.

12 Wheel (T 4806)  Fig. 1
Lot BZ 1541
Est. Diam. 0.075; Th. 0.010
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6
Grooved rim. One notch in each spoke. Central hole pared with tool. Numerous small pearls of clay on surface. Made in same mold as 8, 9, 10, 11, and 42.

13 Wheel (T 4630)  Fig. 1
Est. Diam. 0.080; Th. 0.011
Munsell 5YR 6/6
Grooved rim. One notch in each spoke. Central hole smoothed with a tool. Pearls of clay on molded surface. Made in same mold as 14 and 15.

14 Wheel (T 4804)  Fig. 1
Lot BZ 1541
Est. Diam. 0.075; Th. 0.012
Munsell 5YR 6/4

15 Wheel (T 4805) Fig. 1
Lot BZ 1541
Est. Diam. 0.080; Th. 0.012
Munsell 5YR 7/4
Grooved rim. One notch in each spoke. Hub thicker than rest of wheel. Part of side and central hole smoothed with tool. Made in same mold as 13 and 14.

16 Wheel (T 4671) Fig. 2
Lot BZ 1415
Est. Diam. 0.080; Th. 0.011
Munsell 5YR 6/4
Grooved rim. Two notches in each spoke. Bottom, sides, and central hole smoothed with a tool. Pearls of clay on molded surface. Made in same mold as 17.

17 Wheel (T 4681) Fig. 2
Lot BZ 1415
Diam. 0.080; Th. 0.010
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Grooved rim. Two notches in each spoke. Bottom, sides, rim, and central hole smoothed with a tool. Numerous pearls of clay on molded surface. Made in same mold as 16.

18 Wheel (T 4714) Fig. 2
Lot BZ 1490
Diam. 0.074; Th. 0.011
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Grooved rim. One notch in each spoke. Part of underside smoothed with a tool. Central hole hollowed out. Several pearls of clay on molded surface. Made in same mold as 19.

19 Wheel (T 4803) Fig. 2
Lot BZ 1541
Est. Diam. 0.075; Th. 0.011
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Grooved rim. One notch in each spoke. Bottom edge and central hole smoothed with a tool. Pearls of clay on molded surface. Made in same mold as 18.

20 Wheel (T 4406) Fig. 2
Lot BE 2202
Est. Diam. 0.080; Th. 0.012
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Grooved rim. Two notches in each spoke. Bottom edge, sides, and central hole smoothed with a tool. Made in same mold as 21, 22, and 23.

21 Wheel (T 4423) Fig. 2
Lot BE 2210
Est. Diam. 0.075; Th. 0.014
Munsell (surface) 7.5YR 7/4; Munsell (break) 2.5YR 6/6
Grooved rim. Two notches in each spoke. Central hole smoothed with a tool. Central hub projects beyond surface of wheel. Made in same mold as 20, 22, and 23.

22 Wheel (T 4878) Fig. 2
Lot BE 2202
Est. Diam. 0.080; Th. 0.012
Munsell 2.5YR 6/8
Grooved rim. Two notches in each spoke. Side and central hole smoothed with tool. Made in same mold as 20, 21, and 23.

23 Wheel (T 4879) Fig. 2
Lot BE 2202
Est. Diam. 0.078; Th. 0.012
Munsell 2.5YR 5/8
Grooved rim. Two notches in each spoke. Sides and underside smoothed with tool. Made in same mold as 20, 21, and 22.

24 Wheel (T 4351) Fig. 2
Lot BE 1939
Diam. 0.081; Th. 0.010
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6
Grooved rim. Two notches in each spoke. Sides and underside smoothed with tool. Central hole hollowed out. The underside was unevenly pared, causing uneven thickness.

25 Wheel (T 4393) Fig. 2
Lot BE 2194
Est. Diam. 0.080; Th. 0.010
Munsell 2.5YR 6/8, 7.5YR 6/3
Grooved rim. One notch in each spoke. Bottom and central hole smoothed with a tool. Pearls of clay in groove of rim.

26 Wheel (T 4394) Fig. 2
Lot BE 2184
Est. Diam. 0.080; Th. 0.012
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6
Grooved rim. Two notches in each spoke. Central hole smoothed by tool. Pearl of clay on molded surface.
27  Wheel (T 4433)  Fig. 2  
Lot BE 2213  
Est. Diam. 0.080; Th. 0.011  
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6  
Grooved rim. Two notches in each spoke. Bottom edge and central hole smoothed with a tool. 
Pearls of clay in groove of rim.

28  Wheel (T 4451)  Fig. 2  
Lot BE 2063  
Est. Diam. 0.080; Th. 0.013  
Munsell 5YR 6/6  
Grooved rim. Two notches in each spoke. Bottom and central hole smoothed with a tool.

29  Wheel (T 4452)  Fig. 2  
Est. Diam. 0.075; Th. 0.013  
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6  
Grooved rim. Two notches in spoke. Bottom and central hole smoothed with a tool.

30  Wheel (T 4622)  Fig. 2  
Est. Diam. 0.075; Th. 0.012  
Munsell 5YR 6/6  
Grooved rim. One notch in each spoke. Bottom and central hole smoothed with a tool. Pearls of clay on molded surface.

31  Wheel (T 4626)  Fig. 2  
Est. Diam. 0.080; Th. 0.011  
Munsell 7.5YR 7/4  
Lightly grooved rim.

32  Wheel (T 4646)  Fig. 2  
Lot BZ 1326  
Est. Diam. 0.070; Th. 0.011  
Munsell 2.5YR 6/8  
Grooved rim. Two notches in spoke.

33  Wheel (T 4663)  Fig. 3  
Lot BZ 1336  
Est. Diam. 0.080; Th. 0.011  
Munsell 2.5YR 5/8  
Grooved rim. Two notches in each spoke. Bottom edge and central hole smoothed with a tool.

34  Wheel (T 4676)  Fig. 3  
Lot BZ 1417  
Est. Diam. 0.075; Th. 0.011  
Munsell 5YR 7/6
Grooved rim. One notch in each spoke. Bottom and central hole smoothed with a tool. Pearls of clay on molded surface.

35  Wheel (T 4701)  Fig. 3  
Lot BZ 1525  
Est. Diam. 0.075; Th. 0.010  
Munsell 5YR 7/6  
Lightly grooved rim. Two notches in spoke. Traces of white ground preserved on both sides.

36  Wheel (T 4705)  Fig. 3  
Lot BZ 1496  
Est. Diam. 0.075; Th. 0.010  
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6  
Grooved rim. Two notches in spoke.

37  Wheel (T 4707)  Fig. 3  
Lot BZ 1496  
Est. Diam. 0.080; Th. 0.012  
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6  
Grooved rim. Two notches in each spoke. Bottom and central hole smoothed with a tool. Central hub projects beyond surface of wheel.

38  Wheel (T 4710)  Fig. 3  
Lot BZ 1480  
Est. Diam. 0.070  
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6  
Grooved rim and spokes. White ground preserved on both sides.

39  Wheel (T 4711)  Fig. 3  
Lot BZ 1487  
Est. Diam. 0.075; Th. 0.011  
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6  
Grooved rim. Two notches in each spoke. Bottom edge and central hole smoothed with tool. Molded surface covered with traces of white ground.

40  Wheel (T 4712)  Fig. 3  
Lot BZ 1498  
Est. Diam. 0.080; Th. 0.013  
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6  
Molded surface pitted and poorly preserved. Central hole smoothed with a tool.

41  Wheel (T 4800)  Fig. 3  
Lot BZ 1415  
Est. Diam. 0.070; Th. 0.012  
Munsell 10YR 6/6
Grooved rim. Two notches in each spoke. Hub thicker than rest of wheel. Bottom edge and central hole smoothed with a tool.

42 Wheel (T 4801) Fig. 3
Lot BZ 1540
Diam. 0.078; Th. 0.010
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6-6/8 to 5YR 6/6
Grooved rim. One notch in each spoke. Bottom edge and central hole smoothed with a tool. Pearls of clay on molded surface. Made in same mold as 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12.

43 Wheel (T 4370) Fig. 3
Lot BE 2102
Diam. 0.075; Th. 0.012
Munsell 5YR 4/1

44 Wheel (T 4379) Fig. 3
Lot BE 2102
Est. Diam. 0.075; Th. 0.012
Munsell 7.5YR 6/6
Grooved rim and spokes. Underside smoothed with a tool. Central hole and areas between spokes hollowed out. Related to 43, 49, 50, and 51.

45 Wheel (T 4422) Fig. 3
Lot BE 2184
Est. Diam. 0.070; Th. 0.011
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6
Rim and spokes with raised ridge. Underside smoothed with a tool. Central hole and areas between spokes hollowed out. Probably belongs with 47.

46 Wheel (T 4444) Fig. 3
Lot BE 2087, Lot BE 2088
Est. Diam. 0.070; Th. 0.013
Munsell 5YR 6/6
Rim and spokes with raised ridge. Underside left rough. Central hole and areas between spokes hollowed out. Probably belongs with 48.

47 Wheel (T 4445) Fig. 3
Lot BE 2087, Lot BE 2088
Est. Diam. 0.070; Th. 0.012
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6
Rim and spokes with raised ridge. Underside smoothed with a tool. Central hole and areas between spokes hollowed out. Probably belongs with 45.
48    Wheel (T 4446)    Fig. 3
Lot BE 2087, Lot BE 2088
Est. Diam. 0.070; Th. 0.009
Munsell 5YR 6/6
Rim and spokes with raised ridge. Underside smoothed with a tool. Probably belongs with 46.

49    Wheel (T 4702)    Fig. 3
Lot BZ 1497
Est. Diam. 0.075; Th. 0.012
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6

50    Wheel (T 4716)    Fig. 3
Lot BZ 1482
Est. Diam. 0.075; Th. 0.012
Munsell 2.5YR 6/8
Grooved rim and spoke. Underside smoothed with a tool. Central hole and areas between spokes hollowed out. Pearl of clay in groove of spoke. Related to 43, 44, 49, and 51.

51    Wheel (T 4920)    Fig. 3
Est. Diam. 0.080; Th. 0.010
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Grooved rim and spokes. Underside smoothed with a tool. Central hole and areas between spokes hollowed out. Related to 43, 44, 49, and 50.

52    Wheeled animal (T 4722)    Fig. 4
Lot BZ 1540
P.H. 0.059; P.W. 0.127
Munsell (surface) 7.5YR 6/3; Munsell (interior) 2.5YR 6/6
Left side of an animal figurine with a hole in the rear hip for attachment to terracotta wheels. Broken along seam where two halves from a bivalve mold were joined. Exterior surface, and interior surface around the hole, coated in a matte gray slip. Pearls of clay on molded surface, particularly on the top.

53    Wheeled animal (T 4704)    Fig. 4
Lot BZ 1558
P.H. 0.056; P.W. 0.073
Munsell 5YR 7/6
Animal figurine with hole pierced in hip for attachment to terracotta wheels. Tail with incised lines extends from the back at an angle. Made in a bivalve mold. Possibly a horse or a bird.

Articulated Figures

54    Mold for armed figure (T 4368)    Fig. 4
Lot BE 2102  
H. (A) 0.130; W. (a) 0.082; Th. (a) 0.033  
P.H. (b) 0.089; W. (b) 0.086; Th. (b) 0.038  
Munsell (a) 2.5YR 6/8; Munsell (b) 2.5YR 6/8  
Front mold complete; back mold broken at the shoulders. Bivalve mold for a gladiator figurine with a finished edge at the bottom of the tunic. Male with short hair, wearing a belted tunic with v-shaped folds in the front and back. Figure holds a round shield in his left hand, with a dagger under his belt just below the shield. Right arm bent and resting on hip, probably originally pierced for the attachment of a spear.  
Name "MAPKOY" in relief at bottom of back of figure; signature originally incised into the archetype. Figurines resulting from this mold bear incised signature. Resulting figurine would be pierced at the sides of the tunic edge to receive articulated legs. Back of molds roughly finished with stray tool marks. Camp 1996, p. 240, no. 12, fig. 4, pl. 69.

55  Articulated leg (T 4430)  Fig. 5  
Lot BE 2211  
H. 0.065; L. (foot) 0.030  
Munsell 5YR 6/6  
Vertical ridge on one side; other side smoothed. Underside of foot slopes upward, as does top of leg. Triangular indentation on front of ankle. Traces of white ground. V-shaped indentation on front of ankle. Possibly made in same mold as 56, 61, 64, 65, and 68.

56  Articulated leg (T 4457)  Fig. 5  
Lot BA 185  
H. 0.064; L. (foot) 0.027  
Munsell 2.5YR 6/8  
Surface worn away, possibly by water. Traces of vertical ridges on sides of leg. V-shaped indentation on front of ankle. Possibly made in same mold as 55, 61, 64, 65, and 68.

57  Articulated leg (T 4628)  Fig. 5  
Lot BZ 1192  
H. 0.066; L. (foot) 0.029  
Munsell 5YR 5/3  
Chip missing from top. Vertical ridge on one side; other side smoothed. Bottom edge of foot smoothed. Top edge of leg twisted left of center. Surface pitted.

58  Articulated leg (T 4668)  Fig. 5  
Lot BZ 1418  
P.H. 0.067; L. (foot) 0.031  
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6  
Chips missing from top and front of leg. Flat-bottomed foot, with toe shaped as a right foot. Both sides of leg smoothed. Top of leg slightly twisted to the left. Traces of white ground on surface. Same fabric as 59, 60, and 67.

59  Articulated leg (T 4669)  Fig. 5
Lot BZ 1415  
H. 0.068; P.L. (foot) 0.010  
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6  
Front of foot missing. Both sides of leg smoothed. Top of leg slightly twisted to the left. Traces of white ground on surface. Same fabric as 58, 60, and 67.

60  Articulated leg (T 4751)  Fig. 5  
Lot BZ 1666  
P.H. 0.049  
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6  
Leg broken at the ankle. Both sides of leg smoothed. Top of leg twisted slightly to the left. Traces of white ground on surface. Same fabric as 58, 59, and 67.

61  Articulated leg (T 4759)  Fig. 5  
H. 0.065; P.L. (foot) 0.021  
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6, 7.5YR 7/6  
Front of foot missing. Both sides of leg smoothed. Top of leg twisted slightly to the left. Triangular indentation on front of ankle. V-shaped indentation on front of ankle. Possibly made in same mold as 55, 56, 64, 65, and 68.

62  Articulated leg (T 4866)  Fig. 5  
Lot BE 2182  
H. 0.069; L. (foot) 0.034  
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6  
Chip missing from top edge. Underside of foot slightly concave. One side of leg smoothed. Top of leg twisted slightly to the left.

63  Articulated leg (T 4891)  Fig. 5  
Lot BZ 1741  
H. 0.065; L. (foot) 0.033  
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6  
Leg fully preserved. Upturned foot. Tool marks on both sides of leg and at the top of the leg. Top of leg pinched and twisted slightly to the left, foot shaped as a right foot. Probably a right leg.

64  Articulated leg (T 4352)  Fig. 5  
Lot BE 1890  
H. 0.062; L. (foot) 0.028  
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6  

65  Articulated leg (T 4353)  Fig. 5  
Lot BE 1890  
H. 0.064; L. (foot) 0.030
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
End of foot missing. Sides smoothed flat. Triangular indentation on front of ankle. Found with 64. V-shaped indentation on front of ankle. Possibly made in same mold as 55, 56, 61, 64, and 68.

66 Articulated leg (T 4666) Fig. 5
Lot BZ 1400
P.H. 0.031; L. (foot) 0.030
Munsell 5YR 6/6
Broken just above the ankle. Flat-bottomed foot. Both sides of ankle smoothed.

67 Articulated leg (T 4746) Fig. 5
Lot BZ 1666
P.H. 0.053
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6
Leg broken at the ankle. Both sides of leg smoothed. Same fabric as 58, 59, and 60.

68 Articulated leg (T 4470) Fig. 5
Lot BE 2147
H. 0.069; L. (foot) 0.031
Munsell 7.5YR 5/3
Mended from three fragments, pieces missing. Both sides smoothed flat. Top edge of leg twisted left of center. Surface pitted. V-shaped indentation on front of ankle. Possibly made in same mold as 55, 56, 61, 64, and 65.

69 Mold for dancer figurine (T 4763) Fig. 6
Lot BZ 1651
P.L. 0.150; W. 0.084; Th. 0.038
Munsell 7.5YR 7/4
Top edge chipped away. Mold for the back of a figurine, preserved from the neck down, wearing a belted tunic. Two half-round indented keys one on each edge of the mold, near the bottom, to help accurately join with mold for front of figure. Cf. 71 and 72.

70 Dancer (T 4718) Fig. 6
Lot BZ 1497
P.H. 0.062; P.W. 0.042
Munsell 5YR 7/6
Back of head and arms of a figurine, mended from two pieces. Figurine of a dancer with arms raised above head. Hole pierced in hands for suspension. Related to 73.

71 Dancer (T 4753) Fig. 6
Lot BZ 1666
P.L. 0.060; P.W. 0.032
Munsell (interior) 2.5YR 6/6

254
Back of arm of a dancer figurine with arms raised above head. Traces of white ground and yellow pigment on surface. Possibly from mold 69.

72  Dancer  (T 4764)  Fig. 6
Lot BZ 1630
P.L. 0.065; P.W. 0.032
Munsell 5YR 7/4
Right arm of a figurine of a dancer with arms raised above head, with sleeve on right shoulder. Traces of white ground and black pigment in area between arm and head. Possibly from mold 69.

73  Dancer  (T 4837)  Fig. 6
Lot BZ 1415
P.H. 0.062
Munsell 5YR 7/6
Left arm, both hands, and back of head of a figurine of a dancer with arms raised above head. Ridges on arm represent long sleeved garment. Hole pierced in hands for suspension. Related to 70.

74  Mold for legs (T 4720)  Fig. 6
Lot BZ 1563
H. 0.073; W. 0.065; Th. 0.029
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6, 7.5YR 7/4
Most of top edge missing. Roughly-shaped rectangle of clay with molds for the front halves of two separate legs from the knees down. Leg fronts have V-shaped indentations, possibly to produce appearance of leggings. Indentations above foot may mark end of leggings or tops of shoes. Exterior surface of mold flattened and smoothed, with identical V-shaped markings on both sides, possibly to guide the coroplast to match this mold to the mold for the backs of the legs. Bottom edge of mold slopes down from heel to toe. Related to *Agora* VI 493 (T 1129, leg) and 492 (T 335, body).

75  Leg wearing trousers (T 4844) Fig. 6
Lot BE 2102
P.H. 0.054; L. (foot) 0.035
Munsell (break) 2.5YR 6/6; Munsell (exterior) 5YR 6/6
Top edge broken. Split where front and back pieces were joined, so clearly made in a bivalve mold. Subtle incised lines on the back of the leg, possibly indicating the presence of trousers. Sides smoothed with a tool. Fragment from same mold in Lot BE 2102.

76  Body  (T 4750)  Fig. 6
Lot BZ 1666
P.H. 0.051; P.W. 0.038
Munsell 5YR 6/4
Bottom edge of side of a figurine with a hole pierced through. Front with belted tunic, back plain. Probably intended to receive articulated legs. Traces of white ground on surface. Related to 77.
77 Body (T 4752) Fig. 6
Lot BZ 1666
P.H. 0.062; P.W. 0.034
Munsell 5YR 6/4
Bottom edge of side of a figurine with a hole pierced through. Front with traces of belted tunic, back plain. Probably intended to receive articulated legs. Traces of white ground on surface. Related to 66.

78 Edge with signature (T 4682) Fig. 6
Lot BZ 1415
P.H. 0.061; P.W. 0.046
Munsell 5YR 6/4
Lower edge of the back of an articulated figurine with a signature. Side of fragment pierced with hole (diameter 0.003 m) for attachment of separately molded legs. Signature incised at the bottom: EYNOM[ (Cf. 79)

79 Edge with signature (T 4856) Fig. 6
Lot BE 2102
P.H. 0.031; P.W. 0.033
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Bottom edge of a figurine, probably from the back of the figurine. Possibly from the bottom edge of the body of a figurine with articulated legs. Curvature of piece similar to 78. Letters "YNO" on surface (Possibly EYNOMOS, Cf. 78). Inscription may have originated on the archetype.

80 Edge with signature (T 4892) Fig. 6
Lot BZ 1732
P.H. 0.036; P.W. 0.028
Munsell 2.5YR 5/8
Bottom edge of a figurine base or articulated figurine. Three letters incised into clay: XIN. Horizontal relief band immediately above.

81 Male head (T 4762) Fig. 6
Lot BZ 1666
P.H. 0.043; W. 0.025
Munsell (surface) 7.5YR 7/4; Munsell (break) 10R 6/6
Head of bearded male figure wearing Phrygian cap, broken across the bottom of the face, with the top of the cap missing. Cap pierced through for suspension. Head cast in worn bivalve mold with indistinct facial features and smooth back. Hair parted in center. Most likely belongs to a figurine with articulated legs; hole at top of head enabled figurine to be suspended and used as a puppet. Traces of white ground preserved throughout, with blue pigment on edge of cap and black pigment on hair and beard. Tiny pearls of clay present on molded surface.

Standing Figures
82  Aphrodite  (T 4436)  Fig. 7
Lot BE 2182
P.H. 0.072; P.W. 0.039
Munsell 7.5YR 7/4
Front part of figurine preserved from the neck to the thighs. Nude Aphrodite Pudica type, with right hand holding drapery over genitals. Figure has long narrow torso. Traces of drapery visible on figure's left side.

83  Aphrodite  (T 4867)  Fig. 7
Lot BE 2184
P.H. 0.039; P.W. 0.041
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Nude lower torso and draped left arm of a female figurine, most likely Aphrodite, possibly Aphrodite Knidia, showing navel and genitals.

84  Aphrodite  (T 4367)  Fig. 7
Lot BE 2102
P.H. 0.107; W. 0.082
Munsell 10YR 7/3
Preserved from the head to just above the waist, pieces missing from torso. Nude Aphrodite Anadyomene figurine with both arms bent and raised, holding sections of hair, right hand slightly higher than left hand. Hair is parted in center. Figure wears round earrings. Indistinct facial features may indicate a worn mold. Cast in a bivalve mold with round vent hole cut into the back. Traces of white ground on arms, face, neck, and hair. Black pigment on eyes and eyebrows. Yellow pigment on her earrings, possibly to imitate gold. Camp 1996, p. 240, no. 18, pl. 69.

85  Aphrodite  (T 4407)  Fig. 7
Lot BE 2202
P.H. 0.092; P.W. 0.053
Munsell (surface) 10YR 7/4 to 10YR 6/1; Munsell (interior) 5YR 7/4
Back left side of a nude Aphrodite Anadyomene figurine. Left arm bent holding a section of hair. Cast in a bivalve mold, with round vent hole cut into its back. Surface fired gray, covered with light gray slip. Pearls of clay on molded surface. Similar pose as 84, but smaller in scale.

86  Aphrodite  (T 4690)  Fig. 7
Lot BZ 1496
P.H. 0.046; W. 0.028
Munsell 7.5YR 7/4
Figurine preserved from the waist up. Nude Aphrodite Anadyomene figurine with both arms bent and raised, holding sections of hair. Right hand slightly higher than left hand. Rest of hair gathered in a small bun at the back of the head. Cast in a bivalve mold, but figurine is practically solid. Pearls of clay on molded surface. Traces of white ground and blue pigment.

87  Left hand  (T 4813)  Fig. 7
Lot BZ 1415
P.L. 0.071; P.W. 0.022
Munsell 5YR 6/6
Left hand of a figurine extended and holding a long lock of hair, probably an Aphrodite Anadyomene figurine. Made in bivalve mold.

88  Aphrodite  (T 4425)  Fig. 7
Lot BE 2184
P.H. 0.056; P.W. 0.068
Munsell (surface slip) 10YR 7/3; Munsell (break/interior) 2.5YR 6/6
Torso and parts of arms of a nude Aphrodite Anadyomene figurine. One wavy lock of hair falls over each breast. Both arms extended, broken past the elbow; drapery falling from right arm onto right hip. Surface covered in light slip fired gray.

89  Aphrodite  (T 4376)  Fig. 8
Lot BE 2102
P.H. 0.174; W. 0.084; H. (base) 0.043
Munsell 5YR 6/6 TO 7.5YR 7/4; Munsell (break) 2.5YR 6/8
Broken above the waist, with two non-joining fragments of right arm and left breast and arm. Aphrodite Anadyomene figurine with right arm bent, probably holding hair, left arm down by side. Left leg slightly bent. Drapery under left breast and around left arm, hanging from right arm, and covering legs. Figurine made in bivalve mold with plain back. Figure stands on raised rectangular base, inscribed with MAPKO[Y] on the back. Cf. mold 54.

90  Right hand  (T 4728)  Fig. 8
Lot BZ 1558
P.L. 0.046; P.W. 0.033
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Right hand of a figurine raised and holding drapery. Made in bivalve mold, with plain back. Made in same mold as 91 and 92.

91  Right hand  (T 4843)  Fig. 8
Lot BE 2102
P.L. 0.044; P.W. 0.028
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Right hand of a figurine raised and holding drapery. Made in bivalve mold, with plain back. Made in same mold as 90 and 92.

92  Right hand  (T 4873)  Fig. 8
Lot BE 2212
P.L. 0.027; P.W. 0.015
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Right hand of a figurine raised and holding drapery. Made in same mold as 90 and 91.

93  Right hand  (T 4798)  Fig. 8
Lot BZ 1418
P.L. 0.032; P.W. 0.023
Munsell (exterior) 7.5YR 6/2; Munsell (break) 5YR 7/4
Right hand of a figurine raised and holding drapery. Made in a bivalve mold.

94 Right hand (T 4872) Fig. 8
Lot BE 2184
P.L. 0.037; P.W. 0.020
Munsell (exterior) 10YR 7/2; Munsell (break) 2.5YR 6/6
Right hand of a figurine extended and holding hair or drapery. Made in bivalve mold. Surface covered with slip fired light gray.

95 Left hand with object (T 4793) Fig. 8
Lot BZ 1558
P.L. 0.027
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Broken at wrist. Left hand grasping spherical object. Probably a hand of an Aphrodite figurine holding an apple. Probably made in same mold as 96.

96 Left hand with object (T 4864) Fig. 8
Lot BE 2115
P.L. 0.029
Munsell 7.5YR 5/1, 7.5YR 6/4
Broken at wrist. Left hand grasping spherical object. Possibly a hand of an Aphrodite figurine holding an apple. Probably made in same mold as 95.

97 Left arm with object (T 4355) Fig. 8
Lot BE 1928
L. 0.048
Munsell 10YR 7/3
Arm end broken around the edges. Left arm and hand holding sphere with incised pattern at top, possibly a piece of fruit. Arm flares toward elbow, possibly indicating drapery. Arm molded separately, intended for attachment to figurine. Cast in bivalve mold, with smoothing lines where two halves were joined.

98 Left hand with object (T 4749) Fig. 8
Lot BZ 1666
P.L. 0.036
Munsell 2.5YR 5/4
Chips missing from the wrist edge and fingers. Left hand grasping a spherical object with a central indentation, possibly a piece of fruit. Finished edge just above wrist, with no dowel hole. Possibly a stand-alone piece, unless it was attached with the use of slip to a figure.

99 Left hand with object (T 4788) Fig. 9
Lot BZ 1558
P.L. 0.018
Munsell 2.5YR 6/8
Mended from two fragments, broken below wrist. Left hand grasping spherical object. Probably a hand of an Aphrodite figurine holding an apple. Similar in appearance to right hands 106 and 107.

100  Left hand with object (T 4758) Fig. 9
Lot BZ 1666
P.L. 0.040
Munsell (break) 2.5YR 5/6
Chips missing from wrist end and fingers. Left hand, with preserved edge just beyond wrist, with no dowel hole. Hand curved around object (object now missing).

101  Left hand (T 4486) Fig. 9
Lot BZ 938
P.L. 0.043; P.W. 0.029
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Left hand of a figurine raised and holding drapery. Back side lightly modeled. Made in bivalve mold.

102  Right hand with object (T 4786) Fig. 9
Lot BZ 1497
P.L. 0.024
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Arm broken above the wrist. Right hand grasping a spherical object. Probably a hand of an Aphrodite figurine holding an apple. Traces of white ground on surface. Made in same mold as 103.

103  Right arm with object (T 4802) Fig. 9
Lot BE 2213
L. 0.046; H. 0.027
Munsell 2.5YR 6/8
Fully preserved, mended from two fragments. Right arm bent at elbow, with hand grasping a spherical object. Hole pierced in arm from the top. Probably a hand of an Aphrodite figurine holding an apple. Top and bottom sides bear tool marks from smoothing. Made in same mold as 102.

104  Right hand (T 4794) Fig. 9
Lot BZ 1621
P.L. 0.024
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Right hand, broken above the wrist, object originally grasped by hand now lost. Probably a hand of an Aphrodite figurine holding an apple. Top and bottom sides bear tool marks from smoothing. Small pearls of clay between 2nd, 3rd, and 4th fingers. Made in same mold as 105.
105  Right arm  (T 4796)  Fig. 9  
Lot BZ 1621  
L. 0.038; H. 0.023  
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6  
Mended from two fragments, object originally grasped by hand now lost. Right arm bent at elbow. Probably a hand of an Aphrodite figurine holding an apple. Top and bottom sides bear tool marks from smoothing. Made in same mold as 104.

106  Right hand with object (T 4789)  Fig. 9  
Lot BZ 1558  
P.L. 0.028  
Munsell 2.5YR 6/8  
Broken above wrist. Right hand grasping spherical object. Probably a hand of an Aphrodite figurine holding an apple. Sides bear tool marks from smoothing. Fingers emphasized with post-molding tool marks. Broken edge shows small hollow in center of wrist, possibly where parts made in separate molds were joined. Made in same mold as 107, similar in appearance to left hand 99.

107  Right hand with object (T 4795)  Fig. 9  
Lot BZ 1621  
P.L. 0.016  
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6  

108  Right hand with object (T 4785)  Fig. 9  
Lot BZ 1497  
P.L. 0.041  
Munsell (surface) 10YR 8/3; Munsell (break) 5YR 7/4  
Broken above the wrist, object originally grasped by hand now mostly missing. Right hand, naturalistically rendered, grasping an object between the thumb, pointer, and middle fingers. Hole preserved in broken wrist end, possibly for attachment to figure.

109  Draped legs  (T 4862)  Fig. 9  
Lot BE 2115  
P.H. 0.051; P.W. 0.037  
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6  
Lower torso and upper legs of a partially draped female figurine. Drapery begins at hips, revealing navel. Right leg bent. Possibly a semi-nude Aphrodite figurine, type unknown.

110  Nude torso  (T 4354)  Fig. 9  
Lot BE 1953  
P.H. 0.063; P.W. 0.029  
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Nude torso of a female figurine, preserved from the breast to the thigh, probably Aphrodite, showing left breast, navel, and genitals.

111  Nude torso  (T 4779)  Fig. 9
Lot BZ 1400
Lot BZ 1418
P.H. 0.044; P.W. 0.023
Munsell (exterior) 2.5YR 6/4 to 2.5YR 6/6; Munsell (interior) 2.5YR 6/6
Left breast and part of nude torso of a female figurine, probably Aphrodite.

112  Nude torso  (T 4780)  Fig. 9
Lot BZ 1310
P.H. 0.044; P.W. 0.029
Munsell (exterior) 2.5YR 6/4; Munsell (interior) 2.5YR 6/6
Nude torso of a female figurine, possibly Aphrodite. Side smoothed where two halves cast in bivalve mold were joined.

113  Nude torso  (T 4871)  Fig. 9
Lot BE 2184
P.H. 0.040; P.W. 0.039
Munsell (exterior) 7.5YR 6/3; Munsell (interior) 2.5YR 6/6
Nude torso and draped left arm of a female figurine, possibly Aphrodite or Eros.

114  Aphrodite  (T 4855)  Fig. 9
Lot BE 2102
P.H. 0.100; P.W. 0.029
Munsell (exterior) 7.5YR 6/4; Munsell (break) 2.5YR 6/8; Munsell (interior) 5YR 6/6
Right side of a female figurine, preserving the right side lower torso, hip, and buttock. Drapery gathered around hip. Based on fabric and scale, this piece possibly belongs to same figurine group as 115, making this part of a group figurine of Aphrodite and Eros.

115  Child  (T 4377)  Fig. 9
Lot BE 2102
P.H. 0.124; P.W. 0.038
Munsell 7.5YR 7/4 to 5YR 7/4
Nude child with right arm raised, left arm bent with hand on hip. Child stands with right leg bent across left leg. Hand of a larger figure resting on child's head. Child is left side of a group figurine, possibly made in a single-sided mold as there does not seem to be any breakage on the left edge. Based on fabric and scale, this piece possibly belongs to same figurine as 114, making this part of a group figurine of Aphrodite and child. Made in same mold as 117. Two Eros figures possibly combined with different Aphrodite figurines (one completely nude 116 and one partially draped 114).

116  Aphrodite  (T 4741)  Fig. 9
Lot BZ 1621
P.H. 0.106; P.W. 0.038
Munsell (exterior) 2.5YR 5/2 to 2.5YR 5/6; Munsell (interior) 2.5YR 5/6
Nude female figure preserved from upper chest to mid-thigh. Body depicted in S-curve, with right hip extended to the right. Surface fired slightly darker than interior. Based on fabric and scale, this piece possibly belongs to same figurine as 117, making this part of a group figurine of Aphrodite and Eros.

117 Child (T 4767) Fig. 9
Lot BZ 1558, Lot BZ 1568
P.H. 0.113; P.W. 0.028; H. (base) 0.044
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6 to 2.5YR 5/4
Nude child standing on high rectangular base, preserved from the mid-torso down. Left arm bent with hand on hip, right leg bent across left leg. Left side of a group figurine with larger figure on the right side. Surface fired slightly darker than interior. Based on fabric and scale, this piece possibly belongs to same figurine as 116 making this part of a group figurine of Aphrodite and child. Made in same mold as 115.

118 Pan (T 4694) Fig. 10
Lot BZ 1496
P.H. 0.067; P.W. 0.042
Munsell 7YR 7/4 to 2.5YR 7/6
Head and torso of a Pan figurine, top of horns, front of right hand, and left arm missing. Bearded, nude figurine with tall horns holding flute to mouth with right hand. Traces of white ground on surface. Pearls of clay on molded surface. Made in bivalve mold.

119 Pan (T 4366) Fig. 10
Lot BE 2102
P.H. 0.044
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Broken at top of neck. Head of Pan figurine made in bivalve mold. Hair radiates from head, two small horns on top of head. Beard with long mustache. Mouth slightly open. Surface fired slightly lighter than surface of break. Possibly belongs with legs, feet and base 120. Camp 1996, p. 240, no. 16, pl. 69.

120 Pan (T 4848) Fig. 10
Lot BE 2102, Lot BE 2087
W. (a) 0.035; L. (a) 0.050; H. (a) 0.018; P.H. (b) 0.101; P.H. (c) 0.059; P.H. (figurine) 0.127
Munsell (surface) 2.5YR 6/6 to 5YR 6/6
Three joining fragments of the lower half of a figurine of Pan, left unmended. Two legs, one preserved to the knee and the other preserved to the upper thigh, and a small, solid rectangular base. Legs are goat-like, with long hair on thighs and split hooves. Legs made in a bivalve mold. Parts of surface fired slightly lighter than rest of figurine. Possibly belongs with head 119.

121 Pan (T 4402) Fig. 10
Lot BE 2202
Figurine of Pan from the waist to the ankles. Nude figure, showing genitalia, with two goat-like legs. Right leg bent and raised, suggesting that figure may be sitting. Traces of white ground on surface. Made in same mold as 122.

122    Pan      (T 4420)     Fig. 10
Lot BE 2210
P.H. 0.036; P.W. 0.024
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Left goat-like leg of a Pan figurine. Traces of white ground and a large amount of yellow pigment on surface. Made in same mold as 121.

123    Pan leg    (T 4450)    Fig. 10
Lot BE 2087, Lot BE 2088
P.H. 0.062; P.W. 0.032
Munsell (break) 5YR 7/4; Munsell (slip) 5YR 4/1
One side of upper leg of a Pan figurine. Leg is covered with shaggy hair. Interior and exterior surface coated with dark reddish-brown matte slip. Belongs with 124.

124    Pan leg    (T 4850)    Fig. 10
Lot BE 2102
P.H. 0.061; P.W. 0.029
Munsell (break) 5YR 7/6; Munsell (slip) 7.5YR 4/1 to 4/4
One side of upper leg of a Pan figurine. Leg is covered with shaggy hair. Interior and exterior surface coated with dark reddish-brown matte slip. Belongs with 123.

125    Silenos     (T 4667)    Fig. 10
Lot BZ 1415
H. 0.245; W. 0.107; H. (base) 0.043
Munsell (base, exterior) 2.5YR 7/4; Munsell (base, interior) 2.5YR 7/6
Mended from 14 fragments into two large pieces that join. Pieces of the torso and upper legs, and back of lower part of figurine missing. Figurine of Silenos standing on a high rectangular base. Nude, pot-bellied Silenos stands with right hand on hip, left hand holding basket of fruit on top of head. Figure wears wreath on head under basket, and is bearded, with thick lips, snub nose, and arched eyebrows. His gaze is slightly downward to the right. His weight is on his left leg, right leg slightly bent. Mantle hangs off the back of his left shoulder. Lamb standing rearing on hind legs on the figure's right side. Back of figurine mostly smooth, with rough vertical lines in relief for drapery falling from figure's left shoulder. Round vent hole just below the shoulders, slightly to the left, with c. 0.021 m diam. Much of front surface of figurine, including base, covered with white ground. Traces of the following pigments: red on background surrounding bottom of figure; black on sheep; pink on figure's torso; yellow on the headdress; light blue on the drapery. Cast from a bivalve mold.

126    Grotesque head (T 4372)    Fig. 10
Lot BE 2102
P.H. 0.033; P.W. 0.041
Munsell 2.5YR 6/8

127  African Head (T 4419)  Fig. 10
Lot BE 2210
P.H. 0.040; P.W. 0.031
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Part of the eyes, nose, mouth and chin preserved, broken on all sides. Pupils pierced through. Broad bulbous nose, thick lips parted by a groove and partially pierced through with a hole on the right side of the mouth. Possibly African, cf. *Corinth* XVIII.4 R4. May be a plastic lamp.

128  Nose (T 4783)  Fig. 10
Lot BZ 1496
P.H. 0.019; P.W. 0.029
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Nose of miniature mask. Broad nose with nostrils pierced through.

129  Phallo (T 4449)  Fig. 10
Lot BE 2087, Lot BE 2088
P.L. 0.050
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6
Broken at tip, otherwise completely preserved. Triangle of clay at one end where phallo attached to body. Shaft thickens and ends in a point, offset by a band in relief around the top of the shaft. Narrow band of clay, partially broken away, over the tip. Traces of white ground and pigment on surface. Probably handmade, intended to be attached to a figurine.

130  Phallo (T 4721)  Fig. 10
Lot BZ 1563
P.L. 0.046
Munsell 10YR 6/2 to 7.5YR 7/4
Broken at one end. Smooth shaft with incised hatched lines and incision around tip. Hole pierced in tip of phallo. Probably handmade.

131  Phallo (T 4418)  Fig. 10
Lot BE 2203
P.L. 0.057
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Broken at end where it may have attached to a body. Smooth underside. Shaft thickens at end, with offset tip pierced with a hole. Solid piece, possibly handmade.

132  Entertainer (T 4448)  Fig. 10
Lot BE 2087, Lot BE 2088
P.H. 0.046; P.W. 0.027
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Solid torso and thighs, with head, arms and lower legs missing. Small garment (possibly a loin cloth) covering hips, groin, and buttocks.

133  Miniature Mask (T 4424)  Fig. 10
Lot BE 2184
P.H. 0.074; P.W. 0.064
Munsell 5YR 6/6
Left side of face, including eye, ear, and a small section of hair. Hole pierced through hair from the back.

134  Miniature Mask (T 4730)  Fig. 11
Lot BZ 1568
P.H. 0.067; P.W. 0.062
Munsell 7.5YR 6/4
Mended from three fragments. Hair and left side of figurine head with left eye preserved. Hair radiates away from forehead, with arched eyebrow, pierced pupil. Pearls of clay on molded surface.

135  Miniature Mask (T 4732)  Fig. 11
Lot BZ 1540
P.H. 0.028; P.W. 0.030
Munsell 5YR 6/6
Nose and upper part of mouth with indentations for nostrils. Probably from same mold as 136.

136  Miniature Mask (T 4733)  Fig. 11
Lot BZ 1568
P.H. 0.029; P.W. 0.030
Munsell 2.5YR 6/2
Nose and upper part of mouth, with much of upper lip cut away. Probably from same mold as 135.

137  Mask Mouth  (T 4637)  Fig. 11
P.H. 0.031; P.W. 0.034
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6
Thick upper lip of miniature theatre mask, broken on all sides. Pearl of clay on molded surface.

138  Mask Eye  (T 4831)  Fig. 11
Lot BZ 1541
P.W. 0.031; P.H. 0.026; Diam. (pupil) 0.003
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Right eye of miniature mask with heavy eyelid and prominent arched brow.
Wrinkled forehead, feline eyes, broad nose, and open mouth of a figurine.

Tip of nose, right side of mouth, and right cheek of a theatrical figurine. Mouth slightly open, with hole pierced through the right side of the mouth between the lips. Possibly a plastic lamp.

Front half of female figurine head, broken at the neck with chipped nose. Head cast in worn mold, tilted to the left. Face with thick eyelids, thick lips, and indentation on left side of face (casting error). Hair parted in center and swept back, probably into chignon, with details incised after molding. Two irregularly shaped pieces of clay added as earrings.

Front part of a female figurine head, preserved from the nose to the lower neck. Head tilted to the left, with broad nose and thick lips. Small pearls of clay on molded surface.

Front half of female figurine head, broken at the neck with chipped nose. Head cast in worn mold. Hair parted in center and swept back. Figure wears polos headdress.

Front half of figurine head, probably female. Head cast in extremely worn mold with hair possibly parted in center, topped with a headdress. Pearl of clay on molded surface.
Female figurine head, mended from two fragments, with most of the back of the head missing. Head cast in worn mold, with small lump of clay adhering to lower right side of face. Hair parted in center, with series of curls descending down sides of face. Figure has large nose and small mouth.

**146** Head (T 4395) Fig. 11
Lot BE 1975
P.H. 0.025; W. 0.023
Munsell (surface) 5YR 7/4; Munsell (break) 2.5YR 6/6
Face and back of head missing. Solid head of male figurine with short hair delineated with fine lines, with possible remnants of leafy wreath on sides of head. Hard fired, finely levigated clay. Possibly earlier than Roman.

**147** Philosopher appliqué (T 4386) Fig. 11
Lot BE 2162
H. 0.038; W. 0.019
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Chips missing from beard. Molded front half of a head of a bald, bearded male, with finished edges. Hole pierced in top of head. Traces of white ground and pink pigment throughout. Possibly intended as an appliqué. Camp 1999, p. 280, no. 60, fig. 32.

**148** Herm (T 4778) Fig. 11
Lot BZ 1666
P.H. 0.055; P.W. 0.047
Munsell (exterior) 5YR 7/4; Munsell (interior) 5YR 6/2
Lower part of bearded head, possibly from a herm figurine, mended from three fragments. Lower lip and beard preserved. Texture of beard enhanced with small poked holes. Possibly belongs with **149**.

**149** Nose (T 4883) Fig. 11
Lot BE 2202
P.H. 0.027; P.W. 0.014
Munsell 5YR 7/4
Broken on all sides. Finely modeled nose from a miniature mask or large-scale figurine, with holes pierced through both nostrils. Possibly belongs with **148**.

**150** Male head (T 4828) Fig. 11
Lot BZ 1496
P.H. 0.025; P.W. 0.023
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Upper front portion of male figurine head, preserving two eyes, nose and upper lip. Figurine wears headdress, possibly a Phrygian cap. Traces of white ground, with yellow pigment on the hair and black pigment on the headdress.

**151** Harpokrates (T 4736) Fig. 11
Lot BZ 1563
P.H. 0.045; P.W. 0.034
Munsell (break) 5YR 6/6
Front half of head of male figurine, possibly Harpokrates. Full, child-like face. Hair gathered on top in a small knot. Traces of yellow pigment on face; black pigment outlining eyes, eyebrows, lips, and hair.

152 Mold for figurine head (T 4819) Fig. 11
Lot BZ 1474
P.H. 0.037; P.W. 0.035; Th. 0.013
Munsell 7.5YR 7/4
Mold for the upper left front part of a figurine head, with hair, eye, nose, and mold edge preserved. Exterior surface lumpy. Fabric similar to molds 278 and 279.

153 Harpokrates (T 4653) Fig. 12
Lot BZ 1336
H. 0.075; P.W. 0.028
Munsell (exterior) 5YR 4/1; Munsell (break) 5YR 6/6
Missing most of back of figurine. Nude Harpokrates wearing vegetal crown and roughly modeled "pschent" crown with right hand in mouth, end of cornucopia next to left hip. Figurine may originally have had wings. Pearls of clay on molded surface. Flat bottom surface pierced with hole 0.005 m in diameter. Cf. L 3329 (Agora VII no. 168), imported lamp of 2nd century.

154 Eros (T 4652) Fig. 12
Lot BZ 1335
H. 0.074; W. 0.040
Munsell (exterior) 2.5YR 6/4; Munsell (burned area) 7.5YR 5/1
Right foot and back of figurine from the waist down missing. Miniature winged nude figurine holding fruits in folds of chlamys hanging down from shoulders. Pearls of clay on molded surface.

155 Asklepios (T 4651) Fig. 12
Lot BZ 1335
P.H. 0.068; P.W. 0.039
Munsell (exterior) 2.5YR 5/2 to 6/4; Munsell (break) 2.5YR 6/6
Miniature Asklepios "Giustini" figurine missing head and arms. Male with bare chest, himation draped on left shoulder, torso, and legs. Right leg bent beneath drapery. Plain back molded separately and originally attached to front. Flat bottom edge pierced off-center with hole 0.005 m in diameter and 0.025 m deep. Made in same mold as 156.

156 Asklepios (T 4724) Fig. 12
Lot BZ 1562
P.H. 0.058; P.W. 0.031
Munsell (exterior) 5YR 6/6; Munsell (break) 2.5YR 6/6
Front side of a miniature Asklepios "Giustini" figurine, missing head and arms. Male figurine with bare chest, himation draped on left shoulder, torso, and legs. Right leg bent beneath drapery. Flat bottom edge pierced off-center with hole 0.005 m in diameter. Made in same mold as 155.

157 Miniature figurine (T 4743) Fig. 12
P.H. 0.042; P.W. 0.021
Munsell 5YR 7/6
Fragment of the front of a miniature figurine preserved from the waist to the ankles. Figure draped from the waist down, with traces of white ground and pink pigment on the drapery.

158 Male figurine (T 4832) Fig. 12
Lot BZ 1541
P.H. 0.027; W. 0.027
Munsell (exterior) 5YR 6/6; Munsell (break) 2.5YR 6/8
Male figure in relief on front of a solid slab of clay, preserved from the waist to the ankles. Figure has bent left leg. There may be a round shield leaning against the figure on his right. Bottom pierced off-center with hole 0.004 m in diameter. Pearls of clay on molded surface. Possibly Artemis. cf. Corinth XVIII.4 R12. Similar to Agora lamp L 5417.

159 Bovine (T 4405) Fig. 12
Lot BE 2202
P.H. 0.038; P.W. 0.027
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Front of head of bovine figurine, preserving right eye, nose, and mouth. Made in a bivalve mold.

160 Bovine (T 4851) Fig. 12
Lot BE 2102
P.L. 0.034; P.W. 0.028
Munsell (exterior) 5YR 6/4; Munsell (interior and break) 2.5YR 6/8
Nose and mouth of bovine figurine, made in a bivalve mold.

161 Rear legs (T 4401) Fig. 12
Lot BE 2202
P.H. 0.059; P.W. 0.042
Munsell 5YR 6/6
Rear legs of a pig/boar, bovine or goat figurine on a raised rectangular base topped with a half-round molding.

162 Mold for a pig/boar (T 4369) Fig. 12
Lot BE 2102
H. 0.098; W. 0.152; Th. 0.037
Munsell (exterior) 10YR 7/4, 2.5YR 6/8; Munsell (interior) 2.5YR 6/6
One side of a bivalve mold for the right side of a pig or boar on its base, mended from three fragments, with two chips missing from center and bottom edge. Head raised slightly, ear horizontal. Wavy ridge along back of pig, tail in relief on hind quarter. Base height
approximately 0.015 m. Exterior surface covered in slip and smoothed, with uneven tool marks. Areas of reddish tint on surface. Fabric has gray core. Probably related to 163. Camp 1996, p. 240, no. 13, pl. 69.

163 Pig/Boar (T 4809)  Fig. 13
Lot BZ 1490
P.H. 0.043; P.L. 0.067
Munsell (exterior) 5YR 7/6; Munsell (interior) 2.5YR 6/6
Back side of a pig/boar, made in a bivalve mold. Tail in relief over right hip, ridge on top of back. Probably made in mold 162; possibly belongs with base 164.

164 Animal figurine base (T 4810)  Fig. 13
Lot BZ 1490
P.H. 0.025; P.W. 0.069; H. (base) 0.020
Munsell (exterior) 5YR 6/4; Munsell (interior) 2.5YR 6/6
Front of a plain, raised rectangular figurine base with two hooves, one in front of the other. Possibly made in mold 162; possibly belongs with pig/boar figurine 163.

165 Horse (T 4865)  Fig. 13
Lot BE 2115
P.H. 0.071; P.W. 0.034
Munsell 5YR 6/6 to 7.5YR 7/4
Lower half of front of a horse figurine, standing on a raised rectangular base with upper half-round molding. Figurine made in a bivalve mold. Traces of white ground on surface.

166 Horse hoof (T 4398)  Fig. 13
Lot BE 2202
P.H. 0.034; P.W. (base) 0.024
Munsell (surface) 5YR 7/6; Munsell (break) 2.5YR 6/8
Mended from two fragments. Hoof, broken off just above inset to mark beginning of leg, with Δ inscribed on bottom. Traces of white ground on surface.

167 Lion (T 4836)  Fig. 13
Lot BZ 1415
P.H. 0.041; P.W. 0.044
Munsell 5YR 7/6
Left side of head of lion, preserving eye, ear, and mane. Made in bivalve mold. Pearls of clay on molded surface.

168 Lion (T 4838)  Fig. 13
Lot BZ 1415
P.H. 0.045; P.L. 0.94
Munsell (exterior) 7.5YR 7/4; Munsell (break) 7.5YR 5/1
Back of an animal figurine, possibly a lion, with relief texture and pronounced ridge on back. Made in bivalve mold. Fabric is thick and unusually micaceous, and the center is fired gray.
169 Bird (T 4672) Fig. 13
Lot BZ 1415
P.H. 0.032
Munsell 5YR 7/6
Broken at neck, beak chipped. Solid head of a bird, with left eye and gap between beak on its left side retouched after molding. Right side of head undecorated.

170 Ostrich (T 4408) Fig. 13
Lot BE 2202
P.H. 0.065
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Broken at bottom of neck. Head of an ostrich made in bivalve mold, details on relief only on figure's right side. Hollow neck with textured surface. Traces of white ground on surface.

171 Bird (T 4429) Fig. 13
Lot BE 2212
P.H. 0.080; P.W. 0.051
Munsell 2.5YR 7/6
Right side of a bird figurine, preserving most of the body, wing, and one leg. Surface of body is stippled.

172 Figurine base (T 4824) Fig. 13
Lot BZ 1540
P.H. 0.056; P.W. 0.034; H. (base) 0.044
Munsell (slip) 2.5YR 6/8; Munsell (interior) 5YR 7/6
Lower right corner of figurine base. Front side of base surrounded by a border of two bands in relief, with a fragment of relief decoration preserved in the center. Exterior surface of figurine and base covered in darker slip. Figurine molded separately from base and attached. Base has a flat top with a round vent cut into it, and the figurine is attached at the front of the base.

173 Figurine base (T 4390) Fig. 13
Lot BE 2061
H. (base) 0.031; P.L. 0.057; W. 0.044
Munsell (exterior) 7.5YR 7/4 to 2.5YR 6/6; Munsell (break) 2.5YR 6/6
Proper left side of a plain rectangular figurine base, with small remnants of the figurine preserved. At end of base, bottom of a pillar preserved, probably support for a figurine above.

174 Figurine base (T 4391) Fig. 13
Lot BE 2061
H. (base) 0.026; P.L. 0.064; W. 0.057
Munsell (exterior) 7.5YR 7/4 to 2.5YR 6/6; Munsell (break) 2.5YR 6/6 to 6/8
Proper right corner of a plain rectangular figurine base, with one foot and drapery preserved. Traces of pink pigment adhering to the front side of the base. Made in the same mold as 176.
175  Figurine base (T 4860)   Fig. 13
Lot BE 2115
P.H. 0.056; P.W. 0.038; H. (base) 0.039
Munsell 5YR 7/6
Lower right corner of figurine base with one foot and lower edge of drapery preserved. Evidence of smoothing on right side of figurine, most likely indicating that it was cast in a bivalve mold.

176  Figurine base (T 4875)   Fig. 13
Lot BE 2212
P.H. 0.035; P.W. 0.052; H. (base) 0.026
Munsell 2.5YR 6/8
Proper right corner of a plain rectangular figurine base with one foot and drapery preserved. Made in the same mold as 174.

177  Figurine base (T 4882)   Fig. 13
Lot BE 2202
P.H. 0.042; P.W. 0.055; H. (base) 0.023
Munsell (exterior) 5YR 6/4; Munsell (break) 2.5YR 6/6
Lower left corner of figurine base with one foot and possibly the bottom of a pillar.

178  Figurine base (T 4397)   Fig. 14
Lot BE 2202
P.H. 0.050; W. 0.071; H. (base) 0.037
Munsell 2.5YR 6/8
Front of figurine base with two feet preserved, right foot slightly forward of left foot. Base is flat in front, rounded in the back. Front surface of base and feet coated with a light colored slip. Band of darker slip (or possibly pigment) at top of base front. Similar in shape to 179.

179  Figurine base (T 4849)   Fig. 14
Lot BE 2102
P.H. 0.072; W. 0.062; H. (base) 0.037
Munsell (surface) 2.5YR 6/6 to 7.5YR 6/4
Mended from four fragments. Base with flat front, rounded back. Two feet preserved on top of base, with right foot in front of left foot. Front of base with two horizontal bands of light colored slip or pigment at top and bottom. Traces of white ground on feet. Similar in shape to 178.

180  Base with signature (T 4771) Fig. 14
Lot BZ 1558
P.H. 0.043; P.W. 0.031
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Mended from two fragments. Lower left corner of back of figurine base, with bottom edge broken off. Most of a molded letter "M" on the base. Tiny pearl of clay within letter, indicating that the incised letter originated in the mold or the archetype.

181  Figurine base (T 4761)   Fig. 14
P.H. 0.027; P.W. 0.042; H. (base) 0.033
Munsell 7.5YR 7/4
Lower left corner of a figurine base. Lower edge of base on its front side beveled. No trace of figurine above. Belongs with 182.

182  Figurine base (T 4840)  Fig. 14
Lot BZ 1651
P.H. 0.032; P.W. 0.042; H. (base) 0.032
Munsell 7.5YR 7/4 to 2.5YR 6/6
Lower right corner of a figurine base. Lower edge of base on its front side beveled. No trace of figurine above. Belongs with 181.

183  Figurine base (T 4827)  Fig. 14
Lot BZ 1496
P.H. 0.037; P.W. 0.037; P.H. (base) 0.032
Munsell (exterior) 7.5YR 7/4; Munsell (break) 2.5YR 6/6
Lower right corner of figurine base, with right foot of figurine preserved. Bottom edge of base missing. Front of base decorated in relief with unidentified motif.

184  Figurine base (T 4861)  Fig. 14
Lot BE 2115
P.H. 0.046; P.W. 0.058
Munsell (slip) 2.5YR 3/1; Munsell (break) 7.5YR 7/2
One half of a base with flaring sides, broken away at the top. Resting edges of two preserved sides not straight. Clay added to underside of base to produce a solid concave surface. No trace of figurine above. Exterior surface and underside covered in dark red-black slip.

185  Round figurine base (T 4415) Fig. 14
Lot BE 2202
P.H. 0.038; H. (base) 0.020
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6
Front of a rounded figurine base with two feet preserved. Base does not extend past the width of the two feet. Slab of clay added to underside, flat with fingerprint in the center. Toes delineated with incisions. Traces of bottom edge of drapery visible. Possibly feet from a crouching animal figurine.

186  Round figurine base (T 4847) Fig. 14
Lot BE 2102
P.H. 0.082; P.W. 0.059
Munsell (exterior) 7.5YR 6/4; Munsell (break) 2.5YR 6/6 to 2.5YR 5/1; Munsell (interior) 5YR 5/2
Lower right corner of a figurine and rounded base, mended from four fragments. Lower part of unidentified figurine above, molded in one piece with the base. Surface bears smoothing marks from a brush or sponge. Fabric similar to 114.
Round figurine base (T 4440) Fig. 14
Lot BE 2181
P.H. 0.041; Est. Diam. 0.050; H. (base) 0.016
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Round base with half-round moulding at the top, with lower edge of figure's drapery and possibly one foot preserved above. Left side of piece smoothed, probably where two halves were joined.

Round figurine base (T 4815) Fig. 14
Lot BZ 1415
P.H. 0.031; Est. Diam. 0.070; H. (base) 0.024
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Round figurine base with convex profile, mended from three fragments. Traces of white pigment on front surface of base. Probably belongs with 189.

Round figurine base (T 4814) Fig. 14
Lot BZ 1415
P.H. 0.031; Est. Diam. 0.070
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Upper edge of round figurine base with convex profile. Figurine's left foot preserved on the base. Traces of white ground on foot and front surface of base. Traces of black pigment on floor of base. Probably belongs with 188.

Round figurine base (T 4876) Fig. 14
Lot BE 2212
P.H. 0.064; P.W. 0.053; H. (base) 0.025
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Bottom edge of rounded figurine base with two half-round moldings where base meets figurine. Center of fragment smoothed, probably where two halves were joined.

Round figurine base (T 4811) Fig. 14
Lot BZ 1496
P.H. 0.046; Est. Diam. 0.050
Munsell (exterior) 5YR 6/6; Munsell (interior) 10YR 6/3
Round, flared base for a figurine, with a double-round moulding at the base. No traces of figurine above. Base appears to be handmade, with applied clay details on one side. Surface covered with slip. Belongs with 192.

Round figurine base (T 4870) Fig. 14
Lot BE 2184
P.H. 0.055; Est. Diam. 0.050
Munsell (exterior) 7.5YR 6/4; Munsell (interior) 10YR 6/3
Round, flared base for a figurine, with a double-round moulding at the base. No traces of figurine above. Base appears to be handmade, with applied clay detail on one side. Surface covered with slip. Belongs with 191.
Plaques

193  Plaque with Goddess (T 4610) Fig. 15
Lot BZ 1400
P.H. 0.181; P.W. 0.117; Th. 0.016
Munsell 5YR 6/4
Top right corner of a plaque with a raised edge, mended from eight fragments, with one non-
joining edge fragment. Standing, draped, winged female figure facing left, with head, hips and
legs in profile, and torso in frontal view. Figure wears crested helmet, with three locks of hair
falling over left shoulder. Left arm cradles a cornucopia, while the right arm is extended. Quiver
behind right shoulder, bow slung across front of body. Pearls of clay on molded surface. Camp
2007, p. 643, no. 12, fig. 17.

194  Plaque (T 4890) Fig. 15
Lot BZ 1740
P.H. 0.054; P.W. 0.049; Th. 0.012
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Single fragment, broken on all sides. Winged foot in relief on a flat plaque. Possibly belongs to
Hermes.

195  Plaque (T 4621) Fig. 15
P.H. 0.056; P.W. 0.054; Th. 0.015
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6
Fragment of plaque with lyre held by outstretched arm. Possibly belongs to Apollo Citharoedos.

196  Horse/Sheep (T 4729) Fig. 15
Lot BZ 1558
P.H. 0.026; P.W. 0.036; Th. 0.010
Munsell 2.5YR 6/8
Horse or sheep head, broken on all sides.

197  Plaque (T 4634) Fig. 15
P.L. 0.065; P.W. 0.032; Th. 0.013
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6
Fragment of plaque with two objects in relief: one rounded object and a tail of drapery. Subject
of plaque unknown.

198  Plaque (T 4439) Fig. 15
Lot BE 2181
P.L. 0.040; P.W. 0.026; Th. 0.012
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6
Fragment of plaque with object in relief. Cylindrical object with two horizontal bands in relief.

199  Plaque (MC 1702) Fig. 15
P.L. 0.049; P.W. 0.047; Th. 0.015
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6
Corner of a plaque with a cross where the edges of the two sides of the plaque meet. Edges of plaque are grooved.

200  Plaque edge  (T 4869)  Fig. 15
Lot BE 2184
P.L. 0.069; P.W. 0.033; Th. 0.011
Munsell 5YR 7/6
Plaque fragment with grooved, raised edge. Hole pierced through plaque close to edge. Bottom of outer edge pared away.

201  Plaque edge  (T 4880)  Fig. 15
Lot BE 2202
Est. Diam. 0.140; Th. 0.010
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Edge of round plaque with grooved, raised edge, mended from two fragments. Hole pierced in plaque near edge.

202  Round plaque (T 4881)  Fig. 15
Lot BE 2202
Est. Diam. 0.250; Th. 0.010
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Fragment of round plaque with raised edge, object in relief on broken edge. Traces of pigment on edge.

203  Round Plaque (T 4435)  Fig. 15
Lot BE 2203
Est. Diam. 0.140; Th. 0.008
Munsell 5YR 7/4
Round plaque with molded raised edge, mended from four fragments. Object in relief at broken edge. Surface partially flaked away.

Masks

204  Edge  (T 4754)  Fig. 15
Lot BZ 1666
P.L. 0.147
Munsell (surface) 5YR 6/6; Munsell (break) 2.5YR 5/8
Mended from six fragments. Top and right edge of mask, with radiating ridges representing hair. Hole pierced through near lower edge. Traces of white ground on surface. Possibly an "Old Man," "Young Man," or "Leading Slave" mask from New Comedy.

205  Edge  (T 4747)  Fig. 15
Lot BZ 1666
P.H. (a) 0.043; P.W. (a) 0.020; P.H. (b) 0.040; P.W. (b) 0.027
Munsell (interior) 5YR 6/6; Munsell (break) 2.5YR 6/6
Two non-joining fragments from the right side of a mask, preserving three strands of hair. One fragment pierced through with a hole. Surfaces of both pieces covered with yellow pigment. Possibly a tragic mask.

206 Mask mold (T 4717) Fig. 16
Lot BZ 1482
P.L. 0.090; P.W. 0.079; Th. 0.031
Munsell (surface) 10YR 7/4; Munsell (break) 5YR 6/4
Mold for the bottom right corner of a mask, including the chin, neck and hair. Hair rendered in sets of five vertical plaits; two rows of hair preserved. Interior and exterior of mold smooth and covered with fine, light-colored slip. Possibly a mold for a tragic mask.

207 Mask nose and upper lip (T 4825) Fig. 16
Lot BZ 1496
P.H. 0.050; P.W. 0.042
Munsell (surface) 2.5YR 5/4; Munsell (break) 2.5YR 5/8
Large bulbous nose with thick upper lip, cuttings for two unevenly spaced large nostrils. Similar to *Agora* VI, p. 62, no. 604, pl. 15, "farce mask."

208 Mask (T 4725) Fig. 16
Lot BZ 1541
P.H. 0.190; W. 0.210
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Lower left edge and small interior pieces missing. Near lifesize mask. Hair rendered with slightly irregular surface. Round holes cut into pupils, upper lip edge preserved. Three holes pierced through the edge: one on the top and one on each side in the ear. Surface unevenly colored with dark discoloration spots. Interior surface with traces of burning, apparently after the mask was broken into two pieces. Possibly related to 216.

209 Mask nose (T 4485) Fig. 16
Lot BZ 938
P.H. 0.059; P.W. 0.043
Munsell 10YR 8/4
Nose, upper lip, and cutting for right pupil. Square nose, smooth upper lip. Upper lip dips down slightly in the center.

210 Mask nose and upper lip (T 4768) Fig. 16
Lot BZ 1497
P.H. 0.049; P.W. 0.033
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Nose, upper lip, and teeth, mended from five fragments. Nostril pierced through. Flat edge for upper row of teeth, without teeth definition. Teeth possibly painted. Cf. T 1648 (*Agora* VI 595) for undefined teeth; 212 for defined teeth.
211  Mask nose and upper lip (T 4769) Fig. 16  
Lot BZ 1562  
P.H. 0.065; P.W. 0.034  
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6  
Nose and upper lip, mended from three fragments. Nostrils pierced through. Pearls of clay on molded surface.

212  Mask mouth (T 4774) Fig. 16  
Lot BZ 1666  
P.H. (a) 0.024; P.W. (a) 0.050; P.H. (b) 0.029; P.W. (b) 0.068  
Munsell (surface) 2.5YR 4/2; Munsell (break) 2.5YR 5/6  
Bottom of the nose, and nearly complete mouth, mended from seven fragments into two pieces. Naturalistic mouth with eight teeth preserved under the upper lip. Mouth open, gap between teeth and lower lip c. 0.002 m. Surface fired dark.

213  Mask chin (T 4776) Fig. 17  
Lot BZ 1666  
P.H. 0.045; P.W. 0.095  
Munsell 10R 5/6  
Bottom edge of mask with chin, mended from three fragments. Top edge turns in slightly for lower lip. Similar to 214.

214  Mask nose, mouth, and chin (T 4777) Fig. 17  
Lot BZ 1666  
P.H. (a) 0.044; P.W. (a) 0.075  
P.H. (b) 0.048; P.W. (b) 0.037  
Munsell (a) 10R 5/6; Munsell (b, surface) 5YR 6/6; Munsell (b, break) 2.5YR 6/8  
(a) and (b) may not belong to the same object. (a) Bottom edge of mask with chin and lower lip, mended from five fragments. Edge of lower lip smoothed. (b) Nose, mended from three fragments. Nostrils indented but not pierced through. Upper lip smooth.

215  Mask nose and upper lip (T 4781) Fig. 17  
Lot BZ 1415  
P.H. 0.031; P.W. 0.030  
Munsell 5YR 7/4  
Tip of nose and upper lip. No indication of nostrils. Upper lip edge smooth.

216  Mask nose (T 4782) Fig. 17  
Lot BZ 1471  
P.H. 0.031; P.W. 0.033  
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6  
Nose, with no indication of nostrils. Possibly from same mold as 208.

217  Mask nose (T 4859) Fig. 17
Lot BE 2115
P.H. 0.069; P.W. 0.051
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Nose, upper lip, and right eye of a mask, mended from three fragments. Nostrils pierced. Pearls of clay on molded surface.

**218** Mask ear (T 4404)  Fig. 17
Lot BE 2202
P.H. 0.043; P.W. 0.052
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Left edge of mask preserving left ear with outline in relief, hole pierced through center from the back. Traces of white ground on surface.

**219** Mask ear (T 4691)  Fig. 17
Lot BZ 1496
P.H. 0.056; P.W. 0.038
Munsell 10YR 6/2
Right edge of mask preserving right ear in relief. Traces of white ground on surface.

**220** Mask ear (T 4775)  Fig. 17
Lot BZ 1666
P.H. 0.053; P.W. 0.033
Munsell (back) 2.5YR 6/6; Munsell (surface) 7.5YR 8/3
Right edge of mask with ear. Edge of mask decorated with pattern in relief. Hole pierced through from the back. Traces of white ground on surface.

**221** Mask ear (T 4826)  Fig. 17
Lot BZ 1496
P.H. 0.064; P.W. 0.048
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Right edge of mask preserving right ear in high relief. Circular hole punched partially through center of ear from back.

**222** Mask eye (T 4772)  Fig. 17
Lot BZ 1496, Lot BZ 1497
P.W. 0.073; P.W. 0.029; Diam. (pupil) 0.017
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6
Right eye with upper eyelid in relief. Pupil cut out. Pearls of clay on molded surface.

**223** Mask eye (T 4821)  Fig. 17
Lot BZ 1563
P.W. 0.048; P.H. 0.042; Est. Diam. (pupil) 0.015
Munsell 7.5YR 7/4
Right eye with outline of eye in relief and prominent brow. Pupil cut out. Similar to **225**.

280
224  Mask eye (T 4823)  Fig. 17
Lot BZ 1666
P.W. 0.063; P.H. 0.046; Est. Diam. (pupil) 0.016
Munsell (surface) 5YR 6/6; Munsell (break) 2.5YR 5/8
Left eye with outline of eye in relief and prominent brow. Pupil cut out.

225  Mask eye (T 4829)  Fig. 17
Lot BZ 1541
P.W. 0.060; P.H. 0.054; Diam. (pupil) 0.014
Munsell 7.5YR 6/4
Right eye with heavy upper eyelid and prominent brow. Pupil cut out. Similar to 223.

226  Mask eye (T 4854)  Fig. 17
Lot BE 2102
P.W. 0.048; P.H. 0.046
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Right eye, with curled eyebrow and upper edge of pupil hole.

227  Mask edge (T 4700)  Fig. 17
Lot BZ 1496
P.H. 0.089; P.W. 0.076
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Upper left eye and forehead, with edge of mask preserved. Round pupil cut out. Two vertical rolls of hair on forehead.

228  Mask edge (T 4744)  Fig. 17
P.L. 0.049; P.W. 0.048
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Mask edge with edge of pupil hole preserved, broad ridges for hair. Traces of white ground on surface.

229  Mask edge (T 4830)  Fig. 18
Lot BZ 1541
P.L. 0.127; P.W. 0.027
Munsell 7.5YR 7/4
Edge with a slightly irregular curved shape. Flat edge on underside. Pearls of clay on molded surface.

230  Mask edge (T 4845)  Fig. 18
Lot BE 2102
P.H. 0.116; P.W. 0.046
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6
Right side of mask with end of hair and possible earlobe, mended from three fragments. Pearls of clay on molded surface.
231  Mask edge  (T 4487)  Fig. 18
Lot BZ 938
P.H. 0.048; P.W. 0.045
Munsell 10YR 8/4
Left ear and edge of a mask, with hole pierced through from the back. Pearls of clay on molded surface.

232  Mask edge  (T 4635)  Fig. 18
P.L. 0.046; P.W. 0.041
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6
Edge fragment of mask with relief decoration, possibly for hair.

233  Mask edge  (T 4703)  Fig. 18
Lot BZ 1497
P.L. 0.064; P.W. 0.050
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6
Edge of mask with wavy hair. Surface fired slightly darker than body of piece. Pearls of clay on molded surface.

Protomes

234  Protome  (T 4765)  Fig. 18
Lot BZ 1651
P.H. (a) 0.106; P.W. (a) 0.103; P.H. (b) 0.100; P.W. (b) 0.041
Munsell (exterior) 5YR 6/4 to 2.5YR 6/4; Munsell (interior) 5YR 6/4 to 2.5YR 6/8
Two non-joining pieces, mended from seven fragments. Lower portion of a female protome. Bottom edge forms a V at the front. Two tendrils of hair with incised detail, one on each side of now-missing face, with two folds of drapery (or possibly a necklace) draped across upper chest. Traces of white ground on surface.

235  Drapery  (T 4773)  Fig. 18
Lot BZ 1496
P.H. (a) 0.044; P.W. (a) 0.029; P.H. (b) 0.024; P.W. (b) 0.024
Munsell 2.5YR 7/6
Two non-joining fragments. Knot with drapery falling, possibly from a protome.

236  Drapery  (T 4812)  Fig. 18
Lot BZ 1400
P.L. 0.057; P.W. 0.054
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Knotted drapery, possibly from a protome or mask. Pearls of clay on molded surface.

237  Protome edge (T 4756)  Fig. 18
Lot BZ 1666
P.H. 0.062; P.W. 0.078
Munsell (surface) 5YR 6/6; Munsell (break) 10R 6/8
Bottom edge of a protome, with animal skin knotted at front. Pearls of clay on molded surface.
Similar to 236. Possibly the top/side of a mask, of Paniskos or similar.

**Miscellaneous and Unidentified**

238  Cornucopia  (T 4392)    Fig. 18
Lot BE 2210
P.L. 0.051
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Mended from two fragments, solid. Bottom of a cornucopia with lines incised along its length.

239  Cornucopia  (T 4822)    Fig. 18
Lot BZ 1497
P.L. 0.058
Munsell 5YR 6/6

240  Cornucopia  (T 4877)    Fig. 18
Lot BE 2203
P.L. 0.029
Munsell (exterior) 2.5YR 4/1; Munsell (break) 2.5YR 6/8
Bottom of a cornucopia with lines incised along its length.

241  Vessel  (T 4807)    Fig. 18
Lot BZ 1299
P.H. 0.034; P.W. 0.025
Munsell (exterior) 7.5YR 7/4; Munsell (interior) 5YR 7/4
One side of vessel made in bivalve mold, broken on one end. Possibly belongs with an Aphrodite figurine. Made in same mold as 242.

242  Vessel  (T 4808)    Fig. 18
Lot BZ 1563
P.H. 0.035; W. 0.026
Munsell 5YR 7/4
Vessel made in a bivalve mold, broken on one end. Two halves joined inaccurately. Possibly belongs with an Aphrodite figurine. Made in same mold as 241.

243  Pillar  (T 4399)    Fig. 19
Lot BE 2202
P.H. 0.046; P.W. 0.041
Munsell (surface) 5YR 7/6; Munsell (break) 2.5YR 6/8
Broken on all sides. Short pillar with flaring sides, rosette with eight petals on front. Probably a support for drapery, or a miniature figure in a figurine group.

244  Figurine  (T 4846)  Fig. 19
Lot BE 2102
P.H. 0.107; P.W. 0.066
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6 to 5YR 6/3
Mended from two fragments, no edges preserved. Convex in shape, indentation with central protrusion on one side. Possibly an eye and forehead from a mask.

245  Figurine fragment (T 4434)  Fig. 19
Lot BE 2184
P.L. 0.045; P.W. 0.032
Munsell 2.5YR 6/8
Single fragment, broken on all sides. Possibly a stylized animal head or helmet. Traces of white ground and yellow pigment on surface.

246  Unidentified  (T 4633)  Fig. 19
P.H. 0.049; P.W. 0.022
Munsell 2.5YR 5/6
Surface partially chipped away, traces of one end preserved. Fragment with one flat end. Sides flare out toward relief band at other end. Identification unknown.

247  Unidentified  (T 4636)  Fig. 19
P.L. 0.040; P.W. 0.029
Munsell 5YR 6/6
Fragment of an identified part of a figurine, broken on all sides.

248  Stand  (T 4726)  Fig. 19
Lot BZ 1578, Lot BZ 1492
H. 0.049; Est. Diam. 0.150
Munsell 5YR 7/3
Two joining pieces and one non-joining piece. Round stand or base with molded vertical face. Molded decoration includes two heads, a bearded horned head in profile on the left with a lagobolon and other unidentified objects and a bald head resembling a skeleton in 3/4 view on the right with a lagobolon, surrounded by a meander consisting of two lines in relief. Non-joining fragment includes a pan-flute and a lagobolon. Vertical surface covered with yellow pigment. Function of object unknown.

249  Wing  (T 4863)  Fig. 19
Lot BE 2115
P.L. 0.034; P.W. 0.033
Munsell (exterior) 2.5YR 6/4; Munsell (interior) 2.5YR 6/8
Wing with three rows of feathers, broken where it attached to the figurine. Pearls of clay on molded surface.
250  Figurine support (T 4842)  Fig. 19
Lot BZ 1418
P.H. 0.038; P.W. 0.034
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Left side of figurine group with small figure used as support for larger figure. Larger figure's hand resting on top of small figure's head. Traces of white ground, along with white, yellow, and blue pigments on surface. Possibly Aphrodite with archaizing statue support.

251  Miniature figure (T 4403)  Fig. 19
Lot BE 2202
P.H. 0.044; P.W. 0.023
Munsell 5YR 6/4
Plain pillar with rounded molding on top with two feet preserved on the top of the pillar. Probably a support for a miniature support figure from a figurine group.

252  Mold for seated figure (T 4378) Fig. 19
Lot BE 2102
P.H. 0.096; W. 0.063
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Mended from four fragments, piece missing from center, and top edge missing. Mold for back of seated figure, preserving the outline of the back, right arm, buttocks, and back of legs of the figure down to the heels. Left arm probably extended outward from the body. Interior surface uneven. Exterior surface lumpy, with traces of tool marks from smoothing.

253  Seated figure (T 4770) Fig. 19
Lot BZ 1541
P.H. (a) 0.077; P.W. (a) 0.047; P.H. (b) 0.068; P.W. (b) 0.036
Munsell 5YR 7/6 to 7.5YR 7/4
Mended into two non-joining pieces from six fragments. Figurine, preserved from the waist down, seated on a chair with legs crossed and feet resting on a low rectangular stool. Figure has folds of drapery across waist and has right leg crossed over left leg at the ankles. Bottom edge of fragment (b) trimmed with a tool.

254  Female figurine (T 4748) Fig. 19
Lot BZ 1666
P.H. 0.050; P.W. 0.041
Munsell 5YR 6/6
Right side of female torso, mended from two fragments. Arms crossed across front of body, left hand visible on upper right arm. V-shaped folds in drapery on upper chest. Fingers of left hand delineated with incisions. Pearls of clay on molded surface.

255  Arm (T 4692) Fig. 19
Lot BZ 1496
P.H. 0.027; P.W. 0.033
Munsell 5YR 7/4
Bent right arm of a draped figurine, broken on all sides. Hand seems to be grasping an unidentified object. Possibly a mantled female figurine, similar to *Corinth* XVIII.4 R26, especially in the treatment of the hand.

256  Draped legs  (T 4839) Fig. 19
Lot BZ 1415  
P.H. 0.061; P.W. 0.031  
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6  
Bent left leg of a female figurine (possibly Aphrodite), preserved from ankle to hip. Drapery gathered around hips falls over leg. Traces of white ground on surface.

257  Left arm with shield (T 4654) Fig. 20
Lot BZ 1334  
L. 0.059; H. 0.027  
Munsell 7.5YR 7/4  
Fully preserved. Left arm, bent at elbow, with hand grasping oblong object. Top edge of arm pierced with hole. Surface of object with vertical ridge and central boss, possibly a shield. Fingers emphasized with incised lines. Tool marks from smoothing on top and bottom sides.

258  Arm  (T 4787) Fig. 20
Lot BZ 1558  
P.L. 0.026; H. 0.024  
Munsell (left side) 2.5YR 6/6; Munsell (right side) 7.5YR 7/4  
Mended from three fragments. Broken at wrist. Arm bent at elbow. Hole pierced in arm from the top. Tool marks on surface. Relief ledge on left side at top of arm. Possibly related to 259 and 260.

259  Arm  (T 4790) Fig. 20
Lot BZ 1558  
P.L. 0.026; H. 0.021  
Munsell 7.5YR 6/4  
Broken at wrist. Arm bent at elbow. Hole pierced in arm from the top. Tool marks on surface. Relief ledge on left side at top of arm. Traces of white ground on surface. Possibly related to 258 and 260.

260  Left arm  (T 4874) Fig. 20
Lot BE 2212  
P.L. 0.029; H. 0.025  
Munsell 2.5YR 6/8  
Broken at wrist. Arm bent at elbow. Hole pierced in arm from the top. Tool marks on surface. Possibly related to 258 and 259.

261  Arm  (T 4784) Fig. 20
Lot BZ 1496
P.L. 0.026; H. 0.025
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Broken at wrist. Arm bent at elbow. Hole pierced in arm from the top. Tool marks on surface.

262 Arm (T 4791) Fig. 20
Lot BZ 1558
P.L. 0.014; H. 0.022
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Broken at wrist. Arm bent at elbow. Hole pierced in arm from the top. Tool marks on surface.
Relief ledge on left side at top of arm.

263 Arm (T 4792) Fig. 20
Lot BZ 1558
P.L. 0.026; H. 0.022
Munsell 2.5YR 6/8
Broken at upper arm and wrist. Arm bent at elbow. Hole pierced in arm from the top. Tool marks on surface.

264 Arm (T 4797) Fig. 20
Lot BZ 1621
P.L. 0.024; H. 0.023
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Broken at wrist, piece missing from upper arm. Arm bent at elbow. Hole pierced in arm from the top. Tool marks on surface.

265 Arm (T 4857) Fig. 20
Lot BE 2095
P.L. 0.025; H. 0.023
Munsell 2.5YR 4/1
Broken at wrist, surface missing on one side. Arm bent at elbow. Hole pierced in arm from the top. Tool marks on surface.

266 Figurine (T 4400) Fig. 20
Lot BE 2202
P.H. 0.038; P.L. 0.074
Munsell 2.5YR 6/8
Upper torso and right arm of a figurine, mended from four fragments. Arm bent and held out in front of body with hand grasping broad flat object. Knob of clay in center of upper chest, possibly an aegis. Front of figure and arm covered with white ground.

267 Shoulder with hole (T 4431) Fig. 20
Lot BE 2211
P.H. 0.067; P.W. 0.044
Munsell (break) 2.5YR 6/6
Left shoulder of a large figurine, with a hole for attaching a separately molded arm. Interior and exterior of figurine covered with white slip. Red paint in half-circle on torso in front of shoulder.

268  Shoulder with hole (T 4799)  Fig. 20
Lot BZ 1558
P.H. 0.027; P.W. 0.029
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Left shoulder of a figurine. Hole (diam. 0.006 m) pierced into finished end of upper arm, probably in order to attach separately molded arm.

269  Leg  (T 4620)  Fig. 20
P.H. 0.031; W. 0.015
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Knee and calf of a finely modeled figurine leg with line of smoothing along back side of leg.

270  Figurine Back (T 4631)  Fig. 20
P.L. 0.043; P.W. 0.034
Munsell 7.5YR 7/4
Fragment of back of figurine with round vent hole. Possibly the left arm of an Aphrodite Anadyomene figurine (cf. 84).

271  Figurine back (T 4852)  Fig. 20
Lot BE 2102
P.H. 0.127; P.H. 0.074
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6 to 7.5YR 7/4
Flat back side of a figurine, mended from three fragments, preserving bottom edge. Left edge wraps around to front of figurine, with a small fragment from the figurine front.

272  Back of figurine (T 4858)  Fig. 20
Lot BE 2115
P.H. 0.102; P.W. 0.049
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Flat back side of a figurine, mended from three fragments. Round vent hole cut into the back. Side of figurine with rough lines and a small projection (both possibly drapery). Possibly from a figurine of Aphrodite draped at the hips.

273  Drapery  (T 4437)  Fig. 20
Lot BE 2182
P.H. 0.066; P.W. 0.037
Munsell 5YR 6/4
Fragment of figurine drapery, broken on all sides. Traces of white ground and blue pigment on molded surface, traces of white ground on interior surface.

274  Drapery  (T 4632)  Fig. 20
P.L. 0.048; P.W. 0.024
Munsell 5YR 6/6
Fragment of figurine drapery, broken on all side. Pearls of clay on molded surface.

**275** Drapery  (T 4853)  Fig. 20
Lot BE 2102
P.L. 0.088; P.W. 0.032
Munsell 5YR 6/6
Mended from two fragments. Drapery from the side of a figurine where the halves cast in bivalve molds were joined, with a small part of the facing side still adhering.

**276** Animal  (T 4868)  Fig. 20
Lot BE 2184
P.L. 0.057; P.W. 0.037
Munsell (exterior) 5YR 6/4; Munsell (interior) 2.5YR 6/6
Fragment broken on all sides. Possibly fragment of animal figurine. Pearls of clay on molded surface.

**277** Mold  (T 4817)  Fig. 21
Lot BZ 1621
P.L. 0.046; P.W. 0.035; Th. 0.018
Munsell 7.5YR 7/4
Broken on all sides. Interior surface relatively smooth with slight striations; exterior surface slightly lumpy and irregular. Type unknown.

**278** Mold  (T 4818)  Fig. 21
Lot BZ 1474
P.L. 0.054; P.W. 0.037; Th. 0.016
Munsell 7.5YR 8/4
Edge of mold preserved. Interior surface very smooth; exterior surface slightly lumpy. Possibly for neck and shoulders of a figurine. Fabric similar to molds 152 and 279.

**279** Mold  (T 4820)  Fig. 21
Lot BZ 1474
P.L. 0.070; P.W. 0.053; Th. 0.012
Munsell 7.5YR 8/4
Edge of mold preserved. Interior surface relatively smooth; exterior surface slightly lumpy. Fabric similar to molds 152 and 278.

**Lamp Molds**

**280** Mold for Alpha Globule lamp (L 6092) Fig. 21
Lot BZ 1336
P.L. 0.073; P.W. 0.064; H. 0.029
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Bottom part of the mold, preserving part of the base, and all of the nozzle. Curved incision on underside of nozzle, Alpha, and ring around Alpha incised into mold; globules punched into mold in an irregular arrangement. Two lines of incised letters on exterior of mold: top: OYO or OYΣ (with lunate sigma); bottom (in larger letters) ΙΓ followed by a vertical stroke of a third letter. Camp 2007, p. 645, no. 17, fig. 21.

281 Lamp mold (L 5985) Fig. 21
Lot BE 2102
P.L. 0.110; P.W. 0.043; P.H. 0.035; Diam. (body) 0.080
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Approximately one half of a bottom mold. Raised round base, nozzle with triangular end. Nozzle shape as Athenian imitations of imported Knidian lamps or Late Hellenistic Relief lamps (Howland types 50-58). Exterior of mold slightly lumpy, with three "string marks" or grooves on edge. Similar fabric as 284.

282 Lamp mold (L 6118) Fig. 21
Lot BZ 1563
L. 0.146; P.W. 0.102; H. 0.045; Est. Diam. (body) 0.100
Munsell 10YR 8/4
Bottom mold, mended from two fragments. Slightly oval base, long nozzle with triangular end. Exterior surface smoothed. Remnants of five "string marks" on the exterior edge; three Λ-shaped and two vertical. Similar fabric as 283.

283 Lamp mold (L 6119) Fig. 21
Lot BZ 1563
Est. Diam. 0.085; H. 0.020
Munsell 10YR 8/4
Fragment of mold for top of lamp with rays. Indentations for rays rendered sloppily, resulting in irregular rays. Possibly for lamp of Howland type 52. Similar fabric as 282.

284 Lamp mold (L 6120) Fig. 21
Lot BZ 1563
L. 0.116; W. 0.079; H. 0.032
Munsell 2.5YR 6/6
Bottom mold, mended from two fragments. Raised round base with two incised concentric circles within. Short, pointed nozzle. Exterior of mold slightly lumpy with three preserved "string marks" or grooves on edge, and four small lumps of clay applied to edge (function unknown). Inscription on exterior: ΛO with horizontal line above. Similar fabric as 281.

Tools

285 Bronze Hook (B 1957) Fig. 22
Lot BE 2102
P.L. 0.036
Curved hook with flattened profile, tapers to a thin shaft, broken at shaft end. Tip of hook has a bulbous corrosion.

286  Bronze Shaft  (B 1958)  Fig. 22
Lot BE 2102
P.L. 0.022; Diam. 0.007
Cylindrical shaft, broken at both ends. Thin solid shaft, slightly curved, with two narrow grooves along length.

287  Bronze Tool  (B 2157)  Fig. 22
Lot BZ 1541
P.L. 0.036
Fully preserved, with pointed end bent back on itself. Pointed tool with one end hollow for the insertion of a handle.

288  Bronze Blade  (B 2158)  Fig. 22
Lot BZ 1554
L. 0.028; W. 0.011
Flat blade with one straight edge and one rounded edge.

289  Bone Spoon  (BI 1058)  Fig. 22
Lot BE 2184
P.L. 0.036; Diam. (head) 0.019
Chip missing from head, broken at shaft. Spoon with round concave head, slight protrusion in center. Handle shaft is flattened. Polished smooth.

290  Bone Pin  (BI 1082)  Fig. 22
Lot BE 2147
P.L. 0.046
Decorative end of a pin, broken at shaft. Pin end carved into flower bud. Shaft is round in section.

291  Bone Pin  (BI 1173)  Fig. 22
Lot BZ 1335
P.L. 0.049
Broken on both ends. Smooth shaft, tapering to one end, round in section.

292  Bone Pin  (BI 1174)  Fig. 22
Lot BZ 1336
P.L. (a) 0.033; P.L. (b) 0.023
Two non-joining fragments preserved, broken on both ends. Smooth shaft, tapering to one end, round in section. Discoloration at pointed end.

293  Bone Needle  (BI 1182)  Fig. 22
Lot BZ 1310
P.L. 0.104
Pointed end missing. Needle with oblong eye at one end. Shaft, round in section, is flattened at the eye end.

294  Bone object  (BI 1193)  Fig. 22
Lot BZ 1414
P.L. 0.054
One end broken off. Cylindrical shaft with highly polished rounded knob at preserved end.

295  Bone Pin  (BI 1194)  Fig. 22
Lot BZ 1415
P.L. 0.027
Decorative end of a bone pin, broken at shaft. Two pointed prongs with horizontal grooves (three on one side, two on the other side).

296  Bone Pin  (BI 1203)  Fig. 22
Lot BZ 1482
P.L. 0.069; P.W. 0.0048
Broken at both ends. Pin shaft, round in section, tapered gently at one end and flattened at the other end. Surface slightly facetted.

297  Bone Scoop  (BI 1221)  Fig. 22
Lot BZ 1563
P.L. 0.106
Almost completely intact, small chip missing from flared end. Shaft round in section, tapers to a sharp point at one end. Opposite end is carved into a flattened scoop. Cf. Agora V G 163, Corinth XII nos. 1328-1330 ("unguent spoon").

298  Bone Palmette Stamp (BI 1223) Fig. 22
Lot BZ 1551
P.L. 0.024; H. 0.008; W. 0.005
Broken at one end. Length of bone, rectangular in section, with palmette stamp carved into one end. Palmette has seven petals springing from two volutes. Bottom of stamp burned white. Camp 2007, p. 644, no. 13, fig. 18.

299  Bone Spoon  (BI 1225)  Fig. 22
Lot BZ 1563
Diam. 0.024
Handle broken off. Round, concave spoon head with short length of handle still attached.

300  Bone Stylus  (BI 1226)  Fig. 22
Lot BZ 1541
L. 0.0835; W. (blade) 0.008
Stylus with one pointed end and one wide, flat end.
301 Bone Object (BI 1232) Fig. 22
Lot BZ 1480
P.L. 0.030
Broken on both sides. Piece carved with five facets, with shafts of a smaller diameter projecting from both ends.

302 Shell with pigment (BI 1247) Fig. 23
Surface find
L. 0.145; H. 0.055
One complete shell of a bi-valve mollusc. Lump of soil saved inside shell. Red pigment preserved on interior surface of shell and mixed into preserved dirt. Yellow pigment adhering to exterior of shell.

303 Ceramic Tool (T 4816) Fig. 23
Lot BZ 1482
P.H. 0.054; P.W. 0.045
Munsell 5YR 7/6
Chips missing from the bottom edge. Hand-formed clay object with pinched handle and slightly convex base. Function unclear.
APPENDIX 2: DEPOSIT SUMMARIES

The summaries below include the following data on the Pottery Lots in which the relevant terracotta figurines and molds were found. All dates are A.D. unless otherwise noted.

Pottery Lot: The number assigned to the pottery from an excavated unit; the three closed Deposits were also assigned Deposit Numbers.

Title: The type of stratum, such as a floor surface or building fill.

Date: Date or range of dates provided by a combination of ceramic and numismatic evidence and lamps, ignoring, where necessary, obvious later intrusions.

Classification: Location of the context with reference to the Commercial-Industrial Building and nearby Deposits.

Grid Reference: Location of the stratigraphical unit on the 1x1 meter Agora grid.

Levels: highest "opening" elevation and lowest "closing" elevation, expressed in meters above sea level (masl).

Description: A brief description of the stratigraphical unit, including the character of the pottery assemblage, relationships with other contexts, and the surrounding architecture. Relevant coins found in the contexts are also discussed here.

Contents: A description of pottery, lamps, uninventoried artifacts, and other materials saved with the pottery (bone, metals, rooftiles, loomweights, etc.). For a list of the abbreviations used for wares and comparanda, see below. Dates are given in parentheses for identified shapes and wares.

Sherds: The number of sherds saved by the trench supervisor and the original number of sherds excavated (if recorded).

Inventoried Terracottas/Molds/Tools: A list of the inventoried terracottas, molds, and tools from the context.

Other Finds: A list of the other inventoried artifacts found in these contexts, including, pottery (P), miscellaneous ceramics (MC), lamps (L), terracotta (T), glass (G), coins (N), architectural fragments (A), bronze (B), and iron and lead (IL).

Uninventoried Terracotta Fragments: A full accounting of the uninventoried terracotta fragments that were left in the Pottery Lots, along with a list of the recognizable types present in the context.
Abbreviations for Fine Wares:
ARS  African Red Slip
ESA  Eastern Sigillata A
ESB1  Eastern Sigillata B1
ESB2  Eastern Sigillata B2
ITS  Italian Sigillata
LRC  "Late Roman C"

Terms for Roman Coarse Wares (cf. Agora V, p. 6)
Combed  Ware with straight or wavy horizontal grooves incised into the wall of a vessel with a comb, found on vessels of the 6th-7th century
Gouged  Ware with vertical or oblique lines cut into the vessel wall, found mainly on jugs of the 4th-5th century
Micaceous Water Jar  Water Jar with hollow toe, one or two handles, and micaceous brown fabric, found in deposits of the 1st century B.C. to the 6th century A.D.
Painted Ware  Bowls with a thin, sometimes metallic slip, decorated with spirals and other motifs in white paint, found in deposits of the mid 3rd to 4th century (cf. Agora V, p. 61)
Spiral Grooved  Ware with sharp horizontal ridges on the vessel wall, found on 4th-7th century coarseware jugs
Wheel-Ridged  Ware with smooth horizontal ridges on the vessel wall, found on coarseware vessels of the 3rd-5th century

Abbreviations for Bibliography:
Agora IV  R. H. Howland, Greek Lamps and Their Survivals, 1958. (Lamps are referenced by “Howland type”)
Agora XXIX  S. I. Rotroff, Hellenistic Pottery: Athenian and Imported Wheelmade Table Ware and Related Material, 1997.
CFTS  Conspectus Formarum Terrae Sigillatae Italico Modo Confectae (Materialien zur Römisch-Germanischen Keramik 10), ed. E. Ettinger et al., 1990.
Hayes  J. W. Hayes, Late Roman Pottery, 1972.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lot BE 1890</th>
<th>Fill under Byzantine pithos</th>
<th>12th-13th century</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Outside Building</td>
<td>East</td>
<td>South and East of Deposit J 1:1</td>
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<tr>
<td>J/20,K/2-1/18,20</td>
<td>53.520-53.600 masl</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fill around and below Byzantine Pithos 12, just south of Deposit J 1:1, including two late Roman coins, one dating to the 5th-6th century.
Fine: LRC form 3 type C dish (460-475), ESA and ESB body sherds
Coarse: coarseware with dots of plain glaze, spiral grooved ware, combed ware, wheel-ridged ware, beehive
Other: glass
72 of 782 sherds
Terracottas: 64, 65
Other Finds: N 11720, N 11721
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: none

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lot BE 1928</th>
<th>Fill</th>
<th>2nd century</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inside Building</td>
<td>Room 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J/15,16-2/1,4</td>
<td>53.163-53.163 masl</td>
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</table>

Layer of fill at the corner of Wall A and Wall 21. Fill below excavated in Lots BZ 1310 and 1630.
Fine: globular jug handle as Agora V G 85 (first half 1st century), ESA and ESB1 body sherds, ITS plate with appliqué as CFTS form 20.4 (mid 1st century), black glaze
Coarse: inverted lip plate as Agora V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), cooking ware, basin rims
Lamps: Alpha Globule (2), unidentified moldmade lamps (3)
Other: glass, bronze, iron, gilded ceramic
375 of 1033 sherds
Terracottas: 97
Other Finds: L 5968
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 2 masks, 1 wheel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lot BE 1939</th>
<th>Fill</th>
<th>non-descript Roman</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inside Building</td>
<td>Room 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J/15,17-2/4,7</td>
<td>53.242-53.242 masl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fill east of foundation trench for Byzantine Pithos 7.
Fine: black glaze
Coarse: wheel-ridged ware, cooking ware
Lamps: unidentified wheelmade Greek lamp
Other: bronze
110 of 691 sherds
Terracottas: 24
Other Finds: BI 1032, N 11714, N 11779
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 unidentified

**Lot BE 1953**  
Removal of Byzantine Pithos  
Byzantine  
Inside Building | Room 4  
J/16,18-2/4,5  
52.042-53.697 masl  
Removal of Byzantine Pithos B.  
Fine: jug with rouletting similar to *Agora* V H 17 (first half 2nd century), black glaze  
Coarse: Byzantine coarseware with incisions, spiral grooved ware  
Lamps: unidentified moldmade Roman lamp, unidentified wheelmade Greek lamp  
Other: bronze  
39 of 279 sherds  
Terracottas: **110**  
Other Finds: MC 1356  
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: none

**Lot BE 1969**  
Fill  
late 1st to early 2nd century  
Inside Building | Room 4  
J/15,18-2/3,4  
52.835-52.835 masl  
Layer of fill at corner of Walls 24 and 27, at eastern end of Room 4.  
Fine: Çandarli hemispherical cup (cf. AFC Çandarli form L20, mid to late 1st century), black glaze  
Coarse: inverted lip plate as *Agora* V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), amphora, cooking ware  
Other: glass, stone bowl fragment  
164 of 512 sherds  
Terracottas: none  
Other Finds: N 11804, P 32462, T 4373, T 4374  
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: none

**Lot BE 1975**  
Fill  
non-descript Byzantine  
Inside Building | Room 3  
J/18,19-2/7  
52.366-52.621 masl  
Layer of fill south of Wall C, representing a late disturbance at the northeast corner of Room 3.  
Fine: black glaze  
Coarse: Byzantine coarseware (1 with drop of plain glaze), gouged ware, bowl as *Agora* V K 42 (mid 3rd century), bowl similar to *Agora* V M 290 (early 5th century), amphoras, cooking ware  
Lamps: Howland type 52 (1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D.)  
Other: glass  
235 of 1052 sherds  
Terracottas: **146**  
Other Finds: A 4917, B 1949, G 730, T 4375
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: none

**Lot BE 2050**  
Floor surface and underlying fill  
5th century  
Outside Building | East | Lime pit and south of Wall 103  
K/5.8-1/16.19  
53.200-53.520 masl  
Hard-packed red surface and underlying fill. Surface extended from the doorway of Wall 103 and along its south face.  
Fine: ARS with stamps type 26F and 74 (stamp style Ai or Aii, 320-420), painted ware bowl as *Agora* V K 19 (mid 3rd century), painted ware bowl similar to *Agora* V M 209 (early 4th century, without animal handle), Roman lead glaze, ESA body sherd  
Coarse: spiral grooved ware, wheel-ridged ware, micaceous water jar  
Lamps: unidentified moldmade Roman lamps (2)  
Other: glass, stone, bone, painted rooftop  
226 of unknown total sherds  
Terracottas: none  
Other Finds: T 4381, T 4388, T 4389  
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 small mask, 1 leg, 1 rosette

**Lot BE 2061**  
Fill under tile floor around Well K 1:2  
6th-7th century  
Outside Building | East | Lime pit and south of Wall 103  
K/5.6-1/14.15  
53.390-53.480 masl  
Removal of fill under tile floor around Well K 1:2; the level of fill through which the 3rd century well was cut.  
Fine: globular jug as *Agora* V G 87 (first half 1st century), black glaze  
Coarse: spiral grooved ware  
Other: bone, shell, pebbles  
39 of 144 sherds  
Terracottas: **173, 174**  
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: none

**Lot BE 2063**  
Destruction debris  
6th-7th century  
Outside Building | East | South and East of Deposit J 1:1  
K/3.5-1/12.13  
53.680-53.750 masl  
Layer of destruction debris east of Deposit J 1:1, and north of the platform for late Roman Well K 1:2.  
Fine: black glaze  
Coarse: spiral grooved ware, coarseware body sherds  
Other: 1 bag bones, painted and unpainted rooftiles, 2 marble revetment, glass, iron  
450 of unknown total sherds  
Terracottas: **28**  
Other Finds: N 11809  
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 mask ear
Lot BE 2087  Loose fill 7th century with 10th-11th century
Outside Building | East | Deposit J 1:1 and vicinity
J/19,20-1/15,16
52.800-53.300 masl
Late Roman to Byzantine disturbance south of plaster floor and Deposit J 1:1, cut away the south end of the Deposit. Upper fill excavated in this lot, lower fill excavated in Lot BE 2088. The terracottas in this deposit must belong to Deposit J 1:1.
Fine: ARS form 32 dish (mid 3rd century), ITS rim
Coarse: spiral grooved ware, wheel-ridged ware, beehive
Lamps: lamp as Agora VII no. 1125 (late 4th century), handle as Agora VII no. 391 (1st century B.C.), Howland type 52 (1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D.)
Other: bone, shell, wall plaster, painted and unpainted tile, marble revetment, glass
419 of unknown total sherds
Terracottas: 46, 47, 48, 120, 123, 129, 132
Other Finds: G 741, IL 1861, N 11796, N 11842, N 11868
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 base corner, 1 bent arm, 1 unidentified

Lot BE 2088  Loose fill 6th century
Outside Building | East | Deposit J 1:1 and vicinity
J/19,20-1/15,16
52.800-53.300 masl
Late Roman to Byzantine disturbance south of plaster floor and Deposit J 1:1, which cut away the south end of the Deposit. Lower fill excavated in this lot, upper fill excavated in Lot BE 2087. The terracottas in this deposit must belong to Deposit J 1:1.
Fine: ARS bowl, ESB1 rim
Coarse: spiral grooved ware, inverted lip plate as Agora V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), amphoras, cooking ware
Lamps: Red-on-white lamp (cf. Agora VII, nos. 155-204, late 1st to 2nd century)
66 of unknown total sherds
Terracottas: 46, 47, 48, 123, 129, 132
Other Finds: G 741, IL 1861, N 11796, N 11842, N 11868
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 base with feet, 1 mask fragment

Lot BE 2095  Fill under floor surface 1st century
Outside Building | East | Deposit J 1:1 and vicinity
J/19,20-1/14,15
52.900-53.180 masl
Reddish earth packing below plaster floor, directly above Deposit J 1:1.
Fine: ESA body sherd, ESB1 rim, ITS base, black glaze, gray ware, unguentarium
Lamps: unidentified gray lamp
Other: bones, bronze, unpainted tile
67 of unknown total sherds
Terracottas: 265
Other Finds: P 32744
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: fragment with incised "X"

**Lot BE 2102**  
Deposit J 1:1, Coroplast's dump  
Outside Building | East | Deposit J 1:1 and vicinity  
J/19,20-1/14,15  
52.650-52.900 masl

Deposit of terracottas, molds and pottery in a shallow pit sloping downward from north to south. This deposit was located beneath a layer of fill under a Late Roman plaster floor (Lots BE 2093-2095). The deposit was cut at its south end by the Byzantine/Late Roman disturbance excavated in Lots BE 2087-2088, which explains the presence of terracottas in those contexts. 

Fine: ESA base, ESB2 plate as AFC form 53, ESB1 cup as *Agora* V G 28 (first half 1st century), ESB1 base, ITS body sherds, barbotine body sherd, unguentarium, black glaze,

Coarse: one-handled jar with red dipinto similar to *Agora* V F 67 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), amphoras, basin as *Agora* V F 62 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), shallow bowl as *Agora* V F 54 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), inverted lip plate as *Agora* V F 36-40, basins, cooking ware, coarseware 

Lamps: Alpha Globule (2), Alpha Ear, Howland type 54D (first half 1st century), Howland type 56 A/B (late 1st century B.C. to early 1st century A.D.), unidentified moldmade lamps

Other: pyramidal loomweight, discoid loomweight, antefix fragment, iron nails, glass, shell, bone, stone, painted and unpainted roof tiles, wall plaster (yellow), vitrified ceramic

2172 of 2172 sherds


Other Finds: BI 1083, L 5975, N 11912, N 11913, P 32464, P 32506, P 35511, P 35512

Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 2 wheels, 1 foot, 8 base fragments, 1 hand resting on support, 1 shoulders/chest (with pigment), 20 mask edges, 1 twisted piece, 10 human figure body fragments, 8 mask fragments, 2 torso with belly button, 116 unidentified fragments

**Lot BE 2115**  
Shallow pit  
Outside Building | East | Deposit J 1:1 and vicinity  
J/19,20-1/18  
52.860-53.050 masl

Shallow pit filled with dark soil with carbon, bones, just east of threshold in Wall D. South of Lots BE 2087-2088. The date and contents of the context compare favorably to Deposit J 1:1, which was located just north of here.

Fine: Roman lead glaze, black glaze

Coarse: inverted lip plate as *Agora* V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), cooking ware, amphoras

Lamps: unidentified moldmade lamp

Other: bone, marble, glass, painted and unpainted tile

246 of unknown total sherds

Terracottas: 96, 109, 165, 175, 184, 217, 249, 272

Other Finds: P 32508

Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 6 base fragments, 2 wheels, 2 vents, 15 mask fragments, 3 plaque/mask hair fragments, 40 unidentified
Lot BE 2147  Disturbed fill  5th century  
Inside Building | Room 2
J/18,19-2/13,14
51.871-52.242 masl
Late Roman disturbance in the center of a tile floor in Room 2, consisting of a large pit filled with late Roman pottery and coins. The fill immediately underneath the disturbance was an Early Roman level.
Fine: ARS form 67 large bowl (360-450+), ARS body sherds, plate as Agora V G 175 (early 2nd century), Bell Cup with Flanged Rim as Agora V H 7 (first half 2nd century), ITS plate as CFTS form 20 (Augustan period to Flavian period)
Coarse: spiral grooved ware, gouged ware, wheelridged ware, trefoil mouth jug, micaceous water jar as Agora V M 255 or M 373 (mid 4th-early 6th century)
Lamps: Corinthian lamp as Agora VII no. 217 (late 1st century), unidentified moldmade Roman lamps (5), Howland type 52 (1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D.), 1 wheelmade Greek lamp
Other: wall plaster, bronze, iron, lead strip
758 of unknown total sherds
Terracottas: 68, 290
Other Finds: IL 1923, MC 1505, N 12078, N 12079, N 12080, N 12083, N 12085, N 12086, N 12090, N 12093, N 12096, N 12106, N 12110, N 12111, N 12112, N 12113, N 12114, N 12117, N 12118, N 12121, N 12122, P 32986, P 32988
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: none

Lot BE 2181  Mortar and tile feature  4th-5th century  
Outside Building | East | South and East of Deposit J 1:1
J/20,K/1-1/19,20
53.000-53.310 masl
Removal of mortar and tile installation and underlying fill, south of pit excavated in Lot BE 2115. The installation probably served as a basin, and consisted of a square tile surrounded by low walls built of tile and mortar.
Fine: ESB2 rim, Roman lead glaze, black glaze
Lamps: unidentified moldmade lamp
Other: red painted plaster
39 of 192 sherds
Terracottas: 187, 198
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: none

Lot BE 2182  Fill  mixed Roman, to 6th century  
Outside Building | East | South and East of Deposit J 1:1
K/1,2-1/19,20
52.800-53.070 masl
Fill over 3rd century B.C. Pyre K 1:3.
Fine: painted ware, ESA body sherd, black glaze
Coarse: spiral grooved ware, inverted lip plates as Agora V F 36-40 (4) (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), amphoras, deep bowl
Other: bones  
851 of 175 sherds  
Terracottas: **62, 82, 273**  
Other finds: P 32750, P 35513  
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 2 fragments of figurine legs with drapery

### Lot BE 2184
Fill  
5th century with much early Roman  
Outside Building | East | South and East of Deposit J 1:1  
J/19,K/2-1/17,20  
52.710-53.230 masl

Fills surrounding mortar and tile installation removed in Lot BE 2181, south of Deposit J 1:1.  
Directly underneath was the 3rd century B.C. Pyre K 1:3.  
Fine: ARS body sherd, Roman lead glaze, ESA, ESB2, ITS, unguentaria, black glaze  
Coarse: spiral grooved ware, possible gouged ware, micaceous water jar, wheel-ridged ware, beehive

Lamps: lamp as *Agora* VII no. 1662 (first half 4th century), Alpha Globule (3), Howland type 21 (6th to early 5th century B.C.), unidentified moldmade lamps

Other: bronze, lead mend, lead, iron, painted wall plaster (yellow, black, white), obsidian  
632 of 4163 sherds

Terracottas: **26, 45, 83, 88, 94, 113, 133, 192, 200, 245, 276, 289**

Other finds: N 12019, N 12023  
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 2 wheels, 3 bases (1 with foot), 2 plaques, 2 drapery, 1 hand, 15 unidentified

### Lot BE 2202
Removal of lime slaking pit  
5th-6th with 1st to early 2nd century  
Outside Building | East | Lime pit and south of Wall 103  
K/6,7-1/14,15  
53.070-53.620 masl

Removal of east side of an unlined late Roman lime slaking pit. Numerous terracottas found in fill behind the side of the pit. Bottom of pit removed in Lot BE 2203.

Fine: bell cup with flanged rim as *Agora* V H 7 (first half 2nd century), ESB1 and ESB2, gray ware

Coarse: inverted lip plates as *Agora* V F 36-40 (4) (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), plate as *Agora* V G 175 or H 4 late 1st to first half 2nd century), wheel-ridged ware

Lamps: Alpha Globule (10)

Other: glass, iron, bone, red painted plaster  
451 of 668 sherds

Terracottas: **20, 22, 23, 85, 121, 149, 159, 161, 166, 170, 177, 178, 185, 201, 202, 218, 243, 251, 266**

Other finds: P 35514

Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 11 wheel fragments, 7 round plaque fragments, 7 bases (2 with feet), 1 animal, 1 plaque with hatching, 100 unidentified

### Lot BE 2203
Removal of lime slaking pit  
first half 2nd century  
Outside Building | East | Lime pit and south of Wall 103

302
Removal of bottom of an unlined late Roman lime slaking pit. East side of pit removed in Lot BE 2203.

Fine: ESB2 body sherds, bell cup with flanged rim as Agora V G 70 or H 7 (first half 1st to first half 2nd century)

Coarse: amphoras

Lamps: Alpha Globule (5)

51 of 246 sherds

Terracottas: 131, 203, 240

Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 2 wheels, 2 round plaque fragment, 1 rectangular base, 1 leg, 10 unidentified

Lot BE 2210 Fill 5th-7th century

Outside Building | East | Lime pit and south of Wall 103

K/8-1/16,17

53.100-53.710 masl

Fill south of Wall 103, directly above Lot BE 2211.

Fine: liquer cup as Agora V L 56 (late 4th century), ARS plate base, ESB body sherd, black glaze, unguentaria

Coarse: plate as Agora V J 32 (early 3rd century), wheel-ridged ware

57 of 525 sherds

Terracottas: 21, 122, 127, 238

Other finds: T 4421

Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 wheel, 1 base, 1 jointed leg fragment, 1 drapery knot, 1 round plaque (or mask edge), 6 unidentified

Lot BE 2211 Fill early 6th century

Outside Building | East | Lime pit and south of Wall 103

K/3,8-1/16,19

52.840-53.100 masl

Fill south of Wall 103 and north of Walls 104 and 106. Fill directly above excavated in Lot BE 2210. Fill directly underneath excavated in Lot BE 2213.

Fine: LRC form 3 type C dish/bowl (460-490), LRC form 1 type B (early third quarter 5th century), ARS form 67 large bowl (360-470), ARS stamp type 26 (320-470), painted ware bowls as Agora V M 211/K 19 (mid 3rd to early 4th century)

Coarse: bowl as Agora V K 13 (mid 3rd century), inverted lip plate as Agora V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.)

Lamps: with Karivieri type 3 rim (3rd-5th century, similar to Agora VII no. 1565), unidentified moldmade lamps

Other: oblong loomweight, marble, glass, painted wall plaster (red and yellow), lead

217 of 1298 sherds

Terracottas: 55, 267

Other finds: IL 1858, T 4443

Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 draped figurine body, 1 base with foot, 1 plaque edge, 1
stippled animal fragment, 2 unidentified

**Lot BE 2212**  
Fill: mostly 1st-2nd century with some 3rd-4th century  
Outside Building | East | Lime pit and south of Wall 103  
K/8-1/16,17  
52.730-52.990 masl  
Fill south of east pier of Wall 103. East of Lot BE 2211.  
Fine: barbotine beaker, jug as *Agora* V H 17  
Coarse: lid as *Agora* V K 87 (mid 3rd century), bowl as *Agora* V G 66 (first half 1st century), inverted lip plate as *Agora* V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), wheel-ridged ware, amphora as *Agora* V G 197 (1st to early 2nd century)  
Lamps: Howland type 58B (first half 1st century), Alpha Globule  
Other: glass  
81 of 480 sherds  
Terracottas: 92, 171, 176, 190, 260  
Other finds: P 32741, P 32742, SS 14991  
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 2 base, 1 wheel, 1 figurine shoulder, 3 plaque fragments, 5 mask fragments, 20 unidentified

**Lot BE 2213**  
Floor surface: 1st-3rd century  
Outside Building | East | Lime pit and south of Wall 103  
K/6,8-1/14,15  
52.860-52.940 masl  
Possible surface south of Wall 103, directly under Lot BE 2211.  
Fine: painted ware, ESA base, plate similar to *Agora* V G 176/J 32/K 13 (late 1st to mid 3rd century), black glaze  
Lamps: unidentified moldmade Roman lamp  
83 of 25 sherds  
Terracottas: 27, 103, 140  
Other finds: P 32751  
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: arm or leg

**Lot BZ 938**  
Fill: 4th-6th century  
Inside Building | Room 7  
J/8,9-1/14,15  
52.710-53.048 masl  
Fill excavated under the bottom of a built Byzantine pithos, excavated while the pithos was still in situ. The fill directly underneath this layer, excavated after the removal of the pithos, was removed in Lot BZ 1400.  
Coarse: spiral grooved ware, gouged ware, inverted lip plate as *Agora* V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), basin rims, beehive  
Lamps: Alpha Globule, unidentified moldmade lamps (2)  
Other: loomweight (possibly discoid as *Agora* V G 162, first half 1st century), painted and unpainted tile, bone  
290 of 700 sherds
Terracottas: 2, 101, 209, 231
Other finds: L 6046
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 figurine back, 1 plaque, 4 mask hair, 4 unidentified

Lot BZ 1192  Fill  5th century
Inside Building | Room 7
J/11,13-1/12,15
53.100-54.110 masl
Fill cut into by the construction of a Byzantine Pithos. Layer underneath on the west side of this area excavated in Lots BZ 1401 and 1415.
Fine: ARS form 45 type B dish (230/40-320), bowl with flanged rim (similar to Agora V M 141 but larger, mid 3rd century), painted ware, fusiform unguentarium
Coarse: spiral grooved ware, gouged ware, micaceous water jar, amphoras, beehive
Lamps: unidentified moldmade Roman lamps (3rd-4th century)
278 of 1702 sherds
Terracottas: 57
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: none

Lot BZ 1299  Floor surface  Middle Byzantine with 1st century
Inside Building | Room 5
J/9,15-1/19,2/2
53.065-53.253 masl
Removal of a Late Roman packed-earth floor surface. Fill directly underneath excavated in Lot BZ 1380. The one coin from this context (N 38558) dates to the early 120's A.D.
Fine: ESA body sherds, ESB1 plate as Agora V G 19 (first half 1st century)
Coarse: spiral grooved ware, plate as Agora V K 3 (mid 3rd century), amphoras
Lamps: Alpha Globule (3), Alpha Ear (2)
Other: marble, glass, painted wall plaster (red, yellow, blue), unpainted rooftile
69 of 894 sherds
Terracottas: 141, 241
Other finds: A 5124, L 6096, N 38558
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 draped shoulder and arm, 3 unidentified

Lot BZ 1310  Fill  first half 2nd century with 4th century lamp
Inside Building | Room 4; Inside Building | Room 5
J/13,16-2/2,4
52.974-53.318 masl
Fill on top of Roman terracotta drain with an east-west orientation, below period of use for Well J 2:18. A 6th century coin, which may represent an intrusion like the 4th century lamp, was found in this context (N 38565, 527-565).
Fine: ESA bases, ESB1 cup as Agora V G 18 (first half 1st century), ESB plate as Agora V G 19 (first half 1st century), hemispherical cup with flanged rim similar to Agora V H 8 (first half 2nd century)
Coarse: lid as Agora V G 121 (first half 1st century), mortar, micaceous water jar, cooking ware
Lamps: rim with herringbone pattern (4th century), unidentified moldmade lamps (3)
Other: discoid loomweight as Agora V G 162 (first half 1st century), marble, antefix fragment, tegula mammata
66 of 1059 sherds
Terracottas: 112, 293
Other finds: N 38565
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 wheel, 1 base fragment with foot

Lot BZ 1326  Footing trench for wall  4th-6th century
Outside Building | East | North of J 1:1
J/17-1/10,14
53.160-53.660 masl

Footing trench on the east side of Wall L, a Late Roman wall.
Fine: black glaze
Coarse: spiral grooved ware, wheel-ridged ware
Lamps: unidentified moldmade Roman lamp (probably 3rd/4th century)
Other: pyramidal loomweight, black/red painted wall plaster, glass, bronze
38 of 387 sherds
Terracottas: 32
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: none

Lot BZ 1334  Layer of plaster over a wall  non-descript Roman
Outside Building | East | Deposit J 1:1 and vicinity
J/19,20-1/14
53.390-53.630 masl

Plaster layer over Wall T, adjacent to the north end of Deposit J 1:1.
Fine: jug rim similar to Agora V G 87 (first half 1st century)
Coarse: micaceous water jar
12 of 62 sherds
Terracottas: 257
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: none

Lot BZ 1335  Pit, upper layer of Deposit J 1:5  4th to 6th century with 1st century
Outside Building | East | North of J 1:1
J/17,19-1/12,13
53.340-53.520 masl

Upper layer of fill over Deposit J 1:5, a group of terracottas and pottery in a shallow pit.
Remainder of the Deposit excavated in Lot BZ 1336.
Fine: ESB1 cup with flanged rim similar to Agora V G 28 (first half 1st century), ESA and ESB2 body sherds, black glaze
Coarse: bowl as Agora V K 13 or K 42 (mid 3rd century), spiral grooved ware, wheel-ridged ware, inverted lip plate as Agora V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.)
Other: red painted wall plaster, glass
38 of 434 sherds
Terracottas: 154, 155, 291
Other finds: G 783, N 38539
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: none

**Lot BZ 1336**  
Deposit J 1:5, Shallow pit  
Mixed: as late as 4th-6th century  
Outside Building | East | North of J 1:1  
J/18,19-1/13,14  
53.110-53.410 masl  
Deposit J 1:5, group of terracottas in a shallow pit. Pottery in this lot joins with pottery in Lot BE 2096. Layer above excavated in Lot BZ 1335.  
Fine: painted ware, black glaze  
Coarse: basin as *Agora* V K 78 (mid 3rd century) or G 187 (late 1st to early 2nd century), spiral grooved ware, inverted lip plate as *Agora* V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), amphora  
Lamps: Alpha Globule, unidentified moldmade lamp  
Other: stone tessera, glass, yellow wall plaster, iron, unpainted tile  
130 of 887 sherds  
Terracottas: **33, 153, 280, 292**  
Other finds: MC 1731, N 38552  
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 3 joining fragments with yellow pigment, 3 mask fragments, 2 unidentified

**Lot BZ 1392**  
Pit  
Inside Building | Room 6  
J/9,10-1/16,18  
52.675-53.142 masl  
Irregularly-shaped Byzantine pit with mortar clinging to edges. Lot BZ 1490 directly below.  
Probably the cause of the removal of a section of the U-shaped terracotta drain, a segment of which was removed to the east of here in Lot BZ 1490.  
Fine: Byzantine Plain Glazed ware (green, yellow, brown)  
Coarse: body sherd with incised branch  
Other: iron, unpainted tile  
28 of 309 sherds  
Terracottas: none  
Other finds: G 794  
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 wheel, 1 unidentified

**Lot BZ 1400**  
Fill  
Inside Building | Room 7  
J/8,11-1/13,16  
52.786-53.289 masl  
Strip of fill behind cutting for Byzantine pithos. Pithos removed in Lot BZ 1250, fills above excavated in Lot BZ 1286 and Lot BZ 1251. Below this layer was Lot BZ 1415, a layer of rubbly fill over the foundations for Wall 1. This context included two coins, one of which is an illegible Late Roman coin (N 40082), while the other dates to the early 3rd century B.C. (N 40086).  
Fine: Roman moldmade with lead glaze, ITS, small jug similar to *Agora* V G 214  
Coarse: spiral grooved ware, inverted lip plates as *Agora* V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), basin rim as *Agora* V G 99 (first half 1st century), cooking pots, frying pan, amphora
handles, beehive
Lamps: Alpha Globule (2)
Other: marble revetment, bones, scallop shells
101 of 989 sherds
Terracottas: **66, 111, 193, 236**
Other finds: MC 1736, MC 1740, MC 1741, N 40082, N 40086, P 34632, P 34633, P 35473
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 2 plaque with hatching, 2 base, 1 plaque/mask hair, 1 torso w/belly button, 19 unidentified

**Lot BZ 1414**
Fill late 5th to 6th century with much early Roman
Inside Building | Room 6
J/10,14-1/14,16
52.956-53.263 masl
Hard-packed fill excavated under Byzantine Wall E (Wall E removed in Lot BZ 1417). Some of this layer was removed with the bottom of Wall E. The fill under the wall included four coins, one 4th century coin (N 40162), one 2nd century coin (N 40161), and two illegible coins.
Fine: ARS form 61 type A rim (325-400/420), painted ware, gray ware, ITS hemispherical cup as CFTS form 37 (Tiberian period)
Coarse: spiral grooved ware, basin as *Agora* V G 99 (first half 1st century), inverted lip plate as *Agora* V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.)
Lamps: lamp disk with panther as *Agora* VII nos. 989-991 (mid 4th century)
Other: glass base
86 of 1004 sherds
Terracottas: **294**
Other finds: N 40161, N 40162, N 40167, N 40185
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 wheel, 1 unidentified (with red pigment)

**Lot BZ 1415**
Fill first half 1st century
Inside Building | Room 7
J/10,12-1/12,15
52.593-53.008 masl
Rubbly fill over foundations for Wall 1, and under Lot BZ 1400 and Lot BZ 1401.
Fine: small jug with rouletting on shoulder
Coarse: one-handled jar as *Agora* V G 67 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), double rolled horned amphora handles (3), cooking ware, beehive
Lamps: Alpha Globule (3), unidentified moldmade lamp (1st century B.C. or later)
Other: water-worn or smoothed coarse body sherds, iron
99 of 903 sherds
Terracottas: **16, 17, 41, 59, 73, 78, 87, 125, 167, 168, 169, 188, 189, 215, 256, 295**
Other finds: B 2129, G 792, G 793, L 6099, MC 1739, N 40106, N 40112, N 40116, N 40118, N 40120, SS 15072
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 5 wheels, 1 flat base, 1 round base, 6 blonde mask/plaque hair, 6 mask, 1 hand, 55 unidentified

**Lot BZ 1417**
Removal of Byzantine walls and layer of fill underneath
Removal of two Byzantine walls bonded at their corner. The terracottas were found in fill just under the bottom of wall, suggesting that the trench for the wall was dug into 1st century fill. Fill directly beneath walls excavated in Lot BZ 1414. This context included four coins, one of which belonged to Constantine II (N 40132, 4th century).

Fine: LRC form 3 type C dish (c. 460-475), LRC form 1 type A dish (late 4th-early 5th century)

Coarse: beehive, spiral grooved ware, gouged ware, micaceous water jars, amphoras

Lamps: Alpha Globule, 1 figured disk (3rd-4th century), 3 Corinthian lamps, 1 disk with vine rim pattern (Agora VII p. 23, 3rd-4th century)

Other: rounded marble revetment, tile with green glaze

Terracottas: 34

Other finds: A 5057, A 5059, N 40132, N 40137, N 40138, N 40139, P 34639

Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 base corner with foot (bird?), 1 mask corner with hair, 1 mask edge, 4 unidentified

Lot BZ 1418

Removal of Byzantine wall early 5th century

Inside Building | Room 7

J/10,11-1/12,15

52.938-54.446 masl

Removal of Byzantine Wall F, and a thin layer of fill under the wall. The terracottas were found in this thin layer of fill. Fill directly underneath excavated in Lot BZ 1415.

Fine: ITS body sherd, black glaze

Coarse: spiral grooved ware, beehive, amphora

Lamps: unidentified moldmade lamp base

Other: red and yellow painted wall plaster, bone, marble, tile

487 of 487 sherds

Terracottas: 58, 93, 111, 250

Other finds: A 5055, ST 1006

Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 2 wheels, 1 head top, 1 figure back, 1 leg, 1 jointed leg, 12 with white pigment (back of head, drapery)

Lot BZ 1471

Fill 7th century

Inside Building | Room 7

J/9,10-1/12,14

52.715-53.49 masl

Layer of fill in a baulk excavated at the northern edge of the trench, with a high concentration of pottery and tiles. Similar in elevation and contents to the neighboring Lot BZ 1400. The three coins from this level include a coin from Constantine I (N 72398, 4th century).

Fine: LRC form 3 type F dish (first half 6th century), LRC dish with stamp as Hayes type 68 (=Group III, around 500), LRC form 2 dish (late 4th-mid 5th century), painted ware, ESB2 base, black glaze, west slope ware

Coarse: spiral grooved, amphoras, beehive
Lamps: Alpha Globule, Corinthian, moldmade lamp handles (2)
Other: marble revetment, rooftile
123 of 373 sherds
Terracottas: 3, 5, 6, 7, 216
Other finds: B 2152, N 72391, N 72395, N 72398
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 jointed leg, 1 worn face, 12 mask fragments (11 blonde), 5 unidentified

Lot BZ 1474  Fill  mid 1st century
Inside Building | Room 5
J/14,15-1/19,2/1
52.493-53.133 masl
Fill over deposit of tiles (excavated in Lot BZ 1559 and Lot BZ 1616). Possible floor surface encountered on the southern end of this area at 52.582 masl.
Fine: ESA plate as Agora V F 2 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), Roman lead glaze, bowl similar to Agora V F 28 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), black glaze
Coarse: inverted lip plates as Agora V F 36-40 (6) (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), beehive
Lamps: Alpha Ear as Agora VII no. 417 (2nd 1/2 1st century), unidentified wheelmade lamp
Other: painted and unpainted rooftiles, opaion tile, marble tile
211 of 967 sherds
Terracottas: 152, 278, 279
Other finds: MC 1747, N 73068
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 2 possible mold fragments, 1 pierced fragment, 1 base, 2 unidentified

Lot BZ 1477  Fill  non-descript Roman
Inside Building | Room 5
J/9,13-2/1,2
52.923-53.159 masl
Fill next to the street wall, including large pieces of rooftiles.
Fine: possible ESA body sherd, black glaze
Coarse: cooking ware, coarseware
Lamps: Howland type 52 (1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D.), unidentified moldmade lamp
21 of 63 sherds
Terracottas: none
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: possible leg

Lot BZ 1480  Fill  10th-11th century
Inside Building | Room 6
J/11,12-1/17,19
52.467-52.924 masl
Rubbly fill with rooftile fragments, marble, and stones.
Fine: Byzantine plain glaze chafing dish
Coarse: coarseware
Other: marble revetment
22 of 140 sherds
Terracottas: 38, 301
Other finds: A 5088
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: possible drapery fragment

**Lot BZ 1482**  
Fill  
5th century  
Inside Building | Room 6  
J/10,13-1/18,19  
52.408-52.897 masl
Fill on top of possible collapsed cistern, including bits of charcoal, white mortar, and part of the puteal for the opening to the cistern (A 5090). The five coins from this context include one illegible Greek coin (N 69019), and four Late Roman coins of an uncertain emperor.  
Fine: ESB2 hemispherical cup with flanged rim  
Coarse: spiral grooved ware, gouged ware, micaceous water jar, inverted lip plate as *Agora* V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), amphoras, pithos rim  
Lamps: Alpha Globule, unidentified wheelmade lamps (2)  
Other: marble revetment, painted rooftile  
112 of 771 sherds  
Terracottas: 50, 206, 296, 303  
Other finds: A 5090, BI 1231, N 69019, N 69021, N 73069, N 73070, N 73837  
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 leg with white pigment

**Lot BZ 1483**  
Fill  
non-descript early Roman  
Inside Building | Room 6  
J/9,10-1/18,19  
52.511-52.776 masl
Fill under late Roman oven next to the street wall.  
Coarse: basin, micaceous water jar as *Agora* V F 65 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.)  
46 of 162 sherds  
Terracottas: none  
Other finds: B 2153  
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 2 joining pieces with drapery, 3 joining pieces with drapery and white pigment, 1 base, 2 unidentified

**Lot BZ 1487**  
Rubbly fill  
5th century  
Inside Building | Room 6  
J/11,13-1/15,17  
52.356-52.982 masl
Rubbly fill over the foundations for Wall 1. Fill directly above excavated in Lot BZ 1414, fill directly below excavated in Lot BZ 1488. One late 1st century B.C. coin was found in the fill.  
Fine: LRC form 3 type C dish (460-475), LRC dish with unidentified stamp, painted ware bowl as *Agora* V K 19 (mid 3rd century)  
Coarse: spiral grooved ware, gouged ware, inverted lip plate as *Agora* V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), amphoras  
Lamps: Alpha Globule, lamp as *Agora* VII no. 1307 (mid 3rd century), lamp with vine patterned
rim (3rd-4th century), lamp similar to *Agora* VII no. 2788 (mid 5th century), unidentified moldmade lamp handle
Other: marble basin, marble revetment
79 of 639 sherds
Terracottas: 39
Other finds: L 6114, N 73055
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: none

**Lot BZ 1488**  
Tile floor and fill underneath  
*late 1st century*
Inside Building | Room 6  
J/11,14-1/15,17  
52.591-53.034 masl
Removal of a small section of tile paving and the fill underneath. The removal of this layer revealed a segment of Wall X. The one coin from this context, found at the top of the stratum, belongs to an uncertain emperor of the 4th-5th century, and may represent the date when the floor was last in use.
Fine: ESA hemispherical cup as *Agora* V G 13 (first half 1st century), ESB1 body sherd, ESB2 plate as *Agora* V G 25 (first half 1st century), ITS plate rim as CFTS form 20 (Augustan period to Flavian period), Roman moldmade with lead glaze, miniature votive, cup handles as *Agora* V G 81 (first half 1st century), black glaze, geometric
Coarse: inverted lip plate as *Agora* V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.)
Lamps: Alpha Globule
Other: marble revetment, pyramidal loomweight
138 of 998 sherds
Terracottas: none
Other finds: N 73063
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 back head, 1 plaque/mask hair, 3 unidentified

**Lot BZ 1490**  
Fill  
*early 2nd century*
Inside Building | Room 6  
J/9,11-1/16,17  
52.596-52.939 masl
Removal of a section of U-shaped terracotta drain and underlying fill next to the street wall (Wall A), including two partial amphoras. This lot was directly under Lot BZ 1392, and was on top of a section of a Hellenistic stone-lined drain.
Fine: ESA, ESB2, rim as *Agora* V G 175 (late 1st-early 2nd century), black glaze, pyre lopadion
Coarse: two amphoras as *Agora* V G 197 (late 1st-early 2nd century), basin as *Agora* V G 100 (first half 1st century)
Other: painted and unpainted rooftiles
220 of 220 sherds
Terracottas: 18, 163, 164
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 fragment with hair tendril (bust?), 1 base corner, 3 unidentified

**Lot BZ 1492**  
Fill  
*1st century with 4th-5th century lamp*
Fill north of Deposit J 1:1, around cutting for late Roman lime slaking pit. Four coins were found in this context: three illegible Greek coins, and a coin of an uncertain emperor from the 4th-5th century (N 73028), which agrees with the date of the intrusive lamp in this lot.

Fine: ESA body sherd, ESB2 base, black glaze

Coarse: cooking ware, coarseware

Lamps: Howland type 52 (late 1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D.), moldmade lamp base with ΘΕ ΔΟ (mid 4th-early 5th century), base with "A" from Alpha Ear Lamp as Agora VII no. 400 (first half 1st century)

Other:
107 of 1431 sherds

Terracottas: 248

Other finds: IL 1983, N 72399, N 73028, N 73048, N 73057, P 34816, T 4833, T 4834, T 4835

Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 drapery, 1 half face, 3 unidentified

Lot BZ 1496  Fill   mid 1st century with two illegible Late Roman coins

Outside Building | East | East of Rooms 5 and 6

J/15,18-1/16,20

52.877-53.457 masl

Layer on top of Lot BZ 1551, under a 6th A.D. layer (Lot BZ 1409). Fill at and below the floor level of first use of a built Roman pithos. Fifteen coins were found in this layer: two coins belong to the Late Roman period (N 72365 and N 73033), and three coins belong to the 1st century B.C. (N 72358, N 72397, and N 73077). The remaining ten coins were illegible.

Fine: ESA plates, ESB bowl, cup and beaker, ITS rim as CFTS form 20 (Augustan period to Flavian period), Roman lead glaze, black glaze

Coarse: inverted lip plates as Agora V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), jug rim as Agora V F 44 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), basins as Agora V G 100 and F 62 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C. to first half 1st century A.D.), amphoras, cooking ware, beehive

Lamps: Alpha Globule (4), Alpha Ear (2), Howland type 55A with imbricated leaf pattern (2nd 1/2 1st century), disk with figure (unidentified)

Other: unpainted roof tile, marble, glass, bone pin, red painted plaster

388 of 4476 sherds

Terracottas: 36, 37, 86, 118, 128, 150, 183, 191, 207, 219, 221, 222, 227, 235, 255, 261


Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 5 base fragments, 29 mask fragments, 1 plaque fragment with miniature applique head (with pink pigment), 39 unidentified

Lot BZ 1497  Fill   late 1st century

Outside Building | East | East of Rooms 5 and 6

J/17,19-1/16,18

52.953-53.421 masl
Deep layer of dumped fill, directly over and equal to Lot BZ 1554, including a single coin from the 2nd century B.C.
Fine: ESA plate, beaker, bell cup, ESB1 rim similar to CFTS form 25, ESB2 bell cup as *Agora* V H 7 (first half 2nd century), ESB2 cup as *Agora* V G 29/30 (first half 1st century), Roman lead glaze, gray ware, Mottled Oliver lid with "pseudo bead and reel" as *Agora* XXIX no. 1281, black glaze
Coarse: inverted lip plate as *Agora* V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), beehive
Lamps: Alpha Globule, unidentified moldmade lamps
Other: antefix fragment, marble chip
95 of 1398 sherds
Terracottas: 49, 70, 102, 108, 210, 222, 233, 239
Other finds: G 802, N 73039
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 6 mask fragments, 2 wheels, 5 base fragments, 5 drapery, 3 legs, 32 unidentified

**Lot BZ 1498**
Pithos floor and underlying fill
Outside Building | East | J 1:3 and vicinity
J/16,17-1/8,10
53.152-53.720 masl
Removal of the upper, later floor of a built pithos, along with the fill separating the upper floor from the lower floor.
Coarse: spiral grooved ware, coarseware with possible dot of yellow glaze, amphora, pithos
31 of 149 sherds
Terracottas: 40
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: none

**Lot BZ 1525**
Fill
Outside Building | West of the Road
J/2,7-2/9,13
52.719-53.039 masl
This lot represents the only context for a terracotta included in this study that is located on the west side of the north-south road. The late date of the context suggests that the terracotta wheel found in this stratum was just a residual fragment that was churned up (and perhaps moved across the road) in later fill. The fill included a late 2nd century B.C. coin (N 72376) and a mid 4th century coin of Constantine I (N 72371).
Fine: ESB1 cup as AFC form 39 (first half 1st century)
Coarse: spiral grooved ware, micaceous water jar
Lamps: moldmade lamp with panels of incised branches on rim (3rd-4th century), Alpha Globule, Howland type 52
Other: bones, purple marble revetment, red painted wall plaster
54 of 1210 sherds
Terracottas: 35
Other finds: L 6110, N 72371, N 72372, N 72376, N 73030
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: none
Lot BZ 1540  Two amphoras and surrounding fill  Geometric to 13th century  
Outside Building | East | J 1:3 and vicinity  
J/17,19-1/5,8  
52.642-53.086 masl  
Mixed fill on top of Deposit J 1:3, including the removal of two amphoras. Deposit underneath excavated in Lot BZ 1541.  
Fine: Middle Byzantine plain glazed ware, ESB1 cup as Agora V M 33 and G 28 (first half 1st century), ESB2 cup as Agora V G 71 (first half 1st century), black glaze, Geometric  
Coarse: spiral grooved ware, amphoras, beehive  
Lamps: Alpha Globule, unidentified moldmade lamps, Howland type 52 (late 1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D.)  
Other: conical loomweight as Agora V M 22 (mid 1st century), marble, painted and unpainted rooftiles  
696 of 696 sherds  
Terracottas: 42, 52, 135, 172  
Other finds: P 34105, P 34115, P 35191, S 3533  
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 round vent hole, 1 rectangular base, 1 wheel, 4 mask fragments, 16 unidentified

Lot BZ 1541  Deposit J 1:3  late 1st to first half 2nd century  
Outside Building | East | J 1:3 and vicinity  
J/16,19-1/5,7  
52.563-53.030 masl  
Removal of Deposit J 1:3, including six amphoras and a micaceous water jar. Mixed fill above excavated in Lot BZ 1540. Two layers of fill were excavated in the area around this amphora, the first of which (Lot BZ 1540) was highly contaminated and contained material dating from the Late Geometric through the Byzantine periods. The second layer of fill (Lot BZ 1541) excavated around the amphora dated to the early Roman period, and after we removed this layer of fill we revealed the outlines of five more amphoras and one micaceous water jar. The vessels were carefully removed one by one. Along with the one whole amphora (P 34105), two mended amphorae (P 35180 and P 35181) and the micaceous water jar (P 35182), there were also in-situ fragments of three other amphoras (the fragments of these three amphoras can be found in the pottery tins).  
Fine: ESB1 cup as Agora V M 33 (late 1st and first half 2nd century), ITS body sherd, Roman lead glaze  
Coarse: inverted lip plate as Agora V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), 3 fragmentary amphoras, cooking ware  
Lamps: Alpha Globule (4), unidentified moldmade lamps  
Other: marble, painted and unpainted rooftiles, bones  
1014 of 2645 sherds  
Terracottas: 12, 14, 15, 19, 138, 158, 208, 225, 229, 253, 287, 300  
Other finds: N 73890, P 34115, P 35178, P 35180, P 35181, P 35182, ST 1030, T 4727  
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 9 wheel fragments, 19 mask fragments, 1 molded lump of clay, 1 horn, 41 unidentified
Lot BZ 1551
Fill late 1st to early 2nd century
Outside Building | East | East of Rooms 5 and 6
J/15,18-1/17,20
52.548-52.945 masl

Deep layer of fill on top of deposit of tiles (Lot BZ 1553). Of the five coins found in this context, one dates to the 3rd century B.C. (N 73925), and another dates to the last third of the 4th century B.C. (N 73933).

Fine: ITS plate as Agora V G 33 (first half 1st century) = CFTS form 4, ITS plate as CFTS form 20.4 (mid 1st century), ITS body sherds with relief and stamped decoration, ESB1 hemispherical cup with vertical rim (no comparanda found), unglazed bowl as Agora V G 60 (first half 1st century), barbotine ware similar to Agora V F 24 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), black glaze, unguentaria

Coarse: inverted lip plates as Agora V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), amphorae, cooking ware lids, beehive

Lamps: Howland type 16A variant similar to Agora IV no. 110 (480 B.C.), wheelmade Greek lamps, moldmade lamps, Howland type 52 (2) (last quarter 1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D.)

Other: painted and unpainted rooftiles, tessera, bone tool, marble bowl rim, bones, wall plaster

674 of 3955 sherds

Terracottas: 298

Other finds: G 806, G 808, L 6121, N 73900, N 73924, N 73925, N 73932, N 73933, P 35177, P 35188, P 36652

Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 yellow-white disk, 1 smooth clay rectangle, 1 wheel, 5 unidentified

Lot BZ 1554
Fill non-descript early Roman
Outside Building | East | East of Rooms 5 and 6
J/18,19-1/16,19
52.623-53.029 masl

Deep layer of dumped fill, east of Wall Y. Same layer as Lot BZ 1497.

Fine: Byzantine plain glazed ware body sherd (intrusive), Roman lead glaze, unguentaria, black glaze

Coarse: inverted lip plate rim as Agora V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), beehive, basins

Lamps: wheelmade Greek lamps (2), 6 fragments Howland type 52A (second to third quarter 1st century B.C.), Howland type 43B (3rd century B.C.), unidentified wheelmade lamps

Other: cut bone, lead mend, painted and unpainted rooftiles

243 of 930 sherds

Terracottas: 288

Other finds: A 5107, G 809, P 35183

Uninventoried terracotta fragments: figurine base

Lot BZ 1555
Fill late 1st century
Inside Building | Room 5
J/11,13-1/20,2/2
52.736-52.916 masl
Fill above excavated in Lot BZ 1475, fill below excavated in Lot BZ 1556 and Lot BZ 1558. Two coins were found in this context; the legible coin dates to the first half of the 3rd century B.C. (N 73854). Fine: black glaze
Lamps: possible Alpha Globule
Other: red wall plaster, painted rooftiles
22 of 46 sherds
Terracottas: none
Other finds: IL 1996, N 73853, N 73854
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: corner of a figurine base

**Lot BZ 1557**
Non-descript
Inside Building | Room 5
J/10-2/1,2
52.455-52.719 masl
Fill next to Wall A with fourteen coins, just west of Lot BZ 1558. One coin dates to the second half of the 4th century B.C. (N 73870), one coin belongs to the first half of the 2nd century B.C. (N 73872), one coin belongs to the second half of the 1st century B.C. (N 73880), two coins belong to the 2nd century A.D. (N 73876 and N 73878), and one coin belonged to an uncertain emperor of the 5th century. This last coin must represent an intrusion in the context, and the location of the context next to the street wall may account for the anomaly.
Fine: black glaze
Coarse: ridged body sherds
Other: roof tile
55 of 81 sherds
Terracottas: none
Other finds: N 73870, N 73871, N 73872, N 73873, N 73874, N 73875, N 73876, N 73877, N 73878, N 73879, N 73880, N 73882, N 73883, N 73904
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: unidentified

**Lot BZ 1558**
Late 1st to early 2nd century
Inside Building | Room 5
J/10,12-1/20,2/2
52.167-52.843 masl
Fill next to Wall A. Fill directly above excavated in Lot BZ 1555, fill to the west excavated in Lot BZ 1557. Fill included large semi-spherical pieces of iron slag, which may be hearth bottoms from iron smelting hearths. A possible floor surface was encountered at 52.340 masl at J/11-2/1. Seven coins were found in this context, including: three coins of the 4th century B.C. (N 73917, N 73902, N 73940), two coins of the 3rd and 2nd century B.C. (N 73865, N 73899), and one coin of the early 2nd century (N 73864), which provides the same terminus post quem as the ceramic evidence.
Fine: ESA body sherds, pyre saucers (3), black glaze, unguentarium
Coarse: lid similar to *Agora* V G 122 (first half 1st century), inverted lip plates as *Agora* V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), micaceous water jar, basin as *Agora* V G 100 (first half 1st century)
Lamps: unidentified moldmade lamp (possibly Alpha Globule)
Other: bones, painted and unpainted rooftiles, pyramidal loomweight as *Agora* V M 21 (mid 1st century)
473 of 1390 sherds
Terracottas: **53, 90, 95, 99, 106, 117, 180, 196, 258, 259, 262, 263, 268**
Other finds: J 254, N 73864, N 73865, N 73893, N 73899, N 73902, N 73917, N 73940, P 35194
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 fragment yellow-white terracotta disk, 2 hand fragment, 3 mask fragments, 4 base fragments, 1 torso, 42 unidentified

**Lot BZ 1561**
Fill
Inside Building | Room 4
J/10,14-2/4,6
52.879-53.097 masl
Fill south of and below level of east-west terracotta drain, on top of two fragmentary vessels (Lot BZ 1562, Lot BZ 1563). A single coin from this context, dating to the 120s to 175, corroborates the ceramic evidence.
Fine: ESA plate as *Agora* V F 2 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), hemispherical cup with flanged rim as *Agora* V G 74 (first half 1st century), shallow bowl as *Agora* V G 60 (first half 1st century), black glaze
Coarse: frying pan as *Agora* V G 113 (first half 1st century), inverted lip plate as *Agora* V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), amphora (possibly belongs to amphora in Lot BZ 1562)
Lamps: Corinthian lamp as *Agora* VII no. 259 (first half 2nd century)
Other: wall plaster
60 of 428 sherds
Terracottas: none
Other finds: N 73852
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 wheel, 1 base with foot, 1 base with rounded corner, 6 unidentified

**Lot BZ 1562**
Two amphorases and surrounding fill
Inside Building | Room 4
J/13-2/4,5
52.836-53.025 masl
Fine: ITS base, ESA plate as *Agora* V F 2 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), globular jug similar to *Agora* V G 85 (first half 1st century), globular jug handle as *Agora* V G 87 (first half 1st century))
Coarse: amphorases, basin as *Agora* V F 62 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), cooking pan similar to *Agora* V M 100 (2nd 1/2 2nd century), amphora toes similar to *Agora* V G 197 (late 1st to early 2nd century), beehive
Lamps: unidentified moldmade lamp
Other: bones, painted and unpainted tiles
540 of 540 sherds
Terracottas: **156, 211**
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 9 wheel fragments, 2 joining mask edge fragments with pierced hole, 14 unidentified

**Lot BZ 1563**  
Fill inside Building | Room 4
J/10,14-2/4,6  
52.633-53.007 masl

Fill south of and below level of east-west terracotta drain. Fill directly below excavated in Lot BZ 1624.

Fine: ESA conical cup with concave rim as AFC form 45 (first half 1st century), ESA hemispherical cup with flanged rim as *Agora* V G 13 (first half 1st century), Çandarlı ware hemispherical bowl as ARC form L20 (end of 1st century), ESB1 base, ITS hemispherical cup with articulated rim as CFTS form 37 (late 1st century), shallow bowl as *Agora* V G 60/F 54 (late 1st century B.C. to first half 1st century A.D.), biconical cup as *Agora* V G 81 (first half 1st century), black glaze

Coarse: frying pan as *Agora* V G 113 (first half 1st century), inverted lip plates as *Agora* V F 36-40 (24) (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), cooking ware, amphorae

Lamps: possible Alpha Globule, Alpha Ear (2), Corinthian lamp as *Agora* V no. 259 (first half 2nd century), lamp as *Agora* VII no. 109 (mid 1st century), lamp disk similar to *Agora* VII no. 53 (first half 1st century), Howland type 50B as *Agora* IV no. 670 (3rd to 2nd century B.C.)

Other: marble revetment, marble molding, painted wall plaster, bones, pyramidal loomweight, painted and unpainted rooftiles, scallop shells

472 of 2822 sherds

Terracottas: 74, 130, 144, 151, 223, 242, 282, 283, 284, 297, 299

Other finds: N 73894, P 35175, P 35176, T 4693

Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 15 base fragments (1 with foot), 2 back of head, 1 rosette, 3 drapery, 4 mask edge, 2 vent hole, 66 unidentified, 3 possible coarse kiln supports

**Lot BZ 1567**  
Plaster feature inside Building | Room 5
J/11,12-2/3,4  
52.77-52.932 masl

Removal of circular plaster feature north of the east-west terracotta drain. Fill directly underneath excavated in Lot BZ 1568.

Fine: ESB foot (unidentified shape)

Coarse: amphora toe

Other: tiles (from circular feature), 3 bone styli

18 of 23 sherds

Terracottas: none

Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 2 joining fragments of back of figurine head (undecorated), 2 joining fragments of round figurine base

**Lot BZ 1568**  
Fill inside Building | Room 4; Inside Building | Room 5
J/11,13-2/2,4

first half 1st century
Fill lying directly under Lot BZ 1567 and over Wall 4. Fill beneath excavated in Lot BZ 1621 and Lot BZ 1624. This context included two coins, one of which dates to the mid 4th century B.C. (N 73966).
Fine: beaker rim similar to Agora V F 22 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), black glaze, pyre saucer as Agora XXIX no. 1471, unguentarium
Coarse: amphora, cooking pot
Other: painted and unpainted rooftiles
97 of 265 sherds
Terracottas: 117, 134, 136, 143
Other finds: N 73960, N 73966
Uninventarioed terracotta fragments: 1 foot with white pigment, 1 mask eye fragment, 1 handle (possible plastic vase?), 3 unidentified

Lot BZ 1578  Fill mid 3rd century
Outside Building | East | North of J 1:1
J/18,20-1/12,15
52.745-53.311 masl
Fill just north of Deposit J 1:1.
Fine: ESA and ESB1 body sherds, thorn ware similar to Agora V F 23 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), black glaze
Coarse: plate as Agora V K 13 (mid 3rd century), inverted lip plate as Agora V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), basin as Agora V G 100 (first half 1st century)
Lamps: Howland type 43B (2nd 1/2 3rd century B.C.)
Other: unpainted rooftiles
75 of 845 sherds
Terracottas: 248
Other finds: N 73938, P 35189
Uninventarioed terracotta fragments: 1 terracotta rod, 3 unidentified fragments

Lot BZ 1614  Fill with partial amphora second half 1st century
Inside Building | Room 6
J/13,15-1/18,19
52.325-53.101 masl
Fill under late Roman wall, containing a fragmentary amphora. A deposit of tiles was found directly underneath.
Fine: ESB1 bell cup with flanged rim, black glaze
Coarse: inverted lip plate as Agora V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), amphora
Lamps: Howland type 24/25 (late third quarter 5th century B.C. to 1st quarter 3rd century B.C.)
Other: painted rooftiles, tile with lead mend
91 of 466 sherds
Terracottas: none
Other finds: N 74489, N 74490
Uninventarioed terracotta fragments: 1 with hole possibly for wheel axle, 2 unidentified
Lot BZ 1615  Fill  end of 1st to beginning of 2nd century
Inside Building | Room 6
J/11,13-1/19,20
52.286-52.942 masl
Fill under late Roman wall, including a large number of oddly-shaped small bronze fragments, possibly evidence for bronze workers in this area.
Fine: ESB2 plate base, pyre lekanis, pyre lekanis lid, pyre saucers, ribbon handled plate, lopadion, black glaze
Lamps: unidentified moldmade lamp
Other: marble, painted rooftiles
78 of 450 sherds
Terracottas: none
Other finds: N 74459
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 base with foot, 1 body fragment

Lot BZ 1621  Pyre and fill above  mid to late 1st century
Inside Building | Room 5
J/11,13-2/2,4
52.442-52.667 masl
Removal of Pyre J 2:23 and fill directly above.
Fine: black glaze, pyre pottery (saucers, ribbon-handled plate, chytridion, lopadion lid, rilled-rim plate)
Coarse: inverted lip plate as Agora V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.)
Other: iron, charcoal, obsidian, unbaked clay, metal, painted plaster, painted rooftiles
677 of 677 sherds
Terracottas: 104, 105, 107, 116, 264, 277
Other finds: N 74471, P 35424, P 35425, P 35426, P 35427, P 35428, P 35430, P 35431, P 35432, P 35433, P 35434, P 35435, P 35439, P 35485
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 base with foot, 1 shoulder, 1 mask edge, 24 unidentified

Lot BZ 1630  Fill  mid 1st century
Inside Building | Room 5
J/15,16-2/2
52.478-52.879 masl
Fill east of Wall Z, directly under Lot BZ 1490.
Fine: ESB1 plate as AFC form 12, ITS plate as CFTS form 20.2 (first half 1st century), ITS plate as CFTS form 1 (2nd 1/2 1st century B.C.), ITS plate as CFTS form 20 (Augustan period to Flavian period), ITS plate as CFTS form 20.4 (mid 1st century), ITS plate with partial foot stamp, Roman lead glaze, unglazed bowl as Agora V G 60 (first half 1st century)
Coarse: inverted lip plate as Agora V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.), amphora, cooking ware
Lamps: Alpha Globule (4), Alpha Ear, unidentified moldmade lamps, Howland type 52 (1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D.)
Other: painted and unpainted rooftiles, painted wall plaster, glass, bone pin
216 of 946 sherds
Terracottas: 72
Other finds: P 35470
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 4 unidentified

**Lot BZ 1651**  
Fill late 1st to first half 2nd century  
Inside Building | Room 6  
J/9,10-1/16,17  
52.290-52.587 masl  
Fill over preserved top of Wall 8, near Wall A, directly under Lot BZ 1490.  
Fine: ITS, ESB1 bowl as *Agora* V G 65 (first half 1st century), ESB2 plate similar to *Agora* V G 25 (first half 1st century), Corinthian type skyphos as *Agora* XII no. 327, pyre saucer  
Coarse: inverted lip plate as *Agora* V F 36-40 (last 3 quarters 1st century B.C.)  
Other: pyramidal loomweight, painted rooftiles  
69 of 249 sherds  
Terracottas: 69, 182, 234  
Other finds: A 5144, T 4760  
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 1 round base, 1 rectangular base, 2 wheels, 26 unidentified

**Lot BZ 1666**  
Pit late 1st to first half 2nd century  
Outside Building | East | North of J 1:1  
J/19,20-1/9  
52.582-52.840 masl  
Shallow pit with numerous fragments of terracottas, small bits of red clay, and a high concentration of pottery, located north of Deposit J 1:1. Directly under Lot BZ 1327. Fill underneath excavated in Lot BZ 1667.  
Fine: black glaze  
Coarse: amphora, cooking ware  
Lamps: Alpha Globule (11 fragments), unidentified moldmade lamps (possibly Knidos type)  
Other: round loomweight as *Agora* V G 162 (first half 1st century), painted and unpainted rooftiles, bones, scallop shells  
326 of 337 sherds  
Terracottas: 60, 67, 71, 76, 77, 81, 98, 100, 139, 148, 204, 205, 212, 213, 214, 220, 224, 237, 254  
Other finds: G 815, IL 2005  
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 2 mask eyes, 1 mask, 3 joining mask nose fragments, 7 mask edge, 1 plaque/mask edge, 66 unidentified, 44 tiny fragments

**Lot BZ 1732**  
Wall late 1st to 2nd century  
Outside Building | East | East of Rooms 5 and 6  
J/17,18-1/16,18  
52.548-53.439 masl  
Removal of the north end of Wall Y. The fills on the east and west sides of this wall, which also contained numerous fragments of terracottas, were excavated in Lots BZ 1496, 1497, 1551, and 1554.  
Fine: ITS form 20.4 plate (mid 1st century), ITS carinated cylindrical cup with vertical rim as
CFTS form 26.2 (first half 1st century), ITS hemispherical cup with flange as CFTS form 34 (late Tiberian to Flavian), ESA and ESB1 body sherds, black glaze
Coarse: Hellenistic mortar with piecrust handle, beehive
Lamps: Howland type 50B (late 2nd century B.C. to 1st century A.D.)
Other: pithos rim, water pipe, red painted wall plaster, bones, metals, painted and unpainted rooftop
80 of 1003 sherds
Terracottas: 80
Other finds: N 74629, N 74633
Uninventoried terracotta fragments: 8 mask, 1 clay disk ("token"), 1 arm, 1 base, 13 unidentified, 2 wheel
APPENDIX 3: CONTEXT POTTERY

The following catalog presents details on the sherds and lamps that provide the *termini post quem* for the contexts of the terracottas. For each piece, the following data is provided: ware, part, comments (if any), measurements, comparandum, and date. If a sherd is identical in ware, shape, and decoration as the comparandum, "cf." is used. When the sherd is similar to the comparandum, and the comparandum is simply the closest match, "similar to" is used.

Where possible, comparanda for Italian and Eastern Sigillata pieces were identified in *AFC* and *CFTS*. Comparanda for other fine wares, glazed and unglazed tablewares, and coarse wares from the Roman period were found in *Agora V*. Information on the chronology of imported Roman fine wares was found in the manuscript of *Agora XXXII* which was at the time unpublished. Finally, comparanda for Byzantine wares were found in Frantz's 1938 article on Middle Byzantine pottery from the Athenian Agora and in Vroom's works on Byzantine to Modern pottery. All dates are A.D. unless otherwise noted.

**Abbreviations:**

- *Agora XXIX*: S. I. Rotroff, Hellenistic Pottery: Athenian and Imported Wheelmade Table Ware and Related Material, 1997.
Lot BE 1890
Fig. 58
Green and Brown Painted Ware Plate, base
P.H. 0.029
Bowls and plates with only green decoration are included in the category "Green and Brown Painted Ware" (cf. Frantz 1938, p. 430, and A 16 Green Painted Plate).
2nd 1/2 12th to early 13th century (Vroom 2003, p. 152)

Lot BE 1928
Fig. 58
Corinthian lamp
P.L. 0.067; P.W. 0.040
Cf. Agora VII, no. 253
2nd century

Lot BE 1939
No sherd pulled (pottery non-descript)

Lot BE 1953
No sherd pulled (date provided by Byzantine coarse wares)

Lot BE 1969
Fig. 58
Çandarli Ware Plate, rim
Est. Diam. 0.280; P.H. 0.040
Cf. AFC, Çandarli Ware form L26
Mid-late 1st to 2nd century

Lot BE 1975
No sherd pulled (date based on Byzantine coarseware)

Lot BE 2050
Fig. 58
"Late Roman C" Ware Dish, rim
P.H. 0.039, Est. Diam. 0.280
Cf. Hayes, "Late Roman C" form 3 type C
460-475

Lot BE 2061
No sherd pulled (date provided by Spiral Grooved Ware)

Lot BE 2063
No sherd pulled (non-diagnostic coarseware)

Lot BE 2087
Fig. 58
1. Plain Glazed Chafing Dish, body sherd
P.L. 0.038; P.W. 0.021
Cf. Vroom 2005 p. 73, Vroom 2003, p. 147; Frantz, B1 (p. 457)
10th-11th century

2. Plain Glazed Chafing Dish, body sherd
P.L. 0.029; P.W. 0.019
Cf. Vroom 2005 p. 73, Vroom 2003, p. 147; Frantz, B1 (p. 457)
10th-11th century

3. African Red Slip Ware Large Plate, rim
P.H. 0.018; Est. Diam. 0.350
Cf. Hayes, African Red Slip Ware form 106
600-660

Lot BE 2088 Fig. 58
Spiral Grooved Ware, body sherd
P.H. 0.035; P.W. 0.058
Cf. Agora V, M 272/M321/M371 (shape unknown)
4th-6th century

Lot BE 2095 Fig. 58
1. Eastern Sigillata B1 Cup, rim
P.H. 0.017
No comparandum found
first half 1st century

2. Roman Lead Glaze Dish, rim
P.H. 0.034; Est. Diam. 0.160
30 B.C. to A.D. 70/80 (Agora XXXII)

Lot BE 2102 Fig. 59
Eastern Sigillata B2 Plate, rim
Est. Diam. 0.210; H. 0.042
Cf. AFC, Eastern Sigillata B2 form 53
30/40-200

Lot BE 2115 Fig. 59
1. Eastern Sigillata A Hemispherical Cup with Flanged Rim, rim
P.H. 0.041; P.W. 0.066; Est. Diam. 0.120
Cf. AFC, Eastern Sigillata A form 48
40-70

2. Eastern Sigillata B2 Flat Base Plate, base (or possible local imitation)
P.L. 0.047; P.W. 0.046
Flat, unglazed base, interior with red slip and three rows of rouletting
Cf. AFC, Eastern Sigillata B2 forms 12 and 13
mid-1st century

3. Jug, body sherd
Shoulder fragment with two grooves and two rows of rouletting
P.L. 0.059; P.W. 0.046
Cf. *Agora* V, H 17
first half 2nd century

**Lot BE 2147** Fig. 59
"Late Roman C" Ware Dish, rim
P.H. 0.018; Est. Diam. 0.190
Cf. Hayes, "Late Roman C" Ware form 3 type C
460-475

**Lot BE 2181** Fig. 59
Gouged Ware Jug, body sherd
P.H. 0.016; P.W.0.019
No comparandum found (fragment too small)
Late 3rd-5th century

**Lot BE 2182** Fig. 59
Gouged Ware Jug, body sherd
P.H. 0.013; P.W. 0.026
Cf. *Agora* V, M 360 and M 357 (decoration only; shape unknown)
6th century

**Lot BE 2184** Fig. 59
African Red Slip Plate with square stamp, body sherd
P.L. 0.024; P.W. 0.015
Cf. Hayes, African Red Slip Ware stamp type 90
Early 5th century

**Lot BE 2202** Figs. 59-60
1. Gouged Ware Jug, body sherd
Oblique gouged lines, metallic purplish-brown glaze
P.H. 0.032; P.W. 0.056
Cf. *Agora* V, M 292 and M 293
Early 5th century

2. Spiral Grooved Ware, body sherd
Shoulder fragment, including smoothed area around handle
P.H. 0.060. P.W. 0.064
Cf. *Agora* V, M 272/M321/M371 (shape unknown)
4th-6th century
Lot BE 2203 Fig. 60
Jug, shoulder
With three bands of rouletting, thin matte reddish-brown slip
P.H. 0.055; P.W. 0.071
Cf. Agora V, H 17
first half 2nd century

Lot BE 2210 Fig. 60
1. Gouged Ware Jug, body sherd
P.H. 0.028; P.W. 0.029
Cf. Agora V, M 299
Early 5th century

2. Spiral Grooved Ware, body sherd
P.H. 0.049; P.W. 0.051
Cf. Agora V, M 272/M321/M371 (shape unknown)
4th-6th century

Lot BE 2211 Fig. 60
1. African Red Slip Ware Bowl, rim
P.H. 0.038; Est. Diam. 0.200
Cf. Hayes, African Red Slip Ware form 99 type A
510-540

2. "Late Roman C" Ware Dish/Bowl, rim
P.H. 0.025; Est. Diam. 0.260
Cf. Hayes, "Late Roman C" Ware form 3 type C
460-490

3. "Late Roman C" Ware Dish, rim
P.H. 0.029; Est. Diam. 0.250
Cf. Hayes, "Late Roman C" Ware form 1 type B
Early third quarter 5th century

Lot BE 2212 Fig. 60
African Red Slip Flat-Based Dish, rim
P.H. 0.040; Est. Diam. 0.300
Cf. Hayes, African Red Slip form 61, type A
325-400/425

Lot BE 2213 Fig. 61
Plate, rim
P.H. 0.039; Est. Diam. 0.300
Cf. Agora V, G176/J32/K13
Late 1st-mid 3rd century
Lot BZ 938  Fig. 61
Spiral Grooved Ware, body sherd
P.H. 0.033, P.W. 0.101
Cf. Agora V, M 272/M321/M371 (shape unknown)
4th-6th century

Lot BZ 1192  Fig. 61
"Late Roman C" Ware Dish, rim
P.H. 0.017; Est. Diam. 0.200
Cf. Hayes, "Late Roman C" Ware form 3 type B
460-475

Lot BZ 1299  Fig. 61
Byzantine Cooking Pot, rim
P.H.0.027; Est. Diam. 0.200
Similar to Vroom 2003 W 14.1 and W 14.8
Middle Byzantine

Lot BZ 1310  Fig. 61
Hemispherical cup with flanged rim, rim
P.H. 0.035. Est. Diam. 0.120
Cf. Agora V, H 8
first half 2nd century

Lot BZ 1326  Fig. 61
Spiral Grooved Ware, body sherd
P.H. 0.040; P.W. 0.103
Cf. Agora V, M 272/M321/M371 (shape unknown)
4th-6th century

Lot BZ 1334
No sherd pulled (sample too small)

Lot BZ 1335  Fig. 61
Spiral Grooved Ware, body sherd
P.H. 0.039; P.W. 0.062
Cf. Agora V, M 272/M321/M371 (shape unknown)
4th-6th century

Lot BZ 1336  Fig. 61
Spiral Grooved Ware, body sherd
P.H. 0.037; P.W. 0.031
Cf. Agora V, M 272/M321/M371 (shape unknown)
4th-6th century
Lot BZ 1392  Fig. 61
Green and Brown Painted Ware, base
P.H. 0.019
Cf. Frantz, p. 430, and A 17; Vroom 2005, p. 83; Vroom 2003, W 10.5, fig. 6.19
2nd 1/2 12th to early 13th century (Vroom 2003, p. 152)

Lot BZ 1400  Fig. 62
"Late Roman C" Ware Dish, rim
P.H. 0.047; Est. Diam. 0.180
Cf. Hayes, "Late Roman C" Ware form 1 type B
Early to third quarter 5th century

Lot BZ 1414  Fig. 62
"Late Roman C" Ware dish, base
Cf. Hayes, "Late Roman C" Ware stamp #56, "emperor saluting" (stamp group III)
470-580

Lot BZ 1415  Fig. 62
Eastern Sigillata A Hemispherical Cup with Flanged Rim
H. 0.045; Est. Diam. 0.120
Cf. Agora V, G 13
first half 1st century

Lot BZ 1417  Fig. 62
Plain Glazed Chafing Dish, rim
P.H. 0.057; Est. Diam. 0.350
Cf. Vroom 2005 p. 73, Vroom 2003, W 7.3; Frantz B1
10th-11th century

Lot BZ 1418  Fig. 62
Gouged Ware Jug, body sherd
Thin matte red slip on surface
P.H. 0.024; P.W. 0.023
Cf. Agora V, M 292 and M 293
Early 5th century

Lot BZ 1471  Fig. 62
African Red Slip Ware Plate, rim
Est. Diam. 0.300
Cf. Hayes, African Red Slip Ware form 106
600-660

Lot BZ 1474  Figs. 62-63
1. Italian Sigillata Plate, rim
1. Applied garland on vertical rim
P.H. 0.024; Est. Diam. 0.200
Cf. CFTS, form 20
Mid 1st century
Cf. Agora V, G 36
first half 1st century

2. Eastern Sigillata B1 Hemispherical Cup with Flanged Rim, rim
P.H. 0.036; P.W. 0.032
Cf. Agora V, G 13
first half 1st century

3. Italian Sigillata Platter, body sherd
Est. Diam. 0.380
Cf. CFTS, form 18 or 20
Late 1st century B.C. to mid 1st century A.D.

Lot BZ 1477
No sherd pulled (non descript coarseware)

Lot BZ 1480
Plain Glazed Chafing Dish, body sherd (not illustrated)
P.H. 0.024; P.W. 0.050
Cf. Vroom 2005 p. 73, Vroom 2003, p. 147; Frantz B1
10th-11th century

Lot BZ 1482
"Late Roman C" Ware Dish, rim
P.H. 0.028; Est. Diam. 0.270
Cf. Hayes, "Late Roman C" Ware form 3 type C
460-475

Lot BZ 1483
Gray Ware Platter, base and foot
Rouletting on floor, high ring foot, angled outer wall.
P.H. 0.037; Diam. (base) 0.090
No exact comparandum found, similar to Agora XXIX, no. 1603, no. 1604
2nd century B.C. to 1st century A.D.

Lot BZ 1487
"Late Roman C" Ware Dish, rim
P.H. 0.035; Est Diam. 0.260
Cf. Hayes, "Late Roman C" Ware form 3 type C
460-475
Lot BZ 1488 Fig. 63
Italian Sigillata Plate, body sherd
Applied garland on vertical rim
Cf. CFTS, form 20.3
Late Augustan to ca. 30 A.D.

Lot BZ 1490 Fig. 63
Çandarli Ware Bowl, base
Interior covered with lustrous red gloss, exterior with thin coating of gloss and several tooling marks.
Diam. (base) 0.110; P.H. 0.060
No comparandum found for shape; ware cf. Hayes, pp. 316-318
2nd to early 3rd century

Lot BZ 1492 Fig. 64
Eastern Sigillata B1 Plate, rim
P.H. 0.028; Est. Diam. 0.080
Cf. AFC, Eastern Sigillata B1 form 15
25/20 B.C. to A.D. 40

Lot BZ 1496 Fig. 64
Italian Sigillata Conical Cup, rim
P.H. 0.063; P.W. 0.071; Est. Diam. 0.170
Cf. CFTS, form 22
Early 1st B.C. to late Augustan

Lot BZ 1497 Fig. 64
Eastern Sigillata B2 Bell Cup, full profile preserved
Possibly a local imitation, as it lacks rouletting and grooving on rim and a stamp on the floor.
H. 0.069; Est. Diam. 0.130
Cf. AFC, Eastern Sigillata B2 form 70
75-125
Cf. Agora V, G 28
first half 1st century

Lot BZ 1498 Fig. 64
Spiral Grooved Ware, body sherd
P.H. 0.072; P.W. 0.087
6th-7th century

Lot BZ 1525 Fig. 64
Spiral Grooved Ware, body sherd
P.H. 0.046; P.W. 0.047
Cf. Agora V, M 272/M321/M371 (shape unknown)
4th-6th century
Lot BZ 1540  Fig. 64
Green and Brown Painted Ware Bowl, rim
P.H. 0.029; Est. Diam. 0.170
Cf. Frantz, A 17; Vroom 2005, p. 83; Vroom 2003, W 10.11
2nd 1/2 12th to early 13th century (Vroom 2003, p. 152)

Lot BZ 1541  Figs. 64-65
1. Eastern Sigillata A Hemispherical Cup with Flanged Rim, body sherd
P.H. 0.025; P.W. 0.031
Cf. Agora V, G 13
first half 1st century

2. Eastern Sigillata A Plate, rim
P.H. 0.023; P.W. 0.041; Est. Diam. 0.130
Cf. Agora V, F 2
Late 1st century B.C.

3. Eastern Sigillata B2 Plate, base
P.H. 0.020; P.W. 0.065
Cf. Agora V, G 19
first half 1st century

Lot BZ 1551  Fig. 65
1. Biconical Cup, rim
Rim with handle attachment on shoulder, matte black glaze on exterior, metallic purplish-brown
    glaze on interior
P.H. 0.028; Est. Diam. 0.100
Cf. Agora V, G 81
first half 1st century

2. Globular Jug, rim
Diam. (rim) 0.070; P.H. 0.048
Cf. Agora V, G 85/G 86/H 11
first half 1st to first half 2nd century

Lot BZ 1554  Fig. 65
1. Red Slip Dish, rim
Glossy red slip on interior
P.H. 0.038; Est. Diam. 0.340
No comparandum found; possibly local imitation of Eastern Sigillata B

2. Red Slip Dish, base
Matte red slip on interior (mostly flaked away)
P.L. 0.102; P.W. 0.079
No comparandum found; possibly local imitation of Eastern Sigillata B

3. Red Slip Dish, rim
Glossy red slip on interior
P.H. 0.054; Est. Diam. 0.550
No comparandum found; possibly local imitation of Eastern Sigillata B

Lot BZ 1555
No sherd pulled (date provided by possible Alpha Globule lamp fragment)

Lot BZ 1557
No sherd pulled (pottery non-descript)

Lot BZ 1558
Fig. 65
Plate, rim
P.H. 0.057; Est. Diam. 0.290
Cf. Agora V, G 176
Late 1st to early 2nd century

Lot BZ 1561
Lamp fragment (joined with fragment from Lot BZ 1562)

Lot BZ 1562
Fig. 66
Corinthian Lamp
Joined with fragment from Lot BZ 1561
P.L. 0.045; PW. 0.030
Cf. Agora VII, no. 259
first half 2nd century

Lot BZ 1563
Fig. 66
Round-Mouth Globular Jug, base
Partial matte glaze on body
Diam. (body) 0.060; P.H. 0.048
Cf. Agora V, J 11
Late 2nd century? (Robinson's question mark)

Lot BZ 1567
Fig. 66
Eastern Sigillata A Hemispherical Cup, base
P.H. 0.026
Cf. Agora V, F 6-11, G 1, G 13
Late 1st century B.C. to first half 1st century A.D.

Lot BZ 1568
Fig. 66
Eastern Sigillata B1 Cup joined with fragment from Lot BZ 1621
Thin-Walled Globular Jug, shoulder and neck
P.H. 0.059
Possibly from Corinth
No exact comparandum found (matches description of thin-walled wares in *Agora* XXXII)
1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D.

**Lot BZ 1578**  
Fig. 66
Painted Ware Bowl, body sherd
P.H. 0.036; P.W. 0.055
Cf. *Agora* V, K 20
Mid 3rd century

**Lot BZ 1614**  
Fig. 66
Italian Sigillata Hemispherical Cup with Articulated Rim, rim
P.H. 0.026; Est. Diam. 0.120
Cf. CFTS, form 37
Tiberian to late 1st century

**Lot BZ 1615**  
Fig. 66
Eastern Sigillata B2 Plate, base
P.H. 0.014
No exact comparandum found; possibly similar to AFC Eastern Sigillata B2 form 58 = *Agora* V, G 19
50-125

**Lot BZ 1621**  
Fig. 66
1. Eastern Sigillata B1 Cup, full profile (joined with fragment from Lot BZ 1568)
H. 0.044; Est. Diam. 0.100
Cf. *Agora* V, G 30
first half 1st century
Cf. AFC, Eastern Sigillata B1 form 37,
Mid to third quarter 1st century

2. Italian Sigillata Hemispherical Cup, rim
P.H. 0.013; Est. Diam. 0.120
Cf. CFTS, form 37
Mid to late 1st century

3. Eastern Sigillata A Plate with Vertical Rim, rim
P.H. 0.020; Est. Diam. 0.140
Cf. AFC, Eastern Sigillata A form 35
40-70

**Lot BZ 1630**  
Fig. 66
Italian Sigillata Plate, rims (2)
(1) P.H. 0.022; Est. Diam. 0.300
(2) P.H. 0.021; Est. Diam. 0.300
(1) with relief bird, (2) with relief krater
Cf. CFTS, form 20.4
Mid 1st century

Lot BZ 1651    Fig. 67
Globular Jug, rim and shoulder
Vertical rim with horizontal grooves, three bands of rouletting on shoulder, matte black glaze on exterior.
P.H. 0.039; Est. Diam. 0.150
Cf. Agora V, M 37
Late 1st and first half 2nd century

Lot BZ 1666    Fig. 67
1. Eastern Sigillata A Cup, rim
Est. Diam. 0.110; P.H. 0.037
Cf. AFC, Eastern Sigillata A form 51
70-120

2. Eastern Sigillata B2 bowl, rim
P.H. 0.019; Est. Diam. 0.160
Cf. Agora V, H 31
first half 2nd century

Lot BZ 1732    Fig. 67
Bowl
H. 0.036; Est. Diam. 0.126 (in conservation)
Cf. Agora V, M34
Late 1st to 2nd century
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Fig. 1: Wheels
Fig. 3: Wheels
Fig. 4: Wheeled Figures and Articulated Figures
Fig. 5: Articulated Figures
Fig. 6: Articulated Figures

70 (front, back, and side views)
Fig. 7: Aphrodite
Fig. 8: Aphrodite
Fig. 10: Pan and Silenos; Theatrical, Grotesques, and Caricatures
Fig. 11: Theatrical, Grotesques, and Caricatures; Heads
Fig. 12: Miniatures; Animals
Fig. 13: Animals; Bases
Fig. 14: Bases
Fig. 15: Plaques; Masks
Fig. 16: Masks

206 (mold interior, left; mold exterior, right)

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Fig. 17: Masks
Fig. 18: Masks; Protomes; Objects
Fig. 19: Objects; Miscellaneous; Unidentified Figurines
Fig. 20: Unidentified Figurines
Fig. 21: Unidentified Molds; Lamp Molds
Fig. 23: Tools (scale 1:2); Signatures and Other Markings (scale 1:1)
Fig. 24: Wheeled horse from the Athenian Agora (*Agora VI*, p. 28, no. 781, pl. 19).

Fig. 25: Wheeled horse from Corinth (Shear 1930, p. 430, fig. 20).

Fig. 26: Armed articulated figurine from Asia Minor, in the Louvre (Besques 1972, p. 133, no. E 25, pl. 166).

Fig. 27: Armed articulated figurine from Asia Minor, in the Louvre (Besques 1972, p. 133, no. E 26, pl. 166).
Fig. 28: Armed articulated figurine from Pergamon (Töpperwein 1976, pp. 118-120, no. 495, pl. 73).

Fig. 29: Armed articulated figurine from Pergamon (Töpperwein 1976, pp. 118-120, no. 498, pl. 73).

Fig. 30: Figurine of dueling gladiators in the British Museum (Burn and Higgins 2001, p. 145, no. 2377, pl. 67).
Fig. 31: Articulated figurine of a dancer in eastern dress (left, T 335 = Agora VI, p. 58, no. 492, pl. 11) and a leg (T 1129 = Agora VI, p. 58, no. 493, pl. 11).

Fig. 32: Mold for a relief vase with a dancing figure (left) and modern impression (right) (Williams 1978, p. 393, no. 49, pl. 99).

Fig. 33: Dancing figurine from Troy (Thompson 1963b, p. 106, no. 86, pl. XXIII).
Fig. 34: Grafitto with three dancers from the theater at Ephesus (Roueché 2002, pp. 257-259, no. I, fig. 40).

Fig. 35: Articulated figurine of a soldier in eastern dress (Fittà 1997, pp. 85-86, fig. 157).
Fig. 36: “Colonna type” (Vatican 812) of the Knidian Aphrodite (Havelock 1995, fig. 1).

Fig. 37: “Belvedere type” (Vatican 4260) of the Knidian Aphrodite (Havelock 1995, fig. 2).

Fig. 38: Aphrodite Anadyomene (Vatican 807) (Havelock 1995, fig. 28).

Fig. 39: Aphrodite Anadyomene (Palazzo Colonna 765) (Havelock 1995, fig. 29).

Fig. 40: Aphrodite Anadyomene figurine (Walters Art Gallery 48.1946) (Havelock 1995, fig. 32).

Fig. 41: Venus Genetrix or Fréjus Aphrodite (Stewart 1990, fig. 426).
Fig. 42: Statue of Pan or Satyr from the Theater of Pompey in Rome, now in the Palazzo Nuovo at the Capitoline Museums (Albertoni et al. 2006, p. 29).

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