

# Tanagra: a mystery unveiled?

*A material context study of terracotta figurines  
in late Classical, early Hellenistic Greece*

**Kya Verhagen**



## **Frontpiece**

### Middle Photo:

La Dame Blue taken from: <http://windmills-ofyourmind.blogspot.com/2011/08/yannis-ritsos-from-tanagra-women-potter.html>

### Left-column (top-to-bottom):

La Dame Blue taken from: <http://public-domain-images.blogspot.com/2011/06/tanagra-figurine-lady-in-blue-dame-en.html>. Depiction of: Lady in Blue, dating 330 to 300 BC, height 32.5 cm (12 ¾ in.), Louvre Museum, Paris.

Draped women 78 from Jeammet 2010, 106. Provenance: Tanagra, 330-200 B.C., height 25,3 cm.

### Right-column (top-to-bottom):

Sitting Lady taken from: <http://samblog.seattleartmuseum.org/?p=4593>. Depiction of: Seated Tanagra figurine, 4th–3rd century B.C., Greek, Boeotia, Hellenistic period (ca. 323-31 B.C.), terracotta, pigment, 6 1/2 x 3 5/8 x 4 1/2 in., Norman and Amelia Davis Classical Collection, 66.101. Currently on view in the Ancient Mediterranean and Islamic art gallery.

Draped women 72 from Jeammet 2010 99. Provenance: Tanagra, 330-300 B.C., height 16,5 com.

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**Kya Verhagen**

**S0412686**

**Course:**

**MA Thesis Classical Archaeology**

**Supervisor: Prof. dr. J. Bintliff**

**University of Leiden, Faculty of Archaeology**

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**Leiden**

Oude Vest 161

2312 XW, Leiden, the Netherlands

kyaverhagen@gmail.com

+31618426833

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## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 'FIGURINES'

Terracotta figures or 'figurines' have been the subject of research from the seventeenth century onward (Uhlenbrock 1993, 7). The term 'figurine' has been widely and inconsistently used. And thus there is a great diversity of objects which can be regarded as 'figurines'. The objects meant by 'figurines' in this research are humanoid figures made of terracotta with a height up till approximately 30 centimeters. And since in this thesis only female figures are regarded, the term 'figurine' refers to female figurines rather than male. The period under discussion is the Late Classical to Early Hellenistic.

The figurines treated in this thesis represent adult females and sometimes girls in a standing or seated position, wearing a *peplos*, *himation* or *chiton*, often tightly wrapped around their body and sometimes holding fans or wearing sun hats (Jeammet 2010 (d), 112&118). (Fig. 30-41, 44,45) They were naturalistically coloured and some have gilded features (Higgins 1986, 139-140). The figurines were produced from the third quarter of the fourth century B.C. until circa 200 B.C. (Jeammet 2010 (a), 12). The heyday of the figurines was during the Hellenistic period between approximately 330-200 BC, this may vary a bit per region (Higgins 1967, 97). They are found in houses, sanctuaries and graves.

### 1.2 THE 'TANAGRAS'

The figurines are called after the ancient site of Tanagra where they were first found (Burr-Thompson 1966, 51). 'Tanagras' are a specific style of Hellenistic figurines. Style refers to a group of artifacts with the same appearance. Subgroups might appear, but all the artifacts have common features such is the case with the Tanagras. In archaeology a discussion is going on about style and identity, whether style is a means to recognize identity in material culture (Versluys 2012, forthcoming). Style is considered to be important for the expression of identity, but also it is both indicative of, and constructive of the social context in which it functions (*ibid.*). Though style has often been used to attribute identity by archaeologists (*ibid.*). In this thesis style is not used to indicate identity. 'Tanagra style' is rather used as a general indicator of a group of figurines with the same appearance.

Typical examples of the figurines discussed are the 'Sophoclean Lady' (Fig. 38) and 'The Lady in Blue' (Jeammet 2010 (d), 112&118). (Fig. 36) The names of both these

ladies were inspired by the way they look (Jeammet 2010 (d), 112). The inspiration for the 'Sophoclean Lady' was a sculpture by the Attic sculptor Leochares (*ibid.*). (Fig. 39) There are a few dissimilarities but still it is safe to suppose that this sculpture was the inspiration for the figurine (*ibid.*). 'The Lady in Blue' also takes inspiration from sculpture (Jeammet 2010 (d), 118). 'Large Herculaneum Woman' a Roman copy of the original by Praxiteles is the likely inspiration (*ibid.*). (Fig. 37) The first 'Lady in Blue' was discovered with three figurines of the same type and the ladies take their name from this first account (*ibid.*).

Meaning and function of the figurines is unclear. They seem to lack explicit connection to religion or ritual for they have no typical attributes which would link them to a deity (Higgins 1986, 65). They might rather be images of daily life (*ibid.*).

Another issue is that in most instances their provenance and context are unknown. Especially in the nineteenth century this problem arose, when the site of Tanagra was discovered and looted. Excavations, which were conducted later, were not recorded properly (Becq 2010, 16). It was not until 1911 that a scientific excavation took place. Keramopoulos excavated Tanagra and he was the first to make plans and illustrations of his work (Higgins 1986, 31). Later in the twentieth century excavations were done at other sites in Greece where Tanagras were also found and better documented so information is known on their context.

These excavations also inspired the question of origin of the Tanagra style. Statement is that the style did not originate from Tanagra, but rather from Athens (Burr-Thompson 1966, 51). Burr-Thompson states this because the atmosphere in Athens with influences between different artistic disciplines, such as the theatre, metallurgy and pottery, was ideal for the emergence of a style such as the Tanagra style (Burr-Thompson 1966, 55-58). Also Thebes is thought to have been a production center of the style (Jeammet 2010 (c), 67).

The Tanagra style was likely not recognized as a distinct style in Ancient times (Jeammet 2007, 15). Since the style might originate from Athens rather than Tanagra (Burr-Thompson 1966). And the figurines were likely an evolution of an existing tradition of female figurines (Jeammet 2007, 15).

### 1.3 DISCOVERY OF THE SITE OF GRIMÁDHA, ANCIENT TANAGRA

The Tanagras are called after the site of Grimádha, ancient Tanagra. (Fig. 9) The site is located in the southeast of Boeotia, a few kilometers inland from sea. The southeast

Boeotian site was visited by Colonel W.M. Leake (1777-1860) in 1806 (Roller, 1989, 129). It was this William Martin Leake who identified Grimádha as ancient Tanagra (Roller 1989, 134). However he did not publish his account until 1835 (*ibid.*). By which time Charles Robert Cockerell, archaeologist, architect and writer, was already acknowledged as the scholar who identified the site of ancient Tanagra and got the credits for the discovery (*ibid.*). Some sixty years after the discovery of the site, the figurines were discovered, though not by Leake, and clandestine excavations commenced soon afterwards (*ibid.*). Olivier Rayet, who was a member of the *l'École Française d'Athènes* and both collector and archaeologist, passed down the story of the extensive looting of the cemeteries of Tanagra (Higgins 1986, 29). Which made the site look like a scene from Resurrection Day according to Sir James Fraser who visited the site in 1895 for his book about Pausanias (Frazer 1913, 81).

#### 1.4 DISTRIBUTION

Diffusion of Tanagras was wide, even as far as Sicily and Kuwait Tanagra-type figurines are found (Bell 1990, Connelly 1990). The trade routes set up by Athens served as a catalyst for the diffusion of the figurines (Jeammet 2010 (c), 68). The figurines were distributed along with other traded wares (*ibid.*).

An explanation for the broad distribution of the figurines might be, according to some scholars, that they were part of the Greek way of life (Jeammet 2010 (c), 68). In some places they were immediately adopted and local variations were made (*ibid.*). The re-usage and reworking due to clogging of moulds meant that figurines eventually started looking a lot different from the original, but they still acted as a vessel of Greek values (*ibid.*).

#### 1.5 MANUFACTURE OF THE TANAGRAS

Figurines were made with moulds (Fig. 48), which facilitated a mass production and did not leave as much space for creativity as before (Muller 2010, 100). The most creative step in the production-process entailed the producing of the actual mould (*ibid.*). The figurines were often made in parts which were assembled before drying and firing (Muller 2010, 101). A problem with moulds was that they wear or get clogged (*ibid.*). Then either the mould was retouched or the figurine was worked on before drying (*ibid.*).

The process of working with a mould came from the Orient, where it had been known from the third millennium onward (Muller 2010, 100). The development of

sanctuaries may have stimulated the demand for cheaper votives and hence fueled technical development (Muller 2010, 101). Sometimes figurines-groups of two people were detached and formed new figurines (Muller 2010, 101). Thus we can find a mother and child together and separate (*ibid.*). (Fig. 47) This gives insight into production of types and explains about the diversity of the style (*ibid.*). Since also with standing and seated females this process can be recognized.

These figurines were often produced locally, though imported figurines were used as archetypes for new moulds to mass produce the figurines in the local region (Nicholls 1952). This process facilitates for generation of figurines to be distinguished (*ibid.*). (Fig. 47) Though the diffusion was wide in some areas though the figurines were more popular than at others. In Sicily for example Tanagra figurines are less popular (Bell 1990). A possible explanation is the difference in the popularity of certain cults at different places. Even in Greece itself usage of figurines differed between places (Merker 2000).

The Tanagras show influences of other arts, such as pottery, metalwork and sculpture (Barr-Sharrar 1990, 31). Coroplasty is likely to have taken inspiration from these arts (*ibid.*). According to Barr-Sharrar the process of influence was directed from the potters toward the coroplasts, since pottery is likelier to adopt non-religious themes than figurines because pottery rather has a utilitarian character than a religious one (Barr-Sharrar 1990, 31). This is why female figurines holding fans or mirrors are found on ceramic reliefs of an earlier date than the Tanagras (Barr-Sharrar 1990, 32). (Fig. 69) Sculpture, metalwork, pottery and coroplasty do show parallels and share iconography, so communication and exchange of ideas between the different artisans is very likely (Barr-Sharrar 1990, 32-33). Potters and coroplasts may even have shared workshops when looking at the profound similarities there are (Barr-Sharrar 1990, 32). But the direction of influence is hard to pin down.

Groups of Tanagra figurines which have almost the same appearance due to stance and drapery have been given names such as 'The Sophoclean Lady' (Fig. 38) and 'The Lady in Blue' (Fig. 36) (Jeammet 2010 (d), 112&118). These groups incorporate the most beautiful and sophisticated pieces of Tanagra figurines according to the scholars and collectors at the time of their discovery in the nineteenth century. The figurines in the two groups do differ but their general appearance is the same and thus they are clustered either as Lady in Blue-group or Sophoclean Lady-group. These also are the types the Tanagra style became most famous for.

These are also two of the most diffused and locally reworked types (Jeammet 2010 (d), 112&118). The reason for the wide distribution of this particular type is unknown. Maybe they originated from specific workshops, but it is difficult to recognize a characteristic feature which would allow such a statement. The types are likely to be inspired by sculptures of the sculptor Praxiteles and Leochares (Jeammet 2010 (d), 112 & 118). Indicating that the Tanagras were sensitive to popular opinion and were not restricted by traditional (religious) values which would have likely prevented them from adopting popular themes.

When looking at the fabric the Tanagras are made of, it is clear that they were not intrinsically valuable (Merker 2000, 322). They were made of terracotta, an invaluable kind of reddish clay. The only intrinsically valuable feature of the figurines often is the paint used to give them their bright and colourful appearance (*ibid.*). The painted and sometimes gilded clothing of the figurines probably added to their value, beauty and general appeal (*ibid.*). (Fig. 36)

## 1.6 RESEARCH HISTORY, WHAT SHAPED THE RESEARCH

In order to illustrate the role terracotta figurines played in scholarly circles and their original context, a short research overview of female terracotta figures is given below. Also the corpus of terracotta figurines from the Neolithic onward is briefly discussed. Because it is important to give an idea of the use of female terracotta figures over a longer period to be able to place the figurines in a tradition of use, instead of looking at them detached of their history.

‘Terracottas’ and ‘terracotta figures’ both refer to little humanoid terracotta that often display females and sometimes men or animals. Representation of men or animals are explicitly exemplified. These statuettes were made from the Neolithic until the Hellenistic period; in this paragraph emphasis will lay on terracotta figures from the Archaic until the Hellenistic period.

### *1.6.1 Terracotta figurines in the eighteenth century*

In the eighteenth century when interest in terracotta figures is first recorded, the Etruscan and Roman terracottas especially were at the center of interest since these were the first found terracotta images and proved to be a rich and varied source (Uhlenbrock 1993, 7). By the middle of the eighteenth century information on Greek terracottas became available as well so they could be studied (*ibid.*). Starting from the eighteenth century

collections of Greek terracotta figures were established all over Western Europe, such as the ones of Julian Gréau and Ignazio Paternò Castello (Mathieux 2010, 17; Uhlenbrock 1993, 7). However the actual Tanagras were discovered only in the nineteenth century (Mathieux 2010, 17).

Classical art in general was examined by philologists during this period (Uhlenbrock 1993, 8). They approached purpose and meaning of Greek and Roman art through the study of ancient authors (*ibid.*). Emphasis did not lay on the mythological and religious value of the figurines, but rather on their beauty and fabric (Uhlenbrock 1993, 9). This research emphasis was first proposed by Johann Joachim Winckelmann. He stated that the terracotta figures provided a true understanding of beauty and good taste even to modern man (Winckelmann 1765, 271-287). This was a popular idea for a long time, which is illustrated by this quote from a book called 'Tanagra' published in 1909 and written by Gusman:

*“Un soir, le duc d’Aumale sortait délicatement de la vitrine une statuette, il tenait religieusement, dans ses mains crispées par la goutte, la fragile poupée d’argile et la regardait avec amour [...] et dit avec simples mots: ‘Quel art renferme une statuette de Tanagra!’ Aussitôt, une jeune femme, soeur en graces de l’exquise figurine, toute émue, demanda: ‘Cet artiste expose-t-il au Salon?...’”* (Gusman 1909, 3-4 in Papet 2003, 36).

In the eighteenth century terracottas were studied by a select few, since only men rich enough to either have a collection, or visit and study these collections were able to participate in the debate about their meaning, purpose and beauty.

#### *1.6.2 Popularity of the Tanagras in modern times*

In the nineteenth century, after the discovery of Tanagra, the figurines became popularized among the higher layers of Western society because of the idea that these figurines were a fine model of sophistication even to the modern man (Winckelmann 1765, 271-287 & Mathieux 2007,45-46). This æsthetic take on the figurines might have made them (even more) attractive to the upper class of that time, and can partly explain their popularity. Artisans also used them as inspiration for their own work (Papet 2004,37). (Fig. 53, 54)

### *1.6.3 Realist and symbolist, two lines of interpreting Tanagras*

Figurines were often discovered in funerary contexts, for example at Tanagra and this supplied an interpretative bias towards underworld cults (Uhlenbrock 1993, 9-10). Discussions about their function and meaning were often restricted to considerations of them being the goddesses Demeter and Kore, or objects which decorated bourgeois homes and later tombs (Mathieux 2010, 17). This last explanation was rather a justification for the nineteenth century upper classes own habits by using the habits of Antiquity than a true interpretation (*ibid.*).

These two viewpoints illustrate an ongoing discussion between ‘symbolists’ and ‘realists’(*ibid.*). The ‘symbolist’ approach is an interesting view even nowadays in connection with the figurines since scholars tend to prefer this approach (Jeammet 2007, 40).

The debate between realist and symbolist is well illustrated by Léon Heuzey and Olivier Rayet. They were important protagonists in this discussion in the nineteenth century. Rayet saw the figurines as non divine and with little symbolic meaning (Rayet 1875-a, 558). Heuzey, though opposing an absolutist approach, looked at the figurines from a symbolic point of view interpreting them as divine images (Heuzey 1883, III). Scholars and the upper classes were so taken by these figurines that they thought this must have been the same when the figurines were used (Uhlenbrock 1993, 12).

As early as 1874 forgeries appeared on the market, because the commercial demand for these figurines was so great since Tanagra figurines were placed on a pedestal (Higgins 1986, 163). Also dealers wanted to make their merchandise more appealing and sometimes glued different figurines together to make one complete figurine, or tried in other ways to improve their damaged ware (*ibid.*). This hampered the study of figurines because the forgeries and heavily restored items were difficult to distinguish from authentic figurines. Also looting was a big problem, because context research was made impossible.

### *1.6.5 Professional grave robbery, the problem of looting*

Because of the high prices the Tanagras fetched on the art market, looting had been going on from the beginning of the nineteenth century at a number of sites in the Boeotian region by the farmers ploughing and working the fields (Higgins 1986, 29). Also professional grave robbers kept busy in the region. Around 1870 Georghios Anyphantis,

a professional grave robber, had exhausted the necropoleis of Thespieae and heard about the figurines finds from the Tanagra region (Higgins 1986, 30).

Between 1870 and 1873 clandestine excavations were carried out by him and the Tanagras were first discovered and taken from the cemeteries at Tanagra (Higgins 1986, 30). About 8000 to 10000 graves were looted, all located along the ancient roads leading out of Tanagra which made work easy and fast (*ibid.*). For two years the area was ransacked and the art market was flooded by Tanagras from Tanagra (*ibid.*).

In 1873 the Greek government awoke to what was happening and sent in troops to prevent further looting. Panayotis Stamatakis, a member of the Archaeological Society of Athens, conducted a series of excavations from 1874 till 1879 (*ibid.*). Details from these excavations were never published and maybe not even kept, and while the archaeologists worked by day, the peasants worked by night. Especially the *Kokkali* and *Bali* necropoleis were rich in finds (*ibid.*). (Fig. 8)

Forgeries had become a big problem by the middle of the 1870s (Mathieux 2010,18). And although this problem was tackled in the twentieth century by listing a number of criteria an authentic figurine should meet, it troubled research and acquisition (Uhlenbrock 1993, 15). Fakes still were mistaken for the real thing in the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century.

#### *1.6.6 Scientific publication*

In 1878 Reinhard Kekulé published a book on the figurines from Tanagra which can be regarded as the first modern study based on a firsthand examination of thousands of terracottas (Uhlenbrock 1993, 12). This publication was important for the discipline as a whole since it was the first attempt to publish a comprehensive volume on all the then known terracotta figurines and Tanagras (*ibid.*). In his book Kekulé turned away from the antiquarian's approach and included a critical discussion of the scholarly debate on iconographic meaning up till then, a detailed history of the site and important commentaries on techniques used to make the figurines (*ibid.*)

#### *1.6.7 Pottier and Froehner*

In 1890 Edmond Pottier published a comprehensive work on the then known ancient terracottas (Pottier 1890). In this handbook he related the history of ancient terracottas with the successive phases in Greek monumental art (*ibid.*). He also suggested that it was the ancient dedicator's intention which gave the figurine its significance at the moment it

was offered (Pottier 1890, 294). According to Pottier the figurines were dedicated by the relatives of the deceased either as symbols of a lost life or as representations of the life that lay ahead (Pottier 1890, 295). Another reason for putting figurines in graves was the idea that the grave was a residence decorated for eternity (Pottier 1890, 266). The deceased was thought entitled to all the pleasantries of normal life, which Pottier thought the figurines to be part of (*ibid.*). The idea that the dedicator decides what the figurines represents and that there was a variety of reasons, is an idea which Merker (2000, 323) follows in her monograph on the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth.

Pottier's suggestion however was opposed by Froehner, who proposed that objects placed in graves always represent the deceased's personal possession (Froehner 1886, IX). Froehner considers the figurines as nothing more than gifts between friends without religious meaning (*ibid.*). Thus the figurines represented personal rather than community symbolism (*ibid.*). Froehner (1886, X) also suggested that the figurines from a particular site should be studied as a group, which was a new concept.

#### *1.6.8 First half of the twentieth century*

Research and excavations at Tanagra were done with intervals and published with care in the late nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century (Higgins 1986, 31). An example is the publication by Winter of a catalogue with most of the then known terracottas (Winter 1903). He classified the figurines according to style and not geographic origin (Winter 1903,8-9), thus producing a history and development of individual motifs which was not done before (Nicholls 1952, 217).

In 1934 Gerhard Kleiner turned the focus towards type; he was able to trace the evolution of Tanagra figurines and make a coherent development for standing draped female figurines (Kleiner 1942). It was partly his publication which opened up the way for Richard Nicholls who introduced a new concept to the discipline: the concept of derivative production (Nicholls 1952, 219-220).

Derivative production recognizes different generations in figurines of the same type (Nicholls 1952, 219-220). Type refers to general appearance and shape (Nicholls 1952, 218). Existing figurines are used as prototypes for moulds, from which figurines of the same type were produced (*ibid.*). He was not the first to recognize successive generations Kleiner was, but he was the first to maintain that determining the place of a given figurine in the history of production was vital to its understanding (Nicholls 1952, 226). This way of analysis reveals the locality of the original production of a figurine and

enables the scholar to analyze influences in particular places of production and identify trade networks (*ibid.*). Nicholls also stated that constructing a chronology for figurines was more difficult due to derivative production because new moulds were made of later generation figurines and a certain type stayed in circulation for a long time (*ibid.*). This statement was based on Nicholls' analysis of previous publications on figurines of for example Winter to manufacture a chronology for the figurines .

Dorothy Burr-Thompson (Burr-Thompson 1952) drawing from the work Kleiner and Nicholls, recognized how figurines modeled in clay followed their own tradition restricted to the medium of clay (Uhlenbrock 1993, 16). She stressed the importance of looking at the stylistic and technical aspects of the figurines (Besques 1990, 7). She thus clarified the idiosyncratic nature of the terracotta figurines and presented a completely new attitude for the study of terracottas, which would provide the foundation for the discipline (*ibid.*) and thus figurine studies became a separate discipline (Uhlenbrock 1993, 16). Between the years 1952 and 1966 Burr-Thompson wrote a series of articles on the Athenian Agora finds in Hesperia, in one of which she stated that a figurine has two dates, that of the manufacture of the original archetype and that of the manufacture of the particular cast, this had not been considered up till then (Burr-Thompson 1952, 125).

#### *1.6.9 Establishing a discipline*

From the 1930s onward the discipline of terracotta studies began to develop an unique analytical procedure for studying figurines and by the 1960s was firmly established (Uhlenbrock 1993, 18). Stylistic features of the figurines, such as gilded features, were linked to social and economic conditions of the settlement they were found in, an estimation could be made about the prosperity of a town (*ibid.*). The figurines were the key to a wealth of knowledge not only about the prosperity, but also religion and social practices at the place where they were found (Uhlenbrock 1993, 20). Because they are thought to have played significant roles in displaying social difference within a community and expressing religious ideas.

Up until the 1960s three systems of classification had been used, a typological, stylistic and mechanical one. Research after the 1960s began to reconsider function and meaning, thus a hermeneutical framework was required and is still being established. Next to a hermeneutical framework, databases for clay analysis were set up at different universities to enable the researcher to identify the place of origin of the figurine (Uhlenbrock 1993, 20).

#### *1.6.10 The research up till now*

So looking at the research up until now, it is clear that the looting of the nineteenth century and the fact that forgeries were made has had a big influence on the interpretational study of the figurines. In the nineteenth century the study was dictated by a bias toward underworld cults, later in the twentieth century the study was mainly focused on stylistic aspects of the figurines and context studies were not attempted in depth because of the lack of well defined context. In the twenty-first century attempts are made to place the figurines in a contexts, looking at the excavation reports of different sites where Tanagras were found. This research hopes to make a contribution to this development.

#### *1.6.11 The earliest figures in Greece*

Terracotta figures are found in Greece from the Neolithic onward and were used to represent, empower and strengthen events from the physical world (Bintliff 2012, 75). The connection with ritual and fertility is easily made partly because the figures often represent big females with thick abdomen and breasts (*ibid.*). Social cohesion within the town and between settlements was a major concern in the Neolithic (Bintliff 2012, 72-73). To keep the gene pool of a community healthy women from outside the settlement were needed. The female terracotta figures likely played a role in strengthening the ties between settlements and within the settlement community (Bintliff 2012, 76).

Other interpretations are that the figures were used in practical rituals or as educational toys for girls, after use they were broken and discarded in household debris (Bintliff 2012, 76). The terracotta figures could also have been used in rituals connected with community religion and after performance of the ritual were put in private homes to protect and bless the household (*ibid.*). An interesting parallel with later times is that the Neolithic figures as well as the Tanagras and pre-Tanagra type figurines are found in storage rooms and rooms for food production, thus linking the figurines to productivity and nourishment (Bintliff 2012, 75;Ault 2005).

During the Bronze Age figures were used in much the same contexts as in the Neolithic (Tzonou-Herbst 2010, 211). They are also found in graves, houses and shrines representing women maybe goddesses (*ibid.*). Early Bronze Age female figures coming from the Cyclades were brightly coloured women standing on tiptoe and are mostly found in graves (Tzonou-Herbst 2010, 211-214). The human and animal figures from mainland Greece on the other hand are found in settlements and their imagery seems derived from

everyday life (Tzonou-Herbst 2010, 214-215). In the Middle Bronze Age figurine production diminishes in the Cyclades and Greek mainland, but picks up at Crete. Figures were mainly dedicated at mountaintop shrines and their imagery is related to fertility and protection (Tzonou-Herbst 2010, 215). During the Late Bronze Age production decreased further and the only places figures are found are sanctuaries, caves, palaces and villas (*ibid.*). They are then still used as grave goods and in ceremonies honouring the dead (Tzonou-Herbst 2010, 217). Because of the contexts in which they were used, it seems likely that figures were mainly for ritual use and were not personal possessions (*ibid.*). Figures were discarded after use, sometimes after breakage, in rubbish pits though sometimes they were respectfully buried and sealed (Tzonou-Herbst 2010, 219.). All this indicates that figures though we have no means to confirm this, were part of the religious and symbolic part of life. And in most cases were connected with life and death be it of crops, people or communities.

It is hard to pin down what the figures really meant to the people that used them. It seems likely that they were objects used in rituals but there is no possibility to confirm the preference in ancient times for one of the views. Texts would clarify a lot, but these aids are not given to us until much later. Figures do start to look more and more like 'normal' human beings though the Bronze Age. Texts become an important aid in the interpretation of figurines from the Archaic period onward.

#### *1.6.12 The Archaic*

Some of the figure types used in the Archaic period, running from about 625-475 B.C., are interpreted as representing the goddess Demeter and are likely to be connected with the rituals surrounding the worship of this deity (Higgins 1986, 78). The cult of Demeter and Kore, her daughter who was abducted by Hades, was spread throughout the Greek mainland (Larson 2007, 69). Demeter is the goddess from the Greek pantheon responsible for grain production and fertility of the land (Larson 2007, 70). The festivals celebrated in her name likely were all connected with this (*ibid.*). Therefore Demeter often received dedications asking for a good harvest (*ibid.*). Through her daughter, who was the wife of the god of the Underworld, Demeter and Kore were also connected with marriage and death (Larson 2007, 69-72).

Types partly stay in use until the Classical and Hellenistic period (Higgins 1986, 78). The types consist of standing females sometimes with one arm raised to their breast (Higgins 1986, 72). Some types are completely flat with only a sculpted head (Higgins

1986, 75). (Fig. 10) A headdress often worn by the terracotta figures is a *polos*, a very high headdress, which refers to their divine nature of the depicted female (Higgins 1986, 76). (Fig. 10) Some of the females with *polos* are seated sometimes with their hands placed on their knees (Higgins 1986, 83). Another popular type is that of male horse-back riders, which is thought to have underlined the heroic character of the dead (Higgins 1986, 78). The horses were a sign of wealth and governing aristocracy in the Geometric period and may still have had the same high status connotation in the Archaic (Jeammet 2010, 48). (Fig. 12) Mourner figures were also produced probably specifically for funerary purposes possible as representations of the family (Higgins 1986, 99-102). (Fig. 11)

An interesting type in connection with the Tanagras from the Archaic are the 'genre scenes' (Jeammet 2010 (b), 49). They were used from the seventh century till about 475 B.C. and flourished in Boeotia, unfortunately their exact find spots are unknown due to looting (*ibid.*). (Fig. 22,23,24) These terracottas were lavishly painted and depict people doing everyday tasks like the Tanagras are thought to depict everyday people. The 'genre scenes' fall into three categories: kitchen scenes, education scenes, and a group displaying various jobs and occupations (*ibid.*). It is difficult to discover their meaning, but they are likely to be connected with important moments in religious life, for example the rites concerning marriage (*ibid.*). Certain scenes, such as the bread-making scenes, are widely agreed to be connected with marriage and bridal rites, since women were responsible for food preparation in the household (*ibid.*; Cahill 2002, 153). Other types in use in this period are protomes (Fig. 26,27,28), a mask-like representation of a head nearly always female (Higgins 1986, 94). These were possibly used to represent a complete deity or person (Muller 2009, 85-87).

### 1.6.13 Classical period

In the Classical period (475 till about 330 B.C.) mostly standing and seated draped female figures are made (Higgins 1986, 98). The female figures wear a *peplos* and stand on a high base (*ibid.*). The type looks a bit like the standing and seated figures from the Archaic period and might be a continuation (Higgins 1986, 102). The *polos* is still there, indicating a divine association and the poses are similar (*ibid.*). (Fig. 13-21)

A (partly) new type appears too: a standing female with one of her hands raised to her breast or her hands pressed firmly at her side, and with an elaborate and very wide *polos* (Higgins 1986, 102). (Fig. 13, 14, 19) This female figure sometimes holds a casket

with a woolen fillet emerging from it, this fillet was put on people as a sign of consecration (*ibid.*). (Fig. 13, 14, 19) Another variation of this type is a women standing and seemingly moving to one side with the back of her *peplos* drawn over her head (Higgins 1986, 105). (Fig. 15, 16, 18) This gesture refers to a bride and thus the figurine might very well be a representation connected to goddesses connected with marriage, such as Demeter and Kore (Higgins 1986, 102). Some of the figures seem to imitate famous works of art (Rotroff 1990, 22). Possibly these figures were still connected with these pieces of art by association and thus a specific meaning might have been implied by imitating these famous pieces (*ibid.*).

Female figures carrying something are likely to be holding votive gifts for a deity and the figures represented might be the votaries (Merker 2000, 24). For example the piglets held by the female figurines from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, might very well be the piglets used during the *Thesmophoria*, a festival held to ensure fertility of the land and only attended by married women (Merker 2000, 24; Larson 2007, 70-71). (Fig. 29)

#### *1.6.14 The Hellenistic period*

In the Hellenistic period a remarkable uniformity was established especially from 330 till 200 B.C. when the Tanagra style was the dominant phenomenon (Higgins 1967, 97). The Tanagra style which was defined by Higgins in the 60s and is still in use today consists of the following: standing draped women and girls (Fig. 30-41) (also sometimes seated and playing knucklebones) (Fig. 42-45), women dancing (Fig. 48), half naked standing and seated female figures probably representing Aphrodite, young standing and seated men and boys, figures of Eros flying and a few grotesque female figures (*ibid.*). The figurines of standing women sometimes with fans and sun hats are the focus of this research. (Fig. 30-41) The body posture of the female figures is always relaxed often with one knee bent and the faces have a soft expression (*ibid.*).

The figurines could represent actual people or gods, but they might also be toys. This last approach is supported by grave reliefs depicting children playing with toys which look very much like the female figures discussed (Ammerman 1990, 44). (Fig. 68) The figurines on the reliefs though do not hold any attributes like part of the Tanagras do, which limits the range of the parallel. Another advocate for the 'toy- interpretation' are the 'articulated dolls' which are found together with Tanagras in graves and sanctuaries (Merker 2000, 339). 'Articulated dolls' are female terracottas with moveable limbs

(*ibid.*). (Fig. 25) An explanation for their moveable limbs is that the dolls might have been used in the education and initiation of girls concerning their role in marriage and society (*ibid.*). Girls were taught their value as women using these figures (*ibid.*). Their value lay in their ability to carry children and nourish them (*ibid.*). A modern day parallel for this are the figurines from Africa used in initiation rites for girls (*ibid.*).

In the Hellenistic period figurines were not only found in houses and graves but also at sanctuaries. At sanctuaries men could have dedicated female figurines as votives just as well as women (Merker 2000, 322). So the figurines were not exclusively used by women. The votive purpose could offer an explanation for the fact that certain types stayed practically unaltered for long periods of time, because particular figurines traditionally had to look a certain way (*ibid.*). This is supported by the fact that at Corinth for example older type figurines are found in deposits with much earlier types (*ibid.*).

Muller propose an theory for standing draped female figures dedicated in the Thesmophorion of Thasos (Muller 1996, 480-481). He states that the figurines were a symbolic, long-term representative of the worshipper who dedicated the figurine. The figurines though probably not physically resembling the dedicator in any way, even the sex of the dedicator can be different than that of the figurines, were put there to show the dedicator's worship of the goddess for a longer period (*ibid.*). This idea seems to refer to Pottier (Pottier 1890, 294).

### 1.7 WHAT IS LACKING FROM CURRENT RESEARCH?

The research of Tanagras in general has been troubled by the limited knowledge about the material context of the figurines. This gave research a bias toward typological and stylistic analysis since information on this was readily available. However recently attempts have been made at a social-cultural analysis of the figurines. Research into these aspects is still in a early stage. The main difficulty for the researcher is a lot of sites have not been published properly so not all the information on material context was readily available.

Another interesting point which has not been researched is the ongoing appeal of these female figurines in subsequent generations. Even in the nineteenth century the Tanagras were thought beautiful and their popularity with contemporary artists and the upper classes was great. The research however will focus on the Tanagras in ancient times and their appeal and meaning to people then.

## 1.8 RESEARCH QUESTION

The research question to this research is: What is the function of portable Tanagra style terracotta images of daily life in everyday family life during the period of 400-200 B.C. on the Greek mainland?

To answer this question three find contexts will be studied. Figurines were often found in graves. To study this context graves from Olynthus and Tanagra are incorporated in the database. Some questions that will be addressed when looking at this context are: since the Tanagras were often found in graves of children, did they have anything to do with the protection of children after death, were they representations of goddesses concerned with this? Or are they representations pointing towards the untimely death of the child and are they a reminder of all that could have been? Are they thus a marker of an unfulfilled life? And will they enable the child to fulfill social identity after death?

Another site where figurines and Tanagras were often used are sanctuaries. In this thesis the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth will be discussed. At this sanctuary a lot of figurines were found and the excavation was well documented. Some questions which arise are: Did the figurines have any particular connection with women, and if so what was this connection? When dedicated at a sanctuary were the figurines a way of ensuring fertility? And was there a link with childbirth and death?

Last but not least houses are researched from the excavation at Olynthus. Some questions concerning this context are: Were the figurines decorative or did they rather have a place in household ritual? And when looking at where they were found in the house, are they a marker of female presence?

This research aims to connect all these find contexts and try, through the analysis of the reconstructed material contexts of the figurines from these different sites, to give if I may call it thus, a *histoire des mentalités* of the Tanagras (Naerebout 2002, 47).

## 1.9 CHAPTER OUTLINE

In the next chapters first an overview will be given of the find contexts where Tanagras were found. Burial form and customs will be discussed, the construction of a sanctuary is outlined and the practices performed mentioned. And lastly the lay-out of houses Classical and Hellenistic times is briefly discussed.

Next the database with the figurines from Olynthus, Corinth and Tanagra will be discussed. The knowledge gathered from the database will be complemented by information from some interesting sites in Macedonia.

In chapter 4 the data from the database will be analyzed, especially looking at the information gathered on material context from the graves, sanctuary and houses, and also minding the location in the house and grave where figurines were found. Conclusions will be drawn then taking into consideration all the knowledge of use which can be derived from the database, pose of the figurines and previous interpretations.

## CHAPTER 2 FIND CONTEXTS

In chapter one we have looked at what influences played a part in the development of the research of Tanagra style figurines. It also became clear that these figurines are frequently found in graves, sanctuaries, such as the one for Demeter and Kore, and also houses. This chapter will look at these different contexts regarding religious and social customs performed at, in or near the grave, sanctuary or house, and will thus provide a framework for better understanding the purpose and meaning of Tanagras coming from these sites.

### 2.1 BURIALS

The Greeks had a fixed set of practices and rituals performed when someone died (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 142-143 & 201-202 ). The rituals and the artifacts used and deposited in or near the grave will be mentioned here.

#### *2.1.1 Burial form*

In Greece cemeteries were often located outside the city along major roads (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 92). Fear of pollution was a reason to keep cemeteries outside the city (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 188,189). This fear was strongly linked with age: when age increased the fear of pollution did as well (Houby-Nielsen 2000, 154). Both men, women and children were buried at cemeteries, though child burials are also found inside the city because fear of pollution was less (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 190).

Adults were often placed in a supine extended position either in a sarcophagus or in a tile covered grave (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 192). Cremation was also a common practice in Classical times though inhumation was more regular (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 195). Infants and small children most often got a formal burial till the fourth century BC (Houby-Nielsen 2000, 163-164). In the period of the city-state in the Classical period giving birth to legitimate children was considered essential for the survival of society (*ibid.*). Therefore the loss of children was dramatic and to prove that one was capable of producing offspring, children got formal burials (*ibid.*). Especially to women this was important to highlight since their goal was to be dutiful mothers (*ibid.*)

During the Hellenistic period the formal burial of children became less common due to a changing value system which lessened the focus of women being the dutiful, childbearing mother and focused more on ideals such as luxury, leisure and body-care (*ibid.*). Traditional burial customs for children which were considered to highlight the

role of women as mothers might have been accordingly abandoned and were replaced by grave reliefs commemorating babies and (small) children, children were even heroised on these reliefs (*ibid.*). As a rule infants and small children were buried in large vessels and household basins from 300-0 BC (Houby-Nielsen 2000, 153). This custom is called *enchytrismos* (Robinson 1942, 167).

The orientation of the body in the grave was dependent on location. At Olynthus for example the orientation was mainly east or southeast as in most of Greece (Robinson 1942, 140-142). In Athens graves were located near roads which led to significant sanctuaries (Houby-Nielsen 2000, 157). The sanctuary at Eleusis of Demeter and Kore was important for women, along the road leading to this sanctuary many child burials were found, because women were the main caretakers for the burial of small children (Houby-Nielsen 2000, 158).

### 2.1.2 Burial customs

Burial of the dead was an important event in Greek society as can be concluded from texts, laws and from the archaeological record (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 142-147). Though the regard of an afterlife became less during the late Classical and early Hellenistic period, rituals were still performed (Retief and Cilliers 2005, 57-58). Death was seen as a transition to another form of life in Hades (Retief and Cilliers 2005, 58). The meaning of rituals and gifts was often related to tradition rather than belief the dead might actually need the objects offered (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 332). This is illustrated through the fact that gifts were often not sufficient to equip the deceased fully for the journey or life elsewhere (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 332).

There were a number of fixed acts performed when a person died: the *prothesis*, the rituals performed on the Third day, *perideipnon* and the rituals performed on the ninth day (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 142-147). After the time of mourning had ended, annual visits to the graves were obligatory (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 147-148), as well as ceremonies performed at home in remembrance and honor of the ancestors (*ibid.*). The presence of many objects in and near the grave might be explained by performance of these compulsory rituals (*ibid.*).

Purification and care of the deceased were two main components of funerary practices (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 143,144,150). Women were the main caretakers of cleaning the body and afterwards of purifying the house (*ibid.*). Water as well as oil were used for purification (Retief and Cilliers 2005, 55; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 144-146).

During each of the acts mentioned rituals were performed for purification (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 144-147). Different kind of pouring and drinking vessels were used to pour libation and purification offers (*ibid.*). One example is the *lekythos* (Fig. 59), a type of oil vessel. *Lekythoi* were placed evenly around the corpse both at home and in the grave as a mean of purification (Houby-Nielsen 2000, 154). At the grave libation offerings were poured by the family (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 145). This is one type of vessel used for burial practices. Next to the *lekythos* other vessels and artifacts were also used in rituals to name a few here is a list of gifts often found in or near graves: *loutrophoi* (Fig. 58), *lekythoi*, *pyxides* (Fig. 63), *strigils* (Fig. 67), *astragali*, coins, mirrors, jewelry, egg and sea shells, and figurines.

## 2.2 SANCTUARIES

Sanctuaries were often built in places somehow connected to the deity who was worshipped (Mikalson 2005, 4). Often a myth explained the location of a sanctuary (Mikalson 2005, 5). A sanctuary was built around an altar where offerings to the deity could be conducted (*ibid.*). Altars were oriented to the east, and the rest of the sanctuary buildings were oriented to the altar (Mikalson 2005, 20). On these altars a fire could be made and burnt offerings made to the god (Tomlinson 1976, 37).

Altars could be pits in the earth or low-lying structures for deities who were thought to dwell in the earth (Mikalson 2005, 5). Altars for deities who dwelt in the sky were higher and flat topped (Mikalson 2005, 6). The altar was fenced off from the surrounding area by a wall, the *peribolos* (Mikalson 2005, 7). This wall might also be used terrace wall when the enclosed area is leveled (Mikalson 2005, 18). The cut-off area is called a *temenos* (*ibid.*). The *temenos* area was dedicated to the god, so the enclosed piece of land was sacred, a *hieron* (*ibid.*).

In the *temenos* a building was often constructed to keep the dedications made at the sanctuary (Mikalson 2005, 16). At the entrance of a Greek sanctuary stood a *perirrhanterion*, this was a basin of water for cleansing oneself from the dirt and pollution of the day before entering the sanctuary (Mikalson 2005, 10), since being clean and free of pollution was of great importance (Mikalson 2005, 9). The gateway to a sanctuary could be made quite elaborate. This consisted of a roofed platform with a wall with one or two doors, this was called a *propylon* (Tomlinson 1976, 39). At a sanctuary for a female deity priestesses served, at a male deity priests tended, though there were

exceptions such as the Pythia at Delphi (Mikalson 2005, 10). These were not necessarily full time priesthoods (Mikalson 2005, 11).

Dedications and offerings were made at the sanctuary, both private and communal (Tomlinson 1976, 41). Offerings could be made as thanksgiving for a received favor, often inscribed with the name of the giver so the deity knew who had presented the gift (Mikalson 2005, 15). Dedications could also be done in fulfillment of a vow or to ease an angry god, though a variety of reasons is possible (Mikalson 2005, 20). The more dedications the more influential the deity had been (*ibid.*). If any of the dedications became useless for example because they broke, these were discarded in votive pits inside the *temenos* (Mikalson 2005, 16).

In the sanctuary a big cult statue sometimes stood (Mikalson 2005, 18). This was not an embodiment of the god, but was placed there by the state as a token of for example thanksgiving (*ibid.*). A temple is erected to cover and protect the statue (Mikalson 2005, 19). In most Greek sanctuaries a monumental cult statue was not present, a temple therefore is not a obligatory part of a sanctuary (*ibid.*).

At a sanctuary structures could be added to protect worshippers from the intense heat, dining rooms were constructed for ritual meals and rooms could be made to keep worshippers overnight when festivals of several days were held (Tomlinson 1976, 41). Water supply was also important, and often sanctuaries were built where springs were near (*ibid.*). Occasionally theatres and stadia were built for ritual play or games (*ibid.*).

### 2.3 HOUSES

Houses during the Classical period were built in blocks and adjacent a street (Jameson 1990, 97). Houses were closed units, and the interior of the house was invisible from the street (*ibid.*). The family was an independent economic unit (Jameson 1990, 102). The house was used for all kinds of economic activities often agricultural, (textile) industry or commerce, in which the whole family was involved (*ibid.*). Houses consisted of rectangular rooms opening up to a rectangular courtyard (Jameson 1990, 97). The court was an important living space and part of it was roofed to provide shade increasing the courtyards utility (*ibid.*).

Rooms often had stuccoed and painted walls (Jameson 1990, 98). During the fifth and fourth century BC houses were divided into private and separated rooms and from the fourth century onward were elaborately decorated as a means to show status and wealth

(Nevett 2007, 222). There are only a few rooms of which the use is clearly recognizable, these are the kitchen, bathroom and the *andron* (Jameson 1990, 99).

The subdivision into more rooms raises the idea that different rooms were either for specific uses or for different people, this may reflect that the household became a more complex unit during the fifth and fourth century (Nevett 2007, 213). For example certain rooms were mainly for women and others for men, such as the *andron* (Nevett 2007, 216). Rooms in general though seem to have been freely accessible to all the household members, apart from the rooms mentioned with specific uses (Nevett 2007, 213). The house had a quite open character (Nevett 2007, 213), and was the domain especially of women (Jameson 1990, 104). Only when male visitors came to the house did women of the household retreat into more secluded rooms or went upstairs (Fig. 5) (Nevett 1999, 71). Men were visitors to the home, even the man of the house was considered to some degree to a visitor (Jameson 1990, 104).

In the house seasonal shifts occurred (Cahill 2002, 160). The courtyard and *pastas*, which was the roofed part of the courtyard, brought a lot of daylight into the house area, so whenever work had to be done these areas were used since houses were generally quite dark (Cahill 2002, 77). Another example of the seasonal shift is the 'kitchen' which was occupied by slaves and women in summer and became a place for the whole household in winter because it was the warmest place in the house (Cahill 2002, 160). This should be kept in mind when excavating. Also objects might have been used in a different area than where they were stored (Nevett 1999, 57). Objects may thus rather be found in a storage context than in a use context (*ibid.*).

### 2.3.1 *House activities and cult activities*

Activities exercised in different rooms of a house are likely to have been decisive to what was placed in a room, figurines might thus have served to underline the function of a room (Rumscheid 2006, 30). The main activities performed in the house are *symposia*, weaving and spinning, cooking, agricultural processing, and the manufacture of all kinds of equipment for household uses and sometimes sale in shops (Cahill 2002, 236-254). Household cult was likely part of the regular and daily activities in a house, since in Greece household cult was part of normal life (Jameson 1990, 104). Portable terracotta altars seem to have been in common use (*ibid.*). Stone altars or rectangular hearths placed in the courtyard have also been found at a number of houses (Jameson 1990, 104-105). Offerings of food, incense or liquids could also have been poured into the kitchen hearth

or into a small fire made on the courtyard since not all houses have these altars or hearths (Jameson 1990, 105). Fire, also the one in the kitchen used for cooking, was a mean of communicating with the divine (*ibid.*).

Offerings were made to household Zeus Herkeios, which included the pouring of fruits, nuts and seeds over newlyweds when they entered the house or over a new slave (Jameson 1990, 105). A ritual called *amphidromia* was performed at the house, carrying a newborn baby around a fire (*ibid.*). Also some small animal sacrifices to Zeus were made inside the house (*ibid.*). Zeus Ktesios protected the stored up foods and received offerings (Faraone 2008, 216-217).

Another part of household cult had to do with the door leading into the house. At the door a shallow niche was made in which images of Hermes were placed though this was not common practice (Jameson 1990, 105). He was the protector of the boundary between inside and outside the house (*ibid.*). Also images of Hestia, who represented the interior of the house, and images of Hekate and Apollo were sometimes placed near the door (*ibid.*).

### 3. DATABASE (see APPENDIX A)

In the previous chapter a general outline was given of the places where figurines are found. This creates a background for this chapter, because in this chapter the figurines are discussed from the houses and cemeteries at Olynthus (Robinson 1942; Cahill 2002), the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth (Merker 2000), two cemeteries at Tanagra (Harami, 2007) and from relevant sites in Macedonia (Tsakalou-Tzanavari, 2007). (Fig. 1) This chapter will give background information on each of the sites and present the results from the database.

These particular sites and contexts are selected to try to give an overview of social contexts in which (Tanagra) figurines played a part. Of course this database is not conclusive, but it will be an addition to known data and will show patterns of where and with what figurines were found. This will help to say something about their meaning in relation to find location and material context. Research up till now has been focused mainly on fabric, stylistic and typological analyses, due to a lack of information on context because of extensive looting of sites and poor excavation reports. However when combining the known data on material context, a social analysis might be attempted as well.

The sites were selected for different reasons. Olynthus was selected because figurines were found and recorded in houses. And this site is published by both David M. Robinson and later by Nicholas Cahill. Olynthus thus gives valuable insight into domestic use of figurines.

The Sanctuary at Corinth is well published. Figurines in general are often associated with Demeter and Kore by scholars (Higgins 1986; Jeammet 2010; Merker 2000). Therefore it seems logical to look into this connection by studying one of the goddesses' sanctuaries.

Figurines are also regularly found at cemeteries. Cemeteries might give an one-sided view on meaning of figurines, because they only give information about deposition of figurines, the moment they were taken out of the life cycle. But cemeteries are often the most elaborately published and best researched contexts and therefore worthwhile to include. Tanagra is singled out, because this was the place the figurines took their name from during their popularity in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and finds from this site were rich. Macedonia is singled out, because sites from this region will add information from a local

production center, and moreover a place of great cultural development in the third century B.C. (Jeammet 2010 (c), 66).

Now we will look at the sites separately. The data of figurines and associated artifacts from Olynthus, Corinth and Tanagras can be found in Appendix A. The data from Macedonia are presented later in this chapter.

### 3.1 GENERAL DIFFICULTIES

The aim of this database is to reconstruct the material context of figurines and to try to attribute figurines to either men or women. One of the problems was the means of publication. Publications were not always detailed enough on artifact assemblages or information was fragmented and scattered over several excavation volumes. This made reconstruction hard or impossible, because references to other volumes did not match. Sometimes information was even inconclusive or inaccurate. So it was not always clear with which artifacts the figurines were found.

Also not all finds were documented, at Olynthus for example only the artifacts interesting enough to keep were documented. But even though there is information missing, in a general sense the data do show patterns which are an addition to our knowledge of the figurines.

Another problem is that artifacts are not always found *in situ*. For example at Corinth the use history of the site and buildings has affected the location and state of the artifacts. The processes working on the site should be born in mind thus when interpreting the material.

On the graves in the database no osteoanalysis was done. This means that only the grave contents can be used to reconstruct sex. This is difficult since objects could often belong to both sex (Houby-Nielsen 1997, 242). With the children's' graves this is even harder, because sex is not always represented at all.

The problem of determination of sex and what we perceive as either female or male indicators arises thus. Defining sex of the deceased is crucial with the figurines, because figurines and other artifacts might have different meaning according to sex they were buried with (Sørensen 2007, 84-85).

An example of ambiguous gender are *strigils* (Houby-Nielsen 1997). *Strigils* are commonly considered a male utensil (Houby-Nielsen 1997, 221, 224). In the Hellenistic period however when social values were shifting *strigils* are also used by women (Houby-Nielsen 1997, 242). This goes for other artifacts as well. So when figurines are

found with these artifacts, they cannot be attributed exclusively to either sex (Houby-Nielsen 1995, 140-141).

Archaeology does want to make statements about sex and since it is clear that this is problematic, another approach was taken. Activities rather than objects became a leading principle (Sørensen 2007, 83). Material culture and activities were joint with a specific gender role which might be performed by women or men (*ibid.*). The object itself, social actions and intentions together formed the social context which gives meaning to material culture (Sørensen 2007, 84-85). Gender is not restricted to the dichotomy between female or male sex, but is rather concerned with material culture and how this expresses the basic social differences between people according to Sørensen (Sørensen 2007, 99).

Material culture becomes an active player in social actions and is therefore constructive as well as representative of gender (Sørensen 2007, 84). When interpreting material culture one should be aware of the intentions and assumptions that shaped the artifact (*ibid.*). Material culture reinforces or alters these ideas, and thus constructs gender rather than only be an expression of it (Sørensen 2007, 84-85). Gender does need the medium of material culture to affect individuals and groups (Sørensen 2007, 85). So the figurines might have been part of a specific gender role which is communicated through their presence in the grave or house for example. This database will give an indication of what was commonly found with the figurines.

The idea that gender is not restricted to the dichotomy between female and male sex is an extreme position since they are recognizable biological differences between men and women. Gender though is concerned with something that transcends this obvious difference. Gender roles are ambiguous, they can be performed as said above, by men and women. Since no osteoanalysis was done on any of the graves under study, looking at material culture as constructive and representative to gender and identifying activities which can be attributed to either sex, rather than attributing objects to men or women seems more practical for this research.

Now the different sites will be discussed, the problems that arose when working with the material from the sites and the database, and the results from the database will be represented.

### 3.2 OLYNTHUS

The site of Olynthus is located on the Chalcidic peninsula and lies between the westernmost and central fingers (Cahill 2002, 23). (Fig. 1) Olynthus was at its height in strength and size around 432 B.C. (Cahill 2002, 24). It was the capital of the Chalcidic League, which became the predominant power in the region during the later fifth and fourth century (*ibid.*). In the fourth century the city came in conflict with Philip II of Macedonia (*ibid.*). And in 348 B.C. Philip actually destroyed the city (Cahill 2002, 25). The city was practically abandoned after this, and thus we find the city much as it was when it was destroyed (*ibid.*). The majority of the figurines at Olynthus were found in houses, though a considerable amount was found in graves as well (Robinson 1931, 1). First the information from the graves will be presented and then information from the houses. For this section I contacted Dr. Cahill who made a database of a lot of the finds from Olynthus for his 2002 publication. Since the database is not up and running yet on the internet, he gave me a list of all the figurines he recorded from the published and unpublished excavation volumes by David Robinson. As often as I could I have used this information to complete the information from the published work by Robinson.

#### 3.2.1 Graves at Olynthus

At Olynthus there were three cemeteries: Riverside Cemetery, East Cemetery and North Cemetery (Robinson 1942, 125-127). All were located outside the city and along a road (*ibid.*). The orientation of the graves was overall east-west, with the head towards to east and the feet to the west (Robinson 1942, 140). Inhumation was most common at Olynthus, only 53 out of the 600 graves were cremations (Robinson 1942, 144). Most burials were gabled tile covered graves, unprotected graves or *enchytrismo*i (Robinson 1942, 158).

At Olynthus excavations were done by D.M. Robinson and J.W Graham in the 1920s and 1930s. In total 598 graves were excavated at four locations: 528 at Riverside Cemetery, 30 at North Cemetery, 37 at East Cemetery and 3 graves were randomly placed outside the city (Robinson 1942; Robinson 1952). During these excavations 506 terracottas were found according to Robinson (Robinson 1952, 430-440). From these 506, 263 figurines were found in graves (Robinson 1952, 43). They were unevenly divided over 62 graves (*ibid.*). (Table 1)

<b>Graves</b>		<b>Terracottas</b>	
Total	598	Total	506
With terracottas	62	In graves	263

Table 1. Overview data from publications D.M Robinson

Robinsons' definition of terracottas includes both humanoid and animal figurines, protomes and masks (Robinson 1952, 46-50). He uses both figurines and terracottas to indicate the same kind of artifacts. All these counts and numbers thus include not only the female figurines researched in this thesis, but also all other figurines. Therefore these counts are only an illustration for the use of figurines in general. The results from the database are an indication for the use of female figurines.

The terracottas were thus divided between the different graves: 29 graves of children contained one or more terracottas, 14 graves of adults contained one or more terracottas, 6 cremations contained one or more terracottas and 13 graves neither clearly cremation or inhumation also contained one or more terracottas (Robinson 1952, 44). So 62 out of 598 graves contained terracottas, 29 graves of children included terracottas and only 14 adult graves were furnished with terracottas.

### 3.2.2 Graves at Olynthus, points to be aware of

Some unprotected burials are disturbed and thus the placement of the grave gifts is uncertain. Also some graves were reused, and older burials were pushed aside. These are not included in the database.

On none of the graves was osteoanalysis performed, so sex can only be reconstructed by the contents of the graves. Often it was recorded in what part of the grave the figurines and other objects were found. But since Robinson used the term 'terracottas' for all the figurines he found and did not always specify their appearance, it is often unclear what kind of figurine was found. The appearance of figurines could be reconstructed when Robinson correctly refers to another excavation volume, or when the unpublished lists I got by email from Nicolas Cahill, gave useable information on appearance.

The publications by Robinson were not detailed enough to get information on material context of all the figurines found in graves. The unpublished information from Cahill did not give any information about associated finds. In the database, information

from the 2002 publication by Cahill is matched up with information from the excavation volumes by Robinson. The contents of 47 graves could thus be reconstructed. So 47 graves out of 62 with terracottas could be included in the database.

The number of figurines per grave is not always clear, so since numbers are somewhat less important to the research than provenience the counts are standardized. When it is indicated that there was a plural of for example seated figurines, two are counted.

### 3.2.3 Results from database (Appendix A, p62-65 )

All 47 graves date from the late fifth century B.C. to the middle of the fourth century B.C. (Appendix A). In 47 graves, 164 figurines were found of which 70 were female figurines (Appendix A). Artifacts are found near the pelvis or the center of the grave, in the lower part of the grave and near the head. Some artifacts, such as bracelets or earrings, are found near the associated parts of the body.

Out of the 47 graves in the database, 33 included one or more female figurines. The remaining 14 graves only included terracotta figurines of for example female protomes, satyrs, animals, dancers or men. Among these 14 graves, 2 were of adults, 2 were *enchytrismoi*, 1 was of an infant and 1 had no remains, the other 8 were child burials.

In the 33 graves with female figurines a total of 64 female figurines was found. From these 64 female figurines, 38 were seated female and 3 of these were *kourotrophoi*. 10 out of the 64 were standing females, 5 were squatting or crouching females, 2 represented two females embracing, 2 were female figurines holding a dove at their breast. There was 1 female holding her hands to her face, 1 with her right hand at her breast, 1 with a child and 1 wearing a *stephane*, which is a wreath worn around the head, and 6 female figurines of undefined type.

Female figurines were found in 20 child burials, 4 burials with female figurines were *enchytrismoi*. Another 4 graves with female figurines were cremations, 2 graves were adult burials and 3 had no remains. (Table 2)

Appearance female figurine	Kind of grave figurine was found in
38 seated female (3 <i>kourotrophoi</i> )	3 with <i>enchytrismo</i> i (1 <i>kourotrophos</i> ), 24 with child, 2 with adult, 6 with cremation (2 <i>kourotrophoi</i> ), 1 with no remains
10 standing females	3 with child, 4 with cremation, 3 with no remains
5 squatting or crouching females	with child
2 two females embracing	1 with cremation, 1 with child
2 female figurines holding a dove at their breast	with child
1 female holding her hands to her face	with child
1 female with her right hand at her breast	with <i>enchytrismos</i>
1 female with a child	with child
1 wearing a <i>stephane</i> on her head	with child
6 female figurines of undefined type	3 with child, 3 with adult

Table 2. overview of female figurines and where they were found

In 19 graves of the 47 a total of 199 *astragali* were found. The *astragali* were divided over 16 graves of children and 3 *enchytrismo*i. In 12 graves the *astragali* were found together with one or more female figurines. *Astragali* are often found in groups of around 10 per grave, some graves have a lot more. Grave 91 of a child includes 53 *astragali* and 1 lead *astragalus*, grave 102 of a child includes 22 and grave 401 includes 26. Other than these large amounts of *astragali* put in these graves, they are rather moderately furnished, most include 1 to 3 figurines, and only a few other grave gifts.

Jewelry was found in 12 graves of the 47. In 10 children graves, once in a grave with no remains, and once with an *enchytrismos*. Also in 10 of the 12 graves with jewelry a female figurine was found. The jewelry consists of bronze bracelets, pendants, earrings, and of necklaces of yellow and green beads. In grave 563 a silver earring was found. Coins were also found in the graves. In 5 graves 1 to 3 coins were found. The coins were found in 4 children's graves and once with an *enchytrismos*. All were found in graves with female figurines.

Female figurines are often found together with other figurines, such as female protomes or masks. In total 94 figurines were found which were not female figurines.

These consisted of female protomes, female heads, female busts, animals, satyrs, dancers, male figurines, figurines of boys, plastic vases and figurines of undetermined appearance. The animal figures consisted of 3 roosters, 4 doves, 1 bird and 2 tortoises. The other 11 animal figures found were specified. Their distribution is represented in the tables below. (Table 3 & 4)

	Female protomes	Female masks	Female heads	Female busts	Animals	Satyr	Dancer
Total	18	8	5	2	21	11	2
Found with female figurine	14	8	5	2	18	4	2

Table 3. Overview of figurines other than female figurines.

	Male figurine	Phrygian cap figure	Boy figurine	Plastic vase	Sphinx	Terracotta spoon	Figurine undetermined
Total	4	2	5	1	1	1	13
Found with female figurine	3	2	5	1	1	1	6

Table 4. Overview of figurines other than female figurines, continuation.

### 3.2.4 Houses at Olynthus

The houses of Olynthus where many figurines were found, are of the *pastas* type (Cahill 2002, 75). A *pastas* is an extended covered portico in the center of the house (Nevett 2005, 3). The courtyard and *pastas* were an important source of light and means of unification in the house (Cahill 2002, 77). Houses at Olynthus in general consisted of a courtyard, *pastas*, an *andron*, kitchen-complex, and a row of rooms alongside the north or south of the house (Cahill 2002, 78-82). Some houses and shops had a second story (*ibid.*). Though rooms may have had fixed uses, it is likely that use of space was flexible, such as the kitchen which was for men and women (Cahill 2002, 78,153,160). (Fig. 3, 5)

There is literary evidence of a gender division of rooms (Cahill 2002, 151), since the term is used *gynaikonitis*, which refers to the woman quarters (Cahill 2002, 152). In general though it is hard to identify rooms with restricted access (Cahill 2002, 191). Still the 'kitchen' is often placed in a more secluded and protected area of the house facing inward (Cahill 2002, 192). This does not necessarily indicate gender division, since house plans show an open communication between rooms (Cahill 2002, 191). The only room which was closed off from the rest of the house was the *andron* (Cahill 2002, 192). This room was most ideally located on the corner of a block or adjacent a street wall to have the possibility of a room opening up to the street (*ibid.*). Also houses seem to have had an upstairs, this is where the boudoir depicted on many vases might have been located. The *gynaikonitis* though not easily recognizable in the archaeological record we have of the downstairs area might have been located upstairs (Nevett 1999, 19 & 71).

A troubling fact is that artifacts associated with women, such as loomweights and grindstones, were rather found in the courtyards and open areas than in the 'kitchen'-complexes (Cahill 2002, 193). This might be explained by the seasonal shift of activities (*ibid.*). And since the city was destroyed in summer, activities were carried out outside rather than inside (*ibid.*).

### 3.2.5 Houses at Olynthus, points to be aware of

Distortion is a problem at Olynthus. Distortion due to reoccupation of the site should be considered for there are hints in literature that the site was reoccupied, at least partially until 316 B.C. (Cahill 2002, 49-50). Also distortion due to the violent seize of the city and probable plundering of the site by Phillips' troops should be born in mind (Cahill 2002, 68). Most of the artifacts seem to have been at, or close to their original context though (Cahill 2002, 45).

The time of destruction 348 B.C. presents another problem. The Tanagras date from 330-200 B.C., this is after the destruction of the site. Figurines found at Olynthus are of a style prior to the Tanagra style. Examples of figurines found at Olynthus can be found in Appendix B. (Fig. 16-21 ) The information from Olynthus can thus be used to create a framework for figurine use and deposition in the period just before the Tanagras were introduced.

The publications on Olynthus and the houses formed another issue. Not all finds were recorded during the excavations in the 1930s by David M. Robinson and J. Walter Graham, because some were not deemed interesting enough to keep (Cahill 2002, 63).

This gives the material a bias (Cahill 2002, 63-64). Though this only represents a real problem when one wants to make comparisons with other sites (Cahill 2002, 64). The interest of this research is to reconstruct the material context from Olynthus alone.

The measure of detail of the publications was also a problem. The publications by Robinson do not record information on material context clearly. It was hard to impossible to extract information on location in the house and associated finds for the figurines. Therefore only the figurines mentioned in the publication by Nicolas Cahill are included since context was often recorded by him in his book.

The exact appearance of the figurines is not always certain. When appearance was specified, it is recorded in the database. Also not all the figurines found in the houses which are included in the information I got by email from Nicolas Cahill, could be used, since information on a number of them was too brief and neither appearance nor context could satisfyingly be reconstructed.

Again the problem of definition of terms used occurs. Robinson does not make a distinction between terracottas and figurines, with both terms he means terracotta images of men, women, satyrs, animals and the like. Therefore though in total approximately 241 terracottas were found in 100 houses (Robinson and Graham 1938, 348-349; Robinson 1946, v), only 24 terracottas were actually female figurines (Appendix A). From these 241 terracottas, 82 terracottas are included in the database, because only for these could the material context could be reconstructed (Appendix A).

### *3.2.6 Results from database (Appendix A, p60-61)*

So 84 out of 241 terracottas are in the database, and 24 of these are representations of females. These 82 figurines were found in 16 houses, in 12 houses female protomes, masks, head or figurines were found. In 5 of these 12 houses female figurines were found. In the remaining 4 houses of the 16 houses with figurines, figurines or terracottas of undetermined appearance were found.

These complete or fragmented female figurines were found in the kitchen-complex or food storage rooms of House A v 1; in the north rooms of House A vii 4; in rooms a,b,c, probably rooms for storage of House A 10; in the court and pastas of House A 8; and in the *andron* of the House of the Comedian.

When looking at all the terracotta figurines found in houses, two contexts are more common than others: the kitchen-complex/storage rooms and the courtyard-pastas. In 7 houses terracotta figurines were found in the kitchen-complex or storage rooms. At 6

houses terracotta figurines were found in the court. In 2 houses terracotta figurines were found in the *andron*. The *andron* of the House of the Comedian produced 23 terracotta figurines; in the *andron* of House A vi 6 only 2 were found. In 4 houses figurines were found in the North rooms. So 47 out of 82 terracotta figurines were found in kitchen-complexes and courtyard-pastas. And only 1 female figurine was found in a kitchen/complex.

Though only in 5 houses were found complete or fragmented female figurines, in others female heads, masks and protomes. In total 31 female heads, masks and protomes came from 10 houses. In 4 houses heads, masks and protomes were uncovered together with female figurines. These were mostly located in the kitchen/complex or storage rooms.

In 5 houses neither female figurines nor female heads, masks or protomes were found. In these houses one or more terracotta figurines were found, there is no further specification about their appearance. In Houses Axi 10, A viii 7, Aviii9, Aviii 3 and EHS 4 this is the case. The terracotta figurines were found in the kitchen-complex of 4 houses and in the court of 1 house.

In 8 houses terracotta figurines were found with loomweights, in 3 of these houses also a female figurine was found. In 4 houses jewelry was found and only once in a house together with a female figurine. The jewelry found together with terracotta figurines is not very luxurious, mostly earrings and finger rings.

In 13 houses bowls, *lekythoi*, *oinochoai* and other drinking and pouring vessels were found. In 3 houses next to these vessels also female figurines were found. Large storage vessels such as amphora or *pithoi* were found in 9 houses. And in 3 houses these vessels were found together with female figurines.

Other finds from the rooms with terracottas were varied, though they did often had to do with food preparation, such as fishplates.

### 3.3 CORINTH

Corinth is located on the Peloponnesus, on the stretch of land which ties the Peloponnesus to mainland Greece (Bookidis and Stroud 1987, 3). (Fig. 1) The city lies at the foot of a great mountain (*ibid.*). The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore lay right at the foot of the Acrocorinth, on which several sanctuaries dedicated to several deities were built (Bookidis and Stroud 1987, 3-4). (Fig. 6, 7)

### 3.3.1 *The Sanctuary in general*

The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth was intensely used from the seventh century B.C. until 146 B.C. (Bookidis and Stroud, 1987, 11-12). Then from 44 B.C. until around the fourth century A.D. worship was practiced again (*ibid.*). During the fourth century B.C. the increase of wealth after the end of the Peloponnesian War accounts for an increase in production and dedication of figurines at the Sanctuary (Merker 2000, 2). Many figurines date from this period (*ibid.*).

The Sanctuary was divided into three different areas (Larson 2007, 77). (Fig. 7) On the Upper and Middle Terrace ritual activities are thought to have been concentrated (Merker 2000, 8). The Lower Terrace was occupied by dining rooms from the sixth century onward (Bookidis and Stroud 1987, 18-19). Here worshippers came together to eat ritual meals (*ibid.*). The ritual meals did not consist of meat, but rather of grain based foods (Larson 2007, 77).

The Middle Terrace was probably the place where most rituals were performed (Merker 2000, 8). It was the main ritual area, with a temple, votive pits, and many finds of bones and votive objects (Merker 2000, 8). The Trapezoidal Building was built on the Middle Terrace around 300 B.C. (*ibid.*). This building received many dedications, and near it might have been several votive pits (*ibid.*).

The Upper Terrace where the theatre was situated is likely to have served as the spot where mystic rites took place (Larson 2007, 77). On the Upper Terrace a Hellenistic temple was built as well (Bookidis and Stroud 1997, 260). This way objects from the temple could be displayed at the theatre (*ibid.*).

To give an indication which figurines were dedicated at the Sanctuary, a list of the different figurines and counts from the Sanctuary by Merker is included here (Merker 2000, 3-4):

#### Lingering archaic types (5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.)

Standing *korai*: ca. 230

Seated goddesses: ca. 90

Heads of *korai* or goddesses: ca. 30

“Dolls “: ca. 60

Spoon-based protomes: ca. 25

Plaques (Gorgon, sphinx, rooster): ca. 60

Classical types, including survivals (5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C., a few 3<sup>rd</sup>)

“Dolls”: nude: ca. 810

draped: ca. 120

Banqueters: ca. 55

Standing youths: ca. 55

Seated children: ca. 45

*Hydriaphoroi*: ca. 30

Standing female votaries: ca. 25

Protomes: ca. 25

Early Hellenistic types, including survivals (4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries B.C.)

Standing female votaries: ca. 285

Children (all types): ca 90

Middle Hellenistic type ( 3<sup>rd</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C.)

“Priestesses”: ac. 175

3.3.2 *The Sanctuary, points to be aware of*

The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth was used for a long period (Bookidis and Stroud, 1987, 10-11). The buildings were used from the seventh century B.C. until the fourth century A.D. (*ibid.*). During these centuries rebuilding took place and artifacts are thus not found *in situ*, but are often broken and scattered over different terraces (Merker 2000, 1-2). Old dedications were used to level the bedrock in later centuries (Merker 2000, 8). Such is the case with the Upper Terrace. Here figurines and other dedications were dumped at the bottom of the terrace and can no longer be connected to any building (*ibid.*). Because of this general practice, the attribution of figurines to a specific area of the Sanctuary or the reconstruction of votive assemblages is difficult (Merker 2000, 9).

Information in the database generally comes from floor fills to level the bedrock and votive pits. And even though these pits and floors give a distorted image, because material was randomly thrown in, they do give an idea of what was dedicated at the Sanctuary next to the figurines.

Another remark is that during excavation only the best preserved figurines and figurine pieces were kept and used for further study (Merker 2000, 9). So the counts of figurines are approximate (*ibid.*).

The dating of figurine style at Corinth must also be mentioned. The middle and third quarters of the fourth century were very creative at this site and artists deviated from the Classical practice already (Merker 2000, 7). Though the Hellenistic period starts around 330 B.C., the figurines from the fourth century from Corinth are more accurately dated to the Early Hellenistic period than the Classical period (*ibid.*).

The dating of figurines is sometimes also difficult because moulds were used for longer periods and Archaic types could be used in the Classical period (Merker 2000, 5). The figurines thus have two dates: a stylistic one determined by the style of the archetype from which the mould was made, and a mechanical one which is the date of its actual manufacture in the workshop (*ibid.*). In the database the date of the whole deposit is used. These dates are often derived from the pottery found in the floor fill or pit.

Another point to be aware of apart from the dating is the appearance of the figurines. At Corinth Tanagra-style figurines are found next to Tanagras (Merker 1990, 54-60). In Corinth the coroplasts keep producing rather traditional religious types instead of adopting completely the quite secular Tanagra style (Merker 1990, 54). The figurines produced at Corinth seem to have been mainly for one purpose, namely dedication at the sanctuary and shrines of the city and this might be an explanation for the cling to tradition (*ibid.*). Among the Tanagra style figurines a development is visible moving from rigidly traditional and archaic types to the more realistic and softer style of the Tanagras (Merker 1990, 54-55, 59). The main change in the late Classical, early Hellenistic period was that for example the sweetness and vulnerability of real girls was more realistically represented (Merker 1990, 55). (Fig. 29) Also mantled female figurines were produced with a somewhat seductive look which was new to the repertoire of the Corinthian coroplasts (*ibid.*). Next to these Corinthian Tanagra style figurines, Tanagras were locally produced at Corinth such as seated women with delicately folded mantles (Merker 1990, 59). At Corinth thus Tanagras were dedicated but also Corinthian Tanagra style figurines were used.

Concerning the database a few decisions were made as to what kind of figurines to include. For example a few *hydriaphoroi* are also included in the database because of their interesting connection to ritual bathing of brides and death, as well as agriculture (Merker 2000, 38). This is a type of figurine wearing a *peplos* and recognizable because of the *hydria* on their head, although these *hydriai* are rarely preserved.

Statuettes, articulated 'dolls' and male figurines are not included in the database, only portable female figurines are recorded. I have selected the figurines by looking at the

photographs in the catalogue. This way I have excluded the figurines which were hard to identify because of their poor state, and the figurines which clearly represented goddesses. I have thus tried to make a selection of complete figurines most likely displaying common women.

Also figurines from too disturbed locations, such as washed down floor fills were excluded. This together with the criteria mentioned above meant that a lot of figurines could not be used. In total 39 figurines from the Sanctuary are included. From these figurines appearance and material context could be reconstructed. Only figurines from the Classical and Hellenistic period were selected, because this is the period under discussion. These results will thus give an indication of what kind of figurines were dedicated at the sanctuary and what other objects are found with them.

### 3.3.3 Results from database (Appendix A, p66-68)

The figurine recorded in the database are the standing female wearing a *peplos*, seated and standing draped female sometimes holding a piglet (Fig. 29), and the *hydriaphoroi*. The counts per type are represented in Table 5.

Standing female wearing a <i>peplos</i>	13
Standing draped female	9
Seated female wearing a <i>peplos</i>	1
Seated draped female	2
Standing female wearing a <i>peplos</i> holding a piglet	3
Standing draped female holding a piglet	3
Standing female holding a torch	1
Standing draped girl	2
<i>Hydriaphoros</i>	2
Female head belonging to figurine	3

Table 5. Overview of types

The dates of the figurines range from the fifth until the second century B.C. To be exact 8 fills including figurines are from the third century B.C., 3 fills date to the

transition between the fourth and the third century B.C., 2 fills date from the fourth century B.C., 2 date from the fifth century B.C. and 1 dates from the second century B.C.

In total 25 of the 39 figurines included in the database were found on the Middle Terrace, 8 were found on the Upper Terrace and 6 were found on the Lower Terrace.

10 figurines were found in votive or dedication pits. Of these 2 were found in votive pits on the Lower Terrace and 8 figurines were found on the Middle Terrace. Another 10 figurines come from floor fills, mostly to level the bedrock. All these figurines were found on the Middle Terrace. The remaining 19 figurines came from fills of discarded votive objects. One of these on the Upper Terrace was a patch of black fill.

Other items found with the figurines are loomweights, in three of the fills these were found together with one or more female figurines. In 7 of the fills with female figurines lamps were also found. In some fills burned bones were found, or fragments of other figurines. And in all fills pottery, mostly pouring vessels, were found.

### 3.4 TANAGRA

Tanagra has a few main cemeteries, *Kokkali* along the road to Chalcis and Aulis, *Dentro de Bali* along the road to Thebe and Mycalessos and *Ghelezi* along the road to Athens past Phylè (Harami 2007, 68). (Fig. 8, 9) The cemeteries were used from 625 B.C. to 400 A.D. (*ibid.*). Though the cemeteries were looted extensively, there are records that graves were sometimes furnished with over a dozen figurines (*ibid.*). Graves of wealthy people as well as less wealthy people contained figurines (Harami 2007, 68,70,79). During rescue excavations which took place with intervals from 1971 till 2002 some intact graves were found (Harami 2007, 70), which are included in the database presented in Appendix A.

The figurines from Tanagra were, according to Harami, specifically bought for funerary practices or were personal possession of either the deceased or family of the deceased (Harami 2007, 70). There does not seem to be a pattern for placement of gifts inside or outside the grave (Harami 2007, 79). It does seem that vases were often found near the feet of the deceased and drinking vessels are placed either near the feet or head (Harami 2007,80). This does not differ much from the practices at cemeteries nearby, such as the ones in Thebes (Harami 2007, 80).

A few general remarks can be made about the cemeteries at Tanagra. Most graves were tile covered graves with differing orientation (Harami 2007, 79). At the cemetery along the road to Plataea, where the intact 45 graves were found, 30 graves were tile

covered graves, 5 were pit graves and 4 *enchytrismo*i (Harami 2007, 73). All were furnished with grave gifts, though differences in number of gifts occur (Harami 2007, 79). Less rich graves probably belonged to less wealthy people (*ibid.*). The artifacts often found are vases, drinking vessels and figurines (*ibid.*). Locally produced vases are the common grave gift (*ibid.*). Figurines were a regular grave gift as well (*ibid.*), and were also produced locally and differ per workshop (*ibid.*).

#### 3.4.1 *Tanagra*, points to be aware of and results from the database (Appendix A, 69)

All graves, except for one, were found along the road to Plataea (Harami 2007, 73). One grave was found at *Kokkali* cemetery (Harami 2007, 71). (Fig. 8) This means all were found west of the known cemetery *Ghelezi*. On none of the graves was osteoanalysis done as far as I know. And of none of the deceased either sex or age is recorded by Harami. She does give the complete content of the grave, and these are represented in the database. Only occasionally is the appearance of the figurines found specified, when appearance is clear it is included in the database.

In total 11 graves are included in the database. Grave 40 and 41 were put on top of each other and are hard to separate from each other. There are counted as one. Of these 11 graves, 7 included figurines. In these 7 graves a total of 39 figurines were found. Dates range from the fourth till the first half of the second century B.C.

The 4 graves without figurines included pouring and drinking vessels, and lamps. Some found inside and some found outside the grave.

Grave 2 from *Kokkali* cemetery was very rich. It included numerous gifts inside and outside the grave. 28 female figurines were found, of which appearance was not specified unfortunately. Other grave gifts consisted of pouring and drinking vessels.

The rest of the graves including figurines were located at the cemetery near the road to Plataea. These included perfume holders, lamps and pouring and drinking vessels. In 1 grave a terracotta pomegranate was also found.

27 of the 39 figurines were found inside graves, and 7 figurines were found outside the grave. Of 2 the location is uncertain. At 4 graves all grave gifts were found outside the grave. And at 2 graves gifts were found both inside and outside the grave. Only 4 of the 11 graves had all grave gifts put inside the grave.

28 of the 39 figurines are representations of females. Only of 2 more than sex is known. 1 figurine displays a woman wrapped in a *himation*. This figurine comes from grave 22 and was found outside the grave along with cups and 5 *kanthari*. In grave 2 from

the cemetery along the road to Plataea, a girl wearing a *himation* with one hand on hip and a goose at her feet was found. In this grave pouring and drinking vessels, a lamp and 6 perfume vases were also found. Of the remaining 26 figurines only sex is known and nothing more about appearance.

Also 2 out of the 39 are representations of men. 1 of a male *ephebe* found together with a female figurine in grave 40,41. Other finds from this grave are a *skyphus*, *lagynoi* and some nails. The other male figurine was found in grave 2 from *Kokkali* cemetery. And belongs to the very rich grave assemblage found there, which is mentioned before.

### 3.5 MACEDONIA, VARIOUS SITES

Macedonia was becoming an important political power in the late Classical period, and by Hellenistic times pending the rise of Alexander the Great was a region to be reckoned with, so influence from the region is recognizable on an artistic level (Jeammet 2010 (c), 66). The artistic developments coming from Athens and Corinth rapidly spread to Macedonia (*ibid.*). Especially styles produced at Athens found their way to Macedonia, since it lay on the trade routes towards the Black Sea (Jeammet 2010 (e), 180). Artifacts which were hard to date and interpret because they came from troubled contexts in Tanagra or Athens, were found *in situ* in Macedonia (Jeammet 2010 (c), 66). This makes the area interesting. Next to this Pella, the capital of Macedon, was rapidly becoming a new cultural and artistic centre (*ibid.*). In Macedonia Tanagras have been found at several places (Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007). They will be listed here as an addition to the contexts already mentioned.

At Aigai Tanagras were found in a richly furnished grave with a principal burial and two later additions of a little girl and a child (Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007, 118). The Tanagras were found with female protomes, a seated female, a erotic group, a group of two boys and a dog, a Pan with panpipe, an actor and a goddess carrying a wine jug (*ibid.*).

At Petrès eight female figurines from the second half of the second century B.C. have been found in a domestic shrine which resemble the Tanagras of the last quarter of the third century B.C. from Athens and Boeotia (Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007, 118). According to Tsakalou-Tzanavari this find and other finds from graves in Pella permits the assumption of local production of Tanagras and the circulation of moulds in Macedonia coming from the capital Pella (*ibid.*).

At Spilia Tanagras were found which might have come from local workshops Veroia and Pella (Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007, 118). They were found with the burial of a female (*ibid.*), thus advocating for the circulation of locally produced figurines (*ibid.*).

At the cemeteries of Miéza female figurines were found along with vases and golden jewelry in a grave of a little girl (Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007, 118). All figurine types date from the second century B.C. (Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007, 118-119).

At Pella figurines were both found in graves and in houses (Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007, 119). Also the figurines were produced in this city, moulds and workshops attest to this (Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007, 120). Tanagras were found in a grave from the turn of the fourth to the third century BC. (Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007, 119). In the grave of a little girl Tanagras were found along with figurines of Eros and Aphrodite, golden jewelry, lamps and a wine drinking vessel (*ibid.*). Also in graves 25, 26, and 31 Tanagras were found dating from the late fourth century (*ibid.*). All these styles are contemporary with the styles from Athens and Boeotia, and this illustrates the rapid spread of artistic styles to Macedonia (*ibid.*). During the third century B.C. this changes and styles take longer to reach and be adopted by workshops in Macedonia (Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007, 119,120). In the second century B.C. the repertoire used at Pella for the production of figurines becomes the communal standard in Macedonia according to Tsakalou-Tzanavari (Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007, 123,127).

Figurines were also dedicated at sanctuaries (Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007, 120). Some were dedicated at the sanctuary of the Mother Goddess, others were dedicated to Aphrodite, and again others were offered at the Sanctuary of Demeter at Pella (Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007, 120). The styles were locally produced either in workshops inside or just outside the sanctuary (*ibid.*). Most figurines look like the ones from Boeotia from the late fourth century B.C. Influences from workshops in South-Italy from the third century B.C. are also recognizable, and a local style from Veroia is found too (*ibid.*).

At more sites in Macedonia were found figurines and also Tanagras for example in Thessaloniki, Potidée, Mygonie, Apollonia, Amphipolis, Nikisiani and Veroia, (Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007, 123, 126, 127). Often they were found in graves (*ibid.*). Centers of production were Pella and Veroia, and production was for funerary as well as votive purposes according to Tsakalou-Tzanavari (Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007, 129-130). Some figurine styles were produced true to their original Greek archetype, other workshops adopted styles from Asia Minor and especially from Myrina (Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007, 127). At Veroia the influence from Asia Minor is clear (*ibid.*).The

information from Macedonia illustrates the wide distribution and use of Tanagras in the Greek world.

## CHAPTER 4 ANALYSIS

In this chapter the data from the database will be analyzed. For each find context (graves, sanctuary and houses) a reconstruction if made of the material and social context in which the figurines functioned. The analysis of figurines in all these contexts is multifaceted and mentioning all the components involved and discussing their impact properly has been a challenge. The social-cultural sketch however is as complete as possible with the available information.

After the analysis of the find contexts the Tanagras *an sich* are discussed briefly: their pose, clothing and colouring. These features are of significance because these give insight into what the Tanagras would have meant or signified to an ordinary ancient Greek. Ultimately all these different aspects will be drawn together in an attempt to interpret the Tanagras and answer the research question:

What is the function of portable Tanagra style terracotta images of daily life in everyday family life during the period of 400-200 B.C. on the Greek mainland?

### 4.1 GRAVES

First, the grave gifts found in the graves and their meaning will be discussed. Next, the database information will be analyzed to discover the material context of the figurines in graves and see if patterns arise.

In the Classical, as well as the early Hellenistic period, the giving of grave gifts was common practice in Greece and was either motivated by belief in an 'afterlife' or by tradition (Retief and Cilliers 2005, 58). The grave gifts are not always indicative of sex, they rather represent the social conceptions of sex, in other words they reflect cultural gender (Houby-Nielsen 1995, 138). This makes it difficult to assign grave gifts to women or men unless osteoanalysis has been done, though in most cases it is likely that gifts which were deemed appropriate for the sex and age of the deceased were put in the grave (Houby-Nielsen 2000, 153). One should simply be careful to say anything conclusive about the sex of the deceased on the basis of grave gifts (Houby-Nielsen 1995, 140-141). Some general remarks however on the meaning of different grave gifts can be made.

*Loutrophoi* and *lekythoi* (Fig. 58, 59) were probably used for libation offerings and the purification rituals connected with death (Robinson 1942, 184-185; Houby-Nielsen 2000, 154). Often miniatures of these and other vases are found in children's graves, possibly meant as playthings, since the miniatures are rarely found in adult graves

and are unpractical because of their size (Blegen, Palmer and Young 1964, 80). When considering iconography *lekythoi* are often found depicted in boudoir scenes, which would link them to women (Nevett 1999, 43&49). Their function however in funerary rituals and even as grave markers in Classical Athens for example is undeniable (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 102-105&124).

A *pyxis* (Fig. 63) which is often found in graves, is considered to indicate a woman's grave (Blegen, Palmer and Young 1964, 70; Houby-Nielsen 1995, 140). It was used to hold make-up or other objects related to women (Houby-Nielsen 1995, 140). The scenes depicted on the *pyxides* are the strongest argument that they belonged to women, since these scenes most often relate to female activities (Nevett 1999, 49). The correlation between scenes depicted and the function of an artifact can be safely made since this link is long established (*ibid.*). These correlations should not be viewed as conclusive, exceptions are not ruled out (*ibid.*).

*Strigils* (Fig. 67) were utensils to scrap oil off the body as a means of cleaning, this is associated with the gymnasium and therefore these objects are indicative of male burials at first glance (Houby-Nielsen 1997, 222-223). In the late Classical period and early Hellenistic however this item gradually became more related to beautification and in addition to luxury and leisure (Houby-Nielsen 1997, 242). This was a response to changing value systems, thus women could also be given *strigils* (Houby-Nielsen 1997, 242).

*Astragali* or knucklebones, bones from the ankle-joints of goat and sheep, were used in games and are most often associated with children's burials, though the game was also popular with young (female) adults (Higgins 1986, 143). (Fig. 42, 43) Some of the Tanagra figurines depict girls and boys playing this game (Jeammet and Mathieux 2010, 165). The *astragali* are found in great numbers in both graves and sanctuaries (*ibid.*). This may have symbolic significance, by portraying the transition from girlhood to womanhood (*ibid.*).

Coins are often found in graves due to the belief in an obligatory payment to Charon the ferryman who ferried souls to Hades (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 211). They were placed in the mouth, hand as well as in the grave at random (*ibid.*). Coins are found in both children and adult graves of both sex.

Mirrors were associated with marriage and were most often used by women. Mirrors are thus indicative of female graves (Houby-Nielsen 1997, 220-223). However as with *strigils*, these objects were influenced by the changing value systems during the late

Classical and early Hellenistic period (Houby-Nielsen 1997, 223). Mirrors were also primarily associated with beautification (Houby-Nielsen 1997, 242). This troubles interpretation, though traditionally they were associated with women.

Jewelry is found in the male and female graves of both of adults as well as children. The jewelry consists most often of earrings, bracelets, rings and pins (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 165). These items are likely to be personal possessions of either the deceased or their family (Blegen, Palmer and Young 1964, 82). Jewelry was not always an appropriate size, often when found in children's graves it was too large (Robinson 1942, 181). These luxury items was associated with adult women and marriage (Houby-Nielsen 1997, 240).

Sea shells are considered playthings and thus are most likely found in the graves of children (Blegen, Palmer and Young 1964, 70&84). They had a similar significance to eggs and egg shells (Robinson 1942, 199). In mythology deities and other beings are regularly born out of sea shells and eggs (*ibid.*). Eggs were not just items referring to the *Totenmahl* (Blegen, Palmer and Young 1964, 84). Eggs and egg shells were a symbol of fertility and birth into a new life (Robinson 1942, 192-193). Thus, these artifacts are often found in children's graves (*ibid.*).

Female protomes and heads are also often found in graves. (Fig. 26, 27, 49) Protomes are common items found at several sanctuaries dedicated to goddesses and their meaning is connected with this practice (Muller 2009, 81). This also extends to other types of figurines regularly found in graves, ranging from satyrs to animals. Their significance in the grave is likely connected with their meaning outside of the grave (Houby-Nielsen 1995).

#### *4.1.1 Database interpreted*

Various interpretations have been suggested for the figurines, from personal possessions (Froehner 1886; Robinson 1942; Kurtz and Boardman 1971) to a fulfillment of social identity in the next world (Hasselin-Rous 2010, 177). The terracotta figures found in graves are varied. They consist of figures of animals, satyrs, men and boys, girls and women in all kind of poses. First I will discuss briefly these different types of figures found with figurines of the Tanagra or pre-Tanagra style at cemeteries in Macedonia, Tanagra and Olynthus, then I will discuss what grave assemblages were found and what they might indicate. The grave assemblages from Macedonia and Tanagra were difficult to reconstruct therefore not much can be said about them due to lack of information. The

assemblages from Olynthus were easier to reconstruct and are thus more elaborately discussed.

Animals are one sort of figures found in graves. The figures of animals are thought to represent pets (Lawton 2007, 46), to be an indication of sexuality (Cohen 2007, 15), or to represent sacrificial animals (Merker 2000, 322). For example roosters or doves which are sometimes held by the children (male and female) or women could be an indication of their sexuality; roosters are a symbol of virility and doves are connected with Aphrodite (Cohen 2007, 15).

The figures of satyrs, often men with horse's tails and ears, which occur in the graves, were possibly a reference to Dionysus with whom they were connected (Hard 2004, 212). Dionysus' cult is connected with the hope of an afterlife salvation (Larson 2007, 126), and thus the satyrs may have been a reflection of that hope. Dionysus was also associated with the transition from one stage of life to another (Beqc, Jeammet and Mathieux 2010, 150). So possibly the satyrs combined these two associations: the hope of an afterlife salvation and the transition of childhood to adulthood. They thus were a reference to the transition and initiation into a different stage of life which these children would not experience on earth. The few *silenoi*, also men-like creatures with animal attributes such as tails and donkey ears, found in the graves, likely indicated the same as the satyrs (Hard 2004, 212-213).

Other figures which were found in the graves are men and boys, of most the exact appearance is not known. Therefore it is hard to tell what they meant. At Olynthus a few figures were found wearing Phrygian caps, along with the sphinx found in grave 576 this might be indications of influence from Anatolia in Olynthus, since both sphinxes and the Phrygian caps originated from Anatolia.

The last group of figures which was found with figurines are the female heads, protomes and busts. The most likely interpretation of these is, I think, viewing them as representations of the complete image of a goddess or person through representing only the head or upper part of the body (Muller 2009, 81). These female images are most likely connected with fertility, through either representing a deity who was associated with this or representing a women who placed herself under the protection of a deity who could grant her for example a fertile marriage (*ibid.*). In this sense they fit well with the idea that the Tanagras were in some way connected with Demeter and Kore whose worship was also associated with fertility and marriage.

The information from Macedonia is quite uniform. All the Tanagras were found in female graves, either of children or girls and a few with grown women (Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007). The sites where Tanagras were recorded in a grave context are Aigai, Splilia, Miéza and Pella (*ibid.*). On none of the graves osteoanalysis was done, so the sex of the deceased has been established by analyzing the grave gifts. These mostly consisted of other figurines, such as female protomes, and erotic groups, but also jewelry and vases (Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007).

At Tanagra the grave gifts mostly consisted of daily utensils and artifacts used in the burial rituals. The figurines found outside the grave were probably part of the burial rites as well, since it was practice to perform rituals at the grave site (Kurz and Boardman 1971, 204-205). The ones found inside the grave, might also have played a part in these rituals but may also have been put in the grave either as offerings, as objects to be useful in the next world, as a mean to fulfill social identity or as personal possessions (Kurz and Boardman 1971, 206; Higgins 1986, 86; Graepler 2010, 219; Rumscheid 2006, 26). The figurines found in the graves, when appearance is known, are the same as figurines dedicated at sanctuaries such as the one at Corinth, also at other sites the figurines from graves are the same as the ones placed in sanctuaries (*e.g.* Graepler 2010, 218-219).

In the article by Harami no information is given on sex or age of the deceased. This makes interpretation of the figurines and grave assemblages difficult. The graves cannot be connected with children or adults on the basis of the grave assemblages. An indication of sex might be derived from for example the perfume holders and knife found in different graves. Grave 7 for example has an iron knife which might indicate that this grave belonged to a male. Graves 2, 4 and 18 include perfume holders which may indicate a female burial. One should keep in mind though that attribution of sex based on grave goods is troublesome as was pointed out in the paragraphs on gender in chapter 3. The other graves include only common vessels and objects used in daily life as well as during burial rituals, which might mean that these were given to be useful in the afterlife or were simply used for the pouring of offerings during burial rites. They give no information about the biological sex of the deceased. The data from Olynthus gives more information on sex and grave assemblages in combination with the figurines.

At Olynthus the appearance of the figurines is known. This gives the opportunity to analyze this aspect. The three female figurines of which appearance could not be defined were found with adults, the rest of the female figurines was found with children. Most figurines are seated women, three are nursing a child, these are also called

*kourotrophoi*. The *kourotrophoi* may represent actual mother and child, since they were found either with an *enchytrismos* or cremation and these two burials forms are most commonly used for infants (Robinson 1942).

In most of the graves with a seated woman also other figures and *astragali* are found. The *astragali* might be children's toys often randomly thrown in the grave. The figures found along with the seated women are female protomes and heads, animals and sometimes a satyr. The female protomes, masks and heads might be viewed the same way as the female figurines, either as representing an actual human being or a goddess (Muller 2009, 94-95). However in this funerary context the protomes, masks and heads might rather indicate a goddess, who is for example protecting the deceased, rather than an actual women (Tzanavari 2002, 287). The animals again might represent pets, sacrificial animals or be an indication of sexuality (Lawton 2007, 46; Merker 2000, 322; Cohen 2007, 15). The satyrs again might indicate a connection with Dionysus in his role as a god of transition and of salvation in the afterlife (Beqc, Jeammet and Mathieux 2010, 150). The standing women and other female figurine types are found in much the same contexts.

Artifacts found along with the figurines consist of vessels used in burial rite, such as *lekythoi* (Fig. 59) and *skyphoi* (Fig. 65), and everyday utensils. Sometimes also jewelry or for example knives or *strigils* are found which might indicate the sex of the deceased. The location in the grave of the grave gifts might not be indicative of anything, since grave gifts were often quite randomly put in (Kurz and Boardman 1971, 204).

When looking at grave assemblages female figurines of pre-Tanagra type are most often found with female protomes, masks and heads, and animal figures. Other common grave gifts found together with the figurines are *astragali*, jewelry, *skyphoi* and *lekythoi*. Most of the jewelry was too large for children to wear (Robinson 1942, 181), though the placement in de grave indicates that they were worn by the child at the moment of burial. For example earrings are found on either side of the head. The jewelry and female figurines together with the satyrs and animals, which mainly consist of birds of which roosters are thought to be an indication of virility and doves or birds to be an indication of female sexuality (Cohen 2007, 15), are likely an indication of social identity. Because the children had not reached mature age when their social identity of being mother and wife (Pomeroy 2006, 354-356) would have been fulfilled, social identity had to be shown in the grave. Since all grave gifts, except for the *astragali*, can

be interpreted as objects used during or representing mature life, this is likely a valid interpretation.

The female figurines are representations of actual people, either of the family or of the deceased as mature woman, though the figurines also have a unmistakably religious connotation. The argument for the figurines representing actual people is the assemblage of all the other graves gifts. Except for the female protomes, masks and heads, they are all pointing towards the life of the deceased: the satyrs are an indication of the transition the child would have made in life, the animals represent their sexuality which never matured, and the jewelry which is too large also points to the life that could have been. The religious aspect in the grave is represented by the female protomes, masks and heads, and they underline the religious connotation of the female figurines. As Muller argues these protomes are representations of the goddesses (Muller 1996 & 2009) in whose sanctuaries the female figurines are often dedicated. These goddesses such as Demeter and Kore were protectors of marriage, childbirth and fertility, and their protection is implored through incorporating these protomes and such in the graves (Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002). Together with the female figurines the protomes, masks and heads underline this aspect of life on earth, namely marriage and being a mother, which the children will never live to experience either. These aspects were important parts of women lives (Pomeroy 2006, 354-356), and therefore they had to be commemorated in the grave. Through the grave gifts the complete social identity of the child was represented even though it had never reached mature age.

#### 4.2 SANCTUARY OF DEMETER AND KORE AND THE WORSHIP OF THE GRAIN GODDESS

First I will mention why it is important to look at the worship of Demeter and Kore when dealing with the interpretation of Tanagras and tell a bit more about their worship. Next the information from the database will be analyzed.

In general figurines are often found at sanctuaries such as the Sanctuary of Demeter of Kore (Merker 2000, 1). Also Tanagras and Tanagra style figurines were found at the sanctuary in Corinth. Interpretations of who or what figurines represent fall into two categories: they either represent common people, such as votaries participating in the worship of the deity, priests or people working at the sanctuary (Burr-Thompson 1952, 128; Muller 1996, 472-473; Rumscheid 2006, 25), or goddesses who are identified through their attributes (Muller 1996, 473). Who was represented was probably easily

cleared up for the votaries, because poses or attributes were easily identified by them (Rumscheid 2006, 25). This however is a challenge to us now.

It is important to look at the worship of Demeter and Kore when interpreting the Tanagras since figurines of the pre-Tanagra type are often thought to be representations of deities such as Demeter (Higgins 1986, 102-105). Tanagras thus stem from a tradition of religious figurines particularly connected with Demeter and Kore. Also the 'genre scenes' from the pre-Tanagra era depict scenes which can be connected with agriculture and food preparation (Higgins 1986, 84-90; Jeammet 2010 (b), 49-55), aspects of life associated in particular with the goddess of grain, Demeter (Larson 2007, 69). The worship of Demeter and Kore will now shortly be mentioned.

There are a few important festivals connected with the worship of Demeter and Kore. These festivals illustrate which aspects of daily life were associated with these goddesses. One of those is the festival of the Eleusinian Mysteries (Larson 2007, 73). Eleusis was the goddesses' most famous place of cult, and people from all over Greece came to partake in the rituals (Bookidis and Stroud 1987, 6). Participation was restricted to initiates who were sworn to secrecy (Larson 2007, 74). Little is therefore known about the Mysteries, but the rites had to do with the path from grief to joy, connected with fear of death and the afterlife (Larson 2007, 76). This also represents the separation and reunion of Demeter and Kore, after Kore/Persephone was abducted by Hades to the Underworld (*ibid.*). During the time of Athenian dominion this festival became widely known and was visited by people from all over Greece (*ibid.*).

Another festival connected with the worship of Demeter was the *Thesmophoria* (Larson 2007, 70). This festival was strictly for married women and was connected with fertility of the land and the harvest (*ibid.*). The goddesses were called *Thesmophoroi*, which means Bringers of Divine Law (*ibid.*). Demeter was deemed responsible for the introduction of grain cultivation and this was seen as the beginning of civilized life (*ibid.*). An important ritual during this festival was the sacrifice of piglets (Larson 2007, 70). These piglets were cast into shafts or pits, and after a while their rotted remains were broad up again and mixed with grain to ensure a good harvest and as thank offering for fertility of both land and women (Larson 2007, 71). A piglet is also symbolic of the female genitals, and this practice was symbolic of the descent and ascent of Kore and thus the fertility of the land and of women (*ibid.*). Some of the figurines from the database represent females holding piglets (Fig. 29).

Ritual meals were part of the worship during this festival and bread was one of the special foods eaten (Larson 2007, 70). These meals were also part of the festival at the sanctuary in Corinth (Bookidis and Stroud 1987, 18-19). Processions and ritual dances are a common part of the festivities too (Larson 2007, 70). The main theme of this festival was to heighten the awareness of sexuality and the reproductive ability of women, and thereby celebrate and ask for fertility of the land (Larson 2007, 71).

At many places in the Greek world Demeter and Kore were worshipped in this way, with festivals and sacrifices connected with agriculture (Larson 2007, 72). The votive gifts in the sanctuary for example at Corinth, are humble and consist of miniature vases and terracotta figurines of females and animals, often of pigs possibly as substitute for real piglets (Bookidis and Stroud 1987, 13). This indicates that the worship was done by quite a big variety of people from rich to poor (Bookidis and Stroud 1987, 13&16).

To sum up the important aspects of the worship of Demeter and Kore for the interpretation of Tanagras: the deities Demeter and Kore and their worship were likely connected in the mind of an ancient Greek with fertility and harvest, since Demeter was responsible for the introduction of grain and for fertility of the land and of women (Larson 2007, 70-71). They were connected with the transition from child to adult, for both men and women, and with the transition from life to death (Larson 2007, 69). And Kore was seen as the archetypical bride, so the deities were also connected with marriage (*ibid.*).

#### *4.2.1 Database interpreted*

The Corinthian figurines, both Tanagra style figurines and Tanagras, help to create a framework to interpret the Tanagras. The data from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth underlines the statement that types which were found in graves and houses, were also dedicated at sanctuaries. One important thing to keep in mind is that the religious practice represented in the database concerns Corinth and since every region had its own habits of worship, the information from Corinth may give clues for interpretation but no generally applicable answers (Merker 2000, 322).

The figurine types found at the Sanctuary in the floor fills and sacrificial pits included in the database are: standing female wearing a *peplos*, standing draped female, seated female wearing a *peplos*, seated draped female, standing female wearing a *peplos* and holding a piglet, standing draped female holding a piglet, standing female holding a torch, standing draped girl, and *hydriaphoroi*. All these figurines were found together

with pottery often including pouring vessels, which were used as oil or water containers used in rituals (Larson 2007, 69-85). Also they are often found together with loomweights and jewelry, probably dedicated by women, and *kernos*-type offering trays, which were used to present offerings (Merker 2000; Bookidis and Stroud 1997).

The large amount of figurines found at the Sanctuary indicates that the offering of figurines was an important act in the rituals performed by the worshippers (Merker 2000, 321). All the figurines come from distorted contexts and thus it is hard to say anything about their meaning in the cult (*ibid.*). The reason for dedication is probably similar to that of dedications in general. Dedications at sanctuaries were often made as plea with the deity for protection, prosperity or as a token of thanksgiving (Mikalson 2005, 14-16). The occasion for the dedication might also shed light on the meaning of the figurines. There is however no possibility to establish when the figurines were dedicated, whether for example during a festival. The information which can be derived from the database only concerns material context and find spot.

The material context however is very disturbed, since figurines are found in floor fills and sacrificial pits used to discard offerings. Thus it is unknown where in the sanctuary the figurines came from or with which objects exactly they were dedicated. The artifacts the Tanagras are found with were all used for rituals (Bookidis and Stroud, 1987). The most important conclusion for the research is that Tanagras were dedicated at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore and thus likely had a religious connotations for the Greeks despite their secular appearance.

The attributes the Tanagra style figurines are holding, such as piglets, are an likely indication that they were representations of actual girls and women coming to the sanctuary to participate in for example the festival of the *Thesmophoria*, where piglets played a major role in the rituals (Merker 2000, 24&117). The flowing loosened hair of the figurines may have suggested to the worshipper abundant growth and hence the promise of fertility (Merker 2000, 118). The cutting of hair during rituals is sometimes thought to represent the imposition of social control and the progression from one stage of life to another (*ibid.*). Therefore the long hair of the figurines might refer to the cutting and offering of the hair before marriage (*ibid.*). This underlines the idea already mentioned for figurines found in graves, that they were a symbol of the passage from child to adulthood.

Also the *hydriapohoroi* are likely to represent actual worshippers since the carrying of *hydriai* on the head in procession was a part of cult rituals (Merker 2000, 38;

Bookidis and Stroud 1987, 29). Water had an important place in fertility cults such as the cult of Demeter, since it was important in agriculture and used for the ritual bath of the bride before marriage (*ibid.*). So these *hydriaphoroi* may very well indicate the young girl participating in a purification ritual at the sanctuary before marrying and moving from girl to woman.

So when concerning the interpretation of figurines in sanctuaries there are a few possibilities: they are either seen as representations of goddesses or votaries (Muller 1996) and they may be dedicated to ask for the goddess favour concerning various subjects. The argument in this paragraph has been for interpreting the figurines as representations of actual women, this is also what Arthur Miller and Gloria Merker think (Muller 1996, 480& 494; Merker 2000, 24&117 ). The figurines represent women, who dedicated images of themselves to ask for the goddess protection and aid in the transition from girlhood to womanhood and for fertility in marriage. The artifacts which are found with the figurines are partly the same as the attributes the figurines hold, such as the *hydriai*, and these all indicate in my opinion that the figurines are representations of actual people who are participating in the rituals and are on the brink of making an important transition from one stage of life to another.

#### 4.3 HOUSES

In this paragraph first the important architectural features of a house will be discussed and then what is known about household cult, since both these subjects need to be considered when interpreting the data from the database. Next the data from the database concerning the houses at Olynthus will be analyzed.

Two aspects are important to consider when interpreting the data: the lay-out of the houses and purpose of rooms, and the place of household cult in the household. The lay-out of a house consisted of the following rooms: a court and *pastas* which was a covered part of the court, the court and *pastas* served as a source of light and unification of a house (Cahill 2002, 77) , the north or *pastas* rooms opening up to the *pastas* and court, some of these north/*pastas* rooms were storerooms and others might have been used for other daily activities, an *andron*, and a kitchen/bath-complex (Ault 2005, 59-73).

Scholars have thought for a long time that a strict separation of male and female quarters in the Greek house was common, but this arrangement of the house seems hard to prove (Nevett 1999, 71; Bintliff 2010, 25). During the Archaic and Classical period society became more focused on privacy of the family (Bintliff 2010, 19-26). Expansion

of the number of rooms due to a more complex society and family organization is a widespread phenomenon during these periods (*ibid.*). However the existence of space with restricted access seems limited when looking at the lay-out of rooms (Bintliff 2010, 29). Only the *andron* has restricted access and can be identified during excavation (Nevett 1999, 70-71). Women could not show themselves to strange men and could easily withdraw upstairs and out of sight when unfamiliar male visitors came to the house (Nevett 2007, 213). It thus can be stated that next to the *andron*, all rooms downstairs were freely accessible to women and the restriction was rather for men, whose lives were lived mainly outside the house (Bintliff 2010, 25).

During the Hellenistic period, the house became a place for exhibiting power and wealth (Nevett 2007, 216-219) which is translated into decorative architectural features found in houses from this time (Bintliff 2010, 28). The agora no longer was the main political focus of the town but the palace was (Bintliff 2010, 27). These palaces had many large reception rooms for public event, and this was imitated in the private house, enhancing the open character of the house in the Hellenistic period (Bintliff 2010, 27-28). This leads to the conclusion that attribution of artifacts to men or women based on which rooms they were found in is not possible. However activities conducted in different rooms can be identified and possibly attributed to gender.

For example the identification of household industry connected with agriculture, food preparation and textile production is clear and these activities were mainly conducted by women (Cahill 2002, 153 & 236-238; Ault 2005, 77-79). And in most houses the identification of rooms as part of kitchen/bath-complexes where these activities took place is possible (Cahill 2002, 153-155; Ault 2005, 68-69). The kitchen and bath are connected in many houses because this was the only place heated water was available since there was a hearth in the kitchen (Ault 2005, 68-69).

Some of these activities can be attributed to women on the basis of textual evidence (Nevett 1999, 40). For example weaving and spinning, textile production thus, are associated with women in literature and therefore it might be safe to say that these activities were carried out in general by women (*ibid.*). Artifacts, such as loomweights, associated with textile production might thus also be attributed to women. These loomweights are often found in kitchen-complexes along with figurines.

For other activities literary evidence is hard to find and therefore iconography might be a solution (Nevett 1999, 41). Greek pottery is often decorated with scenes in which the decorated object is used, and this gives an indication who used it, such is the

case with for example *pyxides* (Nevett 1999, 43-50). These were likely used by women, because on the *pyxides* boudoir scenes are most common (*ibid.*).

Another activity conducted in the house involved the whole household. Men, women, slaves and even children were employed in the household industry to maximize productivity (Nevett 1999, 40-42). Products made by the household varied from food products to weapons. Agricultural processing and food preparation were the main duties of the women and female slaves in the Greek household (Cahill 2002, 153). Rooms identifiable as kitchen/bath-complexes are therefore likely to have been the realm of women. Of course again this was not exclusive, but still objects found connected to food processing are a likely indication of female presence in the rooms.

So lay-out of rooms and the activities conducted in the rooms greatly influences the interpretation of figurines found in these rooms. Loomweights and artifacts used for food preparation indicate that activities performed by the women of the household were conducted in the rooms (Cahill 2002, 153). So when figurines are discovered in these rooms they were also likely used by women. It is safe to say that figurines and artifacts found in the *andron*, where access was restricted to men, belonged to men. Artifacts and figurines found in other rooms of the house are likely to have been used rather by women than by men, since men were expected to spend most of their time outside of the house (Bintliff 2010, 25).

The household cult was also conducted in the house. Sometimes altars attest to this, but hearths were a main focus of cult activities (Jameson 1990, 104-105). Deities often associated with household cult are Hermes, Hekate, Hestia, Zeus Herkeios, Zeus Ktesios and Demeter (Jameson 1990, 104-105; Ault 2005, 76-77). Images of Hermes, Hekate and Hestia were placed just outside or inside the door as protectors of the boundary between the interior and exterior world (Jameson 1990, 105). Hestia was also thought to reside in the hearth, since this was a focus point of the house important for food preparation (Ault 2005, 76). Zeus Herkeios was protector of the enclosure and his place is considered to be the court, sometimes an altar was placed there (*ibid.*). Zeus Ktesios was thought to protect the storage rooms and figurines associated with him, such as snakes, are found in storage rooms of houses (Ault 2005, 76-77). Demeter Epoikidia was also one of deities remembered in household cult (Ault 2005, 77). Aspects connected with her were agriculture, food preparation and textile production (*ibid.*). She was thus also connected with household economy and marriage (*ibid.*).

Yet not all of these aspects of household cult account for dedication or usage of figurines in houses, since the exact role of figurines in the cult remains unclear. It might still be said that when figurines are found in rooms with artifacts which can be attributed to women, these figurines were used by women and possibly in household cult, since religion was such an integral part of Greek life (Ogden 2007, 1).

#### 4.3.1 Database interpreted

Frank Rumscheid, who published a book on 400 Hellenistic terracotta figurines from Priene, mentions several possible interpretations for figurines coming from house contexts (Rumscheid 2006, 27-30). At Priene figurines were found at houses, cemeteries and sanctuaries (*ibid.*). He states that interpretations of figurines in houses have been varied, ranging from decoration as a means of status enhancement of the house, to either cult objects or votives in household cult (Rumscheid 2006, 30). They may also have served as a reminder of existing profane art (Rumscheid 2006, 30). Or they were simply toys, or part of an art collection (*ibid.*). The most widely shared view is that the figurines had some sort of decorative function in the house, possibly along with a religious connotation (Rumscheid 2006, 28).

The information which can be derived from the data from the houses concerns location in the house and material culture. The number of houses researched is limited due to the difficulty of getting the information needed. Therefore conclusions are quite general. Still location in the house and material culture can tell us a lot about why and by whom the figurines were used. The types of figurines found in the houses consist of standing draped females, a few seated females, one figurine of two women embracing, female protomes, female heads, busts and masks, some *silenoi*, some figures of men, and a few animal figures. It is hard to establish whether the fact that mainly standing draped females were found is representative, since relatively few houses are incorporated in the database.

It is most likely that the figurines were used for religious purposes when looking at the data from the database on material context. The figurines were probably used on a daily basis since they are often found in the court/*pastas* and kitchen areas, where most household activities took place. They are found with artifacts of daily use, such as loomweights and objects used for food preparation, which gives the impression that figurines did not receive a special treatment in the household. This is not startling since religion was an integrated part of daily Greek life (Ogden 2007, 1). The connection with

religion is substantiated by the fact that female figurines were often found together with female protomes which most likely had a religious meaning for the ancient Greeks (Muller 2009, 81-95). Other figures found together with figurines are dancers, Pan playing a flute, male figures and *silanoi*, though this is only the case for the figurines found in the *andron* of the House of the Comedian and therefore this assemblage is not representative of all houses at Olynthus.

Next to the fact that (pre-)Tanagra figurines were likely part of normal daily life, they can also be associated with women in the household. The artifacts the figurines were found with point to this. These artifacts consist of loomweights, utensils used for food preparation, large storage jars, some jewelry such as *fibula*, earrings and bracelets, and pouring and drinking vessels. All these items can be connected with women rather than men (Cahill 2002, 153; Nevett 1999, 34-52).

The place of figurines in the household cult and who the figurines represent is hard to figure out. They may have been representations of the female deities mentioned earlier who were part of the household cult. However the figurines are not found necessarily near the hearth or door though this probably was the customary location to place figures of these deities (Jameson 1990, 105). Demeter was also one of the deities worshipped in household cult (Ault 2005, 76-77), and considering the link the Tanagras and pre-Tanagras had with the worship of this deity, they may be representations of her. This would also explain why the figurines were not found near the hearth or door, but in kitchen-bath areas and storage rooms (*ibid.*).

A more interesting approach though is to see them as images of common women with a religious association, as in the graves and the sanctuaries, though this time their function might be parallel to that of the Byzantine icons (Bintliff 2012, 402-415). Women in the Byzantine era were marginalized in official cults apart from their own sanctuaries and household cult (*ibid.*). This position of women is possibly quite similar to late Classical and early Hellenistic Greece. Thus pre-Tanagra figurines and Tanagras were part of female household cult and reminded the women of the household of the rituals they performed, and the festivals they attended at for example the sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore. The figurines acted as a intermediary between the female believer and their deity. This is in line with the development of a growing personal relationship with the deities visible in the Hellenistic period (Beaumont 1998, 91). In this way female social identity, status and relationship with the divine were underlined and commemorated on a daily basis. This possibly strengthened women's position in the household.

#### 4.4 CLOTHING AND POSE

The Tanagras are representations of women completely clothed and often tightly wrapped in their *peplos* or *chiton*. They are completely covered and even veiled, sometimes holding fans and wearing sunhats. They cloth themselves like this to keep out of the sun and to protect their chastity (Naerebout 2002, 46). Their dress seems to suggest that they were high status, modest women since in Greece this kind of dress was an indication of status and modesty (*ibid.*).

Their downcast gaze and closed composition is a parallel with Greek vase painting where these features do point to the modesty of a respectable woman (Merker 2000, 117). The fact though that the figurines stand in a leisurely pose and sometimes hold fans does not add up with the modesty shown in their dress and other features. The Tanagras thus seem to give ambiguous signals whether they are a symbol of modesty and the ideal Greek wife, or a symbol of female sexuality.

This duality is also present in the festival of the Thesmophoria. At the festival married women participate in rituals which aimed to heighten their awareness of sexuality (Larson 2007, 70-71). This was established through ritual activities involving piglets, which were considered a symbol of the female genitals, pine branches, phallic shapes made of dough and sex-talk (*ibid.*). The figurines might have been a means to commemorate these rituals and connect women with these cult activities and the deity on a daily basis, thus they combine the image of a modest Greek wife with a beautiful, sexy woman.

#### 4.5 CONCLUSION

Though the literature is broad and profound, I will try to add something to the already large body of interpretations on Tanagras. Questions of the research on Tanagras in general have been concerned in the first place with typological and stylistic analysis, though the question of representation and socio-cultural meaning has been posed too. The aim of this research was to answer the following question:

What is the function of portable Tanagra style terracotta images of daily life in everyday family life during the period of 400-200 B.C. on the Greek mainland?

My answer to this question is that they functioned as reminders of the social identity of women both in the graves, sanctuary and house. They either represented the deceased child as grown woman fulfilling her social identity which she would not be able to fulfill in life anymore, or they were representation of the votary put in the sanctuary to ask for

fertility and a good future, or they were used in the house as reminders of the religious activities women took part in to establish their social identity and they were an intermediary between the devotee and the deity. The Tanagras combined the religious and the mundane and when they were used in daily life they invoked an association with both the mundane and the divine, for example with the religious activities the women they represented performed and with the goddess and everything she was concerned with. They incorporated both aspects of life and thus had an ambiguous meaning in all contexts where they were used. This is difficult to us now, but was probably quite normal to the ancient Greeks. Even now objects in our daily lives can have several meanings, and often it is quite easy to distinguish which meaning is meant depending on the context the object is placed in or used in. Now a summary will be given of the main arguments and data about the Tanagras gathered to answer this question.

First it has to be argued that a parallel between the figurines in the database and the patterns and conclusions arising from the database concerning Olynthus can safely be applied to the interpretation of Tanagras, since the figurines from Olynthus are pre-Tanagra style figurines. One of the arguments is that some pre-Tanagra figurine types of the Classical period continue into the early Hellenistic period (Higgins 1986), establishing a link between the pre-Tanagra style and the Tanagras. The technique used to produce the figurines is similar as well, for both moulds are used (Higgins 1986). Also the material context of figurines in graves from Olynthus, Tanagra and the sites in Macedonia mentioned in this research are similar. This means that the pre-Tanagra figurines from Olynthus and the Tanagras from the other sites were part of the same kind of grave assemblages, this too is a continuation from the Classical into the Hellenistic period linking the pre-Tanagra figurines and Tanagras. Lastly the connection between the pre-Tanagra figurines and the Tanagras is widely agreed upon and therefore it does not seem necessary to question this link here. Thus the information from Olynthus can safely be used in the argument about the Tanagras.

The Tanagras consist of different groups of figurines. The most typical examples of Tanagras are the 'Sophoclean Lady' and 'The Lady in Blue' (Fig. 36&38). There are also seated Tanagras, and Tanagra-style figurines from Corinth holding different kinds of objects. Also male figurines can be labeled Tanagras, but these are left out in this research. The repertoire thus is broad, and one could easily make groups and discuss them separately. However that will not be done here, partly because appearance of the figurines incorporated in the database is not always clear and partly because the argument is made

that the function of all Tanagras was quite similar. They all appealed to the same set of beliefs so a distinction between groups is not necessary.

A few statements can be made about Tanagras when looking at the data from the database. They belonged to the world of women and these are the main arguments for this statement. Concerning graves material culture is a point to consider. Artifacts found together with the figurines in graves were mostly utensils used by women (Nevett 1999; Robinsons 1942). When considering the Tanagra-style figurines found in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, it is striking that the female figurines portray actual activities which took place in the sanctuary during female festivities, such as the offering of piglets or the carrying of water for purification (Merker 2000). In houses the figurines are often found with artifacts which most likely were used by women. Also the figurines were discovered in rooms likely occupied in general by women (Nevett 1999; Cahill 2002).

Another argument for the statement that Tanagras were especially part of the world of women is that the figurines seem to have been particularly connected with religious activities mainly performed by women. They likely had to do with the transition from girlhood to womanhood, fertility and marriage in the cult of Demeter and Kore. The pre-Tanagra figurines are more explicitly connected with the worship of Demeter and Kore, because they can be considered as depictions of these deities. The Tanagras are not depictions of these goddesses necessarily, but they do stem from a tradition of figurines connected with these deities and their worship. The cult of Demeter and Kore was connected with childbirth, life and death, marriage, harvest and fertility (Larson 2007, 69-85; Garland 1990). Many ritual activities and festivities of these deities were either conducted by women or strongly connected with the world of women (Larson 2007, 69-85). The figurines by association especially appealed to this cult of, and for women and its religious activities. The idea that figurines invoked religious associations is proposed by several scholars, such as Graepler (Graepler 1997; Graepler 2010, 219). In different contexts, different aspects of the religious association the Tanagras invoked, was highlighted.

In graves Tanagras represented the unfulfilled life of the deceased child. Tanagras were part of a grave assemblage which often pointed towards the life the child had been meant to live. The child's sexuality was represented by means of the rooster- and bird figurines Tanagras are found with or sometimes Tanagras are depicted with these birds (Cohen 2007). The fulfillment of the child's social identity as wife and mothers is also

represented by means of the Tanagras, since Tanagras are representations of dutiful, beautiful, fertile women (Pomeroy 2006; Hasselin-Rous 2010). Before marriage girls often went to the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore to ask for fertility in marriage and to dedicate their hair in a ritual connected with marriage (Merker 2000), this is represented in the flowing hair of some of the Tanagra-style figurines. Also particularly the imagery of the pre-Tanagra figurines has aspects which links them to marriage, such as the gestures of some of the figurines when they pull their robes across their head as a bride would do (Higgins 1986). This imagery is not repeated in the repertoire of Tanagras, but their completely covered bodies does show that they represented modest, probably married women. So in the graves the Tanagras were rather a representation of the woman the deceased girl could have, and the family had hoped her to become. Next to what is already said, one could also say that Tanagras were a mean to invoke the presence of a deity concerned with the protection of children, such as Demeter (Tsakalou- Tzanavari, 2002; Garland 1990, 68). This underlines the two sides the Tanagras had in every context, both referring to aspects of normal life and religious life.

In sanctuaries Tanagras were used to plea with the goddess for fertility or prosperity, and as thank offering. This was the most common function of dedications in general (Mikalson 2005) and there is no obvious reason why this would not have been the same for the Tanagras. At the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth the figurines were likely representations of actual votaries asking for the goddess protection and for fertility before they married. Also the sanctuary was frequented when major transitions were made, such as the one from girlhood to womanhood (Merker 2000). Then too images of women were dedicated, to show that the girl was devoted to the goddess and hoped that the goddess would bless her (Muller 1996).

In houses Tanagras were a mediator between the believer and the divine much like the Byzantine icons mentioned before. Because of the social changes in the Hellenistic period a personal relationship with the divine was possible. Tanagras also reminded the women of the household of the rituals and festivities they participated in and thus made them aware of their position in society which was underlined through these religious activities such as the Thesmophoria. Also the figurines were a way to request for the goddess' protection and presence in the home (Ault 2005).

Now that it is clear that the Tanagras have a divine association, their appearance is worth a closer look. First their beauty will be addressed. Appearance of the Tanagras was made exceptional, because of their close relation with divinity. A parallel for this can

be seen in the *korai*, the sculptures of women, from the sixth century. They too were idealistically beautiful, they too may have been representations of actual women, and they too had a strong link with religion which could account for their beauty (Fullerton 2000, 45; Osborne 1998, 83 & 84). Next to this argument the fact that during the Hellenistic period a focus on beautification was developing, might also help to explain the beauty of the Tanagras (Houby-Nielsen 1997).

Who is represented is another important part of interpreting Tanagras. Tanagras are interpreted as representations of actual women in this research, partly because Tanagras and Tanagra-style figurines were dedicated at shrines strongly connected with women (Merker 2000, 325). The cults were connected with fertility and marriage and thus it would be logical to dedicate an image of oneself rather than dedicating an image of the goddess to ensure fertility in marriage. A parallel to underline this statement can be found modern time Catholic and Orthodox churches all over the Mediterranean where dolls representing actually children are dedicated to ensure divine protection (Miller-Ammerman 2007, 131-132).

Also the information from the database supports the idea that Tanagras represent common women. The artifacts found with Tanagras in the graves and houses, do not set them apart as divine images. The material context of the Tanagras in houses rather marks them as part of daily life since the other artifacts were often also common utensils. Their place in the house was not fixed and almost no objects of obvious religious meaning were found together with the figurines. The figurines found in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore are likely representations of actual votaries partly because of what they are holding (Merker 2000; Muller 1996). In graves the assemblage of artifacts Tanagra figurines were part of argues for an interpretation as real women.

Another argument for my statement about the Tanagras being representations of actual women are the changes in the value system during the Hellenistic period. The values in the Hellenistic period leant towards an emphasis on beautification and leisure, as already mentioned this may have played a role in the figurines beautiful countenance (Houby-Nielsen 1997), but the changes also made it possible that the mundane became divine and the gap between gods and men became smaller and relationship between the two developed into a personal one (Nilsson 1948; Mikalson 1983; Beaumont 1998, 91). This also influenced the way divinity was portrayed. So figurines in the Hellenistic period could become radically different in displaying women with a divine association than in

the previous Classical period. The change in imagery of the figurines is nicely illustrated by this quote from an article by Dorothy Burr-Thompson from 1952:

*'The draped female figures all represent women and girls in simple poses of everyday life. They are clearly derived from the earlier types of votaries, who, dedicating themselves to the deity in the ritual, also dedicated their images in the temple. During the fourth century this kore type undergoes a change of emphasis. Still hieratic at the beginning of the century, the terracotta type follows that of the goddess or of the priestess or votary, performing a ritual, bringing a gift, or playing music for the procession. But by the middle of the century the emphasis is beginning to shift, so that the female figures appear less in the role of dedicant than of a simple human being as she is in daily life. These ladies no longer carry offerings or perform rituals; they stand empty-handed or they carry the frivolous fan or mirror. (Burr-Thompson, 1952, 128)*

The fact that the gap between the mundane world and the divine world became smaller, might already be seen in the 'genre scene' pieces from the fifth century. At least it is interesting to observe that focus shifted from the collective to the individual, personal daily activities became interesting subjects to depict. Maybe this shift goes further during the following centuries, resulting in for example the Tanagras and also in the realistic depiction of for example elderly people and nurses in the third century (Jeammet 2010 (a), 75; Uhlenbrock 1990 (b), 77 & 148). (Fig. 52)

All these changing conceptions also had an effect on the depiction of the gods and divinity, and the communication between mortals and the gods (Beaumont 1998, 91). They became more easily approachable to normal men (*ibid.*). This meant that worshippers could have a personal relationship with the gods (*ibid.*). This is also I think what influenced the Tanagras. If one looks at the Classical and pre-Tanagra figurines, their divine association is clear. The Tanagras thus are an evolution of religious art, and since the gap between divine and mundane was getting smaller and smaller, Tanagras in my opinion are likely to depict normal women with a strong link to the goddesses they were dedicated to and likely were once depictions of. Their beautiful, modest and in some regards provoking appearance thus becomes less puzzling. They were linked with a cult, that of Demeter and Kore, which incorporated both the fact that a woman had to be a dutiful wife, and yet also be fertile and produce offspring. Sexuality and modesty could thus be bought together in one image, the Tanagras.

Although this research is quite limited considering the immense quantity of figurines and already published books it is concerned with, I do hope that the argument I am trying to make is clear and, though with some gaps due to lack of important information, convincing. To establish the link more firmly between the worship of Demeter and Kore and Tanagras and thus allowing a stronger link with social identity substantiated through rituals and festivities performed in the deities' honour, more and more profound research would be needed. Still the Tanagras as a reminder of female social identity does not seem an unlikely interpretation considering material context in graves from Olynthus, Tanagra and Macedonia, the sanctuary in Corinth and the houses of Olynthus.

## SUMMARY

This research is concerned with the terracotta images of women produced between ca. 330-200 B.C. on mainland Greece, these terracotta figurines are called the Tanagras. The aim of the research is to interpret their meaning in daily family life during the late Classical and early Hellenistic period. A database was made using information from graves and houses from Olynthus, the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, graves from Tanagra and graves and sanctuaries from Macedonia.

The Tanagras were discovered in the nineteenth century at the site of Tanagra nord-east of Athens. They were admired for their beautiful appearance. Because of their great popularity with Western society, then known sites were plundered and therefore the material context of the Tanagras is obscured. This has troubled interpretation greatly and only recently scholars have attempted to shed light on their meaning instead of focusing on typological and stylistic research questions.

I have tried to reconstruct the material context for the mentioned sites and thus gathered the information I could find on this in a database from which conclusions were drawn about who the Tanagras represent and why they were put in the grave, dedicated at the sanctuary or placed in the house. The information shows that the Tanagras were strongly connected with religion despite their secular appearance. They were a way to invoke religious presence, though they did not necessarily represent a goddess. They are linked to the worship of Demeter and Kore because they were often dedicated in shrines consecrated to these deities. The pre-Tanagra figurines and 'genre scenes' which preceded the Tanagras and from which the Tanagras stem, show a strong linkage with the deities too.

Tanagras seem to have been used to symbolize the ideal woman, dutiful, beautiful and fertile. At the sanctuary the Tanagras expressed the hope and plea of the dedicant to be a good wife and mother. Tanagras are also often found in graves and particularly of children and young women, in this context they likely represented the life that could have been but never would be, namely that of mother and wife. And in the house they reminded the women in the house of who they were and were a means to ask for the goddess presence and help as a kind of intermediary between the believer and deity, much like the religious icons of the Byzantine era.

## SAMENVATTING

Dit onderzoek richt zich op terracotta beeldjes van vrouwen geproduceerd tussen 330-200 v. Chr op het vasteland van Griekenland, deze terracotta beeldjes worden Tanagra genoemd. Het doel van het onderzoek is om de betekenis van deze beeldjes te achterhalen in het dagelijkse familiale leven gedurende de laat Klassieke- en vroeg Hellenistische periode. Hiertoe is een database samengesteld van de informatie over de artefact assemblages van de graven en huizen in Olynthus, het heiligdom van Demeter en Kore in Corinthe, de graven in Tanagra en van graven en enige heiligdommen in Macedonië.

De Tanagra figurines werden in de negentiende eeuw ontdekt in Tanagra ten noordoosten van Athene en werden bewonderd en gewaardeerd om hun schoonheid. De beeldjes waren zeer populair bij de gegoede klasse in het Westen en bekende sites werden geplunderd waardoor de materiële context van de figurines moeilijk te achterhalen is. Hierdoor werd de interpretatie van de figurines gefrustreerd. Het is een vrij recente ontwikkeling dat wetenschappers zich zijn gaan bezighouden met de sociaal-culturele betekenis van de figurines in plaats van slechts te focussen op typologische en stilistische analyses.

De materiële context heb ik geprobeerd te reconstrueren door de beschikbare informatie van de verschillende sites te verzamelen in een database. Hieruit zijn conclusies getrokken wat betreft het uiterlijk van de Tanagra figurines en de reden dat ze meegegeven werden in het graf, gewijd werden in het heiligdom of gebruikt werden in het huis. Uit de database komt onder andere naar voren dat ze een duidelijk religieuze conotatie hadden ondanks een niet expliciet religieus uiterlijk. Door de figurines was het goddelijke aanwezig, hoewel de figurines niet expliciet een godin representeerden. De figurines zijn gekoppeld aan de cultus van Demeter en Kore omdat ze vaak gewijd werden in de heiligdommen van deze godinnen. De pre-Tanagra figurines en ‘genre scenes’, de voorgangers van de Tanagra figurines, hebben ook een sterke band met de cultus van Demeter en Kore.

De Tanagra figurines lijken symbolen van de ideale vrouw, mooi, vruchtbaar en met een groot plichtsbesef. Wanneer de figurines in een heiligdom worden gevonden representeren zij de hoop en het verzoek van de offeraar om een goede vrouw en moeder te worden of te zijn. De Tanagra figurines worden ook vaak gevonden in graven, met name van kinderen (meisjes waarschijnlijk) en jonge vrouwen. In deze context representeren ze waarschijnlijk het leven zoals het geweest had kunnen zijn, maar nooit meer zou komen, namelijk dat van vrouw en moeder. Als de figurines waren opgesteld in

huis dan is het waarschijnlijk dat ze fungeerden als een herinnering van sociale identiteit aan de vrouwen in huis en als een middel om de aanwezigheid van de godin uit te nodigen en af te roepen in huis. De figurines kunnen daarin vergeleken worden met de iconen die gedurende de Byzantijnse periode in het huis werden geplaatst als een intermediair tussen de gelovige en God.

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## APPENDIX A DATABASE

### OLYNTHUS

FIGURINES FOUND IN GRAVES (Cahill database information received from him on request; Robinson 1942; Robinson 1933)

All finds from Olynthus date from before the destruction by Philip II in 348 B.C. For city plan see Appendix B, Fig. 2, 4 (Cahill 2002, 26). The house indications and grave numbers are taken from the volumes on the excavations at Olynthus by David M. Robinson, the information about associated finds was taken from the publication by Nicolas Cahill (Cahill 2002; Robinson 1938; Robinson 1933). I have also included pictures of the different artifacts, they can be found in Appendix B, Fig. 55-66.

Grave numbers correspond with the publications used.

Grave number	Sex and Age	Date	Number of terracotta figurines	Number of female figurines	Appearance of female figurines	Position in grave of figurines	Associated finds: terracottas	Position of all associated finds if different from figurine	Associated finds: <i>astragali</i>	Associated finds: vases and cups	Associated finds: miscellaneous
<b>Riverside cemetery</b>											
5	child, unknown sex	1st half 4th c B.C.	2	1	1 terracotta female figurine	on the right in the center of the grave	1 terracotta spoon				
21	adult		1			between thighs	1 female protome				1 bronze <i>strigil</i>
31	child	2nd quarter 4 th c B.C.	1			foot	1 female protome	<i>skyphus</i> & earring: east end grave, one-handed cup: left center, bone pendant: right center, necklace: center		miniature Corinthian <i>skyphus</i> , one handled cup	1 earring, 1 bone pendant, necklace of green and yellow beads
60	many bones, undeterminable, maybe unprotected graves, <i>enchytrismos</i> included	2nd quarter of 4th c B.C.	1				1 terracotta figurine			2 small <i>lekythoi</i>	
69	child, unknown sex	late 5th, early 4th c B.C.	13	3	2 female squatting, 1 female figurine crouching	all at center of the grave	1 satyr, 1 female protome, 1 male draped and bearded figurine, 3 figurines				

Grave number	Sex and Age	Date	Number of terracotta figurines	Number of female figurines	Appearance of female figurines	Position in grave of figurines	Associated finds: terracottas	Position of all associated finds if different from figurine	Associated finds: <i>astragali</i>	Associated finds: vases and cups	Associated finds: miscellaneous
<b>Riverside cemetery</b>											
88	child, unknown sex, age +/- 3 yrs	5th c B.C.	5	2	2 seated females	male figurine at feet, rest at center grave	1 dancer, 1 female mask, 1 reclining male				
91	child, unknown sex	mid 5th c B.C.	2	1	1 seated female figurine suckling a child	on pelvis	1 satyr		1 lead <i>astragalus</i> , 53 other <i>astragali</i>		1 iron <i>strigil</i>
102	child, unknown sex	4th c B.C.	3			on pelvis	3 satyrs	scattered through grave	22 <i>astragali</i>		
108	child, unknown sex, unprotected burial	2nd quarter 4th c B.C.	3	2	2 seated female		1 tortoise			1 squat <i>lekythos</i> , 1 one handled jug,	3 bronze earrings, bronze and bone beads
115	cremation	early 4th c B.C.	13	5	1 standing female figurine, 1 two standing females embracing, 3 seated female figurines		5 female protomes, 1 female bust, 2 doves		8 <i>astragali</i>		
147	child, unknown sex	4th c B.C.	1	1	1 seated female figurine	fill above east end grave		near head			2 bronze coins
177	child, unknown sex	4th c B.C.	1	1	1 seated female figurine	foot		bracelet: at center, pendant: at neck, <i>astragali</i> : scattered	4 <i>astragali</i>		1 bronze bracelet, 1 bronze pendant
178	child, unknown sex	4 th c B.C.	5	2	2 seated female figurines	right shoulder&feet	2 boys, 1 dove	<i>lekythos</i> & dove: left shoulder, boys & one handled bowl: feet, <i>astragali</i> : scattered	11 <i>astragali</i>	1 squat <i>lekythos</i> , 1 one handled bowl	
191	child, unknown sex	4th c B.C.	5	3	1 seated female figurine, 1 female figurine with hands to face, 1 female figurine	right shoulder, left shoulder, left knee	1 large female head, 1 terracotta mask, 1 male on donkey	coins: in mouth, earrings: either side head, bracelet: left wrist, large female head: left shoulder, terracotta mask & male on donkey: under left hand			1 bronze coin, 2 bronze earrings, 1 bronze bracelet
211	child, unknown sex	4th c B.C.	4	2	2 seated females	by knees	2 female heads	<i>skyphus</i> , <i>astragalus</i> : feet, coin, <i>lekythos</i> : knees	1 <i>astragalus</i>	1 <i>skyphus</i> , 1 squat <i>lekythos</i>	1 bronze coin, 2 bronze earrings, 1 bronze bracelet
239	child, unknown sex	late 5th/4th c B.C.	1	1	1 seated female	center	1 plastic vase	plastic vase: near head, rest: center	some <i>astragali</i>	1 large, black-glazed vase	2 bronze earrings
240	adult, unknown sex	5th c B.C.	1				1 male figure	male figure: north side			
251	adult, unknown sex	4th c B.C.	3	3	3 figurines	by legs		squat <i>lekythos</i> : by legs		1 squat <i>lekythos</i>	
262	child? <i>Enchyrtismos</i>	late 5th/4th c B.C.	1	1	1 seated figurine	by neck of amphora		small saucer: by foot amphora		1 small saucer	

Grave number	Sex and Age	Date	Number of terracotta figurines	Number of female figurines	Appearance of female figurines	Position in grave of figurines	Associated finds: terracottas	Position of all associated finds if different from figurine	Associated finds: astragali	Associated finds: vases and cups	Associated finds: miscellaneous
<b>Riverside cemetery</b>											
278	cremation	5th c B.C.	2	2	2 standing female figurines					1 skyphus	pieces of rusted iron
289	no remains	late 5th/4th c B.C.	3	2	2 standing female figurines		1 boy with astragali			1 black figured lekythus, 1 skyphus	1 bronze bracelet with sneak-head ends, 1 glass amphoricus, 1 bronze knob, clay beads, 1 round bone knob
328	<i>enchytrismos</i>	4th c B.C.	2	1	1 seated female figurine <i>kourotrophos</i>		1 sitting figure with Phrygian cap		6 astragali	1 lekane with lid	1 Bottian bronze Coin
361	adult, unknown sex	4th c B.C.	2	2	2 seated female figurines	left to skull		at feet		1 squat lekythos	
366	wooden coffin, child, unknown sex	4th c B.C.	3	1	1 fragments of a female figurine	about pelvis	2 female protomes		6 astragali	1 miniature Corinthian skyphus	3 bronze coins, 1 plain bronze ring, 2 pendant earrings, 1 chain of green and yellow paste beads
370	wooden coffin, child, unknown sex	late 5th/4th c B.C.	18	4	2 standing female figurines, 2 seated female figurines	over head and over middle of body	2 female protomes, 1 boy, 1 satyr, 1 female head, 9 animals		astragali	1 hydria, 1 lekythus,	1 bronze earring, 1 small bronze boss
401	child, unknown sex	2nd quarter of 4th c B.C.	1				1 satyr?	right lower leg	26 astragali	1 lekythus	1 iron strigil
412	<i>enchytrismos</i>	4th c B.C.	1	1	1 female figurine right arm at breast	in vessel					
417	child, unknown sex	5th/early 4th c B.C.	5	2	2 squatting female figurines	on stomach	1 figurine figure with Phrygian cap, 3 figurines	Phrygian cap: at feet, 1 figurine: near cheek, 2 figurines: near feet	13 astragali		
427	<i>enchytrismos</i> in egg-shaped vessel	5th/early 4th c B.C.	1				1 female protome	in vessel	some astragali	4 vases	
430	wooden coffin, child, unknown sex		4				2 satyrs, 1 animal, 1 figurine	center	11 astragali		
432	<i>enchytrismos</i>	5th c B.C.	3				3 figurines	in vessels			1 bronze fibula
440	infant, unprotected		1				1 female protome				
462	child, unknown sex, about 3 yrs	late 5th/4th c B.C.	1	1	1 female with child	left knee		center	5 astragali	1 hydria, 1 pyxis	1 shell of bivalve
492	child +/- 4 yrs, determined by teeth		1				1 figurine		some astragali		
519	<i>enchytrismos</i> in pithos	late 5th/4th c B.C.	1	1	1 seated female	in vessel				1 skyphus	2 bronze earrings
<b>East Cemetery</b>											
559	no remains	late 5th c B.C.	1				1 boy				
561	cremation	1st quarter 4th c B.C.	8	2	2 seated female figures <i>kourotrophos</i>		3 female mask, 1 female head, 1 base female bust			3 squat lekythi	

Grave number	Sex and Age	Date	Number of terracotta figurines	Number of female figurines	Appearance of female figurines	Position in grave of figurines	Associated finds: terracottas	Position of all associated finds if different from figurine	Associated finds: astragali	Associated finds: vases and cups	Associated finds: miscellaneous
<b>East Cemetery</b>											
563	wooden coffin, child, unknown sex	4th c B.C.	5	3	3 seated female	left arm and foot	2 female mask	<i>lekythos</i> : right arm, earring pendant: right shoulder, earrings: right earhole		1 squat <i>lekythos</i>	1 bronze earring pendant, 1 bronze and silver earring
567	unprotected burial of child	4th c B.C.	3	1	1 seated female		1 dancer, 1 boy				1 feeding bottle
576	unprotected burial of child, unknown sex	5th c B.C.	4				1 sphinx, 1 reclining satyr, 2 roosters		few <i>astragali</i>		1 bronze bracelet, 4 bronze <i>strigils</i>
582	unprotected burial of child, unknown sex		group	2	seated females, some holding babies						
584	wooden coffin, child, unknown sex	4th c B.C.	17	8	2 female figurines holding dove at breast, 1 two females embracing, 1 standing female, 1 female with stephane on head and tight garments and right knee bent, 3 seated female	scattered through grave	4 female protomes, 1 bird, 1 dancer, 1 crouching silenus, 1 rooster, 1 dove		8 <i>astragali</i>		
589	wooden coffin, no remains	4th c B.C.	1	1	1 standing female figurine		1 animal head			3 vases	
590	unprotected burial of child, unknown sex	4th c B.C.	1	1	1 seated female figurine					1 bowl, 1 vase of red clay	1 feeding bottle
591	cremation	4th c B.C.	2	2	1 fragment of standing female, 1 fragment of seated female					6 vases, 1 <i>pyxis</i> , 1 <i>skyphus</i>	
594	wooden coffin, no remains	late 5th/early 4th c B.C.	3	1	1 seated female figurine		1 female mask, 1 tortoise				
<b>Miscellaneous graves</b>											
596, among houses South Hill	adult and child	4th c B.C.	1				1 figurine	large <i>astragalus</i> : outside south wall, rest: west end grave	13 <i>astragali</i> , 1 large <i>astragalus</i>	1 small black-glazed <i>hydria</i>	

## FIGURINES FOUND IN HOUSES

House numbers are taken from the publication by N. Cahill.

House	Location in house	Number of terracottas	Number of female figurines	Appearance of terracotta	Associated finds vases/larger pouring vessels	Associated finds jewelry	Associated finds drinking vessels/ jugs/pouring vessels	Associated finds loomweights and grindstones	Associated finds miscellaneous
House of Many Colours	room a	2	1	1 complete female head, 1 female protome	2 <i>hydria</i> , 1 amphora,		1 <i>oinochoe</i> , 8 shallow bowls, 1 <i>lekanis</i> & lid, 1 jug, 12 miniature cups, 2 <i>lekythoi</i> , 1 <i>guttus</i>	67 loomweights	2 fishplates
House A vii 4	North rooms	6	1	2 female heads, 1 fragment of standing female, 2 female masks, 1 base fragment of female figurine		1 <i>fibula</i> , 1 earring			1 cylindrical lead bar
House A v 10	Court	11	2	2 whole figurines unknown sex and unknown whether humanoid, rest fragmented			1 red-figured squat <i>lekythos</i>		3 fishhooks, 2 slingbullets
House A v 9	Kitchen-complex	3	1	1 terracotta figurine, 2 female protomes		1 earring, 1 bracelet			1 spearhead, 1 <i>thymiaterion</i> , bronze fragments probably belonging to an object now lost
House A v 9	Court and portico	1	1	1 terracotta female head			1 complete <i>oinochoe</i>		1 <i>louter</i> fragment
House A v 1	court and pastas	2		1 terracotta figurine, unknown sex	3 storage amphora, 1 <i>pihos</i>		1 saucer	5 loomweights	1 arrowhead, 1 hinge, 1 swinging handle of a metal vessel
House A v 1	Room c, kitchen-complex?, food storage rooms?	3	1	1 female protome, 1 standing woman, 1 animal figurine	11 storage amphora, saltcellar, unidentified smaller vase			13 loomweights	1 bronze bodkin, 1 large needle with eyes on either end for weaving, 1 bronze tweezer, 1 Homeric-type key, 1 ring
House A 8	court and pastas	4	3	1 female head, 1 female bust, 1 base of female bust, 2 standing females embracing	1 red-figured vase, 1 storage amphora, 2 plastic vases, 1 negroid head vase, 2 bowls	1 bronze chain, 1 finger ring, 1 bead, 1 bronze swinging ring handle	4 <i>lekythoi</i>	1 grindstone, 8 loomweights	1 quern, 1 <i>spatula</i> , 1 bronze chisel, 1 miniature lamp

House	Location in house	Number of terracottas	Number of female figurines	Appearance of terracotta	Associated finds vases/larger pouring vessels	Associated finds jewelry	Associated finds drinking vessels/ jugs/pouring vessels	Associated finds loomweights and grindstones	Associated finds miscellaneous
House A 8	court and pastas	4	3	1 female head, 1 female bust, 1 base of female bust, 2 standing females embracing	1 red-figured vase, 1 storage amphora, 2 plastic vases, 1 negroid head vase, 2 bowls	1 bronze chain, 1 finger ring, 1 bead, 1 bronze swinging ring handle	4 <i>lekythoi</i>	1 grindstone, 8 loomweights	1 quern, 1 <i>spatula</i> , 1 bronze chisel, 1 miniature lamp
House A 10	rooms a,b,c for storage	5	3	2 fragment of female mask, 1 female head, 1 standing female figurine, 1 fragment of standing female figurine	2 pithos lids		1 shallow bowl, 1 <i>kantharos</i>	cluster of loomweights fallen from loom	
House A 11	court in a cache	5	2	1 female mask, 2 fragments of female mask, 2 female head	4 vases in the shape of women, 4 vases in the shape of men		1 <i>olpe</i> , 2 shallow bowls, 2 cups, 1 <i>oinochoe</i> , 1 <i>lekythos</i>		
House of the Comedian	Kitchen-complex	1		1 actor	2 storage amphora		2 cups, 1 <i>lekane</i> & lid, 2 shallow bowls, 1 <i>lekythos</i>	6 loomweights	4 lamps, cluster of nails, 1 fishplate, 1 lead disk
House of the Comedian	<i>andron</i>	23	5	4 female masks, 7 fragments of female mask, 1 fragment female head, 1 female bust, 2 fragments of standing female, 1 fragment of dancer, 3 fragments seated female, 1 nude male figure, 2 Pan playing flute, 1 crouching silenus			1 <i>kantharos</i> , 1 shallow bowl, 1 <i>lekythos</i>		
House of the Tiled Prothyron	room f	2	1	1 arm of terracotta doll, 1 head female figurine			1 squat <i>lekythos</i>		fragments of glass
House EHS 4	Kitchen-complex, room b,d,c	2		2 fragmentary terracottas, unknown sex, unknown whether humanoid	1 amphora	1 finger ring	3 shallow bowls		1 meathook, 1 pelike and saucer, 8 coins, 1 <i>louter</i> base
House A xi 10	Kitchen-complex	2	2	2 figurines unknown sex and unknown whether humanoid				57 loomweights in a dense cluster	
House A vi 6	<i>andron</i>	2	1	1 female mask, 1 female head	2 plastic vases				
House A viii 7	court, pastas	4		4 terracottas unknown sex, unknown whether humanoid			1 duck <i>askos</i> , 1 <i>oinochoe</i> , 1 <i>lekythos</i>	247 loomweights	1 fishplate, 4 <i>thymaterion</i>
House A viii 9	room b, kitchen complex ?	1		1 terracotta unknown sex, unknown whether humanoid			1 <i>lekythos</i>		
House A viii 3	kitchen ?	3		3 terracottas unknown sex, unknown whether humanoid			1 shallow bowls		3 saucers or saltcellars, 2 spoons, 1 lamp

## CORINTH, THE SANCTUARY OF DEMETER AND KORE

For a map of the Sanctuary see Appendix B, Fig. 7. For images of the artifacts found with the figurines see Appendix B, Fig. 55-66.

Artifacts from the same room or area are clustered in the database. The numbers of the artifacts were taken from the publication by Gloria Merker on the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore and correspond with this publication (Merker, 2000). The C stands for Classical, these figurines are from the Classical period. The H stands for Hellenistic, these figurines are from the Hellenistic period.

Catalogue number of figurine(s)	Location at site	Context	Number of figurines	Appearance of figurines	Associated finds: pottery	Associated finds: other	Date
C5	Middle Terrace, room E	in clay floor	1	standing female wearing a <i>peplos</i>	<i>kalathoi</i> , miniature vases, clay basins, <i>perirrhanteria</i> , cooking vessels	lamps, loomweights, knucklebones	last quarter 5th c B.C.
C10+11+19+26	Middle Terrace, Area G	either Roman fill, or dedication fill	4	C10+11+26 = standing female wearing a <i>peplos</i> , C19 = standing draped female figurine	200 intact miniature vases	lamps, 8 coins, numerous fragmented figurines	5th c B.C.
C12+13+25+79	Middle Terrace, Trapezoidal Building, room 1&2	fill to level bedrock	4	C12+13+25 = standing female wearing a <i>peplos</i> , C79 = seated draped female figure		votive objects	late 4th c, early 3rd c B.C.
C17+18+54+83+92	Middle Terrace, Trapezoidal Building, room3, pit B	sacrificial pit	5	C17+18 = standing female wearing a <i>peplos</i> , C54 = head of a <i>hydriaphoros</i> , C83 = seated draped female figurine, C92 = female head related to seated figurine	pottery, <i>liknon</i> , <i>kernos</i> -type offering trays	mould of figurine, inscribed bone object, cover tile, pan tile, 2 bronze coins	ca. 3rd c B.C.
C33+34+73	Middle Terrace, south of area D, larger of 2 deposits	discarded dedications, placed in a part of the Sanctuary no longer in use	3	C33 = standing female wearing a <i>peplos</i> , C34 = standing draped girl, C73 = female head, probably from seated goddess	votive and coarse ware pottery, intact miniature vases, <i>kernos</i> -type offering trays	numerous lamps, bronze Corinthian coin	early 3rd c B.C.

Catalogue number of figurine(s)	Location at site	Context	Number of figurines	Appearance of figurines	Associated finds: pottery	Associated finds: other	Date
C36	Lower Terrace, Building N-O, pit	votive pit, or taken from elsewhere and discarded here	1	standing female wearing a <i>peplos</i> (Demeter?)	pottery	pieces of jewelry, 9 lamps, terracotta loomweight, roof tiles	3rd c B.C.
C80	Upper Terrace	patch of black fill	1	seated female wearing <i>peplos</i>	<i>lebes gamikos</i>	fragmented figurines	4th c B.C.
C100	Upper Terrace, near stairs	fill of dicarded votive objects	1	female head	<i>kalathiskoi</i> , <i>kernos</i> -type offering trays, <i>phialai</i>		4th c B.C.
H1+51	Middle Terrace, Trapezodial Building, Room 3, west of Pit B	fill to bring interior of building up to floor level	2	H1 = standing <i>peplos</i> -figurine holding piglet, H51 = <i>hydria</i> part of <i>hydriaphoros</i>	pottery	votive objects, numerous figurines	ca. early 3 rd c B.C.
H5	Lower Terrace, Dining building M 16-17, Room 1	accumulation of debris in an abandoned building	1	standing draped figurine with piglet	pottery	deep basin incised with a wave pattern, figurine of a standing draped man	late 2nd c B.C.
H6+9+19	Lower Terrace, votive pit (?) N-O: 17-18	fill of discarded objects from elsewhere	3	H6 = standing draped figurine with piglet, H9 = standing <i>peplos</i> -figurine with piglet, H19 = standing <i>peplos</i> -figurine	pottery	pieces of jewelry, 9 lamps, terracotta loomweight, roof tiles, 170 fragmented figurines	ca 3rd c B.C.
H7+14+11+20+27+46	Upper Terrace, east end of Theater S-T: 21	brought from place of sacrifice and discarded here	6	H7+11 = standing draped female figurine with piglet, H14 = standing <i>peplos</i> -figurine with piglet, H20 = standing <i>peplos</i> -figurine, H27 = standing draped female figurine carrying torch , H46 = standing draped girl	burned pottery, miniaure <i>hydriai</i>	burned animal bones, 190 fragments of female figurines mostly girls holding piglets, 24 lamps, 1 bronze ring, 2 bronze coins, part of marble <i>pyxis</i>	late 3rd c B.C.

Catalogue number of figurine(s)	Location at site	Context	Number of figurines	Appearance of figurines	Associated finds: pottery	Associated finds: other	Date
H13+33+35	Middle Terrace, Trapezoidal Building, Room 1&2	filling to level floor	3	all standing draped female figurine	pottery		late 4th, early 3rd c B.C.
H39+99	Middle Terrace, Trapezoidal Building, Room 3, Pit B	votive pit	2	H39+99 = standing draped figurine	pottery, <i>liknon</i> , <i>kernos</i> -type offering trays	mould of figurine, inscribed bone object, cover tile, pan tile, 2 bronze coins	ca. 3rd c B.C.
H56	Middle Terrace, Area D rock-cut platform in R: 23-24	dedication pit (?)	1	standing draped female figurine	<i>kernos</i> -type offering tray, intact miniature vases	fragmentary terracotta figurines, numerous lamps, bronze Corinthian coin	early 3rd c B.C.
H57	Lower Terrace, Entrance Court, Votive Pit F	votive pit in floor	1	standing draped female figurine	pottery, miniature vases		late 4th, early 3rd c B.C.

## TANAGRA GRAVES

The grave numbers and information about finds was taken from a article published by Alexandra Harami (Harami 2007). Sex and age of the buried was not given.

Grave number	Date	Number of figurines	Appearance of figurines	Associated finds	Location in grave
22, along Asopos river, <i>Ghelezi</i> cemetery?	4th c B.C.	4	1 figurine wrapped in <i>himation</i>	36 cups, 5 <i>kanthari</i> , 1 small cup	figurines: outside grave near feet, rest outside grave scattered along the long sides from head to foot
2, <i>Kokkali</i> cemetery	4th c B.C.	28	25 female figurines, 1 male, 2 figurines	14 drinking wares ( <i>kanthari</i> , small cups, 1 <i>carchesion</i> , cups), 1 lamp (used), 1 miniature <i>lekythos</i> , 1 terracotta pomegranate, 3 miniature vases	all inside grave: 2 figurines, 14 drinking wares ( <i>kanthari</i> , small cups, 1 <i>carchesion</i> , cups), 1 lamp, 1 miniature <i>lekythos</i> : outside grave long the long sides; 1 male & 25 female figurines: inside grave next to head and body, 3 miniature vases & 1 terracotta pomegranate: right of head
2, along Asopos river, <i>Ghelezi</i> cemetery?	1st half of 2nd c B.C.	1	girl wearing a <i>himation</i> with one hand at hip and goose at feet	6 perfume vases, 1 lamp (used), 10 small <i>skyphoi</i> , 1 small <i>lekanis</i> , 1 <i>skyphus</i> , 1 <i>lagynos</i>	6 perfume vases, 1 lamp (used), 10 small <i>skyphoi</i> , 1 small <i>lekanis</i> , 1 <i>skyphus</i> : left upper part grave, <i>lagynos</i> : left lower part grave, 1 figurine: right side grave
40,41 along Asopos river, <i>Ghelezi</i> cemetery?	1st half 3rd c B.C.	2	1 male <i>ephebe</i> , 1 female figurine	1 small <i>skyphus</i> , 2 <i>lagynoi</i> , 4 nails	<i>skyphus</i> & figurines: left side grave, nails & <i>lagynoi</i> : right lower part grave

Grave number	Date	Number of figurines	Appearance of figurines	Associated finds	Location in grave
27, along Asopos river, <i>Ghelezi</i> cemetery?	4th c B.C.	1	1 figurine badly broken	1 small cup, 2 cup, 1 miniature <i>skyphus</i>	all inside grave: 1 small cup, 1 cup, 1 miniature <i>skyphus</i> : right lower part grave, 1 figurine: left upper side grave, 1 cup: left lower side grave
19, along Asopos river, <i>Ghelezi</i> cemetery?	1st half 3rd c B.C.	1	1 figurine badly broken	1 cup, 1 lid of small <i>lekanis</i> , 1 small cup, 1 lamp (used), 1 perfume holder	all outside grave: 1 figurine, 1 cup, 1 lid of small <i>lekanis</i> , 1 small cup: left lower side grave, 1 lamp, 1 perfume holder: left side grave
18, along Asopos river, <i>Ghelezi</i> cemetery?	1st half 3rd c B.C.			1 lamp (used), perfume holder, 1 <i>lekythus</i> , 1 small <i>skyphus</i>	all outside grave: 1 lamp, 1 perfume holder: right side grave, 1 <i>lekythus</i> , 1 small <i>skyphus</i> : left lower part grave
1, along Asopos river, <i>Ghelezi</i> cemetery?	2nd half of 3rd c B.C.			1 <i>skyphus</i> , 1 sea shell, 1 <i>oinochoe</i>	inside grave: 1 <i>skyphus</i> : at feet, 1 sea shell: between legs, outside grave: 1 <i>oinochoe</i> : left of head
32, along Asopos river, <i>Ghelezi</i> cemetery?				1 <i>oinochoe</i> , 1 lamp (used)	all outside: 1 <i>oinochoe</i> : left side of grave, 1 lamp: near feet
4, along Asopos river, <i>Ghelezi</i> cemetery?				1 <i>lagynos</i> , 2 <i>oinochoe</i> , 1 platter, 1 lamp, 3 perfume holders, 1 small <i>oinochoe</i> , 3 deep <i>kyathoi</i> , 1 <i>kantharos</i>	inside grave: 1 <i>lagynos</i> , 2 <i>oinochoe</i> , 1 platter, 1 lamp, 3 perfume holders, 1 small <i>oinochoe</i> , 3 deep <i>kyathoi</i> , 1 <i>kantharos</i> : near feet
7, along Asopos river, <i>Ghelezi</i> cemetery?		2	2 figurines badly broken	1 <i>unguentarium</i> , 1 lamp, 1 <i>lekythos</i> , 1 <i>kyathoi</i> , 1 cup, 1 iron knife, 1 iron ring	all near feet: 1 <i>urguentarium</i> : right side of grave, 2 figurines, 1 lamp, 1 <i>lekythos</i> , 1 <i>kyathoi</i> , 1 cup, 1 iron knife, 1 iron ring: left side of grave

APPENDIX B PICTURES



Fig. 1 Map with the location of Olynthus, Corinth and Tanagra. (Uhlenbrock 1990 (a), 48)

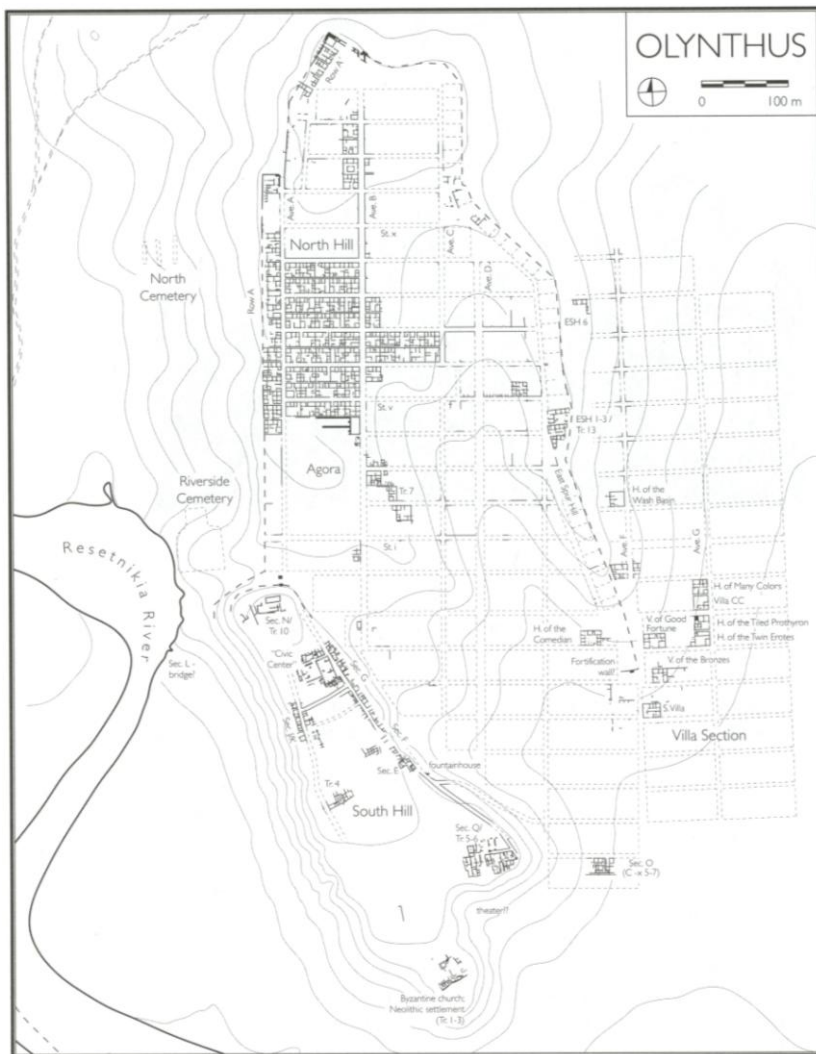


Fig. 2 Plan of Olynthus (Cahill 2002, 26)

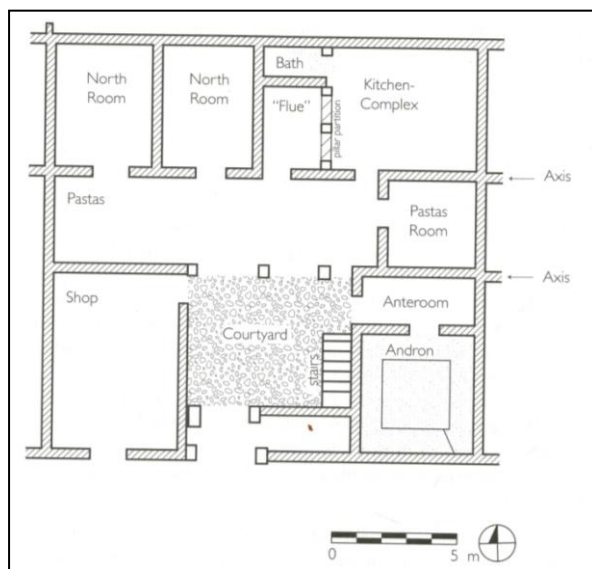


Fig. 3 Schematic plan of a house based on A vii 4 from Olynthus (Cahill 2002, 76)

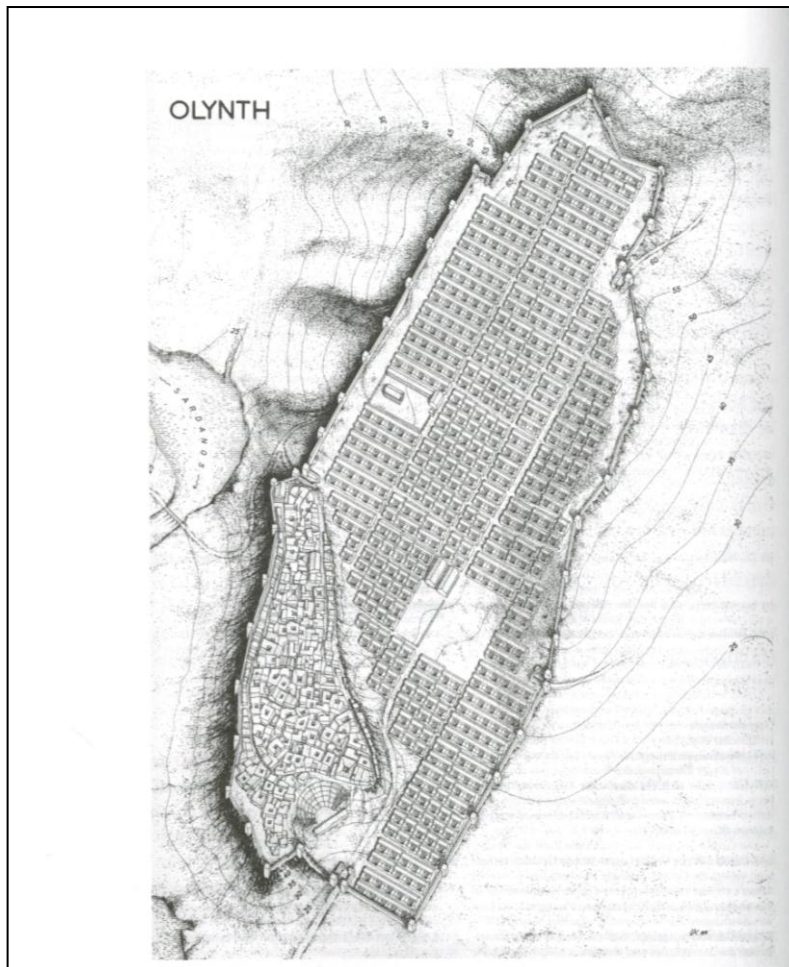


Fig. 4  
 Reconstruction of  
 Olynthus by  
 Hoefner and  
 Schwander (Cahill  
 2002, 196)

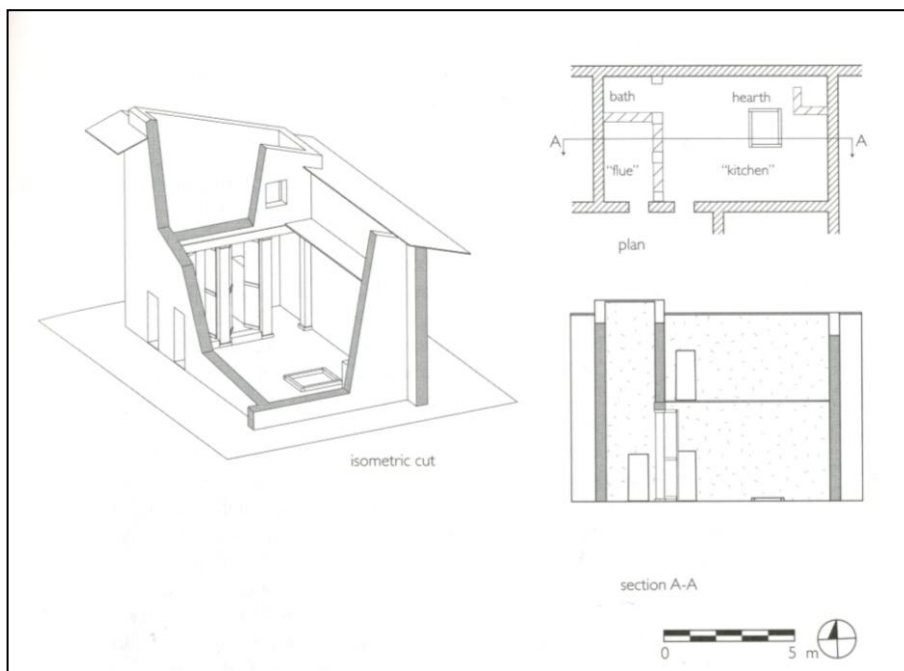


Fig. 5 Reconstruction of Kitchen-complex in House Avi 6 with 2<sup>nd</sup> floor (Cahill 2002, 81)

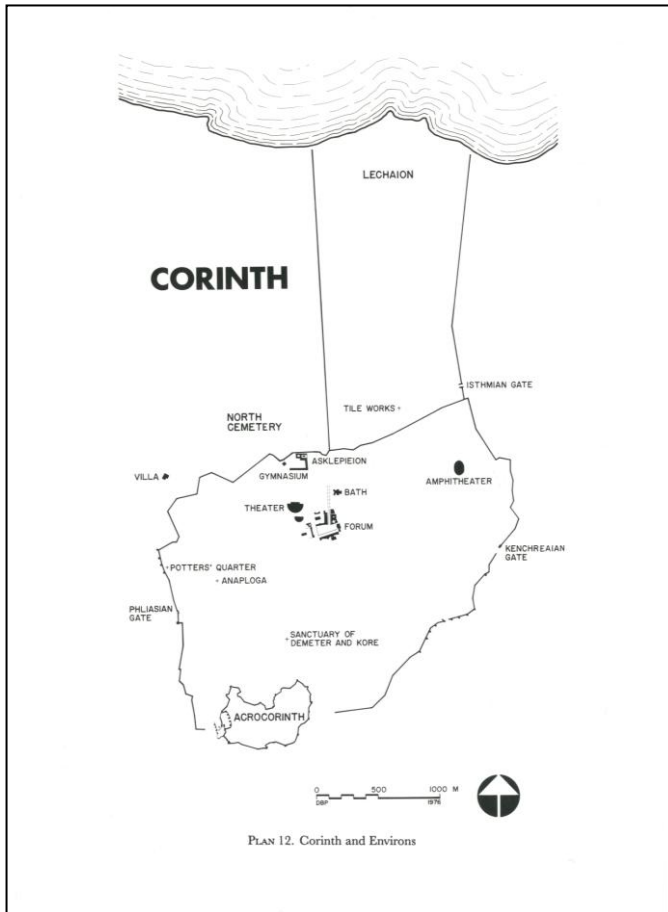


Fig. 6 Plan of Corinth  
(Bookidis and Stroud 1997,  
plan 12)

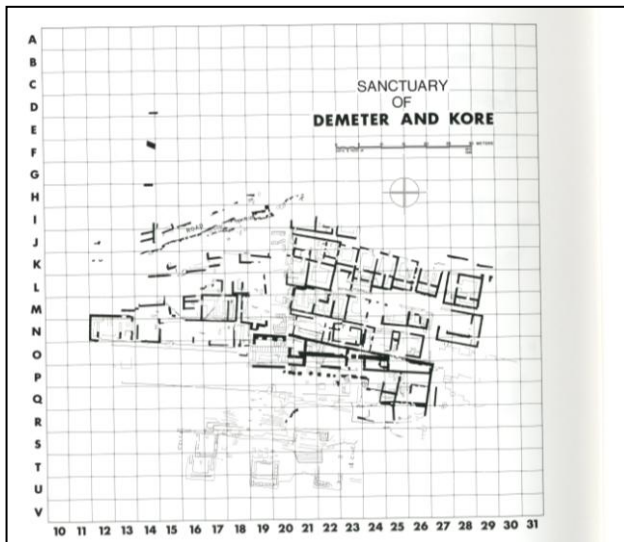


Fig. 7 Schematic plan of the  
Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore  
(Bookidis and Stroud 1997, plan  
11)

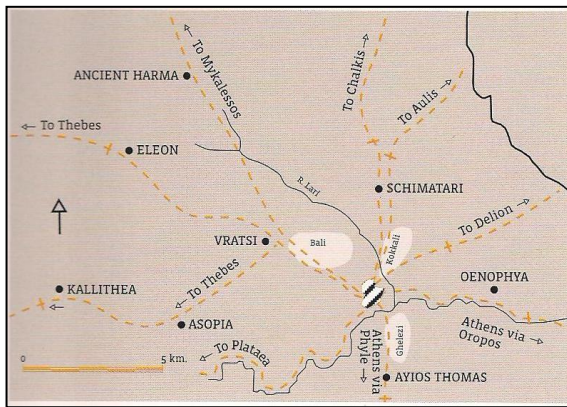


Fig. 8 Sketch plan of roads, lined with graves, radiating out from Tanagra (Jeammet 2010 (a), 16)

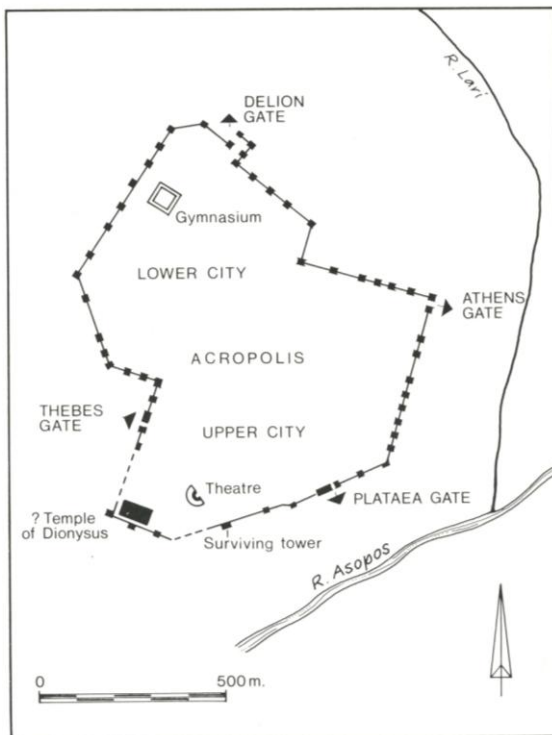


Fig. 9 Plan of Tanagra (Higgins 1986, 37)



Fig. 10 Standing flat figurine, ca. 560-550 B.C.,  
provenance: Thisbe, height: 21,3 cm  
(Jeammet 2010 (a), 45)

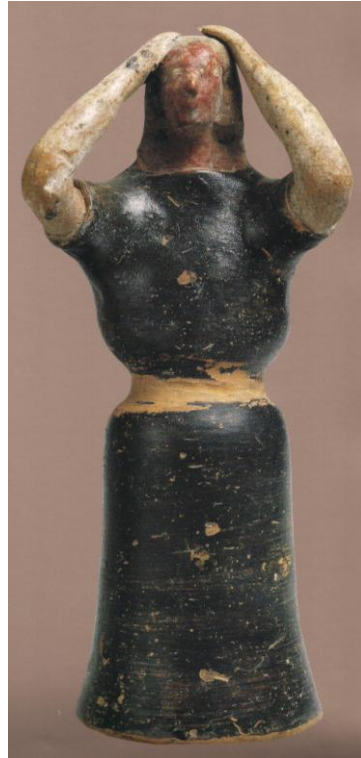


Fig. 11 Woman mourner, ca.  
ca. 590-580 B.C.  
provenance: Tanagra, height: 18.5 cm  
(Jeammet 2010 (a), 45)

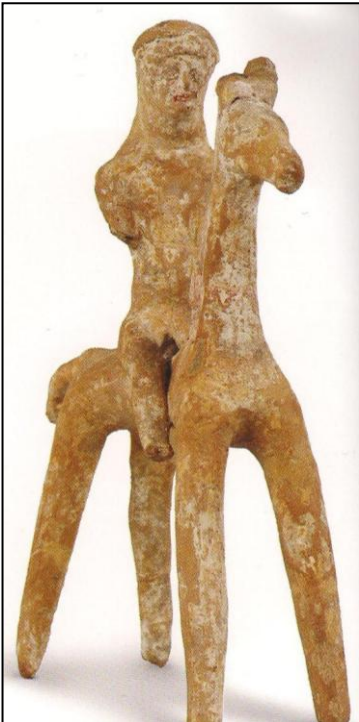


Fig. 12 Horseman, 560-  
520 B.C., provenance:  
Boeotia, height: 20 cm  
(Jeammet 2010 (a), 48)

Fig. 13 Woman with an  
'elaborate coiffure'  
holding a casket and strips  
of material, ca. 500-450  
B.C., provenance: Boeotia,  
height 38 cm  
(Jeammet 2010 (a), 168)





Fig. 14 Woman standing, 400-375 B.C.,  
unknown provenance, height: 38 cm  
(Higgins 1986, 12)



Fig. 15 Woman standing with veil head,  
pulled over head, about 400 B.C.  
Provenance: Tanagra  
(Higgins 1986, 104)

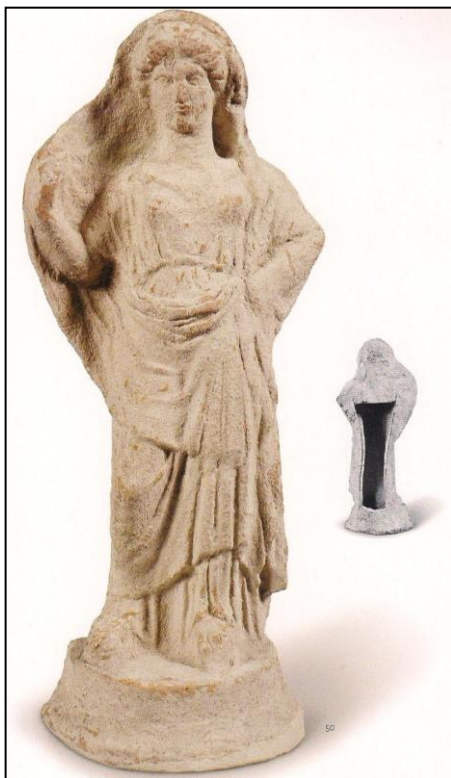


Fig. 16 pre-Tanagra, ca 400-375 B.C.,  
provenance: Tanagra, height: 23,7 cm (Jeammet  
2010 (a), 84)



Fig. 17 pre-Tanagra standing woman, c.350-300 B.C., provenance: Halikarnassos, height: 15,5 cm (Jeammet 2010 (a), 87)



Fig. 18 Figure of divinity holding a casket, ca. 400-375 B.C., provenance: Thebes, height: 32,5 cm

Fig. 19 Woman holding veil, ca. 400-375 B.C., provenance: unknown, height: 37,6cm (both Jeammet 2010 (a), 59)

Fig. 18

Fig. 19

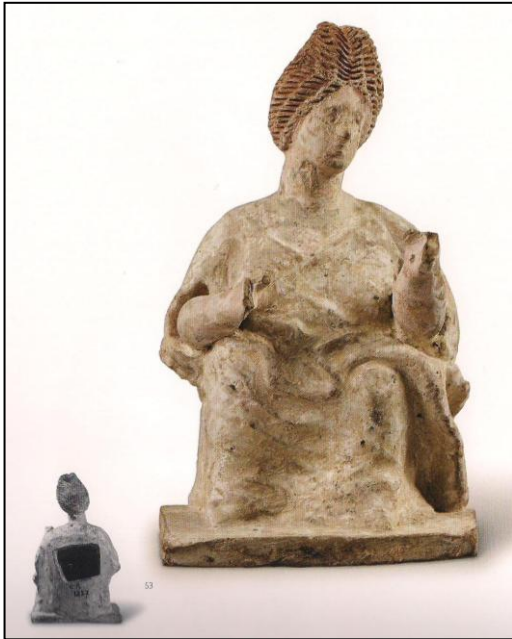


Fig. 20 pre-Tanagra seated women, 360-330 B.C., provenance: Tanagra, height: 15,1 cm (Jeammet 2010 (a), 85)

Fig. 21 Squatting veiled woman, ca 360-340 B.C., provenance: Tanagra (?), Attica (?), height: 12,3 cm (Jeammet 2010 (a), 85)



Fig. 22 Man grating cheese, ca. 500-475 B.C., provenance: unknown, height: 10 cm (Jeammet 2010 (a), 49)



Fig. 23 Women making bread, ca. 500 B.C., provenance: Thebes, height: 9,2 com  
(Jeammet 2010 (a), 54-55)



Fig 24 Woman cooking, ca. 500  
B.C., provenance: Tanagra, height:  
11 cm  
(Jeammet 2010 (a), 54)

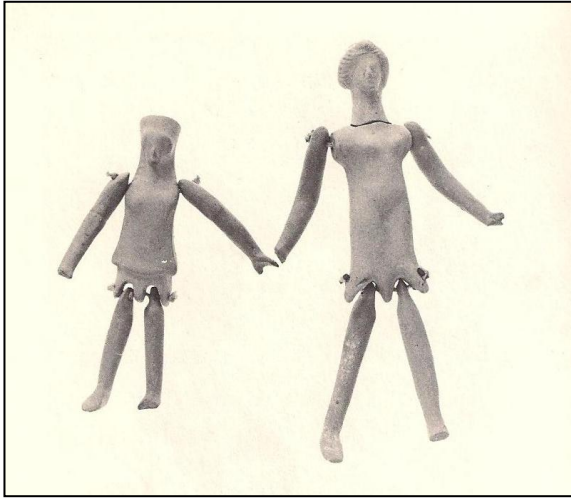


Fig. 25 Terracotta dolls with movable arms and legs, 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (Bookidis and Stroud 1987, 16)



Fig. 26 Female protome, 500-475 B.C., unknown provenance, height: 25cm (Higgins 1986, 95)

Fig. 27 Female protome, about 420 B.C., provenance Tanagra, height: 31 cm (Higgins 1986, 112)





Fig. 28 Protome Dionysos, about 350 B.C.,  
provenance: Tanagra, height: 25,5 cm  
(Higgins 1986, 114)



Fig. 29 Woman holding piglet and torch, classical  
period, provenance: Corinth, height: ?  
(Merker 1990, 57)



Fig. 30 Draped women, 330-200 B.C., provenance: Tanagra, height: 25,3 cm (Jeammet 2010 (a), 107)



Fig. 31 Draped women, 330-300 B.C., provenance: Tanagra height 16,5 cm (Jeammet 2010 (a), 99)



Fig. 32 Woman standing with remnants of paint (Higgins 1987, 14)



Fig. 33 Draped women, 330-220 B.C.,  
provenance: Tanagra, height: 17 cm (Jeammet  
2010 (a), 131)



Fig. 34

Fig. 35

Fig. 34 Draped woman, 330-200 B.C.,  
provenance: grave near Thisbe, height:  
21,7cm

Fig. 35 Draped women 'group of the  
Sophoclean Lady', 330-200B.C.,  
provenance: Tanagra, height: 22,3 cm

(both Jeammet 2010 (a), 107)

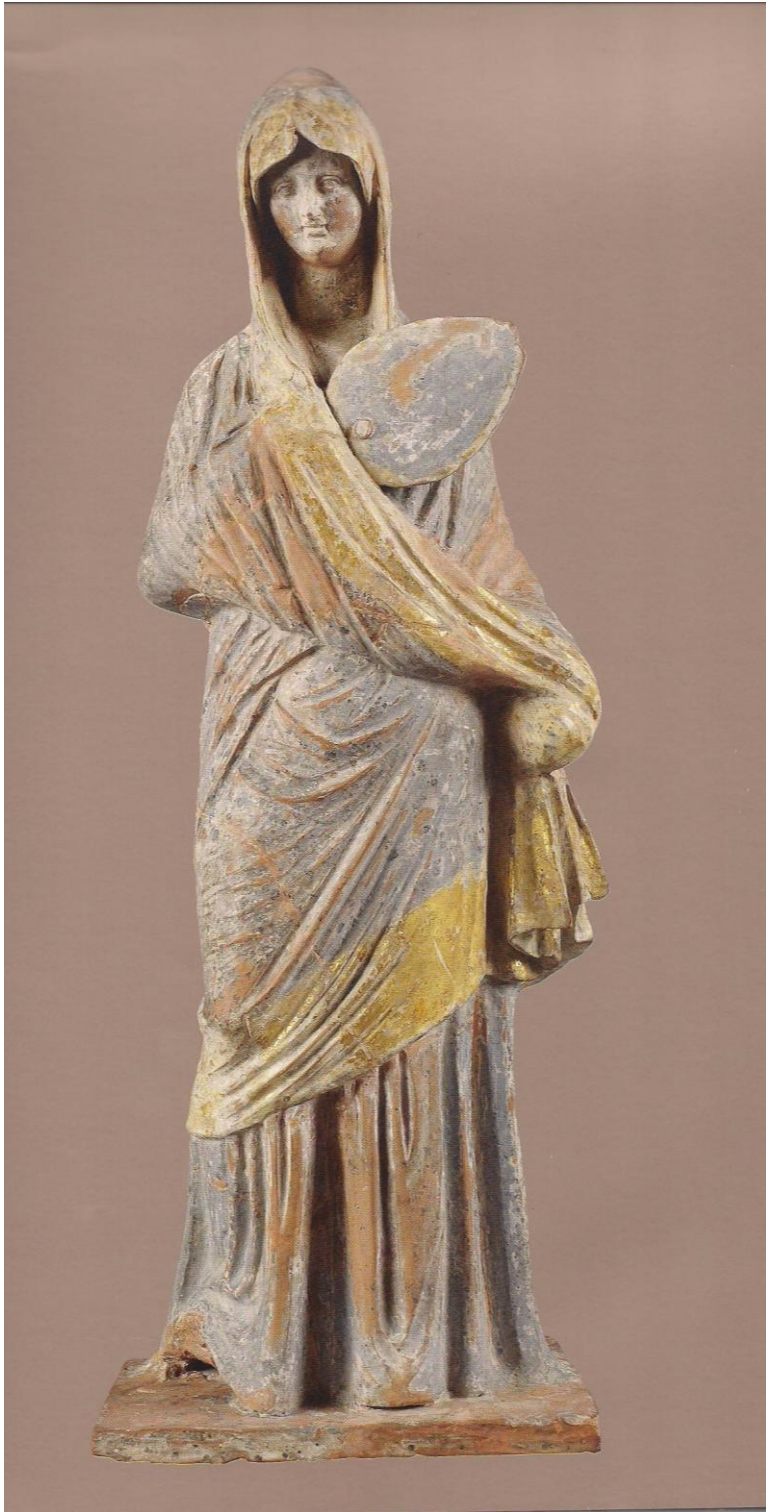


Fig. 36 'The Lady in Blue' with gilded rimmed clothing, ca. 330-300 B.C.,  
provenance: Tanagra, height: 32,5 cm (Jeammet 2010 (a), 123)

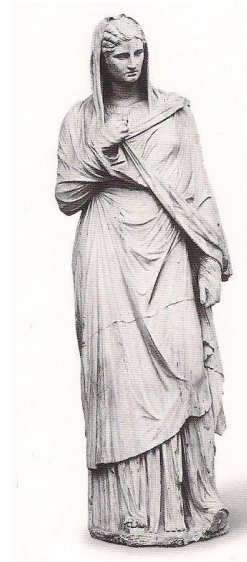


Fig. 37 possible  
prototype for Lady in  
Blue, Roman replica of  
Large Herculaneum  
Lady (Jeammet 2010  
(a), 118)

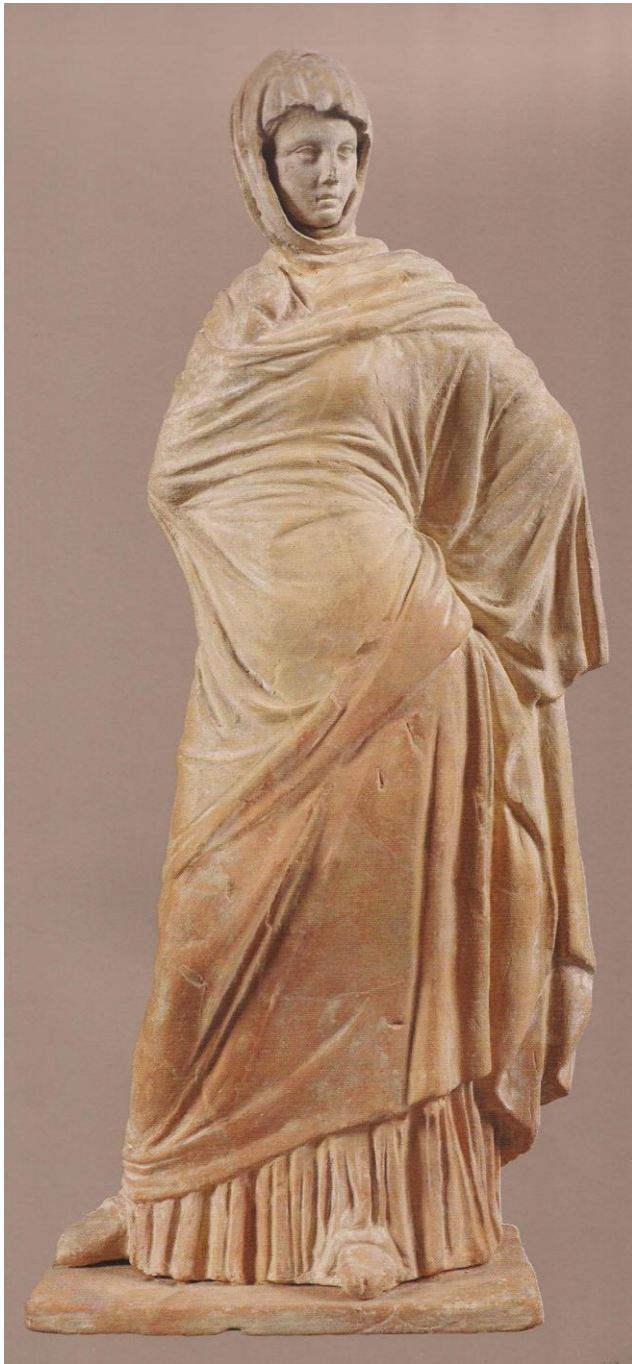


Fig. 38 'The Sophoclean Lady', ca 330-300 B.C., provenance: Tanagra, height: 29 (Jeammet 2010 (a), 113)



Fig. 39 possible prototype of 'The Sophoclean Lady', Roman replica of Sophocles (Jeammet 2010 (a), 112)





Fig. 40 'La Dame Barre, attributed to the group of 'The Sophoclean Lady', ca. 330-200 B.C., provenance: Tanagra, height: 28,5 cm (Jeammet 2010 (a), 114)



Fig. 41 Draped women with a *cecryphale*, attributed to the group of 'The Sophoclean Lady', ca. 330-200 B.C., provenance: Tanagra, height: 27,5 cm (Jeammet 2010 (a), 115)



Fig. 42 Woman playing knucklebones, 330-300 B.C., provenance: Boeotia, height: 9.8 (Higgins 1986, 145)



Fig. 43 Girl playing knucklebones, ca 330-300 B.C., provenance: Acropolis of Athens, height: 10,6cm (Jeammet 2010 (a), 165)



Fig. 44 Seated Tanagra figurine, 4th–3rd century B.C., provenance: Boeotia, height: 6,5 cm

<http://samblog.seattleartmuseum.org/?p=4593>



Fig. 45 Women sitting on a *diphos*, 330-200 B.C.,  
provenance: Tanagra, height: 12.5 cm  
(Jeammet 2010 (a), 131)



Fig. 46 Two women, 330-200 B.C.  
provenance: Corinth, height: 17,5 cm  
(Jeammet 2010 (a), 183)



Fig. 47 Three Tanagras from the same mould showing different possible combinations of heads and accessories, ca. 330-200 B.C., provenance: Tanagra (Jeammet 2010 (a), 103)



Fig. 48 Mould Sophoclean Lady type, late 4<sup>th</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> century, provenance: Policorco, Herakleia, height: 20,4 cm (Jeammet 2010 (a), 112)



Fig. 49 Female head attributed the the 'Lady in Blue' group, ca 350-300 B.C., provenance: Tanagra, height: 10,12 cm (Jeammet 2010 (a), 111)



Fig. 50 Veiled dancer known as 'The Titeux Dancer', ca 375-350 B.C., provenance: Athens, Acropolis in front of the Propylaia, height: 21 (Jeammet 2010 (a), 88)



Fig. 51 Bust of Aphrodite, provenance: Myrina (Jeammet 2010 (a), 246)

Fig. 52 Standing old women, 1<sup>st</sup> c B.C, provenance:  
Ephesos (?), height: 17,2 cm  
(Uhlenbrock 1990 (a), 148)

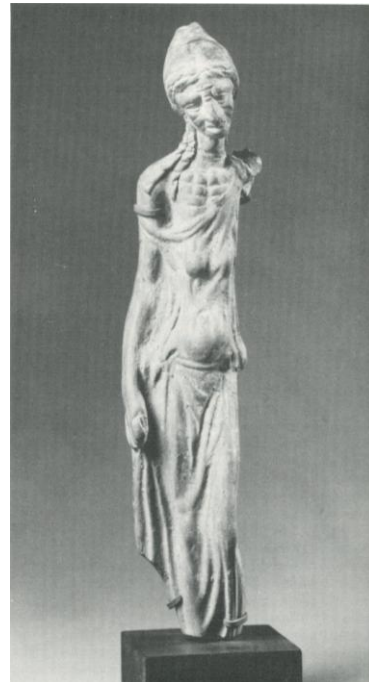


Fig. 53 Madame Paul Jamot, 1897  
Théodore Rivière (Toulouse 1857-Paris 1912)  
Height: 41 cm  
(Jeammet 2003, 61)

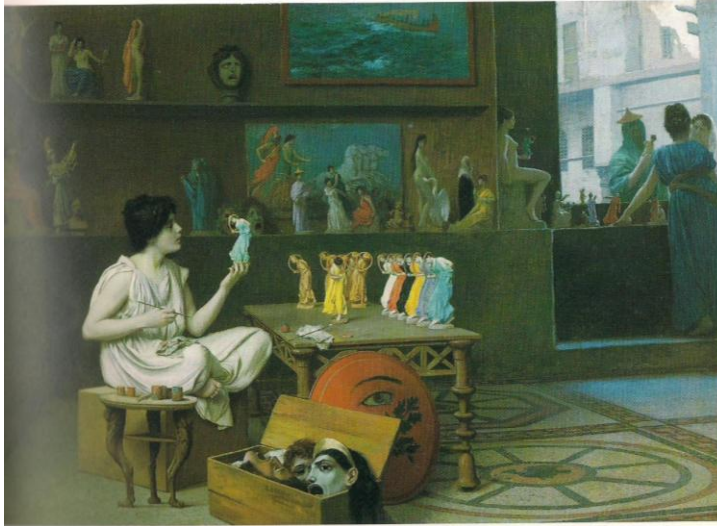


Fig. 54 *Sculpturae  
Vitam insufflate  
Pictura*, 1893  
Oil on canvas  
Jean-Léon Gérôme  
(Jeammet 2003, 53)



Fig. 55 Attic red-figured cup  
depicting a symposium  
(Cahill 2002, 181)

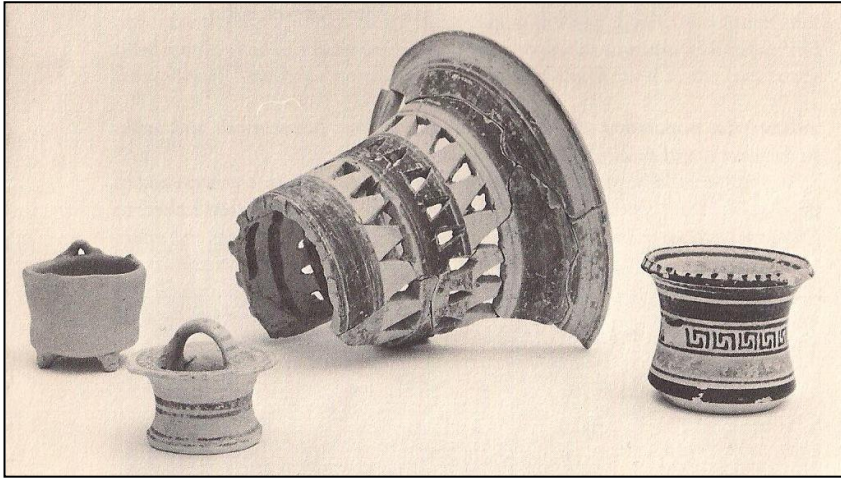


Fig. 56 Selection of *kalathiskoi* of different shapes and sizes dedicated at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth, 6<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.  
(Bookidis and Stroud 1987, 28)

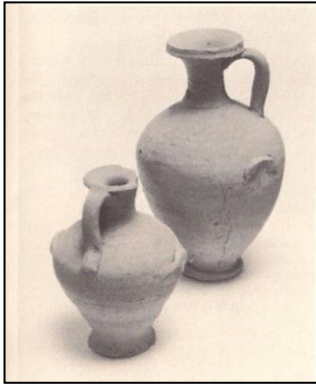


Fig. 57 Miniature *hydriai*, 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., provenance: Corinth  
(Bookidis and Stroud 1987, 29)

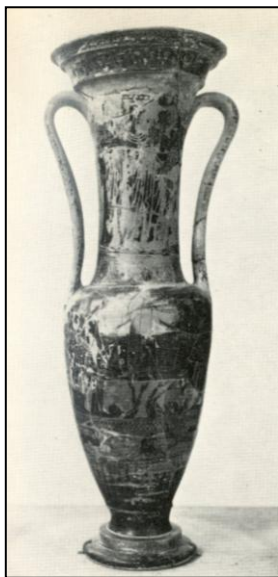


Fig. 58 A black-figured *loutrophoros*, classical period, provenance: Athens (?)  
(Kurz and Boardman 1971, 153)



Fig. 59 White-ground *lekythos*, classical period, provenance: Athens (?)  
(Kurz and Boardman 1971, 116)



Fig. 60 Terracotta *kernos* (vase for multiple offerings), ca. 2300-2200 B.C., height: 34.6 cm  
[www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/130017056](http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/130017056)



Fig. 61 Terracotta *oinochoe: olpe* (jug), ca. 540 B.C., culture: Greek, Attic, height: 22.9 cm  
[http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/130007706?rpp=20&pg=1&ft=\\*&what=Olpai&pos=7](http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/130007706?rpp=20&pg=1&ft=*&what=Olpai&pos=7)



Fig. 62 Athenian *oinochoe*, ca. 450-425 B.C.,  
provenance: Tanagra, height: 16 cm  
(Higgins 1986, 54)



Fig. 63 Pyxis, ca. 470-460 B.C., provenance:  
Athens  
[www.whatsonxiamen.com](http://www.whatsonxiamen.com)



Fig. 64 Boeotian cup, *kantharos*, ca. 550 B.C.,  
provenanve: Rhitsona, height: 21 cm  
(Higgins 1986, 45)



Fig. 65 Boeotian cup, *skyphus*, ca. 520 B.C., provenance: Tanagra, height: 22,5cm (Higgins 1986, 45)

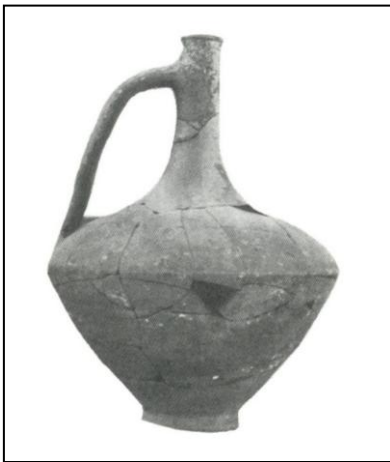


Fig.66 Boeotian jug, *lagynos*, 300-250 B.C., provenance: Rhitsona, height: 30 cm (Higgins 1986, 58)



Fig. 67 Gravestone with man holding *strigil*, classical period, provenance: Athens (?) (Kurz and Boardman 1971, 117)

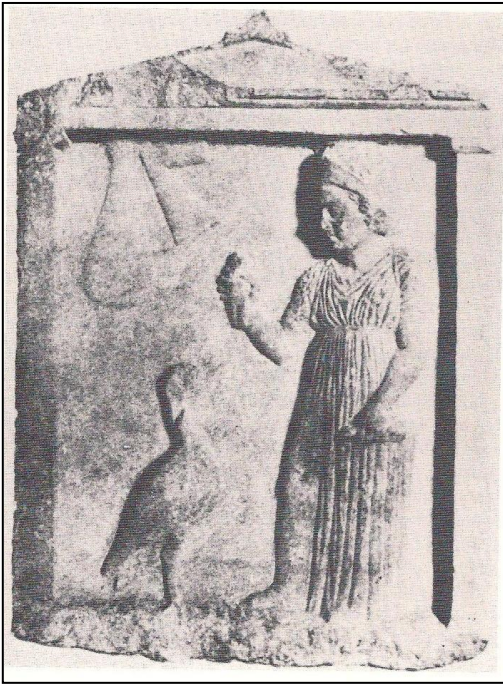


Fig. 68 Funerary relief of a young girl holding a terracotta doll (?), provenance: Athens (Ammerman 1990, 44)



Fig. 69 Marble statue base showing the Three Muses, 340-330 B.C., provenance: Matinea (Higgins 1986, 125)