The Hellenistic Terracottas from Demetrias

VOLUME 1: TEXT AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Abstract

The Hellenistic Terracottas from Demetrias.

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This thesis provides a first contextual study of the terracottas from Hellenistic Demetrias. Focusing on the finds from the sanctuaries of the city (the Sanctuary of Pasikrata, of the Mother-of-the-Gods, the "Thesmophorion" and the *Favissa* on Hill 35), from the Anaktoron, from a Hellenistic house, and from the cemeteries, it covers the whole spectrum of life in the city, public and private, cultic and funerary. The material is presented by context, as it informs our understanding of the terracottas' use and meaning. The main questions that this thesis addresses are the following: a) how typical was Demetrias as a Hellenistic city, through its terracottas? b) what can we learn about their use in the city? c) were specific types used in specific contexts? d) what can we learn about the cults and rituals in the city through the terracottas? e) what can we discern about workshops in the city? f) what can we learn about trade through the terracottas? g) did the coroplastic repertoire follow the general trends of the Hellenistic period? In order to address these questions, the thesis also focuses on re-contextualising the coroplastic material from the city that was considered lost (Sanctuary of Pasikrata, Sanctuary of the Mother-of-the-Gods, South Cemetery).

A case-study chapter focuses on the kausia-boy figurines from the city, which is a very important corpus of material, showing how the contextual approach informs us about the terracottas' meaning.

Special focus is given to the city's cults and rituals viewed through the terracottas. It is evident that at least two kourotrophic cults existed in the city, as well as possibly three cult spaces connected to the cult of the Mother-of-the-Gods. The terracottas used in the cemeteries are generally of higher quality than those in sanctuaries, indicating a conscious choice for more expensive specimens placed in graves.

Through the study of the diffusion of terracottas and the local production, it is clear that Demetrias, in terms of coroplastic production, was a cosmopolitan Hellenistic harbour with connections with much of the large coroplastic workshops of the Mediterranean, not just mainland Greece.

To my parents for their love and support
And to the loving memory of my Thessalian grandmother

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Peggy Triantafyllopoulou also granted me permission to study and publish material from their excavations in Demetrias. I warmly thank Dr Batziou and Mrs Triantafyllopoulou for kindly shared the manuscripts of their articles prior to publication. Marianthi Raftopoulou, Aimilia Kalogianni and Ioanna Mamaloudi dealt with my request to study the material, located it in the store-rooms and accommodated my visits with patience and kindness.

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Note to the reader

- **Abbreviations**:

The bibliography and abbreviations follow those of the *American Journal of Archaeology*. The abbreviations to ancient authors follow those from the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

The following abbreviations are also used:

AEMTh: Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Μακεδονίας και Θράκης (Archaeological Work of Macedonia and Thrace).

AEThSE: Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας (Archaeological Work of Thessaly and Central Greece).

Arch.Arv.: Arvanitopoulos' Archive.

ASA: Archaeological Society of Athens.

BM: British Museum.

c.: century.

DAI-Ath.: German Archaeological Institute, Athens.

EPhAMag: Ephorate of Antiquities of Magnesia.

ES.G.: East Cemetery. Grave.

METMuseum: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

NAM: National Archaeological Museum of Athens.

NC.G.: North Cemetery. Grave.

SC.G.: South Cemetery. Grave.

VM: Athanasakeion Archaeological Museum of Volos.

- All **dates** are BC, unless stated.
- References to catalogue entries in the text are given in bold, such as **[1]**. In the case where the identification is not certain an asterisk follows the number (e.g. **[10*]**).

Catalogue.

The catalogue accompanying this thesis contains information on the inventory number, the identification (where applicable), the clay (the colour according to the Munsell Soil Colour Chart and its quality), the dimensions, the state of preservation, a short description (in the case of technical types the description is given in Chapter 7, while further description is given only in the cases where there are deviations from the standard features of a type), the technical details, the traces of colour, and the bibliography. The terracottas are presented by context, and then by iconography, and type.

The specimens from the North Cemetery (excavations 1994-1995) are under study by the excavator, Elsa Nikolaou. They are included here (numbered **NC1-33**) but their catalogue entries include only a very short description and bibliographical references. The descriptions are based on the published data and therefore may change following their full publication.

For the Pasikrata sanctuary figurines their identification has been based a) on the archives of the EPhAMag and on a number of photographs in the Archives of the ASA. In the relevant entries, rows are counted from top to bottom (ex.: first row means first from top). Some specimens are included as possibly from the Pasikrata Sanctuary either because they have modern breaks, they display very close similarities to the material from the sanctuary, or in the case of intact examples in the photographs it is very difficult to identify the exact figurine.

Abbreviations: **H**: height, **W**: width, **D**: depth.

- The illustrations of the terracottas in the catalogue are given in **scale 1:2**, unless stated.
- The illustrations for the parallels are not in scale.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis aims to provide a first contextual study of the terracottas from Hellenistic Demetrias. Focusing on the finds from the sanctuaries of the city (the Sanctuary of Pasikrata, of the Mother-of-the-Gods, the "Thesmophorion" and the *Favissa* on Hill 35), from the Anaktoron, from a Hellenistic house, and the cemeteries, it covers the whole spectrum of life in the city, public and private, cultic and funerary. It is thus significant that the specimens studied here are all from one city, produced locally, and from a relatively short period of approximately 300 years (3rd c. BC – 1st c. BC/AD). Another important feature of this study is the variety of contexts that have yielded terracottas; the study of the distribution and types present in each context significantly aid their interpretation. Until recently, many of the artefacts under study were considered lost, and even the published material had not been, for the most part, investigated through systematic contextual analyses.[1]

Historical overview[2]

Demetrias is located at the mouth of the Pagasetic Gulf in Thessaly, on a small peninsula with two natural harbours, close to modern-day Volos **(Pl.50, Map.1)**. Founded by Demetrios Poliorketes in 294/3 BC through a synoecism of the surrounding Thessalian and Magnesian settlements,[3] the city was of utmost strategic importance, characterised as one of the "fetters of

[1] The study by Karin Hornung-Bertemes (Hornung-Bertemes 2007) focused on the finds from the excavations of the DAI-Ath. and included some of this material, but without clear contextual analysis.
[2] For the most recent historical and archaeological overview of Demetrias: Stamatopoulou 2018a; also Batziou-Efstathiou 1996a; 2002; for a topographical overview: Marzolff 1980; 1996a. See also Appendix C.
[3] Cohen 1995, 111; Intzesiloglou 1996, 91-93; Stamatopoulou 2018a, 346-347; Boehm 2018, 80-84.

Greece", alongside Chalkis and Corinth.[4] Demetrias quickly became a major royal, administrative, military, naval, and commercial Hellenistic centre, which controlled areas as far as the Tempe Valley, Mts. Pelion and Ossa,[5] and attracted people from across the Mediterranean.[6]

Demetrias was a key site for the Macedonian kings. According to Plutarch, Antigonos Gonatas resided here and buried his father Demetrios in the city.[7] Indeed, a structure on top of a hill overlooking the city has been tentatively interpreted as Demetrios' burial place.[8] Royal power was conveyed through the Anaktoron, the Theatre, and the Sacred Agora.[9] Based on the discovery of several statue bases and honorific decrees, a second agora presumably existed close to the theatre.[10]

The city's fortune was tightly bound with the history of Macedonia and the Antigonids. After the battle of Kynos Kephalai in 197, Philip V surrendered Demetrias to the Aetolians. In 194 the city became the seat of the Magnesian Koinon. Philip V regained control over Demetrias in 191, which remained under Macedonian rule until the Battle of Pydna in 167, when it became again the seat of the Magnesian Koinon. In the 1st c., the city suffered under the attacks of the Mithridatic fleet, and its walls were repaired and enhanced using painted tombstones as building material.[11]

Several cults and sanctuaries are epigraphically attested (the cult of Herakles Kynagidas, the Egyptian Gods (Harpokrates, Isis, Serapis, Anubis),[12] Zeus Akraios, Chiron, Zeus

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[4] Strabo 9.5.15; Polyb. 18.45.5-6; Livy 32.37.3-5, 39.23.12.
[5] Cohen 1995, 111.
[6] For example: Macedonians, Boeotians, Aetolians, Euboeans, islanders, Cretans, Thracians, Illyrians, Italians, Syro-Levantines, Egyptians, Cyrenaeans, Carians, Bithynians, a Gaul, a Persian. For onomastics: Arvanitopoulou 1952; Batziou-Efstathiou 1996, 16; Kravaritou 2016a, 137; Stamatopoulou 2018a, 365.
[7] Plut. *Vit. Demetr.* 53; Batziou-Efstathiou 1996, 12.
[8] Marzolff 1987a; 1996b; Stamatopoulou 1999, 224-229; Kravaritou 2013, 263-264; Stamatopoulou 2018a, 357.
[9] Stamatopoulou 2018a, 352-357.
[10] Marzolff 1987b; 1987c; 1996a, 56-58; Stamatopoulou 2018a, 353.
[11] Arvanitopoulos 1928; Batziou-Efstathiou 1996, 14-16; 2002, 12-15; Stamatopoulou 2018a, 348-349
[12] Stamatopoulou 2008; Kravaritou 2014.

Meilichios, Artemis Pagasitis, Aphrodite Neleia, Athena, Dionysos and Asklepios),[13] while archaeological remains point to the cults of the *Archegetai* and *Ktistai*,[14] Zeus Akraios,[15] Pasikrata (with Artemis En(n)odia),[16] Artemis Iolkia,[17] Apollo Koropaios,[18] Demeter,[19] and the Mother-of-the-Gods.[20]

The cemeteries have produced an impressive wealth of material,[21] and the painted tombstones, from the fortification towers near the South Cemetery, depict Demetrias' inhabitants in a variety of iconographic motifs.[22] It is believed that the early Hellenistic palmette-stelai were created by Athenian sculptors who found a conducive environment in the newly founded city after the ban of funerary monuments in Attica.[23]

As Stamatopoulou has stressed, all this information demonstrates the cosmopolitan character of the city, with people and imported goods coming from all over the Mediterranean, proving that it was an important centre at its prime.[24]

Information about Roman Demetrias is much scarcer, also in the ancient sources. Strabo mentions that in his time the city had reduced in size (Strab. 9.5.15), nevertheless, it remained the seat of the Magnesian Koinon.[25] Habitation in the city was mainly centred in the northern sector and close to the north harbour.[26] Major building projects included the restoration of the

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[13] Kravaritou 2011a, tab. 2; 2016a; Mili 2015, Appendix 2; also Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 78-79, with caution. For cults of the Roman period: Kravaritou 2011a, tab.3; 2016b; Mili 2015, Appendix 2, *passim*. For the ritual calendars of Demetrias: Kravaritou 2011b, 121-122.
[14] Arvanitopoulos 1909a, 147-157, although he identified the space as the temple of Dionysos Pelekys; Marzolff 1987a; 1996a, 54-55; Kravaritou 2013.
[15] Arvanitopoulos 1911, 305-315.
[16] Stamatopoulou 2014. See Chapter 2A.
[17] Arvanitopoulos 1928, 105.
[18] Arvanitopoulos 1906, 123-126; Stamatopoulou 2007, 321-322, figs.58-59; Leventi 2018.
[19] Arvanitopoulos 1915a, 191-194; Batziou-Efstathiou 2010.
[20] Arvanitopoulos 1916a; 1916b; Triantafyllopoulou 2007, 699, fig.13; Batziou forthcoming.
[21] Arvanitopoulos 1928; 1929a; 1929b; 1929c; 1929d; 1947a; Stamatopoulou 2018a, 365-368.
[22] Arvanitopoulos 1928; Stamatopoulou 1999; 2008; 2016; 2018b; 2018a.
[23] Wolters 1994, 284-297; Helly 1996, 76; Stamatopoulou 2018a, 363.
[24] Stamatopoulou 2018a.
[25] Stamatopoulou 2011, 82-83; Kravaritou 2016b, 554-555.
[26] Marzolff 1996, 58; Batziou-Efstathiou 2002, 15, 36-40; Stamatopoulou 2011, 83; Triantafyllopoulou 2012, 342; Kravaritou 2016b, 556.

theatre, probably under the benefaction of Tiberius, which had gone out of use since the late 2nd c. BC,[27] and the erection of an aqueduct, part of it still visible today, which brought water from Mount Pelion.[28] Several richly decorated houses have been partially investigated, which have yielded mosaics, private baths, domestic shrines with bronze statuettes, and a taverna which yielded very rich finds.[29] Epigraphic evidence is more plentiful, but mostly limited to honouring benefactors and emperors, as well as a few manumission inscriptions.[30] The local cults were still in place, with Artemis Iolkia, Zeus Akraios and Apollo Koropaios still being the focus of attention.[31] Fewer and less elaborate grave stelai survive from the period.[32] It is evident that from the mid 2nd c. BC and until the early 2nd c. AD, Demetrias underwent a period of decline, with an eventual increase in prosperity, as a commercial hub but no longer a key administrative centre until the end of the 3rd c. AD, although never to the splendour of the 3rd c. BC. The city was abandoned in the early 6th c. AD and the population moved to the nearby locality Palaia/Kastro Volou (ancient Iolkos), where occupation continued until the present day.

Systematic excavations in Demetrias and its environs started in the early 20th c. by Arvanitopoulos, who unearthed many of its monuments such as the fortifications, the cemeteries, the sanctuary of Pasikrata, the Metroon, the Thesmophorion, parts of the Anaktoron, the Sacred Agora with the temple of Artemis Iolkia, the theatre, and the 'Heroon'.[33]

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[27] Intzesiloglou 2011, 38; Stamatopoulou 2011, 83; Triantafyllopoulou 2012, 342; Kravaritou 2016b, 559.
[28] Marzolff 1996, 62; Stamatopoulou 2011, 83; Triantafyllopoulou 2012, 343.
[29] Stamatopoulou 2011, 83; Triantafyllopoulou 2012, 343-344.
[30] Batziou-Efstathiou and Pikoulas 2004-2009; Stamatopoulou 2011, 83; Triantafyllopoulou 2012, 342; Kravaritou 2016b, 553-562.
[31] Kravaritou 2016b, 558.
[32] *ibid*.
[33] Stamatopoulou 2004; 2009; 2018a, with collected bibliography.

After Arvanitopoulos, investigations were resumed by Theocharis in the 1950s and 1960s, who excavated the Sacred Agora and the Anaktoron. At the same time, the DAI-Ath. conducted systematic excavations at the Anaktoron and the Basilika of Damokratia, and surveyed most of the city. Among the results of the survey was the discovery of the *Favissa* on Hill 35.[34]

A systematic survey of the fortified settlement at Goritsa, east of Demetrias, was conducted by a Dutch team between 1970 to 1981.[35]

Due to the intense building activity since the 1980s, the EPhAMag conducted numerous rescue excavations in the city, which brought to light the Metroon,[36] the "Thesmophorion,[37] several houses and graves,[38] and parts of the Anaktoron,[39] approximately 900 graves in the North Cemetery,[40] the theatre,[41] and several – mainly Hellenistic – houses, mostly at the neighbourhood Aivaliotika.[42] The rescue character of these excavations has not allowed for full investigation of these monuments, and their publication in most cases is pending, with most information originating from brief excavation reports.

[34] Milojčič 1973; Milojčič and Theocharis 1976; Marzolff 1980; 1987c.
[35] Bakhuizen 1992.
[36] Batziou-Efstathiou 1989; 1990.
[37] Batziou-Efstathiou 1992; 2010.
[38] Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2012.
[39] Batziou-Efstathiou 1997; 1998; 2000a; 2008.
[40] Nikolaou 1996; 2000a.
[41] Intzesiloglou 2011.
[42] Triantafyllopoulou 1998; Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2000; Triantafyllopoulou 2000; 2007.

The State of Research

Terracottas from Demetrias

Terracottas were first recorded in Demetrias by Arvanitopoulos who published several photographs of the material from the Pasikrata sanctuary in the *Praktika* of 1912 and his publication of the painted stelai.[43] According to his excavation reports, he also found terracottas in the Metroon, the Thesmophorion and the South Cemetery, but he did not publish them, and interest in studying this material did not resume until the 1960s-70s, when Daffa-Nikonanou unsuccessfully tried to locate the finds from the Thesmophorion.[44]

Further terracottas were unearthed (and partly published) during the German excavations in the Anaktoron and on Hill 35.[45]

Since the 1970s terracottas were sporadically mentioned in excavation reports, from the cemeteries,[46] the "Thesmophorion",[47] the Metroon,[48] and the city's houses.[49] The increase in rescue excavations prompted by large-scale public works, as well as the triennial *AEThSE* resulted in a significant number of publications since 2000. In 2010, Batziou-Efstathiou published some of the 56 terracottas from the "Thesmophorion" and discussed their possible cultic significance.[50]

[43] Arvanitopoulos 1912, 204-205, figs.16-17; 1928, figs.52-55, 77.
[44] Daffa-Nikonanou 1973, 21-22.
[45] Gossel 1976.
[46] Brief mentions in the *Deltia*; Batziou-Efstathiou 2002, 41, fig.50.
[47] Batziou-Efstathiou 1992.
[48] Batziou-Efstathiou 1996, figs.14-15; Batziou-Efstathiou 2002, 32-33, figs.36-38.
[49] Triantafyllopoulou 2000.
[50] Batziou-Efstathiou 2010, 183-184.

More systematic research on Demetrias' terracottas was undertaken by Karin Hornung-Bertemes,[51] whose 2007 thesis includes finds from the Anaktoron and Hill 35, as well as some terracottas from the collections in the VM.[52] The thesis presented the material typologically, but did not discuss the individual contexts or the terracottas' contribution to our understanding of local cults. Her thesis also includes Archaic and Classical specimens from all over Thessaly. Hornung-Bertemes' use of the term "Variant" for both version and variation can create some confusion.[53] Despite these reservations, the current thesis builts upon Hornung-Bertemes' work.

The terracotta finds from the EPhAMag excavations in the cemeteries have received more attention, with Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou's excavation publication, (including the terracotta finds and a brief analysis of their iconography),[54] and Nikolaou's catalogue of terracottas from the rescue excavation of the North Cemetery (1994-1995),[55] a study that is important for the dating of many coroplastic types found in the city. In addition, Leventi has presented an important terracotta assemblage from the sanctuary of Apollo at neighbouring Soros,[56] which provides information about the cult and indicates similarities in coroplastic activity between the site at Soros and Demetrias.[57]

Significant advances in restoration and scientific analysis have added to our understanding of the techniques and decoration of terracottas at Pherai and Demetrias. Asderaki-Tzoumerkioti,[58] followed by Tsatsouli,[59] identified tin-foil used on terracottas in

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[51] Hornung-Bertemes 1997, is the first comprehensive study of the kausia-boys since Burr-Thompson 1963a. Hornung-Bertemes et al. 1998.
[52] Hornung-Bertemes 2007.
[53] This had been already pointed out in the book's review (Huysecom-Haxhi 2009a, 376). For the terms see Appendix A.
[54] Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2012.
[55] Nikolaou 2012.
[56] Leventi 2012.
[57] *ibid*, 305.
[58] Asderaki-Tzourmekioti et al. 2010; Asderaki-Tzourmekioti and Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2010; Asderaki-Tzourmekioti et al. 2019.
[59] Tsatsouli and Nikolaou 2017.

these cities, a technique which was previously only known from pottery. The use of rare pigments on terracottas has also been highlighted through the use of XRF.

Since 2002 Stamatopoulou has been conducting archival research and study in the VM and NAM, with the aim of publishing Arvanitopoulos' excavations in the cemeteries and the sanctuary of Pasikrata. In 2002-2004 she identified ca. 70 figurines in Volos and since 2010 a large body of material was located in the NAM.[60] In her 2014 article on the sanctuary of Pasikrata, she discussed the finds from the sanctuary (including the coroplastic material) and their implications for understanding the cult of Pasikrata.[61]

I was fortunate to be invited to study and publish the coroplastic material from Arvanitopoulos' excavations in the city. Together with the published figurines from the German excavations, the recent discoveries of the EPhAMag, and the coroplastic assemblage in the BM, the material excavated by Arvanitopoulos allows a comprehensive study of the coroplastic production of Hellenistic Demetrias.

The study of Thessalian terracottas

Thessalian terracottas have thus far not featured prominently in coroplastic studies. Apart from Arvanitopoulos' excavation reports, Bequignon, published some of the material from a deposit of the sanctuary of En(n)odia and Zeus Thaulios at Pherai,[62] while Biesantz included a few Thessalian terracottas in his book on Thessalian grave reliefs, focusing on style rather than context.[63]

[60] Stamatopoulou 2004; 2009.
[61] Stamatopoulou 2014.
[62] Bequignon 1937.
[63] Biesantz 1965.

Daffa-Nikonanou's thesis on Archaic and Classical coroplastic dedications at the sanctuaries of Demeter at Proerna, Pharsalos, and Ampelia is the first regional study of Thessalian terracottas.[64] This was followed by the study of terracottas from the houses of New Halos, which were presented according to findspot and interpreted based on this context.[65]

Terracottas from Thessalian funerary contexts (such as those from Homolion,[66] Pharsalos,[67] and Pelinna[68]) are relatively rare, although this may be due to the rescue character of most excavations in the region.

With regards to specific centres, more information is known about the use of terracottas in Pharsalos (terracottas in houses and the sanctuary of the Mother-of-the-Gods),[69] Pherai (where terracottas were discovered at houses, workshops,[70] the sanctuary of En(n)odia at Alepotrypes,[71] and the sanctuary of En(n)odia and Zeus Thaulios); Kastro Kallithea has yielded terracottas in domestic contexts.[72]

Until recently, West Thessaly had remained largely unexplored and even though excavations have yielded significant numbers of terracottas from sanctuaries and houses most remain unpublished. Two extra-mural sanctuaries at Kedros and Prodromos yielded large quantities of terracottas, primarily female protomes;[73] similarly, a significant number of terracottas were discovered at a rural sanctuary at Karpochori.[74] Terracottas were also

[64] Daffa-Nikonanou 1973.
[65] van Boekel and Mulder 2003.
[66] Miller 1979.
[67] Katakouta and Stamatopoulou 2013.
[68] Karapanou and Katakouta 2004; Very few are mentioned – but not pictured – from the cemeteries of Larissa (Tziafalias 1988, 161).
[69] Karapanou 2014; Katakouta 2014a.
[70] Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 1992; 1997; 2010; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou and Arachoviti 2019; Asderaki-Tzourmekioti et al. 2019.
[71] Apostolopoulou-Kakavogianni 1990; Chrysostomou 1998, 42-46.
[72] Salminen 2014; Rupp 2016, fig.8.
[73] Intzesiloglou 1982; 1984a; 1985b; 1987b; 1987a.
[74] Tziafalias 1975.

discovered in the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Philia,[75] at Kierion,[76] Limnaion,[77] and Metropolis.[78] During recent years, rescue excavations in Western Thessaly, prompted by large-scale public works, have revealed new sites which completely change our understanding of ancient life in the region. At Anavra in south-west Thessaly, Karagiannopoulos brought to light a rural sanctuary with plentiful coroplastic material (over 2,000 specimens), which sheds light on the uses of terracottas, the dedicatory practices, and the deities venerated,[79] and patterns of terracotta circulation.[80] The same excavator investigated part of an Archaic-Classical settlement at Philia, in the vicinity of the major sanctuary of Athena Itonia.[81] Among the plentiful material were Archaic and Early Classical terracottas from houses and a cult space.[82] Comparisons between the terracottas from the settlement and those from the sanctuary of Itonia could reveal important information about their use and distribution at this key site.

Pelinna, a significant city during the Macedonian suzerainty in Thessaly, has yielded very few terracottas.[83] Recent small-scale investigations have led to the discovery of a public building in the centre of the city with high-quality terracottas.[84] The publication of this context will shed light on this little explored centre and on the coroplastic production of Hestiaiotis, which remains almost completely unknown.

The study of the sanctuary of En(n)odia at Melitaia (Achaia Phthiotis) included all the dedications, among which a few terracotta fragments, which added to the identification of the venerated deity and the nature of the cult.[85]

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[75] Intzesiloglou 2006a; Vaiopoulou 2013.
[76] Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 70; Chatziaggelakis 2007, 48.
[77] Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 82.
[78] Chatziaggelakis 2007, 58.
[79] Eleutheriou and Karagiannopoulos forthcoming; Karagiannopoulos and Chatziaggelakis 2015.
[80] Eleutheriou and Karagiannopoulos forthcoming.
[81] Karagiannopoulos 2018; 2019.
[82] Karagiannopoulos 2018, 119.
[83] Karapanou and Katakouta 2004; Athanasiou 2013, 527, fig.50.
[84] Chatziaggelakis 2011.
[85] Stavrogiannis 2014.

During the last 20 years excavation and academic attention has increased exponentially in Thessaly,[86] a process that has been further advanced by the organisation of conferences (triennial *AEThSE*; *Thessalian Cults and Sanctuaries*) and workshops (on local pottery production). These studies have brought to the forefront new excavations and research conducted in the region, including both site reports, as well as synthetic studies – a few focusing on terracottas – which added to our understanding of Thessalian religion and material culture.

However, there is also a significant wealth of material available which remains unpublished. Archival research, such as that conducted by Stamatopoulou has proven invaluable for reconstructing Thessalian archaeology and relocating finds that were considered lost. This work has for example brought the finds from Demetrias, Phthiotic Thebes, Pharsalos, Metropolis back to scholarly attention, informing us about the coroplastic production of these cities, the dedicatory and funerary practices, and the relationship of Thessaly with the Greek world.[87] Public works and the renewed interest in systematic excavations in the region will undoubtedly yield yet more information about terracottas from Thessaly, a region which lay between and was influenced by important centres in both South and North Greece. Given the region's archaeological potential, synthetic research which aims to analyse the production and use of Thessalian terracottas is an important *desideratum* and may open a new chapter in the history of coroplastic studies.[88]

[86] Stamatopoulou 2011; 2012; 2013.
[87] Stamatopoulou 2004; 2007; 2009.
[88] Ieremias forthcoming.

The state of research in coroplastic studies[89]

Initially, Greek terracottas did not feature prominently in the history of Greek art. This changed dramatically in the late 19th c., when excavations in the cemeteries of Tanagra and Myrina revealed vast numbers of terracotta figurines,[90] starting a craze for their collection,[91] and prompting the first museum catalogues,[92] as well as Winter's 1903 study on iconographic types, which is still a point of reference.[93]

Following this initial phase of research, Burr-Thompson's thesis on the figurines from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston) signalled a new approach to the study of Greek terracottas.[94] In her articles on the terracottas from the Athenian Agora, she studied terracottas from well-stratified, closed contexts to determine a chronological sequence in the development of terracotta production over three centuries.[95] This approach led her to prove that the "Tanagra style" started at Athens, rather than the small Boeotian city of Tanagra.[96]

Around the same time detailed catalogues of terracottas in the Louvre[97] and the BM[98] were published, as well as museum catalogues for the Ny Carlsberg,[99] Leipzig,[100] the Kestner-Museum,[101] Kassel,[102] Leiden.[103] Others followed, e.g. Liebieghaus,[104] Karlsruhe,[105]

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[89] For the history of research: Kassab et al. 1985; Uhlenbrock 1993; Jeammet 2007; Muller 2018a.
[90] Reinach and Pottier 1885; Pottier and Reinach 1887.
[91] Uhlenbrock 1993; Zimmer and Kriseleit 1994; Jeammet 2007; Muller 2018a.
[92] Walters 1903; Mendel 1908; Laumonier 1921.
[93] Winter 1903.
[94] Burr-Thompson 1934.
[95] Burr-Thompson 1952; 1954; 1957; 1959; 1962; 1963a; 1963b; 1965; 1966a; 1966b; Thompson et al. 1987, for the collected articles and updated chronology in some cases.
[96] Burr-Thompson 1966c.
[97] Mollard-Besques 1963; 1972; Besques 1986; 1992.
[98] Higgins 1954; Burn and Higgins 2001; Bailey 2008.
[99] Poulsen 1949.
[100] Paul 1959.
[101] Liepmann 1975.
[102] Sinn 1977.
[103] Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979.
[104] Bol and Kotera 1986.
[105] Schürmann 1989.

Ashmolean,[106] Thessaloniki,[107] Benaki,[108] Würzburg,[109] Hamburg,[110] and recently Piraeus,[111] and the Hermitage.[112] Other large collections, such as the NAM,[113] Berlin,[114] the METMuseum,[115] and Budapest remain unpublished but hopefully their catalogues will be seen in the near future.

Kleiner's study of the iconographic motifs of the female "tanagras" attempted to illustrate the stylistic evolution of the female draped figure and its dependence on large sculpture.[116]

In 1952, Nicholls published a fundamental article for the study of terracottas laying the theoretical background for any future studies, with a clear definition of the technical terms of type, group and series.[117]

This methodology was implemented in Muller's 1996 study of the terracottas from the Thesmophorion of Thasos,[118] propelling the study of Greek terracottas into a field that is now called "coroplastic studies". In the last thirty years this field has attracted significant interest: among key publications we should single-out Kassab-Tezgör's seminal book on the terracottas from the cemeteries of Alexandria (combining archival research with rigorous technical and typological analysis),[119] Graepler's on the graves from Taras (which introduced statistical

[106] Vaphopoulou-Richardson 1991.
[107] Korti-Konti 1994, not including all finds in the collection and with several problems.
[108] Pingiatoglou 1993.
[109] Schmidt 1994.
[110] Frey-Asche 1997.
[111] Peppa-Papaioannou 2011.
[112] Khodza 2018.
[113] Parts of the collection have been the subject of individual studies, such as the figurines from Euboea Chidiroglou 2012; 2014; 2015; 2016. For the newly exhibited terracotta collection see Avronidaki and Vivliodetis 2018, who also undertake the publication of the finds from Myrina (Philadelpheos 1928).
[114] A few publications concerned only parts of the collection: Paul 1962; Zimmer and Kriseleit 1994; for future publication Maischberger 2016; the specimens from Priene are published in Rumscheid 2006.
[115] Karoglou 2016.
[116] Kleiner 1984.
[117] Nicholls 1952.
[118] Muller 1996.
[119] Kassab-Tezgör 2007.

analysis into coroplastic studies),[120] and Rumscheid's monograph on the coroplastic finds from Priene.[121]

In the past 30 years periodic exhibitions have been organised which focused on figurative terracottas, making them accessible to the wider public.[122] The creation of the Association of Coroplastic Studies in 2007 has boosted the study of terracottas, especially with the establishment of the "*Les Carnets de l'ACost*", a peer-reviewed open-access journal which exclusively focuses on the study of terracottas. The Association has also organised several international conferences and workshops on coroplastic matters under its auspices.[123]

Scholarship has now moved from looking at terracottas simply as a museum object to understanding them within their original context, and using them as a tool for interpreting cultic spaces and dedicatory practices,[124] funerary practices,[125] economic activities,[126] and workshop practices.[127] One can observe a movement towards the study of the terracottas in their ritual context.[128] Terracottas have also been used to highlight issues of identity.[129] Lately studies have shown the special relationship between dedications of terracottas (in sanctuaries and graves) with rites-of-passage.[130]

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[120] Graepler 1997.
[121] Rumscheid 2006.
[122] Uhlenbrock 1990; Jeammet 2010; Adam-Veleni et al. 2017.
[123] For instance Muller and Laflı 2015; Muller and Lafli 2016; Huysecom-Haxhi et al. 2015; Erlich 2015; 2018; Papantoniou et al. 2019; Aurigny 2019.
[124] Mallios 2004; Muller et al. 2004b; Muller and Tartari 2009a; 2009b; Dufeu-Muller 2010; Huysecom-Haxhi and Muka 2010 Stamatopoulou 2014; Aravantinos et al. 2014; Japp and Schwarzer 2015; Eleutheriou and Karagiannopoulos forthcoming.
[125] Bouffier 2012; Huysecom-Haxhi et al. 2012; Pisani 2012a; Papaikonomou 2006; Kallintzi and Papaikonomou 2010; Schwarzmeier 2011.
[126] Kassab-Tezgör 1995; Kassab-Tezgör and Abd El Fattah 1997; Hornung-Bertemes et al. 1998; Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007; Tzanavari 2012; Uhlenbrock 2016a; Ieremias forthcoming.
[127] Calamiotou et al. 1984; Kassab 1988; Ferrandini-Troisi et al. 2012; Handler 2012; Banaka 2014; Muller 2014; Sanidas 2016; Linardatos 2017; Rosamilia 2017a; 2017b.
[128] Schwarzmaier 2011; Barrett 2015a.
[129] Kassab-Tezgör 2007; Langin-Hooper 2015; Oggiano 2015a; Prokova 2017.
[130] Huysecom-Haxhi 2008; Muller 2009; Jeammet 2010; Huysecom-Haxhi et al. 2012; Huysecom-Haxhi and Muller 2015; Schwarzmaier 2015; Sabetai 2015.

At the same time, there has been great advance in the study of the pigments and decoration on the figurines (gilding, tin-foil), which ties in with the recent scholarly interest in ancient polychromy.[131] 3D scanning has only very recently started to capture scholars' attention,[132] while analyses of fingerprints have provided interesting results, albeit currently only with limited results.[133]

Some regions and sites have received more attention on terracotta production, such as Corinth,[134] Argolid,[135] Boeotia,[136] Messene,[137] Thasos,[138] Lesbos,[139] Crete,[140] Euboea,[141] Sicily,[142] Alexandria,[143] Cyrene,[144] Pergamon,[145] Myrina,[146] Smyrna,[147] Priene.[148]

Turning to northern Greece, the terracotta production of the region has been the focus of several studies. Lazarides' 1960 thesis was a pioneering study during a time when little

[131] Higgins 1970; Mau and Farrell 1993; Maravelaki-Kalaitzaki and Kallithrakas-Kontos 2003; Bourgeois 2007; Jeammet and Knecht 2007; Pagès-Camagna 2009; Asderaki-Tzourmekioti and Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2010; Blume 2010; Bourgeois 2010; Jeammet et al. 2010; Pagès-Camagna 2010; Fostiridou 2012; Bourgeois et al. 2013; Blume 2014; Bourgeois 2014a; 2014b; Bourgeois and Jeammet 2014; Blume 2016; Fostiridou et al. 2016; Tsatsouli and Nikolaou 2017; Tzanavari 2017a.
[132] Papantoniou et al. 2012; Morris and Peatfield 2013; Avarett and Counts 2014.
[133] Jägerbrand 2007; Lichtenberger and Moran 2018; Muller 2018a, 159.
[134] Davidson Weinberg 1952; Stillwell 1952; Merker 2000; 2003; Kopestonsky 2016; 2018; Langdon 2019.
[135] Peppa-Papaioannou and Ieremias in press; Waldstein 1902; Jenkins 1932; Peppa-Papaioannou 1985; Guggisberg 1988a; 1988b; Banaka-Dimaki 1997; Barakari-Gleni and Peppa-Papaioannou 1999; Banaka 2014; Sarri 2014; Barakari-Gleni 2015.
[136] See Higgins 1986; Jeammet 2010, with previous bibliography; Aravantinos 2007; Harami 2007; Aravantinos et al. 2014; Harami and Jeammet 2015; Sabetai 2015.
[137] Themelis 1994; Psaroudakis 2013; Spathi 2015; 2017.
[138] Muller 1996; Huysecom-Haxhi 2009b.
[139] Acheilara 2006.
[140] Higgins 1973; Markoulaki and Niniou-Kindeli 1982; Mortzos 1985; Manetaki 2011; Pilz 2011; Pautasso and Pilz 2015.
[141] Sampson 1980; Metzger 1987; Huguenot 2001; 2008; Mekacher 2003; Chidiroglou 2006; 2012; 2014; 2015; 2016; Hasselin Rous and Huguenot 2017; Benissi 2019.
[142] Bell 1981; Albertocchi 2004; Raffiotta 2007; Albertocchi and Pautasso 2012, with previous scholarship.
[143] Breccia 1912; 1930; 1934; Adriani 1940; 1952; Kassab-Tezgör 1997; 2001; 2007; Savvopoulos 2019.
[144] Besques 1992; Uhlenbrock 1985; 1994; 2004; 2006; 2007; Micheli and Santucci 2000.
[145] Töpperwein 1976; Nohlen and Radt 1978; Töpperwein-Hoffman 1978; Japp and Schwarzer 2015; Kielau 2018.
[146] Pottier and Reinach 1886; 1887; Philadelpheos 1928; Burr-Thompson 1934; Baudat 1953; Mollard-Besques 1963; Kassab 1980; Calamiotou et al. 1984; Kassab 1988; Kassab-Tezgör 1995; Mrogenda 1996; Duchêne and Mathieux 2007; Kassab 2016.
[147] Hasselin Rous et al. 2009; Pagès-Camagna 2009; Hasselin Rous 2015; 2016.
[148] Rumscheid 2006.

attention was paid to "minor arts".[149] It was again in the 1990s that the publications of cemetery assemblages from Pella and Veroia,[150] and votives from the Macedonian capital,[151] brought back to the forefront the significance of terracottas in the study of the ancient world. A wealth of material has been discovered in other Macedonian cities, such as Mieza,[152] Petres,[153] Florina, Pydna,[154] Aiani,[155] Amphipolis.[156]

There is still much of which we are unaware; synthetic studies of the coroplastic production of big centres are still limited. Whole regions, such as Epirus and Aetolia-Akarnania had received little scholarly attention until recently and studies of the terracottas from these regions are almost completely lacking, with a few exceptions in preliminary form (Kyra Panaghia; Alikyrna).[157] A synthetic study and re-examination of the finds from the sites of Western Asia Minor is also much needed. New finds, such as those from Aeolian Aigai and Parion challenge our preconceptions, as the sex of the coroplasts (the name Helene appears on several terracottas from Parion, indicating that female coroplasts also existed) or about where the terracotta production centres of Late Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor were located (for Parion), and add much to our knowledge of trade and terracotta circulation in this region.[158]

[149] Lazarides 1960.
[150] Lilimpaki-Akamati 1994; Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002.
[151] Lilimpaki-Akamati 1996; 2000. The coroplastic material from the agora of Pella is under study for a thesis by Poulakakis, but a few studies have appeared (Kontopoulou 2002; Poulakakis 2002).
[152] Misaelidou-Despotidou 1993.
[153] Adam-Veleni 2017a.
[154] Noulas 2014; 2017.
[155] Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2008; 2017.
[156] A synthetic study of the city is a significant gap in scholarship.
[157] Rhomaios 1920; Svana 2015; Vikatou 2017.
[158] Dereboylu 2012; Kasapoglu 2015; Kozanli 2015.

While several theses and studies have focused on the cult of Demeter,[159] as well as Artemis,[160] taking into account the coroplastic dedications, equivalent studies in cults such as that of the Mother-of-the-Gods are still a gap in scholarship.

Re-examination of older excavation finds has recently added much to our understanding of dedicatory and funerary practices,[161] as well as provided an up-to-date re-evaluation and dismissed older misconceptions. It is hoped that studies of unpublished material, the re-assessment of old finds and archival research, combined with cutting-edge scientific methods will provide more concrete evidence of the use and distribution of Greek terracottas, as well as further advance the field of coroplastic studies and the processing of the vast amounts of fragments.

Large-scale public works have unearthed impressive finds that often challenge established preconceptions.[162] The publication of these significant assemblages will undoubtedly renew interest in coroplastic studies with "fresh" material.

Questions and aims

The current thesis aims to address the following questions: a) how typical was Demetrias as a Hellenistic city, through its terracottas? b) what can we learn about their use in the city? c) were specific types used in specific contexts? d) what can we learn about the cults and rituals in the city through the terracottas? e) what can we discern about workshops in the city? f) what

[159] Daffa-Nikonanou 1973; Higgins 1973; Metzger 1985; Zervoudaki 1988; Lilimpaki-Akamati 1996; Muller 1996; Cronkite 1997; Hinz 1998; Themelis 1998; Isik 2000; Merker 2000; Mitsopoulou 2005; Leventi and Mitsopoulou 2010; Schipporeit 2013; Skerlou and Grigoriadou 2014; Karapanagiotou and Leventi 2015; Kozlowski 2015; Nagel 2015; Pingiatoglou 2015; Onorati 2016; Andreou 2018; Langdon 2019.

[160] Dawkins 1929; Themelis 1994; Fischer-Hansen 2009; Huysecom-Haxhi 2009b; Mitsopoulos-Leon 2009; Huysecom-Haxhi and Muka 2010; Mitsopoulos-Leon 2010; 2015; Léger 2017.

[161] Duchêne and Mathieux 2007; Stamatopoulou 2009; 2014; Hasselin Rous and Huguenot 2017; Stamatopoulou in press.

[162] Aravantinos 2007; Harami 2007; 2012; Karagiannopoulos and Chatziaggelakis 2015; Vikatou 2017; Karagiannopoulos 2018.

can we learn about trade through the terracottas? g) did the coroplastic repertoire follow the general trends of the Hellenistic period? In order to address these questions, the thesis will focus on re-contextualising the coroplastic material from the city that was considered lost (Sanctuary of Pasikrata, Sanctuary of the Mother-of-the-Gods, South Cemetery).

Methodology

To study this material, I initially use the typological approach developed by Richard Nicholls, and Arthur Muller and his team.[163] In addition, the thesis incorporates a contextual approach, as the distribution, function and interpretation of terracottas can only be fully understood by examining them within their original setting.[164] Even though I follow this contextual approach, in order to be able to discuss distribution and function, an understanding of coroplastic typology is essential and in the core of this thesis.

For the thesis' terminology, I have decided to follow Hornung-Bertemes' type names,[165] although with some modifications. The names of the types are given by letter (A, B, C), while Roman numerals signify the generation number (I, II, III), capital letters the version (A, B) and small letters the variation (a, b, c). Thus, the name of a full type will be, for example, C.II.A.

The specialized coroplastic terminology used throughout the thesis is given in the form of a glossary in Appendix A.

[163] Nicholls 1952; Muller 1996; Muller 1997; Huysecom-Haxhi 2009b. The same method was applied to terracottas from South Italy: Bonghi-Jovino 1965.
[164] Graepler 1997; Kassab-Tezgör 2007, followed a similar approach in presenting the terracottas from Alexandria by cemetery and by grave rather than iconographically.
[165] Hornung-Bertemes 2007.

Thesis structure

The thesis is divided into three parts. Part I consists of the contextual analysis of the terracottas. I will start with the sanctuaries (the Sanctuary of Pasikrata, the *Favissa* on Hill 35, the Thesmophorion, the Sanctuary of the Mother-of-the-Gods), moving to the Anaktoron finds, the houses, and finally the cemeteries. The latter will present material by cemetery and by grave. A case study on the kausia-boy figurines will be presented at the end of Part I to demonstrate the importance of the contextual analysis for the study of terracottas, as well as discuss their meaning and interpretation, combining visual and textual evidence.

Part II is devoted to the typological and technical analysis of the available coroplastic material from the city. This part is structured by iconographic groups (women, goddesses, girls, boys, men) and by type and will also consider the issues of imported moulds and local production. A chapter on the technique includes an analysis of the clay, issues of manufacture, decoration, the signatures, and an attempt to discuss the price of the figurines. By combining these different approaches and analyses, the study will demonstrate the terracottas' importance for understanding the place of Demetrias' coroplastic production in the Hellenistic world, and for reconstructing its religious, social and economic life.

Part III includes a glossary (Appendix A), an appendix of types according to context (Appendix B), a chronological frame (Appendix C) and the catalogue of the terracottas, presented by context.[166]

[166] The material from the North Cemetery is only included in very short catalogue entries because the material is under study by the excavator.

Chapter 2A: The Sanctuary of Pasikrata

Introduction

The figurines from the sanctuary of Pasikrata form the largest group of the terracottas in Demetrias. The recent identification of the finds in the store-rooms of the NAM and VM has served as a catalyst for the re-evaluation of the finds and their significance.[167] Hornung-Bertemes only catalogued 12 finds as originating from the sanctuary.[168] The identification process which was originally undertaken by Stamatopoulou (2002 to 2011) and continued by me (2016 to present) has led to the identification of more than 230 figurines.[169]

Until recently, the sanctuary and its finds had not received systematic publication. Arvanitopoulos briefly presented the finds in his preliminary reports and monograph on the excavations of the "Stelai Towers".[170] He had connected the venerated deity with Aphrodite, a proposal adopted by Papachatzis who further claimed that the proximity of the sanctuary to the cemetery indicated a chthonic aspect of the cult and thus introduced the term "Aphrodite of the Dead", which has dominated scholarship ever since.[171] Stamatopoulou, after a study of the archival and archaeological evidence pertaining to the site, challenged the funerary aspect assigned to the deity and proposed that the venerated deity had a kourotrophic aspect.[172]

[167] Stamatopoulou 2004; 2009. I was kindly invited by my supervisor to publish the terracottas from the sanctuary.
[168] Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 26, 41-42.
[169] Stamatopoulou 2014, 210. I would like to thank my supervisor for allowing me access to the photographic archive of Arvanitopoulos.
[170] Arvanitopoulos 1912, 198-209; Arvanitopoulos 1915b, 56-57; Arvanitopoulos 1928, 44-46.
[171] Papachatzis 1958a; Chrysostomou 1998, 95.
[172] Stamatopoulou 2014.

The excavation of the sanctuary and the finds[173]

From 1912 to 1915 Arvanitopoulos, while excavating the South Cemetery, came across several pits containing numerous finds, terracottas, pottery, inscribed incense burners and stelai. He described the location as being very near the 5th Stelai-tower and the gate there, outside the city walls next to the South cemetery (**Pl.57, Figs.1-2**). He did not describe any buildings related to the deposits of the sanctuary. He pointed out that the chronological range of the finds was from the 3rd c. BC to the 2nd c. AD and that some structures and a peribolos wall may have existed.[174]

The finds in the *favissae*, apart from the numerous terracottas, included pottery, lamps, clay and stone incense burners, marble statuettes, and inscribed dedicatory stelai.[175] The statuettes included at least one Artemis (**Pl.65, Fig.11**), an Aphrodite leaning on a herm holding an Eros (**Pl.65, Fig.12**), a female statuette and of course the life-size female head (**Pl.64, Fig.9**),[176] perhaps coming from a cult statue, which might have been acrolithic.[177]

The seven inscribed monuments include stelai, statue bases and stone incense burners, dating from the 3rd c. BC to the 2nd c. AD.[178] They mention Pasikrata except for one which mentions Artemis En(n)odia. A statue base was dedicated by Theano after the completion of her priesthood,[179] two naiskos stelai by female dedicators (Boubalis;[180] Melita[181]), while the

[173] For the publication of the sanctuary based on the rediscovery of the finds, as well as a re-assessment of the sanctuary's character: Stamatopoulou 2014.
[174] Arvanitopoulos 1928, 48.
[175] Stamatopoulou 2014, 212-213.
[176] *ibid*, 213, figs.14-18.
[177] Papachatzis 1958a, 50, n.3.
[178] Stamatopoulou 2014, 213-214.
[179] *ibid*, 214, n.37, fig.19.
[180] *ibid*, 214, n.38, fig.20.
[181] *ibid*, 214, n.39, fig.21.

two incense burners are dedicated by men (Menekrates and Demetrios;[182] Protas[183]). Furthermore, a stele was dedicated by Zopyros and Hippolite ὑπέρ τῶν θυγατέρων ("for the wellbeing of their daughters").[184] The formulas εὐξαμένην, εὐχήν and ὑπέρ τῶν θυγατέρων, clearly indicate not only the dedicatory character, but also the fulfilment of a vow/prayer for protection that the worshipers ask from the deity.[185] The formula ὑπέρ τῶν θυγατέρων also implies the kourotrophic character of the worshipped deity.[186] The name Pasikrata appears in Macedonia and Epirus as an epithet of Artemis.[187] Thus, Pasikrata in Demetrias might be likened to Artemis, especially given the dedication to Artemis En(n)odia.[188]

Even though we are missing the excavation daybooks to understand the sequence in which the finds – the figurines in particular – were placed or their deposit contexts, the photos kept in the Archive of the ASA help us understand and reconstruct some of the votives (**Pls.58-63**).[189]

The terracottas constitute the largest assemblage among the dedications from the site.[190] Iconographically, they fall into seven categories: adult female figurines, boy (kausia-boy) figurines, girl figurines, adult male figurines, deities, protomes and miscellanea.

Arvanitopoulos' photos are extremely helpful in calculating roughly the amounts of figurines dedicated to the sanctuary (**Pls.58-63**). They show: 221 females, 121 kausia-boys, 12 girls, 5 deities, 4 males, two protomes and two miscellaneous figurines. The female figurines form the majority with 60%, followed by the male figures with 33%, girls with 3% while the

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[182] *ibid*, 214, n.40, fig.22.
[183] *ibid*, 214, n.41, fig.23.
[184] *ibid*, 214, n.42, fig.24.
[185] *ibid*, 215.
[186] Papachatzis 1958a, 62, but he also sees the deity having a funerary character as well; Stamatopoulou 2014, 215; Kravaritou 2016a, 141.
[187] Stamatopoulou 2014, 217; Mili 2015, 207; Kravaritou 2016a, 140. Parker 2018, 414, 417, for the theonym Pasikrata.
[188] Stamatopoulou 2014, 229; Garcia Ramon and Helly 2007, 287, 293-294; Mili 2015, 274.
[189] Stamatopoulou 2014, 209, n.5; 2009, 21.
[190] Stamatopoulou 2014, 212.

deities, the protomes and the miscellanea only make up 2% of the total (**Pl.54, Chart.1**). The child figurines constitute 36% of the assemblage. Nevertheless, we should consider that we are probably missing part of the finds;[191] Arvanitopoulos mentioned that the figurines from the sanctuary were approximately 400.[192]

The female figurines in the sanctuary of Pasikrata include most of the female types known from Demetrias,[193] with only a few exceptions.[194] Other female figurines include the kourotrophos **[79]**, the dancer **[78]** and the seated woman **[80]**. The female heads again cover most of the known categories: with tegidion (**[81-86]**), thick wreath (**[87-90]**), wreath of leaves (**[81]**), veiled (**[91-93]**), and with tettix (**[94-99]**), melon (**[100-103]**) and knidian hairstyles (**[104-106]**).

The same can be said for the kausia-boy figurines, which include all the types found in Demetrias (although not all versions).[195] A boy figurine is portrayed seated holding a diptychon.[196] The girl figurines include the types B, C and D, the hugging group (**[117-118]**), the seated girls holding grapes (**[116]**) and girl heads (**[119-126]**).

Three Hellenistic figurines depict deities: the Aphrodite figurine-patrix (**[222]**), Aphrodite type A (**[108]**) and the miniature Nike figurine (**[107]**).[197] A further fragment might show the goddess Artemis or En(n)odia bearing a torch (**[111]**). Four male figurines are illustrated in the photos, three of which have been identified. Two (or three) possibly represent banqueters (**[127-128]**; photo A/A8516 (**Pl.63**), bottom row, 5th from right), while one is a theatrical figure (**[129]**).

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[191] Stamatopoulou 2014, 210, n.11.
[192] Arch.Arv.45, 1916.
[193] Types A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, P, Q, R, U.
[194] Types K, L, M, N, O, S, T.
[195] Types A to I. For Type D only variation b is present at the sanctuary; for Type E, only variation a is represented at the sanctuary.
[196] **Pl. 63**, 2nd row, 4th from right.
[197] **[109-110]** are of later date (see below).

The life-size protome-bust (**[1]**) is of particular interest and high quality. She wears a high-girded sleeved chiton with buttons. In Arvanitopoulos' photo (**Pl.61**) it is clear that it survived to greater extend, especially below the belt.[198] It also seems that it had a back and that the neck was extending all around, with a hole in the middle allowing for insertion of a head.[199] Holes existed around the neck either for securing the head in place or for insertion of a necklace. All these features might suggest that it belonged to a clay statue but based on the current evidence such an identification cannot be securely supported. Large-scale protomes were also found at the Katsiphas plot and the "Thesmophorion" (**[278, 355]**) but the Pasikrata specimen surpasses them in scale and quality of manufacture.[200]

In addition to the large protome-bust, one more fragment (**[2]**) could originate either from another large protome-bust, or from a clay statue, as the sheer size of the drapery is indicative of the scale of the complete artefact.

Finally, the miscellanea category includes the boar-hunt group (**[223]**) and an effigy of a pinecone (**[224]**).

The presence of the two figurine-patrices hints at the existence of a workshop either at the sanctuary grounds or in its vicinity.[201]

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[198] Arvanitopoulos 1912, fig.12.
[199] The Iseion of Eretria has yielded a life-size protome of a size comparable to ours that also features an inserted head which was assembled after firing (Papadakis 1915, 133-135, fig.11).
[200] A large collection of terracotta statues was discovered in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, of Archaic and Classical date (Bookidis 2010). An almost life-size head of the Mother-of-the-Gods was unearthed at the deity's sanctuary at Aigai (Drougou 2011a, mainly 327-328). A further clay statue was discovered at the Thesmophorion of Orchomenos (Pisani 2015, 184-187).
[201] Stamatopoulou 2014, 212-213.

Interpretation. Terracottas and cult at the sanctuary of Pasikrata

The terracottas provide invaluable information about the nature of the venerated deities and the cult. As regards Pasikrata, we lack information about her iconography, thus we cannot know if any of the terracottas found at the sanctuary actually depict her, although it is highly unlikely, as most represent female devotees or children. Artemis or En(n)odia bearing a torch might be represented by a single fragment (**[111]**).[202]

The Nike figurine (**[107]**) probably indicates a visiting deity in the sanctuary.[203] In Demetrias a Nike figurine also appears in the "Thesmophorion".[204]

There are five Aphrodite figurines, three of which are dated in the Roman period (1st c. BC/AD) (**[109-110]**; **Pl.62**, top row, 4th from right). Only the figurine-patrix **[222]** is dated in the Hellenistic period. Thus, the presence of these figurines is presumably not crucial regarding the nature of the worshipped deity. During the 1st c. BC/AD the presence of figurines drops radically everywhere in the Greek world and only very specific types dominate the coroplastic repertoire. The three Aphrodite figurines are very typical of these iconographic and coroplastic types, especially in Northern Greece, the best examples of which are from the necropoleis of Thessaloniki and Amphipolis.[205] These Aphrodites might indicate that the goddess is a

[202] For a figurine of En(n)odia bearing a torch or staff: Apostolopoulou-Kakavogianni 1990, 60, no.3, fig.8; Chrysostomou 1998, 157, no.2, pl.16a; Stamatopoulou 2014, fig.27. Two figurine-plaques depicting a torch bearing female figure have been discovered at the sanctuary of Anavra and have been interpreted as En(n)odia (Eleutheriou and Karagiannopoulos forthcoming). For Artemis holding torches: Vikela 2015; Kielau 2018, 75-78.

[203] For the term and the concept of "visiting gods": Alroth 1987; 1989. For Nike figurines at sanctuaries of other deities: Lilimpaki-Akamati 1996, 55; Huysecom-Haxhi and Muka 2010, 391; Mitsopoulos-Leon 2015, no.84, pl.14; Vikatou 2017, 159.

[204] Batziou-Efstathiou 2010, 183, no.Γ.

[205] Merker 2000, 311-312; Tsimpidou-Avloniti 2017, 139; Adam-Veleni 2017b.

"visiting deity" in the sanctuary,[206] as in the sanctuaries of Artemis, at Epidamnos and Alikyrna,[207] or even a shift in dedicatory practices, and not necessarily in the venerated deity.

The Aphrodite figurine-patrix (**[222]**) and the protome-bust (**[1]**), share common iconographic and stylistic traits with a marble statuette also from the sanctuary (**Pl.65, Fig.10**).[208]

The adult female figurines display variety in dress, headdresses and hairstyles. They are depicted in quiet poses, standing or seated, in most cases wrapped in their himation, or with the himation on their shoulders. Types A, R and a version of Type D,[209] carry a fan, while **[73], [116],** and a single figurine (photo A/A8516 (**Pl.63**), top row, 5th from left) hold a bunch of grapes. A Type C figurine is illustrated holding a diptychon ((**Pl.63**, bottom row, 6th from left).

There is differentiation in the female's age classes, mainly Type J and Type F.B which probably depict young women, mostly because of the way the himation is worn hanging over the shoulders. The same can be said for the figurines with the melon hairstyle (**[100]**; **[101]**; perhaps Type G **[32-34]**) and those adorned with the "thick wreath" (**[87]**; **[89]**), both used primarily for young women. Conversely, more mature women are shown wrapped in the himation,[210] with hair rendered in the "knidian" (Types A **[4-10]**; B **[11-20]**; I **[40-61]**; P **[72]**; U) and the *tettix* hairstyles (Type C2B **[24]**; **[94-99]**), as well as veiled (Types C **[24]**; R **[74]**; **[82]**; **[85]**; **[91]**; **[92]**; **[97]**). Veiled women especially, have been increasingly interpreted as representations of women from their sexual maturity onwards.[211] The same can be said for the women adorned with a *stephane*,[212] which has also been interpreted as the attribute of brides

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[206] Alroth 1987l; 1989-1990.
[207] Huysecom-Haxhi and Muka 2010, 391; Vikatou 2017, 159; Muller 2019, suggests that some of the figurines interpreted as Aphrodite in sanctuaries of Artemis should be seen as depictions of brides, marking the passage from *parthenos* to *gyne*.
[208] Stamatopoulou 2014, 213, fig.18.
[209] Photo A/A8516 (**Pl.62**), top row, 3rd from left.
[210] Barrow 2018, 55. However, one girl figurine is also depicted wrapped in the himation (**[121]**), but depictions of veiled young girls are much fewer than the mature women.
[211] Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 215-248; Muller and Huysecom-Haxhi 2007, 243.
[212] Photo A/A8518, 2nd row, 6th and 7th from left.

(*nymphe*) or brides-to-be.[213] The age of heads wearing the *tegidion* (**[81-86]**; Type R **[74]**) is slightly harder to determine, although also probably depict women who reached sexual maturity, with the exception of **[121]**.[214] We can thus detect female figurines which span the life stages of a woman: from young woman (*parthenos*), to bride or bride-to-be (*nymphe*), to mature woman (*gyne*).

The presence of the kausia-boy figurines in combination with the inscribed altars indicate that male worshippers were involved in the cult, although we do not know their age. Presence of male figurines has been noted in other female sanctuaries, such as the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth and the sanctuary of Artemis Hemera at Lousoi.[215] In this case as well we can distinguish different age groups from 12 to 15/16 years, or even earlier.[216]

The girl figurines are depicted in several types and poses. For instance, Type B, **[113]**, **[114]** and the hugging girls (**[117]**) are shown in a quiet stance. Type C (**[115]**) carries a bird, probably a duck. The figurines of girls holding animals are imitations of large-scale sculpture dedicated in sanctuaries of kourotrophic deities (Artemis and Asklepios) during the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods and could be connected to rites-of-passage.[217] The animals carried by the children have been interpreted as depictions of their pets rather than ritual offerings.[218] This interpretation can be further supported by the same poses attested on depictions of girls on tombstones.[219] Finally, the figurines of seated girls holding grapes

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[213] Muller and Huysecom-Haxhi 2007, 243; Lee 2015, 142-144, with earlier bibliography.
[214] See Chapter 7. Compare with Nikolaou 2012, figs.10-11.
[215] Merker 2000, 334-337; Mitsopoulos-Leon 2007.
[216] Chapter 6 for a more detailed interpretation of the kausia-boys.
[217] Bobou 2015, 97-98; Bobou 2016, 196-203. Kassab-Tezgör 2007, 210, interprets the girl figurines holding birds as connected to the cult of Eileithyia, but from more recent investigations it seems that they could be connected to any kourotrophic deity. For recent discoveries of Asklepieia: Papakonstantinou 2012 (Daphnous); Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou et al. 2012 (Peparethos); Intzesiloglou 1985a (Kierion); Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 76; Mili 2015, 325. Also at Phthiotic Thebes: Theocharis 1960, 183; Sismani-Adrimi 1991, 209-210.
[218] Albertocchi 2004, 157; Muller and Huysecom-Haxhi 2007, 239; Bobou 2015, 77.
[219] Bobou 2015, 92.

(**[116]**),[220] could be connected to everyday life rather than to rituals taking place in the sanctuary.[221]

One can notice that the girl figurines are also depicted in different age classes: of very young age of around 2 to 5 years old (**[120]**; **[121]**; **[126]**; **Pl.63**, top row, 2nd and 3rd from right), of 5 to 8 years old (**[114-117]**) and of 9 to 14 years old (Type B **[112]**; **[122]**).

The girl figurines with braided hair (**Pl.63**, top row, 2nd from right) have been connected to rites-of-passage involving the *θρεπτήριος κόμη*, the hair that is ritually grown and then cut to be dedicated to a deity during important life stages (*μαλλοκουρία*).[222] Andromachi Batziou, based on literary sources and using as case studies the sanctuaries of Artemis at Brauron and Mounichia, and Demeter and Kore at Corinth, argued that such figurines are prevalent in sanctuaries of deities connected to rites-of-passage and fertility.[223]

Contrary to the Archaic and Classical periods, kourotrophos figurines, such as **[79]**, are not a very common iconographic type in the Hellenistic period, when figurines of kourotrophic Aphrodite holding the baby Eros are the norm.[224] Nevertheless, they appear in sanctuaries of Artemis, such as the sanctuary at Anavra, at Epidamnos/Dyrrhachion and Brauron.[225] We know

[220] Figurines of seated girls are a very common iconographic type, found in sanctuaries, tombs and houses. Thompson 1936, 172, nos.e-f, fig.18; Burr-Thompson 1963a, 314, nos.1-2, pl.80; Burr-Thompson 1966c, 58, figs.9-10; Higgins 1973, pl.55; Metzger 1985, 80-83, pl.23; Uhlenbrock 1990, 117, no.10; Baroni and Casolo 1990, 178-179, no.ACXXXI a 1, pl.XXIII,3; Schmidt 1994, 83, no.114, pl 21; Muller 1996, 378, no.852, pl.122; Vierneisel-Schlörb 1997, 103-105, nos.316-319, pl.59,1-6; Banaka-Dimaki 1997, 324, fig.7; Burn and Higgins 2001, no.2010, pl.2, nos.2099-2101, pls.18-19, nos.2745-2746, pl.121; Mekacher 2003, 27-30, nos.15-31, pls.4-8; Kassab-Tezgör 2007, no.194, pl.60g, no.254, pl.77b-c; Jeammet 2010, 130, no.101; Peppa-Papaioannou 2011, 203-204, figs.84-87; Chidiroglou 2015, 97-98; Noulas 2017, 406-407, nos.510-514; Chidiroglou 2016, 214, fig.15; Rhomiopoulou 2017, 427, no.563; Vikatou 2017, 159, pl.69,2.

[221] Peppa-Papaioannou 2011, 115-116, does not exclude the idea that the seat might be a chest for clothes, indicating the girls' servitude in sanctuaries, during a prescribed period of time.

[222] Vlachogianni 2018, 306.

[223] Batziou 2017, 127-132; Palaiokrassa 1991; Merker 2000; Mitsopoulos-Leon 2015.

[224] For Demetrias: Nikolaou 2012, 354-355, group A.3.

[225] Eleutheriou and Karagiannopoulos forthcoming; Karagiannopoulos and Chatziaggelakis 2015, 233; 22; Muller and Tartari 2009b, 22; Mitsopoulos-Leon 1997, 364, no.6, fig.3.

that Artemis was worshipped as Locheia, Geneteira and Eileithyia at her sanctuary in Gonnoi,[226] and that En(n)odia was called Koroutarra, an epithet related to kourotrophy.[227]

Pinecone effigies are a relatively rare find in sanctuaries but have been interpreted as connected to the fertility and rejuvenation of nature.[228] It might also suggest dedications of real pine cones to the sanctuary, as has been hypothesised for the Heraion of Samos,[229] but the uniqueness of the effigy at Pasikrata renders such a hypothesis very tentative here.[230]

A single figurine which might represent a hydriaphoros is shown in the photographs of Arvanitopoulos.[231] Even if so, this should not necessarily point to a cult of Demeter, as figurines of hydriaphoroi are also found in sanctuaries of other divinities.[232]

The theatrical figurines are not uncommon in the Hellenistic period in sanctuaries of female divinities, although they appear primarily in sanctuaries of Demeter and the Mother-of-the-Gods.[233]

Terracottas and ritual

The terracottas unfortunately do not provide much information on the rituals that would have taken place at the sanctuary. The only evidence for rituals is offered by the lamps which indicate nocturnal rituals, and the incense burners which show burning of offerings, although not exclusive to a specific time of day.[234]

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[226] Arvanitopoulos 1911, 317-320; Arvanitopoulos 1916b. At the sanctuary which lay inside the city, but in close proximity to the walls he found more than 300 inscriptions, numerous marble and clay heads, parts of marble statuettes, two gold leaves, clay tiles and stone bases. Stamatopoulou 2014, 228, n.133, for further bibliography.
[227] Garcia Ramon and Helly 2007, 289-291.
[228] Kyrieleis 1988, 219, fig.8; Zografou 2017a, 269, no.206.
[229] Kyrieleis 1988, 219.
[230] Pinecone effigies are also reported in the Metroon of Demetrias (Batziou-Efstathiou forthcoming).
[231] Photo A/A8516 (**Pl.63)**, top row, first from left.
[232] Schipporeit 2013, 225 and n.92; Kozlowski 2015, n.18-22.
[233] Rhomaios 1920, 83, fig.86; Trouki 1989; Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2014, 614; Vikatou 2017, 159.
[234] Stamatopoulou 2014, 215.

The dancer figurine **[78]** might indicate dancing performances, but since only one survives, we cannot be certain about this. Dancing performances are very well attested through the iconography on krateriskoi at sanctuaries of Artemis or related to rites-of-passage, such as at Brauron,[235] Mounichia in Attica,[236] and Orthia in Sparta.[237] The figurines from these sites do not necessarily indicate dancing rituals, with the exception of only a handful dancer figurines from Brauron and one from Mounichia.[238]

The boy holding the syrinx (photo A/A8516 (**Pl.63**), bottom row, 3rd from left – "shepherd" type E see **[263]**), as I will argue below,[239] does not allude to musical performances at the sanctuary, but should rather be seen as a symbol of youth.

The two banqueters **[127-128]** could point to ritual dining at the sanctuary. Banqueter figurines are not uncommon at sanctuaries of Artemis and we can observe them in the sanctuary at Chrysovitsa,[240] the sanctuary of Artemis Ortheia at Messene,[241] Anavra,[242] Thasos,[243] at Epidamnos/Dyrrhachion,[244] Kirrha,[245] and Kyra Panaghia in Thesprotia.[246] The stoa at Brauron is now generally accepted to have hosted banquets.[247] The pottery from the Pasikrata sanctuary – known only through one surviving photograph – does not provide useful clues towards this hypothesis.[248]

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[235] Kahil 1965, 22; Kahil 1977, 87; Kahil 1988, 805.
[236] Palaiokrassa 1991
[237] Calame 2001.
[238] Mitsopoulos-Leon 2015, 79-80, nos.66-80, pl.11 and 127, nos.160-161, pl.23, although the last might be flying figures; Palaiokrassa 1991, 62, 114, no.E64, pl.19. The figurines from the sanctuary of Orthia do not have any dancers among them; they are much earlier in date (Dawkins 1929).
[239] Chapter 2B.
[240] Rhomaios 1920, 83-89, although he interpreted them as dining gods.
[241] Themelis 1994, 106.
[242] Eleutheriou and Karagiannopoulos forthcoming.
[243] Huysecom-Haxhi 2009b, 260-264 and 572.
[244] Huysecom-Haxhi and Muka 2010, 391.
[245] Huysecom-Haxhi 2015, 12.
[246] Svana 2015, 460, fig.6, although unique.
[247] Themelis 2002, 104-105; Ekroth 2003, 109; Nielsen 2009, 98.
[248] Stamatopoulou 2014, 213. There are drinking vessels, but these are common dedications. For drinking vessels in sanctuaries of Artemis: Maffre and Tichit 2011; Muller 2018a, 162.

The boar-hunt group **[223]** shows a boar chased by a dog, an appropriate dedication to the goddess of hunting.[249] Whether this dedication was related to the dedicant's identity is very difficult to verify. The presence of the kausiaphoroi, wearing the typical Macedonian dress, may not be coincidental. A group of boar husks at the sanctuary of Artemis at Lousoi has been interpreted as related to the hunt which boys performed as part of the initiation rituals marking the passage from adolescence to adulthood.[250] Two figurines of boars were also found at Brauron.[251] These figurines could also have been dedicated before a hunt in order to protect the adolescent, or after the successful completion of the feat.

The theatrical figurine **[129]** does not necessarily imply theatrical performances.[252] Nevertheless, we know of theatrical performances at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta, but there is clear literary and archaeological evidence, primarily the archaic masks.[253]

According to Arthur Muller, "the votive terracottas offered in sanctuaries of deities who were in charge of young people of both sexes are the archaeological manifestation of rites-of-passage".[254] At the sanctuary of Pasikrata due to the lack of further supporting evidence this should still remain a hypothesis.

Parallels from other sanctuaries and sites

When compared to the dedications from other sanctuaries in Demetrias, the terracottas from the Pasikrata sanctuary find close parallels in dedicatory patterns with the ones from the

[249] For representations of boars dedicated to sanctuaries of Artemis: Bevan 1986, 75-79. For hunting in Macedonia: Hatzopoulos 1994, 93-94.
[250] Mitsopoulos-Leon 2010, 413.
[251] Mitsopoulos-Leon 2015, 140-142.
[252] For the difficulty in interpreting theatrical figurines: Zografou 2017a, 159.
[253] Rosenberg 2015; Léger 2017, 24-27.
[254] Muller 2018a, 161-162.

Favissa on Hill 35, where female figurines, girls, kausia-boys, "shepherds", boys and girls holding animals were unearthed.[255] In contrast, the figurines from the other sanctuaries at Demetrias, e.g. the Mother-of-the-Gods and the "Thesmophorion", do not resemble iconographically those from Pasikrata. This difference is also evident in the quality of the terracottas, which is much higher in the case of the Metroon.

Within the Pagasetic gulf region, the sanctuary of Pasikrata seems to share similar functions with the periurban sanctuary of Apollo at Soros. The sculptural and terracotta dedications have led Leventi to an interpretation of the cult at Soros as related to kourotrophic functions, protecting both boys and girls.[256] The terracotta dedications reveal many commonalities: the female type B **[11]** (**Pl. 79, Figs.38-39**), girl type B **[112]**, kausia-boy type A **[131]** and a head very similar to **[561]** are present in the sanctuary of Apollo,[257] and appear at Pasikrata slightly later. Furthermore, the girl figurines with the braided hair also point to similar dedicatory practices in both sanctuaries.[258]

The dedicatory patterns of terracottas reveal close parallels with those at the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia during the late 4th and early 3rd c.[259] Many female and girl figurines,[260] as well as some boys, youths and plaggones,[261] even two boars have been discovered among the terracotta finds.[262] Deities are absent in the terracotta dedications during the last phase of the Attic sanctuary,[263] which could support my hypothesis that the Aphrodite figurines which only appear later are more related with the trends of their time than the worshipped goddess.

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[255] Chapter 2B. Also, Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 39-41.
[256] Leventi 2009; 2012; Mazarakis-Ainian 2011.
[257] Leventi 2012, nos.ΠΕ23/05, fig.15; no.ΠΕ20/05, fig.17; no.ΠΕ29/05, fig.19; no.ΠΕ28/05, fig.22; no.ΠΕ18/05, fig.23.
[258] Leventi 2012, 303, no.ΠΕ4/04, fig.28.
[259] Mitsopoulos-Leon 2015.
[260] Mitsopoulos-Leon 2015, 50-93, 104-112.
[261] Mitsopoulos-Leon 2015, 25-30, 33-36, 42-49, as well as nos.88 and 90, pl.15. Youths are prominent in the relief vases from the sanctuary: Mitsopoulos-Leon 2015, 123-124.
[262] Mitsopoulos-Leon 2015, 140-142.
[263] With the exception of a Nike figurine: Mitsopoulos-Leon 2015, no.84, pl.14.

Similar dedicatory patterns can be observed at other sanctuaries of Artemis, which in their majority are periurban, located outside the city fortifications and close to cemeteries,[264] "unifying centre and borderland".[265] These include sanctuaries where the venerated deity is attested epigraphically, as well as sites where epigraphic documentation is absent, but in these cases the finds, in general, and the figurines in particular, help identify the worshiped deity. In the last 40 years the number of known periurban sanctuaries has increased with many new finds added to the known lists, especially in Thessaly. In this region similar dedicatory patterns in relation to the sanctuary's location can be noticed at Anavra, Alonaki,[266] in southwest Thessaly. The periurban sanctuary is located 600-700m. away from the settlement, and near the cemetery, the latter in use from the 9th to the 5th c.[267] The finds span the period from the late 7th c. to the 3rd c., with the majority of the figurines dating from the 6th to the 3rd.[268] (**Pl.65, Figs.12-13**). Here too, the sanctuary has been interpreted by the excavators as belonging primarily to Artemis, based on the large numbers of figurines depicting the deity, the kourotrophos figurines, the dedications of pins and brooches (which allude to dedications of garments).[269] The excavators do not exclude the possibility that Demeter was also worshipped here, because of the hydriaphoroi figurines and the miniature hydriai.[270] As with the Pasikrata sanctuary this site was also near tombs and in the periphery of the settlement.[271]

The sanctuary of Artemis at Epidamnos (Dyrrhachion) has been a catalyst in the study of terracotta dedications. In 1970-1971 large votive deposits were found belonging to a sanctuary

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[264] Stamatopoulou 2014, 219-232, 268-274; Muller 2018b, for discussion of the topography of sanctuaries of Artemis at Thasos and their placement at the city's borders.
[265] Cole 2004, 194.
[266] Eleutheriou and Karagiannopoulos forthcoming; Karagiannopoulos and Chatziaggelakis 2015; Karagiannopoulos 2012.
[267] Karagiannopoulos 2018, 125.
[268] Karagiannopoulos and Chatziaggelakis 2015, 232.
[269] *ibid*, 232-233.
[270] *ibid*, 233.
[271] One of course should consider that Demetrias was a major urban centre and Anavra a small rural, semi-mountainous settlement.

located on the slopes of the city, probably just outside the fortifications. Similarly to the Pasikrata sanctuary, no structures were discovered. Among them were huge numbers of terracottas (1.8 tons), pottery (3 tons), coins (650), smalls sculptures and bronze finds. The research team identified the sanctuary as that mentioned by Appian (II 60) being next to the city gate. 94% of the terracottas are female protomes, 5% are female figurines, 1% male figurines, 0.5% animals.[272] The terracottas depict female worshippers, plaggones, Artemis and Aphrodite with Eros. The sanctuary had been initially identified as dedicated to Aphrodite, but the research team recently proposed that the dedications point to Artemis, which was confirmed by graffiti on pottery.[273] Even though the sanctuary of Artemis at Epidamnos has yielded primarily protomes, an age differentiation has been detected in their depiction,[274] comparable to that observed in the figurines from the Pasikrata sanctuary. The male figurines point to both female and male participation.[275] Furthermore, an inscription from the Epidamnos sanctuary reads: …]ελοις εὔχαν, a dedicatory formula that resembles that from the Pasikrata sanctuary, and a another dedication probably reads Σ]ώτειρ[ραι / Ἀρτέ[μιτι / ἀνέθ]ε[κεν.[276] Both the Artemision at Epidamnos and the sanctuary of Pasikrata show a strong preference for female figures based on the percentages, but the male presence at Pasikrata is more prominent.

At Kyra Panaghia, in Thesprotia, a rural sanctuary with a small rectangular temple and an altar were unearthed in rescue excavations.[277] Among the finds terracottas predominate and help identify the nature of the cult. The figurines include standing women, hydriaphoroi, a woman leaning on a statue (perhaps Athena), busts, protomai, seated women, a banqueter and

[272] Huysecom-Haxhi and Muka 2010, 389.
[273] Muller et al. 2004b; 2004a; Muller and Tartari 2006; 2009a; Huysecom-Haxhi and Muka 2010; Muller et al. 2010; Muller and Tartari 2010; 2011; Muller and Muka 2014; Muller-Dufeu and Shehi 2009, 100-107 for the skyphoi with graffiti naming Artemis and Hekate. Stamatopoulou 2014, 230, for comparison with the Pasikrata sanctuary.
[274] Tartari et al. 2010, 6.
[275] Huysecom-Haxhi and Muka 2010, 391.
[276] Dufeu-Muller 2010, 397.
[277] Preka 1997; Riginos 1998; Svana 2015.

actor(s). Svana suggested that the sanctuary might have been dedicated to Demeter or Persephone, due to the hydriaphoroi,[278] but Mancini has recently argued that the dedicatory practices resemble more those of an Artemision.[279]

At ancient Alikyrna in Aetolia, a large votive deposit was discovered inside a temenos, which was located close to the cemetery. The terracotta finds include figurines of standing women, Nikai, women carrying birds, standing girls holding fruit, seated girls holding grapes and diptychon, a semidraped Aphrodite, hydriaphoroi, thymiateria, dancers, animals (doves, pigs, bulls, rams, roosters, ducks or geese and horses), Eros, theatrical masks, actors, a Cerberus and a male figure holding torch. Vikatou noticed here different age classes from young girls to mature women suggesting cult of Artemis, Demeter or Aphrodite. The figurines of girls with the *diptychon* and fruit provide a further similarity to the sanctuary of Pasikrata.[280]

A large deposit belonging to a sanctuary was excavated by Rhomaios in 1912 at the modern village Chrysovitsa in Aetolia. The temenos was situated next to a cemetery and a stream. The deposit yielded approximately 15,000 fragments of terracottas, as well as pottery. The terracottas include Artemis figurines, standing female figures, girls, seated women, protomai (some similar to those from Kyra Panaghia), male figurines portraying symposiasts, Pan, hydriaphoroi and dancers. Rhomaios identified the venerated deity as Artemis.[281] Here too we notice participation of both female and male worshippers, as well as age differentiation.

At Kirrha a very large *favissa* was discovered between 1936 and 1938 in a large sanctuary, with monumental architecture, primarily a temple, a portico and a propylon. The *favissa* yielded ca. 2,000 figurines and numerous vases. Pausanias mentions a sanctuary of Apollo, Artemis and Leto at Kirrha, which the excavators identified with the unearthed

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[278] Svana 2015, 460-461.
[279] Mancini 2017, 213
[280] Vikatou 2017; https://www.archaiologia.gr/blog/2012/09/10/η-ιονία-οδός-2/ (last visited 6/03/2019); Stamatopoulou 2014, 210, n. 14, for comparison with Demetrias.
[281] Rhomaios 1920; Antonetti 1990, 214-222.

complex. The iconographic repertoire of the terracottas includes female figurines and protomes, Artemis figurines, korai, hydriaphoroi, seated females, including kourotrophoi, male figures, including "temple boys", banqueters, kriophoroi, ephebes, boys, figurines connected with the world of Dionysos, animal figurines and theatrical terracottas. The female figurines make up the 80 to 90% of the total assemblage and the male presence is approximately similar to Pasikrata (10% less). Huysecom-Haxhi noticed the different age classes of the worshippers. She interpreted the assemblage as typical dedications to the Apollonian Triad suggesting that rites of maturation were performed in the sanctuary.[282]

Compared to other sites, the sanctuary of Pasikrata is notable for a rarity of protomes among the dedications (apart from **[1]** and potentially **[2]**). This category of terracottas is more prevalent in the cult of the Mother-of-the-Gods at Demetrias.[283] What these sanctuaries also have in common is the predominance of figurines of mortals (women and children) and the relative low number of figurines depicting deities.

On the Greek peninsula the kausia-boy figurines found in sanctuaries are – at present – unique to Demetrias, although not absent in the rest of the Mediterranean. At Myrina on Lemnos a deposit, probably belonging to a sanctuary, was discovered just outside the city fortification and included female, girl, kausia-boy and plaggon figurines, ranging from the 5th to the end of the 3rd c.[284] The excavator connected this assemblage to the cult of a female deity, and was recently interpreted as belonging to a Thesmophorion.[285] In the absence of further contextual information this has to remain tentative.

[282] Huysecom-Haxhi 2015.
[283] See Chapter 2D.
[284] Charitonidis 1963, 265, pl.304.
[285] Greco and Ficuciello 2012, 163–164; Ficuciello 2013, 254–255, fig.116.

Conclusions

Before drawing any conclusions, one should consider that we are still missing large amounts of the finds from the sanctuary and especially parts of Arvanitopoulos' archive, which hinders our understanding of the assemblages. Regarding the dates of the terracottas we can note that the vast majority of the finds fall in the 3rd c., with some examples also continuing in the 2nd c (**[81]**; **[97]**; possibly also **[82]**, **[83]**, **[94]**, **[95]**, **[96]**, **[84]**).[286] The terracotta dedications are very few in the 1st c. (BC/AD), primarily three Aphrodites (**[109]**; **[110]**; photo A/A8516 (**Pl.63**), top row, 4th from right) and a Roman *emblema* (photo A/A8516 (**Pl.63**), bottom row, 4th from right). This rarity of terracotta dedications indicates a change in dedicatory practices that has also been observed elsewhere.[287] Nevertheless, it does not indicate necessarily a decline in the sanctuary, as we know that the inscribed dedications and pottery continue at least until the 2nd c. AD.[288]

The terracottas at the sanctuary of Pasikrata, combined with the other finds, indicate that the cult practiced was a kourotrophic one, revolving around the protection of important life passages in different age groups.[289] The age classes range from very young girls to adult women and for the boy figurines, from approximately 10 to 16 years old. The high number of female figurines and the related age classes could indicate that the goddess protected women, in different life stages. The girl figurines could hint at the celebration of rites-of-passage from the age of childhood to adolescence, similar to Brauron, although here we lack iconographic and textual evidence to confirm that. The kausia-boy figurines, as I argue later on, apart from the

[286] The heads **[94]**, **[95]** and **[96]** possibly come from the same mould and are very similar to heads from Veroia dated in the 2nd c. (Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, no.177).
[287] Merker 2000, 311-312; Schipporeit 2013, 339-340; Adam-Veleni 2017b.
[288] Stamatopoulou 2014, 215.
[289] *ibid*, 232-233.

kourotrophic character of the deity, also point to transitions from the age group of the *paides* to that of the *ephebes*. The figurines of goddesses do not give a clear picture of the venerated deity; some should be seen as "visiting gods". Nevertheless, we should consider that we are in the dark when it comes to the iconography of Pasikrata. The rituals practiced here are also not particularly clarified by the terracottas. Apart from the life-size protome, which could have acted as one of the goddess' images, we lack information about the figurines' function in the sanctuary.

One could argue that the kausia-boy figurines, wearing the characteristic Macedonian attire (kausia, chitoniskos, chlamys and boots) indicate the identity of the worshippers in the Macedonian city of Demetrias. The kausia figurines combined with the boar-hunt group could indicate that the cult here was related to rites-of-passage, as that of Herakles Kynagidas presiding over the passage of boys to manhood through hunting.[290] Hatzopoulos has suggested that the cult of the Macedonian Herakles Kynagidas, whose cult is also present at Demetrias, was confined to the elite.[291] Kravaritou recently proposed that Thessalian rites-of-passage were not necessarily confined to the elite. The figurines, through their inexpensive material, could also point to a more varied social status of the people who took part in such practices, than was previously thought.[292]

Perhaps the figurines at the sanctuary of Pasikrata were dedicated after the completion of the ritual transition from one age group to the next, as was done at other sites with the dedications of stelai and statues conforming to wealthy participants.[293] Could the figurines attest to the completion of such rites by a group of people of lower social standing?

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[290] Hatzopoulos 1994; Mili 2015, 205-206; Kravaritou 2016a, 142; 2018, 384.
[291] Hatzopoulos 1994, 108-110.
[292] Kravaritou 2018, 391.
[293] Hatzopoulos 1994, 25-40; Kravaritou 2018, 377-378.

Chapter 2B: The *Favissa* on Hill 35

The excavation of the *Favissa* on Hill 35 and the finds

In 1972 the DAI-Ath. excavated a pit (from here on I will use the term *Favissa*) with terracottas and fragmentary pottery while surveying the Scheffel plot (**Pl.66, Fig.14**).[294] This plot is located at the eastern part of the city, very near the walls beyond which extends the eastern cemetery (**Pl.48, Plan.1.2; Pl.49, Plan.2**). The find was initially reported briefly in the *Deltion* and the "Chroniques des fouilles" of that year's *BCH*.[295] The excavators identified the site as belonging to the Thesmophorion which was partially excavated by Arvanitopoulos in 1915.[296]

Not much is known about the site or the excavation. In the 1972 report, Milojčič only mentioned the discovery of the *Favissa*, 35 figurines (instead of actually 53) and tentatively connected it with the Thesmophorion. Marzolff made no mention of pottery.[297] Hornung-Bertemes in her thesis mentioned many fragments of pottery with no further details, either on typology or date. In fact, all the dates that she provided for the terracottas from the *Favissa* are based purely on stylistic parallels. No further information is given regarding the immediate vicinity of the *Favissa* and the nearby constructions (apart from "a building that stood there before" of which we know nothing).[298]

The information about the context is in Hornung-Bertemes' publication. The large oval pit measured 0,30x0,50m. and was discovered 0,20m. below the surface. It was dug into the

[294] For the terms *favissa* and *bothros* used for deposits in Late Republic Italian sanctuaries: Murgan 2016.
[295] Milojčič 1973, 345-346; Michaud 1973, 335, 338, fig.176.
[296] Arvanitopoulos 1915a, 191-194.
[297] Marzolff 1980, 31.
[298] Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 40.

gravel foundations of a stone wall that stretched from north to south, belonging to an abandoned building that stood at the site. The excavators unearthed 53 figurine fragments, some of which had been placed standing and some laid down (**Pl.66, Fig.14**). The pit was filled with loose dark earth. It was a single act of deposition making this a closed context. This is very important for the chronology of the finds, but since we know nothing about the associated pottery, we are confined to date the figurines based on external criteria. We can tentatively propose an association with a cleaning phase of a sanctuary.[299]

Stählin had already identified a small open-air sanctuary on the same hill when surveying Demetrias in the early 20th c. He reported a rectangular rock-cut altar facing East, and that the sanctuary was demarcated by rock cuttings functioning as a temenos (**Pl.66, Fig.15**).[300]

The deposit excavated by the DAI-Ath. yielded 10 women figurines **[225-234]**, five girls **[236-240]**, seven kausia-boys **[241-247]**, 20 "shepherds" holding the *syrinx* and/or *lagobolon* **[248-267]**, nine boys carrying animals **[268-275]**, and a fragment of a figure's leg wearing a chitoniskos **[235]**.[301] The latter belongs either to a figurine of Artemis as a hunter or to a female runner. In terms of percentages (**Pl.54, Chart.2**), the boy figurines dominate the assemblage (70% of the total), while the female figurines make up only 28%, almost a reverse picture from the sanctuary of Pasikrata. Nevertheless, child figurines (boys and girls) constitute 79% of the total.

The female figurines belong to type C.I.A (**[225]**), C.III.B **([226-227]**), type D (**[228]**), type F.B (**[229]**), type H (**[230]**), type R (**[231]**), two single fragments (**[232-233]**) and a head is also among them (**[232]**). The kausia-boys belong to type A (**[241]**), type B (**[242-244]**), type

[299] Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 39-41.
[300] Stählin et al. 1934, 125, Abb.23.
[301] Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 41, divided the figurines differently: 16 "shepherds", nine "shepherds" carrying animals, nine kausia figurines, four male figurines, and 15 female figurines. However, she does not differentiate between girl figurines and adult women, which can change the percentages significantly. I have also followed a different classification in some cases, because more examples can be assigned to the "shepherd" figurines.

D.a. (**[245]**), type E (**[246]**), and a single fragment (**[247]**). The "shepherd" figurines cover almost all known types from the city (Type A.a-c **[248-255]**, type B.a-b **[256-257]**, type C.a-c **[258-261]**, type D **[262]**, type E **[263]**), as well as single fragments (**[266-267]**). The same applies for the "shepherd" carrying animal figurines (Type A.a-b: **[268-269]**, type B.a-c: **[270-275]**, boy with cock: **[276]**). All the boy figurines are similarly shown with long hair falling to the shoulders. The girl figurines are depicted with long hair (**[237]**), especially the central braid (**[236]**), and veiled (**[240]**), holding birds (**[239]**), and wreaths (**[238]**).

Terracottas and cult

The terracotta figurines in the *Favissa* do not add much to the identification of the venerated deity. Only one poorly preserved fragment (**[235]**) may perhaps depict Artemis. Similar figurines have been discovered in the Thesmophorion of Thasos and interpreted as depictions of Artemis, acting as a visiting goddess in the sanctuary.[302]

We can observe also here a cult that involves both female and male participants. Similarly to the Pasikrata sanctuary,[303] the high percentage of girl and boy figurines – 42 children figurines in total – indicates a kourotrophic aspect of the venerated deity. But at the *Favissa* there are far fewer women figurines than in Pasikrata's sanctuary, which could perhaps indicate less involvement of adult women in the cult, or at least women who have passed their wedding age. There is also here more variability in the types of girl figurines.[304]

The female figurines show little variation in age differentiation. Most figures are shown wrapped in their himation indicating adult women, with the exception of **[229]** (type F.B) who

[302] Muller 1996, 491, pl.121.
[303] Stamatopoulou 2014, 219.
[304] Compare to Pasikrata where we have many examples of the same type (for example girl types B, C, female types A, B, C, I).

wears the himation over her shoulders and probably depicts a young unmarried woman.[305] The adult female figurines are all portrayed in quiet stances.

The *Favissa* has yielded the highest number and variety of "shepherd" figurines in Demetrias (**[248-267]**). They are portrayed as boys wearing the Macedonian dress (kausia, chiton, chlamys and krepides) and holding a *syrinx* and/or a *lagobolon*. Outside Demetrias this iconographic type is very rare, with the only known examples coming from the west cemetery of Pella,[306] the sanctuary at Kharayeb,[307] and the sanctuary of Magna Mater on the Palatine Hill in Rome.[308] The sanctuary at Kharayeb and the *Favissa* (as well as the Pasikrata sanctuary) are both located at liminal spaces and equally share similar terracotta dedications, primarily women and children. Oggiano has recently stressed the kourotrophic element of the venerated deity (or deities) at Kharayeb and Bonnet has suggested that the coroplastic material points to rites-of-passage.[309] Regarding the figurines from Rome, Romanelli interpreted them as images of Attis, even the ones of young nude children with the kausia, [310] although they are not portrayed wearing the typical long sleeves and leggings of Attis, nor the phrygian hat.

Naoum interpreted the kausia-boys holding the *syrinx* and/or the *lagobolon* from the West Cemetery of Pella, as connected to the cult of Attis, since they are holding the attributes with which the companion of Cybele is often portrayed.[311] However, the same symbols also belong to the god Pan and the lagobolon is a hunting device, accompanying a shepherd as well as a hunter.[312] In Demetrias, the *syrinx* and *lagobolon* are held by Pan (**[323]**; **[438]**). Also, Voutiras has shown that the cult of Pan was extremely important in Macedonia.[313] He is a god

[305] Chapter 2A for discussion.
[306] Chrysostomou 2011, 265-267; Naoum 2017.
[307] Chehab 1951, pls.XLV-XLVI.
[308] Romanelli 1963.
[309] Oggiano 2015b; 2015a; Bonnet 2015, 245-250.
[310] Romanelli 1963, 281.
[311] Naoum 2017, 150.
[312] Borgeaud 1988, 64; For the depiction of the *syrinx* in ancient art: Haas 1985.
[313] Voutiras 2018.

of the *ἐσχατιαί*, of borders ranging between the polis and the wilderness.[314] The same god is sometimes depicted carrying an animal on his shoulders, as can be seen on a late Hellenistic statue from Gytheion, portraying the god with the animal, syrinx and lagobolon.[315] The scholiast of Theocritus' *Thalysies* (Schol. Theoc. 7.106-8a) says that in Arcadia the *paides* participated in hunting and music rituals in honour of Pan, performed as a rite-of-passage before becoming ephebes or citizens.[316] In the same region, Pan was worshipped together with Artemis, as is evident from inscriptions found in the sanctuary of Artemis on Mt. Kotilon,[317] as well as the sanctuary of Artemis and Pan at Lykohia (Mantineia).[318] Ammerman has connected the *syrinx* carried by Pan (or associated with the god) on plaques from Metaponto with allusions to marriage.[319] This cannot easily be supported for the *syrinx* holders from Demetrias, but Pan's sanctuaries in Attica received dedications, such as loutrophoroi, krateriskoi and terracottas, which show a definite association to wedding and coming of age.[320]

The "shepherd" figurines, similarly to the kausia-boys, are depicted in a wide age range. This is evident through the contours of the faces, which are shown from rounded with chubby cheeks to leaner, indicating ages from eight to 14 or 15. For instance, Type B have more rounded facial features than the shepherd types Aa and Ca. The same applies to the "shepherds" carrying animals: type A (**[248-255]**) is portrayed much older than type B (**[256-257]**), which is also nude except for the chlamys. These age groups also fall into the same pattern which we have observed in the case of the kausia-boys.

The fact that the girl and boy figurines are all shown with long hair and young age could perhaps hint at rites-of-passage, as I have suggested in the case of Pasikrata, indicating the

[314] Borgeaud 1988, 60.
[315] Delivorrias 1969.
[316] Borgeaud 1988, 68-70, 86.
[317] Kourouniotis 1903, 178-182.
[318] Steinhauer 1975; Jost 1985, 192, for the co-existence of Artemis and Pan in the sanctuary.
[319] Ammerman 2016, 120-122 and 129.
[320] Arapogianni 2000, 225-229.

dedication of the *θρεπτήριος κόμη*, the hair ritually grown and cut to be dedicated to the deity, marking important life transitions.[321]

Terracottas and ritual

The terracottas do not add much to our understanding of the rituals performed at the sanctuary on Hill 35. Our understanding of the rituals is further hindered by the gap in our knowledge of the rest of the sanctuary, as well as of the pottery assemblage found with the terracottas in the *Favissa*.

Could the "shepherd" figurines holding the *syrinx* indicate that this musical instrument was played here during rituals? In a 2nd c. sacred law from Magnesia-on-the-Maeander, the ritual procession during the festival of Zeus Sosipolis included the performance of a *auletes*, a *syristes* (*syrinx* player), and a *citharistes*.[322] The existence of this iconographic type in graves implies that the musical instrument should be seen as an attribute that young boys held, alluding not only to rituals, but also to playtime.

It is also unclear whether we should interpret the animal carried by the "shepherds" as a dedication to the deity, or even a representation of a dedicated animal taken for sacrifice. In other sanctuaries, such as that of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, the female figurines carrying piglets have been connected with the ceremonies taking place in the sanctuary and these terracotta dedications are thought to be permanent votives of "ephemeral offerings".[323]

The girl carrying the wreath or garland (**[238]**) could point to dedications of wreaths at the sanctuary, but as it is a single example, this hypothesis also remains tentative.

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[321] Batziou 2017; Vlachogianni 2018, 306; Kravaritou 2018.
[322] *SEG* 15, 667; West 1992, 112.
[323] Kopestonsky 2018, 249.

Comparison with other sites

As mentioned above, the figurines from the *Favissa* are very similar to those found at the sanctuary of Pasikrata,[324] not only iconographically, but also typologically. All the female types in the *Favissa* (Ca **[225]** and Cc **[226-227]**, type D **[228]**, type F.B **[229]**, type H **[230]** and type R **[231]**) appear at the Pasikrata sanctuary as well. The same can be said about the kausia-boy types (A **[241]**, B **[242-244]** and Da **[245]**). Notably, almost all the shepherd types known from the city are represented in this deposit, as well as the boys with animals. Only one fragment of the "shepherd" type is known from Pasikrata (**Pl.63**, bottom row, 3rd from left).

An aspect of differentiation between the dedications at the two cult places is the quality of the terracottas. At Pasikrata the quality is medium to good, while at the *Favissa* the clay of most specimens is coarser and the figurines are taken from more worn moulds than those at Pasikrata.[325]

Statues and terracotta figurines of girls with animals are very common in sanctuaries of Artemis, e.g. from Brauron.[326] Girls carrying garlands can also be seen in the deposit from Amarynthos (although the connection with Artemis Amarysia is now debated).[327]

As mentioned above, figurines of boys with a *syrinx* and/or a *lagobolon* are found in religious contexts at Kharayeb and at the temple of Magna Mater in Rome. The deity worshipped at Kharayeb has been shown to be a kourotrophic one, based on the coroplastic finds, with predominance in female kourotrophoi and pregnant women, dancers and musicians, paidagogoi, plentiful children figurines in various iconographic types: kausia-boys,

[324] Stamatopoulou 2014, 217 and n.65. Also Chapter 2A for further parallels.
[325] For example **[226]**, **[230]**, **[231]**,
[326] For example Bobou 2015, nos.1-2. Also Chapter 2A.
[327] Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1992, fig.13; Fachard et al. 2017.

"shepherds" with *syrinx* and/or *lagobolon*, "shepherds" carrying animals, boys and girls with animals, carrying a *diptychon*.[328] The deities portrayed are both female and male, Greek and Egyptian: Aphrodite, Artemis, Demeter, Isis, Dionysus, Eros, Herakles, Hermes and Horus/Harpocrates.[329] In Rome the high number of child figurines could also point towards the Magna Mater's kourotrophic functions, a mother goddess nonetheless.[330]

Interpretation

The identification of the site with the Thesmophorion was based on its location, close to the site already identified as the Thesmophorion by Arvanitopoulos on the eastern sector of the city.[331] But it also relied heavily on the existence of the kausia-boys. Hornung-Bertemes accepted Burr-Thompson's theory that the kausia-boys might be connected to the cult of Demeter.[332] In addition, she compared the girl figurines holding animals to those found at the "Thesmophorion" in Eretria.[333] However, Metzger's identification of that site with Eretria's Thesmophorion has received much scrutiny lately and researchers are connecting it more with a cult related to Artemis than Demeter.[334]

Huysecom-Haxhi in her review of Hornung-Bertemes' monograph expressed doubts about the connection of the figurine assemblage to Demeter's cult and instead suggested that

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[328] Lancellotti 2003; Oggiano 2015b, 243–244; 2015a; Bonnet 2015, 245-250. Chehab 1951, 143-152, had connected the sanctuary with a fertility cult, as well as to the Eleusinian mysteries, but as Lancellotti observed there is nothing to suggest such a hypothesis.
[329] Oggiano 2015b, 243-244.
[330] For the child figurines: Romanelli 1963, 260-270. For the kourotrophic aspect of the Mother-of-the-Gods: Hadzisteliou Price 1978, 133-136, 146-147; Parker 2005, 433; Matricon-Thomas 2011, 307-308; Katsaounou 2012, 204-206.
[331] Arvanitopoulos 1915a, 191-194.
[332] Burr-Thompson 1963c, 53-54 and 85-86; Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 93, although she stresses that they are found in sanctuaries of other deities as well.
[333] Metzger 1985.
[334] Muller 1989, 168-169; Kozlowski 2015, 44, n.18.

it could be connected to Artemis.[335] Indeed, I agree that we lack here any diagnostic finds which would lead to an identification of the sanctuary (of which the *Favissa* was a part) as a Thesmophorion (e.g. hydriaphoroi figurines,[336] or figurines of women carrying piglets (*choirophoroi*) or simply piglet figurines).[337] That the pottery finds remain unpublished further hinders the identification of the sanctuary and the dating of the terracottas. If the sanctuary belonged to Demeter one would expect to find here miniature hydriai and kernoi, although the latter also appear in sanctuaries of the Mother-of-the-Gods.[338]

Most important for the sanctuary's identification and interpretation is Stählin's aforementioned find on the same hill.[339] It is impossible to know whether these two finds are related, but it is highly likely. The existence of a small, open-air, rock-cut sanctuary on the same site as the *Favissa* makes its identification as the Thesmophorion impossible; Arvanitopoulos described substantial building remains.[340] The deposit's location is also important for its identification. It is located inside the city, but very close to the city walls. Thus, it is very likely that we are dealing here with a sanctuary related to a nature deity, perhaps Pan, who was primarily worshipped in caves,[341] or Artemis, as her sanctuaries are located at liminal points, or of a kourotrophic deity, similar to Pasikrata.

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[335] Huysecom-Haxhi 2009a, 375.
[336] Schipporeit 2013, 213-216; Kozlowski 2015.
[337] Bell 1981, nos.68-81, pls.18-20; Zervoudaki 1988, 135, fig.6; Lilimpaki-Akamati 1996, 70-71, pl.26α-γ; Merker 2000, nos.H395-H403, pl.56, for *choirophoroi* figurines; nos.V1-4, pl.61, for figurines of piglets; Mitsopoulou 2005, 310-313, fig.23; Raffiotta 2007, nos.32-61, pls.7-14; Schipporeit 2013, 228-229; Aravantinos et al. 2014, 56, fig.9; Onorati 2016, types I-XXIV, pls.19-27.
[338] For miniature hydriai: Daffa-Nikonanou 1973, pl.12.3, from Proerna; Schipporeit 2013, 225-226; Barfoed 2017, 663; 2018, 120; Motsiou 2017. For kernoi: Mitsopoulou 2007; Katakouta 2016.
[339] Stählin et al. 1934, 125.
[340] Arvanitopoulos 1915, 191-194.
[341] Arapogianni 2000.

Conclusions

Any conclusions we draw on this sanctuary must remain conjectural, since we know nothing of the *Favissa'*s surroundings or pottery finds. The figurines all seem to date in the 3rd c. Yet, ritual activity could have continued, as the *Favissa* find points only to a single action of clearing of the sanctuary's dedications.

The identification with the Thesmophorion seems unlikely, due to the existence of a rock-cut sanctuary on the same hill (to which the *Favissa* probably belonged), the absence of diagnostic finds, but also the fact that the Thesmophorion excavated by Arvanitopoulos is probably in a different location.[342] What we can say with certainty based on the high number of child figurines is that the deity worshipped here had a kourotrophic aspect, at least based on the coroplastic finds. The liminal position of the sanctuary very close to the walls and to the East Cemetery could perhaps point to the cult of Artemis, although we should consider that Thesmophoria were also placed on the outskirts of cities, as at Pella.[343] Contrary to the Pasikrata sanctuary we see here a higher number of boy figurines in proportion to the female and girl figurines, nevertheless the participation of both males and females is certain. The predominant iconographic type in the sanctuary is undoubtedly the shepherd with *syrinx* and/or *lagobolon* that, as I argue, could point to Pan. Perhaps the higher number of male figurines here is coincidental, based only on this sample. Future investigations on the site would definitely shed light on the venerated deity, as well as yield more information about dedicatory practices.

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[342] Batziou-Efstathiou 2010; Kravaritou 2016a, 140; Stamatopoulou 2018a, 357–358 See also discussion in Chapter 2C.

[343] Lilimpaki-Akamati 1996, 19, either very close to the city walls or just outside; Schipporeit 2013, 247-250 for Ionia.

Chapter 2C: Thesmophorion

The excavations and the finds

In 1915 Arvanitopoulos conducted trial excavations at the remains of a sanctuary in the eastern sector of the city, near the old military emplacements and the locality "Phanos" (lighthouse) on a small hill within the city walls (**Pl.48, Plan1.3; Pl.49, Plan2**; **Pl.50, Map1.**), following the discovery of a marble head of a bearded god a few years earlier.[344] His excavations revealed a structure which he identified as a temple, built with yellow blocks, surviving to two and three courses high, partly destroyed by a later, "medieval" structure. Near the "temple" he unearthed another structure which was built with cruder material, incorporating large poros Ionic column drums and capitals, two large thresholds, as well as more architectural members as building material. Within this structure he also found more than ten marble statue/statuette bases, along with smaller-than-life-size statue fragments, some bearing inscribed dedications to Kore and Demeter. The identification of the sanctuary was possible thanks to the inscription mentioning the "*astynomoi*" which records restorations at the sanctuary of Demeter, Kore and Pluto, "at the location where the Thesmophorion had once stood".[345] Arvanitopoulos was also able to locate part of the temenos wall but did not follow it all the way.[346]

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[344] Arvanitopoulos 1915a, 191; for summaries of Arvanitopoulos' report: Daffa-Nikonanou 1973, 21-22; Batziou-Efstathiou 2010, 179-180; Mili 2015, 326-327; Kravaritou 2016, 140. For the head initially identified as Poseidon: Arvanitopoulos 1912, 172-173.

[345] Arvanitopoulos 1915a, 192; for the inscription see Arvanitopoulos 1929e; Batziou-Efstathiou 2010, 180; Kravaritou 2016, 140; Stamatopoulou 2018, 357-358.

[346] Arvanitopoulos 1915a, 194.

Movable finds included relief bowls, transport amphorae, stamped rooftiles, small triglyphs made of black stone, marble, and gilded blue glass-paste, effigies of fans, plaques with incised circles, a small gold tassel effigy and clay figurines, among which a bearded head that Arvanitopoulos identified as Pluto.[347] No further details about the figurines was provided, which hinders their identification among the fragments discovered in the NAM.[348] The excavation also yielded many fragments of marble statuettes, among which Arvanitopoulos identified a head as belonging to Kore and fragments of Demeter's enthroned cult statue.[349]

Arvanitopoulos had intended to resume excavations at the site but was drafted in the army for the Balkan wars. When he returned, he was unable to locate any of the previously structures, because local farmers had covered the trial trenches with soil.[350]

Several attempts were made to identify the site and Arvanitopoulos' finds, but with no success.[351] In 1986, Anthi Batziou conducted a survey in the eastern sector of the city in the periphery of the Magoula Pefkakia and located walls which were built with spolia and two statue bases.[352] This corresponds to Arvanitopoulos' discovery. She proceeded to excavate near that locality. The excavation yielded structures belonging to two phases (**Pl.67, Fig.16**), the first phase is dated in the 3rd c. and the second in the 2nd c. A nine-metre-long wall built of irregular stones, possibly plastered and painted, was framing an open space. Southwest of the wall, a beaten earth floor was discovered on which were three figurine fragments, a protome **[278]**, a rooftile and a bronze coin of Cassander. A drain run under the wall.[353]

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[347] Arvanitopoulos 1915a, 192.
[348] Labels which read "Thesmophorion" exist in the boxes, but in the absence of photograph finds or other evidence, identification is not possible at present.
[349] For the finds: *ibid*, 192.
[350] *ibid*, 194.
[351] Daffa-Nikonanou 1973, 22; Marzolff 1980, 31, believed that the site on Hill 35 was identified with Arvanitopoulos' find.
[352] Batziou-Efstathiou 2010, 181.
[353] *ibid*, 182.

An area – 5m. wide – west of the wall was covered by a thick layer of rooftiles and yielded 115 loomweights, two grinders and mortaria, two lead weights, a coin and a clay mould for clay plaques **[279]**.[354]

A crudely built wall belongs to the second phase; Batziou interpreted the space as semi-hypaethral, because of the discovery of three flat, wide stones that could have supported wooden columns, evidenced by the layer of roof-tiles north of the wall. A round structure and a drain seem to be connected to this later phase which the excavator interpreted as a channel for draining liquids from libations, around which were a marble mortarium and a cooking pot. The pottery discovered here consisted of small relief bowls and the body of a "West-Slope" pyxis.[355]

During Batziou's investigations, a number of amphoras and stamped amphora handles were discovered at the site, most notably of Thasos, Rhodes and Knidos.[356]

Batziou reported 56 figurines from the site. Among them are a protome **[278]**, standing female figures wearing the chiton and himation, a headless Nike figurine, a plaggon, figurine heads, child figurines, a clay plaque mould **[279]** and an effigy of a grape-bunch **[280]**.[357]

The protome, according to the excavator, is decorated with red, blue and brown colour. It depicts a young female, with the hair parted in the middle, locks falling on the shoulders (similarly to the Katsiphas protome **[355]**) wearing a *stephane*, which is heavily damaged, as well as earrings.[358]

Batziou has argued that the high numbers of female figurines hint to exclusive female participation in the cult. She noted that the figurines and their iconography do not add much to

[354] Batziou-Efstathiou 2010, 182.
[355] *ibid*, 182-183.
[356] Batziou-Efstathiou 2009, 76–77; 2010, 185.
[357] Batziou-Efstathiou 2010, 183-184.
[358] Batziou-Efstathiou 1992, 80, pl.60; 2010, 183, fig.4a-b. Only the protome, the mould and the grape-bunch effigy have been published with photographs. The other figurines remain unpublished.

our understanding of the cult, because iconographic types that help identify the deity, such as *hydriaphoroi* figurines, are absent.[359]

The elusive Thesmophorion of Demetrias

The finds from this excavation remain puzzling. The structures (two walls and drains) do not necessarily imply a sanctuary. However, there are also elements that do not point to a domestic setting either. The large number of figurines is very unusual for a house or domestic shrine, where usually only about 10 figurines are found at the most, while protomes of this size are uncommon in houses.[360]

The protome **[278]** itself does not serve as a decisive criterion for the identification as the Thesmophorion, since it bears no diagnostic attribute that could identify the figure as a deity.[361] The mould for a clay plaque also complicates our understanding of the site. The mould could have been used for the creation of votives, which would hang on trees or walls at sanctuaries.

The loom-weights bring to mind domestic weaving, but the high number collected is peculiar, since only 20 to 30 weights were required for a single loom.[362] Tzachili has proposed

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[359] Batziou-Efstathiou 2010, 186. See below for the criteria for identifying sanctuaries of Demeter.

[360] At Tragilos (Eastern Macedonia) only seven protomes were discovered in a house (Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2006). At Olynthus most houses have in average five figurines, with exceptional cases the House of Many Colours and the House of the Comedian, having 15 and 27, respectively (Sharpe 2015). Conversely, in a Hellenistic house on the Loukoutou brothers plot at Pharsalos, two rooms yielded 27 and 24 terracottas respectively, 51 in total (Karapanou 2014, 419-423), while house A on the Bekris plot, 14 figurines (*ibid*, 423-425).

[361] For the identification of protomes as mortal women, except for when a clear attribute is depicted: Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2006; Muller and Huysecom-Haxhi 2007; Muller 2009; Katakouta 2014a, 438–439; Huysecom-Haxhi and Muller 2015; Muller 2018a, 161. *Contra*: Tzanavari 2014; 2015; 2017b; Adam-Veleni 2014.

[362] Burnier and Hijmans 2003, 121, however, at the House of Agathon 139 loom-weights were discovered. In building Z at the Kerameikos, a similar amount of loom-weights was collected; there are clear indications that this space was used as a textile workshop with cisterns and channels (Knigge 2005, 49-79; Spantidaki 2016, 13). The same number of loom-weights was also collected from a room of a Hellenistic house at Panormos, Crete: Tzachili interpreted as having three looms in that room (Tzachili 2008, 85). For the use of loom-weights: Mårtensson et al. 2009.

that looms would exist in sanctuaries as weaving could have taken place there.[363] Do the loom-weights and the mould then imply a workshop area, or dedications?[364] Is this complex a workshop area for a sanctuary, since the high numbers and the character of the finds seem unfitting for a house?[365] The round pit with the drain, along with the mortar and cooking pot could suggest food preparation, rather than libations. Nevertheless, the West-Slope pottery and the relief bowls are fairly typical dedications to sanctuaries and Arvanitopoulos also mentioned relief bowls.[366] The Knidian-amphora handles are also consistent with Arvanitopoulos' finds, fairly common in Demetrias.[367]

Despite all these uncertainties, if the walls with architectural members and the statue bases that Batziou located actually relate to those that Arvanitopoulos had uncovered, then the excavated area is likely to be part of the same complex.

What we can discuss with more certainty about this site is the placement of some terracottas, found in-situ, information that we lack from other sanctuaries. The large protome was found placed on a specially laid out surface, along with three figurines and coins. One can observe here that distinct care was taken in this building for their placement. Figurines were also found next to a drain, which could indicate that rituals, perhaps libations, were taking place here.

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[363] Tzachili 2012, 353. For weaving in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth: Ault 2000, 493. For the Heraion alla foce del Sele: Ferrara and Meo 2017, with previous bibliography. For loom-weights from the Thesmophorion of Tenos: Vlachou 2019, 244-253, who suggests that weaving would have taken place there, while some inscribed loom-weights might have been dedicated to the deity.

[364] Regarding the Pasikrata figurine-patrices, Hornung-Bertemes et al. 1998, 98, do not believe that they could be dedications, because this way a production tool would be removed from circulation. A loom-weight with inscribed dedication was discovered at Orchomenos (Aravantinos et al. 2014, 62, fig.16), while numerous spindle-whorls as dedications were discovered at the Sanctuary of the Nymphe on the South Slopes of the Athenian Acropolis: Pantermalis et al. 2014, 59, fig.56. Stefanou 1958, 68-69, inscribed loom-weight dedicated to Demeter; Koutsoumpou 2012, for an inscribed dedicatory loom-weight; Kalogeropoulos 2013, 431-432 for a loom-weight was also discovered at the sanctuary of Artemis Tauropolos at Halae Araphenides; Agouridis et al. 2006, 252, fig.9, in the cave sanctuary at the locality "Kournia".

[365] Batziou-Efstathiou 2010, 187.

[366] Arvanitopoulos 1915a, 192.

[367] Batziou-Efstathiou 2009, 76-77; Stamatopoulou 2018a, 362.

The figurines – in their majority represent female figures – are typical dedications to sanctuaries of female divinities. Child figurines are also attested in sanctuaries of Demeter, as at Corinth, but also at sanctuaries of other kourotrophic deities.[368] The "dolls", "*hierodouloi*" or "*plaggones"*, are also common dedications in sanctuaries of female deities and it is widely agreed that they are connected with girls' transitions from childhood to adolescence or from adolescence to the age of marriage.[369] Nike figurines also appear in Thesmophoria and other sanctuaries of female deities.[370]

Regarding the mould **[279]** and the grape-bunch **[280]**, Batziou had pointed out their Dionysiac connotations.[371] The mould depicts a half-nude female figure, seated on a rock, holding a *thyrsus* on the left hand, probably a Maenad.[372] Ariadne could also be a contender for the identification of the figure, but is less likely, as her depictions for this iconographic schema are more commonly showing her asleep.[373] The grape-bunch **[280]** also alludes to Dionysos.[374] As Batziou had observed, the cult of Demeter and Dionysos are interlinked at Larisa with three inscriptions mentioning that the priestesses of Demeter Phylaka also served the cult of Dionysos Karpios.[375] These inscriptions are dated in the 1st c. BC and the Roman Imperial Period; as yet we do not have enough evidence for such a hypothesis at Demetrias.

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[368] Merker 2000, 334-341. Also Chapters 2A-2B.

[369] McK Elderkin 1930; Dörig 1958; Miller 1974, 211-212, pl. 36; Palaiokrassa 1991, 59 and 62; Muller 1996, 496; Reilly 1997; Lilimpaki-Akamati 1996, 55 and nos.57-60, pl.13δ; Merker 2000, 339; Larson 2001, 101-107; Rumscheid 2006, 223-227, nos.80-81, Dewailly 2007, 148-150; Papaikonomou 2008, 697-706; Griesbach 2014; Despinis 2010, 115-122, pl.27, for marble plaggones from Brauron; Mitsopoulos-Leon 2009, 233–238, nos.643–647, pl.96; 2015, 31-41, nos.7-25, pls.2-3, for both female and male examples; Karapanagiotou and Leventi 2018, 202. The argument whether these figurines were a child's toy or not is long debated, but it will not be discussed here.

[370] Töpperwein 1976, 158; Lilimpaki-Akamati 1996, 55, pls.10α, 12στ-ζ, 13β; Merker 2000, 183-183, nos.H295-H298, pl.48; Rumscheid 2006, 204, no.5, pl.2; Schipporeit 2013, pl.14.2. Also Chapter 2A for **[107]**.

[371] Batziou-Efstathiou 2010, 187.

[372] For Maenads: Herdeen 1994, 49-53 (Athenian pottery); Barr-Sharrar 2008, 122-148 (Derveni krater), although their iconography does not match that of our mould. For a figurine from the Athenian Agora holding a tympanon, interpreted as a Maenad and dated in the 3rd c.: Burr-Thompson 1962, no.7, pl.89. For the connection of Dionysos and the Eleusinian deities: Tiverios 2010.

[373] For depictions of the "abandoned and rediscovered" Ariadne: *LIMC* III, *addenda*, 1061-1063 and 1068-1069.

[374] Batziou-Efstathiou 2010, 184. Effigies of grape-bunches were discovered in a domestic shrine at Pella and were connected to Dionysos (Chrysostomou 2000, 222-223, pl.57γ-ε).

[375] Daffa-Nikonanou 1973, 34; Batziou-Efstathiou 2010, 187; *IG* IX,2 573; *SEG* 17:288; *RPh* 35 (1911) 123,26.

Closer in date to the Demetrias finds are two gold lamellae from Pelinna, which mention Bacchios and Persephone, although these refer to funerary rituals and beliefs.[376]

Sanctuaries of Demeter are well known throughout the Greek world. Especially in Thessaly, they have received particular attention in the study of Daffa-Nikonannou, who examined the coroplastic finds from the sanctuaries at Proerna,[377] Pharsalos and Ampelia.[378] More recent finds include Kedros and Prodromos in Western Thessaly,[379] and perhaps Anavra.[380] Thesmophoria are also abundant in Macedonia: at Pella,[381] Thessaloniki,[382] Lete,[383] Dion,[384] Amphipolis,[385] while in Thrace Demeter's cult is attested at Abdera,[386] Mesembria,[387] and Thasos.[388] In Boeotia recent excavations have revealed a rural sanctuary which, based on the finds, was identified with a Thesmophorion,[389] while a few more sites also point to the cult of Demeter.[390] In Attica, small deposits were connected with sanctuaries of Demeter at Pnyx and near the Agora, while the well-known sanctuary at Eleusis is of a different scale and character.[391] At Corinth, the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore is one of the best studied sanctuaries of the goddess.[392] The cult of Demeter is very prominent in the Peloponnese at sites

[376] Katakouta 2014b; Kravaritou and Stamatopoulou 2018, 136-137.
[377] Daffa-Nikonanou 1973, 22-25, 34-35, where the Thesmophorion is confirmed epigraphically from an inscription found in the sanctuary.
[378] Daffa-Nikonanou 1973, 27-28; Tziafalias 1973, excavated two deposits on the slopes of the acropolis of Pharsalos, very near those excavated by Theocharis and published by Daffa-Nikonannou, with very similar material.
[379] Intzesiloglou 1982; 1984a; 1984a; 1985b; 1987b.
[380] Karagiannopoulos and Chatziaggelakis 2015, 233.
[381] Lilimpaki-Akamati 1996.
[382] Adam-Veleni 2017c.
[383] Adam-Veleni and Touloumtzidou 2017.
[384] Pingiatoglou 2015.
[385] Lazarides 1997, 26-29, identifies it either as a Thesmophorion or a Nymphaion.
[386] Koukouli-Chrysanthaki 1987; Kallintzi et al. 1998, 26-28.
[387] Vavritsas 1973, 77-81.
[388] Muller 1996, with previous bibliography.
[389] Aravantinos et al. 2014; 2016; Pisani 2015.
[390] Eleon: Burke et al. 2013; Eutrisis: Goldman 1931.
[391] Kourouniotes and Thompson 1932; Thompson 1936; Burr-Thompson 1954; *contra*: Broneer 1942; for the sanctuaries of Demeter *en astei*: Asimakopoulou 2017. For Eleusis: Papaggeli 2002.
[392] Merker 2000; Bookidis 2010, with previous bibliography.

such as Messene,[393] Tegea,[394] and Patras.[395] Crete has yielded at least four sites with plentiful material: Knossos,[396] Kastello,[397] Itanos,[398] Kamillari and Astritsi.[399] The islands have also yielded evidence for the cult of Demeter, namely on Tenos, Kythnos, Samos, Chios, Cos, Rhodes and Lesbos,[400] as has Western Asia Minor.[401] Finally, the cult of Demeter and Kore was particularly significant in Sicily and Magna Graecia.[402]

What these sites have in common are certain categories of finds that help identify the worshipped deity, when epigraphic evidence is lacking. The figurines, especially those of *hydriaphoroi* and *choirophoroi*,[403] as well as figurines of piglets and offering tray effigies (*likna*) are among the most common coroplastic finds.[404] *Kernoi*, ring-*kernoi* and miniature pottery, especially *hydriai*,[405] are regular finds in these sanctuaries, as well as lamps (simple

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[393] Spathi 2015, 438; 2017, for hydriaphorai in the Sanctuary of Eileithyia and Kouretes.
[394] Karapanagiotou and Leventi 2015; Nagel 2015; Karapanagiotou and Leventi 2018.
[395] Petropoulos 2010.
[396] Coldstream 1973; Higgins 1973; Manetaki 2011.
[397] Mortzos 1985.
[398] Duplouy and Zambon 2015.
[399] Manetaki 2011.
[400] Tenos: Kontoleon 1952, 531-540; Kourou 2002, 262-266; Mitsopoulou 2007, 70-72; *contra*: Themelis 1976, 8-12. Kythnos: Mitsopoulou 2005; 2007; 2010. Samos: Tsakos and Giannakopoulos 2014. Chios: Cook and Boardman 1954, 162; Hood et al. 1954, 125; Stefanou 1958, 63–94. Kos: Herzog 1901; Mendel 1908, 134–135; Kantzia 1988, 179–181; Skerlou and Grigoriadou 2014. Rhodes: Zervoudaki 1988; Giannikouri 1999; Lalla 2015, 281-289. Lesbos: Williams and Williams 1986; 1989; Cronkite 1997; Rouggou 2013, 43, 117, 168. For Paros: Kourayos et al. 2018, 152; Kourayos 2018, 283, but the site is only tentatively identified.
[401] Pergamon: Bohtz 1981. Knidos: Burn and Higgins 2001, 175-176, with previous bibliography. Priene: Rumscheid 2006, 132, 252-254. Theangela: Isik 1980. Miletus: Köster and Kossatz 1980. Iasos: Berti 2015. Kaunos: Isik 2000. For Ionia: Schipporeit 2013.
[402] For a collection of sites and discussion: Hinz 1998. For Morgantina: Raffiotta 2007. Entella: Spatafora 2016.
[403] Kozlowski 2015, 44-45, points out that the hydriaphoroi do not only appear in Demeter sanctuaries, but in sanctuaries of female deities in general, as well as in graves of women and children.
[404] For *hydriaphoroi*: Daffa-Nikonanou 1973, 31 and figs.1-5; Higgins 1973, pl.40; Isik 1980, 181, pls.9-16; Köster and Kossatz 1980, 50-51, nos.4-6; Mortzos 1985, 100-104; Zervoudaki 1988, 131-132; Muller 1996, 486-487; Llilimpaki-Akamati 1996, 50-51, pls. 15-16; Isik 2000, 232; Merker 2000, 129, nos.H48-H51; Mitsopoulou 2005, 311, pl.23.5-10; Petropoulos 2010, 165-166, fig.8; Aravantinos et al. 2014, 56; Spathi 2015, 443, fig.14; Karapanagiotou and Leventi 2015, 433, fig.5; Pingiatoglou 2015, 168 and n.302, nos.E14, E21-25, figs.142-146; Duplouy and Zambon 2015, 485, fig.7.
For *choirophoroi*: Bell 1981, nos.68-81, pls.18-20; Zervoudaki 1988, 135, fig.6; Lilimpaki-Akamati 1996, 70-71, pl.26α-γ; Merker 2000, nos.H395-H403, pl.56, for *choirophoroi* figurines; nos.V1-4, pl.61, for figurines of piglets; Mitsopoulou 2005, 310-313, fig.23; Raffiotta 2007, nos.32-51, pls.7-14; Schipporeit 2013, 228-229; Aravantinos et al. 2014, 56, fig.9; Onorati 2016, types I-XXIV, pls.19-27; Karapanagiotou and Leventi 2018, 199, fig.1, for *hydriaphoroi* who also carry piglets.
For *likna*: Corinth: Bookidis and Pemberton 2015, 111–142; Kopestonsky 2018, 251-252. Dion: Pingiatoglou 2017, fig.3, no.439.
[405] For miniature hydriae: Daffa-Nikonanou 1973, pl.12.3, from Proerna; Schipporeit 2013, 225-226; Barfoed 2017, 663; 2018, 120; Motsiou 2017. For kernoi: Mitsopoulou 2007; Katakouta 2016.

and multiple-lamps), which indicate night rituals.[406] The location of the sanctuaries, near or outside the city walls, although not always exclusive, and the proximity to water sources are also important, since that water played a key part in the rituals. The architecture shows considerable variation, from open-air precincts to monumental temples and structures. If the cult is that of Demeter Thesmophoros, one would also expect to find the pits or *megara*, mentioned in written sources, into which piglets were thrown, an important aspect of the ritual.[407] The combination of this evidence, or at least of most elements, can be a secure indication for sanctuaries of Demeter.[408]

Conclusions

The sanctuary of Demeter or "Thesmophorion" at Demetrias should remain tentatively identified, until further publication or further excavations. There is no doubt that Arvanitopoulos had located and excavated the sanctuary of Demeter, based on the inscriptions he found at the site. The area excavated by Batziou is most likely connected to that excavated by Arvanitopoulos, because of its proximity. Nevertheless, some aspects of the finds still do not point securely to a sanctuary of Demeter, primarily the lack of diagnostic finds, such as *kernoi*, lamps and miniature pottery. We should consider that only a (small?) portion of the site has been investigated to-date. Since Arvanitopoulos had discovered the temple, the semi-hypaethral space excavated by Batziou, could perhaps hint to a workshop area of the sanctuary.[409] The evidence of the terracottas remains inconclusive about the identity of the

[406] Bookidis and Pemberton 2015, 18-19, stress that lamps do not necessarily mean nocturnal rituals, but based on sources and inscriptions suggest that the cult of Demeter was probably nocturnal.
[407] Parker 2005, 273-274. Such pits have been discovered at Pella: Lilimpaki-Akamati 1996, 26.
[408] For the elements that aid the identification of Demeter sanctuaries: Cole 2000; Hinz 1998, 31-53; Schipporeit 2013, 205-243.
[409] Chapter 8 for workshop areas.

venerated deity. The protome and the high number of figurines discovered should point to a more “public” character of the building, rather than a domestic context. Furthermore, the protome was placed in a distinct setting, on a beaten floor, alongside three figurines, which indicates deliberate act. What is clear is that the majority of the figurines point to female participation in worship which is in accordance to what we know from other sanctuaries of Demeter, while a Dionysian element is also present, based on the mould and the grape-bunch.

Chapter 2D: The Sanctuary of the Mother-of-the-Gods

Arvanitopoulos in 1916, while conducting trial excavations in the eastern sector of Demetrias, close to the "Thesmophorion", found stone walls. Only a very brief report in the 1916 *Praktika* exists, thus it is difficult to understand the layout of what he uncovered. His description is vague, but it seems that he found a small temple, relief bowls, and terracotta figurines. He mentioned an exquisite, sizeable, painted Cybele terracotta statuette, a terracotta head of a Satyr, the torso of a marble lion and a marble hand holding a tympanon.[410] We should also note that a seated marble statue of Cybele, missing the head and the left arm, with remains of a lion next to her right leg is described in 1931 as originating from Demetrias (**Pl.68, Fig.17**);[411] its exact find-spot remains unknown. A naiskos-stele with the image of the goddess is also reported from Demetrias.[412]

In 2010 some of the finds from Arvanitopoulos' excavations at the sanctuary of the Mother-of-the-Gods were identified in the storerooms of the NAM.[413] Labels mentioning protomes from the sanctuary of the Mother-of-the-Gods were found in the boxes among various artefacts; the protome **[298]** had ΜΗΤΡΩΟΝ (Metroon) written with pencil on the back. Among the terracotta fragments were numerous figurines depicting the Mother-of-the-Gods in various sizes (**[281-287]**), mostly surviving through their heads, most likely the

[410] Arch.Arv 45: 26-30/07/1916, I am indebted to my supervisor Dr Maria Stamatopoulou for kindly sharing with me this information; Arvanitopoulos 1916a; 1916b; Mili 2015, 327; Kravaritou 2016, 139; Stamatopoulou 2018, 358; Batziou-Efstathiou forthcoming; Stähli and Lippold 1931, 57, no.3405,3 mention that an intact, 0.45m. high, terracotta statuette of a seated Cybele with two lions, from these excavations, is in the NAM; also Vermaseren 1982, 137, no.444.

[411] Stähli and Lippold 1931, 51, no.3405,1 (H: 0.40m; W: 0.30m.; D: 0.20m.); Biesantz 1965, 30, L27, tab.38; Vermaseren 1982, 138, no.446. The statue is very close in style to the statue of the goddess from Pergamon: Naumann 1983, no.554, tab.41. Statue found at Moschato: Papachristodoulou 1973. Along with this statue Stähli and Lippold mention a plinth of a marble statuette of which only the feet survive (they interpret it as Asklepios), although it is not clear if they were discovered together.

[412] Stähli and Lippold 1931, 51, no.3405,2 (H: 0.22m; W: 0.102m.); Vermaseren 1982, 138, no.448.

[413] Stamatopoulou 2009, n.39.

protomes that Arvanitopoulos refers to in the labels (**[296-303**, **305-306**, **308-309]**), a Satyr **[327]**, two figurines of a sleeping Attis **[308**, **309]**. A few figurines belonging to Dionysos' thiasos **[323**, **330-335]** may be connected to the sanctuary of the Mother-of-the-Gods. One figurine of the Mother-of-the-Gods **[281]** stands out, because of its size, good quality and the surviving colours on it, which is possibly the statuette mentioned by Arvanitopoulos.[414]

In 1989 during rescue excavations in the eastern sector of the city (**Pl.48, Plan1.4**; **Pl.49, Plan2**; **Pl.50, Map1**), a peristyle building was partially unearthed in the immediate vicinity of Arvanitopoulos' excavation (**Pl.69, Fig.18**). Initially, it was thought to be a house,[415] but, after the re-examination of the finds, the excavator interpreted it as a sanctuary of the Mother-of-the-Gods.[416]

The building has not been fully investigated.[417] Its known part measures 21x16m. It consists of a series of rooms arranged around a peristyle courtyard. According to the excavator the building had three building phases. Around the peristyle there is a 2m. wide stoa. In the NW corner of the peristyle there is a paved area that leads to a clay drain, also covered by stone plaques. This has been linked by the excavator to libations, purification rituals or sacrifices. Near this structure was a large concentration of figurines and other objects presumably connected with the cult: two figurines of the Mother-of-the-Gods **[288, 289]**, a "Hekate-En(n)odia" with a horse head **[320]**, an Eros **[319]**, female figurines (among them **[336, 337, 348]**, a relief lamp disc, the head of a clay dove, a large thymiaterion (incense-burner) (**Pl.70, Fig.19**), a clay lekane, lamps, two loom-weights,[418] lead effigies of seats, lead plaques and a lead pyxis. At the east side of the peristyle was a well and the floor around it was paved.

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[414] I have also identified two small fragments of the thighs and the throne's cushions that belong to the same statuette, but not joining.
[415] Batziou-Efstathiou 1989; 1990; 1996a, 22-24.
[416] Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2000, 301-303; Batziou-Efstathiou 2002, 31-32.
[417] Batziou-Efstathiou forthcoming. I would like to thank Dr Batziou-Efstathiou for allowing me to read her article prior to the publication. What follows is taken from that study.
[418] For loom-weights in sanctuaries: n.363.

A Room (8), at the north-east corner of the excavation yielded the heads of a Herakles figurine **[322]** and a female head **[338]**.[419] In room 9, immediately south of the previous one, many clay vessels, among them skyphoi, phialai, plates, cooking pots and lamps were found. Near the entrance of the same room were the clay relief of Aphrodite Epitragia **[312]**, an Aphrodite protome **[307]**, a black-glazed "West Slope" crater, a fragmentary clay relief depicting a kantharos and the feet of Pan **[326]**, two figurines of Eros **[314, 317]**, parts of a figurine depicting the Mother-of-the-Gods **[294]**, female figurines **[351]**, glass dice, a stone grinder, handles from Thasian pointed amphorae and an arrow head.[420]

Room 10 in the south-east corner of the building was a long space connected both to the peristyle court and to room 2, to its west. Inside it were many loom-weights,[421] a cooking pot, a head of a satyr figurine **[329]** and two heads of female figurines **[341, 346]**.

Room 2, south of the peristyle and to the west of room 10, yielded many finds. In its centre was a hearth, with many sea-shells and pottery fragments around it, perhaps suggesting that food preparation and (ritual?) meals were taking place there. At the south-west corner of the room was a phiale with an erotic scene at its bottom,[422] loom-weights and six clay pine cones. Next to these were four loom-weights, fragments of figurines, a "head of a satyr figurine" **[353]** (probably a female head instead of a Satyr figurine), three female figurines **[342]** and the torso of an Eros figurine **[318]**.

Room 4, in the south-west part of the building, contained a large quantity of cooking and storage pots, leading the excavator to propose that it was used as a store-room. North of room

[419] Batziou-Efstathiou 1996a, 24.
[420] For Thasian amphorae handles in Demetrias: Batziou-Efstathiou 2009.
[421] Batziou-Efstathiou mentions more than 10.
[422] A phiale with a medallion from the same mould was found in the Pasikrata Sanctuary: Stamatopoulou 2014, fig.13.

4 were two narrow rectangular spaces (rooms 5 and 6) connected to bathing, as a built pipe and part of a clay basin with a lead tube were discovered here.[423]

Room 12 at the south side of the excavation, outside the main building contained a lamp, a kantharos and a head of a female figurine. Room 11, east of the previous one, also had a large number of finds: many figurines, clay and lead loom-weights, many lamps, a bronze plaque and a millstone. The partially-excavated area east of room 11 yielded many figurines: the head of an Athena figurine **[321]**, the head of a satyr **[328]**, an Attis figurine **[310]** and a clay cap **[311]**, perhaps belonging to an Attis, a clay relief plaque with cult symbols of the Mother-of-the-Gods **[304]** that Batziou-Efstathiou interprets as a clay incense burner or small altar, the leg of a child figurine and an Eros figurine **[315, 316]**, fragments of a Mother-of-the-Gods figurine and a standing lion figurine **[290]**.

The excavator also mentions that a roof-tile with the letters BA (βασιλικός - royal) was discovered in the excavation of the building. According to her, this hints at a more public character for the complex and leads to the identification of the building as the city Metroon, as similar roof-tiles have been found in the Anaktoron.[424] The rooms in the east part of the complex were interpreted as rooms for storing votives. The rooms in the south and west were interpreted as connected to ritual dining and preparation of meals.

The use of the building, based on the pottery, lamps and coins, is set between the beginning of the 3rd and the first quarter of the 2nd c. BC.

A stele found near the harbour, not far from the sanctuary bears a relief depiction of an ear and a dedication to the Mother-of-the-Gods, as an *epekoos* deity (**Pl.70. Fig.20**).[425]

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[423] Batziou-Efstathiou 2009, 201.

[424] For roof-tiles with the stamp BA from Arvanitopoulos' excavations, some of which had been used for covering graves: Arvanitopoulos 1928, 116-119.

[425] Triantafyllopoulou 2007, 699, fig.13; *SEG* LXII, 121, no.366. The inscription reads: …MAN TA MHTPEI ΘΕΩΝ ΕΥΞΑΜΕΝΗ ΔΩΡΟΝ. It is the first epigraphic attestation of her cult in Demetrias. An inscription which also mentions the Mother-of-the-Gods as *epekoos* was discovered at Pella (Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, 215-216).

The proximity to the Arvanitopoulos' excavations, the high number of figurines, the incense-burner, the loom-weights, the roof-tile, the proximity of the inscription to the building are among the elements that have led Batziou to identify the building as a sanctuary of the Mother-of-the-Gods, similar to those of Pella and Aigai. It is evident that only a small part of the whole complex has been excavated thus far.

Figurines in the storerooms of the Museum of Volos

Some of the terracottas stored in the VM, of unknown provenance, are likely to be associated with the cult of the Mother-of-the-Gods and could perhaps originate from Arvanitopoulos' excavation, thus I will include them in this discussion.

A large figurine of the Mother-of-the-Gods **[283*]** shows the goddess seated on a throne holding a tympanon, wearing a high-girded, sleeved chiton, a high mural crown, a wreath, and long locks fall at either side of her face.[426]

A head with a relief headpiece **[558]** has been associated by Hornung-Bertemes with the cult of Demeter and Cybele, based on related finds of large relief headpieces from the Athenian Agora.[427] Our specimen can be compared to a relief of Cybele from Karahisar which is represented in the same manner, inside an arch, flanked by lions.[428]

[426] It was once part of the Apostolides Collection, which contained many figurines identified from Arvanitopoulos' excavations (Stamatopoulou 2009, 22).
[427] Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 135, no.95; for the Athenian Agora examples: Burr-Thompson 1954, pl.22, "The Demeter Cistern 9", possibly from the same mould, pl.23. Interpreted the headpiece as a *canoun*, used in mystery cult rituals.
[428] Balriran and Sögüt 2010, fig.1. On the iconography of standing Cybele: Naumann 1983, 218-223, tab.33-38 and 45-47.

The figurines, the cult of the Mother-of-the-Gods and sharing gods

Sources

The feature of the *syllatreia* (common/sharing cult) in the cult of Cybele is attested in many sources, from which I single out the following. Strabo mentions in his tenth book (10.3.10-15), that Dionysos, Apollo, Hekate, the Muses, Demeter and the Mother-of-the-Gods were all worshipped with orgiastic, as well as mystic rituals.[429] The mythology of the Mother-of-the-Gods and other gods is intertwined, for instance, Dionysos is cured of his madness by "Midas's goddess", the Phrygian Cybele, but also receives his orgiastic rituals from her (Eur.*Bacch*. 72-87, 120-134).[430]

Epigraphic evidence

From the various inscriptions referring to the Mother-of-the-Gods, particularly useful for understanding the architectural spaces of Metroa are those found at the Metroon at Moschato, near Piraeus, and in Piraeus itself, connected with the *orgeionai* and the *thiasotai* of the goddess in this city. They mention rooms or spaces that are called "*hieron, temenos, aule, naos, oikos* and *mageireion*".[431]

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[429] Roller 1999, 184-185.
[430] Borgeaud 2004, 2.
[431] *Hieron*: *IG* II^2 1316, 9; 1315, 15; 1328, 10; 1329, 30; *temenos: IG* II^2 1314, 23; *aule*: *IG* II^2 1329, 29; *naos*: *IG* II^2 1327, 24; 1329, 27; *mageireion*: *IG* II^2 301, 6; Xagorari-Gleissner 2008, 109-110; Nielsen 2014, 87.

Architectural spaces

In the last 30 years, our understanding of the cult of the Mother-of-the-Gods, especially in northern Greece, has increased dramatically, thanks to the discovery of the sanctuary of the Mother-of-the-Gods and Aphrodite in Pella and, slightly later, the sanctuary at Aigai.[432] In both cases, the figurines played a crucial role for the identification of the spaces as cult places.

As Xagorari-Gleißner has noted, these cult spaces share common features; the architectural form, comprising a cluster of rooms with no distinct plan, of non-monumental form built of modest materials around a courtyard/open air space, the *peribolos*, the unity of space and the absence of monumentality. These feature seem to consist fundamental characteristics of the sanctuaries of the Mother-of-the-Gods.[433] It is this absence of diagnostic architectural features and monumentality that makes it hard to distinguish a sanctuary from a clubhouse, or even a domestic shrine.[434] This has led some scholars to dismiss the sanctity of these spaces,[435] to interpret them as clubhouses,[436] or to identify them as domestic shrines within houses.[437]

The fundamental characteristics of the cult spaces of the Mother-of-the-Gods include the following: an architectural form resembling domestic architecture with rooms arranged around one or more courts; niches; the *syllatreia* of the Mother-of-the-Gods with other gods; the presence of terracottas, loom-weights, lamps, incense-burners, clay altars; the absence of

[432] Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000; Drougou 1997; Drougou 2011b.
[433] Xagorari-Gleissner 2008, 133.
[434] Stamatopoulou 2018a, 358-359.
[435] Nielsen 2014, 136-137, 223, does not believe that the Macedonian buildings are actually sanctuaries, but that they are rather association buildings. She suggests that the Aigai building would have been used by associations of various gods. However, she seems to ignore the existence of the inscription on the kantharos mentioning the Mother-of-the-Gods and the *synteleia.*
[436] Dietz and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, 153-165 (Kalydon); the building has been interpreted as a clubhouse for a religious association.
[437] Drougou 2011a; Lazarides 1960.

large/monumental altars in many cases. In most sites there is one room with a hearth or eschara in the centre, where many of the cult objects were found.

The architectural layout seems to be similar in many examples, proven by many recent discoveries.[438] A closed-off building complex with rooms arranged around one or more courts is attested at Pella (partially),[439] Aigai (**Pl.70, Fig.21**),[440] Kallipetra,[441] Kassandreia,[442] Kalydon, [443] Chani Kokonas (**Pl.71, Fig.22**),[444] Pharsalos,[445] Moschato,[446] and more recently Amphipolis,[447] besides Demetrias. The "Terracotta Workshop" at Abdera has also yielded very similar finds to the above.[448] Could this complex also be related to the cult of the Mother-of-the-Gods?

I start this discussion with Aigai and Pella. At Aigai, the Hellenistic building complex is founded on top of a pre-existing Classical temple.[449] A kantharos bearing the inscription ΜΗΤΡΙ ΘΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΤΕΛΕΙΑ was unearthed here.[450] At Pella, the fact that two stone statuettes of the goddess were found inside the south temple of the complex, can securely identify the use of this temple for the cult of the Mother-of-the-Gods. The sanctuary of Pella is larger in scale compared to that of Aigai, at least with the thus far excavated areas. In addition,

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[438] Mainly Kallipetra, Kassandreia, Amphipolis and Chani Kokonas (see below).
[439] Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, 11-21.
[440] Drougou 1997; 2011b; Kallini 2013; 2016.
[441] Stefani 2010; 2017.
[442] Tiverios 2000, 17-19.
[443] Dietz and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, 127-131.
[444] Toufexis et al. 2012 (July 30); Toufexis et al. 2016.
[445] Katakouta 2014a; 2016.
[446] Papachristodoulou 1973.
[447] Malama and Salonikios 2002; Zografou 2010.
[448] Lazarides 1952; 1960, 97, Lazarides interpreted the complex as a coroplastic workshop. Rumscheid 2006, 97, noticed that Lazarides' interpretation of the house as a workshop is erroneous, as all the figurines found come from different moulds, there is no direct access to the building from the street for a shop, and this particular part of the city could not have been used for workshops. Instead, he proposed that the figurines were used either for decoration purposes, for domestic cult or that it was the house of a coroplast, where he kept the costly moulds and models for his art.
[449] Kallini 2013, 215.
[450] Kallini 2016.

it consists of two distinct areas, that are connected, while the sanctuary at Aigai consists of a single building complex.

As mentioned above, a characteristic feature of the Mother's cult were niches, either built or rock-cut. These are attested in many of her sanctuaries, at Leukopetra on Mount Vermion,[451] at "Koukles" in Amphipolis,[452] at Chani Kokonas in the Tempe Valley,[453] on Samos,[454] at Daskalopetra on Chios,[455] at Myrina on Lemnos,[456] on Rhodes,[457] at "Kardaki" on Corfu,[458] at Mamurt Kaleh, Kapikaya, Molla Mustafa Tepesi and the "Large Rock Sanctuary" in Pergamon,[459] at Ephesos,[460] and at Loryma.[461]

Syllatreia

The presence and veneration of deities other than the Mother-of-the-Gods in her sanctuaries is very well attested. The aforementioned inscribed kantharos from Aigai indicates that she was not worshipped alone.[462] In Pella, several finds enabled the excavator to securely identify combined cult to the Mother-of-the-Gods and Aphrodite, such as terracotta figurines of the two goddesses in many types,[463] stone statuettes and inscriptions, mentioning both the Mother-of-the-Gods and Aphrodite.[464]

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[451] The first phase of the sanctuary of Leukopetra consisted of a rock-cut niche on the bedrock to resemble a cave (Graekos 2014, 13).
[452] Lazarides 1981, 22, fig.33a.
[453] Stamatopoulou 2012, 86-88; Toufexis et al. 2012 (July 30); Toufexis et al. 2016, 265-268.
[454] Giannouli 2003; Yannouli 2004; Tsakos 2012, 194.
[455] Rouggou 2013, 107.
[456] *ibid*, 46.
[457] Filimonos and Patsiada 2018, 74-77.
[458] Dontas 1977, 156-157 and fig.98.
[459] Nohlen and Radt 1978; Töpperwein-Hoffman 1978; Angelidis 2014, 385-391; Ates 2014, 433-434.
[460] Naumann 1983, 214-216.
[461] Held 2010.
[462] Kallini 2016.
[463] Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, 37-115.
[464] *ibid*, 216-217.

The Mother's companions can also be seen in two very distinctive monuments. A votive relief of the third quarter of the 4th c. from Leibadia, the so-called Trophonios relief (**Pl.71, Fig.23**), depicts the goddess in the company of – what is thought to be – Persephone holding a key, a faceless female figure, Dionysos, Pan, Hekate, a bearded male, identified either as a local god Trophonios or Zeus Meilichios, the Kouretes and the Dioskouroi;[465] a bronze matrix (dated stylistically to the 2nd or 1st c. BC), shows the goddess in several scenes with various deities, including Hermes, a female torch bearer, the Kouretes, Athena and Nike.[466]

In a cave at Vari, Attica, the Mother-of-the-Gods was worshipped together with the Nymphs and Pan,[467] which in the cave of Pan at Marathon, Pan and Mother-of-the-Gods figurines were discovered.[468] Moreover, Pan appears in many reliefs depicting the Mother-of-the-Gods in Attica. [469]

One of the deities which seems to be closely related to the Mother-of-the-Gods, especially in the Hellenistic period, is Demeter.[470] At the Sanctuary of Demeter at Dion, among the coroplastic dedications are a few figurines of the Mother-of-the-Gods.[471] At Lykosoura, the Mother-of-the-Gods had an altar next to the main altar of the sanctuary, while on Lesbos, in the sanctuary of Demeter, an inscribed roof-tile was unearthed with the inscription MATPOON together with a figurine of the Mother-of-the-Gods.[472] At Messembria, in a sanctuary of Demeter, among the finds were silver, gilded and bronze plaques depicting the Mother-of-the-Gods, worshipers and body members (eyes and one of an arm).[473] Finally, at Amphipolis,

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[465] Kaltsas 2002, 216-217, no.448; Roller 1999, 225-226.
[466] Reeder 1987.
[467] King 1903.
[468] Arapogianni 2000, 209.
[469] Vermaseren 1982, 48-49, no.180, pl.XXXV; *ibid*, 49, no.182, pl.XXXVI; 101-102, no.339, pl.XCIV; Katsaounou 2012, 197-199.
[470] Matricon-Thomas 2011, 316-320, with previous bibliography.
[471] Pingiatoglou 2015, 72, no.21, fig.140-141, also 166-167 and n.291.
[472] Rouggou 2013, 43, 117, 168, inscription no.6. The roof-tile also has the official stamp of the city.
[473] Vavritsas 1973; Vermaseren 1982, 98-99.

figurines of the Mother-of-the-Gods appear in the Sanctuary of Klio, together with other figurines and protomes.[474]

The Mother-of-the-Gods was in many instances worshipped together with "foreign" deities, such as the Egyptian gods. At Rhamnous, a dedicatory inscription was found in the city mentioning the Mother-of-the-Gods, Sarapis and Isis.[475] On Delos, she is often mentioned in connection to the Egyptian Gods, Sarapis, Isis and Anubis and her cult place seems to have been located in the Sarapeum C.[476] At Amphipolis, an inscription mentioning Sarapis, Isis and Adonis was discovered ten metres away from an open-air sanctuary of the Mother-of-the-Gods, conventionally called "Koukles".[477] This has lead Xagorari-Gleißner to propose that these deities were worshipped together in that area.[478]

Uses

As mentioned above the inscriptions from the Moschato Metroon refer to several spaces in the sanctuary. These indicate a variety of rooms with different function, a "sacred room", a temenos, a courtyard, a temple, a house and a dining room. All these rooms/areas are present in the thus far excavated Metroa, where the existence of a courtyard, at least one dining room and other rooms are evident. This could perhaps indicate that the necessary space for the cult of the Mother-of-the-Gods, was a house with a courtyard and additional rooms, rather than a typical sanctuary as is known for other deities.[479] The inward looking aspect of these "houses" might indicate, as Drougou tentatively suggested for the Metroon of Aigai, the mystic character

[474] Lazarides 1997, 45.
[475] Petrakos 1999, 332; *SEG* 40, 199.
[476] Vermaseren 1982, 188-204, nos.588-646, especially, nos.590-592, 598-599.
[477] Lazarides 1981, 22-23; 1997, 40-41.
[478] Xagorari-Gleissner 2008, 104.
[479] Similar non-monumental complexes can be seen in the Thesmophoria, the sanctuaries of Demeter, usually located outside of the city. Lilimpaki-Akamati 1996; Aravantinos et al. 2014; Tsakos and Giannakopoulos 2014.

of the cult.[480] Mystery cults, involving initiation, would be performed in sanctuaries that included a peristyle, as is evident from a newly published inscription from Thessaly.[481] It thus seems that the cult space of mystery cults would have been closed off to the uninitiated.

The baths and bathing structures could be connected to purification rites that took place during the rituals.[482] The discovery of lamps and drinking cups in all the spaces interpreted as Metroa, can point to nocturnal rituals and dining in her honour. The rites of the goddess are described as *ἐννύχιαι*, i.e. they are performed at night.[483] In fact, at Pella, a significant number of lamps were found around the temple, strengthening this hypothesis.

Thymiateria (incense-burners), are a common find in the cult of the Mother-of-the-Gods. The large thymiaterion (**Pl.70, Fig.19**) in the Demetrias Metroon with its intricate relief decoration shows the special character of the complex.[484]

Lilimpaki-Akamati in the publication of the Sanctuary of the Mother-of-the-Gods and Aphrodite at Pella, seemed to be perplexed by the absence of an altar and hypothesized instead that if there were any burnt sacrifices, they would have been in the form of an ash altar.[485] In Athens, a little-known festival for the Mother-of-the-Gods, the *Galaxia*, involved eating a barley porridge with milk.[486] This could perhaps indicate that the Mother's cult might not always involve animal sacrifice.

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[480] Drougou 1990, 10.
[481] Decourt and Tziaphalias 2015; Parker and Scullion 2016, line 5. The sacred spaces of the goddess are mentioned as the temple, the peristyle, the door panels and the propylon.
[482] Tiverios 2000, 21; Batziou-Efstathiou forthcoming; Triantafyllopoulou forthcoming.
[483] In the scholia of Pindar's 3rd Pythian Ode (*Schol. inv*. 140. 79); Sfameni Gasparro 1985, 20.
[484] Batziou-Efstathiou 1996, fig.8. Incense-burners have been found in Abdera (Lazarides 1960; Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000; Stefani 2010; Drougou 2011a; Toufexis et al. 2012 (July 30). For the significance of thymiateria: Zaccagnino 1998.
[485] Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, 216.
[486] Robertson 1996, 241-245; Parker 2005, 185.

Figurines and protomes

Terracotta figurines depicting the Mother-of-the-Gods are a typical find in her sanctuaries, in fact sometimes they are key for identifying the cult at the site.[487] A few have been found in the Agora of Pella, in a well connected with the activity of a coroplastic workshop;[488] in a niche by the "Gate of Eileithyia" at Argos;[489] another niche next to the main-gates of the Kurul Fortress (Black Sea);[490] in the House of the Mosaics at Eretria; [491] in House I,4 in Pella;[492] in the "House with the Staircases" at Aiani;[493] in a "tavern" from the Agora of Thessaloniki;[494] a coroplastic workshop on Delos, near the Agora of the Italians;[495] and in a farmhouse at Lete.[496] The only finds of Mother-of-the-Gods terracottas in funerary contexts are from Mieza and Karystos,[497] while at Palatiano near Kilkis, heads of Mother-of-the-Gods figurines were found in the foundations of the peribolos of a Roman tomb.[498] The presence of figurines of the Mother-of-the-Gods in coroplastic workshops is easily explained. In houses, they have often been found in spaces interpreted as domestic shrines or connected with female activity, perhaps hinting at the performance of cult. The figurines in funerary contexts do not allow further comments, especially since the reports are extremely brief.

[487] For instance, in the "Koukles" sanctuary in Amphipolis, the Kallipetra sanctuary, or even in Demetrias.
[488] Akamatis 1999, fig.8.
[489] Charitonidis 1954, 414-425, fig.1; Hadzisteliou Price 1978, 146-147; Vermaseren 1982, 147, no.471, pl.CXLII; Katsaounou 2012, 205, fig.253. The figure is shown with a baby on her lap and lions on both sides.
[490] Senyurt and Akçay 2017. The niche yielded a marble statue and terracotta figurines of the goddess in-situ.
[491] Mekacher 2003, 47-48, no.130, tab.26.
[492] Makaronas 1964; 1965; Rumscheid 2006, 99, and n.537 for the interpretations as shop or domestic shrine.
[493] Hatzinikolaou 2007, 296-297; Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2008, 38.
[494] Adam-Veleni et al. 1997, 520; Adam-Veleni 1999, 357-358; Zografou 2000, 84-86.
[495] Laumonier 1956, 134-135.
[496] Tzanavari and Filis 2002, 158, fig.6.
[497] Mieza: Misaelidou-Despotidou 1993, 133, fig.6a; Karystos: Chidiroglou 2015, fig.14.
[498] Anagnostopoulou-Hatzipolychroni 1996, 191-192, fig.9. The excavator proposed that they may belong to a previous building on the same spot.

Protomes depicting the Mother-of-the-Gods have also been found at Olynthus,[499] Aiani, in the "house with the Staircases",[500] Aigai,[501] Kallipetra (**Pl.71, Fig.24**),[502] in a deposit of a cult space near the river Aliakmon,[503] Vardarski Rid,[504] Kalydon,[505] and Kalymnos, in a sanctuary of Apollo.[506]

After the images of the Mother-of-the-Gods, figurines of lions, the goddess' sacred animal, and Attis, her companion, are nearly always present in her sanctuaries.[507]

The terracottas' iconography confirms many aspects of the Mother's cult. For instance, the naiskos-form in the abdominal area of the Metroon figurine **[289]** is also known from figurines from Aigai,[508] Kerameikos,[509] Delos,[510] Halicarnassus,[511] Priene,[512] Pergamon,[513] and Seuthopolis.[514] On the Demetrias example we can see that the naiskos-form is topped with a pediment and below it several symbols are depicted: on the top register, a square on the left, a circular object with a protuberant omphalos in the centre, probably a phiale, and perhaps cymbals on the right; on the second register, a crescent moon on the left, a large cone-shaped object in the centre, which could be interpreted as a bell, and two smaller oval objects, one

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[499] Robinson 1931, no.410.
[500] Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2008, 38.
[501] Drougou 1998, fig.2; 2011b, tab.10.1.
[502] Stefani 2017, 130 and no.440.
[503] Chondrogianni-Metoki and Maggouretsiou 1997, fig.6-8.
[504] Blazevska 2016, 267-268, pl.3, for two busts depicting the Mother-of-the-Gods found in Room C12 in the Central Complex of the acropolis of the Hellenistic city at Vardarski Rid.
[505] Dietz and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, 150-151, fig.127.
[506] Burn and Higgins 2001, 206-207, 208, pl.101, no.2551. The protome was found together with two Cybele groups and a double herm. On the meaning of protomes in sanctuaries: Muller 2009. For a protome-bust of a female figure with a mural crown from Spain, probably the Mother-of-the-Gods: Laumonier 1921, 203, no.934, pl.CXX.1.
[507] Nohlen and Radt 1978, nos.14, 20-15; Töpperwein-Hoffman 1978, MK35; Stefani 2010, 109, 109; Dietz and Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2011, fig.129. Figurines of lions are also present in the "workshop" at Abdera alongside many Mother-of-the-Gods figurines (Lazarides 1960, B125-128).
[508] Drougou 2005, 142.
[509] Vierneisel-Schlörb 1997, 134-135, no.407, tab.71.2.
[510] Laumonier 1956, 135, no.360, pl.39.
[511] Higgins 1954, 123, no.422, pl.60.
[512] Rumscheid 2006, 207, no.10.
[513] Nohlen and Radt 1978, 65, no.T14, tab.26.
[514] Nankov 2007. He does not agree with the interpretation of the naiskos-form on the figurine from Seuthopolis as a *prostethidion* and instead proposes that the squares symbolise the city's grid plan, with *insulae* and streets (*ibid*, 58).

below the other; below the crescent an oval object that Batziou-Efstathiou has interpreted as an acorn. The same symbols are also visible on the plaque **[304]**. The naiskos-form has rightly been interpreted as a *prostethidion*.[515] The *prostethidia*, mentioned in ancient sources (Pol. 21, 37, 5-7), were metal relief plaques in the form of naiskoi that were worn around the neck of priests and worshippers. Actual examples have been found in the Messembria sanctuary, at Eretria and in North Africa, while a metal relief of the same shape from the Metroon of Aigai, could in fact belong to the same category.[516] A statue of a Gallus in Rome depicts a standing figure wearing one of these objects hanging from his neck. The *prostethidion* has a naiskos-form and depicts the Mother-of-the-Gods standing between Hermes and Zeus, and on the pediment Attis reclining.[517] It is thus evident that the figurines of the Mother-of-the-Gods wearing a *prostethidion*, depict her wearing one of the objects that were used in her cult, similar to the tympanon.

In fact, terracotta plaques of the same form as the *prostethidia*, have been found in the sanctuary of Pharsalos, the agora of Thessaloniki, and Asia Minor.[518]

The *synteleia* is also evident through the terracottas. In most of the shrines discussed above, alongside the images of the Mother-of-the-Gods were figurines and protomai of

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[515] Rumscheid 2006, 207.

[516] Messembria: Vavritsas 1973, 77-81, pl.89-101; Eretria: Reber 1983, 81-83, and the interpretation of these silver plaques as *prostethidia*; North Africa: Naumann-Steckner 1996; Aigai: Drougou 1994, fig.7.

[517] Vermaseren 1977, 99, pl. 65.

[518] Katakouta 2014a; 2016. Thessaloniki: Zografou 2017b, 268, no.205. Terracotta relief plaques depicting the Mother-of-the-Gods were also found at the Athenian Agora, near the Metroon (Burr-Thompson 1954, 98-99, no.AgoraT892, pl.23; at Pergamon, in the sanctuaries of the goddess at Mamurt Kale, Molla Mustafa Tepesi (Töpperwein-Hoffman 1978, tab.34-35; Ates 2014, 426-431); Larisa ad Hermum (Boehlau 1942, pl.8.2; Vermaseren 1987, 159-160, no.531). Three fragments originate from Myrina (Mollard-Besques 1963, 145, pl.177; Vermaseren 1987, 155-156, nos.511-513); several from Aolian Aigai (Dereboylu 2012, tab.66-68). The relief plaques from Larisa, Myrina, Aigai and Mamurtkale probably originate from the same mould (Töpperwein-Hoffman 1978, 80); a relief plaque from Asia Minor, found near Mount Sipylos, depicts the Mother-of-the-Gods, now in the Hermitage Museum (Furtwängler 1883, vol.II, pl.CXXXVII; Vermaseren 1987, 171, no.570); a terracotta relief plaque depicting the Mother-of-the-Gods in a naiskos from Asia Minor is in a private collection in Cologne (Vermaseren 1987, 285, pl.CLXXXVII).

Aphrodite,[519] Athena,[520] Dionysos and his thiasos (Satyr, Silenus, etc),[521] Demeter, Sarapis, [522] Pan,[523] Artemis,[524] Herakles,[525] and En(n)odia.[526]

The plaque presumably depicting Aphrodite Epitragia **[312]** is puzzling regarding its iconography. The type of animal is unclear, due to the plaque's preservation. The small winged figure on the animal's hind legs can be securely identified as Eros. The figure is shown riding sideways, wearing a chiton and completely covered in a himation, revealing only the eyes. This is rather uncommon for the iconography of Aphrodite Epitragia, who usually does wear both chiton and himation, and when she does, she is depicted in an unveiling motion.[527] Conversely, the necklace and crossed bands (*periamma*) on the animal's sternum are typical adornments for Aphrodite.[528]

The figurine of En(n)odia *hippoprosope* **[320]** is unique, to my knowledge. Batziou interpreted this figure as En(n)odia hippoprosope (ιπποπρόσωπη), based on magic texts of late antiquity.[529] Figurines with animal heads from the sanctuary of Demeter and Despoina at

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[519] Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, nos.1-17 (Pella); Drougou 2011, 26 (Aigai); Stefani 2017, 130-131 and no.442 (Kallipetra); for the syncretism of Cybele with Aphrodite Ourania: Merker 2000, 255, n.32, with previous bibliography.

[520] Töpperwein-Hoffman 1978, pl.36, MK12-MK13; Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, pl.60-62.

[521] Theatrical figurines in sanctuaries of the Mother-of-the-Gods: Töpperwein-Hoffman 1978, tab.37, MK31; Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, 87-89, nos.100-110; Mallios 2004, 264-265; Sismanidis and Karaiskou 1995, 487-489; Many figurines depicting the Mother-of-the-Gods appear together with Dionysiac figurines in the "Podiensaal" in Pergamon, which can be securely identified as an assembly-room for the Doinysiac boukoloi, based on the inscription (Steinhauer 2014, 129; Japp and Schwarzer 2015, 254-260).

[522] For Demeter and Sarapis at Aigai: Drougou 1998, figs.3-4.

[523] Drougou 2011b, 26; Stefani 2017, 131 and no.441.

[524] Toufexis et al. 2012 (July 30), fig.4; Toufexis et al. 2016, fig.9.

[525] Batziou-Efstathiou 2002, fig.38; Japp and Schwarzer 2015, fig.38.

[526] For "visiting gods": Alroth 1987; 1989. For religious syncretism: Pakkanen 2011.

[527] For the iconography of Aphrodite Epitragia: Mitropoulou 1975; Sourlas 2017 with collected bibliography; Adam-Veleni 2017a, 259, 264, no.35, fig.16, for a plaque from Petres; Şare Ağtürk and Arslan 2015, 39-40, 71, no.9, for a figurine from a cist grave at Assos; Reinders 1988, 125, fig.81, for a mould from the House of the Coroplast (New Halos).

[528] Hoffmann and Davidson 1965, 9, fig. D for an Aphrodite figurine with *periammae* and 226-227 for two medallion disks from *periammae* with Thessalian origin; for the identification of the *periammae* Higgins 1980, 171; Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, nos. 3-5, pl. 39-40a, for Aphrodite figurines wearing this jewellery from the Sanctuary of the Mother-of-the-Gods in Pella; Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, nos.259 and 266 for two Aphrodite figurines with said adornment painted on them (from Veroia). A protome-bust with *periammae* was found in the Pharsalos sanctuary, interpreted as a worshipper: Katakouta 2014a, 438-439; Aphrodite statuette with periammae from Myrina: Mendel 1908, 288, no.2308, pl.IX,3.

[529] Batziou-Efstathiou 1996a, 28, fig.14; she quotes Chrysostomou 1998, 132, no.477.

Lykosoura have been suggested, in connection to the depictions on Despoina's himation, that they represent worshippers, depicted as they would have performed some sort of ritual.[530] However, these figurines seem to clearly represent worshippers, as they are shown to carry baskets on their heads.

The figurines of dancers may be linked to the orgiastic nature of the cult. As described by Plato and Dio Chrysostom, a dance performed by the *mystai* took place during a novice's initiation to the Mother's mysteries.[531] In addition, the crown of one of the heads from the Aliakmon deposit has relief decoration of dancing women.[532] The dancing figures on the crown of one of the heads can be compared to some terracotta headpieces from the Athenian Agora. In one of these the dancing figures are combined with relief depictions of the Mother-of-the-Gods, seating holding the tympanon, flanked by lions. Another polos fragment is decorated with relief dancers, much like the ones in the Aliakmon head.[533] Burr-Thompson associated the dancers with the dance of the *mystai*.[534] The figurine **[337]** could in fact depict the goddesses' worshippers during the orgiastic dance.

The female figurines belong to common iconographic types of the Hellenistic period. Women wrapped in *himation* **[336, 340]**; with "knidian" **[344-345, 348, 350]** or melon hairstyle **[351]**; wearing a stephane **[353]**, a thick wreath **[344]**, a *kekryphalos* **[348]** and a *tegidion* **[336]**.

The protomes **[297, 298, 299, 306]** show parallels in facial features (round contours) with three protomes from the Kerameikos and two from Amphipolis.[535] The head **[327]** displays

[530] Perdrizet 1899; Dickins and Kourouniotis 1906, 393–394, fig.26; Kourouniotis 1912, 155-160; Spathi 2018, 147-148; Averett 2019.
[531] Plato, *Euthydem*. 277D; Dio Chrysostom, XII, 33. On the connection of dancer and musician figurines with the cult of Cybele: Piccioni 2016.
[532] Chondrogianni-Metoki and Maggouretsiou 1997, 57. Stefani 2010, n.23; Stefani 2017, for similarities between the heads from Aliakmon and Kallipetra; Hatzinikolaou 2011, 184, 346, no.227, identifies it with the Mother-of-the-Gods.
[533] Burr-Thompson 1954, pl.23, AgoraT1004, AgoraT1546, AgoraT550.
[534] *ibid*, 101 and n.77.
[535] Vierneisel-Schlörb 1997, nos. 498-500; Malama and Salonikios 2002, fig.8.

morphological similarities to the heads from the House of the Mosaics at Eretria.[536] The protome **[307]** shows technical and stylistic affinities to the protomes from the Artemision at Epidamnos/Dyrrhachion and in the sanctuary at Anavra, Karditsa (but with the addition of the wreath).[537]

The protomes **[296, 302, 303]** share similarities in manufacture, especially in the rendering of the hair in wavy locks that frame the face. This could indicate that **[302]** and **[303]** could also be depicting the Mother-of-the-Gods.

The mask/protome **[327]** resembles **[464]** and could thus also depict a Satyr; it may be the Satyr head Arvanitopoulos mentions in his brief report.[538]

Batziou's excavation has offered a good case for studying the placement of the figurines and potentially their function. At the courtyard, the figurines were discovered next to the clay drain, along with lamps, the large incense-burner and other cults objects. If Batziou's hypothesis that libations were taking place there is correct, then the figurines might have played a role during the rituals, perhaps acting as the deity's image. In room 9, the figurines are found among what seems to be banquet room, due to the high numbers of sympotic vessels discovered there. The terracottas, according to the excavator, were found near the entrance. Finally, room 2 also yielded a large number of terracottas which were found near the wall of the room. The hearth, the seashells and the pottery around it, clearly suggest that in this room food preparation and perhaps also dining was taking place. The terracottas do not represent the Mother-of-the-Gods or any other easily discernible deity, but they could function as dedications. Terracottas in banquet rooms were also discovered in houses at Olynthus, with the best case-study being the House of the Comedian.[539] Cahill suggested that the andron had changed function into a

[536] Mekacher 2003, 46-47, nos.124-129, tabs.23-25.
[537] Muller 2014, fig.8; Eleutheriou and Karagiannopoulos forthcoming.
[538] Arch.Arv 45: 27/07/1916: "clay head of a young Satyr, Praxitelean in style, almost life-size"; Arvanitopoulos 1916a; 1916b.
[539] Robinson 1933, 10; Cahill 2002, 140-141; Sharpe 2015, 224-225.

shrine because of the high numbers of terracottas.[540] Based on the above it is thus evident that we should not exclude the presence of terracottas at symposia (or potentially ritual meals in this case), either as decorative features,[541] or (I think) more likely as evidence of a ritual involving the terracottas during the banquets, of which we are unaware.

The dedicants' identity is more ambiguous in the case of the Metroon. The high numbers of female figurines were probably dedicated by women, but should we assume exclusive female participation? This is definitely not the case with the worshippers recorded in decrees at Meter's sanctuaries from Attica.[542] One could suggest that the figurines of male deities (Pan, Herakles, Eros, and the ones related to Dionysos) were dedicated by men, but this should remain conjectural.

[540] Cahill 2002, 141.
[541] Hardiman 2005, 131, showed that several examples of contextualised statues in Hellenistic houses were discovered in, or near, the andron, which according to him indicates their decorative function.
[542] Indicatively: Matricon-Thomas 2011, v.2, 129-163.

Conclusions

The ongoing excavations by the EPhAMag, the discovery of a small temple by Arvanitopoulos, and the substantial terracotta finds connected with the cult support Batziou's interpretation of the complex as the city Metroon. They suggest that the sanctuary occupied a more prominent place in the religious life of the city than has hitherto been recognised. The statues of the goddess mentioned in the early 20th c. publication and the fragments found by Arvanitopoulos, also hint at a larger complex with a more organised cult, rather than a domestic shrine or a clubhouse. The large quantity of terracottas unearthed in this space make it all the more likely that this was not a private house, but a site for the publicly orchestrated worship of the goddess.

The chronology of the finds in the Metroon (beginning of 3rd to mid 2nd c. BC), follows those of the sanctuaries at Aigai, Kallipetra and Pharsalos, where the cult spaces also fell out of use during the 2nd century BC, perhaps due to the Macedonian wars (Battle of Pydna in 168; Fourth Macedonian War in 149).[543] It is unclear whether the cult activity there continues after those dates or abruptly ends, as is the case with the aforementioned sanctuaries. Perhaps some of the aforementioned cult places might have been under royal or more official patronage.[544]

It is evident that the cult of the Mother-of-the-Gods was very popular in Demetrias, but we ignore whether it was a civic one or under royal patronage. A funerary naiskos from Amphipolis sheds light on the cult of the Mother-of-the-Gods and royal intervention. The inscription reads *Λύσων Ξενάρχου Γάλλος Βασιλικός*, dating at the end of the 3rd or the beginning of the 2nd c. BC.[545] The occupation of the deceased as a priest of Cybele (Gallos)

[543] Stefani 2010, 113; Kallini 2013, 215.
[544] Contrarily, the sanctuary of Pella continues until the 1st c. BC.
[545] Vermaseren 1989, 81, no.263; Kalaitzi 2016, 100, 216, 256, no.189.

has the added adjective "royal". This might indicate a royal intervention in the cult of the Mother-of-the-Gods, at least for a short period of time. It is a trend that might relate to the reforms of Philip V undertaken during the same period.[546] For example, the inscription of Herakles Kynagidas from Demetrias that determines the attire of the "hunters of Herakles", belongs to the same category of royal intervention by Philip V.[547] The BA (*βασιλικός* – royal) stamp on the roof tile found during the EPhAMag excavations could perhaps indicate that the cult was under royal protection.

The cult spaces for the Mother-of-the-Gods in Demetrias have yielded a significant amount of protomes compared to other cities, which raises the question of their use:[548] it is unclear whether they were used as the cult image of the deity. Fragments of large marble statues of the goddess have been unearthed in Pella and Kalydon, and also in Demetrias, while in the cult space at Chani Kokonas there is a marble relief in one of `the niches. These would have functioned primarily as the deity's main cult image. Drougou seems reluctant to interpret the large clay head of the goddess found at Aigai as the cult image of the Mother-of-the-Gods and rather interprets it as a votive.[549]

The figurines, as mentioned above, are typical both in iconography and as dedications for the Hellenistic period and for sanctuaries and cult spaces for the Mother-of-the-Gods. The variety of deities in these terracottas reveal the sharing gods that were worshipped together with the Mother in Demetrias: Aphrodite, Eros, Athena, En(n)odia, Herakles, Pan, Dionysos and his thiasos. In Demetrias, the Mother-of-the-Gods is displayed both with youthful features

[546] Mari 2013, 1198.
[547] Intzesiloglou 2006b.
[548] The coroplastic material from Aigai has not been fully published as to give a comprehensive idea of the types of terracotta dedications. According to Mr. Giannis Graekos, there are at least three protomes of the Mother-of-the-Gods, one of Dionysos and figurines of the Mother-of-the-Gods, among the numerous terracotta finds. I am indebted to him for this information.
[549] Drougou 2011a, 333.

[288] but also as an adult woman **[289]**. This shows the variety of her representation, at least in Demetrias, and that coroplastic art did not always follow her more mature types in sculpture.

Batziou has recognised three phases in the sanctuary complex, still a chronological distinction is not discernible in the terracottas. Thus, the material from the Metroon could fall anywhere between the 3rd to the mid 2nd c., as it does not originate from closed contexts.

The terracotta figurines from Demetrias provide crucial evidence for understanding the cult of the Mother-of-the-Gods in the city. First, without the terracotta representations of the goddess we would not be able to identify the sanctuary as a Metroon. The lack of comprehensive excavations and publications of sanctuaries dedicated to the Mother-of-the-Gods is an obstacle to our understanding of her worship. It is hoped that this chapter has shed some light on the subject by showing how the production, distribution and use of terracotta votives in the cult of the Mother-of-the-Gods at Demetrias fits within a larger dedicatory culture in her worship in the Hellenistic world.

Chapter 3: The House on the Katsiphas plot and the terracottas[550]

A Hellenistic house in Demetrias was brought to light during a rescue excavation in 2000 at the neighbourhood Aivaliotika (**Pl.48, Plan1.5**; **Pl.50, Map1**; **Pls.72-74, Figs.25-29**),[551] where parts of several other houses have been unearthed in the past.[552] The building, only partially investigated (192m^2 excavated), consisted of an elongated courtyard with a well, a drain (**Fig.29**) and several rooms. In the east part of the building, in a bi-partite room with a built bench, plastered red in one half and black in the other half (**Fig.27**), several figurines were discovered on and around the bench. Among them are two heads and a fragment belonging to Mother-of-the-Gods figurines **[358, 359, 360]**, two protomes-busts **[355, 356]**, a female figurine **[361]**, a female head and the base from an almost life-size clay statue **[362, 363]** and another protome **[357]**. **[355]** was initially interpreted as a depiction of Demeter,[553] but it probably is an image of the Mother-of-the-Gods. The fact that the grey core in the headpiece is in two vertical strips indicates that it was a mural crown with attached clay strips to indicate

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[550] I am indebted to P. Triantafyllopoulou for sharing with me her paper prior to publication (Triantafyllopoulou forthcoming) and for giving me permission to study **[355, 357]**.

Two more houses from Demetrias have yielded terracottas, but their very fragmentary state of preservation and the brevity of the reports do not allow for a detailed discussion of their function.

a) A female head wearing a *kekryphalos* from a house with three building phases at Aivaliotika. In a room, among the numerous finds were skyphoi and plates. Subsequent phases belong to the 3rd and the 2nd c. (Triantafyllopoulou 1998, fig.157γ)

b) In a roughly built structure located again at Aivaliotika, and near a pithos, were found a head of a female figurine wearing a polos, with long hair which resembles figurines of Mother-of-the-Gods, the lower part of a clay relief plaque and what appears to be part of a clay brazier with a theatrical figure relief decoration (Batziou-Efstathiou 1984, 142, pl.44β-γ).

c) In the same neighbourhood, during a rescue excavation, remains of a Hellenistic house were unearthed, but only partially. It was arranged around a central, L-shaped courtyard. The finds include pottery, coins dated before the mid 2nd c., and many fragments of figurines, but no further details are known (Batziou-Efstathiou 1994).

[551] Triantafyllopoulou 2000, 466-468.

[552] Stamatopoulou 2018, 359-361. with previous bibliography, provides a synthesis of the domestic architecture in Demetrias, based on the yearly excavation reports provided by the EPhAMag.

[553] Triantafyllopoulou 2000, 467.

the crenellations (that were detached). In addition, the two locks of hair on each shoulder resemble the iconography of the Mother-of-the-Gods. Several more fragments exist, indicating that more than nine figurines were placed on and around the bench. Next to the bench were three stone blocks which, according to Triantafyllopoulou, supported a table, as well as fragments of coarse-ware pottery, among which several unguentaria. The excavator interpreted this area as a domestic shrine. South of that room there is a bathing area with a large clay bathtub (**Fig.28**), linked by the excavator with purification rituals or baths in connection to the "shrine". The excavator dates the complex and the finds in the 2nd c. BC.[554]

Notable for the building is the decoration of colour-plastered walls with "intricate decoration" or imitating marble veneer, as well as decorative cornices of white stucco.[555]

What is evident here is that the image of the Mother-of-the-Gods prevails among the terracotta finds with four out of nine figurines **[355, 358, 359, 360]**, while the two protomes **[356, 357]** do not survive in a state to allow us to establish their iconography. The large clay statue **[362, 363]** is also remarkable even though it survives in a very fragmentary state.

The figurines and protomes depicting the Mother-of-the-Gods belong to different moulds from the ones that have been discovered so far in the Metroon.[556] They are high quality coroplastic products, and do show similarities in iconography with the finds from the sanctuary (for instance the protome **[358]** with **[296, 302, 303]**).

The house on the Katsiphas plot is very important because it provides very good evidence on the placement of the terracottas, domestic shrines and potential rituals that would be taking place there. It is evident that the bench and the terracottas placed on it were the centre of the ritual acts, with (some of) the terracottas potentially acting as the deity's images. Would one

[554] Triantafyllopoulou 2000, 466-468; Triantafyllopoulou forthcoming; Kravaritou 2016, 139; Stamatopoulou 2018, 359.
[555] Triantafyllopoulou 2000, 467. Similar wall decoration has been found at the house on the Koskinioti plot (Triantafyllopoulou 2013, 459, fig.37).
[556] See Chapter 2D.

have acted as such and the rest were dedications? The types of rituals remain unclear, but the unguentaria hint either at dedication of perfume-oil, or libations.

Parallels for domestic shrines[557]

Demetrias

A further domestic shrine was identified in the Hellenistic house on the Chouta-Katsonis-Anastasiou plots in the same neighbourhood as the Katsiphas house. The house is arranged around an open central courtyard (**Pl.75, Fig.30**). West of the courtyard there are rooms with hearths at their corners, perhaps the living quarters of the house. On the east side of the house, the excavator identified the rooms as related to workshop areas: the SE room had a concentration of loom-weights at the NE corner, suggesting the existence of a loom; the central room, which had an antechamber, yielded plentiful pottery, plates, skyphoi, unguentaria, and many coins, while in the antechamber many amphoras were unearthed; the NE room yielded many lead fragments and clay vessels mended with lead joints. Two further rooms were

[557] More examples of domestic shrines can be found in Olynthus (Cahill 2002; Sharpe 2015). Several houses at Eretria have yielded terracottas, but they have been interpreted as decorative (Mekacher 2003, 75-79). Terracottas at houses are reported at Petres (Adam-Veleni 2017a). We still lack publications with a detailed analysis for the terracottas coming from houses at Pella (apart from Chrysostomou 2000), Aiani, Amphipolis, Abdera (apart from the "coroplastic workshop" Lazarides 1960; parts of two more houses have yielded a significant amount of figurines, but they were found scattered in very fragmentary condition all over the houses: Dimitrakopoulou 2017), the cities of Thessaly (primarily Pherai where several houses have been unearthed, Goritsa, Larissa, Metropolis, Kierion, Orthe, Trikke, Pelinna). New Halos has yielded very few terracottas, most of which, mostly moulds, originate from the House of the Coroplast (Reinders 1988; van Boekel and Mulder 2003). For a collection of publications on terracottas in houses: Rumscheid 2006, 76-130. For a complex case of domestic cult on late Hellenistic Samos: Kosma 2014; 2015. For terracottas from houses at Priene: Rumscheid 2006. Pergamon: Kielau 2009; 2018.

discovered in the south, but with very few finds.[558]

The excavators proposed that the domestic shrine should be located at the courtyard which yielded a well and a paved area with a built bench (1.20x0.60m.) on which coarse-ware vessels were discovered: a kalathos and a chytra, as well as a stone incense-burner. On the east side of the bench there was a cavity in the floor for libations. Another chytra (with traces of burning) and a brazier were discovered on the south side.[559]

It is evident that even though we probably see here another domestic shrine where libations and incense burning were central for the ritual, no terracottas came to light. This case shows that terracottas were not always necessary for domestic shrines, even though they are nowadays used to identify them in many occasions. Nevertheless, more classes of material should be present in order to identify a domestic shrine.[560]

Aiani

In the south part of the city, a building complex on different levels with stairs was brought to light (**Pl.76, Fig.31**), the so-called "House with Stairs". Most of the rooms contained storage vessels, but one room yielded a hearth in the middle. Attached to the hearth was a stone base within which a relief skyphos was discovered and next to that six bronze coins and a silver effigy of a snake (**Pl.76, Fig.33**).[561] Three sunken pithoi were unearthed in the room. On the north-west corner, a raised bench was discovered with several terracottas found in-situ: three

[558] Batziou-Efstathiou 1993; 1996a, 24-27; Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2000, 303-304; Triantafyllopoulou 2012; Stamatopoulou 2018, 361; Triantafyllopoulou forthcoming.
[559] Batziou-Efstathiou 1996a, 26; Triantafyllopoulou forthcoming.
[560] Hellmann 2010, 47-48, argues that the presence of terracottas is not enough for a space to be identified as a shrine and that altars, incense-burners and cultic vases, in combination with terracottas, are necessary for such an identification.
[561] For a similar stone vessel buried in the ground next to the hearth in the House of the Snakes (New Halos): Haagsma 2010, 52-53, 220-223. Two metal snakes were also found in the vessel at the aforementioned house.

Cybele figurines, a small and a large Cybele protome (**Pl.76, Fig.32**). Next to the figurines were clay vases (fine-ware plates, relief bowls, unguentaria), amphorae, a few loom-weights and some tools. Initially, the excavator interpreted this space as a domestic shrine and the room as connected to domestic daily activities, but she has recently proposed that we should not exclude a more public character for the building, stressing that its excavation is not completed. The date of this complex, or at least of the "shrine-room", falls at the same time as the Katsiphas plot house, with a destruction in the second half of the 2nd c.[562]

Pharsalos

Pharsalos provides interesting comparative material for discussing domestic shrines and the use of terracottas in houses, especially since they are contemporary with the Katsiphas house, dated in the late 3rd and the early 2nd c.[563]

The house on the Loukoutou brothers plot yielded a total of 51 terracottas, discovered in rooms 5 and 6.[564] In both rooms the figurines and protomes were found against the north walls, as they might have been placed on shelves or a table. Room 5 yielded 27 terracottas: Aphrodite is predominant among them, Eros, Hermaphrodite, Artemis, Hermes, as well as mortal women and children.[565] A hearth was revealed in this room with coarse-ware pottery around it, among them several phialai. Along the north wall was also a concentration of loom-weights indicating the presence of a loom and weaving activities.[566]

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[562] Karamitrou-Mentessidi 1984, 255-256; 1989, 45-46; 2008, 38–39; 2010, 45–46; G. Karamitrou-Mentessidi and E. Papadopoulou (12.10.2018) "Αιανή και νομός Κοζάνης: ειδώλια και λατρεία της θεάς Κυβέλης" in the International Symposium "Το ειδώλιο στο βορειοελλαδικό χώρο από την προϊστορία έως τους ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους, Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, 11-13.10.2018"; Hatzinikolaou 2007, 296-297.
[563] Karapanou 2014, 429.
[564] Karapanou 2008, 704-706.
[565] Karapanou 2014, 419-420.
[566] *ibid*, 423.

In room 6, among the 24 terracottas, 11 were protomes, rather large in size, in a variety of depictions, with crowns and wreaths, depicting young and more mature women. A protome and two figurines depicting Attis were next to the above, as well as figurines of Eros, Psyche and mortal women. On the east side of the room there was a clay bath-tub, while three pithoi were sunken on the west side on the floor. A rhyton, a clay phiale and a large clay incense-burner in combination with the large number of figurines and the bath-tub suggest that rituals were taking place in that room.[567]

In house A on the Bekris brothers plot, a total of 14 terracottas was unearthed.[568] Five figurines (Artemis, two Aphrodite figurines, a female figure and a female protome) were found in room B, along with 23 loom-weights and a hearth. Room A yielded only a female protome next to a bath-tub and a hearth, while a concentration of five protomes, an En(n)odia figurine, a reclining female figure and a Cybele figurine were found in room D. In this house no single room can be identified to have a shrine, based on the fact that three rooms yielded terracottas, which in room B are connected with weaving and female activity. [569]

In House A on the Tsoumani plot the terracottas were discovered again in a room connected with weaving:[570] the room apart from 14 loom-weights and a large incense-burner yielded also eight standing and seated female figurines. A domestic shrine in this house might be located in the courtyard where a pit was found, containing a small marble stele base, three reclining female figurines dating in the 6th or 5th c. (and several other fragments), as well as a small stone altar/incense-burner and various metal objects. According to the excavator these

[567] *ibid*, 421-423.
[568] Karapanou 2007, 722-723.
[569] *ibid*, 722-723; 2014, 423-424.
[570] Toufexis 1988.

were a ritual deposit of heirlooms by the occupants.[571]

The house on the Arsenopoulou brothers plot was an intriguing find.[572] It was more complex in layout than other houses at Pharsalos, with three courtyards and several rooms arranged around them, among which two andrones had painted walls. In the south part a small room (1.60x2m.) yielded what seems to be a domestic shrine. A stone altar with a semispherical protrusion was discovered in-situ, on which (and in front of it) were fragments of four statuettes, two marble Aphrodite statuettes, along with a large clay Aphrodite (?) statuette and a clay En(n)odia statuette, holding a torch with a horse next to her. In the same room were several other figurines (En(n)odia, Artemis, three female protomes).

In the courtyard, in front of the "shrine-room", there are indications of further domestic cult activity. The base of a marble stele or altar was found in-situ, and around it a clay shell incense-burner, a gilded-clay phiale and 25 figurines. They include figurines of Artemis, Cybele, Hermes Kriophoros, Attis, Psyche, five standing female figures, and several fragments belonging to female figurines. A sandstone basin was also found in the courtyard, which the excavator interpreted as used for ritual practices.[573]

The excavator, based on the size of the house and the number of the finds, argued that it exceeds "standard" domestic shrines and that the shrine in the aforementioned house could have a more public character, attracting people also outside of the *oikos*. She even proposed that it might be related to the Mother's cult as at Pella, Aigai and Demetrias.[574] However, even though I agree with the potential public aspect of the shrine, it has to be borne in mind that the complex excavated by Katakouta might be an equally good candidate at Pharsalos to be

[571] Karapanou 2014, 424-425; for the incense-burner: Karapanou and Katakouta 2000, 120-123.
[572] Karapanou 2008, 706-707.
[573] Karapanou 2014, 428.
[574] *ibid*, 429. For discussion: Chapter 2D.

connected to a Metroon. Among its finds, apart from the numerous terracottas among which were clay plaques depicting the Mother-of-the-Gods, the ring-*kernoi* are closely related to the Mother's cult.[575]

Discussion - Conclusions

Terracottas in houses have received several interpretations, from cultic, to children's' toys (which does not apply here), to decorative.[576] The latter might be the case in rooms for female activity, such as weaving, although not necessarily.[577] In the case of the Katsiphas plot, the House with the Stairs at Aiani, and the Arsenopoulou plot house at Pharsalos the evidence does not allow for an alternative interpretation other than a shrine.

The terracottas discovered in the domestic shrines analysed above, were also found with vessels related to some sort of cultic activity: either with coarse-ware vessels and unguentaria (Katsiphas plot Demetrias), or incense-burners, phialai and rhyta (Loukoutou, Tsoumani, and Arsenopoulou plots). Two protomes were discovered next to two large incense-burners in a house at Kallithiro, which according to the excavator indicate a domestic shrine.[578] The same is observed in the "Central Complex" at Vardarski Rid, where two protomes of the Mother-of-the-Gods were discovered together with two figural incense-burners in the form of a Satyr.[579] It is noteworthy that the terracottas were placed on specially created benches or altars.

[575] Katakouta 2014a; 2016.
[576] For the decorative function: Ammerman 1990, 43; Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2006, 22, 24, who does not seem to support this view; Rumscheid 2006, 130-131; for the decorative function of children figurines in houses: Bobou 2015, 93; for toys Palli 2017, with collected bibliography.
[577] At New Halos, a protome was discovered in a house situated next to the city walls. Two connected rooms were discovered, yielding a hearth, several loom-weights, coarse-ware pottery, and tools (Nikolaou 1999; 2006, 126; 2010).
[578] Intzesiloglou 1984b.
[579] Blazevska 2016, 267-268, 274-276.

Especially at the Katsiphas case, the semi-circular bench is painted half red, half black.[580] Barret in her study on the Egyptianising figurines from Delos has shown how they could have been used during rituals.[581] But in that case there is a rich background of textual information to help towards the study of domestic rituals, whereas in our case we do not know how the terracottas would have been used. Rumscheid proposed that they acted as the deity's image to which the inhabitants would pray.[582] But we cannot know whether one of the terracottas, or all, acted as the deity's image. At Aiani it seems that the large protome was placed in the centre surrounded by the figurines, but this placement does not necessarily make the protome the sole focus of attention. As the example of the Chouta-Katsoni-Anastasiou plot shows, terracottas were not always necessary for domestic cult.

Both houses on the Katsiphas plot and that on the Arsenopoulou plot share similarities in the use of the bath-tubs, which are located in the proximity of the shrines, indicating that they could have been used for purification rituals.[583] Yet, we should consider that houses could have a bath-tub for covering the inhabitants' bathing needs.[584]

The terracottas in domestic shrines at Demetrias, and in Thessaly in general, provide a slightly different picture than what we know from written sources about domestic cult and ritual, especially regarding the venerated deities. However, we should consider that most of those written sources and secondary scholarship are for the most part Athenocentric. We hear of Hestia, Zeus Ktesios and Herkios, Apollo (Patroos and Aguieus), Hekate and Hermes.[585] These gods are not present in the terracottas discussed above nor are they to be found in

[580] Triantafyllopoulou 2000, 437.
[581] Barrett 2011, 421–443; 2015a.
[582] Rumscheid 2006, 128.
[583] Triantafyllopoulou 2000, 467; Karapanou 2014, 428; Stamatopoulou 2018, 359. For bathing in sanctuaries of Asklepios: Trümper 2014.
[584] Hellmann 2010, 90-94, for examples from Lefkada, Delos and Delphi.
[585] For recent discussions on household religion and gods: Parker 2005, 9-23; Faraone 2008; Morgan 2010, 143-165; Haagsma 2010, 219-228.

terracottas found at houses, with the exception of Hermes at Pharsalos.[586] The same situation has also been observed by Rumscheid for the houses at Priene.[587] Could Hekate be seen in the En(n)odia figurines found at Pharsalos, since in some cases the two goddesses seem to merge?[588] The terracottas at Demetrias and Pharsalos provide a different picture of the deities worshipped: the Mother-of-the-Gods, Aphrodite, En(n)odia, Artemis, Eros (and Psyche), Attis and Hermaphrodite. In a house at Pella, the deity represented in the majority of the terracottas was Dionysos.[589] Do we perhaps see a shift in household cult practices in the Hellenistic period, or are the Thessalians and the Macedonians worshipping different household gods? The latter seems unlikely, since the presence of Zeus Ktesios in the form of snakes is well attested.[590]

When images of the Mother-of-the-Gods are found in houses and domestic shrines, the deity seems to also act as the protector of the house, especially in Demetrias and Aiani, where the high numbers of her images render her the central deity.[591] This is especially evident by the presence of the large protomes.

We should also note that all nine terracottas from the Katsiphas plot are female. Does this imply that only women were involved in the worship? This is unclear, especially since at

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[586] Zeus Ktesios (or Meilichios) is seen by most scholars in the snake effigies found in some houses (Nilsson 1954, 79; Chrysostomou 2000, 219-222; Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2008, 38; Faraone 2008, 217; Haagsma 2010, 223-225) but they are not present in the houses discussed above. In Thessaly, the only known examples known to me come from The House of Snakes at New Halos (Haagsma 2010, 48-57, fig.2.26, 220-225) and from a house at Pherai (Intzesiloglou 1980, 269, fig.119a).
Two clay plaques depicting Hermes from the same mould, were discovered in a house and a building of unspecified function at Trikala, ancient Trikke (Chatziaggelakis 2001, 586-587, fig.54; Athanasiou 2009, 60, fig.12).
Of course, the absence of the terracottas depicting the deities does not necessarily exclude their worship in domestic settings. Morgan 2010, 149-153, argues that the gods might have be represented in perishable materials (Hermes in wood, Apollo in bay leaves).
[587] Rumscheid 2006, 128.
[588] Chrysostomou 1998.
[589] Chrysostomou 2000.
[590] See above.
[591] Approximately 155 figurines of the Mother-of-the-Gods come from the residential area of Pergamon: Kielau 2018, 61; terracottas of the Mother-of-the-Gods are also very popular in the houses of Priene: Rumscheid 2006, 128; Blazevska 2016, for Cybele figurines in domestic shrines at Vardarski Rid, but there the author connects them with the protection of the city, because they are found in the "Central Complex", a house interpreted as the "seat of the city's administrator" (Blazevska 2016, 275); for a fragmentary Cybele figurine from a house at Abdera: Dimitrakopoulou 2017, 36, 58; for a figurine from the House of the Mosaics at Eretria: Mekacher 2003, 47-48, no.130, tab.26.

least four out of the nine figurines are images of the Mother-of-the-Gods and could have also been used by men. We could suggest predominantly female involvement in rooms where female activities were taking place such as weaving, as in the houses on the Loukoutou brothers plot (room 5), at the Mpekris plot and the Tsoumani plot (all in Pharsalos).

Both Triantafyllopoulou and Karapanou suggest that we could see a more public aspect in the cult on the Katsiphas plot and the Arsenopoulou plot, even a clubhouse (Katsiphas),[592] although in both cases the epigraphic evidence is absent. Stamatopoulou has stressed the difficulty in distinguishing clubhouses from domestic spaces when no inscriptions are found and the complex is not fully investigated.[593] The "Podiensaal" in Pergamon, the place for a religious association for the *boukoloi* of Dionysos, does not differ in plan from other houses of the city, but the identification was possible due to an inscription.[594] Nevertheless at the Katsiphas shrine, even though the finds are fewer than at Pharsalos, they are more coherent, related to the Mother-of-the-Gods, with four out of nine (identifiable) specimens depicting the goddess. There is no doubt that the Katsiphas plot find is strongly connected to the Mother's cult. The possibility that the inhabitants were initiates to this cult, based on the predominance of the Mother's depictions, should not be excluded, but cannot be supported by the evidence so far.[595] Whether we are seeing a domestic shrine, or a clubhouse should remain open for discussion at the moment, since the excavation is not complete.

[592] Triantafyllopoulou 2000, 467; Karapanou 2014, 428.
[593] Stamatopoulou 2018, 359 and n.118. For clubhouses: Nielsen 2014; Steinhauer 2014.
[594] Schwarzer 2008; Steinhauer 2014; Japp and Schwarzer 2015, 128-129.
[595] Perhaps this could also be the case with the House with Stairs at Aiani.

Chapter 4: Anaktoron

Introduction – The Anaktoron

The Anaktoron of Demetrias is one of the most impressive sites in the ancient city, the seat of Macedonian power and administration. Its ruins are located in the centre of the city, on Hill 33 (**Pl. 4, Plan1.6; Pl.50, Map1**). It was excavated first by Arvanitopoulos in 1907-1908,[596] with subsequent excavations by Theocharis and the German Archaeological Institute,[597] and lately the EPhAMag.[598]

The complex is arranged in several courtyards over terraces, but mostly two sections have been investigated, sections A and B (**Pl. 77, Fig.34**). There seems to be a complicated history of its construction with at least three building phases. The first should be placed in the early 3rd c.; the second phase has been connected to Antigonos Gonatas in the first half of the 3rd c.; the third phase in the late 3rd – early 2nd c. yielded the visible remains today, with the *tetrapyrgion* and the *diateichisma* in section A.[599] Numerous rooms with various functions (banqueting, reception hall) were arranged around a peristyle courtyard in section A. Section B has been attributed to the second phase. The function of the rooms here is less clear, but an apsidal space in the south wing has been connected to a ritual space.[600] Many spaces were lavishly decorated, the walls painted in Masonry style and decorated with relief stucco.[601]

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[596] Arvanitopoulos 1907, 181–182; 1908, 210–211; 1912, 170. Arvanitopoulos thought he had discovered a temple or part of an agora. He discovered a few figurine fragments, among which he described a helmeted head of Athena (Arvanitopoulos 1912, 170). Papachatzis 1958b, was the first to identify the structures as the Macedonian palace of Demetrias.
[597] Theocharis 1961, 173-174; Milojčič and Theocharis 1976; Marzolff 1996c; 1996a.
[598] Batziou-Efstathiou 1991; 1996b; 1997; 1998; 2000a; 2002, 19–29; 2008.
[599] Marzolff 1996c; Kopsacheili 2012, vol.2, 10; Stamatopoulou 2018, 353-355.
[600] Kopsacheili 2012, 85.
[601] *ibid*, vol.2, 10-12, cat.no.M3; for the painted decoration: Papakyriakos et al. 2006.

The finds from the Anaktoron and its foundation fill include black glazed pottery, relief skyphoi ("Megarian" and "Homeric"), West Slope pottery, cooking ware, amphoras, lamps, roof-tiles with BA stamps (*Basilikos*), architectural terracottas, loom-weights and seal impressions.[602] Among these finds was also a large number of figurines.[603] Since they were found in the Anaktoron foundation trenches, they have been given a terminus-ante-quem of 220/200 BC, thus before the third construction phase of the complex.[604]

When the Anaktoron fell out of use in the mid 2nd c., its grounds hosted workshops for metal and pottery production, evidenced by the kilns discovered mostly in the north wing of Section A.[605] Several deposits that could be connected to these workshops were uncovered, which, among the plentiful pottery material, yielded numerous fragments of anthropomorphic and animal terracottas. This could suggest that the pottery workshops were also creating terracottas.[606] The publication of the terracottas from these deposits is a desideratum, especially since they originate from well-dated contexts. Additionally, 13 graves dated in Late Antiquity were discovered mostly over the south wing.[607]

[602] Milojčič and Theocharis 1976, 59-144; Furtwängler 1990; 2003a; 2003b; Kopsacheili 2012, vol.2, 11, cat.no.M3.
[603] Gossel 1976; Hornung-Bertemes 2007.
[604] Furtwängler 1992; Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 41.
[605] Zimmer 2003.
[606] Batziou-Efstathiou 2000b, 41; 2010, 299; Batziou-Efstathiou and Schiza 2004.
[607] Batziou-Efstathiou 1996a, 18; 2000a, 295-296, 298; Stamatopoulou 2018, 354.

The Terracottas from the Anaktoron foundations

137 terracotta fragments were found in the foundation fills of the Anaktoron. Their exact find-spots are not always given. Gossel provided exact find-spots for 35 terracottas from the north wing of Section B; those published by Hornung-Bertemes are not provided.

The foundation filling of Room N1 yielded 20 figurines, among which are two Mother figurines coming from the same mould **[421-422]**; a lion **[425]**; a Gaul **[443]**; a warrior (or most likely part of the previous figurine) **[444]**; a protome **[441]**; a female chest **[395]**; a girl's head **[456]**; a theatrical mask **[465]**; an actor **[466]**; part of an incense-burner (in the form of an altar) **[493]**; part of a base **[497]**; and eight fragments of folds, probably belonging to female figurines **[396, 398-401, 403-405]**.

The fill under Room N2 yielded seven terracottas: a female figurine riding a mule, probably En(n)odia **[428]**; the legs from a plaggon **[474]**; a palmette attachment from a throne **[427]**; and four drapery fragments **[397, 406-408]**.

Under Room N4, the fill yielded two fragments: a horse's head **[480]** and a fragment of drapery **[402]**. Two more fragments were found in the fill of Room N5: a female head **[417]** and part of a sheep fur **[484]**.[608] A further fragment belonging to a sheep **[485]**, but from a different figurine, was found in the fill of Room N3. Three more fragments are stray finds or unstratified: a male head **[445]**; a female head **[419]**; and a cylindrical basket **[498]**.

The fragments with recorded find-spots do not show any patters of deposition and were probably discarded randomly in antiquity.

[608] Which could join with **[482]**.

The 102 figurines published by Hornung-Bertemes, even though extremely fragmentary and without precise find-spots, are very useful for dating the types. For instance, the chronology for female types B (**[364]**), C (**[365-367]**), D (**[368-369]**), F (**[370]**), I (**[371]**), O (**[372]**), T (**[373]**), is based on the fragments from the Anaktoron. The seated girl **[449]** helps date girl type D (**[119]**). **[457]** dates the kausia-boy Type B. **[432]** is an interesting case, as it dates the Aphrodite type A in the 3rd c., while the vast majority of this type's known examples from other sites are dated in the 2nd c.[609] Finally, the back and base from a rather large figurine with the coroplast's monogram incised at the back **[499]** is an extremely important discovery: it can date this coroplast's products, and it also corresponds with **[506]** from the South Cemetery.[610]

Regarding the iconography of the finds, we observe mostly fragments of female figurines (55 figurines – 40% of the total 137), primarily drapery. Only nine out of these can be assigned to types known from other contexts in the city (types B, C, D, F, I, O, T). A "mantle dancer" figurine (**[374]**) is also present. The *tholia* (**[420]**), most likely belonged to a female figurine. Three protome fragments are also probably female **[439-441]**, since they – at least **[439]** and **[439]** – are shown wearing a thick wreath and a flower wreath respectively.

There are 14 figurines of children among the discovered fragments, forming the second largest category of figurines (10%).The majority depict girl figurines, mostly shown seated.[611] Two fragments **[458-459]** can be identified as "temple-boy", and a further one **[457]** belongs to kausia-boy type B. Related to the children's world are two plaggon fragments **[473-474]**.

At least four fragmentary figurines depicting the Mother-of-the-Gods originate from the Anaktoron fill. Two can be securely identified as the Mother, by the crown and tympanon

[609] Chapter 7.
[610] Chapter 8.
[611] **[410]**; **[446-456]**.

(**[421-422]**). Two lion figurines (**[425-426]**) definetely also come from Mother figurines, since, at least in **[425]**, part of the footstool is visible next to the lion's paws.

A few more fragments possibly belong to Mother-of-the-Gods figurines, while a fragmentary seated figure (**[376]**), or rather the footstool, may also come from a Mother-of-the-Gods figurine. The palmette fragment from a throne (**[427]**) is reminiscent of the ends seen in Mother-of-the-Gods figurines,[612] either attached to one of the two fragmentary figurines **[421]** and **[422]** or from a separate one. I would like to suggest that the two fragments holding a phiale **[423]**, **[424]** could also originate from Mother-of-the-Gods figurines, especially if we consider that the phiale-holding arms come from the same mould and are broken at the areas where the Mother-of-the-Gods figurines ended (at least from what I can deduct from the photographs). In total we see eight fragments that are likely to be associated with the Mother-of-the-Gods figurines (5% of the total).

Four nude female figurines most probably represent Aphrodite. **[432]** belongs to Type A, which is portrayed standing, leaning on a pillar. The rest are probably shown seated (**[429-431]**), but their very fragmentary state does not allow for further comments and comparisons at the moment. The Aphrodite figurines are the second largest group for deity representations (2%).

Remaining in the realm of the gods, Aphrodite's son, Eros is portrayed in two examples shown as a young boy, flying (**[434]**) and riding an animal (**[433]**) (1%). Herakles is probably shown in one figurine (**[435]**), while a club (**[436]**) could also belong to a Herakles figurine, but not the aforementioned one, since the colour of their clay is different. En(n)odia is most likely present in one figurine riding a mule (**[428]**) and Pan in another (**[438]**), shown playing the syrinx.

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[612] For example: **[281]**, **[288]**, **[289]**, **[291]**.

Two fragments (**[442-443]**), perhaps a third (**[444]**), belong to a Gaul figurine, similar to **[NC2]**. It is safe to assume that the figurines depicting Gauls were created after 279/8 and the battle of Delphi, or even 277 after Antigonos Gonatas' victory at the battle of Lysimacheia. Around the same time the figurines of elephants trampling over Gauls appeared in Myrina, probably after the "Battle of the Elephants" in 268,[613] and spread to the neighbouring islands such as Lemnos.[614]

Three more fragments belong to male figurines, one head (**[445]**), a chest (**[475]**) and part of a drapery (**[437]**). Hornung-Bertemes had suggested that the chest (**[475]**) could belong to a male plaggon.[615] Two Baubo figurines (**[471]**) and (**[472]**) occur only in the Anaktoron at Demetrias.

The world of Dionysos is well represented in the Anaktoron finds making up 4% of the total assemblage. A Satyr mask (**[464]**) and a Silenus head (**[463]**) are among those, as well as four theatrical terracottas: two actors-slaves (**[461]**); (**[466]**), an actor in the *pornoboskos* type (**[460]**) and a theatrical mask (**[465]**).

Three male grotesque heads have also been discovered (**[468-470]**), as well as the "genre" figure (**[467]**).[616]

The animals (with the exception of the two lions) are also a large group among the figurines with 10 examples making up 7% of the total and the highest assemblage of animal figurines in the city. We count two birds (**[481]**); (**[487]**), three horses (**[477-478]**, **[480]**), a donkey carrying baskets (**[479]**), a bovine hoof (**[488]**) four sheep (**[482-485]**), a ram (**[486]**). The mould for the creation of the donkey (**[500]**) was also discovered making it the one of the

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[613] Mitchell 2005, with previous bibliography; Mollard-Besques 1963, no.MYR284, pl.150d&f; although the grave assemblage is dated in the 2nd c. and should probably be connected with the battle of Eumenes II against the Gauls in 168/167 (Reinach and Pottier 1885; Lambrothanassi and Touloumtzidou 2016, 99)

[614] Souchleris 2014, 282, no.7, figs.7-9 and 286; Lambrothanassi and Touloumtzidou 2016, for an elephant figurine from Thessaloniki, bearing the Gallic shield.

[615] Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 169, no.247.

[616] Chapter 7 for full discussion.

only two moulds found so far in Demetrias; it also happens to match its product, which could point to the existence of a workshop.

Five or six incense-burners in the form of miniature altars are also among the finds (**[489-493]** perhaps also **[496]**).[617] The use of a fragmentary column capital (**[494]**) is rather enigmatic.

Disregarding their fragmentary state, the terracottas from the Anaktoron are high quality products, with fine, clean clay, coherent in colour for the majority of the examples. Several fragments belong to large figurines.[618]

Interpretation

The terracottas discovered in the Anaktoron foundation fill are removed from their original context. A notable feature is their very fragmentary state of preservation. As Hornung-Bertemes rightly argued, the large-scale endeavour of building the Anaktoron and its foundations required substantial masses of earth for the filling. She had suggested that perhaps they came from the Pefkakia tumulus, presumably since near that site Arvanitopoulos excavated cultic deposits, but this cannot be verified.[619] The high numbers of terracottas could suggest the existence of a sanctuary, either on the grounds where the Anaktoron was erected or in its vicinity. Of course, it is unclear what that sanctuary was, but the iconography of the terracottas could provide a few hints.

The Mother-of-the-Gods figurines which prevail over the other terracottas of deities could suggest a sanctuary for this deity. Together with them are also other terracottas which at

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[617] For incense-burners/arulae: Kielau 2018, 199-200.
[618] **[378]**; **[370]**; **[429]**; **[447]**; **[412]**; **[380]**; **[389]**; **[382]**; **[379]**; **[384]**; **[383]**; **[391]**; **[381]**; **[390]**; **[383]**; **[393]**; **[394]**; **[373]**; **[431]**; **[420]**; **[387]**; **[499]**; **[395]**; **[419]**; **[396]**; **[399]**; **[398]**; **[400]**.
[619] Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 41.

first do not seem to constitute a coherent group. However, comparisons with terracotta dedications from contexts related to the Mother-of-the-Gods reveal a pattern that allows us to group at least some of them together. The figurines of Aphrodite **[429-432]**, En(n)odia **[428]**, Eros **[433-434]**, Pan with syrinx **[438]**, Silenus **[463]**, Satyr **[464]**, Baubo **[471-472]**, grotesques **[468-470]**, theatrical terracottas **[460-466]**, and the incense-burners **[489-493]**, are all attested in Metroa assemblages in Macedonia, but also in the Metroon at Demetrias.[620]

Aphrodite was worshipped together with the Mother in the sanctuary at Pella, where several Eros figurines were also discovered.[621] Aphrodite figurines are also found in other sanctuaries of the Mother-of-the-Gods, at Aigai and Kallipetra.[622] The terracottas of Silenus, Satyr and the theatrical terracottas all belong to the world of Dionysos, whose connection with the Mother-of-the-Gods' cult is well documented.[623] Figurines of Baubo are also found in sanctuaries of Demeter,[624] nevertheless, she can be connected to the Mother-of-the-Gods as well, since the two deities' characteristics seem to merge in Hellenistic times.[625] The presence of plaggones is also attested in the Mother-of-the-Gods' sanctuaries at Pella and Vergina.[626] The palm capital **[494]** resembles dedications of clay columns found at other Metroa, at Pella and Kallipetra.[627] Animal figurines are very common in Metroa – horses, cattle, sheep, rams, birds – and have been interpreted as clay effigies of real animals sacrificed to the deity.[628]

The figurines of mortal women are shown in several different forms: wrapped in himatia **[364, 367, 372]**; wearing the stephane **[409]**, wreaths **[410]**, and tegidia **[374, 412]**. Their

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[620] Chapter 2D.
[621] Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, 40-45, for Aphrodite figurines; 53-55 for Eros figurines. Chapter 2D for Eros figurines in Metroa, including the sanctuary in Demetrias.
[622] Drougou 1999, 117, fig.3; Stefani 2017, 371, no.442.
[623] See Chapter 2D.
[624] As in Samos: Tsakos 2012, 191; Tsakos and Giannakopoulos 2014, 236, 243-244. Against the identification as Baubo: Barrett 2011, 208–218; 2019, fig,2.32; Sandri 2012, 638-640, with previous bibliography.
[625] See Chapter 2D.
[626] Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, 52-53; Drougou 1990, 7 and fig.5.
[627] Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, no.250, pl.97β; nos.243-244, pl.99β; Stefani 2017, 372, no.443.
[628] Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, 90-92, nos.116-127, pls.76-78; Drougou 1990, 10; 2011b, tab.8.1;

fragmentary state does not allow for a discussion of age classes. The high numbers of children figurines and the existence of plaggones could indicate a kourotrophic role of the venerated deity, among the other aspects of the cult.[629]

Based on all this information, could a cult space of the Mother-of-the-Gods have existed on the site where Section B of the Anaktoron was later erected, or was the Mother-of-the-Gods venerated in the Anaktoron, in a previous phase? Cult spaces inside Hellenistic palaces are not uncommon. Kopsacheili proposed that the apsidal space on the south wing of Section B could have been used for "religious/ceremonial purposes", also based on the elaborate decoration and the access to the space, which is achieved through a long corridor.[630] At Aigai, Herakles Patroos was worshipped in the Tholos of the Anaktoron, while at Pergamon, Dionysos is believed to have been worshipped in Complex IV.[631] As far as I am aware, terracottas were not found in the major Hellenistic palaces (Aigai, Pella, Pergamon), while a "Persian rider" is mentioned to originate from the Citadel palace at Dura-Europos,[632] and nine were found in the palace at Jebel Khalid.[633] However, if the Demetrias palace was erected on top of a sanctuary, why were the dedications not ritually deposited? Would it thus seem likely that the soil came from a site nearby, where a sanctuary or a workshop once existed? Still, the finds from the Anaktoron foundation fills are crucial for dating much of the terracotta production from Demetrias, but their original context remains a mystery. The interpretations I have put forward here regarding the origin of the terracottas should be taken as tentative.

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[629] For kourotrophic cults in Demetrias: Chapters 2A-2B; for the meaning of plaggones: Chapter 2C.
[630] Kopsacheili 2012, 87; Stamatopoulou 2018, 353.
[631] Aigai: Andronikos 1984, 42; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2001, 202. Pergamon: Zimmer 2011, 147, with collected bibliography; Kunze 1996, for the sculptural decoration of palaces and their potential cultic role. Kopsacheili 2012, 253, for cult in Hellenistic palaces.
[632] Downey 2003, 145-146, no.91, figs.84-85, dated in the 2nd c.
[633] Jackson 2006, 4-8, dated after the second half of the 2nd c.; Kopsacheili 2012, cat.no.S1.27.

Chapter 5: Cemeteries

Introduction

The cemeteries of Demetrias are some of the most excavated areas of the city, but not yet published. The terracottas found there are organised by cemetery and by grave to achieve a better understanding of their context and deposition. Emphasis is given on the placement of the figurines inside the graves; what funerary goods they were placed with; who they accompanied, in the instances that we either know the age and gender of the deceased or we can discern from the offerings; what patterns, if any, can be discerned between the different cemeteries. Special focus will be placed on the use of the terracottas in funerary rituals. I will look at their iconography and their potential meaning or evidence for beliefs about the Afterlife. Finally, the relationship of the funerary deposition and use of terracottas at Demetrias will be compared to other places in the Greek world.

South Cemetery

In the early 20th c., Arvanitopoulos revealed large parts of the South Cemetery (**Pl.48, Plan1.1**), that was used from the city's foundation until the 3rd c. AD.[634] He published the most impressive pieces, such as bronze clasp-mirrors, jewellery, and the inscribed and painted stelai.[635] Investigations in the area of the South Cemetery resumed many years later, due to

[634] Arvanitopoulos 1928, 56-62; Stamatopoulou 1999, vol.2, 8-9; Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2012, 212

[635] Arvanitopoulos 1909b; 1928; 1929a; 1929c; 1929b; 1929c; 1929d; 1947a; 1947b; 1949a; 1949b; 1952.

rescue excavations.[636] The majority of burials are inhumations, with a few cremations, and the grave types are cists, pits and tile-covered graves.[637] Several richly furnished graves existed here, with precious materials and imported goods, which to this day are unique to this burial ground.[638]

Grave 41, an inhumation in a tile-covered pit grave (1.15x0.55x0.60m.), orientated E-W (**Pl.29**).[639] No skeletal remains were found, perhaps indicating that the deceased was a young child. On the tiles was a lidded *lopas*, containing three miniature *skyphoi* and the figurines **[501, 502, 503]**. Accompanying the deceased were 14 vases (cooking pots, two lead *pyxides*, a *lekanis*, an *oenochoe*, two unguentaria, a lamp, a *skyphos*, a *chytra* and a *lopas*), a gold ring, a gold fibula. The assemblage is dated in the first half of the 3rd c. The terracottas are a female figure **[501]**, a "shepherd" holding a syrinx **[502]** and a bearded male figure **[503]**.

Grave 55, a single inhumation in a pit grave covered (1.75x0.50m.), had few grave goods, found outside the grave and included two unguentaria, a bowl/*skyphos* and a female figurine **[504]**. The pottery dates the burial in the second half of the 3rd c.[640]

Not all burials excavated by Arvanitopoulos were described in detail; a few terracottas have been identidied based on his descriptions. For instance, in a "grave-insula" or "*systas*",[641] an undisturbed grave yielded the skeletons of two women and two female figurines, a pair of gold earrings, a gold ring, a dove-shaped gold earring and gold leaves, probably belonging to a wreath.[642]

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[636] Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2012. I would like to thank the excavators for permission to study the coroplastic material.
[637] Stamatopoulou 1999, vol.2, 8.
[638] Arvanitopoulos 1947a; Stamatopoulou 2018, 366-368 and figs.16-21. The finds from the ASA excavations in the cemetery will be published by Stamatopoulou. She kindly shared information from daybooks and her study in the NAM and VM, and gave me permission to include the coroplastic finds in this thesis.
[639] Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2012, 247-252.
[640] Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2012, 261-262.
[641] For "grave-insulae": Stamatopoulou 1999, 33-35.
[642] Arvanitopoulos 1915a, 178-179.

Among the graves, Arvanitopoulos found an Eros riding a ram **[505]**.[643] In a tile-covered grave he also found a figurine and a lamp.[644]

The highest concentration of terracottas was near the Sanctuary of Pasikrata. In an uncovered pit grave of an "adolescent girl", he unearthed a small, thin gold wreath, numerous knucklebones and "tens" of figurines which preserved their colours, one of which preserving the coroplast's signature.[645] The latter was located in the NAM (**[506]**), helping identify the other figurines from the same grave (**[507]**, **[508]**, **[509]**, **[510]**, **[511]**, **[512*]**).

In another grave, again close to the sanctuary, Arvanitopoulos mentions two masks, a "urinating Silenus" and an Eros riding a cock.[646] These are **[513]**, **[514]**, two theatrical masks depicting the *admirable-young-man (πάνχρηστος νεανίσκος)* from the same mould, a theatrical figure **[515]**, and **[516]** (**Pl.33**). Could **[517*]** also belong to this grave, given the iconography of the other terracottas?

Either in the same or a nearby grave he discovered the cremated bones of a "girl" inside a *chytra*, two small black-glaze vases "imitating silver", a pair of gold earrings, a bronze disk and four bronze coins. Burned with the bones were many figurine fragments,[647] some of which were recently located in the NAM in a very fragmentary state and very friable due to the fire (**Pl.34**).[648] Two figurines of Type K also show traces of burning (**[518*]**, **[519*]** – **Pl.35**) and perhaps also come from the same grave. They depict female figures wearing a *tegidion*,[649] a thick wreath, *tettix* and "bow" hairstyles. Many fragments of drapery were also found belonging to female figurines, but their state of preservation does not allow for identification

[643] *ibid*, 178.
[644] *ibid*, 176.
[645] *ibid*, 187; Arch.Arv.44: 6/06/1915.
[646] *ibid*, 190.
[647] *ibid*, 190-191; Arch.Arv.44: 2/06/1915.
[648] They have not been catalogued as they were located and restored too late in the process.
[649] From the same mould as **[84]**.

of types. A further fragment preserves a pillar on which a hand rests.[650] Even though heavily burned, many of the fragments preserve their white slip and colours, mostly red. All belong to large figurines, probably between 0.25 to 0.30m.

Nearby, in a grave inside a grave-insula he also discovered a "richly painted" large Nike figurine – as yet unlocated; other grave goods included a gold ring, gold earrings, gold sheet (maybe gold leaves for a wreath?) and miniature shields, as well as two clay *pyxides*. All the finds were burned, as were the bones.[651]

Another unlidded grave from a grave-insula yielded plaggones, a "strange clay group" and a small earring.[652] A male plaggon **[520]** in the VM with unknown findspot could perhaps be one of those found in that grave.

A grave close to the 1st Stele Tower which contained the bones of a "17-year-old" woman yielded a clay group depicting an intercourse scene.[653] A figurine in VM **[521]***, even though fragmentary, shows such a scene of a man and a woman.

There are few more terracottas from graves, but without any detailed description. Reportedly, "exquisite" figurines were discovered in an unlidded grave close to the Pasikrata sanctuary, along with a clay pyxis, a lamp, a small bronze object, beads and buttons,[654] which possibly indicate a female burial. In a grave between the 5th Stele Tower and Profitis Ilias, Arvanitopoulos found many fragmentary figurines and a *chytra* with burned bones and gold leaves.[655]

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[650] The pillar measures ca.0.15m.
[651] Arvanitopoulos 1928, 61.
[652] Arch.Arv.44: 30/05/1915.
[653] Arch.Arv.44: 8/06/1915.
[654] Arch.Arv.44: 7-8/06/1915.
[655] Arch.Arv.44: 15/06/1915.

A further grave that yielded a figurine was excavated at Nees Pagases.[656] It is a cist grave (grave 4) made of limestone slabs (**Pl.36**),[657] whose long sides are decorated with three incised columns.[658] The grave contained two inhumations. The grave goods included a lamp, two grey unguentaria, a lidded lead pyxis with psymithion, a bone spoon, a bronze mirror disk, gilded "buttons", gilded bone pins, a bone alabastron, a jewel of bronze sheets and gilded beads. A figurine belonging to female-type L was also found. The date of the grave goods can be placed from the late 4th to the early 3rd c, dating also the figurine in the same period.

In the vicinity of the previous grave, in a pit grave (grave 3) a paidagogos figurine was placed near the skull.[659]

East Cemetery

This cemetery was very near the walls and the sea. The graves there range from the 3rd to the mid 2nd c., although a few Roman graves are also mentioned.[660] Only two graves contained terracottas. On the cover-tiles of grave 35, were fragments of a relief skyphos, a lagynos, a lidded clay pyxis, an unguentarium and three figurines (**[525]**, **[526]**, **[527]**) (**Pl.38**). The first two belong to female-type F and were made from the same mould. The third is a nude female plaggon wearing a thick wreath on the head. The burial is dated in the second half of the 2nd c.[661]

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[656] For the grave: Triantafyllopoulou 2005, 499-500, figs.21-28. For the figurine: *ibid*, fig.26.
[657] Dimensions: 2x0.77m.
[658] For discussion the cist grave type with incised columns: Stamatopoulou 1999, 23-25. Also Arvanitopoulos 1929a; Papazapheiri 1962 from Goritsa (Agria); Arvanitopoulos 1915a, 165-167, from Pherai; Adrymi-Sismani 1983, graves 12, 14, 2, 5, from Pherai.
[659] Triantafyllopoulou 2005, 499.
[660] Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2012, 211-212.
[661] *ibid*, 225-226.

The second burial (grave 36), a "free" inhumation, had very few skeletal remains, perhaps an infant. The offerings were an unguentarium, a feeder and three figurines (**[528]**, **[529]**) (**Pl.39**), namely an actor figurine (*ἡγεμών θεράπων*) iconographic type, a paidagogos and a bull. The finds date the burial between the late 3rd and the mid 2nd c.[662]

North Cemetery

The cemetery along the road to Pherai was briefly investigated by Arvanitopoulos in 1915,[663] while public works necessitated extensive rescue excavations, between 1994 and 1995, during which more than 900 graves (and 3,600 finds) were unearthed, 41 female graves were included in the excavator's Masters dissertation.[664] The finds from the cemetery are still under study. Based on preliminary reports we can discuss the use of terracottas in this necropolis.[665] A selection of the skeletons was studied, which can be extremely helpful in identifying the sex and age of the deceased.[666]

Grave 11 (tile-covered – 1.50x0.50m.) contained an oenochoe, an omphalos plate, a kantharos, a lamp and a kausia-boy figurine of Type F (**[530]**).[667] The finds can be dated in the second quarter of the 3rd c.[668]

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[662] *ibid*, 237-240.
[663] Arvanitopoulos 1915a, 182-187.
[664] Nikolaou 1995; 1996; 2000a; 2016; Stamatopoulou 2018, 366.
[665] For the terracottas: Nikolaou 2012; Tsatsouli and Nikolaou 2017; also Nikolaou 2000a; 2000b; 2004; 2008; 2014; 2016. The total number of the terracottas found in the North Cemetery is unclear. In Nikolaou 2012 are included 48 specimens, while in Tsatsouli and Nikolaou 2017 appear more which were not included in the previous publication. Two figurines without an inventory number are mentioned in Nikolaou 2016, 127 (grave 394 – no.E1625) and 176 (grave 841 – no.E3260). One more figurine was included in Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2012, 226 (**[530]**). Thus, the total number of terracottas from the North Cemetery is at least 70.
[666] Nikolaou 2016, 13 and n.1.
[667] Their exact position in the grave was unclear due to the disturbance.
[668] Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2012, 225-226.

Two female burials yielded figurines. Grave 148, a tile-covered pit, with an inhumation of a 50 years-old female, contained a kantharos, a coin of Antigonos Gonatas placed on the woman's mouth and a female figurine of type K (**[NC1]**), touching her right forearm. The finds date the grave in the mid 3rd c.[669]

Grave 394 was a cist grave containing three inhumations. The first burial belonged to a woman between 30-50 years-old and with her were two unguentaria, a miniature skyphos, a vase, as well as a Gaul figurine (**[NC2]**), a fragmentary figurine, a bronze strigil and a nail, all placed next to the left leg. All three burials were dated in the 3rd c.[670]

Six figurines were discovered in grave 376 which has been dated in the late 3rd c.[671] They are all female figurines; at least one of Type C (**[NC3-4]**), three belong to the same type (**[NC5-7]**), and one is a seated figure (**[NC8]**).

Three figurines were placed in grave 468, which contained coins of the 3rd c. as well as of Philip V and Perseus, dating the burial in the first half of the 2nd c.[672] The figurines are all female: one of Type U (**[NC9]**), and one is seated (**[NC10]**), closely resembling types from North Africa.[673]

Grave 577, dated in the second half of the 2nd c.,[674] yielded six figurines (**Pl.39**). Three are female: one of Type K.B (**[NC11]**), another is leaning on a pillar and wears a tettix hairstyle (**[NC12]**), and the third depicts Aphrodite with Eros (**[NC13]**). A fragmentary figurine belongs to the seated women group, which was probably created with a mould imported from Myrina (**[NC14]**).[675] An Eros leaning on a pillar was in the assemblage (**[NC15]**), as well as a kausia-boy figurine (**[NC16]**). The preservation of the colours on these figurines is extraordinary;

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669 Nikolaou 2016, 38-40.
670 Nikolaou 2016, 124-130.
671 Nikolaou 2012, 351, n.1.
672 *ibid*, 351, n.3.
673 For parallels see n.992-993.
674 Nikolaou 2012, 352, n.4.
675 Chapter 7.

[NC15], is decorated with white, pink, red, blue, grey, black and tin-foil,[676] which was also observed on **[NC14]**.[677]

Grave 234 yielded three figurines, one (**[NC17]**) of Type C.III.B, while the other two (**[NC18-19]**) were described as similar. The burial dates to the late 3rd c.[678]

A single female figurine belonging to Type C.I.A (**[NC20]**) was placed together with an unguentarium of the mid 3rd c. in grave 856.[679] Thirteen more female figurines are mentioned without a grave record,[680] some of which belong to Type N (**[NC23]**), Type L (**[NC24]**), the seated female group (**[NC25]**), and two depict Aphrodite with baby Eros, one probably from an imported mould from Myrina (**[NC26]**), and one leaning on a pillar (**[NC27]**). Three more figurines lack a grave record: a herm (**[NC28]**), a child holding a bird (**[NC29]**) and a child playing with a cockerel (**[NC30]**) (**Pl.42**).

Ten kausia-boy figurines and shepherds also originate from the North Cemetery,[681] found in graves that had only a single figurine, at least based on the information we have so far.[682] Some belong to known types from other contexts in the city: type A (**[NC21]**) found in grave 668; type E (**[NC22]**) in grave 732, the "shepherd" with syrinx iconographic type (**[NC31]**). Most of the kausia-boy figurines are dated in the 3rd c., with the exception of two which were placed in graves 577 and 244, both dated in the 2nd c., according to their finds.[683]

Six more figurines are mentioned in the publication of the figurines from the North Cemetery, belonging to various iconographic types: a female plaggon (**[NC33]**); figures

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[676] Tsatsouli and Nikolaou 2017, 349, fig.10 and 350-352 for tin-foil.
[677] *ibid*, 349, fig.9.
[678] Nikolaou 2012, 353, n.6.
[679] *ibid*, 352, n.10.
[680] *ibid*, 353, no.A.1.11, n.11; no.A.1.12, n.12; no.A.1.16, n. 16; no.A.1.17, n.17; Tsatsouli and Nikolaou 2017, fig.8, inv.no.BE46653a; fig. 15, inv.nos.BE46649a-b; fig.19, inv.no.BE17191;
[681] A further one is found in grave 577, see above.
[682] Nikolaou 2012, 356-357, no.Γ.1.2, n.43, grave 748; no.Γ.1.4, n.45, grave 417; no.Γ.1.5, n.46, grave 884; no.Γ.1.6, n.47, grave 791; no.Γ.1.7, n.48, grave 244; no.Γ.1.9, n.50, grave 699; no.Γ.1.11 without an indication of grave. A further figurine is included in the kausia-boys catalogue (*ibid*, 357, no.Γ.1.12), but based on the image in Tsatsouli and Nikolaou 2017, fig.16, it is clear that it is a boy wearing a wreath and holding a bird.
[683] For grave 577 see above. For grave 244, Nikolaou 2012, 357, no.Γ.1.7, n.48.

connected to the world of Dionysos, such as a satyr, an actor figurine, a female flute player,[684] a Silenus with Dionysos and a Hermaphrodite holding a New-Comedy mask.[685]

Figurines possibly from grave contexts

Two more grave assemblages with figurines will be treated here briefly; the finds from Agria and the assemblage in the BM. Agria, located ca. 8km East of Volos, has only been excavated sporadically,[686] and is thought to relate to the Goritsa settlement.[687] The nine figurines in the VM originate from an unknown excavation at the site. Their homogeneity in technical aspects and state of preservation suggest that they were deposited together, perhaps in a grave (**Pl.43**). They belong to kausia-boy types A (**[531])**, C (**[532-536]**), and "shepherd" type E (**[537-538]**), as well as a single fragment (**[539]**).[688] A few, mainly **[531]**, **[537]**, **[536],** show traces of burning, which could indicate that they were either badly fired or that they were placed in the funerary pyre.

The same can be said for the BM assemblage. All six specimens display homogeneity in technique and clay, hinting again at a common context. They were discovered "near Volos" probably during the First World War, when the British army was digging camp trenches (**Pl.44**).[689] The figurines depict four, or five, kausia-boy figures **[540-544]**, two of which belong to types A and I, and one more which has been interpreted as Attis **[545]**, because of the crossed legs and the animal depicted next to him.

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[684] *ibid*, 358.
[685] Nikolaou 2000b, 312.
[686] Papazapheiri 1962.
[687] Vermeulen Windsant 1992, 302-303; Stamatopoulou 1999, vol.2, 2; Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 43-44.
[688] Chapter 7.
[689] Burn and Higgins 2001, 84 and n.1; 86-87, nos.2175-2180. For the British Salonica Force collection in the BM: Shapland 2013; Shapland and Stefani 2017.

Discussion

The vast majority of terracottas accompanied female and child burials. Until now only one male burial is reported to have a terracotta figurine among the grave goods.[690] Among the female graves, the bones of which were analysed and discussed in Nikolaou's dissertation, only two yielded figurines. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify the sex of the deceased based on the grave offerings. Based on Nikolaou's analysis, the offerings that appear exclusively in female burials are jewellery (excluding wreaths), clay *pyxides* (cylindrical and stamnoid) and knucklebones.[691] Strigils, which had been connected to the male world and athletics, cannot be considered as a factor for identifying the deceased's sex, also supported by the finds at Demetrias.[692] Mirrors are more likely to indicate female burials, even though in the Hellenistic period they are not exclusive to females.[693] Child burials can be distinguished by the small size of the skeleton, its bad preservation, or even absence, as well as by the presence of feeding-bottles, knucklebones and plaggones.[694]

With this methodological background, we can see – at least for the graves for which we know the funerary assemblage – that terracottas in Demetrias accompanied primarily female

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[690] Nikolaou 2016, 176.

[691] *ibid*, 172-173; lead and bronze *pyxides* were placed both in male and female burials. For *pyxides*: Stamatopoulou 1999, 101-103, 111-113; Nikolaou 2014; Adrymi et al. 2018. At Abdera, jewellery accompanied only female burials: Kallintzi 2007, 266-267. At Livanates (Opuntian Locroi), knucklebones are found almost exclusively in female burials (Selekou 2014, 192).

[692] Nikolaou 2016, 166-167; Houby-Nielsen 1997; Colivicchi 2006; Kallintzi 2007, 266.

[693] Houby-Nielsen 1997; Stamatopoulou 1999, 117-119. Two mirrors are mentioned from the North Cemetery from female burials, while one appears in a male burial (Nikolaou 2016, 167, for female burials; 176, for male burial, grave 885). The mirrors in the South Cemetery discovered by Arvanitopoulos are unclear who they accompanied with the exception of one which was clearly female (Arvanitopoulos 1929a). The mirror in the Nees Pagases grave belonged to a female burial.

[694] Kallintzi and Papaikonomou 2006; Papaikonomou 2008; Kallintzi and Papaikonomou 2010; Carè 2012; Dasen 2012; Dubois 2012; Kotitsa 2012; Aggeli 2013, 185. Dubois (2012, 336-338), argues against the use of feeding-bottles as indicators of child burials, but in Thessaly, Pydna, and Ambracia this class of pottery is only placed in toddler burials (Stamatopoulou 1999, 103-104; Kotitsa 2012, 87; Aggeli 2013, 185).

and child burials. This practice is in accordance with most other areas of the Greek world in the Classical and Hellenistic periods.[695] For instance, at the East Cemetery of Pella, out of the 30 burials with terracottas, 26 belonged to women and children (86%);[696] in the rock-cut chamber tombs, terracottas always accompany female burials.[697] The same pattern is discernible at Vergina,[698] Veroia,[699] Mieza,[700] Edessa,[701] Mavropigi,[702] Pydna,[703] Kassandreia,[704] Aineia,[705] Olynthus,[706] Akanthos,[707] Amphipolis,[708] Abdera,[709] Samothrace,[710] Lesbos,[711] Nisyros,[712] Assos,[713] Parion,[714] and Taras.[715] Compared to other sites in Thessaly, Demetrias displays higher number of terracottas in graves, but this may not be representative, because of the sparsity of publications in the rest of the region and the lack of publications.[716] Very few figurines are reported in graves at Phthiotic Thebes,[717] Larissa,[718] Krannon,[719] Pharsalos,[720] Homolion,[721] and Pelinna.[722] This fact could hint at different burial customs on

[695] Indicatively: Sabetai 2000; Huysecom-Haxhi 2003; 2008; Huysecom-Haxhi et al. 2012; Muller 2018a.
[696] Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2014, 213.
[697] Lilimpaki-Akamati 1994, 250.
[698] Kottaridi 1990, 35-37.
[699] Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002.
[700] Misaelidou-Despotidou 1993.
[701] Chrysostomou 2013, 108-114, grave 120; 133-135, grave 46; 139-146, grave 50; 183-189, tomb II.
[702] Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2011.
[703] Noulas 2014, 407; 2017, 91–92.
[704] Sismanidis 1997, 302-307, 308-312.
[705] Vokotopoulou 1990, 49-52.
[706] Robinson 1952, 43-44.
[707] Kaltsas 1998, 302; Rhomiopoulou 2017, 90.
[708] Rhomiopoulou 2013.
[709] Kallintzi and Papaikonomou 2006; Papaikonomou 2006; Kallintzi and Papaikonomou 2010; Kallintzi 2017.
[710] Dusenbery 1998, 843-846.
[711] Acheilara 2003.
[712] Bairami 2012; Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 186–187.
[713] Tolun 2015, 378-379.
[714] Kozanli 2015.
[715] Graepler 1997, 237-240.
[716] Stamatopoulou 1999, 138.
[717] Theocharis and Chourmouziadis 1970, 205, 15 figurines but not mentioned how many found in each grave; Adrymi-Sismani 1992, 226, grave 7.
[718] Tziafalias 1988, 161, grave 6, one animal figurine; 162, grave 11, two female figurines.
[719] Chourmouziadis 1970, 281, grave VIII, one figurine.
[720] Katakouta and Stamatopoulou 2013, 86, fig.4b.
[721] Miller 1979, 21,56, no.HOM.TC1, pl.12a-b, in grave B, one protome; Vitos 2017, 97, grave 29, burned fragments of figurines; 120-124, grave 13; 126-140, cist grave 1, three seated females and a rider figurine.
[722] Karapanou and Katakouta 2004, pl.25, grave 4, two figurines; pl.27, sarcophagus A; Athanasiou 2013, 527, fig.50; Kravaritou and Stamatopoulou 2018, fig.7.10.

that aspect, which in Demetrias could have been more influenced by the Macedonian ones, or other cities of the south, considering its significance as a port.

Still, the graves which contain terracottas are a minority in Demetrias, especially if we consider that well over 1000 graves are known from this city, but this is also the case for the rest of the Greek world. There are some sites that are an exception to this, such as those of Boeotia.[723] At the East Cemetery of Pella, 30 graves out of 64 yielded terracottas.[724] The rarity of terracottas in graves has been stressed at Taras with Graepler's study showing that only 5% out of 10,000 graves yielded terracottas.[725]

The number of terracottas placed in the cemeteries of Demetrias is small and rarely exceeds six, as in graves 376 and 577 from the North Cemetery,[726] at least at our current state of knowledge. We do not know the exact numbers of terracottas placed inside the graves excavated by Arvanitopoulos; in one case he mentioned "tens of figurines", but this seems to be an exception.[727] Compared to other sites the numbers of terracottas in graves are low, especially when compared to graves as those at Thebes where up to 74 figurines were deposited in one grave;[728] at Veroia and Pella, where we can see up to 42 and 54 respectively;[729] at Parion 118 figurines were placed around the coffin.[730] This could indicate that there is a slightly different approach in the deposition of terracottas in graves in Demetrias compared to Macedonia, even though many of the types deposited are the same or similar to the Macedonian cities.

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[723] Sabetai 2000; Aravantinos 2006, 738–739; 2007; Harami 2007; 2008; Bonanno-Aravantinos and Pisani 2009; Harami 2012; Bonanno-Aravantinos 2015; Harami and Jeammet 2015; Kountouri et al. 2016.
[724] Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2014, 213.
[725] Graepler 1997, 238.
[726] See above.
[727] Arvanitopoulos 1915a, 187.
[728] Aravantinos 2006, 738–739, grave B240; 2007, 64.
[729] Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, 26, tomb 1; Lilimpaki-Akamati 2008.
[730] Kozanli 2015, 388-391, tomb 100.

In three burials more than one example of the same type is placed in the grave (**[525], [526]** in the East Cemetery; **[513], [514]** in the South Cemetery; **[537], [538]**; and **[532]**, **[533]**, **[534]**, **[535]** at Agria).

The placement of terracottas inside the graves does not seem to follow any patterns, at least in Demetrias. The grave goods which accompany burials with terracottas also do not show any clear patterns; we observe both fine-ware and coarse-ware, sympotic and feasting vessels, *pyxides*, vessels for libations, feeding-bottles, lamps, unguentaria, jewellery and knucklebones. A few burials with terracottas are among the more well-furnished ones, such as grave 41 of the South Cemetery, as well as a few which Arvanitopoulos excavated.

At least two cases show the use of terracottas in rituals. The burned figurines from the grave in the South Cemetery indicate that they were placed in the pyre, along with other grave offerings. Even though uncommon, this practice can be observed in other sites, for example at Pella[731] and Thebes.[732] Burned terracottas are more common in *enagismoi*, the rituals performed by the family when visiting the grave, and can be seen in sites such as Homolion,[733] Pharsalos,[734] Argos,[735] Eleusis,[736] Ambrakia,[737] Rhodes,[738] and Lipari.[739] The burned figurines in Demetrias are large in size, possibly reaching 0.30-0.40m., and at least in one case the face (**Pl.34a**) is of the same type as **[84]** from Pasikrata. A third case where one may observe figurines involved in rituals is Grave 41 from the South Cemetery, where the figurines were placed next to the grave. Even though we do not know the chronological sequence, their

[731] Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2014, 37-42, rock-cut tomb 92/1; 54-60, rock-cut cist grave 92/10, the offerings show traces of burning; 105-107, grave 92/54.
[732] Bonanno-Aravantinos 2013.
[733] Vitos 2017, 97, grave 29 (6th c.).
[734] Katakouta and Stamatopoulou 2013, 86, fig.4b.
[735] Dimakis 2016, 68; 2018, 361–363.
[736] Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, 159-185.
[737] Aggeli 2013, 185.
[738] Patsiada 2018, 326-328, figs.13-14.
[739] Schwarzmaier 2011, 142-143.

placement could also be linked to the family's visits to the grave during the commemorative rites.[740]

Comparisons between the terracottas from the three cemeteries are not easy, since we only have a partial picture of what was discovered. Nonetheless, there are some elements that can be distinguished. First, the South Cemetery has yielded more lavish graves, some of which were accompanied with higher numbers of figurines. Moreover in this cemetery the terracottas were used in more complex rituals, either placed in the pyre, or during the *enagismoi*. From the little that we know about the East Cemetery we can conclude that even though only a few burials were accompanied by terracottas, these are of no lower quality than those found in the other two cemeteries. In fact, all three cemeteries have yielded very high quality terracottas, which preserved their rich polychromy and even traces of tinning (at least in the North Cemetery).[741]

Regarding the iconography of the terracottas, we can see that the female figurines are predominant, depicted in a variety of postures, both standing and seated, but mostly in quiet poses.[742] They represent many types known from other contexts in the city, such as Types C (C.I.A, C.II.B, C.III.B), D.II (**[504]**), F.A (**[525, 526])**, K (**[518*-519*, NC1, NC11]**), L, N, S **[508-509]**, U.

As for deities, Aphrodite predominates, depicted in various poses. Nike is also present; Eros (**[NC15, NC32]**) is depicted in larger size than the examples from sanctuaries, but also as a baby riding animals (**[505]** and **[516]**). Attis is potentially represented in one fragmentary figurine (**[545]**).

[740] Boardman and Kurtz 1971, 144-148; Garland 1985, 38-41, 104-120; Kallintzi 1997, 825-827.
[741] Tsatsouli and Nikolaou 2017.
[742] I will avoid giving percentages here, as the number of the terracottas in graves is still uncertain.

Some kausia-boy types are represented in the cemeteries (types A,[743] C,[744] E,[745] F,[746] I[747]), as well as a few "shepherds" (type E,[748] and two single fragments[749]). Children with birds are also present at the North Cemetery (**[NC29-30]**).

Regarding male figures, we can only discern the Gaul figurine (**[NC2]**), a bearded figure (**[503]**) and a paidagogos (**[529]**). The herm **[NC28]** is also male, since the erect penis is displayed, while the kalathos/polos on the head is not very common for male herms.[750] It is interesting to point out here that the Gaul figurine was placed in a female grave, based on osteological analysis, which indicates that the terracottas' iconography does not necessarily have to comply with the sex of the deceased.

The plaggones are a typical offering in child burials, even though in Demetrias we only have one with secure context (**[527]**), at least two or three more were discovered in the North and South Cemeteries respectively. **[527]** and **[NC33]** are shown with the arms attached to the body and the legs together, but they are portrayed with slightly different hairstyles, although both with long hair falling to the shoulders; the former with a thick wreath on top; the latter with a bot-knot.[751] The existence of a male plaggon in the Old Collection of the VM (**[520]**) could perhaps point to the placement of a female and male pair inside the grave, a phenomenon which is observed in other areas.[752]

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[743] **[531, NC21]**.
[744] **[532, 533, 534, 536]**.
[745] **[NC22]**.
[746] **[530]**.
[747] **[542]**.
[748] **[537, 538]**.
[749] **[539, NC31]**.
[750] For example Stewart 2017, fig.27 (modern cast from mould depicting a female herm wearing a polos); Adam-Veleni et al. 2017, 389, no.476, for a male herm wearing a polos, which was attached to the back of a child playing with a bird (from Arethoussa). The polos on male herms can be seen in examples from Pergamon (Kielau 2018, 198).
[751] The bow-knot hairstyle on plaggones can be seen in the late Hellenistic period: Bosnakis 2014, 164 and figs.7-13; also Dusenbery 1998, 225, in a Late Hellenistic burial. A similar figurine, but not from the same mould, was discovered at Mikrothebes (Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 169, no.252, pl.43).
[752] Huysecom-Haxhi et al. 2012, 356; McK Elderkin 1930, 470–472, no.2; Breitenstein 1941, 29, 268–269, pl.28; Laumonier 1956, 149–150, nos.425–426; Lazarides 1960, 66, 72–81, no.B92, pl.23; Mollard-Besques 1963, 140, pl.171a; Töpperwein 1976, 60, no.231; Miller 1991, 46–47, fig.10; Vierneisel-Schlörb 1997, 50–57,

Theatrical terracottas are present in all the cemeteries. **[528]** probably depicts the *hegemon therapon*,[753] while the grave from the South Cemetery yielded a running slave (**[515]**) and two examples of the *panchrestos neaniskos* (**[513, 514]**). These three figurines do not seem to constitute an iconographic programme within the grave.

The only animal figurine that is recorded comes from the child Grave 36 from the East Cemetery. In fact, animal figurines are primarily discovered in child burials all over the Greek world, but the scarcity at Demetrias is noteworthy.[754]

Turning to the interpretation of terracottas in funerary contexts, theatrical terracottas in graves have been seen as indications that the deceased was an initiate in the cult of Dionysos;[755] objects related to eschatological beliefs for the afterlife;[756] indications that the deceased was an actor;[757] symbols of transformation and of rites-of-passage from adolescence to adulthood or from life to death;[758] as apotropaic symbols.[759] It is interesting to point out that at least **[528]** was placed in a child's grave. This is a common practice in many other areas of the Greek world and would thus exclude the interpretation as indications that the deceased was an actor or involved with the theatre.[760] According to Bonanno-Aravantinos and Pisani, the co-existence

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nos.175–176, pl.32; Lilimpaki-Akamati 2008, 89, no.118, pl.19; Jeammet 2010, 167, no.126; Mitsopoulos-Leon 2015, nos.12-16, pl.2.

[753] Chapter 7 for analysis of the iconographic type.

[754] Huysecom-Haxhi 2003; Katakouta and Stamatopoulou 2013, 86, fig.4b, connected to an *enagismos* ritual and discovered with a baby-feeder which might indicate a child burial; Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2014, 218; Selekou 2015; Tolun 2015, 379.

[755] Karapanou and Katakouta 2004, 119.

[756] Bernabò Brea 1981, 21-27; Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2014, 233-234.

[757] Lilimpaki-Akamati 1994, 237; Graepler 1997, 116-119,173-175,178-193,195-196, 211-212, 231-233, 243-244, 248; Karapanou and Katakouta 2004, 119; Mathieux 2010a, 145; Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2014, 233-234.

[758] Mrogenda 1996, 139-141; Lucchese 2005, 452-453; Bouffier 2012, 141-143.

[759] Burr-Thompson 1934, 77; Lilimpaki-Akamati 1994, 237.

[760] In Kerameikos, a child burial contained a figurine portraying the *hegemon therapon* (Lucchese 2005, 438-439, with previous bibliography); At Dion, two theatrical masks found in a child burial along with five more figurines (Adam-Veleni et al. 2017, 414, nos.531-532); "Tomb C" at Myrina contained five theatrical figurines and could belong to a child (Mathieux 2010a); At Pelinna, a figurine of an actor-slave seated on an altar was on the lid of a sarcophagus containing the bones of a woman and a child, along with two gold orphic lamellae (Karapanou and Katakouta 2004, 120-123; Kravaritou and Stamatopoulou 2018, 151-152, figs.7.10-7.11); in the East

of theatrical and child figurines in graves alludes to the importance of theatre in children's education in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods,[761] but whether or not theatre was part of the "curriculum" in these periods is unclear. We should not forget the importance of Dionysos in the transition to different life stages, as at the Anthesteria and the well-known dedication of *choes*.[762] I would suggest that the theatrical figurines could function in a similar way.[763] This would solve the problem of the existence of theatrical figurines in children's graves, but it does not apply to adult burials.

Plaggones are also a much-discussed category of figurines in graves with wide-ranging interpretations.[764] They are only present in child burials. Although there is disagreement on whether they were actual toys in real life or not, most scholars agree that they were symbols of the premature death, since they were dedicated by girls in sanctuaries before their wedding.[765]

Eros figurines in graves have been interpreted as "*psychai* or *daimones*", as well as symbols of the blessed "Hereafter" and of hope.[766] The Nikai in grave contexts are also seen in a similar light.[767]

Cemetery of Pella, a female actor figurine was placed in a cist grave containing a rich burial of a three year old child (Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2014, 74-82); the same can be said for the Vergina cist tomb K3, where a young girl and a child were buried (Kottaridi 1990, 35-37); at Kassandreia, a comic actor figurine was discovered in grave B, belonging to a young girl (Sismanidis 1997, 302-307); at Apollonia Pontica a child burial yielded theatrical and grotesque figurines (Koeller and Panayotova 2010, 263, fig.6, grave 283); a grave in the North-eastern cemetery of Thebes yielded numerous figurines of actors and children (Bonanno-Aravantinos and Pisani 2009); at Lipari, theatrical masks also appear in relation to child burials (Schwarzmaier 2011, 128-132).

Theatrical terracottas in adult graves do exist, but the identification of the deceased as an actor is impossible without epigraphic evidence. At Phthiotic Thebes, a small theatrical mask was discovered in a grave, which according to Theocharis and Chourmouziadis belonged to an actor, based on a grave stele found in the cemetery, but as they stress this should remain hypothetical, because the stele was not in situ (Theocharis and Chourmouziadis 1970, 206-207, fig.6).

[761] Bonanno-Aravantinos and Pisani 2009, 423-425.

[762] Parker 2005, 290-316.

[763] Graepler 1997, 232.

[764] Bosnakis 2014, 166-167.

[765] Graepler 1997; Reilly 1997; Peppa-Papaioannou 2003, 202–203; Dasen 2004; Papaikonomou 2006; Rumscheid 2006, 223–227; Papaikonomou 2008; Proskynitopoulou 2011; Huysecom-Haxhi et al. 2012; Bosnakis 2014; Griesbach 2014; Schwarzmaier 2015.

[766] Huguenot 2001; 2008; Bosnakis 2009. Mrogenda 1996, 121-135, for Myrina.

[767] Mrogenda 1996, 136-138.

Attis figurines in funerary contexts have received several interpretations; indications that the deceased was an initiate in the cult of Cybele and Attis,[768] or of a premature death.[769] One should not forget his mythology, a youth who died in order to be reborn and take his place next to his divine lover Cybele.[770] This would make him a symbol for eschatological beliefs and life in the Underworld.[771]

The herm **[NC28]** is another interesting case. Clay herms are rare offerings in graves and have not received much attention.[772] Could they perhaps allude to the gymnasium, considering its significance, especially in Macedonia?[773] Kazakidi has put forward an interpretation for posthumous dedications of herms in Hellenistic and Roman gymnasia, suggesting that they were dedicated in instances where a youth died before completion of his ephebate.[774] Terracotta herms with clearly indicated individualised features were discovered in Amphipolis.[775] The figurine from the North Cemetery has no visible "portrait-features", but I do not believe that this should hinder its interpretation as a symbol of premature death before the completion of the ephebate. Since its exact find-spot is unknown this should remain only a hypothesis. An alternative interpretation would be to connect the herm with those depicted on the painted stelai

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[768] Naoum 2017.
[769] Bosnakis 2009.
[770] Vermaseren 1966, 31-38.
[771] Naoum 2017, 147, reaches a similar conclusion, but rather than eschatological, she saw the presence of Attis figurines as chthonic.
[772] For example: Mollard-Besques 1963, pls.99-100, from Myrina; Tsakos 1977, 380, no.6, 385, nos.10-11, pls.133ζ-134γ-δ, from a rock-cut tomb at Samos; Vierneisel-Schlörb 1997, nos.253-258, pl.50; Dusenbery 1998, 464, H20-4; Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, 271, no.350, pl.96, but depicts Priapus on a herm. Several herms were discovered in Late Hellenistic graves at Parion and they are interpreted as Hermes Psychopompos (Kasapoglu 2015, 186-188).
Several herms have been discovered at Pergamon but in religious and domestic contexts (Kielau 2018, 195-197); only one terracotta herm from Pergamon possibly comes from a grave context (Töpperwein 1976, no.546, pl.79); for Priene: Rumscheid 2006, pls.151-155. Adam-Veleni et al. 2017, 387, no.473, from a domestic context in Florina.
[773] Psoma 2006; Hatzopoulos 2016.
[774] Kazakidi 2018.
[775] Presented by P. Malama, I. Vasileiadou and N. Vasilikoudis at the International Symposium "Το Ειδώλιο στο Βορειοελλαδικό Χώρο από την Προϊστορία έως τους Ρωμαϊκούς Χρόνους" on 12/10/2018.

from Demetrias, referred to as Hermes Chthonios.[776] The polos on our figurine would make it more likely that it portrays a deity.[777] If this is the case, then the herm-figurines would function as a symbol of the journey to the underworld.

Aphrodite's presence in graves had been connected with chthonic cults,[778] mostly inspired by Papachatzis' interpretation of Pasikrata as "Aphrodite of the Dead".[779] However, in the light of the re-investigation of the material from the sanctuary it is evident that such an identification is not valid.[780] Thus, the figurines of Aphrodite should be rather seen as kourotrophic images of divine status.[781] This is especially evident when one considers that the moulds used for these figurines depict mortal women carrying babies, but the divine character is overlaid by the addition of the wings, immediately transforming the baby into Eros. The pillar depicted next to the goddess has been interpreted by Tsakalou-Tzanavari as a symbol of the grave, at least for the figurines from Veroia.[782] But, it also appears in cultic contexts (for example Type T, and Aphrodite type A), thus I do not believe that the deity is shown visiting the grave.

The seated group of women (**[NC14, NC25]**) provides insights into a debated interpretation of group figures, mainly two women.[783] In the past scholars were quick to identify two female figures as Demeter and Persephone.[784] However, in some examples of

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[776] Rückert 1998, 172-176; Rumscheid 2006, 329, support the interpretation of herms in graves as Hermes Chthonios; for Hermes Chthonios: Stamatopoulou 1999, 162-163; Avagianou 2002; Kravaritou 2011a, 119; Stamatopoulou 2014, 226; Mili 2015, 274-278; Kravaritou 2016a, 141; Kravaritou and Stamatopoulou 2018, 144, 147, 149; Stamatopoulou 2018b, 397-398.
[777] Arvanitopoulos 1928, pl.VI.
[778] Primarily Lilimpaki-Akamati 1994; Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, 223; Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2014, 224–225.
[779] Papachatzis 1958a.
[780] Stamatopoulou 2014. See Chapter 2A.
[781] Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, 229.
[782] *ibid*, 227.
[783] Uhlenbrock 2016b, for the "goddess bias" in coroplastic research. She discusses Archaic terracottas, but some of the discussion also applies for Hellenistic examples.
[784] For example: Burn and Higgins 2001, 117-118, no.2274, although they also provide a second interpretation as mortal women; Acheilara 2006, 251-252, nos.181-183; Tsakos and Giannakopoulos 2014, 239-240, fig.5; Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2014, 225-226; Adam-Veleni et al. 2017, nos.313,327, 547.

female pairs it is clear that the moulds used for one or both figures are the same as those used for common Tanagras.[785] The figures in most cases lack any insignia that would identify them as the two Eleusinian deities. This is especially evident in the case of the Demetrias specimens. The two women wear common clothes and their hair and headdresses are typical for the depictions of mortal women, for instance the tegidion. The stance of one woman sitting on the lap of the other also does not seem appropriate for portraying two deities. Furthermore, there is usually no differentiation in the depiction of age, as with the case of the figurine from the North Cemetery. Several scholars have suggested that these depictions are "narratives of friendship",[786] representations of mother and daughter,[787] or depictions of "nuptial preparations".[788] I am more inclined to agree with the last interpretation, especially for the Demetrias and Myrina examples. The scene of a woman on another woman's lap can be seen on vase painting depictions of nuptial preparations (**Pl.78, Figs.35-36**).[789] Thus, the coroplastic type under discussion could represent the *nympheutria* and the bride on her lap. The fruit on the figure's lap (**[NC14]**) could represent the *mēlon*, the fruit (apple or quince) which the bride had to eat before her marriage was consummated.[790] The figurine then functioned as a symbol of the social roles that the deceased did not fulfil because of the untimely death.

A similar function could be assigned to the seated woman on a rock (**[NC10]**).[791] On vase-painting such figures have been interpreted as Muses and connected to nuptial scenes.[792]

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[785] For example: Burn and Higgins 2001, 229-230, no.2728, pl.118; Tsakos and Giannakopoulos 2014, 239-240, fig.5.
[786] Masséglia 2015, 149-150.
[787] Nikolaou 2012, 358.
[788] Şare Ağtürk and Arslan 2015, 43-45, but compare the scene to the Polyxena sarcophagus.
[789] Delivorrias 1984, no.210; Oakley and Sinos 1993, 18, figs.28-29; Stafford 1997 (although argues against a wedding scene); Sutton 1997, figs.19 and 24; Boardman 1989, nos.298, 308; Hermary 2010, 190–193, pls.91–92; 2012, 250, fig.9; Reitzammer 2016, 52-58, figs.13, 21, although interprets the scenes as the *epaulia* (gift giving), instead of the nuptial preparations; Martin 2019, 231-232, fig.15.7.
[790] Masséglia 2018, 381-382, n.51.
[791] Nikolaou 2012, 354, no.A.2.2, fig.9.
[792] Dietrich 2010, 459-479; Avronidaki 2014, 92-93, n.80-82, with collected bibliography.

The child holding grapes away from a cockerel (**[NC30]**) is a very common iconographic type in the Hellenistic period and is depicted in a variety of media, from terracottas to marble stelai. It has been connected to the world of Dionysos and rites-of-passage,[793] as well as depictions of childhood.[794]

The paidagogoi seem appropriate figures to accompany children since they are common finds in child burials.[795] Masséglia has interpreted them as functioning *"in loco parentis"*, taking the parents' place in the grave and the sanctuary, as well as connected to popular ideas of education.[796] The fact that our example is shown holding a scroll definitely strengthens the connection to education that was a very important aspect in Hellenistic society and thought.[797]

The only figurine that is likely identified with Pluto is **[503]** but as it survives in a very fragmentary state this remains a hypothesis.

Conclusions

The terracottas from the cemeteries of Demetrias provide invaluable information about the burial rites in the city, as well as in the Hellenistic world. It is evident that the placement of figurines in graves follows the patterns observed in other sites, regarding the number of graves where figurines are found, the sex of the deceased, which is primarily women and children, the placement in the grave. We can observe in a few cases the use of the figurines in rituals such as in the cremation process and perhaps *enagismoi*. The iconography of the terracottas is typical of the period, especially to the Macedonian ones. It seems that the practice

[793] Mathieux 2015, with collected bibliography.
[794] Papaikonomou 2006, 243.
[795] Lilimpaki-Akamati 1983; Schulze 1998, 42-50; Lilimpaki-Akamati 2017, 39-40; Tsimpidou-Avloniti 2017.
[796] Masséglia 2015, 218-219.
[797] Zanker 1995.

of placing terracottas in graves is less common in the rest of Thessaly. With the exception of Pluto, the herm, Eros, and Nike, the other terracottas do not have any clear symbolism for the Underworld, but some could be seen as "projections" of gender and age roles onto the deceased.

Chapter 6: Case Study: The Kausia-boy figurines from Demetrias

One of the most popular iconographic types in Demetrias is that of the kausia-boys.[798] They depict standing boys and youths, wearing a kausia, a chlamys clasped on their right shoulder, often a chiton underneath (although some are nude under the chlamys) and krepides.[799] They are present in the Pasikrata sanctuary, the *Favissa*, the foundations of the Anaktoron, and the cemeteries. Demetrias has yielded the highest number of these figurines, with more than 100 examples belonging to 13 types, even though it is a relatively common iconographic type all over the Mediterranean. My primary objective here is to re-examine this iconographic type and its interpretation, drawing from a wide range of media and materials, its distribution geographically and by context, and finally its significance in the Hellenistic world.

Most of the dateable types are placed in the 3rd c.[800] Two specimens from the North Cemetery were discovered in graves dated in the 2nd c.,[801] which proves that the iconographic type continued to be created well into this century.

The kausia-boys were a popular coroplastic type in the Hellenistic period as they are found all over the Hellenistic world. Apart from Demetrias, they are known from Macedonia (Pella,[802] Thessaloniki (Gefira),[803] Agios Athanassios,[804] Nea Potidea,[805] Pydna,[806]

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[798] For a detailed discussion of the following: Ieremias forthcoming b.
[799] Chapter 7 for a detailed presentation of each type.
[800] Chapter 7.
[801] Chapter 5.
[802] Chrysostomou 2008, 645-646; 2011, 261, 265-267. Also Naoum 2017, 147-151; Lilimpaki-Akamati 1994, no.224; Poulakakis 2002, no.8, pl.7.
[803] Korti-Konti 1994, 139-140; Adam-Veleni et al. 2017, 435, nos.579-580 (Koukouvou); Tsimpidou-Avloniti et al. 2001, 227, fig.9, from a child's cist tomb.
[804] Misaelidou-Despotidou 2014, 107, no.101.
[805] *ibid*, 108-109, nos.104-105.
[806] Bessios 2010, 224; Noulas 2014, 413, in Grave 2, dated to between 320-310.

Akanthos,[807] and Amphipolis),[808] Athens and Tanagra,[809] the Aegean Islands (Samothrace,[810] Lemnos,[811] Lesvos,[812] and Delos),[813] Asia Minor (Troy,[814] Pergamon,[815] Myrina,[816] Aiolian Aigai,[817] and Xanthos),[818] Thrace (Varna and Callatis),[819] Mesopotamia (Seleucia-on-Tigris,[820] Babylon,[821] Susa),[822] the Levant (Kharayeb,[823] Phoenician Ptolemais,[824] Tel Dor,[825] Maresha),[826] Cyprus (Amathus),[827] Egypt (Alexandria and Tanis),[828] and in the West, in Morgantina.[829]

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[807] Misaelidou-Despotidou 2014, 107, no.100.

[808] Malama et al. 2000, 74 and 82, fig.4; Malama 2000, 70, fig.20; Veymiers 2009, 491-492, fig.11, from the "Koukles" Sanctuary.

[809] Athens: Burn and Higgins 2001, 36, no.2011-12, pl.2; Rühfel 1984, 205, fig.83. Tanagra: Burn and Higgins 2001, 64, no.2118, pl.21; Vaphopoulou-Richardson 1991, 25, no.26. The terracottas of the so-called Menon's Cistern at the Areiopagos (Miller 1974, 196-245) wear a headdress that seems different from the representations of kausiai; Hornung-Bertemes 1997, 196, n.50; Rotroff 2003, 221, do not consider it a kausia.

[810] Dusenbery 1998, 867-876, 847-854. The burial was very rich, containing, apart from figurines, two gold wreaths, 82 knucklebones, 52 glass game counters, unguentaria, and various pots.

[811] Charitonidis 1963, 265, pl.304; Greco and Ficuciello 2012, 163–164; Ficuciello 2013, 254–255, fig.116.

[812] Acheilara 2006, 345, nos.416-417; no.416 has the rolled band of the kausia but on top of it there are pedals of plants, whereas no.417, seems to have the same kausia as Pydna and Athens.

[813] Laumonier 1956, 178, 218, nos.591, 876, pls.58, 77, respectively.

[814] Burr-Thompson 1963c, 86. Nos.52, 54-57, from "the north slope of the citadel with seven figures of female votaries"; No.53 "from near the Sanctuary".

[815] Töpperwein 1976, tab.76, 569.

[816] Mollard-Besques 1963, nos.MYRINA1458, pl.168, MYRINA1584-MYRINA1584, pl.226; Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, nos.954-955, pl.125; Jeammet 2010, 206, no.167. A few more fragments in Leiden are said to originate from Aeolis and Ionia, (Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, nos.1123-1133, 1137-1138, 1206-1209.

[817] Dereboylu 2012, 442-443, nos.K.353-355, pls.71-73, terracotta plaques depicting a horse-rider wearing the kausia.

[818] Le Roy 1986, 300; Mellink 1988, 120 and fig.17.

[819] Varna: Petkova 2012; Callatis: Canarache 1969.

[820] Menegazzi 2014, 258, no.7.G74; 286-287, nos.9.G12-9.G28; 295, nos.9.G154-9.G155; 479-482, nos.14.G69-14.G118; for the contexts: *ibid*, 43-448; 286-287.

[821] Karvonen-Kannas 1995, nos.381, 406, 462-464, 478, pls.61, 63, 66-67; Klengel-Brandt and Cholidis 2006, nos.1712-1798, 3131-3136, 3976-3997, pls.73-77, 139, 155; also Langin-Hooper 2011.

[822] Martinez-Sève 2002, 543-548, 771. She also considers that a series of modelled riders wearing a flat hat are also kausia-wearers (*ibid*, 460-482).

[823] Chehab 1951, 65, nos.912-915 (pl.LXXIII, 3); Oggiano 2015a; 2015b.

[824] Erlich 2009, 43-46.

[825] Erlich 2010, 128, no.46.

[826] Erlich and Kloner 2008, 37-38, nos. 98-100; Erlich 2009, 55, fig.77.

[827] Queyrel 1988, 238, no.979, pl.82.

[828] Alexandria: Breccia 1912, nos.217, 224, pls.LXXIII, LXXIII, respectively; Adriani 1952, 36, pl.XVII,3; Kassab-Tezgör 2007, 211-213; nos.18, 98-100, 124-130, 151-152, 170, 177, 223, pls.17, 37, 43-44, 52, 56, 58, 67; A few heads exist in museum collections: Pingiatoglou 1993, 156, 158, 162, 164, nos.352, 357, 372-373, 380, respectively; Bailey 2008, 147, no.3551, pl.102; 148-149, no.3556, pl.102 for a figurine of a "an actor in the role of a soldier"; no.3233, pl.41, for a phallic figurine wearing the kausia. Tanis: Dunand 1990, 212-213, nos.571-574 (perhaps also nos.575-578).

[829] Bell 1981, 209, no.702, pl.113.

Compared to Demetrias, the majority of the kausia-boy figurines has been found in funerary contexts. In the better documented cases, they seem to come from burials of children or adolescents. At least in Pydna and Samothrace, the kausia-boy figurines accompanied rich burials. Apart from Demetrias kausia-boys in religious contexts were discovered at Myrina on Lemnos, Seleucia-on-Tigris, Kharayeb, Ptolemais, Xanthos, as well as potentially Maresha and Morgantina (Troy will be discussed below). The Seleucia-on-Tigris, Kharayeb and Ptolemais cult places have been connected with kourotrophic deities, protecting both boys and girls, but cannot be neatly identified with a specific deity.[830] Even though in most places the representation of the iconographic type is similar (standing young boys, wearing kausia, short-sleeved chiton and chlamys), Demetrias uses different moulds compared to other regions, indicating a local production, at least for this iconographic type.

The Kausia in other media

Kausia-wearers are not limited to terracottas, but are also depicted in painting, mosaics, bronze statuary and tombstones. Their findspots suggest that the imagery was widespread throughout the Hellenistic World.[831] From the collection of depictions of the kausia on painting and other media,[832] it is evident that in most cases it is used by Macedonians, but not limited to this ethnic group. The wearers are depicted either as young boys or hunters as in the cases

[830] See above n.325.
[831] Kalaitzi 2016, 51-54; Dintsis 1986, 304-312, for a catalogue of monuments depicting the kausia. The following list of monuments is by no means exhaustive, but only indicative, using the monuments that are securely identified as depictions of the kausia.
[832] Kalaitzi 2016, 51-54, for grave stelai.

of the Vergina and Agios Athanassios friezes;[833] adults, as in the Alexandria tombstones,[834] the Agios Athanassios megalographic figures,[835] a bronze head from Kalymnos,[836] and the Alexander Mosaic;[837] or in the case of the Boscoreale fresco it is a symbol to allude to Macedonia.[838] Kalaitzi notes that the use of Macedonian dress by non-Macedonians, and of the kausia in particular, could have indicated a conscious political decision.[839]

In Demetrias, a number of grave stelai depict individuals wearing the kausia,[840] such as the painted stele of Parmeniskos, son of Alexandros, from Epirus,[841] or the stele of Antigenes which depicts the deceased as a trumpeter, wearing a broader-rimmed kausia.[842] There is often difficulty in distinguishing between the kausia and petasos, as on the stele of Herodotus Peneis, where a mother and a son are depicted, the latter young, beardless, in the typical Macedonian dress.[843] As Stamatopoulou has noted, the ethnic groups that are portrayed wearing the kausia on the painted stelai are not necessarily Macedonians.[844]

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[833] "Philip's" Tomb: Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1993, 140; Prestigianni Giallombardo 1991; Hatzopoulos 1994, 95-99, identifies them as *basilikoi neaniskoi*; Palagia 2000, 199; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2004, 64-65; Franks 2012, 20-21; Miller 2015, 192-194. Agios Athanassios: Tsibidou-Avloniti 2002; Tsimpidou-Avloniti 2005, 138–139; Brecoulaki 2006, 263-298.

[834] Rouveret 2004, 45-46, no.3; Brown 1957, 24-25, no.16, pl.X; Cole 2019, 4-6, no.2, figs.2-4; 9-11, no.5, figs.8-9.

[835] Tsimpidou-Avloniti 2005, 142-147.

[836] Daehner and Lapatin 2015, 195 (Bairami); Palagia 2017, interprets the head as a Hellenistic king.

[837] Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1993, 136; Cohen 1997.

[838] Smith 1994, 109; *contra*: Palagia 2014, 213-215.

[839] Kalaitzi 2016, 54.

[840] Stamatopoulou 2018a, 365, n.155.

[841] Arvanitopoulos 1909b, 232-234, no.46; he mentions that the hat is the same as in stelai nos.10, 29 and 43. Stamatopoulou 1999, 175-176, n.871.

[842] Arvanitopoulos 1909b, 128-133, no.10; Stamatopoulou 2018b, 392-392, fig.31.7.

[843] Arvanitopoulos 1909b, 194-199, mostly 197, no.29; Stamatopoulou 1999, vol.2, colour.pl.4d, pl.49d.

[844] Stamatopoulou 2016, 441; 2018a, 363–365; 2018b, 391, nn.39 and 396.

Interpretation of the kausia-boy figurines

Burr-Thompson in her book on the Hellenistic terracottas of Troy interpreted the type as depicting boys who wear the Macedonian attire of kausia, chlamys and sleeved chiton, associating them with the cult of Demeter or Cybele.[845] In addition, she supposed that their stance indicated the "respectful silence" that might have been performed during the cults of these goddesses, especially since they are both mystery cults.[846] The figurines were unearthed at the north slope of the citadel and only one from a sanctuary, that excavators assumed belonged to one of the two goddesses, comparing the finds with other sanctuaries of the two deities. Since Burr-Thompson's monograph, scholars have taken for granted that this type should be connected with the cult of these two goddesses. Thus, kausia figurines have been often linked with the cult of Demeter or interpreted as temple-boys, even when the contexts of discovery are non-religious, as in Samothrace,[847] Lesvos,[848] Alexandria,[849] Athens,[850] Nea Potidea.[851] Miller identified the terracottas from Menon's Cistern in Athens as belonging to a sanctuary of Demeter. That was because Burr-Thompson had identified a nearby cistern (Demeter Cistern) as belonging to a sanctuary of Demeter.[852] In the same publication, Miller tentatively suggested that the sanctuary of Pasikrata in Demetrias was really a Demeter sanctuary, because of the existence of the kausia-boys, a suggestion which was later taken on by Batziou-Efstathiou.[853]

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[845] Previously Sjöqvist 1955, 45-47, believed that the kausia-boy type represented acolytes in the service of the Paphian Aphrodite.
[846] Burr-Thompson 1963, 53-54 and 85-86.
[847] Dusenbery 1998, 863-864, 866.
[848] Acheilara 2006.
[849] Pingiatoglou 1993.
[850] Miller 1974.
[851] Misaelidou-Despotidou 2014, 109, no.105.
[852] Burr-Thompson 1954, 87-107.
[853] Miller 1974, 216; Batziou-Efstathiou 2010, 190.

Chrysostomou, followed by Naoum, identified the kausia-boy figurines as depicting Macedonian boys or youths, connected with the cult of Attis, because they were found in two graves together with figurines of Attis.[854] Such an association seems unfounded based on the evidence from other regions thus far, and might only represent the religious beliefs of the individual or their family.

I think that the iconographic type of the kausia-boys cannot be connected with the cult of Demeter or the Mother-of-the-Gods, at least in Demetrias. Outside Demetrias this iconographic type is absent from key sanctuaries of Demeter,[855] such as Dion,[856] Pella,[857] the City Eleusinion at Athens,[858] Kythnos,[859] Eretria,[860] Corinth,[861] Priene[862] but also of the Mother-of-the-Gods, at Aegae, Pella and Leukopetra.[863] As Poulakakis has noted, the iconographic type does not appear in sanctuaries of Attis either.[864] In Demetrias the kausia figurines are found in the deposit of the Sanctuary of Pasikrata and in burials, mostly of children. The so-called "Thesmophorion" and the Sanctuary of the Mother-of-the-Gods in the city have not yielded any figurines of this type so far.[865] The *Favissa*, as I have shown above, should no-longer be connected to a Thesmophorion, but rather seems to be associated with a kourotrophic cult.[866]

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[854] Chrysostomou 2011, 261; Naoum 2017.
[855] Poulakakis 2002, 222, is also hesitant to accept Burr-Thompson's theory about the boys serving Demeter and/or Cybele.
[856] Pingiatoglou 2015.
[857] Lilimpaki-Akamati 1996.
[858] Miles 1998.
[859] Mitsopoulou 2005; Mitsopoulou 2007.
[860] Metzger 1985.
[861] Merker 2000; the absence is also evident in the publications about the sanctuaries of Demeter in the Greek world: Leventi and Mitsopoulou 2010; Daffa-Nikonanou 1973, even though the material discussed is Archaic and Classical.
[862] Rumscheid 2006.
[863] Drougou 2011b; Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000; Stefani 2010; 2017.
[864] Poulakakis 2002, 222.
[865] Batziou-Efstathiou 2010; Batziou-Efstathiou forthcoming.
[866] Chapter 2B.

It has also been suggested that the gesture of the hands wrapped inside the chlamys might indicate a rite that could be connected with the farewell of the warrior.[867] However, this interpretation does not apply when one considers the findspots of these figurines, mostly in children's graves, or the young age that the figurines represent. The stance of the figurines with the arms inside the chlamys can be better interpreted by a passage from Artemidorus (*Oneirocritica* I.54).[868] He mentions that ephebes should keep one arm inside the chlamys, in order to behave prudently, making them slow in acts and speeches, and avoid big gestures. Indeed, this could have been the goal of the coroplasts when creating this iconographic type; to portray a prudent and well-mannered youth.

Hornung-Bertemes suggested that by the dedication of the figurines to the deity the parents were praying that their children would become part of the prestigious body of the ephebes. She accepted however that there is no limitation to the context of a single deity and that there is no indication why these garments are linked to the service of Demeter. In addition, she claimed that the arm gesture of the figurines from Demetrias in combination with the kausia might indicate a rite-of-passage, as it would have been a universally recognized symbol.[869] Both Janssen and Hornung-Bertemes tentatively suggest that the kausia-boy figurines might be participants in a rite-of-passage.[870] However, they both failed to provide actual material evidence for this.

Noulas tentatively suggested that the iconographic type may be linked to the social status of the family of the dedicator and the deceased, perhaps connected to the Macedonian officer

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[867] Hamdorf 1996, 101; Burns and Higgins 2001, 65, no.2120.

[868] Παντὶ δὲ χειροτέχνη καὶ ῥήτορι σχολὴν και ἀργίαν εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν σημαίνει˙χρὴ γὰρ τὸ ἔφηβον ἐν τῇ χλαμύδη τὴν δεξιὰν ἔχειν ἐνειλημμένην διὰ τὸ ἀργὴν εἶναι εἰς ἔργα καὶ λόγους εἰς ἐνιατὸν καὶ μὴ προϊέναι τὴν χεῖρα. ἐνιαυτόν δὲ εἶπον διὰ τῆς ἐφηβίας χρόνον.

[869] Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 93.

[870] Janssen 2007, 251; Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 93.

rank.[871] While I do not disagree, this could only be supported for the Pydna figurine, which was discovered in a rich grave.

We could suggest that the dedicators might have been linked to the Macedonians. All the sites where these figurines have been found had a strong Macedonian connection, either being capitals of the Hellenistic world (Pella, Demetrias, Alexandria, Seleucia-on-Tigris, Pergamon), situated in Macedonia (Akanthos, Thessaloniki, Agios Athanassios, Nea Potidea, Pydna, Amphipolis), or display strong Macedonian (or Ptolemaic and Seleucid) influence (Lesvos, Samothrace, Delos, Kharayeb, Tell Dor, Maresha, Babylon, Susa, Odessos and Callatis).[872] Whether these figurines depicted Macedonians is very difficult to answer, especially since most finds outside Macedonia lack secure contexts or epigraphic evidence. Rotroff had suggested that perhaps they depicted "Macedonian sympathisers" in the Hellenistic world.[873] Even though the kausia might have started as a high-ranking headdress of the Macedonian army, it was used as a "fashion trend" in the Hellenistic period after Alexander's campaigns and eventually became a headgear worn by people connected to the Hellenistic monarchy and rulers.[874] The evidence of the painted stelai from Demetrias demonstrates that the "Macedonian dress" was not necessarily worn only by Macedonians, but also by people who inhabited there and chose to be represented in that manner, whether they were Macedonians or part of the Macedonian administration and army.

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[871] Noulas 2014, 412-413.

[872] Lesvos was under Macedonian influence since 324 BC, when Alexander liberated Mytilene and the rest of the Lesbian cities from tyranny and established democratic governments. After Alexander's death, the island was under the influence of his successors, first Lysimachos, then the Ptolemies and lastly the Seleucids (Archontidou-Argyri 2006, 120; Dimopoulou-Piliouni 2015, 211-212). In addition, the grave described in Archontidou-Argyri 1988, 459, that has yielded some of the kausia-boys, seems to display burial rites close to those from Macedonia. Kharayeb was also under Ptolemaic influence (Chehab 1951-1952, 79; Castiglione 2019). The Thracian sites were under Macedonian rule and it is believed that there might have been a Macedonian garrison in Callatis (Stefan and Sîrbu 2016, 217-219, with previous bibliography).

[873] Rotroff 2003, 220-221. She also suggested that the coroplast might be a "Macedonian enthusiast", but I find this less convincing, as it would not take into account the demand for such a type.

[874] Hornung-Bertemes 1997, 197; Poulakakis 2002, 224.

As Stamatopoulou and others have shown, Pasikrata should be seen as a koutrophic deity that protected important life passages.[875] The other sanctuaries which have yielded kausia-boys also have a strong kourotrophic aspect in their cult. At Seleucia-on-Tigris some of these figurines were discovered in Tell Umar, a temple of a fertility-healing deity that yielded female figurines and a large number of figurines of children.[876] The Kharayeb sanctuary has also been interpreted as a kourotrophic cult,[877] perhaps even involving rites-of-passage.[878] The figurines from the *favissa* at Myrina on Lemnos also display strong kourotrophic aspects,[879] as does the coroplastic assemblage at the Letoon.[880]

Concerning the age of the figurines depicted one could once again turn to epigraphic evidence. The Ephebarchical Law of Amphipolis provides invaluable information about all aspects of the ephebes' life in Macedonia.[881] In the section regarding the clothing of ephebes, it is clearly stated that their "uniform" should consist of the chiton, chlamys, krepides and the petasos.[882] This "uniform" can be seen in terracotta figurines of youths, aged at the end of, or after their teenage years, such as a figurine in the BM.[883] Therefore, the kausia wearing figurines that are shown in an earlier stage of their life, pre-pubescent or in their early teen years, might in fact represent the *paides* of the Macedonian society, which coincide with the portrayed age group.[884] Indeed, the round contours of the figurines' faces in relation to the posture and musculature of their bodies do indicate an age between 12-15/16 years of age,

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[875] Stamatopoulou 2014, 232-233. Also Garcia Ramon and Helly 2007, 307; Kravaritou 2016a, 140-141; 2018, 390-391.
[876] Menegazzi and Messina 2011, 133-134.
[877] Bobou 2015, 90; Oggiano 2015a; 2015b.
[878] Bonnet 2015, 245-250.
[879] Charitonidis 1963, 265, pl.304; Greco and Ficuciello 2012, 163–164; Ficuciello 2013, 254–255, fig.116.
[880] Mellink 1988, 120 and fig.17. The kausia-boy figurine was discovered in a terracotta deposit in a niche, also including figurines of kourotrophoi, draped women, a boy on horseback and a 6th c. kore.
[881] Lazaridou 2015; Hatzopoulos 2016; 2017; Arnaoutoglou 2019.
[882] Lazaridou 2015, 23. Lines 33-35 (φορείτωσαν δὲ χιτῶνα, χλαμύδα, ὑποδήματα δὲ ἐχέτωσαν, κρηπεῖδας ἐχέτωσαν καὶ πέτασον καὶ τόξον καὶ ακόντια μὴ ἔλασσον ἢ τρία).
[883] Burn and Higgins 2001, 64-65, no.2119.
[884] For the different age groups: Gauthier and Hatzopoulos 1993, 70; Psoma 2006, 291-292.

perhaps even younger. For instance, kausia types C and F are portrayed at a fairly young age, because of their soft bodies and rounded facial contours, perhaps even before 12 years old. Types A and B are shown around the age of 12 and 14 years old. Finally, the types E, G, H, I, are portrayed with sharper facial contours and their musculature is more fitting to a more mature adolescent of around 14 to 16 years old.[885]

The shoulder-length hair could point to the *θρεπτήριος κόμη*, the hair grown for the ritual cutting and dedication. This practice was connected to rites-of-passage, such as the Koureion in the Athenian Apatouria,[886] when boys would cut their hair and dedicate it to the deity, marking the transition from childhood to adulthood.[887] Outside Attica the *θρεπτήριος κόμη* is always connected with rites-of-passage and deities of kourotrophic nature (Artemis Amarysia,[888] Poseidon at Phthiotic Thebes).[889] This aspect further supports our identification of the age groups mentioned above and adds a potential ritual aspect to the kausia-boy figurines. Were they dedicated as a marker of transition to a different age group?

Conclusions

To sum up, Demetrias has yielded the largest-known collection and variety of kausia-boy figurines in the Hellenistic world. They were most likely produced locally. The kausia-boys found in Demetrias were discovered in their majority in the Pasikrata Sanctuary, but also in other contexts; their dedication in such large numbers there cannot be coincidental but adds to our understanding of the venerated deity in the sanctuary. The kausia-boy figurines depict

[885] For portrayal of different age groups in sculpture and iconography: Beaumont 2012, 24-42; Bobou 2015, 46-51.
[886] For Apatouria: Parker 2005, 458-461.
[887] Cole 1984; Leitao 2003; Batziou 2017.
[888] Batziou 2017.
[889] Kravaritou 2018, 388-389.

in their majority pre-pubescent and pubescent boys and their dedication might indicate a rite-of-passage. They might represent the age group of "*paides*" of the Macedonian society.[890]

Even though previous scholarship connected this iconographic type with the cult of Demeter and Cybele, this interpretation is now outdated as these figurines do not fall neatly to the cult of one particular deity, but rather seem to be connected more to deities with a kourotrophic nature.

The study of the distribution of these terracottas shows that they are mostly found in areas with strong Macedonian presence, perhaps suggesting that their dedicators were either Macedonian, or were fully incorporated in the Macedonian way of life and self-representation.[891]

[890] Not to be confused with the "βασιλικοί παίδες", the royal pages.
[891] Nevertheless, since we lack any information about the population of Demetrias from ancient sources (apart from the stelai) and the survey and excavation of the city does not allow us yet to estimate how much of it was inhabited, or the density of habitation, it is difficult to assess the actual population of Demetrias let alone what percentage of these would be Macedonian or connected to Macedonian life.

PART II.

Chapter 7: Typology

Introduction

A wide variety of terracottas has been unearthed in Demetrias. I follow the methodology first developed by Richard Nicholls, later applied and updated by Arthur Muller and his team.[892] The classification that I have followed here is primarily by type (technical type).[893] The classification of Nicholls by group is much harder to apply in Demetrias, where only in very few cases it is possible to trace the production of groups and series. The products of each type and series are presented together as one unit, regardless of their size or preservation, rather than for example presenting the heads separately.[894] In the cases where more than one variation or version survives, I describe the common features of the type first and then the different elements by variation or version.

Then follows a chronology, primarily based on dated closed contexts, such as the graves and the Anaktoron fill. Where such a dating is not available, I try to date the types on the basis of external stylistic parallels, first from closed contexts of other areas and then on stylistic grounds, mostly focusing on the drapery.[895] Lastly, I provide parallels from other areas, so as to determine the presumed place of original creation of the mould of each type.

This chapter begins with depictions of mortal women (standing and seated), goddesses and then the heads, first according to their headdresses, and then their hairstyle. The boy

[892] Nicholls 1952; Bonghi-Jovino 1965; Muller 1996; Muller 1997; Huysecom-Haxhi 2009b.
[893] Kassab-Tezgör 2007, 254-258, uses the term type to denote the iconographic type. Instead she uses the term series, as in the case of Nicholls.
[894] Muller 1996.
[895] I have tried to avoid dates provided from museum catalogues, because the evidence from closed contexts often proves them wrong.

figurines follow. The male figurines are presented together with the male deities. Lastly, I present the genre and grotesque figurines.

Female Figurines

Type A

Type A is known only from the Pasikrata Sanctuary in 12 specimens from the 1912 photos,[896] eight of which have been identified **[3-10*]**. It has not been possible to identify generations in this type due to the fragmentary state of the specimens. A standing female figure is shown, almost frontal, her weight on the left leg, while the right is slightly bent to the side. She is tightly wrapped in a large himation over a chiton. At waist level there is a large diagonal fold starting at the right elbow and reaching the left hand. The chiton is long with vertical folds at the front, over the weight-bearing leg. On the right side the drapery follows the movement of the free leg, creating diagonal folds. The left arm is relaxed on the side, visible through the folds of the himation, holding a fan with the left hand. The right arm is bent at the elbow inside the himation and rests at the back. The head survives in one example, albeit in bad condition. The hair is in "knidian" hairstyle and she wears earrings. The base is rectangular and medium-high. The back is modelled.

The motif seems to be a combination of the "Niko" type for the lower part (**Pl. 81, Fig.51**),[897] especially the drapery, paired with the arm-behind-the-back gesture. The resemblance of the drapery to Boeotian creations led Hornung-Bertemes to identify it as the

[896] See Appendix B.
[897] Muller 1993.

same type,[898] which is disproved by the recently identified specimens in the NAM and the VM that provide the full type.

The date of Type A is unclear, since it is only present in the Pasikrata Sanctuary. The type seems to be locally produced. The Tanagran features and stance allow a generic dating within the 3rd c.[899]

Type B

Type B is represented by 15 specimens, 14 from the Pasikrata Sanctuary (10 of which identified **[11-20]**) and one from the Anaktoron foundations **[364]**.

The standing figure is shown frontally, with the weight on the left leg and the right bent with the foot to the side. She wears a chiton ending in thick folds at the bottom. She is wrapped tightly in a thick himation, worn diagonally, which on the right side of the figure reaches the middle of the shin and on the left just above the knee. The right arm is bent at the elbow and raised to the neck, holding the garment from inside. The left arm is lowered to the side inside the himation. The hair is arranged in the "knidian" hairstyle. She wears earrings.

A terracotta attached on a vase (**Pl. 79, Fig.37**) from the Sanctuary of the Nymphe (on the south slope of the Acropolis of Athens),[900] exhibits very close affinities to Type B, both in the stance and the head, but is far more detailed, which might indicate that a mould was imported from Athens. This type also seems to be a version of the "Niko" type with the drapery rendered in less detail. It is also known from the Sanctuary of Apollo at Soros (**Pl. 79, Figs.38-**

[898] Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 48, 110.
[899] Jeammet 2010, figs.42-43.
[900] Jeammet 2014a, 215-217, fig.10.

39), which might indicate that the type pre-dated the foundation of Demetrias in the region.[901] A figurine in the BM seems very close in style and posture to our type but is much larger compared to our complete examples.[902]

The date of this type is fairly easily determined. The Athenian parallel belongs to the second half of the 4th c. The Demetrias examples are significantly smaller in size, a feature that indicates the existence of numerous generations in between. The fragment from the Sanctuary at Soros provides the earliest dated example in the early 3rd c., while the Anaktoron fragment provides a terminus-ante-quem ca. 200 BC.

Type C

This is the type with the widest circulation in Demetrias, attested in nearly all contexts **[21-28*, 225-227, 364-367, NC3, NC17-20]**, except for the Metroon and the Katsiphas plot.

Three generations and two versions have been distinguished (**Pl.93**).[903] In all specimens the female figure is portrayed standing with the weight on the right leg, wearing a chiton and a himation. The right arm is bent at the elbow, inside the garment and rests behind the back. The left arm is lowered to the side, wrapped in the himation. The folds of the himation are directed diagonally and parallel to one other, starting from the right elbow and reaching the left hand.

In C.I.A the himation covers the head like a veil, but leaves the face uncovered. The two heads that survive are different. It has no base.

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[901] Leventi 2012, no.ΠΕ23/05 fig.15. Leventi compares this to a fragment from the Athenian Agora and with a complete figurine from Cyrenaica, now in the BM (Burr-Thompson 1959, 137, 150, no.15, pl.28; Burn and Higgins 2001, 220, no.2688, pl.111), however, I disagree with this comparison, as we now know that the supporting leg is the left, and the type of the Cyrenaic figurine is different. For the destruction of the sanctuary in the early 3rd c. shortly after the synoecism: Mazarakis-Ainian 2011, 168.

[902] Burn and Higgins 2001, 82, no.2173, pl32. Higgins, based on the colour of the clay, attributes its origin to Western Peloponnese.

[903] See Appendix B for distribution.

In C.II.B the figure is portrayed with the himation covering the head and mouth, leaving the eyes and forehead free, with the hair rendered in the *tettix* hairstyle. The hair is pulled back into a bun on the crown of the head. The folds of the himation are more complicated than in Variation a with two groups of folds, one from the left shoulder to the right elbow, and another from the right elbow to the left hand. It stands on a rectangular base.

C.III.B is very similar to C.II.B but smaller in size. The hair is rendered in lower relief or is not visible through the himation; it has an oval base in two specimens and a rectangular in one.

Type C belongs to a very popular type of the Hellenistic period which is widespread all over the Mediterranean (**Pl.79, Fig.40**).[904] It is agreed that it must have been created in Boeotia.[905] Higgins dates the creation of the earliest example between 300 and 275, the fully developed type in 250-230, while the closest parallel to ours is dated to 230.[906]

The dating of Type C in Demetrias falls generally in the second half of the 3rd c. C.I.A, based on the finds of grave 856 from the North Cemetery,[907] is dated after the mid 3rd c. C.II.B, based on the context of grave 376,[908] in the end of the 3rd c., which is also the case for C.III.B and the finds in grave 234 of the North Cemetery.[909] These dates are in agreement with the terminus of the Anaktoron finds, in ca. 200 BC.

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[904] Boeotia-Tanagra: Mollard-Besques 1972, 20-21, nos.D90-100, pl.21-22; Higgins 1986, 132, figs.158-160; Burn and Higgins 2001, 51, nos.2062, 2064-2067, pl.12; Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, 105, no.211, pl.36, appr. 300 BC. Corinth: Merker 2000, 292-293, no.148, pl.68 with pottery context of the third quarter of 3rd c. Veroia: Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, Group A, Type B, nos.16-39, pl.14. Pella: Lilimpaki-Akamati 1989, pl.43, no.89.8, pl.51, nos. 89.55-56, pl.53, no.89.64; Lilimpaki-Akamati 1994, 222, Group A, type 2; Lilimpaki-Akamati 1996, 32, no.34, pl.12a.; Lilimpaki-Akamati 2008, 78, no.87, pl.15; 121, no.196, pl.35. Thessaloniki: Korti-Konti 1994, 124-125, nos.123-124, pl.208; Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007, 123 fig.2. Lete: Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007, 126, fig.10b; Tzanavari 2017, no.361. Akanthos: Rhomiopoulou 2017, 309, no.307. Samothrace: Dusenbery 1998, 902-903, no.S126-B, late 4th-early 3rd. Lesvos: Acheilara 2006, 297, no.301. Morgantina: Bell 1981, 180-181, nos.403-405, pls.85-86, perhaps also nos.406, 408. Italy: Besques 1986, 36-37, nos.3478-3481, pl.26c,e-g; Hübinger and Menninger 2007, 178, no.110, with previous bibliography. Cyrenaica: Besques 1992, 48-49, no.D4269, pl.19f, nos.D4270-4273, pl.20a,b,d.

[905] For the "genealogical tree" of the type: Kassab-Tezgör 2007, 322-325.

[906] Higgins 1986, 132, figs.158-160.

[907] Nikolaou 2012, 352, n.10.

[908] *ibid*, 351, n.1.

[909] *ibid*, 352, n.6.

Type D

Type D is represented by nine examples in Demetrias: six from the Pasikrata Sanctuary **[29]**, the *Favissa* **[228]**, the Anaktoron **[368-369]**, the South Cemetery **[504]**, and a fragment in the "Old Collection" of the VM with unknown provenance **[546]**, most probably from Demetrias. In Arvanitopoulos' photos from the Pasikrata deposits, we can see at least three more complete examples.[910]

Based on their preservation and size, I consider that **[546]** and **[368-369]** belong to a first generation, **[504]** to a second, and **[72]** and **[29]** to a third generation (**Pl.98** for genealogical tree).

The figure stands with the left leg supporting the weight. She wears a thin chiton with numerous thin folds at the hem and a long himation which creates many groups of folds as the garment is stretched. The himation on the right side does not cling to the figure, due to her right arm, which is bent and rests on the hip inside the himation; the left is lowered to the side wrapped inside the himation.

The heads are different in all three specimens and face in a different direction. In the first **[546]**, it faces to the figurine's right, as seems to be the case for the second **[504]**, while **[72]** faces upwards and slightly to the left. This indicates that the mould for the body was separate from the head, at least for the first two generations, giving the coroplasts the ability to use a variety of heads.

Type D seems to have originated either in Macedonia, or Athens, as figurines of the same type have been discovered at Brauron, with a terminus-ante-quem in the late 3rd c. and in

[910] See Appendix B.

"Menon's Cistern" in the Athenian Agora, with a date of 350-290.[911] This type exists in Macedonia already since the third quarter of the 4th c, as a specimen of this type was found in grave K3 at Aigai.[912] Another from a grave in the tumulus of Nikisiani is dated in the last quarter of the 4th c. as does one at Abdera.[913] In addition, this is a very popular type in the cemeteries of Pella and Veroia (**Pl.79, Fig.41**).[914] In central Greece we know of two specimens, both from Phokis: from graves at Delphi and at ancient Ambrossos.[915] Thus, it is unclear whether the transmission of the type in Demetrias occurred from the South or the North. The iconographic type is diffused all over the Mediterranean and can be seen in big centres such as Myrina, whose specimens display many similarities to Demetrias' figures, Alexandria, Cyrenaica and South Italy.[916]

Type D is dated, based on the finds of grave 55 in the South Cemetery and the Anaktoron fragment, in the second half of the 3rd c. This is also the case in Veroia.[917]

Type E

This type is only represented by two examples, from the Pasikrata Sanctuary **[30]** and one of unknown provenance **[547]**, but from Demetrias. The figure stands with the weight on the left leg and the right to the side. She wears a chiton and a himation which creates distinctive

[911] Brauron: Mitsopoulos-Leon 2015, 82-83, nos.46-48, pl.7; Agora: Miller 1974, 228, no.104, pl.41, who dates the context in the 260s-240s; for the revised date: Nicholls 1995, 473, n.317.
[912] Kottaridi 1990, fig.7; Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007, 118; Tzanavari 2012, 356, fig.1b.
[913] Nikisiani: Lazarides et al. 1992 34-35, no.E291, pl.20; Tzanavari 2012, 368, fig.12; Tzanavari 2017c, fig.5; Abdera: Lazarides 1960, no.A8, pl.4.
[914] Pella: Lilimpaki-Akamati 2017, nos.167-168, from the East Cemetery of Pella. No 168 is closer to the Demetrias specimens. Veroia: Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, Group A, Type α, 76-78, pl.10.
[915] Delphi: Perdrizet 1908, 205, no.666, pl.24.12. Ambrossos: Arapogianni 1984, 111, no.MΔ12531, pl.41δ.
[916] Myrina: Mollard-Besques 1963, 100, no.MYR248, pl.117d. Alexandria: Kassab-Tezgör and Abd El Fattah 1997; Kassab-Tezgör 2007, 52, no.21, pls.3c, 18a. Cyrenaica: Besques 1992, 48, no.D4266, pl.19c; Burn and Higgins 2001, 216, nos.2667-2668, pl.105. South Italy: Besques 1986, 37, no.D3489, pl.28a.
[917] See above.

U-shaped folds in the pubic area and the upper thigh. The folds of the himation create a fan shape originating from the left hip towards the right hand. The left arm is bent at the elbow and rests on the hip, inside the himation. The right arm is lowered in front of the body, inside the himation, pulling it with the hand. The heads are missing, thus hindering our full understanding of the type. Both examples have an ellipsoid base.

Type E corresponds closely to a coroplastic type that seems to have been produced by the workshops of Pella or Veroia; it is found in many graves in both cities (**Pl.79, Fig.42**),[918] in the Sanctuary of the Mother-of-the-Gods and Aphrodite at Pella;[919] in a mould from the agora of Pella.[920] It is also known from: a tomb assemblage from Pentaplatanos at Giannitsa;[921] Pydna;[922] Akanthos, in a house;[923] the antechamber of a Macedonian tomb at Apollonia.[924] All tomb assemblages and the house are dated from the early 2nd c. to the beginning of the second half of the 2nd c., which provide a well-dated chronological range for the circulation of this type. Thus, this type was probably imported to Demetrias from Macedonia; it should also be dated in the 2nd c.

Type F

Type F is represented by two versions, found in the east cemetery **[525-526]**, the *Favissa* **[229]**, the Pasikrata Sanctuary **[31]**, and the Anaktoron **[370]**. They share the same stance, dress, and size. The figure is shown standing, with the left leg bearing the weight. The head

[918] Pella: Lilimpaki-Akamati 1994, 223-224, Group A3; Lilimpaki-Akamati 2008, 169, no.322; Lilimpaki-Akamati 2017, no.180. Veroia: Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, 90-93, pl.25, Group A, Type Θ.
[919] Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, 69-70, Type 1Γα, nos.21-27, pl.47-49.
[920] Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2017, no.181, mould, variation from the agora of Pella, early 1st c.
[921] Korti-Konti 1987, 421-423, nos.1-12, pl.87-88, 89.1-3.
[922] Noulas 2014, 407, fig.3.
[923] Trakosopoulou 2016, 279, no.24, fig.21.
[924] Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007, 126, fig.12; Tzanavari 2012, 368, fig.10a. For the tomb: Adam-Veleni 2000a, 281-282.

turns slightly to the right. She wears a high-girded chiton, forming a V-neckline, and a himation wrapped around the back. The left arm is bent at the elbow and rests on the hip, wrapped in the himation. The right is lowered to the side with the forearm and hand wrapped in the himation.

Version A survives fragmentarily in two specimens **[525-526]**, both from Grave 35 at the East Cemetery. They are among the largest figurines in Demetrias and come from the same mould. The chiton in the first case is painted to have a darker band around the chest, while the rest is just covered with white slip. She wears earrings, a wreath on the hair, which is rendered in the "knidian" hairstyle with a group of locks falling to the shoulders. She is perhaps also wearing a medallion, as in both examples there is a circular knob on the chest. The dating of this version is possible through the grave offerings, which all seem to belong to the first half of the 2nd c.

Version B survives in three examples from the *Favissa* **[229]**, the Anaktoron **[370]** and the Pasikrata Sanctuary **[31]**.[925] In the case of the Pasikrata figurine the space between the torso and the arm is hollow, while it is filled with clay in the *Favissa* example. None preserve their head or their base.

Type F is known from Pella and Veroia (**Pl.80, Fig.43**), from tombs,[926] and the sanctuary of the Mother-of-the-Gods and Aphrodite at Pella.[927] It was widely circulated in Macedonia, with examples from two chamber tombs at Pentaplatanos,[928] a tomb in Thessaloniki,[929] Akanthos, from a house dated in the 2nd c.,[930] the Macedonian tomb at Spelia Eordaias,[931] and

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[925] Hornung-Bertemes has a few mistakes in this part: a) the photographs do not correspond to the right catalogue numbers; b) the sizes are wrong, as **[228]** is mentioned to be 14cm and **[31]**, 1,2cm, which is obviously wrong and is 12cm. This means that they came from the same mould, but with **[31]** later in production, which is evident by the lower definition in folds.
[926] Pella: Lilimpaki-Akamati 1994, Group A.5, 224-226. Veroia: Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, Group A, Type φ, nos.153-174, pls.44-48.
[927] Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, nos.32-33, pls.51a-52a
[928] Korti-Konti 1987, 424, nos.14-16, pl.90.1-3; Chrysostomou 1996, 514, pl.143γ.
[929] Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007, 123, fig.6.
[930] Trakosopoulou 2016, 279, nos.26a-b, fig.23.
[931] Karamitrou-Mentessidi 1985, pl.128a; Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2016, fig.12.

Petres (Iollas' house).[932] In Macedonia this type seems to have been created towards the end of the 3rd c., and was in use at least until the end of the 2nd c. Three figurines in the Louvre, with origin from Boeotia, are dated in the first half of the 3rd c. on stylistic grounds.[933] The type was also particularly popular in Alexandria.[934]

The Anaktoron fragment provides a date in the 3rd c. This means that the two versions were created independently, and that Version B was not derived from the previous one, at least based on current evidence.

Type G

This type has yielded four specimens, from the Pasikrata Sanctuary **[32-35]**. They seem to originate from the same mould with no variations. The figure stands with the left leg supporting the weight, wearing a high-girded chiton and a himation. Three large parallel vertical folds fall from the right arm reaching the right knee where the himation ends. Numerous U-shaped folds are also created below the waist. The left arm is bent at the elbow and rests on the back, inside the himation. The right arm is bent at the elbow, raised to the level of the clavicle with the hand pulling the himation. The head has the features of a young female; she wears a stephane and with the hair is rendered in the "melon" hairstyle. The base is thin and rectangular.

[932] Adam-Veleni 1998; Adam-Veleni 2000b, fig.44, far left; Adam-Veleni 2017a, 255, 262, no.1, fig.1.
[933] Mollard-Besques 1972, 25, nos.D122, D123, pl.27a, e, 68, no.D428, pl.92c.
[934] Kassab-Tezgör 2007, no.1, pl.13a, nos.27-29, pls.19c-f, no.69, pl.31c, no.119, pl.43a, no.176, pl.57f; Ballet 2016, 59, fig.1, for a mould of this type from Kôm el-Giza, ancient Schedia.

Type G is difficult to date. A parallel can be found in a figurine from "Tomb A" in Myrina (**Pl.80, Fig.44**) which included 14 more figurines, dated to the second half of the 3rd c.[935] Thus, our type G may not be far from that date.

Type H

This type is represented by two examples, **[36]** from the Pasikrata Sanctuary and **[230]** the *Favissa*.

The figure is shown standing, with the weight on the left leg. The head in **[230]** is tilted upwards, turning to the left and wears a stephane. The figure wears a chiton and a himation. A complicated system of folds is created. A prominent fold falls from the right hand reaching the left and one from the left hand reaches the right knee, where the himation ends. Numerous thin vertical folds of the chiton are created at the bottom of the figure. The right arm is inside the himation, bent at the elbow and raised to the level of the clavicle, holding the himation. The left arm is bent at the elbow with the forearm raised and extended, pulling the himation. No base exists in either examples.

Regarding their chronological relationship, it seems that **[36]** was created before **[229]**, based on the worn features, revealing the use of the mould. Hornung-Bertemes dated the figurine from the *Favissa* in the late 3rd c., based mostly on stylistic parallels.[936] The head used for the *Favissa* figurine comes from the same mould as the head of **[NC6]**. The grave is dated in the late 3rd c., based on the grave goods,[937] a fact that provides a more secure date to type H in the same century.

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[935] Mollard-Besques 1963, 96, no.MYR241, pl.113b; Mrogenda 1996, 8-12, 59-64; Mathieux 2010b, 194-199, no.164. For Tomb A of Myrina: Duchêne and Mathieux 2007, 65-66.
[936] Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 119. However, the parallels that she draws are wrong in my view.
[937] Nikolaou 2012, 351, n.1.

A figurine from Brauron, very close in style and posture, is dated in the 3rd c.[938] Another example from Capua, displays many stylistic and morphological similarities, but it is not from the same mould.[939]

Type I

This type seems to be particularly popular in the Pasikrata Sanctuary **[37*-61]**, with at least 32 examples depicted on Arvanitopoulos' photos.[940] One head from the Anaktoron foundations **[370]** might also belong to this type. Three generations of this type are discernible. The first two generations survive in one example respectively, while the third has yielded the most examples (**Pl.95** for genealogical tree).

The figure stands frontally with the left leg supporting the weight. She wears a chiton and himation. A group of folds are created from the pulling of the himation between the two hands, from the left hand to the left knee and from the right arm to the left knee. The right arm is bent at the elbow and raised to the chest holding the garment, while the left is lowered to the side slightly bent at the elbow, also inside the himation. The hair is parted in the middle and pulled back to a bun. The figure wears earrings. No base was used for this type.

The chronology of this type is difficult to determine. The head from the Anaktoron, belonging to generation 3, gives a terminus-ante-quem of 220/200 for its creation, providing a broad date for its creation in the 3rd c., as with most of the terracottas from Demetrias.

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[938] Mitsopoulos-Leon 2015, 74-75, 83, no.50, pl.8, Very similar pose, but different position of the right arm, higher to the clavicle than ours and shorter himation. Also: Nicholson 1968, pl.33, no.116; Mollard-Besques 1963, 107, no.MYR656, pl.126d; Besques 1992, no.D4295, pl.24b, from Cyrenaica; Markoulaki and Niniou-Kindeli 1982, pl.16a, dated in the late 4th to the early 3rd c., from a chamber tomb at Chania, Crete; Kleiner 1984, pl.15d; Muller 1996, no.764, pl.116. For all the above, the posture is very similar to Type H, but the right arm is in different position, usually higher up and closer to the chest.

[939] Baroni and Casolo 1990, 470, no.C.CX.a.1, pl.LXXV,5.

[940] See Appendix B.

Stylistically, this type is very close to figurines from Alexandria and Cyrenaica, but from different moulds.[941] The figurines from Cyrenaica are dated in the second half of the 3rd c., based on parallels from Myrina, [942] but the Alexandrian specimen has a more specific date range from the last quarter of the 3rd c. to the beginning of the 2nd c, based on the grave contents. The same iconographic type is seen in two figurines from Capua that are close stylistically, but still not from the same mould.[943]

Type J

Type J seems to be another popular type, thus far only present in the Pasikrata sanctuary, with ten examples surviving **[62-71]**, while 20 are shown in Arvanitopoulos' photographs.[944]

The figure is shown standing frontally with the weight on the left leg. She wears a high-girded chiton with an overfold and a himation that covers the back, the left shoulder and arm. The left arm is relaxed to the side with the forearm and hand wrapped in the himation. The right arm is bent at the elbow and rests in front of her waist, with the himation wrapped around the elbow. The hair is executed in the knidian hairstyle, with locks falling on either side to the shoulders. The face has rounded contours, perhaps suggesting a younger age, perhaps that of an adolescent woman.[945] The base is rectangular as is evident from the figurine in Volos and Arvanitopoulos' photos.

Dating this type is difficult, as it seems to be of local production and only found in the Pasikrata Sanctuary, with no securely dated parallels. Based on loose, stylistic similarities with

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[941] Kassab-Tezgör 2001, no.1, fig.12.1-3; Burn and Higgins 2001, 222, nos.2698-2699, pl.112, from Cyrenaica.
[942] Winter 1903, 51,6; Mendel 1908, 2539.
[943] Baroni and Casolo 1990, 382, nos.C.VIII, pl.LX.4-5.
[944] See Appendix B.
[945] In fact, more mature women are portrayed completely covered by the himation, while the younger ones are wearing the chiton with overfold and the himation over the shoulders.

figurines from Tanagra, Myrina and Cyrenaica, a date after the second half of the 3rd c. seems plausible.[946] The morphological affinity of the lower part of this type with that of **[112]**, which is dated in the 3rd c., provides a date for this type as well.[947]

Type K

This type is represented by three examples **[518*-519*, NC1]** and a version **[NC11]** (**Pl.40**). **[518*-519*]** come most likely from the South Cemetery, while two more originate from the North Cemetery. Type K is similar to Type F.A., but the pose is reversed. The figure stands with the weight on the right leg. She wears a high-girded chiton and a himation. On either side, the excess himation falls from the hands in largely curved, "flat" folds. The right arm is bent at the elbow and rests on the hip, covered by the himation. The left arm is lowered to the side with the forearm and hand wrapped in the himation. A knob-like ornament between the breasts possibly indicates a medallion. On the left arm there is a bracelet, while two fruits attached with added clay are held between the forearm and the torso. The head in the example from the North Cemetery is shown with a knidian hairstyle.[948] The figure stands without a base.

[NC11] from the North Cemetery is closer to coroplastic products from Pella and Veroia. In this case the himation on the right arm only covers the elbow, forearm and hand, while the curved folds on either side are less prominent. The head tilts and turns to the right, wearing a tegidion and earrings, and the hairstyle seems to be "knidian". It does not have a base. The date

[946] Mollard-Besques 1963, pl.117a, from Tomb A of Myrina; Burn and Higgins 2001, 56, no.2085, pl.16, from Tanagra and 224, nos.2706-2707, pl.114, from Cyrenaica. However, the posture and heads are different from Type J.
[947] See below girl figurines Type B.
[948] Nikolaou 2016, 39, pl.14γ.

of the variation and of the type as a whole, as in Pella and Veroia, belongs to the second half of the 2nd c., based on the grave goods.

This type is present in the two large Macedonian cities of Pella and Veroia,[949] but also Amphipolis and Myrina.[950] Version B of the same type shows similarities with a figurine from a rock-cut chamber tomb at Chania.[951]

Type L

The "Sophoclean" ("Sophocléene") type is represented in Demetrias by Type L. It survives in four specimens, **[548-550]** and **[NC24]** from the North Cemetery offering the intact example. The figure stands frontally with the weight on the left leg. She wears a chiton and a himation, with both arms wrapped inside it. The himation covers most of the body, reaching just above her right ankle. A group of folds falls vertically from the left arm. The right arm is raised to her clavicle. Her left arm is bent at the elbow and rests on the back. The hair on the cemetery head is rendered in the melon hairstyle. She wears earrings. No base was used.

Since no date is provided for the cemetery figurine it is difficult to date this type. Nevertheless, it was widely diffused and seems to originate in Boeotia.[952] It seems to have been

[949] Pella: Lilimpaki-Akamati 1994, 141, 176-177, 226, Group A, Type 7, nos.89, 273, 273, pl.12, 31, (all with different supporting leg); Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, 46-47, 71-72, nos.30-31, Type 1Γε, pls.50β-51β (different supporting leg); Lilimpaki-Akamati 2008, 81, no.91, pl.17, (different supporting leg). Veroia: Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, 115-116, Group A, Type χ, nos.175-178, mostly no.175, pls.49-50.

[950] Amphipolis: Malama 2017, fig.3, nos.402-403, although with different supporting leg. Myrina: Mollard-Besques 1963, no.MYR240, pl.117a.

[951] Markoulaki and Niniou-Kindeli 1982, 60-61, pl.13α-γ, but with a different supporting leg.

[952] For discussion and diffusion: Jeammet 2003; Kleiner 1984, tab.5, mostly c, d; Mollard-Besques 1972, 15, no.D51, pl.12c, (Boeotia); Köster 1929, nos.42-43, (Tanagra); Burn and Higgins 2001, 46, no.2047, pl.9 (Tanagra), 116, no.2269, pl.48 (Myrina); Poulsen 1949, 24-25, no.37, pl.XIX (Boeotia); Higgins 1986, 123-124, fig.145 for discussion of the Sophoclean; Zimmer and Kriseleit 1994, 87, nos.5, 15, 18, (Tanagra); Jeammet 2010, 112-113, fig.38 and no.83; Rohde 1968, 24, pl.32b; Harami and Jeammet 2015, 321, fig.5, for the "pseudo-sophoclean" (Thebes), early 3rd c. Athens: Burr-Thompson 1965b, 69, no.1, pl.17, mid 2nd c. Thessaloniki: Korti-Konti 1994, 40, 120, no.109, late 3rd-early 2nd c. Souroti: Touratsoglou 1968, 52-53; Koukouvou 2017, 339, no.336, 300-250 BC. Akanthos: Trakosopoulou 2016, 279, no.25, fig.22, 2nd c. house. Lesvos: Acheilara 2006,

created in the early 3rd c., at the latest, as the better dated specimens suggest and then spread all over the Mediterranean.

Type M

This is a type which survives in two examples (**[551-552]**) both from the same mould. The figure stands with the right leg supporting the weight. She wears a chiton and is wrapped in a himation. The distinctive feature of this type are the curved folds of the himation which are created in the space between the two hands. A group of folds falls vertically from the left hand. The left arm is raised to the neck, while the left arm is also raised reaching under the breast.

The date of these figurines is unclear, but the type is dated stylistically between 320-290 BC. It was probably created in Boeotia but lacked popularity and seems to have been adapted into a local version.[953]

Type N

Type N is represented by two figurines, one from the North Cemetery **[NC23]** of a presumed first (?) generation, and another of unknown origin belonging to a later generation (**[553]**). The figure stands with the left leg bearing the weight and the right to the side. She wears a chiton and a himation with both arms wrapped inside it, creating a roll or sling in the space between them. A group of folds falls from the left arm. The left arm is lowered to the

295, no.297, last quarter of 4th c. Alexandria: Kassab-Tezgör 2007, no.44, pl.24a-b. Herakleia (Italy): Jeammet 2010, 281, no.217 for a mould.

[953] Mollard-Besques 1972, 19, D79, pl.19d; Burn and Higgins 2001, 220-221, nos.2688-2690, pl.111 (Cyrenaica), but without the curved folds between the hands.

side bent at the elbow, with the hand inside the himation holding the garment. The right arm is bent at the elbow and the hand rests in front of the abdominal area. The head in the cemetery example turns to the right and looks upwards. The himation covers the head. The hair is arranged in the "knidian" style and the figure wears earrings.

The type, or at least the figurine from the North Cemetery, is dated to the late 3rd c. A mould from Argos of the same type (0.27m. high) could point to the initial production of this type in that city.[954] Conversely, a figurine from Veroia (**Pl.80, Fig.45**), could also indicate that the type came to Demetrias from the Macedonian city, rather than the South.[955]

Type O

This type is known by a fragment from the Anaktoron **[372]** and an intact figurine of unknown provenance (**[554]**). The figure stands with the weight on the right leg and the left leg to the side. She wears a chiton and a himation which covers the right arm, with the left arm coming out of it. A distinctive V-shaped fold is created under the left hand. The right arm is bent and rests on the hip and the left bent at the elbow rests under the breast. The head turns to the left side, looking slightly upwards. The hair is rendered in the melon hairstyle. She wears earrings.

The head is smaller and seems slightly out of proportion compared to the body. The bottom of the figurine is wide, while its torso becomes narrow, as if a combination of two different moulds was used to create this type.

[954] Banaka 2014, 104-105, no.A2, pl.1, first half of 3rd c.; also Poulsen 1949, 26-27, no.43, pl.XXV (earlier than the Demetrias type); Lazarides 1960, 61, no.B45, pl.11; Manetaki 2011, Type 35, pls.30-31.
[955] Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, Group A, type ι, no.101, pl.26.

The fragment from the Anaktoron dates the type to the 3rd c. It seems to be a local creation, as there are no close parallels for it.[956]

Type P

Only one fragment of this type survives from the Pasikrata Sanctuary **[72]**. Arvanitopoulos' photos exhibit another intact figurine,[957] as well as three fragmentary specimens, of this type, currently unlocated, which provide us with the full image.[958] The figure stands with the weight on the right leg and the left to the side. The right arm is bent at the elbow and rests on the hip. The left arm is lowered to the side, holding a fan. The head turns to the right. She wears a chiton, which on the right leg creates many vertical folds, that help identify the type. Both arms are enveloped in the himation with a roll of folds created between the right to the left hand. The base is small and rectangular.

The date of the type is difficult to establish, since it was only found in the Pasikrata Sanctuary. However, we know that it was created in the end of the 4th c., most probably in Attica,[959] and circulated in Macedonia in the early 3rd c. (**Pl.80, Fig.46**), but also saw a wide diffusion all over the Mediterranean.[960]

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[956] Similar stance but different drapery: Laumonier 1921; Besques 1992; Burn and Higgins 2001; Kassab-Tezgör 2007; Harami and Jeammet 2015; Kallintzi 2017, 360, no.417, (Abdera), late 4th c.

[957] **Pl.58, Fig.3**, bottom row, 3rd from left.

[958] See Appendix B.

[959] Burr-Thompson 1952, 129, 159, no.15, pl.33; Tzanavari 2017c, 234, no.128.

[960] Tanagra: Cartault 1892, pl.51,2. Argos: Sarri 2014, 130-131, fig.5. Lete: Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2007, 124 and 126, fig.9; Tzanavari 2012, 336, fig.9β-γ; Tzanavari 2017c, 234, no.128. Kassandreia: Sismanidis 1997, 309-310, no.4, fig.27; Tzanavari 2012, 336, fig.6α. Lesvos: Acheilara 2006, 298, no.302. Myrina: Mollard-Besques 1963, 101, nos.MYR 651, S2839, pl.119d, f. Claros: Dewailly 2007, 144, fig.5. Alexandria: Kassab-Tezgör 2007, 93-94, no.93, pl.36c and 126, no.145, pl.50. Kharayeb: Chehab 1951, pl.XLII, with the addition of a musical instrument on the left hand, pl.LXXXII. Capua: Besques 1986, 36-37, nos.D3482-D3484, pl.27a-d. Callatis: Canarache 1969, 143, no.197.

Type Q

This type is represented by one figurine from the Pasikrata sanctuary **[73]**. The figure stands frontally with the weight on the left leg and the right leg to the side. She wears a thin chiton and is tightly wrapped in a himation, which covers both arms and shoulders and leaves only the top of the right chest uncovered. On the torso the himation creates many thin zig-zag folds. The left arm is bent at the elbow and rests on the back of the hip. The right arm is lowered to the front of the body, holding a bunch of grapes with the hand. The base is thin and rectangular.

Type Q finds direct parallels in a terracotta from Boeotia, but also in creations of the Veroia workshop.[961] The type was very popular in South Italy and the Cyrenaica, making the identification of its origins unclear, even though Tsakalou-Tzanavari believes that the type was created in South Italy.[962] It is unclear how the type reached Demetrias. The terracottas of this type from Veroia are much larger than the South Italian examples, which might indicate a direct import from South Italy (for the Demetrias example), rather than from the Macedonian workshops. This is also supported by the fact that the folds of the Demetrias figurine match exactly those on the South Italian specimens (**Pl.80, Fig.48**). The coroplast transformed the type by adding a bunch of grapes on the right arm, an element which is absent in the other specimens. A date in the 3rd c. seems probable, based on the parallels from South Italy, which were already created in the late 4th c.

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[961] Schmidt 1994, 88, no.123, pl.23e; Laumonier 1921, 134, no.628, pl.LXII,1, unknown origin. Veroia: Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, Group A, Type υ, nos.148-152, pls.41-43.

[962] Creation of type in South Italy: Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, 110. Winter 1903, 17,1; Hübinger and Menninger 2007, 176-177, nos.108-109, late 4th or beginning of 3rd c. – best example; Besques 1986, 35, nos.D3472 and D3475, pls.25f and 26b (Apulia and Capua); Baroni and Casolo 1990, 145-148, pl.IX,5-6, pl.X,1-4 (Capua); Pianu 1990, 103, no.5, tab.47,2, beginning of 3rd c. (Herakleia); Cassano 1992, 484-485, no.36, end of 4th c. (Canosa). Cyrenaica: Burn and Higgins 2001, 215-216, no.2665, pl.104.

Type R

This type survives in two fragments, a head from the Pasikrata Sanctuary **[74]** and an intact figurine from the *Favissa* **[231]**. The figure stands frontally with the weight on the right leg. She is wrapped in a himation over a long chiton with vertical folds. The himation covers the head, framing the face, and she wears a tegidion on top of the head. Both arms are wrapped inside the himation. The left arm is bent at the elbow at the height of her waist and rests on her belly. The right arm is bent at the elbow and rests at the back. The base is high and cylindrical.

It seems that this type is of local production, as I have been unable to find any parallels. It can be dated in the 3rd c. based on the finds of the *Favissa*.[963]

Type S

At least two specimens of this type survive, from Arvanitopoulos' excavations possibly from the South Cemetery of Demetrias **[508-509]**.[964] The figure stands with the weight on the right leg and the left to the side. She wears a chiton and a himation, which is wrapped around the torso and the waist, covering both arms, but not the chest. Many thin, "veiny" folds are created by the pulling of the himation. The left arm is bent and rests on the hip. The right is in an "arm-sling" pose, resting in front of the body. The base is high and rectangular. Both examples are missing the heads.

A figurine from Macedonia in Istanbul provides an exact parallel for this type, as the folds match precisely (**Pl.81, Fig.50**); a fragmentary figurine from the same mould from the

[963] Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 111.
[964] Stamatopoulou 1999, pl.62d.

Macedonian tomb of Apollonia confirms the origin of this type (**Pl.81, Fig.49**).[965] Stylistically the type seems very close to the creations of the workshops of Pella and Veroia, especially the large size, the attention to drapery.[966] A figurine from the Macedonian tomb at Spelia Eordaias, shows close affinities, in style and morphology.[967] Two stylistic parallels from Abdera and Thasos are dated in the 2nd c., indicating a similar date for our type.[968] The "veiny" or "wiry" folds are particularly typical of this century, both in terracotta and large sculpture.[969]

Type T

Type T is represented by three examples, one from the Metroon **[336]**, another with unknown context **[555]**, and a small fragment from the Anaktoron foundations **[373]**.[970] The figure stands frontally, leaning on a pillar, with the weight on the right leg. The left leg crosses over the right and rests on the ball of the foot. She wears a chiton and is tightly wrapped in a himation. The right arm is bent at the elbow and rests on the hip. The left arm, bent at the elbow rests on the pillar, which has a high base. The base follows the figurine's shape.

The heads are different in the two specimens, indicating that they were created from a separate mould. In **[555]**, the head faces frontally, has a tettix hairstyle, with the hair pulled back to a bun and covered with the himation. It has been created by two moulds, one for the front and one for the back. In **[336]**, the head turns to the left and is shown in profile, wearing a tegidion and having long locks on either side of the neck.

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[965] Istanbul: Mendel 1908, 463, no.3068; Kleiner 1984 Bald-Romano 1995, pl.45, middle. Apollonia: Tzanavari 2012, 368, pl.10b, after the last quarter of the 3rd c.
[966] Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, 210-216.
[967] Karamitrou-Mentessidi 1985, 270, no.53, pl.128, second quarter of 2nd c; Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2016, 535, fig.14.
[968] Lazarides 1960, 60, no.B37, pl.10; Muller 1996, Type *Rhodilla*, nos.449, 452, pl.82.
[969] For example: Burr-Thompson 1963a, pl.81; Smith 1991, fig.112.
[970] See catalogue for **[555]** origin issue.

[555] seems to be have been moulded before the figurine from the Metroon, as the drapery is more detailed and better defined.

The Anaktoron fragment supports a terminus-ante-quem for Type T before 200. A figurine from Myrina, now in Dresden, provides the closest parallel to our type and might be an archetype for it.[971] Thus, the Demetrias type could be a version of the Myrina terracotta. However, lacking a proper publication, it is not possible to date it more precisely.

Type U

This type exists in Demetrias in two specimens, one from the North Cemetery **[NC9]** and one from the Pasikrata Sanctuary, seen in Arvanitopoulos' photos, which remains unlocated.[972] The figure stands frontally, with the weight on the left leg, while the right is to the side. She wears a chiton and the upper body is wrapped in a himation, which leaves a small opening, through which one can see the chiton. The right arm is bent at the elbow and raised below the clavicle, inside the himation, whereas the left arm is lowered to the side, also wrapped in the himation. The head turns slightly to the right, with the hair arranged in the "knidian" hairstyle pulled to a wide bun at the back; it is painted with dark red/brown colour. The type stands without a base.

Stylistically this type seems to be a version of the "Niko" type (**Pl.81, Fig.51**) identified by Muller, which was probably created in Boeotia and saw a wide diffusion all over the

[971] Winter 1903, 84.9; Kassab 1988, no.213, pl.43. The figurine is depicted in the same stance and same drapery as the Demetrias type, apart from the large folds falling from the right elbow and the attached Eros on the pillar. The head is also different, wearing a stephane. It is probably an Aphrodite. Another figurine from Myrina, in the Louvre, displays a similar stance, but with slightly different drapery. Mollard-Besques 1963, 24, no.LY1639, pl.25b. A similar Aphrodite is dated by the same scholar (Mollard-Besques 1963, 23, no.MYR29 (573), pl.24e) in the 1st c., but this is impossible for our case, since the Metroon is abandoned in the second half of the 2nd c.

[972] Photo A/A8516 (**Pl.61**), bottom row, first from left.

Mediterranean.[973] However, this particular type from Demetrias finds its closest parallels in figurines from Veroia,[974] and Capua, imported either through direct or indirect trade.[975]

The type is closely dated, based on the coins found in the grave with the figurine in the 3rd c.[976]

Single Figurines

Three fragments from the Pasikrata sanctuary are single examples in the city. **[76]** was almost complete in the old photos (**Pl.60**, 2nd row, 2nd from left). It is shown as a standing female figure with the weight supported on the right leg and the left to the side. She wears a chiton and is wrapped in a himation, which is worn diagonally, covering the left shoulder and arm, around the waist. The left arm is bent at the elbow and rests on the hip, while the right is also bent, but comes to the front of the torso, holding the himation in the middle of the breasts. This motif is typical for the Hellenistic period with various types circulating all over the Mediterranean, in Attica, Corinth, the Argolid, and is especially popular in Macedonia, South Italy and the Black Sea, mostly in the late 4th and 3rd centuries.[977] Nevertheless, our figurine is from a different mould, because of the way the himation reaches the thighs, and finds the closest parallel to a figurine from Myrina.[978]

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[973] Muller 1993.
[974] Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, 99-101, nos.115-117, pl.32, first half of 2nd c.
[975] Besques 1986, 39, no.D3500, pl.29f.
[976] Nikolaou 2012, 352, n.3.
[977] Laumonier 1921, 147, no.690, pl.LXX,1; Rhomaios 1920, 71-72, fig.6; Vavritsas 1969, 67, pl.86,b; Kobylina 1970, 42, pl.14.4 (Olbia), 75, pl. 14.3 (Chersonesos), 81, pl. 25.1 (Theodosia); Higgins 1973, 72-73, no.95, pl.46; Kobylina 1974, 26, pl.26.5 (Phanagoria); Kleiner 1984, pl.11f; Pensabene 1987, 154, no.68 (Cyrenaica); Nikolaidou-Patera 1997, 571, fig.4; Misaelidou-Despotidou 1993, fig.3; Adam-Veleni et al. 2017, 430, no.569, (Mieza); Mazzolani 1975, 315, no.E39, fig.385l; Besques 1986, 34, no.D3473, pl.25c; Jeammet 2010, 220, no.191; Baroni and Casolo 1990, 377-378, pl.LIX,1; Stillwell 1948, 110-111, no.92, pl.44, for a mould of the type; Stillwell 1952, 134, 52, pl.28; Merker 2000, 142, 212-213, nos.H88-97, pl.32; Burn and Higgins 2001, no.2874, pl.142 (Cyprus); Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, 242, no.114, pl.31 Mitsopoulos-Leon 2015, 75, 84, no.53, pl.8.
[978] Mollard-Besques 1963, 98, no.M73, pl.114a, 2nd half of 2nd c; also Sieveking 1916, 29, pl.39 (South Russia).

[75] follows the Tanagran tradition, similar to type B, but with flatter folds and a different position of the left arm, which is lowered to the side. The right arm is bent at the elbow and raised to the clavicle, pulling the himation.

Both figurines resemble the Tanagran style but are probably local versions of the types.

[78] is most probably a dancer figurine but is very fragmentary. However, we can discern that it is a female figure standing frontally, with the arms raised above the head. She wears a short-sleeved, high-girded chiton and the hair is in the melon hairstyle, with two long locks falling down either side of the head to the level of the breasts. The face is broken, thus the age depicted is not easy to determine. The hair is painted red, while the skin is salmon-pink. Similar figurines are found in Myrina and Abdera, with the closest parallel being the former.[979] Burr-Thompson identified this iconographic type as the "Phrygian dancers" and connected them to the cult of the Mother-of-the-Gods in Troy.[980]

Five further single figurines are large-size standing draped women and probably come from the South Cemetery. The first, **[507]**, stands frontally with the weight on the left leg, while the right is to the side. She wears a high-girded chiton and himation, which only covers the right arm. This in turn, is bent at the elbow inside the himation, resting on the hip, and the left arm is lowered to the side, with the himation wrapped around the forearm. The head is tilted to the side and slightly lowered, wearing a thick wreath and the hair arranged in the knidian hairstyle with two locks falling on the shoulders. The figure wears high-soled sandals with indentation and stands without a base. The type is probably created in the Macedonian workshops and diffused early-on, as there is a version of it from Veroia with the addition of an Eros to the figure's left side (**Pl.81, Fig.52**).[981] In Demetrias one can see the type before the

[979] Myrina: Mollard-Besques 1963, 85, no.MYR280, pl.104e. Abdera: Lazaridis 1960, 65, no.B89, pl.22. Lazaridis dates it in the early 1st c.
[980] Burr-Thompson 1963c, 100-101, and no.86, pl.XXIII.
[981] Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, 124-126, Group Δ, Type A (without the Eros), 124-126, nos.209-210, pls.56-57, late 3rd to third quarter of 2nd c.

creation of the Aphrodite type of Veroia, but smaller in size. This indicates that the prototype created (at least) two further moulds, from which one was used for the manufacture of the Aphrodite type, while the other was used as a generic female figurine that underwent further secondary moulding. The figurine is highly coloured: the chiton is pink with a band at the hem in a different colour, the himation is a darker shade of pink/fuschia, the hair is yellow, and the face has a white paint that is thicker than the slip.

[511] stands frontally with the left leg supporting the weight and the right to the side. The figure wears a thin, high-girded chiton and is wrapped in a himation. The right arm, similarly to **[507]**, is bent at the elbow and rests on the hip, with a long group of folds falling vertically. The left arm is bent at the elbow and the arm raised upwards, pulling the himation, creating a large group of folds. The head is facing frontally, covered with the himation and the hair rendered in the tettix hairstyle. The base is high and rectangular. The type finds direct parallels in the Macedonian workshops (**Pl.81, Fig.53**), as well as Myrina.[982] The mould for the head of this figurine is the same as the one used for **[97]**, revealing that only the mould for the body was imported while the coroplasts used local moulds for the heads.

[506] stands frontally, with the weight on the right leg and the left to the side. She wears a high-girded chiton and is wrapped in a himation. The right arm is bent at the elbow and raised upwards, pulling the himation inside it. The left arm is lowered to the side with the himation wrapped around the forearm. A group of folds extends between the two hands, crossing the body in deep grooves, while a roll falls from the right shoulder to the left arm. The figure wears high-soled sandals with indentation and stands on a thin, round base. The figurine is similar to

[982] Pella: Lilimpaki-Akamati 1994, 208-209, 229, Group A16, no.405, pl.42, larnax, last quarter of 3rd c.; Lilimpaki-Akamati 2008, 119-121, nos.193-195, pl.34, late 3rd-first quarter of 2nd c. Veroia: Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, 86-87, Group A, Type E, 240, nos.87-88, pl.23. Pentaplatanos: Korti-Konti 1987, 423, no.13, pl.89,4, second quarter of 2nd c. Spelia Eordaias: Karamitrou-Mentessidi 1985, 271, no.55, pl.129b; Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2016, 534, fig.16, from a Macedonian Tomb, before the mid 2nd c. Abdera: Lazarides 1960, 61, no.B39, pl.11, second half of 2nd c. Myrina: Burr-Thompson 1934, 64, no.80, pl.XXXII, late 2nd-early 1st c.

a specimen from Myrina.[983] The signature at the back of our figurine with the letters ΠΛΥ or ΠΑΙ is very similar to signatures from Myrina,[984] perhaps suggesting either a direct or indirect import. The figurine is dated in the 3rd c., based on the same signature from the Anaktoron, if we suppose that the workshop was in use during that time. However, a date in the early 2nd c. should not be excluded.

[510] stands slightly to the side with the right leg bearing the weight and the left to the side and forward. The figure wears a thin high-girded chiton and a himation, which only covers the right shoulder and arm, as well as the left forearm and hand. The chiton leaves the left shoulder uncovered, as well as the top part of the left breast. The right arm is bent at the elbow, inside the himation, while the left arm is lowered to the side. The head turns to the left, the hair is arranged in the melon hairstyle framed by two locks on either side of the shoulders, while a thick wreath adorns the head. The base is tripartite and round. The figurine shows similarities to the creations of Veroia, and is a version of a Veroia type.[985] The stance is similar to Type K from Demetrias, but the right arm is less bent, and its preservation hinders its identification as a version of that type.

The last figurine, **[512*]** stands frontally with the weight on the right leg and the left to the side. The figure wears a thin chiton and is tightly wrapped in a himation, which reaches under the knees. The right arm is bent at the elbow and rests at the back, while the left is lowered to the side, with only the left hand protruding out of the himation. The head turns to the left. The hair is arranged in the knidian hairstyle, a roll of hair that frames the face and a bow-knot bun on top of the head. The figure stands on a high round base. It is highly coloured with pink colour on the himation and red on the hair, while the face is covered with thick white

[983] Mollard-Besques 1963, 107, no.MYR650, pl.127e.
[984] See Chapter 8.
[985] Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, Group A, Type χ, 115-116, no.175, pl.50, mid 2nd c.

paint, different from the slip. This type finds parallels in figurines from Veroia,[986] primarily the way the chiton falls, but displays significant differences that suggest different moulds.

Many of these types show close similarities with the Macedonian workshops, which suggests a direct import of their moulds from the kingdom's northern centres. Stylistically, the wide lower bodies with the smaller heads also fall in the 2nd c., similar to the examples from other sites, as well as from sculpture.

Seated female figures

A terracotta type showing two seated female figures comes from the North cemetery, and survives in two specimens (**[NC14, NC25]**). The figures are depicted one sitting on the other's lap. The right figure sits on a stool with cushion, perhaps a *diphros*, and rests her legs on a footstool. Her body is portrayed in profile, while her face is turned to her left, facing the viewer. She wears a chiton and a himation, a tegidion on her head and earrings. The hair is pulled to a bun at the right side of her head. Her left arm is raised to hold the other figure's elbow. The right arm is wrapped around the second figure's back. Her right leg is extended more than the left, which is more retracted.

The left figure sits on the right figure's lap, facing the viewer. She wears a chiton and himation and her hair is rendered in the tettix hairstyle, with four butterfly-like buns at the back of the head. Her head faces forward, her right arm is bent inside the himation, and raised to her left shoulder. Her left arm is wrapped around the first figure's back. Her left leg is higher than the right. The group sits on a thin rectangular base.

[986] Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, Group A, Type ρ, 105-107, no.132, pl.35, mid 2nd c; for similar iconography, but not the same mould: Mollard-Besques 1972, 24, no.D120, pl.27b, 2nd quarter of 3rd c.

This type comes most definitely from Myrina, as is suggested by the numerous similar finds from that city (**Pl.82, Figs.54-55**);[987] this Myrina type seems to have been exported only to Demetrias. In all cases the heads are different, showing variety in ages, headpieces and expressions. This indicates that they were from a separate mould than the body and that only the mould for the bodies was exported, while for the heads local moulds could serve as well. It is also interesting to point out that the size of the complete specimen is the same as those originating from Myrina, showing that the mould was exported early in its creation, or that perhaps at least two moulds were taken from the prototype, one staying in Myrina and the other having been exported.

[NC14] originates from grave 577, which is dated in the mid 2nd c.,[988] dating the type in the same century. This proves that the stylistic date provided by Mollard-Besques in the 1st c. for the figurine from Myrina in the Louvre and followed by other scholars is too low.[989] **[375]**, closely related iconographically and morphologically, indicates that this schema is used already from the 3rd c.[990]

A second seated female figurine also originates from the North Cemetery (**[NC10]**).[991] The figure is seated on a rock. The body faces right, while the head turns to the viewer. She is wrapped tightly in a himation. The left arm is bent at the elbow and raised to the clavicle with the elbow resting on the rock. The left arm is lowered, resting on the left thigh. The right leg is placed forward. It seems to come from the same mould as two figurines, one from Alexandria and another from Cyrenaica displaying the connections of Demetrias with North Africa (**Pl.82,**

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[987] Cartault 1892, 56-57, pl.69b; Herrmann 1892, 159, no.5; Philadelpheos 1928, 22, pl.XVII, closest parallel; Paul 1962, 18, 36, "from Asia Minor"; Mollard-Besques 1963, 114, nos.MYR659 and MYRINA1023, pl.136e-f, beginning of 1st c.; Bol and Kotera 1986, 195-196, no.106; Zimmer and Kriseleit 1994, 126, no.46, 1st c.
[988] Nikolaou 2012, 352, n.4.
[989] Mollard-Besques 1963, 114, nos.MYR659 and MYRINA1023, pl.136e-f, beginning of 1st c.; Bol and Kotera 1986, 195-196, no.106; Zimmer and Kriseleit 1994, 126, no.46, 1st c.
[990] Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 124, no.55, pl.9.
[991] Nikolaou 2012, 354, no.A.2.2, fig.9.

Fig.56).[992] However, a figurine from Eretria, also from the same mould, could be the origin of our figurine.[993]

Goddesses

Mother-of-the-Gods

Most of the figurines of the Mother-of-the-Gods seem to come from good quality moulds. They belong to different terracotta types. Out of the fourteen figurines depicting the Mother-of-the-Gods, very few originate from the same mould, thus belonging to the same type. **[281]**, the head from the Hellenistic house on the Katsiphas plot **[359]** and perhaps the fragmentary figurine **[290]**, seem to come from the same mould. The first two display many similarities, especially in the tall mural crown. The latter survives only fragmentarily, thus making the identification uncertain. The full lips with the large curve on the top lip, the rounded contours of the face, the rendering of the long locks and the lion indicate that they might originate from the same mould.

The two figurines of the Mother found in the Anaktoron fill **[421-422]** come from the same mould.[994]

When compared with finds from other regions,[995] it is clear that the figurines of the Mother-of-the-Gods from Demetrias were produced locally. They follow the general trends of

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[992] Alexandria: Kassab-Tezgor 2007, no.212, pl.65d-e. Cyrenaica: Winter 1903, 114, 2; Besques 1992, 59-60, pl.28e, early 3rd c.; also Furtwängler 1883, pl.LXXXIII.

[993] Mekacher 2003, 48, no.132, pl.28. From the House of the Mosaics. It is dated from the second quarter of the 4th to the 1st quarter of the 3rd c.

[994] Gossel 1976, 92, nos.1 and 3.

[995] Winter 1903, 175,4; Lazarides 1960; Töpperwein 1976; Nohlen and Radt 1978; Töpperwein-Hoffman 1978; Lazarides 1981; Drougou 1990; 1997; Lazarides 1997; Adam-Veleni 1998; 2000b; Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000; Zografou 2000; Mallios 2004; Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2008; Kielau 2009; Stefani 2010; Drougou 2011b; Ates

the Hellenistic coroplastic art, showing imagination, especially in the case of **[289]**, which reveals that the coroplast was familiar with the symbols used in the cult. These iconographic elements can be summarised as follows: a figure seated on a throne with cross-like ends, wearing a high-girded sleeved chiton and covered with a himation; she holds a phiale with the right hand and a tympanon with the left hand; there are one or two lions on either side of the throne **[289]** and/or a lion cub on her lap **[288]**; the headdress of the figurines depicting the Mother-of-the-Gods varies from a simple polos to a mural crown, to a simple and crenelated stephane and to a combination of stephane and a mural crown; the hair is wavy, parted in the middle and falls in two locks on either shoulder; in **[288]**and **[358]** a polos is placed on top of a veil.[996] **[301]** has a crescent moon in the middle of the mural crown, which can also be seen in the protome depicting the Mother-of-the-Gods from Kallipetra (**Pl.71, Fig.24**).[997] **[283*]** wears a wreath below the mural crown.

Aphrodite

Type A

This type consisting of a semi-nude Aphrodite leaning on a pillar, holding Eros. It survives in three specimens, one of unknown context, probably from the excavations of Arvanitopoulos in the South Cemetery **[523*]**, one from the Anaktoron **[432]**, and another fragment from the Sanctuary of Pasikrata **[108]**. Aphrodite stands with a slight turn to the left,

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2014; Japp and Schwarzer 2015; Stefani 2017; Adam-Veleni 2017a, fig.7-8; Kielau 2018; Dereboylu 2012. For moulds of Mother-of-the-Gods figurines from the Athenian Agora: Burr 1933, 158, fig.1.1; Burr-Thompson 1959, 151, no.21, pl.28.

[996] For a summary of the iconography of Cybele/Mother-of-the-Gods on terracotta: Burr-Thompson 1963c, 77-81. The combination of the stephane with the mural crown can also be seen on a figurine of the Mother-of-the-Gods in the NAM (Winter 1903, 175,4).

[997] Stefani 2017, no.440; the crescent moon is also present on the mural crown of Mother-of-the-Gods figurines in Pella (Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, no.52, pl.59).

facing Eros. The weight is on the right leg, with the left leg coming forward. The torso tilts to the left as she leans on the pillar, her body forming a sigmoid curve. She wears a himation which only covers the legs and the pubic area, where it forms a roll. Thick vertical folds fall from the forward extended left leg. The figure also wears sandals, which are painted with red colour to accentuate their appearance. The right arm lifts the roll to the side. The left elbow rests on the pillar, with the hand holding Eros' right hand. Eros stands with the left leg supporting the weight, and with the right forward. His head tilts to the left. His hair is pulled to a bow-knot on top of the head, with wavy locks also falling on his shoulders. The base is high and ellipsoid.

This type, or at least **[523*]**, is an interesting case; it seems to be a version of a type perhaps developed in Veroia (**Pl.82, Fig.57**) or Pella, showing the goddess in a similar way, with a himation covering her lower body only below the pubic area, with the top part in a roll, leaning on a pillar.[998] The type shows a distribution in cities such as Abdera,[999] Delos,[1000] Rhodes, Myrina,[1001] Pergamon.[1002] In the case of Demetrias a young Eros is added next to the pillar, while the himation roll is extended as the right arm is pulling it sideways. The statuettes of Veroia show many versions in the position of the arms, especially the right, the heads and attributes held by the goddess. What is very similar in both cities, however, is especially the drapery on the legs, which suggests that an exchange of moulds may have occurred. Thus, a variation in the pulling of the himation would not seem strange.

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[998] Veroia: Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, goddesses-nymphs Group A, Type A, 144-157, nos.259-264, pls.69-73, beginning of 2nd c. Pella: Lilimpaki-Akamati 1994, Group B1, 151-152, 178, 180, 229-231, nos.139-140, 278 and 286, pls.20, 32, 35, 2nd c.
[999] Lazarides 1960, 35, 63, no.B62, pl.18, 2nd half of 2nd c.
[1000] Laumonier 1956, 162, no.496, pl.51.
[1001] Burr-Thompson 1934, 33, no.10, pl.IV; Mollard-Besques 1963, 24, no.MYRINA931, pl.26g.
[1002] Töpperwein 1976, 54, 216, no.213, pl.35.

The date of the type, based on the Anaktoron find, should be placed in the 3rd c., something that contradicts what we knew so far about its date, as in other cities it has been dated in the 2nd c.[1003]

Aphrodite Kourotrophos

Three figurines of this iconographic schema survive from the North Cemetery **[NC13, NC26-27]** (in display in the VM).[1004] They come from different moulds, but it is worth pointing out that the mould for the body of at least one (**[NC26]**) of them originates from Myrina.[1005] Two of these Aphrodite figurines hold the baby Eros in the left arm close to the body while the right arm supports the baby's left arm. The mother faces Eros in a loving and tender manner. The head of the figurine **[NC13]** is the same as the one used for the right figure of **[NC25]**, with the addition of a different bun at the back.

The three Aphrodite figurines are identified as such, due to the presence of the baby Eros, otherwise there are no specific iconographic elements to help this identification. These figures have been variously interpreted in the past, although in the Macedonian region there seems to be a consensus that they represent Aphrodite.[1006] The garments are different in each case.

The date of these figurines is not provided in the publication. The Myrina import is probably dated in the late 2nd or early 1st c. BC. There is no specific indication about the other

[1003] See notes above.
[1004] Nikolaou 2012, 354-355, nos.A.3.1-3.
[1005] For the Demetrias figurine: Nikolaou 2012, no.A.3.2, outside of square 63. For the Myrina parallels: Winter 1903, 35,7-8; Burr-Thompson 1934, 71, nos.100-101, late 2nd to early 1st c. and early 1st c. respectively; Mollard-Besques 1963, 31, nos.MYR52, MYR53, pls.35b-c, appr. 100B.C.; Rohde 1968, 51-52, no.46; Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, 253, no.668, pl.93.
[1006] For the interpretation of female figurines holding the baby Eros: Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, 220-221 and n.30-38. *Contra*: Hadzisteliou-Price 1969, who identifies them as Persephone and the soul of the deceased. However, these come from an early 5th c. deposit on Sicily.

two figurines, but perhaps a date in the mid 2nd c. could be provided, at least for **[NC13]**, by the fact that the same mould for the head is used for the right figure of **[NC25]**.[1007]

Nike

One figurine **[107]** survives from Demetrias, from the Pasikrata Sanctuary. It is of very small size, with its wings broken off, but with the attachments surviving. The horizontal hole at the back of the figurine suggests that it would have been suspended. Its small size makes its identification as an amulet also compelling. The small winged figure is shown mid-flight, wearing a high-girded peplos with overfold, blown back by the wind. The right leg is moving forward in a motion that suggests dynamic movement, while the left is backwards and to the side. The head is small with hardly any details surviving. The hair falls to the shoulders.

Female Heads

The heads that are presented here have been found in all contexts. They are discussed below because of the variety of headdresses and hairstyles that they display and how they can be compared to complete examples from the city.

[1007] See above.

Heads with tegidion

This is the largest group of heads with a headdress, surviving in nine examples, six from the Pasikrata Sanctuary **[81-86]**, two from the Anaktoron **[374, 412]** and one with unknown context **[556]**. The tegidion is a cloth that "is folded off the face and back onto the head to form a flat surface with overhanging eaves resembling a little gable",[1008] with holes for the eyes, for covering the face. In all cases the heads from Demetrias are portrayed with the tegidion over the head, not covering the face, with the eyeholes showing over the forehead in the best-preserved examples.

[81], **[83]** and **[556]**, come from large figurines, **[82]**, **[84]**, **[412]** and **[374]** from medium size figurines, while **[85]** and **[86]** come from small figurines. **[81]** has a remarkable combination of headdresses, as the figure wears a wreath under the tegidion, visible at the back of the head. **[82]** wears the tegidion over the himation which covers the head but not the face, while **[85]** and **[374]** have the mouth and nose covered with the himation. Even though **[85]** and **[374]** display many similarities it is not possible to determine whether they come from the same mould due to the former's preservation.

The tegidion is worn in most cases by mortal women, such as Type R, one of the variations of Type T, and one of the female figures in the seated female group. The figurine of Aphrodite holding the baby Eros, is identified as such only by the presence of the winged divine baby.

The Anaktoron figurine **[374]** is most probably a dancer figurine, as is evident from the surviving right arm which is bent at the elbow, comes in front of the chest and rests on the left shoulder, while pulling the himation. One of the most famous so-called "Mantle Dancers" is

[1008] Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 63, with previous bibliography. Also: Burr-Thompson 1963c, 50-52; Lee 2015, 155 and 294, n.195; Brøns 2017, 68-69, for dedications of tegidia at temples.

the Baker Dancer, thought to originate from Alexandria.[1009] Similar dancer figurines come from all over the Mediterranean, with the closest parallel to ours from Abdera, however, of later date.[1010] These figurines have been connected with cult performances to deities such as "Dionysos, Adonis, Demeter, Kybele and Artemis".[1011]

[81] shows close parallels to Veroia and Pella, probably coming from the same mould and perhaps suggests a date from the late 3rd to the mid 2nd c.[1012] **[556]** also displays similarities with the Veroia examples, but it is unclear if it comes from the same mould.[1013] The dates of the Anaktoron examples fall in the 3rd c., while the resemblance of **[412]** with the head of the variation of Type K could indicate that the head used for that version belongs to the 3rd c., probably late. The intense tilt of the neck of **[83]** and **[84]** might indicate a date in the early 2nd c.

In the case of **[556],** the tegidion was decorated in pink colour, while on **[86]** with red.

Heads with thick wreath

At least seven specimens constitute this group of heads, found at the Pasikrata Sanctuary **[87-90]**, the Anaktoron fills **[410-411]** and the Metroon **[344]**. The heads all wear a wreath. The wreath is shown as a thick ring on the head, with the flowers indicated with incision, a ribbon is wrapped around the ring, preserved in the best-surviving examples.[1014]

[1009] Burr-Thompson 1950.
[1010] Lazarides 1960, 5, nos.B85-B86, pl.22, with the tegidion covering the face, last quarter of 2nd c.; Burr-Thompson 1963c, 106, nos.89-90, pl.XXIV.
[1011] Burr-Thompson 1963c, 104; *Contra*: Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 295, does not believe that the veiled dance was exclusively performed in religious contexts.
[1012] Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, 29-31, 126-128, 252, no.212, pl.57; Lilimpaki-Akamati 2008, no.95, pl.18; no.189, pl.33.
[1013] Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, 111-114, 246-247, nos.153-159, 163 and 171-174, pl.44-46, mid 2nd c.
[1014] On the thick wreath in terracottas: Burr-Thompson 1963c, 45-48.

[87] and **[410]** most probably come from the same mould, while the other examples are all different. This type shows a young female, probably in her late teen years, as is evident by the slightly rounded contours of the face. The same can also be noticed for **[89]** and **[411]**, even though they do not survive in such a good state as the ones previously mentioned. Conversely, **[344]** displays a more mature woman. The other examples do not allow for such a discussion of age depiction, due to their preservation.

On more complete examples in Demetrias, the thick wreath can be seen on **[526-527]**, **[507]** and **[510]**, but also on the girl **[239]** from the *Favissa*. The thick wreath is worn both by mortal women and deities, primarily Aphrodite,[1015] although it is not exclusive to females, as it is also shown on young boys and youths, as well as Eros,[1016] the world of Dionysos,[1017] and actors. It is used in terracottas all over the Mediterranean.[1018]

The Anaktoron head **[410]** dates the Pasikrata one **[87]** in the 3rd c., while the head from the Metroon **[344]** shows many similarities to a head from Pella.[1019]

Heads with wreath of leaves

I include here the heads with wreath of leaves as a separate category from the thick wreath, as they are depicted differently. This kind of wreath is identified by the addition of handmade leaves added around the head after moulding. Two heads, coming from the Pasikrata Sanctuary **[124]** and the Metroon **[349]** survive of this iconographic type, displaying a very

[1015] For instance: Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, no.256, pl.73.
[1016] For example: Nikolaou 2012, fig.13.
[1017] For example: **[227]**.
[1018] Pella: Lilimpaki-Akamati 1994, 220 and no.110, pl.17, no.140, pl.20, no.272, pl.31, nos.283-284, pl.34; Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, 96-98, nos.149-161. Veroia: Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, 202-203, with collected previous bibliography and pl.94b. Troy: Burr-Thompson 1963c, 45-48, pl.LI-LIII. Pergamon: Töpperwein 1976, no.315, pl.47. Myrina: Mollard-Besques 1963, pls.204-206. Priene: Rumscheid 2006, 183-184 and pls.80-81. Alexandria: Kassab-Tezgör 2007, no.83, pl.34b.
[1019] Lilimpaki-Akamati 2000, no.153, pl.82β.

similar morphological type. The depicted figure is probably a young female, shown with a characteristic broad nose in both cases, the hair arranged in the "knidian" hairstyle and in the case of the Pasikrata figure, with a "butterfly bun" at the back, added after moulding. The wreath of leaves can also be seen on **[81]** from Pasikrata which wears the tegidion over the wreath.

The Metroon head provides a wide time frame for the use of these heads from the 3rd to the mid 2nd c. BC.

Head with *kekryphalos*[1020]

Thus far only two figurines from Demetrias survive with this headdress from the Metroon **[348]** and a Hellenistic house,[1021] and probably come from the same mould.[1022] The hair is in "knidian" hairstyle, mostly visible above the forehead and framing the face. In sculpture, this kind of headdress is seen worn by Aphrodite on the group of Aphrodite and Pan from the Poseidoniastai clubhouse on Delos.[1023]

These heads reveal very close similarities in manufacture and style to heads of figurines from Tanagra, a figurine unearthed in the east cemetery of Thessaloniki during the excavations for the Metro line, and a figurine from Souroti in Chalcidice, all dated in the late 4th or the early 3rd c.[1024]

[1020] On the kekryphalos: Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 30-31, with previous bibliography.
[1021] Triantafyllopoulou 1998, pl.157c.
[1022] I have not examined these two heads in person.
[1023] Kaltsas 2002, 294-295, no.617.
[1024] Tanagra: Higgins 1986, 130, fig.155; Burn and Higgins 2001, 47, 50, nos.2050, 2063, pls.9, 12 respectively (but 2063 missing the bun on the top of the head in this photo). Thessaloniki: Adam-Veleni et al. 2017, 235, no.129, late 3rd c. Souroti: Koukouvou 2017, 339, no.366, 300-250BC.

Heads with stephane

Five specimens are known to date from the Metroon **[353]**, the Katsiphas plot **[361]**, the Anaktoron fill **[409]**, and an unknown findspot **[557]**. Apart from the Anaktoron example, the rest survive in very good condition, but all from different moulds.

The Katsiphas plot head displays the most detailed stephane with decoration. In **[353]** the stephane is decorated with vertical incisions all over the surface.

In more complete figurines from Demetrias the stephane can be seen worn on **[557]**, the first generation of type D, as well as by the Aphrodite on the figurine-patrix from the Pasikrata Sanctuary **[222]**. Outside Demetrias the stephane is worn by deities, mostly Aphrodite, and mortal women alike, especially brides,[1025] while it can be combined with other headdresses, such as the mural crown, in the case of the Mother-of-the-Gods.[1026]

[557] belongs to a large figurine, while the rest are from medium and small size figurines. The tang on the neck suggests that the head was inserted in the body, created from a separate mould.

The heads from the Anaktoron are dated in the 3rd c., the examples from the Metroon from the 3rd to the mid 2nd c., while the Katsiphas plot head belongs in the 2nd c.[1027]

[1025] Muller and Huysecom-Haxhi 2007.
[1026] Burr-Thompson 1963c, 49-50; Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, 203-204; Rumscheid 2006, pl.11, 19-20; Winter 1903, 175,4.
[1027] Braun 1998, 69-70, no.162, pl.37.7, dates a head very similar to **[557]** in the first half of the 2nd c., but based on stylistic grounds.

Veiled heads

Nine female heads belong to veiled figurines, originating from the Pasikrata Sanctuary **[91-93]**, from the *Favissa* **[240]** and the Metroon **[338-342]**. In five specimens the himation is covering the head and is wrapped around the neck,[1028] only revealing the face, while the remaining three only wear the himation over the back of the head, leaving the neck and part of the hair exposed.[1029] While Llewellyn-Jones identifies this veiling of the head and face as the ancient *pharos* which he sees as distinct from the himation veil, I do not see such a clear distinction in the terracotta figurines.[1030]

Apart from **[91-92]**, which come from large figurines of adult women, the others seem to be from small size figures. The age depicted is not easy to discern due to their preservation, but **[93]** and **[240]** seem to portray young females.

All figurines seem to be local productions, perhaps with the exception of **[340]**, which shows close parallels to a head from Priene.[1031] The rest do not allow for further discussion about parallels.

[240], even though from a worn mould, preserves evidence that the eyes would have been painted, making up for the lack of detail in the mould.

The *Favissa* and Pasikrata heads date in the 3rd c. (on stylistic grounds), while the Metroon specimen could extend until the mid 2nd c.

[1028] **[93]**, **[240]**, **[340-341]**, **[338]**.
[1029] **[92]**, **[345-346]**.
[1030] Llewellyn-Jones 2003, 53-54; also Lee 2015, 155.
[1031] Rumscheid 2006, 468, no.185, pl.75,8 – I have not studied the figurine in person.

Heads with "knidian" hairstyle

The so-called knidian is among the most popular hairstyles with 12 specimens from all known contexts **[104-106, 341, 342, 345, 350, 414-417, 561]**. The "knidian" hairstyle is shown with the hair parted in the middle, creating a triangular shape on the forehead and framing the face.[1032]

The hair can be pulled back in various styles of buns or left to fall on the shoulders. In the case of **[561]**, the back of the head has a very elaborate, handmade bun with several swirls of hair created with the addition of clay. **[341]** and **[342]** also have the hair pulled back to a bun, but in this case a simple undecorated one. On **[104]**, the hair is pulled back with two handmade locks of hair falling on either side of the shoulder, while on **[106]** the locks create almost a bow on the back of the neck. In the case of **[350]**, the head is also adorned by a *tainia*.

The heads **[103]**, **[106]**, **[416]**, **[345]**, **[350]** and **[561]**, all originally belonged to large to medium-large figurines, while the rest come from smaller ones. The back of the heads of **[104]** and **[416]** seem to me to come from the same mould, even though the front moulds are different.[1033]

The knidian hairstyle on more complete examples from Demetrias can be seen in Types A, B, F, I and J. This shows that the hairstyle is worn primarily by adult women, but also by a few young female figures.

Apart from the intricate bun at the back, the heads under examination here are also adorned with earrings, which are in most cases handmade and attached after moulding.

[1032] On the hairstyle: Burr-Thompson 1963c, 37-38; Gkikaki 2014, 4-5, names this type of hairstyle "Haarkranzfrizur", roughly translated as "wreath of hair".
[1033] The same mould of a better quality is probably also used for **[87]**.

All the heads seem to be local creations, apart from perhaps **[104]**, the mould for which might be imported, as it is very close in technique and posture to a head from the Kerameikos, and to examples from Veroia and Chania.[1034]

The heads from the Anaktoron date in the 3rd c. The same is probably true for **[104]**, if my identification of the back moulds is correct. A similar bun to **[561]** can also be seen on a head from the Sanctuary at Soros, indicating a date in the early 3rd c.[1035]

Heads with "melon" hairstyle

Another popular hairstyle in the figurines of Demetrias is the "melon" hairstyle.[1036] Nine heads with the so-called "melonenfrisur" survive, from the Pasikrata Sanctuary **[100-103]**, the Metroon **[351]**, the Anaktoron **[418-419]**, and two with unknown context **[559-560]**, all coming from different moulds. In the case of this hairstyle the hair is pulled back with locks arranged in thick or narrow "waves" or strips, similar in a way to modern "cornrow" hairstyles. Each strand of hair is rotated and pulled back to a variety of buns. **[100]** seems to form a "ponytail" falling on the back of the neck, while **[103]** also had a form of bun, which has been broken off. Apart from **[103]** and **[560]**, the back of the heads is unmoulded. The waves have been enhanced by incision, especially on **[102]**, and **[103]** has small holes, both made with a sharp tool. In addition, **[103]** and **[560]** have a circlet or *tainia* over the hair, while **[101]** probably has a thin braid of hair forming a headband as seen on large sculpture.[1037]

[1034] Kerameikos: Vierneisel-Schlörb 1997, 147, no.455, pl.78,5-7, dated in the late 3rd or early 2nd c. due to comparisons with Myrina; Veroia: Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, no.211; Chania: Markoulaki and Niniou-Kindeli 1982, pl.19α-β.
[1035] Leventi 2012, 303, fig.23.
[1036] On the hairstyle: Burr-Thompson 1963c, 38-39; Gkikaki 2014, 173-175, who identifies the hairstyle with the ancient term "διάκρισις" and 182ff for examples in sculpture.
[1037] For instance: Gkikaki 2014, 216, no.Mb-G 2(1-4) and various other examples.

Except for these six examples, the melon hairstyle can be seen on many other figurines from Demetrias, such as Types G and O as well as **[117]**, **[113]** and **[510]**. Apart from **[560]** which is from a large figurine, the other heads seem to come from medium size figures. All the heads depict young female figures but the hairstyle is also popular for girls, as is evident from the examples **[117]**, **[113]**.

Only **[101]** seems to derive from an imported mould, most likely from Attica,[1038] while the rest are local products, of high quality.

[100] preserves very good evidence for colour. The hair is painted dark red or brown, which is believed by some scholars to represent the dyed hair with henna, a very common practice in antiquity.[1039] In addition the eyes have also been painted in a brown colour.

The dating of the heads seems to fall in most examples in the 3rd c. **[560]** could belong to a large figurine, perhaps an Aphrodite, similar to those found in Macedonia in the 2nd c. BC.[1040]

Heads with *tettix* hairstyle

The heads rendered in the so-called "*tettix"* hairstyle, constitute one of the biggest groups with seven examples mostly from the Pasikrata Sanctuary **[94-99]** and one from the Anaktoron fill **[413]**. The hair is arranged in three rows of "snail-shell curls" above the forehead, framing the face, and usually pulled back to a bun. The *tettix* is a hairstyle that is typical of Hellenistic terracotta figurines, with very few representations in sculpture.[1041] The earliest representations

[1038] Brauron: Mitsopoulos-Leon 2015, 110-11, 117, nos.125-130, pl.19, 3rd c.; Kerameikos: Vierneisel-Schlörb 1997, 144, no.441, pl.76, 330-300 BC. Corinth: Merker 2000, no.H214, pl.43.
[1039] Rumscheid 2006, 375; Tzanavari 2017a, 55. Evidence of red colour also exists on the hair of **[101]**.
[1040] Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, nos.260-261, pl.70.
[1041] On the hairstyle: Burr-Thompson 1963c, 39-40, who argues for a descriptive name for the hairstyle "snail-shell curls", nevertheless I use the term conventionally; Gkikaki does not include it in her survey of Hellenistic female hairstyles, perhaps due to the absence in large sculpture and reliefs; also Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, 200. The ancient term for this hairstyle is still debated.

of this hairstyle (known to me) appear on the free-standing statue of the so-called Artemisia from the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos and on the funerary *naiskos* of Demetria and Pamphile from the Kerameikos of ca. 320 BC.[1042]

[94] and **[96]** perhaps come from the same mould, but the state of preservation of the latter does not allow for further comments. The other heads come from different moulds. All heads, except for **[99]**, have the back of the heads moulded, as well as the front. The front mould is shallow, as is most evident in the case of **[95]**, which has preserved only the front part of the head, but also **[413]**, with a break on top of the head, showing the depth of both moulds.

Most heads under discussion here are covered at the back with a himation, with **[97]** having also the mouth covered. The exception to this is **[413]**, which has the hair on the back of the head arranged in a manner resembling the melon hairstyle, and with a large handmade bun attached after moulding. The hair of **[94]** preserves a few traces of red paint, suggesting the colouring of the hair.

The size of the figurines that the heads come from are large for **[94]**, **[91]** and **[96]**, medium for **[97]** and **[413]**, and small for **[99]**. This hairstyle can also be seen in most examples of Type C, on one of Type T (**[555]** also veiled), as well as on the right figure of **[NC25]**.

The date of the Pasikrata heads is unclear. However, the Anaktoron head proves that the tettix hairstyle exists already from the 3rd c., whereas Burr-Thompson had suggested that it only emerges in the 2nd c. The hairstyle seems to be more popular in the 2nd c., from the examples excavated in Macedonia.[1043]

[1042] Waywell 1978; Bergemann 1997, no.597.
[1043] Karamitrou-Mentessidi 1985, 270-271, pl.159; Lilimpaki-Akamati 1994, 220;

Girl Figurines

Standing girls

Ten figurines of standing girls survive from Demetrias, all originating from different moulds. They come from the Pasikrata Sanctuary, the Anaktoron and the *Favissa*, while one has unknown context. They all stand frontally and wear a high-girded chiton with a long overfold. Seven out of the ten also wear a himation, but are not tightly wrapped in it, as are adult women. Only two hold a garland (**[238]**) and a bird (**[239]**) respectively.

Type A

The young girls represented in this type survive in four examples, albeit all lacking exact provenance **[564-567]**. The figure is standing frontally, in a stride, with the left leg supporting the weight and the right leg in front of the body. She wears a high-girded peplos with a long overfold that reaches the thighs. The folds are thin but also very flat. The right arm is bent at the elbow, raised and extended in front of the figure. The left arm is missing in all the specimens. The head is frontal with a slight turn to the right. The hair is in the knidian hairstyle, pulled back to a large bun. The figure also wears a wreath over the hair. The eyes are round, and the lips are full and small. The face has rounded contours, similar to the young children statues. The figure has a triangular shape, due to its posture.

This type is probably a local creation, but parallels are found at Abdera, in the Mount Cemetery, which was in use from the 6th c. to the mid 3rd c. The excavators have interpreted these particular figurines as dancers, probably because of their arm gestures.[1044]

Type B

Type B is thus far only found in the Pasikrata Sanctuary **[112]**. It is shown standing frontally, with the left leg supporting the weight, while the right is to the side. The figure wears a high-girded chiton with overfold that reaches the hips. The chiton falls in vertical thin folds below the waist. She also wears a himation over the back, which covers the left shoulder and arm, and the right forearm, leaving the hand uncovered. The left arm is bent at the elbow and rests on the hip, while the right is lowered to the side. The base is rectangular. The girl's small breasts are clearly defined, indicating an older age, perhaps in the late teen years. Figurines with a similar dress have been found in the cemetery of Pella, but from different moulds than type B, as their size is considerably larger.[1045] Type B seems to be present in the sanctuary of Apollo at Soros, providing the earliest known example in the region.[1046] A parallel for this type can be seen in a figurine from Nikisiani, of lower quality but of similar size, whose drapery has been indicated with paint.[1047] It is dated based on the grave content from the end of the 4th to the beginning of the 3rd. One further example from Thebes provides a better dated parallel, with similar stance and dress, in the second half of the 3rd c.[1048]

[1044] Kallintzi et al. 1998, 47 and fig.39. Also Winter 1903, 141.11, from Capua; Davidson Weinberg 1952, no.248, pl.21.
[1045] Lilimpaki-Akamati 1994, 204-205, no.387, pl.44; also Besques 1992, 39, no.D3497, pl.29b, but with opposite arms; Graepler 1997, 116-117, fig.72.
[1046] Leventi 2012, 302, no.ΠΕ18/05, fig.14 and no.ΠΕ20/05, fig.17.
[1047] Lazarides et al. 1992, 37, no.E295, pl.20.
[1048] Kountouri et al. 2016, 186, fig.13.

Only one figurine has been located so far in the NAM, but two more of the same type are shown in Arvanitopoulos' photos, meaning that at least three figurines in the Pasikrata sanctuary were created from the same mould.[1049]

Type C

Type C represents the iconographic type of the girl holding a bird, known from the Pasikrata Sanctuary **[115]**. The girl is depicted standing frontally, with the right leg supporting the weight, while the left is significantly to the side and back. She wears a high-girded chiton with an overfold that reaches the hips. A thick fold falls vertically along the middle of the figurine. The left arm is lowered to the side. The right is bent at the elbow and holds a bird in the hand, close to the chest. The base is rectangular. A figurine from Eretria is very similar to type C, regarding the thick central fold of the chiton, and is dated between the late 4th to the early 3rd c.[1050] The figurine **[239]** from the *Favissa* is very close to Type C, but on close examination of details, must be from a different mould. Both figures hold the bird with the left hand and arm, both have the same position for the right arm, and both wear the same garment. However, in the case of **[239]** the chiton falls in thicker and straighter folds below the waist. In addition, they have different supporting legs. A very close parallel comes from Alexandria, but nevertheless it is a widely diffused type.[1051]

[1049] Photo A/A8512 (**Pl.60**), 2nd row, 3rd and 6th from right.
[1050] Mekacher 2003, 31-32, no.37, pl.9, from the pyre deposit K7.
[1051] Kassab-Tezgör 2007, 142, no.173, pls.4a, 57b-c, 130-131, no.154, pls.4d, 5a; Higgins 1986, pl.62c, also from Alexandria, but with different supporting leg. For an earlier version of this iconographic type from Boeotia: Higgins 1954, 235, no.878, pl.127, but interprets the figurine as Leda.

Only one example from type C has been located in the NAM, but four more are depicted in the 1912 photos of Arvanitopoulos, increasing the number of the figurines of this type to five.[1052]

Other types

The figurines **[113]** and **[448]** are very close stylistically and in posture, albeit from different moulds. They are shown wearing a high-girded chiton, and have the right arm bent at the elbow, resting on the hip. The left arm is lowered to the side. They both wear a himation over the back, which is wrapped around the left forearm and falls over the right shoulder. The group of folds over the left arm is very similar in both specimens, with many small folds wrapped tightly.

Another distinctive group, but again not from the same mould, are two figurines that have a characteristic central braid on their hair (**[446]** and **[236]**). They closely resemble marble statues such as those at Brauron. Especially **[236]**, which survives almost intact, is depicted standing frontally, with a slight turn of the head to the left. The left leg supports the weight, while the right comes forward. She wears a high-girded chiton and has the middle part of her body loosely covered with a himation. The left arm is lowered to the side, with the forearm wrapped in the himation, while the right arm is bent at the elbow and raised to the level of the chest, pulling the himation, which creates distinctive V-shaped folds between the two hands. The heads of both figurines have rounded contours, with plump cheeks and long hair with the central braid.

[1052] Photo A/A8514 (**Pl.59**), 3rd row, 6th from left; photo A/A8512 (**Pl.60**), 2nd row, 5th from right; photo A/A8516, first row (**Pl.63**), 4th from right; photo A/A8519, bottom row, 7th from right.

[563] displays a typical iconography for girls of the Hellenistic age and finds direct parallels both in sculpture and terracottas.[1053] The figure is shown standing frontally, wearing a high-girded chiton; a himation falls diagonally from her left arm, around her waist and over her left forearm. The left arm is bent at the elbow and comes forward, raising the himation. The head is frontal but no details survive. A close parallel in terracotta comes from a grave from the East Cemetery of Amphipolis, dated to the first quarter of the 3rd c.[1054]

[237] is another unique specimen in Demetrias. The girl wears a high-girded chiton with broad folds below the waist and a himation, wrapped from the left shoulder, around the back and waist, back to the left shoulder, covering the left forearm. Once more, the nearest stylistic affinity comes from sculpture, in particular a statue from the Asklepieion of Lissos, Crete.[1055]

[238], holding the garland, is not a very common iconographic type. The himation is worn in a similar manner to the previous figure, but the chiton creates numerous thin folds as it falls. This is an iconographic type that does not have as wide diffusion as the other girl figurines in the period. Some examples come from Alexandria, but still few,[1056] and Amarynthos.[1057]

Figurines depicting standing girls have been found in numerous sites, primarily in sanctuaries, but also in cemeteries and houses.[1058]

[1053] Leventi 2013, Bobou 2015, 144, no.2, from Brauron, early 3rd c., nos. 60-61, from Delphi, the former is dated to the second quarter of the 3rd c.; Anagnostopoulou 2015, 10, no.5, pl.3, from Andros, dated in the second half of the 2nd c.

[1054] Rhomiopoulou 2013, 134, no.429E-432E, fig.39, first quarter of the 3rd c. The size of the Amphipolis figurine is 0.125m. while the Demetrias specimen is 0.09m. Also Bald-Romano 1995, no.69, pl.22; Rumscheid 2006, no.168, pl.69,2, but with the right arm inside the himation.

[1055] Machaira 2011, fig.4; also Kassab-Tezgör 2007, no.95, pl.37b, but with opposite arms.

[1056] Kassab-Tezgör 2007, 77-78, nos.64-65, pl.29d-e, interpreted as either flying or dancers.

[1057] Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1992, fig.13.

[1058] Mollard-Besques 1972, 26, no.D130, pl.29e (with a bunny on her lap), 68, no.D428, pl.92c; Higgins 1986, pl.50; Metzger 1985, 77-78, nos.375-376, 396-397, and 413-417, pl. 21 and 90-92, nos.1163-1526, pls.27-29; Besques 1986, 39, no.D3497, pl.29, nos.D3633-3634, pl.53; Baroni and Casolo 1990, 177, no.A.CXXVIIa1, pl.XII,4; Palaiokrassa 1991, 112, no.E54, pl.16; Besques 1992, 62-63, nos.D4329-D4335, pl.30; Graepler 1997, 224, figs.250-253; Vierneisel-Schlörb 1997, 102, no.313, pl.58, 10; Merker 2000, 206-207, nos.H37-47, pls.26-27; Burn and Higgins 2001, no.2042, pl.8, nos.2708 and 2711, pl.114, nos.2718-12720, pl.116, no.2894, pl.145; Mekacher 2003, 31-32, nos.32-41, pls.8-9; Rumscheid 2006, nos.168-171, pl.69; Kassab-Tezgör 2007, no.95, pl.37-b, no.121, pl.43c, no.176, pl.57f, no.178, pl.58a-b, nos.237-239, pl.71, nos.255-256, pl.77d-e, Jeammet

All the terracottas of this iconographic type should be dated in the 3rd c., especially considering the termini of the *Favissa* and the Anaktoron.

Seated girls

The iconographic type of seated girls is particularly popular in Demetrias. At least nine fragments have been found so far at the Pasikrata Sanctuary (**[116]**), the Anaktoron foundations (**[449-455]**) and with unknown precise context (**[568]**), with only two coming from the same mould (Type D **[116, 449]**). They can be distinguished into four categories: holding a diptychon (**[451, 452, 568]**), holding a bird (**[453, 454]**), holding a grape and fan (**[116]**), and seated without an attribute (**[450]**).

The diptychon holders are the most popular, with three examples (**[451, 452, 568]**). All the figures wear a chiton and have a diptychon on their lap held with both hands, with one part of it falling over their knees.[1059] Their legs are either open or in **[451]** the feet are close together, perhaps to indicate modesty and proper behaviour.

The two specimens of bird holders are fragmentary and come from the Anaktoron (**[453-454]**). In both cases young girls wear a thin chiton and hold a bird on their lap in the left

2010, 162, fig.55, 215, no.188; Sarri 2014, 135-136, fig.10, from a grave in Argos; Aravantinos et al. 2014, 61, fig.15; Banaka 2014, no.A20, pl.11, for a mould from Argos; Spathi 2015, 439, fig.7.

[1059] On the iconography of reading and writing in classical art: Chatzidimitriou 2012, 331-332 and n.83, for girl figurines in the Hellenistic period. For the education of boys and girls in the Hellenistic period: Bobou 2015, 28-29; Benissi 2019. For other girls with diptychon: Chehab 1951, pl.LXIII,3-5, pl.LXV; Nicholson 1968, no.170, pl.29; Mollard-Besques 1972, 297, no.D2426, pl.370i; Higgins 1973, 80, no.167, pl.55; Metzger 1985, 79, no.456, pl.22; Schürmann 1989, no.1268, pl.209; Besques 1992, 64, no.D4340, pl.31e; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1992, 248, 263, fig.16; Burn and Higgins 2001, 235, no.2749, pl.122, 272, no.2906, pl.147, and 290, no.2972, pl.158; Kassab-Tezgör 2007, 41, no.3, pl.13c, 190-191, no.253, pl.77a, 201, no.269, pl.80c; Jeammet 2010, 210, no.183, and 232, no.198, but with doubts about its authenticity; Rhomiopoulou 2013, 113, no.393E, fig.8; Chidiroglou 2015, 97-98, fig.19; Chidiroglou 2016, 215-216, fig.21; Pisani 2016, 199, pl.7; Adam-Veleni et al. 2017, 428, no 566, 431, no.572; Benissi 2019.

hand.[1060] However, their state of preservation does not allow to determine if they come from the same mould. **[453]** is based on Attic creations which were widely diffused and displays very close similarities to a figurine from the cemetery of Chatby in Alexandria.[1061]

Type D

Type D is represented by three specimens, one from the Pasikrata sanctuary **[116]**, preserved intact, from the Anaktoron **[449]**, and the North Cemetery **[NC8]**. The girl is shown seated frontally on a stool with the left foot behind the right. She wears a short-sleeved, high-girded chiton, with a large overfold which reaches the thighs. A group of V-folds is shaped between the two legs. The left arm rests on the stool and the right is bent at the elbow and raised to the abdominal area, holding on its hand a bunch of grapes and a fan (in the Pasikrata example). The head has a long neck and the hair is in melon hairstyle, pulled back to a high bun. A close iconographic parallel comes from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore and the North Cemetery at Corinth, dated in the first half of the 3rd c, but the figurine's left arm in this case does not rest on the seat.[1062]

Finally, the seated girl **[449]** comes from the Anaktoron. The figure is seated on a narrower stool than the other examples from Demetrias. Also, in contrast to the rest, she is tightly wrapped in a long himation which reaches her ankles, and wears a thin chiton under it. The right arm is bent at the elbow and raised to the clavicle, in an arm-sling motion. The left

[1060] This iconographic type does not seem to be very popular outside of Demetrias. The only other parallels of seated girls holding animals come from Astritsi on Crete: Manetaki 2011, 140-144, Typus 118, pl.94-96. For seated girls with animals on their lap on grave reliefs: Bobou 2015, 106-107, fig.43.
[1061] Kassab-Tezgör 2007, 55, no.26, pl.19a-b.
[1062] Blegen et al. 1964, 292, no.496-8, pl.82; Merker 2000, 242, no.339, pl.52; Thompson 1936, 172, no.e1, fig.18.

arm rests on the seat, as in Type D. Even though the dress (wrapped in himation) is unusual for girls, it is not unprecedented, for instance **[121]** and **[456]**.

This type seems to have originated from Attica in the third quarter of the 4th c. and known wide diffusion in all of the Hellenistic world.[1063]

The Demetrias figurines seem to date in the 3rd c, a date provided by the Anaktoron terminus. This is also supported by parallels from other sites, such as Athens, Corinth and Eretria, even though some continue down to the 2nd c.

An Attic import for some of the figurines cannot be excluded, especially for Type D, which finds multiple parallels, but might also be a local version of this popular type.

Heads of girls

11 heads of girls survive from Demetrias, from the Pasikrata Sanctuary (**[119-126]**), the *Favissa* (**[240]**) the Metroon (**[352]**) and the Anaktoron (**[456]**). Even though they do not come from the same moulds nor form a concrete group, they will be discussed together, due to their small number. Their faces have rounded contours, with chubby cheeks, and curly hair. In addition, all belong to small figurines, appropriate for the age depicted. Following Bobou's age estimates,[1064] **[121]** seems to be the youngest of the group, because of the figure's very small and round face, perhaps around five years of age. **[119]**, **[120]** and **[352]** are probably of a slightly older age, perhaps between five and nine years. Conversely, **[122]** is older than the previous two groups, with less rounded contours, but still not quite of age yet.

[1063] For dating: Burr-Thompson 1966c, 59; For the interpretation and diffusion of the seated girl: Peppa-Papaioannou 2011, 115-116; Pisani 2016, 199, argues against a single origin for the type, but that it was rather locally produced, following the trends of the time.
[1064] Bobou 2015.

There is variation in the attributes on their heads as well. **[120]** is covered with a himation and over that a tegidion, a fairly uncommon veil for such a young age. **[120]** and **[122]** wear a ringlet or *tainia* on the head, similar to that of **[153]** as well as **[568]**. **[119]** even though similar to **[120]** wears a thick wreath, not a common attribute for girl figurines in Demetrias.[1065]

The hair of the girls is of two kinds: pearl-like curly locks falling to the shoulders, as that of **[119]**, **[120]**, and **[122]**, while in more complete figurines it is seen on **[153]**. **[123]** and **[352]** exhibit the knidian hairstyle, with the former also having a bow-know on top of the head.[1066]

The date of the girl heads is difficult to determine, since both the Metroon and the Pasikrata heads do not come from closed contexts. However, a date from the 3rd until the mid 2nd c. is probably appropriate for all. They seem to be local creations, following the Hellenistic koine.

[1065] For examples outside of Demetrias: Metzger 1985, nos.1417-1448, pl.29; Merker 2000, no.H341, pl.52.
[1066] For the bow-knot: Burr-Thompson 1963c, 42-43.

Kausia-boys

The kausia figurines were classified by Hornung-Bertemes into four types. Here I will follow her classification and extend it with the newly identified types in the NAM. The classification criteria are based on the size, the differences in the moulds and on the overall appearance (stance, heads, dress, drapery, hair, base).

All boys are depicted standing frontally, wearing a short-sleeved chitoniskos, a chlamys clasped on the right shoulder, a kausia on the head and *krepides* (boots). The left arm is bent at the elbow inside the chlamys and raised to the neck, apart from type F. In addition, only type F is nude, apart from the chlamys. The space between the legs is filled with clay, at least for the types that survive complete (Types A, B, C, D, F and H).[1067]

Type A

Type A is one of three most popular (kausia-boy types) in Demetrias with at least 20 examples, from several contexts **[131-138*, 241, 531, 540, NC21]**.[1068] The figurines of Type A are depicted with the head turning to the right and looking slightly upwards. The left leg bears the weight, while the right is relaxed to the side. The left arm is bent at the elbow under the chlamys and touches the chin.[1069] The right arm is lowered, with the forearm wrapped in the chlamys. The chlamys is long, its hem reaching below the knees and the drapery is fine and detailed. The kausia is clearly separated into two parts, with the top being flat. The face is

[1067] The series are discussed in Hornung-Bertemes 1997, 192-195; 2007, 95-98.
[1068] See Appendix B.
[1069] Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 140, claims that the hand of the left arm finishes on the neck and that the part on the chin is misshaped clay during the manufacture. However, there are parallels from other sites where the hand reaches the chin or even the mouth. Upon inspection, it is evident that this was intentional and there is nothing to suggest such a mistake.

rounded with almond-shaped eyes, slightly chubby cheeks and framed by the hair that falls to the shoulders. The base is low and rectangular.

Type A preserves the most traces of colour. Apart from two pieces, all figurines preserve at least a few traces of a white slip. In the best-preserved examples **[137]**, the hair is painted red-brown, the flesh is salmon-pink and the chlamys is painted light red to pink. The kausia is left white.

Type A should be dated to the 1st half of the 3rd c, date confirmed by the context of Grave 668 of the North Cemetery.[1070] Stylistically it is close to the "Pydna Group" (**Pl.83, Figs.58-59**), especially with regards to the folds on the left arm and the right shoulder; the differences are significant in the lower body.[1071]

Type B

This type is also very popular in the city found in the Pasikrata sanctuary, the *Favissa* and the Anaktoron **[139-169*, 242-244, 457]**.[1072] The stance is similar to Type A. The figure is depicted in a more frontal position compared to Type A, with the head slightly tilted to the right and looking straight. The left arm is bent at the elbow under the chlamys and the hand reaches the clavicle. The chlamys has a wider opening than Type A, and it is shorter than Type A reaching just below the knees, while the short-sleeved chiton is visible on the right side, at the opening of the chlamys. Type B is characterised by a less detailed execution of the kausia folds which are wider and flatter. The kausia is separated into two parts; the top is rounder than Type A, while the brim of the top part and the band are flater than in the previous type. The

[1070] Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 65; Nikolaou 2012, 356, n.42.
[1071] For the "Pydna Group" see below Type E.
[1072] See Appendix B

face is flat and round in shape, framed by the hair that falls to the level of the chin. The base is rectangular.

Some examples preserve their colours: salmon-pink on the flesh, red on the boots and red-brown on the hair (**[139]** and **[149]**). In one case, there is pink on the leg, to denote the skin.

Type B is dated in the 3rd c. by a fragment that was found in the Anaktoron foundation fill (**[457]**).[1073] A figurine of the same type was found in Grave 791 at the North Cemetery together with an unguentarium of the 1st half of the 3rd c BC, providing a more precise date to the type.[1074]

Hornung-Bertemes discerned two versions of type B and four variations for the first version. I have not been able to see the differences that Hornung-Bertemes distinguishes in the variations.[1075]

Type C

Type C is easily distinguishable from the other kausia-boy types **[170*-204, 532-536]**. It is taller and has a larger head. In stance, it is similar to the previous types. The head in this case turns to the left instead of the right, the rendering is less refined than in Type A or B. The chlamys is long, reaching the middle of the shins and creates only two folds on the front that are wide and flat, as well as a deep fold at the neck that does not exist in the previous types. The left hand reaches the clavicle, as in Type B. The right arm is lowered to the side with a slight bent at the elbow and the forearm is wrapped in the chlamys, creating a cluster of thin,

[1073] Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 61.
[1074] Nikolaou 2012, 357, n.47.
[1075] Hornung-Bertemes 1997, 195; 2007, 97.

curved folds to the side. The faces are chubby with rounded cheeks and double-chin. The kausia consists of a narrow band and a rounded top. The base is cylindrical.

A few colours have survived; red-brown on the hair, pink-beige on the flesh and pink on the chlamys and in one case blue (see **[187]**, **[191]** and **[197*]** for the blue).

Hornung-Bertemes distinguished two variations within this type. The only difference that I can see after examining the objects is the very slight arch on the left side of the body that extends to the base. This is only discernible in **[200]** and **[201]**.

The figurines from Agria **[532-536]** are very worn and largely conserved to a degree that does not allow a clear distinction to either variation.

Type C is the only type so far that has more than two generations.[1076] **[170]** may belong to a first generation, as it is significantly larger. Since only one example survives and is very fragmentary, it is difficult to measure details to be certain. The mould of Generation II must have been in use for a longer period, as the quality of the Generation I keeps deteriorating.[1077] A third generation is discernible in **[198]** and **[199*]** because they are smaller in size than the rest of the pieces of the same type,[1078] while the faces are rounder and softer than the other examples which seem slightly rigid.

The only figurines that can be attributed to a different workshop with some certainty are the group from Agria. Not only is the clay much more friable and softer, and of different colour (almost yellow - 7.5YR, 7/8), but the figurines also come from very worn moulds, features that suggest a different workshop.

[1076] See **Pl.97** for genealogical tree and variations.
[1077] Muller 1996, 508.
[1078] The height of the faces is 0.019m and the width 0.016m, while all the faces of the other examples are 0.02m. in height and 0.028m. in width.

Type C is dated by Hornung-Bertemes in the last quarter of the 3rd c., or at the turn of the 3rd c. to the 2nd,[1079] but a chronological overlap of Type A and C cannot be excluded, as can be deduced from the Agria finds.

Type D

Four figurines constitute type D, which fall in two variations **[205-207, 245]**.[1080] They are rendered completely frontal and have more slender shoulders than the other types, with thinner folds in deeper relief, while the chiton is visible, with clearly defined folds. The weight is on the right leg, while the left foot is to the side. The head of D.b **[245]** faces forward, while no heads survive for D.a **[205-207]**. The left hand is raised to the clavicle. The right forearm is wrapped with the chlamys. Compared to the other types, the kausia of D.b (**[245]**) is worn higher on the head, it has a thinner band and the top has a thick brim. The folds of the chlamys' edge on the right side, below the arm create two shallow curves on top of each other. The base is ellipsoid.

[206], the best-preserved example, has salmon-pink colour on the body, pink on the chlamys and possibly traces of another colour on the chiton, which unfortunately cannot be determined without further analysis.

Three additional versions of this type were created with the attachment of a syrinx and/or a lagobolon, as well as the change of the head (see **Pl.98)**. These versions constitute the types A, D and the single fragment **[539]** of the boys-with-syrinx.[1081]

[1079] Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 65.
[1080] See Appendix B for distribution.
[1081] See equivalent types.

The date of this type could be tentatively placed in the 3rd c., because of the existence of a version of type D in the Agria group (**[539]**), which can be dated by type A.

Type E

Type E is represented by six examples **[208-211, 246, NC22]**. Two variations can be discerned for this type, the second one represented by the North Cemetery example (**Pl.103**). Many thin folds fan out from the right shoulder where the chlamys is clasped. In E.a **[208-211, 246]** the kausia is wider, with a thin band and a thick but flat top and is worn higher. The head is slightly turned to the left and tilted downwards. The hair is of the same length as in the previous types and is visible on the forehead. The face is flat with furrowed eyebrows and deep-set eyes. The cheeks are thinner than the other types, and the face appears slightly older in age. The left hand reaches the clavicle. In **[NC22]** (E.b) which survives intact, the head faces forward, tilted slightly to the right, with a narrower kausia, which is worn lower on the head, and the figure stands on a trapezoid base. Pink colour survives on the naked part of the right arm.

A second Version of Type E can be distinguished in the case of Type C of the "shepherds with syrinx" (**Pl.99**). The syrinx has been added to the original kausia-boy Type E, held in the right hand, changing its iconography. The head is also changed.

The date of this type is not easy to determine, as no date is provided for the North Cemetery example. This type displays many similarities with a kausia-boy type ("Pydna Group") which was widely diffused in the Aegean (**Pl.83, Figs.58-59**) during the second half of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd c. The Demetrias type seems to be a version of the "Pydna Group", because the head has changed, and the body and legs are taken from one mould with clay filling the space between them, while in the "Pydna Group" the legs are made from

separate moulds from the body.[1082] In addition, the drapery is less detailed, more summarily rendered and flatter towards the hem. We can then suppose that Type E is then a version of the "Pydna Group", which could have been created in two ways: either from derivative production from one of the original creations (a mould taken from a figurine); or we could imagine another generation between our type and the "Pydna Group" from which a secondary mould was created and then imported to Demetrias. A group of three figurines from Samothrace (**Pl.83, Fig.60**) can also shed some light on this in-between stage. They were found in a pithos burial of a 10-year-old child dated in the first quarter of the 3rd c.[1083] They display greater detail than the Demetrias examples, but we can see that the figurine is taken from one mould which includes the legs and the base – contrary to the "Pydna Group" type – however the head is again different. Thus, a date for our type in the beginning of the 3rd c. is justified.

Type F

This new type is known from six examples **[212-215, 530, 544]**, as well as one depicted in Arvanitopoulos' photographs.[1084] In Type F the boys are wearing only a chlamys and no chiton, leaving half of the body uncovered and revealing the genitals. The contrapposto in this type is more pronounced than in the previous types, with the left leg bearing the weight and coming forward. The head turns to the left. Both arms are lowered to the side, the left wrapped inside the chlamys. Compared to the previous types, the kausia is wider in proportion to the head, with a thicker band and a curved top with a thick brim, which is wider than the band. The

[1082] Pydna: Bessios 2010, 224; Noulas 2014, 413. Found in Grave 2, ca. 320-310 BC. Akanthos: Misaelidou-Despotidou 2014, 107, no.100. Athens: Burns and Higgins 2001, 36, no.2011-12, pl.2. Lesvos: Acheilara 2006, 345, nos.416-417, late 4th c. Nisyros: Filimonos-Tsopotou 2014, 181, 3rd quarter of the 4th c.
[1083] Dusenbery 1998, 459-461, 864-867.
[1084] See Appendix B for distribution.

face is rounded with chubby cheeks, but smaller compared to Type C and more symmetric. The hair is formed in rows of pearl-like curls. The naked parts of the body are painted pink-beige, the hair dark red, the *krepides* intense red and the base red. The base is high and conical.

Type F is dated by the finds of Grave 11 in the second quarter of the 3rd c.[1085]

Type G

Type G survives in two heads from the Pasikrata Sanctuary **[216-217]**. They are similar to Type C, because they turn only slightly to the left, but (here) the facial features are slimmer. In addition, the band of the kausia is thicker than Type C. The hair is very summarily rendered and reaches the level of the chin. Overall Type G appears to represent boys older in age than the other types, especially Type C and F: the facial features are less rounded and with sharper contours. The face is painted pink and the hair is dark red.

The date of this type is problematic, as it is only found in the Pasikrata Sanctuary. We could speculate a date in the 3rd c.

Type H

This type is represented by one fragmentary example from the Pasikrata Sanctuary **[218]**. The boy is shown standing frontally. It is difficult to determine the exact stance, other than the fact that the left arm is bent at the elbow and raised to the level of the chest, wrapped inside the chlamys. The head turns slightly to the left, it is larger than those of the other types and the

[1085] Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2012, 226.

facial contours are rounder. Characteristic features of the face are the broad nose and thick lips. The hair falls to chin level. The two parts of the kausia are clearly defined.

Type I

Type I consists of three figurines of which only the heads survive **[219-220, 542]**.[1086] The kausia has a wider and thicker top, as well as a thick bottom part. The hair is rendered short below the kausia. The eyes are slit, rather than almond-shaped, as is typical of other types. The nose is wide, and the ends of the mouth are downturned. The contour of the face is sharper than the more rounded shapes of the other types, perhaps portraying older age.[1087]

The dating of the type is possible if we accept that the head from the BM was in the same grave as the rest of the assemblage "near Volos". Thus, the kausia types A and F found in the same assemblage help date Type I around the second quarter of the 3rd c.

Type J

This type is represented by two figurines, one from the BM assemblage and one displayed in Arvanitopoulos' photos from the Pasikrata Sanctuary, yet unlocated.[1088] The figure stands with the weight on the left leg, while the right leg moves forward. The right forearm is wrapped inside the chlamys. The head on the photo is much worn, thus one cannot discuss issues of facial features and age.

The date of Type J probably falls in the second quarter of the 3rd c.

[1086] See Appendix B.
[1087] Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 149, has also noticed this referring to the BM figurine.
[1088] Photo A/A8519, 3rd row, 3rd from right.

Single fragments

Two figurines of kausia-boys from Demetrias do not fall into any of the previous categories. One was discovered in the *Favissa* **[247]** and the other is of unknown origin **[572]**. They are shown with the left leg bearing the weight and the right leg forward, seen through the chlamys. The left arm is bent at the elbow and raised to the clavicle, while the left is lowered to the side with the forearm wrapped inside the chlamys.

The head of **[247]** faces forward with a small kausia on the head which is summarily executed. The hair falls to chin level. The face has sharper contours which might suggest an older age.

The head of **[572]** also faces forward. The kausia is rendered even more summarily than the previous figurine. The contours of the face are rounded, suggesting a younger age. The hair falls to shoulder level. This is the only intact figurine of the three and it stands on a tall cylindrical base.

The date of these two figurines could fall in the 3rd c. mostly because of the similarity in pose with type J.

"Shepherds" with syrinx and/or lagobolon

This iconographic type is popular in Demetrias, represented by 23 figurines discovered mostly in the *Favissa*, as well as the North Cemetery and the Pasikrata Sanctuary. Similar to the kausia-boy types they depict young boys wearing the chitoniskos, the chlamys clasped in the right shoulder and the kausia. Only Type E and a single fragment is nude under the chlamys. The figurines of this iconographic group are much more summarily rendered than the kausia-

boy types with the folds in lower relief, and not much attention to detail or symmetry. In addition, the kausias in this type are generally higher than the previous types. The hair in all cases is long, reaching the shoulders, but rendered with less detail than the kausia-boy types. Many types of this group are versions of the kausia-boy types as the coroplasts add the syrinx and/or the lagobolon and change the original heads.

Type A

This type is a version of the kausia-boy Type D.b, with the addition of a lagobolon and a syrinx on the right-hand area, as well as the change of head (**Pl.98** for genealogical tree). Type A consists of seven examples, all discovered in the *Favissa* **[248-255]**. Three variations have been distinguished for this type by Hornung-Bertemes (variation a: **[248-251]**, b: **[252-253]**, c: **[254-255]**). The kausia here features a very wide and flat upper part. The syrinx and the lagobolon are placed on the right hand of the initial type. The lagobolon's tip is long and reaches the left arm. The base is rectangular. In variation b the head is tilted to the right, perhaps because of an accident in the moulding process. The other variations survive very fragmentarily.

The type should be dated in the 3rd c., after the second quarter, as the version of the original kausia type D belongs to the Agria group. Thus, our specimens must come after the latter's creation.

Type B

Type B consists of three fragmentary examples **[256-257, 575]** discovered in the *Favissa* and in the Scheffel Collection. The figure is shown standing frontally. He wears a rounded

kausia and holds the syrinx on the left hand and the lagobolon on the right. The chlamys is formed in curved folds and a long vertical fold below the clasp. The face has rounded contours, suggesting young age. The base is rectangular.

Type C

Type C consists of five examples, four from the *Favissa* **[258-261]** and one of unknown provenance in the Scheffel collection **[576]**.[1089] This type is a version of kausia-boy type E,[1090] with the addition of the syrinx on the right hand and the change of head. The folds are rendered in less detail than the original type. Hornung-Bertemes has distinguished three variations in this type.[1091] The head is similar to type A, wearing a wide and flat kausia, which in this case resembles a halo around the head. The type holds a syrinx on the right hand, rendered more carefully than the other types of this iconographic group. The syrinx has been formed around the hand rather than simply being added on it. Variation b has a group of added folds to the right of the right arm. Variation c survives fragmentarily and is too worn for further discussion. The base is rectangular, becoming thinner with each variation.

The type should be dated after the creation of the original kausia-boy type E, thus after the second half of the 3rd c.

[1089] Variation a: **[258-259, 575]**. Variation b: **[260]**. Variation c: **[261]**.
[1090] See above.
[1091] As I have not examined all examples, I cannot express my opinion on this classification.

Type D

This type consists of only two examples, from the *Favissa* **[262]** and from the Scheffel collection **[577]**. It is also a version of the kausia-boy Type D.b, making it the second version taken from this type (**Pl.98** for genealogical tree). In this case, the syrinx is placed above the right hand, while there is no trace of a lagobolon in these two surviving fragments. The figurine from the *Favissa* seems to be earlier in production than the one in the Scheffel collection, because of the well-preserved mould details. The vertical folds of the chlamys are characteristic for this type. The kausia is smaller than type A and C, with a larger band above the forehead.

The date of type D should be placed after the second quarter of the 3rd c., because it is a version of kausia-boy type D.

Type E

Type E consists of four examples, two from Agria **[537-538]**, one from the *Favissa* **[263]**, and one from the Pasikrata Sanctuary, which is shown on Arvanitopoulos' photos.[1092] This type seems to be a version of the kausia-boy type F, mostly for the lower part of the figure, below the abdominal area. Furthermore, the chlamys is similar to the kausia-boy type F (**Pl.100**). Conversely, the right arm is bent at the elbow and rests on the hip, the left arm is also bent at the elbow and holds the syrinx in front of the chest. The head is also changed. We can distinguish two versions of this type, one for the Agria **[537-538]** and Pasikrata figurines and another for the *Favissa* figurine. In Version A **[537-538]** there is a lagobolon added to the left side of the figurine, resting next to the leg. In Version B **[263]** the syrinx is placed closer to the

[1092] Photo A/A8516 (**Pl.63**), bottom row, 3rd from left.

centre of the chest and there is no lagobolon visible on the side. The base is oval in Version A and rectangular in Version B.

The type should be dated after the original kausia-boy type F, thus after the second quarter of the 3rd c. This is also supported by the two figurines from the Agria group for which we could assume a date in the 3rd c. The Pasikrata fragment seems to be of better quality than the other two examples thus suggesting an earlier date or generation.[1093] A stylistic parallel can be observed in a figurine from the Heraion at Foce del Sele, mostly in the nudity under the chlamys, the stance of the legs and the right arm, but the left side of the figurine seems to be different. The figurine was found in a deposit dated from the late 3rd to the early 2nd c.[1094]

Single fragments

There are seven fragments that do not find parallels in the city. Four come from the *Favissa* **[264-267]**, one from Agria **[539]**, and two from graves, **[502]** and one from the North Cemetery **[NC31]**. **[264]**[1095] shows many stylistic and morphological parallels to the figurines of kausia-type E and more specifically to the figurine from the North Cemetery,[1096] however the position of the left arm is lower, and the head is different. The triangular fold of the chlamys on the clavicle is reminiscent of the similar fold on **[539]**, but the rest of the body and drapery are significantly different. The syrinx is placed below the left arm. The date of this figurine based on the aforementioned stylistic parallels could be placed in the 3rd c.

[1093] However, since this still remains unlocated, this is only a speculation.
[1094] Dewailly 1997, 203, fig.15, the figure on the right. She interprets it as an Eros. The boy seems to also wear a kausia.
[1095] Described as Einzelstück 1 by Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 153, no.184, pl.26.
[1096] Nikolaou 2012, 357, no.Γ.1.3, fig.15.

[**265]** also comes from the *Favissa*. The figure is depicted standing with the weight on the right leg. The chlamys is clasped in the middle of the neck, falling mostly behind the back, but with the left forearm wrapped inside it. The chitoniskos is much more visible than in the other examples of the kausia-boy and the "shepherd" figurines. The left arm is bent at the elbow and raised in front of the torso holding the syrinx at the level of the chest. The right arm is lowered to the side. The head is too worn to determine whether the boy is wearing a kausia. The base is rectangular. The date of this figurine is not easily determined because of its discovery in the *Favissa*.

[267] is a version of kausia-boy type B with the addition of the lagobolon which is held in the right hand, but only visible on the front part of the figurine. As it is a version of kausia type B it should be dated in the mid 3rd c.

[539] comes from the Agria assemblage. It is in fact a version of kausia-boy Type D, Variation a, with the addition of the lagobolon on the right arm.[1097] The head tilts slightly to the right and has a low and narrow kausia. As it belongs to the Agria assemblage, which includes figurines of the kausia type A, it must be dated after the second quarter of the 3rd c.

The example from the South Cemetery **[502]** is missing its head. It stands frontally with the weight on the right leg, while the left moves backwards and to the side. He wears a chiton and a chlamys clasped on the right shoulder which falls creating many folds fanning out. The left arm is bent at the elbow and raised to the clavicle, wrapped inside the chlamys, while the right is also bent, raised to the abdominal area holding a syrinx. The base is rectangular. It is dated in the first half of the 3rd c., based on the grave goods.[1098]

[1097] Since the head on kausia type D does not survive, I do not know whether the head that survives in this figurine is the one from the original version. The figurine is very worn and missing its left half, thus it is not easy to determine whether it holds a syrinx.

[1098] Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2012, 247-252.

The figurine from the North Cemetery **[NC31]** is of much higher quality than the other examples of the same iconographic type. It is portrayed standing frontally, with the legs totally symmetrical. The figure wears a chitoniskos and a chlamys clasped in the middle of the neck and falling at the back, as well as a well-defined kausia. The arms are bent at the elbows bringing the syrinx to the mouth. The hair similarly to other kausia figurines falls to the shoulders. The face is very worn, but the contours are rounded suggesting a younger age.

Boys carrying animals

This iconographic group in its majority consists of boys dressed in a similar way to the kausia-boys,[1099] but are also depicted holding or carrying animals. The age groups are the same as the ones on the kausia-boys and the "shepherds". The hair also falls to the shoulders. Hornung-Bertemes has distinguished two types, each with three variants, which should be seen as versions.[1100] The quality and the preservation state of these figurines is very bad, making the identifications of types and versions rather problematic. The majority of the figurines carry a four-legged animal on their shoulders, probably a young goat or lamb. Only **[276]** and the figurine from the North Cemetery carry birds.

[1099] I have not seen the figurine from the North Cemetery and will be thus based on the excavator's description.
[1100] I have not seen a large number of these figurines and thus I cannot express my opinion on this classification. Hornung-Bertemes has also distinguished a third type (her Type A) which is dated to the classical period that I will not include in this study, as it cannot originate from Demetrias, since its foundation is after 294. Thus, my type A correlates to her Type B and my Type B to her Type C.

Type A

Four figurines constitute this type **[268-269, 578, 579]**, falling into three versions.[1101] The figure is depicted standing frontally, dressed in a chitoniskos and chlamys. The heads wear the kausia, even though they are either very fragmentary or very worn. The animal is carried on both shoulders. Each version differs in the placement of the boy's arms and in the placement of the animal's head. Version A **[268]** shows the animal's head on the right side and the boy's right arm is bent at the elbow and raised to his neck to hold the animal's front and hind legs around it.

In Version B **[269, 578]** the animal's head is also placed on the right side, but in this case the boy's left arm is raised to the neck to hold the animal's legs. In Version C **[579]** the animal is placed on the left side, while the left arm is raised to the neck to hold the legs. The kausia on the former is very wide, while on the latter it is small and narrow.

The date of this type cannot be determined, since all the examples come either from deposits or have unknown provenance.

Type B

Seven figurines, six from the *Favissa* **[270-275]** and one with unknown context **[573]**, constitute this type, with three versions. The difference to the previous one is that the boy does not wear a chitoniskos under the chlamys. In all examples the boy wears the kausia, turns slightly to the left with the animal's head placed to the left as well. The base in the first two versions is oval, but rectangular in the third.

[1101] From the *Favissa* and the Scheffel collection.

In Version A **[270-272]** the boy carries the animal on his shoulders holding its legs with his right arm. The left arm is bent at the elbow and raised to the middle of the torso, holding the syrinx. The kausia is created with a very wide and flat top part.

The lower body of Version B **[273, 573]** is a version of kausia-boy type F (**Pl.104**). The animal is placed in a way similar to the previous version, but in this case the boy holds the legs with both hands. The chlamys is clasped in the middle of the neck and falls to the back. The face has chubby cheeks and rounded contours suggesting a younger age. The figure stands on an oval base.

In version C **[274-275]** the stance is again very similar to kausia-boy type F (**Pl.104**), mostly for the lower part of the body. The chlamys is clasped on the right shoulder covering only the left part of the torso. The boy carries the animal only on his left shoulder in this case. The left arm is bent at the elbow and is raised to hold the animal's front legs.

The date of this type is very difficult to determine. The stylistic and morphological affinities of Version B to the kausia-boy type F could suggest a date after the second quarter of the 3rd c.

Boys with birds

This iconographic type survives in three examples, from the *Favissa* and the North Cemetery. In **[276]** and **[NC29]** the boys are shown standing holding the bird on their right and left arm respectively, while **[NC30]** is portrayed sitting down, with a cock on its right side. **[NC30]** wears a chitoniskos seen from the folds on the right leg. The hair is long in the case of the *Favissa* figurine, and short in **[NC30]**. **[NC29]** is the only example that wears a headdress which seems to be a wreath.

[276] is shown standing holding a cock with his left hand. His right arm is bent at the elbow and is raised to the cock's head in front of the torso. The head turns to the left facing the bird. He only wears a chlamys clasped on the right shoulder. The hair falls to the level of the shoulders.

[NC29] is portrayed in a reversed stance to the previous example. It is unclear whether he wears clothes. The head turns to the left, adorned with a thick wreath. The hair is medium in length only falling to the level of the chin. [1102] The base is trapezoid.

[NC30] is the only figurine shown sitting down. The right leg is bent at the knee and brought forward, while the left rests to the side. On the right side of the figure is a cock which the child holds with his right arm over its neck. With his left hand he holds a bunch of grapes. He wears a chitoniskos, visible from the drapery on the right leg. The hair is short and frames the face in curly locks. The base is rectangular.

The dates of these figurines are rather problematic since the specimens from the North Cemetery were not found in closed contexts and do not have a secure date. Their iconographic parallels can vary from the 3rd to the early 1st c.

Male Figurines

The figurines in this category do not necessarily constitute a homogeneous group, apart from the fact that they depict male figures. They have been found in all types of contexts but in much fewer numbers than the female specimens.

[1102] Nikolaou describes it as a kausia, but from the photos I cannot see the distinction of the headdress into the two parts of the kausia.

Figures with tilted head - Banqueters

A peculiar group of figurines in the Pasikrata Sanctuary consists of two examples **[127-128]** showing a male figure with the head tilted to the side.[1103] In **[128]** the body survives very fragmentarily, making the pose of the lower body unclear. The head tilts to the left, almost touching the shoulder. The hair is short. The facial features are soft, with large eyes, rounded lips that seem to smile and a small nose. He wears a thick wreath around his neck and a himation, only a small part of which is visible around the left elbow. The left arm is bent at the elbow, the forearm is raised, and the hand is also bent with the palm turning downwards.

The head **[127]** survives in a better condition and appears to also be tilted (although not as much as **[128]**). The hair is similarly short, but here it is adorned with a thick wreath and added leaves around it. From the photo the body (to which I believe that the head belongs) seems to be from the same mould as the aforementioned figurine's torso. In this case we can see that there is a himation falling from the left shoulder, but the rest of the torso remains uncovered. The lower torso appears to slightly bend, suggesting that the figure was laying down, thus maybe being a symposiast.

Figurines of symposiasts are very common in the Archaic and Classical periods, but the motif mostly appears on clay plaques in the Hellenistic period, with only a few exceptions being a figurine from Taras, dated in the Late Hellenistic period,[1104] a fragmentary figurine

[1103] I believe that the head **[127]** probably joints with a torso pictured in Arvanitopoulos' photos (photo A/A8516 (**Pl.63**), bottom row, 5th from right), which is very similar to the torso of **[128]** but remains unlocated. Nevertheless, it gives a clearer view of the complete picture of the figurine's full appearance.

[1104] For banqueters from Corinth: Stillwell 1952, 104-112, Class XIV, pls.18-23; Merker 2000, nos.C210-224, pls.18-19. For the clay plaques from Voidokoilia (Messenia): Peppa-Papaioannou 2012, 51-62; Peppa-Papaioannou 2017, 106; Messene: Themelis 1998, 167-170; Psaroudakis 2013; Taras: Graepler 1997, 141, fig.156.

from New Halos,[1105] and a group of figurines from Corinth.[1106] However, none of the above have with their head tilted to the side.

The date of these specimens is impossible to determine, due to the lack of parallels and the fact that they were found in the Pasikrata Sanctuary deposits. The rendering of the hair does not correspond to what we see in the kausia figurines with the long locks, whereas the eyes' rendering resembles a head from the Athenian Agora dated to the late 2nd c.[1107]

Paidagogos

The paidagogos survives in Demetrias in one example **[529]**, from the East Cemetery. Even though badly worn it shows a familiar iconographic type. The man stands with a child to his right side. He turns slightly to the right holding the boy with his right hand. His left arm is bent at the elbow and rests on the abdominal area, holding an object, perhaps a book-roll. He wears a short chiton that reaches above the knees. The child's features are very worn and only the stance of its legs is clearly visible, as it stands with the right leg bearing the weight, pulling away from the teacher. The base is rectangular. The figurine was found in a grave with pottery of the late 3rd to the third quarter of the 2nd c. A very close parallel is a figurine from Alexandria (**Pl.83, Fig.61**), which is also very similar in size (0.16m), suggesting a commercial connection between the two cities.[1108] The Alexandrian figurine is of much better quality, which possibly indicates its creation there.

[1105] van Boekel and Mulder 2003, 114, fig.3.29, before 265 BC.
[1106] Davidson Weinberg 1952, nos.291-309, pls.24-26.
[1107] Burr-Thompson 1965, 69, no.3, pl.17.
[1108] Adriani 1940, pl.LXXI,3; Schulze 1998, 144, no.PT36, pl.14,4.

Gauls

Four examples from the same mould survive from the North Cemetery (**[NC2]**) and the Anaktoron fills **[442-444]**.[1109] Two generations can be distinguished – the first for the Anaktoron examples **[442-444]** and a later for **[NC2]** – owing to the reduction in size. The complete figure is depicted seating down (perhaps cross-legged) facing slightly to the left. He holds a large oval Gaulic shield in front of the body's bottom part with the left arm under the shield and the right over the shield, holding a sword.[1110] He is nude with the exception of a chlamys-type mantle which is clasped at the neck and falls behind the back. The head turns slightly upwards and to the left. The hair is long and wavy, falling to the shoulders. The face is poorly preserved, but it seems that he wears a moustache, similar to the rendering of Gauls in large sculpture.[1111] Even though the figure clearly appears to be a warrior, he is neither portrayed in action, nor slain, as can be seen in other cases of Gauls' depictions in terracotta.[1112] Thus we have in Demetrias a new representation of this iconographic type, which is seated. The type's date can be placed in the 3rd c. because of the Anaktoron specimens.

Theatrical Figurines

Theatrical figurines are very popular in the Hellenistic period, and are also present in Demetrias. At least 16 examples were discovered at the East and South Cemeteries **[528, 513-**

[1109] Nikolaou 2012, 358, fig.17.
[1110] For a depiction of this shield type on a Gaul's painted funerary stele from Alexandria: Brown 1957, 16, 20, 47, pl.III,1; Plantzos 2018, 259-260, fig.251; Contrary, Snodgrass did not believe that the shield was Gaulic and instead identified it with the *thyreos*, used both by Greeks and Gauls (Snodgrass 2003, fig.57 and 211).
[1111] Kim 2012, 138.
[1112] For a catalogue: Kim 2012, 353-357, nos.95-112, pls.18-20; also Amphipolis: Malama 2000, 65, 70, fig.50; Malama 2015, fig.9; Malama 2017, 353, no.401, 2nd c. BC.

515, 517*], the Anaktoron fill **[460-466]**, the Pasikrata Sanctuary **[129]** and possibly the Metroon **[333-335]**.

At least two types of the *ἡγεμών θεράπων*,[1113] the leader slave iconographic type, survive from Demetrias. The first (**[129]**) survives fragmentarily, only the figurine's lower part, from the Pasikrata Sanctuary. He stands frontally, the feet close together, equally bearing the weight. He wears a short chiton which reaches above the knees. The right hand is visible at the side holding an object, probably a basket. The figure appears to have a rounded belly, suggesting older age, and more realistic execution, very typical for this iconographic type because of its connection to the social class of the slaves.[1114] The base is trapezoid. Close parallels can be seen in a figurine from Kalymnos,[1115] and one from the agora of Thessaloniki (**Pl.84, Fig.62**).[1116]

The second type of *ἡγεμών θεράπων* survives in two examples **[333, 528]**. They possibly belong to different generations, as the second **[528]**, even though intact, is from a very worn mould. The figure is shown standing frontally, with the right leg bearing the weight. He is tightly wrapped in a himation, which covers the arms and reaches just below the genitals. The right arm is bent at the elbow and raised to the chest, while the left is slightly bent and lowered to the side, pulling the himation taut, thus creating wide folds. The body is plump with a pot-belly. The face is typical for this iconographic type with hair crowning the head, large eyes, raised eyebrows, a wide nose and a large mouth framed by the beard, the shape of which is "a compromise between rounded and triangular".[1117] The hair and beard are painted dark red or brown, as Pollux mentions in his description of the theatrical masks, *σπεῖραν ἔχει τριχῶν πυρρῶν*. The himation is painted bright pink. The base is rectangular. This type is dated from

[1113] For the iconographic type: Webster 1995, vol.1, 26-29, Mask22.
[1114] Lilimpaki-Akamati 1983, 241-245.
[1115] Burn and Higgins 2001, no.2657, pl.103.
[1116] Zografou 2014, 378-379, fig.1.
[1117] Webster 1995, vol.1, 27.

the late 3rd to the third quarter of the 2nd c., based on the context of the graves in the East Cemetery.[1118]

The type can be compared with a figurine from Corinth, which shows a similar pose, but there the right arm is lowered, and the himation does not cover the genitals. A very similar head from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Core also at Corinth.[1119] It also finds very close parallels to a figurine from the agora of Thessaloniki (**Pl.84, Fig.63**) and one in the Louvre, possibly from Taranto.[1120]

[515] from the South Cemetery offers a new iconographic type. Arvanitopoulos described it as a urinating Silenos, but the head is clearly that of a theatrical figurine. The figure stands with the feet wide apart, the right bearing the weight and the left to the side and slightly back. The torso turns slightly to the left and the head faces in the same direction. He either wears a himation and a short chiton, or only a himation which is wrapped tightly around the body. The left arm is bent at the elbow and raised upwards to the left shoulder's level, pulling the himation, while the right arm is brought to the genitals' level, perhaps touching them, in a gesture that does indeed suggest urinating, even though the genitals are definitely not shown. The face has similar features to the *ηγεμών θεράπων*. Traces of red paint survive on the hair and beard, perhaps suggesting that again we are dealing with the same slave, while the flesh is painted in salmon-pink and the footwear in dark red colour. A figurine now in Berlin displays many similarities in stance, with the forward moving motion to the right, the hand below the belly, but the differences are also significant, mostly on the figurine's left part, as it is holding a basket, and the head which is balding, while our specimen seems to have a full head of hair.[1121] The same strong movement can be noted on two moulds from Taormina and Argos.[1122]

[1118] Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2012, 241.
[1119] Davidson Weinberg 1952, 51, no.340, pl.30; Merker 2000, 244, no.H356, pl.53.
[1120] Thessaloniki: Zografou 2014, 379, fig.2. Taranto: Besques 1986, no.D3703, pl.36.
[1121] Webster 1995, vol.1, 2BT5b, pl.16, vol 2, 113, identified as the cook *μέσον*.
[1122] Schmidt 1994, 153, no.248, pl.44, dated in the late 5th c.; Webster 1978. Argos: Banaka 2014, no.B42, pl.97.

[517*] is a male figure moving swiftly, dressed in a long himation. He is shown walking briskly to the right, but the torso and head are turned to the left. The right arm is bent at the elbow and raised to the clavicle, while the left is lowered to the side, both inside the himation. He is young, with furrowed eye-brows, an open mouth and a nose smaller than those of the slaves. The painted red hair is long and wavy, adorned by a wreath, probably ivy. The figure could portray the character of the *admirable young man,* the *πάγχρηστος νεανίσκος*, known from a mask from Italy now in Copenhagen, where the head is also adorned with an ivy wreath.[1123] However, we should not exclude the possibility that the figure might portray the *δεύτερος ἐπίσειστος*, the second wavy-haired youth, described by Pollux as having wavy hair, being delicate and fair-haired, the only aspect that does not completely agree with our figurine.[1124]

The *πάγχρηστος νεανίσκος* is also portrayed on two masks from the same mould found in the South Cemetery **[513-514]**. The face is youthful, with farrowed brows, half-open mouth and long narrow nose, instead of the short and wide one that we see on the slaves. The hair is arranged in a roll around the head and painted red. The two examples seem to belong to the same series as a mask from Attica, now in Brussels.[1125]

The type of a two-headed group survives in two examples portraying two male figures hugging, with their heads close together **[334-335]**. The left head has curly hair and raised eyebrows and an open mouth, while the right head is balding with hair only around the temples, a wide nose and an open mouth, but the eyebrows are not as intense as the those one the left

[1123] Webster 1995, vol.1, no.4NT2, pl. 44, vol.2, 304.

[1124] For a figurine from Italy of this type, with a wreath on the hair: Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, pl.195, no.1522; other masks are also portrayed with a wreath, regardless of their character: Bernabò Brea et al. 1992, pl.24.2, identified as the *μέλας*, pl.25.1, 3, 4, identified as the *ἄγροικος* (peasant), the second *ἄγροικος* and the *κόλαξ* (sycophant or flatterer) respectively; Summerer 1999, 74, 185, no.MII13, pl.27, also identifies a mask of a similar iconography to the *δεύτερος ἐπίσειστος*.

[1125] Webster 1995, vol.1, no.1AT41a, pl.6; Hart 2010, 141, no.78. For a mould of a mask from Argos: Banaka 2014, no.A107, pl.56. From Lipari: Bernabò Brea 1981, 157-162, mask10; Bernabò Brea 2001, 186-191.

head. The characters that fit Pollux's description about the masks are those of the Flatterer and the Parasite: *κόλαξ δὲ καὶ παράσιτος μέλανες, οὐ μὴν ἔξω παλαίστρας, ἐπίγρυποι, εὐπαθεῖς. τῷ δὲ παρασίτῳ μᾶλλον κατέαγε τὰ ὦτα, καὶ φαιδρότερός ἐστιν, ὥσπερ ὁ κόλαξ ἀνατέταται κακοηθέστερον τὰς ὀφρῦς.*[1126] Indeed, a type of mask similar to the right head has been identified as the Parasite.[1127] The combination of two theatrical figures hugging is rather rare, with the single related example being found on Cyprus, but in this case a male and a female.[1128]

Only the lower part of **[460]** survives, which depicts a male figure wrapped in a long himation with drapery falling from the left shoulder. It displays morphological and stylistic similarities to two figurines: one from the cemetery of Samothrace identified as a Silenos, but resembling the *Pornoboskos* mask type.[1129] The second one, from Myrina, has been confidently identified as the *Pornoboskos* type.[1130] This likeness does not necessarily identify **[460]** as the *Pornoboskos* character, since we know from other examples that the same bodies were used for different heads,[1131] but at least we can be confident that this is a theatrical figurine.

[461], even though fragmentary, may portray a comic slave. Only the lower part of the body survives; he stands frontally with the legs tightly together, wearing a himation that leaves the genitals partly exposed. A similar stance is seen on a slave figurine carrying a basket, a figure of the Middle Comedy, of earlier date than this example.[1132]

Only the figurines from the Anaktoron **[460-466]** and **[528]** can be securely dated in the 3rd c. and between the late 3rd and the mid 2nd c. respectively. The other theatrical figurines are very difficult to date on stylistic grounds.

[1126] Webster 1995, vol.1, 22-24, Masks17-18.
[1127] Hart 2010, 141, no.77. Similar mask: Philadelpheos 1928, pl.XXV, second row, first from left.
[1128] Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, pl.CCVIII,4; Winter 1903, 416,8.
[1129] Triantafyllos 1994, 79; Chasapi-Christodoulou 1991, 300-301, no.30, inv.no.3611, pl.12, from Pella. For a similar figurine: Philadelpheos 1928, pl.XXIV, second row, first from left.
[1130] Philadelpheos 1928, pl.XXIV, bottom row, first from left; Vivliodetis and Avronidaki 2013, 43.
[1131] Hart 2010, 146-147, nos.83-84, for two figurines from Tomb C of Myrina whose bodies are created with the same mould, but the head has changed.
[1132] Mollard-Besques 1972, no.C632, pl.2.

The World of Dionysos

Five fragmentary specimens constitute this group, four figurines of Silenos **[330-332, 463]** and a Satyr mask **[464]**.[1133] The Silenoi are depicted old, bearded and bald with snub noses and large eyes and ears.

[330] and **[331]** survive in a better state and show the Silenoi probably standing frontally. The former has the left arm lowered to the side, with a himation wrapped around the forearm. The flesh is coloured dark pink and the beard brown. It finds its closest parallel to a figurine in Thessaloniki, which is shown standing next to a large krater.[1134] The skin is painted a darker pink than in **[330]**, the eyes are blue and the mouth bright red.

Only the top of the head of **[463]** survives. It belongs to a larger figurine than the previous two, with the skin painted dark red.

[464] is a fragmentary Satyr mask, identifiable by the long animal ear. Only the left part survives. The eye is large and wide-open, the ear long, pointing upwards. The hair is long and pushed backwards. A similar Satyr mask from the agora of Thessaloniki is of later date and it may have been used as an actual mask in performances.[1135] The Satyr here is portrayed as younger in age than the Silenoi who are all bald.

Only the finds from the Anaktoron can be dated in the 3rd c., but the other two Silenoi are lacking a secure context.

[1133] For the confusion of the two in antiquity: Zografou 2015, 239, n.11, with previous bibliography.
[1134] Zografou 2017a, 473, no.660.
[1135] Zografou 2014, 382, fig.11; Zografou 2017a, 476, no.667. Also Mollard-Besques 1972, 351, no.E/D3025, pl.433, from Tarsos.

Male Deities

Eros

Eros is the most popular among the male gods depicted in terracotta in the Hellenistic period.[1136] In Demetrias he is depicted in a variety of poses and ages, from a young child to an adolescent, surviving in ten examples, from the North (**[NC15, NC32]**) and South Cemeteries (**[505, 516]**), the Anaktoron foundations **[433-434],** the Metroon **[314-319]**, and one with unknown context **[569]**.

The most common representation of Eros (based on current evidence) is as a young child, either standing or riding an animal. Four examples of the boy god exist, albeit in a very fragmentary state.[1137] He is depicted as winged, nude with only a himation or a chlamys over the shoulders. **[318]** and **[434]** share many stylistic and morphological similarities, perhaps being versions of the same type.[1138] Eros is shown mid stride with the weight on the left leg which moves to the front. The himation in **[434]** clings to the back of the body, suggesting that Eros is flying. The body is rendered with smooth, plump contours, similar to figurines of young boys of around 5-8 years old,[1139] and is formed by a double mould (for the front and the back). The wings, legs and arms (and possibly the head) are created from separate moulds. A close parallel comes from Pergamon, but there the figure appears to be simply a youth without wings.[1140]

[1136] The scholarship on the Eros figurines in the Hellenistic period is vast and the references I will be using are only for very close parallels. For collected bibliography: Rumscheid 2006, 344-347.
[1137] Three from the Metroon and one from the Anaktoron foundations.
[1138] I have not studied the figurine from the Metroon in person, thus this attribution is not secure.
[1139] Bobou 2015, 141, no.51, for an example from Skopelos, which also has a similar stance.
[1140] Töpperwein 1976, no.412, pl.60; Vierneisel-Schlörb 1997, no.340, pl.61, similar style but opposite pose.

Equally common in Demetrias is the depiction of Eros riding an animal, a cock (**[516]**) and a ram (**[505]**), again depicted as a young boy (**[433, 505]**), if not younger in one case (**[516]**). Eros in two examples is shown nude apart from a chlamys clasped on the neck, billowing behind him. In **[505]**, which survives intact, he is wearing a chitoniskos and a himation, the hair is rendered long with a bow-knot on the top. The head is small, and the facial features are rounded, reminiscent of young boys of around 5 years old.[1141] The wings are summarily executed with no details of plumage. The ram is shown in full galop with the front legs in the air.[1142] In **[516]** Eros holds a wreath or garland on his right arm. Figurines of Eros on animals are very common in the Hellenistic period both in graves and in sanctuaries, already since the 4th c. and continuing until the 1st c. BC.[1143] Only the Eros-on-cock finds parallels in other areas, specifically in a 2nd c. grave from Amphipolis,[1144], which is the closest parallel, as well as in the tomb assemblages of Veroia, dated to the mid-1st c. BC.[1145] Figurines of Eros on a bird are found in tombs at Pella dating from the late 3rd to the mid 2nd c.,[1146] and South Italy.[1147] On a late Hellenistic or early imperial figurine from the East Cemetery of Thessaloniki Eros appears on a peacock.[1148]

Two figurines, belonging to the same type, depict Eros as an infant, possibly in flight. One comes from the Metroon **[314]** and one is of unknown provenance, in the Apostolides Collection **[569]**. In both examples only the back survives. Eros is nude, with the legs tightly

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[1141] Bobou 2015, 156, no.103.
[1142] Figurines of Eros on a ram are fairly common: Winter 1903, 305, closest in style is 305.2 from Boeotia in the NAM, but it is nude and the ram is not in full galop.
[1143] For example: Mitsopoulou-Leon 2014, no.170, pl.24, for a relief lekythos with an adolescent Eros on a horse. For the discussion of Eros' iconography on animals on relief lekythoi: Tsimpidou-Avloniti 2001. For a figurine on a goose holding a kithara: Kountouri et al. 2016, no.E12, fig.15, first half of 2nd c. For the presence of a child on a cock in deposits: Burr-Thompson 1965, no.13, pl.20, although perhaps not Eros.
[1144] Malama 2015, pl.8, second from left, grave 435.
[1145] Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, 187-188, nos.305-307, pl.88. Here the bird is depicted as a swan, because of the long neck.
[1146] Lilimpaki-Akamati 1994, 168, no.225, pl.27. A similar figurine, but from different moulds (the body turns to the viewer) from the multi-chamber tomb of Pella: Lilimpaki-Akamati 2008, no.127, pl.23, probably belonging to the last phase of the tomb (mid 2nd c.-third quarter of the 2nd c.).
[1147] Besques 1986, 17, nos.D3406, D3407-D3410, pl.13a, c-f.
[1148] Tsimpidou-Avloniti 2017, 228, no.118, 1st c. BC/1st c. AD.

closed. The back of the head is roughly rendered with short hair. The wings were probably created from different moulds.

Two figurines of Eros of the same type come from the North Cemetery **[NC15, NC32]**. The god is depicted winged, nude, and standing with the weight on the left leg, leaning on a pillar. The head turns to his left. The figure leans on the pillar with the right forearm, forming an S-curve. The left arm is bent at the elbow and rests on the hip. Both forearms and hands are wrapped in a himation that falls behind his back and on the right leg, leaving the genitals exposed. The head is adorned by a wreath and the hair is short with two small buns on either side of the head. The figure stands on a two-tier base. The god is depicted as adolescent, evident from the face's contours and musculature. This type can be dated in the second half of the 2nd c., based on the grave offerings.[1149] Figurines of Eros leaning on a pillar, possibly of the same type, are found in the cemeteries of Pella, Veroia, Thessaloniki and possibly Amphipolis.[1150]

Pan

The god of the wilderness is represented in Demetrias by two figurines, coming from the Anaktoron fill **[438]** and the Metroon **[323]**. They survive fragmentarily. In **[438]** the god plays a syrinx with his left arm. His face is rendered with crude features, large eyes, a large hooked nose, and thick ears. Two small horns survive above the forehead.

[323] from the Metroon survives in a more complete state. Pan is portrayed standing frontally with his furry goat-legs wide apart. His torso is nude, apart from a yellow himation that falls from his left shoulder. The right arm is extended forward holding a triangular object,

[1149] Nikolaou 2012, 355, n.31, from grave 577, second half of 2nd c.
[1150] Pella: Lilimpaki-Akamati 1994, no.283. Veroia: Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, nos.279-283, pl.83. Thessaloniki: Korti-Konti 1994, 94, no.13, pl.12, identified as a Hermaphrodite, first half of 2nd c. Amphipolis: Malama 2015, pl.9; Malama 2017, 352, no.400, East Cemetery, Section A, grave 43, 2nd c.

either a syrinx or a rhyton. He holds a stick with the left hand, probably a lagobolon. Two large horns are placed above the head, which is very worn. The musculature is prominent and robust without being overly emphasized. The base is high and oval. The date is very difficult to determine because of the lack of close parallels.[1151]

Attis

The companion of the Mother-of-the-Gods is represented in Demetrias only by three examples, with a tentative fourth from the Metroon **[308-311]** and the BM assemblage **[545]**.

The two figurines of the sleeping Attis **[308-309]** come from the same mould, even though they survive in a very fragmentary state and are from a very worn mould. The god is shown laying on his left side, wearing his typical long-sleeved chiton, which creates a triangular fold on the neck. The left arm is bent at the elbow and the forearm rests in front of the torso. The right arm is bent at the elbow, raised over the head with the forearm resting on its top. The head is tilted to the left and the hair is long, falling to the shoulders. The iconographic type of the sleeping Attis is not very common in terracottas. Two parallels come from Pella, one is a mould from the agora,[1152] and a very similar one from the West Cemetery, dated to the last quarter of the 3rd c.[1153]

The third figurine, from the Metroon **[310]**, survives very fragmentarily and it is very worn, but we can understand that it belongs to the iconographic type of the winged Attis. He is shown standing frontally, with his head turning slightly to the left. He wears the long-sleeved

[1151] A figurine found in a grave at Epanomi (near Thessaloniki), shows the closest affinities to our example, but from a different mould, and earlier in date (Tsimpidou-Avloniti 2017 376, no.471, early 4th c.); Burn and Higgins 2001, no.2655, pl.102, for a figurine from Kalymnos; Cartault 1892, pl.23; Rohde 1968, pl.17b.
[1152] A figurine of the sleeping Attis type can be seen in a terracotta assemblage from the agora of Pella: Akamatis 2008, 625, fig.2, in the middle.
[1153] Naoum 2017, no.179, pl.17.

chiton, shown billowing on his abdomen, and the Phrygian cap on the head, the flaps of which are visible on either side of the head. The arms are lowered to the body's sides. The iconographic type of the winged Attis is rare, with only a few examples surviving from Kos (1st c. BC),[1154] Delos,[1155] Asia Minor,[1156] and the acropolis of Gloska Cuka in Northern Macedonia.[1157] Vermaseren interpreted the presence of the wings on Attis as a merging of his iconography with Eros.[1158] Two moulds from Pergamon, that appear to be similar in style, show the moon-god Men according to Kielau, even though he admits that the iconography of Men, Attis and Mithras is very similar.[1159]

On **[545]** only the lower part of a standing male figurine survives created from a worn mould. He stands with the right leg bearing the weight and the left crossed over the right. A small animal sits to the left of the figure. Burn and Higgins identify this figure as Attis portrayed as a shepherd because of the animal. The iconographic type of the Phrygian god in the cross-legged position with an animal next to him does survive from later times, although it is very rare in coroplastic art.[1160]

Herakles

Four fragmentary figurines may be identified as Herakles, from the Metroon **[322]** and the Anaktoron fill **[435-437]**. The hero is depicted both young and old.

[1154] For a winged Attis figurine from Kos which displays many similarities in terms of style and pose with the Metroon figurine: Bosnakis 2009, 35, 154-155, no.124; 2014, fig.1; Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, 120-121, no.245, pl.43.
[1155] Laumonier 1956, no.364, pl.40.
[1156] Myrina: Mollard-Besques 1963, no.MYR279, pl.103f and CA267, pl.104b; Zimmer and Kriseleit 1994, 123, no.45. Tarsos: Mollard-Besques 1972, no.D2291, pl.354b and no.E/D2301, pl.355a. Elaiousa Sebaste: Ferrazzoli 2015, 401-402, fig.4, of later date (1st c. BC to 2nd c. AD).
[1157] Blazevska 2010, 200, fig.15f.
[1158] Vermaseren 1966, 46.
[1159] Kielau 2009, 227-228, nos.943-944, pl.92B. For the merging of the iconography of Attis and Mithras: Adrych et al. 2017, 27.
[1160] See Vermaseren 1966, pl.III,1.

[322] is mature in age with a full curly beard. The head turns slightly to the left. The eyebrows are furrowed. He wears a wreath on his head, missing most of the leaves. The skin is painted red, also a feature of older age. The representation of Herakles in an older age is very popular in the Hellenistic period, as a result of Lyssipos' art,[1161] and was widely used as an archetype in terracottas too.[1162]

The second Herakles figurine is **[435]** from the Anaktoron. He is shown nude, standing with the left leg bearing the weight. The genitals are exposed, and the musculature is strong and emphatic, perhaps suggesting a more mature male. The club **[436]** could also be associated with Herakles, as seen in many Hellenistic depictions, either leaning on it similar to the Farnese Herakles or the Epitrapezios.[1163] A very similar figurine (to the torso) from the area west of the Areopagus is from a deposit dated in the late 3rd to the early 2nd c., a date which is confirmed by the Anaktoron fill as well.[1164] A further parallel is a version of the Herakles from Failaka, which also wears a band diagonally across the chest, holding a club and rendered with bulging muscles.[1165]

Harpokrates

The Egyptian god is represented in Demetrias by a single example of unknown findspot (**[570]**). HE is shown as a nude "grotesque" dwarf standing frontally. He is wearing a garland on the head with its bands falling on each shoulder. The head is tilted to the right. The eyebrows are very accentuated, frowning. His nose is broad and flat, and his lips are full. His left arm is

[1161] Smith 1991, 64-65.
[1162] For the closest parallels: Burr-Thompson 1965, no.4, pl.18; Rumscheid 2006, nos.290-292, pls.127-128; Akamatis 2011, 133.
[1163] See *LIMC* IV.
[1164] Thompson 1947, 208, pl.XLV,4.
[1165] Connelly 1990, 98, fig.90.

raised to the side holding a tympanon, and his right arm is bent at the elbow, holding a garland and resting on the waist. The breasts are droopy, his tummy round, with a pointed navel. His long phallus drops to the left, extending further than the left leg, and ending in a broad glans. The testicles are also indicated. Similar figurines have been identified as Harpokrates or his followers.[1166]

Genre and Grotesque figures

Seven figurines **[467-472, 571]** can be grouped together as genre and grotesque figures, found in the Anaktoron fill and one with unknown context, depicting both male and female figures.

[467] provides a rare version (or adaptation) in terracotta of genre figures, resembling the "Old-Market-Woman" (**Pl.84, Fig.64**).[1167] It is missing the head, arms and the feet, but the breaks are enough to allow a secure understanding of the posture and the attributes. The figure stands frontally dressed in a long chiton and a himation that covers her torso and waist. The right arm is bent at the elbow and raised upwards, while the left is lowered to the side holding a now-broken long object which resembles a basket held in a similar way to the marble statue. The most intriguing part is the head and the shoulders. The left shoulder is crooked, protruding upwards, the head would have been deformed, placed unevenly to the side where one would expect the right shoulder, and the back is hunched. It can be dated to the 3rd c. because it was found in the Anaktoron fill, perhaps providing a better chronology for the archetypal marble

[1166] For ithyphallic figurines of Harpocrates or his followers: Pingiatoglou 1993, 75-81; Pasquali 1997; Fischer 1999; Barrett 2011, 202-208; Barrett 2015b; 2019, 96-100. For ithyphallic Harpocrates: Abdel-Aziz 1995, 9-11. For figures with exposed genitalia in Hellenistic art: Masséglia 2015, 287-294.

[1167] Smith 1991, fig.175; Stewart 2014, fig.140; Masséglia 2015, 253-255, fig.4.51. The marble statue has been attributed to a 2nd c. original by most scholars, but the terminus of the Anaktoron fills is a secure indication for the pre-existence of this iconographic type.

statue. The posture ties in with the new style that emerges in the Hellenistic period to portray genre and grotesque figures in a variety of unflattering poses.[1168]

The small figurine **[472]** depicts a crouching, nude, obese woman. She sits with the two legs bent revealing her genitals, round belly, and her sagging breasts. The right arm is bent at the elbow and is raised to the mouth with the index finger pointed, a gesture similar to that of the baby Harpokrates. On the left hand she holds a rectangular object. Her face is too damaged to discuss her facial features at all. Similar figurines have been found in the Kerameikos,[1169] Elateia,[1170] Cyprus,[1171] Cyrenaica,[1172] and Kharayeb.[1173]

[471] is probably of a similar theme, although it survives very fragmentarily. We can see the two large breasts hanging over the belly and a hand touching the genitals.

[469] again survives only fragmentarily, showing the lower part of the face, probably of a male figure. The stub nose and large open lips are very prominent. It is similar to a series of grotesque heads: one in Budapest, three from Smyrna and a wreathed head from Egypt identified as an African. Süvegh has expressed doubts about some of these identifications.[1174]

Finally, **[470]** is the fragmentary head and right torso of a man. The head is very plump, turned upwards to the left and with its large lips open.

There have been several attempts to interpret this class of grotesque figurines. Laios has tried to identify these figurines with illnesses in antiquity. For instance, the group of the women with large breasts and bellies would portray obesity.[1175] In addition, similar heads to **[469]** are tentatively connected to depictions of leprosy. [1176] Their appearance was initially linked to

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[1168] For the hunchback: Trentin 2015.
[1169] Vierneisel-Schlörb 1997, 87, no.262, pl.52.
[1170] Paris 1887, pl.III,3, mostly 4, and 5.
[1171] Trentin 2015, 107, no.45;
[1172] Winter 1903, 458,2, from Cyrenaica; Burn and Higgins 2001, no.2777, pl.125.
[1173] Chehab 1951, pl.XXX.4.
[1174] Süvegh 2014, fig.12.1; Mollard-Besques 1972, nos.E/D1925-1927, pl.319; Pingiatoglou 1993, 171, no.397, of later date.
[1175] Laios 2009, 107.
[1176] *ibid*, 150, fig.305.

models for studying medicine, an interpretation that is now abandoned; other interpretations explain them as a *probaskanion*, an object to ward away evil.[1177] Laios does not exclude the humorous use of these figurines which depict deformed individuals.[1178] Masséglia also stresses the cosmopolitan and "high-end" character of these figures, as only the wealthy would be able to afford images of the exotic and deformed, as well as the individualistic character of these objects,[1179] which could be supported by their use in houses and as grave goods,[1180] perhaps being personal items of the deceased, while also acting as apotropaic symbols. Nevertheless, it does not explain their presence in sanctuaries and cult spaces.[1181] The interpretation of these figurines is rather difficult as most grotesque figurines lack their original context and are seen as art works in museum collections.[1182] Certain recent attempts have proved, based on scientific analysis, the origin of those hypothesised from Smyrna.[1183] The figurines from Egypt have received less attention.

The specimens from Demetrias reveal the existence of this group of figurines already from the 3rd c. Their appearance could also be connected with the obsession that existed in the Hellenistic period, especially in Alexandria with the classification and taxonomy of the species and nature. It could thus be that the depictions of all the pathologies could fall under a taxonomy of the bodies and illnesses. Great physicians like Herophilus and Erasistratus made

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[1177] *ibid*, 139-143; Jeammet and Ballet 2011, 54; Jeammet 2014b, 13-14; Masséglia 2015, 294-296; Pingiatoglou 1993, 177-178, also identifies them as apotropaic figures, but connected to the Egyptian past of Alexandria with deities such as Bes, which however does not answer for their equal popularity in Smyrna. We still lack sufficient information on which city first created this iconographic group.

[1178] Laios 2014, 13.

[1179] Masséglia 2015, 298-299.

[1180] Examples from houses: Rumscheid 2006, 301, nos.275-288, pls.117-125; Kielau 2009, nos.669-682, pls.70A-B. Examples from graves: Dusenbery 1998, 914, 204, nos.S130-21 and 22; Şare Ağtürk and Arslan 2015, 49-50, 82, no.20.

[1181] Examples from sanctuaries: Chehab 1951, pl.XXX.4; Adriani 1952, 32-41, 45 for discussion and pls.XIII-XXV; Bell 1981, 97, no.709, pl.113, nos.730-731, pl.116; Muller 1996, 497, 381, no.862, pl.123 and 429, no.1081, pl.134, while he mentions that other examples exist also in the Artemision of Thasos; Merker 2000, 247, nos.H382, H384, pl.54; Japp and Schwarzer 2015, figs.5a-b, 20, 37.

[1182] Indicatively: Laumonier 1921 Breitenstein 1941, nos.466-492; Mollard-Besques 1972, pls.292-321; Leyenaar-Plaisier 1979, nos.602-667, pls.86-92; Burn and Higgins 2001, nos.2382-2407, pls.68-72; Hasselin Rous 2015, 97-119, nos.60-80; Karoglou 2016, fig.12 and n.37.

[1183] Courtois 2015, 365-366; Hasselin Rous 2015.

great progress in pathology and anatomy, founding two medicine schools in 3rd c. Alexandria.[1184]

Images of obese women **[471, 472, 571]** have been identified as Baubo, the woman who according to myth tried to make Demeter laugh with her profanities, when she was searching for Kore, and thus have also been connected with their cult.[1185] However, lately doubts have been expressed about such an identification, with another interpretation put forward as depictions of pregnant women.[1186]

Conclusions

The majority of the female terracottas are standing female figures following the Tanagran tradition, as is the case with most other Hellenistic cities. Only a few figurines of seated mature women exist, while the number of seated girls is higher. The figurines portraying the Mother-of-the-Gods are the only exception to this. The figurine heads display all the hairstyles known from other areas and centres during the Hellenistic Period.

Most of the production of female and girl figurines falls in the 3rd c. A few figurines belong to the 2nd c., while a very small proportion is dated in the 1st c. Only four figurines belong to the 1st c. BC/AD.

The majority of the female figurines was created with imported moulds.[1187] This is not surprising considering what we know about the craftsmen and trade in the city. The imports start already from the city's foundation in the early 3rd c. and are primarily from Attica and

[1184] Serageldin 2013, 399-400.
[1185] Jeammet and Ballet 2011, 46.
[1186] Barrett 2011, 208-218; 2019, 94, fig.2.32; Sandri 2012, 634.
[1187] Ieremias forthcoming.

Boeotia; they correspond to the influx of sculptors primarily from Athens,[1188] and have been attested in the sanctuary at Soros in the late 4th-early 3rd c.[1189]

From the mid-3rd and in the 2nd c. the city's production shows much closer affinity to the Macedonian cities, with many direct parallels. Imports of pottery from Northern Greece are evident by the trade amphorae from Thasos and the Chalcidice, showing similar consumption patterns to Pella.[1190] In the 2nd c. the transport amphorae from Thasos start to decrease and the Rhodian amphoras predominate.[1191] Demetrias also traded with Knidos, Chios, Kos, Paros, Sinope and Chersonesos.[1192] These trade patterns are very similar to those observed at Hellenistic Halos and indeed Beestman-Kruyshaar has suggested that Demetrias and Halos had the same trade networks.[1193]

The same is discernible in the clay pyxides of Demetrias; the examples of the early 3rd c. are dependent on Attic production, either as imports or as imitations, while from the late 3nd c. onwards there seems to be a connection to the Macedonian workshops. More specifically, Kotitsa has suggested that Type I pyxides, with West Slope decoration, show strong dependence to Attic examples. Type II, with medallions and relief feet, can be seen in Demetrias in the first half of the 2nd c., displaying many similarities with the Macedonian workshops. These observations have been confirmed with recently excavated material from the graves in the North Cemetery of Demetrias.[1194]

The lamps from the North Cemetery and from the Anaktoron fill show trends very close to those that have been noticed in the terracotta production. Most of the lamps are created with

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[1188] Wolters 1994.
[1189] Leventi 2012, 304-305.
[1190] Furtwängler 2003a, 131-133 and 147-149; Boehm 2011, 57-61; Batziou-Efstathiou 2009; Stamatopoulou 2018a, 362 with previous bibliography.
[1191] Furtwängler 2003a, 136; Batziou-Efstathiou 2009, 72.
[1192] Furtwängler 2003a; Batziou-Efstathiou 2009; Stamatopoulou 2018a, 362.
[1193] Beestman-Kruyshaar 2001, 309-310.
[1194] Kotitsa 1996, 179-180; Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2012, 309-310; Seilheimer 2014, 255-256; Nikolaou 2014, 801-802; Stamatopoulou 2018, 362.

local clay and in the early 3rd c. they seem to imitate the Attic products. [1195] From the mid 3rd c. onwards the local workshops try their own variations of the Attic models, while from the end of the 3rd c. and in the 2nd c. the lamps from Demetrias seem to be affected by the Macedonian workshops, mostly in the so-called "lentil-shaped" and the "Hellenistic cylindrical" lamps.[1196] The case of fine pottery is no different; in the early 3rd c. it seems that the city had mass imports from Athenian workshops, but later the local workshops started imitating Attic creations.[1197]

Returning to the terracottas, although in the 3rd c. the Attic and Boeotian products predominate, from the mid-3rd c., and especially in the 2nd c., products from Myrina also reach the city. Contacts with Aeolis are attested in the funerary stelai from Demetrias.[1198] There is also a close connection between inland Thessaly and Aeolis during the 3rd c.[1199] The contacts with Alexandria and Cyrenaica should not seem strange, as the cult of Egyptian gods is well attested in Demetrias with an Egyptian priest of Isis already in the 3rd c., as well as people from Egypt and Cyrenaica known from grave stelai.[1200]

The fact that the vast majority of the specimens discussed above are made with local clay points more to imports of moulds or figurines for secondary moulding, rather than direct imports of figurines. The local workshops would then create the figurines in Demetrias with local clay and they would have been distributed in the respective contexts. The local remodelling of the figurines is also noticeable by the fact that in their vast majority, these figurines have different heads than the parallels from where they have been imported. This results in a diversification and distinction of the local production from the originals.

[1195] Nikolaou 2004, 49-50; Furtwängler 2003b.
[1196] Nikolaou 2004, 57; Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2012, 302.
[1197] Furtwängler 1990; Seilheimer 2014, 248-253.
[1198] Helly 2016.
[1199] Malay & Ricl 2009; Parker 2011. I am indebted to Sofia Kravaritou for pointing me to this.
[1200] Stamatopoulou 2008; Kravaritou 2016a, 142. For the onomastics: Arvanitopoulou 1952; Batziou-Efstathiou 1996b, 16; Kravaritou 2016, 137; Stamatopoulou 2018, 365.

All the datable local production falls in the 3rd c. The 2nd c. local production is mostly represented by the finds from the Sanctuary of the Mother-of-the-Gods (some of which however might belong to the 3rd c.) and mostly the Katsiphas plot. Nevertheless, the local female figurines follow the typical Tanagran poses of the 3rd and 2nd c., as developed in Attica and Boeotia, but adapted in local forms.

The case of the male figurines stands in stark difference to the female. The vast majority of male figurines seem to be local creations. Only the kausia-boy Type E could either be an import or a local version of the "Pydna Group", however this is uncertain. The Harpokrates figurine with the very coarse clay could be a direct import.

In terms of numbers the male figurines are significantly fewer than the female ones (with the exception of the kausia-boys). This suggests that the dedication of male figurines was not as common, and that the figurines were more common and closely connected to the female and the children's sphere than the male.

The presence of theatrical figurines is typical for every large city of the Hellenistic period. Demetrias had a theatre already from its foundation.[1201]

The coroplasts of Demetrias can be thus seen as adopting types imported from other areas with little differentiation or originality in their creation in the case of the female, girl, Aphrodite, Eros, the paidagogos, the theatrical and the Silenoi figurines. Conversely, the Mother-of-the-Gods, the boy figurines, especially the kausia types are original, local inventions, which as is to be expected, follow the trends of the Hellenistic period and adopt stances and gestures that are typical for their time. We can talk of a pick-and-choose/highly selective production and adaptation of types from other areas, especially Attica, Boeotia, Macedonia and Myrina.

[1201] Intzesiloglou 2011.

Only in a few cases, such as the En(n)odia "Hippoprosope" figurine **[320]**, do we see greater originality. A few examples indicate inspiration from statuary types, such as the girls with animals, the Crouching Aphrodite **[524]**, the Aphrodite "Frejus" **[110]**, the Aphrodite Anadyomene **[109]**, Herakles **[322]**, and the genre figure **[467]**.

When compared to the known terracotta production of other Thessalian sites, such as Pherai,[1202] Phthiotic Thebes,[1203] Halos,[1204] Pharsalos,[1205] Pelinna,[1206] Anavra,[1207] Proerna,[1208] Melitaia,[1209] the production of Demetrias seems to be quite different, with very few figurines that are similar.[1210] Thus, Demetrias is rather outward-looking and open, showing a very cosmopolitan attitude to imports, shapes and ideas.

The terracottas from Demetrias are of good quality, similar to those from the Macedonian cities, but cannot reach the intricacy of those observed in the more advanced coroplastic workshops of Asia Minor such as Pergamon, Troy, Myrina, Priene, Smyrna. Nevertheless, the local workshops were vibrant, adopting and adapting many different types, and following closely the trends of the Hellenistic koine.

[1202] Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 1997; Asderaki-Tzourmekioti and Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2010; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2010; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou and Arachoviti 2019.
[1203] Theocharis and Chourmouziadis 1970.
[1204] van Boekel and Mulder 2003; Nikolaou 2010.
[1205] Karapanou 2014; Katakouta 2014a.
[1206] Karapanou and Katakouta 2004; Chatziaggelakis 2011, fig.30.
[1207] Eleutheriou and Karagiannopoulos forthcoming; Karagiannopoulos and Chatziaggelakis 2015.
[1208] Daffa-Nikonanou 1973
[1209] Stavrogiannis 2014.
[1210] Compare female Types D and F to products from Pharsalos (Hornung-Bertemes 2007, nos.18-21, pl.3; nos.29-30, pl.4); female Type P to a figurine from Phthiotic Thebes (*ibid*, no.85, pl.13).

Chapter 8: Technique

Introduction

The study of the manufacture of terracottas can offer insights into their production in Demetrias. As Muller and Kassab-Tezgör have discussed the process at length,[1211] I will not repeat this here, but rather aim at focusing on specific cases that add to our understanding of the process or differ in any way.

Clay

The clay used for the terracottas in Demetrias is fairly homogeneous.[1212] No petrographic analysis has been undertaken to-date for the clay objects from Demetrias, or for Thessaly in general,[1213] and any discussion on local clays is based on macroscopic analysis. The highest percentage out of the 463 specimens recorded, is reddish orange (5YR, 6/6 reddish yellow) with 205 examples, almost half. The slight variations of 5YR (5/6 yellowish red with 36; 6/8 reddish yellow with 46; 7/6 reddish yellow with 30; 7/8 reddish yellow with 12; 5/8 yellowish red with 5; 6/4 reddish yellow with 3) might be due to differences in the firing temperature. Thus, the total number amounts to 337 (72%) making this clay colour the most popular in the

[1211] Muller 1996, 27-47; Kassab-Tezgör 2007, 217-239.
[1212] The clay's colour was measured with the Munsell Soil Chart (1994).
[1213] Kypraiou 2000; Katakouta and Palaiothodoros 2019; Katakouta and Stamatopoulou 2019. Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2012, mention the clay colour for every pottery vessel, but do not expand on the clay's sources. For the clay of Demetrias: Furtwängler 1990; Seilheimer 2014.

city. The hues of 2.5YR (red) and 7.5YR (medium-dark red to brown) are popular but not as prominent as those of 5YR.

The yellowish clay of the Agria figurines **[531-539]** is almost only in the 7.5YR, 7/8 hues (reddish yellow), significantly lighter than those from the city, suggesting a different source and workshop.[1214] The figurines from the *Favissa* display a variety of clays, reddish orange, some belonging to 5YR, 6/6 (reddish yellow), but others are brownish orange to the 7.5YR hues, suggesting the use of different clay sources and perhaps different workshops. Nevertheless, the clay variations are not too significant, indicating that the clay was probably locally sourced.

The clay's quality is fairly good. Most examples show fine fabric with fine to small inclusions, while only a small portion of the sampled material has larger inclusions or coarse fabric. There is very little to no mica inclusions in the material under study. Most figurines are well fired, but some are still friable. Again, the Agria examples are distinctive for their coarser fabric, with many inclusions and very friable. Also distinctive is the fabric of the Harpokrates figurine **[570]**, which is much darker brown (7.5YR, 5/4 brown) compared to the city's clay with many inclusions, resembling Alexandrian fabrics.[1215] A great number of the Anaktoron figurines also has characteristic clay; even though of local origin, it is particularly fine,[1216] which might indicate a different workshop.

Another distinctive group in terms of clay quality are those with darker coloured clay, found primarily (if not exclusively) in the *Favissa* and the South Cemetery.[1217] The figurines of this group are not as well-fired, showing discolouration all over the surface, with many areas being almost grey.

[1214] Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 95.
[1215] Kassab-Tezgör 2007; Barrett 2011.
[1216] Indicatively **[372, 379, 380, 386, 389, 420, 429, 431, 433, 434, 435]**.
[1217] **[228 230, 236 239, 501]**.

Moulds and moulding

The vast majority of the terracottas are moulded, apart from a few examples **[481, 487]**.[1218] A thin layer of clay was pressed on the mould to create the relief and it was taken out before it dried. In some instances, the coroplast applied more than one layers of clay to make the figurine sturdier. Some of the coroplast's fingerprints survive on the inside of figurines. The examination of these fingerprints could identify coroplasts and/or workshops, but there needs to be full and clear fingerprints in order to draw secure conclusions about this.[1219] So far such clean fingerprints are lacking in the Demetrias material.

Only two moulds survive in Demetrias, one of a donkey from the anaktoron foundations **[500]** and a mould for a plaque depicting a seated Maenad **[279]**, from the "Thesmophorion". The figurine of a donkey **[479]** and a head **[477]**, display many similarities to the mould, but **[479]** is taken from a mould that would create the donkey's right side. A characteristic feature in both moulds is that there seems to be a thin, shiny layer on the moulding surface, perhaps to make moulding and demoulding smoother.

The Maenad plaque mould (**[279]**) is more interesting, as it preserves evidence for its use. There is a lug-handle on the mould's back from which the coroplast would hold the mould, press it and remove it.

Two figurine-patrices were discovered in the Pasikrata sanctuary (**[221, 222]**), meant for creation of secondary moulds.[1220] **[221]** was used to create double moulds of a Tanagran female figurine, while **[222]** shows a standing female figure, probably Aphrodite, with the baby Eros

[1218] Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 34.
[1219] Lichtenberger and Moran 2018.
[1220] Mostly **[221]** has been exhaustively discussed in Hornung-Bertemes et al. 1998; Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 98-99.

on her left shoulder, but does not have a back side. Both figurine-patrices have a small suspension hole at their top, perhaps suggesting that they were hung in the workshop. Their hollow interior is manufactured with thick walls to avoid breakage. They have been well fired and the clay is hard, as was necessary for the moulding process.

These figurine-patrices are not first-generation products but were taken from a previous generation mould. **[221]** belongs to a long series, which is evident from the less crisp details in the facial features. The figurine-patrices' common characteristic is a "peripheral band" which would help separate the moulds taken out of these figurines and define their edges. On **[221]** there is another interesting feature for the study of the moulding process: the existence of keys and counter-keys on the figurine-patrices. These are protuberances and cavities which match perfectly on the front and the back of the figurine. Once the (secondary) moulds were taken, these keys would ensure the alignment of the moulds during the moulding of a new figurine.

The firing of the new moulds from the patrices would cause them to shrink in size and the new generation taken from these (n+1), would in turn be even smaller than the initial patrix. However, no product of either figurine-patrices has been found so far, nor have there been exact parallels for these types.

Hornung-Bertemes et al. have suggested several scenarios for its role and diffusion: it could be an "archive" figurine, to ensure the replacement of the mould in case of breakage; a means to intensify the production, creating more moulds from which they could work with; it would be taken by a different workshop in order to produce another series, a process called "external secondary moulding"; a product of commerce between two workshops.[1221]

[1221] Hornung-Bertemes et al. 1998, 98-101.

The vast majority of the figurines from Demetrias are made with a single mould, the front part moulded, and the back is modelled free-hand; the figurine is left hollow. There are only a few exceptions to this, some specimens are created with double moulds (**[73]**, **[221]**, **[315], [520], [527**], **[569]**). The modelled back was created by a plaque of clay, either flat, as in many kausia-boy figurines, or curved to match the curvature of the front part. The transition from the moulded part to the modelled is visible in many instances. The connection between the front part and the back is sealed usually with added clay.

The heads were the most fragile part of the figurine. To avoid breakage, in many cases the coroplasts would make the heads solid, filling the hollow part of the head with extra clay. This is especially evident from the dark cores that are visible when the heads are broken.

On the heads of the kausia-boys especially, but also on others (for instance, **[25]**, **[32]**), we can observe another measure to avoid breakage. Once the two parts of the figurine were assembled, the coroplast would pinch the back of the neck to reinforce the figurine's most fragile part (**Pl.85, Figs.65-68**). This technique was widely practiced for the figurines from Alexandria,[1222] but can also be observed on a few specimens from Veroia.[1223]

In the instances where the figurine does not have a base, the back is reinforced with added strips of clay at the bottom (for example Type K, **Pl.85, Fig.69**). In the figurines of the Mother-of-the-Gods the coroplast used a strip of clay to reinforce the interior, at waist level (**[281]** and **[283]**). The modelled backs are also smoothened with a cloth as is evident in many cases by the traces left on the clay.

[1222] Kassab-Tezgör 2007, 227.
[1223] Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, no.149, pl.42.

Vent holes

When the two parts were assembled the coroplast would cut a hole at the figurine's back with a sharp tool, the so-called vent holes.[1224] There has been much debate about the use and purpose of these holes. Initially, scholars accepted that they were used for the air to flow through the figurine in the kiln, allow humidity to evaporate and not risk breakage with dilation, hence the name.[1225] However, the vast majority of Hellenistic figurines had openings also on their bottom. Most scholars agree that the figurines were placed horizontally in the kiln, thus the hole in the bottom would act as the vent, allowing air to flow through and fire the clay evenly.

Muller has suggested that we should not see them as vent holes, but rather as assemblage holes, used by the coroplast to insert his finger in order to support the figurine from the inside, when joining the front and back parts, or the added parts.[1226] However, this would not always be possible, especially in the cases where the hole is small and round.[1227] Perhaps the existence of vents both at the bottom and the back served different purposes during the creative process. The back vents could serve for drying the terracottas, when they would have probably been placed upright. The bottom vents then would serve their purpose during the firing process, as they would have been stacked horizontally. Having two vents would allow the air to flow more evenly through the inside of the terracottas.

The significance of the holes' shapes are also much debated, with some scholars believing that each city used its own shape, for example, Tanagra had square-shaped holes,

[1224] Kassab-Tezgör 2007, 228.
[1225] Higgins 1967, 3.
[1226] Muller 1996, 38, 40.
[1227] Kassab-Tezgör 2007, 227, for the figurines from Alexandria.

Myrina rectangular, and Alexandria small and round.[1228] Others believe that the shapes suggest different workshops.[1229] This is definitely not the case with the figurines from Demetrias. We can see this most evidently in the examples of the kausia-boys. Even in the same type, the same generation, from the same workshop, the same context, we observe many different shapes of vent holes. For instance, in kausia-boy Type B we see triangular (**[140]**), oval (**[152]**), rectangular (**[150]**), pointed (**[141]**), and irregular (**[144]**) holes (**Pl.86, Figs.70-74**). The same is evident with kausia-boy Type C, where one can observe oval (**[170*]**), rectangular (**[172]**), trapezoid (**[200]**) and irregular (**[176]**) holes (**Pl.87, Figs.75-78**). In addition, on the back of the figurine **[512*]** (**Pl.87, Fig.79**), there is a round hole, but below it there are traces of incision with a rectangular shape. It seems that the coroplast had initially intended to cut a large rectangular hole, but then changed his mind and opted for a slightly smaller round one.

It is thus evident that the shape of these holes was up to the coroplast's decision on the spot without depending on the workshop or the date.

In some examples, especially for larger terracottas such as protomes, the coroplast would cut two holes, one for the head and one for the body, as is the case of the protome from the Katsiphas plot (**[355]**). This is an indication that, in this case, the holes were perhaps functional.

Added parts – Assemblage

Once the moulding process was finished, the coroplast could then move to refine the figurine by adding more elements to it. The added parts can be either moulded or modelled. They were "glued" to the main body with the use of barbotine.[1230]

[1228] *ibid*, 227-228.
[1229] Rumscheid 2006, 391, suggests that in some cases the shape of the vents, when compared to the colour of the clay could perhaps indicate a different workshop; *contra*: Muller 1996, 39.
[1230] Muller 1994, 38.

Moulded parts include heads (see below), arms (for example the right arm of **[281]** was moulded separately), legs, hats (**[420]**), wings (**[107, 433, 434, NC15, NC32]**).

The modelled parts are more common. They were used for headdresses (stephane **[103]**; crowns and mural crowns **[296]**, **[283*]**, **[355]**), hair (for example locks – **[106]**, **[355]**, wreaths (**[127]**). Thin sheets of clay were placed over the head to indicate the veil (**[81]**, **[92]**). In many examples the mural crowns were created with the addition of clay strips over a stephane and are discernible by the dark core left behind when they break (**[296]**, **[297]**, **[300], [355]**). Pellets of clay were used as jewellery (for example earrings, **[298]**) or as fruit (**[519*]**, **[546]), [NC14]**).

In the cases where the mould did not include a head this was moulded separately and attached on top of the main body. To ensure the better connection between body and head the coroplasts would create a tang, a pointed end on the neck's bottom, which would be inserted inside the body and keep the head in place, once the back side was also added.[1231] In two examples tangs survive (**[103]**; **[557]**), while in the genre figure **[467]**, the break at the neck indicates that the head was inserted with a tang.

The *tholia* **[420]** also included a protrusion at its bottom, either for its insertion on the figurine's head, or just to join it with the head. However, no such head has been identified so far.

For the donkey figurine **[479]** from the Anaktoron it is evident that the materials shown to be inside the basket were added after moulding, as well as the strap of clay used to convey the saddle.

[1231] For tang: Kassab-Tezgör 2007, 230.

Definition of details

After the moulding process, and apart from the added parts, the coroplast could refine the product before firing. This was accomplished with the use of a sharp tool and in Demetrias it was employed for details such as the strands of hair, as in the case of (**[102]**). On the large protome (**[1]**) from the Pasikrata sanctuary we can notice that the drapery on the sleeve has also been incised to further enhance the relief (**Pl.88, Fig.80**).

Monograms

Two specimens bear the same monogram at their back (**[499]**, **[506]** – **Pl.88, Figs.81-82**). The signatures seem to be free-hand and not stamped or incised on the mould. This is evident from the letters' strokes. The monogram consists of a capital Π, with a short right stroke, inside it a romboid shape and a vertical line at its bottom. Hornung-Bertemes had speculated that the signs inside the Π were A and Y, in comparison to monograms from Myrina and Pergamon, attributed by Töpperwein to the coroplast Papias.[1232] Indeed, the Demetrias examples do resemble the monograms from these cities, but there the letters can be more securely identified as A and Y, while in our case they resemble more a Λ and a Y under it. It is unclear whether we should read the name starting as ΠΛΥ- or ΠΥΛ-. The name Pylades (or Pyladas) could be a candidate, as it is common in all regions of the Greek world and appears often in the 3rd and 2nd c. BC.[1233] An attribution of these two figurines to Myrina workshops, thus interpreting them as direct imports, would not be secure, as **[506]** only resembles – but

[1232] Hornung-Bertemes 2007, 99-100; Topperwein 1976, 168, 176, 196, tab.93, no.210. *Contra*: Kassab 1988, 5, who takes a more moderate approach and believes that the workshop is yet unidentified.
[1233] *LGPN* I, 395; II, 388; IIIA, 381; IIIB, 368; IV, 296; VA, 388; VB, 370.

does not perfectly match – figurines from Myrina and the clay is local.[1234] A further interpretation is that travelling workshops might have existed, but such a theory is very difficult, if not impossible, to prove.

Whether the monograms represent abbreviated versions of the coroplast's name or are workshop signs is difficult to establish on present evidence.[1235] Nevertheless, they (especially **[499]**), prove that there is a coroplast or a workshop who sign their works already in the 3rd c.,[1236] a practice which for most of the surviving examples from other cities starts later.

Slip – Colours – Decoration

The white slip, also called preparation, was used in the vast majority of terracottas from Demetrias. 480 figurines out of the 568 (84%) that were examined had white slip, or at least traces. This slip was, from what scientific research has shown, in most cases kaolinite, but also calcite.[1237] In Demetrias, calcite was used in 75% of the analysed specimens from the North Cemetery.[1238] It is debated whether the slip was applied before or after firing. In the cases examined in the Louvre, research showed that the slip was probably applied after firing.[1239] Some scholars are against the idea that the slip was applied before firing, because this would cause it to crumble.[1240] However, the results of the experimental workshop at Thessaloniki showed that the kaolinite applied before the firing worked fine and did not crumble.[1241] The

[1234] Mollard-Besques 1963, 107, no.MYR650, pl.127e.
[1235] Kassab 1988, 7-11, for the significance and interpretation of inscriptions and monograms on terracottas.
[1236] A date in the 3rd c. is also justified based on palaeographic analysis. The Λ is slightly curved, while on the Y, the two oblique strokes are shorter than the vertical. I am indebted to Prof. Nikolas Papazarkadas for discussing this with me.
[1237] Jeammet et al. 2010, 245.
[1238] Tsatsouli and Nikolaou 2017, 355 and fig.13.
[1239] Jeammet et al. 2010, 245.
[1240] Kassab-Tezgör 2007, 234.
[1241] The workshop was part of the international symposium in Thessaloniki "Το Ειδώλιο στο Βορειοελλαδικό Χώρο από την Προϊστορία έως τους Ρωμαϊκούς Χρόνους" (10-13 October 2018).

application of the slip was possible in several ways, but in all cases, it needed to be thin and liquid; either by brushing it on the figurine, or by dipping the figurine in the slip, or by pouring slip on the figurine. During the experimental workshop, the most even results were achieved from the dipped method. Nevertheless, in Demetrias the most likely method used was by brushing the slip on the terracottas.

The slip's main purpose was to be used as a preparation on which the colours would be applied. There are some cases where the figurines were left unpainted, but they were covered with the slip. The slip was applied in the vast majority of the specimens only on the front side. The back was rarely covered, but in some examples only a small border around the edges of the back was covered in slip, perhaps to create a smoother transition from the front to the back. The same practice has been observed in many figurines from Alexandria.[1242]

The colours were mostly applied after firing, but in a few specimens, they were applied beforehand, as is the case with black manganese when used as a substrate. Black colour was used in at least two to four examples, to outline the figurines' eyes (**[507], [NC17] (Pl.89, Fig.83)**, **[301]**, **[568]**) and hair (**Pl.89, Fig.84**),[1243] but also to denote empty space or shadow (**[515]**), a practice also observed in specimens from other cities.[1244]

Lead-white was used on female faces, over the white slip (**Pl.90, Fig.85**),[1245] to enhance the impression of the pure white skin. The skin of children and youths was painted with pink and salmon-pink colour (**[137]**). Conversely, mature men were depicted with darker skin tone, similar to what we can see from painting (Herakles **[322]**; Silenos **[463]**; theatrical **[333]** and **[515]**).[1246]

[1242] Kassab-Tezgör 2007, 234.
[1243] Tsatsouli and Nikolaou 2017, fig.7.
[1244] Kassab-Tezgör 2007, 237; Blume 2016, 151.
[1245] Tsatsouli and Nikolaou 2017, fig.14.
[1246] Blume 2016, 150, n.14; Tzanavari 2017, 53.

Madder lake was used in Demetrias for the pink colour, a pigment which seems to have been widely used in the whole Mediterranean. Salmon-pink was mainly used for the skin of the figurines, while darker shades of pink (madder lake) were used for garments.[1247]

The majority of the red colour in Demetrias was achieved by red ochre (**Pl.90, Fig.86**) which was relatively cheap.[1248] It was mostly used for hair; as we know from written sources colouring the hair with henna was a big trend in the Hellenistic period and it is believed that the red colour on the hair of figurines conveys this very trend.[1249]

Cinnabar, which was a much costlier material, was applied only in a few cases, mostly on the lips (**Pl.91, Fig.87**) and garments. As Tsatsouli has pointed out, this colour was much more expensive than red ochre.[1250]

Red colour is also used for the mural crown of the Mother-of-the-Gods. The areas between the crown's crenelations are painted red, while the crenelations are usually left white (**[281]**, **[296]**, **[355]**).[1251]

Blue colour, in Demetrias probably Egyptian blue, was used primarily for the decoration of garments, but also for Eros' wings.[1252] Some traces of blue colour are also visible on the mural crown of the Mother-of-the-Gods (**[281]**), Pan's syrinx (**[323]**), as well as the chlamys of a kausia-boy (**[187]**).[1253]

Yellow colour has been detected on the Pan figurine (**[323]**), applied on the himation and horns, as well as in very small traces on garments of two female figurines (**[73]** and **[547]**). No

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[1247] Tsatsouli and Nikolaou 2017, tab.2, figs.3, 17.
[1248] *ibid*.
[1249] Kassab-Tezgör 2007, 237.
[1250] Tsatsouli and Nikolaou 2017, 354. At Pherai only six out of 35 examined figurines were decorated with cinnabar. These figurines were more "elaborate" than the others of the sample (Asderaki and Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2010, 5).
[1251] This has proven to be a way to identify mural crowns in the Demetrias figurines which survive fragmentarily (**[297]**, **[302]**, **[355]**).
[1252] Tsatsouli and Nikolaou 2017, 345.
[1253] Egyptian blue was also discovered on the crown of **[278]**. I am indebted to Dr Giovanni Verri and Dr Maria Stamatopoulou who informed me about this.

analysis has been done so far on the yellow pigments from Demetrias, but the specimens from Pherai show that yellow ochre was used in all samples.[1254]

A very interesting discovery regarding the colours applied on the Demetrias terracottas was green. In the rare cases of terracottas decorated with green colour, this is made of malachite or copper-based pigments.[1255] However, at Demetrias the green used was conichalchite (**Pl.91, Fig.89**), a very rare and expensive pigment, which was mostly used in Macedonian wall painting, usually mixed. Only in two known instances until now has conichalchite been used pure: for the chryselephantine couch in Philip's tomb and two figurines from Demetrias.[1256] Green decoration is further attested on the wreath of protome **[307]**, although we do not know the pigment's substance.

As the analysis on the figurines from North Cemetery has shown, the colours were mixed to achieve different hues and nuances. The salmon-pink flesh tone was achieved by the mixture of calcite and lead white under a mixture of red ochre and lead white.[1257] This mixing and superimposition of pigments can be detected (macroscopically) on the *tholia* **[420]** from the Anaktoron, on which two colours are overlaid: pink and purple, while the back was decorated with salmon-pink colour.

In some specimens the garments were decorated in bands of different colours (**[525-526]**), a technique which is very prominent in other areas, such as Veroia and Myrina.[1258]

The tin-foil technique, which was until recently only known from terracottas at Pherai (and perhaps Veroia),[1259] is now attested at Demetrias in at least two specimens from the North

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[1254] Asderaki-Tzourmekioti and Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2010, 5.
[1255] Pagès-Camagna 2010, 251. At Pherai the green colour used was artificial (Asderaki-Tzourmekioti and Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2010, 6).
[1256] Brecoulaki and Perdikatsis 2006, 184; Brecoulaki 2014, 27; Asderaki-Tzourmekioti et al. 2010, 4-7, figs.7-8; Tsatsouli and Nikolaou 2017, 348-349 and fig.4.
[1257] Tsatsouli and Nikolaou 2017, 345.
[1258] Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, 63; Pagès-Camagna 2010, 259, no.211; Tzanavari 2017a, 55.
[1259] Asderaki-Tzourmekioti and Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2010; Asderaki-Tzourmekioti et al. 2010. Tzanavari 2017a, 54 (Veroia).

Cemetery (**Pl.92, Figs.90-91**). [1260] Tin was applied on the chair of **[NC14]** to provide a sense of luxury or metal, similar to the silver *diphros* known from Thessaloniki,[1261] and the couches on the painted stelai from Demetrias.[1262] The tin was applied over a layer of manganese black which might have been used to accentuate the tin's colour. In a second case, tin has been used on the exterior of the Eros' wings (**[NC15]**), again to accentuate their appearance. This time the tin-foil is applied over a cinnabar layer. How the tin was applied is still debated, whether as a thin-foil or as melted and brushed.[1263]

Derivative production (surmoulage)

The coroplastic production of a city could be enriched by secondary moulding, the "derivative production", terms used to describe a new mould that is taken from a figurine of any given generation.[1264] This practice could be done in several ways: in the workshop to create an "archive" or to increase the production process; externally from a second workshop which would either buy a mould from the first workshop or create a secondary mould from figurine. The latter process could in some cases explain the imported moulds in a city, as the coroplasts could create a new series taken from a figurine created in a different centre. The firing of the new moulds and of the new figurines leads to subsequent shrinkage rendering them 10 to 20% smaller than the previous generations.[1265] The repeated secondary moulding also causes some loss of quality, as the definition of details is not as good as in the previous generations. The use of added parts could also alter a figurine's appearance and could create a new version and a

[1260] Asderaki-Tzourmekioti et al. 2010, 8, fig. 13; Tsatsouli and Nikolaou 2017, 350-354.
[1261] Rhomiopoulou 1989, 217, no.26; Rhomiopoulou 2007, 183.
[1262] Stamatopoulou 2016, figs.5, 10.
[1263] Kotitsa and Schüssler 2002, 73.
[1264] Muller 1997, 454-455.
[1265] Muller 2010, 101.

new generation, when a secondary mould was taken from such a figurine. For example, Type Cc has been created with a different replacement.

In Demetrias we can observe the derivative production only in a few cases. For instance, Type B is a variation of several generations down of an Athenian creation, showing the external secondary moulding. Type D has yielded three generations (**[546, 368-369, 504, 29, 228]**). Type I also survives in three generations, albeit the first two in a very fragmentary state (**[37, 38]**). The secondary moulding can also be remarkably observed in the creation of the "shepherd" figurine types from some of the kausia-boy types. (Shepherd type A **[248]** from kausia type D.b. **[205]** – **Pl.98**; shepherd type C **[258]** from kausia type E **[208-211]** – **Pl.99**; shepherd type E **[263]** from kausia type F **[210-215]** – **Pl.100**; **[539]** from kausia type D.a. **[245]** – **Pl.98**). Thus, the kausia-boy types and the "shepherd" figurines are connected in some cases mechanically, as well as iconographically.

Workshops

Workshop installations or buildings have not been discovered in Demetrias or its environs which also makes forming hypotheses on the workshops harder. The only exception is that of two pottery and terracotta deposits allegedly belonging to workshop(s) in the area of the Anaktoron after its abandonment, mentioned in the reports by the EPhAMag, but these have been only partially published and we know nothing of the terracotta finds.[1266]

The existence of two figurine-patrices among the finds of the Sanctuary of Pasikrata, is perplexing. Hornung-Bertemes et al. did not believe that they come from a sanctuary context.[1267] Given the early date of the sanctuary's investigation and the problems of its

[1266] Batziou-Efstathiou 2000b, 41.
[1267] *ibid*, 92.

documentation the question has to remain open. Still, if not offerings themselves, the figurine-patrices could attest to the existence of a small coroplastic workshop in the immediate vicinity of the sanctuary.[1268] Such workshops are a well-attested phenomenon in Greek sanctuaries, for example at Pella, in the Sanctuary of the Mother-of-the-Gods and Aphrodite, as well as the Thesmophorion.[1269] It is noteworthy that both at the "Thesmophorion" and the Anaktoron fills there were moulds (**[279, 500]**), which could imply artisanal activity on site. I think we should not discard the possibility, especially because we lack products from the patrices, that these items were offerings dedicated to the deity. Even though the parallels for such a practice are limited, we know of a mould found inside the "Small Temple" at Gitana, Thesprotia, which was discovered among other terracottas and dedications.[1270] Perhaps this was a dedication by the coroplast for protection of his craft, as can be seen in the Penteskouphia pinakes at Corinth, where potters dedicated pinakes depicting workshop scenes.[1271] The question has to remain open at present. If my hypothesis that the Anaktoron finds were connected to a sanctuary is correct, then at least three religious sites probably had workshop areas in or close to them which catered to the needs of the sanctuary. Our understanding of these processes is hindered by the lack of products coming from these figurine-patrices/moulds.

The lack of workshop areas can be explained by the small-scale rescue excavations that have thus far taken place in the city of Demetrias. One would expect workshops outside the city walls,[1272] but these are the areas that have been even less well excavated or documented. Workshop areas existed in the agora of Pella,[1273] but at Demetrias the agora remains

[1268] Stamatopoulou 2014, 212-213.
[1269] Lilimpaki-Akamati 1996, 80; 2000, 37.
[1270] Preka-Alexandri 1989, 306-308; Kanta-Kitsou et al. 2008, 71.1; Kanta-Kitsou 2008, 54.
[1271] Smith 2009, 104-105; Hasaki and Nakas 2017, 68, with previous bibliography.
[1272] Pherai: Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 1997; Argos: Banaka 2014; Athens: Linardatos 2017. For workshops in general with previous bibliography: Sanidas 2016; 2017. Sicily: Pisani 2012b.
[1273] Akamatis 1990, 179; Akamatis 2011, 68; Kontopoulou 2002.

unexcavated, apart from the Sacred Agora.[1274] We know that small-scale terracotta workshops existed in houses, for instance at nearby Halos, Pella, Olynthus and perhaps Abdera,[1275] but in Demetrias the excavated houses remain unpublished and the brief preliminary reports do not contain information on terracotta workshop activity.

The cost of figurines

How much would a figurine cost? This is a very difficult question to answer, especially since the ancient sources scarcely mention anything on terracottas' market value.[1276] Nevertheless, there are certain features that could have added to their value. For instance, a figurine's size might be a factor which affected its price. Thus, a small-sized girl figurine, such as **[564]**, would not cost the same as a large figurine, as **[526]**. One should also consider the amount of labour put into a figurine's manufacture, i.e. a figurine which came from one single mould would cost less than one which needed several moulds for its creation (head, wings, legs, arms). Furthermore, an imported mould or an imported figurine might have increased the terracotta's cost. Finally, the decoration (such as expensive pigments, tin-foil and gilding) would render a terracotta pricier. Uhlenbrock has suggested that a figurine's cost could be dependent on the subject portrayed, thus an Eros figurine would have a higher price because of "the ability to instil desire to its owner".[1277] Based on the available evidence this is impossible to prove or disprove. Barrett provided another explanation for the cost of terracottas, which was their desirability.[1278]

[1274] Stamatopoulou 2018a, 355 and n.86.
[1275] Halos: van Boekel and Mulder 2003, 109-116; Pella: Lilimpaki-Akamati 1993; Lilimpaki-Akamati and Akamatis 2011; Olynthus: Cahill 2002, 253-255; Abdera: Lazarides 1960.
[1276] Uhlenbrock 2016a, 9-10, for an attempt to tackle this issue.
[1277] Uhlenbrock 2016a, 9.
[1278] Barrett 2011, 352-353.

The Eros figurine **[NC15]** from the North Cemetery[1279] must have been a very expensive one based on the fact that it was created from an imported mould and it was vividly painted. In addition to the choice of cinnabar instead of the cheaper red ochre, the coroplast used tin-foil for the exterior of the wings.[1280] Conversely, the female figurine **[NC12]** (**Pl.91, Fig.88**) shows the use of cheaper materials, although not less impressive in result: the reds are red ochre, and the blue is copper-based.[1281] The figurine of the seated women **[NC14]** (**Pl.92, Fig.90**) must have been on the higher-end of the market value, as it was also created with an imported mould and tin-foil was applied on its surface.[1282] Finally, the figurine with the conichalchite decoration (**Pl.91, Fig.89**) would be costly as the raw materials for the paint were more expensive to acquire.[1283] These specimens represent only a very small portion of the city's terracotta production which in its majority is of good quality, although not comparable to the high quality specimens from sites such as Myrina, Pergamon, and Veroia.

Conclusions

From the brief survey on the manufacture technique of the figurines from Demetrias it is evident that they follow similar patterns to other production centres in the Hellenistic world. What the Demetrias specimens add to our knowledge is that the clay is predominately local, thus the production must be local as well (see also conclusions for typology). Moulds and workshops in Demetrias are still largely absent, but the two figurine-patrices from the Pasikrata sanctuary are very informative of the moulding process. The "vent" holes observed on the

[1279] Nikolaou 2012, 356, no.B.1. fig.13.
[1280] Tsatsouli and Nikolaou 2017, fig.10.
[1281] *ibid*, fig.2.
[1282] *ibid*, fig.9.
[1283] *ibid*, fig.4.

figurines from Demetrias disprove the suggestion that their shapes are specific to a given city, workshop or specific time period, but their shapes are probably dependent on the artist's will. The two monograms, from the same workshop or coroplast, show that signing terracottas started earlier than was thought, although it is true that this practice became more popular after the second half of the 2nd c. BC. The polychromy on the Demetrias figurines displays very interesting uses of pigments and supplements our knowledge of certain pigments and practices, such as tin-foil, Egyptian blue and conichalchite. One instance differentiating the products from Demetrias from those from Tanagra and Myrina is the extensive use of calcite as a slip, instead of kaolinite. The terracottas from Demetrias follow closely the Hellenistic manufacture trends displaying interesting processes.

Chapter 9: Synthesis

The majority of the datable coroplastic material from Demetrias falls in the 3rd c. During this period the figurines are medium in size, rarely exceeding 0.15m. in height. The production is primarily dependent on Athenian and Boeotian models, during the first half of the century, even in the local production which follows the trends of the period. From the second half, and probably from the last quarter of the 3rd c., the coroplastic production from Demetrias is more dependent on the Macedonian cities, with larger figurines appearing slowly. In the 2nd c., the figurines become even larger and more elaborate, also taking inspiration from the products of Asia Minor. The well-dated contexts from this period are the Katsiphas plot and some graves in the North and East Cemeteries, but the quantity of terracottas is lower compared to the previous century. In the 1st c., following the Roman conquest (in the mid 2nd c.) the production shows a significant decline and with only a few examples from the cemeteries and the Pasikrata sanctuary. This follows the contraction in the other aspects of the city, but is also in line with the trends of the period in mainland Greece.

Regarding the distribution of terracottas in Demetrias, the majority come from religious contexts; at least 594 terracottas come from the Pasikrata sanctuary, the *Favissa*, the Metroon, the Thesmophorion and the Katsiphas plot. 137 specimens come from the Anaktoron foundation fill. We know of 115 terracottas (19%) from the cemeteries, which indicates that they form a small proportion of the city's corpus.[1284] Since only a minority of graves received terracottas it is evident that they were not a necessary funerary offering.[1285]

[1284] One should consider that most of the coroplastic material from Arvanitopoulos' excavations in the South Cemetery is still missing and that the numbers from the North Cemetery are not certain since the finds have not been fully published.
[1285] The same has been noted in other cemeteries too (Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, 217).

In terms of types, the vast majority of the figurines from Demetrias depict females; they are present in all contexts. Some of the types, such as female-types C, D and F, and the kausia-boy types A and B, appear in most contexts, religious and funerary. *Plaggones* are also present in many contexts: the Anaktoron fill, "Thesmophorion" and all the cemeteries. Theatrical terracottas were found in the cemeteries, the Pasikrata sanctuary, the Metroon and the Anaktoron. The "shepherd" types were primarily discovered in the *Favissa*, but a few examples were among the Pasikrata sanctuary finds and the cemeteries. Child figurines are also found in all contexts apart from the Katsiphas plot.

By contrast, certain types appear only in specific contexts; female-types A, G, J, as well as kausia-boy types C, G, H, are only present in the Pasikrata sanctuary. Some types were only discovered in funerary contexts, such as the seated female group, the Aphrodite kourotrophos (**[NC13]**), the leaning Eros (**[NC15]**). Protomes are absent from the cemeteries, but are found in the Pasikrata sanctuary, the Anaktoron, and primarily in the Metroon and the Katsiphas plot.

Regarding divine terracottas, the Mother-of-the-Gods is the most popular; her images have been discovered in less "diverse" contexts (Metroon, Anaktoron, Katsiphas plot). Aphrodite is also very popular, appearing in the Pasikrata sanctuary, the Metroon, the Anaktoron and the cemeteries, but as of yet her cult is only attested epigraphically in Demetrias.[1286] Eros – as is customary for the period – is also popular in the city found in the Metroon, the Anaktoron and the cemeteries.

It is also interesting to compare the terracottas of a more centrally controlled cult such as the Thesmophorion with those of the private cult in the Katsiphas plot.[1287] Both have yielded high quality protomes which display many similarities in manufacture, even though they are

[1286] Kravaritou 2011a, 123; 2016a, 145; IG IX,2 1125 (Aphrodite Neleia, 2nd c.)
[1287] I consider the cult at the Thesmophorion centrally controlled because of the *astynomoi* inscription (Arvanitopoulos 1929e).

not from the same moulds. Conversely, the Thesmophorion has yielded higher quantities of figurines. Differences can be noticed among the figurines for the cult of the Mother-of-the-Gods, which was probably a mystery cult, and those from the Pasikrata sanctuary and the *Favissa*, both – most likely – kourotrophic cults. The latter have yielded significantly more figurines than the Metroon but are generally of lower quality. In addition, with the exception of **[352]**, there are no child figurines from the Metroon; the majority of the terracottas in the Metroon are depictions of deities, a notable difference from the aforementioned sanctuaries.

Only the terracottas from the Metroon, the Katsiphas plot and – to a lesser extent – from the "Thesmophorion" and the cemeteries inform us about their uses. In the first two, some of the terracottas were discovered alongside vases and structures which allude to libations and incense-burning. In the Metroon, terracottas were found in rooms connected to feasting, while in the Thesmophorion and the Katsiphas plot the terracottas were placed on purposely created features (platform and bench respectively). It is unclear whether these terracottas were meant to be images of the deities during the rituals, but this possibility should not be excluded.

Moreover, some figurines' iconography might hint at rituals occurring at the sanctuary. For instance, figurines of dancers, banqueters, and the boar-hunt group might hint at dancing and banqueting rituals, or at hunting as part of a rite-of-passage. In the absence of literary, epigraphic and iconographic evidence one cannot be certain. The instances in which the coroplastic material might hint at the rituals practiced are the *prostethidia* from the Metroon.

In the cemeteries, terracottas were often placed on the cover slabs of tombs, and others bear traces of fire, implying that they were also used in funerary rituals, either placed in the cremation pyre or during *enagismoi*. These figurines were not all meant to represent deities, but as with the examples used during rituals in religious contexts they were of large size and high quality.

The meaning of terracottas has been a much debated issue.[1288] It is now generally agreed that the numerous female figurines are representations of mortal women: acting as "an avatar, the terracotta replaces the dedicator in a perpetual presence and prayer near the god".[1289] In the Pasikrata sanctuary, study of the epigraphic evidence and the coroplastic has shown that the venerated deity protected (young) women, girls and boys. The different age groups represented on the figurines perhaps suggest that they could have been dedicated to the goddess for protection during important life passages. A few child figurines are also mentioned in the Thesmophorion, so should one suppose a kourotrophic aspect of the cult? The epigraphic evidence there does not add much to our understanding of the cult in this respect. According to Muller terracottas are "the archaeological manifestation of rites-of-passage".[1290] In Demetrias their discovery in sanctuaries with kourotrophic cults and in graves – primarily of children and women – could in part support this; yet, lacking epigraphic evidence, this remains a hypothesis.

The majority of protomes in Demetrias bear attributes that help identify them as the Mother-of-the-Gods. In the few examples where attributes were absent, we observe that the protomes are either large-scale terracotta "sculptures", as **[1]**, or generic female images (**[305]**, **[306]**, **[356]**, **[357]**).[1291] Their fragmentary preservation makes the drawing of conclusions hazardous. **[1]** may have been an image of the deity, primarily because of its size but, since the head is missing, this remains conjectural.

[1288] Muller and Huysecom-Haxhi 2007; Muller 2018a, with previous bibliography.
[1289] Muller 2018a, 161; Huysecom-Haxhi and Muller 2015, 433-435; *contra*: Croissant 2017.
[1290] Muller 2018a, 161-162.
[1291] For protomes: Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2006; Muller 2009; *contra*: Tzanavari 2014; 2015; 2017b; Adam-Veleni 2014; Lilimpaki-Akamati 2016, identify them as deities.

It is often proposed that the terracottas deposited in child burials could be interpreted as projections of the social roles of an age they did not reach.[1292] In Demetrias, such an argument might be supported for the cases where we see representations of nuptial scenes, such as the seated group (**[NC14, NC25]**) and the *plaggones*. The final publication of the finds from the North Cemetery will illuminate these theories.

The study of the Demetrias terracottas has shown that in most cases coroplasts created products regardless of their destination, with no differentiation in their meaning and function; the consumers would buy them and the terracottas would acquire their meaning by their context of deposition.[1293] This can be supported by the two monograms (**[506]**; **[499]**), which are found in funerary and in (perhaps) religious contexts. Thus, in Demetrias, contrary to what has been suggested in Veroia,[1294] workshops were not specialising in one category of dedications (religious or funerary). From what we know so far about the coroplastic production and consumption in Demetrias, we observe a "religious industry",[1295] only in the cases of the Metroon and the Katsiphas plot,[1296] where figurines seem to have been created with a specific, religious, purpose in mind. A few types from the Pasikrata sanctuary could fall in this category (female-types A, G, J), but the majority of the material is known in other contexts too.

The terracottas from Demetrias contribute significantly to our understanding of local cults, especially to the understanding of the venerated deity and the nature of the cult. In places where we lack epigraphic evidence e.g. the Metroon, the Anaktoron and the Katsiphas plot, the terracottas are (some of) the primary indications of cult taking place there. For example, we can see that the cult of the Mother-of-the-Gods was important in the city with three cult spaces,

[1292] Huysecom-Haxhi 2008.
[1293] Chryssanthaki-Nagle 2006, came to a similar conclusion regarding the protomes from Macedonia and Thrace.
[1294] Tsakalou-Tzanavari 2002, 209.
[1295] As in the case of Thasos (Muller 1990, 446).
[1296] We still lack most information about the coroplastic types from the "Thesmophorion" to be certain about this.

either public or private. Her cult spans from the 3rd to the mid 2nd c. and coincides with Macedonian rule in the city. Here, as in other cult spaces of the goddess in Macedonia, one can observe that a multitude of other deities were worshipped alongside the Mother-of-the-Gods – Attis, Pan, Eros, Aphrodite, Athena, En(n)odia, Herakles, Dionysos and his thiasos – showing that her *synteleia* was also present in Demetrias.

Based on the coroplastic evidence, we can distinguish two kourotrophic cult spaces in the city: the Pasikrata sanctuary and the sanctuary to which the *Favissa* belonged. They share significant similarities both in iconographic and coroplastic types. Similar types were discovered in the Apollo sanctuary at Soros, which was in use before the synoecism of Demetrias, indicating the importance of kourotrophic cults in the region and their continuity in the newly founded city. What significance the sanctuaries (Pasikrata and *Favissa*) had for the city remains unclear, because of our limited knowledge of the one on Hill 35. In both sanctuaries it is evident that women, girls and boys participated in the rituals, or at least dedicated terracottas; seemingly no terracottas exist which depict the venerated deity in either sanctuaries (and in the "Thesmophorion"), perhaps with tentative exceptions (**[111]**; **[1]** (?); **[235]**). The nature of the cult in the "Thesmophorion" is hard to assess due to the limited investigation. As mentioned in Chapter 2B, the sanctuary on Hill 35 should no longer be connected to the Thesmophorion which was excavated by Arvanitopoulos, as the site excavated by Batziou is a more likely candidate.

All cult sites which received terracotta dedications were consecrated to female deities. It would have been useful for comparisons to have coroplastic material from sanctuaries of male deities in order to deduce any difference or similarities in dedication practices. The evidence from the Apollo sanctuary at Soros indicates that kourotrophic cults/deities received similar dedications regardless of the sex of the deity.

It is hard to answer who bought, used and deposited these terracottas. The cemeteries provide a mixed picture: terracottas were deposited both in wealthy and poor graves, while their quality, even though it varies, is not always revealing of the deceased's status when compared to the grave assemblage. In the Katsiphas plot, it is evident that the owner(s) belonged to an "affluent bourgeoisie",[1297] which is also reflected in the quality, size and elaboration of the terracottas. The terracottas from the Metroon, the Katsiphas plot, and (as far as we know) the "Thesmophorion" are higher in quality and more elaborate than those found in the Pasikrata sanctuary and the *Favissa*.[1298] The figurines from the sanctuaries of Pasikrata and the Favissa could have been bought and dedicated by lower social classes, but there is no way to prove this, other than their local, mass-production (for the most part), middling quality and medium size, which is for the majority smaller than those found in the cemeteries. The vast majority of the terracottas across the city depicted females and children, which would lead one to suggest that the dedicators were in fact primarily women and children. Conversely, the presence of the Gaul figurine **[NC2]** in a female burial warns against broad generalisations when assessing the relationship between iconography and context. The presence of terracottas in one of the rooms which yielded banqueting vessels provides an interesting dichotomy about their use also by men. It is difficult to assess their role in sympotic contexts, also because of absence of published comparanda, but their presence is undeniable and raises questions about their ritual significance.

It is even harder to discuss the cultural identity of the people who dedicated and used these terracottas; were they Magnesians, Thessalians, Macedonians, or from other places? Even if the kausia-boy figurines were dedicated by people close to the Macedonians,[1299] this is only

[1297] Stamatopoulou 2018a, 361.
[1298] The terracottas in domestic contexts in Priene are higher in quality than those found in sanctuaries (Rumscheid 2006, 177; Uhlenbrock 2016, 10). In Demetrias, this can only be confirmed by the finds from the Katsiphas plot.
[1299] Chapter 6.

a small class of material. The lack of publications on terracottas from Thessalian cities impedes our understanding even further. Could the Harpokrates figurine (**[570]**) have been dedicated or used by an Egyptian in the city, considering there was an organised cult of the Egyptian Gods?[1300] Nevertheless, this cult would not have been limited to Egyptians, at least certainly not in the 2nd c.,[1301] but it is impossible to know when this figurine is dated.

To conclude, this thesis offers a contextual and typological study of the terracotta production and distribution in Hellenistic Demetrias. Hornung-Bertemes' included a far smaller, unprovenanced sample, as the archival material was inaccessible to her. Thanks to the identification of a large body of material from old excavations and new investigations, I was able to examine over 700 figurines, of which 614 are included in this thesis. This is an important sample of terracottas for a Hellenistic city; although not as large as at Athens, Corinth, Pella, Pergamon or Myrina, the material comes from a wide variety of contexts, some well-documented and dated. It has been possible to draw conclusions about the distribution, iconographic choices (Pasikrata, Metroon), and meaning of the terracottas.

The coroplastic types were analysed in their entirety and the possible sources of inspiration were discussed. As in other cities there is a wide variety, local creations and specific pigments (conichalchite). There is evidence of significant large-scale terracotta sculpture, whose significance cannot yet be assessed as the specimens are very fragmentary.

The strong trade links evident through the study of types and moulds accord well with the evidence supplied by the pottery and tombstones, indicating that Demetrias was a vibrant, cosmopolitan Hellenistic harbour. The coroplasts of Demetrias used a wide range of models

[1300] For the presence of Egyptians in Demetrias: Stamatopoulou 2008. For the clay: Chapter 8.
[1301] Stamatopoulou 2008, 254; Kravaritou 2014.

and created many new types. The local products, while not always as spectacular, as those from Asia Minor or the Macedonian capital, are varied. The production is fully integrated into a wider *koine* of Hellenistic coroplastic art, similar to the production of Athens in the south, Pella and Veroia in the north, the cities of Asia Minor, and Alexandria in Egypt.

The terracottas from the sanctuaries of Pasikrata, the Favissa on Hill 35, and the Metroon provide invaluable information about the religious life and dedications in the city, while the specimens from the cemeteries and the Anaktoron foundation fills (though fragmentary), provide a large, well-dated sample; a desideratum in the study of terracottas. It is hoped that the full publication of the specimen from the "Thesmophorion", the Anaktoron deposits, and the North Cemetery will illuminate even further the coroplastic production from Demetrias, provide information about the reported workshop(s) active around the Anaktoron after its abandonment, and further dated contexts (in the case of the North Cemetery). The coroplastic production of other Thessalian cities of the Hellenistic period is almost unknown, thus there is much to be explored between the relationship of the coroplastic production of Demetrias with large cities, such as Pherai, Phthiotic Thebes, Pharsalos, Larisa, and Homolion, but also with West Thessaly, such as Metropolis, Pelinna, and Trikke.

Still, I hope to have shown that the coroplastic production of Demetrias was vibrant, using a wide range of types and moulds, original (kausia-boy figurines) and fully attuned to the broader trends prevalent in the Hellenistic world.

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