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Edited by

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Chapter 14

The coroplast's workshop and its production: Reflecting on the craft practices of the Archaic πλάστης in Magna Graecia

Eukene Bilbao Zubiri

Abstract

Recent research on ancient crafts and the development of an anthropological approach to manufacturing systems have placed artisans and their workshops at the very centre of current studies on material culture. This contribution focuses on the manufacturing processes of craftsmen specialising in the production of ritual clay figurines in Magna Graecia during the Archaic period. Despite a relative knowledge of the areas of craft production in Italiote *poleis*, the evidence associated with the coroplastic crafts of this period is extremely meagre. In order to fill this gap, it has become essential to carry out an autoptic examination of the objects and compare them on a broad geographical scale, in order to understand the specific features of workshops and the creative and cultural dynamics in which they were embedded within the *polis* and on a regional scale. This approach sheds light not only on the technical skills shared by these craftsmen specialising in figurative art, but also on the choices made in terms of modelling that reflect conscious mechanisms of emulation that link workshops and communities at different levels. This makes it possible to highlight the importance of Greek settlements in the Gulf of Tarentum in the process of adopting and consolidating a moulded craft that developed progressively until the middle of the sixth century BC, and then the major turning point marked by the appearance, at that time, of highly efficient workshops that attempted to assert their creative specificities through new chaînes opératoires and differentiated choices in modelling. The aim of this paper is to encourage the application of a large-scale comparative technological approach in order to reveal the richness of Magna-Graecian coroplastic workshops and their contribution to the artisanal and artistic evolution of the central Mediterranean.

Περίληψη

Η πρόσφατη έρευνα στις αρχαίες χειροτεχνικές δραστηριότητες και η ανάπτυξη μίας ανθρωπολογικής προσέγγισης των κατασκευαστικών συστημάτων έχουν θέσει τους τεχνίτες και τα εργαστήριά τους στο επίκεντρο των σύγχρονων μελετών πάνω στον υλικό πολιτισμό. Η παρούσα συμβολή επικεντρώνεται στις κατασκευαστικές διαδικασίες τεχνιτών ειδικευμένων στην παραγωγή τελετουργικών πήλινων ειδωλίων στη Μεγάλη Ελλάδα, κατά την Αρχαϊκή περίοδο. Παρά τις σχετικές μας γνώσεις όσον αφορά τις περιοχές χειροτεχνικής παραγωγής στις Ιταλιώτικες πόλεις, τα τεκμήρια που συνδέονται με την κοροπλαστική δημιουργία εκείνης της περιόδου είναι πενιχρά. Προκειμένου να καλυφθεί αυτό το κενό, είναι απολύτως απαραίτητη η αυτοψία και η σύγκριση των αντικειμένων σε ευρεία γεωγραφική κλίμακα, ώστε να γίνουν κατανοητά τα ιδιαίτερα χαρακτηριστικά των εργαστηρίων, καθώς και η δημιουργική και πολιτιστική δυναμική, όπου αυτά εντάσσονται μέσα στην πόλη και σε τοπικό επίπεδο. Μια τέτοια προσέγγιση φωτίζει όχι μόνο τις τεχνικές δεξιότητες που μοιράζονταν οι τεχνίτες των εικονιστικών/μορφογραφικών τεχνών, αλλά επίσης τις επιλογές τους σε θέματα μορφοπλασίας, οι οποίες αντικατοπτρίζουν συνειδητούς μηχανισμούς άμιλλας που συνδέουν εργαστήρια και κοινότητες σε διαφορετικά επίπεδα. Έτσι αναδεικνύεται κατ' αρχάς η σημασία των Ελληνικών οικισμών στον Κόλπο του Τάραντα, σε μία διαδικασία υιοθεσίας και αποκρυστάλλωσης μιας πλαστικής/μορφοποιητικής τέχνης που εξελίχθηκε προοδευτικά μέχρι τα μέσα του έκτου αιώνα π.Χ., και, κατόπιν, το μείζον σημείο καμπής χάριν στην τότε εμφάνιση εξαιρετικά αποδοτικών εργαστηρίων που δοκίμασαν να προβάλλουν τις δημιουργικές ιδιαιτερότητές τους μέσα από νέες 'λειτουργικές αλυσίδες' (παραγωγικές διαδικασίες) και διαφοροποιημένες επιλογές στην μορφοπλασία. Σκοπός του παρόντος άρθρου είναι να ενθαρρύνει την εφαρμογή μίας συγκριτικής σε ευρεία κλίμακα τεχνολογικής προσέγγισης, ώστε να αποκαλύψει τον πλούτο των εργαστηρίων κοροπλαστικής της Μεγάλης Ελλάδας και την συμβολή τους στην εξέλιξη των τεχνιτών και καλλιτεχνών της κεντρικής Μεσογείου.

Keywords: Magna Graecia; coroplastics; chaîne opératoire; creative processes

Plastic creation in Magna Graecia was mainly the work of craftsmen specialised in working with clay. In the south of the Italic peninsula, this raw material was used by the Greeks in the manufacture of ceramics, statuary in-the-round, architectural decorations, as well as small objects including ritual figurines. These figurines,

discovered by the thousands in cultic contexts, offer us a vital key to understand the ritual practices and beliefs of the Magna-Graecian communities, as has been discussed at length in the scientific literature,¹ but they

¹ Most recently: Di Tuccio 2021.

also allow us to grasp the richness of the practices of the coroplasts in Magna Graecia.

Despite the scanty evidence we have of the workspaces used by the coroplasts – the craftsmen specialised in the manufacture of terracotta figurines – careful observation of the material itself allows us to extract valuable information about creative dynamics. The growing interest in archaeological research regarding the working methods of the craftsmen, from the technical gestures and stages of the *chaîne opératoire* that enabled them to implement all their *savoir-faire*, to the functional purpose of the object that dictates certain choices of form, now favours a broader approach to the understanding of the technical and creative issues of this category of object. The following pages provide some observations on the conditions and processes of the craftsmen of the Archaic period with the aim of highlighting the rich perspectives that this material still has to offer us. For this purpose, I focus on three aspects that may have repercussions on craft practices: firstly, the spatial question, which is still unanswered both in terms of the topographical insertion of the workplace within the *polis* and in terms of the morphology of the workshop; secondly, the technical processes that allowed this craft to develop and diversify from the mid-seventh century BC onwards; and finally, the technical and stylistic emulation between workshops as a driving force behind the renewal of craft practices through the example of the productions of the second half of the sixth century BC.

What sort of a workshop for the *πλάστης* of Magna Graecia?

The term 'coroplast' is commonly used to designate the specialised craftsman who shapes small-scale terracotta figurines, mainly using a mould during the Greek period, but the data from the excavation of craft spaces and the study of materials lead us to revisit the perception of the coroplast as a craftsman restricted to moulding and demoulding. In fact, his technical prerogatives, his *savoir-faire* (know-how) and even his place of practice intersect with those of other craft specialities working with clay, particularly potters. For these reasons, but also to avoid reinforcing the boundaries established in the history of archaeological research between classes of material, the term *πλάστης* can, in some cases, be more accurate than 'coroplast'.

However, the data available on the spaces and working methods of these craftsmen in the Archaic period are meagre.² Only rare examples of moulds dated from the seventh century have been found, such as those

from the Potters' Quarter in Corinth,³ and no coroplast workshops are known in the Greek world before the last third of the sixth century BC, whereas they are attested from the fifth century and until the Hellenistic period. Joint activity of coroplasts and potters is documented in the sixth century in Argos, where excavations have uncovered figurine dumps,⁴ and in the workshop of Figaretto, north-west of the sanctuary of Mon Repos in Corfu, which produced ceramics and figurines between the end of the sixth century and the third century BC.⁵ As in Greece, archaeological excavations in Magna Graecia (**Figure 1**) have revealed many indicators of potters' activity, providing a topographic anchor to research on clay craft, but the activity of the coroplasts is mainly known through the moulds.⁶

Tarentum is an exceptional case due to the discovery of more than 1,300 whole or fragmentary moulds for the production of figurines, of which more than 200 are inscribed. They date mainly from the second half of the fourth century, but a few examples date back to the end of the Archaic period.⁷ The inscriptions were etched at the back of the mould, generally before firing, and could take the form of whole names ascribed to the craftsman himself, isolated letters or marks. A mould of an enthroned female figure, among the oldest, bears a particularly long inscription, 'I am of Philoxenus',⁸ but the Tarantine corpus includes other examples dating before 425 BC and bearing the names of Apollonius, Hippias, Pantaleon and Dionysius.⁹ Two potter's kilns of the Archaic period have been found in Tarentum, one in Via Pupino located in the urban area and considered to be the oldest known in the city, the other at Punta Penna-Pizzone in the area of the central narrowing of the *Mare piccolo* and close to the site of the discovery of the large votive deposit of Pizzone.¹⁰ Neither of them, however, seems to be associated with the firing of clay figurines.

At Locri, the excavations uncovered several artisanal nuclei, particularly in the urban sector of Centocamere adjacent to the eastern side of the enclosure, where numerous kilns and shops were found, including two kilns of the Archaic period in blocks 12 and 13, as well as a fragment of a clay temple-model.¹¹ Moulds dating only from the fifth and fourth centuries BC testify to the manufacture of terracotta figurines on-the-site,¹² but those of the previous periods have not yet been discovered.

³ Stillwell 1948: 87-90, pls 29-30, nos 1-6.

⁴ Sanidas 2013a: 156; Sanidas 2016: 18-20.

⁵ Preka-Alexandri 2016: 227-230.

⁶ An updated compilation of discoveries related to production activities in Magna Graecia has been published in: Rizzo 2019.

⁷ Ferrandini Troisi *et al.* 2012; Rosamilia 2017: figs. 3, 4.

⁸ Ferrandini Troisi and Chelotti 1992: 207, fig. 454.

⁹ Rosamilia 2017: 469.

¹⁰ Dell'Aglio 1996: 53; Dell'Aglio 2001: 176-178.

¹¹ Meirano 2012: 260-262.

¹² Barra Bagnasco 1986: 147.

² An initial assessment of the potters' activities was made by Esposito 2013.

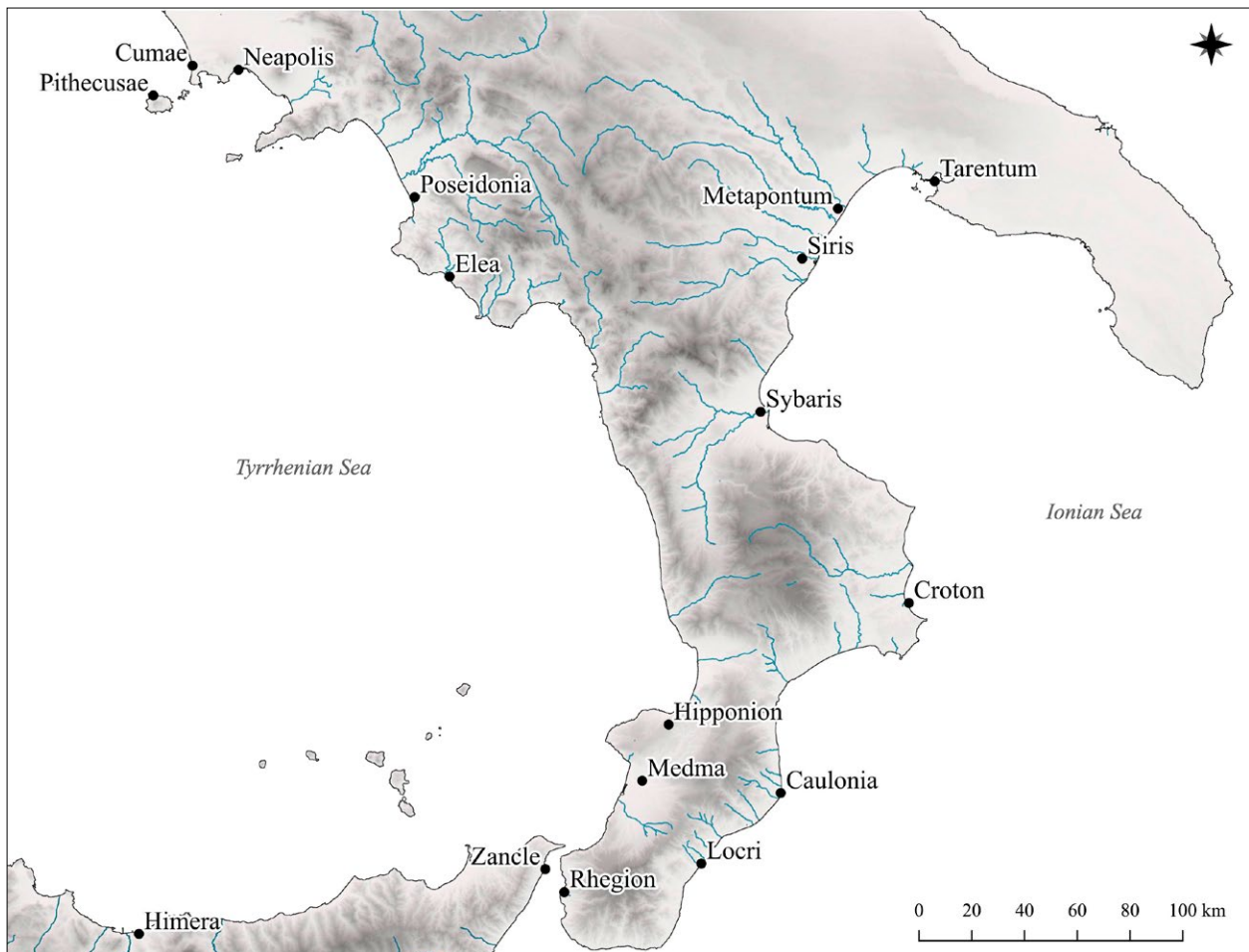


Figure 1: Greek *poleis* of Magna Graecia during the Archaic period (map by the author).

Excavations carried out in the small sanctuary of Destra Basento in Metapontum, at the foot of the northern slope of the hill of San Teodoro in the Basento Valley, have provided a mould, yet unpublished, corresponding to a female type of the sixth century BC clutching a bird and a wreath against her body.¹³ Those in the so-called *contrada* Sansone defined by Felice Gino Lo Porto, corresponding to the western sector of the intramural area, near the west gate of *contrada* Crucinia, yielded a fifth-century mould.¹⁴ In addition, the excavations of the *kerameikos* adjacent to the inner northern line of the city walls led to the discovery of two circular kilns dating from the middle of the sixth century BC, which testify to the use of this space for the firing of ceramics.¹⁵ Kiln D is associated with pit 12 containing fragmentary vases, and production dump 13 with enthroned female figures and miniature ceramics is considered to be a votive deposit rather than a dumping ground. Kiln G remains unpublished. Three more kilns were discovered in the

Metapontine *chora*: a kiln associated with a farmhouse and a necropolis dated to the second quarter of the sixth century BC at Cugno del Pero;¹⁶ a kiln associated with a farmhouse and a necropolis of the same period at Saldone; and a kiln associated with a ceramic dump at San Basilio, south of Basento.¹⁷

Kilns discovered in other cities of Magna Graecia and dating to the Archaic period are worth mentioning, although the production of figurines cannot be confirmed. At Sybaris, the excavations in the nucleus of Stombi, in the plain to the north of the Crati, have revealed two circular kilns associated with buildings *a* and *i*, which date to the beginning of the sixth century BC, and small and medium-sized statuettes of the second half of the sixth century BC.¹⁸ A small mould representing a Gorgon's head, with a handle on the reverse for stamping, was discovered there in 1971,¹⁹ but there is no evidence to confirm that the statuettes were made on the site. The discovery of terracottas similar to

¹³ Bilbao Zubiri 2017: 999, fig. 4. Eight additional fragments from the Bradano sanctuary: Caruso 1997: 125-140, 221-223, pls VI, XIV.1; Letta 1971: 28; Sestieri 1940: 54.

¹⁴ Lo Porto 1966: 160-161. This is site 7: fig. 6 and pl. II. Lo Porto considered the existence of a production area, but a single mould is not sufficient to confirm this hypothesis.

¹⁵ D'Andria 1975; Silvestrelli 2005.

¹⁶ Adamesteanu 1973a: 54.

¹⁷ Prieto and Carter 2011: 610, no.134.

¹⁸ Guzzo *et al.* 1970: 228-230; Guzzo 1972: 30-33; Guzzo *et al.* 1972: nos 85-87, 172-174, 202, 220, 224-226, 240-243.

¹⁹ Guzzo *et al.* 1972: 116-117, no. 215, fig. 125 (inv. 44176).

those found in the sanctuary of Timpone della Motta, as well as metal ornaments and vessel, numerous looms and large quantities of ceramics are consistent with ritual activities. Unfortunately, systematic excavations have not revealed clear evidence of a religious function of the uncovered structures. A recent re-examination of this context has favoured the hypothesis that Stombi was not itself a place of worship but developed in relation to a nearby sanctuary, unidentified as yet.²⁰

In addition, we should mention the productive units (*Officine* I, II, IV, V) and a building that housed craft activities (*Casa* I),²¹ as well as a mould for a female figure of the beginning of the sixth century BC,²² discovered in Croton. Two kilns have been found in the *Ufficio postale* and in Cospito-Caserta to the southeast of the Siris settlement,²³ as well as misfired ceramics dated to the second half of the sixth century BC from the sanctuary of Linora in the southern plain of Poseidonia.²⁴ However, none of these contexts seem to have produced figurines.

In Magna Graecia, workshops of diversified productions were able to emerge thanks to craftsmen sharing their mastery of the same material. As they provide us with a geographical anchor, we must also consider the existence, at the same time, of production structures dedicated exclusively to coroplastics. The *lacunae* that make it difficult to reconstruct the workspaces may have various explanations: it may have been an activity punctuated by the religious calendar; development in the craft sphere or in society may have led to a longer-lasting development of the workspaces; the topographical continuity and the possibility of restructuring archaic workspaces in later periods may have erased some archaeological strata. To this we can add the fact that the coroplast's activity did not require much space or solid structures besides the kiln.

Apart from the kiln, a structure built in a space adapted to the presence of fire, a coroplast's activity did not require complex facilities because neither the preparation of the clay in settling pits²⁵ nor the shaping of the statuettes took up too much space; besides, drying could take place in the open-air. Access to water had to be secured, but the archaeological data available from the excavated production contexts do not suggest this specific need, with the exception of the wells found

at Stombi in Sybaris. Moreover, we should remember the advantage of this particular raw material: clay could be reshaped or remoulded before firing, limiting waste, and any terracotta object could be crushed in order to obtain grog, a degreasing agent found in some large mixed-technique figures from Metapontum,²⁶ as it increases the consistency and the strength of the object before and during firing. Obtaining grog, which could have multiple uses in clay crafts, may have eliminated firing failures or the moulds themselves.

As we shall see below, observation of the objects provides us with information on the chaînes opératoires involved in shaping the objects, while the stages prior to shaping, i.e. the supply networks of raw materials and their transformation into materials suitable for shaping,²⁷ are not given much consideration when it comes to coroplastics. Can we envisage, as in the case of potters, that it is the craftsman himself who extracts and transforms the raw material, or did he share supply channels with the potter or with other craftsmen who used this clay? Is this difference between specialised craftsmen relevant when thinking about shared savoir-faire? The hypothesis of a common supply network can be envisaged within polyvalent workshops, but perhaps also between specialised workshops, echoing the shared use of kilns for firing classes of material with similar physical properties. Other questions remain open, such as the material conditions of the workshops, the pace of production and the number of people involved.²⁸

Technical processes in relation to the adoption of the mould

During the Bronze and the Iron Age, the manufacture of terracotta statuettes is attested in southern Italy through standing figures, couples, horsemen or in the form of appliques to vases discovered in the Italic sites.²⁹ This technique did not lead to an important production in terms of quantity, and the progressive settlement of the Greeks on the southern coasts of the peninsula in the eighth century BC, namely in Cumae, Rhegium, Sybaris, Croton or Tarentum, did not fundamentally modify the rank of figurines in material culture. They remained rather scarce during the first decades of these young communities, with the possible exception of Pithecusae.³⁰ It was the adoption of the mould in the

²⁰ Luberto 2021: 118-126.

²¹ Verbicaro 2010.

²² Iaculli 1986: 412, pl. VI, 2.

²³ Adamesteanu 1973b: 451-453; Cuomo Di Caprio 1992: 79; Tagliente 1986: 129-130.

²⁴ Avagliano 1992.

²⁵ These pits have only recently received attention as regards their importance for craft dynamics, and they are poorly documented. We can mention a few examples linked to the production of ceramics from Thasos in north Aegean (Blondé *et al.* 1992: 16-18), Megara Hyblaea in eastern Sicily (Gras *et al.* 2004: 174) or Incoronata in southern Italy (Denti and Villette 2013: 15-17).

²⁶ Bilbao Zubiri 2019: 872-873, fig. 6.

²⁷ On the preparation of clay: Cuomo Di Caprio 2007: 141-159.

²⁸ An ethnographic approach could shed light on some of these questions: Hasaki 2011.

²⁹ Babbi 2008. Etruscan plastics, particularly from Pontecagnano, appear to be the most diversified, whereas sites that were later included in Magna Graecia or neighbouring the *poleis*, such as Timpone della Motta, Macchiabate, Termito or Scoglio del Tonno, have yielded only a few examples.

³⁰ The 'stipe dei cavalli' of Pithecusae constitutes a major but isolated assemblage in the panorama of archaic Campania: D'Agostino 1995.

second half of the seventh century BC that profoundly and lastingly transformed the dynamics of production and consumption. This innovation was introduced in the Italic peninsula from the Aegean basin, where certain cities in Asia Minor, Crete and the Peloponnese, who combined a longer history of figurative arts with a greater enthusiasm for moulded products, led to the emergence of an Italiote craft industry specialising in the mass production of figurines. Workshops mastering the processes of shaping and firing emerged in the second half of the seventh century BC in Tarentum, Sybaris and Metapontum, as well as at Incononata, while, according to the extant bibliography, excavations in contemporary Magna-Graecian settlements do not seem to have yielded moulded material comparable to that of those of the Gulf of Tarentum.

From the seventh century BC onwards, moulding became the preferred technique for the manufacture of these small objects, but the processes involved were not restricted to moulding. Even when an object is fully moulded, the craftsman implements different techniques: preparation of clay crusts of consistent thickness, casting of an impression in the mould with one or more crusts, filling of the reverse, extraction, cutting of the lateral edges, smoothing of the reverse (with a tool or by hand), reshaping of certain details, such as the bases on which certain types rest or anatomical elements, if necessary. Though moulding may seem to be a repetitive procedure, each object went through a unique process. In addition, moulded figures are sometimes the result of mixed processes: the moulded core can be enriched with hand-made elements, with considerable technical and iconographic repercussions.

The importance of what I call mixed chaînes opératoires, i.e. combining different shaping techniques, is considerable in the history of manufacturing. From a technical viewpoint, the combination of moulding and modelling facilitates the shaping of certain iconographies while limiting the risk of deforming the object before firing. The figurines of *kourotrophoi* discovered in Tarentum and Poseidonia, dated to the end of the seventh century and the beginning of the sixth century BC are a good example of the complex technical choices made by some of the first craftsmen using the mould (Figure 2).³¹ In these cases, the mould is reserved for the head, the upper body is made by hand and the lower part can be cylindrical or a flat piece with a support in the back to hold the figure upright. The increasing use of moulding relegates modelling to a secondary position: this is the case in the dressed and naked dedicators of Metapontum³² or the naked



Figure 2: *Kourotrophoi* from Poseidonia (left: Orlandini 1983: fig. 316) and Tarentum (right: Orlandini 1983: fig. 304).

dedicators of Poseidonia (Figure 3),³³ both carrying their arms forward in the offering gesture. Four female figures in this position, considered as a group of dancers, was also found in the sanctuary of Hera at Foce del Sele (Poseidonia).³⁴ The forward position of the arms could have been a problem when taking the impression in the mould because of the difficulty of extracting the arms. To counter this, craftsmen chose to hand-shape the arms separately, and then to attach these limbs to the moulded figure. Although moulding became the norm during the Archaic period, the use of modelling became essential in these iconographies, which developed in the first half of the sixth century BC, in order to limit the risks of deformation, thus making the chaîne opératoire more efficient.

The re-examination of archaic Metapontine productions has made it possible to highlight certain manufacturing processes in the shaping of female dedicants. This iconography appeared in Metapontum in the first half of the sixth century BC within a group of types whose heads are stylistically close to Corinthian figurative tradition. Thanks to the analysis of several series coming from different sanctuaries of this polis, it was possible to understand how the craftsmen conceived these dedicants beforehand, anticipating the stages of production and implementing their realisation.³⁵ Several types are characterised by the existence of two iconographic variants deriving from the same prototype

³¹ Orlandini 1983: figs. 304, 316.

³² For example, for the urban sanctuary: Barberis 2004: figs. 81-100, 111-114, 116, 120-125, 205-206.

³³ Miller Ammerman 1991: figs. 1, 8, 10.

³⁴ Greco 1998: 56-57.

³⁵ Bilbao Zubiri 2022.

Figure 3: Clothed and naked dedicants from Metapontum (a-b: courtesy of the MIC - Musei nazionali di Matera - Direzione Regionale Musei Nazionali Basilicata – Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Metaponto e Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Potenza D. Adamesteanu / photo by the author) and Poseidonia (c: © Parco Archeologico di Paestum e Velia, Ministero della Cultura / photo by the author).



for which we can mention one where the first variant represents a figure moulded in one piece and clasping its arms to its body (**Figure 4 a-b**), while the second variant has modelled arms stretched forwards in the gesture of offering (**Figure 4 c-d**). Close observation reveals a horizontal mark in the biceps of the first variant, a shallow cut made before firing that does not correspond to any anatomical or clothing element. In the figures with the arms stretched forwards, this mark corresponds to the upper limit of the surface of the modelled limbs, which led me to conclude that the notch was a mark planned by the craftsman in order to facilitate and standardise the creation of the second variant representing the dedicant. This observation sheds light on the way in which the craftsmen planned the creation of two iconographic variants, as early as the shaping of the prototype, or at least before firing, and anticipated beforehand the practical aspects of their manufacture.

A set of figurines discovered in the Centocamere area of Locri, stylistically close to Corinthian figurative tradition and dated, like the previous dedicants, to the first half of the sixth century BC, shows a similar approach.³⁶ In this Locrian lot, the figurines representing a standing female figure share three common elements: the individualisation of the legs under the garment and their framing by two vertical side folds; the plastic representation of the lower limit of the *apoptygma*,

which falls to the level of the abdomen; and a mixed chaîne opératoire. The moulded core of the figure appears to partially incorporate the right arm, while the left forearm was not incorporated into the mould. In most examples, both arms are reshaped by hand and the upper part is set back from the garment in order to accentuate its volume. The forearms are hand-made and assembled to the moulded core either extended in the gesture of offering, or folded back on themselves with the hand on the shoulder (**Figure 5**). In the best-preserved examples of this iconographic variant, the right hand holds a bird, which makes these figurines, to my knowledge peculiar to Locri, a particularly original representation of the bird-carrier.

The addition of modelled arms could also be accomplished by means of a mortise-and-tenon system, as shown by a figurine discovered at Croton, where the elbow is replaced by a mortise that runs through the entire thickness of the figure in order to firmly fasten the added arms (**Figure 6 a**).³⁷ Several Metapontine types have a finish that reminds of this joining system: we can mention two of them, stylistically original, where the elbow is replaced by a bas-relief ring with a slightly hollowed centre, a direct reference to the mortise (**Figure 6 b-c**). Such a non-functional finish to receive a limb is surprising, to say the least. Perhaps the simple evocation of the mortise could have referred, in the imagination of the clients, to the arms that it was

³⁶ Sabbione 1970: figs. 1-18.

³⁷ Spadea 1994: 9-10, fig. 8.



Figure 4: Female types adapted into two variants from Metapontum (courtesy of the MIC - Musei nazionali di Matera - Direzione Regionale Musei Nazionali Basilicata - Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Metaponto e Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Potenza D. Adamesteanu / photo by the author).

supposed to accommodate. Among the Metapontine material we should also refer to a type stylistically close to the one adapted into two variants, discussed above, close to the Corinthian plastics, but whose elbows finish also recalls the mortise (Figure 6 d). This formal originality, neither functional nor anatomically faithful, raises questions about the repercussions of these shaping choices, particularly appreciated in Metapontum, upon the use of the object in a cult context.



Figure 5: Female types from Locri (Sabbione 1970: figs. 6 and 12).

Other productions suggest that the choice of a mixed chaîne opératoire is not linked only to a practical issue simplifying the working steps. A series of Metapontine reliefs representing a female figure seated on a throne with lion-feet illustrates how a technical challenge can be associated with a search for formal diversity (Figure 7). This figure, which can be up to 20cm in height, is crowned with a headdress of which the shape varies. In the long series found in the sanctuaries of Metapontum, the headdress can be high and straight, flared, pointed, or even replaced by a hand-made veil covering the head and shoulders. All of these forms are represented in the sanctuary of San Biagio alla Venella and do not seem to have, in the current state of documentation, any connection with specific features of the cult. The same could be said of the headdresses of the large mixed-technique figures, which will be discussed at greater length later, whose shape can be more or less flared, but also straight or pointed. Although we should bear in mind that certain particularities of the cult, which currently elude us, could perhaps explain these variations, on the other hand the latter serve to diversify the forms within the same series. The enthroned type and the later large mixed-technique figures correspond to series made in greater quantities in the Metapontum area, which could indicate that this diversification of the headdress took place to counter the repetition of the same figure in large quantities.

In the second half of the seventh century BC, the use of mould became the main technique of making figurines throughout the region, and the development of this craft was intrinsically linked to the practice of donating terracotta figurines intended mainly for



Figure 6: Female figurines with mortise-and-tenon system or related, from Croton (a: Spadea 1994: fig. 8; b-c) and Metapontum (b, c, d: courtesy of the MIC - Musei nazionali di Matera - Direzione Regionale Musei Nazionali Basilicata - Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Metaponto e Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Potenza D. Adamesteanu / photo by the author).

rituals in a religious context. The moulding technique made it possible to produce everyday ex-votos, for which the demand continued to increase with the appearance of new sanctuaries and the intensification of their frequentation, leading to an increase in production volumes and probably to the adaptation of the workspaces themselves. Although moulding and demoulding a figurine are relatively simple technical tasks to carry out, the challenge for the coroplasts in these early workshops lay in the exponential development of their activity during the first half of the sixth century BC, which is reflected in increasingly longer series, rather than in the shaping procedure itself. Indeed, the analysis of production over the long



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Figure 7: Enthroned female type with hand-made headdress from Metapontum (courtesy of the MIC - Musei nazionali di Matera - Direzione Regionale Musei Nazionali Basilicata - Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Metaponto e Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Potenza D. Adamesteanu, and Museo archeologico provinciale "M. Lacava" di Potenza / photo by the author).

term shows, for the better documented production centres such as Metapontum, the passage from series of moulded types known in the seventh century in a few specimens to longer series that reproduce the same type in several hundred individuals in the middle of the sixth century.³⁸ This evolution must have had an impact on the organisation of the workshops and lengthened the time dedicated to each stage of production (shaping, drying), but the question of the temporality of these activities is not yet sufficiently developed in coroplastic studies.

Creative emulation in the workshops of the second half of the sixth century BC

Throughout the period following the adoption of the mould, the diversification of production is circumscribed by the use of this instrument, relegating modelling to a secondary rank, as an auxiliary technique. However, in the second half of the sixth century BC, some highly efficient workshops brought modelling back to the centre of their creative practices. A regional comparative analysis makes it possible to highlight new technological and stylistic trends that emerged at the time, among others, to better understand the

³⁸ For example, the Metapontian enthroned figure chosen here to illustrate the variation of the headdress is known, in this polis, at least in 350 items.



Figure 8: Female figurines in a warlike gesture and representing a *potnia theron* from Sybaris (a-b-c: Croissant 1992: pl. XL.1-2,5) and Metapontum (d-e: courtesy of the MIC - Musei nazionali di Matera - Direzione Regionale Musei Nazionali Basilicata – Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Metaponto e Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Potenza D. Adamesteanu / photo by the author).

mechanisms of formal emulation and the role that technical choices played within them. This question is vast and the observations made in a few pages can only be partial, but they offer interesting topics for reflection in order to grasp the tight relationship between the choice of technical procedures in coroplastics and cultural processes in the Magna-Graecian environment.

The first set of testimonies to be considered comes from Sybaris and Metapontum, where excavations brought to light two types of medium-sized statuettes, one up to 60cm high, representing equivalent iconographic subjects. We find a figure represented raising his arm in a warlike gesture in the Metapontine sanctuary of San Biagio alla Venella (*palladion*) and in the Sybarite sanctuary of Timpone della Motta (*promachos*) (Figure 8 c, e), as well as the figure of the *potnia theron* (mistress of animals) accompanied by animals (Figure 8 a, d). Small mammals such as dogs and goats are attested in the Timpone and Stombi in Sybaris, as well as at San Biagio alla Venella, in the sanctuary of Bradano, at Crucinia and at Lago del Lupo-propr. Arezzo in the Metapontino. The variant with birds seemed to be peculiar to San

Biagio³⁹ but one bird head was recently discovered in Francavilla Marittima.⁴⁰ The correspondence of iconographic compositions through the combination of composite headdresses, ornaments and, above all, animals indicate proximity in the codification mechanisms of certain images of a cultic nature, due to the sharing of common figurative elements in the belief system of these two *poleis* in particular. The diffusion of *potniai* in various sanctuaries confirms that this subject was not exclusive to a single religious context, although its use may have been peculiar to some religious communities active in Metapontum and Sybaris.

In addition, these specific types share two fundamental characteristics. Their manufacture is based on the same *savoir-faire* and the same choices regarding the shaping process: the head and the bust are made with two or three crusts of clay in a mould, whereas the abdomen, arms, animals, as well as the wings in the case of the *potnia*, are modelled by hand following

³⁹ An iconography that dates back to the first half of the sixth century BC in Metapontum: Bilbao Zubiri 2017: 998, fig. 3 a-b.

⁴⁰ Mittica and Perrone 2019: fig. 5.



Figure 9: *Acroteria* from Tarentum (Rescigno 2019: fig. 9).

the same assembling patterns. The upper part of the figures is attached to the lower one by a sort of mortise-and-tenon system, due to which the abdomen ends in a triangular outgrowth, and the backside preserves similar smoothing traces. The craftsmen who conceived and shaped these complex figures demonstrate a refined mastery of anatomical modelling, as the elegant faces attest, and great expertise in dealing with the technical challenges of large pieces via balancing the weights so that the figure may stand upright. As I proposed previously, these two types in particular share the same technological and stylistic characteristics, leading us to ascribe their creation to a single workshop.⁴¹ Comparative archaeometric analyses would be welcome to provide supplementary data on this matter.

In the Gulf of Tarentum, other plastic creations of the second half of the century allow us to follow the links woven between the artisanal spheres of neighbouring cities. A comparison between the corpora of Tarentum and Metapontum reveals various degrees of correspondence, including technical solutions such as the cylindrical or *imbrex* supports used in a considerable number of mixed-technique figures.⁴² Ágnes Bencze has traced the stylistic affiliations of Tarentine coroplastics to show the 'achaeanism' of the A series and the BA type through the stylistic choices that fairly faithfully reproduce those of Metapontum and Sybaris. However, this figurative trend coexists with other traditions, including Bencze's C and D series, which are close to the Laconian stylistic traditions,⁴³

even if she also underlines the links with the figures of mixed-technique referred to as 'de San Biagio'. These productions testify to the diversity of stylistic trends coexisting in a society, an observation opposed to the rigid distinction between the 'laconism' of Tarentum and the 'achaeanism' of Metapontum, which now gives way to a more stimulating view of material culture as a reflection of the plurality of society.

In this context, it is important to mention two female *acroteria* (apex figures) discovered in Tarentum (Figure 9) whose structural and stylistic resemblance to the statuettes of mixed-technique disseminated in the 'Achaean' *poleis* was recently underlined by Carlo Rescigno, who rightly affirms that 'in età arcaica, sull'arco ionico della Basilicata, appare inutile cercare di definire confini stilistici, aree chiuse'.⁴⁴ Although the chaînes opératoires are diverse in order to adapt to the architectural function, these pieces illustrate the sharing of the same models with craftsmen active on the construction sites at Tarentum.

However, these two *poleis* did not follow an equally creative path: in the second half of the sixth century BC, the Metapontine workshops produced mainly these large standing figures in a mixed-technique, such as those shared with Sybaris, and other stylistic variants and smaller figures conceptually linked with them. The Tarentum workshops, on the other hand, seem to be more diversified, with standing figures comparable to the Metapontine ones, moulded enthroned figures and reliefs of *symposiasts* (participants in feasting) that appear in the city around 540-530 BC. Within this

⁴¹ Bilbao Zubiri 2019: 871.

⁴² Tarentum: Bencze 2013: pl. VI, e-f, pl. VII, a-b, f, g; Metapontum: Orlandini 1983: no. 408; Barberis 2004: figs. 155-159.

⁴³ Bencze 2013: 54-62, 76-78 (A and BA), 78-113 (C and D).

⁴⁴ Rescigno 2019: 884, 887 (about the *acroteria*).



Figure 10: Female figurine in a warlike gesture and enthroned female figurines from Poseidonia
(© Parco Archeologico di Paestum e Velia, Ministero della Cultura / photo by the author).

iconographic type, Bencze identifies four trends, the techniques of which are worth commenting on: in the G and H series, the use of modelling is reserved for the *kline* (couch) or certain elements such as *rosettes*, while in the J and K series, the more confident use of modelling for the rich headgear and beards is strongly reminiscent of the techniques attested in the Metapontine material.⁴⁵ While these technical choices show that the workshops responsible for the J and K series were familiar with the technical solutions adopted in neighbouring *poleis*, the dominant use of mould suggests an iconographic choice that strongly characterises the local production.

The identification of the processes chosen by the workshops of the Gulf of Tarentum in the second half of the century is essential for shedding light on the artisanal traditions of the various centres of creation and, on a wider scale, on the similarities and differences that contribute to the technical and cultural characterisation of votive coroplastics. This approach can be enriched by being extended to other geographical areas.

The *polis* of Poseidonia is an interesting case because it is close to Sybaris and Metapontum. Its workshops developed discreetly in the first half of the century, but certain types already shared similarities with the Metapontine production of the time, such as the nude dedicants discussed above, which were conceptually close to dressed Metapontine types. The Poseidonian workshops gained considerable momentum in the second half of the sixth century BC, among other things, through the production of mixed-technique figures. The female type in a warlike gesture known at Sybaris and Metapontum is also attested in the northern urban sanctuary (Figure 10 a), but in Poseidonia the moulded type, corresponding to the head, mainly represents enthroned figures (Figure 10 b), a major iconography in the *polis* until the fourth century BC.⁴⁶ Some of these seated figures illustrate the tight relationship between Campania and the Gulf of Tarentum during the period in which this iconography emerged among the Poseidonians. This is a quantitatively important

⁴⁵ Bencze 2013: 139-164, pls XXIII-XXX (G and H), 164-185, pls XXX-XXXVI (J and K).

⁴⁶ As the quantifications carried out in some sanctuaries confirm: Ammerman 2002: 29, table 1 (Santa Venera); Cipriani 2008: 136 (northern urban sanctuary); Greco 2010: 589 (Heraion of the Sele). The materials from the southern urban sanctuary reflect as well the importance of this subject: Sestieri Bertarelli 1990: 26-28, 33, 35-47.

group of statuettes, formed by a moulded head and a modelled body and seat. These statues bear witness to a double phenomenon: the adoption of a type of face that was widespread in the Greek *poleis* settled in the Ionian coastline of southern Italy, reproduced here on a reduced scale, and the adaptation of the iconographic subject to local needs by means of a hand-made seat. The shaping is based on the same skills as in the case of the *potniai* or warrior figures known in the Gulf of Tarentum, but it results in an original creation that can be qualified as peculiar to Poseidonia. It is interesting to note that this type, which spread in the 'Achaean cities' and was even copied in Tarentum, is also found in the indigenous Campanian environment, in the form of an enthroned figure in Pontecagnano, and in a new iconographic variant in Eboli where the figure wears a *kylix* on her head.⁴⁷ These pieces suggest that Poseidonia became an important relay of Greek material culture in the second half of the sixth century BC, at a time when the religious sphere was emerging autonomously in certain settlements at the edge of the Magna-Graecian world.

However, the production linked to this stylistic tradition does not seem to be as prominent in the plastic creations of Poseidonia as they were in Metapontum. Other typologies of mixed-technique and moulded figures, dated to this period, have been found in the city (Figure 9 c-d). Although it is difficult to propose an exact chronological sequence for these series, this material demonstrates that local workshops did not adhere monolithically to this trend and chose to create new stylistic languages. This could indicate a certain degree of resistance to exogenous influences and a desire for autonomous development among workshops or among customers involved in the religious rites of Poseidonia, in order to maintain their cultural specificity. The obvious enthusiasm for this trend in Metapontum contrasts with the greater formal diversity of Poseidonia, which could reveal weaker bonds of the latter, at that time, to the artisanal and cultural dynamics of the 'Achaean cities' of the Gulf of Tarentum.

Although successive stylistic studies have sought to classify the products of this period, our concrete knowledge of how these highly efficient workshops emerged in the Magna-Graecian environment is extremely limited. These objects make it possible to follow certain broad outlines of the artisanal practices of the coroplastic workshops, but the picture that emerges is complex and never linear, as it is made of adoption, rejection and innovation. Amongst these reactions, it seems appropriate to briefly refer to the

⁴⁷ Both exhibited in the respective museums of each site. Pontecagnano: grave no. 7053 (inv. 67532); Eboli: grave no. 31 from the necropolis of Via San Bernardino (inventory number unknown).



Figure 11: Female mixed-technique figurines from Locri (Arias 1976: pl. LIX 1-2).

relationship of these workshops with the Locrian sphere. The production of terracotta figurines in Locri was not particularly intensive before the middle of the sixth century BC but, in the second half of the century, it gained new momentum through both iconographic and technical choices.⁴⁸ The many moulded Locrian *protomai*⁴⁹ (busts) could be considered as an indicator of the proximity of Locri to the Sicilian cultural milieu, while other contemporary creations seem more original. This is the case of the mixed-technique figurines called a *leggio* (Figure 11),⁵⁰ which appear rather isolated in the Magna-Graecian panorama. On the contrary, it seems to me that the cultural issues surrounding these creations only take on their full meaning when integrated into a regional-scale study.

In these large mixed-technique figures, only the face is moulded, to be attached to a body that was often formed by a flat hand-made crust folded into curve on which the hand-made arms, shoulders and hair are attached; the body is also modelled, and the lower part of the body is mainly hand-made. These Locrian objects illustrate good knowledge of the technical features of

⁴⁸ Bilbao Zubiri 2020: 21-22.

⁴⁹ Barra Bagnasco 1986.

⁵⁰ Arias 1976: 482-487, pl. LIX 1-2. Paolo Enrico Arias dated them to the first half of the sixth century BC, while Claudio Sabbione dates them to the second half of the century, in consonance with the large figures of mixed technique, considered above, which appear in the middle of the century: Sabbione 1996: 35-36.

contemporary production and a *savoir-faire* similar to that of the Gulf of Tarentum, but also choices of form, such as the flat hand-made crust curved to form the bust, which testify to independent choices. In my opinion, we are faced with a creative emulation based on resistance on the part of the Locrian workshops, which seek to clearly distinguish themselves from the 'Achaean-Tarentine' sphere, in order to propose creations that are original in terms of technique and style. The dynamism and the formal diversity of the Locrian workshops during the second half of the century leads to the affirmation of local plastic creations which results, in the fifth century BC, in very high-quality productions, such as those of the famous *pinakes* (plaques).

Concluding remarks

The variety of solutions implemented by coroplasts and the fast evolution of technological trends during the Archaic period makes it difficult to provide a synthesis in a few pages. Many points still need to be clarified, such as the temporality of production and the distribution dynamics of types which spread on a wide scale⁵¹ as we have briefly alluded with the large figures of mixed technique from the second half of the sixth century. Given the difficulty in identifying production areas and facilities dedicated to the serial production of figurines before the Classical period, extensive material studies must be carried out in order to elucidate the way in which these craftsmen operated. Despite the gaps, we can affirm that these craftsmen demonstrated an excellent mastery of materials and techniques, and a solid capacity for adaptation and formal innovation to consolidate this speciality over time. An autoptic examination of the archaeological material and its consideration on a multi-scalar perspective makes it possible to trace concrete connections between contemporary centres.

The material considered in these pages suggests that the technical repertoires from which the craftsmen draw were equivalent from one production centre to another, and it did not change fundamentally during the period under consideration, as shown, for example, by the use of cylindrical supports in the end of the seventh century and again in the second half of the following century. Beyond these particularly exuberant creations, the procedures of moulding and finishing before firing are common within the coroplasts sphere. Although some choices of forming may differ to stand

out as a workshop, shaping techniques (moulding, modelling, assembling limbs, folding plaques, incision) are pulled from a common technological ground. It seems that it is not through technical innovation that this craft evolved, but rather through a gradual increase of production that allowed to improve the processes of shaping and standardising the *chaîne opératoire*. This was essential to encourage the diversification of iconographic subjects to better respond to evolving specificities of the cult.

In comparison with other areas of the peninsula, the quantity of moulded productions dated to the seventh century in the Gulf of Tarentum shows that this area played an early and fundamental role in the adoption of the moulding technique. At this time, productions from Sybaris and Metapontum shared identical shaping processes and similar stylistic characteristics suggesting a tight connection in the emergence of this craft, but in general, early coroplastics in Magna-Graecian *poleis* was clearly differentiated. The activity of these workshops does not seem to evolve in a linear manner throughout the region during the first half of the sixth century, and it is rather difficult to establish concrete relations between settlements. From a quantitative point of view, most of these Greek *poleis* did not engage in a significant production right away, but workshops implemented their production by adapting shaping processes, such as the anticipation of iconographic variants identified in Metapontum.

This situation contrasts with the emergence of high skilled workshops of the second half of the sixth century. At this time, coroplastic activity appears particularly innovative and positioned in a stronger 'international' perspective. The large-scale circulation of a number of mixed-technique types makes it possible to define various geographical areas materially connected. This reflection requires a long work of typological classification and cross-referencing between centres, but it is possible to reconstruct some of the circuits that contributed to the forging of a Magna-Graecian material and visual culture. At this time, the closest technical and stylistic bonds concern again Sybaris and Metapontum, for which the existence of itinerant craftsmen should be considered. The same figures have been found discretely in Siris, Croton and as far as Poseidonia. In this last case, these creations from the Gulf of Tarentum cohabited alongside Poseidonia's own creations, similar in their mixed technological character but stylistically diverse.⁵² This trend also affected the workshops of Tarentum, which produced large figures of similar technique as well as large reliefs, mainly moulded, that used the same physiognomic canons but incorporated into local

⁵¹ The analysis of the spatial distribution of coroplastic types, both on the scale of a *polis* and on the scale of Magna Graecia, is not currently very extensive and concerns isolated types rather than systematic studies of large ensembles of material. An inspiring study has been carried out on the Strait of Messina: Pautasso 2014. This type of spatial approach has been adopted regarding the analysis of the archaic coroplasty of Metapontum in a study carried out by myself; the publication is in preparation.

⁵² Sestieri Bertarelli 1990: 26-28, figs. 14-16. The review of this adaptation process in Poseidonia is ongoing.

stylistic and iconographic designs. Finally, the case of Locri appears to be partly related since its workshops took up these mixed processes without actually imitating exogenous models. However, this trend was not predominant and moulded productions, especially *protomai* characterised by an important typological diversity, seem to enjoy a greater degree of popularity among Locrians.

In the late sixth century, fully moulded productions became the norm again in order to create draped, enthroned figures or offering bearers.⁵³ These productive patterns illustrate an important renewal in manufacturing processes, as well as in the visual

repertoire dedicated to ritual practices. This evolution within the craft sphere has not been thoroughly investigated but an overview of the issue by means of comparative analysis on a large scale and over a sufficiently long period highlights the potential to carry on a reflection on the evolution of *savoir-faire* and the way in which artisanal practices have accompanied social ones, thus providing useful input to our knowledge on the history of the clay crafts of the Western Greeks.

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For the works cited in this article, please refer to the bibliography compiled at the end of the volume.

⁵³ For example, in Poseidonia (Ammerman 2002: 68-84, nos 119-170, pls XIII-XIX), Metapontum (Liseno 2004: 41-50, pls VIII-XIX) or Tarentum (Lo Porto 1964: 251, figs. 67-68).

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