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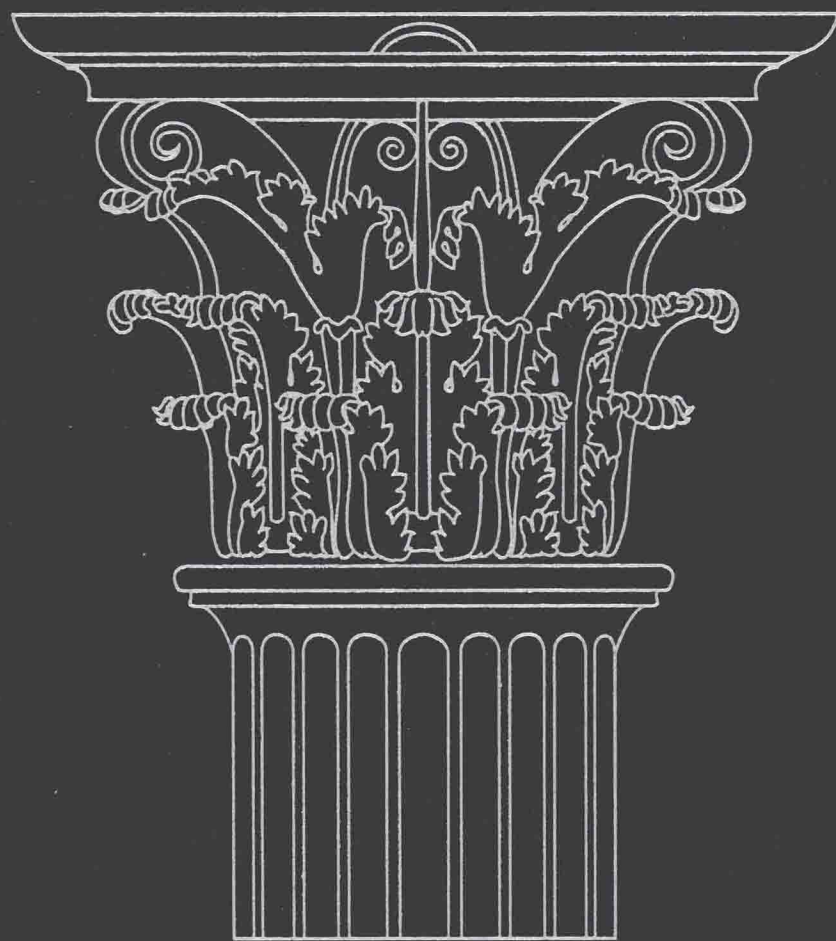
ANCIENT GREECE & ROME

THE OXFORD ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
ANCIENT GREECE AND ROME

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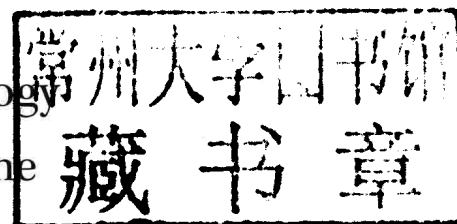ASSOCIATE EDITOR IN CHIEF

VOLUME 7

Temples–Zoology

Topical Outline

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Common Abbreviations Used in This Work

AUC	*ab urbe condita*, from the founding of the city of Rome
b.	born
BCE	before the common era (= BC)
c.	*circa*, about, approximately
CE	common era (= AD)
cf.	*confer*, compare
d.	died
diss.	dissertation
ed.	editor (pl., eds), edition
f.	and following (pl., ff.)
fl.	*floruit*, flourished
frag.	fragment
l.	line (pl., ll.)
m	meter, meters
n.	note
n.d.	no date
no.	number
n.p.	no place
n.s.	new series
p.	page (pl., pp.)
pt.	part
r.	reigned
rev.	revised
ser.	series
supp.	supplement
s.v.	*sub verbo*, under the headword
vol.	volume (pl., vols.)
*	reconstructed or hypothetical form
[ ]	false or doubtful attributions

The Ancient Greek and Roman World

N

CALEDONIA

MARE GERMANICUM

Hadrian's Wall

HIBERNIA

• Eboracum

BRITANNIA

MARE ATLANTICUM

• Londinium

Albis

Gastra Vetera •

GERMANIA

Rhenus

Augusta
Treverorum

• Mogontiacum

Durocortorum •

Sequana

Argentorate •

AGRI DECUMATES

Danubius

Vindobona •

Carnuntum •

Aquincum •

Liger

GALLIA

RAETIA

NORICUM

Dravus

DACIA

Lugdunum •

Rhodanus

A L P E S   M O N T E S

Mediolanum •

Aquileia •

PANNONIA

Sarmizegetusa •

Burdigala •

Garumna

• Mediolanum

Padus

Sirmium •

Legio VII Gemina •

Nemausus •

Narbo •

Pont du Gard
Arelate

• Ravenna

A P E N N I N I   M O N T E S

Salona •

MARE ADRIATICUM

Viminacium •

ILLYRICUM

Durius

Numantia •

PYRENNES

Iberus

Massilia •

HISPANIA

Tagus

Tarraco •

CORSICA

Aleria •

Roma •

ITALIA

MACEDONIA

SARDINIA

Brundisium •

EPIRUS

Anas

Emerita Augusta •

Baetis

Corduba •

Italica •

• Urso

Baleares Insulae

Caralis •

Actium •

Gades •

Carthago Nova •

Tingi •

Fretum Herculeum

Iol Caesarea •

Sparta •

SICILIA

Siculum Fretum

Cirta •

Carthago •

Syracusa •

NUMIDIA

Thamugadi •

MARE INTERNUM

MAURETANIA

AFRICA

Lepcis Magna •

Cyrene •

| 0 | 100 | 200 | 300 mi |

| 0 | 100 | 200 | 300 | 400 | 500 km |

N

Tanais

Rha

Borysthenes

MARE
HYRCANUM

Bosporus

CHERSONESUS
TAURICA

Ister

Tomis

PONTUS EUXINUS

MOESIA

Odessus

THRACE

Amastris

Trapezus

Byzantium/
Constantinopolis

BITHYNIA

PONTUS

ARMENIA

Nicomedia

Amaseia

GALATIA

Thessalonice

Ancyra

CAPPADOCIA

Tigris

Pergamum

Caesarea (Mazaca)

Smyrna

ASIA

Edessa

MESOPOTAMIA

Athenae

Ephesus

Aphrodisias

CILICIA

Carrhae

Corinth

Halicarnassus

Tarsus

OSROENE

Antiochia

Euphrates

SYRIA

P A R T H I A

RHODES

CYPRUS

Raphaneae

CRETA

Knossos

Paphos

Emesa

Palmyra

Ctesiphon

Gortyn

Hierapytna

Seleucia

Persepolis

Damascus

Tyrus

Bostra

Caesarea

Hierosolyma

Qumran

Dead Sea

SINUS
PERSICUS

Canopus
Alexandria

Petra

ARABIA

Nile

AEGYPTUS

SINUS
ARABICUS

Coptos

T

TEMPLES

Temples are often considered the primary expression of Greek and Roman architecture. In modern usage an ancient temple is a monumental building constructed to house one or more deities. By contrast the origin of the term "temple"—from Latin *templum*, perhaps from Greek *temno*, "to cut or separate"—refers not to structures but to space, designated as sacred by markers or enclosure. The Greek *temenos*, or special, cut-off space, housed a *naos* or dwelling for the god, making the Greek term closest to the modern use of "temple." Within the Roman *templum*, a ritually defined precinct from which to view auspices (omens interpreted by observing birds), the monumental house for the deity was an *aedes*. Although neither a *temenos* nor a *templum* required large buildings, "temple" has come to mean the conspicuous shrines built to shelter cult statues and their votive dedications. Despite apparent parallels of decoration and use between Greek and Roman temples, each served its respective culture and very different religious practices in distinctive ways.

Greek Temples. Greek religious practice was centered on sacrifice at an open-air altar surrounded by worshipers. The temple, often aligned with the altar, housed the statue of the deity, valuable dedications, ceremonial vessels and furnishings, and sometimes money. As the most prominent building in a sanctuary, the temple provided a tangible symbol of permanence and monumentality for Greek ritual behavior, and often for civic identity. The temple was never intended to contain a congregation, but—with some restrictions—it was accessible to visitors. Only rarely did special cult functions—for instance, oracular pronouncements, as at the temples of Apollo at Delphi and at Didyma, or secret rites, as in the enclosed *telestērion* of Demeter at Eleusis—take place within temples.

The form of a Greek temple, a rectangular volume surrounded by a colonnade and surmounted by a gabled roof, is easily recognizable, partly as a consequence of revivals of Greek architectural styles in northern Europe and the United States in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (hence the term "Greek Revival"). The core of the temple, its main chamber or "cella," had symmetrical front and back porches, with access only from the front. A colonnade or "peristyle" wrapped around the temple exterior. Every temple stood atop a platform, usually of three steps, on a scale commensurate with the size of the temple. The proportions of a temple's width to length, often expressed in columns of the peristyle, varied according to date and region; the usual ratio had the temple's length just more than twice its width. Above the columns were

Plans for a Greek Temple

Did ancient Greek builders work from drawings when constructing large and complex temples? Scholars have long known of inscriptions that prescribe details of design and execution for specific projects, but there was no evidence known beyond these written instructions until faint lines were noticed on an unfinished wall of the great Hellenistic temple of Apollo at Didyma. The archaeologist Lothar Haselberger recognized that lines engraved on the surface of the interior walls of the open-air cella depicted details, some with revisions, of different parts of the temple. He found additional lines marking a grid on the horizontal surface of the temple platform. Traces of pigment indicated that red chalk had been applied to the walls so that the lines cut into the marble would show clearly as white. As this enormous temple, begun in the late fourth century BCE, was completed, the chalk-covered surface with the engraved designs would have been trimmed down to a smooth white finish, obliterating the lines; however, the temple never reached that phase. After Haselberger identified the lines at Didyma, researchers found comparable evidence of design on other Greek structures. These plans for building temples have been present on the buildings themselves, visible to those who knew to look for them.

painted friezes, often decorated with relief sculpture. The triangular space below the roof gable, or "pediment," also featured colorful sculptural compositions of myths and legends. Elaborate floral finials (*akrōtēria*) topped the ends of the ridgepoles and the roof above the eaves.

Two systems of design, later labeled "orders," dominate Greek temple architecture: Doric and Ionic. These systems prescribe the placement of structural and ornamental components but allow for variation in their relative proportions. The Doric order includes columns with simple capitals that combined rounded (echinus) and rectilinear (abacus) parts. The Doric frieze was composed of alternating triglyphs, abstract elements with three vertical ribs, and metopes, rectilinear panels either painted or carved in relief. Columns of the Ionic order, more slender than those of the Doric, were topped by a double scroll, or "volute." The Ionic frieze was either a continuous band of relief sculpture or, in Asia Minor, a row of rectangular projections called "dentils." Around 400 BCE the decorative Corinthian capital, with a double ring of acanthus leaves, was introduced to the architectural repertoire and used with the overall Ionic system by fourth-century and Hellenistic Greeks.

The earliest Greek temples—those of the eighth and seventh centuries BCE—were narrow structures of mud-brick walls on rough stone socles, with timber superstructures and thatched roofs. Early temples at Corinth and nearby Isthmia suggest that the northeast Peloponnesus played a key role in developing the temple form. By the early sixth century much larger temples were built partly or entirely of cut stone blocks, several with peristyles, such as the temples of Hera at Olympia and on the island of Samos and the temples of Artemis at Ephesus and on the island of Corfu. These grand structures were clearly intended as dominant buildings in city and sanctuary. The emergence and flourishing of the Greek temple is closely tied to the rise of Panhellenic sanctuaries such as Olympia, Delphi, and Delos and the rise of the Greek city-state, or polis. Local pride and competition, especially among poleis, stimulated construction of quantities of temples, many in conspicuous and scenic locations. Ionian sanctuaries at Samos (Hera), Ephesus (Artemis), and later Didyma (Apollo) saw the building of enormous double-colonnaded Ionic temples, and the Greek cities of Selinus (with seven temples) and Acragas (six temples) vied with each other in both the number and size of Doric temples during the sixth and fifth centuries BCE.

The greatest number of Greek temples were built in the sixth through the fourth centuries BCE. Best known among fifth-century temples are the temple of Zeus at Olympia and the Parthenon on the

Acropolis of Athens, both with extensive sculptural decoration and with extraordinary colossal cult statues made of gold and ivory. Although fewer temples were built in the fourth century and later, most of the earlier temples continued in active use. By the fourth through the second centuries BCE, the proliferation of monumental civic and secular architecture, along with the related development of architectural ensembles, led to a diminished emphasis on the single separate structure of the temple. As the temple building was embedded into a more elaborate architectural context, as seen at the temple of Athena at Priene in Asia Minor, it may have lost some visual identity, but it lost none of its function or its meaning.

Etruscan and Roman Temples. Unlike their Greek contemporaries, the Etruscans of central Italy built temples of perishable mud brick, timber, and terracotta from the sixth century BCE onward, so that extant remains of Etruscan temples are rare. Scholars generally reconstruct the Etruscan temple based on Vitruvius' description of ideal proportions for the "Tuscan temple," despite the theoretical and retrospective nature of this first century BCE source (*De architectura* 4.7). Architectural evidence at sites such as Orvieto, Veii, and Pyrgi attests that the Etruscan temple sat on a stone podium accessible only by way of steps up the front. Behind a broad porch of wooden columns stood a tripartite cella with walls of mud brick. Timbers with colorful terracotta trim supported the gabled roof, and large terra-cotta sculptures stood along the ridgepole.

Etruscan religious practice, such as augury and worship of the divine triad (in Rome, Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva), and Etruscan architectural expression, the temple, were established at the core of Roman religion with construction of the temple of Jupiter atop Rome's Capitoline Hill by 509 BCE. Built by Etruscans and reconstructed three times over the centuries, the landmark Capitolium gave lasting authority to the form and function of the Roman temple. A statue of each of the three deities in each of the three cellas was positioned facing animals sacrificed at an altar in front of the temple.

This and other Roman temples housed remarkably diverse activities in addition to their religious role. They served as archives for religious and civic records, as museumlike repositories for dedications and memorabilia, as meeting places, as offices for civic and political functions, and even as banks for citizens' personal funds.

Temples in and near Rome continued to display an Etruscan appearance until the second and first centuries BCE when intensified contact (including conquest) of Greece and Asia Minor led to widespread emulation of Greek styles. Stone construction was adopted, and the Ionic style was initially popular, as seen in the temple of Portunus near the Tiber. The Corinthian style, seen in the adjacent round temple, rapidly gained favor. Porches imitated Greek peristyles, with columns added alongside the cella, but Etrusco-Roman organization and frontality persisted, with steps at the front of the podium. Outside the city, at Gabii, Terracina, Tivoli, and elsewhere, temples became focal components of grand sanctuaries that were architectural compendia of theaters, steps, and porticoes framing the temple.

Augustus (r. 27 BCE–14 CE) claimed that he renovated eighty-two temples in Rome, presumably in the white marble that he preferred. This massive refurbishing, and Augustus' new temple of Mars Ultor at the head of his forum (the forum Augustum), helped codify the hybrid but thoroughly Roman temple that integrated Greek-derived decoration with Etruscan-derived form. In the first through third centuries a rich array of ornament based on the Corinthian capital and its acanthus-leaf motif adorned variations on this type of temple from Spain and France (for example, the Maison Carrée at Nîmes, France) to North Africa, Asia Minor, and Syria, as well as in Rome itself. Even Hadrian's Pantheon presented a traditional Roman stepped podium with colonnaded facade in front of its innovative domed rotunda. Validated by repeated examples old and new in the city, the Roman temple's coherent and consistent appearance at sites throughout the empire established imperial authority in antiquity and attests to Rome's widespread reach even to the present day.

[*See also* Architecture, *subentry* Forms and Terms; Cult Images; Pantheon; Parthenon; *and* Votive Offerings.]

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Mary B. Hollinshead

TERENCE

(c. 189–159? BCE), Roman comic playwright. According to the Roman biographer Suetonius—whose information may not be reliable—Publius Terentius Afer was born in Carthage. His cognomen Afer ("African") suggests that he was probably related ethnically to modern North Africans; whether he would be considered "black" according to today's ethnic distinctions is uncertain. Suetonius also tells us that Terence was later a slave at Rome but was freed by his master, the Roman senator Terentius Lucanus, and that he died while still a young man on a trip to Greece. In the decade before his death Terence wrote six plays, all of which survive. Production notices called *didascaliae*, preserved in our manuscripts, allow us to date the earliest performances of each play: *Andria* (*The Girl from Andros*, 166), *Hecyra* (*The Mother-in-Law*, 165, then again twice in 160), *Heauton timōroumenos* (*The Self-Tormentor*, 163), *Eunuchus* (*The Eunuch*, 161), *Phormio* (161), and *Adelphi* (*The Brothers*, 160). Each of the plays is an adaptation from Greek New Comedy: four from Menander, two (*The Mother-in-Law* and *Phormio*) from Apollodorus. All the plays are thus variations of the standard plot of New Comedy, in which obstacles to a romantic union are overcome through cleverness or luck or both.

Innovations. Evidence from the plays themselves and from remarks by Donatus, a late-antique commentator on Terence, reveals that Terence introduced a number of innovations into this standard form. In each of his prologues Terence responds to alleged criticisms from rivals, including a certain Luscius Lanuvinus. Usually if not always, Terence's polemics replace a prologue that described the background to the forthcoming plot. The absence of such informational prologues and Terence's frequent refusal to provide background information in other places suggest that Terence valued suspense and surprise more than most ancient playwrights did, though in some plays he also makes effective use of dramatic irony.

In contrast to the rollicking farce that characterizes his Roman predecessor Plautus, Terence appears often to have sought a degree of verisimilitude matching or exceeding that of his Greek models. On more than one occasion he replaced a monologue of his original with a dialogue. Though his plays are considerably more musical than his models are—more than half of his corpus was probably performed to musical accompaniment—Terence avoids the wide variety of meters through which Plautus' music called attention to itself. Instead of the exuberant rhetorical language of Plautus, Terence generally uses a style remarkable both for its restrained purity and for the extent to which it captures the nuances of everyday conversation.

In place of the comically exaggerated stock characters of his Roman predecessors, Terence created characters unusual in ancient comedy both for their relative believability and for the sympathy they inspire. Particularly notable are several of his female characters, including the so-called good prostitutes Thais (*The Eunuch*) and Bacchis (*The Mother-in-Law*) and the assertive wives Sostrata (*The Self-Tormentor*) and Nausistrata (*Phormio*). *The Mother-in-Law* offers a unique view of women's lives behind the male world with which most ancient comedy is concerned.

Though Plautus often focused on tricksters and their machinations, Terence always draws attention to familial relationships, especially those between fathers and sons. All but one of Terence's plays feature two pairs of young lovers, and Terence regularly expanded the role of one of the pairs. The double plot that resulted allowed him to draw moral and psychological contrasts. Often, for example, one father is more lenient than the other, or one young man loves a marriageable woman, the other a prostitute.

Terence thus generally sought to encourage contemplation through subdued and carefully nuanced dramaturgy. Sometimes, however, Terence took the opposite approach, modifying his originals to make them more lively and, presumably, more crowd-pleasing. He added two buffoonish stock characters from another Menandrian play to Menander's *The Eunuch* (a process called *contaminatio*), and he expanded the role of the parasite and legal trickster after whom he named *Phormio*. For *The Brothers* he imported a boisterous scene from a play of the fourth century BCE Greek playwright Diphilus. In each of these plays he probably also altered the endings to make them more farcical.

Terence and His Contemporaries. Terence's prologues also reveal challenges that he faced in his career. The first performance of *The Mother-in-Law*, Terence reports, was disrupted by persons hoping to see rope dancers and boxers; a second attempt failed in the face of confusion caused by rumors of gladiatorial games, and the play was performed to completion only when it was offered for a third time. It is possible that the year's gap between *The Self-Tormentor* (163) and *The Eunuch* (161)

reflects a lukewarm reception of the earlier play. The impression that Terence gives of struggling against heavy odds throughout his career, however, is almost certainly an exaggeration. Suetonius reports that for *The Eunuch*, honored with an encore performance, Terence received the highest fee that had ever been paid for a comedy at Rome.

Another alleged accusation to which Terence responds in his prologues is that aristocratic friends helped him write his plays. Terence does not explicitly rebut these charges, and ancient biographers preserve anecdotes about Scipio Aemilianus, the leading Roman statesman of the mid-second century BCE, and his best friend, Gaius Laelius Sapiens, helping the young playwright. Terence's *Brothers* and *The Mother-in-Law* were offered at funeral games held by Scipio and his brother for their father. The entire tradition about aristocratic helpers is without any firm evidence and may well be apocryphal, but it is nevertheless quite likely that Terence had aristocratic patrons, whose philhellenism may have helped inspire his more refined approach to comedy.

Legacy. Though a relatively small number of modern plays have been modeled on Terence's plays—notable exceptions are several plays of the tenth-century nun Hrotsvit, Molière's *Les fourberies de Scapin* (1667), and Thornton Wilder's *Woman of Andros* (1930)—techniques that Terence perfected, such as the double plot, have remained a staple of comedy from Shakespeare through the Broadway musical. One of Terence's greatest legacies has been his Latinity. Even in the fifteenth century, Erasmus spoke Terentian Latin at school and wrote it in his letters, and students of Latin continue to turn to Terence when they want a model for elegant speech.

[*See also* Comedy, Greek, *subentry* New Comedy; Comic Theater, Roman; Latin Literature, Beginnings of; *and* Theatrical Production, Roman.]

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Timothy J. Moore

TERRA-COTTA FIGURINES

The word "terra-cotta" means baked clay and generally refers to the material, or fabric, of a finished clay product. However, in Greek and Roman archaeology the word "terra-cotta" also is commonly used for a small sculpture, or figurine, that was made of clay and fired in a kiln. Although hand-modeled terra-cottas can be found in all periods of Greek art and Roman art, most of the terra-cottas were industrial products, mass-produced by means of molds and brightly colored for additional appeal. As industrial products, terra-cottas in general were inexpensive and therefore were widely available to the general population for religious offerings, as funerary objects, or as articles for the home. Their most common use, however, was as dedications to the gods in religious rituals at sanctuaries and shrines, where terra-cottas often have been found by the thousands, testifying to the repeated acts of worship that constituted an import aspect of both urban and rural life in the classical world.

In ancient Greece, terra-cotta figurines were made by an artisan called a "coroplast" (Greek *koroplastēs*), and in Roman society this artisan was known as a *sigillarius.* However, "coroplast" is the term used in both Greek and Roman scholarship, and scholarly examinations of terra-cottas are known as "coroplastic studies." Actual coroplasts' workshops have been found at many Greek and Roman sites, where the presence of figurine molds, modeling tools, pigments for coloring, and basins for the preparation of clay provide us with an insight into coroplastic manufacturing processes. In the fourth century BCE, Greek coroplasts marked their molds with letters incised in the clay, possibly as signs of ownership. By the third century BCE, coroplasts' signatures began to appear at the bases or on the backs of figurines, a practice taken up by Roman coroplasts in the first century BCE.

Geometric and Archaic Periods. Throughout the Geometric period (900–700 BCE) terra-cottas were simple boardlike or cylindrical figures with pinched facial features and stumplike arms; simple hand-modeled horsemen also were made in some areas. By the beginning of the seventh century, however, coroplasts in Rhodes, Samos, Crete, and other areas of the eastern Mediterranean began to use molds, a revolutionary technique borrowed from a centuries-old tradition in Mesopotamia and Egypt. At first just the faces of Greek figurines were made using molds, with the bodies being hand-modeled, but by the early seventh century entire figures were cast in

frontal molds. From this point onward the use of the mold can be said to distinguish Greek and Roman figurine production, although the technique of hand-modeling never died out.

In the early sixth century, during the Archaic period (700–480 BCE), terra-cotta production became an industrial phenomenon. This is observable first at Miletus in eastern Greece, where enormous quantities of terra-cotta perfume vases in human and animal form were manufactured; together with the perfume they contained, these vases were exported throughout the Greek world and imitated. Thinly cast in double molds with elegant detail, these terra-cottas rank among the finest examples of miniature sculpture from the Archaic period.

Corinth, Athens, and Argos also were influential centers of terra-cotta production, but their products did not enter the trading networks in any meaningful way until the late Archaic period (525–480 BCE). Even so, by this time most Greek cities had their own workshops mass-producing terra-cotta figurines for a local, popular market. The strong local character of these terra-cottas enables scholars to distinguish the products of one center from those of another. The local clays used in their production also provide important criteria for determining their origins.

Outside eastern Greek centers, most figurine types in the Archaic period were cast in frontal molds with an undetailed slab of clay for the back, technical features that continued to define terra-cotta production at Greek sites for the next two hundred years. The most popular Archaic figurine type was the seated or standing woman of a static, hieratic formality, wearing a chiton and himation, although in Sicily and South Italy more idiosyncratic images related to local cults were developed. Male figures, riders, banqueters, mask protomas (mask-like images comprising the front half of the head and neck, usually of a woman), and figurines of animals and fruit also were produced. Generic in their iconography, these terra-cottas were broadly suitable as gifts to a range of divinities, and indeed they have been found at sanctuaries belonging to every Olympian deity, as well as to local gods.

Classical Period. Terra-cottas reflecting a late Archaic sensibility continued to be produced well into the first quarter of the fifth century at most Greek sites. However, in the early Classical period (480–450 BCE), Athenian, or Attic, coroplasts introduced new types of standing, seated, and reclining females with or without attributes, as well as dolls and elaborated protomas that included the shoulders and upper chest of an image, all marked by serious expressions and a monumental simplicity that betray their Severe-style origins. Once they entered the trading networks these types were immediately adopted by coroplasts throughout the Greek world, and they were freely imitated and reinvented. Other centers in Sicily, South Italy, and eastern Greece also produced new types of standing and seated females carrying children, pigs or other animals, water jars, baskets, or cosmetic boxes, among other attributes, as well as types of standing males, squatting boys, banqueters, horsemen, sileni, animals, and reliefs with mythological scenes. But these were more regional in their distribution and influence and rarely entered the overseas trading networks.

In the second half of the fifth and into the early fourth century BCE, coroplasts at most centers were copying or reinterpreting these Attic types of hieratic seated and standing females, protomas, and busts that were updated to reflect high Classical sculptural models. It is of interest that standing male types were not particularly favored by Attic coroplasts or by those in the Greek West, although they were popular in Corinth, Boeotia, and in eastern Greek workshops, where they accompanied local types of standing females. In Sicily at the end of the fifth century, new terra-cotta types of women carrying pigs, as well as figurines of Artemis and large busts of elaborately adorned women, were created in a workshop in Syracuse that had an enormous influence on coroplastic production throughout Sicily in the fourth and third centuries. Similarly Paestum and Tarentum in South Italy were the most influential coroplastic centers for their regions.

Hellenistic Period. At Athenian workshops in the early fourth century, coroplasts began to break away

from the static and hieratic images of women by introducing the motif of a dancer, whose transparent, active drapery owes much to the Rich style of Classical Attic sculpture. Theatrical types representing comedic actors also were introduced and became extremely popular, especially in the Athenian colonies around the Black Sea. But the most significant and revolutionary development occurred in Athens sometime in the third quarter of the fourth century. One or more Attic coroplasts, influenced by the work of the Athenian sculptor Praxiteles, created types of standing and seated females representing well-bred, elegantly dressed young women in relaxed and introspective poses—women who appeared cosmopolitan and secular rather than formal and hieratic. These were accompanied by types of women dancing, playing games, and in two-figure groups as if gossiping. There were also representations of youths, children, and some genre types of old men and women, as well as types of a seminude, leaning Aphrodite, Eros in motion, and other mythological figures. Even though the prototypes for these new terra-cottas were created in Athens, collectively they are known as Tanagra figurines after the site of Tanagra in Boeotia from whose cemeteries hundreds of examples were looted in the late nineteenth century.

Most early Tanagra figurines were produced in double molds, thus bringing detail to the back of the figure. Considerable retouching is evident in many examples, illustrating the care with which coroplasts finished their figurines. Eventually, as poses became more active, multiple molds were required to produce a single figure. So innovative and appealing were these secular Tanagra types that as soon as they were commercially available, by the early Hellenistic period (c. 300–250 BCE), they were immediately incorporated into the coroplastic production of nearly every center of terra-cotta production in the Greek world. With few exceptions, this caused the almost complete abandonment of the production of hieratic seated and standing females in favor of ever newer and more emotionally appealing types. The coroplasts of Corinth, however, remained

immune to the charms of the Tanagra style and instead focused attention on more formal types of standing female votaries, some male types and horse riders, children, grotesques, types of Aphrodite, nymphs, and anatomical models.

From the third century onward the influence of Athens as a coroplastic center began to decline in favor of several eastern Greek centers. The cities of Myrina, Pergamum, Smyrna, and Priene, among others in Asia Minor, had coroplastic workshops producing terra-cottas whose artistic excellence confirms for them an important place in the history of Greek art. Initially influenced by the Tanagra style, the coroplasts of these centers reinterpreted Tanagra types according to the freer and more decorative tastes of the East and invented new typologies that included Oriental and Egyptian imagery. From Myrina come both standard Tanagra types and also an exceptional series of flying Victories and flying Eros figurines of the second century that were designed to be suspended. Among the many types from Pergamum are large and imposing statuettes of women in rich drapery arrangements standing in languid poses, while the coroplasts of Smyrna specialized in figurines that replicated sculptures by well-known Classical sculptors, a typology designed to appeal to the wealthy collector. But miniature images of physical and mental deformity, illness, and social deprivation also were common and may relate to the cult of Asclepius, the healing god, at Smyrna.

Aside from these important eastern Greek centers, impressive coroplastic production in the Hellenistic period can also be documented for centers in Macedonia, on the Greek mainland, in the Aegean, in Sicily and South Italy, around the Black Sea, in North Africa, and on Cyprus. In addition, many non-Greek centers, some as distant as Failaka in the Persian Gulf, were producing terra-cottas based on Hellenistic Greek models.

The archaeological contexts within which most later Hellenistic terra-cottas were found were primarily funerary, although, as at Corinth, popular piety encouraged the offering of terra-cotta figurines at

some sanctuaries and shrines until well into the third century CE. But production declined as demand declined, and by the later first century CE the manufacture of terra-cotta figurines at most Greek sites had devolved into an artless and mechanical craft. Old Hellenistic types continued to be produced, although in debased versions. Some even carried the signatures of Roman coroplasts.

Roman Terra-cottas. Terra-cotta figurines played a prominent role in Roman culture, but not until the mid-Republican period (fourth to third century BCE) when Etruscan cultic ritual and Greek religious practices began to be absorbed into Roman popular religion. Two distinct terra-cotta typologies were developed at this time that represented two completely different social classes. The first typology, geared to a rural, unsophisticated population, was based on Etruscan models and includes mold-made types of votive heads, standing males and females—the females sometimes with children—swaddled babies, models of altars, animals, and fruit, and anatomical models, all belonging to the indigenous fertility and healing cults of the countryside. These were produced on a large scale at many centers throughout central Italy and have been found in enormous quantity at rural sanctuaries and shrines. They also were deposited in graves. By the beginning of the first century BCE, however, population shifts from the countryside to urban centers, as well as greater state control of religious practices, caused a significant decline in the importance of indigenous cults in favor of the worship of the Roman state gods Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.

The second typology, associated with a more sophisticated clientele, reflects the Tanagra style that took hold in the Greek city-states of South Italy. These figurine types were found in sanctuaries and public buildings at urban centers such as Pompeii and Rome, although in considerably reduced numbers. They also served a decorative function in houses and occasionally accompanied burials. Along with types derived from Tanagra models, those representing Bacchus and his entourage, Venus, the theater,

sports, and caricature were especially popular, as were decorative reliefs and types based on imperial statuary, such as the draped, aristocratic male, the dutiful young boy, and portrait busts. These latter types reflected imperial fashions and the new emphasis on family values that was part of the political program of the first Roman emperor, Augustus (r. 27 BCE–14 CE).

Terra-cotta figurines also were made in the northern Roman provinces, where the custom of dedicating terra-cottas in sanctuaries and graves was brought to Gaul by Roman soldiers in the first century CE. The integration of provincial cults into the Roman state religion resulted in new types being added to the standard Roman typology in a style referred to as Gallo-Roman. These new Gallo-Roman types include armed Minervas, a type of horse goddess known as Epona, a seated, nursing mother, children, cocks, birds, animals, and toys, among others. But the most widely diffused of all were types of a standing Venus, which have been found at sanctuaries, graves, houses, and commercial establishments. Venus types created in Germany were the most popular in Britain and Spain, where they were copied and widely distributed. Spanish versions of these Venuses dating to the third century CE have large and complicated hair arrangements that may reflect fashionable trends coming from North Africa.

[*See also* Cult Images; Portraits and Portraiture; Sculpture; *and* Women, *subentry* Artistic Representations.]

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TETRARCHY

"Tetrarchy" is a modern term used to describe the system of four-man rule devised under Diocletian (Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus) beginning in 293 CE and lasting, arguably, until 311. In classical antiquity the term "tetrarchy" was used to refer to a variety of arrangements for divided rule. The term entered modern usage in the late nineteenth century to describe Diocletian's system and gained common currency only in the middle of the twentieth century. The lack of a firm designation in the ancient sources draws into question the degree to which the so-called tetrarchy was an intentionally devised, rationally constructed constitutional system, as opposed to an assemblage of ad hoc political solutions to immediate needs. This remains the fundamental question occupying research on the tetrarchy.

In the first year after his accession, Diocletian (r. 284–305) appointed a subordinate Caesar in the person of Maximian (Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus); in early 286 he promoted Maximian to full power with the title Augustus. Both Augusti then took subordinate Caesares on 1 March 293: Diocletian's Caesar took the official name Galerius (Gaius Galerius Valerius Maximianus), and Maximian's Caesar took the official name Constantius (Flavius Valerius Constantinus). Each Caesar married the daughter of his Augustus and each was adopted by him and, as is evident, assumed elements of his nomenclature. Diocletian was effectively in charge, and his laws were promulgated empire-wide, but each of the four had his own military and bureaucratic apparatus, and all shared victory titles earned in military campaigns by any one.

On 1 March 305, Diocletian abdicated, whereupon Galerius was proclaimed full Augustus and chose as his Caesar his nephew Maximin Daia (Gaius Galerius Valerius Maximinus). On 1 May 305, Maximian likewise abdicated, leaving Constantius as Augustus and Flavius Valerius Severus as Caesar in the West. Two potential dynastic claimants, Constantius' eldest son Constantine and Maximian's son Maxentius, had been passed over. Constantine had himself proclaimed when his father died on 25 July 306, and Maxentius had himself proclaimed with the aid of his father on 28 October 306. Constantine won recognition as Caesar from Galerius, the senior Augustus, but Maxentius did not and in 307 faced attacks by Severus, whom he killed, and Galerius, whom he turned back from the walls of Rome. Licinius (Valerius Licianus Licinius) was appointed on 11 November 308 to replace Severus. Down to Galerius' death in May 311, then, there had always been four mutually recognized emperors who generally conformed to a pattern of two Augusti and two subordinate Caesares. Subordination, however, had already been compromised after Constantine arrogated to himself the title Augustus in 307, and four-man rule disintegrated upon Galerius' death.

The tetrarchs introduced major reforms. Militarily, they reduced the size of individual fighting units but increased the overall size of the army. They also built massive numbers of forts along the imperial frontiers and particularly on the Danube and the eastern frontier. Administratively, they diced existing provinces into smaller units to arrive at about one hundred, placed most of these under equestrian *praesides* (provincial governors) without military authority, and grouped them into twelve larger units termed "dioceses" under *vicarii*, newly created deputies of the Praetorian prefects. Fiscally, tax collection was improved through the creation of a bipartite system of standardized units of labor (*capita*) and land (*iuga*) that permitted more accurate calculations of projected revenues. To stabilize the currency, new denominations of gold (*aureus*) and silver (*argenteus*) were introduced circa 294, and the coinage was then retariffed in summer 301. An ambitious edict prescribing maximum prices on goods and services issued in December 301 failed and was repealed. Major building programs

were undertaken at Rome, which gained its largest bath complex, and especially in provincial capitals that served as long-term residences for the tetrarchs nearer the frontiers: Antioch, Nicomedia, Thessalonica, Sirmium, Milan, and Augusta Treverorum (modern Trier).

The tetrarchic bent for large-scale, systematic projects affected social and religious norms as well. The tetrarchs themselves claimed special connections with Jupiter (Diocletian) and Hercules (Maximian), who appeared regularly in their coinage and iconography and were mentioned in inscriptions and panegyrics. A surviving edict probably from 295 called for the elimination of incestuous marriage (common in regions like Egypt), and another edict—probably from 302—called for the systematic elimination of the Manichaean religion. Christians were purged from the court and army in 299, and beginning in February 303 a series of four edicts ordered the destruction of Christian churches, the burning of books, the arrest of members of the clergy, and eventually universal sacrifice. This Great Persecution was enforced only haltingly in Constantius' realm and was enforced only down to 306 in Italy and Africa. It continued in the East until Galerius' Edict of Toleration in 311 and was resumed again briefly under Maximin Daia until mid-313.

The tetrarchic model of consensual shared governance influenced imperial politics throughout late antiquity, although its general avoidance of dynastic succession could not be enforced and was eliminated beginning with Constantine (r. 306–337).

[*See also* Constantine; Diocletian; *and* Rome, *subentry* The Empire.]

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TEUTOBURG FOREST

In the year 9 CE the Roman governor of Germany, Publius Quinctilius Varus, and his troops, the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Legions, were caught in an ambush by Germans under the leadership of Arminius and suffered a devastating defeat. Although there were several Roman campaigns between 14 and 16 CE under Germanicus against the Germans on the far side of the Rhine, Varus' defeat caused a crisis in Rome's German policy. It led eventually to the abandonment of plans to extend the borders of the Roman Empire to the Elbe.

Ancient authors such as Tacitus, Cassius Dio, Velleius Paterculus, and Florus report these events. In his writings, rediscovered at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Tacitus mentions Varus' defeat as the battle in the *saltus Teutoburgiensis* (Teutoburg Forest; *Annales* 1.60); his references to the Ems and Lippe rivers give at least a vague idea of its location. The numerous efforts to find the site of Varus' battle have been based almost entirely on interpretation of the historical sources.

At the end of the nineteenth century the scholar of ancient history Theodor Mommsen based his location of the event on the discovery of about two hundred Roman coins since the eighteenth century "near Barenaue," about fifteen miles (twenty-five kilometers) northeast of Osnabrück. More recent finds of coins and Roman military items have led since 1987 to the development of an extensive archaeological and scientific research project in this area. The area under investigation stretches about twelve miles (almost twenty kilometers) from east to west among the Wiehen Mountains, with the