



McDONALD INSTITUTE MONOGRAPHS



The Marble Finds from Kavos and the Archaeology of Ritual

Edited by Colin Renfrew, Olga Philaniotou, Neil
Brodie, Giorgos Gavalas & Michael J. Boyd

**The sanctuary on Keros and the origins
of Aegean ritual practice VOLUME III**

ΙΣΝ/SNF

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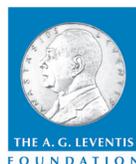
with contributions from

Myrto Georgakopoulou, Anno Hein, Jill Hilditch, Vassilis Kilikoglou,
Daphne Lalayiannis, Yannis Maniatis, Peggy Sotirakopoulou
& Dimitris Tambakopoulos

The sanctuary on Keros and the origins of Aegean ritual
practice: the excavations of 2006–2008

VOLUME III


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Published by:

McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research
University of Cambridge
Downing Street
Cambridge, UK
CB2 3ER
(0)(1223) 339327
info@mcdonald.cam.ac.uk
www.mcdonald.cam.ac.uk

Distributed by Oxbow Books

United Kingdom: Oxbow Books, 10 Hythe Bridge Street, Oxford, OX1 2EW, UK.
Tel: (0)(1865) 241249; Fax: (0)(1865) 794449; www.oxbowbooks.com
USA: Casemate Academic, 1950 Lawrence Rd, Havertown, PA 19083, USA.
Tel: 610 853 9131; Fax: 610 853 9146



McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2018

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978-1-902937-86-1

Cover image: *The Special Deposit South from the southeast (foreground) with Dhaskalio in the background. Inset: (front) Head 351, from Trench D2, layer 1; (back) Torso 25055 from Trench RA, layer 14.*

Frontispiece image: *Torso, waist, pelvis and upper legs of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety (30028 from Area P on Kavos).*

Edited for the Institute by James Barrett (*Series Editor*) and Anne Chippindale.

Undertaken with the assistance of the Institute for Aegean Prehistory.

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CONTRIBUTORS

MICHAEL J. BOYD
McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research,
Downing Street, Cambridge, CB2 3ER, UK
Email: mjb235@cam.ac.uk

NEIL BRODIE
School of Archaeology, 2 South Parks Road,
Oxford OX1 3TG, UK
Email: njb1012redux@gmail.com

GIORGOS GAVALAS
Ephorate of Antiquities for the Cyclades,
Epameinonda 10, 10555 Athens, Greece
Email: georgios.gavalas@gmail.com

MYRTO GEORGAKOPOULOU
UCL Qatar, PO Box 25256, Georgetown Building,
Education City, Doha, Qatar
Email: m.georgakopoulou@ucl.ac.uk

ANNO HEIN
Institute of Nanoscience and Nanotechnology,
N.C.S.R. 'Demokritos', 153 10 Aghia Paraskevi,
Greece
Email: a.hein@inn.demokritos.gr

JILL HILDITCH
ACASA Universiteit van Amsterdam,
Turfdraagsterpad 9, 1012XT Amsterdam,
Netherlands
Email: jill.hilditch@uva.nl

VASSILIS KILIKOGLOU
Institute of Nanoscience and Nanotechnology,
N.C.S.R. 'Demokritos', 153 10 Aghia Paraskevi,
Greece
Email: v.kilikoglou@inn.demokritos.gr

DAPHNE LALAYANNIS
Museum of Naxos
Chora, 84300 Kyklades, Greece
Email: daphne.lal@hotmail.com

YANNIS MANIATIS
Laboratory of Archaeometry,
Institute of Nanoscience and Nanotechnology,
N.C.S.R. 'Demokritos', 153 10 Aghia Paraskevi,
Greece
Email: y.maniatis@inn.demokritos.gr

OLGA PHILANIOTOU
Skylitsi 23a, 11473 Athens, Greece
Email: olgaphil@otenet.gr

COLIN RENFREW
McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research
Downing Street, Cambridge, CB2 3ER, UK
Email: acr10@cam.ac.uk

PEGGY SOTIRAKOPOULOU
35 Laskou Street, Pangrati, 116 33 Athens, Greece
Email: psotirakopoulou@gmail.com

DIMITRIS TAMBAKOPOULOS
Laboratory of Archaeometry,
Institute of Nanoscience and Nanotechnology,
N.C.S.R. 'Demokritos', 153 10 Aghia Paraskevi,
Greece
Email: dimitris17@gmail.com

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Frontispiece: *Torso, waist, pelvis and upper legs of folded-arm figurine of Spedos variety.*

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Abbreviations

cm	centimetre
D.	diameter
g	gram
H.	height
km	kilometre
L.	length
m	metre
mm	millimetre
PPL	plain polarized light
SEM-EDS	Scanning Electron Microscopy with Energy Dispersive Spectroscopy
SEM-BSE	Scanning Electron Microscopy with Back Scattered Electron imaging
SF	special find
T.	thickness
W.	width
Wt	weight
XPL	cross polarized light

Unless otherwise stated, the scale for finds is in centimetres.

Preface

Colin Renfrew & Michael J. Boyd

The status of Kavos on Keros as the earliest maritime sanctuary in the world is documented by the present volume, which includes (in Part A) the full publication of the marble finds from the Special Deposit South at Keros. These constitute the largest assemblage of Early Cycladic sculptures and vessels ever recovered in a controlled excavation, although they were all found in fragmentary condition. They add significantly to the already substantial corpus of finds from well-documented contexts in the Cycladic islands. They open new possibilities for the study of the production and the use of the rich repertoire of Cycladic artefacts of marble and thus to the understanding of ritual practice in Early Cycladic societies. The marble sculptures from the looted Special Deposit North at Kavos that have been recovered in systematic excavations will be discussed in Volume VII.

Also included here (in Part B) are chapters offering our concluding assessment of the roles of the settlement on Dhaskalio and of the two Special Deposits at Kavos. The publication *The Settlement at Dhaskalio* constitutes Volume I of the present series, while *Kavos and the Special Deposits* forms Volume II. The *Pottery from Dhaskalio* and *The Pottery from Kavos*, Volumes IV and V respectively, both by Peggy Sotirakopoulou, will complete the publication of the 2006 to 2008 excavations of the Cambridge Keros Project.

The existing and projected volumes of the Cambridge Keros Project are as follows:

Volume I: *The Settlement at Dhaskalio* (2013, edited by C. Renfrew, O. Philaniotou, N. Brodie, G. Gavalas & M.J. Boyd).

Volume II: *Kavos and the Special Deposits* (2015, edited by C. Renfrew, O. Philaniotou, N. Brodie, G. Gavalas & M.J. Boyd).

Volume III: *The Marble Finds from Kavos and the Archaeology of Ritual* (2018, edited by C. Renfrew, O. Philaniotou, N. Brodie, G. Gavalas & M.J. Boyd).

Volume IV: *The Pottery from Dhaskalio* (2016, by P. Sotirakopoulou).

Volume V: *The Pottery from Kavos* (in preparation, by P. Sotirakopoulou).

Volume VI: *The Keros Island Survey* (in preparation, edited by C. Renfrew, M. Marthari, A. Del-

laporta, M.J. Boyd, N. Brodie, G. Gavalas, J. Hilditch & J. Wright).

Volume VII: *Monumentality, Diversity and Fragmentation in Early Cycladic Sculpture: the finds from the Special Deposit North at Kavos on Keros* (in preparation, by C. Renfrew, P. Sotirakopoulou & M.J. Boyd).

Here we present first the marble sculptures and vessels recovered from the Special Deposit South, which are fully described and illustrated in the chapters which follow. Their contexts are given in detail in Volume II where each is listed in the detailed tables accompanying chapter 4 of that volume. There the tables are organised by trench and then by layer number, each sculptural or vessel fragment being listed by its special find number, which is unique to the excavation. The other finds from the Special Deposit South are all dealt with in detail in that volume, with the exception of the pottery, whose publication will form Volume V. The weathering of the marble finds is discussed by Maniatis & Tambakopoulos in chapter 11 of Volume II. Various features of the contexts of the finds are analysed by Michael Boyd in chapter 12 of Volume II. The potential joins noted among the sculptures recovered from the Special Deposit South are discussed in appendix 13B of Volume II and those among the marble vessels in appendix 13A (see further Chapter 4 in this volume). The lack of joins observed between finds from the Special Deposit North and the Special Deposit South is noted there. The characterisation of the marble used to produce the sculptures and vessels from the Special Deposit South is discussed in Chapter 5 of the present volume.

The finds, among the various categories, from the settlement at Dhaskalio and from the two Special Deposits at Kavos are then compared and contrasted in Part B. This allows the differing functions of the settlement and of the Special Deposits to be brought into focus, and the intensity of their use during the different phases of activity in the early bronze age to be considered further. An attempt is then made, in Chapter 10, to set the ritual functions of the sanctuary on Keros into the wider context of early ritual practice in the Aegean and beyond.

Acknowledgements

The editors again wish to thank the many organisations and people who have offered help and support to the Cambridge Keros Project. The project has been based at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research at the University of Cambridge (Directors: Professor Graeme Barker and lately Professor Cyprian Broodbank) and supported by the British School at Athens (Directors: Dr James Whitley, followed by Professor Catherine Morgan and now Professor John Bennet) and our first debt is to them and to their management committees. It has been conducted with the permission of the Archaeological Service of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sport, with the personal support of Dr Marisa Marthari, formerly Director of the then 21st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, now Honorary Ephor, and lately with the support of Dr Dimitris Athanasoulis, Director of the Cycladic Ephoreia.

The project was initiated with support from the Balzan Foundation and has been consistently supported with a series of grants from INSTAP (the Institute for Aegean Prehistory). The participation of Dr Michael Boyd was made possible by a generous grant from the Stavros S. Niarchos Foundation (in memory of Mary A. Dracopoulos); the Niarchos Foundation made subsequent grants in support of publication. Further financial support has come from the British Academy, the A. G. Leventis Foundation, the Leverhulme Trust, the Society of Antiquaries of London, the Research Fund of the McDonald Institute and the British School at Athens. The participation of Dr Sotirakopoulou in the post-excavation work in 2009 was supported by the N.P. Goulandris Foundation.

The staff of the British School at Athens has been particularly helpful in many practical matters. Helen Clark, and later Tania Gerousi, Secretary and Administrator respectively, gave their detailed attention to the many permit applications that a large project entails, with the support of the assistant director, Robert Pitt, and lately Dr Chryssanthi Papadopoulou. Maria Papaconstantinou was invaluable through her advice and practical support on financial matters. The staff of

the Library, Penny Wilson and Sandra Pepelasis, have supported our researches, and we are particularly grateful to the archivist, Amalia Kakissis, for all her help. Much of the scientific work of the project was carried out by members of the Fitch Laboratory, and we are grateful to its director, Dr Evangelia Kyriatzi, for supporting this.

The project is grateful to Christos Doumas, Photeini Zappeiropoulou, and Lila Marangou for their warm support for the enterprise. In particular Christos Doumas and Photeini Zappeiropoulou encouraged us to examine material from their prior excavations in order to consider the possibility of joining material between the Special Deposits North and South.

The excavation personnel in the 2006 to 2008 excavation seasons were thanked by name in the acknowledgements of Volumes I and II and we are grateful for their participation. We are grateful also for the continuing support of our co-workers on Ano Kouphonisi, where we were based for the excavation seasons of 2006-2008 and the study season of 2009.

The study of the figurines and marble vessels was carried out in the Naxos Museum, as was the sampling for the marble study. We are grateful to the Museum, its director, Irini Legaki, and its staff, especially Daphne Lalayannis, Ilias Probonas and Vasiliki Chamilothori.

The drawings of finds have been contributed by Jenny Doole and Tassos Papadogonas.

Photographs of finds and many of the site photographs are by Michael Boyd, with other site photographs (and some finds) by Thomas Loughlin and by other members of the excavation team. We are grateful to Vicki Herring for undertaking final work on the figures during the production process, and to Anne Chippindale, for her work on the text, and for seeing the volume through the press, and to Jenny Doole for compiling the index.

The publication costs have been generously met by the Stavros S. Niarchos Foundation, the McDonald Institute, the A. G. Leventis Foundation and the Institute for Aegean Prehistory.

Part A
**The Marble Finds
from the Special Deposit South**

Chapter 1

The Sculptures from the Special Deposit South: Introduction

Colin Renfrew

The sculptures from the Special Deposit North and the Special Deposit South on Kavos have added a new dimension to our understanding of ritual performance and social practices in Early Cycladic times. Here the great quantity of finds from the Special Deposit South, recovered during systematic excavation, offers a series of further insights, although all of the artefacts recovered are in fragmentary condition, and many of them greatly weathered. There is however no indication of deliberate disturbance once the Special Deposit South went out of use, and no evidence of recent looting. The assemblage should therefore be a representative one. One feature which emerges from the study of the finds is the large scale of some of the sculptures before their deliberate fragmentation. The extent to which these sculptures fall within the varieties and sub-varieties already known from finds elsewhere is very striking, although there are several anomalous pieces, perhaps rather late, which have been assigned to the newly defined Keros variety. This typological regularity supports the view that the production and use of these choice artefacts of marble was structured in systematic ways which are open to investigation today.

The excavation of the Special Deposit South is described in detail in Volume II. The excavation trenches, each 4 m square, were laid out on a rectangular grid (Fig. 1.1) and the layers in each trench were numbered stratigraphically, as described in chapter 4 of Volume II.

The study of the sculptures from Kavos

The sanctuary at Kavos on Keros first came to scholarly attention with the visits of Christos Doumas and of Colin Renfrew in the year 1963 (Doumas 1964; Renfrew 1972, 521), when the area now known as the Special Deposit North was first systematically investigated. Further excavations by Zaphiropoulou (1968a,b) were followed by a systematic site survey in 1987 (Renfrew *et al.* 2007a). The extensive looting which took place in the years before 1963 has now been

widely discussed (Papamichelakis & Renfrew 2010; Sotirakopoulou 2005; Volume II, chapter 14). The discovery of the Special Deposit South at Kavos in 2006 and its systematic excavation is fully documented in Volume II of the present series. It allowed the recovery of some 550 fragments of marble sculptures, nearly all of them deliberately broken, which are systematically published here for the first time.

These constitute the largest assemblage of Early Cycladic sculptures ever recovered in a controlled archaeological excavation. The well-documented circumstances of discovery assure the authenticity of the finds published here, although many of them are in fragmentary condition. This question of authenticity is a major issue for sculptures lacking such a secure archaeological provenance. It is one which has to be addressed before wider questions of classification and taxonomy can be considered.

The problems of authenticity for early Cycladic sculpture

It was the exhibition *Kunst der Kykladen*, held at the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe in 1976 (Thimme 1976), which first made publicly evident the vast scale of looting which must have taken place in the Cyclades in the decades since the Second World War. Most of the 580 exhibits (with the exception of a few on loan from European museums) were without secure provenance: that is to say, they did not derive from authorized or published archaeological excavations. Just a few of them, on loan from museums, had been published before 1939, and might well have been legally exported from Greece. The vast majority, however, had no early date of acquisition documented by publication, and were therefore likely to be more recent finds. If authentically of Early Cycladic date they must therefore have been illegally excavated and illegally exported from Greece, and acquired from the illicit international antiquities market (Renfrew 2000). A significant number, it was later revealed

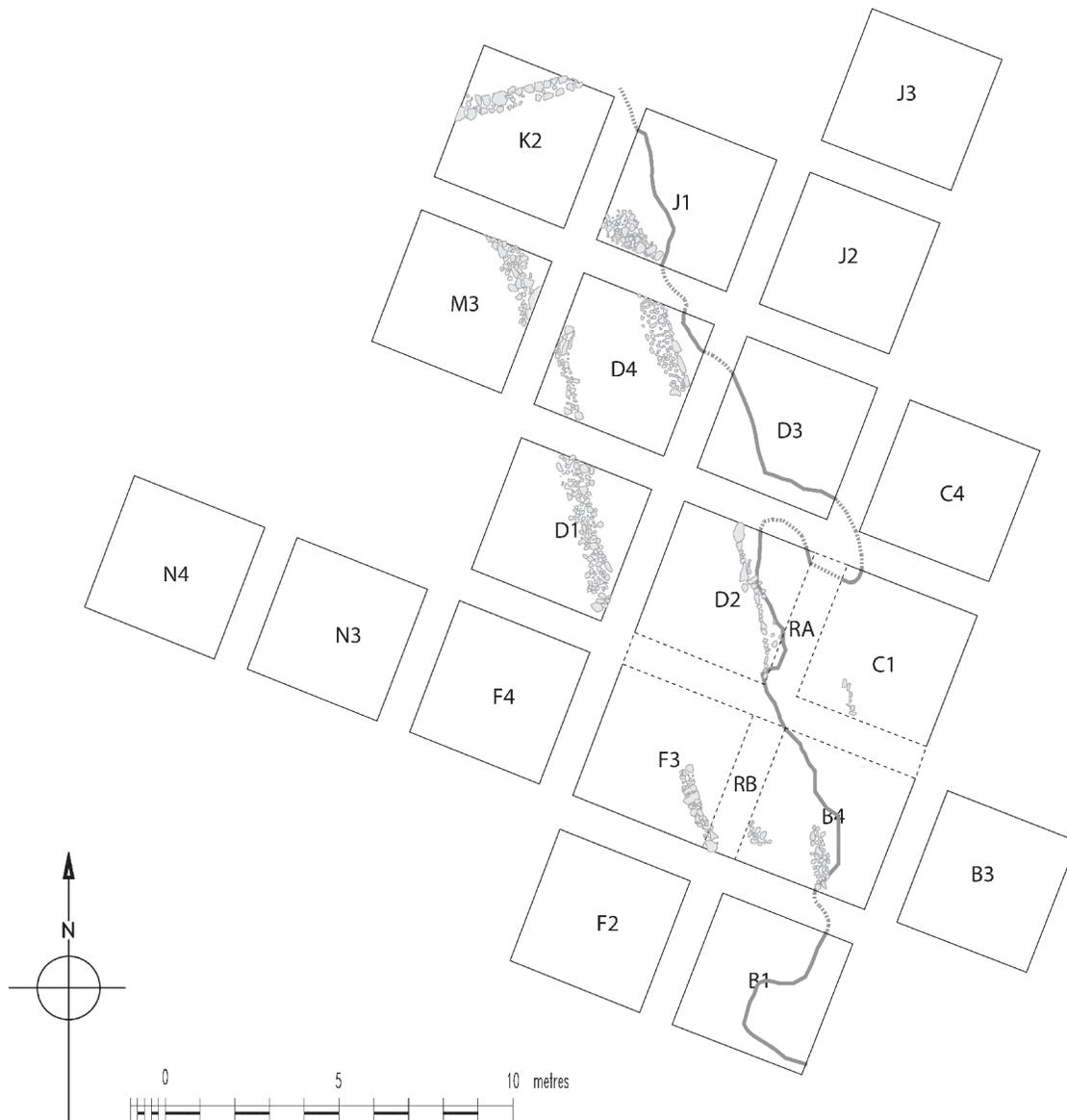


Figure 1.1. Plan of the Special Deposit South, showing the outline of excavation trenches and the line of the aeolianite bench as revealed during excavation.

(Getz-Gentle 2008a,b), came through the hands of the antiquities dealer Nicolas Koutoulakis, and had therefore been illegally exported from Greece.

While the ethics underlying the Karlsruhe exhibition might be a legitimate cause for concern (Renfrew 2004), a more pressing issue for the study of Early Cycladic sculpture and for the systematic classification of the sculptures is the problem of authenticity; for clearly the introduction of fake antiquities into the body of material under study could seriously distort the picture and potentially invalidate any archaeological conclusions derived from such study. This was the thrust of an influential article published in 1993 (Gill & Chippindale 1993; see Gill 2014), which made a power-

ful case that 'esteem', and the aesthetic appreciation of Early Cycladic sculpture, had led to the inclusion in the body of material held in museums and private collections internationally of numerous pieces which are not authentic (i.e. fakes). This, the authors argued, made the entire field of study uncertain and dubious. It led them to question the validity of recent scholarly studies (e.g. Getz-Preziosi 1987; Renfrew 1991) and the scientific credibility of material in private collections formed in recent decades, some with the approval of the Greek government, such as that curated by the N.P. Goulandris Museum of Cycladic Art (Doumas 1968).

These controversies have resulted in a greater awareness of the problem of authenticity in Early

Cycladic studies (Marthari 2001; see Craxton & Warren 2004). It is now clear that Early Cycladic antiquities were being faked already before the Second World War, and that much of the critique set out by Gill and Chippindale in their 1993 article was well justified. For instance, the name-piece used by Getz-Preziosi (1987, 123–6) to document her attribution of a series of sculptures to the ‘Stafford Master’ has since been shown by her to be a fake (Getz-Gentle 2001, 104). The remaining sculptures in that category which she feels to be authentic and made by a single craftsman are now designated by her as by the ‘Louvre sculptor’ (see Renfrew 2017a). But for those among them that are without secure provenance and which appeared recently on the illicit market, the question of authenticity cannot be entirely avoided.

The simplest response to this problem, and one that Gill and Chippindale might themselves prefer, would be to exclude from discussion all those finds which were not fully published as the product of authorized excavations undertaken by professional archaeologists. Such is indeed the thrust of one recent publication, *Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context* (Marthari *et al.* 2017). But to do so would exclude from consideration entire categories of finds, many of them dating from the nineteenth century, whose authenticity seems validated not only by the early date of discovery, probably before the production of fake replicas was initiated on any scale, but also before the prototypes had come to light which would be necessary to produce plausible replicas. One such category is represented by the almost life-size standing figure, supposedly from Amorgos, now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens (Galanakis 2013); another such piece is the large marble head believed to be from Keros and now in the Louvre (Marangou 1990a, 167; Michon 1929, 255, fig.5), donated already in 1863.

An appropriate solution to this problem (see Renfrew 2017a) may be in general to exclude from discussion pieces without a secure archaeological provenance, but yet to include those items which were published before the year 1914 or which can securely be documented as being in a recognized collection before that date. Such a solution need not lead us to ignore later finds, particularly those made prior to 1970, the year of the relevant UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (see Renfrew 2000, 93), but we should be aware that many fakes were produced before the year 1970. It would be inappropriate, therefore, to use unprovenanced finds whose documentation does not extend back before 1914 to establish new typological categories such as varieties or sub-varieties of Early Cycladic sculpture.

The development of the study of Early Cycladic sculpture: nomenclature

The detailed history of the collecting of Early Cycladic sculpture remains to be written (see Fitton 1989, 6–11). The collection of the British Museum was already well established by the 1850s (Pryce 1928, 5–13) and, as Sachini (1984, 68) has noted, the Louvre, the Dresden Museum and the Polytechnicon in Athens (later the National Archaeological Museum) had well-established collections by 1892. Already in the 1880s J. Theodore Bent and Ferdinand Dümmler were excavating (and publishing), respectively in the Cycladic islands of Antiparos and Amorgos. Recently Galanakis (2013) has written informatively of the activities in the late nineteenth century, also in Amorgos, of the dealer Ioannis Palaiologos. It was, however, the excavations of Christos Tsountas (1898; 1899) which first set Early Cycladic studies on a systematic basis. The outlines of Cycladic chronology were first established by stratigraphic excavations at the site of Phylakopi in Melos (Atkinson *et al.* 1904).

The first monographic study of Early Cycladic sculpture was published by Kazimierz Majewski in 1935. More detailed analysis of the Early Cycladic culture sequence allowed a chronological classification of the main types and varieties of the Early Cycladic sculptures (Renfrew 1969), which is now widely followed. This classificatory system was developed and refined by Getz-Preziosi (1987; Getz-Gentle 2001), who identified more closely defined taxa or sub-varieties of sculptures which she regarded as the work of individual ‘masters’ or sculptors. The claim to identify the work of individual sculptors was subjected to criticism on several grounds (for instance, Cherry 1992; Gill & Chippindale 1993), but it is now clear that Pat Getz-Preziosi (later writing as Getz-Gentle) had made important distinctions not previously observed (see Renfrew 2017a). Whether the groups (or sub-varieties) were the work of individual sculptors, or rather perhaps the product of workshops situated in particular localities, remains to be established.

The problem of authenticity, as noted above, may lead to caution on the citation of unprovenanced sculptures, and here so far as possible reference is not made to unprovenanced pieces which have appeared on the market after the year 1914, although that rule is not always strictly followed below. To follow that rule, however, means that some of the sculptors (or sub-varieties) defined by Getz-Preziosi cannot at present be regarded as substantiated by well-provenanced examples deriving from secure and well-published archaeological contexts. Here only those sub-varieties that can be so documented are discussed.

The problem of nomenclature is an easier one to resolve (see Renfrew 2017a; also Doumas 2002). It seems preferable to name varieties and sub-varieties, so far as possible, after documented findspots rather than after museums far from Greece or private collectors who have purchased unprovenanced antiquities on the illicit market. So, in the discussion which follows, sculptures are, for example, classed together as the 'Akrotiri sub-variety' (following a name piece discovered in the excavations at Akrotiri on Thera) rather than as works of the 'Schuster Master'. Similarly, works which Getz-Gentle had designated as by the 'Goulandris Master' are grouped here under the designation the 'Kavos sub-variety', using a name-piece properly excavated at the Special Deposit North at Kavos (Sotirakopoulou *et al.* 2017). That sub-variety can now be substantiated by several more well-provenanced works deriving from authorized excavations. But it should be recognized and acknowledged that the insights which led to the recognition of this important category ('sub-variety') were those of Pat Getz-Gentle, even if her system of nomenclature has not been followed.

Issues of classification and of classifiability

One remarkable feature of the Early Cycladic sculptures which has not yet been widely discussed is the general tendency of the sculptures to fall within rather well-defined classes or taxonomic groups. For instance, the most abundant class is certainly that of the folded-arm sculpture or folded-arm figurine. For that reason it was aptly termed 'canonical' by Jürgen Thimme (Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977, 416). There are several other readily identified sculptural types, notably the Plastiras and Louros type sculptures associated with the transitional Kampos group (Renfrew 1969), as well as a range of schematic forms, most of which are found in the cemeteries of the Grotta-Pelos culture (Early Cycladic I), while others, of the Apeiranthos variety, are found in graves of the Keros-Syros culture (Early Cycladic II).

Nearly all the sculptures ('figurines') found in the Cycladic cemeteries fall within these classes, although just a few, termed 'special or action sculptures' in Chapter 2, depict figures playing musical instruments (harp, flute), or seated on a chair, and there are a few compositions of figures. These too, however, seem to fall within rather well-defined categories.

As discussed below, the sculptures of the folded-arm type may be divided into a series of five varieties, also relatively well-defined. And as Pat Getz-Gentle has shown (Getz-Preziosi 1987), these varieties can be divided into a series of classes or sub-classes, here

termed 'sub-varieties', which she has designated by named 'Masters' or 'Sculptors'. The validity and authenticity of some of these sub-varieties can no longer be doubted. The outstanding example is her 'Goulandris Master' (Getz-Gentle 2001, 161–6), here termed the Kavos sub-variety, of which she lists more than 70 examples, many of which must surely be authentic, and of which a few are now securely documented from Kavos on Keros.

This phenomenon of what one might term 'taxonomic regularity' appears to break down, however, in the late, Kastri phase of the Keros-Syros culture (in Phase C of the settlement at Dhaskalio). Then a range of forms, in what we have termed the 'Keros variety', may have been produced. These show a much greater range of expression, despite the comparative crudity and lack of sophistication of some pieces.

Interestingly a similar situation seems to have prevailed during another transitional phase, between Early Cycladic I and Early Cycladic II (between the Grotta-Pelos and Keros-Syros cultures). For it was at this time that various sculptures, termed by Thimme 'pre-canonical' (Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977) were produced. They were well exemplified hitherto by only a single authenticated find from a secure context, that of Cenotaph Square at Akrotiri in Thera (Sotirakopoulou 1998). There several such sculptures were found together, clearly transitional between the Plastiras and folded-arm types, yet not conforming well to any pre-existing schema. This seems to have been a type where the rules were not systematically followed.

But what rules? Why, during the heyday of the canonical folded-arm figure, are the taxonomic distinctions between varieties and sub-varieties often so clear? That question cannot at present be answered. But the solution may lie, at least in part, in the organization of production. It is possible that many of these sculptures were made in small workshops, where specialist (although not full-time) craftsmen produce rather numerous sculptures. There they may have worked, in each such workshop, within a rather well-defined sculptural tradition, in which the rules of the 'canon' were well understood. No such workshop has yet been discovered, but that may be a discovery for the future.

Problems of typology and chronology with the folded-arm figure

The general typological and chronological position of the Early Cycladic folded-arm sculptures is now clear enough. During the timespan of the Grotta-Pelos culture (EC I and the transitional EC I-II Kampos phase) the earlier schematic figures and, in the Kampos phase,

the sculptures of Louros and Plastiras type are found. With the Keros-Syros culture (EC II) the folded-arm form is seen, along with the schematic figures of Apeiranthos variety. At the settlement of Dhaskalio, many of the pottery forms of the earlier Keros-Syros culture (Dhaskalio Phase A) are seen to continue in Dhaskalio Phase B, where they are found with pottery of the earlier Kastri Group. Schematic figurines of Apeiranthos variety make their appearance at Dhaskalio in Phase B, and are found mainly in contexts of Phase C (Renfrew 2017b; Volume I, chapter 24).

The varieties and sub-varieties of the folded-arm sculpture are discussed below. To establish a more detailed chronology for these different varieties is more difficult, since finds in settlements are relatively rare (Hershenson & Overbeck 2017; Renfrew & Boyd 2017b; Wilson 2017). It should be noted that the Early Cycladic cemeteries were sometimes used over a considerable timespan: so that while finds discovered in a single grave may be taken as associated within a single context, finds from different graves of a specific cemetery may not be contemporary. For that reason, it is often not possible to make secure and informed statements about the chronological position of the different varieties of the Early Cycladic folded-arm sculptures, beyond stating that they fall within the timespan of the Keros-Syros culture. It seems likely that their production ended by the time of the end of Phase B at Dhaskalio, around 2400 BC. No folded-arm sculptures have been found in the settlement at Dhaskalio, although finds in the Special Deposit North and the Special Deposit South at Kavos are numerous. But the stratigraphy in the different excavation trenches in the Special Deposit South does not allow a detailed chronological subdivision, while those from the looted Special Deposit North lack a secure context.

There is, however, one variety of the folded-arm sculpture which is almost entirely lacking in the Special Deposit South at Kavos: the Kapsala variety. This factor, and the associations of the Kapsala variety in the Aplomata cemetery on Naxos (Doulas & Lambrinouidakis 2017), lead to the possibility that the Kapsala variety may have gone out of use before systematic depositions began in the Special Deposit South at the inception of Dhaskalio Phase A, around 2750 BC. This would be significant for the understanding of the development of the folded-arm form.

For the other varieties of the folded-arm figure, it is at present not possible to find well-documented contextual associations which fix their chronological position to any hypothetical phases within the timespan of the Keros-Syros culture. That is why the attempt by Thimme (1976) and Getz-Gentle (2001, 38–40) to recognize an Early Spedos variety and a Late Spedos

variety does not seem well based, and why the terms ‘Pre-Canonical’ and ‘Post-Canonical’ should be viewed with suspicion. So while the position of the Kapsala variety as early in the Keros-Syros culture finds some support, the chronological position of the other varieties found in the Cyclades within the Keros-Syros culture (Spedos, Dokathismata and Chalandriani) is not well documented stratigraphically. While the typological distinction of the different varieties of the folded-arm sculpture does seem clear, as indeed for the sub-varieties (following the lead offered by Getz-Gentle), it must be admitted that their chronological classification cannot yet be well documented on stratigraphic grounds. The evolutionary sequence illustrated in Figure 1.2 must at present be regarded as hypothetical, if perhaps plausible.

This observation applies directly to what has been defined below as the Keros variety. This is a somewhat residual category which cannot be documented on stratigraphic grounds as earlier or later among the finds from the Special Deposit South, although the position of all its occurrences within the timespan of the Special Deposit South is secure.

The system of varieties and sub-varieties of the folded-arm sculptures

The system of classification used here for the sculptures of folded-arm type essentially follows that established in 1969 (Renfrew 1969). The definitional criteria for the major varieties recognized there—the Kapsala, Spedos, Dokathismata, Chalandriani and Koumasa varieties—are essentially unchanged and will be repeated below, although no examples of the Koumasa variety (see Stampolidis & Sotirakopoulou 2017) have been found at Kavos. (The Kea variety of 1969 is now regarded as a sub-variety of the Chalandriani variety.) In addition a new category of the folded-arm type, the Keros variety, will be introduced into the schema, as already anticipated by earlier writers who have written of Post-Canonical figurines.

The formalization of the classificatory schema attempted here is not undertaken as a taxonomic exercise regarded as of value in itself. However, it does seek to investigate the interesting circumstance that the Early Cycladic sculptures can indeed be separated into a number of well-defined categories. These must have an underlying explanation in terms of the production and use of these sculptures, and the ways in which they were appreciated and utilized by those who made and used them. Their detailed classification thus has an underlying purpose, which is to understand social and cognitive aspects of Early Cycladic society. This point is further discussed below.

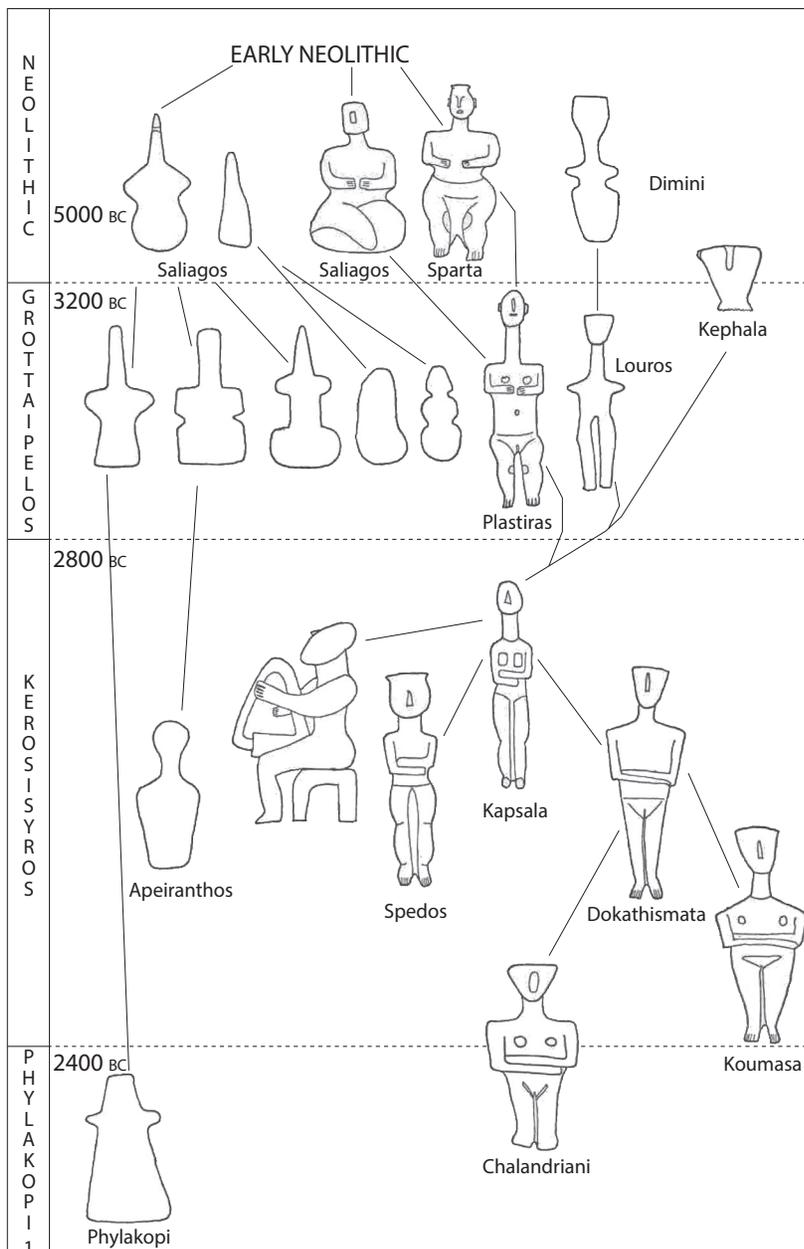


Figure 1.2. The hypothetical development of the Early Cycladic sculptures, showing the principal types and varieties.

The folded-arm type

For the sake of clarity it may be appropriate to repeat here the definition established in 1969 for the folded-arm figure:

There are several varieties of the folded-arm type, which are discussed below. But all these share certain features in common. The head is tilted upward and backward on a short neck, with only the nose indicated among the facial features. Ears and eyes are not normally shown. The figurines are generally female, always naked. The arms are folded at the waist, nearly always right below left. Above them the two breasts are lightly indicated. There is sometimes

a horizontal line at the waist, and the pubic triangle is often indicated by incision. The legs, always held together, are often slightly bent at the knees, and the feet (except in the Kapsala and Chalandriani varieties) are inclined so that the figure, if it was indeed imagined as upright, was standing on tiptoe. There is a marked lack of detail: often only fingers and toes are indicated by incisions, and details such as ankles, kneecaps, navel, ribs or hair are not shown. The back is extremely simple, with only an incised line for the backbone, and sometimes incisions behind the arms. All the figurines, including the several pregnant ones, are notably slim. In general the figurines are very graceful. (Renfrew 1969, 9–10)

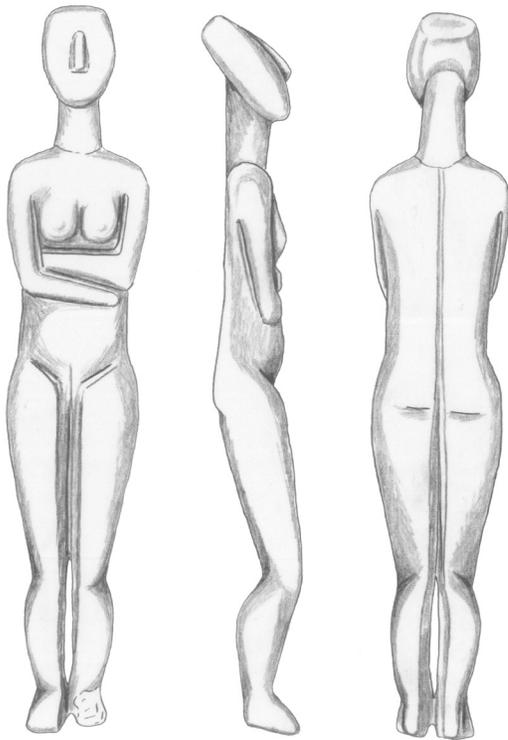


Figure 1.3. *The Kapsala variety.* (NM5461, from *Aplomata, Naxos, grave 13; after Doumas & Lambrinouidakis 2017, fig. 15.11*). Height 210 mm.

It should be added that recent work (Hendrix 2003; Hoffman 2002) has shown that many of the sculptures originally had painted decoration, which is preserved only in favourable cases today.

The Kapsala variety

The Kapsala variety of the folded-arm figure (Fig. 1.3) is not significantly represented in the Special Deposit South on Kavos. However, as the apparent predecessor of the Spedos variety, it is certainly relevant. It was originally defined as follows:

This is a figurine which is fairly narrow across the shoulders and arms. All parts of the body show good round modelling so that in profile it is not so thin or flat as the Dokathismata and Chalandriani varieties, nor yet so stocky as the Spedos variety sometimes is.

The head is convex viewed from the front (the cheeks being somewhat rounded), and distinctly plump in profile. Often it is not flat at the crown, and it is usually well distinguished from the neck. The breasts are rather clearly shaped, often squarish, and are close to the arms. The torso is well rounded, and the shoulders are not angular, and only a little wider than the hips. The thighs do not bulge. The buttocks are sometimes rounded, in relief. The knees are pronouncedly flexed. The legs are often separated a little below the knee, and rounded. There are often some slight indication of the knees themselves. The

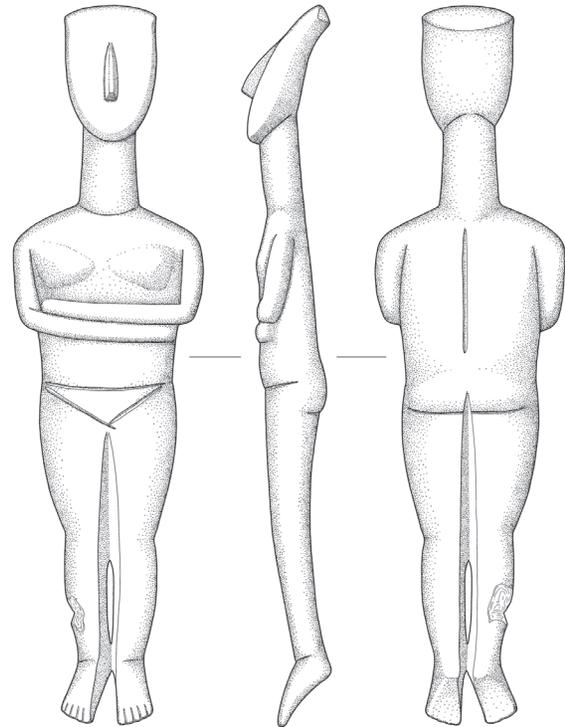


Figure 1.4. *The Spedos variety.* (NM6904, from *Aplomata, Naxos, grave 27; after Doumas & Lambrinouidakis 2017, fig. 15.26*). Height 304 mm.

feet are neat, lightly arched, often very flat on the ground, unlike the tiptoe position of the other figurines. There are generally few incisions on the body, and consequently little emphasis on the pubic area, since the overall effect is not a linear one, but achieved by sculpting in the round. (Renfrew 1969, 15)

In Chapter 2, below, it will be observed that no clear and undoubted examples of the Kapsala variety have been found in the Special Deposit South. Just two foot fragments (1304 and 25026) might be assigned to the Kapsala variety. It has seemed safer to place them instead as fragments 'of the Kapsala or Spedos variety'.

The Spedos variety

The Spedos variety of the folded arm figure (Fig. 1.4) is the most frequently found variety in the Special Deposit South. It was originally defined as follows:

This is the commonest variety of the FAF, and probably some further subdivision of the very numerous examples would be possible. Finds are especially frequent in Naxos. The figurines appear thick and well built in profile, and there is much sculpting in the round.

The head, seen in profile, is fairly thick, with a vertical surface at the crown. Seen from the front it is sometimes lyre-shaped, broadening markedly at the crown. The face is a convex surface, and the chin is rounded.

There is considerable variation in the body, which may be rather straight, although more often flexed at the knees. The waist is usually clearly modeled, being narrower than the thighs, and terminates with an incised line at the lower edge. It certainly does not disappear, as it does in the Chalandriani variety. The shoulders are of varying width, although not so wide as in the Chalandriani and Dokathismata varieties, and are sometimes rounded. The upper leg (knee to pelvis) is modeled separately from the calf (ankle to knee), so that the knees are shown by modelling rather than by incision. The arms too are generally modeled rather than simply incised or cut. Incisions are not numerous, and often the pubic triangle is not marked at all. (Renfrew 1969, 20)

The sculptures of the Spedos variety form the largest group among the fragments recovered from the Special Deposit South, and it would certainly be desirable to make further taxonomic divisions among these. At the present time it seems feasible to make only one such sub-division within the Spedos variety, and that is to recognize a few examples of the form which was first classified by Getz-Preziosi (1987, 99–108 and 159–61) as the work of the ‘Goulandris Master’ or ‘Goulandris Sculptor’ (Getz-Gentle 2001, 84–97 and 161–6): the pieces so recognized are here given the nomenclature ‘Kavos sub-variety’, since Kavos is the findspot where they have best been documented (Sotirakopoulou 2017 *et al.*). The Kavos sub-variety is more fully defined and discussed below. The use of the copper or bronze saw is frequently seen in the Spedos variety, notably to produce the cleft between the legs. It is much less usual in the Dokathismata variety (except with the Akrotiri sub-variety), and rare in the Chalandriani variety. In the interesting experiments by Oustinoff (1984) and by Papadatos & Venieris (2017) they have not found it necessary to posit the use of a copper or bronze saw, but the sculptures which they have produced do not show the sharply cut cleft between the legs sometimes found in the Spedos variety, where the use of a saw seems likely.

Further taxonomic divisions within the Spedos variety may well prove possible, using the criteria for authenticity defined above (see also Renfrew 2017a). For instance, there is considerable variety in the treatment of the pubic area, which is sometimes indicated by incisions (as in a figure from Tomb 10 at Spedos: Papathanasopoulos 1962, pl. 46a) and sometimes indicated only by modelling, as in a find (NM1919) from grave 21 at Aghioi Anargyroi in Naxos (Doumas 2017b, fig. 17.5). At present the other sub-varieties or ‘Masters’ proposed by Getz-Preziosi in 1987 within the Spedos variety (i.e. the Copenhagen, Fitzwilliam, Steiner, Naxos Museum and Bastis Masters) are not included in the classification proposed here since

none is yet documented by at least two examples from a secure and published archaeological context, or from a published find securely documented prior to 1914, although the so-called ‘Bastis Sculptor’ is further discussed in Chapter 2. The same observation holds for the additional sub-varieties or ‘Sculptors’ within the Spedos variety proposed by Getz-Gentle in 2001 (namely the Bent, Karo, Karlsruhe/Woodner and Rodgers Sculptors). She also refers to a ‘Cohen Sculptor’ (Getz-Gentle 2001, 47–9, 70) and a ‘Strangford Sculptor’ (Getz-Gentle 2001, 49, pls. 38, 39), but no checklists for these sculptors have yet been published.

In her careful discussion of the Spedos variety, Getz-Gentle (2001, 38–49, pls. 26–40) distinguishes between an Early Spedos variety style A, an Early Spedos variety style B and a Late Spedos variety, illustrating 15 sculptures (which she does not assign to a specific named Sculptor). While the observations made are informative, there do not seem at present to be any secure grounds on the basis of contextual associations of excavated sculptures which would allow a division of sculptures of the Spedos variety into an ‘Early’ and a ‘Late’ phase. Getz-Gentle’s observation seems to be based upon a purely typological assessment. For that reason, although the suggestion is perfectly plausible, it will not be followed here. On the other hand, her definition of the ‘Goulandris Master’ is indeed the basis for the description of the Kavos sub-variety which now follows.

The Kavos sub-variety of the Spedos variety:

In defining the Kavos sub-variety (Fig. 1.5) the appropriate starting point is the description first offered by Getz-Preziosi for the ‘Goulandris Master’ in 1976 and 1977 (Getz-Preziosi 1976, 86–9; 1977a, 84–6). It was later further developed (Getz-Preziosi 1987, 102) and its basic criteria were later used in the publication of the excavated pieces from the Special Deposit North at Kavos which have recently been described (Sotirakopoulou *et al.* 2017). Reference can also be made to significantly early finds (Fig. 2.3) including a sculpture in the British Museum (BM 84.12–13.6: Pryce 1928, 22, A 10, a piece donated by Bent in 1884) and one in Athens (EAM5390: Getz-Gentle 2001, pl. 73, a1), a piece first documented in 1901. In addition, the important recent publication of a piece donated to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris by François Lenormant in 1859 (Caubet *et al.* 2013, 69, 72) makes a significant addition to the pieces which can be documented as extant prior to 1914 (Fig. 1.5).

The works are sturdy in appearance, exhibiting soft, subtle contours, punctuated at regular intervals by neatly incised, parallel lines marking the horizontal divisions of the neckline, abdomen, knees, and

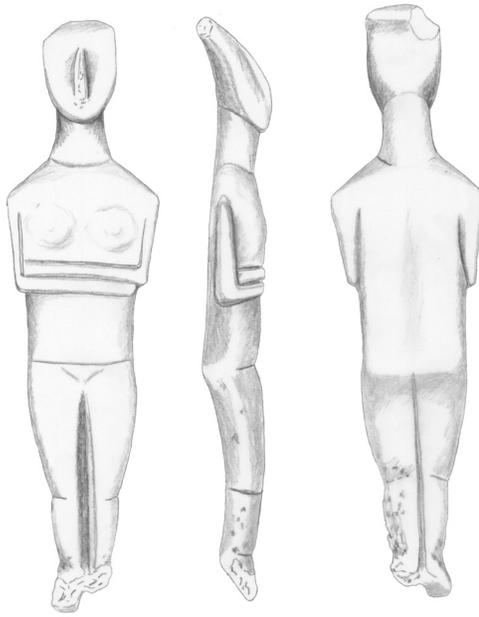


Figure 1.5. *The Kavos sub-variety.* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Reg 57 no. 22: acquired 1859). Height 390 mm.

ankles. The head is of the classic lyre shape with a shallow chin and a prominent long semiconical nose often extending rather low on the face. The arms are narrow, the small breasts spaced wide apart. The abdominal area is defined by a broad line which forms the top of a small pubic triangle. The knee and ankle grooves continue around the figure, interrupted only by the leg-cleft. This is treated as a deep imperforated groove.

While the torso is conceived as a relatively flat surface in front, the back normally has a distinct curvature that is unusual. Whether intended or not, this rounding of the back imbues the figures with a strong tactile appeal while at the same time rendering them somewhat unstable when placed on a flat surface ... The sculptor normally elected not to incise the spine, a feature found on most Late Spedos variety figures ... The Goulandris Master consistently used the four-part, compass-drawn plan in laying out his works, although on some examples he failed, at least on the finished sculpture, to make the third division coincide with the knees ... The Goulandris Master also employed the harmonic system to determine important angles on the outline and surface and perhaps as a compositional aid as well. He was quite consistent in choosing the same angle for the same features. (Getz-Preziosi 1987, 102–3).

Further descriptive details with useful drawings (Getz-Gentle 2001, 84–93) offer additional documentation, and her checklist (Getz-Gentle 2001, 161–5) records 76 examples, although only some four or five meet the criteria of authenticity used here. That does not imply

that others on the list are not authentic pieces, but it underlines the difficulty of establishing this.

The list of works of the Kavos sub-variety fulfilling the criteria for inclusion used here (see Sotirakopoulou *et al.* 2017) is:

1. Kavos, Special Deposit North, NM2375, from the excavations of Doumas in 1963 (excavation number 63.52) (Sotirakopoulou *et al.* 2017, fig. 23.16). Torso. Height 90 mm.
2. Kavos, Special Deposit North, NM4193, from the excavations of Zapheiroupolou in 1967 (Sotirakopoulou *et al.* 2017, fig. 23.17). Torso. Height 113 mm.
3. British Museum 84.12–13.6 ‘From Amorgos’. Donated by J.T. Bent (Fitton 1989, 65, fig. 82; Pryce 1928, 10, A 22). Torso. Height 163 mm.
4. National Museum, EAM5390 ‘from Naxos’ (Getz-Gentle 200z pl. 73, a1). Torso. Height 150 mm. Confiscated in Naxos together with three others (EAM5387, EAM5388 and EAM5389) and sent to the National Museum with document 3248 of the Ministry, dated 26 April 1901.
5. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris Reg. 57, no. 22 Donated in 1859 by François Lenormant (Caubet *et al.* 2013, 72, pl. 1). Complete. Height 390 mm.

Perhaps also:

6. Aplomata Grave 23, Naxos. NM5800 (Kontoleon 1972, pl. 136a). Complete. Height 352 mm. (It has not been possible to locate this piece in the Naxos Museum).

To these can now be added three fragments, **1989** (Fig. 3.2), **7000** (Fig. 3.3) and **1153** (Fig. 3.4), with the catalogue published here in Chapter 3 (see Fig. 2.3), although the problem of recognizing sub-varieties from fragmentary examples should be noted.

The Dokathismata variety

The Dokathismata variety (Fig. 1.6) is well represented in the Special Deposit South. It was originally defined as follows:

The most long, thin, angular and elegant figures are of the Dokathismata variety. All are thin, with rather sinuous line in profile, broad and often very angular at the shoulders. The surface of the figurines is flat, so that details, especially at the pubic triangle, are shown by incision.

The head is sometimes triangular, with cheeks straight, although the chin is usually rounded, not pointed. The head sometimes has a slight S-shaped edge in profile. The crown of the head is indicated by a smooth vertical plane, as in the Spedos variety. The head and neck are not clearly distinguished at the back.

The shoulders are wide and pointed, the breasts very flat. The arms across the waist sometimes show a gentle upward curve at the middle, and sometimes

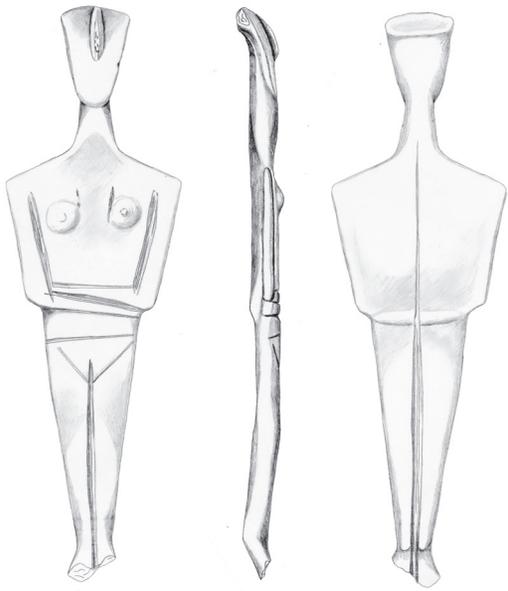


Figure 1.6. *The Dokathismata variety.* (EAM4722, from *Dokathismata*, Amorgos, grave 14). Height 205 mm.

the belly bulges a little in profile. The upper arm is distinguished from the torso by an incision, which sometimes cuts right through to separate the arm. But there is no rounding or modeling.

The waist is not usually narrower than the torso and the thighs, and the buttocks are indicated by a ridge at the rear, which appears in profile as a minuscule protrusion. The waistline is often not delineated by an incision, but the pubic triangle usually is. The leg above and below the knee is indicated by a continuous single line so that the knees are not shown by any relief. The legs are not flexed. The feet are on tiptoe, with flat, widening toes. (Renfrew 1969, 16)

The saw was not generally used in producing sculptures of the Dokathismata variety, except with the Akrotiri sub-variety, where it is sometimes used to produce the cleft between the legs.

The Akrotiri sub-variety of the Dokathismata variety: The Akrotiri sub-variety (Fig. 1.7) shares characteristics with some examples of the Spedos variety as well as of the Dokathismata variety. If the Dokathismata variety really is later than the Spedos variety, which has not yet been documented stratigraphically or in terms of associated finds from good contexts, it might well be regarded as a transitional form. For convenience it has here been listed among sculptures of the Dokathismata variety. Following the procedure preferred here (see Sotirakopoulou *et al.* 2017, 354) it is named after the first example of the form to be recognized from an authorized and published excavation, that at Akrotiri on Thera (Marinatos 1972, 23, pl. 38b).

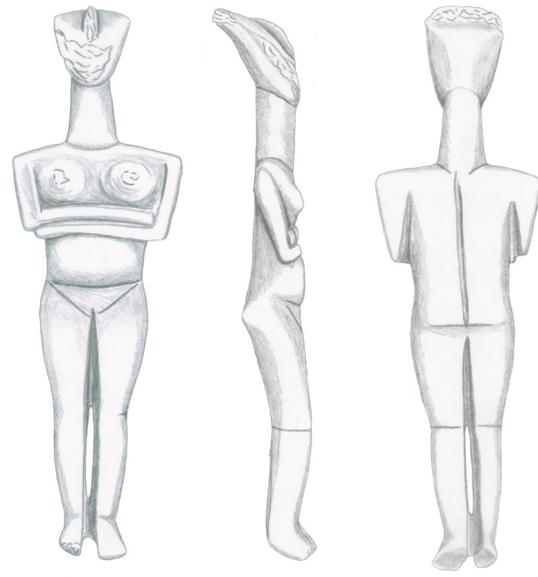


Figure 1.7. *The Akrotiri sub-variety of the Dokathismata variety* (AKR2684, from Akrotiri, Thera: see Sotirakopoulou 1998, pl. 25). Height 260 mm.

This name-piece has been published by Sotirakopoulou (1998, 141, no. 2684).

What is here termed the Akrotiri sub-variety was first identified by Getz-Preziosi (1984, 15) as the work of the ‘Schuster Master’, noting that these pieces ‘combine the graceful curves of the Spedos variety with the severe angles and often exaggerated shoulder breadth of the Dokathismata variety style’. She later wrote (Getz-Preziosi 1987, 116): ‘Especially noteworthy as hallmarks of the Schuster Master’s style when considered together are the head with broad, curving top and crescent-shaped ridge at the back ..., the long aquiline nose, a curving neckline in front, a V-shaped one at the rear, narrow arms, the forearms arching subtly to accent the swelling of the belly and modelled in relief on the larger works, a rather large deep pubic triangle, bisected at its apex by a continuation of the leg cleft, well-defined knees, and a deeply-grooved leg cleft that continues precisely as far as the buttock line, created by a change in planes’.

In her discussion of the Akrotiri find, now the name-piece, Sotirakopoulou (1998, 141, no. 2684) notes in detail its resemblances with the (unprovenanced) sculpture formerly in the Schuster Collection. Getz-Gentle in 2001 offered a further discussion of this sub-variety (Getz-Gentle 2001, 97–9 and 167–8) and gave a more complete checklist, which includes a piece from the Special Deposit North at Kavos (NM4186) which has now been illustrated (Sotirakopoulou *et al.* 2017, fig. 23.12).

Using the criteria adopted here the following pieces can be accepted as examples of the Akrotiri sub-variety (Fig. 2.9):

1. Akrotiri, Thera AKR2684 from the excavations of S. Marinatos (Marinatos 1972, 23, pl. 38b; Sotirakopoulou 1998, 140–42 and pl. 25). Complete. Height 360 mm.
2. Special Deposit North, Kavos, NM4186 (Sotirakopoulou *et al.* 2017, fig. 23.12). Torso. Preserved height 180 mm.
3. Special Deposit North, Kavos, NM4187 (Sotirakopoulou *et al.* 2013, fig. 23.13). Torso. Preserved height 156 mm.
4. British Museum 1854.12-18.23 (Fitton 1989, 50, fig. 59; Pryce 1928, 8, A 16). From head to upper legs. Preserved height 269 mm.

To these may now be added five fragments, **40008** (Fig. 3.106), **20522** (Fig. 3.106), **832** (Fig. 3.107), **25038** (Fig. 3.107) and **2115** (Fig. 3.107), although the difficulty of recognizing sub-varieties from fragmentary examples should be noted.

The Chalandriani variety

The Chalandriani variety (Fig. 1.8) is also well represented in the Special Deposit South. Several sculptures were found which are of forms which appear to be derived from or related to the Chalandriani variety. It seems appropriate to establish a separate category for these sculptures. Initially it was proposed to term this the ‘Chalandriani-related variety’, but the prominent occurrence of the site name Chalandriani in two variety names seemed inconvenient and inappropriate. The problem is simply one of nomenclature, and the term ‘Keros variety’ has been selected for this category. Its terminology is further discussed below.

The sculptures of the Chalandriani variety were first defined as follows:

In this variety the thorax is almost exactly square. The arms are strictly horizontal at the waist, the upper arms are vertical, and the shoulders form a right angle, and then run horizontally to the neck. The legs are often very short, giving a square effect also. The neck is long and cylindrical, and the head is simply a flat inclined triangle, set rather absurdly on the neck as if on a stalk. The nose is often a rough blob, rather than the neatly chiselled features of the Kapsala, Spedos and Dokathismata varieties.

The chest is very flat, with low breast. Usually there is no waist, since the pubic triangle is incised immediately below the arms. Seen from the front, the legs run straight from the arms to the feet, although there can be a slight prominence at the knees to offset that of the buttocks behind.

The legs are broad and slender, and the pubic triangle extends almost to the knees. The feet slope

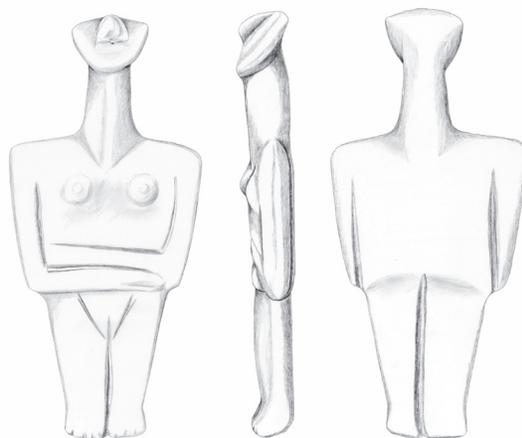


Figure 1.8. *The Chalandriani variety (EAM6164, from Syros). Height 156 mm.*

only slightly, or may be flat on the ground, while the toes are heavily indicated by incision. From the front the toes are markedly broader than the ankles. A special feature of these figurines is the sometimes anomalous position of the arms, with the left forearm set *below* the right. Indeed this left-below-right arm position is apparently restricted to figurines of the Chalandriani variety. (Renfrew 1969, 17)

That original definition goes on to describe the few figures where the left arm is raised, sometimes to run along a diagonal shoulder strap which runs from the right shoulder to the waist at the left. The male figurine from Syros in the National Museum which has a penis sheath is in this position (Zervos 1957, fig. 253). These, however, are not strictly of the folded-arm form, and these variants are included in the Keros variety below.

The Kea sub-variety of the Chalandriani variety:

The Kea sub-variety (Fig. 1.9) was originally regarded as a separate variety of the folded-arm figure (Renfrew 1969, 18) and described as follows: ‘A single arresting feature sets [this sub-variety] apart. This is the presence of horizontal rolls of flesh at the waist, extending to the pubic triangle. There may be three, four or five parallel rolls. It is possible that these indicate the condition of a mother immediately after birth’.

The principal pieces originally termed the ‘Kea variety’ were subsequently included by Getz-Preziosi (1985, pl. 48; 1987, 126–36 and pls. 48–50) among the works of her ‘Dresden Master’, a group which also includes pieces seemingly of the straightforward Chalandriani variety (EAM3916: Zervos 1957, 109, fig. 111: ‘from Ios’)—although none of those listed has a provenance—and also a very different figure now in Dresden (ZV 2595: ‘acquired before 1925’) with a baldric and dagger, which clearly could fall within

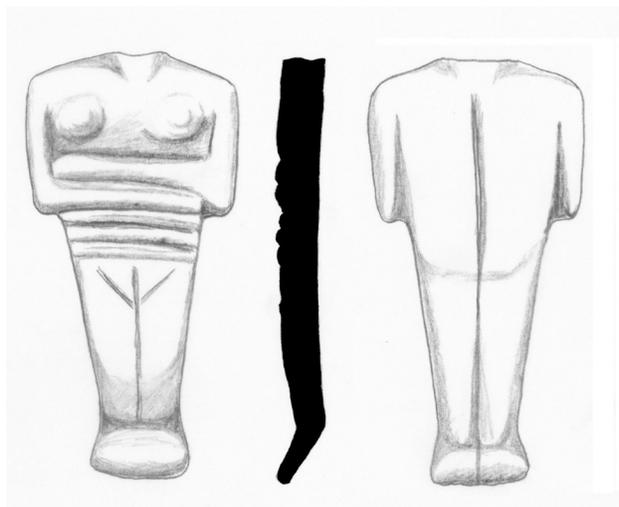


Figure 1.9. *The Kea sub-variety of the Chalandriani variety. (Chora Museum, Kea. CM383. After Wilson 2017, fig. 9.1). Height 121 mm.*

her category of ‘hunter-warrior’ figures (Getz-Preziosi 1979). It is not at all clear how the Dresden name piece in this group resembles its other supposed members, and it is not, strictly, a folded-arm sculpture. As indicated earlier, the notion of sub-variety is conceived as a narrowly defined taxonomic class (see Sokal & Sneath 1963) which does not allow major divergences in form. In view of these comments, the status as a potential sub-variety of the group classed by Getz-Preziosi (Getz-Gentle) as the works of the ‘Dresden Sculptor’ seems questionable. This is one of the few instances where the resemblances proposed by Getz-Preziosi are not, to the present author, convincing. Usually where there may be grounds for caution in following her attributions to a Master or Sculptor it is on the grounds of lack of provenance and of archaeological context and hence of uncertain authenticity. Exceptionally, in this case, the ‘name piece’ seems to have little resemblance with the other members of the eponymous class.

The form has recently been redefined as a sub-variety of the Chalandriani variety termed the Kea sub-variety. Its characteristics were summarized as follows:

Some features shared by the Kea sub-variety are as follows. First, as is usual with the Chalandriani variety, the torso is of square form, with the upper arms vertical and the lower arms horizontal across the abdomen. Seen from the front the outline of the body is very straight, with an uninterrupted straight line from below the elbow down to the feet, so that waist, buttocks, thighs and calves are scarcely indicated by modelling: the front and back surfaces are flat, although the arms are indeed indicated

with some modelling and the abdominal folds by grooves. The feet are not always preserved, but in number 2 here (Kea K.9.55) and the former Erlenmeyer piece (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 137) they have the flattish form of the Chalandriani variety. There is a groove for the spine which usually continues straight across the buttocks to indicate the division between the legs. The abdominal folds start immediately beneath the lower right arm, the lowest fold marking the top of the pubic triangle, which is shown by two oblique incised lines, which usually run up almost to the lower right arm. (Renfrew & Boyd 2017a, 391)

The pieces which it is proposed to include in the Kea sub-variety, as re-defined here, are as follows (see Fig. 2.10):

1. Kea, Aghia Irini, K.3.1; Chora Museum CM355 (published by Caskey 1971, 16, no. 8 and pl. 19, 8; see also Renfrew 1969, 18, IV.D.1 and pl. 8f; Hershenson & Overbeck 2017, fig. 29.7). Headless and lacking feet. Preserved height 94 mm.
2. Kea, Aghia Irini.K.9.55. Chora Museum CM383 (published by Caskey 1971, 16, no. 7 and pl. 19, 7; Wilson 2017, 95, SF226). Headless. Preserved height 121 mm.
3. Kavos Special Deposit South, **1155** (published in the catalogue in Chapter 3, Fig. 3.124). Torso and pelvis. Preserved height 89 mm.
4. Kavos Special Deposit South, **156** (published in the catalogue in Chapter 3, Fig. 3.124). Waist and pelvis. Preserved height 61 mm.

A related piece is British Museum A13. Published by Pryce (1928, 7, acquired 1874; see also Renfrew 1969, 18, IV.D.3). It is headless, preserved height 163 mm. However, the feet of this piece seem to relate more closely to the Dokathismata variety.

An unprovenanced piece from the Erlenmeyer Collection is now in the Goulandris Museum no. 137 (Erlenmeyer & Erlenmeyer 1965, 69, pl. 19, 6; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 168 no. 137). It is headless, preserved height 161 mm. Note that although this piece has been regarded as part of the so-called ‘Keros Hoard’ in view of its Erlenmeyer ‘provenance’, it does not figure in the key photograph of the ‘Keros Hoard’ taken when in the Erlenmeyer Collection (Getz-Preziosi 1976, 87 pl. 71; Sotirakopoulou 2005, 38, fig. 5). Its affiliation with the so-called ‘Keros Hoard’ is therefore not established. It does, however, resemble some of the pieces listed here, especially the second piece (Kea K.9.55). A further example, acquired by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris in 1937, has recently been published (Caubet *et al.* 2013, 73, pl. 3).

A further piece (Doumas 1968, Goulandris Museum 310), included in the original listing of the Kea ‘variety’ (Renfrew 1969, 18, IV.D2), is rather differ-

ent, closer to the Dokathismata than the Chalandriani variety. It is without known provenance. Unfortunately it is the only example among those listed here which preserves the head with the body.

The Special Deposit North sub-variety of the Chalandriani variety:

It may be appropriate to record here a further sub-variety which it is now possible to substantiate in view of its sanctioned and recorded recovery from Kavos, although from the Special Deposit North. The find in question (Renfrew 2007a, 23, fig. 2.8b) was recovered by Renfrew when, for the first time, visiting the site of Kavos on Keros on July 1963 (with a survey permit from the Ephor of Antiquities, Dr N. Zappeiropoulos). The location was the area now known as the Special Deposit North. The find is clearly a fragment of a sub-variety originally termed by Getz-Preziosi (1987, 123) the 'Stafford Master', and subsequently re-named (Getz-Gentle 2001, 104–8) the 'Louvre Sculptor'. Her checklist (Getz-Gentle 2001, 169–70) includes her new name piece, Louvre Ma3093 (Zervos 1957, pl. 158), and the aforementioned piece from Keros along with another from the same site. It is therefore possible to establish a short list of known examples without relying upon unprovenanced pieces which have recently appeared on the market. An appropriate name could be 'the Special Deposit North sub-variety' (since the site name of Kavos is already assigned to its eponymous sub-variety). Once again the recognition of this sub-variety is due to Getz-Gentle, although, for the reasons given above, the nomenclature has been changed.

The form is dominated by the lozenge-shaped torso, with each shoulder sloping down from the neck and making a right-angle turn at the shoulder at the top of the upper arm. The head is of flat, triangular form as usual in the Chalandriani variety with a pronounced nose which, in the Louvre piece, runs from the top of the head almost to the chin. There is a pronounced horizontal cranial plane. The body is thin and flat, with the breasts clearly indicated in relief. At the front the upper and lower arms are indicated by incisions. There is no waist, and the pubic triangle is indicated by an inclined incision at the left and right converging to the leg cleft which is indicated by a simple incision. The feet are flat on the ground with the front of the toes indicated by incision. At the back there is no incision for the spine, and the leg cleft is indicated by an incision which extends to the buttocks which are indicated by a low prominence. The lozenge-shaped torso clearly distinguishes these pieces from others of the Chalandriani variety, but in other details they conform with it.

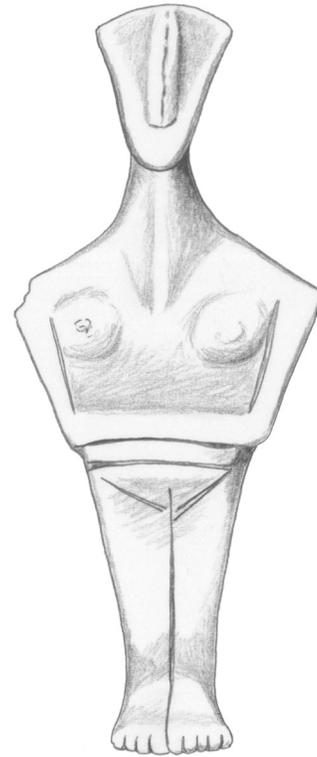


Figure 1.10. *The Special Deposit North sub-variety of the Chalandriani variety. (Musée du Louvre Ma3093). Height 275 mm.*

1. From Special Deposit North, Kavos, in Naxos Museum, NM3117 (Renfrew 2007a, 23 fig. 3.8b and 27 fig. 3,14). Torso. Preserved height 64 mm.
2. Unknown provenance. Louvre Ma3093, acquired 1913 (Zervos 1957, pl. 158). Complete. Height 275 mm. (Figure 1.10.)

No examples of this sub-variety have been recovered from the Special Deposit South.

The Keros variety

The sculptures designated as the 'Keros variety' of the folded-arm type constitute a somewhat varied group. They can all be regarded in a general sense as folded-arm sculptures. But, unlike those of the other varieties of the folded-arm sculpture (Kapsala, Spedos, Dokathismata and Koumasa), in many cases they diverge from the rather strict canon to which the others adhere: so it is not possible to offer an illustration which could be considered typical. In most cases they stand closer to the Chalandriani variety than to any of the others.

The term 'post-canonical' was introduced to the discussion of Early Cycladic sculpture by Jürgen Thimme (Thimme & Getz-Preziosi 1977, 416, figs. 184 and 487) to describe 'idols which are typologi-

cally late examples of the Chalandriani variety ... the departures from the norm appear degenerate and lead finally to quite primitive figures'. Many of the sculptures to which he refers fall within the Keros variety as here defined. It should be understood that there are no secure archaeological grounds for Thimme's chronological assessment, since hitherto no example in this category has come from a stratified context in a controlled excavation. The examples from the Special Deposit South listed in the catalogue in Chapter 3 are, however, from an officially permitted archaeological excavation. For that reason it has now seemed appropriate to use the terms 'Keros variety' here, since several sculptures of this class were recovered in the Special Deposit South and in the Special Deposit North on Keros. While some of these may have been produced later than the sculptures of the Dokathismata and Chalandriani varieties, it seems methodologically inappropriate to use for them a designation (such as 'Post-Canonical') which by its very terminology introduces chronological assumptions.

Among the characteristics of this variety are the departure from the strict folded-arm figurine canon, sometimes involving:

- (i) Irregular or carelessly executed treatment (e.g. **40002** composed of **7140**, **1446** and **1973**: Fig. 3.133);
- (ii) Incomplete treatment of anatomical detail, usually by incision rather than modelling;
- (iii) flat, thin, plank-like body (e.g. **40001**, **40002**: Figs. 3.136, 3.133);
- (iv) head sometimes deviating from the flat-faced triangular shape of the Chalandriani variety (e.g. **40002**, **7409**, **778**: Figs. 3.133, 3.134);
- (v) deviation from the right-below-left arm position of the canonical folded-arm figure, whether left-below-right, or other variants (e.g. **20518**: Fig. 3.135);
- (vi) the pubic triangle often notably exaggerated (e.g. **205021**, **2413**: Figs. 3.136, 3.137);
- (vii) the feet treated in a manner which departs from the canonical folded-arm varieties. Sometimes markedly splayed, or not separately indicated (e.g. **40002**, **2303**, **20103**: Figs. 3.133, 3.138).

Sculptures of special or action type

Just a few sculptural forms, although clearly related to the folded-arm sculptures, do not in fact represent a figure with folded arms. Among these are the celebrated harpist and flautist from Keros, now in the National Museum, and other comparable pieces. It is convenient to refer to such sculptures as 'of special or action type'. Such finds were very rare in the special

deposits. In addition to the flautist and harpist forms known from the complete examples from Keros in the National Museum in Athens (Zervos 1957, 248 fig. 333 and 223 fig. 302), the type of the seated figure proffering a cup, previously known only from the complete (but unprovenanced) example in the Goulandris Museum of Early Cycladic Art (Doumas 1968, 142 no. 286; Renfrew 1972, frontispiece), can now be validated by a find from a secure context. This is the piece, NM4846, from Aplomata in Naxos (Marangou 1990a, 104, no. 99; Zapheiroupolou 1968b, 98, fig.4). No example of this form has yet been found at Kavos.

The double standing figure is a form also documented at Aplomata (Doumas & Lambrinouidakis 2017, fig. 15.29), and in examples preserved only by the traces of pairs of feet on stands, seen in the Special Deposit North at Kavos (Marangou 1990a, 104, no. 99; Zapheiroupolou 1968b, 98, fig.4).

The sculptures showing figures with folded arms seated on a chair, for instance the rich series from Aplomata (Doumas & Lambrinouidakis 2017, figs. 15.18–15.21) are for convenience included here in the category 'special or action type'. No examples of this form have been recognized from the Special Deposit South.

The other sculptures

An interesting group of sculptures from the Special Deposit South is formed by those that appear related neither to the folded-arm sculptures nor to the schematic figurines described below. They are further discussed in Chapter 2.

The schematic sculptures

A further important category among the sculptures found in the Special Deposit South at Kavos, second in quantity only to the folded-arm sculptures, is the schematic figurines. Although there is quite a wide range of small schematic sculptures in the preceding Grotta-Pelos culture (of Early Cycladic I), those of the succeeding Keros-Syros culture, as seen at Kavos, are of a more restricted range.

The Apeiranthos variety

In general most of them fall within what has been termed the Apeiranthos variety (Fig. 1.11) of sculptures of schematic type (Renfrew 1969, 14): 'Their essential feature, distinguishing them from those of the Grotta-Pelos culture, is that they all have some indication of the head. Even when in outline the head is little more than a prong, both in section and in profile, it is asymmetrical in the same sort of way as the



Figure 1.11. The *Apeiranthos* variety (NM6222, from the Special Deposit North). Height 65 mm.

heads of the Louros figurines. Sometimes some facial features are actually shown. In addition, the waist is generally entirely absent. Usually these are not completely and uniformly flat: they are not *Brettidolen'*. Until recently relatively few were known from Early Cycladic settlements, the best documented examples coming from the cemetery of Chalandriani in Syros. The position has now changed with the publication of the schematic sculptures from Skarkos on Ios (Marthari 2017) and Dhaskalio near Keros (Volume I, chapter 24). At Skarkos 24 complete and 12 fragmentary schematic sculptures have been assigned to the *Apeiranthos* variety, subdivided into four more specific forms.

The Dhaskalio sub-variety:

At Dhaskalio, 10 figurines of the *Apeiranthos* variety were found. It was possible there to define a sub-variety, the Dhaskalio sub-variety (Fig. 1.12), into which nine of these ten *Apeiranthos* variety figurines fall. Several specific features characterize the sub-variety. The figurines are generally small, between 50 and 100 mm in length. The body, although roughly rectangular, is somewhat rounded at the corners and is not markedly thin (thickness 10–20 mm), nor strictly parallel sided. Considering the body only, below the shoulders, the ratio of length to width exceeds 1.5, and

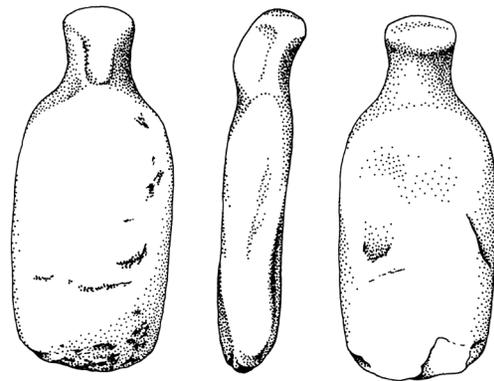


Figure 1.12. The *Dhaskalio* sub-variety of the *Apeiranthos* variety (5751 from Dhaskalio). Height 89 mm.

most examples are narrower than this. The most notable feature is the head, which is a narrow protrusion of the body, and narrowing to the front. This gives a prismatic shape when seen from above, the two planes of the face converging to produce a narrow ridge at the front, indicating the nose. Although the marble is very fine-grained, these figurines are smoothed rather than polished, and the lower part of the body seems rather roughly finished (Volume I, 484).

It is notable that at the settlement on Dhaskalio, no sculptures of the folded-arm type were found, and on Skarkos just two heads (of the Chalandriani variety) among the numerous schematic sculptures.

Most of the schematic sculptures from the Special Deposit South may be classed within the Dhaskalio sub-variety of the *Apeiranthos* variety. Several do not resemble closely the examples from the settlement at Dhaskalio, but can still be classed within the *Apeiranthos* variety, as documented, for instance, by finds from Naxos and Syros. In the case of five very fragmentary figurines of schematic type, no assignment to variety is possible. In general, however, the figurines of schematic type from the Special Deposit South do fall within the range of schematic figurines of the Keros-Syros culture as already known from other sites.

