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Material and Intellectual Consequences of Esteem for Cycladic Figures

DAVID W.J. GILL AND CHRISTOPHER CHIPPINDALE

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to document the consequences, material and intellectual, of a recent rising regard for Cycladic figures as objects of the connoisseur's zeal. It explores the nature of the known corpus, which is composed of figures that have either come to light through archaeological excavation or by "surfacing" on the art market. The growing esteem for Cycladic figures has had certain material consequences for their study: archaeological contexts have been destroyed, the means of developing a reliable chronological sequence have been lost, regional variations in figure types have become blurred, and finally, the opportunity to understand the function of the figures has been missed. The intellectual consequences of the loss of archaeological information lead to a distortion in the perceptions of Cycladic prehistory and society. Attempts to identify the hands of "masters" of sculptures appear to be misplaced: the underlying "canon" of Cycladic sculpture can be shown to be little more than a creation of chance.

For the connoisseur, the value of a Cycladic figure largely resides in the object itself. For the archaeologist,

the information immanent in the object provides elements of a larger story, the rest of which resides in a knowledge of context. The material consequences of the connoisseur's esteem, as we have been able to document them, are calamitous to the archaeological interest. The previously fruitful three-way marriage of connoisseur, market-maker, and scholar is now coming under strain as the interests and motives of the three partners have become distinct.*

INTRODUCTION: CONNOISSEURSHIP, ARCHAEOLOGY, AND CYCLADIC FIGURES

An interest in ancient things has been, and is, directed by two modern concerns. Connoisseurship we define as esteem for, and appreciation of, beautiful artifacts, especially those that seem to fall into the domain of the fine and decorative arts. Archaeology we define as the study of past societies by means of

* We thank the editors of *AJA* and Cyprian Broodbank, Brian Cook, Jack Davis, Rick Elia, Lesley Fitton, Pat Getz-Preziosi, Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer, A.C. Renfrew, Andrew Sherratt, Jeffrey Spier, Lauren Talalay, Michael Vickers, Susan Walker, Peter Warren, and Todd Whitelaw for comments, criticism, and information. We are also grateful to Arthur Shelley for drawing the figures. A first version of this paper was presented by Gill at the Lawrence seminar "On Museums and Collecting," at the Faculty of Classics, University of Cambridge, May 1991; a second at the Mycenaean Seminar, University College, London, in November 1992.

The following abbreviations are used:

ACC	J. Thimme ed., <i>Art and Culture of the Cyclades: Handbook of an Ancient Civilisation</i> (Karlsruhe 1977).
Barber	R.L.N. Barber, <i>The Cyclades in the Bronze Age</i> (London 1987).
Bent	J.T. Bent, "Researches among the Cyclades," <i>JHS</i> 5 (1884) 42–59.
Berenson	B. Berenson, "Rudiments of Connoisseurship (a Fragment)," first published in <i>The Study and Criticism of Italian Art</i> , second series (London 1902) 111–48.
Broodbank	C. Broodbank, "The Spirit Is Willing," <i>Antiquity</i> 66 (1992) 542–46.

Doumas	C. Doumas, <i>L'art des Cyclades dans la Collection N.P. Goulandris: Marbre, céramique et métal à l'Age du Bronze ancien</i> (Paris 1984).
ECANAC	P. Getz-Preziosi, <i>Early Cycladic Art in North American Collections</i> (Richmond 1987).
Elia	R. Elia, "A Seductive and Troubling Work," <i>Archaeology</i> (Jan./Feb. 1993) 64–69.
Fitton 1984	J.L. Fitton ed., <i>Cycladica: Studies in Memory of N.P. Goulandris. Proceedings of the Seventh British Museum Classical Colloquium, June 1983</i> (London 1984).
Fitton 1989	J.L. Fitton, <i>Cycladic Art</i> (London 1989).
FLOM	Script of <i>For Love or Money</i> , Wall to Wall TV, broadcast on 12 January, Channel 4, and 13 January 1993 on S4C.
Getz-Preziosi 1980	P. Getz-Preziosi, "The Male Figure in Early Cycladic Sculpture," <i>MMAJ</i> 15 (1980) 5–33.
Getz-Preziosi 1983	P. Getz-Preziosi, "The 'Keros Hoard': Introduction to an Early Cycladic Enigma," in D. Metzler, B. Otto, and C. Müller-Wirth eds., <i>Antidoron</i> (Karlsruhe 1983) 37–44.

their surviving material remains. The two concerns overlap when it comes to those material remains of past societies that are regarded as beautiful.

In the field of Classical studies, connoisseurship has the longer history, going back to the regard for Hellenic arts that was the motive for Roman collection, removal, and copying of Greek decorative arts. For the most part the two concerns have gone harmoniously together in the hybrid discipline of Classical art history (so often effectively equated with Classical archaeology), which has been central to Classical learning over the last centuries. But they are distinct studies, and their distinct concerns and priorities have distinct consequences. Many elements of Classical archaeology have no part in connoisseurship—the rubble masonry, fragmentary coarse ceramics, and animal bones that make up the bulk of surviving material remains from Classical antiquity. Equally, elements of connoisseurship provide no information about ancient societies: the aesthetic regard held since the Renaissance for the surface qualities of bare white marble is a recent pleasure, quite separate from the ancient appearance of Hellenic statues that were actually decorated in bright polychrome paint.

The carved marble figures from the Cycladic archipelago are instructive about the differing concerns of connoisseurship and archaeology. The figures were not part of the Greek canon that provided an ideal through the Roman period, the Renaissance, and into the 19th century.¹ They first came to light when the Hellenic ideal still dominated the Western aesthetic of sculpture, with the result that they were dismissed as unlovely curiosities. Within a few decades, however, the course of Western art chanced to take a path toward aesthetic forms that mimicked elements in the Cycladic figures. Accordingly, the 20th century, and especially the years since 1945, have seen the Cycladic figures, while remaining an important aspect of prehistoric archaeology in the Greek archipelago, move decisively into the connoisseur's domain. Cycladic archaeological research in those decades has been notable for aspects of excavation² and field-survey of a considered thoroughness,³ in studying the special place of the Cycladic sequence in the larger development of Aegean cultures,⁴ and in concern for the maritime aspect of the archipelago and its settlement.⁵ The connoisseurship of Cycladic figures has seen grand exhibitions with large catalogues,⁶ a collecting

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| Getz-Preziosi
1984
<i>Glories</i> | P. Getz-Preziosi, "Le 'Maître de Goulandris'," in Dumas 45–47. |
| Marangou | D. von Bothmer ed., <i>Glories of the Past: Ancient Art from the Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection</i> (New York 1990). |
| Pryce | L. Marangou, <i>Cycladic Culture: Naxos in the 3rd Millennium B.C.</i> (Athens 1990). |
| Renfrew 1969 | F.N. Pryce, <i>Catalogue of the Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum I.1: Prehellenic and Early Greek</i> (London 1928). |
| Renfrew 1985 | C. Renfrew, "The Development and Chronology of the Early Cycladic Figurines," <i>AJA</i> 73 (1969) 1–32. |
| Renfrew 1986 | C. Renfrew, "The Goulandris Museum of Cycladic and Greek Art," <i>AR</i> 32 (1985–1986) 134–41. |
| Renfrew 1991 | C. Renfrew, "A New Cycladic Sculpture," <i>Antiquity</i> 60 (1986) 132–34. |
| Sachini | C. Renfrew, <i>The Cycladic Spirit: Masterpieces from the Nicholas P. Goulandris Collection</i> (London 1991). |
| SC | A. Sachini, <i>Prehistoric Cycladic Figures and Their Influence on Early Twentieth-Century Sculpture</i> (M.Litt. thesis, Univ. of Edinburgh 1984). |
| | P. Getz-Preziosi, <i>Sculptors of the Cyclades: Individual and Tradition in the Third Millennium B.C.</i> (Ann Arbor 1987). |

¹ F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500–1900* (New Haven 1981).

² For a summary of work, see C. Dumas, "An Historical Survey of Early Cycladic Research," in *ACC* 185–91; G. Rougemont ed., *Les Cyclades: Matériaux pour une étude de géographie historique* (Paris 1983); J.L. Davis, "Perspectives on the Prehistoric Cyclades," in *ECANAC* 4–45; J.L. Davis, "Review of Aegean Prehistory I: The Islands of the Aegean," *AJA* 96 (1992) 699–756.

³ There are two major published studies: C. Renfrew and M. Wagstaff eds., *An Island Polity: The Archaeology of Exploitation on Melos* (Cambridge 1982) (however, see R.W.V. Catling's review, *CR* 34 [1984] 98–103); and J.F. Cherry, J.L. Davis, and E. Mantzourani, *Landscape Archaeology as Long-Term History: Northern Keos in the Cycladic Islands* (Los Angeles 1991).

⁴ C. Renfrew, *The Emergence of Civilisation: The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium B.C.* (London 1972).

⁵ C. Broodbank, "The Longboat and Society in the Cyclades in the Keros-Syros Culture," *AJA* 93 (1989) 319–37.

⁶ "Kunst und Kultur der Kykladeninseln" (Karlsruhe: Badisches Landesmuseum, 1976); catalogue in German, J. Thimme ed., *Kunst und Kultur der Kykladeninseln*; in English, *ACC* (P. Getz-Preziosi trans.). "Mer Égée: Grèce des îles" (Paris: Louvre, 1979)/"Greek Art of the Aegean Islands" (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979); catalogue, in French, *Mer Égée: Grèce des îles*; in English, *Greek Art of the Aegean Islands* (New York 1979). "Cycladic Art: Ancient Sculpture and Pottery from the N.P. Goulandris Collection" (London: British Museum, 1983)/"L'art des Cyclades dans

boom, a substantial commercial market in figures,⁷ a spirit of competition among museums anxious to possess this new type of masterpiece,⁸ a new manner of regarding the objects on the model of Renaissance art,⁹ and a new museum in Athens devoted to Cycladic figures.¹⁰ Indeed, collections of ancient sculpture, whether in private residences or in museums, are no longer thought to be intellectually and historically complete if they lack Cycladic figures.¹¹ Cycladic figures are beginning to acquire names, like "Cycladic Statue of a Reclining Woman,"¹² to fit their standing as modern masterpieces.

The same period, especially the decade of the 1960s, saw illicit looting of cemeteries and other places on the islands where figures and other fine artifacts may be found.¹³ In this, Cycladic archaeology has suffered in the manner of other areas in the Classical world, notoriously the tombs of Etruscan Italy; in turn it is a prototype for what is now inflicted on, among many instances across the world, sites yielding terracotta figures in Mali, West Africa.¹⁴

For these reasons, the prehistoric figures of the Cyclades offer a case study in the material and intellectual consequences of aesthetic esteem for a particular class of antiquities. For many classes of Classical antiquities, whether sculpture, painted pottery, or

bronze castings, the aesthetic interest has long run alongside the archaeological; for coarseware and farm implements, the interest still remains archaeological alone. The Cycladic case is unusual in that a long-standing archaeological concern has recently been joined by a new respect for its aesthetics, which has moved it decisively from an archaeological backwater into the aesthetic mainstream.¹⁵ This accident of history allows the two traditions, so often melded in Classical archaeology, to show some of their distinctions. Part of the story is the renewed cult of the collector as celebrity and of the museum as spectacle, as much concerned with show business as with scholarship.¹⁶

Some of what is set out here is well known. We excuse the necessary length of the paper because we think the whole picture, or as much as a long paper will hold, amounts to very much more than the obvious pattern of the few fragments that are common knowledge. We have occasionally gone beyond the narrow Cycladic story when it is relevant to some more general issue; to keep the discussion in bounds, we have generally taken examples or quotations for those larger issues from a small number of representative sources. One of these ethical issues concerns the view that museums take of looted antiquities, an important

la Collection N.P. Goulandris" (Paris: Grand Palais, 1984); catalogue in English, C. Doumas, *Cycladic Art: Ancient Sculpture and Pottery from the N.P. Goulandris Collection* (London 1983); in French, Doumas, "Early Cycladic Art in North American Collections" (Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts; Fort Worth: Kimbell Art Museum; San Francisco: California Palace of the Legion of Honor, 1988); catalogue, ECANAC.

⁷ E.g., Sotheby's sale, *Antiquities from the Erlennmeyer Collection*, 9 July and 13–14 December 1990. See also Ariadne Galleries, Inc., New York, *Idols: The Beginning of Abstract Form*, 30 November 1989–31 January 1990; Galerie Nefer, Zurich, *Nefer 7* (1989); André Emmerich Gallery, New York, *Classical Art from a New York Collection: An Exhibition of Ancient Bronzes, Figurative Plastic Vases and Other Ancient Works of Art Organized in Cooperation with Münzen und Medaillen AG*, Basel, 27 September–16 November 1977; Robin Symes, London, *Ancient Art*, June 1971; Galerie Heidi Vollmoeller, Zurich, *Art of the Cyclades in the Third Millennium B.C.*, 22 April–1 May 1989 (with introduction by J. Thimme); Sotheby's sale, *Cycladic, Minoan, Mycenaean, Greek, Etruscan, Roman, Middle Eastern and Egyptian Antiquities: The Property of the Thétis Foundation and Other Owners*, 23 May 1991.

⁸ See, e.g., E. Petrasch (Director of the Badisches Landesmuseum), "On the Exhibition," in *ACC* 9: "As a result of its recent accession program the Badisches Landesmuseum, with more than forty idols and vases, now has a Cycladic collection which is the largest and most important in conti-

mental Europe after that of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. In addition the museum also owns twenty Early Bronze Age idols from Anatolia."

⁹ SC. See below, pp. 639–41.

¹⁰ The Goulandris Museum of Cycladic and Ancient Greek Art: see Doumas; Renfrew 1985; Renfrew 1991.

¹¹ E.g., M.B. Comstock and C.C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone: The Greek, Roman and Etruscan Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston 1976) xiii: "In the past eight years the emphasis has been on acquiring much-needed early Greek (Bronze Age) sculpture, notably a very large 'standing' and a relatively small, seated Cycladic idol."

¹² The name now given to a statue composed of two fitting portions, one in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, and one in the J. Paul Getty Museum. See B.A. MacAdam's magazine article on the matching, "If the Head Fits, Wear It," *Art News* 91 (January 1992) 13.

¹³ C. Doumas, "The Discovery of Early Cycladic Civilization," in Renfrew 1991, 28.

¹⁴ C. Chippindale, "Editorial," *Antiquity* 65 (1991) 6–8.

¹⁵ Over the same period, the archaeological study of the Cycladic islands has moved them from a backwater further into the mainstream of archaeological interest (Davis 1992 [supra n. 2] 699).

¹⁶ R. Hughes, "Art and Money," first published in the *New York Review of Books* 31.19 (6 Dec. 1984) 20–27, reprinted in *Nothing If Not Critical: Selected Essays on Art and Artists* (London 1990).

issue for the Archaeological Institute of America and the wider profession.¹⁷ Most museums no longer pretend they can ignore the history of objects they wish to acquire or display on loan. While some museums persist in exhibiting antiquities of unknown, and therefore dubious, recent history,¹⁸ others have publicly distanced themselves from the looting.¹⁹ This paper begins with the *material consequences*, the issue museums recognize, and goes on to the *intellectual consequences*, which raise many equivalent questions that the academic community is reluctant to notice.

Many of the recent publications on Cycladica, and the new regard for its aesthetics, are due to a small number of scholars who have specialized in the subject, especially Getz-Preziosi, Renfrew, and Thimme. Our paper therefore depends on, and makes frequent reference to, their work. Each of them, like other scholars with Cycladic expertise, has made their own decision about whether or not to participate in advising, assessing, or valuing for the market, their attitude toward Cycladic figures of uncertain history, and their relation to private, public, and quasi-public collections of Cycladic artifacts, of varied history. The strains of balancing these several and difficult ethical and practical interests are evident in Renfrew's recent *Cycladic Spirit*.²⁰ One of us, Chippindale, has no experience himself of working in a field infested by looted and smuggled objects; and neither of us wishes to preach. We are fond of these objects ourselves, and part of that fondness is in our finding them strange and alien; but we do think that our response, founded in our

individual selves and for the larger part in the aesthetics of our present society, has little to do with the meaning of Cycladic figures in their own age.

THE MATERIAL, INTELLECTUAL, AND MARKET DISCOVERY OF CYCLADIC FIGURES²¹

Cycladic figures have no part in the common canon of ancient treasures²² in the era of the grand tour, although reference to them can be found at an early date. Italian travelers refer to *idoli* and *idoletti* in 1771;²³ an early scholarly reference to a Cycladic figure dates to 1818, a figure discovered by the Earl of Aberdeen in a grave near Athens.²⁴ Two were part of the collection, formed in Greece, of the sixth Viscount Strangford (1783–1855), ambassador there,²⁵ and one was left to the British Museum in 1840.²⁶

Prominent in the earliest Cycladic material to find its way to European collections are the figures that came to light a little over a century ago, excavated by James Theodore Bent during his travels in the Cyclades, 1883–1884,²⁷ and subsequently acquired by the British Museum. The Museum built up its collection of Cycladic material in the later part of the 19th century;²⁸ some purchases have been made subsequently.²⁹ The university museums of Cambridge (Fitzwilliam Museum) and Oxford (Ashmolean Museum) seem to have derived their Cycladic collections in part through the good offices of members of the British School at Athens. The Fitzwilliam acquired its first Cycladic figures through R.C. Bosanquet in 1901 and its last in 1934.³⁰ The Ashmolean started its col-

¹⁷ See esp. K.D. Vitelli, "The International Traffic in Antiquities: Archaeological Ethics and the Archaeologist's Responsibility," in E.L. Green ed., *Ethics and Values in Archaeology* (New York 1984) 143–55.

¹⁸ E.g., the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: *Wealth of the Ancient World* (infra n. 126); and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: *Crossroads of Asia*.

¹⁹ See the extremely helpful statement by the Emory University Museum of Art and Archaeology in Atlanta: M.L. Anderson, in M.L. Anderson and L. Nitsa, *Roman Portraits in Context: Imperial and Private Likenesses from the Museo Nazionale Romano* (Rome 1988) 7.

²⁰ Renfrew 1991. See Broodbank and Elia for reviews that identify contradictions in its several purposes. See also C. Renfrew, "Collectors are the Real Looters," *Archaeology* (May/June 1993) 16–17, and response by R. Elia on p. 17. We share much of Broodbank's and Elia's apprehension.

²¹ Sachini 68–84.

²² Getz-Preziosi, SC ix, notes occasional finds of Cycladic figures in ancient contexts very much later than the era of their making: a torso from a grave at Argos some 2,000 years later and a head in a Hellenistic watchtower on Siphnos. No influence from such finds on the later sculpture of

ancient Greece has been proposed.

²³ Marangou 136.

²⁴ SC ix.

²⁵ British Museum cat. nos. A15 and A33. See Pryce 8, 12. Pryce (p. 5) regarded F. Thiersch, *Über Paros und parischen Inschriften* of 1834 as the start of the relevant literature.

²⁶ Pryce 10: British Museum cat. no. A24. From Syros 1809, bequeathed by Thomas Burgon.

²⁷ Fitton 1989, 5–6.

²⁸ British Museum early acquisitions, years and registration numbers: 1840, one figure (A24); 1854, five figures (A12, A13, A16, A20, A29); 1863, three figures (A15, A17, A33); 1875, two figures (A14, A25); 1882, one figure (A18); 1884, 13 figures (A5, A6, A8, A9, A10, A21, A22, A23, A26, A28, A30, A31, A34); 1886, one figure (A11); 1889, one figure (A7); 1890, one figure (A27); 1904, one figure (A32); 1912, one figure (A19).

²⁹ British Museum later acquisitions, years and registration numbers, include: 1932, one figure (1932.10-18.1); 1969, one figure (1969.10-1); 1971, one figure (1971.5-21.1).

³⁰ Fitzwilliam Museum, years and registration numbers: 1901, three figures (GR.33b.1901, 33, 33a); 1902, one figure

lection in the later 19th century; a few items have been added in more recent years.³¹ The picture is somewhat similar elsewhere in Europe. The Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Dresden had Cycladic figures by 1841,³² and the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe by the early 19th century; Karlsruhe followed with a burst of acquisitions from the 1960s, when the Cycladic figures had gained their new and higher status.³³

First perceptions of Cycladic figures were hostile to their aesthetics, which is why the intellectual context of these first acquisitions was more archaeological than artistic. The Karlsruhe catalogue is introduced with early opinions such as "small monsters made of bits of marble," "ugly," and "barbarian."³⁴ Greek and ancient, they came by degrees also to be "art," making their entry into studies of ancient Greek sculpture in 1892³⁵ and of ancient Greek art in 1894,³⁶ at first generally qualified by the word primitive;³⁷ one finds the word "primitive" again in the British Museum catalogue of 1928, which places Cycladic figures along with some from Anatolia and one from Cyprus into a class of "primitive idols."³⁸ Important to the growing appreciation of the artistic value of the figures were the opportunities for some great European sculptors of the 20th century to see and be inspired by them. Modern artists' discovery of the Cycladic figurines dates to, and is part of, a general turning to non-Western art as inspiration for artists of the new cen-

tury. Jacob Epstein discovered early Greek works and Cycladic sculpture displayed in the Louvre in 1902–1905.³⁹ The work of Constantin Brancusi so evokes the Cycladic in its simplicity of form and restriction of detail that Epstein and others believed Brancusi to have been inspired by the Cycladic figures that he could have seen in Paris.⁴⁰ Henry Moore acknowledged affinities of his work to the Cycladic figures he saw in the British Museum from 1920,⁴¹ later writing of their force among the many ancient things he valued in the British Museum collections.⁴² Moore owned three Cycladic figures himself.⁴³ Picasso owned one and reputedly said of it, "Better than Brancusi. Nobody has ever made an object stripped that bare."⁴⁴ Barbara Hepworth's work is seen to echo the Cycladic, directly or via the Cycladic look of Moore's,⁴⁵ and Alberto Giacometti acknowledged affinities between his own work and Cycladic art.⁴⁶

In due time these young sculptors became the mature masters of the modern movement, and with esteem for their work came esteem for the primitive and prehistoric figures that the modern masters echoed or followed. It is immaterial whether Cycladic sculpture influenced the moderns consciously or unconsciously, or whether the coincidence of forms is a mere happenstance; it suffices that the Cycladic figures fall within the same aesthetic frame. Accordingly, they are treated as belonging together, and those modern collections interested in non-Western ana-

(GR.53.1902); 1924, one figure (GR.17.1924); 1933, six figures (GR.8c.1933, 8a, 8b, 8d, 8e, 8f); 1934, one figure (GR.4.1934). Further details in R. Arnott and D.W.J. Gill, *Cycladica in Cambridge* (in preparation).

³¹ Ashmolean Museum, years and registration numbers: 1889, one figure (AE150=1889.115); 1890, one figure (1890.134); 1892, one figure (AE149=1892.112); 1893, six figures (AE152=1893.73, AE154=1893.47, AE155=1893.48, AE156=1893.50, AE169=1893.72, AE170=1893.241); 1895, two figures (AE148=1895.166, AE167); 1896, one figure (AE168=1896.9); 1898, four figures (AE174, AE176, AE177, AE178); 1900, four figures (AE415, AE416, AE417, AE418); 1929, two figures (1929.27, 1929.28); 1946, six figures (1946.114, 1946.115, 1946.117, 1946.118, 1946.119, 1946.120); 1966, one figure (1966.642); exact date of acquisition unrecorded, four figures (AE387/AE456, AE175, AE151, AE147). Some of the figures acquired in 1946 had previously been on loan to the Fitzwilliam Museum.

³² By 1841 (43/445, 43/446, 43/447); by 1925 (ZV 1988, ZV 1989, ZV 1990, ZV 1991, ZV 2595).

³³ Registration numbers 1838/1840 (B863, B864); 1860 (B839, B840); 1963 (63/67); 1964 (64/100); 1965 (65/48); 1970 (70/519, 70/550); 1971 (71/30); 1975 (75/2, 75/49); 1982 (82/6).

³⁴ Petrasch (supra n. 8) 9. Fitton 1989, 5 cites more of these remarks: "'Rude', 'grotesque', 'barbaric', even 'repulsively ugly'."

³⁵ M. Collignon, *Histoire de la sculpture grecque* I (Paris 1892) 18–20.

³⁶ G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art grec dans l'antiquité* VI (Paris 1894) 735–69. In English, the same year: *History of Art in Primitive Greece* (London 1894) 175–206.

³⁷ Sachini 78–80.

³⁸ Pryce 1.

³⁹ J. Epstein, *Let There Be Sculpture: An Autobiography* (rev. ed., London 1955).

⁴⁰ Epstein (supra n. 39) 223. See Sachini 85–96.

⁴¹ Sachini 97–110.

⁴² H. Moore and D. Finn, *Henry Moore at the British Museum* (London 1981).

⁴³ H. Moore, letter of 17 December 1982; quoted in Sachini 97.

⁴⁴ A. Malraux, *Picasso's Mask* (New York 1976) 136; quoted by Getz-Preziosi in SC ix.

⁴⁵ Sachini 111–22.

⁴⁶ A. Giacometti, interview with D. Sylvester (1974), in *Giacometti: Sculptures, Paintings, Drawings: An Arts Council Exhibition* (London 1981).

logues to contemporary sculpture like the Sainsbury Collection at the University of East Anglia, Norwich, give Cycladic art special attention.⁴⁷ Cycladic art has come to find a natural home in collections primarily of modern or tribal art. When the collecting of modernist sculptures in North America began after the Second World War, the collecting of Cycladica followed, well after the time when the main British collections had been formed.⁴⁸ A great many figures surfaced in the 1960s;⁴⁹ as Getz-Preziosi has remarked,⁵⁰ this was in part due to the publication in 1957 of C. Zervos's study of Cycladic art.⁵¹

There are two views of this coincidence between ancient Cycladic and early 20th-century aesthetics. Either it is largely coincidence, the modernist search for pure forms underlying surface complexity happening to arrive at geometries to represent the human form similar to those reached in Cycladic art, or it expresses controlling universals in aesthetics and a unity of human spirit. With Renfrew, we favor the former view, which is why we are puzzled that he invokes a mystical Cycladic spirit in terms drawn from the latter.⁵²

Table 6 (*infra* p. 616) documents the dates when some major museums acquired Cycladic figures. The British collections, established early, contrast most with those in the United States, which echo the boom of the last three decades in private American collections.

In addition to the archaeological collections in Greek public museums, mention must be made of the Goulandris Collection.⁵³ This important collection, after special exhibitions in Japan, the United States, and Europe,⁵⁴ has been installed in a fine new building in Athens. It has served the purpose, important for the Greek authorities, of keeping Cycladic figures in Greece, though it is composed of objects that have lost their archaeological context. During the period of intense looting in the 1960s, Christos Doumas explains, "individuals were encouraged to collect Cy-

cladic objects and so prevent them from being taken out of Greece. Thus several private collections obtained figurines and vases: the most notable of these is the Goulandris Collection which was begun at this time and subsequently enlarged to the point where it has become the largest and finest private collection of Early Cycladic art in the world."⁵⁵

The Goulandris, with official encouragement, has kept Cycladic figures in Greece, specifically in the mainland capital of Greece—not in the Cyclades. They have been removed to the controlling center of the modern nation-state, where they help extend the modern national self-esteem and identity. When photographed against the intense color of the Aegean Sea,⁵⁶ the Cycladic figures make a physical prehistory for the blue-and-white colors of the modern national flag. If one chooses to question those identities, one may doubt if Athens, Greece, really is a more natural resting-place for a Cycladic figure than Athens, Georgia.

The role of the Goulandris Collection, in gathering together "orphaned" figures, may provide an effective floor for the market, if the market-makers believe that the Goulandris is always alert to acquire Cycladica at some agreed fair price. In so doing, the Goulandris mission may inadvertently support the market and encourage the flow of new finds into the marketplace. Ricardo Elia, reviewing *The Cycladic Spirit*,⁵⁷ says: "Renfrew asks the reader to think of the formation of the Goulandris Collection as 'rescuing' Cycladic figures from the international art market: more likely, looters plundered Cycladic graves with the specific intention of selling their booty to the Goulandris."

Permission was refused by the Greek authorities for a few important Cycladic objects to travel from "a private collection in Athens"⁵⁸ to the 1976 Karlsruhe exhibition, despite "years of petitioning." This, the exhibition organizers' "one severe disappointment," prevented these items, held legitimately within Greece, from being put on display in Germany along-

⁴⁷ The Sainsbury Collection has 10 Cycladic figures, acquired between 1955 and 1977: UEA346, UEA348, UEA358, UEA352, UEA340, UEA339, UEA341, UEA668, UEA350, UEA342; also a marble ring with spouted bowl, two carved marble vessels, and a ceramic vessel. J. Thimme, in R. Sainsbury ed., *Robert and Lisa Sainsbury Collection: Exhibition for the Opening of the Centre, April 1978* (Norwich 1978) 252–59.

⁴⁸ For the first American collections, from a fragment donated to the Fogg Museum in Cambridge, Mass., see *ECANAC* 82–84.

⁴⁹ In the catalogue of *ECANAC*, just over 80% of the

figures came to light in that decade or after.

⁵⁰ *ECANAC* 84.

⁵¹ C. Zervos, *L'art des Cyclades au début à la fin de l'Age du Bronze, 2500–1100 avant notre ère* (Paris 1957).

⁵² Renfrew 1991.

⁵³ Doumas.

⁵⁴ D. Goulandris, "Préface," in Doumas 7.

⁵⁵ Doumas in *ACC* 188.

⁵⁶ E.g., on the cover of Renfrew 1991.

⁵⁷ Elia 67.

⁵⁸ One might suppose this would refer to the Goulandris Collection.

side so many items whose export from Greece is not documented.⁵⁹

More recently, the Goulandris Collection has been a vehicle for the recovery for Greece of figurines that had left the country and then came on the open market overseas. After court action before the Sotheby's sale of the Erlenmeyer Collection in July 1990, three items were withdrawn from the auction, and purchased by the Greek government;⁶⁰ they are now in the Goulandris Collection.⁶¹ Sotheby's went to great lengths to reassure collectors and dealers that no pieces on offer would be further pursued by the Greek government; responding to market concern, a Sotheby's spokeswoman said, "As the Cycladic pieces were actually sold to the [Greek] government there is nothing to be nervous about." We have noted above the role of quasi-official purchases by the Goulandris as supporting the market; these three pieces were bought, according to Sotheby's, "at prices that reflected their market value."⁶² Others were purchased for the Goulandris from those that remained in the subsequent July auction, and from another Sotheby's sale of Cycladic items from the Erlenmeyer Collection in December 1990.⁶³

Discovery by the public and private market of Cycladic figurines has matched the rise in other interests, as the trade has widened the old aesthetic range to include non-Western visual arts, ancient and recent, as well as other "collectibles," like classic cars, not previously thought of as art objects. Cycladic figures have not yet passed through public sales in sufficient numbers and for sufficient years for it to be possible

to construct a reliable index of their rising values over the years, as in Reitlinger's *Economics of Taste*,⁶⁴ but their rising status over the decades is plain enough. One of many evident signs that the most expensive Cycladic figures have now reached a major art league is the treatment given to the star item in the Erlenmeyer sale, lot 137 at Sotheby's, 9 July 1990, "a Cycladic marble fragmentary male figure, Early Bronze Age II, said to be from Amorgos, Spedos Variety, circa 2600–2400 B.C." No estimate is printed in the catalogue, an indication that a serious sum was expected, but "estimate on request"; the estimate given, when one of us requested, was £250,000–300,000, this although the piece is fragmentary and its security of provenance, "said to be Amorgos," was further weakened by the catalogue comment that "it is quite possible that it was actually recovered on Keros."⁶⁵

The first stage of the aesthetic discovery of Cycladic art, then, was to recognize its high place in the primitive world of "the other": Cycladic art from the Sainsbury Collection was shown at the Museum of Primitive Art, New York, in 1963.⁶⁶ A second stage is perceptible now, as Cycladic begins to fall also within the domain of the Classical, if one goes beyond an old and narrow definition. In its first years' purchases after its founder's endowment became available about 1981, the J. Paul Getty Museum enlarged its Classical holdings within the conventional Graeco-Roman range collected by J. Paul Getty himself; recently it turned toward earlier Greece, to the Archaic, with a controversial purchase of a kouros of unexplained history,⁶⁷ and to the Cycladic with the 1988 purchase

⁵⁹ Petrasch (supra n. 8) 10.

⁶⁰ K. Butcher and D. Gill, "Mischievous Pastime or Historical Science?" *Antiquity* 64 (1990) 946–50, and contemporary newspaper reports.

⁶¹ One figure, one marble vessel, and one ceramic "frying-pan." Sotheby's, *Antiquities from the Erlenmeyer Collection*, 9 July 1990, lot 137 = Renfrew 1991, pl. 97 (Coll. 969); lot 112 = Renfrew, pl. 42 (Coll. 970); lot 101 = Renfrew, pl. 30 (Coll. 971).

⁶² D. Alberge, "Bidders Reassured by Sotheby's," *Independent* (10 July 1990).

⁶³ Personal communication.

⁶⁴ G. Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste*, studying the longer term from 1750 in vol. 2 (*The Rise and Fall of Objects d'Art Prices since 1750*, London 1963) and the decade of the 1960s in vol. 3 (*The Art Market in the 1960s*, London 1970), records what Reitlinger briskly calls the "fall of the patched-up Graeco-Roman statues, the essentials of every great country house, and the highest prizes of the auction rooms of the late 18th and early 19th centuries" (vol. 2:243–47), but stops short of the era when Cycladic art was taken

note of. His comment is a reminder that the rise of Cycladic art is taking place against the background of a long decline in Classical values extending now over many decades. The Ashmolean Museum archive records a price of 10 drachmas in 1907 (for 1946.117), of 30(?) drachmas in 1907 (for 1946.118), and of 35 drachmas in 1908 (for 1946.115).

⁶⁵ *Antiquities from the Erlenmeyer Collection*, Sotheby's, 9 July 1990, lot 137, pp. 106–11. Catalogue comment "written in consultation with P. Getz-Preziosi." This was one of the items that was withdrawn from the sale and sold privately to the Greek government "at prices that reflected their market value" (*Independent*, 10 July 1990).

⁶⁶ Exhibition catalogue, Museum of Primitive Art, New York, *The Robert and Lisa Sainsbury Collection* (New York 1963).

⁶⁷ Intended to be published in detail, but then identified as a forgery. For earlier reports see M. True, "A Kouros at the Getty Museum," *BurlMag* 129 (1987) 3–11; J. Spier, "Blinded with Science: The Abuse of Science in the Detection of False Antiquities," *BurlMag* 132 (1990) 623–31.

of five figures from the Steiner Collection.⁶⁸ Its director, John Walsh, remarked in 1990 of one of these: "There is a wonderful Cycladic figure of a harpist, now part of a distinguished group of prehistoric Aegean objects of the sort that did not interest Mr Getty at all."⁶⁹ Shelby White and Leon Levy began their celebrated New York collection by purchasing Classical art; then their curiosity led them to wonder about the antiquities that came before and that followed ancient Greece, and led them to acquire Cycladic and Neolithic objects from Greece.⁷⁰ At the same time, the new esteem makes the Goulandris Museum, devoted to Cycladic art alone, a treasure as fine as any other in Athens. It is said that the presence of works of a single "sculptor" such as Getz-Preziosi's "Goulandris Master" in the "great" museums of the world necessarily implies the figures are themselves great.⁷¹ As Cycladic figures now possess such virtue that they deserve fine museums, so it follows that the presence of Cycladic figures makes a museum fine. And as the presence of a Cycladic Master's work in a great museum validates the standing of both the Master and the museum, so may the association of a dealer with a museum validate by its purchases the dealer's standing and judgment.

These motives and interests for the rise of Cycladica concern the aesthetics of the figures. A separate convenience arises from their size. Typically, Cycladic figures are only about the length of one's forearm, or rather less. In the heyday of collecting, the acquisition of fine antiquities went with the building of grand houses, or even whole landscapes to fit the Classical manner. Now that houses are smaller, and the wealthy live more often in city apartments, finding house-room for works of art encourages the private collector to prefer the smaller object, old or new. The same pressures even affect the museums, increasingly feeling the cost per cubic meter of their galleries and fearing they will run out of space. But smaller objects, often delightful, and more practical to manage, lose by their smallness; they are less sublime, less able to

impress with bulk and grandeur. Here, the Cycladic figures provide an admirable way forward. They are physically small, just the right size to stand on a Manhattan mantelpiece,⁷² yet they contrive also to be monumental in manner; well lit to make the best impression, as in the fine photographs, they look very much larger than they actually are. Where a Rothko requires a wall five meters square, and a Moore demands a floor reinforced to bear a couple of tons, the Cycladic figure is domestic in its needs. A finer view of Cycladic figures is part of the present privileging of the pretty portable object.

THE KNOWN CORPUS AND ITS PROVENANCE

Getz-Preziosi estimates the total corpus of known Cycladic figures as 1,600.⁷³ This corpus of figures has come to light, and then to public notice, in various ways: by casual finds; by legitimate archaeological investigation; or by "surfacing" in collections.

Casual Finds

Archaeologists, on systematic survey, or walking at known sites, have occasionally come across figures, or figure fragments, as surface finds. A "stray find" from Trypiti on Melos is reported by Zaphiropoulou.⁷⁴ In 1963, Colin Renfrew collected four fragments⁷⁵ from the surface of the site at Dhaskalio in Keros. For centuries, farmers must have turned up stray figures; in 1884, Bent reported of Arkesine on Amorgos that "ancient tools, vases, and statuettes are turned over every time [the old farmer who owns the place] ploughs."⁷⁶ A very few of these older finds may have been conveyed into the corpus.⁷⁷

Archaeological Investigation

We have attempted to gather together, as table 1, a list of Cycladic figures from archaeological excavations, or other findspots of reliable security. It has proved difficult. Many figures are published or referred to in ways that leave their recent history obscure.

⁶⁸ "Cycladic Sculptures amongst Getty Museum Acquisitions," *Minerva* (June 1990) 46, following *GettyMusJ* 17 (1989).

⁶⁹ J. Walsh, "The Getty Experience," in R.G.W. Anderson ed., *A New Museum for Scotland: Papers Presented at a Symposium Held at the Royal Museum of Scotland on 16 October 1990* (Edinburgh 1990) 30.

⁷⁰ S. White and L. Levy, "Introduction," in *Glories* ix.

⁷¹ Getz-Preziosi 1984, 48. The museums are in Basel, London, New York, Bloomington, Ind., and Des Moines, Iowa.

⁷² Getz-Preziosi, *ECANAC* 82, reports the greatest concentration is to be found, "as one would expect," in New

York City.

⁷³ See below, p. 624.

⁷⁴ F. Zaphiropoulou, "Αρχαιοτήτες και μνημεία Σάμου και Κυκλάδων," *ArchDelt* 22B' (1967) 464–67; cited by Renfrew and Wagstaff (supra n. 3) 223.

⁷⁵ Now in the Naxos Museum.

⁷⁶ Bent 43. Most of the material from Arkesine is likely to have been of later date, Geometric to Roman, though there is some Early Cycladic.

⁷⁷ Bent's own acquisitions, conveyed into the British Museum collections, seem to have been excavated rather than surface finds.

Table 1. Some Cycladic Figures from Legitimate Archaeological Excavations

Provenance	Number of Figures	Provenance	Number of Figures
Graves		Graves	
<i>Excavations by Bent</i> ⁷⁸		<i>Excavations by Tsountas</i>	
Amorgos	3	Amorgos (Dokathismata) ⁸⁵	3, deriving from 2 out of about 20 graves
Antiparos	6, deriving from 40 graves	<i>Excavations by Xanthoudides</i>	
Paros	3	Crete (Koumasa) ⁸⁶	1, from communal grave
Carpathos, Pegadia	1	<i>Excavations on Euboea</i>	
<i>Excavations by Tsountas</i> ⁷⁹		Euboea (Makrochorafo) ⁸⁷	2, from 1 of 75 tombs
Paros (Pyrgos, Glypha);		Domestic/sanctuary sites	
Antiparos (Krassades);		<i>Excavations by Caskey</i> ⁸⁸	
Despotiko (Leivadia)	48, deriving from 12 of 233 graves	Keos (Ayia Irini)	43
<i>Excavations by Doumas</i> ⁸⁰		<i>Excavations by British School at Athens</i> ⁸⁹	
Paros; Naxos (Akrotiri)	12, deriving from 6 of 31 graves	Melos (Phylakopi)	11
<i>Excavations by Stephanos</i> ⁸¹		Paros (Koukounaries) ⁹⁰	fragments of 2, head of another
Naxos (Aphendika, Phyrroges, Karvounolakoi)	3, deriving from 3 of 352 graves	The Keros site, nature unknown	
Naxos (Spedos)	8, deriving from 5 of 25 graves	<i>Excavations by Doumas</i> ⁹¹	
<i>Excavations by Kontoleon/Lambrinoudakis</i> ⁸²		Keros	"dozens," or "hundreds," of fragments
Naxos (Aplomata)	40, deriving from more than 27 graves	<i>Excavations by Zappeiropoulou</i> ⁹²	
<i>Excavations by Tsountas</i>		Keros	1, and a wealth of fragments
Amorgos (Kapsala) ⁸³	11, deriving from 1 of 11 graves	Context uncertain	
Syros (Chalandriani) ⁸⁴	6, deriving from more than 600 graves	Amorgos ⁹³	6 in the museum collection, not precisely provenanced
		Ios ⁹⁴	4 at the British School at Athens, collected in 1837

Collated from information in SC 27–30; Renfrew 1969; and elsewhere.

⁷⁸ Bent. Figures now in the British Museum.

⁷⁹ C. Tsountas, "Κυκλαδικά Ι," *ArchEph* 1898, cols. 156–65.

⁸⁰ C. Doumas, *Early Bronze Age Burial Habits in the Cyclades* (SIMA 48, Göteborg 1977) 73–130.

⁸¹ G.A. Papathanasopoulos, "Κυκλαδικά Νάξου," *Arch-Delt*, *Meletai* 17 (1961–1962) 104–29, 138–44, 148–49.

⁸² N.M. Kontoleon, "Ανασκαφή Νάξου," *Prakt* 1970, 146–55; Kontoleon, "Ανασκαφή Νάξου," *Ergon* 1972, 88–100.

⁸³ Tsountas (supra n. 79) cols. 152–53.

⁸⁴ C. Tsountas, "Κυκλαδικά ΙΙ," *ArchEph* 1899, cols. 77–115.

⁸⁵ Tsountas (supra n. 79) cols. 154–55.

⁸⁶ S.A. Xanthoudides, *Vaulted Tombs of the Mesara* (London 1924) 21–24, pls. 7 and 21.

⁸⁷ P.G. Calligas, "Euboea and the Cyclades," in Fitton 1984, 92. See also the figures from Manika: E. Sakellarakis, "Nouvelles figurines cycladiques et petite glyptique du bronze ancien d'Eubée," *AntK* 34 (1991) 3–12; A. Sampson,

Μάνικα ΙΙ: Ο πρωτοελλαδικός οικισμός και το νεκροταφείο (Athens 1988) 70–71. More than 10 have been reported (Davis 1992 [supra n. 2] 718).

⁸⁸ J.L. Caskey, "Marble Figurines from Ayia Irini in Keos," *Hesperia* 40 (1971) 113–26; "Addenda to the Marble Figurines from Ayia Irini," *Hesperia* 43 (1974) 77–79.

⁸⁹ T.D. Atkinson et al., *Excavations at Phylakopi on Melos* (London 1904) 194–95.

⁹⁰ H.W. Catling, "Archaeology: Greece, 1983–4," *AR* 30 (1983–1984) 53; H.W. Catling, "Archaeology in Greece, 1984–5," *AR* 31 (1984–1985) 52.

⁹¹ C. Doumas, "Αρχαιότητες και μνημεία Κυκλάδων 1963," *ArchDelt*, *Chronika* 19 (1964) 409; Doumas, in Fitton 1984, 74.

⁹² F. Zappeiropoulou, "Cycladic Finds from Keros," *AAA* 1 (1968) 97, fig. 1.

⁹³ L. Marangou, "Evidence for the Early Cycladic Period on Amorgos," in Fitton 1984, 101–102.

⁹⁴ R.G. Arnott, "Early Cycladic Objects from Ios Formerly in the Finlay Collection," *BSA* 85 (1990) 1–14.

Legitimate archaeological excavation of the Cycladic cemeteries has provided many examples of figures, beginning with Bent's work at two cemeteries on Antiparos in 1883–1884.⁹⁵ Excavations on the islands of Paros, Antiparos, Despotiko, Naxos, Amorgos, and Syros have recovered approximately 143 examples from among the grave goods in more than 1,600 graves. One figure of the Cycladic type has been found on Crete in a communal tomb at Koumasa.⁹⁶ Figures are not, however, confined to graves. Some 43 examples were found at Ayia Irini on the island of Keos,⁹⁷ a probable thigh from a figure at Mikre Vigla on Naxos,⁹⁸ and several at Phylakopi on Melos, in domestic or quasi-domestic contexts.⁹⁹ One of the largest concentrations was found on Keros where “dozens” of fragmentary folded-arm figures were found by Doumas and Zapheiroulou, with four further fragments and one complete figure found at later dates;¹⁰⁰ this has been seen as either a cemetery or a sanctuary deposit.¹⁰¹ Doumas reported “hundreds of fragments of figurines” from this site, a number that would cause an upward revision of present notions about the size of the Cycladic corpus.¹⁰² The ground at the site is littered with human bone, as well as figure fragments; whatever the site amounts to, it was in part funerary.

“Surfacing”

In addition to the excavated material, the corpus of known figurines has been swollen by the numerous examples that have “surfaced” in the art market during, mostly, recent decades. By “surfaced,” we refer to the first appearance as a work of art of an object whose finding or excavation in the field has never been reported. These objects, which appear in an exhibition or sale without history, previous publication, or other account, we take to have surfaced there for the first time. There are essentially three sources for this: the illicit excavation of archaeological sites; the modern creation of objects; and the reemergence

of figures from the obscurity of “old collections” where they had been forgotten.

Illicit Excavation

Since the end of the 19th century it has been recognized that archaeological sites were being looted to provide figures for museums and collectors. Bosanquet reported in 1897 that “still more necessary [than museum study] is the systematic excavation of cemeteries, a branch of research which Greek archaeologists have too often left to peasants in the pay of dealers.”¹⁰³

Occasionally, illicit finds end up in museums when confiscated by the authorities,¹⁰⁴ such as two figures from Naxos (Phionta).¹⁰⁵ The rest go into that pool of unprovenanced and uncertainly provenanced Cycladic figures in which the private and public collectors fish.

Christos Doumas vividly remembers the looting craze: “They were everywhere. On moonlight nights they were digging everywhere, and so I was running behind to rescue what I could. There must be hundreds of cemeteries from the late 1950s, early 1960s onwards and some of them, they have been totally ruined. We don’t know any existing cemetery that has not been touched.”¹⁰⁶

These illicit excavations continue to dog Cycladic studies. In 1987 Paul N. Perrot, Director of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, noted in his foreword to the exhibition catalogue *Early Cycladic Art in North American Collections* that the qualities of Cycladic sculpture “have caused decades of clandestine looting, abuses that make it so difficult today not only to trace the evolution of the producing society but also to gain any understanding of the relationships among the various forms that have been preserved.” Getz-Preziosi, writing the same year, identified the new popularity as the specific cause of the new destruction: “to meet the strong demand, unauthorized excavation of Cycladic sites has flourished uncontrollably and,

⁹⁵ Bent 42–59. The pieces are listed in Pryce: nos. A22, A28, A34 (from Amorgos), A5, A6, A8, A9, A21, A30 (from 40 graves on Antiparos), A10, A23, A26 (from Paros), and A11 (from Karpathos, Pegadia). We do not know the formal standing of Bent’s excavations, which we think of as legitimate by the standards of their time.

⁹⁶ Herakleion Museum no. 122. Renfrew 1969, 1–32, pl. 4c. SC 158, pls. 26–27, no. 3. It is unclear whether the several finds of figures of Cycladic forms on Crete are to be regarded as imports, or whether figures were also made on Crete.

⁹⁷ Supra n. 88.

⁹⁸ R.L.N. Barber and O. Hadjianastasiou, “Mikre Vigla: A Bronze Age Settlement on Naxos,” *BSA* 84 (1989) 136,

no. 613.

⁹⁹ Renfrew and Wagstaff (supra n. 3). R.C. Bosanquet and F.B. Welch, “Minor Antiquities of Metal, Bone, Ivory and Stone,” in Atkinson (supra n. 89) 194–95.

¹⁰⁰ Renfrew 1969, 13.

¹⁰¹ ACC 588; Renfrew 1969, 13; Getz-Preziosi 1983.

¹⁰² C. Doumas and P. Getz-Preziosi, discussion in Fitton 1984, 74.

¹⁰³ R.C. Bosanquet, “Notes from the Cyclades,” *BSA* 3 (1896–1897) 52.

¹⁰⁴ Marangou nos. 32, 152–54.

¹⁰⁵ SC 112–13.

¹⁰⁶ *FLOM*.

Table 2. Security of Provenance¹⁰⁷ for Items in the Exhibition "Early Cycladic Art in North American Collections"

Object	“known”	Security of Provenance			Total
		“said to be”	“possibly” or “perhaps”	“unknown”	
<i>Figures</i>					
LN prototypes (nos. 1–3)	—	1	—	2	3
EC I Plastiras and abstract (nos. 4–10)	—	3	—	4	7
Transitional Louros and related (nos. 11–16)	—	3	—	3	6
Transitional Precanonical (nos. 17–19)	—	—	—	3	3
EC II folded-arm variety (nos. 20–87)	—	23	—	45	68
EC II others (nos. 88–92)	—	3	—	2	5
<i>Total</i>	—	33	—	59	92
<i>Vessels</i>					
EC I and I/II collared jars (nos. 93–105)	—	2	—	11	13
EC I vessels (nos. 106–21)	—	3	—	13	16
EC II vessels (nos. 122–47)	—	4	—	22	26
<i>Total</i>	—	9	—	46	55

Abstracted from catalogue listings in *ECANAC*.

unless strict measures are taken soon, it appears that it will end only when the sources are forever exhausted."¹⁰⁸

That a large proportion of Cycladic figures have illicit excavation as their source is suggested by the declared provenances of Cycladic figures in the Virginia exhibition (table 2). Not one of the figures in the Virginia exhibition is of a known provenance; rather more than a third are "said to be" from island x or y, and the provenance of nearly two-thirds is unknown. The Cycladic artifacts are even less securely tied to origin. In the exhibition catalogue, Getz-Preziosi looks to quite a different cause for so many unstated provenances: "Very few recently acquired works are fresh finds. Many of them have come to the United States from European collections."¹⁰⁹ Whether this is an adequate explanation depends on whether they were transferred from old European collections where they had been many years, or whether they were themselves recent European ac-

quisitions; we give cause below to doubt whether old European collections can be a source of Cycladic figures in such quantity. Getz-Preziosi's statement is supported by a note: "a majority of the objects in the exhibition are in compliance with the resolution passed by the Council of the Archaeological Institute of America on December 30, 1973."¹¹⁰ The assurance is cheering, but no evidence is offered to support it.

The resolution, the AIA's second on plundering and looted artifacts, commended museums to cooperate in endeavors to prevent illicit traffic in cultural property by "refusing to acquire through purchase, gift, or bequest cultural property exported subsequent to December 30, 1973, in violation of the laws obtaining in the countries of origin."¹¹¹ So Getz-Preziosi's reassurance, "a majority . . . are in compliance," misses the point of the AIA resolution, which was to stop the entry of all smuggled items into museums—not to ensure that smuggled items made up only half of their acquisitions. Even in her terms, it is not an

¹⁰⁷ To attempt a consistent classification for security of provenance throughout this paper, we have adopted a set of four categories: "known"; "said to be"; "possibly" or "perhaps"; and "unknown." Different catalogues from which we have drawn up the tables use phrasings that do not always exactly correspond to these, such as "probably," or the placing of inverted commas around a provenance, which we take as equivalent to "said to be"; in these cases we have endeavored to place these as fairly as we can into our four-category schema. In all cases we depend on the authority and judgment of the cataloguers, whose own points of reference may vary. Anomalies will remain; for example, in considering the Karlsruhe exhibition we class provenances for figures of Anatolian style that are declared as "from Asia Minor" in

the "known" category, although such a vague provenance may not amount to much more than a restatement of their having a distinctive Anatolian style. Again, provenances in the Karlsruhe catalogue rarely fall into the "possibly"/"perhaps" category.

¹⁰⁸ SC x. See also Dumas, in Renfrew 1991, 28.

¹⁰⁹ *ECANAC* 84.

¹¹⁰ *ECANAC* 89 n. 34.

¹¹¹ Resolution of AIA General Meeting, 1973, *Archaeology* 27 (1974) 127. See also F.S. Kleiner, "On the Publication of Recent Acquisitions of Antiquities," *AJA* 94 (1990) 526. We do not discuss here the UNESCO convention on illicit transfer of cultural property, as it seems to have had no effect on the realities of Cycladic collecting.

overwhelming majority. Of the 92 figures, no findspot is offered for 59. One wonders how it can be known—for this undocumented majority—that they *did* leave Greece before 30 December 1973, the date the AIA resolution came into force. The other 33 have a declared provenance—that is, some declared place of origin—though not a single piece comes from a secure, properly described *archaeological* context; there is simply a “said to be,” the usual undocumented and unsubstantiated assertion that the item in question comes from somewhere or other. Whether an item falls within or beyond the AIA pale (equally, whether within or beyond the Greek law) depends on *when* it left the Cyclades and Greek territory, so statements that are vague as to place and silent as to date are not material.

The Virginia exhibition is a major event in Cycladic scholarship, so the status of its contents is important. We asked Dr. Getz-Preziosi about this, and reproduce her reply of 4 June 1993 in full:

By “fresh finds” I mean objects that are not in compliance with the resolution passed by the AIA on 30 December 1973. Many of the works that have come to the U.S. in recent years were previously in European collections formed after WW II (but before 1973).

As for individual figures in the Virginia Museum catalogue and exhibition, I find 21 whose history I cannot trace back to 1973 or earlier. Some of them may very well be in compliance; I simply do not have the necessary information to state whether they are or not. One of the figures was recently given to the Benaki Museum. For the rest, information in the form of acquisition numbers in the case of museums, actual or closely approximate years of purchase in the case of private collections, publication prior to the date of the resolution, or inclusion in my doctoral dissertation of 1972 are clear indications that they had left Greece before the cut-off date. I should mention that all the pieces included in my dissertation were seen by me *outside* Greece and in the 1960s. Further, pieces said to be from Keros belong to the “Keros hoard” which left Greece c. 1960 or before. In two cases, nos. 52 and 83, I now have information unavailable to me when I wrote the catalogue entries: no. 52 had left Greece at least by 1972, perhaps considerably earlier; no. 83 belongs to the Keros hoard and joins no. 82.

If I do not have full information on the history of every piece, this is because some collectors cannot recall when they acquired their objects or do not know their prior history, or because I neglected to ask for specific information. To me, an orphaned Cycladic figure is just as much an orphan whether it surfaced in 1874 or 1974, whether it is in a Greek collection or an American one. However destructive illicit digging may be for the archaeological record, I believe the objects found in this way deserve full scholarly attention. Although the circumstances of their recovery may be illegitimate, the objects themselves are not. They should not be ignored because their discovery context is lost or because they were unearthed in an unethical fashion, or because they lack the credentials conferred by authorized excavation to assure their authenticity. I regard it as my responsibility to learn as much from the illicitly found material as possible and to share the objects and my ideas about them through publication. This does not mean that I condone the looting of sites. I do not.

Some of the declared Karlsruhe provenances may not be correct. Take for example the pair of marble figures (cat. nos. 9 and 10) and the pair of marble pyxides (cat. nos. 138 and 139). These first “surfaced” in 1971, in the gallery of an antiquities dealer in London.¹¹² The objects were displayed at Karlsruhe in 1976; appendix 5 to the Karlsruhe catalogue has a discussion of “an early Keros-Syros grave group ‘from Marathon’.”¹¹³ By 1987 Getz-Preziosi had doubts on the security of this archaeological grouping, although she repeated the provenance of Marathon. She pointed out that although the figures belonged to the EC I horizon (ca. 3000–2800 B.C.), the pyxides belonged to EC II (ca. 2700–2200 B.C.).¹¹⁴ Either this was a grave used perhaps over 800 years, or the objects were not found together; if the latter, then the statement of association falls, and the provenance of Marathon is suspect.¹¹⁵ In regard to provenances in general, Getz-Preziosi says that “for the great majority of the known pieces of sculpture the precise find-places have been lost (or, worse, falsified).”¹¹⁶

A previous AIA resolution, of 1970, condemned “the destruction of the material and historical records of the past by the plundering of archaeological sites both in the United States and abroad and by the illicit export and import of antiquities.”¹¹⁷ A famous illicit

¹¹² Sale catalogue, Symes (supra n. 7) no. 11. They were said to have been “found years ago” by the Museum that acquired them (*Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Annual Report 1972–73*, p. 17).

¹¹³ ACC nos. 53, 54, 347, 348, and p. 585.

¹¹⁴ ECANAC nos. 9–10, 138–39.

¹¹⁵ The Museum of Fine Arts in Boston now only records their provenance as “said to come from Marathon”: Com-

stock and Vermeule (supra n. 11) nos. 1–2.

¹¹⁶ SC x.

¹¹⁷ Resolution of AIA General Meeting, 1970, *Archaeology* 24 (1971) 165; reaffirmed by Kleiner (supra n. 111) 525. The British journal *Antiquity*, of which one of us (C.C.) is editor at the time of writing, has affirmed its support for the policy: Chippindale (supra n. 14) 8.

Table 3. Date of Acquisition and Purchaser of “Keros” Items in the Exhibition “Early Cycladic Art in North American Collections”

Exhibition Number	Date of Acquisition	Collection
38	1978	The Art Institute of Chicago
39	1968 or 1969	Ian Woodner
40	1962 or 1963	Ian Woodner
41	1962 or 1963	Ian Woodner
45	by 1968	Swiss private collection; private collection
46	[not stated]	private collection
51	1955	Ben Heller; Kimbell Art Museum (AG 70.2)
56	1960	Cincinnati Art Museum
73	by 1972	Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco (1981)
75	1976	Swiss private collection I; private collection
76	by 1987	private collection
80	1968	private collection
81	1976	Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia
82	1967	private collection; W.B. Causey; Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond (1985)
87	by 1972	Mr. and Mrs. Michael Jaharis, Jr.
88	by 1983	Mr. and Mrs. C.W. Sahlman

Information from *ECANAC*.

destruction of a site occurred on Keros in the early 1960s.¹¹⁸ More than 350 fragmentary figures are said to have been derived from this context; they were then purchased as a single lot by a Swiss professor, Hans Erlenmeyer. Further fragments from Keros were dispersed, although in 1975 Getz-Preziosi was able to study many pieces with the “original” owner.¹¹⁹ The passing of time and the association of the fragments with a named collection were not sufficient to prevent criticism and even outrage when the Erlenmeyer Collection came up for auction at two sales at Sotheby’s in London during 1990.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Getz-Preziosi 1983. A site on the southwest coast of Keros, opposite the islet of Daskaleio, is reckoned the likely place of origin of the Keros hoard, as a great many fragments of figures, marble vessels, and pots (also one whole figure) were found in 1963 and 1967 haphazardly scattered there, “strewn about the surface, in the fill, at no consistent depth, rather like potatoes in a field”: *SC* 136. See also C. Doulas, “Αρχαιότητες και μνημεία Κυκλάδων,” *ArchDelt, Chronika* 18 (1963) 275–79; F. Zapheiroupolou, “Κυκλάδες: Ανασκαφικά έρευναι—Περιοδείαι,” *ArchDelt, Chronika* 23 (1968) 381; Zapheiroupolou, “Όστρακα εκ Κέρου,” *AAA* 8 (1975) 79–85; D. Hatz-Vallianou, “Αρχαιότητες και μνημεία Κυκλάδων,” *ArchDelt, Chronika* 30 (1975) 327. The match between finds from this site and those of the hoard is very good: *SC* 136.

¹¹⁹ Getz-Preziosi 1983, 37. It should be noted that the “original” owner, who wished “to remain anonymous,” still

The North American Cycladic exhibition demonstrates how museums and private collectors alike have ignored the loss of context when faced with the opportunity to acquire. Sixteen figures in the exhibition are said to have come from Keros.¹²¹ The provenance of one of these, no. 73 (acquired by the Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco, in 1981), is stated in the catalogue as “reputedly found on Keros”; this figure was published elsewhere by Getz-Preziosi as coming not just from Keros, but specifically from the Keros hoard.¹²² The dates of acquisition of “Keros” figures (table 3) are instructive, remembering that the Keros

had the potential to release fragments from the Keros deposit as late as 1976. Whether these fall within the letter of the AIA resolution depends on whether these had been acquired before 1974. In any case, the export was still illegal under Greek law. It is not clear who Getz-Preziosi refers to by the words “original owner”; if it is a looter, a dealer, or a collector outside Greece to whom the items were illicitly conveyed, then this person(s) is in no sense the “original” proprietor.

¹²⁰ Sotheby’s, 9 July 1990; further items from Keros were auctioned at Sotheby’s, 13–14 December 1990. Some of these, unsold, were later purchased for the Goulandris Collection.

¹²¹ Cat. nos. 38, 39, 40, 41, 45, 46, 51, 56, 73, 75, 76, 80, 81, 82, 87, 88 in *ECANAC*.

¹²² Getz-Preziosi 1983, fig 1. And see *ECANAC* 234.

Table 4. Dates of Surfacing of Figures in the North American Cycladic Exhibition

Decade	Number of Figures
1920s	5
1930s	2
1940s	2
1950s	9
1960s	31
1970s	23
1980s	20

Information from *ECANAC*.

hoard came onto the market in the early 1960s.¹²³ As it becomes clear that the Keros site contains, or contained before its looting, several or many hundreds of figures and figure fragments,¹²⁴ so it becomes clear that tracing single figures or groups of figures “said to be” from the “hoard” is not very material to making sense of a site that seems to have been much more than the single closed group implicit in the word “hoard.”

Since there was once a time when Cycladic figures, like other antiquities, could be moved more freely among nations, a breakdown of when the figures in the exhibition first surfaced is of relevance (table 4). Using the 1970 AIA resolution as a watershed (as Getz-Preziosi suggests), some 47% (43 out of 92) of the figures surfaced after the resolution.¹²⁵ The majority of these are in private American collections. Their appearance in an exhibition such as this publicizes, celebrates, and legitimates the pieces, to some extent making them authentic and respectable; rather than just “from a private collection,” they may now be said to have been “exhibited at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, the Kimbell Art Museum, or the Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco.” This celebrity raises their value should their owner wish to dispose of them. Attribution to named masters has the same effect.

The history of the Hunt Collection well illustrates this point. The Hunts’ Greek vases and Greek, Roman, and Etruscan bronzes were celebrated in a 1983 exhibition at the Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, entitled “Wealth of the Ancient World,” the catalogue of which was published in association with Summa Galleries of California, from which some of the pieces had been acquired.¹²⁶ When hard times and tax demands overwhelmed the Hunt brothers, the collection was sold in New York in June 1990 in a much-hyped sale that achieved exceptional prices.¹²⁷ The Hunt Collection did not include Cycladic pieces. The Thétis Foundation Collection, which followed much the same route of public celebration before a dispersal sale, did. Exhibited and celebrated at the Musée d’art et d’histoire, Geneva, in 1987, it was auctioned in London in May 1991;¹²⁸ the first 22 items were Anatolian and Cycladic items. The auction catalogue indicates that they surfaced in the usual way. Of the 14 Cycladic items, the only references offered in the sale descriptions for 13 are to the catalogue of the 1987 Thétis exhibition in Geneva;¹²⁹ the 14th, an anthropomorphic beaker, was in Karlsruhe in 1976, when its provenance was declared as “unknown.”¹³⁰ The prices achieved for fine Cycladic figures, such as those from the Erlenmeyer Collection, reflect their promotion.

The 1976 Cycladic exhibition at Karlsruhe itself contained a high percentage of objects without secure provenance or coming from illicit excavations such as Keros. The pattern of security of context for the Karlsruhe show is given in table 5. Of the Cycladic figures, more than half are of unknown provenance, and scarcely more than one-eighth of known provenance. For the show as a whole, well over half the items are of unknown provenance, and less than a quarter are of known provenance.

Since the Karlsruhe loans were largely from Europe, and the Virginia loans from North America, we find telling the strong pattern, evident in both exhi-

¹²³ Subsequent investigation of the findspot of the Keros hoard tells more of the context, but neither identifies decisively the character of the archaeological context nor—of course—defines just what the hoard contained. See J.L. Davis, “A Cycladic Figure in Chicago and the Non-Funereal Use of Cycladic Marble Figures,” in Fitton 1984, 20 n. 5, for recent archaeological work on Keros.

¹²⁴ Doumas and Getz-Preziosi in discussion, Fitton 1984, 74.

¹²⁵ Since exporting antiquities without permit has been forbidden in Greece for many years, even those from the years before the AIA resolution are illicit in terms of the

national jurisdiction of origin.

¹²⁶ *Wealth of the Ancient World: The Nelson Bunker Hunt and William Herbert Hunt Collections* (Fort Worth 1983).

¹²⁷ *The Nelson Bunker Hunt Collection, Highly Important Greek Vases, The William Herbert Hunt Collection, Highly Important Greek, Roman and Etruscan Bronzes: Auction, Tuesday, June 19, 1990*, New York: Sotheby’s, 1990.

¹²⁸ *Thétis Foundation* (supra n. 7), London: Sotheby’s, 23 May 1991.

¹²⁹ J.-L. Zimmerman, *Collection de la Fondation Thétis* (Geneva 1987).

¹³⁰ Sotheby’s, 23 May 1991, lot 22. ACC 504–505, no. 281.

Table 5. Declared Provenances for Items in the Karlsruhe Exhibition, 1976¹³¹

Object and General Provenance	Security of Provenance				Total
	“known”	“said to be”	“possibly” or “perhaps”	“unknown”	
Mainland Greece					
Neolithic idols (nos. 1–25)	3	13	—	10	26
Cyclades					
<i>Figures</i>					
EC I idols (nos. 26–123)	16	21	—	61	98
EC II Canonical idols (nos. 124–235)	10	36	1	65	112
EC III Postcanonical idols (nos. 236–52)	—	7	—	10	17
Musicians, groups, and seated figures (nos. 253–62)	4	3	—	3	10
<i>Total</i>	30	67	1	139	237
<i>Non-figurative objects</i>					
Stone vases (nos. 263–368)	9	33	—	65	107
Clay vessels (nos. 369–424)	21	7	—	28	56
Metal vases (nos. 425–28)	1	3	—	—	4
Various objects (nos. 429–74)	17	19	—	24	60
<i>Total</i>	48	62	—	117	227
Other Areas					
<i>Figures</i>					
Abstract schematic idols from EBA Anatolia (nos. 475–552, 559)	21	1	—	56	78
Neolithic idols from Anatolia (nos. 553–58)	6	—	—	—	6
Anthropomorphic idols from Anatolia (nos. 560–68)	8	1	—	—	9
Mesopotamian idols (nos. 569–70)	—	—	—	2	2
Cypriot idols (nos. 571–77)	5	1	—	1	7
Persian, Sardinian, and Syrian idols (nos. 578–81)	2	—	—	2	4
<i>Total</i>	42	3	—	61	106
<i>Exhibition as a whole</i>	123	145	1	327	596

Information from ACC. The catalogue is not forthcoming about the dates at which items came to light, and it is therefore not possible to create a table with dates of "surfacing."

bitions, that recently surfaced finds of insecure provenance have come to dominate the Cycladic corpus in two continents.

During the 1960s, some mitigation of the loss of information was provided by archaeological salvage of what looters had overlooked or left in their holes, on Herakleia, Keros, Melos, and Naxos,¹³² including figurines and fragments.

Is it possible to quantify the damage caused by illegal excavations? We think not. No cause has been offered to contradict Broodbank's view on the plundering of Dhaskaleio-Kavos—"most dismal of

archaeological prospects: the virtual bomb-site incongruously overlooking the brilliant blue sea, with the wreckage of material spread over the churned-up slopes of what was once the most extraordinary location in the Cyclades."¹³³

New Manufacture

A natural context for forgery is the emergence of a demand that no conventional supply can meet. Interestingly, the Cycladic supply did indeed change along with the demand: it was "the 1960s, especially, [that] saw a burgeoning in . . . the availability of objects

¹³¹ We have taken an insecure provenance to be one that is placed within inverted commas in the catalogue as well as those reported to come from the Keros deposit.

¹³² Dumas (supra n. 2) 186. C. Dumas, "Ανασκαφαί εν Νάξω," *ArchDelt, Chronika* 17 (1961/1962) 272–74. Dumas (supra n. 118); F. Papadopoulou and N.S. Zapheiropoulos,

"Αρχαιότητες και μνημεία Κυκλάδων," *ArchDelt, Chronika* 20 (1965) 505–508. Zapheiropoulos (supra n. 74) 464–67; F. Zapheiropoulos, "A Prehistoric House Model from Melos," *AAA* 3 (1970) 406–408.

¹³³ Broodbank 545–46.

Table 6. Period of Acquisition of Cycladic Figures by Some Major European Museums and North American Public and Private Collections

Decade	United Kingdom ¹³⁴	Germany ¹³⁵	United States ¹³⁶	Total	%
1840s	1	5	—	6	4
1850s	5	—	—	5	3
1860s	3	2	—	5	3
1870s	2	—	—	2	1
1880s	16	—	—	16	10
1890s	7	—	—	7	4
1900s	5	—	—	5	3
1910s	1	—	—	1	1
1920s	3	5	5	13	8
1930s	8	—	2	10	6
1940s	1	—	2	3	2
1950s	—	—	9	9	5
1960s	2	3	31	36	21
1970s	1	5	23	29	17
1980s	—	1	20	21	12
<i>Total</i>	55	21	92	168	

of high quality, primarily on the European antiquities market."¹³⁷ Table 6 summarizes the period of acquisition of Cycladic figures by some major museums; for private collections, whose holdings are very much larger, no systematic information can be collated.

It is remarkable that the best pieces did not appear before the 1960s. Could it be, as Getz-Preziosi has noted, that this phenomenon is linked to the higher incidence of forged statuettes? In 1971, H. Hoffmann offered the following advice to prospective proprietors of Cycladic figurines:

A New York dealer confided a "foolproof" test for Cycladic idols to me, and I shall pass it along for what it is worth. Hold the object between thumb and forefinger and strike it lightly on a doorsill, like a tuning fork. A forgery will emit a clear bell-like ring, whereas a genuine idol emits a dull thump. It is, of course, necessary to experiment with both genuine and imitation idols in order to accustom one's ear to the proper sound. (I must admit that I have not yet mastered the technique.)¹³⁸

The Karlsruhe exhibition drew attention to the growing problem of forged Cycladic figures. As early as 1967, J. Thimme had reportedly grown suspicious of "a group of 'Cycladic' idols" whose authenticity he

doubted on a number of grounds: the figures either were of exceptionally large size—up to 120 cm in height—or else represented rare forms (e.g., double idols and musicians) which commanded especially high prices.¹³⁹ Their surface was of peculiar appearance, they were all broken at head and knee, and they had been repaired with the same adhesive. Various aspects of the figures (features of execution, composition of the stone, surface encrustation) were studied with different techniques—geochemical analysis, x-ray diffraction, infrared spectroscopy, and ultraviolet light analysis. Among further figures examined after 1969 was a group of three "unbroken and unusually refined figures which one was inclined to consider too beautiful to be genuine."¹⁴⁰

Thimme's and Riederer's methods of 20 years ago were intended to develop a knowledge of surface encrustations that would authenticate ancient marble objects.¹⁴¹ Others we have consulted who have also explored the detection of fake marble objects have less or little confidence that fakes can be identified in this way; marble figures in the early 1990s remain beyond authentication by methods of physical science—the famous "Getty kouros" is suspected of being fake, but it has not yet been decisively authen-

¹³⁴ British Museum, Ashmolean Museum, and Fitzwilliam Museum.

¹³⁵ Dresden and Karlsruhe.

¹³⁶ ECANAC. This has been taken as a representative sample of North American holdings.

¹³⁷ ECANAC 84.

¹³⁸ H. Hoffmann, *Collecting Greek Antiquities* (New York

1971) 237.

¹³⁹ J. Riederer, "Forgeries of Cycladic Marble Objects," in ACC 92–94.

¹⁴⁰ Riederer (supra n. 139) 93.

¹⁴¹ J. Thimme and J. Riederer, "Sinteruntersuchungen an Marmorobjekten," AA 1969, 89–105.

ticated nor decisively unmasked. We are reliably told that the surface of modern Cycladic figures can be enhanced to a helpful "age" by wrapping in whole-wheat spaghetti, whose strands leave marks happily like those left by roots in the ground.¹⁴² Mild acid is also recommended. A celebrated Cycladic collector, we are reliably informed, was persuaded that the appearance of a figure under ultraviolet radiation would show if it was genuine, and added an ultraviolet lamp to the collecting equipment on the yacht. Old surfaces fluoresce under ultraviolet light, new ones do not. Fakers who keep up with science in archaeology, however, know that the fluorescence of age can be mimicked by heating a new figure.¹⁴³

The known period of busy faking is the 1960s. Doulas notes that fakes were so numerous—or fear of fakes so prevalent—that the level of looting of Cycladic sites was reduced in the 1970s.¹⁴⁴ Hood wrote in 1978 that "the problem of forgery cannot be ignored in considering them. Demand has clearly exceeded supply, and modern workshops in Athens and Naxos are reported as happily responding with figurines made of the same island marble."¹⁴⁵ Doulas thinks the forgeries come "probably from artists' ateliers in Paris or other centres in the international art market."¹⁴⁶ John Hewitt, a London dealer of long experience, remembers a whole group of forgeries that came out in the early 1950s, which had been made in Greece (he does not know where); the group was so large that he thinks of several master forgers rather than just one, the work of whom is still fooling people today.¹⁴⁷ The ready modern availability of marble from the various islands also ensures that typing of the marble sources by chemical signatures distinctive to an island or deposit, as has been attempted,¹⁴⁸ would not assist in recognizing fakes. Getz-Preziosi was careful in her study of the presumed sculptors: "I have resisted all temptation to reproduce

figures of unusual types or unusually large size—forgers' favorites—that I have not had the opportunity to study 'in the flesh'."¹⁴⁹

Getz-Preziosi goes on: "Even so, one can expect a skeptical reaction to some of the more unusual pieces, at least, on the part of some readers, particularly those who find it difficult to accept as incontestably genuine sculptures that do not come from documented excavations or whose pedigrees do not extend back into the last century."¹⁵⁰ The figures with history known back to the last century are, as we have seen, very few. Unhappily, we cannot presume that objects acquired before the 1960s' boom, or even before the more modest collecting prior to the Second World War, are immune from suspicion. Take, for example, the small figurine in the Fitzwilliam Museum, acquired in 1934 and said to have been found on the island of Ios.¹⁵¹ The type is rare, and its genuineness has sometimes been brought into question. The body is similar to a large figurine now in a North American private collection (and on loan to the Cincinnati Art Museum), which is also said to have been found on Ios.¹⁵² That figurine had surfaced by 1925 when it was displayed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. It is especially close to the Fitzwilliam piece in the detail of having the hands raised diagonally on the chest. A third figure with breasts like the Fitzwilliam figure and hands brought up to the chest is now in a private collection; it has no known provenance.¹⁵³ This last falls into a group of six figures, the so-called "Goulondris Hunter/Warrior Group"; the other five are in the Goulondris Collection in Athens.¹⁵⁴ Four are said to have been found in the same grave, but Getz-Preziosi has thought this unlikely as at least one "was probably carved several generations before his time."¹⁵⁵ Even the findspot has been disputed: Naxos, Spedos on Naxos, Phionta, and Keros have been mentioned.¹⁵⁶ Thus, the parallels do not provide secure archaeolog-

¹⁴² Eleni Vassilika, Keeper of Antiquities at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, in discussion after a version of this paper was presented at a seminar.

¹⁴³ For the use of the ultraviolet light, see D. von Bothmer, "The Head of an Archaic Greek Kouros," *AA* 1964, 615–27.

¹⁴⁴ Doulas (*supra* n. 2) 189.

¹⁴⁵ S. Hood, *The Arts in Prehistoric Greece* (Harmondsworth 1978) 94.

¹⁴⁶ Doulas (*supra* n. 13) 28.

¹⁴⁷ *FLOM*.

¹⁴⁸ C. Renfrew and J. Springer Peacey, "Aegean Marble: A Petrological Study," *BSA* 63 (1968) 45–66. B. Ashmole, "Aegean Marble: Science and Common Sense," *BSA* 65 (1970) 1–2.

¹⁴⁹ *SC* 145, n. 3.

¹⁵⁰ *SC* 145, n. 3.

¹⁵¹ L. Budde and R.V. Nicholls, *A Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (Cambridge 1967) 3–4, pl. 2, no. 13; *ACC*, no. 249; Arnott (*supra* n. 94) 8. It stands 7.5 cm high.

¹⁵² *ECANAC* 222 no. 65. Cincinnati Art Museum, loan L41.1976. It stands 24.8 cm high.

¹⁵³ *SC* 19, fig. 9f, pls. 11B, 12B, with notes on p. 249. It stands 16.5 cm high.

¹⁵⁴ *SC* 67–68.

¹⁵⁵ *SC* 67.

¹⁵⁶ *SC* 67. For the figures: Doulas no. 94 (Coll. no. 309; odd one out), no. 144 (Coll. no. 328), no. 161 (Coll. no. 308), no. 162 (Coll. no. 312). Linked to them is no. 136 (Coll. no. 108). It is thought that at least one of these figures was made this century by a man on Ios.

Table 7. Standing Male Figures and Warrior Figures

Standing Figures*Plastiras Type*

West Germany, private collection I/Lugano, Paolo Morigi Collection. Hole, perhaps for the insertion of a penis. No findspot (EC I). ACC no. 72; SC color pl. IB; Getz-Preziosi 1980, no. 4.

Geneva, Jean-Paul and Monica Barbier Müller Collection, BMG 202–13. No findspot (EC I). ACC no. 77; SC pl. 14.4; Getz-Preziosi 1980, no. 2.

Athens, National Museum 3919. Said to be from Amorgos. ACC 156, fig. 153; SC 156 ("The Athens Museum Master"), pls. 18–20.2; Getz-Preziosi 1980, no. 4.

Athens, National Museum 3911. Said to be from Amorgos. SC 21, fig. 11a; Getz-Preziosi 1980, no. 7.

Athens, National Museum 3912. Said to be from Antiparos. SC 21, fig. 11b; Getz-Preziosi 1980, no. 1.

Dresden, ZV1991. No findspot (EC I). ACC no. 74; Getz-Preziosi 1980, no. 3.

Ascona, Galleria Casa Serodine/Lugano, Adriano Ribolzi Collection. No findspot (EC I). ACC no. 79; Getz-Preziosi 1980, no. 6.

Louros Type

Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 930.80.2. Said to be from Crete. SC 21, fig. 11c; Getz-Preziosi 1980, no. 8.

Spedos Variety

Athens, Goulandris Collection 969 (formerly Erlenmeyer Collection). Said to be from Amorgos (EC II). ACC no. 153; Getz-Preziosi 1980, no. 10; Renfrew 1991, fig. 97.

Dokathismata Variety

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1893.72. Said to be from Amorgos. SC 21, fig. 11d; Getz-Preziosi 1980, no. 32.

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1972.118.103 (acquired 1937). No findspot (EC III). ACC no. 246; ECANAC no. 64; Fitton 1989, fig. 63; Getz-Preziosi 1980, no. 33.

Chalandriani Variety

Private collection (known since 1925), on loan to the Cincinnati Art Museum, L41.1976. Said to be from Ios (EC II). ECANAC no. 65; SC 21, fig. 11e; Getz-Preziosi 1980, no. 34.

Seattle Art Museum 46.200. No findspot (EC II). ECANAC 79, fig. 44; SC 21, fig. 11h; Getz-Preziosi 1980, no. 30.

Warrior Figures (EC II)

Lost figure (known in 1848), known from drawing in London, British Museum GR.1955.8-20.9. ECANAC 66, fig. 34b; Fitton 1989, 52, fig. 64.

Dokathismata Variety

Athens, National Museum 5380. Said to be from Syros. Getz-Preziosi 1980, no. 27.

Chalandriani Variety

Athens, Goulandris Museum 308. Said to be from Naxos. Dumas, no. 161; ECANAC 66, fig. 34c; Fitton 1989, 53, fig. 66; Getz-Preziosi 1980, no. 28; Renfrew 1991, fig. 58.

Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen ZV2595. Said to be from Amorgos. ACC no. 240; ECANAC 66, fig. 34a; SC fig. 11f, pl. 48.5; Getz-Preziosi 1980, no. 26.

Keos, Archaeological Museum K72.18. Northwest of Ayia Irini. Getz-Preziosi 1980, no. 29.

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AE 456. Said to be from Amorgos. Getz-Preziosi 1980, no. 31.

Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum 1919. Getz-Preziosi 1980, no. 35.

Athens, market about 1964. Getz-Preziosi 1980, no. 36.

ical evidence for confirming authenticity for the Fitzwilliam figure. This inescapable doubt over an item that has indeed been in an "old European collection" for nearly 60 years shows how an attractive route to authenticity, privileging items known from before the market in Cycladic art prospered, in fact offers no security.¹⁵⁷

Fear arises especially for those classes of figures of which not one example comes from a secure context. For these, inescapably, there is a substantial chance that the whole class is bogus.

Most Cycladic figures, if gendered, appear female. Male figures (table 7) are less common, but Getz-Preziosi calls the male warriors "a firmly established,"

¹⁵⁷ See K. Butcher and D.W.J. Gill, "The Director, the Dealer, the Goddess, and Her Champions: The Acquisition of the Fitzwilliam Goddess," *AJA* 97 (1993) 383–401, for a

salutary tale of a beautiful prehistoric Aegean figure, which "surfaced" on the market about 1925, and which appears to be fake.

if rare, "type."¹⁵⁸ Rare, yes—but how firmly established?

The recognized male classes are standing male figures, warriors, and musicians. All 13 standing male figures, of five types, are of unknown findspot or, at best, "said to be." The warrior figures are "said to be"; their early recording will encourage some to believe the class is genuine. The "musical figures" of harpists have also been a matter of controversy. Eight are known in good preservation.¹⁵⁹ The pair in Karlsruhe are "reliably reported"¹⁶⁰ to have come from Thera; they are recorded as early as 1838. The example now in the National Archaeological Museum at Athens, said to come from a tomb on Keros where it was found with a flute-player, was first reported in 1884.¹⁶¹ One in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York was acquired in 1947. Renfrew has had "grave doubts" about its authenticity, although others have felt that it is genuine.¹⁶² The pair in the Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection are said to come from Amorgos.¹⁶³ One now in a North American private collection surfaced on the London antiquities market in 1971,¹⁶⁴ and the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired one in 1985 from a "private collection"; the Getty figure is also said to have been found on Amorgos.¹⁶⁵ A fragmentary example has also been found in the Aphendika cemetery on Naxos;¹⁶⁶ Getz-Preziosi notes that this is the only Cycladic harpist "found in a controlled excavation."¹⁶⁷

Despite the sketchy archaeological contexts, Getz-Preziosi declares the authenticity of these nine to be "assured," and proposes that these harpists were "produced over a period of perhaps two hundred and fifty years by unusually confident sculptors."¹⁶⁸ This un-

usually confident estimate may create its own puzzle: how did the type come to be known to later sculptors when the earlier examples had been deposited in graves?¹⁶⁹ We are glad there is (slight) evidence of a harpist in an archaeological deposit. The examples of Piltown, Iolo Marganwg, and Ossian should remind us that forgery has many motives beyond those of the cash market.¹⁷⁰ An Early Cycladic Arcadia of simple and happy fishers who played harps and pan-pipes is uncomfortably congruent with Romantic conventions fashionable in the mid-19th century—when the first of the Cycladic musicians surfaces. We therefore disagree with Renfrew, who thinks that documentation of special and seated figures in 1838 and 1884 amounts to certainty they are genuine.¹⁷¹ In 1897 Bosanquet had already noted peasants in the pay of dealers;¹⁷² the market-makers were there first!

A particular fear surrounds the larger, grander figures (table 8), so distinctive, sought after, and expensive, for whom the cash stakes are so much higher. Not one of those comes from a secure archaeological context, and it is disconcerting that this class of figures waited until the market boomed before surfacing. Are they looted? Are they faked? Some? All? Consider the best course of action for a forger, or his representative, who wishes to be well rewarded for his work. A routine piece, for example, a small folded-arm figure, will not stand out, but it will not command a special price. A figure of unique form or uniquely large size risks discovery through the interest it will raise; its special price may not cover the special risk. The best course may be to push "at the edge of the envelope," to make a figure that is special enough to push up the market price, but not so special to be scrutinized with

¹⁵⁸ Getz-Preziosi 1980, 25. Also *ECANAC* 65; *SC* 20–23.

¹⁵⁹ *ECANAC* 261–69. Plus two very fragmentary figures (for the fragment in the Athens National Museum, see G. Papathanassopoulos, *Neolithic and Cycladic Civilization* [Athens 1981] pls. 119–23). Also one found a century ago at Cape Krio in Caria, not traced today and no illustrations surviving. J.T. Bent, "Discoveries in Asia Minor," *JHS* 3 (1882) 82. See P. Getz-Preziosi, in *Glories* 20.

¹⁶⁰ *ECANAC* 261.

¹⁶¹ U. Köhler, "Prähistorisches von den griechischen Inseln," *AM* 9 (1884) 156. Renfrew 1991, figs. 107–108.

¹⁶² Renfrew 1969, 14; contra Fitton 1989, 40. B.F. Cook tells us that it appears ancient when tested by ultraviolet light.

¹⁶³ They are said to have been purchased through a Swiss private collection before 1968. *ECANAC* 262–65, nos. 89–90. They passed from the collection of Charles Gillet and Marion Schuster to that of Shelby White and Leon Levy: Getz-Preziosi, in *Glories* 22.

¹⁶⁴ Robin Symes, Ltd. 1971. *ECANAC* 266–67, no. 91.

¹⁶⁵ *ECANAC* 268–69, no. 92.

¹⁶⁶ Athens, National Museum 8833 (grave 40): Marangou no. 111.

¹⁶⁷ Getz-Preziosi, in *Glories* 21.

¹⁶⁸ *ECANAC* 261. Also, *SC* 41: "probably carved at various points over a period of at least one hundred and perhaps as much as two or three hundred years."

¹⁶⁹ The same may be asked for later Greek pottery, where the pots that were buried in Etruscan tombs—and now near to the modern hand and camera—were beyond the reach of later potters and painters.

¹⁷⁰ M. Jones et al. eds., *Fake? The Art of Deception* (London 1990).

¹⁷¹ Renfrew 1991, 64. Cf. R.A. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas* (London 1967) liv, who remarks of terracotta figures: "There is also a whole class of elaborate mythological scenes which had a great vogue towards the end of last century as coming from Asia Minor, none of which are ancient." See, moreover, for this phenomenon the 15 "Tanagra" terracottas acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge in 1876 through C.W. Merlin, which are mostly, or perhaps all, fakes.

¹⁷² Bosanquet (supra n. 103) 52.

Table 8. Figures over 70 cm Long, and Detached Heads that May Correspond to Figures over 70 cm Long

Figures over 70 cm long

- Athens, Goulandris Museum 257. Length 70.7 cm. No ears. Said to be from Naxos. Identified as by the Copenhagen Master. Renfrew 1991, fig. 63.
- Athens, Goulandris Museum 598. Length 72 cm. No ears. Said to be from Naxos. Identified as by the Naxos Museum Master. Renfrew 1991, fig. 98A.
- Athens, Goulandris Museum 280. Length 75 cm. No ears. No findspot. Renfrew 1991, fig. 98B.
- London, British Museum 1971.5-21.1. Length 76.5 cm. Ears. ACC no. 154; Renfrew 1986, 133 no. 8.
- Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AE176. Length 75.9 cm. Said to be from Amorgos. Identified as by the Ashmolean Master. SC 163; Renfrew 1991, fig. 105.
- Swiss private collection. Length 69.4 cm as surviving (legs missing below knee, suggesting original length ca. 87 cm). Ears. ACC 73, fig. 40.
- Woodner Collection. Length 86.3 cm. Ears. Said to be from Keros. Identified as by the Karlsruhe/Woodner Master. ECANAC no. 39.
- Karlsruhe, Badischer Landesmuseum 75/49. Length 88.8 cm. Ears. ACC no. 151.
- Brunswick, Maine, Bowdoin College Museum of Art. Large torso (therefore no information about ears). Surviving length corresponds to original length of perhaps 115 cm. ECANAC no. 42.
- Belgian private collection. Length 132 cm. No ears. Provenance unknown. SC pl. X. Renfrew 1986, 133 no. 3.
- Athens, Goulandris Museum 724. Length 140 cm. Ears. No findspot. Renfrew 1991, fig. 103.
- Athens, National Archaeological Museum NM 3978. Length 148.3 cm. No ears. Said to be from Amorgos. Renfrew 1991, fig. 104; *Greek Art of the Aegean Islands* (New York 1979) no. 11.

Detached heads that may correspond to figures over 70 cm long

- Copenhagen, Danish National Museum 36. Head height 24.6 cm. No ears. Identified as by the Goulandris Master. ACC color pl. V.
- Paris, Louvre MA 3095. Head height 27 cm. Ears. Renfrew 1991, fig. 124.
- Athens, National Archaeological Museum NM 3909. Head height 29 cm. Ears. Renfrew 1991, fig. 72.
- New York, Robin B. Martin Collection (formerly on loan to Metropolitan Museum of Art). Head height 31.2 cm. Ears. ECANAC no. 44.

suspicious care. And once a few extra-large figures, or extra-delightful musicians, have been taken into the corpus of accepted figures, the way is open for more of these special forgeries to be welcomed by precedent.

If the large figures are all genuine, the chance of a large figure being recovered from an archaeological context remains. Until then, the large figures are a puzzle. The small figures, found in graves and at settlement sites,¹⁷³ are regarded as grave goods that previously had a function during life, perhaps in some household cult, suffering breakage and repair.¹⁷⁴ The big statues, up to 140 cm¹⁷⁵ or 148 cm¹⁷⁶ tall, are suggested by Renfrew¹⁷⁷ to have been used in some

more public cult, perhaps in a separate shrine. Without evidence of context, the idea is obliged to be a "pure hypothesis."¹⁷⁸

Renfrew has observed that ears, otherwise not provided on Cycladic heads, exist on some of these unusual large figures. One's confidence in the observation as a truth of prehistory is—again—necessarily at the same level as one's confidence in the authenticity of the figures.¹⁷⁹

The history of faking suspected for Cycladica disconcertingly resembles the known story of the Neolithic figures from Hacilar in southwest Turkey, which followed the course of discovery, publication (which brought its delights to the attention of collectors),

¹⁷³ Davis (supra n. 123) 15–23.

¹⁷⁴ P. Getz-Preziosi, "Risk and Repair in Early Cycladic Sculpture," *MMAJ* 16 (1982) 5–32.

¹⁷⁵ Goulandris Coll. no. 724, no provenance. Renfrew 1985, 138–41. J.L. Davis, in *ECANAC* 30, introduces this figure in these terms: "Keros, the original home of so many looted objects, including the large-scale figure recently acquired by the Museum of Cycladic and Ancient Greek Art, Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundation, in Athens."

¹⁷⁶ Athens, National Museum NM 3978. Said to come from Amorgos: *National Archaeological Museum* (Athens 1978)

31.

¹⁷⁷ C. Renfrew, "Speculations on the Use of Early Cycladic Sculpture," in Fitton 1984, 24–32. Also Renfrew 1991, 102–103.

¹⁷⁸ Renfrew 1986, 133.

¹⁷⁹ Another curiosity of unknown status is the unique "semi-sitting female figurine," of which Getz-Preziosi observes: "To date, none has been found in the course of systematic excavation," *ECANAC* no. 29: "Private Collection; no find-spot."

Table 9. "Drifting Provenances" of Figures Exhibited at Karlsruhe in 1976 and Richmond in 1987

ACC no. 4 "From Attica—part of a grave group" (Switzerland, private collection I) <i>became</i> ECANAC no. 2 "Reputedly found on an islet near Porto Rapti, Attica."
ACC no. 41 "Provenance unknown" <i>became</i> ECANAC no. 8 "Reputedly found on Naxos."
ACC nos. 53, 54, 347, 348 "From Marathon—part of a grave group" <i>became</i> ECANAC nos. 9, 10, 138, 139 "Reputedly found near Marathon."
ACC no. 83 "From Naxos" <i>became</i> ECANAC no. 11 "Reputedly found on Naxos."
ACC no. 199 "From Herakleia" <i>became</i> ECANAC no. 44 "Reputedly found on Herakleia."
ACC no. 178 (Erlenmeyer) without its head "From Keros—part of a large deposit" <i>became</i> ECANAC no. 75 (private collection) with its head "Reputedly found on Keros."
ACC no. 177 "Provenance unknown" <i>became</i> ECANAC no. 81 "Reputedly found on Keros."
ACC no. 173 "From Keros—part of a large deposit" <i>became</i> ECANAC no. 82 "Reputedly found on Keros."
ACC no. 290 "From East Crete" <i>became</i> ECANAC no. 116 "Reputedly found in eastern Crete."
ACC no. 343 "Provenance unknown" <i>became</i> ECANAC no. 134 "Reputedly found on Naxos."

looting of the cemetery where fine items were to be found, and then mass production of fakes, many at Hacilar itself, using local materials and convincingly "aged." Many museums were deceived, including the British Museum and the Ashmolean before thermoluminescence tests resolved the Hacilar collections into ancient and modern; 48 out of 66 Hacilar pots tested at the Oxford Research Laboratory were modern.¹⁸⁰ The Cycladic story has been obliged to take a different turn, as no comparable technique exists to detect faked marble carvings.

Drifting Provenances

Comparison of information about pieces exhibited more than once shows that Cycladic provenances are subject to "drifting," as stated findspots change with time. Documentation, new information, or reason for the drift is not given. These transformations are illustrated by the Karlsruhe (1976) and Richmond (1987) exhibitions (table 9). The Karlsruhe exhibition displayed some 20 or so fragments that were reported to come from the looted deposit on Keros.¹⁸¹ The Richmond exhibition catalogue, which highlights the looting of Cycladic sites in its foreword,¹⁸² chooses to play down this provenance. Sixteen pieces in Richmond are "reputedly from Keros,"¹⁸³ an unforthcoming remark as to where they came from on Keros, and when they were found. Yet the bibliography of one, no. 73, plainly shows that it was in this looted deposit, and two (Richmond nos. 75 and 82; Karlsruhe nos. 178 and 173) had been published in the Karlsruhe catalogue as "from Keros—part of a large deposit," the orthodox euphemism for the Keros

hoard. Indeed, another fragment of the hoard had trickled out between the exhibitions; Richmond no. 75 (originally in the Erlenmeyer Collection), was headless in Karlsruhe, but had its head back in place in Richmond. A head in the University of Missouri–Columbia Museum of Art and Archaeology was of "provenance unknown" in Karlsruhe (no. 177); in Virginia (no. 81), it was "reputedly found on Keros." A provenance also surfaced for an abstract figure in a private collection: Karlsruhe no. 41 was listed with unknown provenance (ownership stated as Houston, D., and J. de Menil Collection CA6253); in Richmond it was no. 8, "reputedly found on Naxos" (private collection, acquired in 1962). A marble spool pyxis in the same collection also gained a Naxian provenance between Karlsruhe and Virginia: Karlsruhe no. 343 (Houston, D., and J. de Menil Collection CA5207) *became* ECANAC no. 134 (private collection, acquired in 1952).

Drifting findspot also affects a remarkable group of marble figures, regarded as Neolithic in date, which first appeared in Karlsruhe. When the pieces—a sitting female figure, two squatting female figures with children on their backs, and an animal and a bowl—were loaned to the Karlsruhe exhibition, nos. 4, 24, 25, and 429, they were unpublished and in the possession of "Switzerland, private collection I"; they were said to be "from Attica—part of a grave group," the knowledge that they were found together coming from "a credible source."¹⁸⁴ The group itself received a full discussion, was "subjected to x-ray analysis," and "the encrustation of all five pieces was pronounced to be typical of that found on genuine marble objects."¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁰ S. Bowman, in P. Craddock and S. Bowman eds., "The Scientific Detection of Fakes and Forgeries," in Jones et al. (supra n. 170) 275–89.

¹⁸¹ Listed in ACC 588, appendix 8.

¹⁸² P.N. Perrot, "Foreword," ECANAC viii.

¹⁸³ ECANAC nos. 38, 39, 40, 41, 45, 46, 51, 56, 73, 75, 76, 80, 81, 82, 87, 88.

¹⁸⁴ ACC 419–20, discussion of no. 4.

¹⁸⁵ ACC appendix 1, 579–80, fig. 190.

No specific findspot for the group was mentioned other than "Attica." When one of the figures appeared in Richmond, no. 2, by then in the collection of Shelby White and Leon Levy, it was stated that the group was "reputedly found on an islet near Porto Raphti, Attica."¹⁸⁶ In 1990 the group was exhibited again, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the history had changed once more. The group was "said to be from Euboea, or the east coast of Attica opposite, near Porto Raphti, perhaps from an islet attached to the mainland in prehistoric times."¹⁸⁷

Normally, the findspots of prehistoric artifacts (as distinct from their supposed places of manufacture) only move when clear information becomes properly available to revise the known history, or when decisive analytical evidence contradicts the supposed story. Not so with Cycladic figures. Of the Karlsruhe group, Getz-Preziosi states: "While a Euboean or an Attic provenance is quite possible for this marble group, these are not the only places with rusty—that is, iron-rich—soil."¹⁸⁸ Indeed these are not. Most of Morocco has rusty, iron-rich soil. Without real information Cycladic students must listen to whatever "said to be" is said to them, while the reasons that govern the "said to be" are unknown; their scholarship is thereby reduced to clutching at rusty straws. And the politics of display have a clear role. If it is tactless to remind curators, owners, and the public that items originate in the Keros hoard, a deposit that is commonly known to have been stolen and smuggled, then let the provenance be reticent; "reputedly from Keros" will do nicely. One may see a pattern in attributions over time that amounts to a kind of fashion; in Bent's day figures were "said to be" from Antiparos, now they are "said to be" from Keros.

Reemergence of Forgotten Collections: A Convenient Fiction

When travelers like Theodore Bent brought back Cycladic figurines, interest in them was limited—even if that limited interest did extend to their notice by discerning collectors. Two in the Ashmolean once belonged to the Rev. Greville J. Chester, an important 19th-century academic collector. Many of the donors

to British museums acquired the figures with the intention of conveying them into a museum. Notice the museums where Cycladic figures are first found—the British Museum, the Ashmolean, and so on: the figures were never curios in the provinces. In the new century they had an artistic importance to the great sculptors. Yet it was only in the period after the Second World War that Cycladic figures came into artistic fashion as "collectibles" of importance. Nevertheless, one is given to understand that figures in North American collections came from European collections of the previous generation; as Getz-Preziosi plainly says of the general pattern, in the remarks quoted above: "Many of them have come to the United States from European collections."¹⁸⁹ The Erlenmeyers' indeed was a European collection, formed "between the late 1940s and the early 1960s,"¹⁹⁰ but Getz-Preziosi indicates that a very large part of it came from the illicit excavations on Keros; and if part comes from illicit excavations then which part of their collection is safe to acquire? Greek laws to protect antiquities go back well into the 19th century;¹⁹¹ a collection begun in the 1940s may be "old" in the perception of a contemporary collector, but it is not old enough to predate the Greek legal process.

Perhaps the odd Cycladic figure, picked up on a grand tour that went beyond the more obvious sites of Classical Greece, *did* find its way to some forgotten attic, where it can one day be "discovered" and re-emerge on the art market. At least three Cycladic figures are in fact documented to have "sunk" from view during the 19th century, two folded-arm figurines from Naxos, whose whereabouts were unknown as early as 1888,¹⁹² and the Caria harpist. But it is hard to believe that many hundred Cycladic figures took this route—and all in such an obscurity that none of them were celebrated, or even recorded, in the catalogues and the sale catalogues of the "old European collections" before they moved into newer hands.¹⁹³

The place of the "old European collection" as a source for Cycladic figures follows that of the wider antiquities market. Consider the patterns. Everyone involved with, and knowledgeable of, the business is

¹⁸⁶ EKANAC no. 2.

¹⁸⁷ Getz-Preziosi, in *Glories* 115, no. 8. The catalogue also supplies the information that the pieces were originally in the Charles Gillet and Marion Schuster Collection.

¹⁸⁸ Getz-Preziosi, in *Glories* 13.

¹⁸⁹ EKANAC 84.

¹⁹⁰ *Antiquities from the Erlenmeyer Collection*, Sotheby's, 9 July 1990, p. 60, a specific reference to the Cycladic collection.

¹⁹¹ The principle of state control over antiquities was established under the Kapodistrian government in the 1820s, following earlier precedent in the Turkish era.

¹⁹² P. LeBas and S. Reinach, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* (Paris 1888) 111, pl. 123, II–III.

¹⁹³ A more recent manner of sinking is modern theft of figures from collections. A figure, said to be from Naxos and attributed to the "Steiner Master," was stolen from the Naxos Museum in 1977: SC 158.

aware that a great many objects are looted and smuggled; they are to some degree "hot." A small number of these are stolen from museums or other places where they are published or publicly known; in that way, the Kanakaria Byzantine mosaics from Cyprus¹⁹⁴ and the Roman Medusa mosaic from the Sparta Museum were in recent years identified, and safely reclaimed by their proper owners.¹⁹⁵ But these are unusual; most antiquities that are for sale have never been published, accessioned into a museum, or come to public scholarly attention. Who can report a Cycladic figure as stolen when it has been lying unseen in a grave for more than 4,000 years? And which agency is to investigate its movements between the ground and its display in a Swiss or a North American private collection or the London salesroom, when neither Swiss nor American nor British legal practice takes note of the unlawful acts under Greek law that its recovery and export involve? Some figures are fake. Because marble figures are not amenable to an analytical determination of age, there are no statistics for how many marble items have been tested or found wanting, as there might be for ceramics.¹⁹⁶ The Oxford University Research Laboratory for Art and Archaeology, which authenticates ceramic objects by thermoluminescence, has reported 40% of the ceramic works submitted to it are not ancient.¹⁹⁷ And what proportion are smuggled? Geraldine Norman, who has many years' experience in reporting the London art market for *The Times* and the *Independent*, says that "eighty per cent of all antiquities that come on the market have been illegally excavated and smuggled."¹⁹⁸

In October 1990, the science journal *Nature* published a color illustration of a feather tabard of likely date between 200 B.C. and A.D. 800, on sale at a London dealer.¹⁹⁹ It comes from the Nazca culture of

desert Peru, an area notorious for looting and smuggling. When one of us inquired, the dealer said the items were indeed of good provenance; they came from a "collection." How often does one hear those phrases—"from a collection," "from an old collection," "from an old European collection." But just which collection? Where are all those old collections? Why were the treasures they contained never known to the other old connoisseurs? Ricardo J. Elia, of Boston University, recently remarked that "the dealer's usual explanation about coming from an 'old European family collection' has become a trite cynicism since it was exposed more than 15 years ago by Karl Meyer."²⁰⁰ The phrase has now so lost meaning that it has begun to fade from sales of many Classical antiquities. The most celebrated antiquities sale of the year 1990, dispersing the Hunt brothers' vases and bronzes, included 53 lots; just one of these, in the Brummer Collection (Zurich) by 1922, was documented as from an old European collection; of the rest, two had surfaced in the 1960s, and the other 50 yet more recently.²⁰¹ There was no mention of any "old European collections"; the sources of the other 52 were not revealed. Will the idea persist for Cycladic antiquities, although even less credibly since connoisseurs' esteem for them is so recent?

Wish Fulfillment

In addition to complete figures, the Cycladic corpus includes a great many fragments that are recognizably portions of incomplete or broken figures. Even some complete figures are of simple form: the "violin" variant of Cycladic figure has no distinct head, an elongated neck, broad shoulders, narrow waist, broad hips, and a rounded legless base, so it can only be recognized with reliability as depicting the human body because it fits the larger Cycladic pattern of

¹⁹⁴ The Kanakaria mosaics, published in A.H.S. Megaw and E.J.W. Hawkins, *The Church of the Panagia Kanakaria at Lythrankomi in Cyprus: Its Mosaics and Frescoes* (Washington, D.C. 1977), were stolen between 1974 and 1979, sold from Switzerland to the United States in 1988, and restored to the Government of Cyprus by the Indiana courts in 1989. See also C. Chippindale, "Editorial," *Antiquity* 63 (1989) 651–54.

¹⁹⁵ Reported stolen from the museum in 1986, sold at Sotheby's in 1987, moved to New York, and returned to the Sparta Museum in 1990. See A.M.H. Schuster, "Stolen Mosaic Returned," *Archaeology* (Jan./Feb. 1991) 22.

¹⁹⁶ We have traced no information about tests of ceramic objects from the Cycladic Bronze Age.

¹⁹⁷ P. Franklin, "Deception and Detection: The Work of D. Stoneham in the Field of 'TL' Testing," *Apollo* (Nov. 1990) 327–30. The percentage is an overall level for objects of all

ages; no total number is given, and no breakdown offered for classes of objects by age, source, or type within that. The Oxford Laboratory confirms to us that a figure of around 40% fake is not unreasonable as an estimate for the non-Chinese ceramics that they test. We do not guess whether the percentage of fakes of those *not* tested might be higher or lower.

¹⁹⁸ G. Norman, *Independent* (London), 24 November 1990.

¹⁹⁹ H.G., "Art for the Anthropologist," *Nature* 347 (4 October 1990) 425.

²⁰⁰ R.J. Elia, "Popular Archaeology and the Antiquities Market: A Review Essay," *JFA* 18 (1991) 95–103. The Meyer reference is to pp. 90–91 of K. Meyer, *The Plundered Past* (London 1974).

²⁰¹ *Supra* n. 127. See also C. Chippindale, "Editorial," *Antiquity* 64 (1990) 703–705.

Table 10. Numbers of Graves and Figures from Some Cycladic Islands

Island	Number of Graves	Number of Figures	Approximate Ratio of Graves to Figures
Naxos ²⁰²	577	75	8:1
Amorgos	31	4	8:1
Paros/Antiparos/Despotiko	280	58	5:1
Syros	600+	6	100:1
Total	1,488+ ²⁰³	143	10:1

abstraction from the human form. But simplicity and abstraction, at an extreme, make a sculpted figure indistinguishable from a stone that was worn or shaped by human hand for reasons other than representation, or even from a pebble worn and shaped by natural causes alone. Without a documented archaeological findspot and context, it is not always clear that the form alone reliably identifies the object as a figure fragment or other Cycladic antiquity.

Now taken into the Cycladic corpus, therefore, are shaped pieces of stone that may not be sculptures, but objects that modern possessors, whether purchasers or vendors, wish to treat as sculptures.²⁰⁴ That is what they then become.

"Sinking"

Figures not only surface without earlier history, but also can disappear without subsequent history. The theft from the Paros Museum in 1992, for example, targeted 18 "collectible" Cycladic works of art. Whether for the market or by commission for an individual customer, these are figures known to be stolen and therefore impossible to refer to or resell openly; they are said to have gone to a private collector in the Far East.²⁰⁵ They are "sinkers" from the corpus. So are figures sold at auctions or privately, in cases where the new owners do not choose to make available their identity.

MATERIAL CONSEQUENCES

Impact on the Archaeological Context of Cycladic Figures

The small number of figures recovered from secure archaeological contexts in itself raises questions about

the damage inflicted upon the archaeological record by illicit excavation. If we take Getz-Preziosi's upper estimate of 1,600 for Cycladic figurines of all types,²⁰⁶ then we can gain some idea of the number of graves that have probably been looted to service the demand by museums and collectors. Since figures are present in only a proportion of the graves, each figure may represent a certain number of looted graves, and some estimate of that number can be made from those archaeologically excavated cemeteries that record the ratio between numbers of graves and numbers of figures (table 10).

The numbers in table 10 need to be reduced by whatever proportion of the figures are fake. The arithmetic is further upset if the number of figures contributed by the Keros site is other than has been thought: Broodbank guesses that a third of the 1,200 known folded-arm figures derive from Keros, with the other two-thirds representing equally grave goods and fakes.²⁰⁷ Doumas thinks fakes were so widely diffused that a decline in illegal diggings came about.²⁰⁸

Not all of these 1,600 figures came from graves. One can attempt some arithmetic for the consequences. If we remove those from the Keros deposit, perhaps some 350;²⁰⁹ from excavations on Keros, approximately 50;²¹⁰ from Ayia Irini on Keos, some 43;²¹¹ and from Phylakopi on Melos, recorded as 11 by the excavators,²¹² then some 450 are not from graves. The remaining 1,150 figures of the corpus known in 1987 were probably taken from graves. Of these, only some 143 seem to have come from the controlled excavation of more than 1,400 graves. This works out as approximately one figure for every 10

²⁰² Cemeteries where figures have been found.

²⁰³ Or about 1,600 if one includes cemeteries without figures on Naxos.

²⁰⁴ For the converse, archaeological objects of the simplest forms that are lost from the corpus, see below, p. 626.

²⁰⁵ *FLOM*: said to the program makers by we know not whom with we know not what motive or source of information.

²⁰⁶ SC 130: "roughly twelve hundred extant Cycladic

folded-arm figures . . . or substantial fragments of such figures," and p. 141: "approximately 1,500 or 1,600 Cycladic figures of all types are known."

²⁰⁷ Personal communication.

²⁰⁸ Doumas (supra n. 13) 29.

²⁰⁹ Getz-Preziosi 1983, 37. Or more.

²¹⁰ Renfrew 1969, 13 ("literally dozens").

²¹¹ Supra n. 88, and table 1.

²¹² Bosanquet and Welch (supra n. 99); Renfrew 1969, 12.

graves.²¹³ Using this ratio, the 1,100 or 1,200 figures without secure provenance may represent the destruction of some 11,000 or 12,000 graves, the vast majority without any figurines. Thus, some 85% of the funerary record of the Early Bronze Age Cyclades may have been lost through this unscientific search for figurines. And, of course, for that large portion of the graves with figures that were emptied by looters, we have only the figures, or other saleable artifacts, without knowledge of their association or context.

One of the best-explored islands of the Cyclades is Naxos.²¹⁴ Some 577 Early Cycladic tombs from 10 cemeteries have yielded some 75 figures, a ratio of about one figure per eight graves.²¹⁵ Not all cemeteries on Naxos yielded figures, however, in part because they had been already looted.²¹⁶ Thus, for every eight or nine Early Cycladic graves opened, a single marble figure has been redeemed. A very similar ratio may be obtained for the island of Amorgos.²¹⁷ The island of Antiparos was the location for some of the earliest excavations by Bent;²¹⁸ if we take this island with the neighboring ones of Paros and Despotiko, some 280 graves have yielded approximately 58 figures, about one figure per five graves.²¹⁹ A greater imbalance between numbers of graves and figures was found at Chalandriani on Syros where only six figures were recovered from more than 600 graves, one figure per 100 graves. These figures suggest that for the islands of Naxos, Amorgos, Paros, Antiparos, and Despotiko, each figure represents approximately seven graves opened; on adding Syros to the numbers, each Cycladic figure with a secure provenance is found to represent some 10 excavated graves.

The estimate of 12,000 for the number of looted graves has a large uncertainty; even a lower, and less insecure, estimate of 10,000 graves, however, has large implications for Cycladic archaeology. This number would be the equivalent of 16 cemeteries of the size of that excavated at Chalandriani. This cem-

etry, however, was exceptional in its size; it is one of only three that contained 100 or more graves.²²⁰ Even if one large cemetery of, say, 100 graves has been rifled, the remaining tombs may represent 500 to 660 small cemeteries of 15 to 20 graves each—a more usual figure. Destruction on this scale would be sure to distort the picture of settlement in the islands. This arithmetic shows that one cannot accept Getz-Preziosi's comments in the epilogue of her *Sculptors of the Cyclades*: "Surely the Cyclades have many secrets still to be revealed."²²¹ Rather, every sign points to the obvious cemeteries in the Cyclades—which are small islands with much barren rock and shallow soil cover—now having been in large measure quarried out.²²² Most of these figures are of the folded-arm type and thus belong to the EC II horizon (some 300 years), a phase with one of the more intense levels of occupation.²²³ Melos, for example, is thought to have had a population of only some 400 at this time, and estimates for the whole Cyclades during EC II range from 6,600 to 34,400.²²⁴

These figures presume an even distribution of figures throughout the Cyclades. It seems that for the EC I horizon, however, most figures have been found on Naxos and Paros, and for the EC II horizon, on Naxos and Keros. Some islands that lacked marble sources, such as Thera and Melos,²²⁵ rarely seem to yield figures in funerary contexts. If this is the case, then the 10,000 graves of our estimate must be located on even fewer islands. Getz-Preziosi notes that "the distribution of marble objects within the Cyclades has been badly blurred by extensive illicit digging and the corresponding paucity of documented finds."²²⁶ Some pattern may survive in the blurring: the illegal digging is in pursuit of antiquities, and must generally follow the looters' experienced knowledge of where the goods are to be found. Another effect can arise from accidents of geography, and the modern trading ports. At one time Keros belonged to the Panagia Hozoviotissa monastery on Amorgos; in addition,

²¹³ As some graves were found to contain several figures, however, this ratio is a minimum.

²¹⁴ V. Fotou, "Les sites de l'époque néolithique et de l'âge du bronze à Naxos (recherches archéologiques jusqu'en 1980)," in Rougemont (supra n. 2) 15–57. See also Marangou.

²¹⁵ Fotou (supra n. 214) site nos. 1b (28 tombs/40 figures), 5b (25/8), 6 (100/1), 11 (24/8), 14 (86/3), 25 (82/3), 29 (39+/1), 30 (1+/7), 32 (170/3), 33 (22/1).

²¹⁶ Fotou (supra n. 214) site nos. 2b (3+), 3b (15+), 7 (6+), 12 (3), 13 (2), 15 (5), 18 (20), 19 (pillaged), 20 (10), 23 (pillaged), 24 (10), 26 (25), 27 (4), 34 (4).

²¹⁷ Kapsala (11/1), Dokathismata (ca. 20/3).

²¹⁸ Bent.

²¹⁹ Paros, Plastiras (7/4); Tsountas's excavations on Paros (Pyrgos and Glypha), Antiparos (Krassades), and Despotiko (Leivadia) (233/48); Bent's excavations on Antiparos (40/6).

²²⁰ Barber 77.

²²¹ SC 141.

²²² Some cemeteries are still being found, e.g., Tsiknias on Naxos; see V. Lambrinoudakis, "Archaeological Research on the Early Cycladic Period in Naxos," in Marangou 26.

²²³ Barber 70.

²²⁴ Barber 253.

²²⁵ SC 30. We doubt that this is the whole story, but it may be part of an explanation.

²²⁶ SC 30.

Keros is far nearer to the main town on Amorgos than it is to the capital of Naxos, way up the west coast. Amorgos forms a natural outlet during the early stages of discovery and dispersion.

These known, or perceived, patterns do not always fit the information offered for individual figures, and the literature therefore sometimes provides an alternative to a "said to be," when the "said to be" is thought unconvincing. A headless and legless marble figure formerly in the Erlenmeyer Collection was once said to have been found on Amorgos²²⁷ but the sale catalogue comments that "it is quite possible that it was actually recovered on Keros."²²⁸

Context is important for the most schematic figures. Take, for example, the three pieces of marble sold at the Erlenmeyer sale, December 1990, as its lots 134–36.²²⁹ Published by the Erlenmeyers in 1965,²³⁰ they had been "authenticated" by appearing in the Karlsruhe exhibition of 1976, where they were described as "abstract-schematic idols."²³¹ One is a conical piece of marble 9 cm high, identified in the 1990 auction catalogue as a pestle, although the description is more cautious.²³² The second, a subrectangular block, also 9 cm high, is identified as a *baitylos* (sacred stone);²³³ the description is again more cautious.²³⁴ The third, a subtrapezoidal pebble 8 cm high, which to our eyes has very little in common with Cycladic representations of the human body, is called a "highly schematised marble figure"; the description, again more cautious, only claims that the "small object of simple form and strong tactile appeal resembles the torso of a normal Cycladic folded-arm figure."²³⁵ The object does to a certain degree resemble that shape, but so does many a pebble that lies along any of the shingle beaches of the world, radiating the strongest tactile

appeal to the eye of the passing connoisseur. It is well known that marble pebbles were placed in Early Cycladic graves,²³⁶ but they can only be identified as artifacts of human interest by a secure knowledge of that context. When that context is lost, they lose their standing and are, once more, beach pebbles. The Erlenmeyer "abstract-schematic idols" are not known for certain to come from a grave, because their history is unknown. Without history, they become beach pebbles once more.²³⁷ The same is true of the "knob (?)" in the George Ortiz Collection in Geneva,²³⁸ an object of no known provenance whose declared history constitutes no proof that it is a genuine Cycladic antiquity. Yet it is seen as art: "The form of the object is perfect, the workmanship of superior quality. It is at present unique. What its purpose was is not known."²³⁹ These objects by their lack of history are reduced to meaningless curiosities, "things sold under the belief they are works of art."

A possible corollary to these revered objects without history is found in those objects scorned because they lack sufficiently distinctive form. What is a looter to do with beach pebbles or "abstract-schematic" figures found in a grave that do not by their form sufficiently announce themselves as Cycladic antiquities? As the form is not diagnostic, and as the history—the only true proof for items of these undiagnostic forms—is untellable, we fear objects of these kinds are left in the grave or otherwise discarded by those without the authority to declare them to be of a perfect form.

Finally, one may notice the effect of a changing climate for the open sale of classes of antiquities, like Cycladic, where there is some fear that items may be of unreliable history, whether through faking or through illicit export. If no account of the history of

²²⁷ Thimme, in ACC no. 153, notes: "The idol-fragment was supposedly found with a broken marble collared jar in which was a Byzantine lead cross."

²²⁸ *Antiquities from the Erlenmeyer Collection*, Sotheby's, 9 July 1990, lot 137.

²²⁹ Sotheby's, 13–14 December 1990.

²³⁰ M.-L. and H. Erlenmeyer, "Von der frühen Bildkunst der Kykladen," *AntK* 8 (1965) 59.

²³¹ ACC nos. 163–64; no. 472 was described as a "millstone or *baitylos*" in the Thimme catalogue but as a "pestle" in the Sotheby's sale.

²³² Lot 134. The catalogue account reads: "A Cycladic Marble Pestle, Early Bronze Age, Third Millennium B.C., the conical shape of the object suggests its use as a pestle, such pestles, made of various stones besides marble, are often found with palettes, occasionally with bowls." Parallels are noted in finds from Naxos and Amorgos.

²³³ On the importing of the idea of the *baitylos* into Cycladic prehistory, see pp. 649–50 below.

²³⁴ Lot 135. The catalogue account reads: "A Cycladic Stone 'Baitylos', Early Bronze Age II?, circa 2700–2200 B.C., in the form of a well-smoothed soft stone with a flat base and curving top that may have served as a sacred stone 'baitylos'."

²³⁵ Lot 136. The catalogue account reads: "A Cycladic Highly Schematised Marble Figure, Early Bronze Age II?, circa 2700–2200 B.C., from the side the small object of simple form and strong tactile appeal resembles the torso of a normal Cycladic folded-arm figure."

²³⁶ Bent 49: "in one grave I also found some flat round bits of marble which I threw away as mere pebbles at the time, but after consideration makes me inclined to believe that they were intended for the same purpose [sc., human representations]."

²³⁷ The estimates for each of lots 134–36 of the December 1990 set was £800–1200.

²³⁸ ACC no. 473.

²³⁹ ACC no. 473.

Table 11. Declared Histories of Items in the Exhibition "Art of the Cyclades in the Third Millennium B.C.," 22 April–1 May 1989, Galerie Heidi Vollmoeller

Cat. Nos.	Class	History
1–6	<i>kandile</i>	none offered
7	large beaker	none offered
8	beaker	ACC no. 278; Solothurn, Arthur von Arx
9	palette	ACC no. 327; Zurich, Galerie Heidi Vollmoeller
10–11	palette	none offered
12–13	lugged bowl	none offered
14	pot	ACC no. 383; Baden-Württemberg, private collection II
15	female figure	ACC no. 80; Zurich, Galerie Heidi Vollmoeller
16	female figure	ACC no. 80; Zurich, Galerie Heidi Vollmoeller
17–28	female figure	none offered
29	ring and bowl	none offered
30–33	bowl	none offered
34	double bowl	none offered
35	bowl	none offered
36	double bowl	none offered
37	footed bowl	none offered
38	spouted bowl	none offered
39	pyxis	ACC no. 341; Solothurn, Arthur von Arx
40	"box"	none offered

Histories, if offered, as stated in the catalogue.

some pieces can be given that would be satisfactory with respect to those fears, then a discreet way forward may be to give no explanation at all. If silence is in order for some items, then reticence may be a prudent habit in general. Certainly, one can notice that published sales catalogues of recent years seem to be less forthcoming about the history of items than was once customary.

Table 11 summarizes the accounts offered for the 40 items in the selling exhibition at Galerie Heidi Vollmoeller, Zurich, 1989. No account is offered for 34 of the objects. A history of the other six is offered as far back as the Karlsruhe exhibition of 1976; two of these were already in the gallery's ownership at that time; the history of none goes beyond Karlsruhe.

Consequences for Chronology

Insecure provenances are also common outside the area of Cycladic art. Some basic tenets of later chronology are, like Cycladic, dependent on "said to be" and the vagaries of mobile collections. For example, the key pieces for the study of early Greek pottery from the Black Sea are an MG II *hydrie* purchased from a dealer in 1909 and "said to be" from Berezan (yet no examples of such pottery have been found in excavated contexts), and LG kotyle and kantharos

fragments in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge, perhaps from Istria but possibly slipped into the wrong drawer from the Al Mina finds.²⁴⁰

As the context for so many Cycladic figures is lost, the framework depends on the 10% of the corpus that has been found in secure archaeological contexts. A figure without context can only be dated by reference to other figures that have a secure provenance. With the present evidence a schema has been created to trace a progression from the Abstract through the Hybrid and the Precanonical to the Canonical and then on to the Postcanonical of the Chalandriani type.²⁴¹ However attractive this theoretical outline might be as an abstract of an artistic cycle, it is necessarily remote from the evidence that ought to be available. Are Precanonical figures consistently found in early contexts? Are Postcanonical consistently in late? Are different types contemporary, or do they follow in a distinct succession? If they overlap, do the contemporary types fit with the scheme of things? The other 90% of the corpus might have answered these questions but their evidence has been lost forever. Barber comments: "Our understanding, both of the chronology of types and of the ways in which these objects were used, is slight by comparison with the total number of finds, though just enough figu-

²⁴⁰ J. Boardman, "Early Greek Pottery on Black Sea Sites?" *OJA* 10 (1991) 387–90.

²⁴¹ Such a scheme, set out in much detail, may be found in ACC 48, fig. 21.

rines have been found in systematic excavations to provide a key.”²⁴² We think Barber’s view of the weight of evidence is too generous; we are not convinced that “just enough figurines have been found in systematic excavations” to carry the schema that has been built upon it. Within the Keros-Syros phase, Broodbank notices, the case for an increasing “abstraction” for folded-arm figures depends on a relative chronology for the figure types that derives entirely from a priori evolutionary assumptions, and is supported by neither stratigraphy nor seriation; this proposition seems to relate to no empirical information at all.²⁴³

We fear that ideas about Cycladic chronology have now come to depend too much on preconceptions about the range of types and variants that *ought* to be in production at any one time, and about the stages through which those types and variants *ought* to progress in a highly disciplined aesthetic order. The figures that do not fit are set aside as late, decadent, or aberrant, in order not to challenge the studied truth of the aesthetic. Those elegant schemas sort and order the figures into a chronological pattern, a pattern that can then be depended on as confirming the historical truth of the schemas.²⁴⁴

“Workshops” and Regional Variation

A further problem is created by the attempt to isolate the areas where different “sculptors” were operating by comparing findspots. From her eight “classical sculptors” and five “late classical sculptors,” Getz-Preziosi produced a pattern of distribution of the works.²⁴⁵ Seven different islands are represented: Paros, Naxos, Keros, Amorgos, Keos, Ios, and Crete. Of these, Paros, Amorgos, and Ios have no secure findspots, and Naxos and Keros dominate those with secure ones. This lack of secure provenances and archaeological contexts deprives scholarship from the opportunity to discover if the “Masters” *are* masters or whether in fact the groups represent regional styles, a point made by von Bothmer.²⁴⁶ An equivalent point may be made by way of distribution over time: if there were good evidence of context and therefore

Table 12. Variation of Figure Size by Period

Figure Height (cm)	Early Cycladic I		Early Cycladic II	
	No.	%	No.	%
10–20	9	56	11	8
21–30	3	19	27	21
31–40	3	19	30	23
41–50	—	—	24	18
51–60	—	—	18	14
61–70	1	6	13	10
71–80	—	—	5	4
81–90	—	—	—	—
91–100	—	—	2	2
101+	—	—	1	1
<i>Total</i>	16		131	

Information from SC, appendix 2, 165–66.

of date, one could hope to establish if the works of a master indeed were contained within a single human life span.

Size and Function of the Figures

One question about the use of the figures has focused on whether or not the large examples were used in effect as cult statues whereas the smaller ones were usually confined to graves. The range of size for the works attributed to Getz-Preziosi’s 16 “sculptors” is a guide (table 12).²⁴⁷

More than half of the EC II figures are less than 40 cm high, and more than 80% less than 60 cm. Of the tall figures—those supposed to be cult statues—not one has a secure provenance, although one is said to come from Amorgos.²⁴⁸ Getz-Preziosi comments, in respect to their size, that “the purchaser of a piece probably neither commissioned it to conform to a precise measurement nor would he have paid for it ‘by the centimeter’, a method of pricing rumored to have been in use among grave robbers in recent years.”²⁴⁹ By the time the figures reached New York in the 1960s, the price per centimeter was around \$1,000.²⁵⁰ Again, it proves hard to find certain knowledge in a mass of uncertain reports.

²⁴² Barber 121.

²⁴³ Broodbank 544–45.

²⁴⁴ This may be an especial danger for the scholar who favors the Modernist aesthetic: see below, p. 658. Renfrew, studying the Indo-European question, has noticed a reciprocal dependence between the archaeological and the linguistic opinions, in which each builds a view in the light of the other’s beliefs, depending more on a mutual deference than empirical data. See C. Renfrew, *Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins* (London 1988).

²⁴⁵ SC chs. 5–6, esp. 132, fig. 53.

²⁴⁶ D. von Bothmer, in Fitton 1984, 73. P. Getz-Preziosi

commented: “Whether or not there were separate island schools is a very difficult problem because of the nature of the archaeological record, and the fact that the vast majority of the figures have no secure provenance.”

²⁴⁷ SC 166.

²⁴⁸ Copenhagen Master; Naxos Museum Master; Gouladris Master; Ashmolean Museum Master.

²⁴⁹ SC 101.

²⁵⁰ Personal information from a colleague. At that time, a suitcase full of Keros fragments was in New York with a Greek dealer.

INTELLECTUAL CONSEQUENCES

*Reduction and Corruption of the Factual Record:
Toward an Impossibility of Understanding Cycladic
Prehistory?*

A first and immediate consequence of the circumstances under which some 90% of known Cycladic figures have been removed from the ground and moved around the world is a total loss of reliable information about their archaeological context. For those examples whose archaeological context was a tomb, the loss is quantitative rather than qualitative. There remain a variety of possible non-funerary contexts for figures that have not been available to archaeological study: which classes of figures, if any, come from sanctuaries or other types of sacred places? And what kind of deposit is the Keros hoard—an immense tomb- or cemetery-group? A sanctuary deposit? Or something else again? Conversely, there are some types of figures unknown or barely known from archaeological contexts, such as the harpists; we therefore do not know if that class of figures comes from tombs like the others, or whether there is a different pattern of context, to go with the different form, and reflecting a different prehistoric purpose and meaning. The corpus of figures is vastly enlarged by the recent surfacings, but the information about context has scarcely changed. And for every tomb that was destroyed and yielded a figure, perhaps 10 others were destroyed without even producing that.

Many figures have surfaced with a declared provenance, the island of Naxos, say, but without supporting evidence—understandably, if to document their history is to admit to improper acts. These corrupt

the record, for it is in the interests of the seller to give information that the buyer will be happy to hear, and which offers no clue by which the buyer—or any agent of the Antiquities Service—can trace back the figure's movements from the earth. Forgeries corrupt the record whenever they are declared as having a provenance. The Keros hoard offers particular opportunities for the forger, as it is a shadowy collection, understood to be very large and diverse, never fully or securely documented. The hoard provides a convenient alibi under which a forgery, whether orthodox or novel in its form, can be offered as both plausible and impossible of being authenticated. Given the chain of intermediaries through which a figure may pass between the hole in the Cycladic ground and the connoisseur's cabinet—none of whom have necessary good cause faithfully to pass on what they hear—one can have no confidence that any knowledge of provenance that the figure may chance to carry at the start of the chain will in fact arrive unchanged at the end. The phrase “said to be from . . .” that one sees in the catalogues means just that. One must ask, as a historian does of the words a document offers for study, Said to whom? By whom? When? With what purpose?²⁵¹

Nevertheless, the connoisseur, concerned to be certain that his²⁵² purchase is what it is supposed to be, has good cause to wish to know that provenance to be correct, for the same reason that he wishes the object to be genuine. It is also in the interest of the dealer of integrity to offer reliable information.²⁵³ Unfortunately, the circumstances of sale, whether in an open market or privately, rarely offer any full reliability. The recent example of the Sevso treasure—a hoard of late Roman metalwork put on sale as coming from

²⁵¹ On this problem see O. White Muscarella, “‘Ziwiye’ and Ziwiye: The Forgery of a Provenience,” *JFA* 4 (1977) 197–219.

²⁵² Following contemporary norms, we do not generally use in this paper pronouns or phrases that presume male or female gender. The use of “his” here to refer to the connoisseur is a reminder that collectors are, in the majority, men, and that the atmosphere of collecting is a masculine one, which echoes the idiom of the hunt, as the patient collector stalks his prey with cunning patience until he can leap to grasp and take it. See, e.g., this metaphor in T. Hoving's account of collecting art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, entitled *The Chase, the Capture: Collecting at the Metropolitan* (New York 1975).

In the alternative metaphor, the desired object—so beautiful, so alluring, so passive—seduces the collector who is driven by passion to reach for his beloved, whatever the cost. The metaphor is sexual desire, and the collector is again cast in the masculine role.

²⁵³ See O. White Muscarella, “Unexcavated Objects and Ancient Near Eastern Art,” in G. Buccellati, *Mountains and Lowlands: Essays in the Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia*

(*BibM* 7, Malibu 1977) 160: “Many times one encounters the use of terms such as ‘honest dealer’, ‘dishonest dealer’, or a statement that an object was bought ‘in good faith’ from ‘a reputable dealer’. However, most of the public and very few scholars know what these terms actually signify when employed by museum curators or directors: an ‘honest’ or ‘reputable’ dealer is no more or less than one the purchaser believes will never *intentionally* sell a forgery, a ‘dishonest’ dealer is one who will knowingly sell forgeries. But most dealers are not experts in ancient art—although they usually claim such expertise—and they will often sell forgeries, albeit sometimes unintentionally. ‘In good faith’ seems to mean only that both purchaser and vendor mutually agree on a price, agree that the objects are genuine, and confirm that the object has successfully passed through the local customs. It must be understood that the use of the honorific adjectives mentioned with regard to dealers does not speak to the methods used by the latter to acquire their material, methods that more often than not involve not only the destruction of archaeological monuments, but smuggling and bribery to remove the object from its country of origin.”

Table 13. Security of Provenance for Objects in the 1979/1980 Loan Exhibition "Greek Art of the Aegean Islands"

Object	“known”	Security of Provenance			Total
		“said to be”	“possibly” or “perhaps”	“unknown”	
<i>By section</i>					
Art of the Early Cyclades	10	4	1	7	22
Later Cycladic art	18	—	—	—	18
Mycenaean art from Crete, Rhodes	11	1	3	1	16
Geometric	7	1	—	1	9
Orientalizing	10	—	—	1	11
Cretan Daedalic	7	10	—	1	18
Rhodian	21	4	2	6	33
Samos	25	—	1	1	27
Archaic sculpture	16	—	—	1	17
Classical sculpture	13	3	—	6	22
<i>Total</i>	138	23	7	25	193
<i>By lender (Art of the Early Cyclades)</i>					
Greek museums ²⁵⁴	9	—	—	—	9
Louvre, Paris	1	1	1	2	5
New York museums ²⁵⁵	—	3	—	5	8
<i>Total</i>	10	4	1	7	22
<i>By lender (other sections)</i>					
Greek museums ²⁵⁶	91	2	—	—	93
Louvre, Paris	23	7	2	8	40
New York museums ²⁵⁷	13	12	5	8	38
<i>Total</i>	127	21	7	16	171

Provenances as published in the exhibition catalogue.

Lebanon and with a Lebanese export certificate, but claimed also by the Yugoslavian government to be from its territory, and "reliably rumored" ("said to be") also to come from Hungary²⁵⁸—is but one example that shows why declared provenance is a matter subject to many influences beyond the actual place where an object first surfaced.

The same corruptions of reliable knowledge, arising from the existence of uncertain and false objects with uncertain and false contexts and provenances, afflict all classes of antiquities. Take an example that could be repeated from any one of many recent sale catalogues: "Two Danish flint axes, Neolithic period, circa 2500–2000 B.C., one from Store Jyndevad Another, circa 2500–2000 B.C., from Alslev v. Hjordkaer."²⁵⁹ Perhaps, even probably, these axes are what they say they are: a reliable history may be available from the previous owner; some Danish axes are thought distinctive in their shape and in the appear-

ance of the flint, providing confirmation of the declared provenance; there is little risk that an agency fearing illegal or unethical elements to the history will take a suspicious interest. No obloquy will go with their sale, no visits will be made from the Danish Embassy to the auction house, no injunctions will be sought from the High Court. A great many polished axes from the European Neolithic were privately collected in the last century, so there are indeed many "old European collections" in which the axes can be found in quantity, and polished axes are common stray finds across northern Europe to this day. Yet our corpus of finds with documented and reliable contexts and provenances for the Danish Neolithic may seem sufficiently large, and our knowledge of the Danish Neolithic may appear sufficiently broad-based, that it might be able to withstand the loss of knowledge that could once have gone with the quite large number of flint axes and other artifacts now in

²⁵⁴ National Museum.

²⁵⁵ Metropolitan Museum of Art.

²⁵⁶ Acropolis Museum for 2 items, Benaki Museum 2, École française d'Athènes 1, National Museum 50, Chania Museum 3, Delos Museum 2, Delphi Museum 2, Kos Museum 3, Melos Archaeological Museum 1, Olympia Museum

8, Paros Museum 1, Rhodes Museum 2, Samos (Vathy) Museum 15, Thasos Museum 4, Thera Museum 5.

²⁵⁷ Brooklyn Museum 1, Metropolitan Museum of Art 45.

²⁵⁸ Chippindale (supra n. 201) 704–707, esp. 705.

²⁵⁹ Sotheby's (London), 31 May 1990, lot 227.

Table 14. Security of Provenance for the Corpus of Archaic Sculpture: Statues of Kouroi and Korai and Grave-stones, as Known in 1960, 1968, and 1961, Respectively

Richter Group	Security of Provenance				Total
	"known"	"said to be"	"possibly" or "perhaps"	"unknown"	
<i>Kouroi</i>					
Sounion	27	2	2	1	32
Orchomenos–Thera	24	4	2	2	32
Tenea–Volomandra	14	4	2	3	23
Melos	42	1	1	5	49
Anavysos–Ptoon	14	3	2	1	20
Ptoon	26	—	3	8	37
Epilogue	5	—	—	3	8
<i>Total</i>	152	14	12	23	201
<i>Korai</i>					
Nikandre–Auxerre	29	4	2	2	37
Olympia Hera–Berlin Kore–Akropolis 593	13	4	2	—	19
Cheramytes–Geneleos	25	1	—	1	27
Lyons Kore–Ephesos	19	3	—	—	22
Siphnian Treasury–Temple of Apollo	69	5	1	1	76
Euthydikos Kore	19	—	—	8	27
<i>Total</i>	174	17	5	12	208
<i>Gravestones</i>					
[not classified by group]	50	18	—	12	80
<i>All types</i>	376	49	17	47	489

Numbers from G.M.A. Richter, *Kouroi: Archaic Greek Youths* (London 1960), *Korai: Archaic Greek Maidens* (London 1968), and *Archaic Gravestones of Attica* (London 1961).

the older, ill-documented museum collections and in circulation among the connoisseurs. The same *may* appear true of some classes of Classical antiquities, despite so many centuries of collecting before archaeological excavation in the modern sense began: those that surface now are "just more of the same." It is certainly *not* true for the figures from the prehistoric Cyclades or for our understanding of Cycladic pre-history.

Although esteem for Cycladic antiquities is a recent phenomenon, and with it looting on the larger scale, it has the appearance of affecting a greater proportion of the total corpus than is usual for Classical antiquities.²⁶⁰ In the absence of any published statistics to show what proportion of the Classical antiquities in

major museums and private collections are of a secure history, the point can only be illustrated on a small scale. The 1979/1980 loan exhibition "Greek Art of the Aegean Islands," the first ever sent by the Republic of Greece to the United States,²⁶¹ brought together 193 items²⁶² from the Cyclades, early and later, with material of Mycenaean, Geometric, Archaic, and Classical periods from Crete, Rhodes, and other islands. The major collections lending were the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, the Louvre, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Table 13 shows the provenance listed for the items divided first by its 10 sections, and then by the lending museums.²⁶³ Table 14 shows the provenance for some classes of Archaic sculpture.

(supra n. 6) 9.

²⁶² Numbered 1–191 but including 172A–C, so making a total 193.

²⁶³ This was a general exhibition of varied objects, with figures and other items from the Cyclades, not of Cycladica alone. The classification of security of provenance is that offered in its catalogue. The statistics are also affected by the particular choice of items for each section, which may have produced a different pattern than that based on a larger sample or one systematically put together in another way.

²⁶⁰ Some categories have suffered worse than others. One could compare the plight of the Cycladic funerary record with that of Boeotia. It has been estimated that between 8,000 and 10,000 graves were looted in 1872 and 1873 around the city of Tanagra in Boeotia to supply the demands for the clay figures of Hellenistic draped women, known as "Tanagras" (R. Higgins, *Tanagra and the Figurines* [Princeton 1986] 30). Here again is a problem of authenticity with many figures being forged. Indeed it has been reported to us by Lucilla Burn of the British Museum that not a single known "Tanagra" comes from a recorded tomb group.

²⁶¹ D. Dillon, "Preface," in *Greek Art of the Aegean Islands*

Table 15. Security of Provenance for Items in the Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection, as Exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1990

"known"	Security of Provenance		"unknown"	Total
	"said to be"	"possibly" or "perhaps"		
2	10	1	217	230

Numbers from *Glories*.

The pattern that is visible largely follows from the date of acquisition. The supply of legitimate antiquities has dried up; as demand has continued, it has been supplied increasingly by illegitimate means. Private collectors of Greek antiquities in North America, as the newest class to pursue that demand, have naturally had to depend more on illegitimate sources. The proportion of unprovenanced or doubtfully provenanced items in some North American private collections of Greek painted vases is correspondingly as high as for the North American collections of Cycladic figures.²⁶⁴ Of the items from the Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection that were exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1990, 94% are of unknown provenance (table 15). When it comes to the European collections, which may be "older" in the generality of Greek antiquities, the recent promotion of Cycladic figures into the desired canon of collectibles shows itself again in the high proportion of unprovenanced or doubtfully provenanced figures.

B.F. Cook, Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, recently set out his view of the market in Classical antiquities:

Given the known pillage of archaeological sites and the flood of unprovenanced antiquities on the market, there is clearly reasonable cause to believe that a considerable number, if not the majority, of these unprovenanced objects have been clandestinely excavated and illegally smuggled out of their countries of origin. Under these circumstances all unprovenanced antiquities are tainted with suspicion (*cf.* Chippindale 1990: 704), and objects considered for acquisition should therefore come with some evidence that they have not recently come into the market through the hands of criminals abroad.²⁶⁵

The British Museum policy, therefore, is as follows: "Objects of foreign origin are only acquired if the laws of the country of origin allow it, a point cleared as a matter of routine in any report submitted to the Trustees on a purchase or gift."²⁶⁶ For this reason, Cook explains, "relatively few objects have been acquired by the British Museum's Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in recent years."²⁶⁷ The remarks apply *a fortiori* to Cycladic figures, and here is the problem for any collection, private or public, less favored by chance and history in its assets than the British Museum. It seems to us that there is no supply, practically, of first-rate Cycladic figures that "come with some evidence that they have not recently come into the market through the hands of criminals abroad," despite Getz-Preziosi's observation that "many of the works that have come to the U.S. in recent years were previously in European collections formed after WW II (but before 1973)."²⁶⁸ If a museum or a collector decides a Cycladic figure *must* be acquired, then choice has usually to be made among unprovenanced antiquities that are variously tainted with suspicion. The unacceptable alternative is no Cycladic figure at all. Ricardo Elia, reviewing Renfrew's *Cycladic Spirit*, notices that the odium thrown over looters is not extended to the collectors.²⁶⁹ The one is "bad," the other "good." It is not clear to him or to us why.

Art, Eternal Value, and the Idea of Redemption

It seems to us a remarkable fact that the history of esteem for Cycladic figures, as we have documented it, has led to so many actions on, or beyond, the margins of legality. Esteem for so many other classes

²⁶⁴ W.G. Moon, *Greek Vase-Painting in Midwestern Collections* (Chicago 1979) catalogues the Greek vases exhibited in Chicago in 1979: 109 of the 127 exhibited are of unknown provenance. H.A. Shapiro, *Art, Myth, and Culture: Greek Vases from Southern Collections* (New Orleans 1981) catalogues 67 vases shown at New Orleans in 1981, and offers not one provenance.

²⁶⁵ B.F. Cook, "The Archaeologist and the Art Market: Policies and Practice," *Antiquity* 65 (1991) 533–37. His "Chippindale 1990: 704" refers to Chippindale (supra n. 201)

703–10.

²⁶⁶ D.M. Wilson, *The British Museum: Purpose and Politics* (London 1989) 28.

²⁶⁷ Cook (supra n. 265) 534.

²⁶⁸ In a letter to us (see above p. 612).

²⁶⁹ Elia. See also Renfrew 1993 (supra n. 20), and T.F. King, "Some Dimensions of the Pothunting Problem," in G.S. Smith and J.E. Ehrenhard eds., *Protecting the Past* (Boca Raton 1991) 83–92; we would wish, however, to distance ourselves from King's conclusions.

of antiquities has had such similar consequences that all this may no longer surprise or shock. As elsewhere in this paper, we try to confine ourselves to observation and restrained comment. Yet consider the respected place in Western society that the connoisseurs and the museums hold; these are indeed the pillars of society. The discrepancy is so striking between that standing—and the correctness of moral behavior that goes with it—and the reality that lies behind “no history” that one must look for motives by way of explanation that reach into the domain of the psychological.

What are those motives? A first element is the wish to acquire. Sir Robert Sainsbury says of his collecting: “I have, for over forty years, been a ‘passionate acquirer’—a passionate acquirer of works of art that have appealed to me,” and he goes on to quote a more explicit statement by Thomas Hoving of the Metropolitan Museum: “If something is truly grand it has a kinetic effect. Something akin to being physically impelled. It is, frankly, a charge, both cerebral and viscerotonic, not unlike a sexual experience.”²⁷⁰ The Metropolitan Museum press release for the catalogue of the White and Levy Collection is headed with a quotation from its foreword: “True and Passionate Collectors.” Going with this passion is the competitive framework within which collecting takes place. *There are only so many Cycladic figures, or only so many great Cycladic figures, only eight—just eight harpists—and some of them are spoken for! Each that another has, I cannot have for myself.*²⁷¹ This is the old motive, “the chase, the capture,”²⁷² that drives the spirit of acquisition by museum and by individual collector. Dietrich von Bothmer, Distinguished Research Curator of Greek and Roman Art at the Metropolitan Museum, remarks: “The creation of the great museums of the world—the Metropolitan Museum of Art is no exception—and their continued existence and well-being owe much to a special breed of individual: the collector. No matter where or when they plied their trade, these individuals are linked by a common thread—the ardent desire to own works of art.”²⁷³ Alan Shesstack, Director of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, says, in his important essay in *The Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property*:

Museum professionals are acquirers; we are inherently greedy collectors. Most of us go into the profession because the desire to accumulate and bring together objects of quality is in our blood. We are personally and professionally devoted to adding to and improving our holdings. That is what makes us tick. And to consciously or intentionally turn down a highly desirable object we can afford to buy on the basis that we suspect that it might have been removed illegally from its country of origin—and also knowing that it will end up in the collection of a rival institution or an unscrupulous private collector is a very hard thing to do.²⁷⁴

Despite these pressures, museums are by degrees coming to follow a common policy that rules out the acquisition of newly surfaced antiquities.²⁷⁵ In the museum world, acquisitions have now become “subject to the constraints of committees, to financial restrictions, and to the relative academicism of many of their curatorial guardians.”²⁷⁶ In the private field, the spirit of chase and capture can still prevail. As the Metropolitan’s Director puts it, “in the assembling of private collections every whim can be exercised at will, and the preferences of the collectors tirelessly pursued and indulged: the result is fresh and often surprising because it reflects the collectors’ personal taste and a sense of risk and adventure.”²⁷⁷ It is also pertinent that the curator, at the British Museum at least, is obliged to guarantee the good history of a planned acquisition,²⁷⁸ whereas the private collector has a wider freedom. Indeed, as museums become reluctant to be seen to acquire works of uncertain history, then the private collections—acquired outside the gaze of the public or of trustees, unsupervised by an apparatus of formal codes of conduct, and then transferred to the museum—can instead be the means by which the great museums can satisfy their ardent desires. The pattern now begins to be discerned for Cycladic art that goes from the ground²⁷⁹ through intermediaries and across frontiers to a private collection in a “safe” country in Europe or North America, and then by loan, gift, bequest, or purchase from private collection into a museum. Dividing the route into distinct stages in this way serves to distance the museum, as ultimate recipient, from those successive and “separate” transactions by which the stolen and smuggled object is made into a civic treasure.

²⁷⁰ R. Sainsbury, “My Criterion for Acquiring, My Purpose in Disposing,” in Sainsbury (supra n. 47) 13–15.

²⁷¹ Unless it was forged, and may benefit from a repeat order.

²⁷² As in the title of the book celebrating the New York Metropolitan’s acquisitive success: Hoving (supra n. 252).

²⁷³ P. de Montebello, “Foreword,” in *Glories* vii.

²⁷⁴ A. Shesstack, “The Museum and Cultural Property: The Transformation of Institutional Ethics,” in P. Mauch Mes-

senger ed., *The Ethics of Collecting Cultural Property: Whose Culture? Whose Property?* (Albuquerque 1989) 93–101.

²⁷⁵ See, e.g., British Museum policy as explained by Cook (supra n. 265), summarized above.

²⁷⁶ Montebello (supra n. 273).

²⁷⁷ Montebello (supra n. 273).

²⁷⁸ Supra p. 632.

²⁷⁹ Or modern workshop.

In the case of Cycladic art, there is a large possibility that the supply, by new manufacture or by surfacing or otherwise, could outstrip demand. A considerable time sometimes has been known to elapse between some objects becoming known and being available for sale; Cycladic figures and other antiquities, lent by Galerie Heidi Vollmoeller (Zurich) to Karlsruhe in 1976, were available at the gallery's stand at the Basel art fair in 1989.²⁸⁰ More of the Keros hoard trickled out subsequent to the release of what had seemed its entirety. Cycladic market-makers are clearly aware of the danger, and adjust the supply accordingly. If the cemeteries are in large measure quarried out, as suggested above, one means of supply has naturally dwindled.

Another aspect may be that antiquities, like other works of art, are one means by which mere money, even if vulgarly acquired, can become a fine proprietorship; the celebrated way in England for the rising new rich to meld into the old rich is to buy or to build a country estate, and thereby to join the aristocratic ranks of the landed gentry. A connoisseur's regard for fine old things makes the same statement. There is nothing necessarily special about Cycladica here; they are just another class of possessions to esteem. Yet some collectibles are grander than others; enthusiasts for philately have to live with the derogatory phrase "stamp-collecting"; there is no equivalent dismissal of "Cycladic collecting" or "Old Master collecting." We think we can perceive, in the rising tide of regard, a place for Cycladic not as just one more ancient class of art to go alongside Cypriot pottery, South Italian red-figure vases, or little Etruscan bronzes, but as an art whose special and higher status is demonstrated by its sharing its remarkable aesthetic with the modern masters. It takes a special connoisseur properly to appreciate the refined quality of Cycladic sculpture, so cool and understated by the side of the more florid Classical forms. For this reason, we expect Cycladic art to continue to rise in esteem and, by degrees, for its market value to overhaul longer-established classes of "easier" Classical collectibles.

Although archaeology and art history are newly awash with self-conscious theory, not much is written on the philosophy of contemporary connoisseurship. J.T. Spike, "an independent art historian specializing

in Italian paintings," remarks while writing about a contemporary-art dealer's exhibition, which included Cycladic figures: "Questions of quality are not often addressed in writing as those responsible for much of what is written—art historians and archaeologists—regard works of art more as documents or facts than as objects of aesthetic appeal."²⁸¹ Arguing that we can enjoy things without their context, Spike says of the "Cycladic idols": "To return to idols, we need not apologize nor feel discouraged by the realization that we will never understand these ancient terracottas and stones with anything like the meaning that they held for the worshipper who reverently gave them as offerings. . . . Great art is large in spirit: it is sufficient and little short of miraculous, come to think of it, that these works of art can seize the imagination of persons inhabiting any part of the world in 1990 A.D."

All this is true and fair, in our opinion, provided it is clearly understood that the connoisseur's appreciation, in a place, time, and intellectual climate far removed from those of the object's maker, may intersect little or not at all with the meaning, function, or vision that the same artifact held in its own place, time, and society. But does that justify the connoisseur of this eternal value in seizing the treasure without respect for the rights of persons inhabiting other parts of their world in A.D. 1993?

The conventional motives, like the two outlined above, do not seem so strong that they sufficiently explain the disregard of private collectors and of some museums for the actions to which, by their purchases, they become accomplices. Perhaps too little notice is taken of the power of a vision and a spirit of *redemption* in these matters. Consider. An ancient genius, gifted by providence with the skills to craft Cycladic figures of museum quality and graced with a society in which his genius was nourished and succored, contrived enduring masterpieces out of the base rock of a tiny, dry, poor island. The figures, "austere and stylized yet delicate and fully formed,"²⁸² which in their own time may have been idols, gods, demons, or images of the dead, are eternal as Art. That is why, in the 1920s it was Moore and Modigliani, artists not scholars, who rediscovered the incomparable beauty of these works, why Pablo Picasso viewed a Cycladic sculpture he owned as finer than a Brancusi.²⁸³ In ancient times these masterpieces came to be lost to

²⁸⁰ J. Thimme et al., Galerie Heidi Vollmoeller, *Marmor-kunst der Kykladen im 3. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, 30 Schweiz. Kunst- und Antiquitätenmesse, Basel, 22 April–1 May 1989. See also below.

²⁸¹ J.T. Spike, "Images and Idols: A Connoisseur's View,"

in *Idols* (supra n. 7) 5.

²⁸² J. Thimme, "An Introduction to the Marble Art of the Cyclades in the Third Millennium B.C.," in Thimme et al. (supra n. 280).

²⁸³ Thimme (supra n. 282).

the earth; they may in a deep sense have been lost even *before* they went back into the earth, if they chanced to fall into the possession of contemporaries unable to understand their Art, who might have even regarded them as functional little things of no moment, as mere idols.

Buried, the figures may be lost forever. Yet for a fortunate few, there is the chance of redemption from that fall into earth, to be taken up once more out of the base clay of an Aegean island, to enjoy again an intimacy with a human mind and a human spirit that can reach out to its high and enduring art. What honor for a Cycladic figure could be greater than to be owned by Picasso or esteemed by Giacometti! This is the vocation of the modern connoisseur of Cycladic art, to recover that which is lost, to esteem it for its greatness, and by that spiritual communion to make the figure come to glory again, and so to let the spirit of the master who made it live once more: master shall speak to master across so many remote centuries in the language of masterpieces, the shared language that needs no common tongue!

If the impulse behind the pursuit of Cycladica is of this nature, then several consequences follow. First, the essence is in the fact of redemption, the bringing again from the darkness of earth into the light. The circumstances of redemption are a lesser matter. It does not matter much whether a figure is retrieved by archaeological excavation, by chance discovery, or by *archaiokapiloi*; and there is nothing of special merit about an archaeological recovery over any other.

Second, it is then of the essence that the figure newly redeemed from the earth be conveyed into the possession of a person who shares the grace fully to grasp its aesthetic nature, to respond to its eternal virtue. An *archaiokapilos* does not qualify, although he will suffice as the vehicle by which the figure is redeemed. An archaeologist may suffice—but not if, instead of bringing the figure to light, he then consigns it instead into the modern darkness of some remote, closed storeroom. Nor will he qualify if he overlooks the spirit of the figure and insists on a narrow, materialist attitude in which this figure of grace is just a physical object, more unfelt data.

Third, it is immaterial *where* the redeemer chances to reside. These values are of the eternal, and may equally be found in Fort Worth (Texas) or Ludwigschafen-am-Rhein; they are as likely to inhabit Athens, Georgia, as Athens, Greece. After all, providence chose to endow the people on some dry, scruffy, barren Aegean islands with the ancient grace to create these spirits out of the pebbles on the beach. There is no special claim of descent or geography that privileges the claim of persons or authorities in the Cyclades, or elsewhere within the modern state of Greece, over those of other lands. Rather, the higher calling of the connoisseur, and the obligation to take the act of redemption to its completion, requires that the finest figures be taken before those rare eyes that can grasp their deeper meaning. It is in this way that the human spirit is communicated, from age to age, despite the petty obstacles invented by those to whom it is not given to understand these deep matters.²⁸⁴ A different view of redemption is clearly held by the Greek authorities who seek the return of these figures from alien lands to the museums and collections of their native country.²⁸⁵

We do not think the motivations sketched above fully account for the desire of some collectors and museums to override the legal and ethical obstacles to looting and export of Cycladic figures from Greece. But we do think that this is the spirit that stands behind the realities of the trade; we see it as explaining why little weight is given to the archaeological wish that Cycladic figures be recovered in a controlled manner that allows knowledge of context, and why the Greek government's efforts to keep Cycladic figures in Greece are regarded by some in the collecting countries of Western Europe and North America as no more than a tiresome and parochial possessiveness.

It is also to be remembered that the figures were put into graves. Private collections, and even museum collections, of human bones are increasingly regarded as morally dubious. With good logic, some indigenous groups aspiring to recover and rebury human remains they regard as their own have come to regard the grave as encompassing the grave goods, and therefore require reburial to include artifacts along with

²⁸⁴ From the dream of higher purpose follows a real dilemma: how is one to discriminate among the various claims of would-be redeemers? This is where the market comes in, and the market values, as the means by which the sole redeemer will come to be chosen. One could say—having observed the manners, financial rectitude, and fate of some of the active players in the antiquities game—that winning the capture in the financial chase does not necessarily imply possessing the higher morality that goes with the role of

redeemer.

²⁸⁵ Returned to Greece, or redeemed from export out of Greece, they do not belong specifically to the Cyclades. There are museums in the islands, but the main collections, like the National Museum and the Goulandris Collection, are on the mainland. Excavated material from the Cyclades is now generally held on or near its island of finding, though concerns for security may take some pieces to Athens.

the bones. On this view, the Cycladic figures should go back into the ground, except where they can be unambiguously traced to a non-funerary provenance, and may properly remain above the ground.²⁸⁶ One man's redemption is another man's grave-robbing.

Comparative moral values in these matters throw up some anomalies: Cycladica from the Erlenmeyer Collection were auctioned to fund the Erlenmeyer Stiftung, "a foundation for animal welfare," which funds such ideals as "Save the Elephant" and "Save the Rain Forest."²⁸⁷ Another charity might equally choose to sell smuggled ivory and rhino horn in order to safeguard the welfare of Cycladic archaeological sites.

Shelby White and Leon Levy say of their collection: "The excitement of collecting has been not only the joy of possessing a beautiful object but the fascination of discovering the links between that object and its place in history."²⁸⁸ What are the histories of the objects in their collection, where are their places in history? Our table 15 (p. 632) shows one kind of an answer: 2 "known," 10 "said to be," 1 "possibly" or "perhaps," 217 "unknown"; 230 total. With so much information lost in the discovery, export, and acquisition of these beautiful objects, there are indeed many links between those objects and their place in history to be fascinatingly remade as best can be done from the fragments.

Identifying the Masters of Cycladic Art: The Available Information

We have described, and attempted to quantify, the degree to which provenances of Cycladic figures are lost or may have been falsified. That lost knowledge damages the potential for recognizing patterns among the figures, whether in morphology, in context, or in distributions in space and time, and particularly afflicts Getz-Preziosi's identifications of individual masters among the Cycladic figure-makers. Getz-Preziosi's suggestion that her "Goulandris Master" was a Naxian²⁸⁹ may be interesting but it is unprovable. Certainly a figure attributed to "his" hand was found in tomb 23 of the Aplomata cemetery on Naxos, but

others come, or are said to come, from Amorgos and Keros. Until such time as more of these figures are found in a secure archaeological context, and when they form a large percentage of the pieces attributed to the "Master," ideas of this nature remain in the realm of unprovable speculation. We may have demonstrated, above, that destruction of graves is now sufficiently extensive that such time will never come.

The attribution of hands presumes that these figures were the works of single people. Yet there is a possibility that the picture emerging is one of regional styles²⁹⁰ and that instead of talking about, say, "the Fitzwilliam Master," we should be talking about the regional characteristics of the island of Amorgos. However, so few of these figures have held their provenance (and alleged provenances are of little help) that these differences may now be beyond identification. Oustinoff's experiments in making Cycladic figures show that the labor held in the known corpus is far from sufficient to make demands on an established corps of specialized full-time sculptors.²⁹¹

The corpus itself is not to be trusted, as we have shown. In consequence, an attempt to identify individual hands and even the characteristics of the sculptors within the corpus must be treated with caution. How are we to know if the works attributed to the Goulandris Master reflect "l'expression condensée du calme, de l'équilibre et de l'harmonie des formes simples et complémentaires que le terme 'idole cycladique' évoque aujourd'hui"?²⁹²

Getz-Preziosi explains her purpose in identifying masters: "A number of sculptors with easily recognizable styles are now known from two or more published works. In an attempt to rescue them from total anonymity and to facilitate identification, I have named the sculptors after museums (or museum locations) or private collections that contain one or more well-preserved examples of their work; occasionally I have used the name of an archaeologist who has unearthed important pieces attributable to a particular artist."²⁹³

The lack of secure provenance for such a high proportion of these figures must cast doubt on their authenticity. If different "sculptors" (or perhaps re-

²⁸⁶ E.g., the Pequots of Connecticut: see the film by C. Chippindale and A. West in the "Down to Earth" series, Thames TV/Channel 4, December 1991. See also "Shared Principles: A Cooperation Agreement between a Native American Group and Archaeologists," *Antiquity* 65 (1991) 917–20. "Shared principles," an agreement for the state of Washington, defines the term "human remains" as referring "not only to the interred remains of human beings but also to any ceremonial or funerary remains associated with them." The issue seems never to have been raised in respect to Cycladic antiquities and we do not think it will be. We mention it because it underlines how a virtuous act by one

set of morals—redemption of lost beauty from the earth—is a wickedness by another—respect for all that the grave holds rightly in the ground.

²⁸⁷ Sotheby's sale, 13–14 December 1990, catalogue.

²⁸⁸ White and Levy (supra n. 70) ix.

²⁸⁹ Getz-Preziosi 1984, 47; *ECANAC* 81.

²⁹⁰ Discussion in Fitton 1984, 73 (in the context of Beazley and hands).

²⁹¹ E. Oustinoff, "The Manufacture of Cycladic Figurines: A Practical Approach," in Fitton 1984, 38–47.

²⁹² Getz-Preziosi 1984, 48.

²⁹³ *ECANAC* 80–81.

Table 16. Security of Corpora Attributed to the 16 Cycladic Masters Identified by Getz-Preziosi

Master	“known”	Security of Provenance			Total
		“said to be”	“possibly” or “perhaps”	“unknown”	
<i>Secure Masters (2)</i>					
Doumas Master	5	1	—	3	9
Naxos Museum Master	5	3	—	3	11
<i>Insecure Masters (8)</i>					
Bastis Master	2	2	—	—	4
Dresden Master	2	4	—	2	8
Goulandris Master	2	31	—	18	51
Israel Museum Master	2	—	1	2	5
Kontoleon Master	2	1	1	4	8
Fitzwilliam Master	1	1	—	2	4
Schuster Master	1	4	1	6	12
Stafford Master	1	5	—	2	8
<i>Inadequate Masters (6)</i>					
Ashmolean Museum Master	—	3	1	1	5
Athens Museum Master	—	2	—	2	4
Berlin Master	—	—	—	2	2
Copenhagen Master	—	4	—	2	6
Metropolitan Museum Master	—	1	—	2	3
Steiner Master	—	3	—	4	7

The numbers refer to the identified items in Getz-Preziosi's checklist, SC 155–64, where the corpus is given as a numbered list. Possible extra items, which Getz-Preziosi notes as potential candidates for each corpus, are excluded. Masters identified in other places are excluded, such as the Missouri Master (three identified figures of undeclared provenance, plus a vessel, “said to be” found together; therefore another “inadequate master”), in *ECANAC* nos. 5, 6, 7, and 106.

gional styles) may be discerned, then confirmation of the authenticity of each “master” (or at least part of the group) could be given by the inclusion of at least three figures with a confirmed findspot. Of Getz-Preziosi's 16 “sculptors,” six have the potential of not being ancient; one piece attributed to the “Metropolitan Museum Master,” however, was said to have been found on Delos in 1860, and the “name-piece” of the “Ashmolean Master” is said to have been acquired on Amorgos at the end of the 19th century.

We address below the intellectual framework within which the identification of masters takes place. For this portion of the paper, we do not dispute whether or not the masters did exist, or whether or not their work indeed holds an individual signature that the educated eye can grasp. The question, however, of “how many works suffice to define a master” arises. A master who exists in a single work is not a master, but a single figure, as the point of the concept is to define an artist's style as evident in a range of work. Two might suffice, but make for an artistic personality too slight to be useful.²⁹⁴ We insist on three as the minimum number of works that can define a “Master.” Knowing the difficulty with fakes, we also request

that those works be genuine, for what could be easier than to fake a work in the style of a single genuine figure? No certainty exists as to what in the Cycladic corpus is good, but our best guide will be those figures that are of a secure documented context, for the most part an archaeological excavation. We therefore are obliged to set aside the works that are “said to be,” “perhaps,” “possibly,” or “unknown” in provenance, as capable only of providing circumstantial evidence, and require that a Master offer three or more works of a secure context.

Table 16 sets out the works of the masters, as Getz-Preziosi recognizes them, together with their security of provenance. In it, we find two secure masters, the Doumas Master and the Naxos Museum Master; for each there are five works of secure context. There are eight masters we class as insecure because they offer only one or two works of secure context. And there are six masters we reluctantly call inadequate because they offer *no* works of a secure context; these are the masters whose entire corpus is built on provenances of sand. If we were to ask, not unreasonably, for 8 or 10 pieces as necessary to define masters, then even the two secure masters become insecure.

²⁹⁴ Getz-Preziosi is content with a minimum of two works, the number that defines her Berlin Master.

Identifying the Individual Craftsman in Prehistory

By definition, no actual named individuals can be recovered from the material objects of a truly prehistoric context, and no prehistoric artists can be named.²⁹⁵ What can more often be isolated, perhaps, is a corpus of work with a range of distinctive and idiosyncratic traits, which may appear to approximate the range of variability of the work of a single individual, as has been done for Cycladic figures, and also for Benin bronzes and West African woodcarving.²⁹⁶ But it will never be clear that one of these “analytical individuals”²⁹⁷ (“Master of the Cow Sacrifice,” “Master of the Uneven Eyes”) actually *is* a single person, or whether the work represents in fact either *less* than a single craftsworker (whose work actually runs to a wider span of variation) or *more* than a single craftsworker, perhaps a workshop, a local or regional tradition, or a particular chronological horizon; or whether the distinctive idiosyncrasies actually arise from a particular function or purpose, or some other factor quite extraneous to the personality of the maker. Hill and Gunn’s *The Individual in Prehistory* offers a range of studies in this pursuit for several prehistoric technologies.²⁹⁸ Its authors generally find the identification of an actual individual an unhappy ambition, since the best that can be managed will always be the *analytical* individual. In our opinion the success of the identification of unnamed masters in Renaissance painting does not indicate that the ambition, or the method, has equivalent value for prehistoric study. What is available for the Renaissance, and unavailable for Cycladic, is a documented body of work for many named artists, so one can judge the possible corpus of an unnamed master by reference to the range of the known Daddi, Gaddi, or Botticelli; a prehistoric context offers no such prototypes for how an individual personality does or does not show itself in visible and distinctive traits of the body of material in question.

Redman’s essay in *The Individual in Prehistory* is skeptical of the value, as well as the possibility, of advancing from the “analytical individual” to the actual individual in prehistory. He remarks: “I believe that a preoccupation with identifying individuals will lead to debates over the validity of identification displacing our primary concern—for the processes to be explicated with this information. All too often it seems as though scholars who study the behavior of particular individuals do so at the cost of more general investigations.”²⁹⁹

We are less gloomy than Redman, who thinks his own skepticism “may be excessive,” because we can see one good route to testing whether an “analytical individual” in prehistory may actually be one human being. Take a body of material, like Cycladic figures, that seems to show a variability of a kind amenable to identification of the individual. Identify within it an “analytical individual.” Then examine the distribution in space and in time of the individual corpus, and see if that matches the range to be expected from the output of a single craftsworker. In the Cyclades, as elsewhere, there are some obstacles. In a small archipelago known to have had networks of exchange and trade, spatial distribution may not be decisive. Chronological resolution is more promising, but may be blurred if figures are in circulation for any prolonged period, rather than going rapidly into the ground upon their making.

Resolution of this important intellectual issue is made impossible by the material consequences of esteem for the Cycladic masters. As is shown above, the independent evidence for the distribution in space and in time of the figures is vanishingly small: 14 of the 16 masters are insecure or inadequate (table 16), and the information available for the two secure masters (the Dumas and the Naxos Museum) is not sufficient to address their distribution in space and time. The identification of individual Cycladic mas-

²⁹⁵ A remarkable special case from the edge of prehistory is the ancient tradition of painting on rocks in Arnhem Land, northern Australia, which persisted so close to the present that the distinctive style of the painter Najombolmi, who died as recently as 1964, can be recognized on a great many surfaces, which together provide an identifiable corpus of the work of a named yet “prehistoric” artist. See I. Haskovec and H. Sullivan, “Reflections and Rejections of an Aboriginal Artist,” in H. Morphy ed., *Animals into Art* (London 1989) 57–74. On attribution studies in Classical Greece, see now C. Morris, “Hands Up for the Individual!” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 3 (1993) 41–66 (with invited comments by the present authors, pp. 57–58); and on attribution studies in Bronze Age Greece, see J.F. Cherry, “Beazley in the Bronze Age? Reflections on Attribution Studies in Aegean

Prehistory,” in R. Laffineur and J.L. Crowley eds., *EIKON. Aegean Bronze Age Iconography: Shaping a Methodology* (Aegaeum 8, Liège 1992) 123–44.

²⁹⁶ Mostly by William Fagg. See A. Rubin, “The Individual in Prehistory: An Art-Historical Perspective,” in J.N. Hill and J. Gunn eds., *The Individual in Prehistory: Studies of Variability in Style in Prehistoric Technologies* (New York 1977) 247–50.

²⁹⁷ The valuable concept and phrase of “analytical individual” is found in J. Muller, “Individual Variation in Art Styles,” and in C.L. Redman, “The ‘Analytical Individual’ and Prehistoric Style Variability,” in Hill and Gunn (supra n. 296) 23–39, and 41–53, respectively.

²⁹⁸ Supra n. 296. Stone sculpture not included.

²⁹⁹ Redman (supra n. 297) 42.

ters, then, is a research proposal impossible to realize and therefore valueless to pursue. But the idea of the Cycladic masters is central to the esteem now held for Cycladic figures, and provides insights into the treatment of prehistoric artifacts as *objets d'art*, and we therefore explore here its very considerable intellectual consequences.

We should first remind ourselves of the point and value of identifying the individual masters, as that is expressed in the literature. J. Frel, introducing Getz-Preziosi's 1985 essay on EC sculpture in the Getty Museum, says: "Instead of anonymous marble figures, we can see real people at creative work, communicating in spite of the passage of time and different ways of life."³⁰⁰ Getz-Preziosi herself says that studying sculpture is thought "to identify the personal styles of many individual, if anonymous, sculptors and, in some cases, to trace their development from novices to consummate carvers."³⁰¹ And the Virginia exhibition was perceived as making possible a one-man show "devoted to a particularly important sculptor."³⁰²

In literate civilizations, it is the signature that stands for the individual artist; Coe, following Alsop, notes that signed art is known only from six art traditions—the Graeco-Roman world, China, Japan, the Islamic world, Renaissance and later Europe, and (following recent research) the Maya.³⁰³ All other traditions have not seen fit to sign as the authentic mark of the individual creator.

Identifying the Masters of Cycladic Art: Premises and Consequences of the Method

The exemplar for the identification of masters in ancient Greece, of course, is the study of painted pottery, in particular black- and red-figure, as perfected by Sir John Beazley and his followers.³⁰⁴ Beazley was famously reticent about his methods,³⁰⁵ though confident his eye could distinguish fine grades of distance between artistic personalities and saying

"that 'manner', imitation, following, workshop, school, circle, group, influence, kinship are not, in my vocabulary, synonyms."³⁰⁶ Some of the Beazley attributions have been challenged or revised, either by Beazley himself or subsequently.³⁰⁷ In fact, since we do not know fully what criteria Beazley used,³⁰⁸ one cannot apply the same criteria fairly in attempting reattribution. Brian Cook draws our attention to Hadra vases, where different expert eyes have seen different patterns of artistry.³⁰⁹ For an authoritative statement, we therefore go back to the original field where this Morellian method was perfected, the identification of masters in Renaissance painters, and in particular to the classic statement in Berenson's essay, "Rudiments of Connoisseurship."³¹⁰

The starting point is an identified corpus to gauge the range of a known artistic personality in the material under study: "To isolate the characteristics of an artist, we take all his works of undoubted authenticity, and we proceed to discover those traits that invariably occur in them, but not in the works of other masters." This first condition is violated by the Cycladic corpus, for we have, and can have, no independently identified sets of works of "undoubted authenticity" by any one master of the kind that is provided for Renaissance painters by signed, identified, and documented pictures, and for Greek vase painters by signed pots.

The next step is to isolate those little details of form that may unconsciously be characteristic of the hand of an individual painter—the manner of the ears, the hands, the folds of drapery, or the landscape behind the figure.³¹¹ The most revealing of all elements in Renaissance art is the manner of painting an ear: because it is part of the head, the ear is invariably painted by the master, rather than assistants, yet it is inconspicuous, unremarked by painter or by patron. This makes it "more characteristic, indeed, than any other detail of the human figure."³¹² Berenson notes

³⁰⁰ J. Frel, "Introduction," in P. Getz-Preziosi ed., *Early Cycladic Sculpture, an Introduction* (Malibu 1985).

³⁰¹ *ECANAC* 50.

³⁰² *ECANAC* 50.

³⁰³ M.D. Coe, *Breaking the Maya Code* (London 1992) 24.

³⁰⁴ D. von Bothmer has drawn attention to the difficulties in applying the Beazley methods to Cycladica: Fitton 1984, 73.

³⁰⁵ D. von Bothmer, "Beazley the Teacher," in D. Kurtz ed., *Beazley and Oxford* (Oxford 1985) 7.

³⁰⁶ *ARV*² xlvii.

³⁰⁷ E.g., the Andokides and Lysippides Painters. The Lysippides Painter was first identified by Beazley as a black-figure painter, and noted as perhaps the same as the red-figure Andokides Painter (J.D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure*:

A Sketch [London 1928] 25, 38–41); later he felt the two were the same (*ARV*, 1941); and later still, he once more identified them as two different persons (*ARV*² 2).

³⁰⁸ For Beazley's working methods, see D.C. Kurtz, "Gorgos' Cup: An Essay in Connoisseurship," *JHS* 103 (1983) 68–86.

³⁰⁹ P.J. Callaghan and R.E. Jones, "Hadra Hydriae and Central Crete: A Fabric Analysis," *BSA* 80 (1985) 1–17; S.I. Rotroff, "Attic West Slope Vase Painting," *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 61–64.

³¹⁰ Berenson 111–48. This was written some years before 1902, when it was published.

³¹¹ Berenson 144.

³¹² Berenson 130.

that "the Italian painter kept on through a lifetime painting the same ear, because there was absolutely no call for changing it."³¹³

What are the characteristic details in Cycladic figures that are equivalent to Renaissance ears? There are none! They do not offer significant details at all, because the stylized and simple form of Cycladic sculpture does not provide an aspect to the figures of that nature.³¹⁴

Usefully, Berenson, as well as providing an account of what is reliable for identifying the individual, also plainly states what is not to be trusted: "The chin, the jaws, the neck, are all too typical, too easily copied, to be a ready indication of precise authorship . . . the followers and copyists of these masters share the same peculiarities, which can therefore serve only as indications of school, and not of the individual artist."³¹⁵

The least applicable, then, are these larger features, those that define "structure and movement in the human figure."³¹⁶ Yet the identification of Cycladic masters rests on exactly those features, of the overall proportions, of the structure and movement in the figure, which are defined by Berenson as no means of diagnosis.

Notice also that both Berenson and Beazley addressed painted objects, and painting styles that present much detail of form and technique in the visible particulars. Many of the Cycladic figures were originally painted, but the sculpted forms with which Getz-Preziosi has worked offer no kind of small-scale variation of the kind the method requires.³¹⁷ It might be that a sculptural equivalent of the significant painted detail *does* exist—a recent study of Viking runestones, for example, hopes to distinguish individual carvers by the "signature" left in the cut profile by a carver's tool and his manner of working with it.³¹⁸ No attempt, however, has been made to show that such a signature exists for Cycladic sculpture.

In summary, it seems to us that the identification of the Cycladic masters rests on a misunderstanding

of what the Morellian method consists of in any of its established uses. No significant details have been used. Instead, the larger features of morphology have been used to identify groups of figures that are, if anything at all, the Cycladic equivalent of Berenson's schools, "varieties" within such larger groupings as folded-arm figures. The recovery of many hundreds of Keros fragments by Zapheirópoulou and Dumas, and from other fieldwork on Keros, may clarify the issue. But it is not helpful to approach this real variation with a frame of supposed masters in mind.

The identification of masters, and the planning out of their artistic biographies, brings with it three further difficulties. A first, noticed by Beard in respect to Beazley's vase painters, applies with greater force to Cycladic art. As we have no information about vase painters other than what we see in the paintings, any discussion of the personality of the artists is, necessarily, a discussion of the paintings themselves conducted by proxy: "There is nothing to be said about them that cannot be said about the pots themselves."³¹⁹ This is even more true of Cycladic figures, which are less forthcoming in what they seem to say to us.³²⁰ Beazley was again wisely reticent on this matter; he ends his essay on the Berlin Painter, written after 55 years of enjoying his "friendly presence," by remarking "perhaps I ought to conclude with a characterization of the artist," hesitates, and makes no attempt.³²¹ Getz-Preziosi has no such reluctance, and fashions not just a characterization but a biography for the Goulandris Master—a modest beginning without self-assurance, sharpening skill and the confidence to essay larger figures, a mature accomplishment in his finest period, less ambitious projects in the declining years of an unusually long or concentrated career.³²² This human story is in fact a set of comments on a set of figures chosen by Getz-Preziosi and arranged by Getz-Preziosi in a certain order.

The second difficulty is whether the frame of Cycladic society, as that is understood from a broad

³¹³ Berenson 129.

³¹⁴ Painted vases do provide detail that may be significant. Kurtz (supra n. 308) 69 notes: "Five of the nine human figures [on Gorgos's cup] are nude males with a wealth of inner detail, finely painted, describing musculo-skeletal features."

³¹⁵ Berenson 132–33.

³¹⁶ Berenson 144.

³¹⁷ Renfrew 1991, 116.

³¹⁸ H. Freij, "Tracing a Rune-carver by Groove Profile and Cut-marks," *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 23 (1990) 150–52. For an earlier study attempting to isolate the hands of individual prehistoric craftworkers (in gold) by "signa-

ture," J.M. Coles and J. Taylor, "The Wessex Culture: A Minimal View," *Antiquity* 45 (1971) 6–14.

³¹⁹ M. Beard, "Adopting an Approach II," in T. Rasmussen and N. Spivey eds., *Looking at Greek Vases* (Cambridge 1991) 17.

³²⁰ There has been no oscillation of taste in regard to Greek painted pottery equivalent to that which has propelled Cycladica from barbarous obscurity into the finest modern light.

³²¹ J. Beazley, *The Berlin Painter* (Melbourne 1964) 14.

³²² P. Getz-Preziosi, "The Goulandris Master," in *ECANAC* 232–33.

range of archaeological sources, really provides for artists, whether as individuals, schools, or circles, to develop their artistic personalities, in the manner of the full-time artist, replete with individual genius and a fiery creative imagination, as our era imagines him to be. The Cycladic islands—though falling between mainland Greece and Crete, and in later prehistory therefore placed between two regions of early states—have been economically marginal, with small populations. Broodbank has shown that the little “frying-pans,” identified as depicting ships, correspond to boats with a crew of some 25 paddlers. Yet Broodbank suggests that even that complement is so much larger than the population of a prehistoric Cycladic village or hamlet that the boats must have been shared among several villages, which could, together, provide sufficient oarsmen to man the vessel; a ship from Melos would command as its crew a third to a half of the male labor force of the island.³²³ This is a society of subsistence farmers and fishers that has very little in common with those of the ancient world, in Egypt or among the Greek city-states, where there developed a social role for the maker of fine objects that might bear comparison with the artist’s position in later European societies. A model for the place of art and of the artist in society that derives from the prosperous city-states of Classical Greece or Renaissance Italy is not appropriate.

A third, yet simpler, explanation of close similarity in figures is given by Renfrew: “One piece resembles another very closely for the very good reason that it is a direct and recent copy of it.”³²⁴

Identifying Canonic Proportions in Cycladic Figures

The matching innovation in the study of Cycladic sculptures, to go with the identification of the masters, is the identifying of a geometric canon in their dimensions. The search for a prehistoric canon of course follows from the canonic ideal as a known element in the Classical Greek aesthetics of the later period. The figures are said to be planned by the division of their height into a whole number of equal units, usually three, four, or five; the more complex figures, the harp players, are said to be planned on a rectilinear grid of units; and the angles of the figure follow a harmonic principle of the “golden triangle.” This proposition, again due to Getz-Preziosi,³²⁵ has been endorsed by other Cycladic specialists.³²⁶ Ren-

frew notes “Dr Preziosi’s important discovery . . . that canons of proportion were used in the setting out of the figurines themselves. This is clearly fundamental to our understanding of Cycladic art.”³²⁷ Getz-Preziosi explains how the formula worked, in her view. In the archaic phase, the sculptor conceived the human form as falling in three equal parts—one for head and neck, one for torso, and one for the legs. Arcs drawn with a primitive compass ensured that certain key points of shoulder and hip fell in with the formula. Later a four-part division was preferred, marked either with a curve or with a straight line, and a few sculptors experimented with three- and five-part designs.³²⁸

These propositions need to be examined in terms of two aspects. First, do the dimensions of the figures actually follow these canonic divisions and harmonic proportions? A second is as essential: if they do seem to us to accord with a canon and a harmony, does it then follow that they were *designed* by artists according to those principles?

Figures 1a and 1b, after figures 17a and 17b of Getz-Preziosi’s *Sculptors of the Cyclades*,³²⁹ are identified as late classical figures of the Dokathismata variety, whose length is divided into four equal parts. In 1a, a compass is used, working to a radius of one-quarter the length; and in 1b a straight-edge held perpendicularly to the axis of the figure, again dividing the figure into four parts.

Let us examine the divisions on each figure, starting at the feet. The lower division, marked “3” on figure 1b, falls about the middle of the legs in both figures; as the legs are drawn as even tapering curves, without distinct knees or other intermediate features, so division 3 is not a significant point in the composition. The middle division 2 falls, in figure 1a, well above the pubic triangle, just below the folded arms. In figure 1b, it falls just above the pubic triangle, well below the folded arms. In figures 2a and 2b, after Getz-Preziosi’s figures 18a and 18b, printed in *Sculptors* alongside 17a and 17b,³³⁰ the corresponding canonic division is set, in the case of 2a on the line of the folded arms, and in the case of 2b, below the belt. The canonic division in the middle part of the body, then, is not a distinct point nor does it mark a distinct edge or feature in the composition; it is simply some level or other in the middle zone of the figure. In figures 1c and 1d, therefore, we strip out the lower

³²³ Broodbank (supra n. 5).

³²⁴ Renfrew 1991, 115.

³²⁵ SC 36–47.

³²⁶ E.g., Barber 124–28.

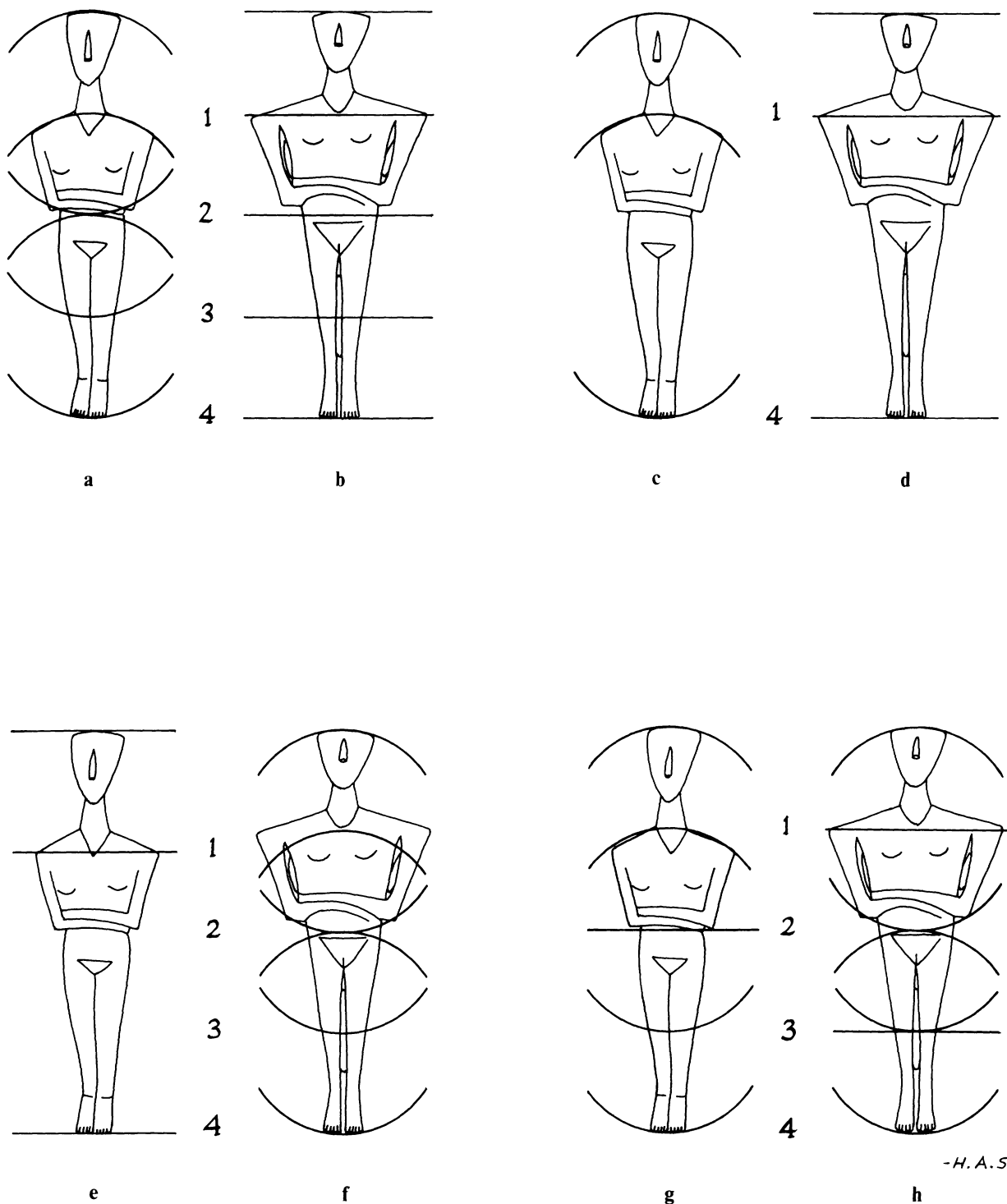
³²⁷ A.C. Renfrew, “The Typology and Chronology of Cy-

cladic Sculpture,” in ACC 70. See also Renfrew 1991, 126–41.

³²⁸ SC 37–39.

³²⁹ SC 38.

³³⁰ SC 38.



-H. A. S-

Fig. 1. Proportions of "canonical" Dokathismata figures. a) Figure of the Dokathismata variety, said to be from Naxos (Dominique de Melon Collection CA 6326), redrawn after SC fig. 17a, with Getz-Preziosi's curved construction lines dividing the figure in four; b) figure of the Dokathismata variety, said to be from Syros (Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6174), redrawn after SC fig. 17b, with Getz-Preziosi's straight construction lines dividing the figure in four; c) figure 1a with the curved shoulder line only; d) figure 1b with the straight shoulder line only; e) figure 1a with a straight shoulder line in place of the curved line; f) figure 1b with curved construction lines in place of straight lines; g) figure 1a with a mixture of straight and curved construction lines; and h) figure 1b with a mixture of straight and curved construction lines. (H. Arthur Shelley)

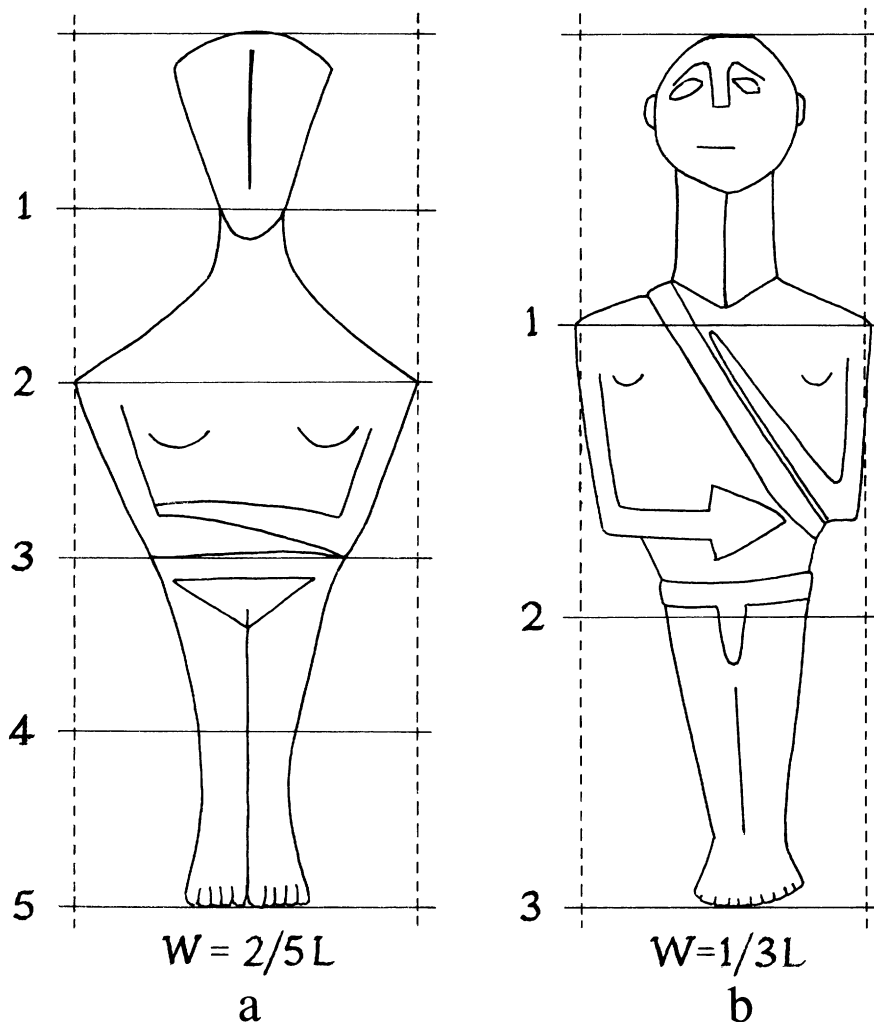


Fig. 2. Proportions of "canonical" Chalandriani figures. a) Figure of the Chalandriani variety, said to be from Paros (Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Museum, Stafford loan), redrawn after SC fig. 18a, with Getz-Preziosi's straight construction lines dividing the figure in five; and b) figure of the Chalandriani variety, said to be from Amorgos (Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung ZV 2595), redrawn after SC fig. 18b, with Getz-Preziosi's straight construction lines dividing the figure in three. (H. Arthur Shelley)

division 3, which marks nothing, and the middle division 2, a marker so inexact that it is worthless. The canonic proportions survive, but only as a 1:4 ratio between the head-shoulder portion of the figure and the rest.

Figures 1c and 1d now bear only the top division line, marked "1." In each figure it falls neatly at the top of the shoulders, at the figure's widest point. In 1c, it is marked with a curved line, in 1d it is marked by a straight-edge. Notice that this choice of curved or straight line for the dividing convention materially affects the level of the outer points of the shoulder. In figure 1e we present figure 1a with a straight-line construction in place of the curve, holding to the rule

that the line should run across the shoulders; its canonic proportion then becomes a 1:3.3 ratio between head and whole. In figure 1f we present figure 1b with a curve construction in place of the straight line, holding this time to the rule that a 1:4 canonic proportion should be observed; in consequence, its uppermost dividing line no longer falls at the shoulder, and matches no other feature of the upper body.

We notice that the curving line of division 1 in figure 1c falls happily along the profile of the shoulders, where a straight-line construction (1e) marks only the outer points. The curving line of division 2 in figure 1a, however, falls awkwardly across the folded arms and coincides neatly with none of their vertices. In

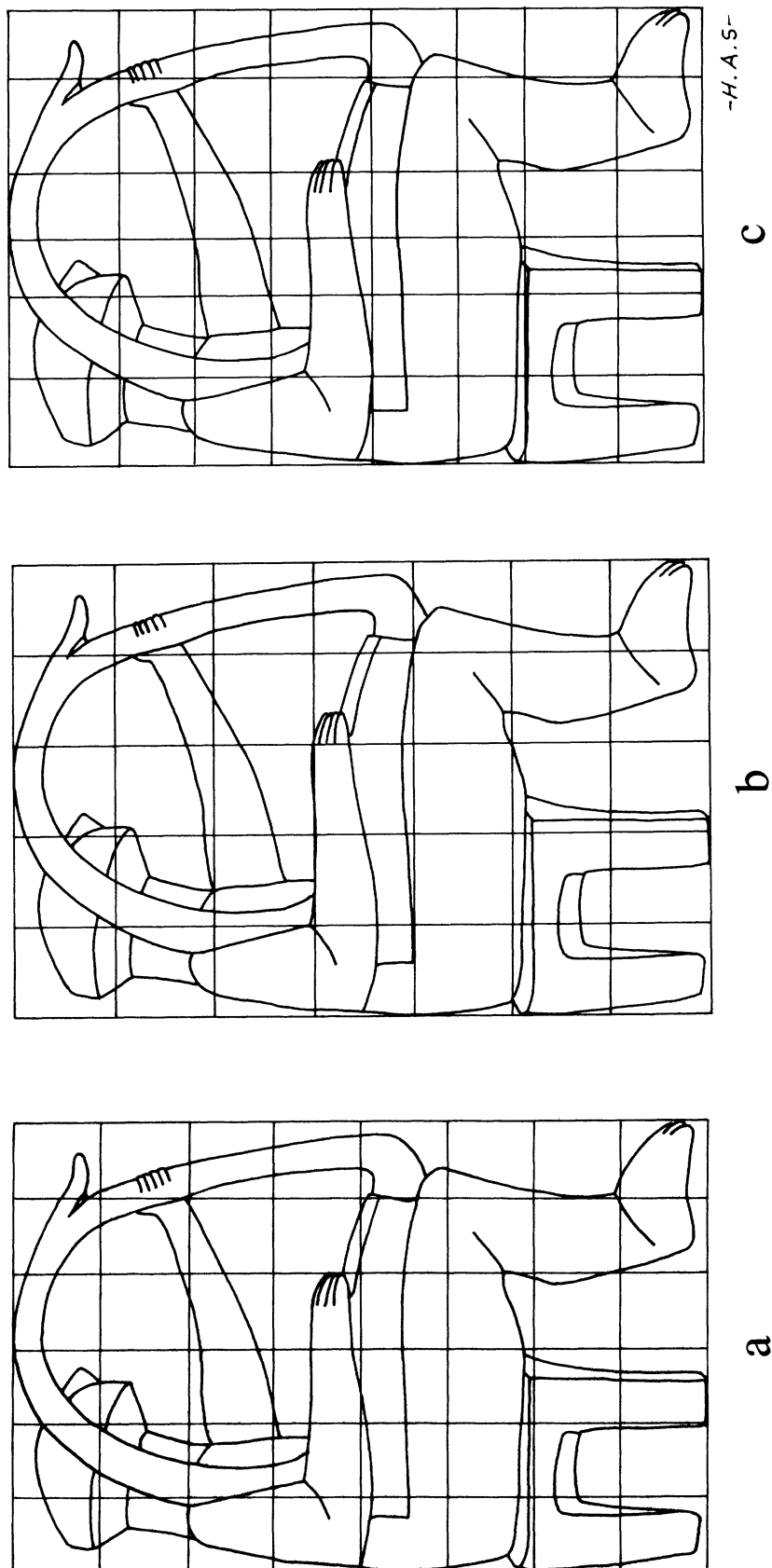


Fig. 3. Construction grids and a "canonical" harpist figure. a) Harpist figure, said to be from Amorgos (Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 85.AA.1030), redrawn after SC fig. 21a, with Getz-Preziosi's regular 6×8 grid; b) the same figure, with a regular 5×7 grid; and c) the same figure, with a 6×8 grid whose lines are haphazardly spaced. (H. Arthur Shelley)

figure 1g we therefore use a curve for division 1 and a straight line for division 2. For division 3, we provide a curved line. In figure 1h, we provide a straight line for division 1, and a curve for division 2; for division 3 we use both a curved and a straight line, interchangeable as this marks nothing in the figure. Getz-Preziosi's canonic analyses use only curves or only straight lines in analyzing any one figure; if individual sculptors are permitted to use one or the other system in different figures, why are they forbidden to use both in the same figure?³³¹ That flexibility in allowing straight/curve hybrids within the canon of 3 or of 4 makes them fit more varied shapes.

Figure 3a, after figure 21a of Getz-Preziosi's *Sculptors of the Cyclades*, is a harp player said to be from Amorgos.³³² Getz-Preziosi identifies it as made on an even grid of 6×8 squares. A certain number of points and lines in the composition indeed are seen to fall on or not far from the intersections of grid squares. Figure 3b reproduces the same figure, but the even grid is of 5×7 squares. Fewer points and lines seem to fall just on or not far from the intersections of grid squares than in figure 3a, but this grid provides 35 rather than 48 points of intersection, so that might be expected. Figure 3c reproduces the figure with a different grid, which like figure 3a has six divisions on one side and eight on the other; instead of being of an equal length as in figures 3a and 3b, the divisions are of different lengths. Again, however, a certain number of points and lines in the composition fall on or not far from the intersections of grid squares.³³³

Comparing figures 3a, 3b, and 3c, one finds some degree of fit in each case. It does not seem to us that the fit of figure 3a is so decisively better than that of figure 3b as to show the figure was made to a grid of 6×8 rather than 5×7 . Nor does it seem to us that the fit of figure 3a is so decisively better than that of figure 3c as to show the figure was made to a grid of regular rather than irregular divisions.

An equivalent analysis can be made of the angles incorporated into the figures, which Getz-Preziosi sees as following the later aesthetic principle of the "golden section." Certainly golden angles can be found in some figures, but no attempt has been made to show they occur so often and so exactly as to prove that the figures were made according to those angles.

Various researchers have attempted to recover units of length or geometrical regularities of composition from assemblages of prehistoric or protohistoric objects. The common method is that followed by Getz-Preziosi, to explore a body of material and to see what repetitive multiples of a unit length, or what repeated geometries, declare themselves. The most thorough studies, and the ones most explored for the mathematical basis of the method, are Alexander Thom's studies of stone rings and other megalithic monuments in northwestern Europe.³³⁴ Thom's scheme allows for the rings to have one of several different geometries. The goodness of fit varies; a certain number follow one or another variant in the scheme closely, some deviate by a little, some fit poorly. These discrepancies can be accounted for by the vagaries of constructing with large stones, by their being masses of a certain size rather than exact points, and by the many vicissitudes of subsequent damage, subsidence, and human interference that might shift one or several stones out of their ideal place. Further, some rings that fit no standard geometry are shown to have a separate order of their own. In its essentials of method, Getz-Preziosi has taken an equivalent approach to Cycladic figures; in a body of material that presents the appearance of a geometric order, there has been found a small variety of canons, which in this case can be applied in two ways (curves and straight-line constructions), to which some figures fit closely, some fit less well, and some do not fit at all. Some of the exceptions, like the harp players, can be accommodated by geometries of their own. The common lack of fit can be accounted for in a reasonable

³³¹ The authorities already permit modifications of the canon, allowing figures with, for example, longer thighs and shorter calves than the narrow canon specifies.

³³² SC 42.

³³³ A mathematical measure of goodness of fit could be constructed to measure distance between "significant" points (lines) and vertices (lines) of the grid.

³³⁴ The major publications include A. Thom, *Megalithic Sites in Britain* (Oxford 1967); A. Thom, *Megalithic Lunar Observatories* (Oxford 1971); A. Thom and A.S. Thom, *Megalithic Remains in Britain and Brittany* (Oxford 1971); and

A. Thom, A.S. Thom, and A. Burl, *Megalithic Rings: Plans and Data for 229 Monuments in Britain* (BAR-BS 81, Oxford 1980). C. Chippindale, "Archaeology, Design Theory and the Reconstruction of Prehistoric Design Systems," *Environment and Planning* B13 (1986) 445–85, discusses the general question and makes further remarks on the megalithic issue. Cherry's study of Minoan units of length is a local example of the narrower question, more easily stated in arithmetical terms, of deriving units from their multiple occurrence: J.F. Cherry, "Putting the Best Foot Forward," *Antiquity* 57 (1984) 52–56.

manner. About half of the classical four-part female figures are found to follow the canon, and about half do not. Some of these, Getz-Preziosi argues, "were probably laid out quite carefully according to the canon, but as finished works carved in differing planes they no longer reflect the precision of the preliminary drawing made on the raw flat slab." Other works show "a conscious application of the canon but with modifications"; these "departures from the norm were probably made deliberately" by an experienced sculptor, not a "servant of the formula," who could "adapt the formula to his own aesthetic sensibilities."

Quite another interpretation of the geometrical regularities in stone rings is possible. Suppose their builders did not intend exact geometric shapes at all, but simply laid them out by eye into rough circles? In a convincing study, Barnatt and Herring simulated the laying-out of stone rings by placing markers in a circle they judged by eye. They found it was hard to judge an exact circle visually, and the plans of rings that were arrived at in this simple way turned out to contain those geometrical regularities that Thom had thought to arise from a conscious mathematical canon.³³⁵ Two hypotheses therefore can be advanced to explain the regularities in the stone rings: either they arise from variability within some craft tradition in which placing is judged by eye; or they arise from the application of a body of complex and formal mathematics. We prefer the former view, by Occam's razor as the simpler explanation of the observed phenomena, and because it meshes better with our understanding of the nature of society and of knowledge in later prehistoric northwestern Europe. We should prefer the latter view only if it is shown that 1) a very much greater proportion of the ring plans actually follow closely the formal geometries than would be expected to arise by chance; and 2) the geometrical characteristics of the rings are such as would arise only by a conscious application of those geometries, and could not arise casually in some other way, by accomplished ring builders working within a tradition of strong visual conventions.

We believe that a similar and simpler explanation exists for the geometries of the Cycladic figures than Getz-Preziosi's theory of the canon. In their common proportions, the figures do follow the proportions of the human body, as that has often been adapted in

craft and art traditions. Her archaic three-part canon gives equal space to neck-and-head as to legs, as in other drawing and carving traditions that also reflect in their preferred geometries the greater importance of head and face than legs in encounters between human beings. We notice the flexibility of fit, as illustrated in our figures 1–3, which reproduce those figures that constitute the exemplars of canonic geometry in Getz-Preziosi's main publication on the subject; we noted that if one permits divisions by different units and use of curved and straight-line geometries, and if one permits figures to deviate considerably from the canonic ideal, and allows half the population of figures not visibly to follow the canon at all, then the canonic ideal becomes very flexible—dangerously so. Add "a generous allowance for 'sculptor error'" and one can produce "all manner of plausible ratios that are no more than the artifact of our approximate procedures."³³⁶ Getz-Preziosi and others who have searched for—and found—the Cycladic canon have also permitted themselves parallel groups of non-canonical figures, which do not have to follow even these flexible rules. As in the case of the stone rings, it has not been shown that 1) a very much greater proportion of the figures actually follow closely the canons than will be expected to arise by chance; and 2) the geometrical characteristics of the figures are such as would arise only by a conscious application of those canons, and could not arise casually in some other way, by accomplished carvers working within a tradition of strong visual conventions.

Following Occam's razor, therefore, and because the abstract principles of academic aesthetics embodied in the proposed canon do not mesh well with other evidence for the nature of Cycladic society, we prefer the simpler idea, that these canons of proportion did not exist in the minds or the hands of the carvers of the Cycladic figures.³³⁷ The same can be said for the angles of the golden section.

A good instance of canonic principles can be found in Egyptian art, especially in its earlier periods to the high Old Kingdom, or to about 2100 B.C.—much the same period as Cycladic. But see how varied is the iconographic evidence itself, how exactly it follows canonical rules, and see how many and how compelling are the circumstantial sources of evidence that the highly evolved and structured Egyptian civiliza-

³³⁵ J. Barnatt and P. Herring, "Stone Circles and Megalithic Geometry: An Experiment to Test Alternative Design Practices," *JAS* 13 (1986) 431–49.

³³⁶ Renfrew 1991, 137. Renfrew (1991, 130) gives a table of proportions of the larger figures in the Goulandris Collection, in which he sees more convincing indications that a

canon may have existed.

³³⁷ See B. Kemp and P. Rose, "Proportionality in Mind and Space in Ancient Egypt," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 1 (1991) 103–29, for a recent study of regularities in proportions for a body of figures, those of ancient Egypt, whose cultural context makes a fixed canon more probable.

tion was inclined to these ordering principles. Yet even there, as Davis's new study of the Egyptian canon notes at its very beginning, the invariance of Egyptian art "cannot simply be taken for granted."³³⁸ It simply will not do to assert, without well-founded proof, that Cycladic art follows a canon because a few chosen figures seem to fall near one. Yet a growing literature, as recently as Renfrew's *Cycladic Spirit*,³³⁹ discusses the supposed canon without the necessary first step of showing that the canon exists; let us not commend the canon as "a line for further investigation,"³⁴⁰ and at the same time act as if it had been proven to exist in such full complexity.

Birth of the Genius That Was Greece

One reason that Cycladic figures appeal to modern aesthetic taste is that they are perceived as being in some way precursors to Western art. Thimme has commented: "Today, four and a half thousand years later, they enchant us again with the purity of their forms, their freshness, and their perfection. For us they radiate vigor and originality—and they mark the beginnings of European art."³⁴¹ For Colin Renfrew "these Cycladic marble maidens mark the birth of western art. For we see in them some of those same qualities which so delight us in the korai of the Acropolis."³⁴² Or again, "In the art of the Cyclades there is something fresh and arresting, as we see the first steps being taken towards the creation of a European civilization."³⁴³ Yet it has not been shown that these Bronze Age figures from the islands are directly linked to the continuous tradition that indeed links the kouros sculpture of the island and mainland Greek Archaic, a millennium later, right up to the sculpture of the late 20th century. No continuous sculptural tradition from the Early into the Late Cycladic period has been shown, let alone one from Late Cycladic into the Archaic and Classical periods. Cycladic figures were known to some individuals in Classical Greece, for a certain number have been found in archaeological contexts of the Classical period,³⁴⁴ but there is no evidence to suggest these in any way influenced the art of the later period. One figure was later built into the wall of a Turkish-period house at

Grotta on Naxos: is Cycladic then to be taken as the birth of Ottoman art?

It is essential here to distinguish a historical succession, a chain of connections by which one aesthetic is transformed into another, from a chance precursor that happens to prefigure a later, or to echo an earlier, aesthetic. For an example of the former, one has only to look at the Classical sequence in Greece or the aesthetic chain from Greece to Rome and then to Renaissance Europe, and to think of the way the Renaissance was a conscious rebirth of ancient aesthetics. But a simple coincidence of place that involves cultural traditions at distinct and distant periods does not of itself amount to a continuous tradition. No evidence links the Cycladic carvings of the Bronze Age to, even, the Archaic of the Greek mainland some 15–20 centuries later. The chain of Classical Greek sculpture goes back continuously to the kouros and beyond that, to a disputed extent, to sculpture in Egypt and elsewhere outside Greece. The aesthetic of both the kouros and the Cycladic figures is "simple" or "primitive," but the two traditions are different in all particulars, and they have no historical connection. The Cycladic figures thus are not the first steps *toward* the traditions of Western art that grew in and from Classical Greece. They are early steps in a direction that happened later to be followed by the traditions of Western art. That, and only that, is why they seem familiar to us, why "we see in them some of those same qualities which so delight us in the korai."

Since there is no real historic continuity between Cycladic and Archaic sculpture, the enthusiast who wishes to join them must instead assert a universal aesthetic, take an indirect route, or prefer a more mystical argument. It is this view that these prehistoric figures indeed spoke to the sculpture of the Archaic and Classical periods of Greece and then somehow to us today that Joseph Masheck, Professor of Art History at Hofstra University, takes in his essay "On Neolithic Ultramodernity," remarking that "in them, it is sometimes as if the Greek archaic proper, that first dawn of classicism itself, were still just beneath the horizon."³⁴⁵

³³⁸ W. Davis, *The Canonical Tradition in Ancient Egyptian Art* (Cambridge 1989) 3.

³³⁹ Renfrew 1991.

³⁴⁰ Renfrew 1991, 141. It is relevant to note here the parallel theory of "dynamic symmetry," which has been demolished: R. Carpenter, "Dynamic Symmetry: A Criticism," *AJA* 25 (1921) 18–36; "Professor Carpenter's Reply [to G.M.A. Richter]," 26 (1922) 74–76, *pace* G.M.A. Richter, "Dynamic Symmetry from the Designer's Point of View," *AJA* 26 (1922) 59–73. R. Barber, reviewing Renfrew 1991

in *The Times Literary Supplement* (9 October 1992) 18, says "the basic ideas (that many figures were designed according to proportional systems and that some stylistic groups can be established) are not disputed." Clearly to us, they ought to be!

³⁴¹ Thimme (supra n. 282).

³⁴² Renfrew (supra n. 327) 70. Also Renfrew 1991, 132.

³⁴³ C. Renfrew, "The Cycladic Culture," in *ACC* 30.

³⁴⁴ *SC* ix.

³⁴⁵ In Ariadne Galleries, New York, *Idols* (supra n. 7).

This desire to find the roots of Western civilization extending into the fisher-farmer societies on the barren soils of rocky islands in the middle of the Aegean is curious, when there are developed states and civilizations across the eastern Mediterranean—in Anatolia, the Near East, Egypt—with documented links to Greece. The diagnostic clue is, Masheck explains, in the values of marble: “Marble: raw substance of entire mountains, sea-smoothed pebbles washed ashore. Marble catches the light and the imagination. It invites touching and handling. The bright, often translucent appearance and tactile properties of white marble are very compelling indeed.”³⁴⁶ Although the medium of marble might touch both the third millennium B.C. and the second millennium A.D., this does not demonstrate that the roots of Western civilization lie in Greece.

This attempt to privilege Greece is not uncommon. In the history of Western art, Gombrich looks back to the “Greek revolution” with the introduction of narrative art.³⁴⁷ Yet many of the motifs used on painted pottery in early Iron Age Greece were merely borrowed (and misunderstood) from the Near East.³⁴⁸ The Greek alphabet derives from the Levant coast.³⁴⁹ The introduction of monumental sculpture to Greece in the Archaic period, notably the striding youths, or *kouroi*, has long been seen in the light of possible influence from Egypt. It is, however, the “Greek genius” that has been emphasized: in democracy, in theater, and in philosophy. In this improving story it is easily forgotten that Greece also “gave us” slavery and that the ability of Athens to beautify itself was built on a consuming imperialism. It is the visible attempt to isolate Greece from its eastern (and certainly southern) links that has surfaced in the contemporary debate about Martin Bernal’s *Black Athena*.³⁵⁰ The collector, like the Getty Museum and like White and Levy, who wishes to extend backward from a nucleus of Classical material, has a choice between a cultural continuity, which leads toward Egypt, and a geographical continuity, which leads toward Cycladic. The Getty, like White and Levy, has chosen Cycladic.

What perspective does the cool historian of art take, recognizing the chronological gap to be bridged in linking the Cycladic genius to the Classical? Martin Robertson takes “art in Greece before the Iron Age” as the “prologue” to his *History of Greek Art*.³⁵¹ He identifies the Cycladic marble figures as “the first sustained production of objects of aesthetic interest in Aegean lands,”³⁵² and notices that the figuring of musicians provides evidence of two civilized crafts: “The quality of these figures, and the evidence they give of musical attainment, suggest that quite a forward stage of culture had been reached in the Cyclades at this time.”³⁵³ Without a documented link, a bridge must be made in a slightly mystical manner from Cycladic to the Late Bronze Age, Mycenaean world: “These are not cases of ‘influence’, but perhaps of some kind of inherited slant.”³⁵⁴

An aspect to this issue is the changing relative values given to European and to non-European cultures, as the modern age of empires comes to an end. In the first half of this century, the British and French empires spanned the globe, and Europe saw its cultural roots also to lie at a distance, in Childe’s “most ancient east.” It remains the case that the first fundamental of European later prehistory, the adoption of agricultural ways of life, came into Europe from Asia, although megalith-building and some aspects of metalworking—other imported skills in the old diffusionist view—are autonomous European inventions. The bundle of traits we call “civilization” in the Greek city-states also derives in large measure from the East. These facts of history fit less comfortably the mood of the early 1990s, when the Soviet Union, last of the modern empires, has unbundled itself, and when Europe envisions its fine future as a strong confederacy of autonomous nations freely joining to work together, a Europe independent of other continental powers and self-sufficient in its spirit. Archaeological proofs of a united, autonomous, and pan-European history are welcome. The strongest precedent is offered by the Celts, a distinctive and fine artistic tradition and ethnic identification that is pan-European

³⁴⁶ ECANAC 46.

³⁴⁷ E. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (London 1960) ch. 4.

³⁴⁸ See D.W.J. Gill, “Greek Vases,” in A. Yarrington and M. Greenhalgh eds., *The Making of Western Art* (London, in press).

³⁴⁹ For the archaeological debate as to the means of transfer, see J. Boardman, “Al Mina and History,” *OJA* 9 (1990) 169–90; contra, D.W.J. Gill, “Pots and Trade: Space-fillers or *Objets d’Art*?” *JHS* 111 (1991) 40–42.

³⁵⁰ M. Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization* 1: *The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1795–1985* (London 1987).

³⁵¹ M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge 1975) 1–13.

³⁵² Robertson (supra n. 351) 2. One may ask, “of aesthetic interest to whom?” There is some perfectly lovely worked obsidian in the Aegean Neolithic.

³⁵³ Robertson (supra n. 351) 2.

³⁵⁴ Robertson (supra n. 351) 1.

yet distinctly of Europe alone, varied regionally but united in its happy diversity, open to the world in its dealings with non-European cultures yet reserving its own European identity; a passion for Celtic matters is evident at present among the European exhibitions.³⁵⁵ The Cyclades make possible a similarly agreeable source to the European character, which can thereby be traced through the pan-European empire of Rome (another precursor of the modern European Community), back to Classical Greece, and then—not to confused and confusing countries in the modern third world of Africa and Asia—but to Cycladic figures (both miniature and life-size), and beyond them to the Neolithic carved and ceramic figures of the Balkans and Greece. The whole story is safely, reassuringly contained within the boundaries of European civilization, in the lands of the European community as we wish to define it today. It is not a coincidence that the wish aesthetically to vault from Classical Greece back to Cycladic is strong in 1993. This takes us back to Winckelmann's view of the world: "Good taste . . . first began to emerge on the soil of ancient Greece."³⁵⁶

Renfrew has taken particular note of the big Cycladic figures, the largest now approaching life-size. Noting the rarity in early artistic traditions of life-size human depictions, and its importance as indicator of a precocious and advanced aesthetic, he regards the scale of these eccentrically large examples as essential to Cycladic esteem.³⁵⁷ Setting the questions of provenance and authenticity aside, we instead agree with Broodbank, who comments:

Is it realistic to look upon the equally uncommon monumental figures as the outcome of heroic and precocious attempts at a life-size portrayal of the human form . . . ? . . . what we really see is a scaling-up sequence from the smaller pieces, via intermediate examples of unusual but sub-human size. Is it therefore not more plausible to view the largest works as an outcome of status-driven competitive emulation—of a species of Peer Productivity Interaction? This is not to belittle the skill needed to make them, nor to deny that the by-product is indeed a life-size rendition; it is merely to distinguish between ancient intention and modern conception.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁵ See R. and V. Megaw, "The Celts: The First Europeans?" *Antiquity* 66 (1992) 254–60, on the great Celtic exhibition ("I Celti") in Venice, 1991.

³⁵⁶ J.J. Winckelmann, *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Painting and Sculpture* (London 1755). See J. Wohlleben, "Germany 1750–1830," in K.J. Dover ed., *Perceptions of the Ancient Greeks* (Oxford 1992) 170–202.

³⁵⁷ Renfrew 1991, ch. 14.

*Conceptions of Cycladic and Historical Scholarship:
The Case of the Baitylos*

The Cycladic industry is funded by the collectors, their singular passions, judgments, and concerns. Naturally, many take an amateur interest in what they collect, and wish to learn more. The museums and the market-makers are encouraged, even obliged, to take notice of these well-meant enthusiasms, and a perceptible respect is therefore offered to the collectors' ideas about their treasures, even when they bear little relation to any reliable historical scholarship. The collector may be the patron of the scholar. And a primary obligation of the museum curator is to acquire and, in the present mood, this means humoring and nursing the collector in the hope that a present expectation may be turned into a real acquisition. The point is illustrated by the identification of some Cycladic artifacts, those that seem to be simple, shaped pebbles rather than naturalistic sculptures, as "sacred stones," or *baetyls*. In following this religious interpretation of small pebbles in Early Cycladic graves, the Erlenmeyers³⁵⁹ and others³⁶⁰ have looked to Classical cults of Asia Minor and Cyprus where sacred rocks were worshipped as deities.³⁶¹ These *baetyls* were usually conical in shape, and their images are often found on the coinage of the city. One of the most famous stones was that at Perge in southern Turkey, which was identified as the goddess of hunting, Artemis. Another was located at Paphos on Cyprus, and was worshipped as the goddess of love, Aphrodite. Elsewhere on Cyprus, near Amathus, an inscription indicates a cult place of "the Seven within the Stelai," presumably a group of seven *baetyls*, perhaps also dedicated to Aphrodite.³⁶² The presence of *baetyls* in several cities in the eastern Mediterranean during the Classical period gives us no ground to interpret these polished marble pebbles—which are considerably smaller than Classical *baetyls*—as sacred rocks so many centuries earlier.

This confusion—between very large stones in Anatolian temples of the Classical period with known function and meaning, and very small stones in Cycladic graves of the third millennium with unknown function and meaning—rests on the most elementary

³⁵⁸ Broodbank 544.

³⁵⁹ Erlenmeyer and Erlenmeyer (supra n. 230) 59.

³⁶⁰ See ACC nos. 63, 64, 471, and 472, with related bibliography.

³⁶¹ See P. Warren, "Of Baetyls," *OpAth* 18 (1990) 193–206.

³⁶² T.B. Mitford, "Religious Documents from Roman Cyprus," *JHS* 66 (1946) 40–42.

error of scholarship. By chance, it recapitulates a previous error of research, in which the idea of baetyls again was the source of confusion. Late in the 19th century, the *senams*, certain stone monuments of the North African littoral, were identified as sacred stones of some kind.³⁶³ Large, rude, and erected in the form of doorways, they were also connected to the prehistoric megalithic structures of Europe, and specifically to Stonehenge in southern England, whose stone trilithons they seemed to match closely in their form. Decent archaeological fieldwork soon showed them to be ruins of Roman olive presses, not baetyls, not prehistoric, not anything to do with Stonehenge.³⁶⁴ A century on, the collectors' fancies drag into Cycladic studies an equivalent error—or a worse one, since at least the Libyan *senams* were much the same size and shape as Stonehenge trilithons.

The errors in the logic of the baetyl are clear. More subtle are the discrepancies in reasoning like the following:

Since I view the canonical figure as a portrayal of the Great Goddess of the Cyclades, and since her image was found in at least one case (on Keros) in a grave with two musician figures, it seems to me logical to suppose that the Cycladic harpists, flautists, and syrinx-players were closely connected with the goddess. Representations on Sumerian reliefs of the third millennium provide the closest parallels for the Aegean harp-form and repeatedly show harpists present at cult banquets. Anton Moortgat regards these scenes on votive reliefs as representing the Feast of Spring and the New Year. According to Marie-Louise and Hans Erlenmeyer, the reunion of the goddess with the god newly returned from the lower world was celebrated at the New Year's Feast. This celebration, as it is shown in the Sumerian representations, must have resounded with harp music. It does not seem to me too far-fetched to associate similar religious practices with the Cycladic musician figures and to view them as attendants of the Great Goddess who accompany her with music as she rises from the underworld and ascends to the heavens.³⁶⁵

Notice that the well-meaning and ill-informed concepts of the Erlenmeyers, amateurs in these matters but—importantly—wealthy patrons in the Cycladic industry, figure with a large respect in this speculation, which mashes together a variety of fragments (rather far removed in space, time, and social context from Cycladic) and some fictions (like the nature of

New Year's Day ritual) into an ancient vision that is based more on soul than on scholarship. The only authority for the New Year reunion of goddess and god is the suggestion that two collectors believe it—yet it is made the base of a scholarly sounding hypothesis about the meaning and role of the musicians, which is endorsed and printed in a standard scholarly work on Cycladic art.

Again, from the same source:

The hypothesis that Cycladic idols serve the cult of the Great Goddess and Mother, the Queen of Heaven who descends to the underworld and from it ascends to new life, who possesses a daughter and is occasionally accompanied by musicians: such an interpretation, I believe, is in complete accord with all the different forms of the canonical idol known to date.³⁶⁶

Flattering the Collectors

It is agreed a great many Cycladic figures are fakes. But the discussion of individual figures proceeds, single figure by single figure, single collection by single collection, on the assumption that each one is genuine. To admit to having bought a fake is, for a museum, to declare itself professionally incompetent or, for a collector, to announce one has been made a fool. When the spirit of acquisition is the connoisseur's instinctive recognition of quality, to be duped is very much to admit to a personal failing of character. Elia remarks of *The Cycladic Spirit*:

Doumas, who, like Renfrew, owes a debt of gratitude to the Goulandris for being allowed to publish their collection, never mentions what troubles this reader: Since a flood of fakes was infiltrating the art market when the Goulandris Collection was being formed, is it not possible, even likely, that some of the Goulandris marbles are fakes? Unfortunately, Renfrew, who elsewhere shows a keen awareness that in archaeology all assumptions must be made explicit and all evidence carefully evaluated, here simply ignores the question and presumes that all the objects in the Goulandris Collection are authentic.³⁶⁷

Elia thinks reticence about fakes goes with the unequal relation between collector-patron and scholar-consultant:

The reluctance of scholars to deal with the problems that are inherent in the study of private collections springs from the fact that the relationship of scholar to

³⁶³ H.S. Cowper, "The Senams or Megalithic Temples of Tripoli," *Antiquary* 32 (1896) 37–45, 68–74. See also D.J. Mattingly, "The Olive Boom: Oil Surpluses, Wealth and Power in Roman Tripolitania," *LibSt* 19 (1988) 21–41.

³⁶⁴ The episode is summarized in C. Chippindale, *Stone-*

henge Complete (London 1983) 134.

³⁶⁵ ACC 494.

³⁶⁶ ACC 457.

³⁶⁷ Elia 68.

collector is essentially that of client to patron or guest to host. The obligation owed to the collector—for hospitality, access, and sometimes financial support—tends to compromise the researcher's objectivity and corrupt his or her intellectual honesty. An added complication is the fact that the scholar's publication of a collection inevitably serves to authenticate the collection and increase its market value.³⁶⁸

Elia might have listed other facets, such as the financial arrangements for Renfrew's *Cycladic Spirit*, whose copyright is owned by the Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundation or the commissioning by the Goulandris Museum of a monograph on the Goulandris Master by Getz-Preziosi.³⁶⁹

Presentations and Perceptions in Cycladic Studies: The Choice of Words and the Values They Carry

It has recently been fashionable to emphasize the subjective element in how we view the past, the role of our values and preconceptions; in the more radical view, we construct a past in the present to suit ourselves. It is certainly true that we reconstruct the past within, necessarily, a modern world; we make sense of the past insofar as it intersects with our modern perceptions. We express our perceptions about the Cycladic world in what we say about the objects, and in the way we look at them. Running through the newer literature on Cycladic sculpture is a vocabulary of fine art, and with that vocabulary is carried along some conceptions about Cycladic society as a fine society, a vision that is at odds with the archaeological picture of poor islands with small populations living at a simple subsistence level, without great towns or patrons of the visual arts. Many words in the literature can be explored. We indicate first the general point by offering a choice of sentences to describe the manufacture of a Cycladic figure, and then address three examples only, two in words and one in the physical: the words "Master" and "civilization," and the habit of displaying Cycladic figures upright.

Consider these three short sentences:

- "The Master sculpts the idol in his workshop."
- "The carver crafts the figure in his hut."
- "The rustic shapes the pebble in his hovel."

Each sentence describes the same act in words that are near-synonyms in their first meanings, but they make the act high, middle, or low in its social implications, level of artistic refinement, and social and

physical context of labor. The placings of high, middle, and low are themselves statements of attitude, setting craft as a respectable skill but a lesser gift than a fine art.

"Master." Let us consider the word "Master" in terms of a maker of Cycladic figures. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines "master" in this sense as "an artist of distinguished skill, one of those who are regarded as models of excellence in their art," and the ideal of the master with his school or workshop, as the social framework where the making of fine things can best be accomplished, of course derives from the practice of medieval and Renaissance Europe, as Alberti and others describe it. So the word "Master"—not quite the same as the word "master," since the initial capital itself carries meaning—refers to more than accomplishment; it goes with the word "masterpiece," the piece made expressly to use and to show off the Master's skills.³⁷⁰ And it also goes with the places of art, of the artist and of the connoisseur of art as these have been experienced in the Western world these last few centuries. When the Morellian method, and a fuller knowledge of the historical authorities, made it possible to define unnamed hands and personalities, distinctive in the manner of the known, named masters, they could therefore be defined as Masters, the "Master of Flémalle" or the "Master of the Life of Mary." J.D. Beazley, applying Morelli's method to Classical Greek painted pottery, identified named and anonymous potters and painters, like the "Berlin Painter," together with their concomitant satellites of "group of," "class of," "circle of," and "manner of," following the medieval and Renaissance model again of "school of," "workshop of," and "manner of"; a parallel framework has been followed for the study of the Greek Classical sculptor. In this way, the context of artistic production in later Western societies has been projected back onto the Classical world. Perhaps pots *were* made and painted in Classical Greece in a context of masters, assistants, workshops, and schools so closely resembling those of easel painting, sculpture, and decorative arts in postmedieval Europe that just the same words are in order; but that similarity needs to be demonstrated, rather than carried in as the intellectual hand-baggage of a convenient set of words.

In a further projection, the later Western framework has now been projected back onto the Cycladic

³⁶⁸ Elia 67.

³⁶⁹ See ECANAC 233 in the discussion of the Goulandris Master.

³⁷⁰ See subtitle to Renfrew 1991: *Masterpieces from the Nicholas P. Goulandris Collection*.

figures, with two telling differences. The first—which frankly puzzles us—is that the carvers are called Masters with a capital M. Although Classical Greek painted pottery is one of the most technically accomplished of all ceramic traditions, and although Beazley had the highest regard for the great hands in Classical pottery, he stopped short of the word Master in his later writings,³⁷¹ preferring the more reticent “Potter” and “Painter.” We think he was right, for “Master” carries with it certain implications of a social framework that the more neutral terms of potter and painter, and for Cycladic figures the word “carver,” do not bear. Getz-Preziosi, fully understanding how small the populations of the Cycladic islands may have been, and therefore how few and solitary may have been the carvers, nevertheless chooses the word “Master,” a word that is high rather than middle in its aesthetic and social implications.

Other projections from later aesthetic traditions have come to be applied to the Cycladic figures in the same way. Getz-Preziosi divides her sculptors into “archaic,” “classical,” and “late classical” phases.³⁷² Thimme follows a similar scheme, defined by a formal aesthetic progression from a Precanonical, through to the Canonical, and then the Postcanonical.³⁷³ Precanonical figures lead to “the establishment of the canonical type,” including “the hesitant beginnings of the folded-arms position.”³⁷⁴

This series of projections depends for its safety on a series of premises, which deserve notice. A first is that the model of master and workshop indeed fairly represents the conditions under which works of art were made in early modern Europe. We here accept that it does, but also notice the intellectual context under which this ordering was made. Just as the 19th century saw the ordering of the collected objects of

archaeology, with the three-age chronology imposing system on prehistory and the essential frameworks of Classical archaeology being built, so the same period saw an equivalent chronicling, cataloguing, and ordering of the subjects of the art historian’s study. There the essential framework was authenticity, to define the central corpus of the named masters, and the penumbra of other and lesser works—“school of,” “copy of,” “after,” “in the manner of”—that surround it. Now, this intellectual need, to bring order into the multitude, found a corresponding need to establish an equivalent order in the artistic marketplace, to sort out which of the countless paintings “said to be by Rubens” that had been carried proudly home from the Grand Tour really were works of the master, and which were simply “bought as Rubens.” Out of it came the clear hierarchy of quality, and correspondingly of price—a hierarchy that goes from the summit of a certain work by the master to the trough of a copy made by an anonymous hand at some subsequent time and in some distant place—which structures the art market to this day. It is expressed for example in the variety of phrases in customary use in the auction catalogues that run from the artist’s full name, indicative of a secure attribution to the master’s hand alone, down to “manner of” for the least authentic.³⁷⁵ The orderly running of the market enjoys this familiar structure, which is duly emerging for Cycladic figures. As well as the named “Masters” of Cycladic art (whose reliable identification we addressed above, pp. 636–37), the attributions are now being extended to the followers of the Masters: a 1991 Christie’s sale catalogue identifies one figurine as “in the style of the Schuster Master,”³⁷⁶ duly beginning to extend out to Cycladic the salesroom structure of art. The concept of the Master is itself embedded in the larger scheme

³⁷¹ “Master” is to be found in early Beazley writings, and from 1911 to 1914, he consistently defined painters in this fashion, e.g., “The Master of the Berlin Amphora,” *JHS* 31 (1911) 276–95; “The Master of the Troilus-Hydria in the British Museum,” *JHS* 32 (1912) 171–73; “The Master of the Boston Pan-krater,” *JHS* 32 (1912) 354–69; “The Master of the Achilles Amphora in the Vatican,” *JHS* 34 (1914) 179–226. In 1916 he turned to the term “Painter,” e.g., “Fragment of a Vase at Oxford and the Painter of the Tyszkiewicz Crater in Boston,” *AJA* 20 (1916) 144–53. The classic reference books on red- and black-figure pottery use the terms “Potter” and “Painter.” See also M. Robertson, “Beazley and Attic Vase Painting,” in Kurtz (supra n. 305) 26–27.

There is now a return to the word “master” in connection with vase painting; Theodorou recently described decorated potsherds “attributed to Euthymides, Makron, the Triptolemos Painter, the Pan Painter, the Brygos Painter, the Co-

penhagen Painter, and Polygnotos” as works of “Red Figure masters of the archaic and classical periods”: J. Theodorou, “Ancient Art at Princeton,” *Minerva* 2.3 (1991) 22.

The history of the German words “Maler” and “Meister,” and the use of lowercased “master” and capitalized “Master” in English, may be telling.

³⁷² *SC*.

³⁷³ J. Thimme, in *ACC* nos. 110–23, 124–235, and 236–52.

³⁷⁴ *ACC* 449.

³⁷⁵ This has the curious consequence that a catalogue entry on a painting that reads “Rubens” conveys the meaning that the auctioneers judge it to be *not* by Rubens, as *that* would be indicated by the words “Sir Peter Paul Rubens” (P.P. Rubens, of course, means something else again). The Cycladic Masters do not, yet, have first names.

³⁷⁶ Christie’s sale catalogue, 10 July 1991, lot 130.

of an artistic life cycle of birth, florescence, and decline, which is shared by the archaeological expectation of three-phase early, middle, and late (or pre-Classic, Classic, and post-Classic) structures.

Both the scholar and the market have a need for a secure order, and a hierarchy of values, but there are two dangers in that coincidence of interest. The more obvious danger is a direct corruption. Tragedy came to Bernard Berenson, the greatest master of the Morellian method in its first application to European painting, when he allowed the two interests to be fused together, the market interest corrupting, and overriding, the scholarly interest. He became associated directly with transactions in the market, so that his scholarly eye was turned also by a personal market interest, and his intellectual ruin followed.³⁷⁷ No such public calamity has been seen to occur in the study of Classical pottery, fortunately,³⁷⁸ and no public scandal has followed from the many close associations of consultancy, identification, and writing of sale catalogues between scholars and market-makers in the Classical field, or in Cycladic. Yet there is a real conflict. Distinguished scholars identify, authenticate, and explore the items in—to name one of many—the White and Levy Collection; great museums celebrate them in the finest of public places. Auction houses employ the scholars to write catalogue entries, or refer to those scholars' works as good authority for opinions of provenance and attribution. The market value of the pieces depends on those catalogue entries and opinions. The identification of named masters is surely a factor in building the standing of the whole market in Cycladic art, as well as giving pieces named for masters a standing above the anonymous masses. To identify a figure as by a named master is an act with financial consequences. A new profession of "ancient art consultant" lives by this interest.

It is significant, we think, that the senior Classical archaeologists who direct the Beazley Archive at the University of Oxford, a world resource for the attribution of Classical ceramics, in 1991 made public their concern about how its resources are used: "The Beazley Archive has been increasingly concerned about protecting its reputation in the scholarly world against appearing to condone the trade in illegally exported antiquities, by allowing the use of its resources for the

enhancement of the value of Greek vases of no clear origin."³⁷⁹ Accordingly, the Archive has resolved: "Our intention is to ensure that the Archive is not, and is not seen to be, used in any way which might lead to the commercial enhancement of objects which may be suspected of having been removed illegally from the country in which they were found."³⁸⁰

Also at Oxford, the University Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art has decided not to perform thermoluminescent testing to authenticate terracotta figures from West Africa, specifically Mali, which are being looted and smuggled for the market in much the same way as Cycladic figures.³⁸¹

We do not suggest in any way that there is any direct scholarly corruption in respect to Cycladic figurines. But we do think that the coexistence of the different interests is becoming more difficult. In Cycladic, as in other fields, one notices that the same experts are active in scholarship, in the museums, and in advising for the market. And one notices how many of the attributions include and depend on "probably," "possibly," "perhaps," and the insidious "said to be." "Said to be"—by whom, to whom, with what motive, on what authority? And how often may "said to be" stand for "wanted [by whom?] to be"?

The less obvious, and the more real, danger is the treating of the two interests, those of the present market and those of the historian of the past, as if they were wholly equivalent. There is no harm in building a structure for the Cycladic market entirely to suit the market's convenience, with its greater and lesser Masters, its enigmatic masterpieces that have yet to find an identified Master, its school of this Master, and its style of that, *provided* it is also and always understood that the whole masterly structure may be a modern public convenience, not a re-creation of the social and intellectual realities of the prehistoric Cyclades. Yet, in a real world in which the scholars and the market-makers live closely together, the convenience of one comes to be imposed on the other.

Renfrew reminds us of an important aspect to the "striking progression" of the kouroi of Archaic Greece from the very schematic to the relatively naturalistic: "The relative dating of the kouroi depends almost entirely upon these stylistic criteria, so that the im-

³⁷⁷ C. Simpson, *The Partnership: The Secret Association of Bernard Berenson and Joseph Duveen* (London 1987). See also E. Samuels, *Bernard Berenson: The Making of a Legend* (Cambridge, Mass. 1987) and S.N. Behrman, *Duveen* (London 1952).

³⁷⁸ Sir John Beazley, whose eye and judgment came to have an equivalent authority for Greek painted pottery, has

a reputation for having been scrupulous in not giving opinions for the benefit of the market.

³⁷⁹ Policy statement 1991, signed by John Boardman, J.J. Coulton, and Donna Kurtz.

³⁸⁰ Archive policy statement.

³⁸¹ R.R. Inskeep, "Making an Honest Man of Oxford: Good News for Mali," *Antiquity* 66 (1992) 114.

pression of a well-dated evolutionary sequence is a spurious and circular one, the product of the preconceptions of the modern scholar."³⁸² Here is a coincidence of interest; it is convenient both for the market and for the analytical art historian to regard *stylistic development* and *chronological date* as synonyms; it helps neither for some kouroi to be "schematic and late" or "naturalistic and early." Yet the historical reality might be less straightforward; if the evidence for it were to come to light, the scholar's duty would be to follow it, however upsetting to a neat analysis. The market might see benefit in the precocious genius of "naturalistic and early"; for the rest, we would expect it to stick to the old and convenient equation of style and date, because it is directed by market-making convenience more than historical accuracy.

The earliest classification of Cycladic figurines named its identified types after the sites where examples were found,³⁸³ the Plastiras type for a cemetery on Paros where four such figurines were found in a single grave,³⁸⁴ the Louros type for a grave at Louros Athalassou on Naxos where seven of the figures had been placed in a niche.³⁸⁵ From a scheme that named the figures by archaeological context, connoisseurship has preferred a framework that is linked to possession.

The use of the term "Master" by Getz-Preziosi in itself might suggest that these figures were created by a single man.³⁸⁶ Her 16 "sculptors" are named in two ways. The two in the first group are named after excavators in the Cyclades: C. Doumas and N.M. Kontoleon. The 14 in the second group are named after the present or previous proprietor of type-figures, either museums³⁸⁷ or private collectors.³⁸⁸ The original masters, those of Renaissance painting, are generally named after the subjects of defining pieces, like the Master of S. Giles for the painting of the *Legend of S. Giles*, or the place where the defining piece resides, like the Master of Moulins. The new habit for Cycladic follows the place or the present

private proprietor:³⁸⁹ we have a Steiner Master as well as a Naxos Museum Master, but we have no Master of the Folded Arms, or Master of the Biggest Ears. This is a small matter, but one that tells of the modern dominance of the proprietor over the character of the thing he possesses.³⁹⁰ To name a Master after the collector who is the present proprietor is another means to flatter the patron-connoisseur. See how the greatest and most productive of the Masters, the Goulandris, is named for the greatest and most successful of the collectors, Nicholas and Dolly Goulandris. To have a Master named for one, says Dolly Goulandris, is "rather fun."³⁹¹

"Civilization." A division between the civilized—"we"—and the barbarians—"they"—was central to the Classical Greek and Roman views of their world, and the higher ideals of their own societies. That division, and attitude, remains with us: we are proud of our civilized societies, but conscious that the barbarian forces may at any time mass at the gate to pillage and burn us out. Barbarian remains a term of denigration. The archaeological definition of civilization is in other terms, by reference to a number of definable traits, the traits that go with cities and with state societies—a large population of 20,000 plus, a class-based hierarchy under king or emperor, an army, centralized bureaucracy, tribute-based taxation, established law, urban settlement, frontier defense, roads, a priestly class, pantheistic or monotheistic religions, palaces, temples, and other public buildings.³⁹² These primary traits are, for the most part, evident in Classical Greece. All are absent from the Bronze Age Cycladic islands. By this conventional definition Cycladic was a barbarian society, not a civilization. Davis remarks, of the inappropriate term "Cycladic civilization":

Life in the islands in the Early Cycladic period bore none of the hallmarks of civilizations: no, or few, large communities, no written records, no spectacular buildings, and no palaces of the sort built later on Crete and

³⁸² Renfrew 1991, 129.

³⁸³ Renfrew 1969.

³⁸⁴ SC 9.

³⁸⁵ SC 11. Other types are Drios (Paros), Kapsala (Amorgos), Spedos (Naxos), Dokathismata (Amorgos), and Chalandriani (Syros).

³⁸⁶ We presume that the term "mistress" could be misunderstood, e.g., "The Copenhagen Mistress," although the possibility of craftswomen should not be excluded.

³⁸⁷ E.g., the Metropolitan Museum Master, and the Athens Museum Master.

³⁸⁸ E.g., the Steiner Master (Paul and Marianne Steiner, New York), and the Goulandris Master (N.P. Goulandris,

Athens).

³⁸⁹ As individual proprietors, rather than museums and institutions, are naturally transient beings, the defining pieces will by degrees come no longer to be found in the possession of those after whom they were named.

³⁹⁰ Does one have a choice in these matters, as one has when made a British lord?

³⁹¹ FLOM.

³⁹² Generally following Service's four-part division of human societies. This list is after C. Renfrew and P. Bahn, *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice* (London 1991) 155.

at Mycenae to house organized central governments. On the contrary, Early Cycladic settlements were small, the buildings modest—of small stones set without mortar—and graves were seldom richly furnished. (Modern visitors to an excavated settlement or cemetery would find little to hold their attention.) It is likely that all or most settlements were independent, and no evidence points to the political unification of an entire island, let alone of the Cyclades as a whole.³⁹³

Of course, if one follows the woolly notions of space and time that are evident in dreaming of the baetyl in Cycladic prehistory, or of Cycladic peasants following Sumerian state theology, one may look to a society a little removed in space, whether on Crete or on the Greek mainland, and more than a little removed in time, and—finding it agreeably civilized—choose to regard Cycladic society as civilized, which by any proper historical scholarship, it is not.³⁹⁴

Cycladic Figures: Lying Down or Standing?

We previously linked the rise in esteem for Cycladic figures to their convenience in a modern era of smaller dwellings (supra p. 608). We see Cycladic figures as having the presence of large objects, yet they are small enough for the mantelpiece: “These Cycladic figures, though small in size, have a monumental, hieratic presence.”³⁹⁵ On the Manhattan mantelpiece, or in the museum display case, Cycladic figures are invariably placed upright.³⁹⁶ Yet they do not stand upright unsupported, and are now always held in the vertical by mounts or by wires round their necks. Clearly, this is how we choose to see Cycladic figures today, and the vertical rule derives from the upright figure as the common form of the large, grandiose, heavyweight sculpture, whether one of a thousand Lenins leading the masses to a proletarian

victory, or a Winston Churchill in Parliament Square. The monumental miniature follows the upright model of the full-scale monumental. Whoever saw a massive Lenin lying down, except in disgrace after the fall of the Communist Party monolith?

What about the way the figures were held in prehistory, whether in life or when placed in the grave? For the reasons exhaustively discussed above, the direct evidence is slight. One can begin with the observation that figures do not stand safely on their own feet, nor are the feet set in or on a base. Yet the feet of the figures are carved with care and detail, with individual toes even on small figures. It therefore appears that most³⁹⁷ figures were made neither to stand by themselves, nor to be inserted into stands or pierced holes that would support them upright. Getz-Preziosi,³⁹⁸ using what evidence there is, envisages the figures as being held or carried in a horizontal position, small figures in the hand, larger figures on the two outstretched palms of the bearer.³⁹⁹ In *Early Cycladic Art in North American Collections*, Getz-Preziosi says of their presentation: “One or two of the characteristic folded-arm figures are shown in the reclining position intended by their sculptors . . . but, for reasons of visibility . . . , the majority of the works in the exhibition are displayed and illustrated in the conventional manner.”⁴⁰⁰ Getz-Preziosi again: “In the sterile environment of a display case, the figure looks stiff and fragile, unnaturally—and, I dare say, incorrectly—posed on the tips of its toes.”⁴⁰¹ Against this, Renfrew sees the figure as intended to be upright, “figures whose down-pointed toes allow them very conveniently to be propped up against a vertical surface and thus seem upright”; he thinks the double figures, of one standing on another’s head, clinches

³⁹³ Davis, “Perspectives” (supra n. 2) 6. The concept of a Cycladic civilization is used, Davis notes, by Doumas and Papathanassopoulos (a recent example is Doumas [supra n. 13] 25–31). It is, in Davis’s view, a poor translation of the Greek word πολιτισμός, long used to describe the culture of the Cyclades in the EBA. A similar confusion can arise with the French word “civilisation,” which properly describes those less urban, less differentiated, and less complex societies of later prehistory that in English are not civilizations. The “Bell Beaker culture” of Anglophone prehistory is “La civilisation des vases campaniformes” in Francophone préhistoire. Commonly, it is the assemblages of the Late Neolithic, Copper, and Bronze Ages of Europe—of which Cycladic is a regional variant—that are divided by the languages in this way.

³⁹⁴ Notice, in this respect, the choice of title and subtitle for Renfrew’s *Emergence of Civilisation: The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium B.C.*; he reminds us (in a

letter of 14 November 1992) that the word “civilization,” defined in much the manner as we use it, is not applied in that book to the third millennium B.C.

³⁹⁵ Perrot (supra n. 182) viii.

³⁹⁶ The title page spread to *ECANAC* illustrates a figure set horizontally. It does look different in this pose.

³⁹⁷ Most, not all. Some figures, the harp players among them, rest happily on a flat base with the figure sitting upright.

³⁹⁸ SC 52.

³⁹⁹ For Cycladic figures sitting comfortably in the hand or along the arm, see C. Renfrew’s contribution on Cycladic art in the “Down to Earth” series, Thames TV/Channel 4, November 1991.

⁴⁰⁰ P. Getz-Preziosi, “Mastery in Marble: The Early Cycladic Figures and Vessels,” in *ECANAC* 50.

⁴⁰¹ Getz-Preziosi (supra n. 400) 47.

the point.⁴⁰² Museums and auction catalogues invariably depict the figures upright, which flatters them as monumental miniatures.⁴⁰³

The vertical pose of the Cycladic figure today, then, arises from modern habits in monumental sculpture rather than such clues to prehistoric attitude as we have. And because Cycladic figures will not stand up on their own, they are now inserted into molded perspex blocks to hold them upright: the physical aspects of their presentation begin to follow the intellectual consequences.

Cycladic Figures: White or Colored?

One of the best-known instances in all archaeology of a discrepancy between ancient reality and modern perceptions concerns the color of Classical marbles. Originally painted, they have since lost their color, so that Classical revivals have, over the centuries, revered the surface qualities of clean, austere white marble rather than the painted ancient ideal. Even today, when one has knowledge of that transformation, the sight of a Classical figure painted in its original bright finery shocks;⁴⁰⁴ it is so different, so alien, so removed from what one has become used to.

Precisely the same story applies to the Cycladic figures. Many bear traces of blue and red paint, or “ghost” areas where the paint has left a different surface texture.⁴⁰⁵ Renfrew says of our high regard for the simple power of the whitened figures: “We see Cycladic figures as pure in their whiteness. The absence of surface detail emphasizes the simplicity of form and all is reduced to clean lines and the polished surface of Cycladic marble, but it was not always so.”⁴⁰⁶

Broodbank comments:

Let me suggest a visual experiment. Trace a figurine on white paper. Add (not in time-faded hues or modest black-and-white stippling, but bright hematite red and azurite blue): head and pubic hair, lycanthropic eyebrows and staring almond eyes, densely tattooed dots or vertical gashes over most of the face, and necklaces and bracelets at throat and wrist.⁴⁰⁷ Alternatively, look at the rare figurines that do depict features such as eyes, ears or baldric in relief; these get a hard time for their ‘fussiness’, but in fact tell us much about how their bleached sisters once looked. Whichever method one

chooses, what looks back at us is something extraordinary but utterly ‘other’. Detail in no sense intends to emphasize form or line, and, if anything, distracts from it. Rather, its aim is to send out messages significant to an early Cycladic observer. Indeed, the range of tattooed motifs and hair arrangements attested⁴⁰⁸ may indicate that the painted surface records crucial messages concerning *diversity* over the neutral and standard canvas of the marble form.⁴⁰⁹

Broodbank notices that other Cycladic artifacts, such as the vessels densely covered with elaborate painted or stamped and incised designs among the prestige pottery of the Keros-Syros culture, suggest that great importance *was* attached to surface detail.⁴¹⁰ If the Cycladic figures were commonly painted, and if their simple beauty is unusual in Cycladic material culture, the loss of paint may be the central issue in understanding them. The simple forms, and the lack of detail, may arise only from their being taken back, by the chance of time, into an unfinished state: what we see and delight in are the plain, preliminary blanks that were made primarily in order to carry the essential variability of colored decoration—the meaning that mattered. If that were the case, then the whole modern apparatus of regard for Cycladic simplicity is in error. Instead of Modern Masters having arrived at the same aesthetic as the supposed Cycladic Masters, it is simply chance that unfinished Cycladic figures resemble finished 20th-century sculptures.

Modern Perceptions of Ancient Cycladic Society

We have looked behind the words “Master” and “civilization,” and at the upright attitude that Cycladic figures are now required to adopt. Many other words that run through the newer Cycladic literature—enigmatic, inscrutable, hoard, idol, sculptor, art—will on examination be found to bring with them a variety of meanings and nuances that may not be applicable to Cycladic figures in their prehistoric context.

Since all words hold meaning beyond their dictionary definition, *anything* whatever that is said about Cycladic figures (or anything else!) will bear nuances. To speak neutrally of them is to be silent. Yet it is inescapable that the vocabulary of Cycladic art together provides a certain atmosphere, perhaps al-

⁴⁰² Renfrew 1991, 92–94.

⁴⁰³ Chippindale is responsible for Cycladic display in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at Cambridge, and he has recently removed its (cast of a) Cycladic figure from its upright perspex stand and laid it flat.

⁴⁰⁴ Such as the painted Classical cast in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, University of Cambridge. See also Renfrew 1991, fig. 80.

⁴⁰⁵ “Ghosts” on figures that surfaced before paint traces were recognized may be useful in establishing authenticity.

⁴⁰⁶ Renfrew 1991, 117.

⁴⁰⁷ Cf. SC 55, fig. 29.

⁴⁰⁸ Cf. SC 105, fig. 42.

⁴⁰⁹ Broodbank 544.

⁴¹⁰ Broodbank 544.

ready evident from the quotations in this paper, and particularly visible—to our reading—in Getz-Preziosi's *Sculptors of the Cyclades*. Here is a sample of the atmosphere created by the style, when some questions of chronology are addressed: "While the earlier part of the second phase was a time of exuberant self-confidence and virtuosity in Cycladic sculpture, toward the end of the period the spirit of the times seems to have changed, to judge by the radical differences of iconography and style now seen in the sculpture."⁴¹¹

The vocabulary sets the frame of thought. It predisposes one to the idea that Cycladic figures might have been idols;⁴¹² it predisposes one against other interpretations for which there is equal evidence.

Sometimes, the frame of thinking is more explicit, and seems more directly to steer thought in a certain way. Getz-Preziosi subtitles her study of the sculptors "Individual and Tradition in the Third Millennium B.C.," and elsewhere talks of the Cycladic figures as "orphans": "With orphaned Cycladic images, as with orphaned images from other regions, one can never be certain in what context they were used, although the chances are good that it was a sepulchral one."⁴¹³ Is there not to be heard here an echo of that common choice of the word "individual" in contemporary North American society, a different word carrying different nuances, where in other times and places the words "person" or "people" might have been used? In contemporary Western culture, an orphan is a little soul, lost through misfortune, who cries out to be adopted and given a home; a good home will compensate for what it has already suffered. Does not the word "orphan" carry a similar burden, behind it the fear of losing self, losing the individual, becoming nameless and lost? In these ways we take the figures from their makers in prehistory and bring them into the values and psychologies of our own worldviews. To note the proprietorship of a figure as being in the "Mr. & Mrs. Stanley Marcus Collection of Fertility Figures" at the Dallas Museum of Art⁴¹⁴ is to make a statement about their ancient and modern meanings.

Art, Aesthetics, and Human Universals

A recurrent element in the evocative strain of Cycladic literature is an appeal to timeless universals: the figures speak directly to us across the centuries because they share an eternal language for all hu-

manity: "With minimal means, they attain an intensity of abstract expression and subtlety of form that, though totally idiosyncratic, have universal appeal."⁴¹⁵ This encourages a rhetoric that leaps from islets of the prehistoric Aegean to societies of a very different character. Here is that jump in the annual report of a famous American museum:

The fall began auspiciously when John Coney's monumental silver punch bowl, acquired through the Theodora Wilbour Fund in memory of Charlotte Beebe Wilbour, was placed as a centerpiece of the special exhibition of American silver. Coney (1655–1722) was a Boston craftsman who brought Georgian British standards of work in the precious metals to the Colonies. His bowl is the forerunner in size and simplicity of what Paul Revere was to create decades later in the eighteenth century for the Sons of Liberty in Massachusetts. The Coney bowl's shape compares provocatively with two marble vases of about 2400 B.C., found years ago with two Cycladic idols of elementary form in an early Bronze Age tomb at Marathon on the eastern coast of Attica.⁴¹⁶

Why do these things compare? Why is the comparison thought provocative? First, one must take full account of the essentials of three-dimensional geometry. It is a restricted system; it permits only a certain range and variety of forms. Second, even that range of forms is vastly reduced, for practical purposes, by the physical constraints on the form of the artifact that follow from simple requirements of function, by the physical properties of the materials of which it is made, and by the functional requirements of a human user. A bowl or vase made of silver or of marble that is to work well is likely to be held within a narrow vocabulary of forms. It does not follow that there is any close link of character or of spirit between the maker of the one and the maker of the other. A similarity of form does not make the Israel Museum Master into the twin of Brancusi. And because time has direction, the similarity of the Cycladic to the Brancusi is not to be equated with the similarity of the Brancusi to the Cycladic.

Esteem for Cycladic art is one of many examples of a broadening of aesthetic tolerances among the connoisseurs of this century. With that broadening of aesthetic tolerances there needs to go a matching recognition that there is no simple and close coupling between art of a first-class quality, as we choose now to perceive it, and the virtue of the society that made it. The maker of a superb contemporary piece may

⁴¹¹ SC 23.

⁴¹² ACC *passim*.

⁴¹³ P. Getz-Preziosi, "Prehistoric Stone Images of the Greater Mediterranean Area," in *Idols* (supra n. 7) 9.

⁴¹⁴ ECANAC 216, no. 61.

⁴¹⁵ Perrot (supra n. 182) viii.

⁴¹⁶ *Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Annual Report 1972–73*, p. 17.

be a violent, deranged person. The society of the prehistoric Cycladic figure makers was the world of subsistence fisher-farmers on marginal little islands; they were none of them people exactly like us.

Yet Dolly Goulandris, greatest of Cycladic collectors, explains the genesis of her collection in terms of the immediacy with which she can comprehend Cycladic art: "Slowly we started buying Cycladic art and we got fascinated with it. It became a passion for us. First, because they are so simple and so abstract, and so close to modern art that we did not need any special knowledge for it. We could appreciate immediately what they stood for. And each one is different and each has its own special appeal."⁴¹⁷

Time has now chosen to give a curious twist to these ideas of timelessness. The "Modern movement" of the early decades of the century itself has become a historical phenomenon. Modernist buildings have become period pieces, the masters of Modernist architecture are out of fashion, and a Postmodern architecture follows other values. The same goes for the sculptures of Brancusi and Modigliani and Moore, although the critical view of Modernist sculpture is kinder in the 1990s than it is to Modernist architecture. Just as the comparison of Cycladic art with the Modern movement has become more compelling, so has regard for the Modern movement become less compelling; no longer where the best of artists *are*, it is merely a point where some artists once *were*. While Modernism respected the eternal verities created by the rule of a form that followed function, Postmodernism in the 1980s took to arbitrary games of pastiche and play, the breaking of rules, the mixing of different orders, the reviving of any historical style that takes the fancy. The Modernist aesthetic of Getz-Preziosi, Renfrew, and Thimme has set aside the eccentric, anomalous, and unconforming figures; it has corralled the whitened Cycladic figures that it prefers to revere within a set of austere rules and placed them within a narrow historical trajectory of forms considered acceptable at a given stage of their forward evolution. A Postmodernist view of Cycladica rejoices instead in the garish colors, regrets the clean neatness of the scrubbed white surfaces, celebrates the quirky and the unusual, delights in the breaking of the canonic rules (if such rules existed)—especially if done with a mischievous purpose—and enjoys the knowledge that some of them are fakes.

CONNOISSEURSHIP AND ARCHAEOLOGY: AN ESSENTIAL ASYMMETRY?

The purpose of this paper is to document the consequences, material and intellectual, of a recent rising regard for Cycladic figures as objects for the connoisseur's zeal. In closing, however, it is right to identify a fundamental asymmetry in the consequences for the object, and for our knowledge of it, between the archaeological and the connoisseur's view.

For the connoisseur, the value of the object largely resides in the thing itself; a knowledge of context is a useful accessory to that knowledge, in telling of its background and in reassuring that the object is not a fake. Nothing fundamentally differs between a Cycladic figure recovered in a controlled archaeological excavation and a Cycladic figure that "surfaces" in Switzerland.

From the archaeological viewpoint, the information immanent in the object itself is one element of a larger story, the rest of which resides in a knowledge of context. The material consequences of the connoisseur's esteem, as we have been able to document them, are calamitous to the archaeological interest, because they have led to so many Cycladic figures being taken out of context that many roads to a secure knowledge of the prehistoric Cyclades, as once available in the archaeology of these figures, have been closed. Moreover, it is impossible for the words and ideas in which a modern esteem for Cycladic figures is commonly expressed not to be cast back to divert and to cloud our grasp of the realities of human life on the Cycladic islands, of which the secure evidence of figures and their contexts is so great a part.

It is evident how great are the intellectual consequences that follow from the material consequences of esteem for Cycladic figures. Bereft of secure find-spot, context, associated objects, or date, they have only been made intellectual sense of by abstract frameworks of idealized canons and wished-for Masters in imagined studios. Yet intellectual consequences in turn create the material consequences. It is because the intellectual framework of Cycladic study so much depends on characteristics of the figure itself that each new example that "surfaces" without trace is regarded as of value, with just a passing aside or footnote to notice its lack of history. As the material creates the intellectual, so does the intellectual create the material.

⁴¹⁷ FLOM.

We close by reprinting the catalogue entry for a recent sale of a Cycladic figure, Christie's, New York, 15 December 1992, lot 6, which epitomizes the interactions among collector, market-maker, and scholar:

● 6 A LARGE CYCLADIC MARBLE RECLINING FEMALE FIGURE^a

SPEDOS VARIETY,^b EARLY BRONZE AGE II, CIRCA 2500 B.C.

With lyre-shaped head, a long nose in relief, a shallow chin, the broad neck with incised grooves at the join to the torso, sloping shoulders, the breasts small, the arms folded right below left, with the right extending to the left elbow, fingers and wrists indicated by incised lines, the waist narrow, with a horizontal groove across the abdomen, the pubic area defined by an incised "V", a deep cleft separating the legs, the knees slightly indented, the feet angled downward with deeply incised toes, the spine indicated by a vertical groove, and with a horizontal buttock line—21 in. (52.5 cm.) high

PROVENANCE^c

Mathias Komor, "From an English private collection. The previous owner obtained it shortly after the end of World War II while stationed on one of the Cycladic Isles."

In personal correspondence between Dr. Getz-Preziosi^d and Mrs. Rodgers shortly before her death, the present figure was identified as the work of an accomplished sculptor with an individual style, by the same hand as a figure in the Goulandris collection and another from a private collection. It was suggested that this anonymous sculptor be called the Rodgers Master,^e as this example was pivotal in linking the three sculptures to the same hand.

For the Goulandris figure,^f see no. 173 in Dumas, *Cycladic Art, Ancient Sculpture and Pottery from the N. P. Goulandris Collection*, London, 1983

For the figure from a private collection,^g see no. 52 in Getz-Preziosi, *Early Cycladic Art in North American Collections* (exhibition catalogue), Richmond, 1987

\$300,000–500,000^h

Notice the following in this account, referenced above by the superscript letters a–h:

^aThe phrase "reclining female figure" evokes Henry Moore (Sotheby's catalogues habitually prefer to call

Cycladic figures "goddesses"). The accompanying two color photographs do not depict the figure as reclining. It is fixed by an acrylic and metal mount to stand upright. Where the text follows a flattering phrase, the picture follows a flattering pose—even though the two flattering accounts contradict each other.

^bVariety after Renfrew's classification.

^cProvenance unknown, recent history via an unspecified private collection.

^dScholarly opinion of attribution to a named Master by Getz-Preziosi.

^eMaster named for the present proprietor, who will cease to be the proprietor when the sale has taken place that caused the Master to be named for him!

^fParallel in an unprovenanced figure in the Goulandris Collection.⁴¹⁸

^gParallel in a figure in a private collection, which Getz-Preziosi earlier identified as a possible early work by the Steiner Master.⁴¹⁹

^hPrice achieved rather lower, \$275,000.

Although the names are particular to contemporary views of Cycladic art, this catalogue entry follows the spirit of a fruitful three-way marriage of connoisseur, market-maker, and scholar that has been a commonplace of Classical archaeology since its beginning. The issues explored in this paper document how this old alliance is coming under strain as the interests and motives of the three partners have become distinct.

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⁴¹⁸ Convenient images of the piece may be found in Renfrew 1991, 140 fig. 10 right (grid), pls. 57.96.5 and 18.100.1

and 101.2.

⁴¹⁹ *ECANAC* 200, no. 52.