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ARCHAIC SCULPTURE IN BOEOTIA

ARCHAIC SCULPTURE  
IN BOEOTIA

BY  
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## NOTE

**T**HE abbreviations of titles of publications used in the following essay are those listed in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1938, p. 200, with these exceptions and additions:

Jahrbuch: *Jahrbuch d. k. d. Archaeologischen Instituts*.

MuZ: E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, Munich, 1923.

Winter: F. Winter, *Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, vol. I, Berlin, 1903.

## PREFACE

**T**HE material for the present volume was gathered largely during the summer of 1937, when I resided at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. For the facilities of that school and for those of the Fogg Museum at Cambridge and the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston I am most deeply indebted.

The kindly assistance of Dr. Oikonomos, at Athens, and of Dr. Platon, Ephor of Antiquities for the region of Boeotia and Phocis, at Thebes, has made my work pleasant as well as easy. My special thanks are also due to Madame Karouzos, Curator of the National Museum at Athens. Helpful advice has come to me from many people, but particularly from Dean Chase of Harvard University, Miss Richter of the Metropolitan Museum, Professor Picard of the Sorbonne, and Mr. Rodney Young of the staff of the American Excavation at the Athenian Agora.

There are two people whose assistance has gone so far that they might well be called co-authors of the present work. They are my wife, Priscilla Grace, and my sister, Virginia R. Grace.

F. R. G.

Cambridge, Mass.  
May, 1939

## **ARCHAIC SCULPTURE IN BOEOTIA**



## INTRODUCTION

WITHIN the last fifty years the archaic sculpture of Boeotia has been the subject of a number of published studies. At least three separate analyses of the preserved marble statues have been made, needless to say with three quite disparate results. Holleaux, in his publication in the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* of the sculpture found at Mt. Ptoös, attempted to classify the material and explain his newly found Theban school. Deonna, in *Les Apollons archaïques*, under a separate heading for Boeotia, analyzed a group of kouroi which, for various reasons, he considered as products of local manufacture. Most recently Lullies, in the *Jahrbuch* for 1936, published an article of the most modern kind of stylistic criticism in which he endeavored, by sheer force of critical insight, to walk safely along even the treacherous paths which divide the local imitation from the foreign model in cases of the most tenuous differentiation. Although the most brief, Lullies' treatment of the material is also the most inclusive of the three. It embraces nearly all of the objects that had been by others considered Boeotian, as well as the greater part of those found in Boeotia which his predecessors had believed to be imported from abroad. Of him alone it might be said that he tended to slight the problems of national authorship in an endeavor to treat all the material which has been related to Boeotia. However, Lullies' discussion is still in substance an attempt to analyze a supposed local school, to define principles of attribution so fully as to be able to distinguish between the Boeotian pupil and his Attic master.

The present investigation was originally undertaken with the purpose of reclassifying the material yet again on the same basis, altering an attribution here and there, and attempting once more to define a specifically Boeotian style. It was intended to offer another division of foreign-made and indigenous works, another analysis of relationships between the supposedly local material and the products of other schools. But the conclusion that has been brought home to me most forcefully, both by my own investigations and by discussions with the many people who have helped me in this work, is that such definition is impossible. Furthermore, under the conditions of limited available information which govern modern criticism, it does not appear that further discussion along the old lines of sharply drawn differentiation is any more fruitful. Even such brilliant analysis as Lullies has brought to bear on individual objects in the period of closest relationships between Boeotia and

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Attica can lead no further than the provisional acceptance or rejection of attributions founded on highly subjective interpretations.

It is no longer my belief that clearly marked local schools are distinguishable or ever existed in Greek sculpture of the sixth century. That there were widely divergent impulses arising in various parts of the Greek world and affecting different sections in different ways is clear, and a knowledge of the sources and transmissions of these impulses is of the greatest importance to our understanding of the developments of this most important century for the history of Greek sculpture. But it no longer appears possible to suppose that various communities throughout Greece were developing peculiarly local modes of plastic expression dependent upon peculiarly local geographical, sociological, and political conditions. It is becoming more and more apparent, on the other hand, that the really significant changes in Greek sculpture during this period were transmitted from place to place very quickly, became, in short, universal to the Greek world almost immediately upon conception. This is the fundamental lesson which studies like Miss Richter's<sup>1</sup> eminently logical discussion of the early Apollo statues have to teach us. Almost unaffected by specific locus of manufacture, these major examples of early sculpture pursue a clear and logical course in the development of plastic style toward an always visible goal.

There is, of course, nothing very new in this point of view. That very remarkable scholar, M. Pottier,<sup>2</sup> long ago made clear how problematical are even those larger subdivisions generally accepted by critics almost as axioms. But it is a point of view which, in this day of increasing emphasis upon critical analysis of formal expression, will bear repetition. It is with this in mind that, in the following pages, I have wished to consider not merely a group of objects which I believe to be peculiarly Boeotian — to the exclusion of other items, apparently as closely associated with that district but which, on one ground or another, I believe to be imported from abroad — but rather all the important material which is known to derive from Boeotia. For the same reason, very few objects found elsewhere have been included. The present essay is not an exercise in attribution, but rather an attempt to summarize and, to a certain extent, interpret the whole sequence of monuments from Boeotian soil. It is my belief that this sequence is itself of prime importance as evidence of the changing relationships and point of view of the people of this particular district, and that it should be set forth without distortions based on secondary evidence from other sources.

For it is not the meaning of any of the above remarks to deny that certain conditions of life in a given community will be reflected in the plastic expres-

<sup>1</sup> *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, V, pp. 20 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Problème de l'art dorien*, Paris, 1908.

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sions of that community. Anyone who has ever practised any of the arts knows to what an extent not only the mood and ideology but even the mode of expression is affected by conditions of life and of thought in the contemporary environment. In the case of archaic Greek sculpture, the significant developments are national, as is the style itself, while the local variations act as overtones or modifiers to this major theme. And as the major theme develops step by step, the concomitant changes in local styles with each step are far greater in fundamental importance, in the formal sense, than any variations between contemporary community groups. Thus it appears that there are no local schools of basic formal importance, and that in attempting to sift out the specific local variations, to recognize the products of each Greek center, we are seeking (to return to the metaphor of music) not to differentiate between the harmonies of several composers but rather to recognize the varying interpretations of a number of conductors performing the same symphony.

Viewed in this light it is to be expected that Boeotia, instead of being, as is so often assumed, a land without local expression, a land of utter dependence first upon one community abroad and then upon another, will show itself to be rather a district of strongly individual local character. Such local individuality must arise from the severe, strenuous, rural existence of a community essentially very provincial in its limited self-sufficiency, its lack of interests abroad. The sort of rustic existence which Hesiod pictured in the *Works and Days* bears a certain similarity to the land of Zarathustra's teaching, as we know it from the *Gathas* and the *Yashts*. And it is of interest to observe how the same harsh, rude culture accompanied a vigor and ruthless energy among the peoples of both countries — as much among the Boeotians, who grew but little before the world in this period, as among the Persians, who waxed mighty in the land. The prime artistic result of this condition of life in Boeotia was a tendency to fasten upon certain formal, even hieratic qualities in sculpture and emphasize them to the extent of repeating individual types almost as ritual formulae over considerable periods. Examples of this circumstance are to be found in the series of "pappades" from the second half of the sixth century, or in the equally uniform but unfortunately uncertainly dated series of "bird-faced" figurines of the early archaic period and the seventh century. In the major monuments of stone sculpture there is no such changeless repetition, but there are often signs of persistent adherence to certain elements, generally, again, the more formal, more austere motives, of older styles, through a considerable period of development. As an example of this tendency may be cited the constant reappearance throughout the sixth century of traces of that severity which marked all Greek sculpture of the period around 600. But it must be insisted that that tendency existed always as a

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modifying, never as a major factor in the plastic development, which continued in Boeotia, as elsewhere, to follow its foreordained course.

It must be recognized from the start that the present essay represents purely and simply a study of formal developments in plastic style, and in no sense a thoroughly rounded discussion of all possible approaches to art history in Boeotia. There has been little opportunity for technical analyses of material, and I have not attempted to pursue the primarily literary problems of subject interpretation and authorship. The only considerable study of Boeotian sculptors' names which has been made is contained in the thesis presented by M. Decharme to the faculty of the University of Paris in 1869, entitled *De Thebanis Artificibus*. The oldest Theban sculptor whose name is preserved — and he is also the oldest sculptor of all Boeotia concerning whom any useful information has been handed down by ancient writers — is Ascaros. Decharme has argued plausibly<sup>3</sup> that this Ascaros was in all probability the pupil of Kanachos of Sicyon, and, in any event, his *floruit* date must fall as late as 500 or even later. Although certain authors have attempted to pursue the history of Boeotian sculpture down into classical times, proposing various stylistic and other motives as differentiating factors between the products of other parts of Greece and those of the region of Boeotia,<sup>4</sup> it is not the intention of the present paper to follow the subject beyond the end of the sixth century. For the defeat of the Boeotian forces at the hands of the Athenians in 507 seems to mark the end of a long period of comparative isolation in Boeotia during which the most interesting local phenomena were able to influence local plastic expression to a most exceptional extent. After that time the increasing pressure of the classic spirit, fast devouring all remnants of the non-classic, archaic Greek world, seems to have overwhelmed the true individuality of Boeotia.

The important developments of the sixth century I have said to be national rather than local in nature, but the archaic spirit was one which permitted a certain freedom of interpretation. The classicism of the early fifth century in the plastic arts, on the other hand, was so thoroughly universal a movement as finally to reduce the artists of provincial districts like Boeotia to the position of secondary craftsmen working in an almost unified and greatly enlarged world of design. It may be possible to trace certain academic peculiarities of the particular schools of stone carving which may be supposed to have existed in Boeotia during the fifth century and later; but the pursuit of such differentiations among a number of provincial schools in which all the aesthetic meaning or important expressive content is thoroughly at one with the enveloping spirit of universal Greek classicism, seems at present a thankless task.

<sup>3</sup> *De Thebanis Artificibus*, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> J. Koerte, *A. M.*, III, p. 319; Buschor, *A. M.*, 1928, p. 50; Lullies, *Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 152.

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It may seem necessary to defend this concentration on stylistic history, a study still so much mistrusted by many archaeologists. Although their numbers are decreasing, thanks largely to the excellent writings of several German critics in this field, it is surprising how many scholars in ancient art still condemn at sight all deductions drawn from stylistic analysis as meaningless and vague, while accepting with alacrity the evidence of the most fantastic descriptions by ancient writers, the most fortuitous resemblances of subject-matter between coin types and monumental sculpture. It is my belief that the study of the development of formal style can be as objective as any other study in our general efforts to delve deeply into all that is significant in the world of the Greeks. It follows from this that the sequence of dedications in Boeotia represents prime evidence for analysis and consideration with reference to the light which it can shed upon the cultural history of that district.

To summarize briefly the results of the following discussion from this point of view, my investigations have led me to virtually complete agreement with the conclusions of Hampe<sup>5</sup> as regards the developments in Boeotia in the late eighth and through the seventh centuries. From before 700 to about the middle of the seventh century, Boeotian artists worked in a very individual and apparently rather original geometric style. In the early part of this period, at least, there is no question of Boeotia having been in any sense backward or dependent upon outside sources in the arts. After the middle of the seventh century it is apparent that a strong Corinthian influence was instrumental in putting an end to much of what was peculiarly local about the plastic arts in the district and, probably, in cutting down home production to a considerable extent. As will be seen below, there is some slight evidence for believing that Corinthian terra cottas were exported to Boeotia during this period, but the sum of datable material of the second half of the seventh century available for study is discouragingly and surprisingly small. The most probable assumption on the basis of the evidence at hand is that vases of the so-called "Boeotian Cylix ware" and figurines of the "bird-faced" type, both decorated in black and purple paint on a buff ground, were produced from about 650 on, although, as will appear below, the only examples of these objects which can be dated on external grounds belong to the second quarter of the sixth century. If it be true that the earliest examples of this type of work go back to the middle of the seventh century, it becomes obvious that a certain continuity in characteristically local material did exist throughout the century, and the continued manufacture of the great Boeotian relief pithoi might serve to support this contention. But, at all events, the vigorous

<sup>5</sup> *Frühe Griechische Sagenbilder in Bötien*, Athens, 1936.

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and ingenious craftsmen of early Boeotia were distinctly overshadowed and the light of their traditions dimmed by this contact with the more cosmopolitan culture of Corinth.

The end of the seventh and beginning of the sixth centuries found Boeotian art still dominated by this same influence. In Boeotia, as in other parts of the Greek world, a start was made in the carving of monumental sculpture in stone, the earliest preserved example belonging to the late Daedalic style. But it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the specific interpretation of the national sculptural style of the first half of the sixth century by Boeotian artists was once again markedly local in character. A number of fine terra cottas from this period, although painted with decorative motives clearly derived from Corinth, betray in the modelling of the heads clear traces of a peculiarly vigorous, forceful, and obviously indigenous style. The same manifestation is to be observed in monumental sculpture. Although there is no reason to believe that Boeotia was out of step with important developments in this field in the rest of Greece, there is a considerable series among the dedications of this period in Boeotia which are marked in the figures by an uncompromising severity of modelling, a harshness of angular transitions between broad planes, corresponding to a sharp definition of outline and a brutal energy in the treatment of the heads. The only possible explanation of this conception is to be found in the soil of Boeotia itself, in the world outlook of a people dwelling under rural, provincial conditions, hemmed in from the sea by mountains on every side, taking little interest in the adventures of world trade, content with the produce of their rich farm lands and with their slow way of life.

The change in style which marks the middle of the sixth century clearly derives once more from foreign influences, but in this case the source of the new impulse is not clear. By some critics the monuments which herald this change have been thought to be Attic, by others, Peloponnesian, by others again, island in style. In the state of our present knowledge, it does not appear possible to state categorically from what immediate source this influence reached Boeotia, but it is my own conclusion that its ultimate source was the Ionian islands. The most important reason for this conclusion is the obvious relationship which exists between the male statue in Thebes #3 and various of the island kouroi, notably the "Apollo" of Melos. As has been remarked above, this new style dominated the production of both marble sculpture and terra cotta figurines over a considerable number of years, and the homogeneous character of this series of dedications of the period seems to postulate the existence of local craftsmen interpreting the style. However, with a curious parallelism to the development of the preceding century, there is a distinct falling off in the vigor and originality of artistic production, although in mon-

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umental sculpture there remain persistent traces of the severe, angular modelling in broad planes of the first half of the century.

The end of this period marks the end of most of the peculiarly local characteristics in Boeotia. The "pappades" cease to be made, after a very long period of production in various forms. In stone sculpture there is a constantly increasing amount of direct imitation or importation of Attic works. However, the terra cotta figurines from grave 80 at Rhitsona indicate that other influences besides the Attic appear at this time.

This is as far as the subject will be pursued in this volume. It is the point at which the "primitive" type of terra cotta gave way to the "genre figures," the broad, bold and individual archaic style gave way to uniform classicism, and the strong, independent provinciality of early Boeotia was lost, for a time, at least, in sheer suburbanism.

# I

## TERRA COTTAS OF THE LATE GEOMETRIC AND SUB-GEOMETRIC PERIODS

THE earliest Boeotian terra cottas of the historic period are a series of female figures with flaring skirts made almost in the shape of bells. This group of more or less exceptionally monstrous representations of the human form has been interestingly discussed by Maurice Holleaux in the first volume of the *Monuments Piot* [pp. 21 f.]. There he published one of the examples in the Louvre and two that are in Berlin. Although Holleaux, writing in 1894, wisely refrained from attempting to give an absolute date to these figures, he did make some deductions as to their relative date. Because the decoration and the form of these figurines appeared to him characteristically Boeotian geometric and unmarked by any influence of the Dipylon style, he reasoned that they must precede the full bloom of Attic geometric pottery. There is now evidence that in this last conclusion Holleaux was undoubtedly mistaken and that the figurines must have been made about 700 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

The painted decoration of the figurines indicates a date in the last years of the eighth and the first quarter of the seventh centuries. The water birds on the example in the Louvre (fig. 1) illustrated by Holleaux,<sup>2</sup> and on the example in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,<sup>3</sup> illustrated in figure 2, are similar to those on Boeotian vases of the first quarter of the seventh century; the many-legged swastikas<sup>4</sup> also appear frequently on these vases. The same is true of the palm-like branches which rise on either side of the central ornament of the figurine in the Louvre. For all these elements many parallels may be found by turning over the plates of vases of the first quarter of the seventh century in Hampe's *Fruhe Griechische Sagenbilder in Bötien*.<sup>5</sup> Even

<sup>1</sup> One of Holleaux's most reasonable assumptions (*Mon. Piot*, I, p. 41, note 2) that if the Dipylon type of human figure with pinched waist had been known it would have been reflected in the figurines, is controverted by the example acquired by the Louvre after Holleaux's publication (fig. 6). On the skirt of this statuette are painted several female figures, all adhering to the usual Dipylon formula of proportions.

<sup>2</sup> Louvre #573, *Mon. Piot*, I, pl. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Accession #98.891.

<sup>4</sup> See Böhlau, *Jahrbuch*, III, p. 352, and Holleaux, *op. cit.*, p. 41, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> Miss Goldman, in an article in the *Festschrift Loeb* (Munich, 1930, p. 71), referred to the appearance of the "Minoan" double axe on the skirt of Louvre #573 as typical of Boeotian conservatism and clinging to old ideas. However, a glance at the references in Roes, *Greek Geometric Art* (London, 1933, p. 71, note 2), will illustrate how frequently this motive was employed in the geometric vases of many other communities. Yet at the time of writing it appears not unlikely that the discovery by the British School in Crete of several early iron age figurines with attached legs (*Illus. London News*, March 5, 1938, figures 6-10) may lead to the recognition of some lingering Minoan tradition which might have inspired the makers of the Boeotian terra cottas.



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the great rectangular decoration in the center of the front of the Louvre statuette seems to reappear on a pyxis in Heidelberg <sup>6</sup> and in a vase in the National Museum at Athens of this same period.<sup>7</sup>

The fact most emphatically brought home by a study of these bell-shaped figurines is the great unity of style which they represent and the very brief period of time during which they appear to have been made. One example in the Berlin Antiquarium <sup>8</sup> (fig. 3) is perhaps slightly more crude in construction, but really very close to the Louvre and Boston examples cited above. In this case specific parallels may be cited with individual vases of Hampe's <sup>9</sup> group representing the *spätest-geometrische Stufe*. Water birds designed according to both the schemes illustrated by the two large birds in the figurine appear in the oenochoe in Würzburg, Hampe #V27 <sup>10</sup> (fig. 4), belonging to this group. The four-legged swastika used free in the field with a bird very similar to that near the figurine's right hand is found on the oenochoe Hampe #V30 in Athens. The placing of the birds on the ground line and the amount of filling ornament on the figurines also agree with these vases of the period just before 700.

The other example in Berlin <sup>11</sup> has an almost formless "bird-beak" face, but the decoration, which is here limited to rows of concentric circles, is again in keeping with the "latest geometric" group of Hampe. The concentric circle with open center is an important feature of all these vases, and the pitcher in Boston, illustrated by Hampe,<sup>12</sup> is an example in which such circles are the only decoration on the main body of the vase, just as they are on the figurine.

There are certain elements, of which the more rounded outlines of the water birds are the most important, which tend to indicate that the example in the Louvre, #573, is slightly later than the two Berlin examples, as, indeed, Holleaux suggested. But the difference is very slight — easily containable within the lifetime of a single craftsman, and the Louvre figurine must be fairly early in the first quarter of the seventh century.

An interesting comparison from the point of view of plastic style may be made between the heads of the Boston figurine, or, even more noteworthy, the Louvre figurine numbered 573, and a clay head from Sparta <sup>13</sup> (fig. 5).

<sup>6</sup> Hampe, *op. cit.*, pl. 28, #18.

<sup>7</sup> National Museum #14708. I cannot believe that this decoration on the figurine represents any actual part of the costume (Holleaux, *op. cit.*, p. 27, disagrees), although it may represent a decorative panel on the dress itself. Compare *Annuario*, 1927-29, pl. 23, for a similar design on a figure painted on a vase from Arkades.

<sup>8</sup> The appended illustration is taken from *Mon. Piot*, I, p. 23, fig. 2. Antiquarium #3202.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 24.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 25 abb. 7 from which figure 4 is taken.

<sup>11</sup> Antiquarium #3201, illustrated in *Mon. Piot*, I, p. 24, fig. 3.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, pl. 20; A. Fairbanks, *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases*, Boston, 1928, #287, pl. 25.

<sup>13</sup> *B. S. A.*, XXIX, pl. I. In the accompanying article, p. 87, Miss Woodward records that there was originally more to this figurine than a simple protome head.

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Miss Woodward, in publishing this head, noted several very good reasons for considering it later than the eighth century, yet necessarily early in the period of oriental influence. Although the object could not be absolutely dated on the basis of stratification, yet the excavator's reasoning has been generally accepted. Jenkins<sup>14</sup> assigned the head to the very beginning of the seventh century, classing it as sub-geometric. It is of considerable interest to note how closely his description of the head, which remarks the "loose, spreading contour of the face" and the curious "upthrust" of the features, suits the Boeotian figurines in the Louvre and in Boston. Furthermore, the Louvre and Sparta heads both have large round eyes, tending to slope rather down than up at the outer corners, and a similar treatment of the painted eyebrows. Again the ears show the same perpendicular projection, and the low forehead in conjunction with the long, heavy chin presents that same vaguely formed triangle which, in the Spartan example, is certainly leading up to the tight, sharply outlined forms of the Daedalic style. Such comparison does not necessarily hint at any other relationship between the Spartan and Boeotian heads than their chronological congruence would naturally imply, but it forms interesting evidence of the uniformity of the sub-geometric style in two such widely separated sections of Greece.

Another figurine in the Louvre,<sup>15</sup> illustrated in figure 6, acquired since Holleaux's publication, is very similar in every way to the two in Boston and the Louvre considered above. All of these examples have plastic arms, which do not appear on the Berlin figurines. An interesting comparison may be drawn between the head of this second Louvre statuette and the head of a Potnia Theron painted on the shoulder of an amphora in Athens from Thebes<sup>16</sup> (fig. 7). Both on the terra cotta and on the painted head the same curiously heart-shaped face is noticeable, as are also the circular, wide-set, empty eyes above a small nose and even smaller mouth. Again the similarity of representation of the hair is noticeable. The decorative painting of women with raised joined hands on the front and back of the statuette is executed in a style which is identical with the painting on a kantharos in Dresden (fig. 7a),<sup>17</sup> an example of Hampe's "latest geometric style," which he remarked to be an immediate forerunner of the above-mentioned amphora in Athens. It is interesting to note that the style of this painting is also similar in general character and in the amount and arrangement of filling ornament used to the late geometric sherd from Amyclae,<sup>18</sup> and it is apparent that both belong to a

<sup>14</sup> R. J. H. Jenkins, *Daedalica*, Cambridge, 1936, p. 24.

<sup>15</sup> Louvre #140. Perrot & Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 1882-1914, VII, p. 150, fig. 3.

<sup>16</sup> National Museum #5893. 'Εβ. 'Αρχ., 1892, pl. 10; Hampe, pl. 17; Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce*, Paris, 1936, pl. 53.

<sup>17</sup> Hampe, pl. 23, #V35.

<sup>18</sup> 'Εβ. 'Αρχ., 1892, pl. 4, #2 (where note also the insect of the sub-geometric pyxis in Heidelberg, Hampe, pl. 27). See also under Appendix.

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type of late geometric mannered painting of which examples derive from various sites. There is no question but that such a mannered, frozen style, with few and symmetrically disposed filling ornaments, is one definite manifestation of the end of the geometric period.<sup>19</sup>

An isolated example suggesting a possible further development of this type of figurine is the small bell-shaped statuette in Toronto, number 124-C 205<sup>20</sup> (fig. 8). The writers of the catalogue consider the object geometric, as, indeed, it is, in one sense. But it is certainly later than our other bell figurines, if only because the vaguely outlined, sub-geometric heads of the others have given way to a much more clearly defined and sharply triangular face, with ears set well back and flat to the side of the head.<sup>21</sup> The relationships of this head, with its incised round eyes and straight, modelled lips, are rather with sixth-century terra cottas of the type of Athens, National Museum #4261 (fig. 36), than with the truly geometric heads. Indeed, if the sources of the bird cylix style in vase painting are to be traced to the late geometric and sub-geometric pottery of Boeotia, perhaps in time we may trace the origins of the "pappades," through seventh-century figures of this kind, to the large figurines of about 700. But at present we lack certain examples of seventh-century terra cottas in Boeotia, and the sequence of development is not clear.

The use and meaning of these bell-shaped figurines is not certain. Valentine Müller<sup>22</sup> has made the most probable suggestion that they are to be derived from an Eastern source, probably the Cone of Astarte, and he suggests a comparison with the "Tanit idols" from Carthage. Several examples of such cone- or bell-shaped idols may be cited from very late coins of the East,<sup>23</sup> but the actual age of the motive expressed in this form is not ascertainable. The eastern connection is further suggested by the similarity of outline of these figurines and of the Potnia Theron on the Boeotian relief pithos in Athens<sup>24</sup> (fig. 9), which must be a representation of the oriental Artemis.

Certainly the figurines are not votive representations of bells, as M. B. Huish,<sup>25</sup> the authors of the Toronto catalogue, and others have suggested. Where legs have been preserved,<sup>26</sup> they obviously hung too low to have even suggested clappers. The usual method was to attach the top of the leg just above the level of the bottom of the skirt. The small hole in the tops of the

<sup>19</sup> This would appear to be the *erstarrten* geometric to which Kunze (*A. M.*, 1930, p. 160, note 1) attributed the Mantiklos Apollo.

<sup>20</sup> Robinson, Harcum and Hiffe, *Catalogue of Greek Vases at Toronto*, Toronto, 1930, pl. IX.

<sup>21</sup> Compare also the probably contemporary figurine in Athens, Winter, p. 6, #5. See V. Müller, *Frühe Plastik*, Augsburg, 1929, p. 81.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>23</sup> For example, on Roman coins of Perga in Pamphylia, but *cf.* p. 10, note 5.

<sup>24</sup> *Εφ. 'Αρχ.*, 1892, pls. 8, 9. See below, pp. 26 f.

<sup>25</sup> *Greek Terra Cotta Statuettes*, London, 1900, p. 83.

<sup>26</sup> However, it must be said that legs do not seem to have been intended in all examples.

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heads of several examples must surely have served to hold the hook or string for suspension, and the complete figurines were undoubtedly originally suspended, as #573 is restored in the Louvre.<sup>27</sup>

It seems very likely that most of the painting on these figures is pure decoration, but the striping on the back of Louvre #573, Berlin #3202, and the Boston example is probably to be taken as the representation of actual drapery. The scheme seems to be in general like that of the later "pappades," made up of a mixture of actual drapery forms and purely decorative motives. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the pendants which hang on the breasts of the figurines are actual representations of jewelry.

The breast pendant on the statuette in figure 6 is apparently an example of a type with attached gold discs that is known among the early jewelry in the British Museum. A considerable hoard of gold objects is published in F. H. Marshall's Catalogue of the Museum's ancient jewelry on plates VI and VII. The collection having reached the Museum through a dealer's hands, its history is somewhat doubtful, but, on the basis of certain investigations made by Sir Arthur Evans, it is listed as a Mycenaean hoard from Aegina. Actually, in his publication of these objects in volume XIII of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Sir Arthur notes many elements of post-Mycenaean character which lead him to bring the date of the collection down to about the year eight hundred. Writing in 1892, he considered the objects as representing the continuing Mycenaean or Achaean culture locally on Aegina down to this late period. In the light of our increasing awareness of the many Mycenaean survivals in later Greek art, it may seem doubtful whether it is necessary to class these objects as Mycenaean, and, in all events, there is no reason to place them earlier than the period to which Sir Arthur Evans has assigned them. Now among these examples of "Mycenaean" gold work from Aegina is a breast pendant<sup>28</sup> of roughly circular shape, the center being cut in an openwork design of thin bars shaped to a more or less abstract representation of two hounds and two apes, while from the outside edge are hung discs and winged creatures, possibly owls.

Obviously this is the general type of pendant which is represented on the figurine in figure 6. Here the openwork design is reduced to simple cross bars, and all the attached baubles are discs, but the general scheme of construction is similar, and, as we have seen, the periods of manufacture of the pendant and of the painted representation are not separated by more than a century.

In the same Aegina hoard in the British Museum is a pendant<sup>29</sup> in the

<sup>27</sup> Holleaux has suggested a comparison with the small bronzes from Olympia which Furtwängler, *Olympia*, IV, p. 35, thought were suspended from trees in the Altis. Such a disposition of the bell figurines would certainly give a Hallowe'en effect to the place where they were hung.

<sup>28</sup> *British Museum Catalogue of Ancient Jewelry*, pl. VII, #766.

<sup>29</sup> #761 published in pl. VII of Marshall's catalogue.

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shape of a horizontal gold bar, to which are attached similar discs by golden cords. This is the character of the pendant on the figurine in the Louvre, figure 1. On the figurine the bar is simpler, lacking the modelled heads at either end which adorn the actual pendant, and the little strings which hang below<sup>30</sup> bear no representations of the gold discs. Yet a parallel for this last point is afforded by an earring in the British Museum collection,<sup>31</sup> published as eighth or seventh century. From the curved gold bar which makes up the major part of this earring hang three strings of twisted gold wire without appendages at their ends. These have exactly the aspect of the dangling strings on the painted representation of a breast pendant on the figurine in the Louvre, figure 1, and of the corresponding ornament on the Boston figurine. Thus it is apparent that the general character of the jewelry represented on these figurines, of a type not common in later times, is in keeping with what little we know of contemporary goldsmith's work.

The disappearance by the middle of the seventh century<sup>32</sup> of this characteristically Boeotian style reflects the flood tide of Corinthian influence, which, as Hampe has shown, put an end to the local production of finely engraved fibulae. It is probable that the terra cottas in use in Boeotia at this time were for the most part imported Corinthian. A terra cotta group of two seated figures in the British Museum,<sup>33</sup> reputedly found in Thebes, and published as Boeotian workmanship, is demonstrated to be of Corinthian fabric only by the chance discovery of another head, apparently from the same mould as those of the British Museum figures, in Perachora.<sup>34</sup>

In any event we have no demonstrably Boeotian material which can be dated securely in the important years of the second half of the seventh century. Of course it is possible, as will appear below, that certain examples of the "bird-faced" figurines may be dated in this period, but it is safer to treat this group as a class, beginning with the datable examples, which all belong to the sixth century.

<sup>30</sup> H. Kuehn, in an appendix to C. Hentze, *Mythes et symboles lunaires*, Anvers, 1932, p. 244, identified the pendant on Louvre #573 as an example of a primitive symbol for rain, applied here to indicate fruitfulness.

<sup>31</sup> #1240, published in Marshall's catalogue, pl. XIV.

<sup>32</sup> It appears to me likely, although no definite proof is available, that the Toronto figurine should be dated about the middle of the century.

<sup>33</sup> #B49 Walters, *Catalogue of Terra Cottas*, pl. V.

<sup>34</sup> Jenkins, *Dedolica*, pl. VII, #7.

## II

### RELIEF PITHOI

BECAUSE of Hampe's excellent recent publication<sup>1</sup> of the series of Boeotian pithoi decorated with reliefs, I do not intend any complete illustration and analysis of these vases here. However, although I find myself in general agreement with Hampe's views on the dating of the pithoi, there are certain points which still need amplification, certain significant comparisons which have not been indicated. Therefore, in the following pages, I shall make free use of the classification devised by Hampe, referring the reader to his book for the complete publication, and attempting only to make some contribution to a discussion already so well begun.

The pithoi are scattered in several museums. For convenience, I insert here Hampe's list with his numbering system:

- |           |     |   |
|-----------|-----|---|
| Group I   | R1  | Louvre Ca 795 — <i>B. C. H.</i> , 1898, pls. IV, V.             |
|           | R1a | Louvre Ca 937 — <i>B. C. H.</i> , 1898, p. 457.                 |
|           | R2  | Nat. Mus., Athens, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1892, pls. 8 and 9 (see fig. 9). |
|           | R7  | Paris, Bibl. Nat., <i>C. V. A.</i> , France, 480.1.             |
| Group II  | R3  | Boston, 529 — Catalogue, pl. 53 (see fig. 10).                  |
| Group III | R4  | Boston, 528 — Catalogue, pl. 52 (see figs. 11, 12, 13).         |
|           | R5  | Paris, Bibl. Nat., <i>C. V. A.</i> , France, 480.2.             |
|           | R6  | Louvre, Pottier, <i>Mon. Grecs</i> , 2, 1885-88, pl. 8.         |

For the explanation and justification of the above groups, I refer the reader to Hampe's careful study. Suffice it to say here that he assigned his three groups, in their order, to the first three quarters of the seventh century.

The available evidence for dating is surprisingly vague and uncertain. Hampe has reviewed previously published opinions simply in a catalogue form, listing those who believe in the seventh-century date and those who believe in a sixth-century date for the vases, and the weight of such evidence seems to be for the seventh century. Decorative detail of the vases provides few datable elements. The lotus on a long stem on the Paris Medusa vase, for which Hampe drew a parallel on a Parian plastic vase, is really far better approximated on a Fikellura vase illustrated by Cook.<sup>2</sup> Of course a considerable relationship with Rhodes is to be expected on the Boeotian pithoi, and the extent to which Fikellura decorative elements are directly descended

<sup>1</sup> *Frühe Griechische Sagenbilder in Bötien*, pp. 56 f.

<sup>2</sup> *B. S. A.*, 1933-34, p. 70, fig. 9, #28.

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from older Rhodian patterns is not made entirely clear by Cook's article. There are other patterns, such as the series of octopus-like discs on a skirt on the Boston vase, Hampe R3, which appear in Fikellura<sup>3</sup> and also in Rhodian. If Cook is correct in his differentiation between the closed cable pattern of Rhodian and the open one of the later style, then the cable pattern on the Boston vase — Hampe, R3 — is evidence for a seventh-century date. On the other hand, there is a cable pattern at the top of the Paris Medusa vase which could fit in with his description of the Fikellura type.

It appears that we cannot present a mechanical proof resting on absolute parallels of decorative elements. However, from the point of view of general style, there can now be little doubt that the seventh century is far more likely as a date for the vases than the sixth. Besides the specific comparisons of figure representation on the pithoi and on other seventh-century monuments which will be mentioned below, the clearest relationships of the compositions used on the pithoi, of the style as reflected in the spatial arrangements of the figures, are with seventh-century designs. Yet it is notable that it was primarily on just this ground of general design that Courby<sup>4</sup> based his attribution of the vases to the sixth century. Courby considered the plastic treatment of the figures, the lack of filling ornament, and the simplicity of the compositions as indicative of a sixth-century date. But, despite the obvious dependence of the relief style of the pithoi upon metal techniques, Courby was himself cognizant of the wide divergence in style between the pottery reliefs and the "Argivo-Corinthian" bronze reliefs. These last, thin bronze strips which once decorated the arm-bands and inner surfaces of shields, were surely made in the sixth century. It was distinctly surprising to Courby that there seemed to be no relation between the style of the pithoi and that of the "Argivo-Corinthian" bronzes, so near, as he thought, in date, and at least partly of near-by manufacture.

A parallel for the pithos style, and one executed in the metal technique which clearly influenced the makers of the pithoi, is provided by two bronze reliefs of the seventh century, unfortunately both unpublished. The first was found by Blegen in the Argive Heraeum, and will be published in an early number of the *American Journal of Archaeology*. The second was found in the course of the German excavations at Olympia in 1937.<sup>4a</sup> Both in general composition and in detail, these bronzes show the greatest similarities with the pithos style, but, until their publication, it is impossible to do more than note the connection.

Within the confines of the seventh century it is not easy to fix accurately

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Courby, *Les Vases grecs à reliefs*, Paris, 1922.

<sup>4a</sup> This object has recently been published by R. Hampe, *Antike* XV, p. 40, fig. 26.

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the dates of the various pithoi. Hampe was certainly correct in dividing them into three groups, but how long a period of time separates the groups from one another is a question difficult to resolve. For the dating of Hampe's Group I early in the century there is considerable evidence. In addition to the relationship which Hampe remarked between the deer procession on one of these vases and the deer represented on the Stockholm amphora, we may note the similarity of the heads on fragment R7, and particularly on the Athens Potnia Theron vase (fig. 9), with terra cottas of the first quarter of the seventh century. The head of the central figure on the Athens vase is still fundamentally sub-geometric, and a good comparison is afforded by a terra cotta figurine from Aegina published by Jenkins<sup>5</sup> as Argive. Although the formation of the eyes is different (a difference which perhaps makes the pithos seem slightly older than the figurine), the general structure of the head of the figurine is strikingly like that on the pithos. In both heads the prominent nose grows directly from the projecting forehead, and in both the spreading style of head with upturned features is noticeable. Two terra cottas from Amyclae of the late eighth century also show interesting relationships with the Potnia Theron, but of these I shall speak later.<sup>6</sup>

It is noticeable that the second "group," which consists of but a single vase in Boston, is closer in style to the first group of the early seventh century than to the third and final group. Although the shape of the eye has changed from the circular form of the Paris Medusa vase and the Athens Potnia Theron to an almond shape (fig. 10), yet the strictly non-plastic, flat, unrounded forms of the female figures carrying the robe are very similar to the style of the earliest vases. Comparison of the free hands of these figures, which lie along the fronts of their skirts, with the similarly scratched fingers of the hands of Medusa will emphasize this point. Furthermore, the absolutely flat profile heads of R3, with the stamp mark by which the ears were indicated cutting deeply into the single plane, are indications of the thoroughly draughtsmanlike, unsculptural conception of the heads.

To turn now to a consideration of the other Boston vase, Hampe's R4, is to observe a far more plastic style of relief. The two unhelmeted male heads of the scene on the neck of the amphora, which provide the best opportunity for judging the style, are, unfortunately, badly damaged, but enough remains to judge of their surface modelling as well as their general outline (fig. 11). The more three-dimensional character of this surface is strikingly brought home by an examination of these two vases as they stand side by side in the Boston Museum. In the scene on the neck of R4 the ear of the youthful figure on the left is lightly cut on the projecting side of the head, not stamped

<sup>5</sup> *Dedalia*, pl. I, #2, illustrates the head alone.

<sup>6</sup> National Museum, Athens, #4381 and #4382. See Appendix.

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into the flat surface as on the female heads of the other vase. Again, in the general modelling of animal and human figures on R4, many more anatomical details appear in the more modelled surfaces. This is very noticeable in the legs of all the figures. The proportions of the figures themselves are heavier than on R3, the whole effect less delicately linear.

Hampe may have been correct in placing R3 slightly before the period of the horsemen on a Melian vase in Athens.<sup>7</sup> However, it is to be noted that his comparison of the decorative motives on R4 with those on Melian vases of the mid-century<sup>8</sup> cannot be made to serve as a *terminus ante quem* for the Boeotian pithos. It is apparent that decorative motives on these island vases continued relatively unchanged over a considerable period of time, during which much progress was made in the figure style. Dugas<sup>9</sup> dated the "Herakles vase"<sup>10</sup> to the end of the century, and although Payne's<sup>11</sup> arrangement of the Cycladic vases has made it appear unlikely that the series extended quite so far, it must nevertheless be recognized that the development covered a considerable period.

Now the contrast which exists between the two pithoi, R3 and R4, is very similar, from the point of view of figure representation, to the contrast between the Melian "Apollo" vase<sup>12</sup> and the above-mentioned "Herakles" vase. In the first of the two painted vases the faces of the figures are set off from the hair by straight lines meeting at a sharp angle over the ear. The conception is similar to that of the low brow topped by a straight fringe of hair in Daedalic terra cottas, and the scheme is carefully followed for the female figures on R3 (fig. 10). On the later island vases, however, and on the head of the youth in the scene on Amphora R4 (fig. 11) the line of the hair above the brow descends toward the ear and the locks falling down over the shoulders meet this line at a more oblique angle, giving to the whole face a much more softly rounded, less harshly geometric character. Hampe<sup>13</sup> has cited a clear parallel to the hairdress of this youth in the figures of the Chigi oenochoe, but this general scheme of hairdressing certainly continued to the end of the century, as can be observed from stone sculpture like the Cleobis in Delphi or the Haghigeorgitika statue in the National Museum at Athens. The mention of these statues is not without significance if we recall that, after all, in these pithoi we are dealing with sculpture of a sort. The rounded skull and the naturalistic swelling out of the hair below the place where it is

<sup>7</sup> *MuZ*, #105. (This is obviously the vase meant by Hampe, although his reference is to *MuZ*, #104.)

<sup>8</sup> Conze, *Melische Thongefässe*, Leipzig, 1862, pls. I, 2.

<sup>9</sup> *La Céramique des Cyclades*, Paris, 1925, p. 223.

<sup>10</sup> *MuZ*, #110.

<sup>12</sup> Conze, *op. cit.*, pl. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Hampe, *op. cit.*, p. 58. But note that the figure on the Boeotian pithos does not have curls over the forehead as *Spirallocken* would seem to imply.

<sup>11</sup> *J. H. S.*, 1926, p. 212.



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compressed by the head band of the figure on pithos R4 is in contrast to the straight falling locks of, say, the Eleutherna statue, while it corresponds to the more naturalistic treatment<sup>14</sup> of the hair of post-Daedalic works of about 600 B.C., like the Cleobis. Such a comparison has a certain true validity in view of the definitely three dimensional character of the modelling of this pithos.

Much in the same vein is the evidence from the increased modelling of details on the pithos. Pfuhl,<sup>15</sup> discussing the series of Melian vases from the mid-sixth century on, speaks of the development of animals, particularly horses, from a thin stilt-legged geometric type to one of naturalistic representation and movement. We have no horses on R4 to compare with those on R3, and it is to be expected that cattle would be represented with heavier proportions and more solid construction. Yet the very rounded character of these beasts, and, more particularly, the easy flow of their movement (fig. 12), certainly indicate a date well beyond the middle of the century. And this suggestion is furthered by the more complete and more rounded details of the human figures. Compare, for example, the representation of the knees of the warrior figures on R4 (fig. 13) with the painting of the knees and legs of Herakles on the Melian vase which bears his name.

The above evidence seems to indicate that this vase, at least, must be brought well down into the last quarter of the seventh century, and cannot be dated, as Hampe would have it, in the middle of that century. Hampe gave no reason for placing this vase before the little Bibliothèque Nationale fragment R5, which illustrates a more slender figure on an infinitely more thin and fragile bull, and it seems likely that this fragment may belong near the middle of the century.

The appearance of R4 in the last quarter of the century, in a period which we have assumed to be one of powerful Corinthian influence in Boeotia, is not without interest in relation to other manifestations of Boeotian plastic style. The profile of the youth on this pithos is properly to be associated with heads like that of a young woman on one of the Thermon metopes,<sup>16</sup> and it is this type of strong, square head and thin-lipped, vigorous, almost harsh expression of the boldly modelled face which, as will appear below, characterizes monumental sculpture in stone in Boeotia in the first part of the sixth century.

<sup>14</sup> Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

<sup>15</sup> *MuZ*, I, p. 133.

<sup>16</sup> Detail photograph in *A. M.*, 1914, pl. 14.

## III

### "BIRD-FACED" FIGURINES

ONE of the most difficult groups of Boeotian terra cottas to fix precisely chronologically is that of the so-called "bird-faced" figurines. The type is illustrated (fig. 14) by an example in the Louvre which is characteristic in all respects save for the figure painting on the chest, which appears only on this one statuette. Figurines of this sort, decorated in black, with the occasional addition of purple, on a buff ground, are commonly attributed to dates anywhere from the geometric period through the fifth century, and are supposed to exemplify the Boeotian tradition of a continuing geometric style down to classical times. Actually the type was in use only very briefly at Rhitsona, the ancient Mycalessos, where the excavations of Burrows and Ure have provided the one considerable series of terra cottas in Boeotia dated by external evidence. Examples were found only in those graves dated just before and at the middle of the sixth century.<sup>1</sup> There are, however, many more representatives of this class of figurine from Tanagra than from Rhitsona.<sup>2</sup>

Anyone who has visited the little museum at Skimatari will recall what a difficult thing it is to attempt to deal with the great mass of secondary material which has come out of the fields around ancient Tanagra. But one thing which becomes apparent from a little study in the museum is that the archaic Boeotian objects as a whole correspond to the early rather than the late archaic material from Rhitsona.<sup>3</sup> Granted that the sense of the collection at Skimatari is badly distorted by the transfer to Athens of all the best material, nothing can gainsay the fact that it contains a great number of objects recognizably early at Rhitsona, and comparatively little of the latter part of the sixth century. Taken in conjunction with this fact, the presence of scores of "bird" figurines, of which only a few were found at Rhitsona, and none later than grave 40, would seem to indicate that the type went out of use in Boeotia around the middle of the sixth century.<sup>4</sup>

How far back of that date the series extends cannot be ascertained. Besides those found at Rhitsona, the only example strictly datable is that in the

<sup>1</sup> P. N. Ure, *Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona in Boeotia*, Cambridge, 1934, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Noted by Burrows and Ure, *B. S. A.*, XIV, p. 313, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> This in spite of the often repeated assertion that Rhitsona represents a provincial and therefore backward development.

<sup>4</sup> There is, so far as I know, only one example of this type executed in the red on white technique. It is among the great number of these figurines at Skimatari, and bears no number or other distinguishing mark.

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Louvre bearing the painted figures on the chest, and in this case also the date depends upon the chronology of Rhitsona. The painted figures belong to the style identified by A. D. Ure<sup>5</sup> as "Boeotian geometricizing." The relationship is most clear between the painting on the figurine and that on a kantharos<sup>6</sup> in the Vlasto collection at Athens (fig. 15). Two vases of this class were found in grave 50 at Rhitsona, and, since these two were of the greatest variety shown by the style, it seems fair to assume that the date of the tomb corresponds to the *floruit* of the style, which would thus be placed in the second quarter of the sixth century.

In assigning examples of this particular type of "bird-faced" figurine to dates before the second quarter of the sixth century, we must work on pure conjecture. There is a considerable mass of material, and, given such a *terminus ante quem* as seems to be provided at Rhitsona, it is certainly tempting to spread the figurines well back into the seventh century.<sup>7</sup> It is fundamentally such a conjecture that is being made by P. N. Ure<sup>8</sup> when he traces the development of the type from the late geometric period. That such a development is probable is quite true, but it certainly cannot be demonstrated.

As a matter of fact the striking thing about figurines of this "bird-faced" type is the close unity of "style," if we may so dub their general form and decorative scheme, which they represent. As has often been noted before,<sup>9</sup> it is not possible to arrange them according to any typological sequence of development with relation to the shapes of the arm stumps or other elements. On the other hand, examination of a large number of them in Skimatari, Thebes, Athens, and various other European museums reveals innumerable cases of such absolute parallelism of technique as to postulate groups of figurines made by individual craftsmen. It would be a perfectly possible work of supererogatory erudition to divide up the figurines into a series of recognizable hands which one might dub masters A, B, C, and so forth.

But again, having recognized the element of individual craftsmanship in the variations observable among the figurines, we should be struck all the more forcibly with the paucity of actual variation to be observed, with the generality of adherence to a very few decorative schemes. Such evidence certainly seems to indicate that the great majority, at least, must have been produced in a fairly brief period of time, and argues somewhat against the

<sup>5</sup> *J. H. S.*, 1929, pp. 160 f. Compare also the Boeotian Cylix style, class III, Ure, *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery*, London, 1927, pl. VI, number 126.22.

<sup>6</sup> *J. H. S.*, 1935, p. 226, fig. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Although what possible excuse there can be for dating figurines, clearly of this type, in the eighth century, as is done on many museum labels, I do not know.

<sup>8</sup> *Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona*, p. 54.

<sup>9</sup> *Jamot, B. C. H.*, 1890, p. 206; *Holleaux, Mon. Piot*, I, pp. 28 f.

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theory that the figurines can be traced back to the middle of the seventh century.

A second type<sup>10</sup> of primitive figurine in Boeotia, very similar to the above "bird-faced" type, is yet to be distinguished from it, primarily because the decoration follows a different scheme.<sup>11</sup> Examples of this type have been found in Tanagra and as far afield as Eretria, and several of them are illustrated on page five of Winter's *Die Typen der figurlichen Terrakotten*. If the chief distinguishing characteristic of these figurines is their painted decoration, corresponding precisely to that of the black and purple on buff Boeotian bird cylixes, it must also be noted that the shape of the great beaks which they have for faces differentiates them from the other group, looking more like the nose of a mouse<sup>12</sup> than the beak of a bird. Also the proportions are different, figurines of this type being notably taller than those previously discussed, and having extraordinarily long necks. On some examples long locks of hair fall on either side of the neck to the shoulders, but on some the hair seems to be done up at the back of the head, and the cylindrical form of the neck is left bare. It is obvious that no typological development can be deduced from this variation, since both kinds of coiffure appear on the two figures joined together which are shown in Zervos' illustration referred to above. Possibly there is some iconographic significance in this fact — the two figures might be the matron and the maid, Demeter and Persephone. But the great mass of figurines of this type are of single persons, the group being comparatively rare.

Once more a *terminus ante quem* is afforded by the Rhitsona excavations. Only a few black on buff bird cylixes were found there, and they all came from inhumations of about the middle of the sixth century. It so happened that no figurines of this second type were found. Again, a comparison with the material from Tanagra illustrates an almost precisely reversed state of affairs. Many of these figurines were found there, and also many bird cylixes of the black on buff style, while comparatively few vases in the red and yellow on white technique were discovered. But once more we are at a loss to determine how far back of the mid-sixth century this type of figurine and this style of vase painting extended. P. N. Ure has argued with reason that the first appearance of the red on white cylixes in Rhitsona graves may follow by some time the date of their first use on the site, and the same argument applies to the black on buff cylixes. It is probably quite justifiable to suppose that figurines of this type are as old as the vases in the same style, but, as we

<sup>10</sup> See illustrations in Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce*, #101 and 103.

<sup>11</sup> H. Kuehn, *op. cit.*, p. 246, suggested that the zigzag lines on figures of this sort were originally water symbols, and, in this position, indicate fruitfulness. It must be admitted that if one started identifying zigzag lines as symbols of fertility, it would be difficult to know where to stop.

<sup>12</sup> See especially the little figure on horseback, Winter, p. 7, #1.

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have seen, there is no evidence whatever as to the date of the introduction of the vases. As in the case of the other group of terra cottas, there is no possible logical scheme on which to postulate a typological development, and the internal evidence, for what it is worth, argues a short period of manufacture for these figurines. It is true that the standing figures which bear this type of head offer certain contrasts to the more numerous seated figures. The former are almost invariably finer in technique;<sup>13</sup> the purple color, where used, is a more brilliant, less dull and granular paint, but very many of the decorative schemes are the same, many others agree precisely with motives found on the "pappades" with well-moulded heads of the first half of the sixth century.<sup>14</sup>

The above brief study of these primitive Boeotian figurines does not pretend to arrive at other than negative results. Although we may say reasonably that it is probable that terra cottas of this sort, particularly of the long-necked variety with mouse-like face, do extend back into the seventh century and represent a continuous development from the seventh century Boeotian late geometric, it is not possible in any sense to trace this development. Indeed, there is no escaping the conclusion that the evidence at present available indicates that the great mass of the material (at least of that group forming the first class discussed above) falls within the sixth century. In any event, there can be no justification for dating these objects in the eighth century. It is my belief that Ure's<sup>15</sup> statement that "the seventh century Boeotian potters who produced the latest of the big Boeotian geometric vases also produced primitive horse figurines and proto-pappades in the black on brown style" is substantially correct, but that by far the greater part of the primitive Boeotian figurines which have come down to us belong to the first half of the sixth century.

One final reference to primitive figurines of another type, painted in the red on white technique, and I shall have done with these rather sorry specimens of the plastic arts. On plate XIII of Ure's *Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona* are illustrated several small figurines of a very primitive kind, painted in red on a chalky white, and coming from an early sixth century tomb. These are generally roughly cylindrical in the lower part, rather flat across the chest, and have rudimentary arms, either projecting horizontally or curving slightly upward. The long neck is surmounted by no head, but by a spiral curving down from the top of the neck.<sup>16</sup> One frequent decorative

<sup>13</sup> Examples like #4277 (unpublished) in the National Museum at Athens are really excellent pieces of craftsmanship. The type is illustrated by Winter, p. 5, #5. A better illustration in Köster, *Die Griechischen Terrakotten*, Berlin, 1926, pl. 5.

<sup>14</sup> Compare, for example, the decoration on National Museum #4277 (mentioned in footnote just above) with that on #4009 in the same museum (fig. 29).

<sup>15</sup> *Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona*, p. 54.

<sup>16</sup> In all of the black on buff examples the spiral roll curls up and back from the "forehead" of the figurine.

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motive in the painting on these figurines is a cross hatching of fine red lines on the chest. Taken in conjunction with such apparently transitional material as a figurine from grave 86 at Rhitsona<sup>17</sup> in which the cross hatching on the chest is accompanied by heavy vertical red lines down the center of the skirt with fine red cross hatching on either side, these early sixth-century figurines seem to represent the beginnings of the style of red on white painting which characterized the figurines of the second half of the sixth century.<sup>18</sup>

Figurines precisely like these very rudimentary examples from an early sixth-century grave at Rhitsona have been found on the Acropolis at Athens. In the *Archaeologische Anzeiger* for 1893, page 140,<sup>19</sup> are described and illustrated several small figurines with roughly cylindrical lower bodies and flat chests bearing this fine red cross hatching on chalky white. These are published as objects of foreign manufacture imported and dedicated on the Acropolis, the prime argument attesting the importation of such negligible little objects being the fact that none was found elsewhere in the town than on this site of dedication. However, Mrs. Homer Thompson and Mr. Rodney Young, of the American Excavations at the Athenian Agora, have been kind enough to show me the fragments of a number of figurines of this primitive type which were found in the Agora at Athens in a closed deposit dated (by a black-figured sherd painted in a Corinthian style) to the first quarter of the sixth century. There is no evidence for the importation of these terra cottas into Attica, nor have I any intention of attempting to demonstrate that they were imported into Boeotia from Athens. Rather it appears that this simple type, of which the similarity to the most naïve of the Mycenaean "pinch-faced" figurines is obvious, was in common use in the first quarter of the sixth century,<sup>20</sup> and seems to represent the dissemination of the red on white style, perhaps under the influence of Corinth.<sup>21</sup>

However, in view of the often repeated assertion that the black on buff cylixes do not show Corinthian influence, but represent the continuing geometric tradition, it is important to realize that all of the decorative elements involved in the painting of the red on white figurines appear also on the black on buff cylixes. Figure 16 illustrates a cylix of Ure's Class I,<sup>22</sup> recently acquired by the Fogg Museum of Harvard University.<sup>23</sup> Except for the chalky white under-painting, each motive found on the transitional figurine, Rhitsona 86.293, is to be found here also. The reddish cross hatching on a light

<sup>17</sup> Ure, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII, #86.293.

<sup>18</sup> See below, p. 40.

<sup>19</sup> See also Martha, *Catalogue de figurines en Terre Cuite du Musée . . . d'Athènes*, Paris, 1880, p. 8, #14, 15, 16; also Winter, p. 24, #2.

<sup>20</sup> Compare several examples found at Eleusis, Kourouniotis, *Ἐλευσίς*, Athens, 1934, p. 92, fig. 65.

<sup>21</sup> Ure, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>22</sup> Ure, *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery*, p. 13, Class I.

<sup>23</sup> #1938.12.

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ground and the heavy stripes of red or purple appear quite plainly on many of the vases of this class. Thus if, as seems most likely, the black on buff style of cylix ware definitely precedes the red on white style,<sup>24</sup> it is necessary to assume that this earlier style also illustrates Corinthian influence (and, therefore, cannot be taken to demonstrate unbroken continuity of development of the geometric style in Boeotia through the seventh century), or that the chalky white paint represents the only Corinthian element introduced by the red on white style. The former assumption seems to me far the more probable. The constant use of purplish red paint, the generally colorful aspect of cylixes and figurines in the black on buff style, as compared with the latest examples of seventh-century Boeotian geometric, definitely suggests the intrusion of some foreign influence between the manufacture of true geometric in the first half of the century and the first Boeotian cylixes. Since we do not know the date when the cylixes were first produced, we can scarcely pursue this point further, but it is worthwhile to note how neatly the findings of Hampe and of Ure are brought into agreement by the supposition that the Corinthian influence of the middle of the seventh century, which put an end to the production of true geometric pottery in Boeotia, was also responsible for the beginning of the earliest cylix style vases of Ure's Class I. To whatever date these vases are assigned, the long-necked class of terra cottas discussed above<sup>25</sup> must also be assigned. These terra cottas, then, would be the predecessors of the true "bird-faced type," and would date from the second half of the seventh and the early part of the sixth centuries.

Admittedly this is mere hypothesis, and it is not supported by the chronology at Rhitsona, but in this case the Rhitsona excavations cannot really offer more than a *terminus ante quem*, and the above suggestion may seem preferable to the otherwise necessary conclusion that a vase painting style, entirely abstract in character, was copied from a much older scheme of decoration applied to human figures.

<sup>24</sup> I cannot believe in the theory put forward by Ure, *Aryballoi and Figurines*, p. 54, that the figurines in the red on white style precede the vases by half a century. It seems better to accept his other suggestion, *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery*, p. 12, that the vases were in existence some time before their inclusion in the tombs (for which small vases were preferred), and to assume that figurines and vases in the single style were made contemporaneously, no matter in what period.

<sup>25</sup> Winter, p. 5.

## IV

### FIGURINES WITH MOULDED HEADS

IN ENDEAVORING to bring into chronological relationship with the primitive figurines the series of much finer terra cottas, marked by a similar abstraction of the forms of the body, but having well-moulded heads, all investigators have been hampered by the lack of external evidence concerning this latter series. The example illustrated in figure 37<sup>1</sup> will serve to identify the type. The high, round polos, like the canonical hat of the modern Greek priest, has given to these figures their common name of *παπάδες*. Below the moulded head the body follows in general form the scheme of the primitive "bird-faced" figurines already discussed.

The detailed examination, in the latter pages of this chapter, of the whole series of figurines with well-modelled heads and bodies *en galette* brings out many indications of a simple and fairly brief chronology from the first quarter of the sixth century to a little after 500. The actual identification and explanation of these terra cottas is not yet possible. Perhaps the most significant comment in this connection has come recently from M. Guillon,<sup>2</sup> who identified several examples from Mt. Ptoös, of the variety found in large numbers at Rhitsona, as representations of a mother goddess who, with the hero Ptoös, held the hill before the advent of Apollo and Athena Pronaia. Such a solution for the problem of the appearance of numbers of female statuettes in the sanctuary of a hero god seems plausible and helps to explain the discovery of the small female head (with earrings)<sup>3</sup> at the sanctuary of Apollo in Amyclae which Buschor was forced to consider Mycenaean,<sup>4</sup> but which, as will be seen below,<sup>5</sup> must certainly belong to the period around 700.

Much has been written on the subject of the high polos, but all that can be clearly demonstrated is that its affinities are oriental and with many sections of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. We may remember also that the best parallel for the spiral roll projecting from the polos of the "bird" figurines is the combined crown of upper and lower Egypt. Ohnefalsch-Richter<sup>6</sup> has

<sup>1</sup> British Museum, B58; Walters, *Catalogue of the Terra Cottas*, pl. XVI, left.

<sup>2</sup> *B. C. H.*, 1936, p. 426.

<sup>3</sup> But cf. Forster, *B. S. A.*, 1901-02, p. 274, for earrings on a male figure.

<sup>4</sup> *A. M.*, 1927, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix.

<sup>6</sup> *Kypros, the Bible and Homer*, London, 1893, p. 426.

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attempted to drive home further specific connection with Assyria by citing the decorative motives on the chests of a Berlin figure (fig. 38) and of British Museum B57 (fig. 23) as directly derived from the Assyrian sacred tree, but if we recognize the general dependence of the Greek palmette on older Assyrian decorative motives, it is not necessary to postulate an immediate source for specific instances.

Except for the very distinct variety found at Rhitsona, which will be discussed below, no examples of the present class have been found in dated contexts, nor, indeed, in any contexts that can now be clearly identified.<sup>7</sup> It is notable that in the long series of dated graves at Rhitsona no figurines were found which showed the black and purple on buff decorative painting and the particular style of modelled head illustrated by figure 37. The evidence of their absence has been interpreted to indicate that provincially backward Rhitsona did not receive the style, supposedly created in the third quarter of the sixth century, before the influx of Attic figurines had rendered it already outmoded. However, the finds at Rhitsona indicate that terra cottas of a quite distinct character were in use there during the third and fourth quarters of the sixth century. Although the example shown in figure 59 is from Tanagra,<sup>8</sup> it will serve to illustrate the Rhitsona style. As I shall attempt to show below, this style was not provincial or peculiar to Rhitsona, but was in common use in other parts of the district, entirely replacing the type of figure 37 about the middle of the sixth century.

Schweitzer<sup>9</sup> and Lullies,<sup>10</sup> in two recent articles which touched briefly upon figurines of this kind (they did not differentiate between the two varieties distinguished above), both recognized in them a kind of mannerism which they thought peculiar to the second half of the sixth century. Lullies, particularly, has compared these terra cottas with other Boeotian monuments, not otherwise datable, which he assigned to the third quarter of the sixth century on the ground that they illustrate the same sort of mannerism observable on the figurines. This mannerism he compared to that of Amasis in Attic vase painting, and he insisted that such a "tension" of flat, two-dimensional bodies combined with heads moulded in three dimensions could not have existed before the middle of the century. However, in assigning the first series of these figurines, that represented by figure 37, to a date later than 550, Lullies is certainly mistaken.

<sup>7</sup> The very inadequate descriptions furnished by the excavators of Tanagra are to be found in the *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον* for 1888, 1889, 1891. There are also isolated references to individual finds in the periodical *Πρακτικά*, in the volumes covering the '70's and '80's of the last century. Kekulé's book, *Griechische Thonfiguren aus Tanagra*, published in Stuttgart in 1878, is of more practical value, and it is apparent that he had first-hand knowledge of the excavations while the work was in progress.

<sup>8</sup> Athens, National Museum, 4292.

<sup>9</sup> *Römische Mitteilungen*, 1929, pp. 1 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 140.

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Primarily, of course, the arguments which Ure<sup>11</sup> has brought forward for assigning the black on buff cylixes to a date in the first half of the sixth and the late seventh century are distinctly opposed to Lullies' thesis. The use of a strong purple paint and of definitely Corinthian floral motives, both on the vases and on the first group of "pappades" from Tanagra, indicates that the related styles of both arose at the same time under Corinthian influence. But even to Lullies' argument based upon principles of design there are several important exceptions to be taken. The brilliant color scheme, although not impossible in the period of Amasis, is much more in keeping with the spirit of an earlier time. And, while Lullies associates with the idea of mannerism the seemingly illogical combination of plastic heads with bodies *en galette*, it must not be forgotten that the nature of styles called mannered is manifold. There is, indeed, a kind of mannerism to be observed on Corinthian vases of the first half of the sixth century. Amasis painted on a neck amphora, now in Paris,<sup>12</sup> two maenads, their arms entwined about each other's necks, standing before Dionysos. If this scene be compared with such an example of the earlier Corinthian style as is to be seen on the Amphiaros crater in Berlin,<sup>13</sup> the comparison reveals two very divergent forms of mannered painting. Insofar as we no longer envisage the whole development of Greek art as a steady progress from incapacity and awkwardness toward naturalism, to just that extent do we endow all early sculpture with some form of this quality of mannerism. Thus the Sunium Apollo is a mannered figure — that is, it is executed in a certain definite and preconceived style which consciously departs from the tenets of natural organic structure. But it is a far cry from this sort of thing to the mannerism of Carpenter's Master B of the Nike Temple parapet.<sup>14</sup> Similarly it is a far cry from the sharply defined outlines, the strongly isolated figures of the Amphiaros crater to the all-over delicate incision and the unifying linear rhythms which make of Amasis' two maenad figures a woven pattern of responding line. And it is the early sixth-century kind of vigorous, unsophisticated archaic art that is suggested by the sharply defined plane areas, juxtaposed in harsh and bold style, of the figurines illustrated in figures 17 and 29. They are as far from the linear style of developed Ionic work of the second half of the sixth century as is the sculptural style of the young Brunelleschi from the rhythmical line of Agostino di Duccio.

Thus it appears that those examples with the heads most completely and forcefully modelled are of the same half century as the great mass of the

<sup>11</sup> *B. S. A.*, XIV, pp. 314, 315. See also *J. H. S.*, 1910, pp. 336 f.

<sup>12</sup> *C. V. A.*, France (Bibl. Nat'l) #321,2; *MuZ.*, #220.

<sup>13</sup> Furtwängler and Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, Munich, 1900, III, pl. 121.

<sup>14</sup> R. Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet*, Cambridge, Mass., 1929, p. 23.

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"bird" figurines. This has not always been recognized. Holleaux<sup>15</sup> recorded his agreement with Böhlau in the thesis that the figurines and the black on buff cylixes are contemporary, but, "avec cette réserve nécessaire, toutefois, que certains 'Pappades,' comme l'indique le modelé très poussé de la tête, paraissent sensiblement plus modernes que le plus grand nombre des vases." He then cited as one of his examples of the "more modern" style the statuette in the National Museum at Athens published by Jamot and here illustrated in figures 29 and 30. Thus it appears that Holleaux, like Jamot, conceived the history of the figurines as a long development from primitive "bird-faced" figurines to the fully modelled late examples, a thesis which is not supported by the evidence now available. It is not possible to introduce any evidence from typological development into the problem of the date of any of the "pappades."

Among the most carefully executed and best preserved examples of Boeotian figurines from the first half of the century scattered in the museums of Athens, London, Paris, Berlin, Munich, and elsewhere, certain definite groups can be recognized. Not always clearly definable from one another, these groups nevertheless tend to illustrate the possible individuality of various craftsmen and also the close unity of style binding together this art of fixed convention and few motives.

### GROUP A:

1. Athens, National Museum — formerly #663 in the Polytechnion; Winter, p. 8, #7. See figures 17 and 20.
2. London, British Museum #B56; Winter, p. 8, #7b. See figure 18.
3. Berlin, Antiquarium #8332; Winter, p. 8, #6. See figure 19.

Despite differences in detail — the British Museum example is much more hastily and poorly finished than is that in Athens — the first two, at least, are by the same hand. The actual delineation of the wavy lines on skirts and shoulders, and the outlines of the tongue patterns on the breasts are as similar as two lines of writing by the same calligraphist. The great ropes of hair which fall upon the breast of number one of this group are modelled in large coils by shallow diagonal incisions, and a glance at figure 18 shows that precisely the same scheme is used to render the hair of the British Museum statuette. Furthermore, a general comparison of figures 17 and 18 demonstrates clearly how nearly congruent are the silhouettes of the two figures, particularly the outlines of shoulders and arms. The figurine in Athens has apparently lost the high polos which was attached to it at the time of Winter's publication.<sup>16</sup> As can be seen in Winter's drawing, this headdress, not pre-

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 29, note 3.

<sup>16</sup> Winter, p. 8, #7.

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cisely similar to that of the British Museum example, paralleled exactly the polos of the figurine in Berlin. The Berlin statuette is probably the least effective of the three, but the treatment of the eyes and lips so nearly corresponds to the modelling of number two of this group that it should probably be included here.

A surprisingly close parallel to the head of the seated statuette #1 is afforded by the well-known Corinthian pyxis in Berlin, inv. #4507 (fig. 21). Payne<sup>17</sup> assigned the pyxis to the decade 590–580, and it is difficult to see how the Boeotian figurine can be much later. In both we can see the same kind of features, with very large eyes and very low forehead. It is obvious that both works represent the same stage in the transition from the flat, two-dimensional "Daedalic" style; indeed, they are remarkably similar in profile. The juxtaposition of figure 20 and figure 21 (left) will serve to point this comparison. The Boeotian figurine is marked by the same upward tilt of the head, the same almost straight line under the chin, and, despite the damage which it has suffered, precisely the same long curve from the low forehead down to the tip of the nose that may be noted on the Corinthian head.

The rendering of the hair above the forehead on this Boeotian statuette is somewhat different from anything to be found on the works with which it has been compared, and it is apparently painted in imitation of that style of coiffure<sup>18</sup> illustrated among the marbles of the Athenian Acropolis by numbers 622, 617 and, especially, 654 of the Acropolis Museum. Another painted representation of hair treated in this same way is to be found on a figure of Artemis on one of the handles of the François vase.<sup>19</sup> Payne remarked that this mode of hairdressing passed out of fashion in Attica soon after the middle of the sixth century, and, while paucity of material prevents any such precision in the chronology of Boeotian fashions, the present example is surely about contemporary with the above listed Attic monuments showing the height of the style.

A badly damaged head from Mt. Ptoös in the National Museum at Athens (fig. 22) offers an interesting comparison with the terra cotta #1. This object was published by Deonna as #37 in his catalogue of the archaic Apollos, and by him attributed to a Boeotian artist of the first half of the sixth century. The poros stone of which it is made is very similar to the material employed in the carving of Dermys and Kitylos and of the Skimatari torso. The coiffure of this head is not dissimilar to that of the seated statuette, but it finds its closest parallel in the well-known Attic relief of a man with a discus that

<sup>17</sup> Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, Oxford, 1931, catalogue #882 — see p. 235 and pl. 48, #3 and #4.

<sup>18</sup> See Payne's discussion of this coiffure on p. 5 of the introduction to H. Payne and G. S. Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, London, 1936.

<sup>19</sup> Furtwängler and Reichhold, *op. cit.*, pls. 1 and 2.

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was made in the same period. But of most immediate interest in this discussion is the close relationship to be observed between the head of the terra cotta and the long, bony physiognomy of the Ptoan stone. It is a curious heaviness of feature which these two contemporary products of Boeotian craftsmanship have in common.

The curious rounded treatment of detail, almost a fleshiness of feature, which differentiates the works included under group A from the succeeding groups is a further indication of the very powerful influence of Corinth upon this group, an influence already suggested by the comparison made between the seated figure in Athens and a head from a Corinthian pyxis. For the soft, heavy forms of the terra cottas in group A are more typical of early sixth-century Corinthian work than the contemporary products of Boeotian craftsmanship.

Another Boeotian figurine in the British Museum<sup>20</sup> must be mentioned here (fig. 23). Although it displays the smooth black locks of hair and the precise, flat painting of Corinthian designs which characterize the objects under group D (below), the heavy chin, fleshy nose, and method of modelling and outlining the eyes serve to associate it more closely with group A. Furthermore, it is another example, like A1, which gives clear evidence of a direct contact with Corinth. A comparison of this head with that of the comast on a Corinthian plastic vase in the Louvre (fig. 24),<sup>21</sup> which Payne dated to the decade 585-575, indicates how closely this Boeotian work approaches the true Corinthian style. Again it is not only the similarity of features, the somewhat Semitic nose between wide-open eyes under high-arching, painted eyebrows which is noticeable, but also the fact that, from the point of view of three-dimensional design, these two heads have reached about the same stage of development away from the flat "Daedalic" style. There is no need to allow more than a brief chronological gap between the original and an imitation as close as this one, and it is probably quite safe to give the Boeotian figurine a date close to 575. It is indicative of the very close relationship between the following groups that precisely the same diamond pattern which is to be seen painted across the front of the body of figure 23 reappears in just the same place on a terra cotta in the National Museum, Athens (#4010), discussed under group C below (figs. 33 and 34).

Finally, National Museum #4015, illustrated in figure 25, is a crude example which belongs quite surely with this group. The same upturned profile with the chin thrust forward, combined with a comparable heaviness of feature, relates this object very clearly to group A and to contemporary Corinthian works.

<sup>20</sup> Walters, *Catalogue*, #B57, p. 81 and pl. XVI, right.

<sup>21</sup> Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 48, #13 and #14, and p. 235. *C. V. A., France* (Louvre), #500, and the detail, #501.<sup>3</sup>

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### GROUP B:

1. Athens, National Museum #4019, figures 26 and 27.
2. Dresden, Antiquarium, plastic vase, figure 28.

Both on the figurine and on the head which forms the neck of a plastic vase a chalky white paint has been used as an under-coating. This is in contrast to the previous group, in which, save for traces of occasional use of white on faces, the ground color is regularly the buff of the clay. Furthermore, on B1, red as well as black is already in use as an over-paint.

In some ways this figurine is not altogether unlike the seated figures described under group A, but the profile view shows that the present work is somewhat more advanced in three-dimensional modelling and later in date. From that point of view its closest parallel with the more certainly dated series at Corinth is with work of the very end of the middle Corinthian period, at the beginning of the second quarter of the sixth century. Heads like those illustrated in Payne's *Necrocorinthia*, plate 48, #5 and #15,<sup>22</sup> from this period, show a very similar handling of the profile and also the same disappearance of the jutting chin of the decade before. But the very comparison with Corinthian objects in this case serves to emphasize the Boeotian character of the figurine. The broad, flat planes are crudely joined into an almost brutally coarse head; there is a certain disorganized appearance, a lack of the neatly composed compact features that characterize contemporary Corinthian or Attic terra cottas.<sup>23</sup>

Despite the contrasts naturally to be expected between an independent figurine and a head which forms part of a vase, B2 has many points of comparison with B1. Besides the chalky white paint, there are observable the same wide, staring eyes, slightly hooked nose and small chin. And, with the same proviso that this head also exhibits a cast of features which seem to be specifically Boeotian, it is possible to find close parallels among Corinthian terra cottas. Perhaps the best analogy is provided by an early pyxis in the Late Corinthian style in St. Louis,<sup>24</sup> and it is probable that B2 should be placed slightly before 560.

### GROUP C:

1. Athens, National Museum, #4009, *B. C. H.*, 1890, pl. 14; Winter, 9, #1, here figures 29 and 30.
2. Munich-Figurine illustrated in *Jahrbuch*, 1936, abbs. 3 and 4; here figure 31.

<sup>22</sup> From two pyxides of Corinthian fabric in Bonn and in the British Museum, respectively.

<sup>23</sup> This same Boeotian type of face is clearly set forth again in a small bronze from Mt. Ptoös — Athens, National Museum, #7382 — which is strikingly similar to B1, and which will be discussed below.

<sup>24</sup> *Necrocorinthia*, pl. 35, #1 and #4. See Richter, *Met. Mus. Studies*, V, p. 43.

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Number two in this group is the figurine which Lullies illustrated<sup>25</sup> and compared from the point of view of style to a marble head<sup>26</sup> in Athens from Mt. Ptoös. He assigned both the terra cotta and the marble to the third quarter of the sixth century. The basis for such a date for the terra cotta consists largely in a comparison between it and the mannered figure style of Amasis. Lullies referred also to certain arguments brought forward by Schweitzer,<sup>27</sup> who, on the basis of a comparison between a figurine in the Scheurleer Museum at The Hague and a terra cotta head from Thermon, believed that he could date all of these figurines to the third quarter of the sixth century. I have not been able to examine the statuette at The Hague and therefore have no comment to make on the comparison. However, it seems obvious from the general discussion in Schweitzer's article that he did not fully appreciate the contrast that exists between the red on white "Rhitsona type" (which I shall discuss below) and the figurines now under consideration. As has been already noted, the recognition of the style as mannered, as illustrative of a fine tension between strongly emphasized three-dimensionality in the head and the constraint of the flat, board form for the body, does not constitute sufficient evidence for a date in the second half of the century. The same principle appears in painting of the Corinthian style; it appears most markedly on "Clazomenian" vases of the second quarter of the sixth century. Figure 32 illustrates a terra cotta in the National Museum at Athens which is said to have been found at Tanagra but which is clearly very Ionic in character. A comparison of this figure in profile with the figures of the ring of maidens on a Clazomenian amphora<sup>28</sup> illustrates how closely mannerism of this sort in terra cottas can correspond to the same element on contemporary vases in the first half of the century.

However, it must be said that the parallel which Lullies suggested with the vase-painting style of Amasis constitutes a forceful argument. Certain specific comparisons of the figurines in this group with figure painting both on vases by Amasis<sup>29</sup> and on those belonging to the circle of mannerists<sup>30</sup> who stemmed from him are very striking. The same general outline of features that marks the profile of C1 reappears in persons represented on the vases. Even the element of color is treated in a similar way, the sparing use of purple producing a similarly brilliant effect.

Yet, although these arguments are not without weight, it is necessary to include the figurines of this group with the others of the first half of the sixth

<sup>25</sup> *Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 141, figs. 3 and 4.

<sup>26</sup> National Museum #15. *Jahrbuch*, 1936, pp. 139 and 140, figs. 1 and 2 are from the best available photographs.

<sup>27</sup> *R. M.*, 1929, p. 7.

<sup>28</sup> *MuZ.*, #143 and #144.

<sup>29</sup> Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, #01.8027, *MuZ.*, #218, #219, an early work, is one of the closest.

<sup>30</sup> Particularly "The Swinger"; see Beazley, *B. S. A.*, XXXII, p. 12.

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century. In point of fact, the general figure style agrees as well with painting of the period of the François vase as with that of Amasis. The Corinthian character of the ornaments on the costume of C1 again suggests the former period. The very rosette which decorates the center of the front of the body of C1 appears again on an early "Pontish" vase in Munich,<sup>31</sup> dating about 560. The hair which falls on the back of the shoulders of C1 ends in the same long, sharp points that mark the ends of the Lions' manes on vases of Payne's<sup>32</sup> Deianeira and Gorgon groups, surely belonging to the second quarter of the century.

But it is the sharp, clearly defined features and vigorous modelling of the heads themselves that most conclusively aligns them with the simple archaic style of the first half of the century. What similarity exists between these heads and heads by the affected painters is really very superficial. For these are not the generalized, lightly defined traits of Amasis, but the harshly outlined, separately distinct features of the surviving Daedalic style.<sup>33</sup> They show none of that flow of modelling and unity of composition which is the characteristic contribution of the third quarter of the century, both in sculpture and in painting; on the other hand every effort is bent toward emphasizing the static individual outline of each part. If one must cite a parallel for the vigorous, individualized character of the heads of these two terra cottas, it is the kouros of Volomandra<sup>34</sup> that comes to mind. Already more Ionic in handling than the figurines, still the marble shows, particularly in the profile of the head, the same sort of vigorous individualism that marks the terra cottas.

The identity of style of these two figurines is clearly brought out in a comparison of the heads. There is an exactly similar treatment of eyes, brows, and the plastic locks of hair falling on the shoulders. Furthermore, the features exhibit the same sharp angularity of profile and almost brutal directness of representation. The decorative elements on the presumed drapery are quite different; at first glance the Munich example seems to be represented in a naturalistically arranged garment with long lines representing the folds.<sup>35</sup> However, it should be noted that the loop at the neck, which appears to represent an opening for a drawstring, appears in exactly the same form, without any possibility of representing any part of a garment, on the face of one of the saucers discussed below under group D (fig. 41). There are also

<sup>31</sup> P. Ducati, *Pontische Vasen*, Berlin, 1932, pls. 1 and 2.

<sup>32</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 193, fig. 87.

<sup>33</sup> Compare Charline Hofkes-Brukker, *Frühgriechische Gruppenbildung*, Würzburg, 1935, p. 18 and p. 29.

<sup>34</sup> Richter, *Met. Mus. Studies*, V, p. 43. See Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce*, pls. 130 and 131, for good photographs of the head.

<sup>35</sup> Since these lines also characterize the "bird-faced" figurines, they do not constitute evidence for a date in the third quarter of the century.



parallels to some of the decorative motives on C1 among the saucers; for example, the great central floral motive, with leaves pointing inward alternating with those pointing out, appears again on one of the saucer faces. These indications serve only to demonstrate the close relationship between the hands at work during the brief period covered by all of these works, for the more rounded and sober forms of the objects listed under group D certainly represent the hand of a different craftsman.

Very close to the above, but definitely by a different and inferior<sup>36</sup> hand, is the figurine in the National Museum at Athens<sup>37</sup> illustrated in figures 33 and 34. Both the hair and the polos of this figure seem to be separately attached units, but the modelling of the head is in every way less plastic, less vigorous than is that of the two examples listed above. The eye is not modelled at all, but simply painted on, and it extends well down along the nose. The nose<sup>38</sup> is a flat-sided, wedge-shaped projection not comparable to the modelled nose of C1, and the lips and chin entirely lack that vigorous forward thrust of these features on number C1.

Two much more crudely executed examples which are stylistically close to this group are the figurine<sup>39</sup> illustrated in figure 35 and an equestrian figure in Athens,<sup>40</sup> obviously by the same hand. The large irregular nose, hollows for the eyes, and generally gloomy expressions of the two heads are identical, while the beaked nose and angularity of planes clearly relate these statuettes to the general style of group C. The "drapery" of the standing figure offers further suggestion of date<sup>41</sup> by its similarity to the drapery of the figures in the fragmentary Sophilos vase<sup>42</sup> in Athens. Again there is further evidence of the close relationship between groups C and D in a comparison of the treatment of the horse's head of Athens #4208 with the very similar (but superior) handling of the horse on the terra cotta horseman published by Jamot.<sup>43</sup>

Two further statuettes<sup>44</sup> of very simple workmanship, illustrated in fig-

<sup>36</sup> I cannot agree with the rank which Jamot, *B. C. H.*, 1890, gives this work as the finest and most developed of the series.

<sup>37</sup> Nat. Museum #4010.

<sup>38</sup> The hawk-like nose of this figure is curiously reminiscent of a small bronze from the Acropolis (National Museum #6593), published in De Ridder's catalogue as #695 (fig. 212) and considered one of the earliest of the eighth-century Acropolis bronzes. The close correspondences of beaked noses, unmodelled faces, and straight knife-cuts for mouths make the heads of these two figurines appear surprisingly similar, and lead one to suspect that its primitive appearance has led investigators to assign the Acropolis bronze to too early a date.

<sup>39</sup> Nat. Museum #4260.

<sup>40</sup> Nat. Museum #4208. Best illustrated in Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce*, #140.

<sup>41</sup> As does also, as a matter of fact, the horse of the other figurine. Ure, *Aryballoi and Figurines*, p. 63, has some reason to believe that even in other Boeotian sites the horses with the plastic additions of ears, mane, etc., belong to the first half of the century.

<sup>42</sup> *MuZ.*, #202.

<sup>43</sup> Nat. Museum, Athens, #4261 and #4259.

<sup>44</sup> *B. C. H.*, 1890, pl. XIII. See below, under group D.

ure 36, also the work of one hand, are dependent upon group C, and most clearly reflect the style of the example shown in figure 33. The smooth, beaked nose, thin, horizontal mouth, and vertical fall of the line of unmodelled chin in profile demonstrate the similarity of plastic style between these works and the much more gaily decorated figure 33. The fact that #4259 has plastically modelled breasts, while the others have no indication of breasts whatever, is a curious reflection of the surprising lack of importance to these designs both of the representational value of the indication of sex and of the relationship between three-dimensional and two-dimensional composition. The breasts are plastically indicated in C1 also, but with a painted decoration which makes the two-dimensional design much more telling to the figure as a whole than is the slight projection forward which it sets off.

GROUP D:

1. British Museum #B58; Winter, p. 9, #2g; see figure 37.
2. Berlin, Antiquarium, #7602; Winter, p. 9, #2; see figure 38.
3. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, #01.7778; see figure 39.
4. Athens, National Museum #4021-4030; see figures 40 and 41.

The first three of these items are single standing "pappades"; the last is a group of ten small saucers, each decorated with some sort of plastic appendage to serve, apparently, as a handle. Discovered in 1888, these saucers were first published in a brief note in the *Αρχ. Δελτίον*.<sup>45</sup> They have been further described by Maurice Holleaux,<sup>46</sup> but, so far as I know, no one of them has ever been illustrated before.<sup>47</sup> Only one of the handles is in the form of a human head, and that is the example illustrated in figure 40. The others are all in the forms of animal or bird heads save one, which is a phallus. They are exceptionally fine and delicate pieces of craftsmanship, worthy of much more attention than has been bestowed upon them. Because of the lack of photographs, I append some rough sketches of the decorative motives which appear on the saucer faces (fig. 41), asking the reader to accept, for the moment, the simple statement that the character of modelling of the plastic parts is in all cases identical. All of the saucers are about the same size, a little larger than a silver dollar.

All of the objects that make up this group are certainly the work of one hand. A glance at the illustrations will reveal common decorative motives, and there are many repetitions on the saucers of the chest and polos decorations of the figurines. But more important than these simple elements is the

<sup>45</sup> 1888, p. 218, note 87.

<sup>46</sup> *Mon. Piot*, I, p. 31, note 2.

<sup>47</sup> There is a similar object in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts #13.172, Fairbanks Catalogue, pl. 51, #544, but it is dissimilar in technique and color.

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identity of the painter's style, the sharp, crisp handling of line and the rich use of deep purple. Moreover, the human head that appears on one of the saucers (fig. 40) is executed with the same somber features and simple, forceful modelling as the three figurines. In all cases the faces are rather long and narrow, having flat cheeks receding sharply from the thin front of the face. The noses are long, with a clearly marked bridge, the mouth, with well-modelled lips, set low in a slight curve. The eyes are somewhat triangular, rather than almond-shaped, and are wide open, with black pupils, and the whole face is in a setting of plastically modelled hair painted with black glaze paint. The cast of features is a very individual and easily recognized one which immediately relates the four examples to one another. A similar character of crisp simple modelling unites the other saucers again to the figurines. The strong contrast of the reddish surface with the black glaze, and the striking use of rich purple serve to link these objects very definitely with Corinthian vase painting of the first half of the sixth century.

The decorative elements on the saucers tend to relate them to all of the figurines with well-modelled heads, but there is one case, at least, in which some closer connection can be postulated. The modelling of the horse's head and neck, on that one of the saucers in which the moulded part is in the form of a horse's head, is remarkably close to that on a figurine of a horseman now in Athens and illustrated by Jamot.<sup>48</sup> The treatment of ears and mane, of eyes and nostrils, and the general outlines of the two heads are remarkably similar. Furthermore the painting on the figurine of the horseman, adhering in decorative motives to the style of the late Corinthian quatrefoil aryballois, is done in the same crisp style, with a use of purple similar to that seen on the saucers. Because of the variation in the head of the rider from the usual form adhered to by this craftsman, one cannot definitely assume that this is a work of the same hand, but, at any rate, the relationship is close enough to postulate that the horseman figurine must belong to the same period as the figurines listed under group D.

### GROUP E:

1. Athens, National Museum #4308; Winter, p. 32, #2 (see fig. 42).
2. Berlin, Antiquarium #3176; Winter, p. 227, #2 (see fig. 44).
3. Louvre; Winter, p. 9, #26 (see fig. 45).
4. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts #01.7765 (see fig. 46).

These objects illustrate very different abstractions of the bodies, the first being roughly cylindrical in the lower part,<sup>49</sup> the second approximating the

<sup>48</sup> *B. C. H.*, 1890, pl. 13.

<sup>49</sup> For the shape of this figurine, compare the Corinthian (?) terra cotta in Berlin, inv. #7793, published by P. Knoblauch, *Studien zur archaisch-griechischen Tonbildnerei*, fig. 15, as Boeotian.

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shape of a bird, the third being flat and board-like throughout, with the exception of very small projections to indicate the breasts, while the fourth is built into a chair. Nevertheless they have a great deal in common in the modelling of the heads. Each is marked by a thick nose with flaring nostrils, by a bony chin, and by lips rather exceptionally full for Boeotian terra cottas, curved into a slight smile. The similarity of coiffure displayed by 2 and 3 is obvious. Again the crown with raised discs which adorns number 1 is precisely repeated as the lowest member of the polos on 3.

Despite the rather appealing character of the National Museum example, all four represent something of a coarsening of the type of British Museum #B57 (fig. 23). But at the same time, although they have lost some of the precision of that work, they have gained in depth of modelling and realism. The change is not very great, to be sure. There is not yet a completely understood profile, but there is a distinct improvement in rendering the third dimension.

The coiffure of the Louvre example would tend to associate it with works of group D, and the costume (or decorative pattern) is paralleled in many of the "bird" figurines, but the affinities of the modelled features are with the Boston, Athens, and Berlin terra cottas here under consideration.

The figurine in Athens shows again that arrangement of the hair<sup>50</sup> over the forehead in small scallops, separated by vertical grooves, which is to be found on certain heads from the Athenian Acropolis. Indeed, a very close Attic parallel for the head of this figurine is to be found in the head of Hermes from the marble relief of Hermes and the nymphs in the Acropolis Museum (fig. 43). This arrangement of the hair appears in the marble work, as does also the slight, thick-lipped smile and bony chin, while the nose was once of the same type, with flaring nostrils. Of course there are obvious differences: the Attic eye, executed in marble, presents a clear contrast to the Corintho-Boeotian eye executed in clay, and the whole face of the terra cotta is more long drawn out, more disorganized than the rounded, compact physiognomy of the Hermes. But the comparison holds as far as the general stage of plastic development is concerned. The heads are of equal depth, with the ears projecting, but no longer absolutely at right angles to the receding planes of the cheeks.

These factors tend to establish a date for the figurine in the last decade before the middle of the sixth century, and the faded outline of the late Corinthian floral decoration,<sup>51</sup> still dimly to be discerned on the lower part of the statuette, does not gainsay this conclusion.

<sup>50</sup> Payne and Young, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>51</sup> Certainly misdrawn in Winter, p. 32, #2.

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The figurines from Rhitsona, the only Boeotian site where a large number of graves were excavated according to modern scientific methods,<sup>52</sup> are best treated as a group. The importance to the present discussion of certain early graves on this site has already been indicated. Grave 50, probably one of the earliest of Ure's Boeotian cylix style graves,<sup>53</sup> contained a figurine of the board type, painted in red and yellow on white, having as its only modelled part a finely moulded head. Figure 47 shows it among several terra cottas from this tomb. The painted design is one which is adhered to with slight variations throughout the second half of the sixth century for figurines of this type. The upper part of the body is decorated as a distinct zone with thin red lines, the lower part is marked by fairly wide red and yellow vertical stripes, bordered on either side by narrow red lines at an angle. The consistent use of this scheme, or slight variants of it, down to the end of the century at Rhitsona and elsewhere in Boeotia is a curious phenomenon.

Ure has dated this tomb in the decade before 550 on arguments that seem incontrovertible.<sup>54</sup> The style of the moulded head of this figurine accords well with this date. The general aspect of the profile (fig. 48) belongs to that stage of development reached before the middle of the century, and, on stylistic grounds alone, a date even slightly before 560 might be considered for the figurine. Yet the smallness of the eyes, almost in their proper proportion to the face as a whole, the fullness of rounded lips and general scheme of modelling about the mouth are to be expected at this date. The badly damaged head of another very fragmentary figurine of this type, more than likely the work of the same hand, is in accordance with this conclusion.

That these heads are directly inspired by Corinthian models there can hardly be a doubt. The treatment of the mouth and of the eyes is very reminiscent of Corinthian work like the Apollo of Tenea in Munich.<sup>55</sup> As noted above, Ure believed very definitely that the type of the red on white statuettes derived from Corinth, although he assumed that the black on buff figurines represented a continuation of the indigenous Boeotian geometric style.

Directly after the date of the inhumation in grave 50,<sup>56</sup> the peculiar and very popular type of moulded head came into use which seems to characterize these red on white "pappades" from Rhitsona until the end of the century. It is, in fact, distinctly phenomenal that an almost standard head,

<sup>52</sup> Burrows & Ure, *B. S. A.*, XIV, *J. H. S.*, XXIX, XXX; Ure, *6th and 5th Century Pottery from Rhitsona*; Ure, *Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona*.

<sup>53</sup> *B. S. A.*, XIV, p. 257. See also *Aryballoi and Figurines*, p. 51.

<sup>54</sup> *Aryballoi and Figurines*, p. 51.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 237.

<sup>56</sup> That grave 50 is slightly earlier than other group A graves — such as 49, 51, 110, is further indicated by the black on buff horsemen figurines, who still lack the painted reins that seem to characterize all of their later cousins.

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with changes restricted to width or narrowness of the face, placed upon an equally changeless form of body, remains paramount in the tombs of Rhitsona for so long a period. As to the costume or decorative painting of the body, the sources of the various motives have already been discussed above in connection with the primitive figurines without faces; of the heads and the peculiar cast of features which characterizes them, the source is not far to seek.

In deference to the thesis for mannerism in Boeotian art of the second half of the century, a thesis so strongly urged by Lullies, it should be noted at this point that this series of figurines from Rhitsona definitely illustrates a mannered scheme of features, consciously adopted from a model according to certain consistent rules. At this point the Boeotian craftsmen, who had for long been modelling figurines in which, although the bodies were strict in adherence to an abstract and timeless formula, the heads followed, to a great extent, contemporary developments elsewhere, now step entirely out of the fast-moving stream of plastic arts at this period to accept a fixed, undeveloping formula. No longer is it possible to make comparisons between Boeotian terra cottas and contemporary work from elsewhere on the basis of depth of modelling, or development of the profile aspect of the heads. Even between the figurines above described from grave 50 and the immediately succeeding ones from graves 49 (fig. 49) and 51 (fig. 51) what appears to be a very definite backward step in three-dimensional design has been taken in the acceptance of the new formula. However, in partial response to Lullies' arguments, it should be noted that under these circumstances, and just insofar as the new mannerism is strictly adhered to, the disorganization of features and looseness of facial composition noted earlier has been overcome. While consciously following an artificially adopted manner, the craftsmen of Boeotia, like such conscious mannerists everywhere, were able to turn out a coherent, logical, if somewhat monotonous plastic style.

It is of considerable importance for consideration of these figurines to realize the precise source of the type of head which dominates the later examples. If one compares the head of the large "pappas" painted in the red on white technique from grave 49 at Rhitsona (fig. 49) with the head of the marble kouros in the Thebes Museum (Karouzos catalogue #3) (fig. 50), one must recognize at once that the marble and the terra cotta heads are modelled on the same facial type. In both cases there is a high and somewhat narrow face with high, vertically rising brow. The noses are long, slender, and sharply profiled, while the chins are lean, bony, and markedly projecting. The same thin-lipped, crisply carved smile is marked in the small mouths of both objects. Most striking of all is the similarity of composition of long, narrow faces bounded by the almost vertical, flat planes of the sharply reced-

ing cheeks and topped by the lofty domed crowns of the heads. In other words, it is apparent that the maker of one of these works was cognizant of at least the type of the other. It seems best at this stage to examine more thoroughly what is known of the origins and probable date of the marble kouros.

The kouros was excavated by the French at Mt. Ptoös, and first published in the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*.<sup>57</sup> In his discussion of the work in these pages, M. Mendel compared it with the kouroi of Melos, Thera, Tenea, and Kalyvia-Kouvara, and this group as a whole he named an island group, probably Chiote. It soon appeared that such a group could not be made to hold together. Deonna discussed the present statue as number 43 in his *Apollons archaïques*, naming the marble as island. He<sup>58</sup> also called the figure Chiote work of the second half of the sixth century. In the catalogue of the Thebes Museum, Karouzos<sup>59</sup> identified the marble as Boeotian and dated the statue just after 550. He considered this kouros as affected Boeotian work under strong Ionic or island influence, and contrasted it to the pure Boeotian style of kouroi numbers one and two in the same museum. Most recently of all, Lullies, in the *Jahrbuch* for 1936, dated Thebes #3 in the second quarter of the sixth century and called it a Boeotian counterpart of the Apollo of Melos.

It is apparent that the argument from material is in no sense a conclusive one. It is probable that we do not know all the varieties of marble extant in Boeotia, but it is apparent that Thebes #3 is not made of the same vein of bluish marble from which Thebes numbers 1 and 2 were cut. Comparing the stones alone, one is certainly tempted to agree with Deonna that the kouros number 3 was carved in an imported marble. Yet we are well aware that sculpture even in demonstrably foreign materials does not necessarily imply a foreign sculptor,<sup>60</sup> and we are left with no reliable external evidence as to the nationality of this craftsman. Let me say once and for all that it seems most unlikely that we shall ever be able to prove either solution of this problem, and that it is fundamentally but idle amusement to attempt to add to the already great mass of scholarly opinion and intelligent analysis that has been brought to bear on both sides of this point. Worst of all, such discussion tends to befog the very real and reliable evidence which is to be gleaned for the history of the local plastic style from the finding place and character of the statue. Most critics are at present agreed that we have in this kouros a

<sup>57</sup> 1907, pp. 193 f., and pl. 20.

<sup>58</sup> Deonna, *Les Apollons Archaïques*, Geneva, 1909, p. 320.

<sup>59</sup> Το Μουσείο τῆς Θήβας Athens, 1934, pp. 11, 12.

<sup>60</sup> We cannot even conclude certainly, as so many have assumed, that sculpture in the relatively poor stones of Boeotia necessarily implies a local sculptor.

work done in an island style affected by certain non-insular and presumably Boeotian mannerisms, and dedicated in a Boeotian sanctuary. Such a set of facts would be in keeping either with the circumstance of a Boeotian sculptor working under strong foreign influence or that of an island craftsman preparing a statue for Boeotian dedication. But one necessary conclusion from this set of facts is the existence of a major dedication on Mt. Ptoös from about the middle of the century, executed in the very best style of island work.

We can scarcely ascribe to the kouros a date very far on either side of the middle of the century. Those who agree with Miss Richter's<sup>61</sup> date of 540 for the Apollo of Melos will probably, with Karouzos, put Thebes #3 in this same decade 550-540. Lullies, in pushing the work back into the second quarter of the century, can hardly mean to go further than the decade 560-550.

Now it is important to realize that the kouros #3 in the Thebes Museum is not a lone example of its style in Thebes of about this period. Kouros #6 (fig. 52), in the same museum, may appear at first glance very different in style, and, indeed, in many ways the modelling is more rounded, so that the surfaces appear less flat, the section less angular. But the actual scheme and general conception of the body is surprisingly similar. As is apparent in the fragment, the neck muscles of #6 were once carved as in #3. The projection of breast muscles and the division of muscular areas of the stomach<sup>62</sup> are the same. In both cases the navel is set low and delineated in the same way. The same sort of correspondence is observable in the details of the back, the shoulder blades being represented by slightly raised planes, the two shallow grooves of the erector spinae muscles joining the groove marking the backbone at the small of the back. Again, the knees are handled in the same way — a way quite reminiscent of the Apollo of Tenea, which calls to mind Lullies' general comparison of Kouros #6 with the Apollo of Tenea. Most striking of all is the similarity of the hands of Thebes #6 to the hand of Thebes #3 shown in the detail photograph (fig. 53). Here the agreement is so precise as to indicate a very strong possibility that the two works are by the same sculptor at different stages of development.<sup>63</sup> The large thumbs hang vertically, and the inner surfaces of palm and forefinger are soft, plastic cushions which effectively close the hollows of the fists. A very strong contrast may be noted in comparing this sort of treatment with that of the hands on the kouroi Thebes #1 and #2, where the spare members have no cushion of flesh and the fingers describe an angle to the thumb which leaves a blind

<sup>61</sup> *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, New Haven, 1929, p. 37. Miss Richter has subsequently amended this date to 550: *Met. Mus. Studies*, V, p. 43.

<sup>62</sup> Kouros #6 has a scar along the left upper curve of the line of the epigastrium, which somewhat confuses the photograph.

<sup>63</sup> Mendel, *B. C. H.*, 1907, p. 198, called #6 Sicyonian or Peloponnesian. Deonna, *op. cit.*, p. 354, called it Attic of the second half of the century, and contemporary with Thebes #3.

opening to be blocked by a purely arbitrary flat plane in the interior of the fist. One would give much to know the exact nature of the missing head of Thebes #6. Despite its greater roundness and elasticity of conception, by comparison with Thebes #3, the connection with the Apollo of Tenea might be construed to imply an earlier date for this work than for Thebes #3. Of the latter the relationship with the Apollo of Melos has been referred to above. It is interesting to note how clearly such a chronology would parallel the series of terra cottas from Rhitsona, which begin in the second quarter of the century with fine work in a markedly Corinthian style and then develop, in the middle of the century, a style more similar to that of the islands. In such case we could construe the flat planes and sharp angles, the generally greater archaism of Thebes #3, as the result of local handling of the style after the withdrawal of direct Corinthian influence. But in the absence of any further evidence, and particularly in the absence of the head of Thebes #6, we have surely not sufficient grounds to complicate further our reconstruction of the development by postulation of yet another phase of "backwardness" and "mannerism." Following the more conservative course, we may agree with Karouzos that kouros #6 is a younger brother of #3, with the same essential style treated in a more plastic and softened manner.

And the same style is carried down further into the century in the much more softly modelled kouros #4 in the Thebes museum (fig. 54).<sup>64</sup> This very crude and rough work probably goes down, as Karouzos<sup>65</sup> suggested, very nearly to 510, and it is a true example of a backward style coming out in a torso which shows many elements indicative of the advanced period of its production. Here, again, are the same handling of stomach muscles and of the line of the epigastrium, the same carving of the projecting breast muscles as on the two preceding works, but the heavy roll of flesh at the groin, becoming almost horizontal over the hip bones, indicates a date near the end of the century. The figure is very roughly worked out and illustrates the technical ineptnesses of an unskilled workman. The body is very block-like, almost square in cross section. There is no modelling upon the back except for the single vertical groove of the backbone. But the lack of articulation of the collar bones is a most marked peculiarity. Their existence is only indicated by a raised ledge across the body at the base of the neck.

Now the immediate interest of this series of three dedications, from the Ptoan Sanctuary, is that they illustrate the fact that during the second half of the sixth century there were set up here several statues in a style related to kouros #3, which, indeed, appear to carry on the stylistic tradition of that

<sup>64</sup> The kouros in Thebes, #5, seems to me altogether too crude and without expression to be a useful member of this series, although Karouzos included it among the dependencies of Thebes #3.  
<sup>65</sup> Karouzos believed this kouros to be Parian, or at least Cycladic.

work for two generations. So it seems that, although we lack heads for the later examples, we are justified in assuming that a tradition of marble sculpture of a very definitely characterized sort existed in Boeotia (at least among works dedicated in Boeotia) which apparently paralleled the very uniform continuity of contemporary terra cottas. Furthermore, as has been noted above, these two series are very closely connected at their outset in the middle of the century.

The sequence of development of the "primitive" style of red on white figurines in Rhitsona graves has been well set forth by P. N. Ure in his most recent volume on his excavations at this site.<sup>66</sup> The figurine that we have examined from grave 49 is typical of several found in graves 51 and 110 (fig. 55). These statuettes have the same thin face, closely related to the kouros #3 in the Thebes museum. The example illustrated from grave 110 shows a polos, diminishing above the head and then flaring out above, having some remnant in a forward-jutting, handle-like member of the spiral of the "bird-faced" figures. This seems to mark a transition between the mid-sixth-century polos with its many disks and spirals, and the simple smooth hat topped by an open cup that appears in tomb 40. Ure<sup>67</sup> was able to trace such a scheme of development of the headdresses of his "pappades" which does seem true for the limited period to which he applied it, but it is certain that among the earlier figurines no such precise sequence is observable.

The same general style of head is observable in three fragmentary statuettes from grave 31<sup>68</sup> (fig. 56) which Ure dated in the fourth quarter of the sixth century and considered as transitional between his class A and class B Boeotian cylix graves. But three other, very Parisian-looking ladies from this same grave (fig. 57) (one illustrated in a colored plate in the *Annual of the British School*, 14, pl. 7a) seem at first glance to offer a very striking contrast to this type. The face is wider, the cheeks more pronounced, with their large spots of rouge; the whole effect is more gay. Also the mouths are straight, and the eyes rather long and almond-shaped in comparison with the sharp little smile and round eyes of the other figurines. Yet the essential structure of the face is the same; the same flat, two-dimensional physiognomy is shown, as is the sharp spareness of chin and brow that we have seen in the other terra cottas in this tradition. There is observable in these little Parisiennes, with their straight gashes for mouths, their enormous eyes, their very direct looks, a recrudescence of the naïve, almost styleless character of Boeotian figurines before the middle of the century. This sort of work seems to represent the abandonment of that elegant and finely drawn mannerism

<sup>66</sup> *Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona*.

<sup>67</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 58, fig. 8.

<sup>68</sup> *B. S. A.*, XIV, pp. 305 and 307.

first set forth for us in the marble kouros #3 in the Thebes Museum, and the return to the characteristically Boeotian *Bauernstil* handling of this island manner which is comparable to the *Bauernstil* handling of Corinthian in the first half of the century. The same character is observable in two figurines from grave 112, numbers 71 and 72 (fig. 58), dating from the end of the century. The figurines are of the same sort, with more rounded faces, and yet the sharp jutting chin and sharpness of projecting bony structure is still reminiscent of the mid-sixth-century type, and the costume is still obviously based on the same principle. Again, number 236 from tomb 26 (fig. 59), also dating from the end of the century, is still very close to the thin angular type of the period around 550.

This brief glance over the Rhitsona figurines, which have been fully published by P. N. Ure in the various articles and volumes listed elsewhere, serves to remind us of the essential continuity of the sequence of the "primitive" type over the second half of the century. This type we have seen to be related to a style of marble sculpture from Mt. Ptoös which also covers the same period. Now it is important to realize that this type of figurine, and notably this particular style of moulded head, is not peculiar to the local and perhaps provincial coroplasts of Rhitsona but has also been found at Tanagra and elsewhere in Boeotia. Because of the lack of any other local series excavated and published with the care and acumen shown by Burrows and Ure at Rhitsona, it is impossible to differentiate local peculiarities among the various centers of Boeotia, and it may be that some of the examples of this type which have found their way to Athens and to foreign museums actually come from Rhitsona via the ubiquitous *τυμβωρύχοι*.<sup>69</sup> But in view of the considerable number known to have been found at Tanagra, we are certainly safe in recognizing this as a general Boeotian style of the period.

In the museum at Skimatari there are now to be seen only a few very coarse examples of this type. I found there the characteristic stylization of the drapery in red on white paint in one fragmentary, headless figurine and in several large and heavy examples with almost unmodelled faces. But in the National Museum at Athens, listed as coming from Tanagra, there is a considerable number of well-made examples with heads of types that are thoroughly in keeping with the various stages of the development at Rhitsona. The one illustrated in figure 60, for example (N. M. #4292), represents about the same stage of development as those examples of the conservative style found in grave 31 (fig. 56) at Rhitsona. This figurine probably dates from the last quarter of the sixth century, and yet in the modelling of eye, nose, sharply jutting chin, and particularly of the tight little smile, it is still de-

<sup>69</sup> Burrows and Ure, *B. S. A.*, XIV, p. 232, record the finding of some traces of tomb robbing near the Mycalessos excavations.

pendent upon mid-sixth-century work. Numbers 4293 and 4294, unpublished terra cottas in the same museum, also from Tanagra, are apparently by the same hand. The unpublished figurine, National Museum #16005, showing very considerable traces of color, is very similar in type to the "Parisiennes" from grave 31 at Rhitsona, notably to the example published in the color plate in the *British School Annual*, XIV, pl. 7a. All of these, and there are many more examples, have the low polos and the two-dimensional face pushed back against the almost flat neck that characterized the grave 31 terra cottas.

National Museum #4232 is another figurine from Tanagra of the type that has the characteristic kalathos and narrow face of the mid-sixth-century graves at Rhitsona.

Of the two examples in the British Museum illustrated in figure 61, #B47 seems made from the same mould as the example in the center of figure 62 from Rhitsona, grave 40, and so it cannot be much after 550. #B48 is very close to the fragmentary head from grave 31 at Rhitsona, #367 (fig. 56), and therefore is to be brought down near the end of the century. There are many other examples known of a head very similar to these last; one was published in the Froehner sale catalogue of the Collection Gréau, #263, plate VII, and another is to be seen among the terra cottas in the Acropolis Museum at Athens.<sup>70</sup>

Of two examples in Boston, #01.7763 must date soon after the middle of the sixth century, contemporaneously with Rhitsona grave 51. The other, #3963, is of the last quarter of the century, by analogy with the terra cottas from Rhitsona grave 31. The Sphinx figure in Berlin, Antiquarium #8390 (fig. 63), also dates in the decade 550-540, having both the features and the form of the polos of a head from grave 110 at Rhitsona (fig. 55).

The above items represent but random examples of the great number of these figurines which exist, all demonstrating the close unity exhibited by the style, and the scale of production of the type. Good specimens are to be purchased in the shops in Shoe Lane in Athens for a dollar or two each, all easily paralleled among those found in closed deposits in the cemetery at Rhitsona. A glance at the drawings and lists on pages 30 and 31 of Winter's *Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* will show how common and how uniform in style these objects are, and how impossible it would be to limit the style to Rhitsona. There is little value in the compilation of a complete catalogue of this somewhat monotonous type, but, although no other scientifically excavated site is available to provide a check on the results at Rhitsona, there can be little doubt that the development attested for this cemetery is

<sup>70</sup> #639; Mrs. Alexander Sedgwick, who is working on the Acropolis terra cottas, kindly informs me that she agrees that this is Boeotian work.

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applicable to the material found elsewhere in Boeotia. All the steps in a logical sequence of the very limited development were found there, and for each phase many parallels can be cited among the otherwise undatable material in the collections of various museums and private owners in Europe and America. As Ure has already clearly demonstrated, the genre terra cottas of the fifth century developed from "pappades" of this type. This debt on the part of the genre figurines is to be seen not only in the painted decoration, of which the color scheme and even the nature of the paint used are obviously derived from the "pappades," but even, in certain cases, in the type of head still in use in the fifth century. The head of the goose-girl illustrated by Winter<sup>71</sup> still shows definite traces of that peculiar type which we have traced from the middle of the sixth century.

Thus it appears that the style which so completely held sway among the coroplasts of Mycalessos in the second half of the century was also dominant in the rest of Boeotia, and, in view of the very marked contrast which it offers to the black and purple on buff figurines as a whole, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that it utterly replaced the latter at about the middle of the century. It is not surprising that the black on buff bird figurines and horsemen disappear at about the same time, the latter to be replaced by a red on white series. The red on white "pappas" is found in graves as early as the end of the first quarter of the century (Rhitsona graves 125 and 145), but it is only with the establishment of the type based on the plastic style which produced the marble kouros #3 in Thebes that it becomes paramount. That this style is fundamentally allied to that of the islands there seems to be general agreement, despite disputes over the sources of individual objects, and if Deonna is correct in naming Chios as the particular island whence the influence was drawn, it is remarkable to find here Boeotia reacting as early as the middle of the century to an influence which exerted great sway at Athens throughout the second half of the sixth century.

<sup>71</sup> Page 34, #10.

## V

### MONUMENTAL SCULPTURE

AMONG the earliest of Boeotian bronze representations of human figures is a small statuette of a woman (fig. 64) published by Fröhner.<sup>1</sup> Poulsen<sup>2</sup> assigned this figurine to an early seventh-century date, and it is interesting to see how similar in style is the head to that of the Potnia Theron on the early seventh-century Boeotian relief pithos in Athens (fig. 9). Both illustrate the same type of fleshy, rather unformed, upturned features, with large round eyes, small mouth, and heavy chin. And, like the head on the pithos, the bronze also bears a distinct resemblance to heads from the bell-shaped terra cotta figurines. The body of the bronze is highly simplified, but treated in a manner not altogether dissimilar to that of sub-geometric painted representations of female figures, e.g. the "mourning women" on the figurine in the Louvre #140 (fig. 6). The same kind of figure is also to be seen on that very common type of early seventh-century terra cotta relief of which Poulsen illustrated an example from Praesos.<sup>3</sup>

Poulsen seems to suggest that the small bronze male figure<sup>4</sup> (fig. 65) which Mantiklos once dedicated to Apollo, and which is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is an example of true geometric technique which should be considered as materially older than the more "orientalizing" female figure. However, Miss Goldman has already remarked how much of the geometric character still remains to the female statuette, and the latter should properly be grouped with the clay head from Sparta as another example of that combination of late geometric with early orientalizing motives which Miss Woodward has discussed.<sup>5</sup>

Hampe<sup>6</sup> assigned the Mantiklos Apollo to a date about seven hundred, and Kunze<sup>7</sup> referred to it as an example of *erstarrten geometric art* of about

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue de Vente de la Collection Tyskiewicz*, Paris, 1898, pl. XIII, #134. Cf. Hetty Goldman, in the *Festschrift Loeb* (1930), p. 72, where the bronze is mistakenly listed as being in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Mr. L. D. Caskey kindly informs me that it is at present in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

<sup>2</sup> *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 148 and fig. 171.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 147, fig. 172. The comparison seems to me most striking between the bronze and the example of these plaques which is shown in the National Museum at Athens as #10180.

<sup>4</sup> Fröhner, Plate XIII, #133. *Mon. Piot*, II, p. 145, pl. XV; W. Lamb, *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, London, 1929, pl. 20, C; Hetty Goldman, *Festschrift Loeb* (1930), p. 72, fig. 5.

<sup>5</sup> *B. S. A.*, XXIX, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

<sup>7</sup> *A. M.*, 1930, p. 160.



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the same time. Certainly this statuette finds its closest parallel among the bell-shaped figurines of the late and sub-geometric periods, but the clearly cut large round eyes and the very vertical and tightly triangular plane of the face<sup>8</sup> are most clearly suggestive of the latest of the bell-shaped terra cottas, that which is in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology (fig. 8). The expression *erstarrten geometric*, carrying with it the idea of a conscious and mannered design, is very descriptive of the style illustrated by both the bronze and the terra cotta. That such a freezing into over-neat decorative pattern would be one manifestation of the dying geometric style was to be expected, and Hampe has written clearly of the relationship of this manifestation to the new burgeoning sense of freedom that was to create true archaic art. It is impossible to say how far into the seventh century this style extended in the development of the plastic arts. In speaking of the Toronto terra cotta I ventured what cannot be more than a guess that its date is probably fairly well down in the first half of the century. The Mantiklos Apollo, with its long chin, small mouth, and general disproportion of features, seems to mark a transitional stage between the vaguely formed heads of the figurines of about seven hundred and the developed style of the Toronto statuette.

Since it is more monumental in scale than objects in a similar material considered in this paper, the fragmentary terra cotta female figure discovered by Miss Goldman<sup>9</sup> at Halae is best inserted here. Because "the terra cotta has more refinement and more subtlety than these bronzes" Miss Goldman assigned it to the sixth century, contrasting it with the bronzes from the Tyskiewicz collection. Although the Halae terra cotta was considerably embellished with red paint, this paint seems to have been applied directly over a creamy buff slip without the intervention of any powdery white pigment such as was used on Boeotian terra cottas of the later sixth century. Thus it appears that, while the bright gay tonality of the figure suggests the later group of Boeotian cylixes, the actual technique is more akin to that of the earlier black on buff examples. That fact, of course, is no argument against the sixth-century date to which Miss Goldman assigned this figure, but, on the other hand, it allows that a date in the seventh century be not precluded.

The disproportionately long neck, very flat face, and perpendicularly projecting ears of this terra cotta certainly suggest that it is a product of the seventh century. Furthermore, the somewhat unusual flat curls which mark the terminations of the locks of hair across the brow are very similar in con-

<sup>8</sup> See P. Knoblauch, *Studien zur archaisch-griechischen Tonbildnerei*, p. 27, n. 55a, who compares the Mantiklos head with the proto and early Daedalic terra cottas.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, pl. VIII, a fine water color by P. de Jong.

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ception to the curls over the forehead of a small marble head in Thebes (#16) from Mt. Ptoös (fig. 66). Again, the four long braids which fall upon the breast of the terra cotta are cut with precisely the same herring-bone pattern to simulate the interwoven locks of hair that appears on the braids of the female figures on the relief pithos in Boston, Hampe R3. The roundness and subtlety of forms which Miss Goldman has noted in the figurine recur on the pithos in Boston which belongs in Hampe's third group, and it appears that the general character of the figurine fits most conveniently between the second and third groups of the pithoi, that is, in the third quarter of the seventh century.<sup>10</sup>

In turning, now, to stone sculpture, it seems necessary to repeat that in the ensuing discussion there is no attempt to include all monuments which at one time or another have been brought into connection with Boeotia, but rather the purpose is to examine those examples which are most surely associated with the district and which seem to represent the successive phases of its dominant plastic styles. The greatest emphasis will perforce be placed upon the large group of statues which have been found by the French excavations at Mt. Ptoös, the great Boeotian sanctuary of Apollo.

The small marble head from Mt. Ptoös<sup>11</sup> mentioned above (fig. 66) is described by Karouzos as part of a caryatid figure and listed as "late Daedalic," while Deonna compared it with the head of the Apollo from Orchomenos (Athens, National Museum #9). The fragments of caryatids of this same type which were found at Olympia<sup>12</sup> Jenkins has quite correctly brought down to 600 or later, but the present example is certainly far more rigidly schematic, more harsh in its adherence to the angular Daedalic style, and it can scarcely be as late as the more rounded head of the Laconian caryatid from Olympia. On the other hand, the definitely cube-like character of the Ptoan head, which lacks the flat and sunken face of true Daedalic sculpture, is in many ways suggestive of the broad flat planes of Attic work<sup>13</sup> of about 600. This combination of elements suggests a date between 620 and 600, making this the earliest marble head from the Ptoan sanctuary. The marble is of that bluish vein which is generally called Boeotian.

An interesting parallel is afforded by a terra cotta in Athens (fig. 67)<sup>14</sup> from Tanagra. The comparison affords no evidence for chronology, for the terra cotta is itself undated and shows little similarity to any of the "pap-

<sup>10</sup> I cannot agree with P. Knoblauch, p. 192, Cat. #403, who apparently assigns the work to the first quarter of the seventh century.

<sup>11</sup> *B. C. H.*, 1907, pp. 202, 203, fig. 12. Karouzos, *To Μουσείο τῆς Θήβας*, fig. 3. Deonna, *Apollons Archaiques*, #53.

<sup>12</sup> Treu, *Olympia*, III, pp. 26 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Such as the Dipylon head or the Metropolitan kouros.

<sup>14</sup> National Museum, #4016. See Winter, p. 8, #4; Jamot, *B. C. H.*, 1890, p. 213, fig. 3.

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pades" discussed above, except for the general form of the figure. However, the same straight mouth, thick lips, and bestial, small chin are to be remarked on the statuette as on the marble head. It is possible that the terracotta represents an early example from the late seventh century of the type of "pappades" with moulded heads, but there is not enough evidence to allow any definite conclusions.<sup>15</sup>

The so-called Skimatari torso<sup>16</sup> (fig. 68) must have been made about the same time. Karouzos' date of about 620 Jenkins has lowered by a decade on the basis of certain very reasonable arguments deriving from the roundness of the forms and the naturalistic, curvilinear treatment of the whole work. It does not, however, appear reasonable to assign this statue, as Jenkins does, to a sculptor outside of Boeotia simply because "the work appears too good for seventh-century Boeotia." We really know far too little about stone sculpture of this period, either in Boeotia<sup>17</sup> or in Corinth, to contradict on such grounds the obvious evidence of finding place and material. Jenkins recognized that the coiffure, on which he based his tentative assignment of the torso to Corinth, afforded very little evidence, and, indeed, we have seen this same method of wearing the hair on Boeotian relief pithoi. Corinthian influence is to be assumed at this period in any case.

The material is a poros stone very similar in general character to that from which the figures of Dermys and Kitylos were carved, although its color is slightly less red, more gray, than is that of the latter work. Another notable analogy with the Dermys and Kitylos, on which figures, incidentally, a very similar coiffure to that of the Skimatari torso appears, is the method of carving the soft material. The angle from which the photograph (fig. 68) is taken shows clearly the appearance of knife cutting<sup>18</sup> which characterizes all the details of this statue. The junctures of the three planes of the torso, the upper arm, and what Karouzos identified as the short himation which the figure wears show the sharp, thin, straight lines that remind one of the results obtained by cutting wood or some other soft material with a knife. The

<sup>15</sup> This figurine appears to wear a sort of veil drawn over the top of the head, a feature in which it is unique among the Tanagra "pappades." Miss Goldman has noted that the curious red scallops on the head of the Halae figure might possibly represent a veil, though there is no sign of a veil falling on the shoulders.

<sup>16</sup> Karouzos, p. 11, figs. 1 and 2; Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 71; Deonna, *Dédale*, Paris, 1931, II, fig. 23; *R. A.*, 1908, p. 190; Pierce, *A. J. A.*, 1924, p. 267.

<sup>17</sup> I omit from this discussion the relief in the Louvre from Malessina in Locris (Collignon, *Mon. Piot*, XX, p. 28, pl. III, Jenkins, *op. cit.*, p. 71) because its crudeness and obviously imitative character make the work impossible to date or to compare profitably with our other material. There is no basis for the assumption (of Jenkins) that this one object represents the technical level of Boeotian craftsmen, and that all material giving evidence of better workmanship must necessarily be imported from abroad.

<sup>18</sup> See Casson, *Technique of Early Greek Sculpture*, Oxford, 1933, who does not speak of the knife in connection with Dermys and Kitylos, or any others of these works. However, on the present torso, and on the other works which are discussed in connection with it, there are many marks of the knife similar to those described by Casson himself (p. 69) on the Prusias horseman frieze.

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same effect is noticeable on the surface of the neck, particularly at the sharp angles where torso and jaw meet that member. Precisely the same sort of workmanship is to be seen in the details of the Dermys and Kitylos relief, and if the broad flat planes of these early Boeotian statues do not, as was at first thought, indicate a derivation of sculptural technique from the carving of large figures in wood, at least details like those noted above demonstrate the dependence of the sculptor's conception upon the knife as a major tool in carving.

The fragmentary "Xoanon" figure from Mt. Ptoös in the National Museum (#2)<sup>19</sup> bears a dedicatory inscription which Holleaux and others have considered similar in epigraphical form to that on the Dermys and Kitylos relief. Holleaux assigned both of these works to the seventh century, while Picard favored a date about 600. The arrangement of drapery involved in the present statue is obviously related to that of the Skimatari torso. The same broad smooth planes are observable, and the figure was apparently confined at the waist by a similar tight belt. Again, in the cutting back of the bottom of the skirt to show the feet, and in the vertical cutting of the sides of the feet themselves is observable that effect of knife-cut surfaces already described. No effort having been made to smooth away the tool marks on the stone, every mark of the blade is clearly to be seen. Because of its similar composition and drapery, another headless female figure from Mt. Ptoös in the National Museum<sup>20</sup> must necessarily be considered with the above, although its surprising thickness, producing an almost square cross section at the hips, combined with the more naturalistic effect of curls of hair on the shoulders, serves to suggest a somewhat later date. The very long arms with large hands ending in long flat fingers, on which finger nails are rendered by light incision, are reminiscent of the Dame d'Auxerre, but the aforementioned heaviness of the figure, so great as to cause the buttocks to project even further back than the rear plane of the base below, is sufficient indication that the true Daedalic style is not in question here. A comparison of profiles of this figure and of the Artemis of Nikandra would indicate clearly the difference in proportions that exists between work of the end and of the middle of the seventh century.

The figures of Dermys and Kitylos<sup>21</sup> (fig. 69), executed in high relief on a reddish poros stone, represent the *chef d'œuvre* of this kind of work. This relief was found near Tanagra. Although Holleaux<sup>22</sup> believed that it be-

<sup>19</sup> Holleaux, *B. C. H.*, 1886, p. 77, pl. VII; Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque*, Paris, 1935, fig. 72; Zervos, *L'Art en Grèce*, #84, gives a restoration.

<sup>20</sup> #4; S. Papaspyridi, *Catalogue*, p. 21; Loewy, *Griechische Plastik*, Leipzig, 1920, pp. 4 and 5, fig. 2.

<sup>21</sup> Papaspyridi #56; Picard, *op. cit.*, p. 509, fig. 165; A. della Seta, *Il Nudo nell'arte*, p. 110; Collignon, *Statues funéraires*, Paris, 1911, pp. 60 f.; A. Körte, *A. M.*, III, 1878, pl. XIV, etc.

<sup>22</sup> *B. C. H.*, 1886, p. 79.

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longed in the seventh century, the most generally held opinion is that it was made shortly after 600. Most recently, Lullies<sup>23</sup> has placed the relief in the third quarter of the sixth century and has professed to find in it indications of the mannerism and conscious archaism which, he believed, marked Boeotian plastic arts of that period. He noted in the figures a certain linear, non-plastic treatment of surface and an unorganic arrangement of flat planes making up the bodily forms. His prime argument for fixing the date of the relief is a comparison between the arrangement of the two figures as a group and the drawing of the two maenads with interlaced arms on the amphora by Amasis<sup>24</sup> which has already been mentioned.

Concerning the inorganic arrangement of the planes, I shall have more to say later in considering the marble kouros #1 in the Thebes Museum, where the better preservation of surface and the finer execution of detail permit a more fruitful discussion of modelling styles. It is obvious that Lullies' criticisms on these grounds would apply equally well to all the kouroi of Miss Richter's first series.<sup>25</sup> The same sort of misunderstanding seems to hang over Lullies' interpretation of the composition of Dermys and Kitylos. A synthesis of what are, practically, two large stone figures in the round to form the kind of group which would correspond to the unified grouping of the two maenads on the Amasis vase would be an amazing thing, even in the third quarter of the sixth century. For the painting is characterized by a subtle reduction of interior lines which would emphasize separation or individual existence of the figures, and an accentuation of the rhythmical, repetitive lines which weave the figures into a unit within a single outline. Dermys and Kitylos really are two frontal independent figures done strictly in the style of the first Attic kouroi.<sup>26</sup> The curious rendering of the embracing arms, descending from the projecting roof above to rest upon the outer shoulder of each figure, rather emphasizes than refutes this effect of two distinct figures, unaffected by each other's presence, and each completing in itself a simple, frontal composition. The only factor in which either figure recognizes the existence of the other is the advance of the right or inner foot of the figure on the spectator's right instead of the conventional advance of the left foot. This does, it is true, serve to link the two figures into some aspect of unity, but in the face of the absolute dearth of any other relationship in the form of corresponding or rhythmical line it seems little enough on which to base the interpretation which Lullies puts upon the figures. As for the placing of the

<sup>23</sup> *Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 150.

<sup>24</sup> See discussion above, p. 34; see also *MuZ*, I, p. 259, where the same comparison is suggested.

<sup>25</sup> *Met. Mus. Studies*, V, p. 43.

<sup>26</sup> Picard, *op. cit.*, p. 509, felt that the modelling of the knees is different from that observable on Attic kouroi, but Miss Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 36, notes correctly the similarity of rendering of the vasti muscles on Dermys and Kitylos and on the Metropolitan kouros.

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arms themselves, this is quite similar in conception to the artificial and similarly impossible linking between fundamentally isolated Egyptian figures. It is well known that in large-scale sculpture in the round (and it is to this art rather than to relief sculpture that Dermys and Kitylos must be compared) the Egyptians never developed anything approaching a true group, contenting themselves always with juxtaposed frontal figures precisely like the Dermys and Kitylos, often joined by just the same kind of boneless, disproportionate members that unite these two. The Egyptian trait of leaving much solid background, presumably in order to strengthen their figures, makes this similarity all the more telling, and a comparison of the Boeotian twins with Old Kingdom sculpture like the slate Mycerinus and his Queen in Boston,<sup>27</sup> or even the fifth dynasty Sekhemka with his tiny wife and son in the Louvre,<sup>28</sup> reveals how alike are the methods of joining unrelated figures by unnaturally elongated limbs in impossible embrace, without any disruption of the essential frontality of individual figures. Clearly the Dermys and Kitylos figures, although technically high relief, are two more examples of the Egyptian style of early Greek kouroi.<sup>29</sup>

The fine marble kouros number 1 in the Thebes Museum<sup>30</sup> is another statue which Lullies has called mannerist and assigned to the third quarter of the sixth century. That the work is in some degree provincial in its handling of the first archaic style of kouroi there can be no doubt, but there is no evidence for considering it an artificial, "mannerist" use of the style at a period when that style was already in the discard. Indeed, in this kouros there is every sign of the naïve, natural approach to the style that is apparent in early Attic sculpture. It is noteworthy that the nipples of the breasts are rendered as plastic appendages, that there is a sharp and deep depression between the breast muscles and a considerable cavity between the collar bones. Such direct approaches to naturalism belie any interpretation of the style as fixed, static, or "mannered." Lullies<sup>31</sup> believed that the work was markedly lacking in organic unity. He noted the severe straightness of the collar bone, lack of connection between parts, flatness of surfaces, unorganic working of inner detail. He said that while the details correspond to the Attic style of around 600, the whole figure lacks the organization of that style. The matter

<sup>27</sup> H. Schäfer and W. Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, Berlin, 1925, p. 221.

<sup>28</sup> *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art*, Paris, 1936, I, pp. 34, 35.

<sup>29</sup> One other head executed in this poor material must be mentioned for its relationship with the terra cottas. The head in the National Museum, #18, from Mt. Ptoös (fig. 22) has been considered very Attic in general style by Deonna (*Apollons archaïques*, #37), but it is important to note here how similar it is to the head of the seated figurine in Athens discussed as A1 in the chapter on "pappades," a terra cotta executed at about the same period in which this volcanic stone was popular as sculptors' material. See above p. 30.

<sup>30</sup> Mendel, *B. C. H.*, 1907, p. 192, figs. 2 and 4; Deonna, *op. cit.*, #42; best photograph in Lullies, *Jahrbuch*, 1936, fig. 6; Karouzos, p. 12.

<sup>31</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 142.

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seems to hinge on the organization of the various parts of the body. If we examine a figure of the earliest Attic series, such as the Metropolitan kouros,<sup>32</sup> the inherently inorganic character of this whole style becomes at once apparent. The Metropolitan statue is clearly an architectonic structure built up of a series of carefully proportioned, hard surfaces. The long muscle running down along the groin, rendered as a raised ridge, serves no organic function in knitting together the parts of the body; rather it has the aesthetic function of delimiting the plane areas of abdomen and thigh. Similarly the sharp ridge at the lower limit of the epigastrium and the delicately curved folds of muscle above the knee-cap have a meaning only as parts of an architectonic scheme entirely conceived from without. This quality, inorganic — static, if you will — plastic only in the sense of the blocked-out, non-malleable plasticity of the royal portraits of Gudea, typifies the beginnings of large-scale sculpture in Attica. And it is this style which is brought into Boeotia in works like the statue in question. Thus the inorganic — but not disorganized — style of Thebes #1 is directly borrowed from Attica<sup>33</sup> and reflects work of about the year 600 there. This identification of the source of this kind of work scarcely needs any detailed support. It is obvious in the general treatment of the planes of the back of Thebes #1, for example. The shallow grooves marking the shoulder blades and the long straight grooves of the back muscles, the curving ridge of flesh arching over elbow and wrist joints are all similar in scheme to these parts of the Metropolitan kouros. Most striking of all is the similarity which exists between the right hand of the Thebes statue and the marble hand which was found in the Dipylon<sup>34</sup> excavations at Athens, and which probably was once a part of a statue which is otherwise known from the so-called Dipylon head. In both of these two sculptured hands is observable the same spare and rigidly formal treatment. The thumbs are (or were) long and straight, the fingers very long and stiff. There is no soft pad of flesh between the joints on the insides of the fingers, and on both hands the strictly straight lines of the fingers, half closed into fists, leave considerable gaps in the centers of the hands, which must be filled in with arbitrary flat planes. Contrast these severely formal hands with the softly rounded curves of the fingers of the kouros #3 in the Thebes Museum (fig. 53).

Against the theory of direct contemporary reflection of this type of Attic work in Boeotia, a thesis has been propounded<sup>35</sup> assuming a definite provincial lag behind Attica of Boeotian sculptural style. But the style of the

<sup>32</sup> *Met. Mus. Studies*, V, many fine plates.

<sup>33</sup> Or from the source of the Attic style itself, *cf.* p. 5.

<sup>34</sup> Buschor, *A. M.*, 1930, Beilage 48, 50, 51.

<sup>35</sup> See, for example, Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen*, Nuremberg, 1927, p. 15, who assumed a considerable chronological lag in stylistic development in considering one Boeotian work — the Boston stele.

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middle of the century, the style of "island Ionic" sculpture like the Apollo of Melos,<sup>36</sup> to which Lullies has compared Thebes #1, although it exhibits certain resemblances in the tendency to long thin forms to that statue, is yet different in just that quality of elasticity and organic unity which the Thebes figure lacks. The Apollo of Melos, standing in the same room in the National Museum at Athens with the Apollo of Orchomenos, differs from that work in an organic self-sufficiency, an element of "lifelikeness" almost entirely lacking in the Boeotian statue. Whether this style of organic unity, which dominates Greek art by the middle of the sixth century, came to the mainland from the islands, we are not able to state with any degree of assurance. More than likely it represented a change in point of view taking place in many parts of the Greek world at once. Of one thing we are sure, that this change, so clearly and beautifully illustrated in two plates of Buschor's *Plastik der Griechen*,<sup>37</sup> was the most significant development of Greek sculpture in the sixth century. It seems extremely unlikely that a Boeotian sculptor, having already before his eyes, even in the same sanctuary, a work so advanced in this respect as Thebes #3, would have returned to imitation of a style so definitely old-fashioned as that of Thebes #1 would have been in the third quarter of the sixth century.

The kouros from Orchomenos<sup>38</sup> (fig. 70), as has been remarked above, belongs in the same group as Thebes #1. A careful examination of the back, with its smooth, even grooves marking the shoulder blades, and of details like the sharp ridge over the elbows reveals that this figure adheres in all fundamental points to the characteristics of the first series of archaic kouroi. Indeed, Lullies recognized the strict geometric scheme of contour and of inner detail, which geometric kind of design, as opposed to the later organic type, is the hall mark of this style. However, this latest critic has recognized in the curious and much discussed treatment of the belly that element of unexpectedly plastic modelling which, combined with severely flat and non-plastic surfaces, indicates to him that the statue should be brought down beyond the middle of the century. Actually, however, there is very little softness or really plastic modelling about the handling of this portion of the anatomy. Familiarity with the statue itself brings one to the conclusion that the extraordinary projections and recessions of the muscles of the abdomen represent the same sort of naïve handling of the style and insistence on three-dimensional projection that the modelling of the stomach, the collar bones, or the nipples of the breasts on kouros #1 in Thebes suggests. It must be recognized that this is a very inferior work, even judged by the standards of

<sup>36</sup> *B. C. H.*, 1892, pl. 16; Zervos, #118.

<sup>37</sup> P. 24, 25.

<sup>38</sup> Nat. Mus. Athens, #9; Papaspyridi, p. 24; Holleaux, *B. C. H.*, 1887, p. 178; Deonna, *op. cit.*, #26.



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Thebes #1. Simply in the matter of proportions it lacks all the elegance and refinement which in that work are not wanting. In place of the austere and rather effectively hieratic appearance of the kouros in Thebes, the statue from Orchomenos is definitely crude, even unfinished, in aspect. Thus it is difficult to accept such a complex and sophisticated interpretation of the style of this much interpreted statue as that which Lullies suggests. With so little to go on, it seems necessary to accept, with Papaspyridi, the evidence of obvious detail and leave this work in the first quarter of the century.

As all critics have noted, the vigorous and brutal male head<sup>39</sup> in the National Museum from Mt. Ptoös (figs. 71 and 72) is closely related stylistically to the above statues. Rather more than life size, this head, because of its broad, flat, unmodelled planes, was one of those monuments interpreted by Holleaux as betraying the influence of the wood-carver's technique. As this theory of the meaning of this kind of design has been increasingly discounted, it has become more and more obvious that these uncompromising, broad surfaces are a manifestation of that first style of large-scale marble kouroi, some of the best examples of which have come from Attic soil. Deonna, indeed, has wished to stress the Attic relationships of the Ptoan work, comparing it with the large Sunium kouros in the general shape of the head and in the treatment of details of eyes and mouth. All of these comparisons serve to support the identification of this style with that of the first group of kouroi, within which we are in no wise able to distinguish particular elements as arising in identifiable localities or districts of Greece.

It is certainly unreasonable to insist, with Deonna, upon the evidence of the coiffure, which has been compared with the arrangement of the hair on another head (fig. 78) from Mt. Ptoös in the National Museum at Athens.<sup>40</sup> Deonna mentioned this last object as the only example offering a parallel to the straight locks hanging down over the brow of the head #15 in the National Museum. The same coiffure is visible also on some black-figured vase fragments from the Acropolis at Athens,<sup>41</sup> and on several terra cotta protome heads in the Acropolis Museum.<sup>42</sup> However, there is no possible method of limiting locally the use of this style of hairdressing, and the several Acropolis terra cottas which illustrate it may themselves be imported works.

It is apparently Deonna's conclusion that only the material which, following Holleaux, he accepted as Boeotian marble establishes this work as Boeotian and not Attic. Actually, Lepsius believed the marble to be Pentelic, and it has been noted above how weak an argument it is which is based solely

<sup>39</sup> Holleaux, *B. C. H.*, 1886, pl. V; Deonna, *op. cit.*, #35; Zervos, pp. 145, 146; Lullies, *Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 139, figs. 1 and 2. Athens, National Museum, #15.

<sup>40</sup> N. M. #19; see below.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Graef and Langlotz, *Antike Vasen von der Akropolis zu Athen*, Berlin, 1925-33, pl. 49, #816; pl. 66, #1147.

<sup>42</sup> For example, #682. D. Brooke, in Casson's *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, Cambridge, 1921, II, p. 397.

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on the evidence of material. However, we shall see below some evidence of the repeated use of the style of this head in Boeotian dedications and of its importance in the development of plastic style in Boeotia. But the date of this work also has been challenged by Lullies, and on the same general grounds which led him to question the statues discussed above. He has noted in Athens #15 a lack of unifying idea, a lack of any pure design, binding together the various parts. Recognizing the superficial similarity to early Attic work, he detected a certain fleshiness in the modelling of the nose which he found out of keeping with the thin, energetic, closed mouth. There is, in fact, no such softness about the nose to distinguish it from the other features. This feature is actually very rigid in its flat planes, the nostrils being scarcely rendered at all. It is not possible to consider these three flat planes joined at sharp angles as a soft, rounded, or fleshy treatment of the nose.

To the further comparison which Lullies has suggested between this head and certain Boeotian terra cottas in Munich and in Athens<sup>43</sup> no exception can be taken. The profile view of C1, shown in figure 31, illustrates particularly well the similarity of arrangement of the planes of the head, the persistent treatment of the front of the face as a single plane without natural transitions to the profile. However, as has been remarked above, it is impossible to accept Lullies' date for these figurines. On the other hand, the date which is most clearly suggested for them by a comparison with similar material, the early part of the second quarter of the century, is thoroughly in keeping with external evidence for the date of the marble head.

The terra cotta figurine of a seated woman (fig. 26), discussed above as B1, and also made around 575, affords still another stylistic parallel to the work under discussion. Also this little figurine illustrates clearly that the harsh, thin lips and the cold stare of the marble head are, if not native to Boeotia, at least very much at home in that district. The brutal, almost cruel aspect of these two physiognomies allows very few comparisons with work outside the borders of Boeotia, and suggests the hands of local craftsmen catering to a local and very forceful if, at the same time, very coarse and simple custom. It is interesting to note, in this connection, the considerable lack of symmetry in the arrangement of the hair on the two sides of the marble head. On the left side, just behind the ear, there is apparently an unfinished section, perhaps a spot at which the stone developed a flaw in the process of carving. But besides the asymmetry caused by this chance fact it is remarkable that the band which confines the hair over the brows goes around the two sides of the head at quite different levels. There is no question but that to work of this sort Lullies has been quite correct in applying the term "inorganic." However, the effect of multiplicity rather than essential unity is not caused

<sup>43</sup> See above, under terra cottas, group C.

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by any mixture of plastic with linear styles, but by the direct, forceful, even naïve application of the principles of the hieratic art of the early kouroi.

Figure 73 is, so far as I know, the first illustration published of a fragmentary marble head in the Thebes Museum said to have come from Mt. Ptoös. The object bears no number, and I have not been able to trace it in the published reports of the French excavations. It agrees fairly closely with the head in the National Museum #15 in scale. This small piece of what must once have been a kouros figure is included here only for the slight illumination which its existence can cast upon the fascinating and generally unparalleled head in Athens. The material is to outward appearance the same, a much-stained and darkened marble having a very fine grain.<sup>44</sup> It is obvious that in this fragment precisely the same curious coiffure which is affected by the Athens head is to be seen, and the modelling of details is effected in the same way. It is no part of the present purpose to insist too much on the interpretation of so slight an object, but it is not without interest to note that the Athens head was probably not the sole representative of its extraordinary and apparently quite indigenous style among the large-scale dedications on the hill of Apollo Ptoös.

On a much smaller scale, a bronze statuette<sup>45</sup> in the National Museum at Athens further illustrates the peculiar facial characteristics of the marble (figs. 71 and 72) and the terra cotta (fig. 26) in the same museum. Holleaux, from the beginning, recognized the similarity of this object in figure style to the Apollo from Orchomenos, and the attribution by Langlotz to the Argive School cannot be accepted. Clearly this statuette lacks the rounded modelling and the organic unity of the objects to which Langlotz has compared it. The awkward and heavy design of the body is topped by a broad, ugly face with open and direct features but a definitely unpleasant aspect. The wide-open eyes set far apart, the low forehead and the thin-lipped, wide and straight mouth are all similar to the other two works considered in this connection, and the triangular face with slightly receding chin is particularly suggestive of the terra cotta figurine.

In these objects is represented the closest approach of Boeotian sculpture to a peculiarly local and an ethnically, or at least sociologically, distinct style. All of the vigor, the earthiness, the brutality of this essentially rural population is expressed in them. It is a style which in many respects might satisfy the Theban of today, whose roads are full of the mud of the fields, whose meat is quartered under the flare of torches and sold on the spot in the middle

<sup>44</sup> The clean fracture of this head affords an opportunity for close examination of the material, and it must be said that this marble is very similar to Pentelic, the marble from which Lepsius believed N. M. #15 to have been carved.

<sup>45</sup> Holleaux, *B. C. H.*, 1887, pl. X; Perrot and Chipiez, VIII, p. 513, fig. 264; Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen*, pl. 27a.

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of Epaminondas Street, whose funeral still draws the long stream of wailing women marching through the town. His life is hard and simple; he is, himself, solemn, direct, and harsh; and if his plastic expression has been limited and largely in techniques learned abroad, in these few instances it seems to have reflected most directly his relation to the universe.

Although the external evidence of its connection with Boeotia is of the most tenuous kind, its obvious relationship with the style discussed just above is sufficient reason for introducing the kouros in the British Museum #B474<sup>46</sup> into this discussion (fig. 73a). By different critics this work has been assigned to various schools of central Greece, the Peloponnesos, and even of the islands. Its material has been identified by Deonna as Boeotian and by Sauer as Naxian marble. It is no part of the intent of this discussion to attempt to elucidate the provenance of this object by adding to those same arguments from technique which have given rise to the present confusion of critical opinion. However, it is impossible to deny the strong family resemblance that exists between this figure and the Orchomenos Apollo, between the features of the face and those of the marble head in the National Museum #15. The sharp arch of the brows, straight nose, and wide, thin-lipped mouth, above all the cold, brutal expression of the half-smiling mouth in the unsmiling face are very suggestive of #15, while the proportions and modelling of the figure represent a development based definitely upon the concepts of figure design implied in the Orchomenos Apollo.

There can be no question but that this statue is somewhat later than the two other monuments mentioned above, but Lullies' comparison of it with that most Ionic of the Acropolis korai, #682,<sup>47</sup> is not acceptable. In the treatment of the head, the relationship of the front plane to the profile, with eyes and cheeks definitely receding from the more or less keel form of brow, nose, and chin, Lullies has seen a relationship to a terra cotta in Munich<sup>48</sup> and to the kore #682, all of which works he assigned to the third quarter of the sixth century. The reference to the Acropolis kore is significant enough to make it seem worth while to quote here a sentence from Payne's analysis of that work. "The head is an admirable, and early, example of the physical type on which many of the ripe-archaic heads are based: the lower features sheering away from the cheek-bones, the eyes aslant, and hanging almost vertically from their sockets; characteristic also are the clear division of the soft parts of the face into five areas, and the immense dome of the skull."<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Pryce, *Catalogue*, I, p. 202; Deonna, *op. cit.*, #25; *Arch. Zeitung*, 1882, pl. 4; best illustrations in Lullies, *Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 145, figs. 7 and 8. See also Richter, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 f., whose detailed comparison of several kouros supports a date in the second quarter of the sixth century for this kouros.

<sup>47</sup> Payne and Young, pl. 40 f.

<sup>48</sup> Number C2 in the chapter on the "pappades."

<sup>49</sup> Payne and Young, p. 27.

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It is difficult to find in this clear and precise description any element on which to hinge a comparison with the marble kouros in London. Admittedly the recession into the third dimension of eyes and cheeks is an extremely important phenomenon in the stylistic development of this sculpture just verging upon divorce from the rigid conventions of frontality. However, no such complicated relationship of planes dependent upon the leading motive of the prominent cheek-bones as Payne has described in the Acropolis kore is observable in the London kouros. Rather the essentially one-plane conception of the face observable on earlier archaic heads has been resolved into a wedge-shape formed by two converging plane areas.

It must be said that Lullies has suggested one very interesting parallel for the head of this statue in that of a limestone statuette in the Louvre, said to have been found at Chalkis, in Euboea.<sup>50</sup> This small object, for which no very convincing parallels had previously been offered, and which was never very much at home in the period about 600 to which Picard assigned it, does seem to exhibit the same generally wedge-shaped head, with eyes and cheeks receding sharply from the narrow front plane. On the other hand, there are many reasons why it is not possible to assign this work to a date later than the middle of the sixth century. For example: the very large hands, with long, straight grooves to mark off the fingers, the heavy figure, inseparably united with the chair (indeed, scarcely articulated apart from the chair), finally, the straight-sided, "knife-cut" appearance of the feet, very similar to the carving of these members on Dermys and Kitylos and on the draped female figure #2 in the National Museum at Athens, all these are elements which suggest an early date for the figure and make it impossible to bring it down below the middle of the century.<sup>51</sup>

In making his analysis of the heads of the London kouros and of the Louvre statuette, Lullies suggested a comparison with the terra cotta in Munich (fig. 31). As is now apparent, such a comparison is not at all inconsistent with the internal evidence for dating the kouros in the second quarter of the century. Actually, however, a better comparison for the kouros is observable in the B group of terra cottas which display that particular kind of physiognomy and that general expression which appears to be most peculiarly Boeotian. It is not possible to be absolutely precise about the relative chronology of these two groups, very probably they are at least partially contemporary, but in the head on the ring vase in Dresden (fig. 28) the wedge-shape of the face is very clear, and, as in the kouros, this principle of design

<sup>50</sup> Picard, *R. A.*, 1910, p. 66.

<sup>51</sup> It is noticeable that the incised decorations on the woman's dress in the form of asterisks appear on each breast, the breasts themselves being plastically rendered beneath. This is an arrangement met with on the "pappades" and even on the "bell-shaped" figurines.

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extends all the way down to the chin: mouth as well as eyes and cheeks recede sharply from the narrow keel form of the front of the face. In the case of the ring vase, even the thin-lipped half smile of the London kouros appears. A glance at the profile of the Munich figurine (fig. 31) reveals that in this case the mouth is modelled entirely in the front plane of the face and that, indeed, this face is fundamentally one-plane or frontal in conception, as is more obviously the case in its closely related contemporary, the terra cotta in Athens #4009 (see above, C1). It is really the painted outline of the eyes on the Munich figurine which has led Lullies to consider the front plane as broken by the natural turn to the profile. But a close examination of the rendering of the eyes on this terra cotta reveals that the painted outlines do not lie in any one plane, whether frontal or receding, but that they cross the angular junctions of the front plane of the face with the plane of the profile.<sup>52</sup> In other words, the large eye has been carelessly painted on the head in a way which is not strictly in accord with the plastic design of that head. It is the same situation that may be observed in the Tanagra terra cotta in the National Museum #4010 (fig. 33), on which the painted eye is allowed to impinge on the side of the nose. The frontal composition which is so apparent in C1 has not been violated in the modelling of C2, but the careless hand of the painter has given the illusion of violating it.

All of this discussion may seem unnecessary in view of the fact that it scarcely affects the date of the kouros in London, but it has a certain significance in the added emphasis which the inclusion of that kouros puts upon the small group of homogeneous objects which appear to express certain peculiarly local characteristics, and the resultant importance of recording the most telling analogies within that group.

That this style was carried on, at least in a modified form, to the middle of the century seems indicated by the evidence of the stele of a youth in Boston.<sup>53</sup> Much of the same bluntness and *Bauernstil* handling of the figure that characterized the objects last considered appears in this relief, but it cannot be denied that there is a svelte character about the outline which indicates a somewhat later date.<sup>54</sup> It is interesting to note, however, the per-

<sup>52</sup> This is apparent even in Lullies' photograph (*op. cit.*, p. 141, abb. 3), where the outline of the eye can be seen to bend sharply at certain points. It is interesting to note that, if the left profile had been chosen for illustration, even the illusion of recession would have been materially lessened.

<sup>53</sup> Caskey, *A. J. A.*, 1911, p. 293, pl. VII; *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, Cambridge, Mass., 1925, p. 19. Mr. Caskey considered that the relief was of Attic workmanship.

<sup>54</sup> But there is no reason for assigning the work, as Lullies did, to the last quarter of the century. The curls over the forehead, which Langlotz (p. 15) compared with the coiffure of the kouros in the National Museum at Athens #12, are as comparable to the hair of the Apollo of Thera. Furthermore, the Aryballos with crescents on the bottom and alternating lotus and bud on the belly is a late Corinthian type which must date before 550; cf. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 288 and fig. 65, and Ure, *Aryballoi and Figurines*, grave 4, #32. The grave relief of Gathon and Aristokrates from Thespieae in the National Museum, Athens #32, *A. M.*, III, p. 311 and pl. XV; Brunn-Bruckman,

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sistence of the broad flat planes, particularly apparent in the fragment of one ankle that is preserved. Here is an example of work in the early archaic style which is indeed mannered, which appears, in portions like this ankle joint, lacking in articulation and superficial in conception. The relief is still fundamentally in the early archaic manner, as is clearly apparent in the head, but it is a style from which the vigor has departed. The complicated surface of thigh and knee is indicative of the attempt to adapt the older architectonic design to the requirements of the new feeling for organic structure.

Already, before the middle of the sixth century, there is evidence of the incoming "island style" among the dedications in the Ptoan sanctuary. The fragmentary head in the Thebes Museum #14,<sup>55</sup> illustrated in figure 75, has been identified by Deonna as an Attic work on the basis of the similarity in treatment of the hair over the brow to the locks of hair seen on the Volomandra kouros<sup>56</sup> in Athens. But it is noticeable that on the head in Thebes these locks are left very flat and appear quite lifeless by comparison with the flame-like, sharply curved locks of hair of the Volomandra kouros, which last are also marked by fine, clear, incised lines which add to the vigorous curves of the outlines. Granted that the coiffure in nature which inspired these two was probably the same, the variety in treatment of the problem is most striking. Deonna<sup>57</sup> considered Thebes #14 as work of the second half of the sixth century, contemporary with the kouroi of Melos, Volomandra, and Thebes #3, while Karouzos limited himself to calling it work of the middle of the sixth century before Christ.

Aside from the difference in coiffure, this head is very similar to that of the kouros from Thera. Not only the height and shape of the forehead but also the precise forms of the eyes are almost identical (on rather different scales) in the two works, as are the narrow smooth grooves which separate the eyes from the arching brows. So also is the shallow sinking of the eyes beneath the brows. The same general design for the upper part of the head is observable at a later period in the Hermes relief in the Acropolis Museum, Athens<sup>58</sup> (fig. 43), and a comparison of this head with that in Thebes illustrates by how much the sinking of the eyes beneath the brows, indicative of the general

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plates #33 (here fig. 74), forms an interesting parallel to the Boston relief in technique of carving. The front of the figures is cut perpendicularly into the plane of the background while at the back the relief gradually diminishes in height, just as on the Boston relief. Also the same method of engraving details, almost as if they were drawn rather than modelled on the surface, which can be seen in the hair and the string holding the aryballos of the Boston figure, is to be seen in the carving of the toes and fingers of Athens #32. Yet it is obvious from the proportions, from the full, fleshy forms of the Athens relief, that it represents a more advanced stage of the Ionic style than the Boston relief, which probably dates about 540.

<sup>55</sup> Mendel, *B. C. H.*, 1907, p. 202, fig. 11; Deonna, *op. cit.*, #52 and p. 353; Karouzos, *To Μουσείο τῆς Θήβας*, p. 13.

<sup>56</sup> Best photographs in Zervos, #129 f.

<sup>57</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 354.

<sup>58</sup> #622, Payne and Young, pl. 9.

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depth of modelling, has increased in the former. It seems probable that Thebes #14, an early example of the new style in Boeotia, was carved around 570, which means that it is roughly contemporary with the beginning of the manufacture of crude red on white "pappades" at Rhitsona.<sup>59</sup>

As in the case of the "pappades," however, there is no settled unity within the new style at this period. Ernest Gardner<sup>60</sup> was the first to recognize the similarity which exists between the head of the kouros #10<sup>61</sup> from Mt. Ptoös at the National Museum at Athens (figs. 76 and 77) and that of a kore in the Acropolis Museum at Athens.<sup>62</sup> As Payne and others have already indicated, this kore betrays certain very definite Samian or Naxian characteristics, and there can be no question that in the modelling of the figure, at least, the kouros is definitely Ionic or insular. Lullies, who assigned this statue also to the third quarter of the sixth century, described the modelling as hard and unplastic, but, before the figure itself, it is difficult to see anything hard or rigid about the flow of the composition and the way in which the various parts seem to melt into one another. The only detail which might possibly be so described is the way in which the inner parts of the arms are carved to show flat surfaces meeting in sharp ridges, a feature due, clearly, to the difficulty of working on these parts, and not to the nature of the design. Papaspyridi<sup>63</sup> has far more justly described the modelling of the kouros: "Les formes sont lisses, molles," and has assigned it to an island Ionic school. If the form of the head is to be accepted as Naxian in type, the entire work may be an importation,<sup>64</sup> but, on the other hand, it is noticeable that there are certain traits which suggest other relationships closer to home. There is a considerable similarity in surface modelling and in general proportions and arrangement of features between this head and another marble head in the Acropolis Museum at Athens, #617.<sup>65</sup> The Athenian head is in every way more alive, finer in conception and execution, but it shows definite traces of relationship with the more sober kouros from Mt. Ptoös. On the whole, the similarities which Holleaux was able to suggest between the kouros and his Boeotian group make it seem possible that Langlotz'<sup>66</sup> opinion that kouros #10 represents eclectic Boeotian work may have been the correct guess. In any event, this statue is one fairly complete figure representing that island

<sup>59</sup> See above, p. 40.

<sup>60</sup> *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, London, 1903, p. 167.

<sup>61</sup> Holleaux, *B. C. H.*, 1886, p. 66 and pl. IV; Deonna, *op. cit.*, #28; Langlotz, p. 116; Papaspyridi, *Catalogue*, p. 26.

<sup>62</sup> #677, Payne and Young, pls. 18, 19; Buschor, *Altsamische Standbilder*, Berlin, 1935, pls. 76 and 80 f.

<sup>63</sup> P. 26.

<sup>64</sup> There is the usual conflict of opinion about the material, Holleaux having called it typical Boeotian marble, Papaspyridi stating that it is marble of Naxos.

<sup>65</sup> Payne and Young, pls. 9, 10.

<sup>66</sup> P. 116.



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influence of which there is considerable evidence in other, more fragmentary kouroi of this period. As for the date of the figure, all parallels which can be quoted are from the second quarter of the century. The head, whether its inheritance be through Boeotia or through a specifically Naxian variant of the style of the early kouroi, is in a style which flourished in the first half of the century and scarcely appears later. The back of the figure is virtually unmodelled, having a single groove to indicate the backbone, and so offers no evidence either way, but the arms held close to the body and the general forms of arms and hands certainly suggest a date before 550. All the available evidence indicates that the kouros is a work of the last two decades of the first half of the century.

Another torso exemplifying this intrusion of insular Ionic elements into Boeotian dedications is one recently republished<sup>67</sup> by Lullies. This statue was lost some time ago from the court of a convent in the village of Scripou, on the edge of the Copaic basin, and only recently reappeared in the Museum at Chaeronea. Lullies, with considerable acuteness, pointed out the similarity which exists between this torso and the kouros from Misocampos, on the Island of Samos.<sup>68</sup> The differences which exist between the two statues appeared to him to consist in a hardness of modelling of broad planes in the Chaeronea torso replacing the soft yielding character of the flesh of the Samian work. Once more it appears impossible to accept the words "grosse harte Flächen," which Lullies wrote concerning this torso, and which are in the same vein as those<sup>69</sup> he used for the kouros in the National Museum #10, as in any way descriptive of the kouros in Chaeronea. The very photographs which he published of the torso emphasize the soft, yielding character of the flesh.

In assigning the kouros from Misocampos to a date just after the middle of the sixth century, Buschor spoke of certain features of structure and proportion — such as the deep chest — which this torso shares with that in Chaeronea. But he also noted the way in which the solid mass of the hair falling upon the shoulders was already divided into definitely separate strands and, as regards the whole surface of the work, the shimmer or sparkle which the fine modelling produces. Now if one places side by side the photographs of the backs<sup>70</sup> of the Chaeronea torso and of the Misocampos torso certain very significant differences of detail become apparent. In the first place, the hair of the former is seen to be conceived as a flat mass, not as a series of strands. The horizontals are as important as the verticals in the dividing channels

<sup>67</sup> Deonna, *op. cit.*, #27; *A. M.*, III, p. 307, #2; Lullies, *Jahrbuch*, 1936, figs. 10-12, best photographs.

<sup>68</sup> Buschor, *op. cit.*, p. 18, pls. 58, 61, 62.

<sup>69</sup> "Der härteren und unplastischeren Modellierung der Oberfläche" (*Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 147).

<sup>70</sup> *Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 149, fig. 12 (Chaeronea); Buschor, *op. cit.*, pl. 62 (Misocampos).

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which outline the conventional *Perlenlocken*. Also it is noteworthy that the modelling of muscles of the back on the Chaeronea statue is far simpler than on the other. It is the lightly cut, curved lines of the Samian statue which give it such a complexity of surface as to produce that *Schimmer* which Buschor remarked. On the other hand, the only details indicated on the other figure are the erector spinae muscles, and they are only suggested by two very formal and straight grooves rising from the small of the back and diverging from the backbone.

In other words, the differences between these two figures are those of complexity of surface and developed articulation of detail as opposed to simplicity of surface and insistence upon adherence to the older architectonic unity of the early kouroi. Thus it appears that the Samian figure cannot offer evidence for the date of the Chaeronea one (except as a *terminus ante quem*). The only logical recourse is to follow Lullies' grouping of this torso with National Museum #10 from Mt. Ptoös, but to assign both to the second, rather than the third quarter of the century.

Lullies has done a not-inconsiderable service in pointing out the Samian characteristics of this torso. It is not the intention of the present writing to discuss the problems of local imitation and actual importation, but it is of considerable importance that in Boeotia at this time there may be observed a definite relationship with what Buschor has taught us to recognize as Samian sculpture. It seems questionable that it will ever be possible to separate the characteristics of the various island schools satisfactorily. To differentiate clearly between the contributions of Samos, Paros, and Naxos to the development of sculpture in the sixth century is at present, at least, impossible. But the recognition of the Samian qualities of the Chaeronea torso is suggestive of a possible source for the style of National Museum #10 from Mt. Ptoös, and throws some additional light on the problems which surround the Acropolis korai #677 and #619.<sup>71</sup>

That there were further dedications in this style in the neighborhood of Boeotia is evidenced by the discovery of three fragmentary torsos<sup>72</sup> in Delphi, which are now housed in the Delphi Museum. Deonna has recorded that the material of these torsos is Parian marble, and he has assigned them all to a Parian school. One of the prime characteristics of this Parian school he noted to be a long, almost vertical line of the groin, a feature to be observed on these three torsos and also on the Chaeronea kouros. But it is significant that, of the two figures closely associated with Paros which formed the nucleus of his group, Deonna's #122<sup>73</sup> does not have this vertical line of

<sup>71</sup> Payne and Young, p. 12 and pls. 18 f.

<sup>72</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes*, vol. IV, 2, p. 56. Deonna, *op. cit.*, p. 333. Delphi, Museum #2557, #2696, #4859.

<sup>73</sup> Deonna, *op. cit.*, p. 222, listed as in a private collection on the island of Paros.

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the groin to any marked degree, but rather displays considerable similarity in the rendering of the lower part of the figure to the kouros in the National Museum #10.

Clearly we are not yet prepared to define the characteristics of a "Parian school" of sixth-century sculpture, yet it is worth while to note the generally island-Ionic characteristics which these torsos share with the Chaeronea figure. All three of the Delphi fragments display that marked softness of surface which is observable on the Chaeronea figure, but this is particularly true of #2696 and #4859. Number 2696 is similar to the Chaeronea torso in treatment of collar bones and the modelling of breast muscles, but there are many indications that it is probably rather later. On #2557 the erector spinae muscles are indicated by the same kind of nearly vertical grooves seen on the Chaeronea torso, but the greatest similarity, particularly in the line of the groin and the softness of surface, is afforded by #4859, which is a small fragment preserving little more than the hips. These three kouroi very probably cover a considerable period of time, running well down into the second half of the sixth century, but it is difficult to avoid the inference that they are brought into being by the same tide of foreign influence (or importation of foreign works) which produced the Chaeronean torso.

To the end of the first half of the century belongs a marble head in the National Museum at Athens #19,<sup>74</sup> from Mt. Ptoös (fig. 78). Lepsius and Deonna have agreed that the material is island marble. Deonna considered the head to be of Attic workmanship, while Sauer claimed it for the Naxian school. It is true that there are several heads among the terra cotta protomes in the Acropolis Museum at Athens which closely resemble this marble, but there is no evidence available as to the place of manufacture of these terra cottas. The hair over the brow is rendered, as Deonna has already noted, in a manner quite comparable to that on the marble head in Athens #15, but otherwise neither the coiffures nor the general compositions of these two works are particularly similar, the head #19 having almond-shaped, slightly oblique eyes, and its mouth smiling in a strong, unbroken curve.

The clearest relationship of Athens #19 is with the terra cottas discussed under group E, above. In E1 (fig. 42), particularly, is to be seen the same grouping of the features in the lower part of the face below a high brow and lofty crown that characterizes the marble head. Again the same almond-shaped eyes appear, and the same full-lipped, unbroken smile between shortened upper lip and chin. As already observed in dealing with the terra cottas themselves, it is a period of more thoroughgoing plastic modelling of details, more full and rounded modelling of features. The same traits appear in the other terra cottas of this series, and they are accompanied by an increased

<sup>74</sup> Deonna, *op. cit.*, #38.

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liveliness of demeanor and vividness of personal expression which find their best parallel in Attic marbles like the Hermes relief <sup>75</sup> in the Acropolis Museum (fig. 43), dating just before the middle of the century.

Because of its importance in relation to the terra cotta sequence, the fine marble kouros #3 in the Thebes Museum, from Mt. Ptoös (figs. 50 and 53), has been discussed above in some detail. However, some additional notes on this statue may not be out of place here. The detailed comparison between this statue and kouroi of the type of Thebes #1 is more or less forced by the position which Lullies has taken in discussing the whole series. Once more it must be emphasized that the primary difference between these two works lies in the increased plasticity and the more clearly organic rendering of the Thebes #3 kouros. Not only is this tendency toward more realistically plastic, as opposed to schematic rendering of form indicated by the modelling of the hands (which has been discussed in some detail above), but also other details, such as the carving of the shoulder blades, give evidence of the same feeling. On the figure of Thebes #1, as on other kouroi of this series, the shoulder blades are indicated by the purely formal method of outlining them with two symmetrical grooves cut in regular arcs. On the other statue the areas of the shoulder blades themselves are rendered as distinct planes slightly raised above the general plane of the back.<sup>76</sup> This same trait of realizing natural variations in plane in a naturalistic manner, rather than indicating them by schematic formula, appears again at the back of the elbow, where the fleshy part of the arm above the elbow is modelled on a definitely different plane than the portion below, not simply indicated by the narrow bounding ridge of the earlier kouroi. Again there is a slight but definite projection of the hip bone from the established plane of the waist at the side of the figure. All these facts are indicative of the increasingly plastic, organic, even realistic conception of the figure which marks the middle of the century.

Even in the head itself there are signs of this change in point of view. In the sharp projection of the clearly modelled features <sup>77</sup> there is evidence of the greater emphasis upon inner or structural realism as opposed to formal

<sup>75</sup> Payne and Young, pls. 8, 9.

<sup>76</sup> This feature appears also in the Louvre torso #688 from Actium, although Miss Richter, *Met. Mus. Studies*, V, pp. 20 f., does not record the fact.

<sup>77</sup> Compare in this respect the head illustrated in figure 79, #16 in the National Museum at Athens, from Mt. Ptoös (Holleaux, *B. C. H.*, 1886, p. 74, pl. VII; Deonna, *op. cit.*, #36) in which the same fidelity to essential structure is observable. This head has strong affinities with certain terra cottas in the Acropolis Museum, notably numbers 633 and 704, which Mrs. Sedgwick kindly informs me she regards as Boeotian dedications. Although the similarities cited by Deonna to the Moschophoros and to a contemporary head in the Louvre (Lechat, *La sculpture attique avant Phidias*, Paris, 1904, p. 112, fig. 4) are very striking, it is observable in the profile view of this head (Deonna, *op. cit.*, p. 163, fig. 46) that the outer corner of the eye recedes much more deeply into the profile than is usual in works of the period of the Moschophoros. The rupture thus effected of the essential frontality of features relates this work to the style of British Museum #B474.

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composition of plane areas from without. The result is again to enhance the lifelike quality of the head and give it a very vigorous, bright expression. Karouzos recognized the influence of the island Ionic style in the design and more rounded modelling of this kouros, and it is probably that influence, coming through whatever intermediaries, which effects the contrast between Thebes #1 and this statue. It is not certain whether the somewhat greater broadness and severity of style which differentiates this work from the kouros of Melos, a statue generally very similar to it, indicates that the Theban kouros is slightly earlier in date, going back perhaps as far as 560, or whether this fact is simply due to the tempering of the island style with the local traditions of Boeotia. In the latter case there is no reason to assign the Theban kouros to a date before 550, the most likely date for the Apollo of Melos itself.<sup>78</sup> It is this latter conclusion that appears to me most probable.

The relationship which exists between the two kouroi, Thebes #3 and Thebes #6, has already been sufficiently stressed. There is no large number of works from the second half of the century preserved, but from what does remain it seems likely that this single strain of sculptural style held a prominent place in the Boeotian marbles of the second half of the century, just as one single and related strain predominated in the terra cottas of the same period in Boeotia. The kouros in the National Museum at Athens, #12<sup>79</sup> (figs. 80 and 81), finds its certain niche toward the end of the sixth century in the logical sequence of the development of this style. As Miss Richter has already suggested,<sup>80</sup> this kouros probably was made in the last quarter of the sixth century,<sup>81</sup> and a study of the figure reveals interesting similarities and contrasts which demonstrate that it is a direct development of the style of the kouros in Thebes #6 (fig. 52). The same forms, almost the same figure, are employed, but in a more developed, more organic mode. In both marbles the outline of the torso itself is much the same, and the projection of breast muscles and general proportions of various parts of the body are similar. In both the navel is set low, the lines of the groin are short and low, approximately half way between the horizontal and the vertical. In both, the hips are long and slim, the thighs rounded and heavy.

On the other hand the arms of the kouros in Athens are entirely detached from the sides (the small props between thighs and hands being modern reinforcements),<sup>82</sup> while those of Thebes #6 are attached to the body for the

<sup>78</sup> Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

<sup>79</sup> Holleaux, *B. C. H.*, 1887, pl. VIII; Mendel, *B. C. H.*, 1902, p. 470; Deonna, *op. cit.*, #30; Papaspyridi, p. 28 and pl. II; Zervos, pp. 127, 128.

<sup>80</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>81</sup> It is noticeable that here, for the first time in this series, traces of the claw chisel are to be seen on the plinth beside the feet.

<sup>82</sup> Since the above was written (based on the report of Holleaux, *B. C. H.*, 1887, p. 186) Miss Richter has kindly

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greater part of their length. Again, in the general character of surface modelling of the figure, the contrast which was noted between the kouroi Thebes #3 and Thebes #6 is here seen extended even more markedly. The vestiges of schematic rendering still plainly to be seen on Thebes #6 have almost entirely disappeared in National Museum #12, to be replaced by a thoroughly organic, naturalistically rounded modelling. The sharp arch of the ridge delimiting the epigastrium in the earlier statue is replaced by a more gradual and soft transition in the later.

There is really little question of the relative chronology of the two statues, but it is important to emphasize that the later lies in the direct line of the logical development of the style of the earlier. For the close correspondence in style which exists between the National Museum kouros and the latest terra cottas of the type dependent upon the mid-sixth-century style of the kouros in Thebes #3 is very striking, and demonstrates the importance of this definitely unified and clearly characterized tradition in major and in minor plastic arts through the second half of the century. A comparison of the head of the kouros in Athens #12 with the heads of that most gay group of contemporary figurines from Rhitsona, those deriving from grave 31 (fig. 57), makes clear how closely the development of the two arts corresponds. Both the statue and the terra cottas are clearly based on mid-century styles. They preserve the bony, projecting chin and cheek-bones and the high dome of the crown which were observable in Thebes #3. But the rendering of the eyes has changed and, most striking of all, the expression has changed, has enlarged upon that increase in personal expression noticeable in Thebes #3 itself, until the general aspect is definitely one of insouciance and gaiety. This adherence to certain elements of the style of an earlier period (which made older critics assign this work to the middle of the century or earlier) of a style now thoroughly misunderstood and mixed with other ingredients makes it appear justifiable once again to apply the epithet of *Bauernstil* to this latest manifestation of the archaic style on Boeotian soil. In the hair, in the rendering of the shallow profile, there is even much of the early archaic style persisting, and the mixture is rendered with a naïveté and directness that are, in a way, quite charming.

One head found at Mt. Ptoös, #15<sup>83</sup> in the Thebes Museum (fig. 82), certainly belongs to this period, yet has no clear relationship to the style of which the development is outlined above. Karouzos assigned it correctly to the period around 530, and called it Attic. This work can only be considered

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informed me that a careful examination of the figure has led her and others to the conclusion that there were ancient props between hands and thighs. Richter, *A. J. A.*, 1929, p. 336; O. Antonsson, *The Praxiteles Marble Group in Olympia*, Stockholm, 1937, p. 83.

<sup>83</sup> Mendel, *B. C. H.*, 1907, p. 200, pl. 21; Deonna, *op. cit.*, #51; Karouzos, p. 13, figs. 4-6.

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Boeotian if one is willing to assume that a group of sculptors were working in Boeotia in very direct and successful imitation of contemporary Attic craftsmen. This Lullies has recognized in citing the present head, the kore head #17<sup>84</sup> in the National Museum from Mt. Ptoös, and the small head of a youth from Eleusis (fig. 83) (National Museum #61)<sup>85</sup> as Boeotian provincial imitations of Attic work. Such an interpretation does require a very subjective and difficult analysis of stylistic phenomena. Certainly the head in the National Museum #17 is so phenomenally close to the kore in the Acropolis Museum #673<sup>86</sup> as almost to imply direct copying. On the other hand, the relationship between the Rampin head<sup>87</sup> and the Eleusis head is of a different sort. Although Lullies saw in the variations which exist between these two heads evidence that that from Eleusis was the work of a non-Attic (Boeotian) craftsman, Langlotz,<sup>88</sup> with even more cogent reasoning, saw in these differences evidence simply that this latter head was of later date. Certainly, although most critics have emphasized the relationship that exists between these two works,<sup>89</sup> there are several reasons, even beyond those cited by Langlotz, for regarding the head from Eleusis as materially more advanced in the plastic sense than the other. Not only is there more movement in the face, but, viewed in profile, the hair of the Eleusis youth is seen to cling more markedly to the side of the head, following the outline of the ear, while that of the Rampin youth falls straight down. Again, the sculptor of the Rampin head preserved the old formal treatment of the hair on the top of the cranium, while the other craftsman employed twisted individual locks of hair over this part, which once more emphasize the rounded, plastic character of the head.<sup>90</sup>

Obviously, in cases like these, where the only "non-Attic" characteristic to be cited is a certain ineptness, it is impossible to differentiate to the satisfaction of all between secondary Attic works exported to Boeotia and Boeotian imitations of Attic sculpture. In view of the finding-place of the Eleusis head, it appears that there is not enough evidence to include it in a discussion which attempts to adhere closely to developments on Boeotian soil. But the discovery of Thebes #15 and the kore head, National Museum #17, on Mt.

<sup>84</sup> *B. C. H.*, 1887, pl. VII; *Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 147, fig. 9.

<sup>85</sup> Incorrectly noted as #19 by Lullies, *Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 141, note 2; 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1889, pls. 5, 6; Brunn-Bruckmann text to plate 552; Langlotz, *op. cit.*, pl. 95c.

<sup>86</sup> Payne and Young, pl. 64.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 11a ff.

<sup>88</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 159.

<sup>89</sup> Philios, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1889, p. 124; text to Brunn-Bruckmann, pl. 552; even Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculptures*, p. 7, referred to the Eleusis head as "early archaic."

<sup>90</sup> There is much in this Eleusis head which suggests such late terra cottas as one found also at Eleusis (Kourouniotis, 'Ελευσίς, 'Οδύγος των 'Ανασκαφών και τοῦ Μουσείου, p. 94, fig. 69); or a protome head in the Sabouroff Collection (Fürtwängler, *Collection Sabouroff*, II, vignette opposite pl. 142).

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Ptoös indicates a very direct acquaintance with thoroughly Attic styles on the part of the Boeotian sculptor at a period before the carving of the kouros in the National Museum #12. The continuation of the same close relationship is indicated by the discovery of the dedication of Pythias and Aschrion,<sup>91</sup> also on Mt. Ptoös. So much has been written on these latter monuments that it seems unnecessary to add any detailed criticism here. But the evidence which they supply of the existence of a considerable group of dedications on Mt. Ptoös by Attic sculptors, or by sculptors imitating closely the Attic style, may suggest that the entire sculptural production in Boeotia of the second half of the century, after the abrupt change in style signaled by the Apollo in Thebes #3, is of immediate Attic inspiration. Such an interpretation of the facts afforded by the Mt. Ptoös excavations would deny the distinction which is made above between, on the one hand, a Boeotian tradition, fortified by insular influence entering Boeotia about the middle of the century, and, on the other hand, this final group of monuments of specifically Attic character. It is to such a conclusion that the comparison stressed by Lullies between the kouros, National Museum #12, and the kore head from Mt. Ptoös, National Museum #17, inevitably tends.

However, it is noticeable that all of the distinctly Attic dedications in this group belong to the last quarter of the century, with the possible exception of the head in Thebes #15, of which the date is quite uncertain. The kore head is very close, as Lullies noted, to the Acropolis kore #673, a figure dated by Payne<sup>92</sup> about 520. The kouros in the National Museum #20 is universally attributed to the Leagros period, and National Museum #12 (if it must be accepted as exhibiting some elements of this Attic relationship) was most probably dedicated in the last decade of the century.<sup>93</sup> On the other hand, the monuments dependent upon Thebes #3, proposed above as a group antithetical to the more peculiarly Attic dedications, represent a continuous tradition from the middle of the century down to the end, when its disappearance seems to coincide with the mass absorption of elements from the specifically Attic style.

It is this group which corresponds in development to the sequence of terra

<sup>91</sup> Athens, National Museum #20; Holleaux, *B. C. H.*, 1886, pl. VI, and 1887, pls. XIII and XIV; Deonna, *op. cit.*, #31. It is difficult to understand the insistence of Holleaux (also Kalkmann, *Jahrbuch*, 1892, p. 132, and B. Ashmole, *Late Archaic and Early Classical Greek Sculpture in Sicily and South Italy*, London, 1934, p. 26, note 5, and others) that this kouros exhibits Aeginetan characteristics in the figure. Faced by the absolutely un-Aeginetan character of the head, he suggested a Peloponnesian school influenced by Aegina, even seeking to relate the work to Canachos' Apollo Philesios. Neither head nor body shows any trace of the sharp, crisp detail of Aeginetan work. A far more convincing comparison has been made with the "Samian" torso from Grammichele (*Mon. Ant.*, 1907, pl. III). On the basis of the striking similarity of the head to that of the kore #673 in the Acropolis Museum (Payne and Young, pls. 62-64) we must recognize the closest relationship of kouros #20 to be with Attic work.

<sup>92</sup> Payne and Young, p. 35.

<sup>93</sup> As noted above, it does not appear necessary to include the Eleusis head of a youth in this discussion of monuments associated with Boeotia, but even in the case of this work a date later than 525 would not be unlikely.



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cottas at Rhitsona, a sequence which, as has been indicated above, represented not a provincial peculiarity of the small community of Mycalessos but the dominant trend in the second half of the century in the Boeotian manufacture of terra cottas. The close correspondence between these figurines and the marble series in this group forms the most forceful argument for the recognition of the marble series as specifically Boeotian in character. Further, the intrusion of definitely Attic objects into the marble series in the fourth quarter of the century corresponds to the change from the exclusive use of the "pappas" type to the introduction of the late sixth century Attic and other foreign types in the same period. Even the manner in which this new style affected the older tradition is similar in the two techniques, as is illustrated by the above-noted relationships between the kouros in the National Museum #12 and the figurines of the "Parisiennes" from grave 31 at Rhitsona. Yet the thoroughgoing antithesis between the traditional style and the new foreign styles gradually coming into use in Boeotia in the last quarter of the century is made clear by a comparison of the new types of figurines from graves 126, 121, and 131 at Rhitsona with any of the "pappas" figures. That the "genre figurines"<sup>94</sup> which became so popular in Boeotia about 500 are the heirs of the "pappas" tradition, at least as far as the painted decoration is concerned, seems most likely, but these also, with their new freedom of pose and subject, represent a definite break with traditional motives involving the total submergence of the significant character of the older style.

<sup>94</sup> See, most recently, G. H. Chase, *Festschrift Loeb*, pp. 45 f.

## VI CONCLUSION

THE progress of the plastic arts in Boeotia, during the period under discussion in this volume, reflects the normal development of an exceptionally isolated district, which came only sporadically into intimate contact with the larger world of general Hellenic culture. There is no evidence that, at any time during the seventh and sixth centuries, Boeotia was really backward in the acceptance of important stylistic change. Rather, it appears that each significant new departure in the rapidly developing art of sculpture was readily received by the Boeotians. Nor did these new departures spring from any one locality dominating and leading the artistic development of the Greek world; in point of fact each change was the fruit of the expanding culture of the entire Greek nation, and there is no reason to deny that some of these changes may have received their first embodiment on the soil of Boeotia itself. It is in this way that the nature of the geography<sup>1</sup> of Greece should be interpreted with regard to early Greek art; the flat, fertile plains, hemmed in and isolated by mountains (a condition so often cited in connection with the rise of the city states), tended to produce a secondary diversification within the essential unity of the national artistic movement. The large and significant developments (like the city states themselves) are national manifestations whose earliest beginnings cannot be allocated, but whose local modifications depend upon the nature of the soil and the habits of life in each district.

The individual character of Boeotian sculpture arose from the circumstances of the life of this mountain-ringed, earth-loving people, whose interests were not wide-flung, whose immediate world was comparatively small. This situation gave rise to peculiarly local interpretations of Hellenic art, each phase being thoughtfully mulled over and slowly and thoroughly digested to suit the local stomach. Holleaux, in his first critical synthesis of the sculpture which he found at Mt. Ptoös, erred in several ways. He did not recognize the important change in direction which took place in Boeotia, as in all Greece, about 550. Furthermore, he did not sufficiently stress the fact that the development was national in its significant, progressive nature, and local

<sup>1</sup> See, most recently, the excellent relief map of Greece and the Aegean Islands published in Athens in 1936 by Kos. D. Diamantopoulos.

only in its vigorous, provincial character. And yet in certain respects his interpretation was curiously close to the true one. It is clear, for example, that in the second half of the sixth century the local craftsmen took from the national art something that they could make peculiarly their own, and they maintained the style thus adopted until an important new thought was evolved in the Greek world at the end of the century. The immediate acceptance by the Boeotians of this new departure brought about that apparent disintegration of the old "truly Boeotian" style, the tendency which Holleaux noted in discussing the kouros in Athens dedicated by Pythias and Aschrion. Such a sequence of events had already taken place in Boeotia in the first half of the sixth century, in the history of another "truly Boeotian" style, and, in all probability, the development of the first half of the seventh century was an absolutely parallel one.

At the time of writing, the monumental work of E. Langlotz on the schools of late archaic Greek sculpture is still comparatively recent. Among the many subdivisions which he recognized, there is no mention of a Boeotian school. The inescapable conclusion of the present discussion is that, if there were such things as schools among Greek sculptors of this period, it is in provincial districts where "isolationism" flourishes that they are to be sought. Great changes in archaic art were not regional but national, while each locality was individual in accordance with the quality of its own provinciality.

APPENDIX

BECAUSE of certain comparisons drawn, in the course of the foregoing discussion, between the head of the Potnia Theron on a relief pithos and one of the two clay heads<sup>1</sup> found at Amyclae by Tsountas in 1892, it seems worth while at this point to review briefly the controversy that exists over the dating of these last two heads. In the course of their twentieth-century existence aboveground, they have suffered the most extraordinary vicissitudes of criticism.

Tsountas himself considered them both early archaic. He recorded his excavations at Amyclae more or less in the form of a tour over the site. Working near the peribolos wall, between it and the semicircular apse, he mentioned the finding of a pile of broken aryballoi, mostly black, and, right there ("αὐτόθι"), the two clay heads and a headless female figure in terra cotta.<sup>2</sup> Continuing north of this spot, he found some pieces of geometric pottery<sup>3</sup> and, near by, two terra cotta animal heads and the body of an animal, apparently Mycenaean. Tsountas recognized these fragments of animal figurines as Mycenaean, although he noted that they are not typical of terra cottas found at Mycenae. As a matter of fact, these belong to a very curious type found in various parts of Greece,<sup>4</sup> never in any precisely dated context. It is of some interest to note that animal heads of precisely the peculiar shape to be seen on these examples occur in pottery of the geometric period from Cyprus, an instance being #532 in the Cesnola Collection in the Metropolitan Museum, a Rhyton vase labelled eighth century.<sup>5</sup> However, allowing, for the moment, that these animals are possibly Mycenaean, it is yet difficult to see any reason for calling the two human heads Mycenaean, and there can hardly be any justification for dividing them into a Mycenaean and a geometric example. Yet Fiechter,<sup>6</sup> quoting Furtwängler, called them both Mycenaean, as well as "the animals found with them," ignoring in this phrase the aryballoi "του σχήματος τῶν κορινθιακῶν," apparently found in much closer conjunction.

<sup>1</sup> Athens, National Museum #4381 and #4382; Tsountas, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1892, pl. 4, #4 and #5; Kunze, *A. M.*, 1930, Beilage 42 and 43.

<sup>2</sup> Buschor, *A. M.*, 1927, p. 14, suggested that this figure belonged to the type of a terra cotta found in Olympia — *Olympia*, IV, #290 — which object itself Buschor called "Early Dorian" or "proto-geometric."

<sup>3</sup> *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1892, pl. IV, #1 and #2.

<sup>4</sup> For example, at Delphi, and in the Cadmeion at Thebes.

<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, H. Kühn (*op. cit.*, pl. XIII) illustrated a terra cotta figurine of the "long-necked" early Boeotian "bird-faced" type with hatched triangles and semicircles remarkably similar to the decorations on these animal figurines. *Jahrbuch*, 1918, p. 127.

Tod and Wace, in the Catalogue of the Sparta Museum, continued this attribution and even pointed out a supposed similarity to the Mycenaean head from Mycenae in the National Museum at Athens.<sup>7</sup> Now, as a matter of fact, no such similarity actually exists. The head from Mycenae is notably flat, almost a mask, with features and decorative elements drawn upon it with great delicacy of detail, as may be observed in the tenuous droop of the tear ducts at the inner corners of the eyes, while the Amyclae heads are simple, fundamentally plastic compositions in three dimensions.

Buschor<sup>8</sup> seems to have been the first to divide the two Amyclae heads, found, apparently, so close together, into a Mycenaean and a geometric example. This would certainly appear to be the most insupportable thesis. What evidence Tsountas has been able to give us is certainly all against such a separation, and the two heads, side by side in a case in the National Museum, show every technical similarity. The clay is the same, the broad strokes of paint picking out eyes and eyebrows seem to have been dipped from the same paint pot; almost literally one might say that the two are tarred with the same brush. And yet Buschor would have us believe that they are separated by some three hundred years. Finally Kunze<sup>9</sup> has taken up this theory again and elaborated on it to discuss what he considered fundamental differences in point of view between the two works, one of which appeared to him to illustrate the faded flower of the decadent Mycenaean civilization, while the other represented the vigorous, forward-looking, if crude style of the geometric period. One would think, from his consideration of one of the heads and omission of all mention of the other, that Hampe is in agreement with this analysis, although he brought the so-called geometric head, which Kunze had put early in the eighth century, down to the end of that century.

Not only on the basis of their identity of technique and immediate association of finding place, but also on grounds of style and expression, it seems to me self-evident that these two heads belong together.<sup>10</sup> Such slight difference as appears in the upper parts of the faces is largely due to the downward displacement of the eyes on the "Mycenaean" head by the careless hand of the craftsman. And from the upper lip downward — the cutting of the mouth, the curve of the chin — the two are absolutely identical.

With the arguments brought forward by Hampe for bringing the "geometric" head down to the end of the eighth century I am in entire agreement, and there is every reason to believe that the "Mycenaean" head was also

<sup>7</sup> *Eφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1902, pl. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *A. M.*, 1927, p. 11.

<sup>9</sup> *A. M.*, 1930, p. 156.

<sup>10</sup> It must be noted here that Jenkins, and, following him, Knoblauch, have recently recognized that these two heads cannot be separated.

made in the period around 700. There is much about this latter head which suggests seventh-century work. Much the same physiognomy appears on the Sphinx figure on a plastic vase found at Arkades,<sup>11</sup> or, again, on a so far unpublished ivory head from Perachora in the National Museum at Athens. This last small object (it is only about two inches high in its present broken state) has the flat crown under its low polos and the type of coiffure which is most frequent in seventh-century figurines. There is, indeed, a suggestion of the Daedalic style in the form of the "Mycenaean" head from Amyclae.<sup>12</sup>

It is of some interest here to consider a few of the other objects found by Tsountas at Amyclae and published in the same number of the *Ephemeris*. The votive lyre, illustrated in a drawing on plate 3, number 5, is taken by Deubner<sup>13</sup> as a type example of the seven-stringed lyre (it obviously originally had seven strings) of Mycenaean times. As is well known, the instrument is not found during the geometric period. Deubner gave no reason for considering the object as Mycenaean, but simply argued from that assumption. However, even a very cursory examination will show that this instrument is very different in character from either the lyre on the Haghia Triada Sarcophagus<sup>14</sup> or the two fragmentary ivory ones in the National Museum at Athens which were found at Menidi. In all three of these certainly pre-Hellenic examples the member at the bottom, which constitutes the sounding board of the instrument, is set off as a separate and distinct part from the arms at the side, and, in the example painted on the Sarcophagus, the arms are very elaborate, twisted and curved members. On the other hand, there are several seventh-century representations of lyres which are similar in every way to the toy lyre from Amyclae. On the Melian vase on which Apollo is represented in his chariot<sup>15</sup> the god carries a lyre of which the arms are again simple posts in a continuous curve from the sounding board of which they really form a part, exactly as is the case with the lyre from Amyclae. Examples of this type are fairly numerous from the seventh century, but I cite only one other, recently discovered example. Broneer, in his excavations of the summer of 1937 on the north slope of the Acropolis, discovered a fragment of a painted pinax<sup>16</sup> of the late seventh century on which is represented a bearded figure holding a lyre of a type precisely similar to the imitation one found at Amyclae.

Now I do not maintain that the Amyclae instrument can be proved to be

<sup>11</sup> *Annuario*, 1927-29, p. 67, fig. 46.

<sup>12</sup> For the earrings appearing on this figure apparently dedicated to Apollo, cf. above, p. 27; cf. also *B. S. A.*, 1901-02, p. 274.

<sup>13</sup> *A. M.*, 1929, pp. 194 f., "Die viersaitige Leier."

<sup>14</sup> Evans, *Palace of Minos*, I, London, 1921, p. 440, fig. 317, gives a detail.

<sup>15</sup> Conze, *Melische Thongefasse*, pl. IV.

<sup>16</sup> *A. J. A.*, 1938, p. 162, fig. 2.

seventh-century, but I do say that such comparative material as we have makes a date in that century far more probable than an ascription to the Mycenaean period, and there is no evidence in the report of the excavation to gainsay this conclusion. And note that, even if one subscribe to the theory of the re-invention of the seven-stringed lyre by Terpander, there is nothing in this theory to render improbable the votive offering of a model instrument of the type in the first half of the seventh century.

The intaglio gem<sup>17</sup> bearing the representations of three dolphins which Tsountas found also in conjunction, apparently, with geometric and early Corinthian objects, has been taken by Miss Stebbins,<sup>18</sup> in her book on the dolphin, as an example of the Mycenaean representation of that sea animal. One cannot but hesitate to disagree with so careful and thorough an investigation of the representations of these interesting creatures as that which Miss Stebbins has prepared, but a comparison of these dolphins with other representations of them on certainly Mycenaean objects makes it clear that stylistically they are distinctly non-typical of the Mycenaean period. Miss Stebbins listed four Mycenaean gems with representations of the dolphin. The first,<sup>19</sup> of yellow jasper, was found in the Vaphio Tomb and shows two dolphins swimming around the center. They are extraordinarily lively delineations of the active, elastic animals; the style is exceptionally vigorous. The fine swirling lines cut on the bodies add greatly to the spirit of vigorous action and to the richness of surface of the whole presentation. Each dolphin has three fat, rounded fins or flippers, one dorsal and two ventral, which are also shown in energetic action, adding to the sense of movement which dominates the whole scene.

The third<sup>20</sup> of Miss Stebbins' Mycenaean gems of steatite is in the Story-Maskelyne Collection, and on it are shown two dolphins used as space fillers around the figure of a deer. Here the dolphins are executed in a style very similar to that just discussed. Although they are perhaps a shade less fine in detail, since their function is definitely a secondary one in the whole composition, nevertheless they are represented with the same vigorous movement and richness of surface noted in the gem from the Vaphio tomb.

The second gem listed by Miss Stebbins, a lentoid of steatite in the British Museum,<sup>21</sup> I purposely discuss after the above two because, as has been pointed out in the museum catalogue, it is not Mycenaean. On it is repre-

<sup>17</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1892, p. 13 and pl. IV, 3.

<sup>18</sup> E. B. Stebbins, *The Dolphin in the Literature and Art of Greece and Rome*, Menasha, Wis., 1929, p. 38. The gem is there described as a lentoid sard, although it is in fact a glandular sard.

<sup>19</sup> Furtwängler, *Die antike Gemmen*, Leipzig, 1900, pl. III, #31.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. VI, #26.

<sup>21</sup> *British Museum Catalogue of Gems*, #11; Perrot and Chipiez, VI, pl. XVI, #4. H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos, Greek, Etruscan and Roman*, in the *British Museum*, pl. IV, #176.

sented an octopus with two dolphins above. On these dolphins the gills are indicated by lines, but it is noticeable how simple and plain the surfaces of their bodies are as a whole, how lacking in richness of detail and vigor of action the animals are by comparison with the true Mycenaean examples listed above. It is apparent from a general study of the Furtwängler plates that an important characteristic of Mycenaean gems is the insistence on rounding out the muscles and flesh, which often gives the human and animal representations a curious spotty appearance, resulting from the hemispherical incisions representing the rounded joints and other muscular parts. Early Greek gems, on the other hand, present a rather smooth, even surface by comparison, a surface broken rather by light lines than by these bowl-like depressions. It is this early Greek style that is represented by the British Museum gem. One is reminded in this connection of Furtwängler's own analysis<sup>22</sup> of the Mycenaean style in the art of gem-cutting: "Die mykenische Kunst kümmert wenig um klare Tektonik und den Knochenbau des Körpers, . . . aber die Wiedergabe des Fleisches, der Muskeln ist ihr Element. Insbesondere die Arme und Beine, die Sitze der Thätigkeit und Energie, stattet sie mit schwellenden Muskeln aus." It is apparent that the dolphin has no arms and legs to fit this description, but throughout his discussion Furtwängler stressed very correctly the importance of movement and vigorous presentation of action in Mycenaean gem cutting.

The fourth gem listed by Miss Stebbins was, of course, that from Tsountas' excavations at Amyclae. Even from the drawing offered in the *Ephemeris* plate, it is apparent that this gem is stylistically to be related to early Greek rather than Mycenaean glyptic art. The simplicity of surface, the even, regular character of outline, including two quite casual dorsal and ventral fins on each dolphin which bear no organic relation to the movement of the body as a whole — these things and the general lack of true pictorial sense of movement in the dolphins make it clear that this seal is not Mycenaean, but, like the example above, early Greek. There are several representations of the dolphin among the seventh-century Melian gems illustrated by Furtwängler that are similar in style to this stone from Amyclae. Two examples which he gives on plate V, numbers 26 and 35, show the same simple outline and rather lifeless character of surface by comparison with Mycenaean work. And they exhibit also that tendency of early Greek gems to add details with simple, straight lines, omitting the rich, curvilinear decoration and rounded bosses of Mycenaean design.

As has been noted above, the geometric sherd<sup>23</sup> with representations of human figures from Amyclae is executed in a late geometric mannered style

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, p. 54.

<sup>23</sup> 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1892, pl. IV, 2.

## ARCHAIC SCULPTURE IN BOEOTIA

of around 700. For the iron sword and the amphiconoi and rings which Tsountas found<sup>24</sup> no definite date can be given, although the Olympia parallels which the excavator himself cited for the two last categories would indicate that they are geometric.

It is, of course, far from the intention of these remarks to attempt to cast any doubt on the fact of the occupation of the hill of Amyclae in the Mycenaean period, a fact so well attested by the discovery of much Helladic pottery by the later German excavations. But it is apparent that the evidence which Buschor<sup>25</sup> has presented for the recognition of this site as the center of a religious cult in late Mycenaean times is in the highest degree questionable. His conclusion is based, finally, on the votive objects found at Amyclae which can be associated with that period. As the present discussion indicates, the only examples of these votive objects which can with any degree of probability be considered Mycenaean are the terra cotta animals, and even concerning these there may be said to be a reasonable doubt. A far more likely conclusion, on the basis of the evidence at present available, is that the sanctuary of early Greek times, with its cult figures and votive offerings, was the first of its kind on the hill, and that the objects taken from it reveal reminiscences of an earlier worship mingled with the dedications to Apollo, even as the excavations at Mt. Ptoös have revealed material of the archaic period suggesting the lingering influence of a pre-Apollonian worship in this major sanctuary of archaic Boeotia.

<sup>24</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 13, 14.

<sup>25</sup> *A. M.*, 1927, p. 10.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

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3. Berlin, Antiquarium #3202. (From Mon. Piot I, p. 23, fig. 2.)
4. Wurzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum, Oenochoe. (From Hampe, *Fruhe griechische Sagenbilder in Bóotien*, p. 25, fig. 7.)
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6. Louvre #140. (Courtesy of the Museum authorities.)
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11. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts #99.505, detail. (Courtesy of the Museum authorities.)
12. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts #99.505, detail. (Courtesy of the Museum authorities.)
13. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts #99.505, detail. (Courtesy of the Museum authorities.)
14. Louvre #135. (Courtesy of the Museum authorities.)
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35. Athens, National Museum #4260.
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52. Thebes, Museum #6.
53. Thebes, Museum #3, detail.
54. Thebes, Museum #4.
55. Thebes, Museum, Terra cotta from Rhitsona grave 110.
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57. Thebes, Museum, Terra cottas from Rhitsona grave 31.
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59. Thebes, Museum, Terra cotta from Rhitsona grave 26.
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61. British Museum #B47 and #B48. (Courtesy of the Museum authorities.)
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63. Berlin, Antiquarium #8390. (Courtesy of the Museum authorities.)
64. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery #54.733. (Courtesy of the Museum authorities.)
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66. Thebes, Museum #16.
67. Athens, National Museum #4016.
68. Thebes, Museum #229.
69. Athens, National Museum #56. (Courtesy of the Museum authorities.)
70. Athens, National Museum #9.
71. Athens, National Museum #15. (From Jahrbuch, 1936, p. 139, figure 1.)
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76. Athens, National Museum #10. (Photo Emile Seraf.)
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81. Profile view of figure 80. (Photo Emile Seraf.)
82. Thebes, Museum #15.
83. Athens, National Museum #61. (Courtesy of the Museum authorities.)





FIG. 1



FIG. 2

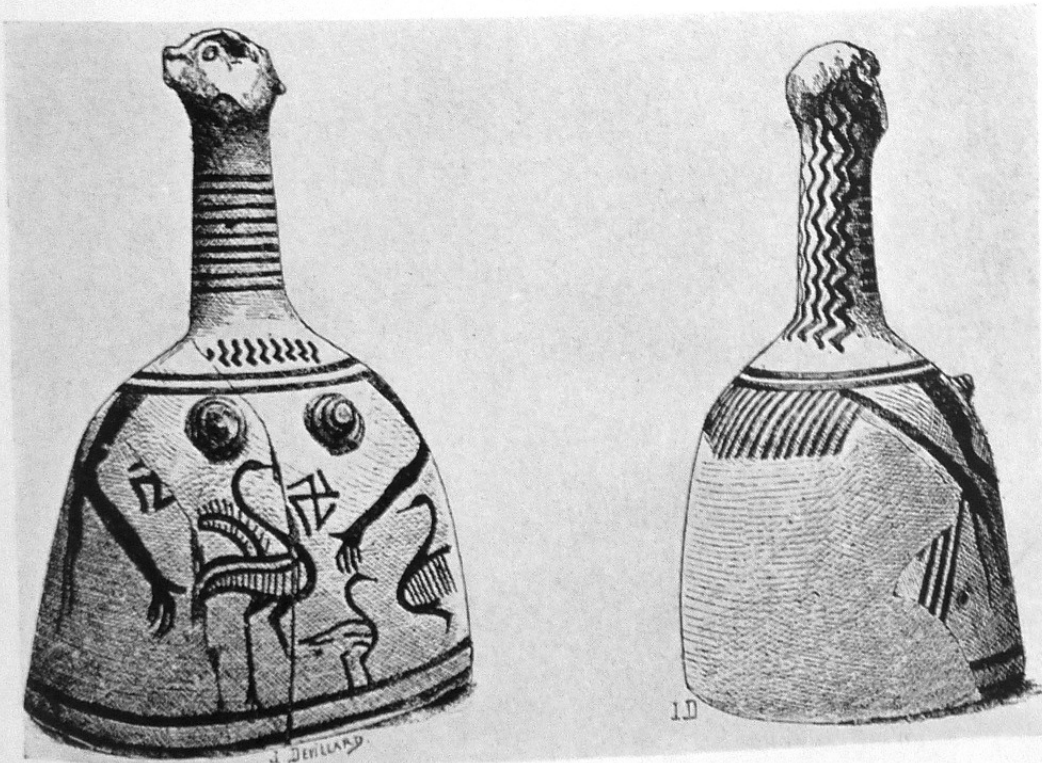


FIG. 3

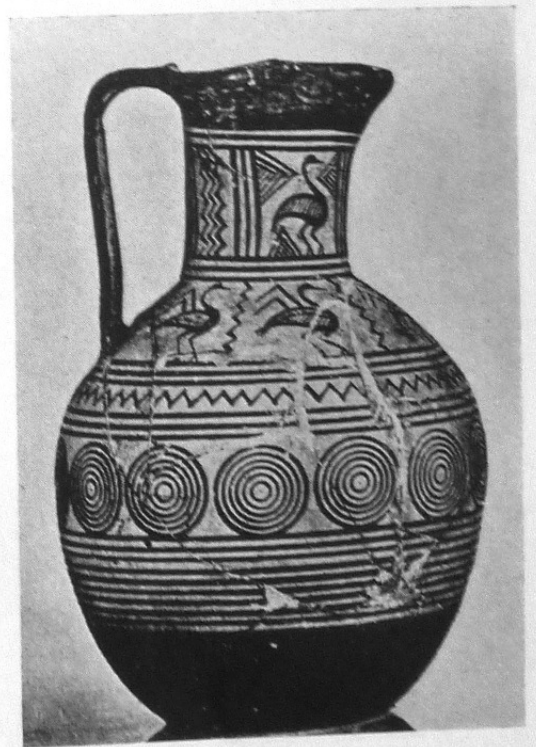


FIG. 4



FIG. 5

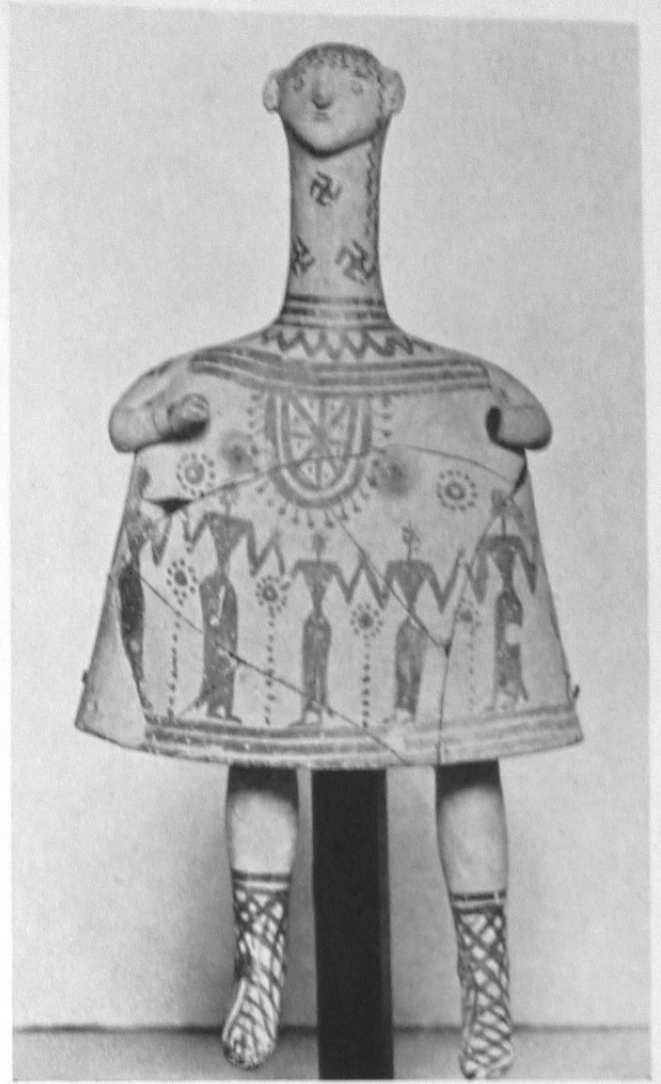


FIG. 6



FIG. 7

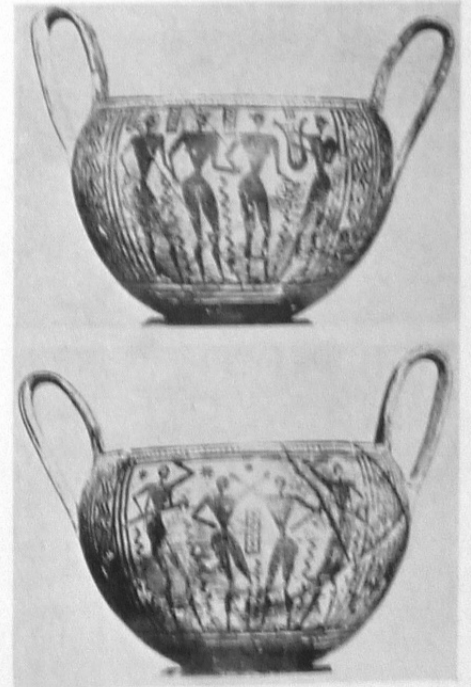


FIG. 7a

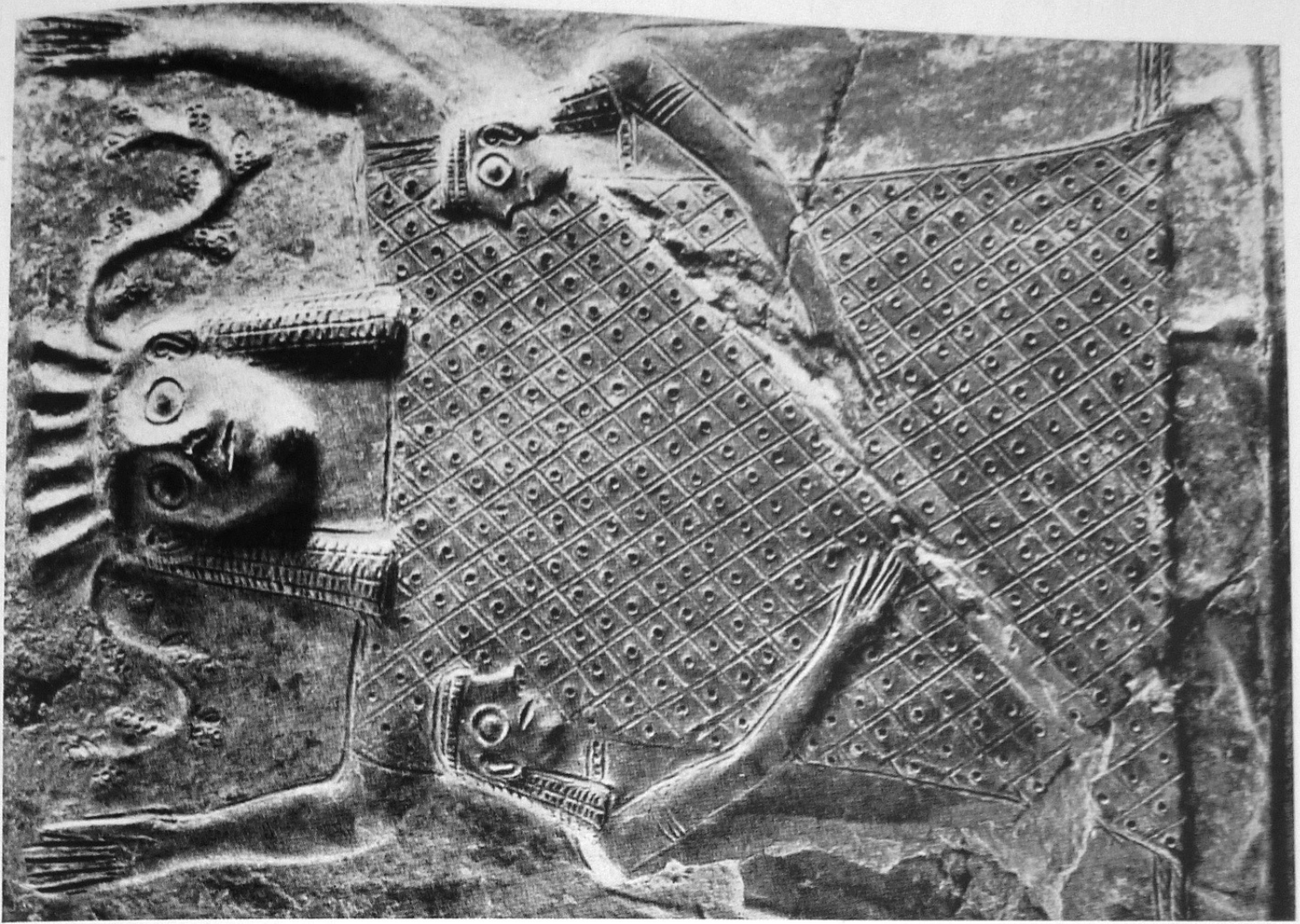


FIG. 9



FIG. 8



FIG. 10

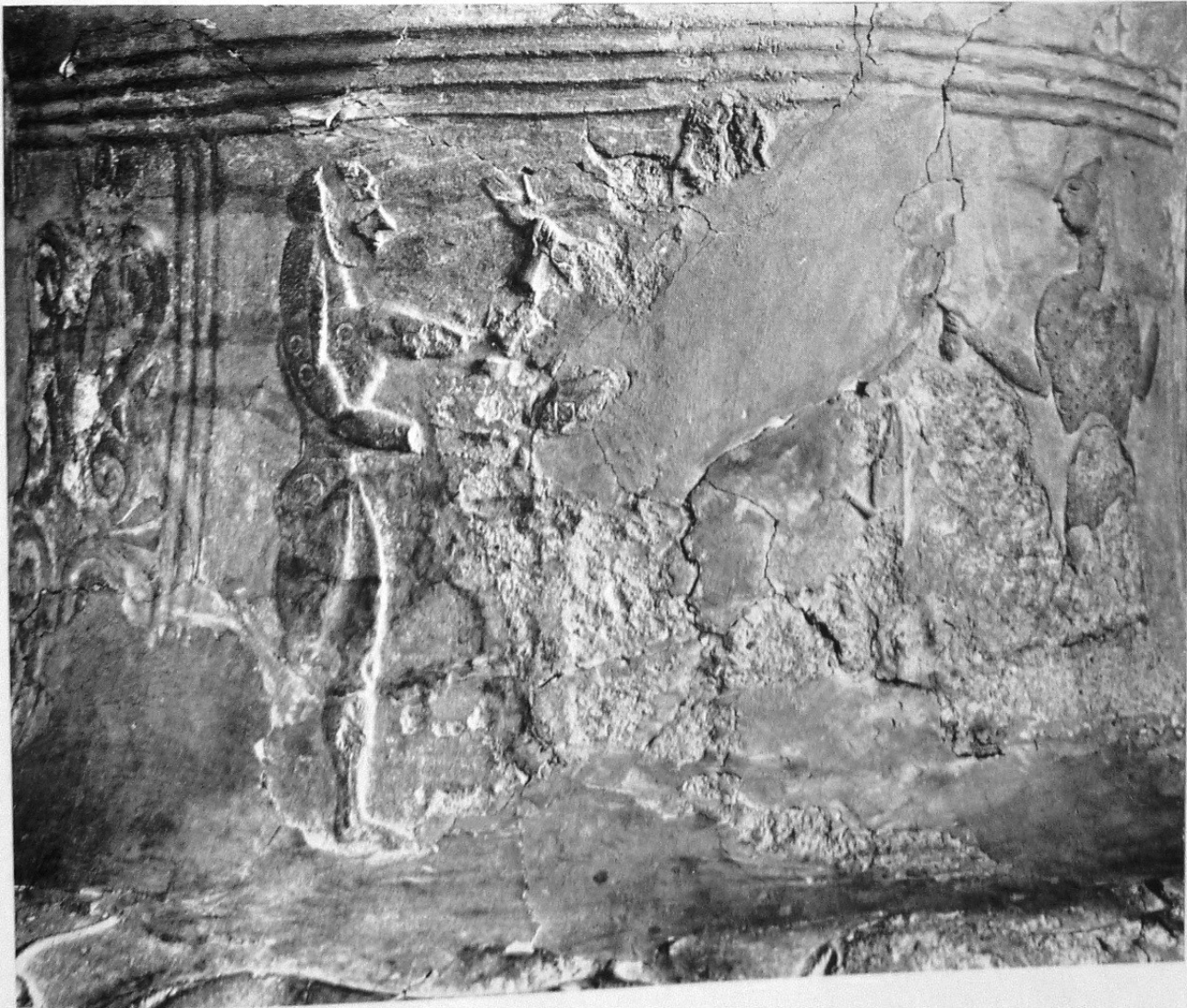


FIG. 11



FIG. 12

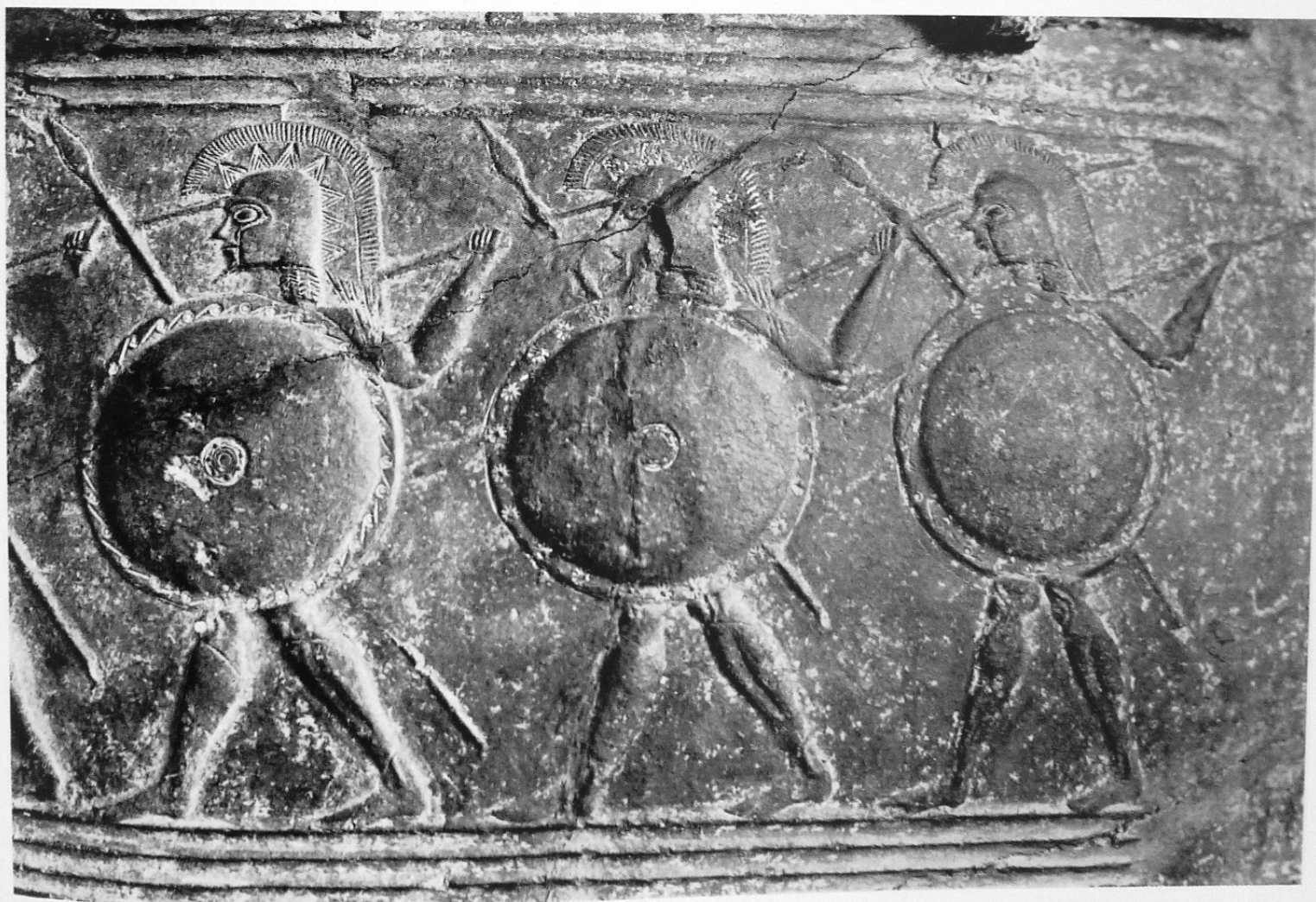


FIG. 13



FIG. 15

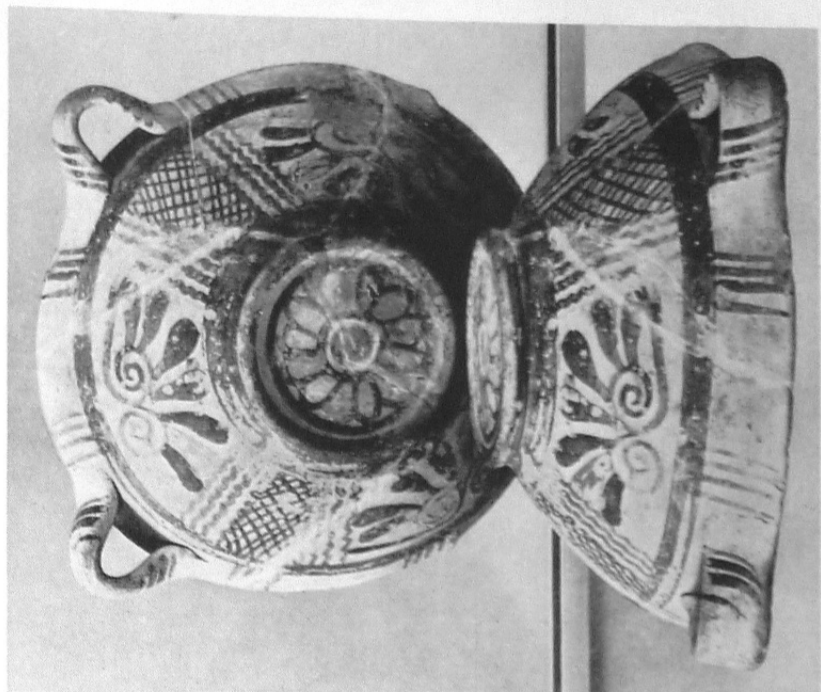


FIG. 16

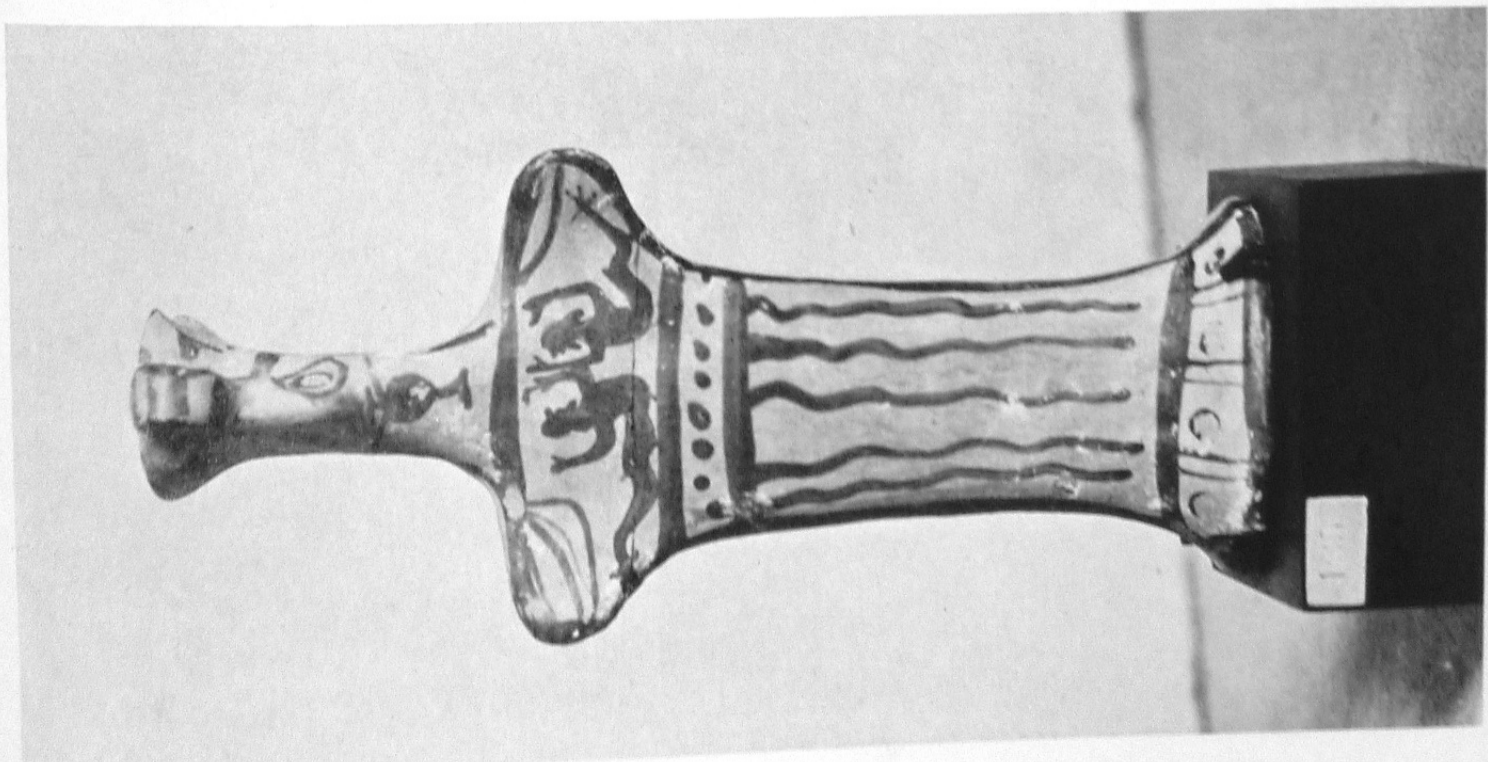


FIG. 14

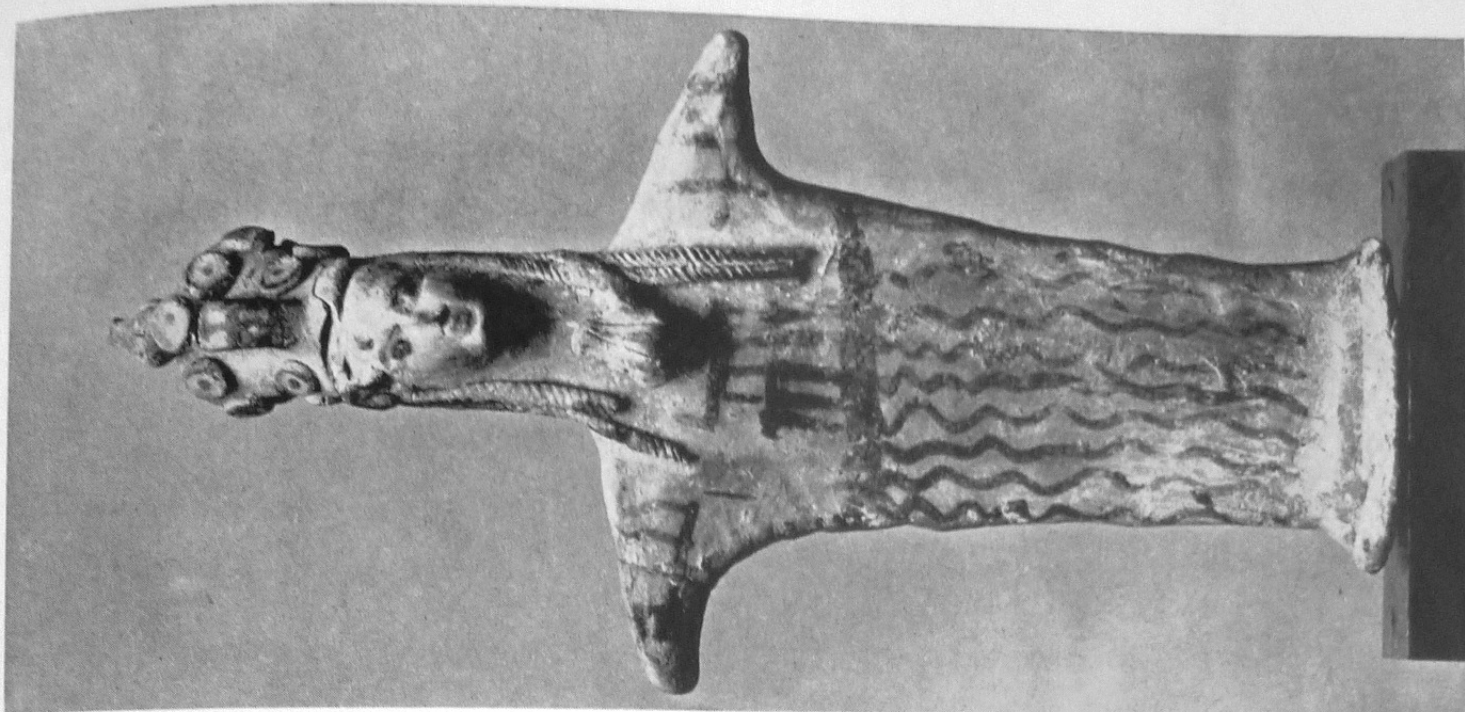


FIG. 19

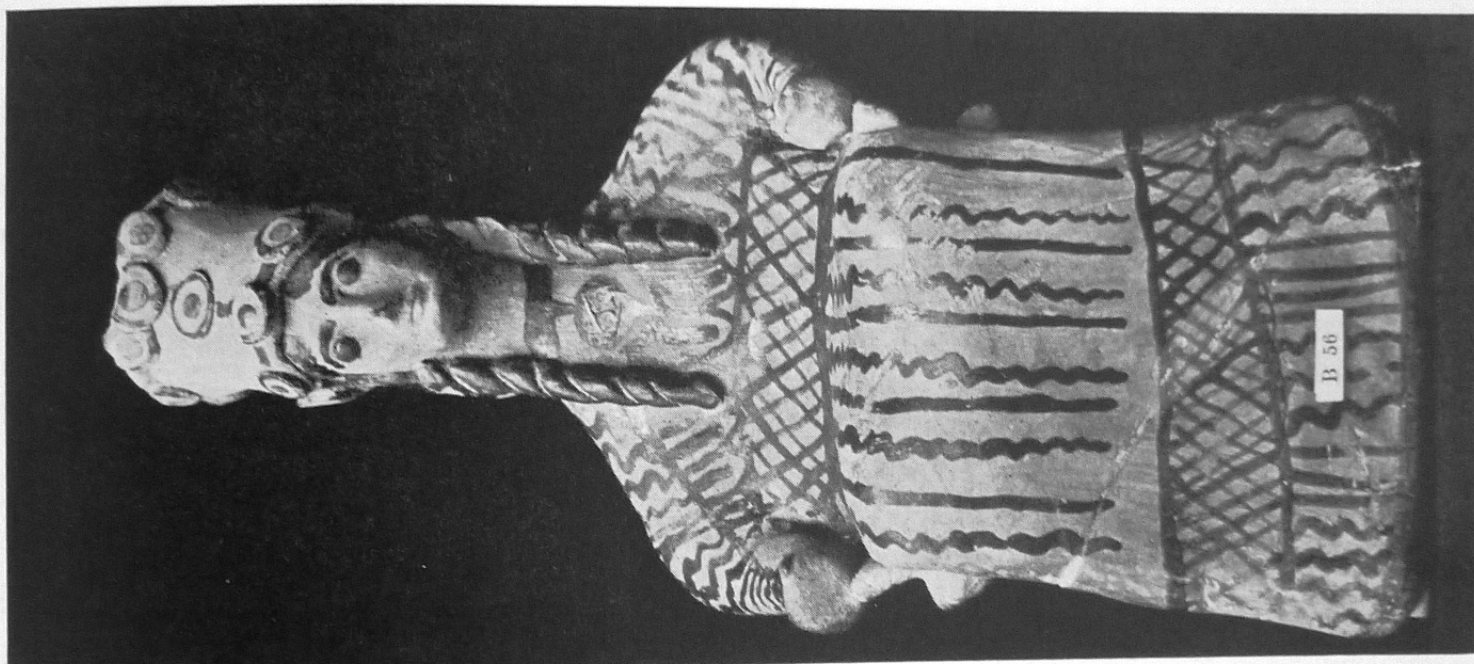


FIG. 18

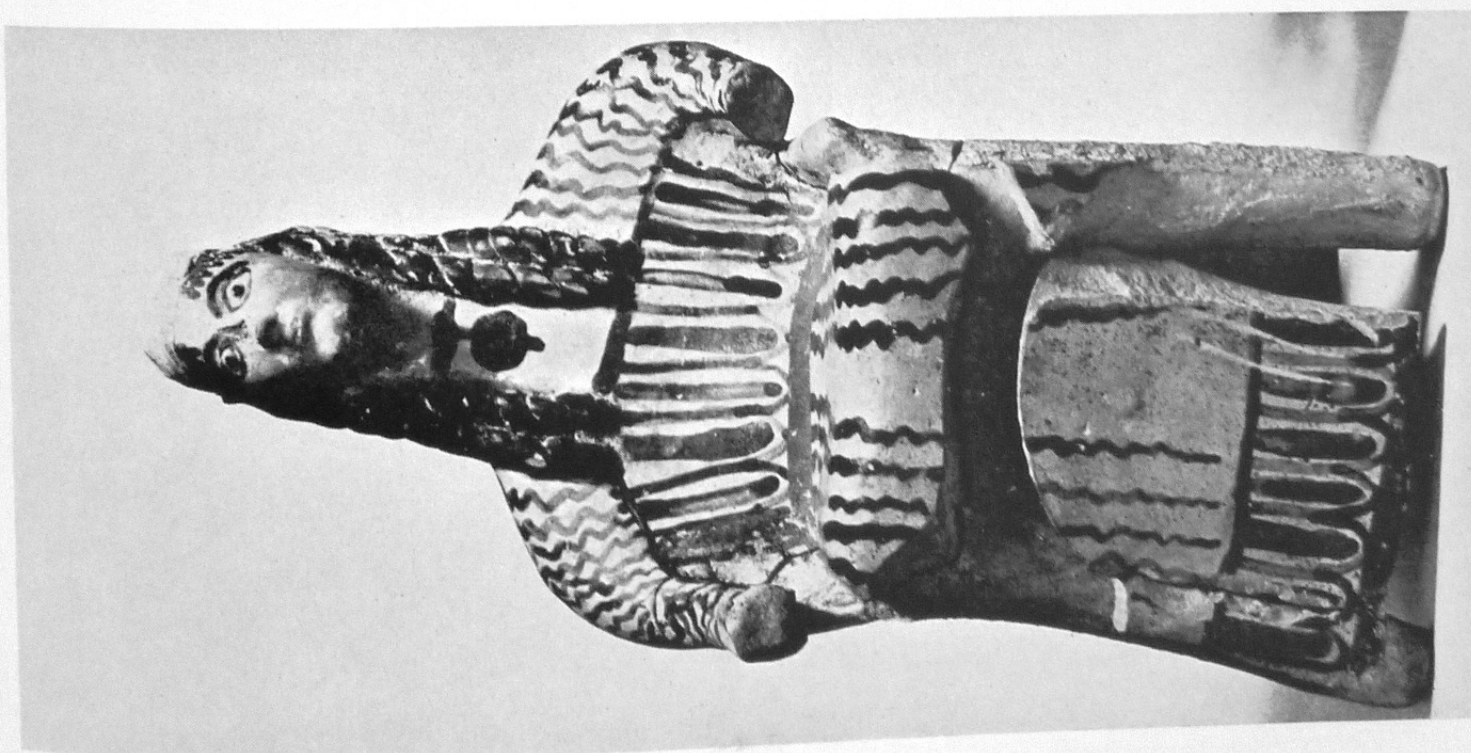


FIG. 17



FIG. 20



FIG. 21



FIG. 22





FIG. 25



FIG. 24

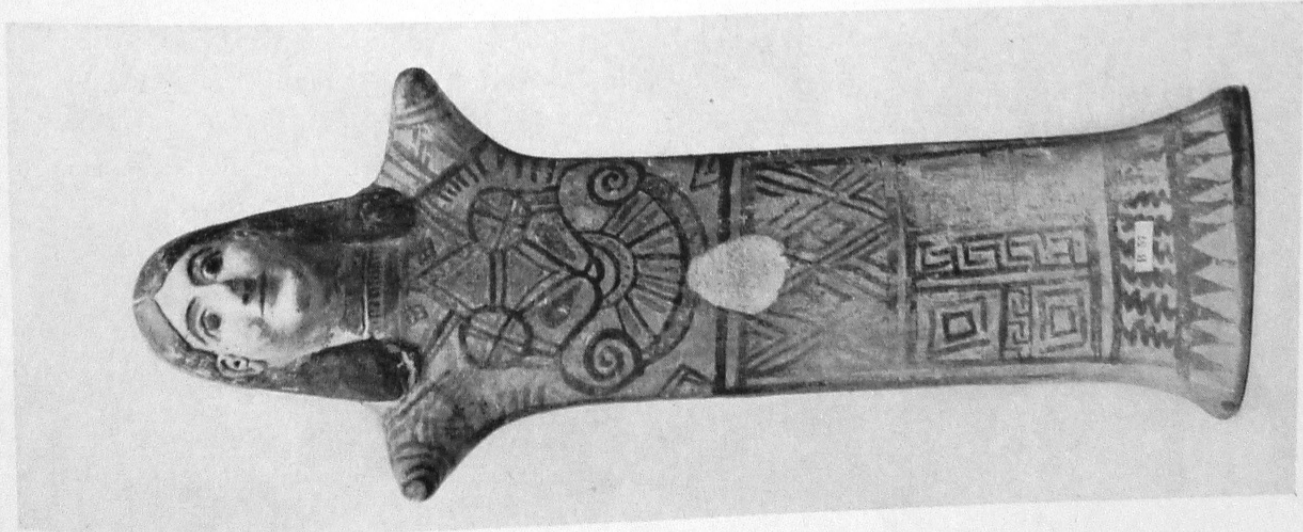


FIG. 23



FIG. 28

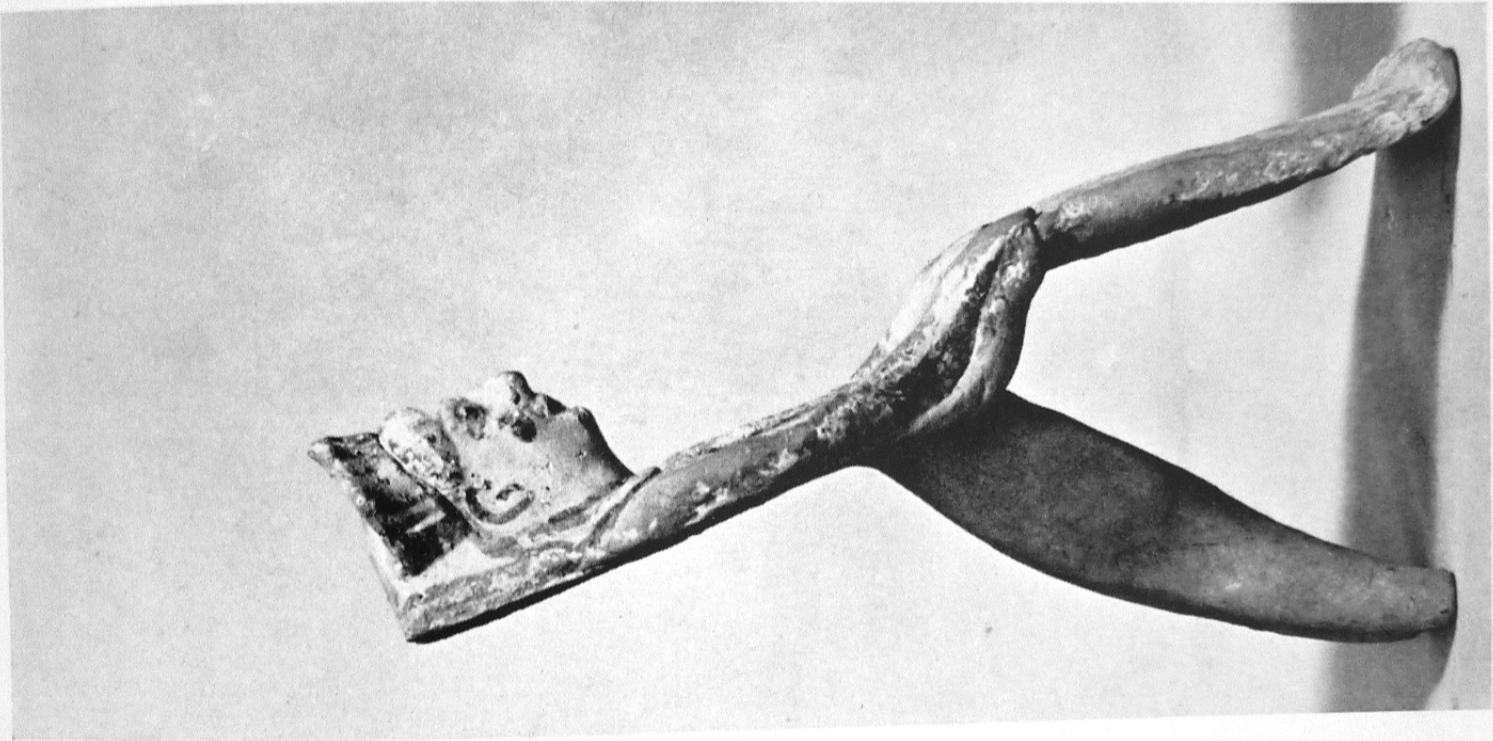


FIG. 27



FIG. 26



FIG. 29

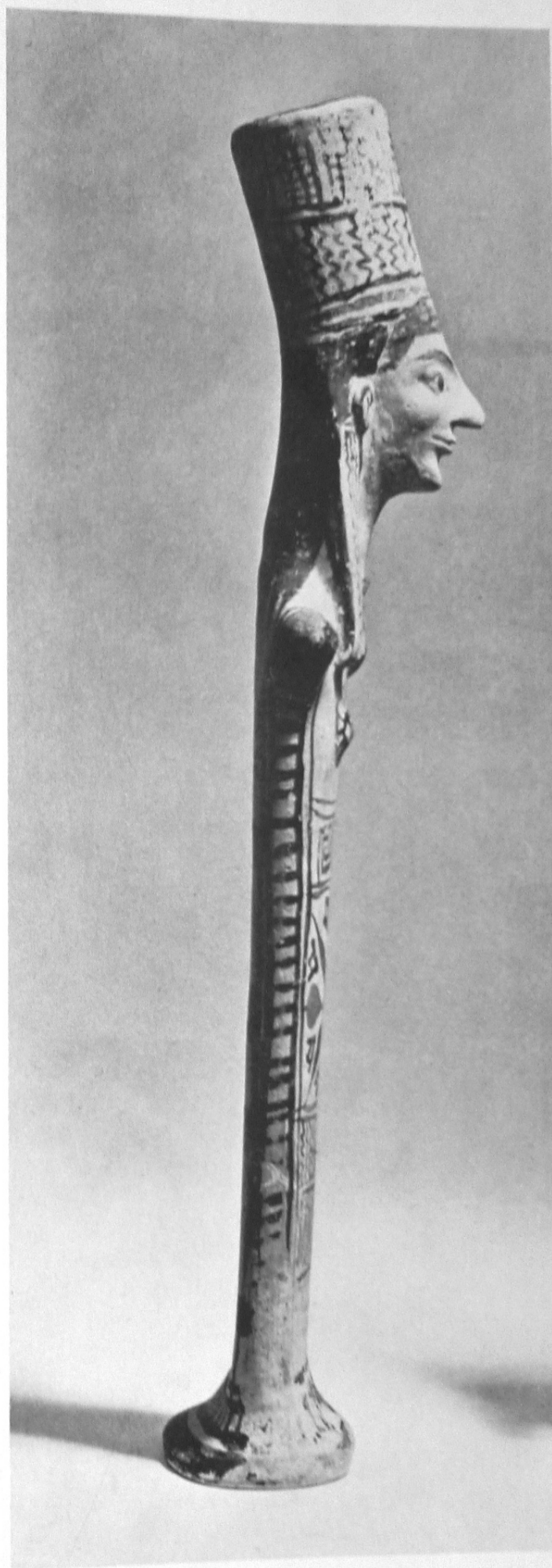


FIG. 30



FIG. 31

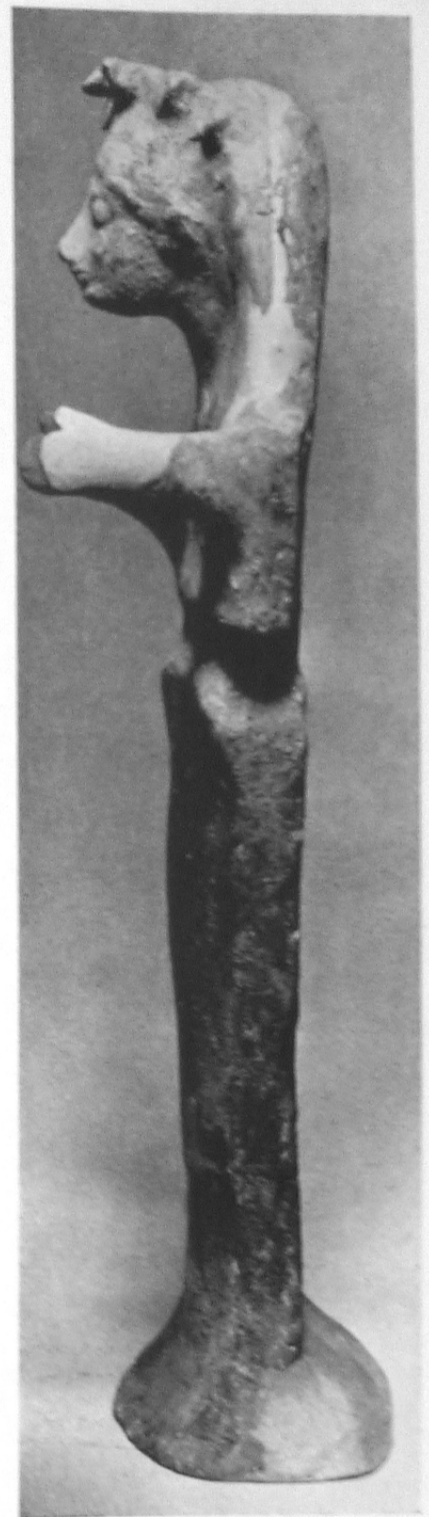


FIG. 32



FIG. 33

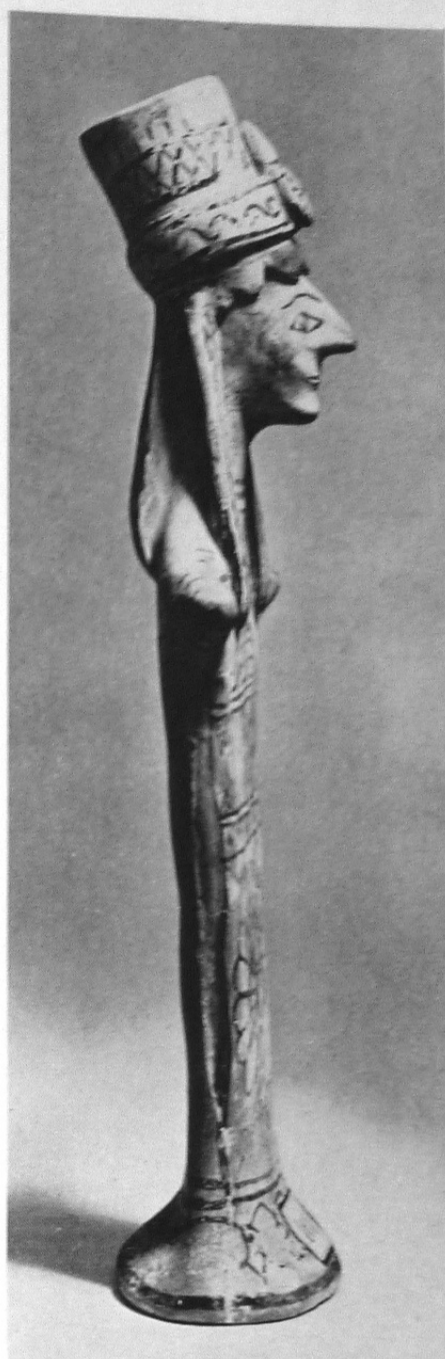


FIG. 34



FIG. 35



FIG. 36



FIG. 37



FIG. 38



FIG. 39

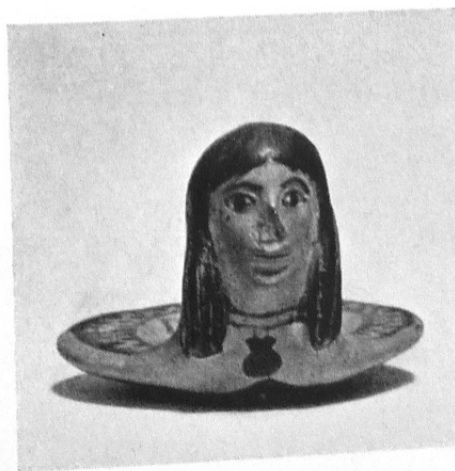


FIG. 40

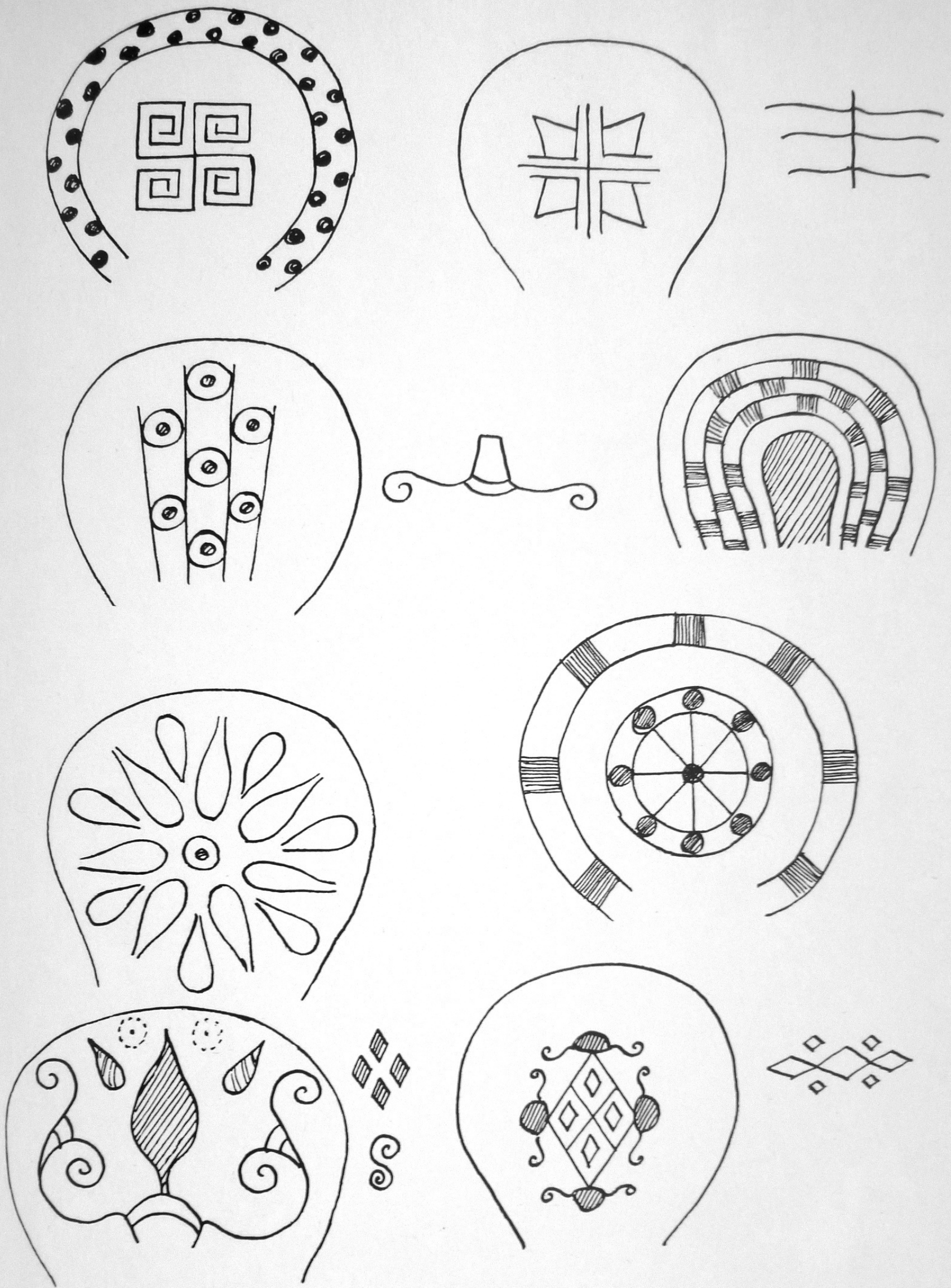


FIG. 41

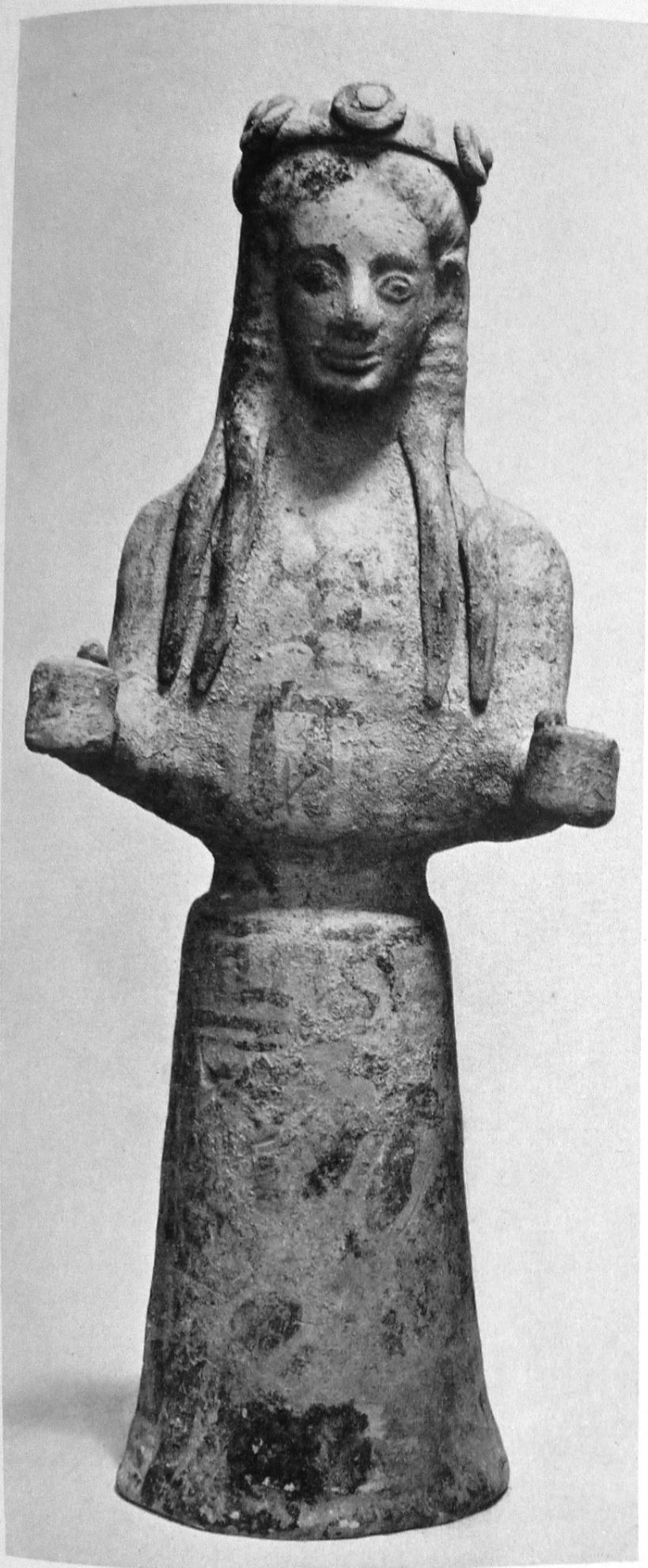


FIG. 42



FIG. 43





FIG. 44

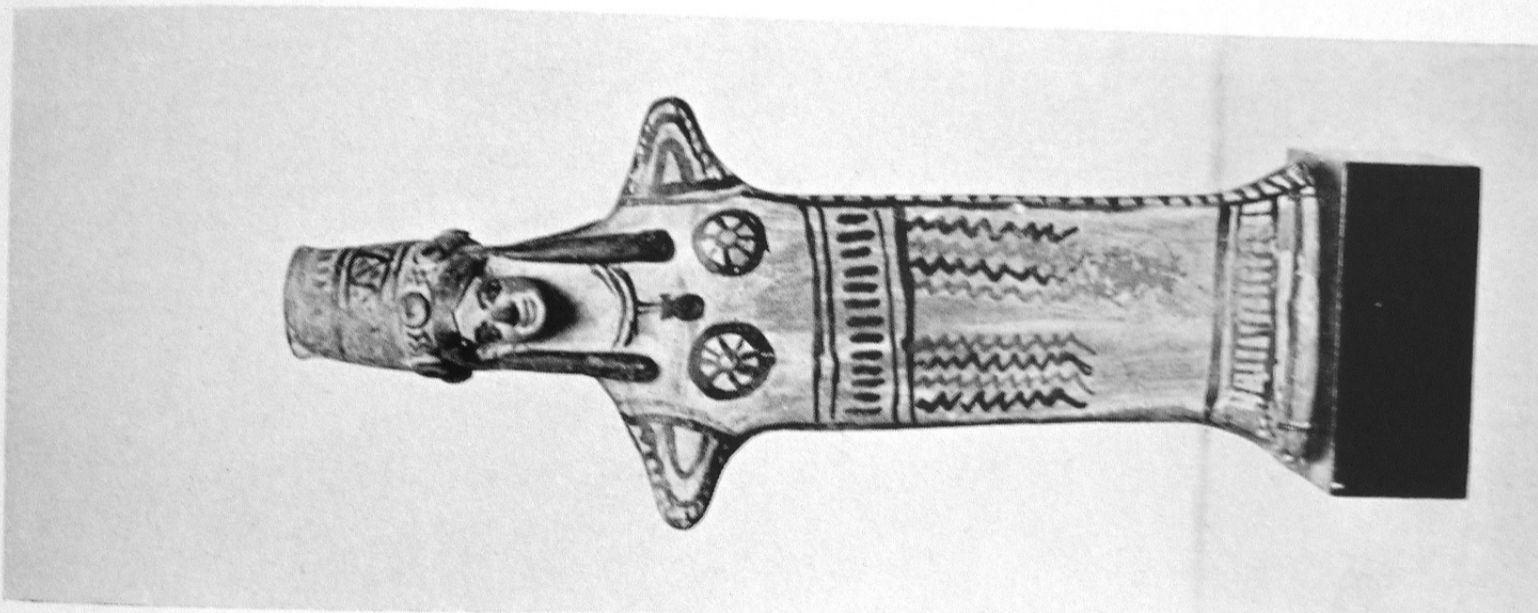


FIG. 45

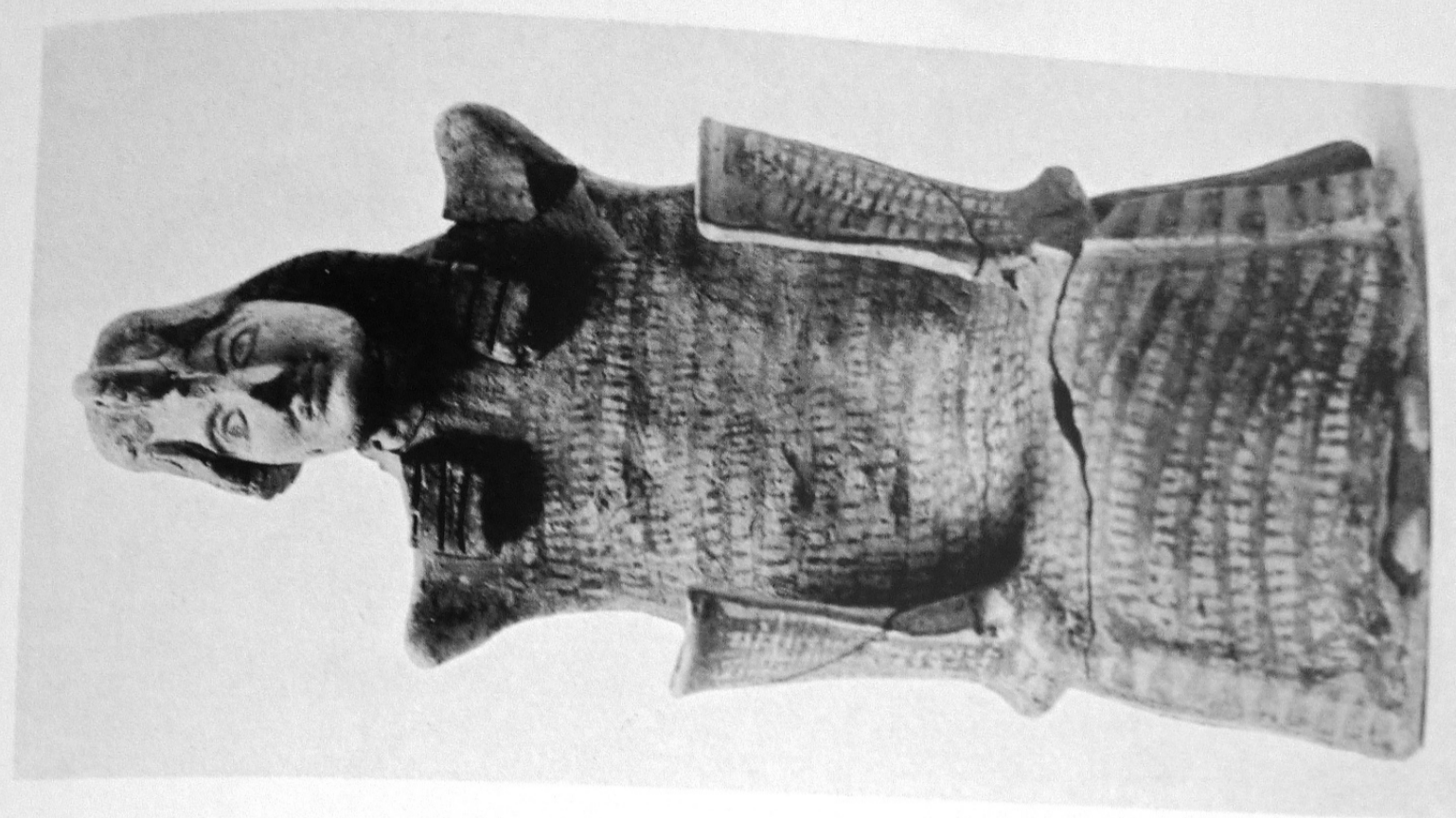


FIG. 46

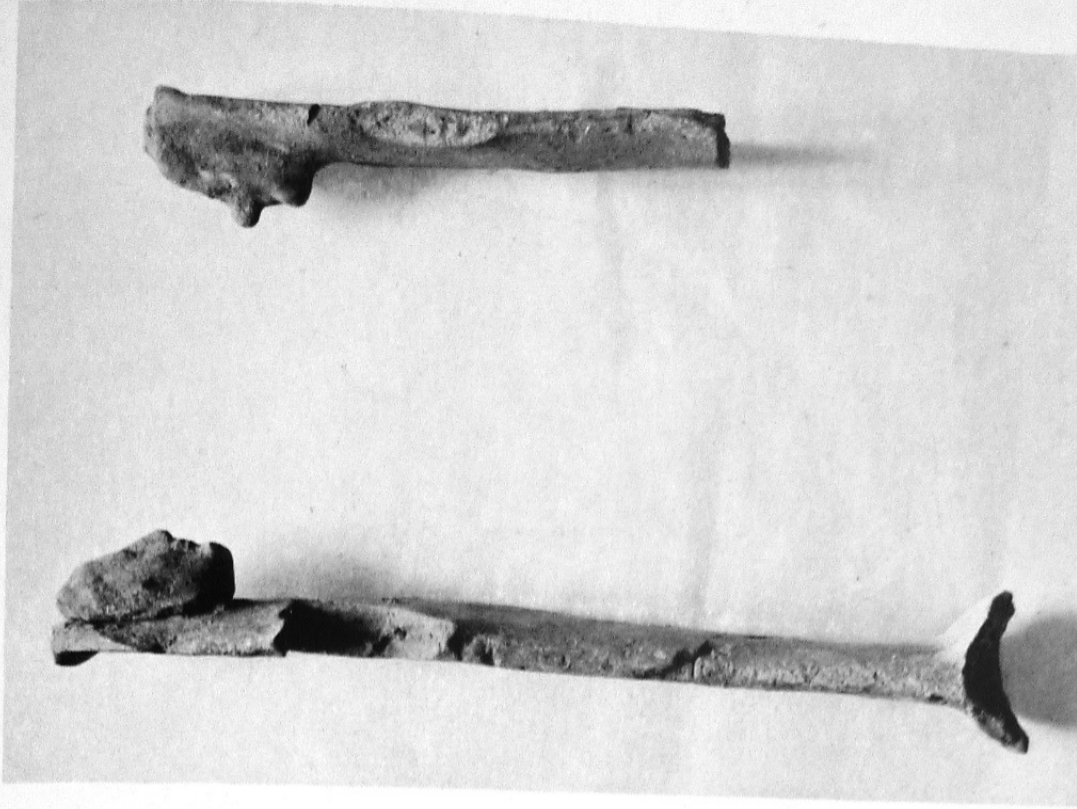


FIG. 48



FIG. 47



FIG. 49



FIG. 50



FIG. 51



FIG. 54



FIG. 53

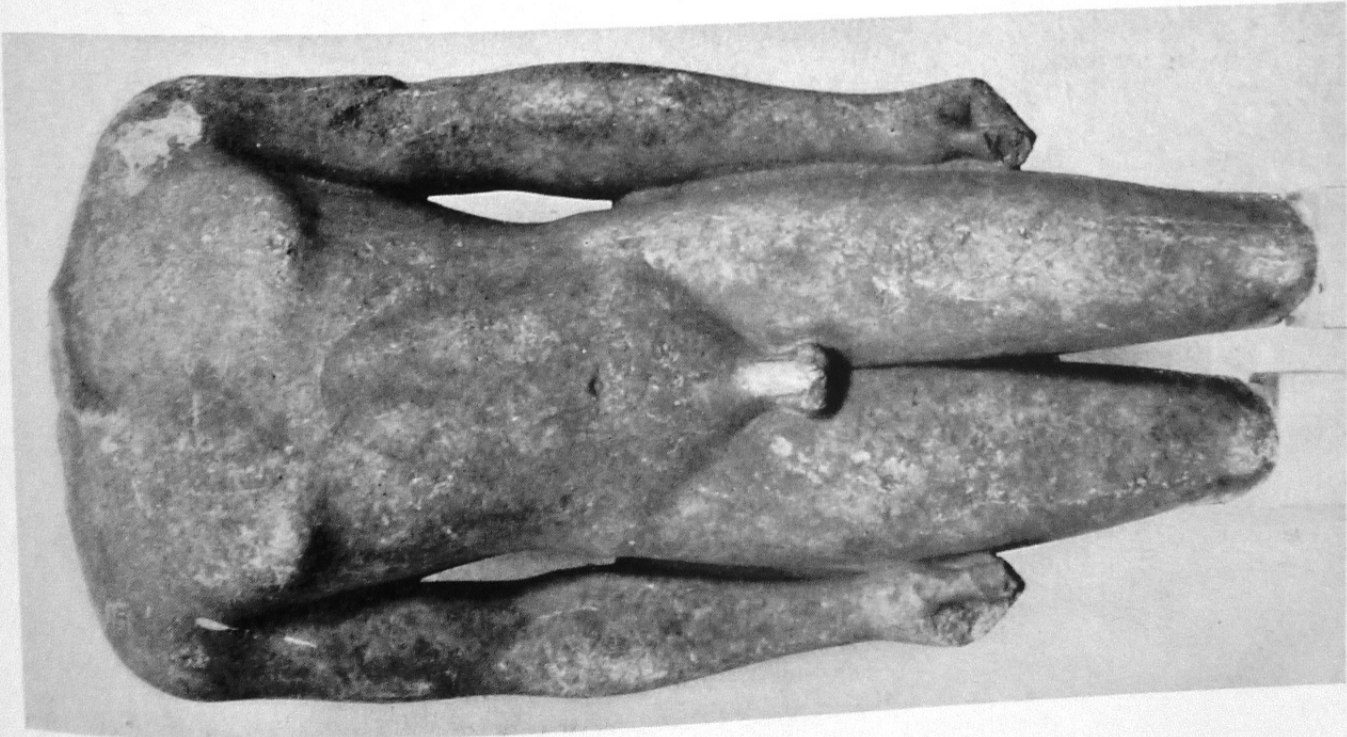


FIG. 52

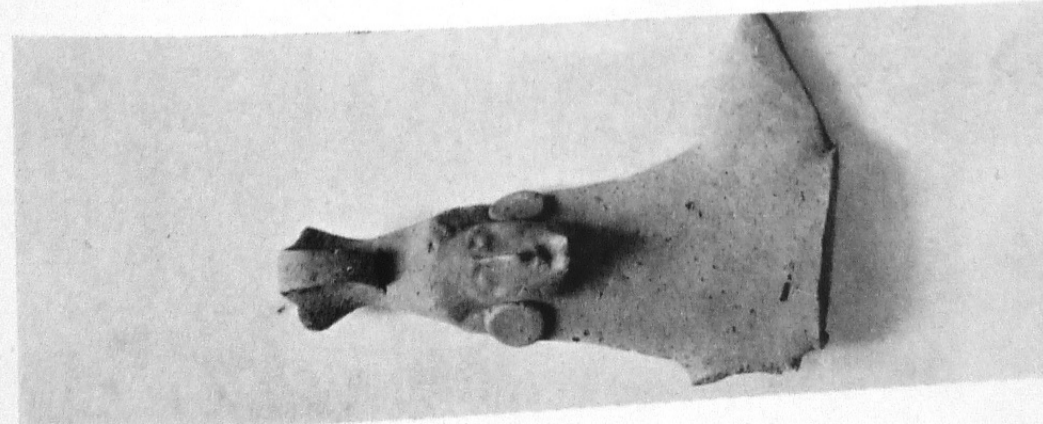


FIG. 55

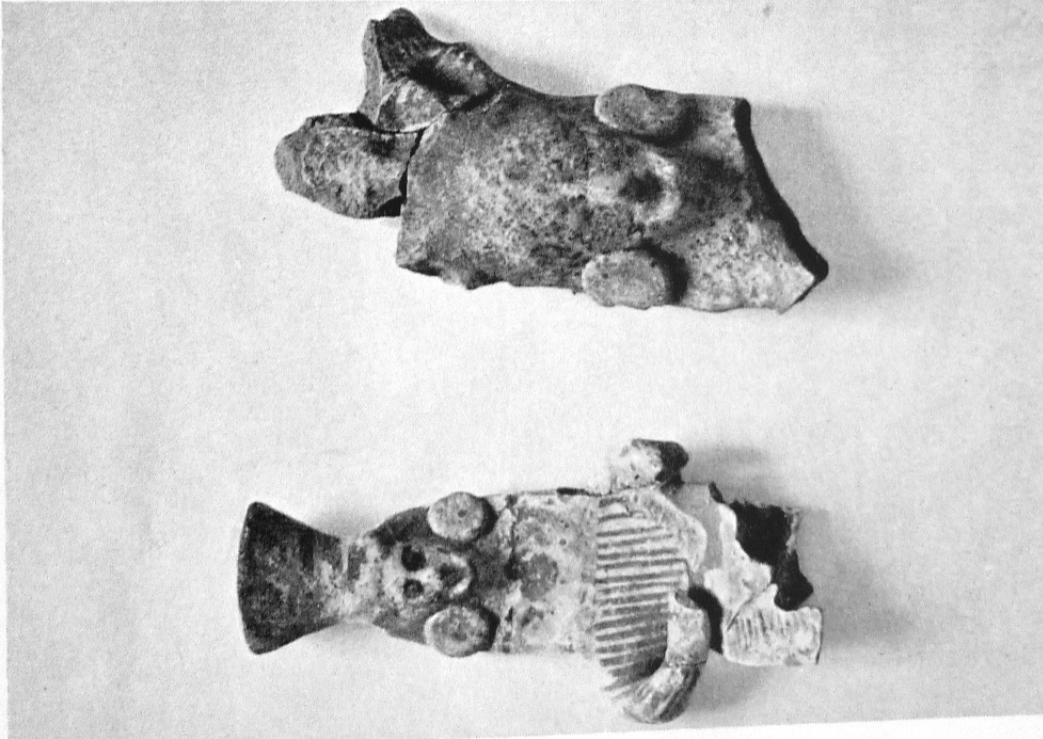


FIG. 56



FIG. 57

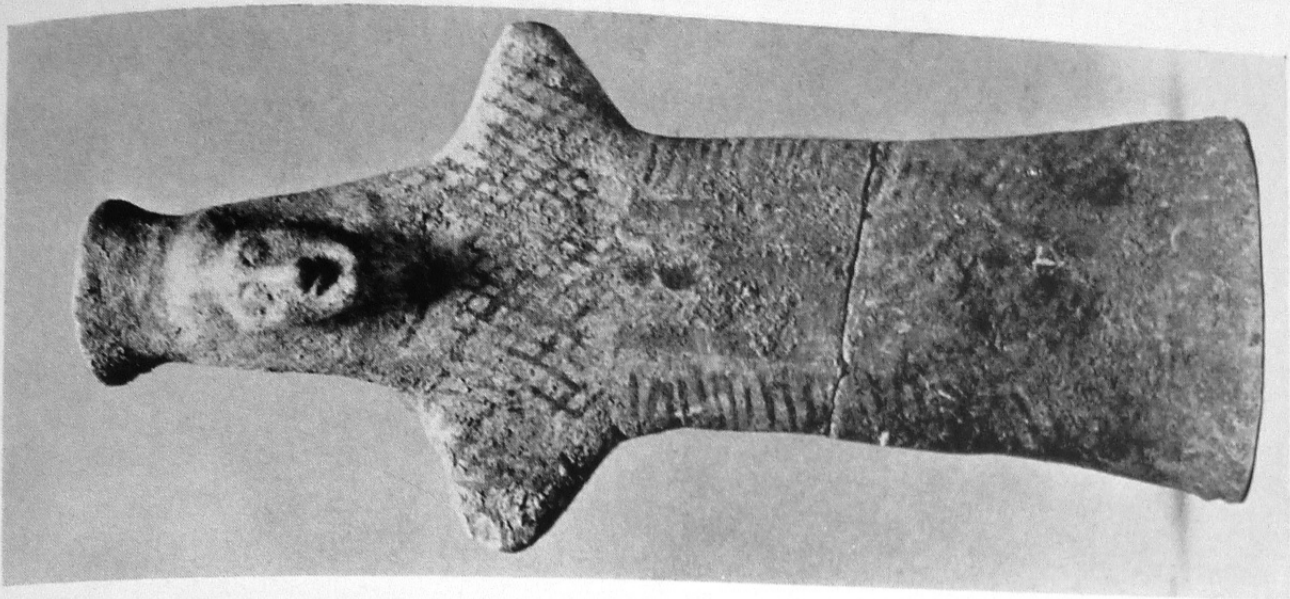


FIG. 60

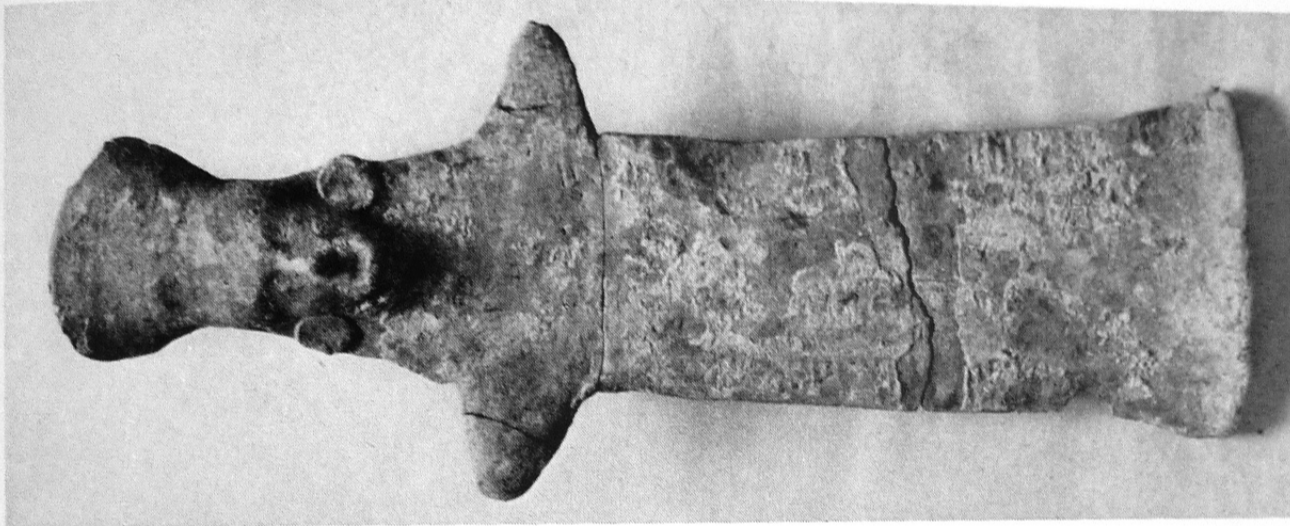


FIG. 59



FIG. 58



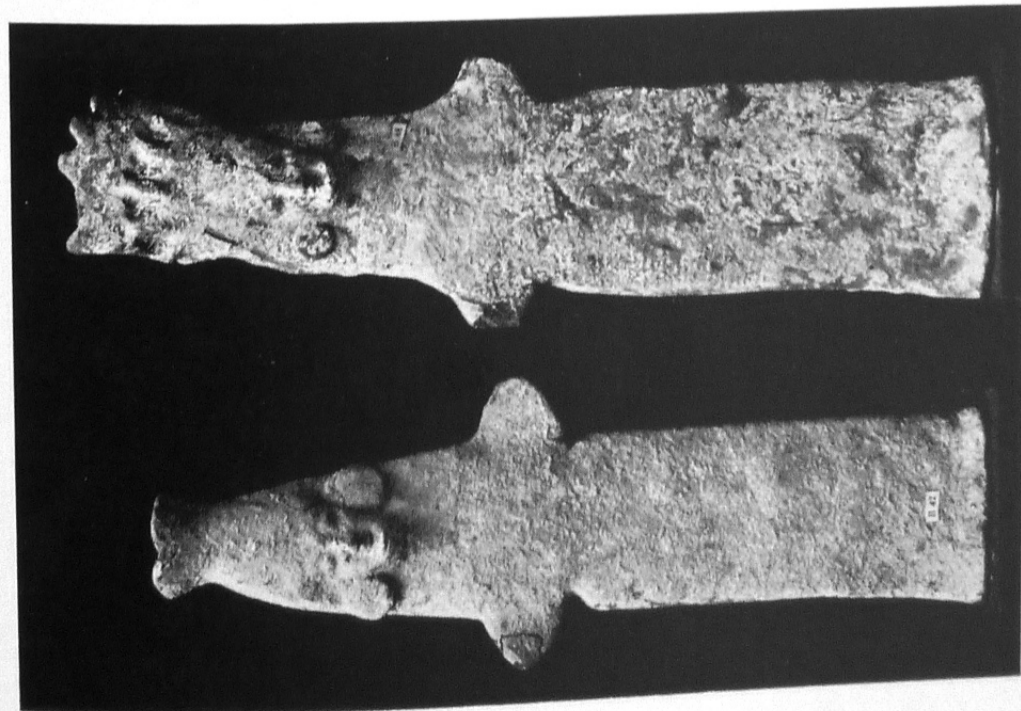


FIG. 61



FIG. 62



FIG. 63



FIG. 64



FIG. 65



FIG. 66



FIG. 67



FIG. 68



FIG. 69



FIG. 70



FIG. 72

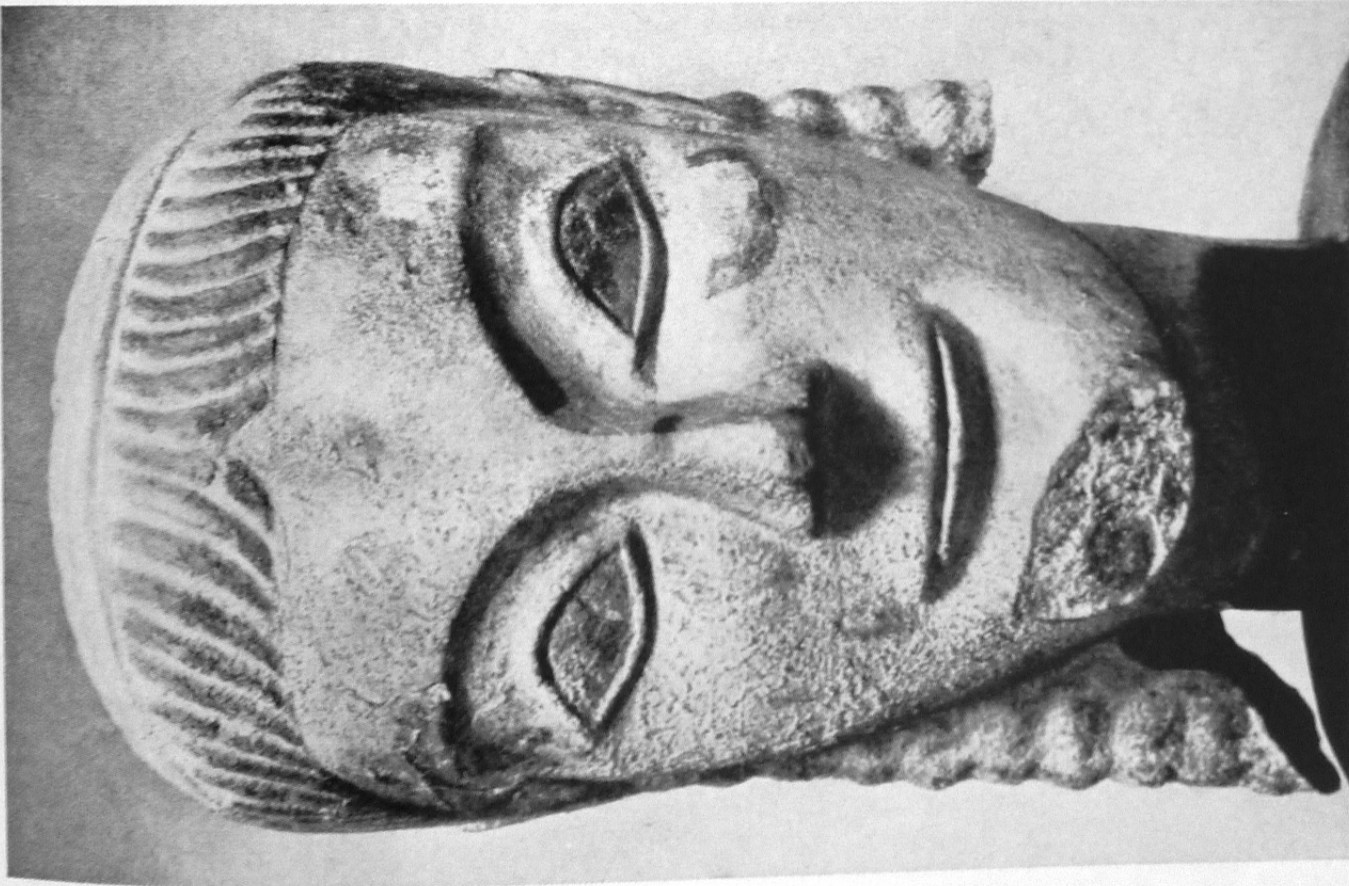


FIG. 71



FIG. 73

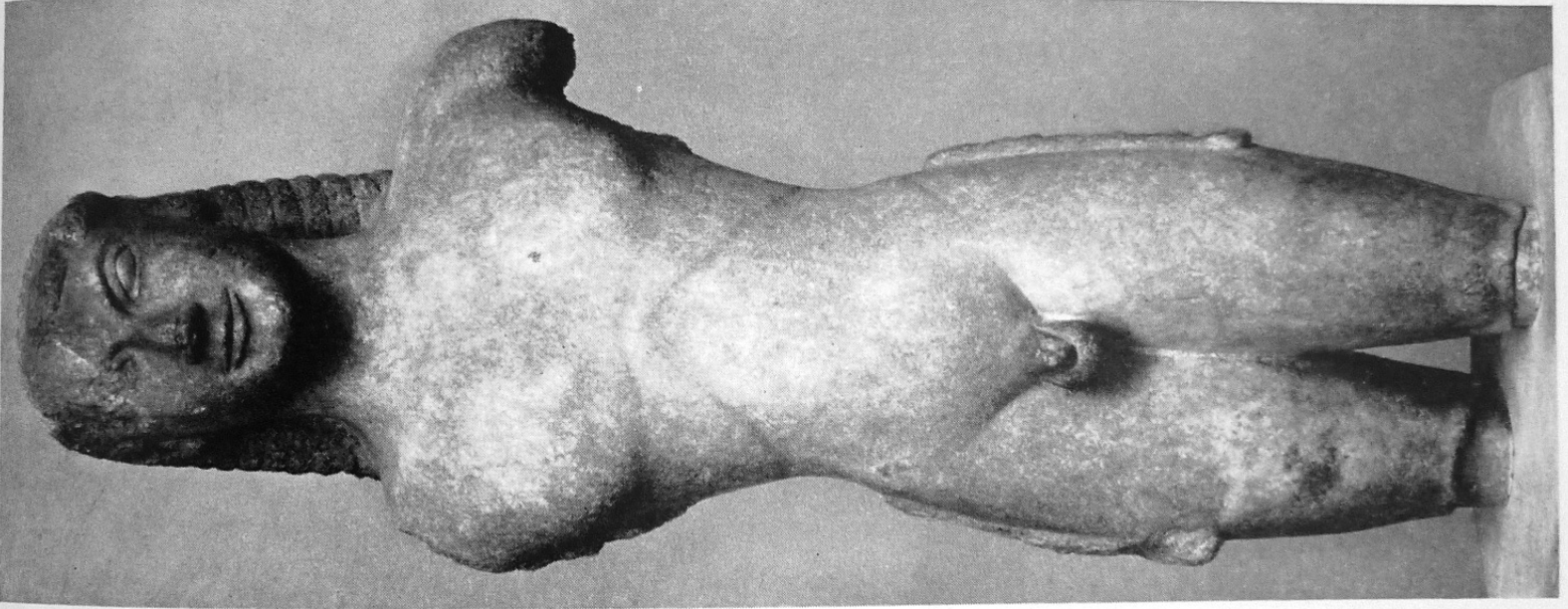


FIG. 73a



FIG. 74

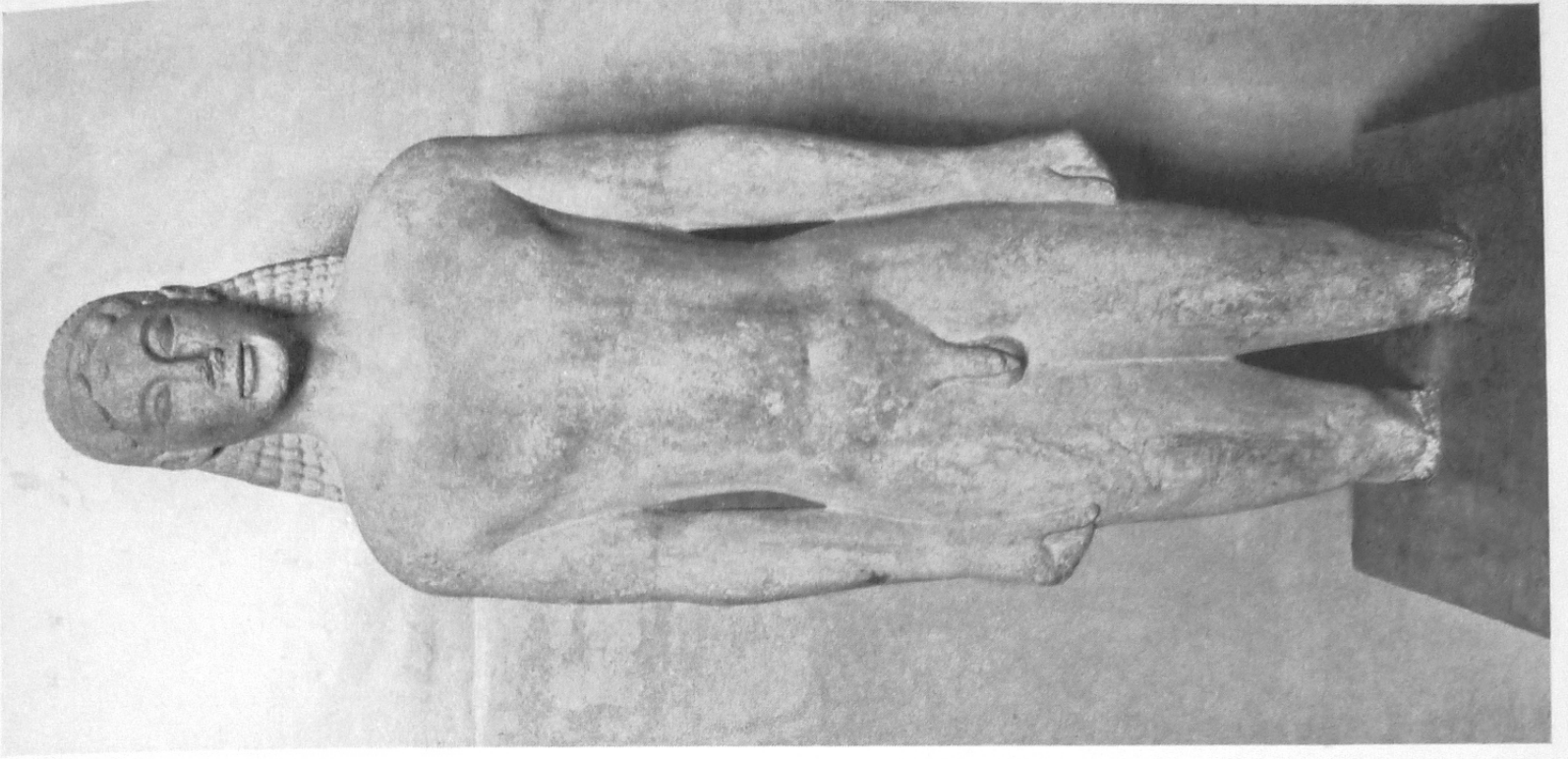


FIG. 76



FIG. 75



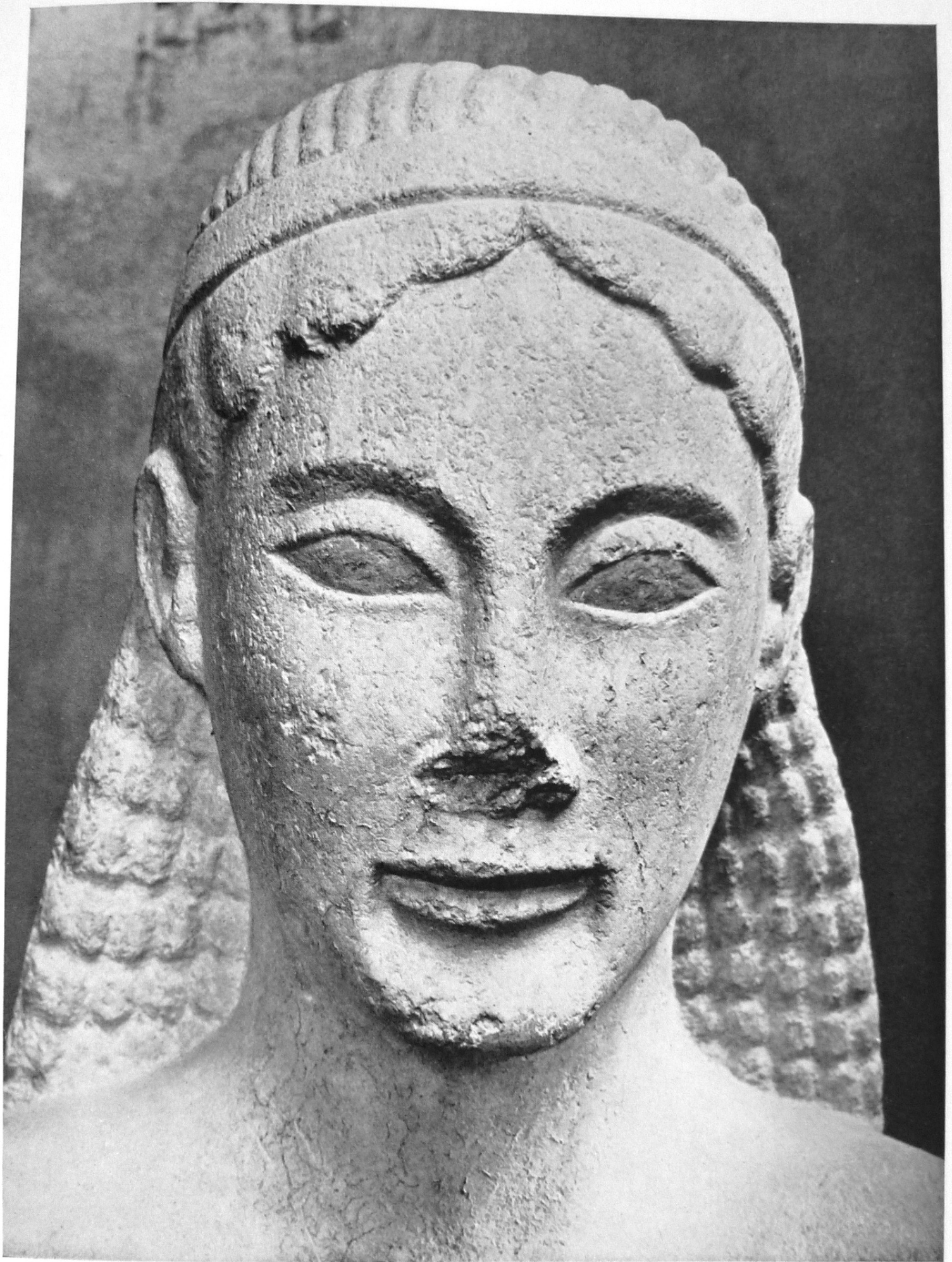


FIG. 77



FIG. 78



FIG. 79

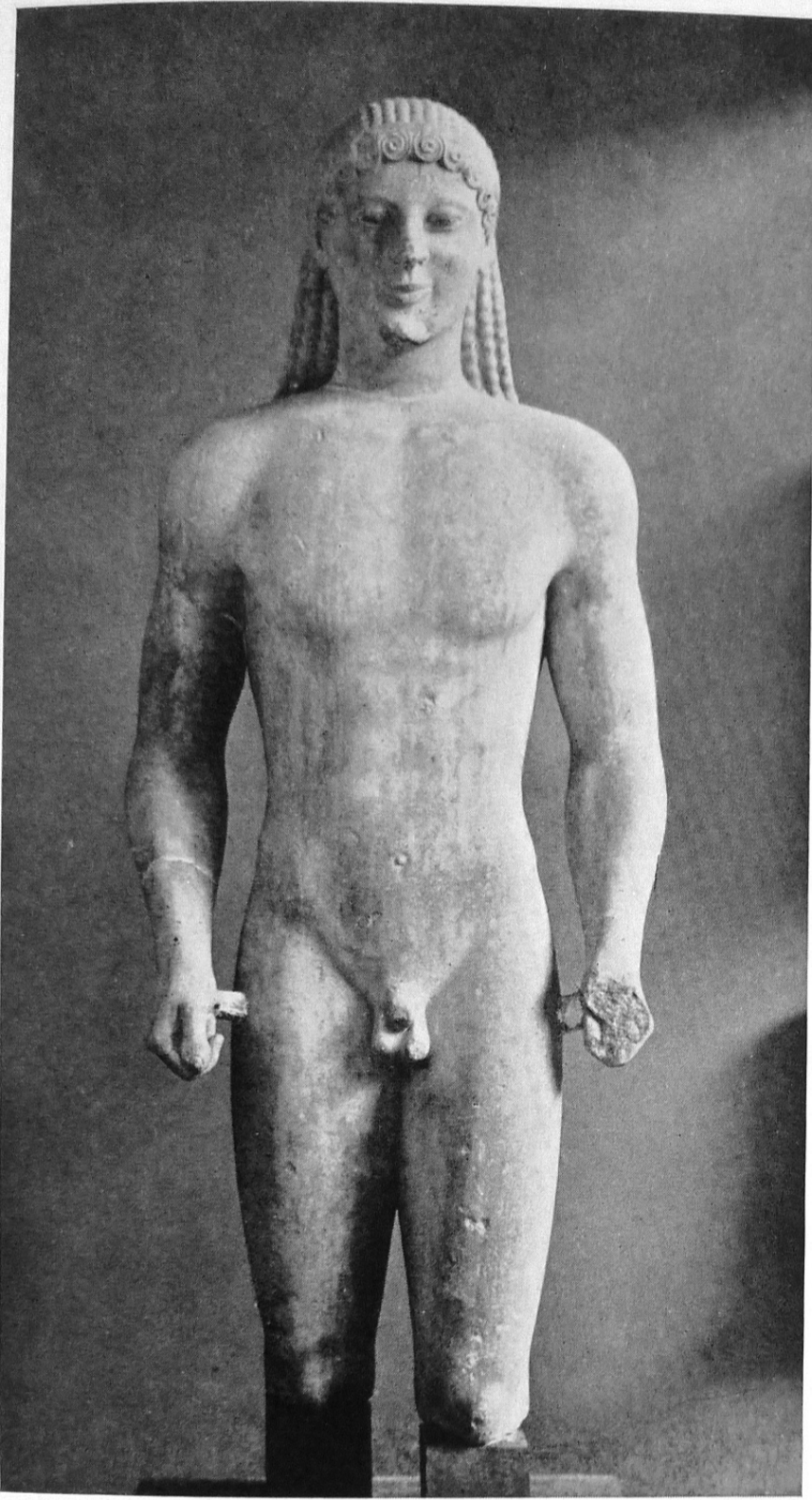


FIG. 80

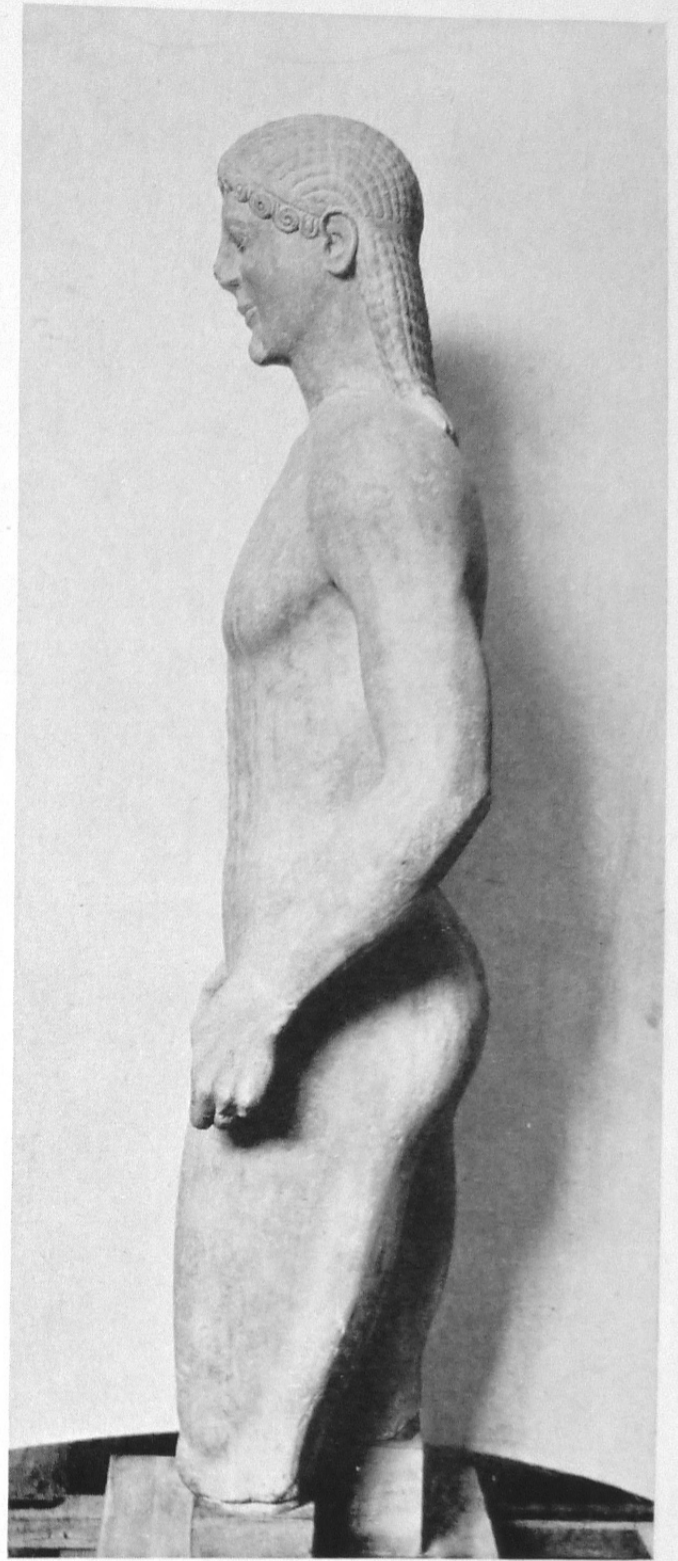


FIG. 81

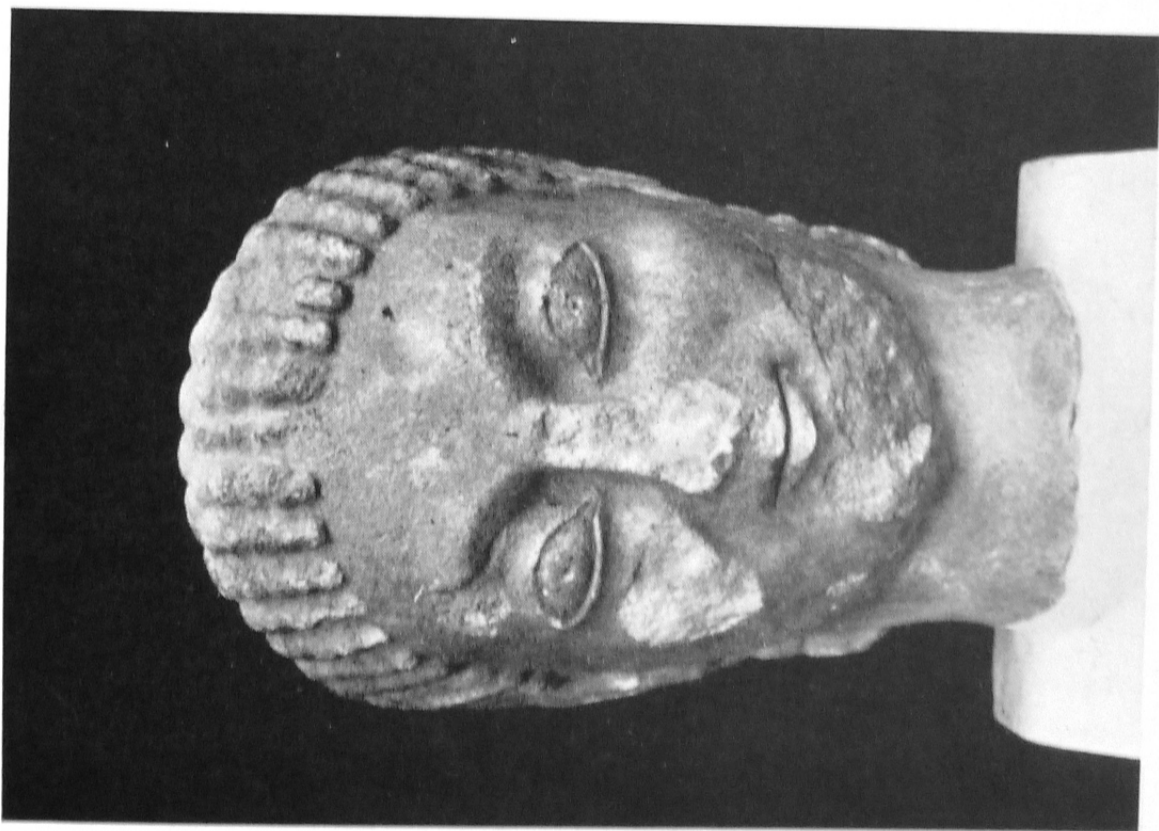


FIG. 82

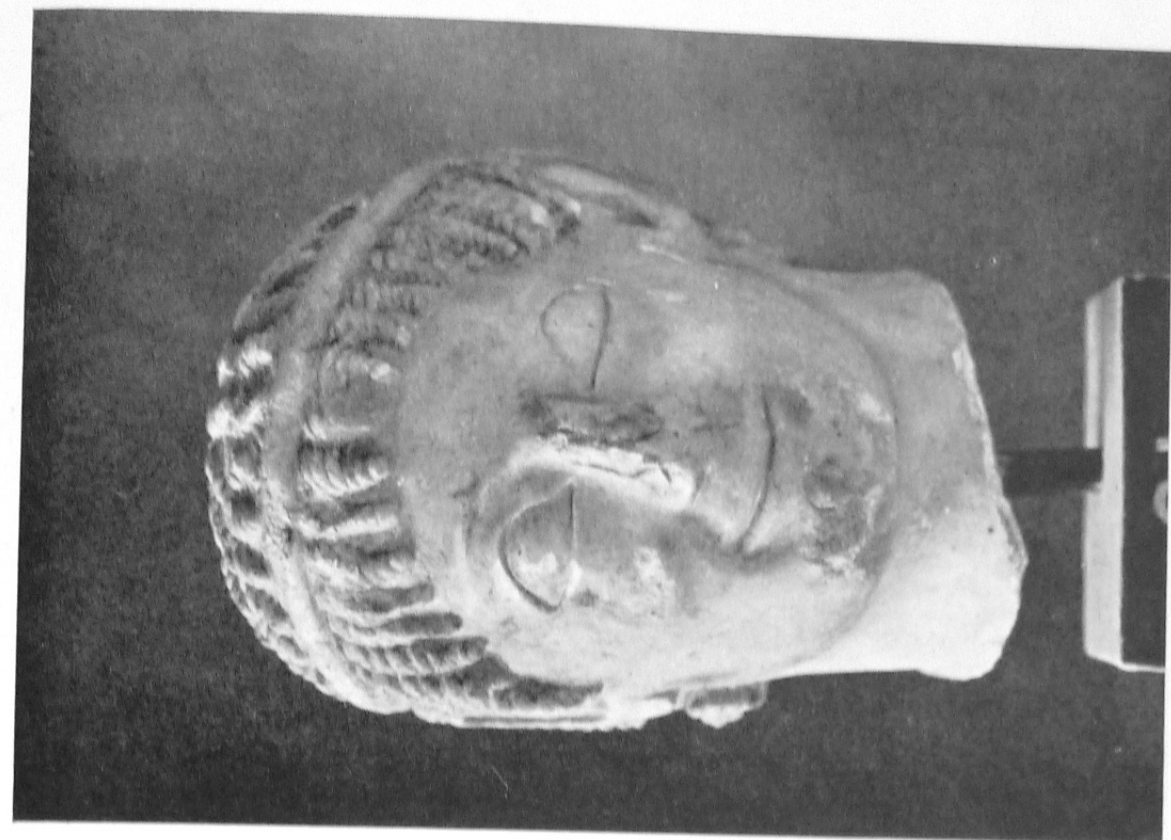


FIG. 83