

# The Male Figure in Early Cycladic Sculpture

PAT GETZ-PREZIOSI

MARBLE FIGURATIVE SCULPTURE, dominated by the female form, constitutes the most striking class of objects made during the Early Bronze Age in the Cyclades, an archipelago of more than thirty small islands at the center of the Aegean. Although the male figure is exceptional in Cycladic art, accounting for only 4 or 5 percent of the sculptures carved in these islands during the third millennium B.C., it occurs in all phases of the Early Cycladic period and in a variety of engaging forms. Two of these rare pieces are in the Metropolitan Museum's Aegean collection (Figures 16–19, 58–60).

While most of the Cycladic male figures have been previously published, they have never been treated more than cursorily as a group. The present article is an attempt to present a general picture of the iconographic and relative chronological position of the male image in the development of Cycladic sculpture. Particular attention will be paid to unusually impressive, little-known, or controversial works.

A census of all the male figures, including very fragmentary ones, known to the writer at this time can be found at the end of the article. Each sculpture is identified in the text and captions by its census number; references to the illustration(s) are cited the first time a piece is mentioned and subsequently only as needed.

Before beginning, however, it may be useful to review briefly those aspects of the typology of Cycladic sculpture that will be relevant to our subject. The terminology used here is basically that suggested by Renfrew.<sup>1</sup>

In the first Early Bronze Age phase (ECI; Grotta-Pelos culture; roughly 3200–2800 B.C.) two distinct but related sculptural forms were produced. The

*Schematic* type includes thin flat statuettes without head or legs and with a body which is often of violin shape. Despite the frequent absence of clear sexual markings, these figures are generally assumed to represent the female form. The *Plastiras* type, named after a cemetery site on Paros, is by contrast fully representational. Its chief characteristics are the standing posture, the position of the hands with fingertips meeting below the breasts, broad hips, and separately worked legs ending in feet which are parallel to the ground.

The *Louros* type, named after a grave site on Naxos, is probably somewhat later than the *Plastiras* and may belong essentially to the transition from the first to the second Early Cycladic phase (ECI–II; Kampos or, perhaps better, Kampos-Louros culture; ca. 2800–2700 B.C.). *Louros* figures are rather thin and flat, and schematic in comparison to the *Plastiras*. The face is featureless and the arms are represented as simple angular protrusions at the sides. Certain “hybrid” forms also occur around this time. Generally these appear to be composed of elements characteristic of the main types.

The archaeological record is virtually blank at this point, but one may speculate that toward the end of

A list of abbreviations is given at the end of this article.

1. Renfrew, pp. 1ff. For examples of all the types and varieties mentioned see *ACC*. For the reader's convenience the chronological designations ECI, ECI–II, ECII, and ECIII will be used rather than the cultural designations preferred by Renfrew. On this aspect of Cycladic terminology see J. E. Coleman, “Chronological and Cultural Divisions of the Early Cycladic Period: A Critical Approach,” *PCP*, pp. 48–50; C. Renfrew, “Terminology and Beyond,” *PCP*, pp. 51–63; J. E. Coleman, “Remarks on ‘Terminology and Beyond,’” *PCP*, pp. 64–65.

the transitional phase there follows a group of figures, called "precanonical" by Thimme, from which the classic folded-arm figure emerges in the second phase (ECII; Keros-Syros culture; ca. 2700–2200 B.C.). Five separate varieties of the folded-arm type may be distinguished. The earliest of these is probably the *Kapsala*, named after a cemetery on Amor-gos. Kapsala-variety figures generally have a slender build with rounded forms, and they exhibit a broken profile axis. Details are modeled rather than incised. The legs are worked separately from the knees or are separated by a deep cleft which is perforated along the calves. The feet are generally held horizontally or nearly so.

The *Spedos* variety, named after a Naxian graveyard, probably developed from the Kapsala. It is the most common and the most widely distributed form in Cycladic art and probably enjoyed the longest duration. Despite strictly observed canons of proportion and execution, it also shows the greatest diversity. It seems possible to distinguish at least an early and a late group within the Spedos variety. To the former belong figures with a strongly curving outline and an accented profile axis, relatively narrow waist, curving abdominal line marking the pubic area, and legs divided by a perforated cleft. Beginning with the early Spedos group all folded-arm figures, except a few very late ones, have feet which point downward and outward at an angle, from which it is assumed that the posture represented is a reclining one. To the late Spedos group belong figures with a lyre-shaped head and an incised pubic triangle. These figures tend to be more elongated and straighter in profile than the earlier ones, and the leg-cleft is usually not perforated. Details are rendered more by incision than by modeling.

The latest varieties of the folded-arm figure are flat, markedly angular in outline, and highly stylized in their treatment of the human form. Details are normally incised. The *Dokathismata* variety, named after a cemetery site on Amorgos, exhibits elongated, often very refined forms, while the *Chalandriani* variety, named after a large necropolis on Syros, is a truncated version of this type: the mid-section is omitted altogether and the shoulders are consequently disproportionately broad. Among the Chalandriani-variety figures the canonical arrangement of the forearms, right below left, is at times abandoned. The leg-cleft is sometimes perforated in the

Dokathismata variety, but not in the Chalandriani, although in both the upper arms are occasionally freed from the sides of the torso by a space.

The *Koumasa* variety, named for the location of a communal tomb, is an indigenous Cretan version. Among the small thin flat figures, which are found exclusively on Crete, at least two groups may be recognized. One is angular in outline and is probably an imitation of the Dokathismata and Chalandriani varieties,<sup>2</sup> while the other has more rounded lines, indicating a probable derivation from the Spedos variety.<sup>3</sup>

Like the schematic statuettes of the ECI phase, the ECII abstract figures are probably also female representations. The latter are known as the *Apeiranthos* type after a village on Naxos.

The male figure is well established within the Plastiras type of the ECI phase. Altogether seven male examples of this rather rare type are known (nos. 1–7; Figures 1, 2–9). Despite their exaggerated proportions, Plastiras figures reflect a concern for anatomical forms and details which is seen only occasionally in later varieties of Cycladic sculpture. Primary sex distinctions are clearly indicated and secondary ones are also suggested: with one exception (no. 7), the hips of Plastiras males, by comparison with females of the type, tend to be somewhat narrower with respect to the shoulders (or upper arms); whereas the male waist tends to be wider than the female in relation to the hips.<sup>4</sup>

The attributes of the Plastiras figures are also sex-related, although not consistently so. Two of the males have an incised belt on the front (nos. 1, 3),<sup>5</sup> while two others wear a conical ribbed *pilos* (nos. 6, 7).<sup>6</sup> The same cap is worn by a figure of uncertain sex

2. E.g., ACC, fig. 137.

3. E.g., ACC, fig. 138.

4. The masculine proportions of a figure in the Morigi collection (no. 4) invalidate my earlier suggestion (ACC, p. 439, no. 72) that it was originally conceived as a female. It seems likely, rather, that this figure was intended as a male from the beginning and that the penis, now missing, was added separately, either at the outset or as a result of damage to the original.

5. Thimme (ACC, p. 440, no. 74) interprets the horizontal lines as flesh creases such as are found, albeit nearly always in greater numbers, on the front of female figures (e.g., Figures 10a, 63d).

6. A smooth rounded cap also occurs on a presumably Cycladic male figure of lead (date uncertain) in the Barbier-Müller Museum (ACC, no. 252).

in the Naxos Museum (Figure 10d).<sup>7</sup> This statuette has masculine proportions but the protuberance on the stomach seems, because of its high position, to represent the navel rather than the penis. One apparently female Plastiras figure also wears the *pilos* (Figure 10c).<sup>8</sup> This cap cannot therefore be considered an exclusively male form of headgear, even though female figures more often wear a cylindrical *polos*.<sup>9</sup>

The *pilos* occurs on figures of more schematic type produced during the EC I phase or in the transition to EC II: on a small hybrid figure which, because of the horizontal bands incised across the front, should be viewed as a female representation (Figure 10a)<sup>10</sup> and on a figure of uncertain sex from the name-grave of the Louros type (Figure 10b).<sup>11</sup> A third figure (no. 8; Figures 11, 12) wears a *pilos*, a baldric in relief running from the right shoulder to the left side, and an elaborate belt (now damaged, but possibly holding a dagger). In the absence of genitalia, the baldric and belt identify the figure as a male. This piece, in Toronto, is the only Louros figure which there is strong reason to believe represents a male. It is also the earliest Cycladic figure depicted with a baldric, an attribute which, after this single instance, seems to have disappeared for perhaps several hundred years.<sup>12</sup>

With the emergence of the folded-arm female as the canonical or classic image of the islands at the beginning of the EC II phase, there was a very marked increase in figure production. Yet from the first half or so of this period there is but a single folded-arm male. This is the exceptionally large fragmentary piece in the Erlenmeyer collection (no. 10; Figure 13).

At this time, however, or perhaps somewhat earlier, the special occupational figures make their appearance: the seated harp player (nos. 9, 11–17; Figures 14, 16–19, 21–28, 32–43), in two cases furnished with an elaborate chair; the seated cupbearer seeming to propose a toast (nos. 18, 19; Figures 14, 45); the standing woodwind player mounted on a rectangular base (nos. 20–24; Figures 15, 46, 47); and the trio consisting of two males mounted on the same rectangular base and supporting a sitting female between them (no. 25; Figure 48). The males are rendered in the same styles as the contemporaneous female figures all of which, in distinct contrast to the males, are shown either reclining or sitting passively with arms folded, and even, in two unpublished examples, with their feet crossed.<sup>13</sup>

The musical instruments and the wine-cup are at-

tributes which, like the baldric on the Louros statuette in Toronto (no. 8), seem to identify the occupational figures as male even when, as in the case of many of the seated figures, they are devoid of sexual characteristics (e.g., nos. 11–15, 18). The absence of genitalia may be explained by the supposition that the figures were meant to be viewed from the side rather than the front, and that consequently the front is often rendered only summarily. Another possibility is that certain sculptors chose to avoid the difficult problem of representing genitalia on a seated figure. By contrast, on all standing males the penis is more or less clearly indicated. In any case, since the prehistoric inhabitants of the Cyclades clearly knew which sex was appropriate to the role represented, there was no need (especially in view of the streamlined style of the figures) to stress gender through the depiction of primary sex distinctions.<sup>14</sup>

At present there are at least seven well-preserved harp players. Four of these are well known: the once-controversial figure in the Metropolitan Museum (no. 9; Figures 16–19),<sup>15</sup> the pair in Karlsruhe said to be

7. Naxos Archaeological Museum 199, H. 20.5 cm. (after unpublished photo; permission to publish drawing courtesy C. Doumas).

8. Formerly in a New York private collection, H. 10 cm. (after a rough sketch).

9. E.g., ACC, nos. 65–68.

10. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, H. 8 cm., "Naxos" (after Zervos, fig. 37).

11. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 6140.6, H. 17.4 cm. (after Papathanasopoulos, p. 136f., pl. 70e; ACC, fig. 35a).

12. For a discussion of the hunter/warrior in Cycladic art see P.G.-P. in PCP, esp. p. 89. (N.B. The article referred to in nn. 1–3 and 5 did not appear in AK but is the one published here. Because of reworking, the note numbers cited in PCP do not correspond to the present version of the article.)

13. The seated figures with crossed feet were found several years ago in a grave at Aplomata on Naxos and promptly stolen. Only one has been recovered.

14. Some folded-arm figures carved early in EC II also lack a clear definition of sex. These are assumed to represent females. See, e.g., ACC, nos. 146 and 147, and discussion below of the central figure of the three-figure group (no. 25).

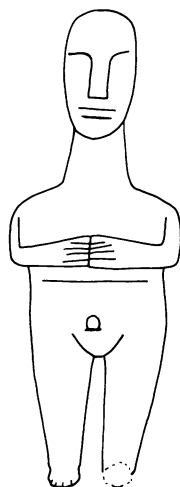
15. This work has often been regarded as a forgery. See, e.g., Renfrew, p. 14, n. 1; B. Aign, *Die Geschichte der Musikinstrumente des ägäischen Raumes bis um 700 vor Christus* (Frankfurt, 1963) p. 33 and n. 3; and most recently, C. Cox, "Fakes at the Met? Love Digs up the Dirt," *Soho News* (Feb. 11, 1981) pp. 9ff.

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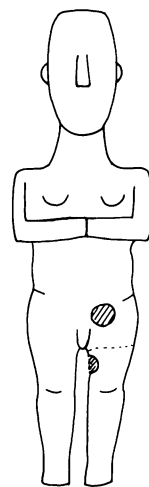
1. ECI (nos. 1-7) and ECI-II (no. 8) male figures (drawings: P.G.-P.)

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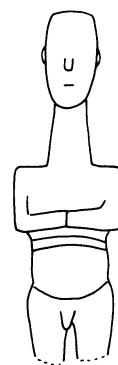
- 2, 3. Plastiras type with belt. No. 1. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3912 (photos: I. Ioannidou)  
 4, 5. Plastiras type. No. 4. Lugano, Paolo Morigi Collection (photos: Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe)  
 6, 7. Plastiras type with *pilos*. No. 6. Lugano, Adriano Ribolzi Collection (photos: Galleria Casa Serodine)  
 8, 9. Plastiras type with *pilos*. No. 7. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3911 (photos: I. Ioannidou)



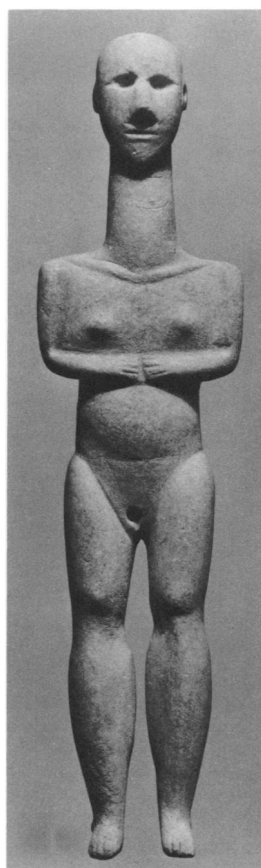
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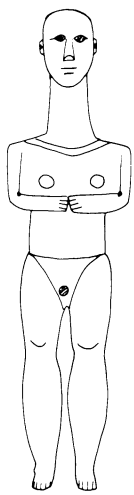
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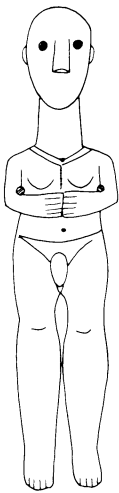
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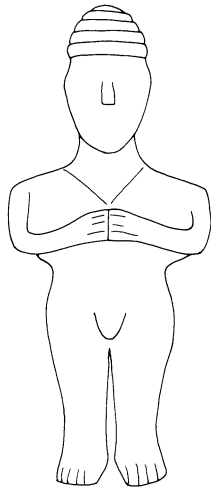




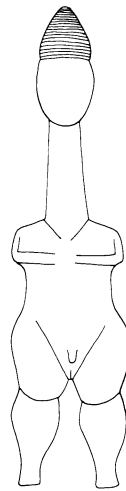
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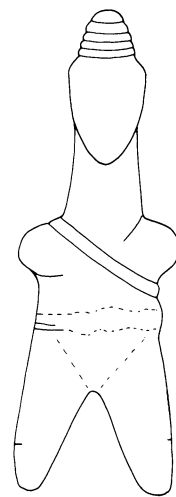
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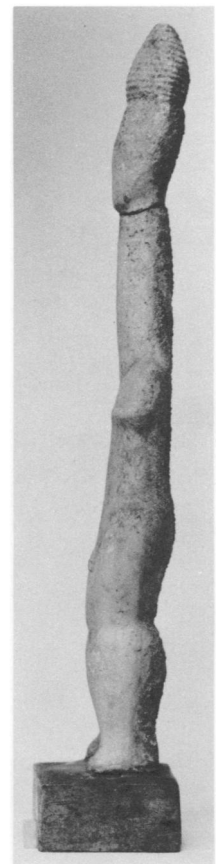
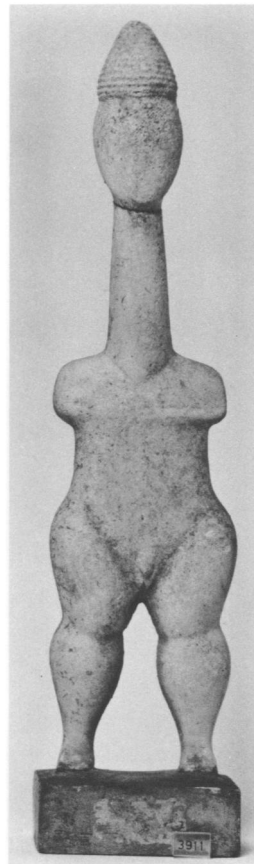
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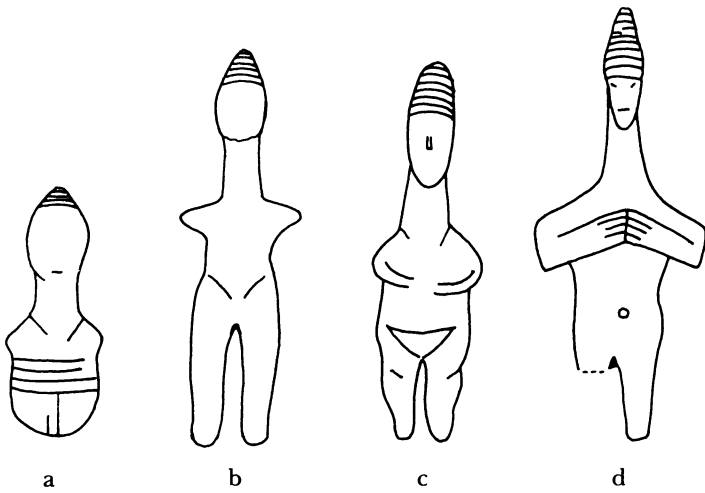


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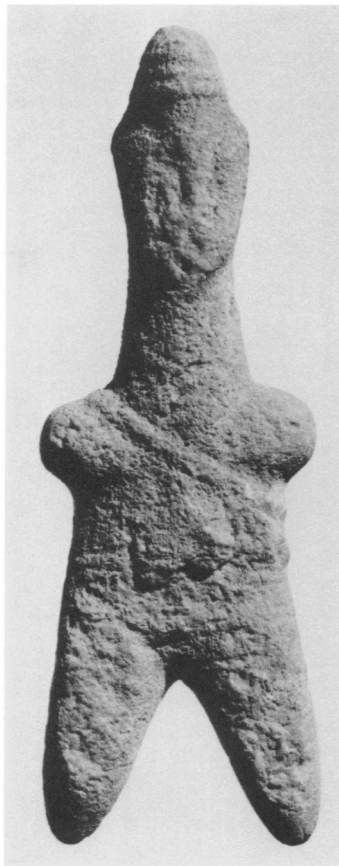
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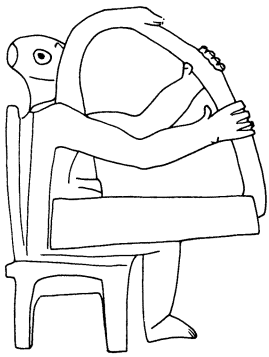
10. EC figures with *piloi* (drawings: P.G.-P.)

13. Folded-arm figure, Spedos variety. No. 10. Basel, Erlenmeyer Collection (photo: W. Mohrbach, Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe)



11, 12. Hunter/warrior, Louros type. No. 8. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 930.80.2 (photos: Royal Ontario Museum)

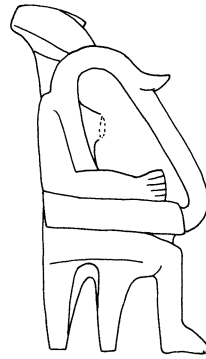




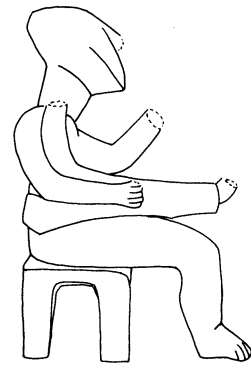
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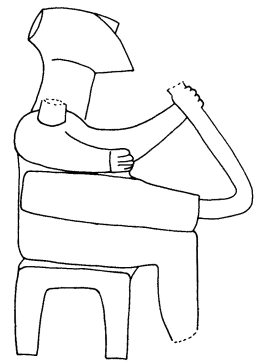
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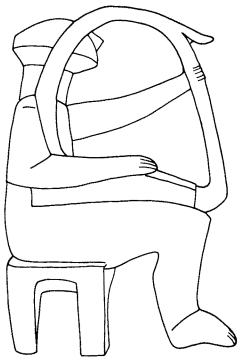
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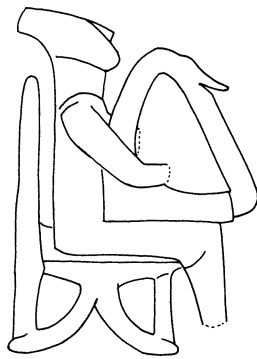
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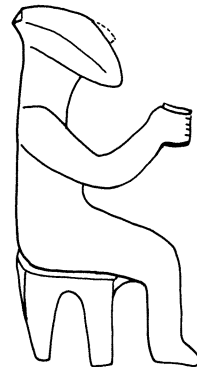
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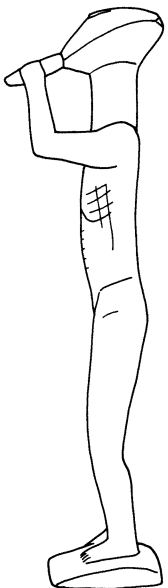


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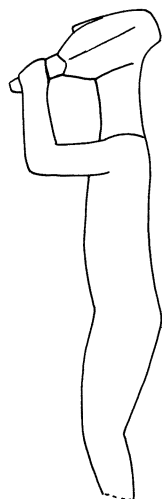


No. 18

14. Seated male figures  
(drawings: P.G.-P.)



No. 20



No. 21



No. 22

15. Standing musicians (drawings: P.G.-P.)

from Thera (nos. 13, 14; Figures 32–39), and the figure from Keros in Athens (no. 16). Two other harpers, in a Swiss private collection, are little known (nos. 11, 12; Figures 21–28), while a third privately owned piece is introduced here for the first time (no. 15; Figures 40–43).

Although the seven harpers were probably carved at different times over a period of at least one hundred and perhaps as much as two or three hundred years, they form a remarkably uniform group in which certain conventions are adhered to very strictly. The musician sits straight, head up, seat

well back on his chair or stool, feet parallel to the ground. On his right side he holds a triangular harp with a frontal ornament in the shape of a duck's bill. His right arm, lower than his left, usually rests on or against the soundbox of the instrument; the two exceptions to this rule are, incidentally, the harpers seated on elaborate chairs (nos. 9, 15). One reason that this essential uniformity exists, even though harpers were carved only rarely and over an extended period of time, is that they were planned according to a specific traditional formula.<sup>16</sup> The variations that are observable among the seven figures—

16. P.G.-P. in ACC, pp. 80–82.

16–19. Harper, precanonical style. No. 9. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 47.100.1



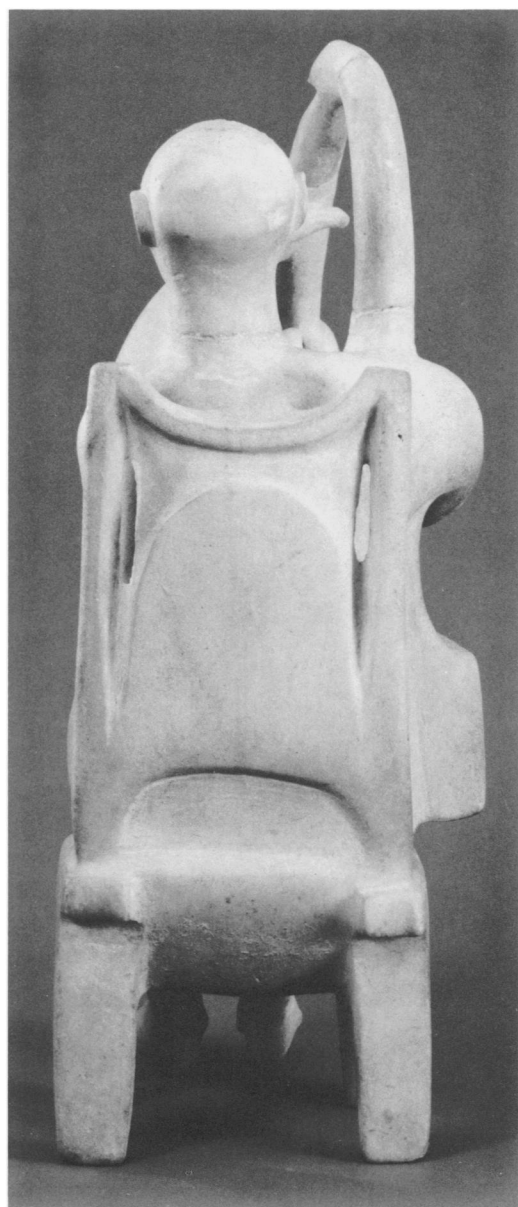
variations in relative harp size, arm position (particularly of the left arm), and type and degree of elaborateness of the seat—are probably the result of the sculptors' individual preferences. Other differences may be due in part to their varying levels of skill and experience and in part to the fact that the harpers are carved in a number of styles.

Most closely related to the harp player is the seated cupbearer (no. 18; Figure 45). A single well-preserved example is known at the moment, but the recent discovery on Naxos of a similar, very fragmentary figure (no. 19) has confirmed that the charming piece in the Goulandris collection was not a freely conceived sculpture but belongs, too, to an estab-

lished type. It differs from the harper only in the position of the arms and in the kind of object held, as always, on the right side.

Two types of standing male occupational figures are known at present: the woodwind player and the "bearers" of the three-figure group. The musician is represented at this writing by at least three well-preserved examples, all of which are closely similar. In two of these (nos. 20—the best-known, in Karlsruhe—and 21; Figures 46, 47), the player holds to his lips a sandwichlike syrinx; in the third, the well-known figure from Keros in Athens, he holds a pair of short pipes (no. 22).

The trio in Karlsruhe with its two male bearers (no.



25; Figure 48) is at present unique, although a number of fragments may once have belonged to similar works.<sup>17</sup> Further examples can be expected to turn up eventually.

The bases which enable the standing male figures to maintain their erect posture have not so far been found on any Cycladic female figures. The explanation for this may be simply that females of the ECII period were never meant to stand. On the other hand, the recent discovery on Naxos of a female folded-arm figure seated on a chair, which, like the chairs of the harpers in New York and Athens, has an ornamental backrest, shows that such elaborate furniture was not related to gender.<sup>18</sup> The rule for seated figures, male and female alike, was a simple stool.

I would like now to consider the individual examples of the four ECII occupational types under discussion in what I believe to be the relative chronological order of their manufacture. I shall focus most closely on the Metropolitan Museum harper and the figures of this type which to date have received little or no attention.

Not a single one of these figures was found in situ in a systematic excavation; in most cases nothing is known about the associated finds. Nevertheless, I believe it is possible to assign the well-preserved harpers, cupbearer, woodwind players, and three-figure group to three of the stylistic phases through which the dominant female image passed.

Thimme is probably correct in viewing the New

York harper (no. 9) as the earliest of the occupational figures, but perhaps he dates this piece somewhat too early.<sup>19</sup> Whereas he regards it as contemporary with the Plastiras figures, in particular with the piece in the Morigi collection (no. 4; Figures 4, 5), I consider it more likely to have been carved by an independent-minded sculptor no earlier than the time, set hypothetically at the end of the transitional phase, when precanonical female figures were being fashioned.

In spite of this sculptor's keen interest in detail, his harper does not have the archaic look of the Plastiras figures. The latter are characterized by a curious combination of pervasive disproportion and attention to detail. The harper, while he has exaggeratedly long arms, necessitated by the oversized harp, is on the whole a well-balanced work. Moreover, his muscled arms, his hands complete with thumbs carved in the round and incised fingernails,<sup>20</sup> and his feet with soles arched on their inner surfaces only are treated very differently from those of Plastiras figures, and with much greater anatomical accuracy. Not even the carved facial detail is as close to that of these early figures as Thimme would have us believe. Detailed treatment of the face is in any case not confined exclusively to Plastiras figures. It can still be seen on the somewhat later precanonical figures, which tend also to be structurally better balanced.<sup>21</sup> More telling perhaps is the presence of a paint "ghost" in the form of

17. See Census, note after no. 25.

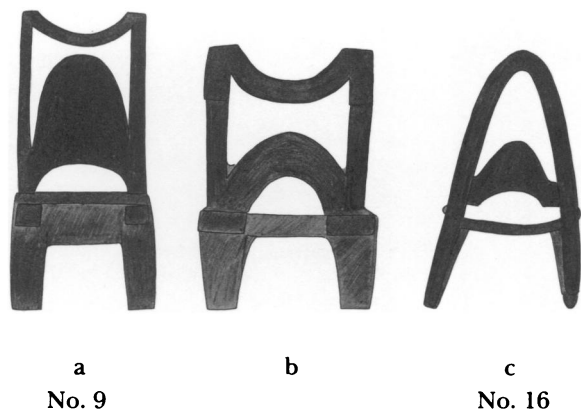
18. Kontoleon, *Praktika* (1971) pls. 214–215. The backrest of the chair of this figure is discussed further below and illustrated in Figure 20b.

19. ACC, p. 494.

20. The muscled arms and the thumbs are the features singled out by those who question the harper's authenticity. Actually, arm musculature is shown on two other harpers, though to a less pronounced degree of development (nos. 11, 12; Figures 21–28). The articulated thumbs may be unique to this piece only through an accident of preservation: the hands of the other harpers shown in the act of plucking the strings of their instruments (as opposed to merely holding the frames) are in every case missing. As the thumb is very much used in harp playing, it is quite possible that clearly defined thumbs were carved on these other figures as well. Although incised fingernails are not found on any other Cycladic figures now known, one very fragmentary piece, possibly from Attica, has similarly incised toenails (Doulas, *Cycladic Art*, no. 24). Another fragment (ibid., no. 23), very likely from the same figure, has carved ears and a mouth which compare rather well to those of the New York harper. The typological classification of the two fragments is at this time not possible.

21. E.g., ACC, no. 114.

## 20. Ornamental backrests of harpers' chairs (drawings: P.G.-P.)





a cap or caplike coiffure at the top of the harper's head (Figures 18, 19). Although occasional dabs of paint are not unknown on ECI figures, the use of paint for such details as hair or headdress has so far not been recognized on these early works. Painting is, on the other hand, common in the ECII phase.<sup>22</sup>

One might also consider the New York harper's chair. To date, no examples of sculpted furniture are known from the ECI period. However, the basic forms of the seat and ornamental backrest of this chair (Figures 19, 20a) are virtually duplicated in that of the early Spedos-style female figure mentioned above, from a recently excavated grave at Apomata on Naxos which contained ECII material exclusively (Figure 20b).<sup>23</sup>

Although it is unique among the special occupational figures for its naturalism, the New York harper seems stylistically to look both backward as well as forward.<sup>24</sup> I would say, therefore, that it was carved at a time just before the trend toward simplification and streamlining took firm hold on the sculptural tradition.

The pair of harpers and the little table carved in one piece with a miniature spouted bowl on a pedestal (nos. 11, 12; Figures 21–29), in a Swiss private collection, are said to have been found together.<sup>25</sup> This information seems correct, for the pieces are carved in the same marble, exhibit the same sort of surface weathering and encrustation, and, despite a number of minor differences, appear to be the work of one sculptor. Moreover, the three pieces are carved in the same scale and would seem to have been fashioned as a group composition. Indeed, this delightful assemblage vividly calls to mind the musicians who accompany dancing at religious festivals (*panegyria*) in Greece today. Set before them invariably is a table with refreshments.

This would be the third instance in which a pair of musician figures had been found in the same grave, the other two being the harpers, said to be from Thera, in Karlsruhe (nos. 13, 14; Figures 32–39) and the harper and double pipes player from Keros in Athens (nos. 16, 22; Figures 14, 15). While the third object in the Swiss group is unique for its combination of elements, footed marble vessels were also said to have been found with the Karlsruhe harpers.

The sculptor of the Swiss group, like all sculptors of the rare male examples, must have ordinarily carved female figures. These were probably of the Kapsala variety which, like the harpers, are of slender

build and well modeled.<sup>26</sup> In their narrowness and shape of head his harpers, especially no. 11, resemble the Karlsruhe syrinx player (no. 20; Figure 46) with which they ought to be roughly contemporary.

Thimme has recently sought to date the syrinx player (largely on the strength of his uniquely detailed rib cage), as well as at least one of the Karlsruhe harpers (no. 13) and the Athens harper (no. 16), to the transitional phase.<sup>27</sup> He sees in these figures an affinity to the precanonical group. While we may again have before us the work of an innovative sculptor, I consider the Karlsruhe syrinx player as well as the Swiss harpers nearer in style to the earliest true folded-arm figures, which presumably followed close upon the heels of the precanonical works at the very beginning of ECII.

Further support for an ECII date for the Swiss and Karlsruhe harpers may be found in their association with bowls carved with a bell-shaped pedestal. To

22. On the phenomenon of paint ghosts see P. G. Preziosi and S. S. Weinberg, "Evidence for Painted Details in Early Cycladic Sculpture," *AK* 13 (1970) pp. 4ff., esp. pp. 10–11 with fig. 11 and pl. 5:6.

23. See note 18 above. Probably to save himself considerable labor and to avoid the risk of fracture, the sculptor of the Metropolitan Museum harper carved the back of the musician in one piece with the backrest of the chair (Figures 17, 18) and, except for two perforated slits, simply recessed the spaces above and below the central arch, creating an illusion of openwork (Figure 19). The sculptor of the female figure, using a thicker and hence sturdier frame, treated the spaces as actual openwork. In Figure 20a I have drawn the New York harper's backrest as if it, too, had been carved in this way, on the assumption that the wooden model for his chair would have been so fashioned, and in order to point up the remarkable similarity in the design of the chairs of these two pieces. This observation should put to rest once and for all any lingering doubts concerning the authenticity of the harper, inasmuch as it was acquired twenty-four years before the Naxian figure was unearthed. The backrest of the Keros harper (no. 16; Figure 14), which was known at that time, has a central arch surrounded by openwork but is, along with the rest of the chair, otherwise dissimilar (Figure 20c). See Baker, *Furniture*, p. 237.

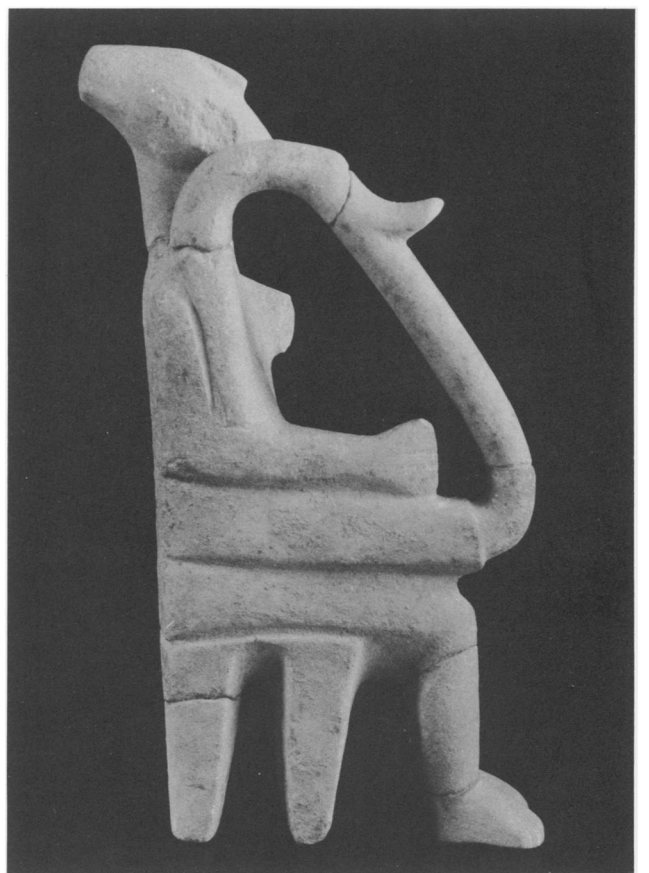
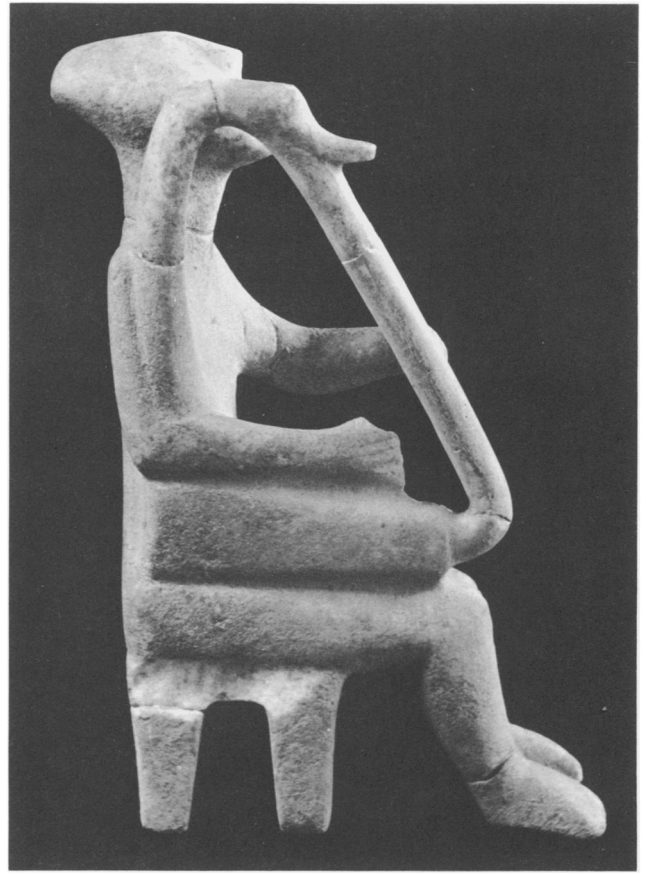
24. This harper, alone among the musicians, also wears a belt (and possibly too a penis sheath) rendered in relief. While a belt is occasionally incised on Plastiras-type males (nos. 1, 3; Figures 1–3), it occurs also in relief, sometimes in combination with a penis sheath, on late male figures (nos. 26, 27, 29; Figures 50, 52). The harper's belt cannot, therefore, be used to argue for an early date for the figure.

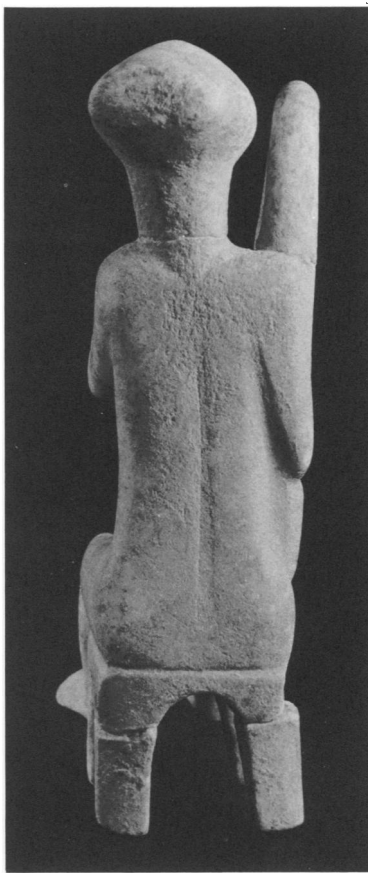
25. I examined the group in 1968. It had been acquired several years earlier.

26. E.g., *ACC*, nos. 124ff.

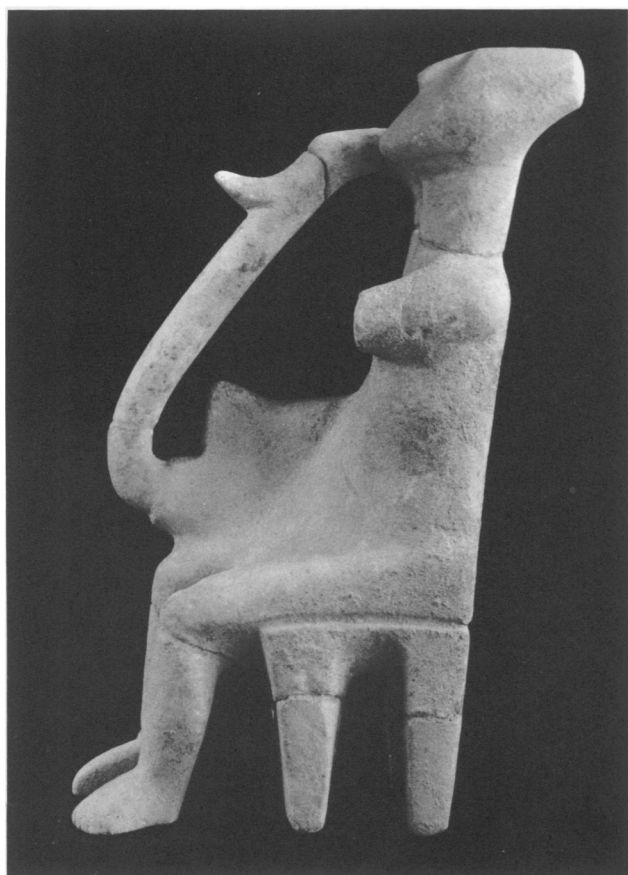
27. *ACC*, p. 494, and nos. 254 and 255 on p. 496.







21–24. Harper, Kapsala-  
variety style. No. 11.  
Switzerland, private  
collection (photos: I.  
Râcz)



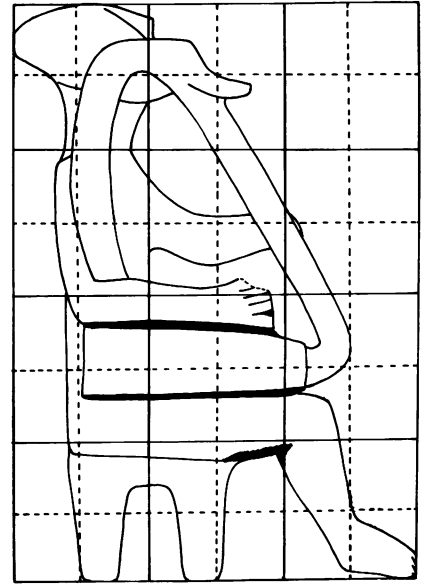
25–28. Harper, Kapsala-  
variety style. No. 12.  
Switzerland, private  
collection (photos: I.  
Râcz)



29. Vase and table, part of a group with nos. 11 and 12. Marble, H. 7.5 cm. Switzerland, private collection (photo: I. Râcz)

date, with one possible exception,<sup>28</sup> plain footed bowls resembling those supposedly found with the Karlsruhe harpers and spouted bowls mounted on pedestals such as that accompanying the Swiss harpers have only been found in clear ECII contexts, where they occur in large numbers.<sup>29</sup>

The similarity of the design and proportions of the two Swiss harpers may be seen in Figures 30 and 31. While all the harpers appear to have been designed according to the same basic grid, harpers carved, as in this case, by the same sculptor tend to be closer in plan to each other than to those of other sculptors.<sup>30</sup> Here the horizontal grid lines coincide with the same points on the figure and seats. There is some discrepancy in the alignment of the vertical grid lines owing to a slight difference in the sculptor's placement of the outline on the original block: harper no. 12 occupies more of the right side of the block than no. 11. Moreover, the lower legs of no. 11 extend forward while those of no. 12 are more or less perpendicular to the ground. This rather stiff position was perhaps influenced by the greater height of the stool, which also largely accounts for the discrepancy (2.7 cm.) in the heights of the two figures. It is noteworthy, too, that the left arm, incompletely preserved, was apparently represented in different positions: no. 11 evi-



30. Grid plan of no. 11 (drawing: P.G.-P.)

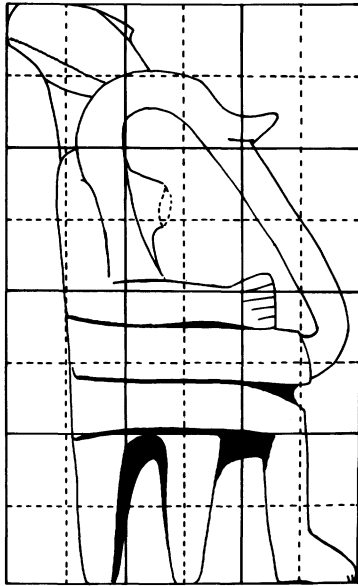
dently held the harp frame with this hand while no. 12 was shown plucking the strings.

There are also a number of minor differences of

28. The footed bowl or goblet in question was reputedly found in a grave (no. 5) located some 500 meters from the small cemetery of Kampos on Paros whose graves contained the distinctive ceramic ware named for the site (E. A. Varoucha, "Kykkladikoi Taphoi tis Parou," *Archaiologike Ephemeris* [1925–26] pp. 100–101 [grave 5] with fig. 6). No marble objects were found in this cemetery and no pottery was reported from the isolated tomb. There is, consequently, no evidence that the footed bowl is contemporary with the burials of the Kampos cemetery proper. Thimme, believing that the footed bowl came from this cemetery, cites it as corroborating evidence for an early date (ECI–ECII) for the musician figures (*ACC*, pp. 484–485 with fig. 193). The vessel in this case is difficult to date because with it were found two marble palettes: one trough-shaped (a form common to both ECI and ECII), the other with perforated corners (an ECI–ECII type). In the absence of other associated finds, it is not clear whether the goblet is an unusually early example of its type, or whether, as seems plausible, the palette antedates the goblet, having been buried (as an heirloom perhaps) a generation or more after it was made. It is also possible that the objects of seemingly different date belonged to separate interments within the grave.

29. C. Doumas, "Early Bronze Age Burial Habits of the Cyclades," *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 48 (Lund, 1977) p. 21; P.G.-P., "Early Cycladic Stone Vases," *ACC*, p. 99 and figs. 85, 86. (N.B. In fig. 86 the foot of the vessel-with-table is incorrectly drawn: it should have a distinct bell shape.)

30. See note 16.



31. Grid plan of no. 12 (drawing: P.G.-P.)

form and detail which are readily apparent. These differences are probably to be attributed to an experimental approach adopted by a sculptor who was not in the habit of carving harp players. In general no. 11 is the more carefully and completely executed work. It is also considerably freer and more relaxed in attitude than no. 12. I would venture to guess, therefore, that no. 11 was carved after no. 12 and that it benefited from experience gained by the sculptor in making the earlier piece.

The remaining occupational figures—that is, the majority—appear to have been made early in the ECII phase, slightly later than the Swiss harpers and the Karlsruhe syrx player. They are carved in the classic style of the early Spedos variety.

Within this core group of four harpers (nos. 13–16; Figures 14, 32–43), one cupbearer (no. 18; Figure 45), two woodwind players (nos. 21, 22; Figures 15, 47), and the three-figure group (no. 25; Figure 48) it is very difficult, if not impossible, to sort the figures chronologically. We are dealing not only with different iconographic types, but also with the hands of several different sculptors, some of whom appear to have been more at ease with these rare types than others.

One of these sculptors I designate as the “Karlsruhe Master” since he was, I believe, responsible for the pair of harpers in Karlsruhe (nos. 13, 14). These

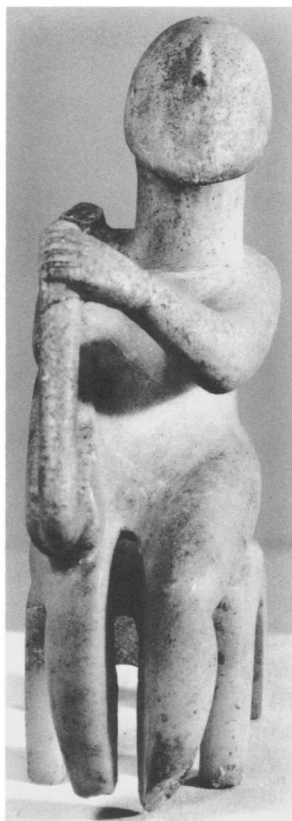
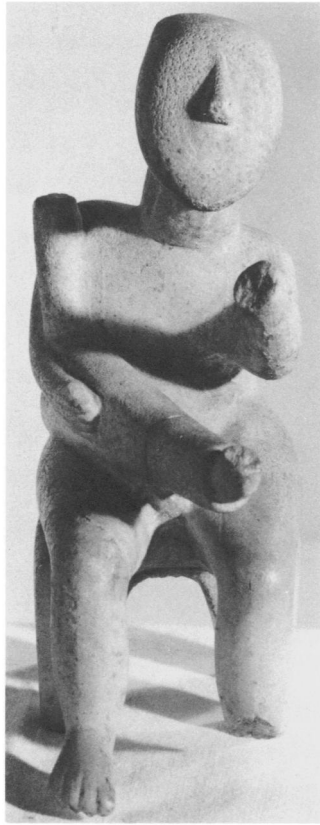
very small figures, which are nearly identical in size, were clearly intended as companion pieces. Even so, there is a great deal of difference in form and detail from one piece to the next. Perhaps at least one of these differences was intentional: no. 14 appears from his long pointed chin to be bearded, whereas no. 13, who has a less prominent chin, appears clean-shaven. In a previous discussion of the Karlsruhe Master I sought to account for most of the discrepancies, as I have done here for the Swiss harpers, as due to changes which took place in the sculptor’s approach as he gained experience. Thus I suggested that the least successful of the two figures was the first one made (no. 14), and that problems encountered in the carving of this figure—largely in the area of the right arm and shoulder—were corrected by the sculptor when he made the second piece.<sup>31</sup>

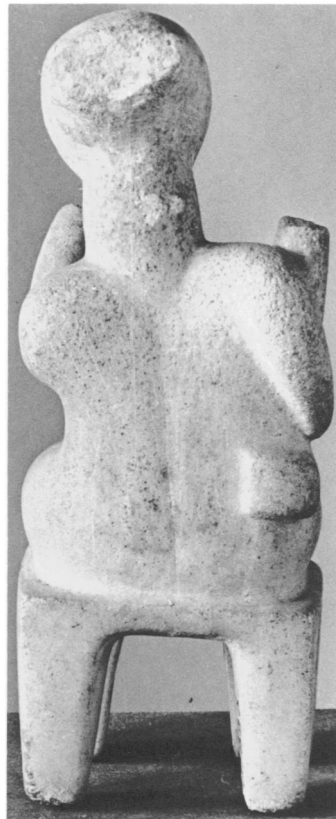
In their rounded forms and stocky, compact structure the cupbearer, the male figures of the trio, and even one of the woodwind players (nos. 18, 22, 25) seem fairly close stylistically to the Karlsruhe harpers. The cupbearer and the female member of the trio have legs carved with a perforated cleft, which is one of the hallmarks of the early Spedos style, thus confirming the ECII date of the group.

It is more difficult to place the fragmentary syrx player in a Swiss private collection (no. 21). This figure, which is sturdier than the Karlsruhe syrx player (no. 20) but not as stocky as the pipes player in Athens (no. 22), has affinities to both and could conceivably be by the same hand as either of those pieces.

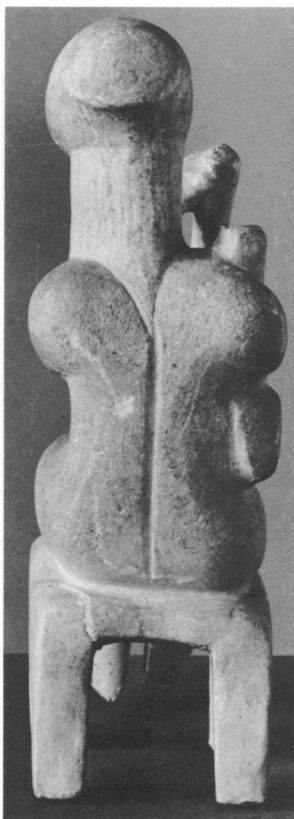
The three-figure group (no. 25) is interesting from many points of view, not least that of its iconography and remarkable one-piece execution. This is probably the only indisputable case in which we have both male and female figures carved by the same sculptor. There is, in fact, little about the central figure to identify it as female. We assume it to be such not only because it is, despite the seated posture, typical of the early Spedos variety, but also because the male sex of the bearers on either side is clearly, if rather inconspicuously, indicated. I suspect that the sculptor of this group was not accustomed to making such compositions, to judge by the very confused manner in which the linked arms of the bearers are executed on the back of the composition. I suspect, too, that this sculptor was not in the habit of carving male figures

31. P.G.-P. in *ACC*, p. 90f.



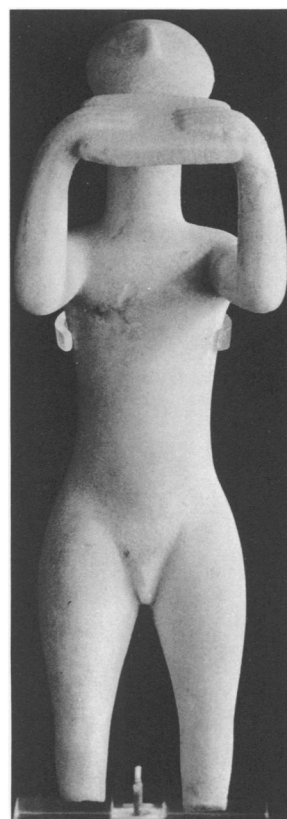
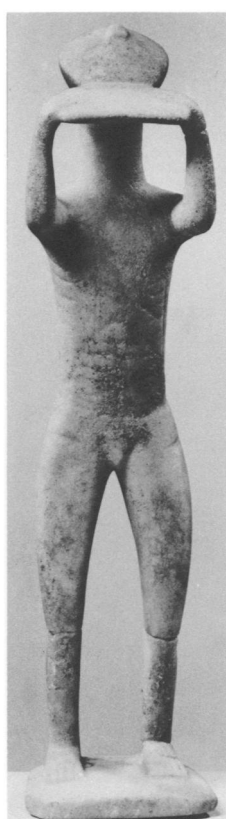
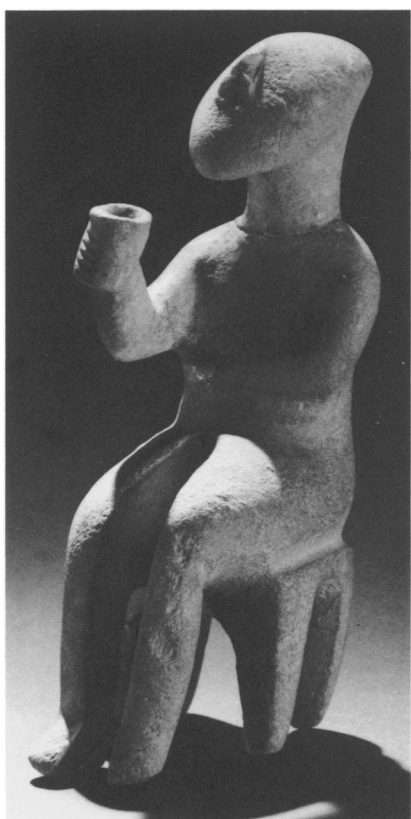
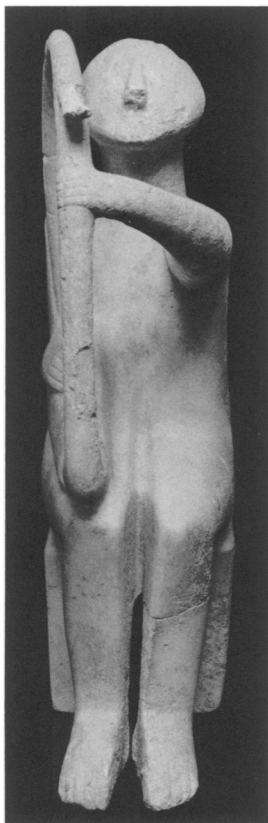


32–35. Harper, early Spedos-  
variety style. No. 13.  
Karlsruhe, Badisches  
Landesmuseum B863  
(photos: W. Mohrbach,  
Badisches Landesmuseum)

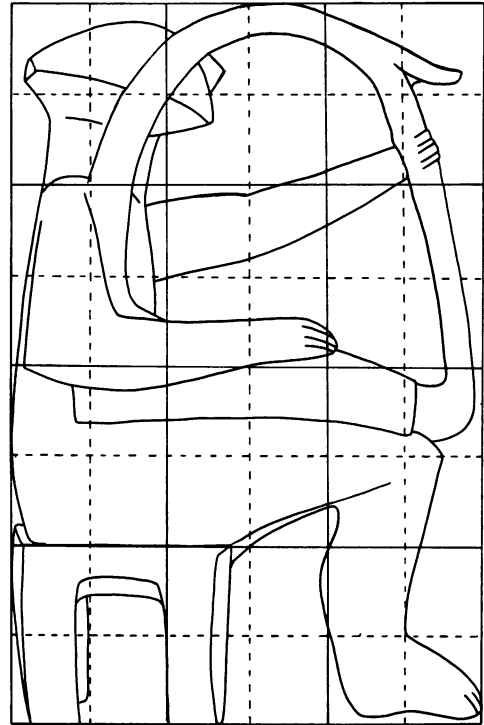
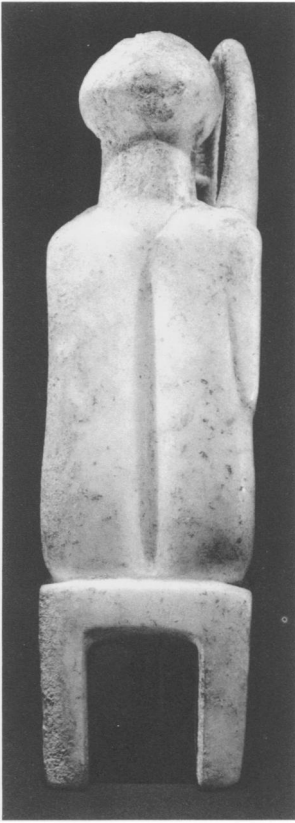


36–39. Harper, early Spedos-  
variety style. No. 14.  
Karlsruhe, Badisches  
Landesmuseum B864  
(photos: W. Mohrbach,  
Badisches Landesmuseum)









40–43. Harper, early Spedos-variety style. No. 15. Private collection (photos: Bob Kieffer, front; Seth Joel, sides, rear)

44. Grid plan of no. 15 (drawing: P.G.-P.)

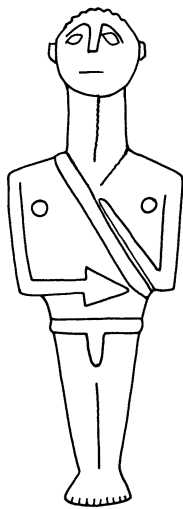


45. Cupbearer, early Spedos-variety style. No. 18. Athens, Goulandris Collection 286 (photo: National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)

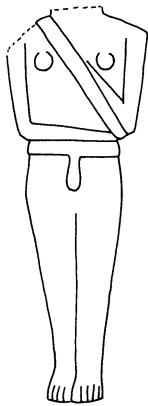
46. Syrinx player, Kapsala-variety style. No. 20. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 64/100 (photo: W. Mohrbach, Badisches Landesmuseum)

47. Syrinx player, early Spedos-variety style. No. 21. Switzerland, private collection (photo: I. Râcz)

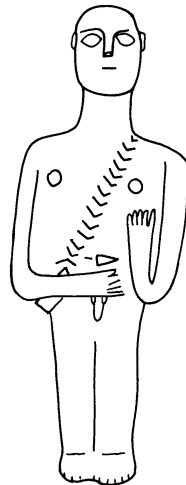
48. Three-figure group, early Spedos-variety style. No. 25. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 77/79 (photo: W. Mohrbach, Badisches Landesmuseum)



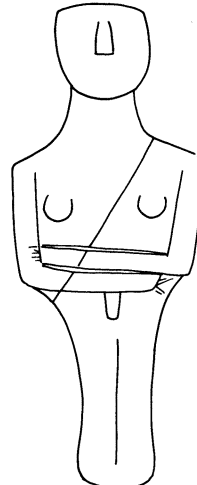
No. 26



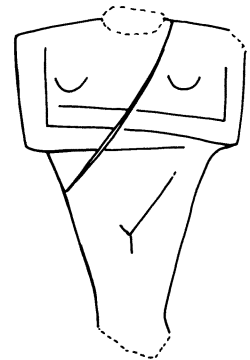
No. 27



No. 28



No. 30



No. 31

since he has treated the genital area of the two somewhat differently: the penis of the left-hand figure appears to be framed by a triangular groove, whereas that of the right-hand one is not.

Although they were found in the same grave, it is unclear whether the harper (no. 16) and pipes player (no. 22) from Keros in Athens were carved as companion pieces since they are not executed in the same scale, a fact which may disturb us more than the sculptor or owner of the pieces. It is also very difficult to decide if they were even carved by the same sculptor, since they are so different iconographically.

We turn, finally, to a privately owned harper which has only recently come to light (no. 15; Figures 40–43). A sculpture of superior quality, it is remarkable for the harmony of its subtly curving forms and for the excellence of its workmanship. The piece is remarkable also for its size: it is the largest seated figure now known—more than twice the size of the Karlsruhe harpers and considerably larger than the New York harper, which was until now the tallest seated figure known.

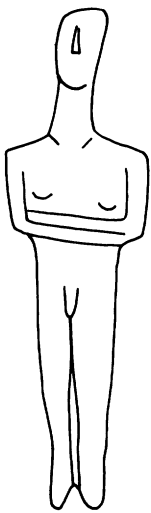
The figure is extremely well preserved, with many areas still retaining a high degree of the original polish. Smooth, light areas at the back and right side of the head indicate that a headdress or coiffure, possibly similar to that of the Metropolitan Museum figure, was originally added to the stone in paint, as were also the eyes; of these the right pupil is still clearly visible as a slightly raised, smooth dot.

One feature of this figure—the separation of the close-placed lower limbs by means of a cleft perforated along the calves—is not seen on any of the other harpers although, as already noted, the lower legs of the Goulandris cupbearer are also carved in this way.<sup>32</sup> Although I cannot at present identify any female figures from this sculptor's hand, he would, like the sculptors of most of the other occupational types, ordinarily have carved folded-arm females of the early Spedos variety.

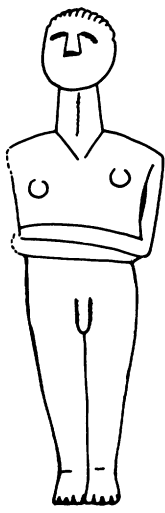
It goes without saying that such a well-balanced work must have been planned with great diligence and precision. Although the most important side, as in all the harpers, is the right one, the other three, though less detailed, are all well conceived and the piece may be viewed from any angle with almost equal effect. Surely such a brilliant work as this was neither the only nor the first example of its type to have been carved by this master.

The design of the right side of the piece corresponds with that of others of its kind, with certain

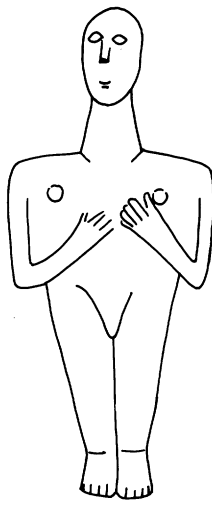
32. On the other hand, the fact that most of the harpers have more (nos. 13, 16) or less (nos. 9, 11, 12) widely separated lower legs should not be taken as evidence for an earlier date for these works (Thimme in *ACC*, p. 494) just because freely carved legs also occur on the earlier (precanonical) female figures. It is quite possible that the separation of the legs of the harpers resulted either from an attempt to convey a natural pose or from an effort to balance and add substance to compositions that might otherwise have been excessively narrow from the front, and therefore lacking stability.



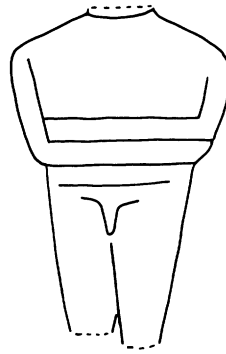
No. 32



No. 33



No. 34



No. 37

49. Late ECII (nos. 26–28, 30–34) and EMII (no. 37) male figures (drawing: P.G.-P.)

differences (Figure 44). For example, the greatest width of the rectangle with which one may frame this composition is dictated on the left by the harper's lower back and the top of the stool—not, as with the other figures seated on stools, by the back of the head or the right shoulder. More important perhaps, the design of the piece fills the entire rectangle: nearly every division of the grid is occupied to some extent, a fact which helps to explain the balanced effect of the whole.

Like the New York harper (no. 9), this figure has an instrument taller than himself. But whereas the other grasps the front of his harp with both hands and appears to be plucking the invisible strings with his thumbs, this harper, possibly unlike any of the others,<sup>33</sup> is not represented as actively playing his instrument. He grasps the harp frame with the thumb and fingers of his left hand,<sup>34</sup> while his cupped right hand remains at rest on the soundbox.<sup>35</sup> He appears forever poised to begin playing.

The earlier part of the ECII phase was a time of exuberant self-confidence and virtuosity analogous to the ambitious developments in larger sculpture that took place in the marble-rich Cyclades some 2,000 years later. Toward the end of ECII the spirit of the times seems to have changed, to judge by the radical differences of iconography and style now seen in the sculpture. After a gap of unknown duration around the middle of the period from which we have no male

figures (unless perhaps the large Erlenmeyer torso—no. 10; Figure 13—belongs to this phase), the plain unaccoutered male returns, albeit in small numbers (nos. 32–35, 37, and perhaps 36; Figures 49, 56–62), and the hunter/warrior becomes a firmly established type (nos. 26–31, and perhaps 36; Figures 49–55), possibly reflecting some threat to the peace and security of the islands at the time. These males are carved in the stylized, angular manner of contemporaneous female figures of the Chalandriani and Dokathismata varieties.<sup>36</sup>

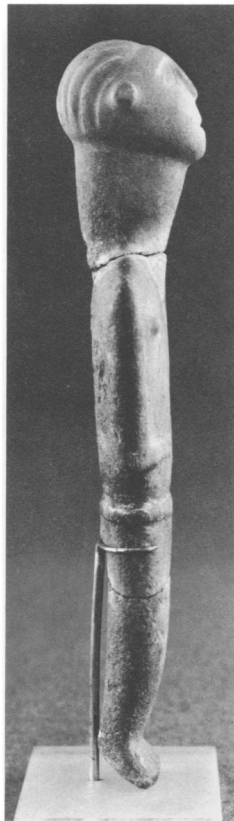
At present four typical hunter/warrior figures are known from the end of the ECII period: a figure said to be from Amorgos in Dresden (no. 26), one said to be from Syros in Athens (no. 27), another reputedly from Naxos in the Goulandris collection (no. 28), and a very fragmentary figure found by chance on Keos (no. 29). All four wear a baldric; three also wear a belt, from which on the two well-preserved examples hangs a penis sheath. These two figures are also equipped with a dagger. All four have the right forearm laid across the waist, the left against the chest: in the three examples where the baldric runs from right to left, the left forearm lies parallel to it; in the

33. No. 13 may have been similarly posed.

34. As do also nos. 11 and 14.

35. Like one of the Karlsruhe harpers (no. 13), but unlike the Swiss pair (nos. 11, 12) or the other Karlsruhe harper (no. 14), who seem to be plucking the strings with the right hand.

36. P.G.-P. in *PCP*, pp. 87–95.



ABOVE:

50, 51. Hunter/warrior, Chalandriani variety. No. 26. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung ZV 2595 (photos: Pfauder, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen)

52, 53. Hunter/warrior, Dokathismata variety. No. 27. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 5380 (photos: I. Ioannidou)

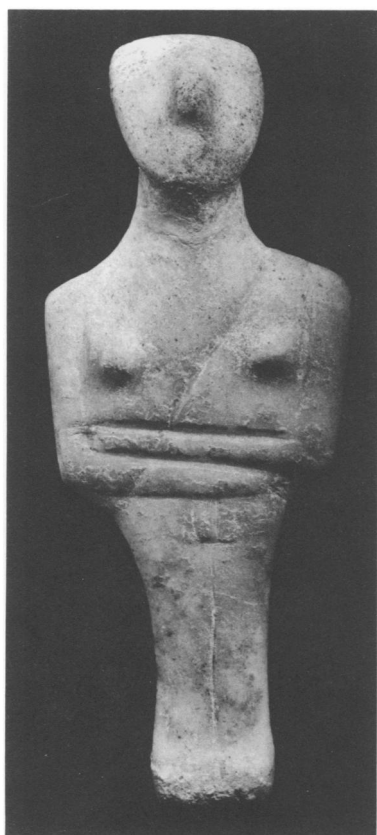
LEFT:

54. Hunter/warrior, Chalandriani variety. No. 30. Seattle, Seattle Art Museum, Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection, 46.200 (photo: Seattle Art Museum)

FACING PAGE, BELOW:

56, 57. Folded-arm figure, Dokathismata variety. No. 32. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1893.72 (photos: Ashmolean Museum, Department of Antiquities)

58–60. Folded-arm figure, Dokathismata variety. No. 33. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1972.118.103

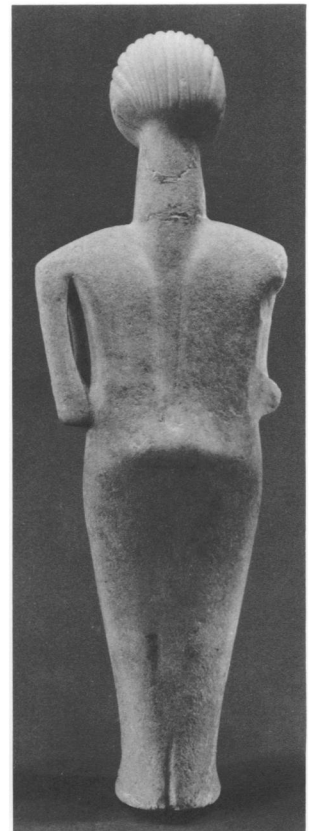
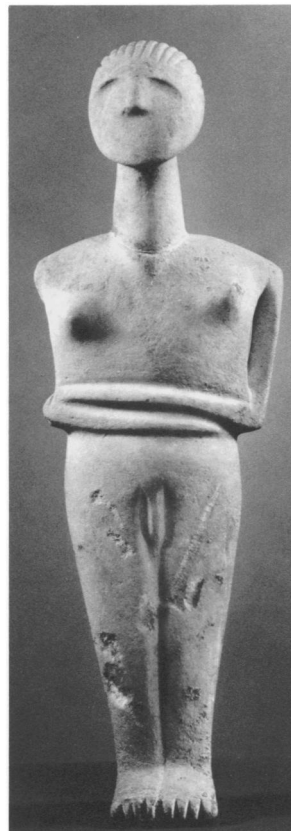


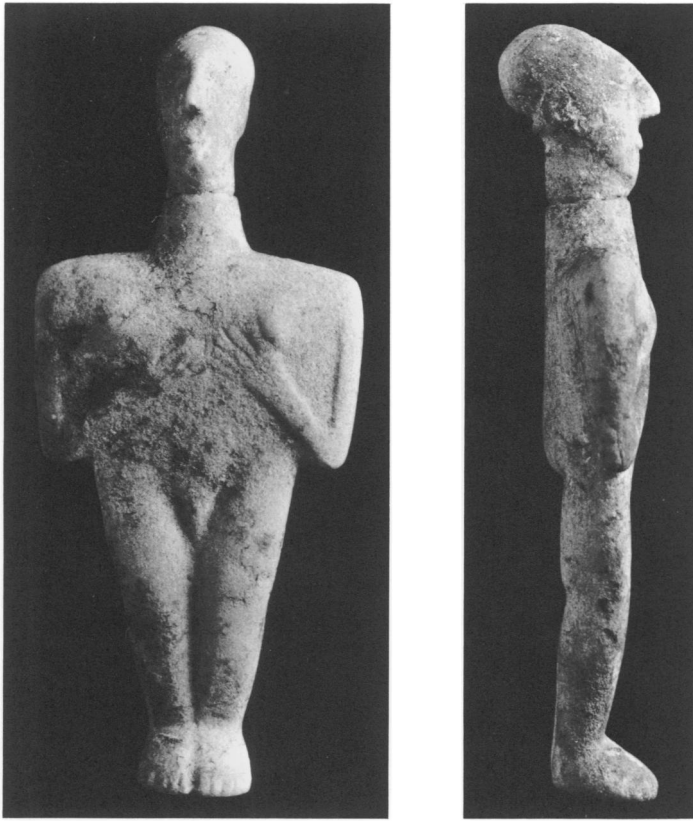


55. Hunter/warrior, Chalandriani variety. No. 31. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AE.456 (photo: Ashmolean Museum, Department of Antiquities)

fourth, where the elaborate baldric takes the opposite direction, the left forearm is sharply bent to point upward.

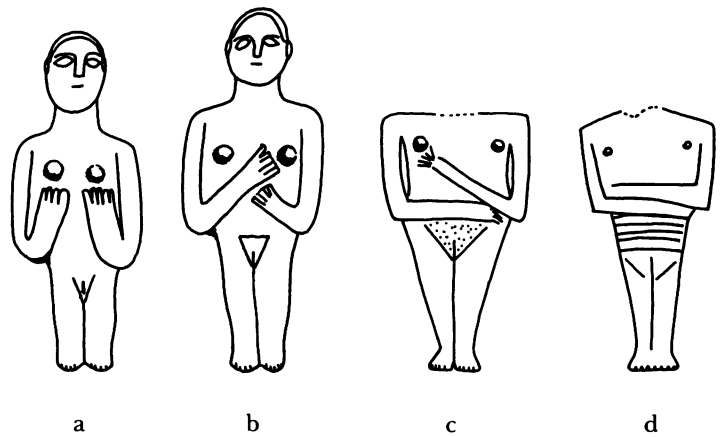
To this hunter/warrior core group may be added two curious figures: one in Seattle of unknown provenance (no. 30), the other in Oxford, said to have come from Amorgos (no. 31). Like the Goulandris figure, they wear a baldric which runs from left to right. A belt is also discernible on the back of the Seattle statuette. This figure has a small penis indicated in false relief. On the Oxford piece the area below the arms is heavily encrusted with calcium carbonate deposits which may be obscuring a penis in incision or low relief. In any case, it does not seem possible that the figure ever had a conspicuous penis; in fact, superficial scratches or incisions on the lower torso seem rather to indicate a pubic V such as one would expect on a female. Both figures exhibit the canonical folded-arm arrangement, being in this respect like the unaccoutered males in Oxford (no. 32), New York (no. 33), and Herakleion (no. 37), but unlike the other examples that display a baldric. Moreover, the baldric on these statuettes is rendered by superficial incision (which on the back of the Oxford piece is merely a scratch) rather than in relief (nos. 26, 27, 29,





61, 62. Chalandriani variety. No. 34. Cincinnati, Cincinnati Art Museum 41.1976, on anonymous loan (photo: Cincinnati Art Museum)

63. Variations in the arm position of late ECII female figures (drawings: P.G.-P.)



and rear of no. 28) or incised pattern (no. 28). And on both pieces it cuts across the forearms, apparently having been added to the finished work as an after-thought—perhaps in order to convert ordinary female folded-arm figures into male ones.

In the iconography of Early Cycladic sculpture the baldric serves as an effective symbol of masculinity even when hastily and inaccurately rendered. The male genitalia are if anything de-emphasized and breasts of figures wearing the baldric are often pronounced. Their prominence on the Seattle and Oxford figures is possibly another indication that these were originally conceived as female.

Another piece with quite pronounced breasts is the unaccustomed male figure in the Metropolitan Museum (no. 33). It is possible that this carefully crafted work also began as an ordinary female folded-arm figure. Only the penis and perhaps the carved hair (see below) identify it as male.<sup>37</sup> But since both of these features were made by cutting into the surface, they could easily have been added at the last moment to change the sex of the figure. A somewhat subtler

use of this false relief method of indicating the genitalia may be seen on both the figure in Cincinnati (no. 34)<sup>38</sup> and the fragmentary figure in the Kanellopoulos Museum (no. 35). On these works, too, the rather

37. This figure is unusual in a number of respects. It is at present the only male with upper arms freed from the sides of the torso, a detail not uncommon on late female figures (e.g., MMA 1977.187.11, in *Notable Acquisitions 1975–1979* [MMA, New York, 1979] p. 13). The spine is treated as a broad tapering depression whose sides on top define the shoulder blades. The legs in back are treated as a single unit, divided only at the feet by a groove. This figure and the piece in Cincinnati (no. 34) have feet which are perpendicular to the legs, giving the impression that they are meant to stand. Since, however, most of the late males have feet slanted in the usual reclining position, no special importance should be attached to the altered position of the feet in these two examples, especially since it is also found occasionally on late female figures (e.g., Figure 63c; see note 45).

38. This figure was allegedly found on Ios with two early Spedos-variety female figures and two long daggers, an association which on chronological grounds seems doubtful. The group was formerly on loan to the Metropolitan Museum (G.M.A. Richter, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Handbook of the Greek Collection* [Cambridge, Mass., 1953] p. 15, n. 26).

summarily rendered penis, as well as the distinctive coiffure of no. 34, could have been added to convert female representations into males. It is not surprising, in view of the minimal differences between these unaccoutered male figures and their female counterparts, that not everyone who has examined them views them as male.<sup>39</sup>

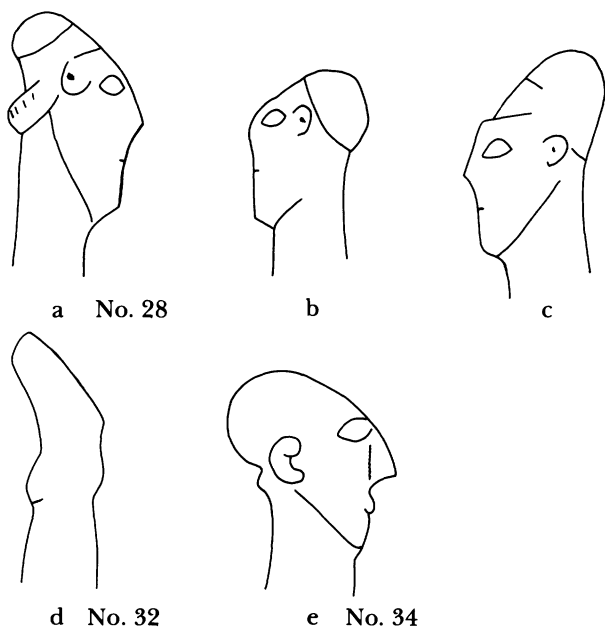
Unfortunately, it is impossible to test the idea of a last-minute sexual metamorphosis by examining the proportional differences between late ECII male and female figures, as we could with those of the much earlier Plastiras type. Indeed, after the Plastiras figures, Cycladic sculptors seem to have lost interest in making such distinctions. Many female figures, in fact, exhibit rather masculine proportions: their shoulders are much broader than their hips and their hips are not much wider than their waists. Moreover, the Chalandriani, Dokathismata, and Koumasa varieties, to which all the late male figures belong, are in outline so stylized and simplified as to bear little relation to the actual human form whether male or female; the male and female figures carved by one sculptor tend to have a more or less identical outline.

Close examination of male and female figures attributed to the same sculptor may, however, shed

light on the question of the "feminine" representation of the breasts on some of the male figures. The male statuette of the Athens Master (no. 5; Figure 1), a sculptor of Plastiras-type figures, exhibits prominent breasts, but those of his female figure are appreciably fuller and more feminine in appearance, particularly when viewed in profile.<sup>40</sup> Similarly, both the female figures carved by the Goulandris Hunter/Warrior Master (no. 28), one of which was reputedly found with the name-piece, have larger breasts than the male (Figure 63a, b).<sup>41</sup> This meager amount of evidence suggests that if we had female images by all the sculptors of males we might find that the breasts of their male figures, while appearing to us rather feminine, were actually smaller than those of their female figures. The apparent gynecomasty of the late male images probably reflects a general influence exerted by the dominant female figure which, in contrast to the male, was being produced in great quantity at this time. At the beginning of the ECII phase, when the folded-arm female was just acquiring its position of supremacy in the sculptural repertoire, the male figures lack mammary development altogether and assume a variety of postures and roles quite independent of the classic female varieties.

We might consider whether the two sculpturally treated hairstyles which are found on five of the late male figures were used exclusively on male images. One of these shows the hair combed straight back from the forehead and defined by parallel grooves; the other is the bun or roll at the nape of the neck. The first style is seen on the figure in New York (no. 33) and on the Dresden hunter/warrior (no. 26).<sup>42</sup> Unfortunately, on a female figure carved by the Dresden Master the head is missing (Figure 63d).<sup>43</sup> So far, no female images with this hairstyle are known. For the hair roll the evidence is somewhat fuller: of the three figures that survive from the hand of the Goulandris Hunter/Warrior Master (no. 28; Figure 63a, b), only the male has a hair roll, although in all other

64. Distinctive hairstyles of late ECII figures (drawings: P.G.-P)



39. E.g., Brouscari, p. 513, no. 3.

40. P.G.-P. in *AK*, pls. 17:1, 18:1.

41. Figure 63a: New York, private collection, H. 16.5 cm. (after *Cycladic Sculpture—Haniwa Sculpture*, exh. cat. [University of St. Thomas, Houston, 1963] no. 29). Figure 63b: Athens, Goulandris Collection, no. 312, H. 20.8 cm., "Naxos" (after Doumas, *Cycladic Art*, no. 133).

42. It is also found on two heads: ACC, no. 241 and fig. 162.

43. Basel, Erlenmeyer Collection, pres. H. 16.1 cm., "Keros" (after ACC, no. 230).



respects the three heads are closely similar (Figure 64a–c). The male figures in Oxford and Cincinnati (nos. 32, 34) also exhibit a roll (Figure 64d, e),<sup>44</sup> and so, for the time being at least, it seems safe to say that this was an exclusively male coiffure.

A female figure in London (Figure 63c)<sup>45</sup> shows that the arrangement of the arms seen on the typical baldric-wearing images (nos. 26–29) was not confined to males nor simply a convention devised to facilitate the representation of the baldric (cf. no. 28). The particular significance of the various arm arrangements found in Early Cycladic art is lost to us, but it is of interest to note that one sculptor could use different arm arrangements on different figures: the female figure of the Dresden Master is represented with folded arms (Figure 63d), while the male has his left arm raised (no. 26); two of the females carved by the Goulandris Hunter/Warrior Master exhibit two somewhat different but seemingly related arm arrangements (Figure 63a, b), one of which is also seen on the male figure in Cincinnati (no. 34).<sup>46</sup>

There occurred at the end of Cycladic figurine production an unprecedented freedom in the rendering of the arms as well as a revival of interest in the detailed treatment of the head, including facial features and hair. With the possible exception of one or both of the hairstyles seen on some of the male figures, these are not related to gender, but seem rather to be part of a generalized sculptural trend.

The thirty-seven works reviewed in this article and/or enumerated in the census are, with a few exceptions which I have not personally examined,<sup>47</sup> the sum total of male figures recorded in all of Early Cycladic sculpture. Although this number is still rather small, and although the sculptors from among whose works

we can identify both male and female figures number only three or four at present, there is, I believe, a sufficient body of material from which to derive initial impressions.

We have seen that in the ECI phase gender is defined more by primary and secondary sexual characteristics than by attributes, although these do occasionally occur in the form of a belt or baldric. In the ECII phase the male genitalia are normally de-emphasized or even lacking; maleness is more commonly conveyed by a special role and its attributes. In the earlier part of the period the man may be cast in the role of musician, drinker, or bearer; in the latter part he may be equipped for the hunt or for battle. It is at this time that the baldric emerges as a striking convention to indicate maleness: of the eleven figures preserved from this phase, at least six<sup>48</sup> wear a baldric, and it could even, apparently, change the sex of a finished figure.

We do not have the necessary evidence to speculate in specific terms about the meaning of the various types of male figure in Cycladic sculpture. To date, precise and detailed knowledge of the context in which the male images were disposed is lacking. Although it is probable that they were all, like the female images, grave furnishings, it is not known whether male figures in general, or at least certain types such as the hunter/warrior, accompanied male burials exclusively. It is, therefore, also not yet clear whether they represent divine or mortal figures in religious, mythical, or mundane roles. We can only hope that further discoveries will be made during the course of systematic excavation of undisturbed sites and that these discoveries will clarify at least some of the problems of interpretation.

44. For another head with a hair roll (and similar facial detail) see ACC, no. 76. Thimme regards this head as belonging to the Plastiras type; I am not convinced. Another head, ACC, no. 241, exhibits a hair roll as well as parallel grooves.

45. British Museum A14, pres. H. 23.6 cm. (after ACC, no. 239). See also a torso fragment (sex unknown) from Keos (J. L. Caskey, "Marble Figurines from Ayia Irini in Keos," *Hesperia* 40 [1971] pl. 22, no. 26). This arm arrangement occurs also on an unpublished fragmentary Chalandriani-variety female figure found on Paros (Paros Archaeological Museum 207). On another similar piece from Keros (Naxos Archaeological Museum KE.63.7) the right arm is raised.

46. This arm arrangement is found also on a female figure

in the Metropolitan Museum (see note 37). See also ACC, no. 249. Recently (ACC, p. 487) Thimme has sought to classify as "postcanonical" and to date in the ECIII phase all those angular statuettes which do not exhibit the conventional right-below-left folded-arm arrangement. I prefer to retain the terms "Chalandriani" and "Dokathismata" for such works, one reason being that pieces carved by the same sculptor (e.g., the Dresden Master) can thereby be classed together. There is at present little, if any, evidence that these figures were carved as late as ECIII.

47. See Census, notes after nos. 17 and 24.

48. A seventh figure, no. 36, is insufficiently preserved to tell how its torso was treated.

## CENSUS OF MALE CYCLADIC MARBLE FIGURES

### EARLY CYCLADIC I

1. (Figures 1, 2, 3). Plastiras type with belt. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3912. H. 20 cm. (left foot missing). "Antiparos."
2. (Figure 1). Plastiras type. Geneva, Barbier-Müller Museum. H. 13.4 cm. (ancient repair holes in left leg). *ACC*, no. 77.
3. (Figure 1). Plastiras type with belt. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung ZV 1991. Pres. H. 12.4 cm. (legs missing from above knees). *ACC*, no. 74.
4. (Figures 1, 4, 5). Plastiras type. Lugano, Paolo Morigi Collection. H. 29.6 cm. (penis missing). *ACC*, no. 72.
5. (Figure 1). Plastiras type. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3919. H. 30.8 cm. "Amorgos." Name-piece of the Athens Master. P.G.-P., "An Early Cycladic Sculptor," *AK* 18 (1975) pl. 17.
6. (Figures 1, 6, 7). Plastiras type with *pilos*. Lugano, Adriano Ribolzi Collection. H. 12 cm. *ACC*, no. 79.
7. (Figures 1, 8, 9). Plastiras type with *pilos*. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3911. H. 25 cm. "Amorgos." *Greek Art of the Aegean Islands*, exh. cat., (MMA, New York, 1979) no. 3.

### EARLY CYCLADIC I-II

8. (Figures 1, 11, 12). Hunter/warrior. Louros type with *pilos*, baldric, and belt. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum 930.80.2. H. 18.5 cm. "Crete."
9. (Figures 14, 16-19, 20a). Harper. Precanonical style with belt and penis sheath (?). New York, MMA 47.100.1 (Rogers Fund). H. 29.5 cm. (end of harp's frontal ornament broken). *ACC*, no. 253.

### EARLY CYCLADIC II

10. (Figure 13). Folded-arm figure. Spedos variety. Basel, Erlenmeyer Collection. Pres. H. 42 cm. (torso and upper thighs only). "Amorgos." *ACC*, no. 153.
11. (Figures 14, 21-24, 30). Harper. Kapsala-variety style. Switzerland, private collection. H. 17.4 cm. (part of harp frame, left hand, and right thumb missing). "Amorgos." Part of a group (see no. 12 and Figure 29). *ACC*, fig. 77.
12. (Figures 14, 25-28, 31). Harper. Kapsala-variety style. Switzerland, private collection. H. 20.1 cm.

(most of left arm missing). "Amorgos." Part of a group (see no. 11 and Figure 29). *ACC*, fig. 77.

13. (Figure 14, 32-35). Harper. Early Spedos-variety style. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B863. H. 15.6 cm. (large section of harp frame, part of left forearm with hand, and left foot missing). "Thera." One of a pair of harpers (see no. 14). A name-piece of the Karlsruhe Master. *ACC*, no. 254.
14. (Figures 14, 36-39). Harper. Early Spedos-variety style. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum B864. H. 16.5 cm. (large section of harp frame, feet of figure, and back legs of stool missing). "Thera." One of a pair of harpers (see no. 13). A name-piece of the Karlsruhe Master. *ACC*, no. 255.
15. (Figures 14, 40-43, 44). Harper. Early Spedos-variety style. Private collection. H. 35.8 cm. (membrane joining heels broken). "Amorgos."
16. (Figures 14, 20c). Harper. Early Spedos-variety style. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3908. H. 22.5 cm. (section of harp frame, two pieces from left side of chair, part of right forearm with hand, most of left arm, right foot, and left leg from knee missing). Keros. Found with no. 22. *ACC*, fig. 39; Baker, *Furniture*, figs. 381, 382; Zervos, figs. 333, 334.
17. Harper. Early Spedos-variety style. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 8833. Pres. H. 12.5 cm. (head/neck, legs from knees, most of harp and stool legs missing). Grave 40, Aphendika, Naxos. Papathanasopoulos, p. 148f., pls. 79, 80.  
NOTE: A harper was reported from Cape Krio in southwest Anatolia, but it was never illustrated and is presumed to have been lost: J. T. Bent, "Discoveries in Asia Minor," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (1882) p. 82. Two other harpers, which I have not myself examined, have been published: Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts 65.42, *Early Art*, no. 140 (see also Baker, *Furniture*, fig. 381); R. Symes, *Ancient Art*, exh. cat. (London, 1971) no. 15, and Sotheby's, London, Dec. 8, 1980, no. 257.
18. (Figures 14, 45). Cupbearer. Early Spedos-variety style. Athens, Goulandris Collection 286. H. 15.2 cm. (nose damaged). Dumas, *Cycladic Art*, no. 130.
19. Cupbearer. Early Spedos-variety style. Naxos, Archaeological Museum. Pres. H. ? (head/neck, right forearm with cup, legs from knees, and two stool legs missing). Aplomata, Naxos (from fill of disturbed graves). Kontoleon, *Praktika* (1970) pp. 150-151, pl. 194a,b.
20. (Figures 15, 46). Syrnix player. Kapsala-variety style. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 64/100. H. 34 cm. *ACC*, no. 256.

21. (Figures 15, 47). Syrinx player. Early Spedos-variety style? Switzerland, private collection. Pres. H. 25 cm. (base and legs from mid-calves missing). K. Schefold, *Meisterwerke griechischer Kunst* (Basel, 1960) no. 5.
22. (Figure 15). Double pipes player. Early Spedos-variety style. H. 20 cm. Keros. Found with no. 16. ACC, fig. 37.
23. Woodwind player. Kapsala- or early Spedos-variety style. Basel, Erlenmeyer Collection. Pres. H. 6.8 cm. (lower torso and thighs only). "Keros." Possibly by same sculptor as no. 20. ACC, no. 262.
24. Woodwind player. Early Spedos-variety style. Athens, Goulandris Collection 246. Pres. H. 12.6 cm. (head, arms, lower body, and legs of figure with base missing). Dumas, *Cycladic Art*, no. 127.  
NOTE: For additional fragments which may have come from woodwind players see note following no. 25. I have not examined a syrinx player in Detroit (Institute of Fine Arts 65.80). See *Early Art*, no. 28.
25. (Figure 48). Three-figure group. Early Spedos-variety style. Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 77/79. H. 19 cm. ACC, no. 258.  
NOTE: Of the four fragmentary bases found on Keros (F. Zafropoulou, "Cycladic Finds from Keros," *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 1 [1968] pp. 98–100 with figs. 2–4), at least two (fig. 2) seem to have accommodated two pairs of feet, while the other two (figs. 3, 4) probably supported woodwind players, one of which might even have been no. 23, reputedly from the same site. It remains unclear whether pairs of figures clasping each other or three-figure groups like no. 25 were erected on the bases meant for more than one figure. At present there are four fragments which may have belonged to such groups. One of these (Naxos Archaeological Museum KR63.50, unpublished) was found on Keros and may well have belonged to a figure mounted on one of the bases found there (as suggested by Zafropoulou). Two similar fragments come from Naxos (Aplo-mata, grave 27, Naxos Archaeological Museum AE76.a/55 [V. Lambrinoudakis, "Anaskaphi Naxou," *Praktika* (1976) pl. 195d,e]) and Amorgos (ACC, no. 259). These torso fragments are insufficiently well preserved to identify the sex represented although a fourth, unpublished example on loan to the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe clearly belongs to a female figure. Each fragment has one arm folded across the front, the beginning of the other arm extending outward from the shoulder, and the arm of a second figure indicated on its back. These fragments have usually been thought to belong to pair compositions, but with the recent discovery of the Karlsruhe trio group this interpretation may have to be altered (Thimme in ACC, p. 498, no. 257). (A curious reclining figure in the Goulandris collection [no. 300; Dumas, *Cycladic Art*, no. 135] may, on the other hand, have belonged to a pair.)
26. (Figures 49, 50, 51). Hunter/warrior. Chalandriani variety with baldric, dagger, belt, and penis sheath. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturen-sammlung ZV 2595. H. 22.8 cm. "Amorgos." The name-piece of the Dresden Master. ACC, no. 240.
27. (Figures 49, 52, 53). Hunter/warrior. Dokathismata variety with baldric, belt, and penis sheath. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 5380. Pres. H. ca. 23 cm. (head/neck and part of the right shoulder missing). "Syros."
28. (Figures 49, 64a). Hunter/warrior. Chalandriani variety with baldric and dagger. Athens, Goulandris Collection 308. H. 25 cm. "Naxos." Name-piece of the Goulandris Hunter/Warrior Master. Dumas, *Cycladic Art*, no. 132.
29. Hunter/warrior. Chalandriani variety with baldric and belt. Keos, Archaeological Museum K72.18. Pres. H. 6.8 cm. (torso fragment only). Chance find, northwest of Ayia Irini. J. L. Caskey, "Addenda to the Marble Figurines from Ayia Irini," *Hesperia* 43 (1974) no. 40; P.G.-P. in PCP, fig. 1c.
30. (Figures 49, 54). Hunter/warrior. Chalandriani variety with baldric and belt (rear only). Seattle, Seattle Art Museum 46.200 (Eugene Fuller Memorial Collection). H. 19 cm.
31. (Figures 49, 55). Hunter/warrior. Chalandriani variety with baldric. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum AE.456. Pres. H. 15.9 cm. (head/neck and feet missing). "Amorgos."
32. (Figures 49, 56, 57, 64d). Dokathismata variety. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1893.72. H. 30.6 cm. "Amorgos."
33. (Figures 49, 58–60). Dokathismata variety. New York, MMA 1972.118.103 (Bequest of Walter C. Baker). H. 35.9 cm. (right upper arm missing). ACC, no. 246.
34. (Figures 49, 61, 62, 64e). Chalandriani variety. Cincinnati, Cincinnati Art Museum 41.1976 (on anonymous loan). H. 24.8 cm. "Ios."
35. Chalandriani variety. Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum 1919. Pres. H. 9.5 cm. (head, most of neck, and most of legs missing). Brouscari, p. 513, no. 3; p. 515, fig. 18.
36. Chalandriani variety. Athens market, ca. 1964. Pres. H. ca. 6 cm. (lower part of figure only).

#### EARLY MINOAN II

37. (Figure 49). Koumasa variety. Herakleion, Archaeological Museum. Pres. H. ? (head/neck and lower legs missing). Archanes, cemetery of Phourni. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 103 (1979) pp. 607–608 with fig. 181.

## NOTE ON PROVENANCE

Nine of the figures in the census are said to come from Amorgos (5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 15, 26, 31, 32), while three each are reported from Keros (16, 22, 23) and Naxos (17, 19, 28), two each from Thera (13, 14) and Crete (8, 37), and one each from Antiparos (1), Ios (34), Syros (27), Keos (29), and Cape Krio (see note following no. 17). The find-places of only a handful of these figures are unequivocally secure (16, 17, 19, 22, 29, 37). Yet, with the exception of the alleged Cretan provenance of no. 8 (see P.G.-P. in *PCP*, p. 89), the find-places reported for the others seem plausible although the seeming prominence of Amorgos is perhaps unfounded. It is quite possible that a number of the figures said to have been found on Amorgos (particularly those of ECII date) were actually only purchased there, having been brought from one of the small islands lying to her west. Chief among these as a rich source of marble sculpture and closest to Amorgos is the small island of Keros (*ACC*, p. 588), which is uninhabited except for a few shepherds in summer. In 1928 Keros had a population of twelve. Clearly, any objects of note found there would have been taken to one of the larger, more frequented islands for sale. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Keros was under the authority of the church on Amorgos, and objects would probably have been taken there. Nowadays they would more likely be taken to Naxos or Athens.

## ABBREVIATIONS

- ACC*—J. Thimme, ed., *Art and Culture of the Cyclades in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Chicago, 1977)  
*AK*—*Antike Kunst*  
*Baker, Furniture*—H. S. Baker, *Furniture of the Ancient World: Origins and Evolution 3100–475 B.C.* (London/New York, 1966)  
*Brouscari*—M. Brouscari, "Collection P. Canellopoulos: Antiquités cycladiques," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 105 (1981) pp. 499–535  
*Doumas, Cycladic Art*—C. Doumas, *Cycladic Art: Ancient Sculpture and Ceramics of the Aegean from the N. P. Goulandris Collection* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1979)  
*Early Art*—*Early Art in Greece* (André Emmerich Gallery, New York, 1965)  
*EC*—Early Cycladic  
*EM*—Early Minoan  
*Kontoleon, Praktika*—N. Kontoleon, "Anaskaphai Naxou," *Ta Praktika tis Archaïologikis Etaireias*  
*Papathanasopoulos*—G. A. Papathanasopoulos, "Kykladika Naxou," *Archaïologikon Deltion, Meletai* (1961–62) pp. 104–151

Another point to remember is that the island on which a figure was found is not necessarily the island on which it was made. The Karlsruhe harpers (nos. 13, 14), for example, which are said to have been unearthed on Thera, were most probably not made there since Thera is one of the few Cyclades lacking white marble (see C. Renfrew and J. S. Peacey, "Aegean Marble: A Petrological Study," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 63 [1968] p. 48).

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For permission to publish the figures illustrated here I wish to thank the Keeper of Antiquities of the Ashmolean Museum (Oxford), the directors and curators of Greek art of the Badisches Landesmuseum (Karlsruhe), the Cincinnati Art Museum, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), the National Archaeological Museum (Athens), the Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto), the Seattle Art Museum, the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung (Dresden), as well as Marie-Louise Erlenmeyer (Basel), Dolly Goulandris (Athens), Paolo Morigi (Lugano), Adriano Ribolzi (Lugano), and other private collectors who wish to remain anonymous. For contributing important information, offering very useful suggestions, and/or arranging to have photographs taken, I am indebted to Cedric Boulter, Gerald Cadoogan, Jean Coulomb, Neda Leipen, Joan Mertens, Ioannis Sakellarakis, Jürgen Thimme, and Michael Vickers.

- PCP*—J. L. Davis and J. F. Cherry, eds., *Papers in Cycladic Prehistory*, Monograph 14, Institute of Archaeology, University of California (Los Angeles, 1979)  
*P.G.-P.*—P. Getz-Preziosi  
*P.G.-P. in ACC*—P. Getz-Preziosi, "Cycladic Sculptors and Their Methods," J. Thimme, ed., *Art and Culture of the Cyclades in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Chicago, 1977) pp. 71–91  
*P.G.-P. in AK*—P. Getz-Preziosi, "An Early Cycladic Sculptor," *Antike Kunst* 18 (1975) pp. 47–50  
*P.G.-P. in PCP*—P. Getz-Preziosi, "The Hunter/Warrior Figure in Early Cycladic Marble Sculpture," J. L. Davis and J. F. Cherry, eds., *Papers in Cycladic Prehistory*, Monograph 14, Institute of Archaeology, University of California (Los Angeles, 1979) pp. 87–96  
*Praktika*—*Ta Praktika tis Archaïologikis Etaireias*  
*Pres. H.*—preserved height  
*Renfrew*—C. Renfrew, "The Development and Chronology of the Early Cycladic Figurines," *American Journal of Archaeology* 73 (1969) pp. 1–32  
*Zervos*—C. Zervos, *L'Art des Cyclades du début à la fin de l'âge du bronze* (Paris, 1957)