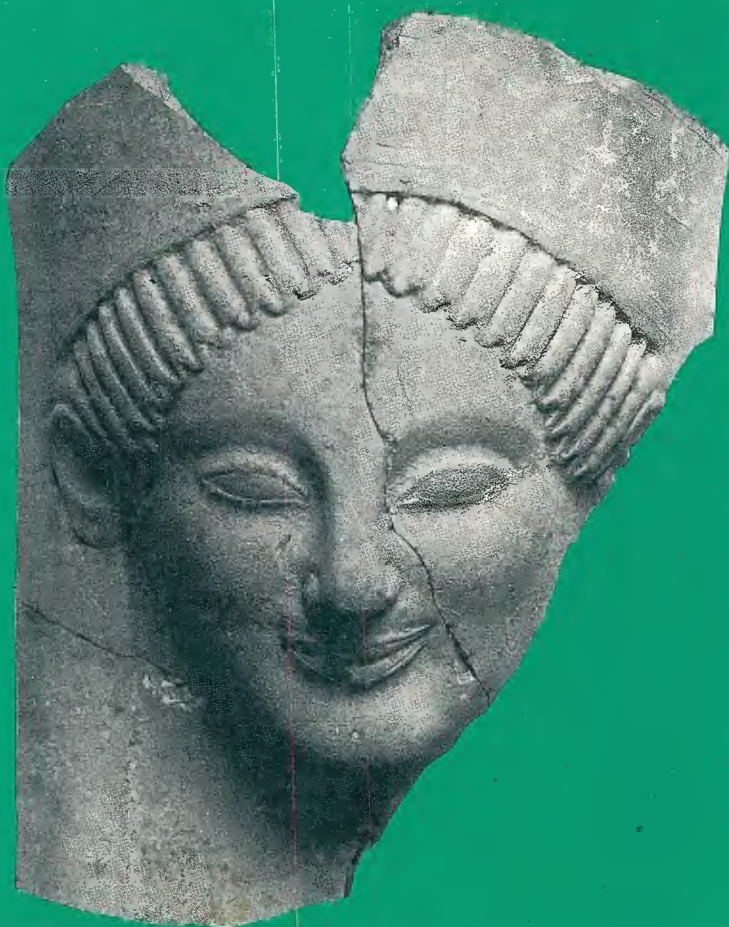


Jaimee P. Uhlenbrock

THE TERRACOTTA PROTOMAI FROM GELA:

A Discussion of Local Style in Archaic Sicily



«L'ERMA» di BRETSCHNEIDER

STUDIA
ARCHAEOLOGICA

50

- 1 - DE MARINIS, S. - La tipologia del banchetto nell'arte etrusca arcaica, 1961.
 2 - BARONI, F. - Osservazioni sul «Trono di Boston», 1961.
 3 - LAURENZI, L. - Umanità di Fidia, 1961.
 4 - GIULIANO, A. - Il commercio dei sarcofagi attici, 1962.
 5 - NOCENTINI, S. - Sculture greche, etrusche e romane del Museo Bardini in Firenze, 1965.
 6 - GIULIANO, A. - La cultura artistica delle province greche in età romana, 1965.
 7 - FERRARI, G. - Il commercio dei sarcofagi asiatici, 1966.
 8 - BREGLIA, L. - Le antiche rotte del Mediterraneo documentate da monete e pesi, 1966.
 9 - LATTANZI, E. - I ritratti dei «cosmeti» nel Museo Nazionale di Atene, 1968.
 10 - SALETTI, C. - Ritratti severiani, 1967.
 11 - BLANK, H. - Wiederverwendung alter Statuen als Ehrendenkmäler bei Griechen und Römern. 2ª Ed. riv. ed ill., 1969.
 12 - CANCIANI, F. - Bronzi orientali ed orientalizzanti a Creta nell'VIII e VII sec. a.C., 1970.
 13 - CONTI, G. - Decorazione architettonica della «Piazza d'oro» a Villa Adriana, 1970.
 14 - SPRENGER, M. - Die etruskische Plastik des V. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. und ihr. Verhältnis zur griechischen Kunst, 1972.
 15 - POLASCHEK, K. - Studien zur Ikonographie der Antonia Minor, 1973.
 16 - FABBRICOTTI, E. - Galba, 1976.
 17 - POLASCHEK, K. - Porträttypen einer Claudischen Kaiserin, 1973.
 18 - PENSA, M. - Rappresentazioni dell'oltretomba nella ceramica apula, 1977.
 19 - COSTA, P. M. - The pre-islamic antiquities at the Yemen National Museum, 1978.
 20 - PERRONE, M. - Ancorae Antiquae. Per una cronologia preliminare delle ancore del mediterraneo, 1979.
 21 - AUTORI VARI - Studi sull'arco onorario romano, 1979.
 22 - FAYER, C. - Aspetti di vita quotidiana nella Roma arcaica, 1982.
 23 - OLBRICH, G. - Archaische Statuetten eines metapontiner Heiligtums, 1979.
 24 - PAPADOPOULOS, J. - Xoana e Sphylrelata, 1980.
 25 - VECCHI, M. - Torcello. Contributi e ricerche, 1979.
 26 - MANACORDA, D. - Un'officina lapidaria sulla via Appia, 1979.
 27 - AUTORI VARI - Studi sulla città antica in Emilia Romagna, 1987.
 28 - ROWLAND, J. J. - Ritrovamenti romani in Sardegna, 1981.
 29 - ROMEO, P. - Riunificazione del centro di Roma antica, 1979.
 30 - ROMEO, P. - Salvaguardia delle zone archeologiche e problemi viari nelle città, 1979.
 31 - MACNAMARA, E. - Vita quotidiana degli Etruschi, 1982.
 32 - STUCCHI, S. - Il gruppo bronzeo tiberiano da Cartoceto, 1988.
 33 - ZUFFA, M. - Scritti di archeologia, 1982.
 34 - VECCHI, M. - Torcello, Nuove ricerche, 1982.
 35 - SALZA PRINA RICOTTI, E. - L'arte del convito nella Roma antica, 1983.
 36 - GILOTTA, F. - Raffigurazioni a rilievo di gutti e askoi, 1984.
 37 - BECATTI, G. - Kosmos. Studi sul mondo classico, 1987.
 38 - FABRINI, G. M. - Numana: vasi attici da collezione, 1984.
 39 - BUONOCORE, M. - Schiavi e liberti dei Volusi Saturnini, 1984.
 40 - FUCHS, M. - Il Teatro romano di Fiesole, 1986.
 41 - BURANELLI, F. - L'urna «calabresi» di Cerveteri. Monumenti, Musei e Gallerie Pontificio, 1985.
 42 - PICCARRETA, F. - Manuale di fotografia aerea: uso archeologico, 1987.
 43 - LIVERANI, P. - Municipium Augustum Veiens (Veio in età imperiale attraverso gli scavi Giorgi (1811-13), 1987.
 44 - STRAZZULLA, M. J. - Le terrecotte architettoniche della Venetia romana, 1987.
 45 - FRANZONI, C. - *Habitus Atque Habitus Militis*. Monumenti funerari di militari nella Cisalpina Romana, 1987.
 46 - SCARPELLINI, D. - Stele romane con imagines clipeatae in Italia, 1986.
 47 - D'ALESSANDRO, L., PERSEGATI, F. - Scultura e calchi in gesso. Storia, tecnica e conservazione, 1987.
 48 - MILANESE, M. - Gli scavi dell'oppidum preromano di Genova, 1987.
 49 - SCATOZZA HÖRICH, L. A. - Le terrecotte figurate di Cuma del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, 1987.
 50 - J. P. UHLENBROCK - The Terrecotta Protomai from Gela: A Discussion of Local Style in Archaic Sicily, 1989.
 51 - CAVAGNARO VANONI L., SERRA RIDGWAY, F. R. - Vasi etruschi a figure rosse. Dagli scavi della Fondazione Lerici nella necropoli dei Monterozzi a Tarquinia, 1989.

J. P. UHLENBROCK

THE TERRACOTTA PROTOMAI
FROM GELA:

A Discussion of Local Style in Archaic Sicily

« L'ERMA » di BRETSCHNEIDER

J. P. UHLENBROCK
The Terracotta Protomai from Gela:
A Discussion of Local Style in Archaic Sicily

© Copyright 1988 « L'ERMA » di BRETSCHNEIDER
Via Cassiodoro, 19 - Roma

Impaginazione di Luciano Luca

Centro Fotocomposizione di Calagreti - Città di Castello

Tutti i diritti riservati. È vietata la riproduzione di
testi e illustrazioni senza il permesso scritto dell'Editore.

ISBN 88-7062-650-4

To Dorothy Burr Thompson

« ... the fact is that there is no body of existing works large or small, which might establish the characteristics of a school of archaic art in Sicily ».

T. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks*, Oxford 1948, p. 287.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TEXT ILLUSTRATIONS	p. 10
PLATES	p. 11
FOREWARD (Paola Pelagatti)	p. 15
PREFACE	p. 17
INTRODUCTION	p. 19
 THE PROTOMAI FROM GELA:	
The contexts	p. 29
The classification	p. 29
Geloan production technique:	
1. Clay	p. 30
2. Patrices and models	p. 32
3. Casting	p. 34
The formal elements:	
1. Morphology	p. 34
2. Headdress	p. 36
3. Hair	p. 36
4. Ears	p. 37
5. Ornament	p. 37
6. Polychrome	p. 37
 Chronological considerations	 p. 38
 THE RELATIVE SEQUENCE:	
1. The Full Face Type	p. 41
2. The Maeander Polos Type	p. 44
3. The Scallop Hair Type	p. 45
4. The Roll Hair Type	p. 46

CATALOGUE:

I. The Early Phase	p. 49
II. The Developed Phase	p. 67
III. The Late Phase	p. 88
IV. The Foreign Group	p. 96
CONCLUSIONS	p. 109
APPENDIX I: The Mask Protome in Sicily	p. 117
APPENDIX II: The Origins and Religious Significance of the Votive Protome	p. 139
CONCORDANCE	p. 157
BIBLIOGRAPHY	p. 161
INDEX	p. 165

TEXT ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1. Cuff protome	p. 35
Fig. 2. Sheath protome	p. 35
Fig. 3-26. The Geloan typology	Facing p. 35-36
Fig. 27a-d. Morphology of the Geloan ear	Facing p. 48
Fig. 28. The proportional scheme of the Maeander Polos Type	Facing p. 111-112
Fig. 29. The proportional scheme of the Small Face Type	Facing p. 111-112
Fig. 30. Map of the distribution of protomai in Sicily	Facing p. 113-115

PLATES

- 1a. Syracuse 21303. Cat. No. 1. The Full Face Type. Front.
- b. Syracuse 21303. Cat. No. 1. The Full Face Type. Profile.
- c. Ivory head from Delphi. Front. Photo courtesy École Française d'Athènes.
- d. British Museum B89. Face fragment from Ephesos. Profile. Photo courtesy British Museum.

- 2a. Syracuse 21301. Cat. No. 19. The Maeander Polos Type. Front.
- b. Syracuse 21301. Cat. No. 19. The Maeander Polos Type. Profile.

- 3a. Acropolis Museum Kore 673. Front view of face. Photo courtesy Deutsches archäologisches Institut, Athen, Nr. Ak. 1437.
- b. Pseudo-cnidian caryatid from Delphi. Front view of face. Photo courtesy Deutsches archäologisches Institut, Athen, Neg. Nr. Delphi 241.

- 4a. Gela 25109. Cat. No. 30. The Scallop Hair Type. Front.
- b. Acropolis Museum Kore 696. Front view of face. Photo courtesy Deutsches archäologisches Institut, Athen, Neg. Nr. Ak 1668.

- 5a. Gela 15782. Cat. No. 36. The Roll Hair Type. Front.
- b. Gela 21502. Cat. No. 36a. The Roll Hair Type. Profile.

- 6a. Gela 17819. Cat. No. 3. The Orsi Type I. Front.
- b. Thasos 3100 π. Front.

- 7a. Syracuse unnumbered. Cat. No. 4. The Orsi Type II. Front.
- b. Syracuse 20359a, Cat. No. 6. The Fillet Polos I Type. Front.

- 8a. Syracuse 21308. Cat. No. 5. The Granmichele Type. Front.
- b. Syracuse 21308. Cat. No. 5. The Granmichele Type. Profile.
- c. Gela 18094. Cat. No. 7. The Angular Type. Front.

9. Syracuse 15077. Cat. No. 8. The Fillet Polos II Type. Front.

- 10a. Gela 8161. Cat. No. 9. The Solito Type. Front.
- b. Gela 28834. Cat. No. 9a. The Solito Related Series, fragment.
- c. Syracuse unnumbered. Cat. No. 9b. The Solito Related Series. Front.

11. Gela 8497. Cat. No. 12. The Acropolis Type. Front.

- 12a. Louvre B563. Cat. No. 10. The Thick Lipped Type. Front. Photo courtesy Musée du Louvre.
- b. Louvre B563. Cat. No. 10. The Thick Lipped Type. Profile. Photo courtesy Musée du Louvre.
- 13a. Syracuse 21382. Cat. No. 10a. The Thick Lipped Type. Front.
- b. Gela 29092. Cat. No. 11. The Long Ear Type. Front.
14. Vollmoeller 4510. Cat. No. 13. The Zürich Type. Front. Photo Ernst Winizki, courtesy Heidi Vollmoeller.
15. Vollmoeller 4510. Cat. No. 13. The Zürich Type. Profile. Photo Ernst Winizki, courtesy Heidi Vollmoeller.
- 16a. Gela 23287. Cat. No. 14. The Pinched Face Type. Front.
- b. Syracuse 21331. Cat. No. 14a. Pinched Face Related Series. Front.
- 17a. Gela 21355. Cat. No. 14b. Pinched Face Related Series. Front.
- b. Gela 7303. Cat. No. 14c. Pinched Face Related Series. Front.
- 18a. Syracuse 20359c. Cat. No. 15. The Bitalemi Type. Front.
- b. Gela 30498. Cat. No. 16. The Narrow Face Type. Front.
19. Gela 7324. Cat. No. 17. The Round Face Type. Front.
- 20a. Syracuse unnumbered. Cat. No. 18. The Thymiaterion Type. Front. Photo after Orsi, *Gela*, Pl. L:c.
- b. Kore Thymiaterion from Gela. Front view of face.
- 21a. Syracuse unnumbered. Cat. No. 18a. Thymiaterion Related Series. Front.
- b. Syracuse unnumbered. Cat. No. 18b. Thymiaterion Related Series. Front.
- c. Gela 12845. Cat. No. 18c. Thymiaterion Related Series. Front.
- d. Syracuse unnumbered. Cat. No. 18d. Thymiaterion Related Series. Front.
22. Gela 7317. Cat. No. 19a. Maeander Polos Related Series. Front.
- 23a. Syracuse unnumbered. Cat. No. 19b. Maeander Polos Related Series. Front.
- b. Gela 25733. Cat. No. 19c. Maeander Polos Related Series. Front.
- 24a. Syracuse 21312. Cat. No. 20a. Small Face Related Series. Front.
- b. Syracuse 21312. Cat. No. 20a. Small Face Related Series. Profile.
- 25a. Marseilles Museum kouros head. Front. Photo after Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen*, pl. 72d.
- b. Syracuse unnumbered. Cat. No. 20b. Small Face Related Series. Front.
- 26a. Gela 21501. Cat. No. 20. The Small Face Type. Front.
- b. Syracuse unnumbered. Cat. No. 20c. Small Face Related Series. Front.
- c. Gela 28381. Cat. No. 20d. Small Face Related Series. Front.
- d. Gela unnumbered. Cat. No. 20e. Small Face Related Series. Front.
- e. Gela 21367. Cat. No. 20f. Small Face Related Series. Front.

- 27a. Syracuse 21383. Cat. No. 21. The Apple Cheek Type. Front.
- b. Syracuse 21383. Cat. No. 21. The Apple. Cheek Type. Profile.
- 28a. Gela 8204. Cat. No. 21a. Apple Cheek Related Series. Front.
- b. Gela 7302. Cat. No. 21b. Apple Cheek Related Series. Front.
- 29. Gela 21323. Cat. No. 21c. Apple Cheek Related Series. Front.
- 30. Gela 7386. Cat. No. 21d. Apple Cheek Related Series. Front.
- 31a. Syracuse 21365. Cat. No. 21e. Apple Cheek Related Series. Front.
- b. Gela 11068. Cat. No. 21f. Apple Cheek Related Series. Front.
- c. Syracuse 21364. Cat. No. 21g. Apple Cheek Related Series. Front.
- 32. Gela 7318. Cat. No. 22. The Broad Bust Type. Front.
- 33a. Gela 31376. Cat. No. 23. The Wide Face Type. Front.
- b. Kore head from the Samian Heraion. Front. Photo courtesy Deutsches archaologisches Institut, Berlin, Neg. Nr. 6591/2.
- 34a. Gela 7389. Cat. No. 23a. Wide Face Related Series. Front.
- b. Gela 8135. Cat. No. 23b. Wide Face Related Series. Front.
- c. Syracuse 21379. Cat. No. 23c. Wide Face Related Series. Front.
- 35a. Syracuse 21316. Cat. No. 24. The Scallop Veil Type. Front.
- b. Syracuse 21332. Cat. No. 24a. The Scallop Veil Type. Profile.
- c. Syracuse 21384. Cat. No. 24b. Scallop Veil Related Series. Front.
- d. Gela 25731. Cat. No. 24c. Scallop Veil Related Series. Front.
- 36a. Syracuse 21332. Cat. No. 25. The Sola Type. Front.
- b. Syracuse 21332. Cat. No. 25. The Sola Type. Profile.
- c. Syracuse 20437. Cat. No. 26c. Blank Eye Related Series. Front.
- d. Syracuse 20437. Cat. No. 26c. Blank Eye Related Series. Profile.
- 37a. Gela 1328. Cat. No. 26. Blank Eye Type. Front.
- b. Gela 15852. Cat. No. 52. Milesian Type. Front.
- 38a. Gela 7306. Cat. No. 26a. Blank Eye Related Series. Front.
- b. Gela 8498. Cat. No. 26d. Blank Eye Related Series. Front.
- c. Gela 15879. Cat. No. 26b. Blank Eye Related Series. Front.
- d. Gela 313216. Cat. No. 26e. Blank Eye Related Series. Front.
- 39. Gela 8496. Cat. No. 26f. Blank Eye Related Series. Front.
- 40a. Gela 23251. Cat. No. 27. The Wide Wave Type. Front.
- b. Gela 21317. Cat. No. 28. The Puff Hair Type. Front.
- c. Gela unnumbered. Cat. No. 28a. Puff Hair Related Series. Front.
- d. Gela unnumbered. Cat. No. 28a. Puff Hair Related Series. Profile.
- 41. Gela 31282. Cat. No. 29. The Wide Eye Type. Front.

42. Basel unnumbered. Cat. No. 31. The Basel Type. Front.
- 43a. Ashmolean G14. Cat. No. 32. The Oxford Type I. Front. Photo courtesy Ashmolean Museum.
 b. Ashmolean G14. Cat. No. 32. The Oxford Type I. Profile. Photo courtesy Ashmolean Museum.
- 44a. Syracuse unnumbered. Cat. No. 33. The Oxford Type II. Front.
 b. Syracuse unnumbered. Cat. No. 33. The Oxford Type II. Profile.
- 45a. Gela 21493. Cat. No. 34. The Gela Type. Front.
 b. Gela 21493. Cat. No. 34. The Gela Type. Profile.
- 46a. Gela 8132. Cat. No. 34a. Gela Related Series. Front.
 b. Syracuse unnumbered. Cat. No. 35. The Zig-Zag Type. Profile.
 c. Gela 21502. Cat. No. 36a. The Roll Hair Type. Front.
 d. Gela 21502. Cat. No. 36a. The Roll Hair Type. Profile.
47. Gela 7369. Cat. No. 37. The Colossal Type. Front.
- 48a. Gela 31119. Cat. No. 38. Bust protome fragment.
 b. Syracuse unnumbered. Cat. No. 2. The Bucranium Earring Type. Profile.
 c. Gela unnumbered. Cat. No. 44. Neck/lower veil fragment with necklace. Front.
- 49a. Gela unnumbered. Cat. No. 39. Polos/hair fragment.
 b. Gela unnumbered. Cat. No. 40. Polos/upper face fragment.
 c. Gela unnumbered. Cat. No. 41. Hair/eye fragment.
 d. Gela unnumbered. Cat. No. 43. Veil/earring fragment.
- 50a. Gela 14062. Cat. No. 42. Stephane/hair/eye fragment.
 b. Gela 161. Cat. No. 45. The Megara Hyblaia Type. Front.
- 51a. Syracuse unnumbered. Cat. No. 47. The Selinuntine Type. Front.
 b. Gela unnumbered. Cat. No. 48. The Himeran Type. Front.
 c. Syracuse unnumbered. Cat. No. 49. The Tarentine Type. Front.
- 52a. Syracuse unnumbered. Cat. No. 46. The East Sicilian Type. Front.
 b. Gela 26683. Cat. No. 46a. East Sicilian Related Series. Front.
- 53a. Syracuse unnumbered. Cat. No. 46b. East Sicilian Related Series. Front.
 b. Gela 29576. Cat. No. 46c. East Sicilian Related Series. Front.
54. Gela 7379. Cat. No. 50. The Patrix Type. Front.
55. Gela 28839. Cat. No. 50a. Patrix Related Series. Front.
- 56a. Gela 7380. Cat. No. 51. The Long Nose Type. Front.
 b. Syracuse 21365. Cat. No. 53. The Klazomenian Series. Front.
 c. Syracuse unnumbered. Cat. No. 53a. Klazomenian Related Series. Front.

PREMESSA

Sono lieta di premettere al bel volume « The Terracotta Protomai from Gela: A Discussion of Local Style in Archaic Sicily » alcune considerazioni e ricordi personali.

Dopo il libro di L. Quarles van Ufford (*Les terres cuites siciliennes*) uscito nel 1941 e dopo alcuni articoli di P. Orlandini degli anni '50 su terrecotte gelesi, si era verificata una pausa degli studi sulla coroplastica siceliota. Sicché quando Jaimee Uhlenbrock venne a Siracusa, nell'estate del 1972, con l'intento di avviare un lavoro sulle protomi femminili, mi sembrò un'ottima idea, e non solo perché si riprendeva il discorso su un campo così importante nella produzione artistica della Grecia occidentale, ma anche perché la categoria di materiali prescelta, le enigmatiche protomi, per l'evidente richiamo religioso, più di altre sembrava richiedere attenzione e approfondimento.

La curiosità scientifica della giovane studentessa americana – che tra l'altro restituì in quella occasione la testa alla bella Kore fittile 21286 di Gela Bitalemi, ritrovandola tra i materiali scavati alla fine dell'800 – e le sue qualità umane conquistarono ben presto la simpatia del personale della Soprintendenza sicché Jaimee Uhlenbrock poté lavorare alacremente nel vecchio edificio di Piazza Duomo, un luogo, come pochi in Italia, adatto per la ricerca per merito, come è ben noto, prima di P. Orsi, poi di L. Bernabò Brea.

In anni più recenti, mentre J. Uhlenbrock continuava a studiare materiali di tutta la Sicilia e anche di santuari e depositi sacri delle più lontane sponde del Mediterraneo – le è stata infatti affidata la pubblicazione delle statuette messe in luce dagli scavi americani nel santuario di Demetra e Persefone a Cirene – il tema delle protomi è stato ripreso per altre aree del mondo greco da due valenti studiosi, F. Croissant (*Les protomés féminines archaïques*, Paris 1983) e M. Barra Bagnasco (*Protomi in terracotta da Locri Epizefiri*, Torino 1986). Ma, come ha simpaticamente ricordato in una lunga nota il Croissant, per la Sicilia si attendevano i risultati delle ricerche di J. Uhlenbrock, che contribuiscono ad allargare le nostre cono-

scenze sui rapporti esistenti tra l'artigianato di Gela e quello degli altri centri sicelioti e magno-greci.

Come per altre classi di materiali coroplastici – e si vedano in proposito i recenti lavori di F. Giudice sulla stipe camarinese di Persefone (1976) e di M. Sguaitamatti su terrecotte gelesi (1983) –, si pone anche per le protomi il problema della circolazione di prodotti finiti e di matrici tra le varie colonie, che si presenta assai complesso e per ora difficilmente definibile. Solo la pubblicazione quanto più possibile estesa del materiale inedito proveniente dai vari siti potrà in futuro permettere di delineare le linee di diffusione dei prodotti e le reciproche interferenze. In questo senso il volume che qui si presenta offre un'importante documentazione e non si può quindi che apprezzare il fatto che l'Erma di Bretschneider abbia ora accolto questo lavoro nell'importante collana degli *Studia Archaeologica*.

Non è mio compito anticipare le linee della ricerca che sono agilmente indicate dall'Autrice nel capitolo introduttivo, ma posso sottolineare l'interesse dei risultati conseguiti nell'individuazione dei diversi tipi locali e anche delle loro relazioni e dipendenze, nonché segnalare, come particolarmente utili, le due appendici che contengono rispettivamente un catalogo topografico dei contesti e depositi oggi noti in Sicilia e alcune riflessioni sul significato religioso di questa singolare classe di oggetti.

Colgo l'occasione per segnalare anche, della stessa Autrice, lo studio, in corso di pubblicazione su *Xenia*, 18 che prende in esame le protomi fittili ritrovate in un altro sito della Sicilia greca, Naxos, e contribuisce ad approfondire il discorso su questo particolare tipo di ex-voto.

Il libro è dedicato a Dorothy Burr Thompson, una delle figure più eminenti dell'archeologia americana del dopoguerra, per anni protagonista, a fianco del marito Homer Thompson, di quello straordinario campo di scavi e di studi che è stata per più di una generazione l'Agorà di Atene. A Dorothy Burr Thompson si devono alcuni studi fondamentali sulla coroplastica greca ellenistica, ma anche un patrimonio di cultura e metodo nella ricerca, trasmesso ad un folto gruppo di allievi, tra cui l'Autrice, ma anche altri operanti in Sicilia, come M. Bell al quale si deve il primo volume degli scavi di Morgantina, recentemente uscito, riguardante appunto il materiale coroplastico di quel centro.

A J. Uhlenbrock, che oggi insegna al Department of Art History della State University of New York, per questa opera, frutto di un lungo, appassionato impegno, auguriamo ogni successo.

PAOLA PELAGATTI

PREFACE

This study of the terracotta protomai from Gela ultimately developed out of a seminar report on the East Greek protomai from Delos prepared by me for Prof. James McCredie at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University; this later became the basis for my Master of Arts thesis, *The Archaic, Votive, Terracotta Protomai of Rhodian Style from Delos*, presented to New York University in April 1966. Prof. Günter Kopcke encouraged me to continue and expand this subject for a doctoral dissertation, which was completed and presented to the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University in February 1978, under the title, *The Protomai from Gela: History, Chronology, Style*. This present study is a complete revision of that dissertation. I am grateful for the opportunity to correct the many errors and omissions, both typographical and otherwise, that are to be found in that work.

The material for this study was largely researched during five summers and one sabbatical year spent abroad. During this time I was allowed access to collections in Italy, Greece, Turkey, Switzerland, France and England. In Sicily I was able to make use of all the resources available at the National Museum at Syracuse and for this I owe a special debt of gratitude to the staff there and especially to Dr. Paola Pelagatti, then Superintendent of Antiquities for Eastern Sicily, and to the present Superintendent, Dr. Giuseppe Voza. It was Dr. Pelagatti who urged me to publish this study. I would also like to thank Prof. Ernesto De Miro, then Superintendent of Antiquities for Agrigento and Caltanissetta, for his kind permission to examine the protomai from Gela and the Geloan hinterland now housed in the Regional Archaeological Museum at Gela, and the protomai from Agrigento and its environs now stored in the Regional Archaeological Museum at Agrigento. Prof. Giovanni Rizza granted me access to the material from the San Francesco deposit now stored in the Castello Ursino at Catania, and to the protomai from Lentini. In addition, many others facilitated my work in the field during the summers of 1972-1976, and the academic year 1986-87. They were, Dr. Fausto Gne-

sotto, Dr. Domenico Pancucci, Superintendency for Agrigento and Caltanissetta; Dr. Elena Fiorentini, Regional Archaeological Museum, Gela; Dr. Enrico Procelli, University of Catania, Institute of Archaeology; Dr. Giuseppe Navarra, Licata; Prof. Ernst Berger, Antikenmuseum and Mr. Herbert Kahn, Münzen and Medallien AG, Basel; Madame Simone Mollard-Besques, Louvre Museum, Paris; Dr. Michael Vickers, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Prof. Cornelius Vermeule, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Prof. Dietrich von Bothmer, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

In addition, I would like to thank those who offered many hours of advice, guidance, and criticism: Prof. Günter Kopcke and Prof. Evelyn Harrison, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University; Prof. Brunhilde S. Ridgeway, Bryn Mawr College; Prof. Malcolm Bell, University of Virginia, Prof. John Pedley, University of Michigan; Prof. Francis Croissant, University of Nancy; Prof. John Boardman, Oxford University; Prof. Trude Dothan, Hebrew University; Prof. Marcella Barra Bagnasco, University of Torino; Prof. Clemens Krause, University of Fribourg; Dr. Umberto Spigo, Soprintendency of Cultural Properties for Messina; Elsbeth Wiederkehr, Zürich; Dr. Anna Maria Manenti, Institute of Archaeology, University of Catania; Martine DeWailley, Rome; and especially to Prof. Piero Orlandini, Università degli Studi, Milan. One person in particular was always ready to listen, lend support, and provide criticism, even when of a non scholarly nature. I consider myself privileged to have had the encouragement through the years of Dorothy Burr Thompson, Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the support offered by Nanneke, Venanzio, Paolo, and the Numo family, without which this research would have been much more tedious.

Library facilities were provided by the Biblioteca Orsi, Syracuse; the American Academy in Rome; the American School of Classical Studies, Athens; the State University of New York, New Paltz; Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, and the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. This research was sponsored in part by the Samuel Kress Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the State of New York Research Foundation, the College at New Paltz Research Foundation, the United University Professions, and my parents.

Rome 1987

INTRODUCTION

The terracotta mask protome entered the repertoire of the Greek coroplasts of the East spontaneously sometime toward the middle of the sixth century B. C. By the closing years of that same century it had become a standard votive in sanctuaries throughout the Greek world, from the shores of the Black Sea to the coasts of Sicily¹. Shortly thereafter, the popularity of this type came to an end and, except for a rather limited production at a few sites², the mask protome disappeared from Greek contexts as suddenly and as mysteriously as it had arrived.

The term, mask protome³, for the purposes of this study, refers to a mould-made, terracotta type that represents the front half of a female head and neck modelled in the form of a semi-circular sheath, straight-sided, rounded at the top, and truncated just below the neck (Pl. 36b)⁴. The type is exclusive to the terracotta idiom, and, during the sixth century, with rare exceptions, restricted to female representations⁵. The most characteristic examples portray a woman with an egyptianizing veil, large disk earrings, and a stephane. Morphologically and iconographically the

¹ Cf. CROISSANT, *Protomés*, p. 13 ff., for a distribution of protomai around the Aegean basin; BARRA BAGNASCO, *Protomi*, p. 144, for southern Italy; infra, Appendix I for Sicily; PICARD, *Karthago*, XIII (1965-1966), p. 26 ff., for Punic sites; STERN, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 1976, p. 115 ff., for Israel; infra, Appendix II, n. 17 for protomai from elsewhere.

² Cf. CROISSANT, *op. cit.*, pl. 135:223, dated, p. 342, to the middle of the fifth century.

³ LIDDEL/SCOTT, *Greek English Lexicon*, s.v. προτομή « the foremost or upper part of anything; a bust or half figure ». The word protome is prevalent in English language scholarship; more common otherwise are the terms 'mask' or 'bust', even though the protome is properly none of these. Cf. ZUNTZ, *Persephone*, p. 143; CROISSANT, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

⁴ Gela 15852, ORLANDINI, « *Bitalemi* », pl. XIX:4.

⁵ For sixth century male protomai: LAURENZI, *Cl. Rh.* III, p. 205, fig. 199, from Kameiros; *Deltion XXIII* (1968), Chron., pl. 250 from Mon Repos, Corfu; SINN, *Antike Terrakotten*, p. 21, no. 1, « angeblich aus einem Grab in Attika ».

type is unique; it bears little relationship to any other sculptural form in any material in the Archaic Period ⁶.

The protome found a particularly welcome reception at the ateliers of the Greek coroplasts of Sicily. It was the main votive at most of the sixth century Hellenic sanctuary deposits ⁷, appearing at some sites literally by the thousands ⁸. It was apparent to this author that a stylistic examination of these Sicilian protomai might result in some clarification of the hazy picture of the history of sculptural style in the late Archaic Period in Sicily.

The accessibility of the protomai from all the Archaic sites there facilitated a comparative study with the result that certain types, fabric, and techniques could be attributed to specific manufacturing centers. Although in some cases it was obvious that types were shared by the ateliers of different cities, a number of production centers also developed a coroplastic repertoire that remained markedly local, Gela, Selinus, Agrigento, Francavilla di Sicilia, Naxos, perhaps Himera, and an as yet undetermined East Sicilian center, possibly Catania. No doubt, future excavations will uncover still other important centers.

Among the protomai from these centers, those from Gela appeared to warrant particular attention for several reasons. Many of these protomai are close to life-size and are excellently preserved, characteristics that encourage stylistic analyses; this is not often the case with protomai from other sites. In the development of the typology for the protomai the coroplast was remarkably resistant to influences from elsewhere in Sicily. With very few exceptions this typology is limited to Gela and Geloan dominated sites to the extent that some large and handsome protomai formerly attributed to Selinus can now be recognized as Geloan ⁹.

⁶ For a bronze protome similar to later Sicilian examples in morphology but not in iconography, cf. STEVEKING, *Festschrift Loeb*, p. 91 ff., pl. XII, figs. pp. 92-93; for another, less related example, also in bronze, cf. WACE, *BSA* 15 (1908), p. 148, fig. 13:17.

⁷ Cfr. *infra*, Appendix I for the distribution of protomai in Sicily.

⁸ Over three thousand have been recovered from Selinus. I owe this information to Elsbeth Wiederkehr, who is preparing this material for a study for the University of Zürich. It appeared to this writer that from a cursory view of the ensemble from the Piazza San Francesco at Catania, cf. RIZZA, *Boll. d'Arte* XLV (1960), p. 247 ff., more than two thousand protomai were found. Over a thousand have been excavated from the various Geloan contexts, cf., *infra*, p. 117 ff. An interesting exception to these large numbers is the situation at Himera, where only a few examples have been recovered from several different contexts, cf. ALLEGRO, *Quaderno Imerese* I (1972), p. 27 ff.

⁹ MOLLARD BESQUES, *Cat. raisonné* I, B 563, said to come from Selinus, and *Münzen und Medallien Sonderliste E* (1962), no. 81.

In addition, the corpus of Geloan protomai as a whole, comprising some fifty-three separate types, exhibits a stylistic coherence and high degree of refinement that is outstanding, if not unprecedented, among the sixth century terracottas from Sicily. This coherence results from a consistent attitude on the part of the coroplast toward the construction of forms and toward the elaboration of surfaces. It is supported by refinements in production technique that are particularly evident when one is handling these well-fired, well-cast protomai with walls that are frequently egg-shell thin, with carefully wiped and trimmed surfaces, and with strikingly fresh casts.

Finally, and most importantly, the Geloan typology is completely represented in two stratigraphical contexts at Gela that provide excellent chronological data for both an upper and lower terminus for its development¹⁰. As a result, we can say with confidence that the earliest types cannot pre-date ca. 540, and the latest post-date ca. 490. Presently, no other site in Sicily provides stratigraphical evidence for local production. Thus a study of these protomai presents the researcher with the felicitous coincidence of wealth of material, first-rate quality, excellent state of preservation, and fixed chronological points.

The protomai from Gela will serve, therefore, as the basis for a study of coroplastic style and taste in the late Archaic Period in Sicily. This is a topic that has not yet been fully examined and one that is not yet fully understood. The point of view is held by this writer that a characteristic aesthetic expression can be observed within the local, coroplastic tradition. This is a point of view contrary to the opinions of Arias¹¹, Higgins¹², Dunbabin¹³, and Holloway¹⁴.

It has long been recognized that ancient Sicily held an important place in the study of mould-made terracottas¹⁵. In a four volume, comprehen-

¹⁰ For a discussion of the stratigraphical evidence cf. below p. 38 ff.

¹¹ *Problemi di Scultura Greca*, p. 259, « Ma sarebbe errato credere, anche qui, che sia possibile ricostruire una omogenea scuola di coroplasti gelesi ».

¹² *BMC I*, p. 297.

¹³ In *The Western Greeks*, p. 265, Dunbabin speaks of a uniform style throughout Sicily and South Italy.

¹⁴ HOLLOWAY, *Influences and Styles*, p. 6, does not recognize the validity of terracotta sculpture as an indicator of style.

¹⁵ For the bibliography before 1900: The earliest study was conducted by A. TORREMUSZA, *Opuscoli di autori siciliani I-VIII*, 1764, followed a century later by CAVALLARI, «Le terrecotte figurate di Megara Iblea», *Bull. della Comm. Sic.* IV (1873), p. 1 ff., and ID., « Particolari delle sculture selinuntine e confronto fra queste e le terrecotte megaresi », *Bull. della Comm. Sic.* IV (1873), p. 10 ff.; ORSI, « Megara Hyblaia. Storia. Topografia. Necropoli e Anathemata », *MA* 1 (1892), col. 70 ff., hereaf-