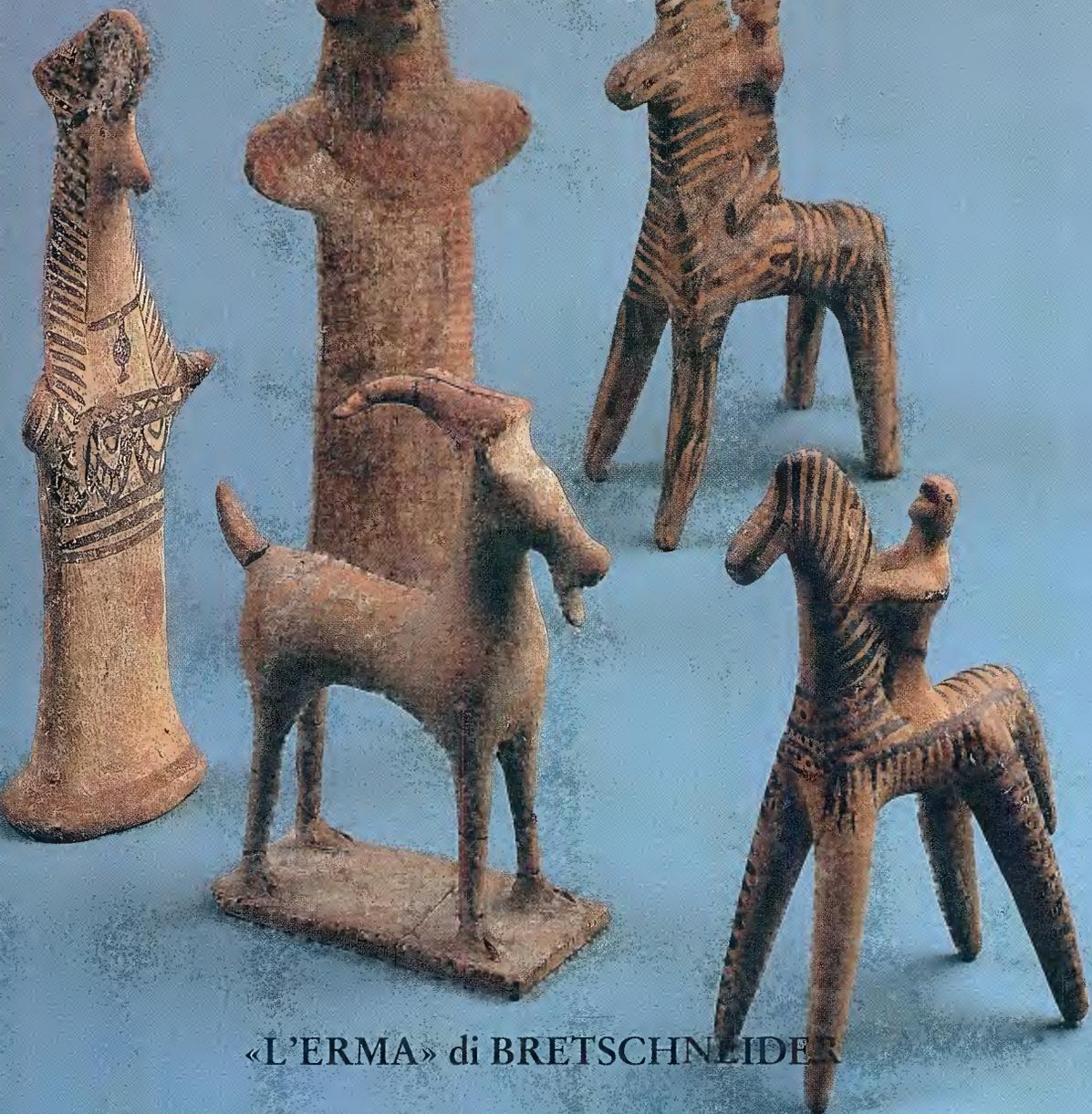


Miklós Szabó

# ARCHAIC TERRACOTTAS OF BOEOTIA



«L'ERMA» di BRETSCHNEIDER

MIKLÓS SZABÓ

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## INTRODUCTION

Due to its unfavorable location, Boeotia did not participate in the greater ventures of the stimulating age of Greek colonization which opened new prospects of economic and intellectual connections<sup>1</sup>. As a result, during the 7th and 6th centuries B. C. the region was characterized by a conservative peasant culture<sup>2</sup>, and, as if in response, a tendency to a Greek archaic style teeming with anachronistic elements<sup>3</sup>. An art historical examination of material excavated in Boeotia raises a series of complicated questions. The basic problem had already been outlined at the end of the last century: was there, in fact, an independent Boeotian art? Do the local finds reflect more than mere imitation or slavish repetition of the styles of the great centers, combined with a tenacious preservation of ancient traditions? If the answer is yes, what is characteristically Boeotian about the works discovered in the soil of Thespieae, Haliartus, Tanagra and other important settlements<sup>4</sup>? In recent years significant scholarship on the subject of Boeotian large-scale sculpture and vase-painting has sought answers to these questions<sup>5</sup>. However, the last few decades have not

<sup>1</sup> Boeotia's only significant undertaking, dateable much later (c. 560 B. C.), was its participation in the founding of Heraclea Pontica. More recent research has shown that even in this Megara had the leading role. See: D. ASHERI in: "Forschungen an der Nordküste Kleinasiens I" (*Öst. Akad. Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 106, 1972), 23 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For this see: W. RHYS ROBERTS, *The Ancient Boeotians. Their Character and Culture, and their Reputation* (Cambridge 1895); P. GUILLON, *La Béotie antique* (Paris 1948), 17 ff; R. J. BUCK, *A History of Boeotia* (Edmonton 1979) 1 ff and 87 ff.

<sup>3</sup> A. BONINELLA, *Aevum* 41 (1967), 1 ff.

<sup>4</sup> A striking characterization of the direction of research: LULLIES, *Plastik*, 137 ff. See also the works cited in note 5 and the contents of the Conclusion.

<sup>5</sup> For large-scale sculpture see primarily DUCAT, 451 ff; furthermore, W. SCHILD-XENIDOU, *Boiotische Grab- und Weihreliefs archaischer und klassischer Zeit* (Munich 1972) 152 ff. See also, P. M. FRASER, T. RÖNNE, *Boeotian and West Greek Tombstones* (Lund 1957) 3 ff. For vase-painting with thorough bibliography: RUCKERT, 12-15.

produced a serious advance in the study of the most exciting form of local production, the terracotta figurines<sup>6</sup>. Boeotian coroplastic material became of particular interest during the last quarter of the previous century following the discovery of the Tanagra cemetery<sup>7</sup>; finds from the graves, for the most part illegally excavated, reached the world's major collections of antiquities. In contrast to the early hellenistic "Tanagras", archaic terracotta sculptures generally met with revulsion in scholarly circles at the end of that century. The so-called "pappades" (named for their headdresses which resemble those of Greek orthodox priests) and other hand-formed types were unanimously negatively appraised and were designated as at best clumsy, naive or childish<sup>8</sup>. Furthermore, according to the period's evolutionist notions, art developed from "primitive" abstract forms to the more naturalistic, thus "more perfect" solutions. Accordingly, the Boeotian idols could represent but the beginning stages of such a process.

Although the prejudiced notion that such "primitive" terracottas (discovered on numerous mainland Greek sites) were pre-Mycenaean disappeared relatively fast from scholarly literature<sup>9</sup>, the Boeotian "pappades" were considered for a long time as late Bronze Age works, or, more often, as examples of Geometric art. This last notion, based on stylistic arguments, became deeply embedded in scholarly writing, as evidenced by the datings which crop up even today in various compendia or catalogues of terracottas<sup>10</sup>. Yet the discovery of the

<sup>6</sup> Aside from a few subgeometric works, the production of Boeotian small-scale bronze plastic workshops remained, for a long time, mostly unknown. See: GRACE, 49-50. For small-scale archaic bronze sculpture: DUCAT, 191 ff. The publication of the material from the Theban Cabirium represents a turning point in research: B. SCHMALTZ, *Metallfiguren aus dem Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben. Die Statuetten aus Bronze und Blei. (Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben VI)* Berlin, 1980. That the much discussed bronze kouros in Rhode Island is probably a fake also deserves to be noted. Most recently: D. G. MITTEN, *Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Classical Bronzes* (Providence, R.I., 1975) 34-40.

<sup>7</sup> For the history of the excavation of the Tanagra cemetery: WINTER I, xi, ff; ANDRIOMENOU 1985; HIGGINS 1986.

<sup>8</sup> See: R. KEKULE v. STRADONITZ, *Griechische Tonfiguren* (Berlin 1878), 12; E. POTTIER, *Les Statuettes de terre cuite dans l'antiquité* (Paris 1890) 21 f. For an aesthetic appraisal of the "pappades" with an overview of earlier opinions: PAUL, 165 f; also supra n. 4 and ZERVOS, passim.

<sup>9</sup> See E. POTTIER, *Ibid.*, 19, ff. For the pre-Mycenaean dating of the Argive primitives: chapter 5, n. 86.

<sup>10</sup> E. POTTIER, *Diphilos et les modeleurs des terres cuites grecques* (Paris 1909), 47; SCHNEIDER-LENGYEL, 15. See also chapter 4, n. 3.

cemetery of ancient Mycalessus near Rhitsona in 1907, and the subsequent rapid publication of its excavation in the first decades of this century, produced the surprising result that the ill-omened "Boeotian primitives" could hardly predate the 6th century B. C.<sup>11</sup> This yielded fundamentally new associations for the problem that naturally demanded fresh approaches. The notion that archaic Boeotian terracotta sculpture belongs within the mainstream of the development of Greek art had failed conclusively. Thereupon the priority was to search for external points to secure the material's chronological position. The last half century, however, has seen little advance in this approach, due mainly to the stagnation of Boeotian archaeological surveys and to the lag in the publication of terracottas from creditable contexts. The Rhitsona cemetery has remained the fixed point, despite the fact that the character of its grave-goods is undeniably provincial compared with the material from the great centers of Boeotia<sup>12</sup>. By necessity, therefore, the most important treatments still build on these chronological bases, or on conclusions which can be derived from evidence of Boeotian large-scale sculpture and vase-painting. Since Rhitsona has not yielded pre-sixth century terracottas, the course of the development of Boeotian "board" idols, of hand-worked horsemen, etc. remains unclear.

In addition to Grace's fundamental assessment, which examined select coroplastic remains from Boeotia in relation primarily to large-scale sculpture<sup>13</sup>, Paul's work deserves mention as an important experiment in a monograph publication of Boeotian "board" idols, despite the limited number of figurines included in the study<sup>14</sup>. Both works revealed that the 6th century types are not documents of the lingering geometric style, but of a relatively short-lived local production with a clearly definable chronology. Despite this important insight, the view became widespread that « protoppades » and riders similar to 6th century idols had been produced in Boeotia in the 7th century B. C.<sup>15</sup>. Consequently, it is not surprising that according to the latest handbooks on Greek terracottas, Boeotia is relatively *terra incognita* during the first half of the Archaic period, becoming populated with securely dateable produc-

<sup>11</sup> Most significant from the point of the history of terracotta sculpture: URE, 53 ff. Additional bibliography in chapter 2, n. 2 and chapter 4, n. 1.

<sup>12</sup> See GRACE, 21 ff.

<sup>13</sup> GRACE, *passim*.

<sup>14</sup> PAUL, 165 ff.

<sup>15</sup> This train of thought is based on Ure's view (URE, 54). See most recently, L. E. PRESTON, *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 2 (1975) 125-26.

tion only in the 6th century B. C.<sup>16</sup>. However, since this material's provenance and wider art historical connections are relatively unclear, interpretations based on constant references to the conservatism of the region's peasant culture can in no way be considered solutions<sup>17</sup>. The present publication, which is based primarily on research undertaken in Greece between 1970 and 1974 emphasizes the examination of the critical period of Boeotian coroplastic output. In other words, we have attempted to clarify the production of the 7th century and, closely linked with it, the development of the 6th century primitive types<sup>18</sup>. The examination of the unusually complex manifestations of the change from the Archaic to the Classical period has proved no less of a significant challenge<sup>19</sup>. Furthermore, material from the major Greek centers of Athens, Corinth, Sparta and Argos having been systematically analyzed, we have sought to answer the question mostly avoided in professional publications, namely the manner in which the Boeotian primitives relate to the production of other sites. In other words, is it proper to treat the Boeotian material as a relatively isolated phenomenon? If the answer is no, as we strive to argue, what connections can be demonstrated between the various centers, what place did Boeotia occupy among these and to what extent can we speak of local coroplastic characteristics?

Henceforth, all archaic terracotta types which are either made up of totally undateable basic forms ("board" or cylinder body; bird-beak or mouse face; arm stubs, etc.) or which combine these with "up-to-date" elements (that is, according to the period style) shall be called "primitives", thus retaining the category which Ure employed to designate similar works<sup>20</sup>. We emphasize, however, that this designation does not have a pejorative sense<sup>21</sup>, but indicates figures which are

<sup>16</sup> See S. MOLLARD-BESQUES, *Les terres cuites grecques* (Paris 1963), 44 ff.; HIGGINS, *Gr. Tc.* 45 ff; ROHDE, 15 f.

<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately material from new excavations of essential importance is mostly unavailable to research. The publication of Andriomenou's dissertation represents some advance. ANDRIOMENOU, 1980. See also, *Thèbes*, 90-95 (a bibliographic compilation regarding research on individual Boeotian sites); P. ROESCH, *La Béotie antique* (Paris 1985) 15 ff.

<sup>18</sup> See SZABÓ 1973; SZABÓ 1975 and SZABÓ 1979.

<sup>19</sup> SZABÓ 1974. For questions on the Boeotian coroplastic koine and individual workshops: M. SZABÓ, *BMusHong* 37 (1971), 9-17 and 90-96.

<sup>20</sup> URE, 53 ff.

<sup>21</sup> "Primitive coroplastic" or "primitive style" may appear as a primarily pejorative aesthetic category to the reader. Doubtless it appears in such a sense in international art historical publications (See PAUL, 165), but since the end of the last century it is also used in the Latin or English languages to

more or less independent from the production of those creative centers which represent the leading stylistic trends of Archaic art<sup>22</sup>.

This publication, within the given perimeters, naturally seeks to give a complete overview of the history of archaic Boeotian terracotta sculpture. We have dealt only briefly with subjects on which there is little new to be said at the moment. Nor was there the opportunity to publish *in toto* the compiled lists of the tremendous material according to types, groups or workshops. The exceptions are those groups which are destined to eliminate the blank areas of the history of Boeotian terracottas in the 7th century B. C. We had to restrict ourselves to introducing the most characteristic examples and the most significant historical connections from the analogous material of the other archaic Greek centers.

Numerous scholars and museums helped bring about this publication by facilitating research, sending photographs and providing information regarding unpublished finds. I was able to study material in storage thanks to the kind permission of the following: Athens National Museum: V. Kallipolitis and B. Philippaki; Acropolis museum: G. Donatas and M. Brouskari; Boeotian museums (Thebes, Schimatari-Tanagra, Chaironeia, Thespiai): Th. Spiropoulos. The École Française d'Archéologie in Athens, whose hospitality I enjoyed in the course of my study trips to Greece, extended the opportunity for me to examine in detail the terracotta sculptures discovered by the French excavations at Ptoon, in the Korykian cave at Delphi, Kirrha and Argos. For this I owe personal thanks to P. Amandry, F. Croissant and A. Pasquier. G. Steinhauer made possible the study of the Sparta Museum's terracottas. I became acquainted with the coroplastic collection of the Kanellopou-

signify "early" or "indigenous", and often in the context of a relative chronology. In the present instance "primitive" is partly a *terminus technicus* and in this context refers to all Archaic terracotta sculpture which is made up of "timeless" elementary forms. Furthermore, it will be used as a stylistic category when coupled with the prefix of Argive, Boeotian, etc., to indicate the local school of archaic terracotta sculpture within its territory. Thus it would have been misleading to introduce the designation of a Boeotian abstract style as has once been proposed because, aside from the well-known terminological problems associated with "abstract", the categories under discussion are no more abstract than the contemporary, similarly fashioned Corinthian, Spartan, or Argive terracottas.

<sup>22</sup> E. Kunze's remarks on primitive terracottas may be thus understood (*AM* 55, 1930, 143 ff.); G. M. A. Richter's experiment to try to fit selected Boeotian coroplastic material into an assumed development of archaic sculpture may be considered unique (RICHTER, *Korai*, passim.). This system rests on fundamentally mistaken bases. See: P. DE LA COSTE-MESSELIÈRE, *Journal des Savants* (1970) 129 ff.

los Museum in Athens thanks to the kindness of A. Pasquier as well as M. Brouskari. The American School of Classical Studies in Athens, specifically D. Burr Thompson, made it possible that I study the terracottas from the Athenian Agora, and Charles Williams II the material from Corinth and Phlius. With the permission of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut of Athens and primarily with the friendly help of B. Schmaltz, I was able to make use of the finds from Theban Cabirium and to avail myself of the Institute's archive for my research. The finds from the Kerameikos excavations were made available to me by U. Knigge, those of Tiryns by P. Gerke and the Olympian material by H.-D. Heilmeyer. The following helped with solutions to particular problems: in Eretria, the Swiss excavators, primarily K. Metzger; on the island of Thasos, the members of the École Française, especially Cl. Rolley and in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, E. Youri.

The study of Boeotian material scattered in the various European collections and the assembling of photo documentation proved to be enlightening. I owe grateful thanks to the following: Paris, Louvre (P. Devambez, A. Pasquier), Laôn, Musée Archéologique (A. N. Rollas); London, British Museum (D. Haynes, B. F. Cook); Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen (F. W. Hamdorf, M. Maass); Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum (J. Thimme); Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum (U. Willers); Heidelberg, Sammlung des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität (H. Gropengiesser); Würzburg, Martin von Wagner-Museum der Universität (G. Beckel); Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung (E. Kriseleit); Copenhagen, Danish National Museum (T. Bro).

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<sup>23</sup> Essentially the same is true for J. S. Østergaard's important work which mirrors and further develops the results included in this book. (See ØSTERGAARD.)

## 1. GEOMETRIC AND SUBGEOMETRIC BOEOTIAN TERRACOTTAS

According to current understanding, Boeotian terracotta sculpture, after reaching its first zenith during the late Mycenaean period, does not show signs of a development until the last quarter of the 8th century B. C.<sup>1</sup> The earliest post-Mycenaean terracottas, the so-called bell-idols, form a characteristic, although not completely homogenous group. With a few exceptions, the general designation "bell-idols" refers in the professional literature to wheel-made hollow-body forms with long necks and small heads, which were painted prior to firing and whose movable legs were attached separately.

The rather limited group<sup>2</sup> consists of sporadic finds, even the provenance of which is often unknown. It is questionable whether the pieces designated as Theban in the large European museums can provide a valid basis for a possible location of the idols' workshop<sup>3</sup>.

Initially, research sought to reveal the history of the bell-idols on the basis of typological-stylistic analysis. At the end of the last century

<sup>1</sup> See E. FRENCH, *BSA* 66 (1971) 101 ff; For the Theban finds: V. HANKEY, *BSA* 47 (1952) 87. For the more recent Tanagra excavations: TH. SPIROPOULOS, *AAA* 2 (1969) 20 ff; *AAA* 3 (1970) 184 ff; SPIROPOULOS, *Ergon* (1977) 14 ff.

<sup>2</sup> List: J. DÖRIG, *AntK* 1 (1958) 50-51 (Anhang 1.) — Additions: Munich, Staatl. Ant. Slg. 5291 (Here, fig. 2); Munich, Staatl. Ant. Slg. Schön 116 — LULLIES, 45, no. 116; England, Clifford-Norton Collection — NICHOLSON, 21, no. 54, pl. 7 (For the type see fig. 3); England, Chesterman Collection — NICHOLSON, 21, no. 55, pl. 7 (for the type see the piece cited in note 30); Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology 124C205 — GRACE, fig. 8 — see also WINTER I, 6,2b (as the previous). An example in Upsala (Gustavianum, University Collection 811) from c. 700 B. C. was called to my attention by J. Gy. Szilágyi.

<sup>3</sup> See: RUCKERT, 112-113, Te 1 (Paris, Louvre CA 573); *Ibid.*; Te 3 (Berlin, Staatl. Mus. Ant. Slg. V. I. 3202 a); *Ibid.*, Te 4 (Paris, Louvre CA 623). Also allegedly from Thebes is a piece in Copenhagen (BREITENSTEIN, no. 110) and an example in Athens (fig. 3, here). The latter was erroneously assigned a Theban provenance by WEBSTER (9 f).

M. Holleaux<sup>4</sup> recognized that the statuettes he had considered “horribly grotesque” were manifestations of Boeotian geometric sculpture. However, he considered them earlier than examples of the Athenian “Dipylon-style”<sup>5</sup>. The correction of this chronological error was prevented until the beginning of the 1930’s by the fact that the origins of the idols were sought not in Greek geometric art, but in either the survival of Cretan-Mycenaean elements, or in eastern influences<sup>6</sup>. It is also worth making the typological observation that the bell-idol series begins with the Athens — Copenhagen type (Fig. 3)<sup>7</sup>, although what in art appears more primitive is not always the equivalent of simpler, as F. Poulsen established in 1906 in connection with the Athens example<sup>8</sup>. A significant milestone in the history of the study of the group was F. Grace’s work, which demonstrated on the basis of comparison with Geometric ceramics that the majority of the idols had been produced around 700 B. C.<sup>9</sup>.

Since then new evidence has emerged from the examination of the origins of Boeotian bell-idols. Since this problem is not immediately linked to the subject at hand, only a few aspects of it are to be highlighted here. In a study which appeared shortly after World War II, V. Miložić endeavored to prove an ultimately northern origin of the type<sup>10</sup>. He based his argument on the resemblance of late Bronze-Age idols of the lower Danube region<sup>11</sup> to terracottas produced in the workshops of Athenian “incised-ware”<sup>12</sup>. One can hardly account, however, for a north-eastern, Balkan origin for these Athenian terracottas, and even the question of whether they preserve the “memory” of northern idols must await further research<sup>13</sup>. An additional problem arises from the two centuries, and the significant typological and tech-

<sup>4</sup> *MonPiot* 1 (1894) 21 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 41-42.

<sup>6</sup> See MÜLLER, 79-81, with a synopsis of the various theories.

<sup>7</sup> MÜLLER, 79; K. Mc. K. ELDERKIN, *AJA* 34 (1930) 460.

<sup>8</sup> F. POULSEN, *JdI* 21 (1906) 187.

<sup>9</sup> GRACE, 10-11.

<sup>10</sup> *AA* (1948-49) 33-34.

<sup>11</sup> See primarily: Z. LETICA, *Antropomorfne figurine bronzanog doba u Jugoslaviji* (Belgrad 1973). Also: T. FILIPOV, *Nekropol ot kasznata bronzova epoha pri sz. Orszoja Lomszko* (Sofia 1967); T. KOVÁCS, *ArchÉrt* 99 (1972) 47-51; N. MAJNARIĆ-PANDŽIĆ, *OpArch* 7 (1982) 47 ff.

<sup>12</sup> See most recently; J. BOUZEK, *Sbornik narodniho muzea v Pràze. Rada A* 28 (1974) no. 1. *Id.*, *The Aegean, Anatolia and Europe: Cultural Interrelations in the Second Millenium B. C.* (Göteborg 1985) 169 ff.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 36-39; see fig. 16.

nical differences, which separate the Attic pieces — dated to the 10th century B. C. — from the Boeotian bell-idols.

The missing links between the Attic 10th century pieces and the later Boeotian idols are to be found on the eastern islands of the Aegean. A 9th century Rhodian statuette<sup>14</sup> appears to be the direct descendant of the Athenian terracottas<sup>15</sup>, but is decorated with painted motifs employed in geometric vase-painting. The next connection, discovered in an 8th century grave at the Seraglio on Cos<sup>16</sup>, is a terracotta exhibiting close formal links to the Boeotian pieces<sup>17</sup>. The nature of the role of the Cypriot bell-idols in this connection is not clear since the dating of the most important pieces, is, for the moment, an insoluble problem<sup>18</sup>. Nevertheless, it is possible that the local Boeotian terracotta workshops originated under influences from the eastern Aegean in the last quarter of the 8th century B. C. The centaur statuette discovered at Lefkandi (Euboea) emphatically calls attention to the need to study the question of connections between the eastern Aegean and central Greece beginning with the end of the Protogeometric period<sup>19</sup>.

Specimens decorated with painted figural motifs closely linked to late Geometric vases constitute the most solid foothold for the chronology of Boeotian bell-idols<sup>20</sup> (Fig. 1). These, as Ruckert's research has recently proved, can be placed in phase III of the Oinochoe-group's workshop, or 720-700 B. C.<sup>21</sup> That the majority of the oinochoes have been discovered in the region of Thebes<sup>22</sup>, supports the theory that the terracottas are of similar provenance<sup>23</sup>.

A few idols, however, are subgeometric in character (Fig. 2) and on the basis of comparison with the vases cannot date earlier than

<sup>14</sup> G. JACOPI, "Scavi nella necropoli di Jalisso 1924-28", *Clara Rhodos* III (1929) tomb CXLI, 146, no. 1, figs. 149, 142.

<sup>15</sup> See HIGGINS, *Gr. Tc* 19.

<sup>16</sup> Illustrated: HIGGINS, *Gr. Tc*. pl. 6, fig. E; for the burial find: L. MORRIS, *BdA* 35 (1950) 322, 320, fig. 93.

<sup>17</sup> See fig. 3.

<sup>18</sup> See from Amathus: A. S. MURRAY, A. H. SMITH, H. B. WALTERS, *Excavations in Cyprus* (London 1900) 113, fig. 165. Also, a piece without provenance in the Nicosia Museum: F. VANDENABEELE, *BCH* 97 (1973) 47-49, no. I, fig. 1, see also p. 57, for the origins of the bell-idols.

<sup>19</sup> V. R. DESBOROUGH, R. V. NICHOLLS, M. POPHAM, *BSA* 65 (1970) 21-30; 7-11.

<sup>20</sup> Paris, Louvre CA 623 (here: fig. 1); Paris, Louvre CA 573 (RUCKERT, 112, Te 1), Berlin, Staatl. Mus. Ant. Slg. V. I. 3202 a (RUCKERT, 113, Te 3); further: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 98.891 (RUCKERT, 29, fig. 2, Te 2).

<sup>21</sup> RUCKERT, 38-39, 47-48 and see 18.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>23</sup> For this, see note 3.

700 B. C.<sup>24</sup>. This also applies to a piece in Berlin of proto-geometric appearance, decorated with concentric circles<sup>25</sup>. The characteristic elements of the subgeometric bell-idols are the bird-like or simian treatment of the head and the painted, rather than plastic, rendering of the arms. The subgeometric antecedents of the "bird-beak" face, popular in archaic Boeotian terracottas, cannot be considered local phenomena, or an autonomous mode of representation resulting from local development. On the one hand, the bell-idol from Kos<sup>26</sup> represents the identical head-type, while on the other, the "naturalistic" facial-type of the terracottas corresponding to phase III of the Oinochoe Workshop survives into the first half of the 7th c. B. C.

The pieces which seem to be the earliest typologically, and the origins of which are widely debated, belong to the subgeometric phase. Supporting the earlier chronology Higgins assigns the Copenhagen example to the beginning of the Boeotian series<sup>27</sup>, while Webster dated its Athenian parallel (Fig. 3) to the end of the 7th c. B. C.<sup>28</sup>. The painted decoration of a figurine published by G. van Hoorn<sup>29</sup> displays a close affinity to the above mentioned Munich terracotta (Fig. 2), and it thus appears possible to date all three "conservative" idols to the beginning of the 7th century. It bears noting that the "bird-face" and arm stub of the problematic pieces correspond to the stylization of the later "pappades". Furthermore, the Athenian terracotta's striped painting may be considered the forerunner of the abstract manner of decoration which flourished during the first half of the 6th century. Louvre CA 1931<sup>30</sup> and the idol in the Chesterman collection<sup>31</sup> may be considered as direct descendants of the late Geometric examples. According to Ruckert, the garment's decoration indicates that these were probably produced at the beginning of the 7th century B. C.<sup>32</sup>. An ex-

<sup>24</sup> Berlin: RUCKERT, 113-114, Te 5; Munich, Staatl. Ant. Slg. 5291, =fig. 2; England, Clifford-Norton Collection: NICHOLSON, 21, no. 54, pl. 7, see RUCKERT, 48, J. N. COLDSTREAM, *Greek Geometric Pottery* (London 1968) 202 ff and 211 (chronology).

<sup>25</sup> For its identification see: J. DÖRIG, *op. cit.*, 50-51 list. 1, no. 10.

<sup>26</sup> See note 16.

<sup>27</sup> HIGGINS, *Gr. Tc.* 23.

<sup>28</sup> WEBSTER, *loc. cit.*

<sup>29</sup> Illustration, see: MÜLLER, pl. 18, no. 264, see 70, note 40.

<sup>30</sup> RUCKERT, 114, Te 6.

<sup>31</sup> Cited in note 2.

<sup>32</sup> RUCKERT, 39 and 48.

ample from Athens<sup>33</sup> and one in Toronto<sup>34</sup> belong at the end of the bell-idol series, as comparison with the relief on the Athenian Potnia-pithos suggests; the two terracottas may be dated to the second quarter of the 7th c. B. C.<sup>35</sup>

Consequently, allowing for the widest chronological limits, the series of Boeotian bell-idols may be placed between 720 and 650 B. C. The type disappeared around the middle of the 7th century and, according to all indications, had no notable following<sup>36</sup>. It is certain, however, that numerous features of 6th century Boeotian terracottas occur on Geometric and subgeometric forerunners. Among these are the bird-beak face, varnish striping prior to firing, and even the elongated treatment of the neck. In addition, as Grace had noted, there are also "descendants" of the realistic head shapes appearing among the "pappades" series<sup>37</sup>.

A few subgeometric terracottas may be appended to the bell-idol group. Since these are individual pieces, their attributions are not without problems, such as those posed by the unparalleled enthroned kourotroph of the Geneva Ortiz Collection<sup>38</sup>. The treatment of the head is akin to early bell-idols. The decoration of its throne has good Attic parallels, however, so that one recent study has questioned the figure's generally accepted Boeotian attribution<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> Athens National Museum 5692: WINTER I. 6, 5.

<sup>34</sup> GRACE, fig. 8.

<sup>35</sup> See: GRACE, fig. 9. For the dating of the pithos: R. HAMPE, *Frühe griechische Sagenbilder in Bötien* (Athens 1936) 56-58; GRACE, 16-20; J. SCHÄFER, *Studien zu den griechischen Reliefpithoi des 8-6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. aus Kreta, Rhodos, Tenos und Boiotien* (Kallmünz 1957) 73-75.

<sup>36</sup> For the Boeotian art of the period: A. BONINELLA, *Aevum* 41 (1967) 3 ff.

<sup>37</sup> Compare Athens National Museum no. 4261 (GRACE, 13, fig. 36) with the Toronto idol (see note 2).

<sup>38</sup> SCHEFOLD, 136, II, no. 84 (Boeotian).

<sup>39</sup> P. KRANZ, *AM* 87 (1972) 14-15, pl. 4, figs. 1-2: Boeotian: "fortgeschrittene 7. Jahrhundert". In a more recent study departing from his earlier opinion, Kranz has sought to prove the Athenian origin of the piece (*AA*, 1978, 317 ff). Among his reasons, the remark regarding the quality of the fabric and the type of clay is not decisive, given the lack of adequate analysis. The mat-color and varnish prove nothing since these were similarly employed in Boeotia during the 7th century. (See the next chapter.) The arguments based on the analysis of the throne's painted decoration remain convincing, however, they encounter difficulties (not denied by Kranz himself) since the motifs in question are also found in the repertory of Boeotian vase painting. (See J. N. COL-DSTREAM, *op. cit.*, 203.) Coroplastic parallels for the unique piece are absent in Attica, while the Boeotian bell-idols provide parallels to several aspects. See, most recently: G. WICKERT-MICKNAT, "Die Frau" (*Arch. Hom.* III R) Göttingen, 1982, pl. IV c: "Vermutlich aus Bötien".

The group of swimming water fowl from the former Schön Collection in Munich, decorated on its base with subgeometric motifs of late Geometric derivation<sup>40</sup>, can probably be dated to the first half of the 7th century B. C., as can an "iynx-wheel" in the Paris Cabinet des Médailles (Bibliothèque Nationale)<sup>41</sup> and an originally four-wheeled horseman in the Athenian Kanellopoulos Museum<sup>42</sup>. These three may be assigned to the sphere of Boeotian art on the basis of fabric and technical peculiarities; furthermore, as indicated by the cited parallels, they reflect the influence of late Geometric Attica.

<sup>40</sup> LULLIES, 46, no. 120, pl. 50; for the decoration: J. N. COLDSTREAM, *op. cit.*, pl. 14, figs. a, b (Athenian parallels).

<sup>41</sup> J. DE LA GENIÈRE, *REA* 60 (1958) 27-28, pl. I, no. 1-2; its Athenian forerunner: G. NELSON, *AJA* 44 (1940) 443-56 (in Boston). See also, A. PASQUIER, *Etudes Delphiques* (*BCH* Suppl. IV), Paris, 1977, 378.

<sup>42</sup> M. BROUSKARI, *The Paul & Alexandra Kanellopoulos Museum* (1985) 24 (with ill.), "Attic, Late Geometric". ØSTERGAARD, fig. 37 and note 18; argues for mid sixth century date. For Geometric teams, see: H. SARIAN, *BCH* 93 (1969) 651 ff; HEILMEYER, 32 ff.

## 2. BOEOTIAN TERRACOTTAS IN THE 7TH CENTURY B. C.

Apart from the already mentioned subgeometric coroplastic examples, 7th century Boeotian terracotta sculpture is virtually unknown. The latest handbooks at best characterize the century's local production as insignificant<sup>1</sup>. The lack of evidence has puzzled research since the discovery of the 6th c. B. C. graves of Rhitsona<sup>2</sup>. One suggested explanation is that the production of 7th and 6th century Boeotian terracotta workshops must have been essentially similar. According to this theory several "pappades" or horsemen of the scattered finds could have been in reality produced in the 7th century B. C.<sup>3</sup>. There is no evidence to support this proposition and, as we shall see, the cylindrical-bodied, long-necked, "proto-pappades", datable on the basis of the find context, cannot be earlier than the beginning of the 6th c. B. C.<sup>4</sup>.

Another theory ascribes the disappearance of the bell-idols in the mid 7th century to the suppression of the local artistic tradition under Corinthian influence and the virtual conquering the Boeotian market by Corinthian imports<sup>5</sup>. In fact, however, as A. Newhall Stillwell has demonstrated<sup>6</sup>, Corinthian terracotta exports hardly passed northwards beyond Perachora in the 7th century B. C., and they occur only as exceptions in Boeotia<sup>7</sup>.

Consequently, it is understandable that in scholarly literature only a few Boeotian terracottas represent the development of 7th century

<sup>1</sup> Thus: HIGGINS, *Gr. Tc.* 45; G. Richter's opinion is an exception speaks of an "active output" in reference to 7th century Boeotian terracottas. (RICHTER, 218)

<sup>2</sup> R. M. BURROWS, P. N. URE, *BSA* 14 (1907-1908) 226 ff; *JHS* 29 (1909) 308 ff; P. N. URE, *JHS* 30 (1910) 336 ff.

<sup>3</sup> URE, 53; GRACE, 15, 22.

<sup>4</sup> URE, loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> See GRACE, 15.

<sup>6</sup> STILLWELL, 13.

<sup>7</sup> For example, see: HIGGINS, *Cat* 243, no. 837, pl. 130.

sculpture. Knoblauch identified as Boeotian a terracotta in Berlin that Jenkins had listed as an example of proto-Daedalic clay sculpture which had broken with the geometric tradition and that he had dated to the 70's of the 7th century<sup>8</sup>. Jenkins assigned the head from Halai in the Theban Museum to the third phase of the middle Daedalic style (c. 635-630 B. C.), based on its Cretan parallels<sup>9</sup>. According to Knoblauch, a terracotta from Locri in the Louvre exemplifies the late Daedalic development in Boeotia. This opinion has proved untenable<sup>10</sup>.

H. Goldman dated a unique figure fragment from Halai to the 6th century<sup>11</sup>. However, Grace and Knoblauch proved independently the piece's 7th century manufacture; its dating to the third quarter of the century remains accepted<sup>12</sup>. The dating of the terracotta from Halai was made much more difficult by the fact that the paint used to decorate it was considered a characteristic 6th century technique in the 1930's<sup>13</sup>.

Thus we leave behind the relatively "secure" bases of the history of Boeotian terracottas in the 7th century B. C.<sup>14</sup>. For now, progress is possible not through local finds, but through those discovered in Attic excavations<sup>15</sup>. Numerous undocumented Boeotian terracottas can find defined chronological places on the basis of datable coroplastic material from the Agora and Kerameikos excavations.

<sup>8</sup> JENKINS, 26, pl. 1, fig. 6; KNOBLAUCH, 192, no. 404 and 32 note 75. For examples of large-scale Daedalic sculpture from Boeotia: E. D. PIERCE, *AJA* 28, 1924, 267-75.

<sup>9</sup> JENKINS, 48, 64; see KAROUZOS 60, figs. 44-45; *Thèbes*, 63, fig. 19.

<sup>10</sup> KNOBLAUCH, 192, no. 405 and 39, note 97; MOLLARD-BESQUES I, 11, no. B62, pl. VII; see A. PASQUIER, *BCH* 106 (1982) 281 ff: the terracotta is the product of a Laconian workshop.

<sup>11</sup> LOEB, 70-72, pl. viii, fig. 2.

<sup>12</sup> KNOBLAUCH, 192, no. 403, 32, note 75, 40 note 102; GRACE, 50-51; In this connection see the problem of the dating of the Tyskiewicz bronze: GRACE, 49 f, fig. 64.

<sup>13</sup> See notes 11 and 12.

<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately I did not have the opportunity to study the material from the enormous Akraiphnion (Akraiphion, Akraiphia) cemetery. On the basis of preliminary notices, it is not clear whether the 7th century tomb groups contain terracottas. See: ANDRIOMENOU, *AAA* 7 (1974) 325 ff; *AAA* 10 (1978) 273 ff; furthermore, *BCH* 100 (1976) 644; 101 (1977) 584. Most recently, ANDRIOMENOU 1980, *passim*. (See tables 8 and 15 which represent exclusively 6th century terracottas.)

<sup>15</sup> For the literature on this, see: notes 17-20.