

## Keros Hoard Objects in Detail

AN ADDENDUM TO "[THE KEROS HOARD REVISITED](#)," BY PAT GETZ-GENTLE (AJA 112 [2008] 299–305).

### Introduction

This addendum consists of information in support of a Kerian provenance for 102 of the 104 pieces inventoried in part 2 of *The "Keros Hoard": Myth or Reality?*<sup>1</sup> This is followed by information for two pieces that are deliberately but in my view unnecessarily excluded by Sotirakopoulou.<sup>2</sup> I advise the reader to have the book on hand, since here I repeat only information pertaining to my argument.

### Designations Used in the Entries

#### *History and Find-Place*

"A-1" applies to objects identified as belonging to the hoard that I saw on visits to N. Koutoulakis from 1968 through 1983. I have photographs of these pieces that I took myself or that were sent to me, at my request, by Koutoulakis. Also included and identified are objects that J. Thimme personally selected for the exhibition, *Kunst und Kultur der Kykladeninselns im 3. Jahrtausend v. Chr. (Art and Culture of the Cyclades in the Third Millennium B.C.)*, which took place at the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe in 1976. In the exhibition catalogue, these pieces are listed as "Switzerland, Private Collection I."<sup>3</sup> Unless noted as being without provenance, the find-place given by Koutoulakis for those pieces is unequivocally Keros, and thus the hoard.

"A-2" applies to other objects for which I have reliable information that they came from Koutoulakis and the Keros Hoard. In some cases, the information came from Koutoulakis himself.

"A-3" applies to objects that came from Koutoulakis but are either without an accompanying provenance or with a doubtful one. Some of these came directly from Koutoulakis; others were acquired through dealers known to have obtained Cycladic material primarily, if not exclusively, from him.

"B" applies to objects for which we know only that they were bought from a dealer in Paris, were sold at auction in Paris, and/or that they came from a French collection. The most likely source of these objects was Koutoulakis and their find-place Keros.

"C" applies to objects for which little or no history is available to me, even though certain factors (see "Chronology and Characteristics," below) make an association with the hoard very likely.

#### *Chronology and Characteristics*

"1" applies to objects that are traceable to the 1950s through the early 1980s, with the 1960s through the 1970s being the period when Koutoulakis was most actively engaged in selling objects from the hoard. For pieces designated "A", the chronology is clear and "1" is in most cases omitted.

"2" indicates that a fragment belonged to an unusually large work, with an estimated original maximum dimension of at least 60 cm.

"3" indicates that an object is attributable to a sculptor closely associated with Keros through archaeological investigation at the site of Kavos and/or with the hoard.

"4" indicates that paint in the form of actual pigment and/or ghosts is preserved. This information is likely to be missing in some cases.

<sup>1</sup>Sotirakopoulou 2005, 176–243, nos. 150, 152–252, 254.

<sup>2</sup>Sotirakopoulou 2005, 42.

<sup>3</sup>Thimme 1977.

“5” applies to a “bad marriage”: parts of two works that have been incorrectly joined.

Shortly after my *AJA* article went to press,<sup>4</sup> I was made aware of an unusual pastiche consisting of fragments by two well-known Late Spedos variety sculptors, each with a very different style. A head/neck with excellent paint ghosts, from a figure attributable to the Goulandris Sculptor (the most prolific carver of folded-arm figures, as reflected in 35 entries in the list below and many more from the Erlenmeyer portion of the hoard), had been attached to the body (extending to just below the folded arms) of a work attributable to the Naxos Museum Sculptor, a carver from whose hand I have also identified numerous works, a number of them from the hoard (see nos. 198, 217, 224, 225, 230; see also nos. 63 and 92 from the Erlenmeyer Collection). This “bad marriage” was bought in Paris from E. Ascher in 1980. I have no doubt that Ascher acquired it from Koutoulakis, from whom he is known to have had pieces from the hoard (e.g., nos. 173, 199). It was clearly put together by the same clever restorer as the mismatched composites Koutoulakis sold to other dealers (e.g., nos. 197, 219).<sup>5</sup>

Note: Unless otherwise indicated, it is to be assumed that the objects consist of one or more fragments and are incomplete. A single work is intact (no. 150).

### The Fragments (Sotirakopoulou 2005, nos. 150–254)

No. 150: A-2; information from Koutoulakis. (Apeiranthos-type figures have been found during archaeological exploration at Kavos on Keros.)

No. 151: I have not associated this head with the hoard; without knowing the identity of the dealer who sold it to the Getty, there is little to go on.

No. 152: A-2; formerly in the Charles Gillet Collection, Lausanne.

- 1: Bought from Koutoulakis before 1968.
- 2: 65 cm.
- 4: Paint and ghosts.

No. 153: A-1; chosen by Thimme with Koutou-

lakis for Karlsruhe exhibition.  
4: Paint.

No. 154: A-1.

No. 155: A-1.

No. 156: A-1.

No. 157: A-1.

No. 158: A-1.

No. 159: A-1 (see no. 153).  
4: Ghosts.

No. 160: A-1.  
4: Ghosts.

No. 161: A-1.  
4: Ghosts.

No. 162: A-1.

No. 163: A-1.

No. 164: A-1.

No. 165: A-1.

No. 166: A-1.

No. 167: A-1.

No. 168: A-1.

No. 169: A-1.  
4: Ghosts.

No. 170: A-2; complete.

- 1
- 2
- 4: Ghosts.

No. 171: A-3; with a doubtful provenance reported, presumably as a cover-up for Keros.

- 1: Acquired before 1954 by a French collector.
- 2: 60 cm.
- 4: Paint.

No. 172: A-1; acquired in 1975 from a dealer

<sup>4</sup>Getz-Gentle 2008.

<sup>5</sup>For the “piece” under discussion, see *Idoles au*

*commencement était l'image 1990–1991*, no. 57 (27.5 cm).

in Paris known to have bought objects from Koutoulakis; identified by Thimme as being from the hoard.

No. 173: A-2; Ascher Gallery, Paris; acquired from Koutoulakis.

- 1: Before 1967.
- 2: 60 cm or more.
- 3: Copenhagen Sculptor, well represented in hoard.

No. 174: A-1; one of a group of objects from the hoard assembled in my presence as a gift to the J. Paul Getty Museum (see also nos. 211, 240, 246, 252).

No. 175: A-1.  
2: 70–75 cm.  
3: Copenhagen Sculptor (see no. 173).

No. 176: A-1; an especially fine piece acquired from Koutoulakis by A. Leuthold, who was told it belonged to “a large group of objects”; Koutoulakis informed me that it came from Naxos. In my opinion, he was reluctant to reveal Keros as the find-place.

- 1: Acquired in 1964.
- 2: 120 cm.
- 4: Much paint.

No. 177: A-3; acquired from Koutoulakis, without provenance.

- 1: Acquired in 1960s.
- 2: 100 cm.
- 3: Possibly the work of the same sculptor as no. 176.
- 4: Paint and ghosts.

No. 178: A-3; acquired from J.J. Klejman, possibly from the same figure as no. 181, bought directly from Koutoulakis.

- 1: Acquired in 1961.
- 2: 100 cm or more.
- 3: Copenhagen Sculptor (see no. 173).

No. 179: A-2.  
1: Acquired in 1962 or 1963.  
2: 80 cm or more.

No. 180: B; possibly an early sample from the hoard, bought by G. Halphen before World War II from a dealer in Paris, quite possibly Koutoulakis' uncle M. Segredakis.

- 3: Copenhagen Sculptor (see no. 173).

No. 181: A-2 (see no. 178).

- 1: Acquired in 1962 or 1963.
- 2: 100 cm or more.
- 3: Copenhagen Sculptor (see no. 173).

No. 182: A-1.

No. 183: A-1.

No. 184: A-1.

No. 185: A-2; complete, reassembled from three hoard fragments.

- 3: Goulandris Sculptor, especially well represented in the hoard and among finds of archaeologists at Kavos.

No. 186: A-3; complete, except for the feet. I was informed by the dealer M. Waltz that it was bought by him from Koutoulakis; I have no record that a find-place was mentioned.

- 3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).

No. 187: A-1; complete, except for left foot; reassembled in 1983 from two fragments in the possession of Koutoulakis.

- 3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).

No. 188: A-3; complete, except for feet; acquired from Klejman.

- 1: Early 1960s.
- 3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).

No. 189: A-2; acquired by a London dealer from Koutoulakis.

- 4: Ghosts.

No. 190: A-2.  
1: Acquired before 1963.  
2: 60 cm or more.

- 3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).
- 4: Ghosts.

No. 191: A-2.  
1: Acquired in 1955.  
3: Bastis Sculptor, well represented at least in the hoard.

No. 192: A-1.  
4: Ghosts.

No. 193: A-2; reassembled to knees, from three fragments.

- 1: Acquired in 1960.

No. 194: A-3; acquired from K.J. Hewitt.  
1: Entered the Sainsbury Collection in 1961.

- 3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).
- No. 195: A-3; acquired by H.A. Cahn.  
1: Sold by Cahn in 1961.  
3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).
- No. 196: A-1.  
3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).  
4: Ghosts.
- No. 197a, b: A-2.  
3: Goulandris Sculptor (torso and thighs, no. 197a).  
5(?): The head (no. 197b), not in the usual style of this sculptor, seems to belong to another figure.
- No. 198: B; French collection.  
1: Acquired before 1973, when it was sold at auction in Paris.  
2: 85 cm.  
3: Naxos Museum Sculptor, well represented at least in the hoard.
- No. 199: A-2; torso: Ascher Gallery, Paris. (Head/neck probably from Keros but not part of Hoard.)  
1: In a private collection by 1967.  
3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).
- No. 200: B; Paris collection.  
1: Acquired in the 1960s.  
3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).  
4: Ghosts.
- No. 201: A-1  
3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).  
4: Paint.
- No. 202: A-1 (see no. 153).  
3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).  
4: Paint and ghosts.
- No. 203: A-1; photographs from Thimme.  
3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).
- No. 204: A-1; photographs from Thimme.  
3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).
- No. 205: A-1.  
3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).
- No. 206: A-1.  
3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).
- No. 207: A-1.
- 3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).  
4: Ghosts.
- No. 208: A-3; acquired from a dealer supplied by Koutoulakis, if not from Koutoulakis himself.  
1: Acquired before 1962.  
3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).
- No. 209: A-1.  
3: Steiner Sculptor.  
4: Ghosts.
- No. 210: A-1; acquired from Koutoulakis through Thimme.  
3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).
- No. 211: A-1 (see no. 174).  
3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).  
4: Ghosts.
- No. 212: A-2.  
4: Ghosts.
- No. 213: A-1.  
3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).
- No. 214: A-1.  
3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).
- No. 215: A-1.  
3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).  
4: Ghosts.
- No. 216: A-1.  
3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).
- No. 217: A-1.  
3: Naxos Museum Sculptor (see no. 198).
- No. 218: A-2.  
1: Acquired in 1960s or earlier by a private collector.  
3: Bastis Sculptor (see no. 191).  
5: When first sold, a head/neck belonging to another figure from the hoard was in place.
- No. 219: A-2; sold by Koutoulakis to an Italian dealer; photographs sent to me by Koutoulakis.  
3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).  
5: When first sold, a head/neck belonging to another figure from the hoard was in place.
- No. 220: A-2.  
2: 66 cm.  
3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).

No. 221: A-3; acquired either directly from Koutoulakis or from a dealer supplied by him, most likely Klejman or A. Iolas.

1: Acquired in 1960.

3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).

No. 222: B; it is virtually certain, even without direct evidence, that this piece is from Koutoulakis and the hoard; a gift to the Louvre from the same Paris collection as no. 196.

2: 70 cm.

No. 223: A-3; sold by New York dealer J. Carlebach, who almost certainly bought it from Koutoulakis.

1: Acquired by a private collector in the 1960s or earlier.

No. 224: C; torso/thighs, a figure portion well represented in the hoard.

3: Naxos Museum Sculptor (see no. 198).

No. 225: B; sold at auction in Paris.

3: Naxos Museum Sculptor (see no. 198).

No. 226: A-1.

1: Acquired at the end of the 1960s or early 1970s.

3: Bastis Sculptor (see no. 191).

No. 227: C.

3: Bastis Sculptor (see no. 191; note similarity to no. 226).

No. 228: A-1.

3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).

No. 229: C.

3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).

No. 230: B; acquired by Cahn.

1: Sold by Cahn in 1980.

2: 85 cm.

3: Naxos Museum Sculptor (see no. 198).

No. 231: A-3; acquired from C. Kelekian.

1: Bought in 1951, the year of Kelekian's death, or earlier.

3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).

No. 232: A-1 (see no. 174). (The photograph in

Sotirakopoulou's catalogue appears to have been altered, extending the cleft between the legs to the end of the toes; it actually ends halfway down the feet.)

No. 233: A-1.

3: Goulandris Sculptor.

No. 234: A-1; acquired from Koutoulakis by Thimme for the Badisches Landesmuseum in 1966. (I had not previously identified the sculptor of this piece.)

3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).

No. 235: A-1.

No. 236: B; acquired from Hewett (see no. 194).

1: Entered the Sainsbury Collection in 1970.

2: 75 or more cm.

3: Goulandris Sculptor (see no. 185).

No. 237: A-2; bought from Koutoulakis by I. Kahane.

1: Acquired ca. 1961.

3: Schuster Sculptor, well represented in the hoard and also among the finds of archaeologists at Kavos.<sup>6</sup>

No. 238: A-1; photographed by me in 1968, when it was in the possession of Koutoulakis.

1: Acquired by the Sainsbury Collection from Hewett in 1977.

3: Schuster Sculptor (see no. 237).

No. 239: A-1.

3: Schuster Sculptor (see no. 237).

No. 240: A-1 (see no. 174).

No. 241: A-1.

3: Schuster Sculptor (see no. 237).

No. 242: A-1.

No. 243: I have not associated this head with the hoard; without knowing the identity of the New York dealer who sold it to the Getty, there is too little to go on (see no. 151).

No. 244: A-1.

4: Ghosts.

<sup>6</sup>See, e.g., Sotirakopoulou 2005, 319–21, no. 119 (formerly in the Erlenmeyer Collection), which joins Naxos Museum, inv. no. 4197. I attribute these fragments to a work of the Schuster Sculptor.

- No. 245: A-1.  
3: Berlin Sculptor (?).
- No. 246: A-1 (see no. 174).
- No. 247: A-1.  
3: Ashmolean Sculptor, represented at least in the hoard by a few fragments.
- No. 248: A-1.  
3: Dresden Sculptor, represented at least in the hoard by a few fragments.
- No. 249: A-2; bought from Koutoulakis by a London dealer.  
3: Louvre Sculptor, represented in both the hoard and among the finds of archaeologists at Kavos.<sup>7</sup>
- No. 250: A-1.
- No. 251: A-1 (see no. 153).
- No. 252: A-1 (see no. 174).
- No. 253: A-1.  
3: Louvre Sculptor (see no. 249).
- No. 254: A-1. This is one of very few stone vessel fragments in the hoard. Such objects were not removed from the site of Kavos (where, by contrast, a plethora of them have been recovered by archaeologists because at the time their value was considered negligible).

Sotirakopoulou excludes from her inventory two pieces that, according to my information, belonged to the hoard.<sup>8</sup> In the case of the substantially preserved figure in Chicago, I know that through the London dealer mentioned, the ultimate source was Koutoulakis and the find-place Keros. Depending on how one dates the removal of the hoard from Greece, it may or may not have been outside Greece for more than 30 years by 1977, as the Art Institute was informed. In the same group of figures, there were several examples of the incorrect joining

<sup>7</sup> For a discussion of comparable replica-based forgeries of a complete figure in the Louvre, see Getz-Gentle 2001, 104–8. The sculptor of the eponymous Louvre figure is well represented, both in the hoard and in the sanctioned finds. To his list of this work (Getz-Gentle 2001, 169–70) can now be added

of fragments belonging to different figures, indicative, in my opinion, of an association with the hoard.

As for the head/neck (with abundant traces of paint preserved) in Columbia, Missouri, which is from a figure carved by the Goulandrakis Sculptor, the information that it came from Koutoulakis and the hoard was given to me by the late S. Weinberg, who was closely connected with the Museum of Archaeology of the University of Missouri at Columbia.

For statistical purposes here, I include these two works in place of the two (nos. 151, 243) that I am unable to ascribe to the hoard based on the information available to me. The total number of objects inventoried thus remains at 104.

## Summary

“A,” the category that offers the most persuasive evidence that the source of the objects was Koutoulakis and that their find-place was the site of Kavos on Keros, includes 97 of the 104 objects (A-1: 62; A-2: 22 [with the two unnumbered pieces]; A-3: 13), or 93% of the total. Of the remainder, “B” includes five pieces, and “C” includes three. The evidence in these categories may seem less persuasive on first consideration, but it is a lack of information, not contradictory information, that is responsible for the uncertainty. And when one adds in the factors of chronology and characteristics, one or more of which apply in each case, it becomes clear that those 4% of the pieces are indistinguishable from the objects in category A and the Erlenmeyer segment of the hoard,<sup>9</sup> as well as from a number of pieces cited in my Forum Response<sup>10</sup> and numerous unpublished fragments known to me from my visits to Koutoulakis. Most importantly, when all the figurative objects recovered from Keros by archaeologists are published, it should become clear that there is no essential difference between the hoard objects and the objects found during sanctioned investigations, and that all of them belong to a single mass of material from one enigmatic site.

another torso fragment that was found at Kavos by Renfrew in 1963 (Renfrew 2006, fig. 3 [middle]).

<sup>8</sup> Sotirakopoulou 2005, 42.

<sup>9</sup> Sotirakopoulou 2005, nos. 1–149.

<sup>10</sup> Getz-Gentle 2008.

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