

The Keros Hoard: Some Further Discussion

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Abstract

The term “Keros Hoard” was introduced in the literature by Getz-Gentle (formerly Getz-Preziosi) in 1983. This term describes an extensive group of Early Cycladic objects, mostly fragments of marble figurines, allegedly from Kavos, on the island of Keros, a site that had suffered intensive looting before the first rescue excavations in 1963. About half of the original group was in the Erlenmeyer Collection in Basel. The rest, which Getz-Gentle had first seen in the hands of a dealer who was the original owner of the assemblage, had been dispersed to various museums and private collections. Fragmentary material from this “hoard” was first published in the catalogue of the exhibition on the art and culture of the Cyclades in the third millennium B.C.E. held in the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe in 1976. The Keros Hoard has been the subject of debate in the past, and discussion has been renewed with the publication of my monograph on the assemblage. The controversy stems from the fact that it consists largely—or as a whole—of material of questionable provenance and authenticity. The suggested date of its looting has also been disputed. The contents of this hoard and the date of its looting are discussed here using evidence from the archives of the Badisches Landesmuseum and the Museum of Cycladic Art in Athens.*

INTRODUCTION

Keros and the Keros Hoard

Keros is a small, uninhabited island in the southeast Cyclades, situated between Naxos and Amorgos. The island first attracted archaeological interest in 1884, when it was reported as the findspot of the famous Early Cycladic flutist and harpist marble figurines, which are now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens.¹ It was, however, in the second half of the 20th century that Keros became well known to the archaeological community and the international antiquities market as a result of both official and illicit excavations at the site of Kavos, at the barren western

tip of the island, that yielded an exceptional wealth of Early Cycladic marble and terracotta finds.

Kavos was first visited by looters who caused irreparable damage to the archaeological evidence. Christos Doumas conducted the first rescue excavations at the site in September 1963 and discovered clear signs of illicit activities, which had occasionally been noted prior to that year. Surface survey and trial trenches opened in the looted area produced a great number of fragmentary marble figurines and vases and painted pottery sherds of Early Cycladic (EC) II date.² A more extensive excavation at the spot carried out by Photeini Zappeiropoulou and Konstantinos Tsakos in 1967 recovered a large number of fragmentary marble figurines and vases, a plethora of painted sherds, a few almost complete marble vessels, and a complete marble folded-arm figurine (ht. 58 cm) of the Spedos variety.³

In 1975, Jürgen Thimme, curator of antiquities at the Badisches Landesmuseum at the time, published a photograph of a group of 142 marble figurine fragments from the Erlenmeyer Collection (fig. 1).⁴ This photograph was published again a year later in the catalogue (*Kunst und Kultur der Kykladeninseln im 3. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*) of the large exhibition, held in the Badisches Landesmuseum, where it was described as a “deposit, allegedly from Keros” (*Depotfund, vermutlich von Keros*).⁵ The photograph accompanied the contribution by Getz-Gentle, in which the group was for the first time categorized as a “hoard.”⁶ In addition, 21 figurine fragments published by Thimme—19 belonging to private collections in the United States and Switzerland, including the Erlenmeyer Collection, and two in the possession of the Badisches Landesmuseum—were described as forming “part of a large deposit allegedly from Keros.”⁷ Thimme reported that, according to the available information, the fragments

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¹Koehler 1884, pl. 6.

²Doumas 1964.

³Zappeiropoulou 1968a, 1968b, 1975.

⁴Thimme 1975, 20, fig. 14.

⁵Thimme 1976, 87, fig. 71; 1977, 85, fig. 71.

⁶Getz-Preziosi 1977, 84.

⁷Thimme 1976, 577, excursus 8; 1977, 588, appx. 8. In the original German catalogue of 1976, Thimme listed 18 fragments from this deposit, whereas in the 1977 English edition, 20 fragments were included in the list. No. 178, though not included in the list, was also said to belong to this deposit.



Fig. 1. The figurines of the Keros Hoard formerly in the Erlenmeyer Collection (Sotirakopoulou 2005, fig. 5).

belonged originally to the same group as a set of about 140 fragmentary figurines that was in the Erlenmeyer Collection. Thimme also noted that the group came from a single deposit that probably originally was nearly twice as large, comprising perhaps 200–300 figures. He then suggested that this impressive assemblage came from Kavos, on Keros.

Seven years after the Karlsruhe exhibition, Getz-Gentle introduced the term “Keros Hoard” in her article for the volume dedicated to Thimme,⁸ where it was made clear that the assemblage was called a hoard only in terms of its size and not in the sense of objects hoarded or deposited in a cache.⁹ Getz-Gentle continued to use this term in all her subsequent publications,¹⁰ though in 2001, she observed that “the hoard was a haphazard collection of objects from one place rather than a self-contained deposit, making the word *hoard* in this context somewhat inaccurate and misleading. (Although hardly an archaeological term, *haul* better describes this accumulation of material!)”¹¹

In her 1983 article, Getz-Gentle mentioned that she had first heard of this group in 1968, and that all the information about it and about which pieces be-

longed to it had come from two sources: the original purchaser of the entire find and Marie-Louise Erlenmeyer, widow of Hans Erlenmeyer, who had acquired a large portion of the material from its first owner. Both sources informed her that the assemblage had been discovered more than two decades prior to 1983 and that it was a “complete” corpus of finds from a single site. Getz-Gentle stated that the group consisted in large part of fragments of folded-arm figurines but also contained a number of complete or very nearly complete figures, including several schematic ones, as well as a few complete and several fragmentary marble and clay vases, a substantial number of obsidian blades, at least one bone tube with incised decoration, and several stone and shell polishers. She further reported that the hoard contained at least 350 figurines, all but perhaps a dozen of them fragmentary, and that between 1968 and 1975, she had been able to examine more than 300 fragments: 167 still in the possession of the hoard’s original owner and about 140 in the Erlenmeyer Collection. She presented only two of the complete figurines known to her at that time,¹² supposing that the rest had been sold as separate works of

⁸Getz-Preziosi 1983.

⁹Getz-Preziosi 1983, 43 n. 9.

¹⁰Getz-Preziosi 1984, 1987a, 1987b; Getz-Gentle 2001.

¹¹Getz-Gentle 2001, 141 n. 134 (emphasis original).

¹²Getz-Preziosi 1983, 38, figs. 1, 2.

art shortly after the initial purchase of the group. Of the original rough total of 350 figurines, she identified approximately half (n=165) of them. These were the figurines that had already been published or at least illustrated: 144 that belonged to the Erlenmeyer Collection, 15 in other private collections in the United States and Switzerland, 4 in American museums (Chicago, Missouri, Pasadena, San Francisco), and 2 in the Badisches Landesmuseum.¹³ The possibility that a few of the objects said to belong to the hoard may have been added from other sources was not excluded, but Getz-Gentle argued that it would have been impossible for a synthetic composite to be made so pure at the time that the group first became known, as the relative chronology and typological classification of the various figure and vase forms had not yet been established.¹⁴ Judging from the many and great similarities in the contents, typology, and state of preservation between this group and the archaeological finds from Kavos on Keros, and from the evidence for extensive looting at this site, she suggested, like Thimme, that the hoard came from Kavos. In the years following her first discussion of the Keros Hoard, Getz-Gentle never stopped returning to this subject, each time presenting, with more or less certainty, new figurines that, according to her information, belonged to this group.¹⁵

The exceptional nature of the site at Kavos and the need to reassess the role of Keros in the third millennium B.C.E. on the basis of newly excavated evidence led to the resumption of archaeological investigations at Kavos in 1987 by a combined team from the universities of Cambridge, Athens, and Ioannina, in cooperation with the Ephorate of the Cyclades. The 1987 investigations comprised a gridded surface collection over the whole area of Kavos supplemented by the opening of a number of small trenches in the looted area. The finds included abundant fragmentary materials of all kinds: marble vases and figurines, fine and coarse pottery, chlorite vases, obsidian, and copper slag.¹⁶

In 1990, Marie-Louise Erlenmeyer decided to sell the rich collection of ancient art she and her husband had amassed from 1943 to the early 1960s. In the three auctions of the Erlenmeyer Collection held at Sotheby's London in 1990 and 1992 and Sotheby's New York in 2003, the Nicholas P. Goulandris Foundation–Museum of Cycladic Art purchased 59 figurine frag-

ments from the Keros Hoard. Seventeen more fragments from the Erlenmeyer Collection, bought in 1990 by the Commercial Bank of Greece, were deposited at the Museum of Cycladic Art on permanent loan for display. Five other fragments, allegedly from the hoard, in private collections in the United States came into the possession of the Goulandris Foundation in 1991 and 2001.¹⁷ Thus, the Museum of Cycladic Art was able to repatriate and house a substantial number of fragments—81 in all—said to belong to this assemblage.

In 2001, the Goulandris Foundation invited me to write a monograph on the Keros Hoard to document the fragments in the Museum of Cycladic Art and any other fragments I could locate elsewhere. I was aware of the difficulties and problems that this proposal presented, namely the impossibility of ever tracing all the objects contained originally in the assemblage because of their dispersal to various museums and private collections worldwide and the danger of including fakes or objects from elsewhere, as there was no reliable information from authorized archaeological research for these objects. Nevertheless, I accepted the proposal for two main reasons: first, I believed that collecting all the diffuse evidence and information on this problematic group that had appeared from time to time in various archaeological publications, bringing it together in a single volume, and presenting again the case of the Keros Hoard for consideration would prove a worthwhile endeavor; and second, I was intrigued by the opportunity to search for joins between the fragments in the Museum of Cycladic Art and those recovered during official archaeological investigations at Kavos. The identification of joining pieces from the two groups would not only certify beyond doubt that at least some of the figurines allegedly from the hoard had indeed come from Keros¹⁸ but would also contribute, to some extent, to the retrieval of the lost evidence.

The final result was *The “Keros Hoard”: Myth or Reality? Searching for the Lost Pieces of a Puzzle*.¹⁹ The term “Keros Hoard” was kept in the book as the conventional name used for this group from 1983 on, and even in Getz-Gentle's monograph of 2001, in which she suggested that this accumulation of material would have been better described as a haul.²⁰ My only sources of information for identifying the objects allegedly from the hoard were the existing bibliography, the catalogues

¹³ Getz-Preziosi 1983, 43 n. 1.

¹⁴ Getz-Preziosi 1983, 37, 44 n. 13; 1987b, 135.

¹⁵ For the pieces in question and the relevant bibliography, see Sotirakopoulou 2005, 40–1 nn. 37–42.

¹⁶ Renfrew et al. 2007.

¹⁷ For the fragments in question and the relevant bibliogra-

phy, see Sotirakopoulou 2005, 41 nn. 43–51.

¹⁸ Getz-Preziosi 1983, 39; 1987b, 136; Broodbank 2000, 225.

¹⁹ Sotirakopoulou 2005.

²⁰ Supra n. 11.

of auction houses, and the records of the museums holding material said to belong to this assemblage. On the basis of this information, I was able to identify 254 objects attributed to the Keros Hoard. One is a fragment of a marble vase (no. 254), and the remaining items are figurines, of which only 10 are complete. The most important part of this project was the comparative study of the Keros Hoard material in the Museum of Cycladic Art and of the fragments recovered during sanctioned investigations at Kavos.²¹ This enabled the identification of two figurine fragments formerly in the Erlenmeyer Collection that join or belong together with two fragments found at Kavos during archaeological work. It was then possible to conclude that most, if not all, of the fragments from the Erlenmeyer Collection, which comprised a unified group, came from Keros. For this reason, I chose to treat the Erlenmeyer material in the first part of the catalogue²² and the objects from the other collections in the second part,²³ as the association of the latter with the hoard could not be verified. For the same reason, only the Erlenmeyer pieces were taken into account when discussing the interpretation of the site at Kavos.²⁴ Doubts about the Keros origin of a number of figurines included in the second part of the catalogue, especially those that Getz-Gentle attributed to the Keros Hoard with reservations and only in her 2001 monograph, were emphasized in all the chapters.²⁵

Obviously, this study could not claim to have given a complete list of the objects allegedly from the hoard or to have proven the Keros origin or authenticity of all the located pieces we do have. However, the reassembly of a part at least of the looted antiquities to the group from which they were forcibly removed and the certification of their authenticity were significant events for Cycladic archaeology that could not have happened without the return of a substantial part of the material to its country of origin and the subsequent systematic study of it.

SCHOLARLY DEBATE ON THE KEROS HOARD

In their lengthy discussion, "Material and Intellectual Consequences of Esteem for Cycladic Figures," Gill and Chippindale referred to the Keros Hoard as a characteristic case of the destructive consequences

for Cycladic archaeology caused by the looting of archaeological sites, namely the loss of crucial historical information and the falsification of data through the association with the hoard of objects of questionable provenance and authenticity.²⁶ Thus, they criticized Getz-Gentle's tracing of figures allegedly from the hoard as immaterial to making sense of the real nature of the site before it was looted. The danger of including fakes and contaminating the provenance of individual pieces through error, or willful association of floating material with the Keros Hoard, has also been pointed out by Broodbank.²⁷

For the volume published in 2006 in celebration of the 20th anniversary of the Museum of Cycladic Art,²⁸ Renfrew contributed an article in which, among other things, he comments on the Keros Hoard volume and praises the steps taken by the Goulandris Foundation and the Museum of Cycladic Art to repatriate the looted material and to further its study and publication.²⁹ This is in sharp contrast to the criticism leveled at me by some opponents of the Goulandris Museum for having stated the same views.³⁰

In discussing the Keros Hoard volume, Renfrew expresses his skepticism mainly in relation to two points: (1) the attribution to this hoard of a wide range of materials without any clear basis for the attribution, and (2) the suggested date of looting of the assemblage. With regard to the first point,³¹ Renfrew is of the view that only the Erlenmeyer fragments shown in the collective photograph published in the Karlsruhe exhibition catalogue in 1976 (see fig. 1) can be accepted as the real Keros Hoard material, or what he calls the Keros Hoard "proper"; these fragments largely correspond to the first part of the catalogue of the Keros Hoard volume (nos. 1–149). The pieces of the second part (nos. 150–253) he considers unprovenanced finds attributed to Keros by dealers, collectors, or museums without any clear or persuasive basis. He argues that the Keros origin of these pieces was claimed—in some cases by Thimme, in many others by Getz-Gentle in the years following her first discussion of the hoard in 1983, and certainly after the publication of the Karlsruhe exhibition catalogue—as a result of the inspiration drawn from those publications. He concludes that the only basis for the serious discussion of the Keros

²¹ Sotirakopoulou 2005, 317–22, ch. 5.

²² Sotirakopoulou 2005, 92–175, nos. 1–149.

²³ Sotirakopoulou 2005, 176–243, nos. 150–254.

²⁴ Sotirakopoulou 2005, 323–25, ch. 6.

²⁵ Sotirakopoulou 2005, 41–2, 266–67, 323, 325; see also comments in the bibliographical references of the entries for nos. 170, 171, 176–78, 180, 186, 188, 194, 195, 198, 200, 208, 210, 212, 221–24, 227, 229–31, 236.

²⁶ Gill and Chippindale 1993, 607, 612–14, 621, 622, 629, 634.

²⁷ Broodbank 2000, 225.

²⁸ Stampolides 2006.

²⁹ Renfrew 2006, 25, 29, 34.

³⁰ Apostolides 2006, 363–68.

³¹ Renfrew 2006, 30–2.

Hoard is the 1976 photograph, and that even the status of the nine Erlenmeyer pieces that do not appear in that photograph is unclear.³² Renfrew's main objection, however, is not the inclusion in the book of all the other suggested Keros pieces (nos. 150–253), which, in fact, he finds convenient, but to the treatment of the two groups together in the chapter dedicated to the analysis of the data,³³ since this might lead to the confusion of the two groups in the literature. He supports his argument by noting systematic differences between the two groups, such as the highly fragmentary condition and relatively small size of the “real” Keros Hoard examples and the absence of any complete folded-arm figure or any preserved torso with head from this group, as opposed to the large unbroken figures and very large fragments included in the second group. He accepts, however, that “the second part has indeed many fragments which might plausibly have come from Kavos, and no doubt some that did.”³⁴

Regarding the date of looting of the Keros Hoard material,³⁵ Renfrew finds it difficult to accept the view that the figurines in the Erlenmeyer Collection were acquired ca. 1955.³⁶ He believes that the eight years between the alleged looting and the official investigation of the site in 1963 is too long a time for so large an illicit excavation to have taken place without being noticed. He suggests that the process must have taken a limited amount of time and may have begun ca. 1958. One further argument in support of this later date is that a hut pyxis fragment in the Louvre—which seems to belong to the same vase as some fragments recovered in the 1967 and 1987 archaeological investigations at Kavos—was donated to that museum in 1960 by the antiquities dealer Nicolas Koutoulakis. He suspected, then, that Koutoulakis (now deceased) was the anonymous dealer and original owner of the Keros Hoard to whom Getz-Gentle has referred since her first discussion of the assemblage.

Gill, who prefers to use the term “Keros Haul,” expresses doubts about the status of the figurines attributed to it because none of the pieces included in the catalogue came with an authenticated statement that it had been looted from Kavos.³⁷ According to him, these pieces need not have been found at Kavos or even on Keros itself; some of them perhaps were, but others may have been added from other sources

or even have been of new manufacture. In support of this argument, he refers to two figurines from the second part of the catalogue whose provenance from the Keros Hoard was developed over time and stated only in Getz-Gentle's monograph of 2001. Furthermore, he disputes the suggestion that the Erlenmeyer material was acquired ca. 1955, as the earliest publications of these pieces appeared in 1965.³⁸ Gill thinks it more probable that the looting happened in the late 1950s and early 1960s, when many Cycladic figurines were surfacing. The claims that some pieces from the second part of the catalogue were acquired before 1960 are, according to him, unfounded, as they are based on no authenticated documentation. He thinks it possible that their reported dates of acquisition may even have been fabricated, so that the person(s) involved in supplying these figurines could not be identified.

CONTENTS OF THE HOARD

Doubts about whether a number of figurines belong to the Keros Hoard are logical and acceptable, since the information on their provenance comes solely from dealers and collectors who may have associated them with the island of Keros in order to increase their market value. I have expressed my own doubts about the status of figurines from the second part of the catalogue, especially those attributed to the hoard only in Getz-Gentle's 2001 monograph.³⁹ Unlike Renfrew, however, my doubts were not based on the fact that these figurines come from collections other than that of the Erlenmeyers but that, unlike the Erlenmeyer pieces, their Keros origin could not be verified by close examination and comparison with the figurines found on Keros during authorized excavation. If the two joins between the Erlenmeyer pieces now kept in the Museum of Cycladic Art and the fragments found at Kavos during official archaeological investigations had not been made, I would still have doubts about the Keros origin of the Erlenmeyer pieces, as that provenance had for about 30 years been based only on claims by dealers and collectors. Why, then, does Renfrew accept Keros as the origin of the Erlenmeyer material as shown in the 1976 photograph, while rejecting this origin for the rest of the pieces (even those Erlenmeyer figurines not shown in that photograph)? Renfrew himself admits that many fragments from the second part of the catalogue might plausibly

³² Renfrew 2006, 31 n. 38.

³³ Sotirakopoulou 2005, 262–316, ch. 4.

³⁴ Renfrew 2006, 31.

³⁵ Renfrew 2006, 32–3.

³⁶ Getz-Gentle 2001, 159–70 (checklists); Sotirakopoulou

2005, 262.

³⁷ Gill 2007.

³⁸ Erlenmeyer and Erlenmeyer 1965.

³⁹ *Supra* n. 25.

have come from Keros, and some no doubt did. Was not the reputed provenance of the Erlenmeyer material (in 1976) based on information from dealers and collectors? For this and other reasons discussed below, I am disinclined to accept Renfrew's definition of the Keros Hoard material exclusively on the basis of the 1976 photograph.

When one has to deal with archaeological material like this (i.e., material collected in the course of looting activities, uninterruptedly changing hands and dispersed piecemeal worldwide, and consequently "contaminated"), one has either to face the problem with all the risks involved or to abandon any attempt to reach a valid conclusion. I chose to accept the challenge and become involved in the discussion of this problematic material on the basis of all the available sources of information. In 2002, I was given access to the archives of the Badisches Landesmuseum in Karlsruhe and Thimme's photographic archive created during the preparation of the 1976 exhibition, including his lengthy correspondence with Getz-Gentle in the years immediately preceding and following that exhibition.⁴⁰ I also consulted the portion of Thimme's photographic archive that was given to the Museum of Cycladic Art upon the repatriation of the first fragments from the Erlenmeyer Collection in 1990.⁴¹ The evidence from the archives may well add to our knowledge of the Keros Hoard and the material that belongs to it.

The most pertinent part of the correspondence between Thimme and Getz-Gentle dates from January 1974 to November 1975. The letters the two scholars exchanged on the occasion of the Karlsruhe exhibition bear out what we already know from Getz-Gentle's

first report on the hoard, but they also provide us with some useful information. It is clear that Thimme and Getz-Gentle shared a keen interest in the hoard, were collaborating on it, and were in close contact with the two owners of the material, Marie-Louise Erlenmeyer and Nicolas Koutoulakis, who, as Renfrew rightly inferred,⁴² was the anonymous dealer and original owner of the hoard mentioned by Getz-Gentle. The very first reference to the Keros Hoard is found in a letter written by Getz-Gentle in January 1974, in which she informs Thimme about the existence of this group and about its location, partly in the Erlenmeyer Collection in Basel and partly in the hands of Koutoulakis in Paris.⁴³ Koutoulakis is first named in a letter written in December of the same year,⁴⁴ from which we are informed that he kept some of the fragments in Paris and others in Geneva, and that Getz-Gentle had first visited him in both places nearly seven years earlier. The date she gives is of interest with regard to the first sightings of the hoard.⁴⁵ In December 1974, she seems to imply that her visit took place in 1968, as she records in her first discussion of the Keros Hoard,⁴⁶ rather than in 1967, as she writes later.⁴⁷ A final point to note in this letter is her request to Thimme to have all the fragments in the Erlenmeyer Collection photographed for her, and that she suggests that each photograph include a number of pieces. The truth of this is confirmed by the acknowledgments in her first article on the hoard⁴⁸ and by Thimme's photographic archive in Karlsruhe and in Athens. Depending on the size of the pieces, each photograph included from two to 11 similar fragments,⁴⁹ except for a few unusual or larger pieces that were photographed alone;⁵⁰ each negative was given a file number.⁵¹

⁴⁰ Sotirakopoulou 2005, 12.

⁴¹ Sotirakopoulou 2005, 89 n. 438.

⁴² Renfrew 2006, 33.

⁴³ Getz-Gentle to Thimme, 23 January 1974: "I would like . . . to pursue further the study of individual masters begun in my doctoral dissertation, by having an opportunity to examine, measure and photograph a large and extremely important hoard of figurine fragments, said to have come from Keros, and now located in Basel (Erlenmeyer Collection) and Paris (dealer) . . . The Keros hoard is a particularly valuable source because in it are represented the works of a number of masters whose pieces are known from other islands as well."

⁴⁴ Getz-Gentle to Thimme, 5 December 1974: "I am most grateful to you for arranging things with Mrs. Erlenmeyer. I feel quite certain that I will be able to complete my studies at her place between January 27 and 31. I expect I will need photographs of all the 'Keros hoard' fragments, but since a number of them can be included in one photograph, there is perhaps not such an enormous amount of photographic work to be done. . . . If it can be arranged with Mr. Koutoulakis, I would go first to Paris for a few days; when I finish my work

there I would fly to Geneva to work there. And I would end up in Basel on the 27th. Could I ask you to find out if this would suit him? . . . I am [a] bit confused about the present location of the Keros hoard. I was under the impression when I visited K in Paris and Geneva nearly seven years ago that most of the fragments were in Paris. From your letter I get the opposite impression. Perhaps he has taken some of the pieces from Paris to Geneva? Or maybe he did not show me everything he had in Geneva. . . . I would like to have some idea of how much material there is in each place. Perhaps you would do me the favor of asking K when you verify the dates for me."

⁴⁵ Renfrew 2006, 32.

⁴⁶ Getz-Preziosi 1983, 37.

⁴⁷ Getz-Gentle 2001, 141 n. 35.

⁴⁸ Getz-Preziosi 1983, 43.

⁴⁹ E.g., Getz-Preziosi 1983, 40, fig. 4.

⁵⁰ E.g., Sotirakopoulou 2005, nos. 1, 61, 68, 137.

⁵¹ I was able to locate the following photographs in Thimme's archive: neg. nos. L 4613/31 (group photograph), L 4546/21 (Sotirakopoulou 2005, no. 1), and R16110-12, R16164-65, R16183-201, R16203-13, and R16230-51 (front

Thimme's photographic archive provides important evidence about a number of figurine fragments whose attribution to the Keros Hoard is considered by Renfrew to be unsubstantiated. These are discussed here in conjunction with the evidence from other sources. Starting with the nine Erlenmeyer pieces, whose status is said to be unclear because they are not shown in the 1976 photograph (table 1),⁵² one might ask if some of the fragments simply happened to be left out of that collective photograph. One of those pieces (no. 105), while not included in the 1976 photograph and unpublished before, is shown in one of Thimme's photographs of the Erlenmeyer pieces along with six other fragments that do appear in the group photograph (fig. 2). Taking into account that only 124 of the 142 fragments included in the 1976 photograph could be located,⁵³ it is possible that the small number of pieces not appearing in the group photograph may have been captured in the photographs that were not found. Regarding number 10, it is clearly stated in the entry—following Sotheby's auction catalogue of 9 July 1990⁵⁴—that it is uncertain whether this belongs to the Keros Hoard. Regarding numbers 11 and 137, Renfrew finds it curious that, though first published by the Erlenmeyers in 1965, they do not appear in the 1976 photograph. These are reported as belonging to the Keros Hoard both in the Karlsruhe exhibition catalogue of 1976⁵⁵ and in Getz-Gentle's first discussion of the assemblage in 1983;⁵⁶ Renfrew seems to believe that Getz-Gentle's article carries credence.⁵⁷ In addition to these two figurines, the Karlsruhe exhibition catalogue and Getz-Gentle's 1983 article (table 2) mention the following pieces as belonging to the hoard: number 135, which, though from the Erlenmeyer Collection,

does not appear in the 1976 photograph; all the other fragments of the Erlenmeyer Collection that do appear in the 1976 photograph; 13 more figurines that were not contained in the Erlenmeyer Collection,⁵⁸ and a fragment in the Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Columbia (inv. no. 76.214).⁵⁹ Eight other pieces not belonging to the Erlenmeyer Collection, which were not included in the Karlsruhe exhibition catalogue,⁶⁰ are also said in Getz-Gentle's article of 1983 to belong to the Keros Hoard.⁶¹ Moreover, five of these eight figurines were first published prior to the Karlsruhe exhibition,⁶² although not at first with an attribution "from Keros"; but even the Erlenmeyer pieces were first given a Keros origin in the Karlsruhe exhibition catalogue. Obviously, then, Renfrew's statement⁶³ that the claims of a Keros origin for the non-Erlenmeyer pieces (nos. 150–253) developed in the years following Getz-Gentle's article in 1983 and certainly after the publication of the Karlsruhe catalogue in 1976 may in certain cases hold true, but not always.

Moreover, of the 13 figurines that were not in the Erlenmeyer Collection, seven were said in the Karlsruhe catalogue to have come from an "anonymous private collection in Switzerland."⁶⁴ According to Thimme's handwritten notes in the copy of the exhibition catalogue kept in the Badisches Landesmuseum, the "anonymous collector" who then held these pieces was Koutoulakis, who—as stated by Getz-Gentle and confirmed by the correspondence—still had a large part of the hoard in his possession. That Koutoulakis was expected to make a number of objects he owned available for the Karlsruhe exhibition is confirmed by a letter written by Thimme in December 1974.⁶⁵ From

and back views of 124 of the 142 fragments shown in the 1976 collective photograph). Photographs of the rest of the pieces were not found.

⁵² Renfrew 2006, 31 n. 38. No. 115, also listed among those pieces, does appear in the 1976 photograph as no. 101 (see fig. 1), but it happened that this number, while existing in the catalogue of the Greek edition, was omitted by accident in the English edition; that the fragment appears in the 1976 photograph is also clear by the reference to this photograph in the bibliography of the entry.

⁵³ *Supra* n. 51.

⁵⁴ Sotheby's 1990a, 100–1, 141, lot 134.

⁵⁵ Thimme 1976, 281, 474, 577, no. 204; 289, 481, 577, no. 230.

⁵⁶ *Supra* n. 13.

⁵⁷ Renfrew 2006, 32.

⁵⁸ Sotirakopoulou 2005, nos. 153, 159, 172, 182, 183, 187, 199, 202, 234, 244, 248, 251, 253.

⁵⁹ This fragment and a fragmentary figurine in the Art Institute of Chicago (inv. no. 1978.115), noted in Getz-Gentle's 1983 article as belonging to the hoard, were not included in

the catalogue of the Keros Hoard volume because, according to the museums holding them, there is no evidence to associate them with this assemblage (Sotirakopoulou 2005, 42).

⁶⁰ Sotirakopoulou 2005, nos. 161, 169, 185, 189, 192, 209, 215, 249.

⁶¹ Getz-Preziosi 1983, 43 nn. 1, 11, figs. 1, 2, 5.

⁶² Sotirakopoulou 2005, nos. 161, 169, 192, 209, 215.

⁶³ Renfrew 2006, 31.

⁶⁴ Sotirakopoulou 2005, nos. 153, 159, 182, 183, 187, 244, 251.

⁶⁵ Thimme to Getz-Gentle, 12 December 1974: "Koutoulakis hat wohl die meisten Fragmente in Paris gehabt, aber einige schöne auch in Genf. . . Einige Köpfe und ein hervorragendes Schulterfragment werden wir für die Ausstellung leihen. Ich hoffe, daß die 30 Objekte von Koutoulakis, die ich insgesamt für die Ausstellung vorgesehen habe, im Januar 1975 bereits in Karlsruhe sind, darunter das 89 cm-Idol, das wir nun doch erwerben wollen. Soweit ich alles gesehen habe, ist dann in Genf nicht mehr sehr viel übrig, vielleicht zehn Stücke, wieviel jetzt in Paris sind, weiß ich nicht."

Table 1. The Erlenmeyer Pieces Not Shown in the 1976 Photograph.

No. in Sotirakopoulou 2005	Earliest Publication	Provenance According to Thimme 1976	Provenance According to Getz-Preziosi 1983
3	Sotheby's 1990b	not included	not included
8	Doumas 2000	not included	not included
10	Erlenmeyer and Erlenmeyer 1965	not included	not included
11	Erlenmeyer and Erlenmeyer 1965	deposit from Keros	Keros Hoard
63	Sotheby's 1992b	not included	not included
74	Sotheby's 1992a	not included	not included
105	Sotirakopoulou 2005	not included	not included
135	Thimme 1976	deposit from Keros	Keros Hoard
137	Erlenmeyer and Erlenmeyer 1965	deposit from Keros	Keros Hoard

his handwritten notes in the exhibition catalogue, however, we learn that of the 30 pieces he expected, he finally managed to get only these seven fragments from Koutoulakis.

Which of these pieces, then, should we identify as originally belonging to the hoard and which not, and on what criteria? What should we take for true and what for false? Can all the pieces with a number between 150 and 253 in the Keros Hoard volume be considered unprovenanced finds attributed to Keros on a basis less persuasive than that of the Erlenmeyer pieces? Can this be true, given that there were photographs of figurines from the original assemblage that are missing from Thimme's archive? In September 1975, Getz-Gentle wrote that some fragments of the Goulandris Master's works from the hoard had been photographed separately;⁶⁶ in October 1975, Thimme wrote that photographs had been taken of

the Koutoulakis fragments, too.⁶⁷ That there were photographs of the Koutoulakis pieces is further confirmed by Getz-Gentle's September 1975 letter;⁶⁸ that letter and the subsequent correspondence⁶⁹ reveal that the figurine (no. 187) shown in the photographs of numbers R16428–29 in Thimme's archive comes from the hoard,⁷⁰ whereas some others do not. Of the photographs of the Goulandris Master's works and Koutoulakis' pieces, I managed to find only those of two figurines in Thimme's archive. One of these (no. 185; fig. 3) is a complete figurine illustrated in Getz-Gentle's first report on the hoard.⁷¹ On the reverse of the photographs depicting its front, back, and profile views is the following note, written in Thimme's handwriting: "Ehemals (1969) Koutoulakis. 1982 Mus Fine Arts San Francisco," meaning that in 1969, the figurine was still in the hands of Koutoulakis but that in 1982, it was owned by the Fine Arts Museum of San

⁶⁶ Getz-Gentle to Thimme, 30 September 1975: "If possible I would like very much to have prints of the photos of idol fragments from the hoard which will be in the exhibition. I do not know how many of these there are—perhaps only a few fragments of the Goulandris Master's works. As you know, these were photographed separately. I was sent only prints of the photos which were made at my request."

⁶⁷ Thimme to Getz-Gentle, 7 October 1975: "Die fehlenden Ansichten und Fotos aller Fragmente von Erlenmeyer und Koutoulakis wird Ihnen Dr. Otto in den nächsten Tagen schicken."

⁶⁸ Getz-Gentle to Thimme, 30 September 1975: "I would like now to ask you a few questions for my work on the fragment hoard: (1) The Chalandriani type idol from Koutoulakis which will be in the exhibition (H. 27 cm) photos nos. R16424–6. Did K. mention if this piece is from the hoard? (2) I have the same question about the Goulandris master idol from K. It lacks the head and the left foot and is 29 cm. Photo

nos. R16428–9. (3) Can you tell me if the 4 heads in the infrared photo from the Dörner Institut are from Koutoulakis, and if they are supposed to be from the hoard?"

⁶⁹ Thimme to Getz-Gentle, 7 October 1975: "Daß das große Chalandriani-Idol von ihm vom Hortfund ist, glaube ich nicht, während sein großer Goulandris-Torso meines Erachtens vom Hortfund stammt. Die vier Köpfe mit Fotos des Dörner-Instituts kamen tatsächlich von Koutoulakis. Ob sie aber zum Hortfund gehören, weiß ich nicht. Ich will Koutoulakis fragen." Getz-Gentle to Thimme, 14 October 1975: "Mr. Koutoulakis did write me that the Chalandriani figure is not from the hoard and that the Goulandris figure is, as you suspected."

⁷⁰ Note, however, in table 2, that the figurine is attributed to the hoard in the English edition of the Karlsruhe catalogue (Thimme 1977), whereas in the original German edition (Thimme 1976), it is said to be of unknown provenance.

⁷¹ Getz-Preziosi 1983, fig. 1.

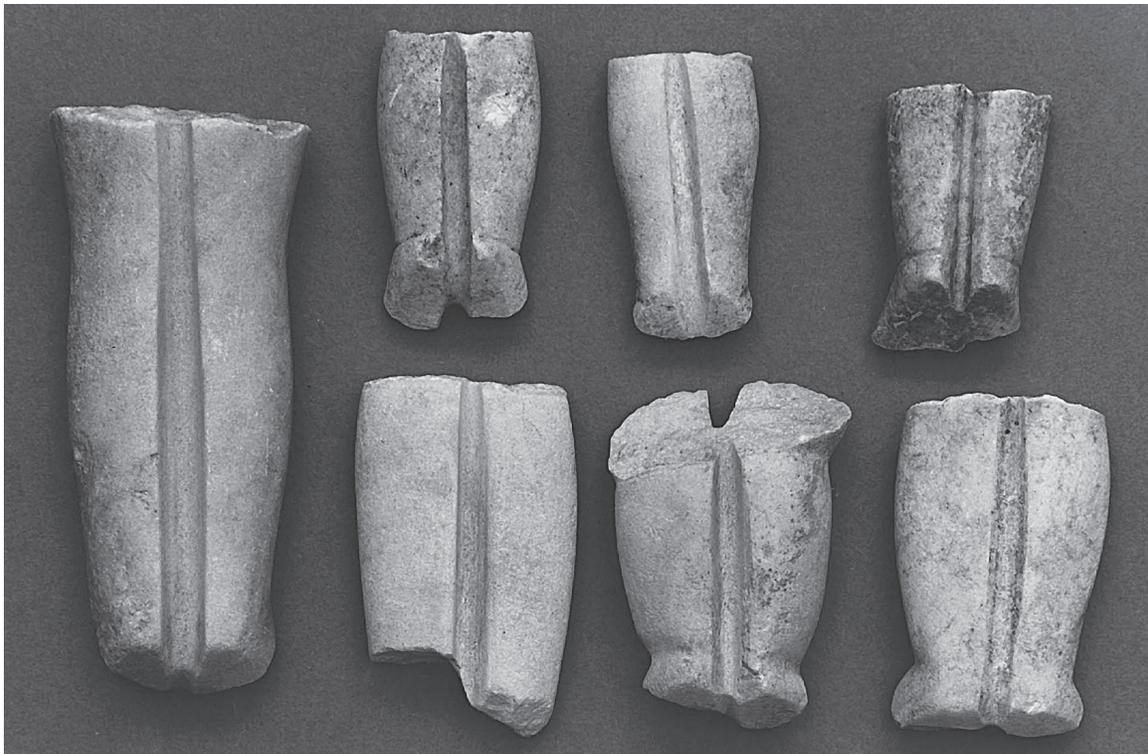
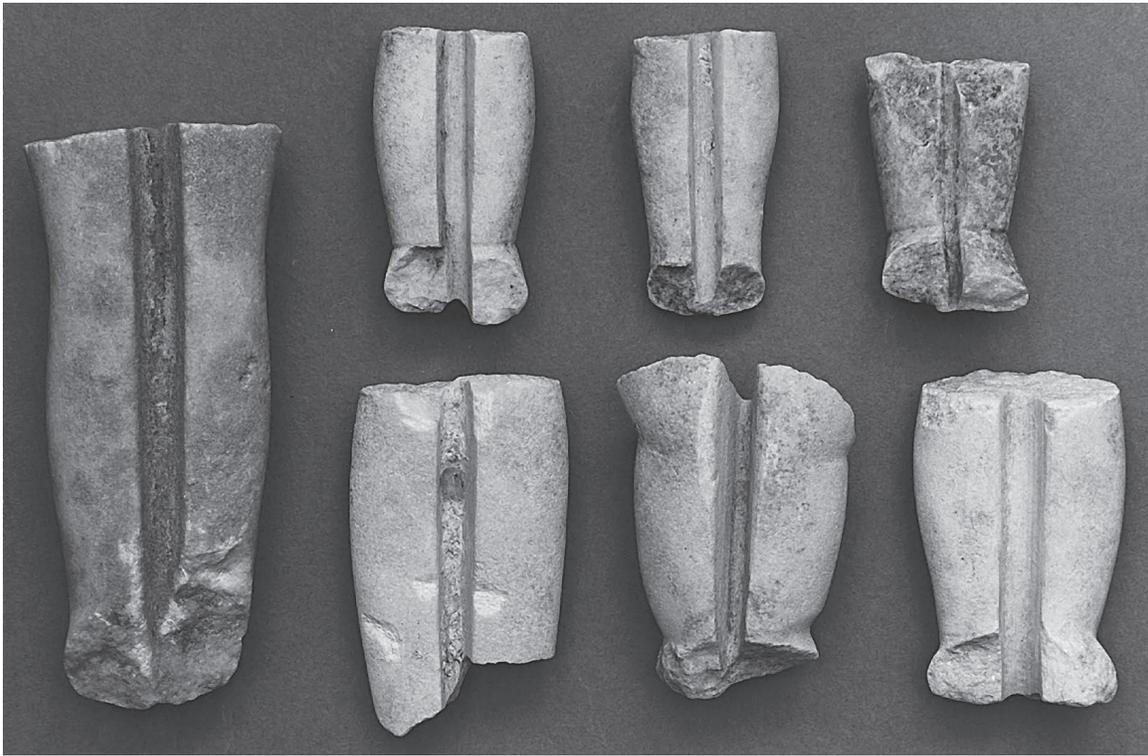


Fig. 2. Keros Hoard fragments from the Erlenmeyer Collection: *top*, front view; *bottom*, rear view; *clockwise from left*: nos. 87, 105, 104, 110, 102, 88, 113 (courtesy Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens).

Table 2. The Figurines Attributed to the Keros Hoard in Getz-Preziosi 1983.

No. in Sotirakopoulou 2005	Earliest Publication	Location at Time of Publication	Reported Date of Acquisition	Provenance According to Thimme 1976
1, 11, 59, 62, 137	Erlenmeyer and Erlenmeyer 1965	Erlenmeyer Collection, Basel	ca. 1955	deposit from Keros
2, 4-7, 9, 12-58, 60, 61, 64-73, 75-104, 106-34, 136, 138-49	Thimme 1975	Erlenmeyer Collection, Basel	ca. 1955	deposit from Keros
135	Thimme 1976	Erlenmeyer Collection, Basel	ca. 1955	deposit from Keros
153, 159, 182-83, 187, ^a 244, 251	Thimme 1976	anonymous collection, Switzerland ^b	not reported	deposit from Keros ^c
161, 169, 192, 209, 215	Preziosi and Weinberg 1970	anonymous collection	not reported	not included
172	Thimme 1976	Galerie Simone de Monbrison, Paris ^d	not reported for Galerie Simone de Monbrison ^e	deposit from Keros
185	Getz-Preziosi 1983	Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco ^f	1981	not included
189, 249	Getz-Preziosi 1983	anonymous collection	not reported	not included
199 (torso)	Thimme 1976	anonymous collection, United States	1967	deposit from Keros
248, 253	Thimme 1976	anonymous collection, United States	not reported	deposit from Keros
202, 234	Thimme 1976	Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe	not reported	deposit from Keros
Not included	Davis 1984	Art Institute of Chicago ^g	1978	not included
Not included	Thimme 1976	Galerie Simone de Monbrison, Paris ^h	not reported for Galerie Simone de Monbrison ⁱ	unknown

^aWithout head and neck^bI.e., in the possession of Koutoulakis^cBut for no. 187, only in Thimme 1977^dBut in Thimme 1977: Pasadena, Museum of Art, Norton Simon Collection, inv. no. N.1975.18.1.S^e1975 by Norton Simon^fInv. no. 1981.42^gInv. no. 1978.115^hBut in Thimme 1977: Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, Columbia, inv. no. 76.214ⁱ1976 by the Museum of Art and Archaeology in Columbia

Francisco (inv. no. 1981.42). Renfrew, although believing that this and the two other complete or very nearly complete figurines illustrated by Getz-Gentle⁷² may indeed have come from Kavos, prefers to restrict the use of the term “Keros Hoard” to the Erlenmeyer pieces illustrated in the 1976 photograph.⁷³ The other photograph found in Thimme’s archive is that of the head (no. 204; fig. 4) attributed to the Goulandris Master. That this fragment belonged to the hoard is indicated by a letter written by Getz-Gentle in November 1977,⁷⁴ in which she asks for more photographs of Keros Hoard fragments of works by the Goulandris Master. Of the negative numbers she gives there, we can identify the first (R11868) corresponding to the head (no. 204) and the last four (R16210, R16211, R16186, R16187) corresponding to Erlenmeyer fragments, which are all included in the 1976 group photograph (figs. 5, 6).

Thus, Getz-Gentle’s 1983 article and the evidence from the archives indicate that a number of figurines from the second part of the catalogue (i.e., figurines not from the Erlenmeyer Collection and therefore not included in the 1976 photograph) may be attributed to the Keros Hoard on a basis as persuasive as that of the Erlenmeyer pieces. This calls into question Renfrew’s argument that there is no complete folded-arm figurine in the real Keros Hoard nor any preserved torso with head,⁷⁵ for the aforementioned pieces from the second part of the catalogue include three complete figurines, three nearly complete ones preserved from head to knees, and one torso with the head; they also include eight heads with at least part of the neck (table 3). Interestingly, in addition to the complete figurine (ht. 58 cm) found by Zapheiroupolou,⁷⁶ a nearly complete figurine preserved from head to knees is in the unpublished assemblage found at Kavos during authorized excavation and now stored in the Naxos Museum.⁷⁷ It is perhaps of relevance to mention here Zapheiroupolou’s report on the recovery of a number of almost complete (though not intact) marble vases,⁷⁸ as well as the fact that five small clay vases from the excavations of the 1960s were also complete.⁷⁹ Moreover, the Naxos Museum assemblage comprises eight figurine fragments preserving the head and neck, while



Fig. 3. Complete figurine from the Keros Hoard, no. 185 (courtesy Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens).

the Erlenmeyer group has only two such pieces (see fig. 1[1, 41]), as well as 11 fragments preserving only the head, while there is no such fragment among the Erlenmeyer pieces. These differences between the two groups, however, have not been taken as evidence to

⁷² Getz-Preziosi 1983, figs. 2, 5; Sotirakopoulou 2005, nos. 189, 249.

⁷³ Renfrew 2006, 32–3.

⁷⁴ Getz-Gentle to Thimme, 7 November 1977: “I must ask you to bear with me for one further request. Because there is some overlap between the Goulandris Master and the Keros hoard there are certain photos of which I need a second copy. These are: R11868 (front), R11886 (rear) = 6 heads, R11895

(front), R11896 ? (rear), profile?, R16210, R16211, R16186, R16187.”

⁷⁵ Renfrew 2006, 32.

⁷⁶ Zapheiroupolou 1968a, 97, fig. 1; 1968b, 381, pl. 334a; 1980, 534, pl. 240, no. 8.

⁷⁷ Sotirakopoulou 2005, 318, table 77.

⁷⁸ Zapheiroupolou 1968b, 381, pl. 333a–c.

⁷⁹ Sotirakopoulou 2004, 1308, pls. 9b, 12, 14.



Fig. 4. Head and neck of a figurine from the Keros Hoard, no. 204 (courtesy Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe).

dispute the provenance of the Erlenmeyer fragments from Kavos. Consequently, the contents of the original assemblage cannot be determined only on the basis of what was in the Erlenmeyer Collection.

⁸⁰ Getz-Preziosi 1983, 37, 43 nn. 6, 10.

⁸¹ Thimme to Getz-Gentle, 12 December 1974: "Koutoulakis hat wohl die meisten Fragmente in Paris gehabt, aber einige schöne auch in Genf. Von diesen Fragmenten sind natürlich inzwischen auch welche verkauft worden; wieviele weiß ich nicht." Getz-Gentle to Thimme, 27 October 1975: "This leads to the question of whether I may publish pieces from the hoard which I studied chez Koutoulakis years ago and last winter, and which at the time I had been given permission to publish, but which are now owned by other people. Mr. K. says there are many owners of objects from the hoard, and I am not certain that even he could trace them all, even if he wished to (which, because of the bother, I doubt). Have you any idea of the proper procedure in such a case? And, since Mr. K. is so loath to write letters, could I once again ask you to do me the favor of asking him should you have occasion to talk with him?" Thimme to Getz-Gentle, 6 November 1975: "Ich empfehle beim Keros-Hortfund eine Vorbemerkung zu machen, etwa folgenden Inhalts: 'Ich erhielt vor Jahren für

What further complicated the already complex situation was that in the time between the first sightings of the hoard in 1968 and the years immediately preceding the Karlsruhe exhibition, a number of pieces owned by Koutoulakis were sold to other people—as had perhaps been happening from the first moment he acquired the assemblage⁸⁰—thus leaving Getz-Gentle with the difficult task of tracing the lost pieces.⁸¹ It was because of the unfortunate fragmentation of the material and the impossibility of ever tracing all the objects originally belonging to the hoard that she finally decided to abandon her initial plans to write a monograph on this topic and confined herself to discussing the Keros Hoard in her 1983 article. However, she should be credited with being the first to suggest that the Keros Hoard came from the plundered site of Kavos; this, at least, is the evidence we have from her correspondence with Thimme,⁸² although in the Karlsruhe exhibition catalogue, this suggestion appears to have been made first by Thimme.⁸³

Since there were good indications of a Keros origin for a number of figurines from the second part of the catalogue (though this could not be verified through close examination and comparison with the figurines recovered at Kavos during official archaeological investigations) and since the doubts about the Keros origin of a number of other figurines from the second part had been clearly stated, dealing with the Erlenmeyer pieces separately from the others in the chapter dedicated to the analysis of the data would have served no real purpose. I could have chosen to reject the more doubtful pieces altogether (although they had already appeared in Getz-Gentle's publications as perhaps belonging to the Keros Hoard),⁸⁴ but in this case, some aspects of the problem would have been obscured. In

alle diese Stücke die Publikationserlaubnis. Inzwischen haben in einigen Fällen die Besitzer gewechselt. Es war mir aber nicht immer möglich, ihre Namen und Adressen in Erfahrung zu bringen.' Dort, wo Sie die heutigen Besitzer kennen können Sie ja fragen."

⁸² Getz-Gentle to Thimme, 14 November 1975: "I am quite convinced, though as yet I have no proof, that the 'Keros hoard' is in fact from the plundered portion of the Daskalio site. If I can prove this next summer [in summer 1976, Getz-Gentle visited Naxos], then I think the Koutoulakis material and the excavation finds should be published jointly. Proof of course would have to come from at least one undoubted join between one of the K. fragments and one of the Doulas-Zapheirou fragments." Thimme to Getz-Gentle, 21 November 1975: "Es wäre großartig, wenn Sie Beweis führen könnten, daß auch die Fragmente von Erlenmeyer/Koutoulakis vom Hortfund auf Keros stamen."

⁸³ Thimme 1976, 577, excursus 8; 1977, 588, appx. 8.

⁸⁴ Getz-Preziosi 1987a, 1987b; Getz-Gentle 2001.



Fig. 5. Keros Hoard fragments from the Erlenmeyer Collection; *clockwise from top left*: nos. 95, 72, 84, 107, 97, 90 (courtesy Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens).

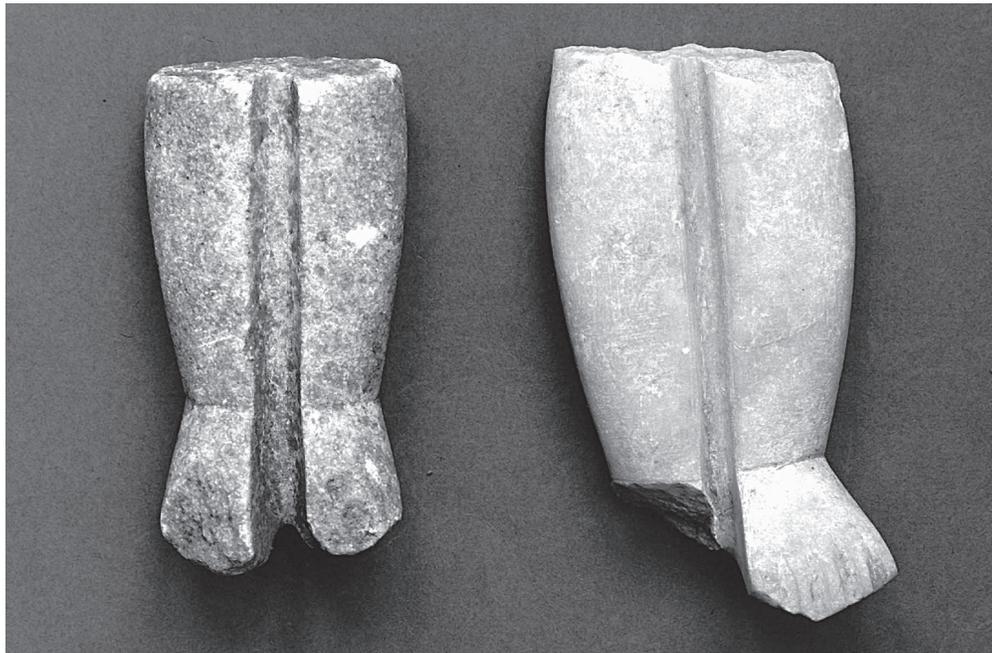


Fig. 6. Keros Hoard fragments from the Erlenmeyer Collection, nos. 96 and 108 (courtesy Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens).

Table 3. State of Preservation of the Non-Erlenmeyer Figures that Belong to the Keros Hoard, According to Getz-Preziosi (1983) and the Karlsruhe Archives.

Preserved Part	No. of Examples	No. in Sotirakopoulou 2005
Complete	3	185, 187, 249
Head to knees	3	172, 189, 192
Head, torso	1	199
Head, neck	8	153, 159, 161, 169, 202, 204, 209, 244
Part of neck, torso	1	215
Torso, legs	1	251
Torso	1	253
Lower torso, legs	1	248
Lower legs, feet	1	234
Left lower leg, foot	2	182, 183

the final analysis, the provenances of several pieces attributed to the Keros Hoard remain uncertain, the traces of others originally belonging to it have been lost, and it is unknown whether it will ever be possible for us to remedy this situation.

THE DATE OF LOOTING OF THE KEROS HOARD

Whether the Erlenmeyer pieces were first acquired ca. 1955 (or 1958, as preferred by Renfrew) is still uncertain—although I cannot see why eight years prior to the first official investigation of the site is considered too long a time for so large an illicit excavation to have taken place without word getting out, yet five years are considered acceptable, especially bearing in mind how ineffective (by today's standards) the official protection of an archaeological site on so remote an island as Keros was at that time. It is perhaps of some significance to cite the information given by Thimme in October 1975—however uncertain this may be—that Koutoulakis had acquired the assemblage perhaps 20 years before that date.⁸⁵ Also of relevance are two photographs in Thimme's archive depicting the front and back views of four Erlenmeyer figurines that also appear in the 1976 photograph (fig. 7). The figurine shown at the top right of figure 7 (see fig. 1[51]) is one of the two I did not include in the catalogue of the Keros Hoard volume, following Getz-Gentle's informa-

tion from Marie-Louise Erlenmeyer that these did not belong to the hoard but were included by mistake in the 1976 photograph.⁸⁶ Renfrew finds the omission of these two pieces from the catalogue puzzling.⁸⁷ If, however, we accept that these figurines did belong to the original group, his suggested hypothetical date of ca. 1958 for the beginning of the looting cannot be valid; this particular figurine was first published by the Erlenmeyers in 1955, although shown only from the rear.⁸⁸ According to the caption, the figurine was then in a private collection in Switzerland, presumably the Erlenmeyer Collection. If those two figurines indeed come from the hoard, 1955 should be the terminus ante quem for the beginning of the looting, as Renfrew prefers to put it, or for the extensive looting of the site, as I tend to believe, though agreeing that casual looting would have continued there for many years. If we agree that most, if not all, the Erlenmeyer Keros Hoard fragments indeed come from Kavos,⁸⁹ this conclusion can be valid only if we accept that the pieces were looted and purchased as part of a unified group. Otherwise, how can we claim that all of them were found at the same spot?

The solution to the Keros enigma will only be found through thorough archaeological investigation of the island. Nevertheless, I hope that the Keros Hoard volume and the publication of the evidence from the ar-

⁸⁵ Thimme to Getz-Gentle, 7 October 1975: "Ich möchte aber bezweifeln, ob K. vielleicht zwanzig Jahre, nachdem er den Hortfund erworben hat, noch weiß, was dazu gehörte und was nicht."

⁸⁶ Sotirakopoulou 2005, 42.

⁸⁷ Renfrew 2006, 30 n. 32.

⁸⁸ Erlenmeyer and Erlenmeyer 1955, pl. 10, no. 23. The front and rear views of this figurine were first shown together in Sotheby's 1990a, 95, 141, no. 131.

⁸⁹ Sotirakopoulou 2005, 319–20, 323; Renfrew 2006, 30.

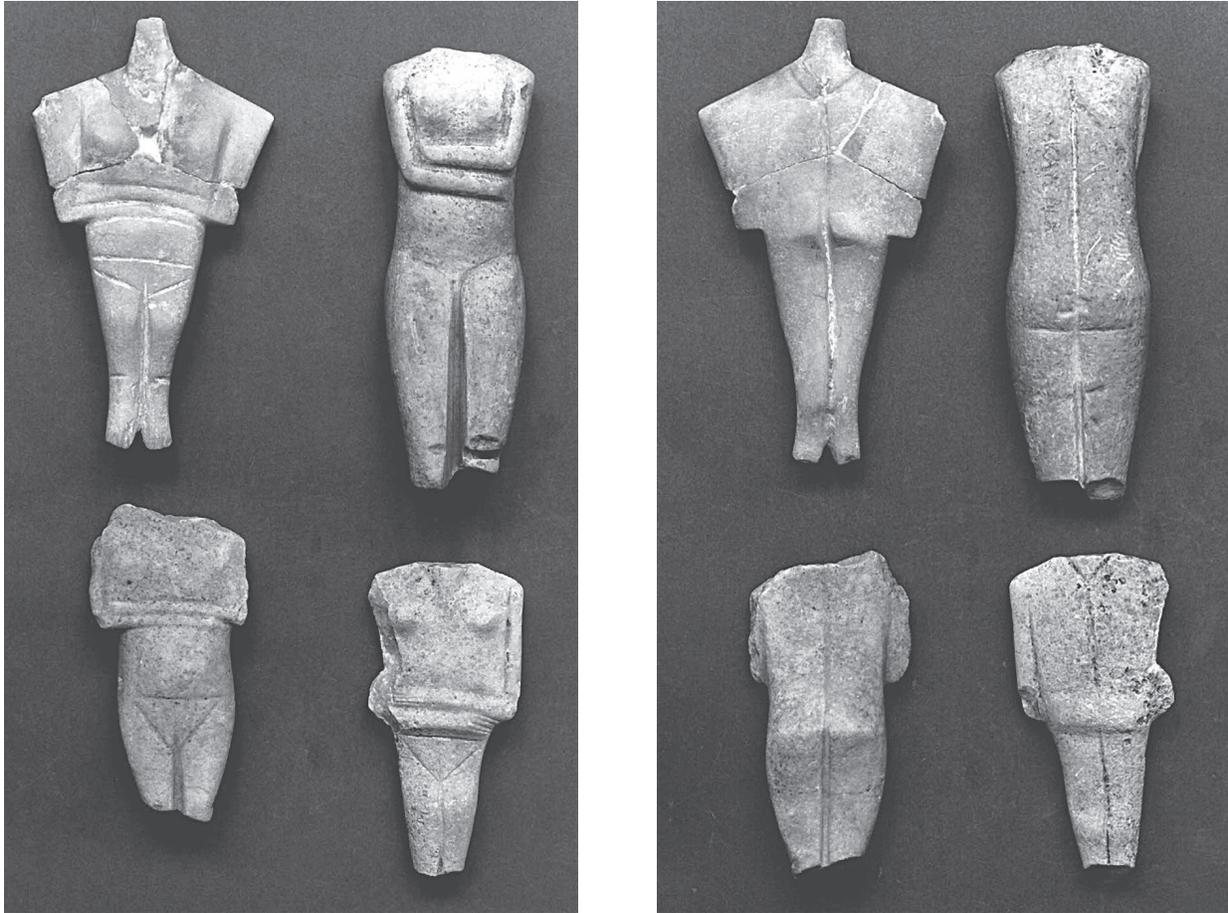


Fig. 7. Keros Hoard fragments from the Erlenmeyer Collection: *left*, front view; *right*, rear view; *clockwise from top left*: nos. 122, unnumbered figurine, 138, 117 (courtesy Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens).

chives presented here have helped illuminate aspects of the problem that otherwise would have remained obscure.

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