

PAROS V

PAROS THROUGH THE AGES

FROM PREHISTORIC TIMES TO THE 16th CENTURY AD



Edited by
Dora Katsonopoulou

ΑΘΗΝΑ/ATHENS 2021

Cover illustrations

On the front: Relief of young woman from Paroikia, end of 5th century BC.

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On the back: Fresco from the Byzantine church at Protoria of Naousa, 13th century BC.

ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΠΑΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΚΛΑΔΩΝ
THE INSTITUTE FOR ARCHAEOLOGY OF PAROS AND THE CYCLADES

PAROS V

Η ΠΑΡΟΣ ΑΝΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΙΩΝΕΣ

ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΪΣΤΟΡΙΚΗ ΕΠΟΧΗ ΣΤΟΝ 16ο ΑΙΩΝΑ μ.Χ.

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ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΠΑΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΚΛΑΔΩΝ
ΠΑΡΟΙΚΙΑ ΠΑΡΟΥ, 21-24 ΙΟΥΝΙΟΥ 2019**

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Ντόρα Κατσωνοπούλου

ΑΘΗΝΑ 2021

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF PAROS AND THE CYCLADES
PAROIKIA, PAROS, 21-24 JUNE 2019

Edited by
Dora Katsonopoulou

ATHENS 2021

ΠΙΝΑΚΑΣ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΩΝ
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ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ

Ο παρών τόμος (Paros V) αποτελεί τον πέμπτο στην σειρά τόμο Πρακτικών Διεθνών Συνεδρίων του Ινστιτούτου Αρχαιολογίας Πάρου και Κυκλάδων (ΙΑΠΚ), αφιερωμένων στην αρχαιολογία της Πάρου και των Κυκλάδων, που πραγματοποιούνται στην Παροικία της Πάρου σε τακτά χρονικά διαστήματα. Ο τόμος με τον ειδικότερο τίτλο *Η Πάρος ανά τους Αιώνες - Από την Προϊστορική Εποχή στον 16ο Αιώνα μ.Χ.*, περιλαμβάνει τις επιστημονικές ανακοινώσεις κατά την διάρκεια του Ε' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Αρχαιολογίας Πάρου και Κυκλάδων που πραγματοποιήθηκε σε συνεργασία με τον Δήμο Πάρου και τον Πολιτιστικό Σύλλογο 'Αρχίλοχος' Πάρου, στην Παροικία της Πάρου από 21-24 Ιουνίου 2019.

Το Ε' Συνέδριο ακολούθησε τα τέσσερα προηγούμενα Συνέδρια του ΙΑΠΚ που πραγματοποιήθηκαν στην Παροικία της Πάρου το 1997, 2005, 2010, και 2015 αντίστοιχα. Τα Πρακτικά και των τεσσάρων Συνεδρίων έχουν εκδοθεί από το ΙΑΠΚ. Ο 1ος τόμος με τον τίτλο *Παρία Λίθος, Παριανά Λατομεία, Μάρμαρο και Εργαστήρια Γλυπτικής της Πάρου*, με την επιμέλεια των Δημήτρη Σκιδάρντι και Ντόρας Κατσωνοπούλου, εκδόθηκε το 2000 (2η έκδ. 2010), ο 2ος με τον τίτλο *Ο Αρχίλοχος και η Εποχή του (Paros II)*, με την επιμέλεια των Ντόρας Κατσωνοπούλου, Ιωάννη Πετρόπουλου και Στέλλας Κατσαρού το 2008, ο 3ος με τον τίτλο *Ο Σκόπας και ο Κόσμος του (Paros III)*, με την επιμέλεια των Ντόρας Κατσωνοπούλου και Andrew Stewart το 2013, και ο 4ος με τον τίτλο *Η Πάρος και οι Αποικίες της (Paros IV)*, με την επιμέλεια της Ντόρας Κατσωνοπούλου εκδόθηκε το 2018.

Ο παρών τόμος (Paros V), με την επιμέλεια της Ντόρας Κατσωνοπούλου, περιλαμβάνει συνολικά 38 επιστημονικά άρθρα που κατανέμονται σε τέσσερα μέρη. Το Μέρος I, με τίτλο *Παρία Λίθος και Πάριοι Γλύπτες*, περιλαμβάνει 13 εργασίες που αναφέρονται στην χρήση και διάδοση της Παρίας Λίθου, στους Πάριους γλύπτες και τα έργα τους. Το Μέρος II, με τίτλο *Η Πάρος και ο Αρχαίος Κόσμος*, περιέχει 14 άρθρα για την μυθολογία, ιστορία και αρχαιολογία της Πάρου, και ευρύτερα για την θέση της στον αρχαίο κόσμο. Το Μέρος III, με τίτλο *Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Πάρος* περιέχει 5 άρθρα για την ιστορία και αρχαιολογία της Πάρου σε αυτές τις περιόδους και το Μέρος IV, με τίτλο *Φυσικό και Θαλάσσιο Περιβάλλον*, 6 εργασίες για το παλαιότερο περιβάλλον και τις ακτές της Πάρου και των Κυκλάδων.

Το Μέρος I, ξεκινά με μια συνολική επισκόπηση της χρήσης και διάδοσης του παριανού μαρμάρου εντός και εκτός Πάρου και της συμβολής των Παρίων καλλιτεχνών στην ανάπτυξη και εξέλιξη της γλυπτικής, κυρίως κατά την Υστεροαρχαϊκή και Κλασική περίοδο (Κουράγιος). Τη νέα τεχνολογία του πάθους στην ελληνική γλυπτική που βρήκε την υπέρτατη έκφρασή της στο έργο του Σκόπα και τον ρόλο που διαδραμάτισαν στην διαμόρφωσή της τα εργαστήρια γλυπτικής της Πάρου τον 6ο και 5ο αιώνα π.Χ., εξετάζει το ακόλουθο άρθρο μέσα από την παρουσίαση καινοτόμων έργων γλυπτικής από την Πάρο (Katsanouli). Μια άλλη πτυχή της καλλιτεχνικής δημιουργίας του Σκόπα, με αναφορά στην παράδοση και τον αρχαϊσμό, μελετά η επόμενη εργασία σε συνάρτηση με τα διαφορετικά θέματα που ανέδειξε με το έργο του ο γλύπτης (Calcani). Με βάση τα αποτελέσματα πρόσφατης μελέτης ελεύθερων και αρχιτεκτονικών γλυπτών της Κλασικής περιόδου στην Αθηναϊκή Αγορά, στο ακόλουθο άρθρο εξετάζεται η συμβολή των Παρίων γλυπτών Αγοράκριτου και Λοκρού στην μετάβαση από την Φειδιακή τεχνολογία στο «πλούσιο» στυλ των τελευταίων δεκαετιών του 5ου αιώνα π.Χ. (Stewart). Σημαντική επιτύμβια στήλη του ύστερου 5ου αιώνα π.Χ. από το αρχαίο νεκροταφείο της Πάρου, στην

οποία απεικονίζεται ματιοφόρος άνδρας και γυναίκα με βρέφος, αναλύεται και δημοσιεύεται για πρώτη φορά εδώ από την ανασκαφέα (Ζαφειροπούλου). Στην καταλυτική συμβολή του ποιητή Εύηνου της Πάρου στην καθιέρωση του είδους του εκφραστικού επιγράμματος περιγραφής έργων τέχνης, αναφέρεται το ακόλουθο άρθρο (Corso). Οι επόμενες 4 μελέτες αφορούν σε έργα γλυπτικής από πάριο μάρμαρο και στην δράση Παρίων γλυπτών στην Ιταλία, ξεκινώντας με την παρουσίαση γλυπτών από παριανό μάρμαρο του 5ου και 4ου αιώνα π.Χ. που μεταφέρθηκαν στην Ρώμη (Cirucci), συνεχίζοντας με την διερεύνηση της χρήσης παριανού μαρμάρου και την συμβολή Παρίων γλυπτών στην αρχιτεκτονική και γλυπτική στην Δυτική Σικελία κατά την πρώιμη Κλασική περίοδο (Marconi), την επίδραση παριανών εργαστηρίων στην αρχιτεκτονική και γλυπτική του Ακράγαντα κατά την Υστεροαρχαϊκή και πρώιμη Κλασική περίοδο (Adornato) και την ανάλυση του αγάλματος από παριανό μάρμαρο, γνωστού ως «κούρου» του Reggio στην Καλαβρία που πιθανόν αναπαριστά Απόλλωνα (Castrizio). Την χρήση του παριανού και του ναξιακού μαρμάρου στην αρχιτεκτονική κατά την αρχαιότητα, και ιδιαίτερα στις στέγες, εξετάζει η ακόλουθη εργασία (Ohnesorg). Το Μέρος I ολοκληρώνεται με δύο άρθρα που αφορούν στο πάριο μάρμαρο και την εξαγωγή του σε πόλεις και ιερά του ελληνικού κόσμου κατά την διάρκεια του 6ου αιώνα π.Χ. για την κατασκευή γλυπτών (Loy), και την χρήση του για την δημιουργία γλυπτών υψηλής ποιότητας και μνημειακών κτιρίων σε όλο τον αρχαίο ελληνικό κόσμο κατά την Αρχαϊκή και πρώιμη Κλασική περίοδο (Phillips).

Το Μέρος II του τόμου αρχίζει με την διερεύνηση της προέλευσης και του πολιτιστικού υποβάθρου του μύθου του Ηρακλή στην Πάρο (Corròla) και μια πρόταση ερμηνείας αινιγματικής παράστασης Χίμαιρας σε αρχαϊκό αμφορέα από την ανασκαφή του αρχαίου νεκροταφείου της Πάρου (Petrooulos). Ακολουθεί η δημοσίευση νέων στοιχείων από την ανασκαφή τριών κτιστών θαλαμωτών τάφων στις Κουκουναριές της Πάρου (Spanos). Η επόμενη εργασία διερευνά την μακρόχρονη σχέση ανάμεσα στους Αθηναίους και τους Παρίους από τον 10ο έως τον 3ο αιώνα π.Χ. μέσα από την ιστορική, επιγραφική και αρχαιολογική μαρτυρία (Tandy), ενώ τα χρονολογικά όρια και η εικονογραφία της νομισματοκοπίας της Πάρου μεταξύ του 6ου αιώνα π.Χ. και των Ελληνιστικών χρόνων αποτελούν το θέμα του ακόλουθου άρθρου (Castrizio). Τα αρχαϊκά κοσμήματα σημαντικού παριανού εργαστηρίου παρουσιάζονται στην επόμενη μελέτη και εξετάζονται ο ρόλος και η ερμηνεία τους στην καθημερινή ζωή των ανθρώπων (Τσαμπίρη). Οι δύο επόμενες εργασίες αναφέρονται στο αρχαίο νεκροταφείο της Παροικιάς, εξετάζοντας αφενός τα ταφικά έθιμα μέσα από την μελέτη των επιτυμβίων σημάτων του νεκροταφείου στην θέση Βίτζι (Γριμανέλης) και αφετέρου ευρήματα από ταφές και ταφικά μνημεία στην θέση Άγιος Παντελεήμων που πιθανόν αποτελεί επέκταση της αρχαίας νεκρόπολης προς Βορράν (Alexandridou και Daifa). Στις λατρείες της Πάρου και την σημασία των αναθημάτων στα ιερά είναι αφιερωμένες οι επόμενες τρεις εργασίες, μέσα από την παρουσίαση και μελέτη αφιερωμάτων στο ιερό του Απόλλωνα στο Δεσποτικό σε σύγκριση και με το Δήλιον της Πάρου (Kourayos και Angliker), τα αφιερώματα στα ιερά του Ασκληπιού και της Ειλειθυίας στην Πάρο (Piette) και τέλος τις ενδυματολογικές προσφορές στο ιερό της Δήλου ως αφιερωματική πρακτική, όπως προκύπτει από τα επιγραφικά αρχεία της Δήλου (Tsourinaki). Το Μέρος II κλείνει με τρία άρθρα που αφορούν στην πρωιμότερη αποικία της Πάρου, το Πάριον στην Προποντίδα, και επικεντρώνονται στην παρουσίαση αγαλμάτων από διάσημους έλληνες γλύπτες στην κλασική πόλη του Παρίου με βάση την φιλολογική μαρτυρία (Keles και M. Deniz Yilmaz), την περιγραφή και ερμηνεία ενός πρόσφατου ευρήματος γλυπτικής της εποχής των Αντωνίνων, αψίδα

με ανάγλυφη μορφή της θεάς Υγείας από τα ρωμαϊκά λουτρά της πόλης (A. Yilmaz και Tugrul), και τέλος στην παρουσίαση πιθανού εργαστηρίου και εμπορίας πορφύρας στο ρωμαϊκό Πάριον (Celikbas).

Το Μέρος III αρχίζει με επανεξέταση της ιστορικής μαρτυρίας για την Πάρο και την διερεύνηση του ρόλου που μπορεί να διαδραμάτισε το νησί κατά τους πρώιμους Μεσαιωνικούς αιώνες (Roussos), καθώς και την διερεύνηση της διοικητικής κατάστασης στο Αιγαίο κατά τη Μέση Βυζαντινή περίοδο και της θέσης της Πάρου μέσα σε αυτήν (Μαλατράς). Στο επόμενο άρθρο επανεξετάζεται η χρήση του λυχνίτη κατά την Μεσαιωνική περίοδο με βάση στοιχεία από γραπτές πηγές και νέα παραδείγματα χρήσης του παριανού μαρμάρου εκτός των συνόρων της Βυζαντινής αυτοκρατορίας (Πάλλης). Αδημοσίευτη βυζαντινή σφραγίδα του τέλους του 11ου-αρχές του 12ου αιώνα από την συλλογή του Κρατικού Μουσείου Ερμιτάζ της Αγ. Πετρούπολης είναι το αντικείμενο της εργασίας που ακολουθεί (Stavrakos). Το Μέρος III κλείνει με την παρουσίαση ενός χειρογράφου του 17ου αιώνα από την Δημόσια Ιστορική Βιβλιοθήκη Χίου 'Κοραής' και την αναφορά του στις Κυκλάδες και την Πάρο (Μερούσης και Μουσταντάμη).

Το τελευταίο Μέρος IV ξεκινά με την επισκόπηση του παλαιοπεριβάλλοντος της Πάρου και των Κυκλάδων κατά τους προϊστορικούς χρόνους, με βάση τα δεδομένα των μέχρι σήμερα αρχαιοπεριβαλλοντικών ερευνών και μελετών (Καραλή). Τις θαλάσσιες εμπορικές οδούς διαμέσου των Κυκλάδων μεταξύ 800-600 π.Χ., σε σχέση κυρίως με τα νησιά της Πάρου και της Νάξου εξετάζει η επόμενη εργασία (Forsyth). Τα τέσσερα επόμενα άρθρα αναφέρονται στις ακτές της Πάρου, ξεκινώντας με τον καθορισμό έξι θαλασίων επιπέδων και των σχετικών μεταβολών της στάθμης της θάλασσας κατά τα τελευταία 6.300 χρόνια (Μουρτζάς και Κολαΐτη) και την χρονολόγηση αυτών των επιπέδων με βάση αρχαιολογικούς δείκτες από το τέλος της Νεολιθικής περιόδου έως και τα νεότερα χρόνια (Κολαΐτη και Μουρτζάς). Ακολουθεί η παρουσίαση των αποτελεσμάτων της παράκτιας έρευνας στην Πάρο από το πρόγραμμα Geoswim με σκοπό την συλλογή φυσικών, χημικών και οικολογικών δεδομένων (Furlani et al.) και τέλος η παρουσίαση των επιπτώσεων της ανόδου της στάθμης της θάλασσας και της συνεπαγόμενης θαλάσσιας επίκλυσης στον κόλπο της Παροικιάς για τις επόμενες δεκαετίες (Kolaiti et al.).

Ευχαριστώ θερμά το Δημοτικό Συμβούλιο και τον Δήμαρχο Πάρου Μάρκο Κωβαίο για την υποστήριξη του Συνεδρίου, τα μέλη του ΙΑΠΚ και του Πολιτιστικού Συλλόγου 'Αρχίλοχος' Πάρου για την αμέριστη βοήθειά τους. Τέλος, ευχαριστίες απευθύνονται στον αρχαιολόγο Κωνσταντίνο Ρούσσο για την συμβολή του στην επιμέλεια των άρθρων που περιλαμβάνονται στο Μέρος III του τόμου για την Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Πάρο.

Ντόρα Κατσωνοπούλου

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PREFACE

The present volume (Paros V) is the fifth in a series of Proceedings of International Conferences dedicated to the history and archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades, organized by the Institute for Archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades (IAPC) and conducted at Paroikia on Paros at periodic intervals. This volume, entitled *Paros through the Ages - From Prehistoric Times to the 16th Century AD*, contains scholarly papers presented during the Fifth International Congress of Archaeology on Paros and the Cyclades, held in Paroikia of Paros from 21-24 June 2019, in collaboration with the Municipality of Paros and the Cultural Association 'Archilochos' of Paros.

The congress followed four previous ones on the Archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades, held in Paroikia in 1997, 2005, 2010, and 2015 respectively. The Proceedings of all four congresses have been published by the IAPC. The first, entitled *Paria Lithos. Parian Quarries, Marble and Workshops of Sculpture*, edited by Demetrius Schilardi and Dora Katsonopoulou, was published in 2000 and reprinted in 2010; the second, entitled *Archilochos and his Age* (Paros II), edited by Dora Katsonopoulou, John Petropoulos and Stella Katsarou, was published in 2008; the third, entitled *Skopas of Paros and his World* (Paros III), edited by Dora Katsonopoulou and Andrew Stewart, was published in 2013, and the fourth entitled *Paros and its Colonies* (Paros IV), edited by Dora Katsonopoulou, was published in 2018.

The present volume (Paros V), edited by Dora Katsonopoulou, includes a total of thirty eight scholarly papers, divided into four parts. Part I entitled *Paria Lithos and Parian Sculptors*, includes 13 studies on the use and diffusion of Paria Lithos and on works of Parian sculptors. Part II entitled *Paros and the Ancient World* contains 14 articles on the mythology, history and archaeology of Paros, as well as the island's place in the ancient world. Part III entitled *Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Paros*, contains 5 articles on the history and archaeology of Paros during these periods and Part IV entitled *Natural and Marine Environment*, includes 6 papers on the ancient environment and the coasts of Paros and the Cyclades.

Part I begins with an overview about the use of Parian marble in Paros and its diffusion outside the island as well as the contribution of Parian sculptors in the development and evolution of sculpture, especially during the Late Archaic and Classical periods (Κουράγιος). The new style of pathos in Greek sculpture, dynamically expressed by Skopas of Paros, and the role played by the sculpture workshops of Paros of the 6th and 5th centuries BC, is discussed in the following article via the examination of innovative works from Paros (Katsonopoulou). Another aspect of Skopas' artistic creation, with reference to tradition and archaism, is presented in the next work in connection with the different themes undertaken by the sculptor (Calcani). Based on the results of a recent study of Classical sculptures in the Athenian Agora, the following paper examines the contributions of the Parian sculptors Agorakritos and Lokros in the turn from the style of Pheidias to the "rich" style of the last decades of the 5th century BC (Stewart). A significant new grave relief of the late 5th century BC from the ancient cemetery of Paros, depicting a man and a woman with an infant, is analyzed and published for the first time by the excavator (Ζαφειροπούλου). The following article refers to the catalytic contribution of the elegiac poet Evenos of Paros in the establishment of the ekphrastic epigram describing works of art (Corso). The next 4 studies relate to sculpture works of Parian marble and the activity of Parian

sculptors in Italy, starting with the presentation of Parian marble sculptures of the 5th and 4th centuries BC transferred to the city of Rome (Cirucci), continuing with the investigation of the use of Parian marble and the contribution of Parian sculptors in the architecture and sculpture of Western Sicily during the Early Classical period (Marconi), the influence of Parian workshops on the architecture and sculpture of Akragas during the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods (Adornato) and the analysis of the Parian marble statue known as the “kouros” of Reggio in Calabria, probably representing Apollo (Castrizio). The following work examines the use of Parian and Naxian marble in antiquity in architecture, and especially on roofs (Ohnesorg). Part I concludes with two articles on Parian marble and its export to cities and sanctuaries of the Greek world for the construction of sculptures during the 6th century BC (Loy), and its use for the creation of high quality sculptures and monumental buildings throughout the ancient Greek world during the Archaic and Early Classical periods (Phillips).

Part II begins with the investigation of the origins and of the cultural background of the myth of Herakles in Paros (Coppola) and a new interpretation of an enigmatic representation of Chimaira on an archaic amphora from the excavation of the ancient cemetery of Paros (Petropoulos). The publication of new data from the excavation of three built chambered tombs in Koukounaries of Paros follows (Spanos). The next work explores the long-standing relationship between the Athenians and the Parians from the 10th to the 3rd centuries BC through the historical, epigraphic and archaeological evidence (Tandy), while the chronological limits and the iconography of the coinage of Paros between the 6th century BC and the Hellenistic times are discussed in the following article (Castrizio). The jewels depicted on pottery of an important Archaic Parian workshop and the interpretation of their role in daily life of people are presented and discussed in the next study (Τσαμπίρη). The following two works concern the ancient cemetery of Paros at Vitzi of Paroikia. Its burial customs are examined on the basis of the study of its tombstones (Γριμανέλης) and more burials and burial monuments found at the location of Agios Panteleimon are interpreted as a probable extension of the cemetery to the North (Alexandridou and Daifa). The next three works are devoted to the cults of Paros and the importance of votive offerings in the sanctuaries. First, the results of the study of dedications to the sanctuary of Apollo in Despotiko are presented in comparison with the Delion of Paros (Kourayos and Angliker), then the dedications to the sanctuaries of Asklepios and Eilytheia on Paros are discussed (Piette) and finally the costume offerings in the sanctuary of Delos as a dedication practice are analysed based on the epigraphic archives of Delos (Tsourinaki). Part II concludes with three articles on the earliest colony of Paros, Parion in the Propontis, focusing on the presentation of statues by famous Greek sculptors in the Classical city of Parion according to literary evidence (Keles and M. Deniz Yilmaz), the description and interpretation of a recent sculptural find from the Antonine period, an arch with a relief of the goddess Hygeia from the Roman baths of the city (A. Yilmaz and Tugrul), and finally the discovery of a possible murex workshop in the city of Roman Parion (Celikbas).

Part III begins with a review of the historical evidence for Paros and the investigation of the role that the island may have played during the Early Medieval times (Roussos), as well as the investigation of the administration in the Aegean during the Middle Byzantine period and Paros’ role (Μαλατράς). The next article examines the use of the lychnites marble during the Medieval period based on written sources and new examples of the use of Parian marble outside

the borders of the Byzantine Empire (Πάλλης). An unpublished Byzantine seal of the end of the 11th-beginning of the 12th century from the collection of the State Hermitage Museum of St. Petersburg is the subject of the following work (Stavrakos). Part III concludes with the presentation of a 17th century manuscript in the Public Historical Library of Chios 'Korais' and its reference to the Cyclades and the island of Paros (Μερούσης and Μουσαντάμη).

The last Part IV begins with an overview of the ancient environment of Paros and the Cyclades in prehistoric times based on the data of archaeological research and studies to date (Καραλή). The sea trade routes through the Cyclades between 800-600 BC in relation to the islands of Paros and Naxos is the subject of the following work (Forsyth). The next four articles concern the coasts of Paros, beginning with the definition of six sea levels and the relative changes in sea level over the last 6300 years (Μουρτζάς and Κολαΐτη) and the dating of these levels based on archaeological indicators from the end of the Neolithic period until recent years (Κολαΐτη and Μουρτζάς). In the next article the results of the coastal research in Paros by the Geoswim program aiming at the collection of physical, chemical and ecological data, are presented (Furlani et al.), and finally the effects of sea level rise and the resulting impact of marine flooding in the Gulf of Paroikia for the next decades are discussed (Kolaiti et al.).

I warmly thank the Municipal Council and the Mayor of Paros Mr. Markos Kovaios for the support of the Conference, the Board of Directors of the Institute for Archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades and the members of the Cultural Association 'Archilochos' of Paros for their invaluable assistance. Finally, thanks are due to the archaeologist Konstantinos Roussos for his contribution to the editing of the articles included in Part III of the volume on Byzantine and post-Byzantine Paros.

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ΜΕΡΟΣ Ι - PART I

ΠΑΡΙΑ ΛΙΘΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΙΟΙ ΓΛΥΠΤΕΣ

PARIA LITHOS AND PARIAN SCULPTORS

Skopas of Paros: Between Archaistic Revival and Anticipation of the Hellenistic Form

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In my contribution, I would like to focus on some aspects of the important role played by Skopas in the art of his time, but also on the influence that some of his works exercised on the artistic language of later times.¹

As is well known, the most famous aspect of his artistic career is his introduction of *pathos* which makes Skopas the main reference as the master in Hellenistic art.² It is to Skopas that we owe the “emotional revolution” in Greek art. There is no doubt on this point, even if we continue to discuss the dating of works by Skopas, such as that of the dancing Maenad for instance, which, much more than other works by him, renders evident the emotional charge he introduced (Fig. 1). When did pathos appear in Skopas' works: shortly before the middle of the fourth century, or later? As far as I am concerned, I continue to adhere to a dating of the dancing Maenad, as we know from the small copy from Marino (near Rome), to a phase immediately preceding the construction of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassos.³ But this is not the aspect that I would like to discuss on this occasion. It would be more interesting to highlight another facet of Skopas' work, linked to his name through his more or less controversial presence in Samothrace: that is the Archaistic element.

As is evident from recent studies, the direct intervention of Skopas in the sanctuary of Samothrace should be limited to the cult statues, considered as a group of two (Aphrodite and Pothos) or three (with the addition of Phaethon) depending on the different versions of Pliny's manuscripts of the *Naturalis Historia*.⁴ I have already expressed my adherence to Andrew Stewart's first hypothesis, and have not read anything since that would alter my opinion.⁵ In my earlier monograph on Skopas, I omitted a discussion on Samothracian architectural remains, such as the figured coffer-lids and the frieze with the Choral Dance (Fig. 2), but ten years after the publication of the volume, it seems to me appropriate to intervene in relation to this controversial attribution.

As we already know, from the publication of the Samothrace excavations by Phyllis Williams Lehmann,⁶ the name of Skopas has also been put forward for the project and architectural decoration of the place formerly considered a Propylon and today known as the Hall of Choral Dancers.⁷

Undoubtedly, the trace of Skopas, or rather of workers inspired by him, can be seen – particularly – in the face of a male (Fig. 3) which is comparable to the head of a young hunter from the



Figure 1. Marble statue from Marino (Rome), Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden. The most probable copy of the Maenad of Skopas.

east pediment of Tegea (Fig. 4). But the remaining architectural sculptures do not reveal, on first inspection, anything that might suggest Skopas. At least, not the Skopas whom we consider as having been an active sculptor during the middle years of the 4th century BC.

In recent years for many scholars, as for instance for the late Angelos Delivorrias⁹ who has also taken inspiration from Clemente Marconi,¹⁰ the attribution to Skopas of the frieze of young dancing women is no longer tenable. Skopas' influence in Samothrace's sanctuary would seem only to be visible, as far as the element of *pathos* is concerned, in the coffer-lid fragment with a youthful male head referred to above. We do not seem able to recognize Skopas if the element of pathos is absent. Is this the reality, or evidence of our limited thinking on the artist? And what does this mean? Perhaps that we need to put aside the idea of a Skopas attracted by the revival of Archaic forms as also by the accentuated expression of feelings?

Apart from the use of the Doric style in the temple of Tegea,¹¹ Skopas' production also includes sculptures that are traditionally reconstructed by modern archaeological philology as images reminiscent of a past style. Recently, for example, Dora Katsonopoulou¹² has reconsidered the cult statue of Hekate, created by Skopas for the city of Argos as testified by Pausanias, for which a similarity with fetish images of the goddess, known from the representation as Hekate *Triformis* (Fig. 5), might be imagined. The archaistic tradition for the representation of divinities is to be traced back, as we well know, to Alkamenes who, in the Acropolis of Athens, is reported by Pausanias as having been

the author of the Hermes *Propylaios* and also of a Hekate near the temple of Athena Nike, that was called *Epipyrgidia*.¹³ But compared to the primitive form of *xoanon*, how can we imagine the statue to have been made by Skopas?

We only know that in Argos, in the outskirts of the city, in the sanctuary of the goddess Hekate (linked to the world of shadows and the origin of magic), the statue by Skopas was made of marble while the other two statues of the goddess presented in the same temple were made of bronze. Again it is Pausanias who tells us that one was the work of Polykleitos, and the other was by



Figure 2. Frieze with Choral Dancers in archaistic style from the Hall of Choral Dancers, Sanctuary of the Great Gods, Samothrace. Museum of Samothrace.



Figure 3. Coffer lid fragment featuring a male head of Skopaic style, from the Hall of Choral Dancers, Sanctuary of the Great Gods, Samothrace. Museum of Samothrace.



Figure 4. Male head from the east pediment of Athena Alea Temple at Tegea. National Museum, Athens.

Naukides.¹⁴ That one should base the identification of an image of the single-bodied goddess, the statue produced by Skopas for Argos (which, together with the other two, received definite identification), perhaps only through the place of worship in which it was located, is almost desperate. On Argos coins of the Imperial era, we can recognize the iconography of Hekate, but we do not know if it is based on one of the statues recorded by Pausanias and, in any case, on which of the three.¹⁵

The choice of an archaistic style to give shape to particular subjects, may also have influenced the iconography of the Erinyes. We do not have any kind of clue to help us trace the iconography of these two sculptures, made by Skopas in *lychnites*, that is, in Parian marble.¹⁶ We know that they were in Athens in the sanctuary that was located in the cleft in the rock at the foot of the north-east wall of the Areopagus. In the sanctuary, to be considered a fenced natural site, probably without actual architectural structures, there were numerous statues, in addition to the cult triad which was composed by two of Skopas' statues, added either side of the one by Kalamis.¹⁷



Figure 5. Marble group with Hekate Triformis. Archaeological Museum, Sikyon.



Figure 6. 3D printing of terracotta slab with two figures of Kanephoros from the lining of the temple of "Apollo Palatino". Museum of Palatine Hill, Rome.

Moreover, from the testimony of Pausanias,¹⁸ we also know that the goddesses were called Semnai by the Athenians, and Erinyes by Hesiod. In the Roman world they became the Furies. The characterisation that Aeschylus¹⁹ first gave was with snakes in their hair; but the statues created by Skopas were not described by Pausanias as being terrifying in any way. Is this to be understood as the effect of a choice of a neo-Archaic stamp for these primordial female divinities, of formal stiffness then, rather than of *pathos*?

Perhaps we have more of a chance of finding the "Archaizing form" of Skopas in the sculpture of another subject that is recorded by Pliny among the works by him brought to Rome: the statue of the *Kanephoros* that became part of the collection of Gaius Asinius Pollio.²⁰ The delivery of Skopas' *Kanephoros* to Rome must have taken place in the early Augustan age, when the Asinius Pollio collection was established.²¹



Figure 7. Three herms with the "Danaiides", from the area of the temple of Apollo Palatino. Museum of Palatine Hill, Rome.

The presence of Skopas' work in Rome could therefore have influenced the Archaistic fashion of the time. To reconstruct the image of the *Kanephoros* we could then look at the iconography of similar subjects on the terracotta slabs adorning the temple of "Apollo Palatinus"²² (Fig. 6), and also the three herms interpreted as Danaids²³ (Fig. 7), excavated by Pietro Rosa in 1869 in the left arm of the crypto-poriticus that supported the sacred area of the temple of Apollo.

In the Early Imperial age, Skopas appears to have been the most highly regarded sculptor in Rome. Many of his works were already present in the city from the middle-Republican age, but the Augustan age seems to reveal a particular appreciation of the work of this Greek master, given that for the temple of Apollo on the Palatine it was the colossal statue of Apollo²⁴ executed by Skopas for the demos of Rhamnous (Attica) that was chosen, and not the work of others, and that it was the most important cult statue of the time.

In a series of archaistic reliefs, the best of which is preserved in Villa Albani²⁵ (Fig. 8), of the Augustan age, one can see the image of the god Apollo who receives the offer of *Victoria* in front of an altar, placed outside the sacred enclosure of a temple. According to a suggestive interpretation of the scene, the cult images of the Temple of "Apollo Palatinus" would have been represented with the god accompanied by Artemis and Leto, who would come out of the holy place to show everyone the pact of alliance with the *princeps*.²⁶ The Archaism that distinguishes this relief is different from that expressed by the images already referred to regarding a possible derivation from Skopas' *Kanephoros*. It is an Archaism of Ionic inspiration, with subtle shapes, elegant lines and refined attitudes. In particular, if we look at the hands, the articulate position of the fingers, for example, we see a direct reference to the dancing young women of the frieze of Samothrace (Figs. 9, 10).

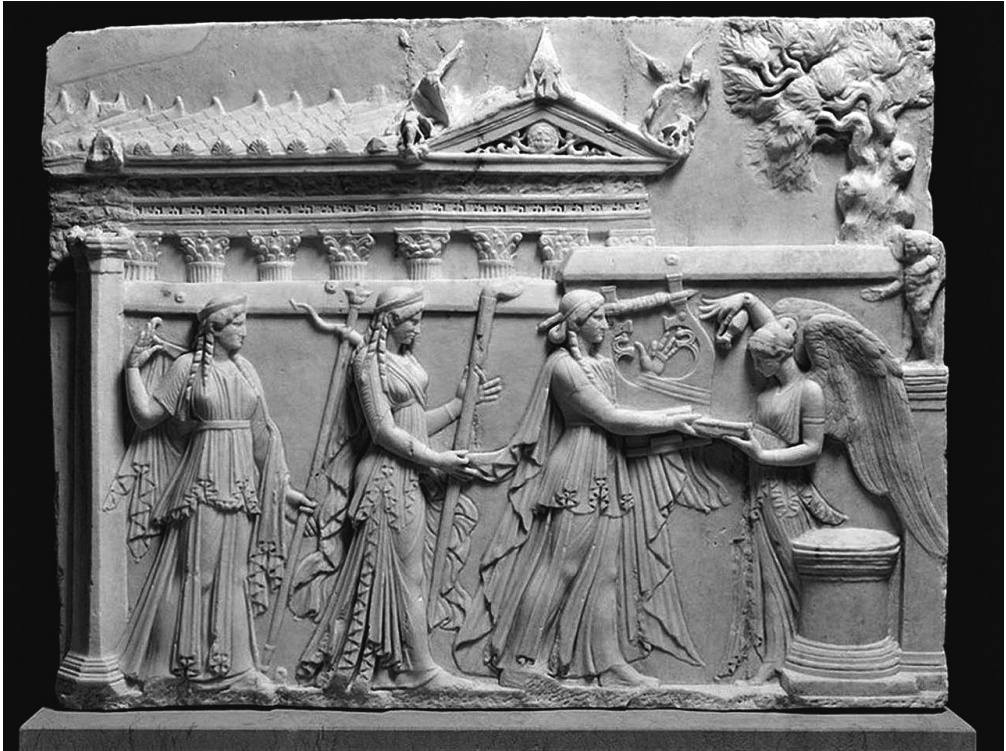


Figure 8. Archaistic marble relief with Apollo, Leto and Artemis, in front of an altar where Nike offers a libation. In the background the temple dedicated by Augustus to Apollo on the Palatine is most probably depicted. Villa Albani, Rome.

In dealing with Skopas as an architect, Poul Pedersen²⁷ has clearly incorporated his projects between the 4th century BC Ionian Renaissance and mainland Greece. And this seems to be the key to understanding the formal difference between Skopas the sculptor and Skopas the architect who also designs architectural decoration.

The problem of Skopas' role (or that of his influence) in connection with Samothrace, the Macedonian court and the subsequent interest expressed by the Romans towards the sanctuary, is also contingent on the fact that – as already reported by Rolley,²⁸ for example –, the dating of the Hall of Choral Dancers seems to depend on stylistic interpretation rather than on stratigraphic data. But the dating of the complex to the third quarter of the 4th century (and therefore a probable connection with the Macedonian court), already proposed by Phyllis Lehmann,²⁹ seems today to be confirmed by subsequent archaeological investigations. The dating of the complex to between 350 and 325 BC,³⁰ which would result from the analysis of the ceramic fragments, would make the frieze with the dancing young women the oldest example of Archaistic relief, and we cannot exclude an effective role of Skopas in its creation, if we consider that the formal variations are in response to the different nature of its commission. But this is a matter that certainly requires discussion.



Figure 9. Detail of the frieze with Choral Dancers in archaic style from the Hall of Choral Dancers, Sanctuary of the Great Gods, Samothrace. Museum of Samothrace.



Figure 10. Detail of the frieze with Choral Dancers in archaic style from the Hall of Choral Dancers, Sanctuary of the Great Gods, Samothrace. Museum of Samothrace.

The experimentation with artistic revival as a form of self-representation and propaganda began, as we know, with Perikles on the Acropolis of Athens.³¹ However, Skopas would appear to be a fundamental transitional figure for the dissemination of the phenomenon, in all likelihood at Samothrace for the ancestral cult of the Great Gods, more surely in Rome. The contemporary vision of Skopas' works, in original or as copies, displayed both the intensity of the movements of the soul, anticipating Hellenism, and the distant composure derived from Archaism (from the Attic and Ionian traditions). He contributed decisively to Augustan art in the sense of giving the images a form capable of suggesting their immanence in the present, or their distance in the past.

NOTES

1. I would like to thank the organizers of the Fifth International Conference on the Archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades (PAROS V), in particular Dora Katsonopoulou, for inviting me.
2. Starting from Ulrichs 1863 until today. An authoritative confirmation of this vision consists, as is well known, by Tatarkiewicz, Petsch 1979, 266 in part.
3. Calcani 2009, 67-70, n. 10.
4. The *status quaestionis*, is critically addressed in Marconi 2010, 106-35; Marconi 2013, 383-91.
5. Stewart 1977, 107-10; Calcani 2009, 106-108, tav. XVI.
6. In particular Lehmann 1973 and 1978.
7. Wescoat 2013, 247-68.
8. Lehmann 1973; Stewart 1977, 70-79; Lehmann 1982, 267-302; Ridgway 1990-2002, 253-58; Westcoat 2013, 260-62; Marconi 2013, 386-87.
9. Delivorrias 2016, 223-39.
10. See note 4.
11. For a recent synthesis, also bibliographic, on this subject, see Østby 2013, 171-90.
12. Katsonopoulou 2016, 211-21.
13. Katsonopoulou 2016, 217-18.
14. Calcani 2009, 64-65, 127, n. 8.
15. Katsonopoulou 2016, 216-18, fig. 4.
16. Pliny *NH* 36.14: Calcani 2009, 55-56, 123-25, n. 3; Katsonopoulou 2016, 216-18. We do not address here the many problems related to the exegesis of Apollo Smintheus, carried out by Skopas in the Troad, but it is clear that it is another of his works for which recourse to the archaizing form is conceivable: Calcani 2009, 71-72, n. 12. On this topic see also Katsonopoulou 2020, 499-500.
17. Calcani 2009, 55, fonti II 3, II 3a, II 3b.
18. Calcani 2009, 124-25, fonti II 3c.
19. Aeschylus, *Choep.* 1048 ss.: Calcani 2009, 55-56.
20. Calcani 2009, 59-60, 122, n. 1, 126, n. 5. On Gaius Asinius Pollio see Domenicucci (ed.) 2012.
21. Becatti 1987, 451-61; La Rocca 1998, 229 ss; Bravi 2012.
22. Carettoni 1972; Strazzulla, 1990; Tomei 1997, 45 ss.
23. Tomei 1990, 35-48; Tomei 1998, 37.
24. Calcani 2009, 56-59, 125-26, n. 4.
25. Polito 1994, 65-100; Cecamore 2002, 123 ss.
26. Zanker 1987; Strazzulla 1990, 111-25.
27. Pedersen 2013, 269-86.
28. Rolley 1999, 272-74.
29. Lehmann 1973 and 1978.
30. Moore 1982, 317, 383-94; McCredie 1994-95, p. 53; Wescoat 2003, 102-16; Wescoat 2010, 5-32; Marconi 2010, 132; Wescoat 2013, 262; Marconi 2013, 387-88.
31. Harrison 1965; Hölsher 1987, 86-88.

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ABSTRACT

SKOPAS OF PAROS: BETWEEN ARCHAISTIC REVIVAL AND ANTICIPATION OF THE HELLENISTIC FORM

Skopas' art is often reduced to a stereotype. The search for *pathos*, in the visible forms of movement and in the tormented expressions of the faces, thus becomes a synthesis of the artist, his "brand". Alongside this line of development in the search for the most effective expression of *pathos*, that is of the aspect that will have greater success during the Hellenistic period, Skopas also cultivates the taste for revival, which leads him to look to the past. His ability to move between the two extremes – innovation and tradition – seems to be subordinated to the different subjects, and the different commissions. But if everything depends on external and contingent factors, what element then distinguishes Skopas' work in the context of the art of his times? The production of Skopas, one of the most complex artists of the fourth century, as we know, seems to include the reference to Archaism precisely within his many-faceted search for the expression of moods, thus demonstrating his creative capacity as a function of context and of each specific artistic commission.

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Ο ΣΚΟΠΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΜΕΣΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΡΧΑΪΣΤΙΚΗ ΑΝΑΒΙΩΣΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΛΛΙΤΕΧΝΙΚΗ ΕΚΦΡΑΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΤΙΚΗΣ ΤΕΧΝΗΣ

Η τέχνη του Σκόπα συχνά αξιολογείται ως στερεότυπο. Η αναζήτηση του πάθους, μέσω της κίνησης και της βασανιστικής έκφρασης στα πρόσωπα, γίνεται κατ' αυτόν τον τρόπο η σύνθεση του καλλιτέχνη, το δικό του 'σήμα κατατεθέν'. Παράλληλα με την αναζήτηση μιας πιο αποτελεσματικής έκφρασης του πάθους, δηλαδή της πλευράς που θα έχει μεγαλύτερη απήχηση κατά την Ελληνιστική περίοδο, ο Σκόπας καλλιέργησε επίσης την κλίση προς την αναβίωση που τον οδήγησε να κοιτάξει προς το παρελθόν. Η ικανότητά του να κινείται ανάμεσα στα δύο άκρα, τον νεωτερισμό και την παράδοση, φαίνεται πως είναι υποταγμένη στα διαφορετικά θέματα και τις διαφορετικές αναθέσεις. Αλλά αν όλα εξαρτώνται από εξωτερικούς και τυχαίους παράγοντες, ποιο είναι το στοιχείο που διακρίνει το έργο του Σκόπα στο πλαίσιο της τέχνης της εποχής του; Η καλλιτεχνική παραγωγή του Σκόπα, ενός από τους πλέον σύνθετους καλλιτέχνες του 4ου αιώνα, όπως γνωρίζουμε, φαίνεται πως περιλαμβάνει την αναφορά στον αρχαϊσμό, ακριβώς στην πολύπλευρη αναζητήσή του για την έκφραση των συναισθηματικών διαθέσεων, αναδεικνύοντας έτσι την δημιουργική του ικανότητα ως συνάρτηση του περιβάλλοντος πλαισίου και κάθε ξεχωριστής καλλιτεχνικής ανάθεσης.

