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Dora Katsonopoulou

## Paros in the Fourth Century BC and the Foundation of Pharos

### Paros u četvrtome stoljeću prije Krista i osnivanje Farosa

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The aftermath of the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC) found the Greek world in a state of general uneasiness, decimation of population, and weakening of political institutions. Soon, new high casualties were caused by the Corinthian War (395–387 BC). The peace imposed in 386 BC, brought autonomy for the Greek states of the mainland and most of the islands but new conflicts arose again, first upon the ascendancy of Thebes to power following the battle at Leuktra (371 BC), and after the middle of the century under the new rising power of Philip of Macedonia.

In the paper, the political and socio-economic conditions of Paros during this period will be described, especially in the first half of the century when the colony of Pharos was founded in the Adriatic Sea. Secondly, the new building projects and artistic production in the city of Paros and other areas of the island will be presented in connection with Pharos' foundation and the possible purposes served by such a colonial enterprise of the Parians. Finally, possible trade interactions and links among all three major Parian colonies in the Mediterranean will be considered.

**Keywords:** Paros, Fourth century BC, Pharos, The Adriatic Sea, The Aegean

Nakon Peloponeskog rata (431. – 404. g. pr. Kr.) grčki se svijet našao u stanju sveopće uznemirenosti uz desetkovano pučanstvo i slabljenje političkih institucija. Ubrzo je Korintski rat (395. – 387. g. pr. Kr.) izazvao novi veliki broj žrtava. Mir nametnut 386. g. pr. Kr. donio je autonomiju grčkim kopnenim državama i većini otoka, ali opet su izbili novi sukobi, najprije slijedom tebanske prevlasti nakon bitke kod Leuktre (371. g. pr. Kr.), a poslije sredine stoljeća zbog sve većeg jačanja Filipa Makedonskoga.

U radu su opisani politički i društveno-gospodarski uvjeti Parosa tijekom navedenog razdoblja, posebno u prvoj polovici stoljeća, kada je na Jadranu osnovana kolonija Faros. Povrh toga, predstavljeni su novi građevinski projekti i umjetnička proizvodnja u gradu Parosu i na drugim područjima otoka u vezi s osnivanjem Farosa i mogućim nakanama koje su Parani imali glede takvih kolonija. Na koncu, razmotrene su moguće trgovinske interakcije i veze svih triju glavnih parskih kolonija na Mediteranu.

**Ključne riječi:** Paros, četvrto stoljeće pr. Kr., Faros, Jadransko more, Egej



## Introduction

To place Paros within the general historical frame of the Greek world in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC and examine the political and socio-economic conditions prevailed on the island, especially during the first half of the century when the Parians founded Pharos in the Adriatic Sea, I would like to begin by shortly reviewing Greek history in the period following the aftermath of the Peloponnesian War.

At the end of the war in 404 BC, the Greek world was left in a state of general uneasiness, decimation of population, and weakening of political institutions. Soon, new high casualties were caused by another war known as the Corinthian War (395–387 BC), broken out as Sparta tried with Persian help to compete with the combined forces of Athens, Corinth, Thebes and other states. The peace imposed in 386 BC upon the war's conclusion, brought autonomy for the Greek states of the mainland and most of the islands but new conflicts arose again. The ascendancy of Thebes to power following the battle at Leuktra (371 BC) reinforced regional alliances and the Arcadian League was formed in central and southern Arcadia with a new capital, Megalopolis. However, the death of the great leader of Thebes, Epameinondas, in Mantinea in 362 BC, led to the dissolution of the League. By the middle of the century the new rising power of the North under Philip of Macedonia had achieved domination in the Greek world. Following the defeat of the united armies of the Greek states at Chaeronea in 338 BC, Philip's supremacy was complete.

Paros, during this period and shortly after the end of the Peloponnesian war, fell for several years into a narrow oligarchy. With Athenian military aid, democracy was restored on the island probably in 393 BC.<sup>1</sup> Sixteen years later, following the revival of the Second Athenian League in 378/377 BC, Paros joined again the confederacy. The island was included in the First Athenian League as well, but during the Peloponnesian War the Parians attempted to shake off Athenian domination, without success. As a result, they were imposed with a higher tribute to Athens compared to the rest of the allies. With the exception of another brief rebellion from the League in 373 BC, the island seems to have enjoyed generally calmness and democracy for most of the first half of the century. Paros' economy on the other hand, after the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC and into the early years of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC seems to have been negatively affected due to (a) the rise of Athenian workshops as a result of the systematic marble quarrying in Attica, (b) the commercial limitations and high tribute imposed by the Athenian League, and (c) the economic decline of the cities of Ionia with whom Paros had developed close contacts.

## Uvod

U cilju smještanja Parosa u opći povijesni okvir grčkoga svijeta u četvrtome stoljeću pr. Kr. i istraživanja političkih i društveno-gospodarskih uvjeta koji su prevladavali na otoku, posebice tijekom prve polovice navedenog stoljeća, kada su Parani osnovali Faros na Jadranskom moru, najprije bih iznijela kratak pregled grčke povijesti u razdoblju nakon Peloponeskog rata.

Na kraju rata 404. g. pr. Kr. grčki se svijet našao u stanju sveopće uznemirenosti, uz desetkovano stanovništvo i slabljenje političkih institucija. Ubrzo je pao velik broj novih žrtava u još jednom, Korintskom ratu (395. – 387. g. pr. Kr.), koji je izbio kada se Sparta uz perzijsku pomoć pokušala nadmetati sa združenim snagama Atene, Korinta, Tebe i drugih država. Mir nametnut 386. g. pr. Kr. po okončanju rata donio je autonomiju grčkim državama na kopnu i na većini otoka, no ubrzo su izbili novi sukobi. Početak hegemonije Tebe nakon bitke kod Leuktre (371. g. pr. Kr.) ojačao je regionalna udruživanja te je u središnjoj i južnoj Arkadiji osnovan Arkadijski savez, s novim glavnim gradom Megalopolisom. Međutim, smrt Epameinonde, velikoga vođe Tebe, u Mantineji 362. g. pr. Kr., izazvala je raspad Saveza. Sredinom stoljeća nova sjeverna sila pod Filipom Makedonskim ostvarila je dominaciju u grčkome svijetu. Nakon poraza ujedinjenih vojnih snaga grčkih država kod Koroneje 338. g. pr. Kr., Filipova dominacija bila je potpuna.

Paros je tijekom navedenog razdoblja i ubrzo nakon konca Peloponeskog rata na nekoliko godina potpao pod vlast oligarhije. Demokracija je uz vojnu pomoć Atene na otoku obnovljena vjerojatno 393. g. pr. Kr.<sup>1</sup> Šesnaest godina kasnije, nakon osnivanja Drugoga atenskog saveza 378./377. g. pr. Kr., Paros se ponovno pridružio konfederaciji. Otok je bio uključen i u Delski savez, ali Parani su se tijekom Peloponeskoga rata pokušali osloboditi atenske dominacije, no u tome nisu uspjeli. Zbog toga im je nametnut veći danak Ateni u odnosu na ostale saveznike. Izuzme li se još jedna kraća pobuna protiv Saveza 373. g. pr. Kr., čini se da je otok u većemu dijelu prve polovice stoljeća uglavnom uživao u miru i demokraciji. S druge strane, čini se da je gospodarstvo Parosa nakon sredine petoga stoljeća pr. Kr. i na samome početku četvrtoga stoljeća pr. Kr. bilo pod negativnim utjecajima zbog: (a) uspona atenskih radionica zahvaljujući sustavnom vađenju mramora u Atici, (b) trgovinskih ograničenja i velikoga danka koji je nametnuo Atenski savez i (c) gospodarskoga pada jonskih gradova s kojima je Paros održavao bliske kontakte.

Paros je u arhajskome razdoblju zapravo bio vodeće središte visoke umjetničke produkcije u egejskom svijetu, s razvijenim trgovinskim odnosima i bliskim vezama s Malom Azijom, posebice Miletom, kao i sa sjevernim i istočnim područjima

<sup>1</sup> Lanzillotta 1987, pp. 127–154; Tandy 2013, pp. 65–67.

<sup>1</sup> Lanzillotta 1987, str. 127–154; Tandy 2013, str. 65–67.

Indeed, Paros in the Archaic period was a leading center in high artistic production in the Aegean world and had developed commercial relations and close ties with Asia Minor, especially Miletos, also in the North and farther East via her earlier colonies, Thasos in the North Aegean and Parion in the Propontis. Paros itself constituted a significant commercial port in the route to the South, as suggested by pottery from Naukratis and other Egyptian items discovered on the island.<sup>2</sup> Economy was strong primarily based on the exploitation of the island's unique marble extracted already in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. Especially in the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC, statues of kouroi and korai carved out of Parian marble by local sculptors started to be exported, gradually expelling from the trade market the Naxian marble as indicated by the strong presence of Parian works in the most important sanctuary of the Cyclades, Delos. Parian workshops and craftsmen were indeed very busy in the Archaic and early Classical periods producing marvellous sculptures not only in Paros itself but also outside the country, in other Cycladic islands including the sanctuary on Delos, Attica and the Greek mainland. Parian marble was extensively used for statues, architectural sculptures and ornamentation of temples and public buildings in the major Greek sanctuaries: Acropolis of Athens, Delphi and Olympia; even beyond to Magna Graecia in the West and Cyrene in Libya of Africa.<sup>3</sup>

In the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> and the early years of the 4<sup>th</sup> centuries, a gradual drop is observed in such activities and Parian artistic production.<sup>4</sup> The picture seems to change again toward a new period of prosperity from the second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century on, as shown by new building activity on the island and the undertaking of at least one major architectural project in the capital city of Paros (see below, the Prytaneion).

### Paros in the Fourth Century BC

Thanks to research work conducted in Paros in recent years by the late German architect G. Gruben, rich data were collected regarding the architecture of the ancient city and especially the erection of the Prytaneion, an ambitious project realised in the second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC by one of the most illustrious artists of Paros, Skopas the architect and sculptor.<sup>5</sup>

On the basis of Classical architectural members re-used in the Byzantine church of Ekatontapyliani in Paros and the

preko svojih ranijih kolonija, Tasosom u sjevernom Egejskom moru i Parionom u Mramornome moru. Sâm Paros bio je značajna trgovačka luka na putu prema jugu, na što upućuje keramika iz Naukratisa i drugi egipatski predmeti otkriveni na otoku.<sup>2</sup> Gospodarstvo je bilo snažno razvijeno ponajprije na osnovama vađenja jedinstvenog otočnog mramora već od sedmoga stoljeća pr. Kr. Poglavitno je u šestome stoljeću pr. Kr. započeo izvoz kipova kurosa i kora, koje su lokalni kipari klesali od parskoga mramora, čime je postupno s tržišta istisnut naksijski mramor, na što ukazuje snažna prisutnost parskih djela u najvažnijem svetištu Ciklada, Delosu. Parske radionice i majstori imali su pune ruke posla u arhajskom i ranom klasičnom razdoblju. Stvarali su izvanredne skulpture ne samo u Parosu već i izvan njega, na drugim Ciklaskim otocima, uključujući najznačajnije svetište na Delosu, Atiku i grčko kopno. Parski mramor intenzivno je korišten za kipove, arhitektonsku plastiku i dekorativne elemente hramova i javnih zgrada u glavnim grčkim svetištima – atenskoj akropoli, Delfima i Olimpiji – pa čak i sve do Velike Grčke na zapadu i Cirene u Libiji na sjeveru Afrike.<sup>3</sup>

U drugoj polovici petoga i na samome početku četvrtoga stoljeća primjetan je postupan pad navedenih aktivnosti i parske umjetničke produkcije.<sup>4</sup> Situacija se čini se ponovno promijenila od druge četvrtine četvrtoga stoljeća nadalje, nastupom novoga razdoblja prosperiteta, o čemu svjedoče nove građevinske aktivnosti na otoku i barem jedan veći arhitektonski projekt u glavnom gradu Parosu (vidi u nastavku: pritanej).

### Paros u četvrtome stoljeću pr. Kr.

Posljednjih je godina u sklopu istraživačkog rada pokojnoga njemačkog arhitekta G. Grubena na Parosu prikupljena opsežna količina podataka o arhitekturi antičkoga grada, a posebno o izgradnji pritaneja, ambicioznoga projekta realiziranog u drugoj četvrtini četvrtog stoljeća pr. Kr., čiji je autor jedan od najglavovitijih umjetnika s Parosa, arhitekt i kipar Skopa.<sup>5</sup>

Gruben je na temelju klasičnih arhitektonskih elemenata koji su ponovno upotrijebljeni u bizantskoj crkvi Ekatontapyliani u Parosu i porušenoj crkvi sv. Stjepana (*Agios Stephanos*) u Naksosu rekonstruirao Hestijin hram u sklopu pritaneja, izgrađen u blizini gradske agore. Hram je prema njegovoj rekonstrukciji imao peristil u jonskome stilu. Na jednoj od njegovih

2 Koupάγιος 2008, pp. 386, 402.

3 See especially on Selinous: Gàbrici 1933, pp. 221–225; Gàbrici 1956, pp. 276–281; Marconi 1994. On Segesta: Miles 2019; De Cesare, Landenius Enegren 2017. On Cyrene: Fabbricotti 2003; Luni 2003; Lazzarini, Luni 2010, pp. 191–192. On Syracuse: Mertens 2006, pp. 268–273; Lazzarini, Basile 2012, pp. 17, 30. On Gela: Heiden 1998; Mertens 2006, pp. 273–276.

4 Koupάγιος 2013, pp. 93–96.

5 Katsonopoulou, Stewart 2013.

2 Koupάγιος 2008, str. 386, 402.

3 Vidi posebno o Selinuntu: Gàbrici 1933, str. 221–225; Gàbrici 1956, str. 276–281; Marconi 1994. O Segesti: Miles 2019; De Cesare, Landenius Enegren 2017. O Cireni: Fabbricotti 2003; Luni 2003; Lazzarini, Luni 2010, str. 191–192. O Sirakuzi: Mertens 2006, str. 268–273; Lazzarini, Basile 2012, str. 17, 30. O Geli: Heiden 1998; Mertens 2006, str. 273–276.

4 Koupάγιος 2013, str. 93–96.

5 Katsonopoulou, Stewart 2013.

ruined church of Agios Stephanos in Naxos, Gruben reconstructed the temple of Hestia included in the Prytaneion, built near the Agora of the city. According to his reconstruction, the temple had an Ionic peristyle. On one of its narrow sides was a rectangular niche, 3.60 m wide, transformed into an apsis probably already during the building process to house the cult statue of Hestia made by Skopas. After the middle of the century an altar and a tholos, later incorporated into the Venetian castle of Paroikia, Paros' capital, were added to the complex.<sup>6</sup> The Prytaneion of Paros, where new and pioneering ideas were designed and realised suggesting a revolutionary artistic mind behind its conception, was in all probability the earliest architectural work of Skopas before he undertook the rebuilding of the great temple at Tegea in the Peloponnese and other projects in Asia Minor. Gruben proposed that the erection of such a monumental building in Paros could be associated with the re-joining of the island in the revived Athenian League and would thus be placed in the decade ca 375–365 BC.<sup>7</sup>

Two other sanctuaries built on the island in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC have been brought to light in modern Paroikia, dedicated to Apollo Pythios and the god of healing, Asklepios, respectively. The Asklepieion was built on a lower level under the sanctuary of Apollo, near a spring, as fitting to the god's worship. With this Doric temple, is most probably associated a fine marble head of Asklepios in Parian lychnites, found reused in one of the supporting walls of the Ekatontapyliani church in Paroikia during restoration work. The head belongs to a slightly over life-size statue and represents a fine example of a pathetic depiction of the god closely resembling representations in the well-known Skopaic style of pathos. As I have recently proposed<sup>8</sup>, the work can be associated with a 4<sup>th</sup> century workshop following Skopas' style on the island and should be considered the first among a series of pathetic Asklepios heads that became known from the later 4<sup>th</sup> century BC on and into the following Hellenistic period.

In the building activity of this period could also be included, a small Doric temple with altars added to the Archilocheion probably located in the area of the river Elitas outside the town of Paroikia, and another Doric temple at the location of Marmara in southern Paros. Within the city, the Archaic temple of Kore to which Gruben attributed certain architectural parts embedded in the walls of the Venetian castle, was restored and embellished with new sculptures according to inscriptional evidence (IG XII 5, 227.). At various locations in modern Paroikia, excavations brought to light archaeological sites of interest dated to this period: sculpture workshops with activities going back to the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the remains of a public

kraćih strana nalazila se pravokutna niša širine 3,60 m, pretvorena u apsidu vjerojatno već tijekom same izgradnje radi smještanja kulturnoga kipa Hestije koji je izradio Skopa. Nakon sredine stoljeća kompleksu su dodani oltar i tolos, kasnije ugrađeni u mletački dvorac u Parikiji, glavnome gradu Parosa.<sup>6</sup> Parski pritanej, za koji su osmišljene i realizirane nove i pionirske ideje koje upućuju na revolucionarni umjetnički duh koji stoji iza njegova koncepta, po svoj je prilici bilo prvo Skopino arhitektonsko djelo prije nego što je započeo obnovu velikoga hrama u Tegeji na Peloponezu i druge projekte u Maloj Aziji. Gruben je sugerirao da bi podizanje takve monumentalne građevine u Parosu moglo biti povezano s ponovnim pridruživanjem otoka obnovljenom Atenskom savezu te bi stoga bilo datirano u desetljeće oko 375. – 365. g. pr. Kr.<sup>7</sup>

U današnjoj Parikiji otkrivena su još dva svetišta izgrađena na otoku u četvrtome stoljeću pr. Kr. Jedno je posvećeno Pitijском Apolonu, a drugo bogu liječničkog umijeća Asklepiju. Asklepieion je izgrađen na nižoj razini, odnosno ispod Apolonova svetišta, u blizini izvora, kako to dolikuje bogoštovanju. S tim dorskim hramom najvjerojatnije je povezana lijepa mramorna glava Asklepija od parskog lihna, pronađena tijekom restauratorskih radova kao spolij u jednom od potpornih zidova crkve Ekatontapyliani u Parikiji. Glava pripada kipu nešto krupnijem od prirodne veličine i lijep je primjer patetičnoga prikaza boga vrlo nalik onima s poznatim patosom u stilu Skope. Kao što sam nedavno sugerirala<sup>8</sup>, to se djelo može povezati s nekom otočnom radionicom iz četvrtog stoljeća koja se držala Skopina stila, a valja ga smatrati prvim u nizu patetičnih glava Asklepija poznatih iz doba od kasnoga četvrtog stoljeća pr. Kr. sve do sljedećega helenističkog razdoblja.

U građevinsku djelatnost navedenog razdoblja mogao bi se uvrstiti i mali dorski hram s oltarima dodanim arhiloheju, vjerojatno smještenom na području rijeke Elitas izvan grada Parikije, kao i još jedan dorski hram na položaju Marmare na jugu Parosa. Prema epigrafskim dokazima (IG XII 5, 227.) u samome gradu obnovljen je Korin arhajski hram, kojemu je Gruben pripisao određene arhitektonske dijelove ugrađene u zidove venecijanskog dvorca, a usto je ukrašen novim skulpturama. Iskopavanja na različitim lokacijama u današnjoj Parikiji iznijela su na vidjelo arheološka nalazišta zanimljiva za navedeno razdoblje: kiparske radionice aktivne još od četvrtog stoljeća, ostatke javnog zdanja ili svetišnog prostora, uključujući visokokvalitetne skulpture iz kasnoga petog stoljeća. Sredinom četvrtog stoljeća na ulazu u jedan od podzemnih kamenoloma mramora na Parosu postavljen je reljef koji je nimfama posvetio Adamas Odryses.<sup>9</sup>

6 Gruben 1999, pp. 310–311, Figs. 7–8.

7 Gruben 1999, p. 311.

8 Katsonopoulou 2019, pp. 49–51, Fig. 1.

6 Gruben 1999, str. 310–311, sl. 7–8.

7 Gruben 1999, str. 311.

8 Katsonopoulou 2019, str. 49–51, sl. 1.

9 Bruno 2000, str. 92–93.

edifice or sanctuary area, including high quality sculptures from the late 5<sup>th</sup> century. Around the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the relief of the Nymphs dedicated by an Adamas Odryses was placed at the entrance of one of the underground marble quarries in Paros.<sup>9</sup>

### Pharos and Paros

The major building and artistic activities observed in the 4<sup>th</sup> century Paros seem to have taken place after the foundation of Pharos (385/4 BC) and Paros' re-joining in the Athenian League (378/7 BC). Usually either overpopulation problems or political conflicts are suggested as main reasons for the foundation of a colony. Pharos was founded more than 300 years later than the earlier colony of Paros, Parion in the Propontis (ca. 709 BC). The foundation of the colony in the Adriatic falls in between two significant political events in Paros, marked by a *stasis* (uprising): first in 393 BC when Athenian intervention put an end to the Spartan claim over Paros and its oligarchic government, and secondly in 373 BC when the Parians tried once again unsuccessfully to quit from the Athenian League. It seems that a struggle over Paros between Athens and Sparta did not cease in these years and was still going on with intervals a short time before the new colony was sent to Dalmatia.

On the other hand, given Paros' economy decline in the late 5<sup>th</sup> /early 4<sup>th</sup> centuries compared to the thriving of the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, additional political turbulence on the island could only contribute to further decrease. Looking for new opportunities to strengthen the economy, the idea of creating a market place for trading goods in the West, could have come as complementary since such an idea was familiar to the Parians from the time of the foundation of their earlier colonies in the Northern Aegean, Thrace and the Black Sea. Besides, it appears that the Parians had attempted a colonial movement in the Adriatic through the foundation of Anchiata even earlier (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀγχιάλη). The foundation of Pharos, positioned in a fitting location in the Adriatic could well serve such a commercial purpose of the Parians who, at the time, continued to keep their good relations with Thasos and had developed close contacts with Chios, a rich island then due to its wide commerce, as attested by inscriptional evidence dated to the first half of the century (IG XII 5, 112.).

At this point, the referred Greek trade in Dalmatia by ancient sources and presence of Chian, Thasian and Lesbian pottery exchanged with Corcyrean in a common market by merchants from the Black Sea (Strabo 7. 5. 9; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4. 551.), is of particular interest and would seem to imply communication and possibly a trade route between East and West along the line, where the three Parian colonies are located

### Faros i Paros

Čini se da su se glavne građevinske i umjetničke aktivnosti u Parosu tijekom četvrtog stoljeća odvijale nakon osnutka Farosa (385./384. g. pr. Kr.) i ponovnog pridruživanja Parosa Atenskome savezu (378./377. g. pr. Kr.). Obično se kao glavni razlozi za osnivanje kolonije navode ili problemi s prenaseljenošću ili politički sukobi. Faros je osnovan više od 300 godina nakon prijašnje parske kolonije Parion na Mramornome moru (oko 709. g. pr. Kr.). Kolonija na Jadranu osnovana je između dva značajna politička događaja u Parosu, koje je obilježila pobuna (*stasis*): prvi se zbio 393. g. pr. Kr., kada je atenska intervencija okončala Spartino prisvajanje Parosa i njezinu oligarhijsku vladu, a drugi 373. g. pr. Kr., kada su Parani još jednom bezuspješno pokušali napustiti Atenski savez. Čini se da borba između Atene i Sparte oko Parosa nije jenjala tijekom tih godina te je sporadično trajala i nedugo prije slanja nove kolonije u Dalmaciju.

S druge strane, s obzirom na pad gospodarstva Parosa koncem petoga/početkom četvrtoga stoljeća u odnosu na procvat u prvoj polovici petoga stoljeća, dodatna politička previranja na otoku mogla su samo pridonijeti daljnjoj stagnaciji. U potrazi za novim prigodama u cilju jačanja gospodarstva ideja stvaranja tržišta za trgovinu robom na Zapadu mogla se prikazati kao dobro dopunsko rješenje, Paranima već poznato iz doba osnivanja njihovih prijašnjih kolonija u Sjevernom Egeju, Traciji i na Crnome moru. Povrh toga, čini se da su Parani već i prije bili pokušali kolonizirati Jadran osnivanjem naseobine *Anchiata* (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀγχιάλη). Osnivanje Farosa, smještenoga na prikladnoj lokaciji na Jadranu, moglo je poslužiti komercijalnoj svrsi Parana, koji su u to doba i dalje održavali dobre odnose s Tasosom i razvili bliske kontakte s Hiosom, tada bogatim otokom zbog svoje raširene trgovine, o čemu svjedoče natpisi datirani u prvu polovicu stoljeća (IG XII 5, 112.).

U ovome je trenutku posebno zanimljiva grčka trgovina u Dalmaciji spomenuta u antičkim izvorima i prisutnost hioške, tasoške i lezboške keramike, koju su trgovci s Crnoga mora razmjenjivali s Korkiranima na zajedničkome tržištu (Strabon 7. 5. 9; Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 4. 551.), budući da to podrazumijeva komunikaciju i moguću trgovačku rutu između Istoka i Zapada na pravcu na kojemu su se nalazile tri parske kolonije (slika 1.). Hios, Tasos i Lezbos su u četvrtome stoljeću pr. Kr. bili vrlo komercijalno aktivni u istočnom Egeju i imali su siguran pristup Crnome moru preko hioške kolonije Maroneje i naselja Lezbijaca u Ainosu i Hersonezu. Spominjanje emporija smještenoga na udaljenosti od 80 stadija od mora u vezi s lokacijom Farosa i rijekom Naron u *periplu* (Ps. Skilak 24) čini se u skladu s podacima iz drugih izvora o grčkoj trgovini u Dalmaciji.

Kako god, čini se da arheološka građa iz Farosa ne ide u prilog slici koju tvore literarni izvori. Međutim, postoji i jedna važna iznimka. Naime, među farskim amforama s pečatom pronađena je i jedna tasoška s natpisom Ἀρχ[έστ]ρα(τος) Λάμυ/ο(ς) Θας[ίω]ν], datirana u razdoblje oko 360. g. pr. Kr.

9 Bruno 2000, pp. 92–93.

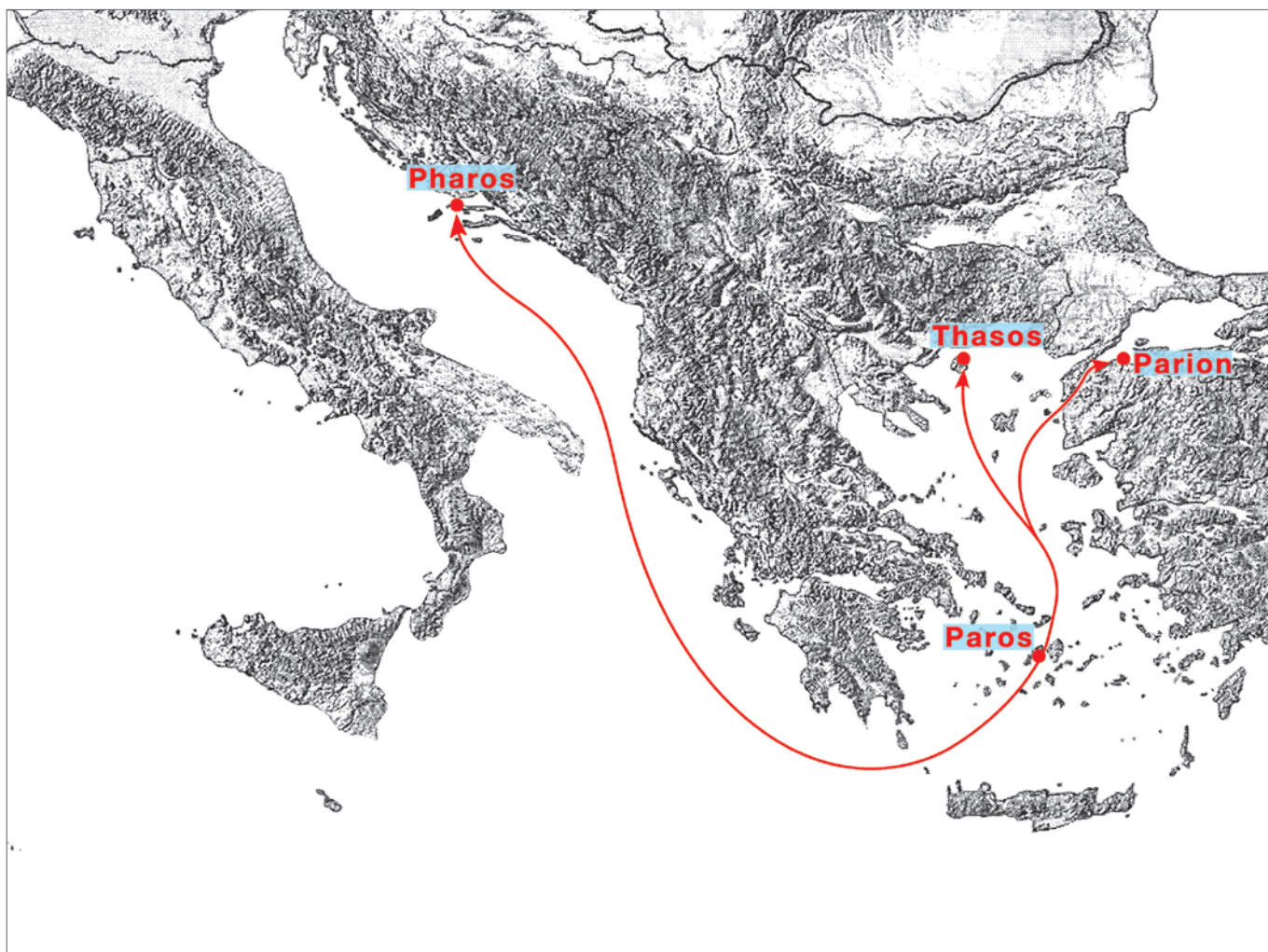


Figure 1.  
Map of the Mediterranean showing the locations of Paros and its colonies

Slika 1.  
Karta Sredozemlja s prikazom položaja Parosa i njegovih kolonija

(Figure 1). Chios, Thasos and Lesbos in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC were very active commercially in the eastern Aegean and had secured access to the Black Sea via Maroneia (Chios' colony) and settlements of the Lesbians at Ainos and Chersonesos. The mention of an emporion, 80 stadia from the sea in connection with Pharos' location and the river Naron in the *Periplus* (Ps. Scylax 24), seems to well agree with the information provided by other sources about Greek trade in Dalmatia.

Archaeological evidence though from Pharos does not seem to support the picture one gets from the literary sources. With one important exception: the discovery among the stamped amphorae sherds from Pharos of a Thasian one bearing an inscription reading 'Αρχ[έστ/ρα(τος) Λάμι/ο(ς) Θας/ών]', dated ca 360 BC on the basis of the annual official's name.<sup>10</sup> The find is exceptional, indeed, found so far west from

na temelju imena godišnjeg službenika.<sup>10</sup> Taj je nalaz doista izniman, budući da je otkriven na tolikoj udaljenosti od Tasosa prema zapadu. Premda su dosadašnja iskopavanja u Farosu bila krajnje ograničena, pregled arheoloških podataka s nalazišta sugerira da je parska naseobina u Farosu bila dobro organizirana i uživala potporu matičnoga grada, a sve s namjerom usmjerenosti na izvoz.<sup>11</sup> Na bliski kontakt metropole i kolonije ukazuje i farski novac s usvojenim parskim prikazom kože na naličju od samih početaka njegova kovanja u četvrtome stoljeću pr. Kr. te dalje u trećemu stoljeću pr. Kr.<sup>12</sup> S obzirom na ideju o tržištu koju su Parani već odavno promicali u Sjevernom Egeju<sup>13</sup> preko svojih prijašnjih kolonija (na Tasosu i tračka pe-

10 Kirigin 2018, str. 404, sl. 11.

11 Kirigin 2018.

12 Kirigin 2003, str. 26–28.

13 Uglavnom u vezi s keramikom, amforama za trgovinu i poljodjelskim proizvodima. S druge strane, Paros je vjerojatno nabavljao

10 Kirigin 2018, p. 404, Fig. 11.

Thasos. And although excavations in Pharos have been so far extremely limited, a review of the archaeological data from its site suggests that the Parian establishment in Pharos was well organised and supported by the mother-city, intended to be export-oriented.<sup>11</sup> The close contact between the metropolis and the colony is also shown by Pharos' coinage, which has adopted the Parian emblem of the goat on the reverse of its coins since its beginnings in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, continuing into the following 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC.<sup>12</sup> Given the trade market idea advanced by the Parians in the Northern Aegean<sup>13</sup> long ago via their earlier colonies on Thasos and the Thracian *peraia*, their presence in Pharos in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC might signify the realisation of the idea of creating an analogous marketplace in the West. If such trading activities took place in this region in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, Pharos thus playing a significant role, the great profit from such an enterprise of the Parians should be evident. Kirigin estimates that the income from exporting wine alone could have been enormous but also rightly he notes that "not even a decorative fragment from a public building" has been found in Pharos, "no traces of Parian marble, no traces of an agora, a theatre or a stoa, a temple, that could represent the results of this trade activity and wealth".<sup>14</sup>

Where was, then, this profit and wealth directed to? Interestingly, a reflection of such a wealth can be observed when we turn to Paros itself. The new building activity testified on the island in the years following the foundation of Pharos as opposed to the years preceding it, marks a new period of prosperity for the metropolis. As discussed above, several ambitious projects were realised in Paros between 375–350 BC: the Prytaneion of the city including the temple of Hestia, the creation of the cult statue of the goddess by Skopas, the building of the Asklepieion and the construction of Asklepios' cult image, the erection of a new temple to Apollo Pythios, most probably at the site where an earlier Archaic phase of a sanctuary existed. Contemporary with the temple of Apollo Pythios must have been the Doric temple in Marmara, referred to as its "brother".<sup>15</sup> Especially, the new temple dedicated to the god of oracles could be possibly associated with the new colonial enterprise of Paros in the Adriatic. As Diodoros mentions (15.13), the Parians founded Pharos on the basis of an oracle, no doubt, of a Delphic one. Further, Parian ambassadors were sent to Delphi to ask which god should be worshipped for the sake of their colony upon reconstruction of Pharos after the second Illyrian war.<sup>16</sup>

*raia*), njihova prisutnost u Farosu u četvrtome stoljeću pr. Kr. mogla bi predstavljati ostvarenje ideje o stvaranju istovrsnoga tržišta na Zapadu. Ako se takvo trgovanje odvijalo u toj regiji u četvrtome stoljeću pr. Kr., pri čemu je Faros na taj način imao značajnu ulogu, velika dobit od takvoga poduzetništva Parana trebala bi biti očita. Kirigin procjenjuje da je samo prihod od izvoza vina morao biti golem, ali također s pravom primjećuje da u Farosu nije pronađen „čak ni neki ukrasni ulomak javnoga zdanja”, te da „nema tragova parskog mramora, nema tragova agore, teatra ili stoe, hrama, a koji bi mogli predstavljati plodove trgovanja i bogatstva”.<sup>14</sup>

Kamo su onda usmjereni dobit i bogatstvo? Zanimljivo je da se odraz takvog bogatstva može primijetiti na samome Parosu. Nove osvjedočene građevinske aktivnosti na otoku tijekom godina nakon osnivanja Farosa, za razliku od godina koje su mu prethodile, označavaju novo razdoblje blagostanja metropole. Kao što je ranije rečeno, u Parosu je između 375. i 350. g. pr. Kr. realizirano nekoliko ambicioznih projekata: gradski pritanej, uključujući Hestijin hram i Skopino djelo kulturnoga kipa božice, izgradnja asklepiona i kulturnoga prikaza Asklepija, kao i podizanje novoga hrama Pitijskog Apolona, najvjerojatnije na mjestu gdje je postojala ranija arhajska inačica svetišta. Hramu Pitijskog Apolona vjerojatno je istovremen i dorski hram u Marmari, koji su nazivali njegovim "bratom".<sup>15</sup> Poglavitito bi s novom paroškom kolonizacijom na Jadranu mogao biti povezan novi hram posvećen bogu proroštva. Prema Diodoru (15.13), Parani su osnovali Faros na temelju nekog proročanstva, nedvojbeno delfskoga. Slijedom toga u Delfe su poslani parski poklisari kako bi pitali kojeg boga trebaju štovati za dobrobit njihove kolonije nakon obnove Farosa po okončanju Drugoga ilirskog rata.<sup>16</sup>

Zaključno, cjelovita slika koja proizlazi iz potvrđenih umjetničkih i građevinskih djelatnosti na Parosu, poglavito u drugoj četvrtini četvrtoga stoljeća pr. Kr., sugerira da je gospodarstvo otoka poboljšano u razdoblju nakon osnutka Farosa u Dalmaciji. U tome je čini se udjela imao i politički mir koji je trajao gotovo tijekom cijeloga razdoblja. Moguće protjerivanje političkih protivnika koje su provodile pobjedničke pristaše filospartanske stranke na otoku u vrijeme osnutka Farosa u kombinaciji s potrebom za pronalaženjem novih trgovinskih mogućnosti radi suočavanja s financijskom krizom mogli su biti valjani razlozi za poduzimanje nove kolonizacije. Na koncu, čini se da je metropola od toga i profitirala.

**Prijevod / Translation:** Denis Gracin

11 Kirigin 2018.

12 Kirigin 2003, pp. 26–28.

13 Mainly pottery, trade amphorae and agricultural goods. On the other hand, Paros probably acquired the ore for her early silver coinage from Thasos' mines (Sheedy 1996, pp. 280–281).

14 Kirigin 2018, p. 407.

15 Ohnesorg 2013, p. 151.

16 Robert 1960.

rudu za svoj rani srebrni novac iz rudnika na Tasosu (Sheedy 1996, str. 280–281).

14 Kirigin 2018, str. 407.

15 Ohnesorg 2013, str. 151.

16 Robert 1960.



In conclusion, the whole picture emerging from the attested artistic and building activity in Paros, primarily in the second quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC suggests that the island's economy improved in the period following Pharos' foundation in Dalmatia. Political calmness for most of this time also seems to have contributed. The possible send away of political opponents by the victorious supporters of the philo-Spartan party on the island at the time of Pharos' foundation, together with the need to find new trading opportunities in order to face a financial crisis could well be good reasons to undertake a new colonial movement. After all, the metropolis appears to have profited from this.

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