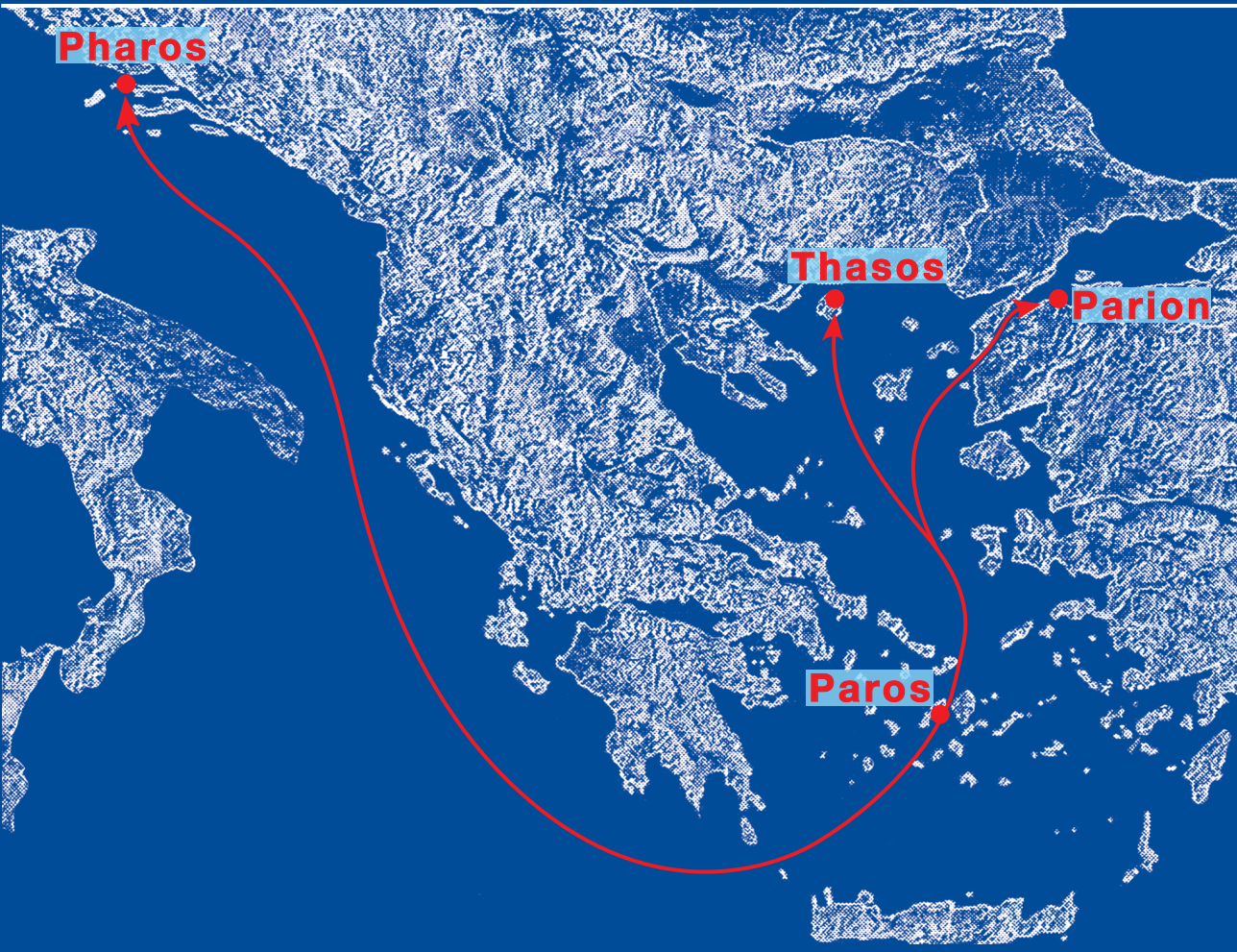


PAROS IV

Η ΠΑΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΑΠΟΙΚΙΕΣ ΤΗΣ PAROS AND ITS COLONIES



Edited by

Dora Katsonopoulou

ΑΘΗΝΑ/ATHENS 2018

Cover illustrations

On the front: Map of the Mediterranean showing the locations of Paros and its colonies.

On the back: Marble statue of Gorgo, detail, 2nd quarter of 6th century BC.

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THE INSTITUTE FOR ARCHAEOLOGY OF PAROS AND THE CYCLADES

PAROS IV

Η ΠΑΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΑΠΟΙΚΙΕΣ ΤΗΣ
PAROS AND ITS COLONIES

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PAROS IV

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**ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ Δ' ΔΙΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΙΚΟΥ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ
ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΠΑΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΚΛΑΔΩΝ
ΠΑΡΟΙΚΙΑ ΠΑΡΟΥ, 11-14 ΙΟΥΝΙΟΥ 2015**

Εκδοτική επιμέλεια:
Ντόρα Κατσωνοπούλου

ΑΘΗΝΑ 2018

PAROS IV

PAROS AND ITS COLONIES

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF PAROS AND THE CYCLADES
PAROIKIA, PAROS, 11-14 JUNE 2015

Edited by
Dora Katsonopoulou

ATHENS 2018

ΠΙΝΑΚΑΣ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΩΝ
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ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ

Ο παρών τόμος (Paros IV) αποτελεί τον τέταρτο στη σειρά τόμο Πρακτικών Διεθνών Συνεδρίων αφιερωμένων στην αρχαιολογία και τον πολιτισμό της Πάρου και των Κυκλάδων, που οργανώνονται από το Ινστιτούτο Αρχαιολογίας Πάρου και Κυκλάδων (ΙΑΠΚ) και πραγματοποιούνται στην Παροικία της Πάρου σε τακτά χρονικά διαστήματα. Ο τόμος με τον ειδικότερο τίτλο *Η Πάρος και οι Αποικίες της*, περιλαμβάνει τις επιστημονικές ανακοινώσεις που παρουσιάστηκαν στη διάρκεια του Δ' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Αρχαιολογίας Πάρου και Κυκλάδων, το οποίο έλαβε χώρα στην Παροικία της Πάρου από 11-14 Ιουνίου 2015, σε συνεργασία με το Δήμο Πάρου και τον Πολιτιστικό Σύλλογο «Αρχίλοχος Πάρου». Το Συνέδριο είναι το πρώτο που αφιερώθηκε ποτέ στο εγχείρημα της ίδρυσης αποικιών από τους αρχαίους Παρίους και συγκέντρωσε το ενδιαφέρον πολλών αρχαιολόγων και άλλων ειδικών που παρουσίασαν κατά τη διάρκειά του επιστημονικές εργασίες αναφορικά τόσο με την μητρόπολη Πάρο όσο και με τις τρεις κύριες αποικίες της, το Πάριον στην περιοχή της Προποντίδας, τη Θάσο στο Β. Αιγαίο, και την Φάρο στην Αδριατική (νησί Χβαρ στην Κροατία).

Το Δ' Συνέδριο ακολούθησε τα τρία προηγούμενα Συνέδρια Αρχαιολογίας Πάρου και Κυκλάδων που πραγματοποιήθηκαν στην Παροικία της Πάρου και ήταν αφιερωμένα, το 1ο στη διάσημη Παρία Λίθο (1997), το 2ο στον μεγάλο ποιητή της Πάρου Αρχίλοχο (2005), και το 3ο στον διάσημο γλύπτη και αρχιτέκτονα της αρχαίας Πάρου Σκόπα (2010). Τα Πρακτικά και των τριών Συνεδρίων εκδόθηκαν από το ΙΑΠΚ. Ο 1ος τόμος με τον τίτλο *Παρία Λίθος. Παριανά Λατομεία, Μάρμαρο και Εργαστήρια Γλυπτικής της Πάρου*, με την επιμέλεια των Δημήτρη Σκιλάρντι και Ντόρας Κατσωνοπούλου, κυκλοφόρησε το έτος 2000 και επανεκδόθηκε το 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 εκδόθηκε το 2008, και ο 3ος με τον τίτλο *Ο Σκόπας και ο Κόσμος του* (Paros III), με την επιμέλεια των Ντόρας Κατσωνοπούλου και Andrew Stewart εκδόθηκε το έτος 2013.

Ο τόμος του Δ' Συνεδρίου (Paros IV), έκδοση του ΙΑΠΚ με την επιμέλεια της Ντόρας Κατσωνοπούλου, περιλαμβάνει συνολικά 26 επιστημονικά άρθρα σε δύο μέρη. Το Μέρος I με τον τίτλο *Πάρος, η μητρόπολις*, περιλαμβάνει 8 εργασίες αναφορικά με την επιχειρησιακή δραστηριότητα των Παρίων εκτός του νησιού αλλά και με τα αρχαιολογικά ευρήματα της τελευταίας 30ετίας στην Πάρο που αναδεικνύουν τον πλούτο και την ισχυρή οργάνωση της πόλης της Πάρου ήδη από τον 8ο αιώνα π.Χ. Το Μέρος II με τον τίτλο *Οι Αποικίες της Πάρου: Πάριον – Θάσος - Φάρος*, περιέχει 18 συνολικά άρθρα για την ιστορία και αρχαιολογία των αποικιών ξεκινώντας με την αρχαιότερη αποικία, το Πάριον, που ιδρύθηκε στα τέλη του 8ου αιώνα, ακολούθως τη Θάσο τον 7ο αιώνα και τέλος την Φάρο στο α' μισό του 4ου αιώνα π.Χ.

Το Μέρος I, αρχίζει με την διερεύνηση του συλλογικού ή ιδιωτικού χαρακτήρα των αποικιστικών επιχειρήσεων των Παρίων στο εξωτερικό κατά την αρχαϊκή περίοδο, μέσα από την επανεξέταση της αρχαιολογικής, της επιγραφικής και της φιλολογικής μαρτυρίας (Tandy) και την παρουσίαση νέας μαρτυρίας από πρόσφατες μελέτες κεραμικής και ανασκαφές στην Ν. Ιταλία (Σίρις και, κυρίως, Incoronata) σχετικά με την παρουσία εκεί μεγάλης ελληνικής κοινότητας αγγειοπλαστών από το Αιγαίο Πέλαγος και ειδικότερα από τις Κυκλάδες (Denti). Ακολούθως, τα ανασκαφικά ευρήματα της τελευταίας 30ετίας στην Πάρο και ιδιαιτέρως εκείνα του

κύριου νεκροταφείου της αρχαίας πόλης συζητούνται για να καταδειχθεί ότι η Πάρος ήταν ένα οργανωμένο κράτος με σημαντική οικονομική και πολιτική ισχύ ήδη από το β' μισό του 8ου αι. π.Χ. (Ζαφειροπούλου) και επιχειρείται η ανασύνθεση της τοπογραφίας της αρχαίας πόλης της Πάρου ως μίας από τις πλουσιότερες και πιο καλά οργανωμένες πόλεις των Κυκλάδων, με βάση παλαιές και πρόσφατες ανασκαφές (Κουράγιος). Στη συνέχεια, παρουσιάζεται και συζητείται ομάδα επιλεγμένων γλυπτών σε παριανό μάρμαρο που έγιναν γνωστά πρόσφατα: ρωμαϊκό άγαλμα Μούσας στην Πάντοβα της Ιταλίας, ακέφαλο γυναικείο άγαλμα στη Συλλογή Sorgente στη Ρώμη, και αρχιτεκτονικά γλυπτά από την αρχαία Κερύνηα στη βορειοδυτική Πελοπόννησο (Katsonopoulou). 'Θησαυρός' νομισμάτων που καταχώθηκε στα τέλη του 3ου αιώνα π.Χ. και άλλα νομίσματα από τον χώρο του αρχαίου εργαστηρίου γλυπτικής στην Παροικιά παρουσιάζονται στο επόμενο άρθρο (Δετοράτου) και τα γειτονικά εργαστήρια καθώς και αποθέτες κεραμικής συζητούνται σε σχέση με την λειτουργία, την παραγωγή αλλά και τη θέση τους αναφορικά με τον πολεοδομικό ιστό της αρχαίας πόλης (Παπαδημητρίου). Τέλος, εξετάζονται ζητήματα σχετικά με την λατρεία του Απόλλωνος και του Ηρακλέους στην Πάρο, σε συνάρτηση με τις αντίστοιχες λατρείες στην αποικία της Θάσου (Παπαδοπούλου).

Το Μέρος II, αφιερωμένο στις αποικίες της Πάρου, ξεκινά με την παρουσίαση των ευρημάτων των ανασκαφών στο Πάριον την τελευταία δεκαετία. Στο πρώτο άρθρο παρουσιάζεται ένα από τα διασημότερα έργα στην πόλη του Παρίου, ο κολοσσιακός βωμός του 4ου αιώνα π.Χ. για τον Απόλλωνα και την Άρτεμη, ενώ συζητούνται η ταυτότητα του αρχιτέκτονα Ερμοκρέοντος και η σχετική νομισματική μαρτυρία (Keleş). Ακολούθως, παρουσιάζεται η μελέτη της ρωμαϊκής κεραμικής που ανακαλύφθηκε στους τάφους της αρχαίας νεκρόπολης του Παρίου με συνεχή χρήση από τον 7ο αιώνα π.Χ. έως την ύστερη αρχαιότητα (Ergüner) και περιγράφονται τα ρωμαϊκά λουτρά και η ιστορία τους από τον 2ο αιώνα μ.Χ., οπότε κατασκευάστηκαν, μέχρι την εγκατάλειψή τους τον 7ο αιώνα (Alper Yilmaz). Το υδραγωγείο και το σύστημα ύδρευσης της ρωμαϊκής πόλης του Παρίου που αποτελεί και θέμα διδακτορικής διατριβής του συγγραφέα, συζητούνται στην επόμενη ανακοίνωση (Michael Deniz Yilmaz) ενώ περιγράφονται μέσα από την ανάλυση και μελέτη μεταλλικών ευρημάτων από το Πάριον, η μεταλλουργική δραστηριότητα και παραγωγή στην πόλη (Çelikbas).

Στη Θάσο αναφέρονται τα άρθρα που ακολουθούν, αρχικά με την παρουσίαση μελέτης της επιτραπέζιας κεραμικής G 2-3 που ανακαλύφθηκε στον οικισμό που προϋπήρχε στην περιοχή πριν από τον αποικισμό των Παρίων στη Θάσο (Ilieva) και με την συνολική επισκόπηση του ζητήματος της εκμετάλλευσης των μεταλλείων πριν και μετά τον αποικισμό των Παρίων (Sanidas et al). Στη συνέχεια, η γεωχημική ανάλυση δειγμάτων από ομάδα αρχαϊκών μόνων κυπέλλων που ανακαλύφθηκαν στο Αρτεμίσιο της Θάσου και τα αποτελέσματα, που υποδεικνύουν πιθανή προέλευση από την Πάρο, περιγράφονται (Perron) και παρουσιάζεται μια αποτίμηση της εισηγμένης διακοσμημένης κεραμικής στις αποικίες της Θάσου κατά την αρχαϊκή περίοδο παράλληλα με τη διακίνηση και τις πιθανές χρήσεις της (Μανακίδου). Στη μεταφορά των θρησκευτικών λατρειών μεταξύ Πάρου και Θάσου και στις εξελίξεις τους στην αποικία εστιάζεται το περιεχόμενο του επόμενου άρθρου (Tirpé) ενώ η λατρεία της Αρτέμιδος εξετάζεται στα δύο άρθρα που ακολουθούν ως προς τη θέση των ιερών της στην αρχαία πόλη της Θάσου (Muller) και τις πτυχές της προσωπικότητάς της μέσα από τα αναθήματα στο Αρτεμίσιο (Prêtre). Η ενότητα της Θάσου ολοκληρώνεται με την παρουσίαση της πρώιμης γλυπτικής της και τη σχέση της με την πιθανή επιρροή από τους Παρίους αποίκους (Holtzmann).

Στην Φάρο, αποικία της Πάρου στην Αδριατική, αναφέρονται τα τελευταία πέντε άρθρα του Μέρους II. Στο πρώτο εξ' αυτών, εξετάζεται η φιλολογική μαρτυρία σχετικά με την ίδρυση της Φάρου, στο πλαίσιο της τότε πολιτικής και του εμπορίου στην περιοχή της Δαλματίας (Corrola). Ακολούθως, παρουσιάζονται τα αποτελέσματα των ανασκαφών που πραγματοποιήθηκαν μεταξύ 2009 και 2013 από το Μουσείο του Stari Grad στη θέση Remete Garden, με βάση τα οποία η χρονολόγηση των τειχών ανάγεται στους ελληνιστικούς χρόνους (Ρορονιό και Δενιαλονιό). Ο μεγάλος αριθμός ελληνικών αμφορέων (4ος-2ος αι. π.Χ.) από τις ανασκαφές στη Φάρο συζητείται υπό το φως της αγροτικής οικονομίας της πόλης στην επόμενη ανακίνηση και παρατίθεται σύντομη συγκριτική αναθεώρηση για την παραγωγή οίνου ανάμεσα στην μεσαιωνική περίοδο και την αρχαιότητα (Kirigin). Την παρουσία ελληνικών ονομάτων στη Φάρο (4ος-1ος αι. π.Χ.), με βάση λίθινες επιγραφές, μολύβδινες πινακίδες, όστρακα αγγείων και αρχαίες πηγές, διερευνά το ακόλουθο άρθρο (Marohnić) και τέλος, η αντίληψη της Πάρου ως μακρινής μητρόπολης στις γραπτές Κροατικές πηγές από τον 16ο αιώνα μέχρι πρόσφατα και η συμβολή της νεότερης αρχαιολογικής έρευνας που συνέδεσε την Φάρο με την Πάρο, παρουσιάζονται και αναλύονται (Čanić).

Ευχαριστώ θερμά το Δημοτικό Συμβούλιο και τον Δήμαρχο Πάρου κ. Μάρκο Κωβαίο για την υποστήριξη του Συνεδρίου καθώς και όλα τα μέλη του Διοικητικού Συμβουλίου του Ινστιτούτου Αρχαιολογίας Πάρου και Κυκλάδων και του πολιτιστικού συλλόγου «Αρχίλοχος Πάρου» για τη βοήθειά τους στην οργάνωση και πραγματοποίηση του Συνεδρίου.

Ντόρα Κατσωνοπούλου

*Πρόεδρος Ινστιτούτου Αρχαιολογίας
Πάρου και Κυκλάδων*

PREFACE

The present volume (Paros IV) is the fourth in a series of international conferences dedicated to the archaeology and culture of Paros and the Cyclades, organized by the Institute for the Archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades (IAPC) and conducted at Paroikia on Paros at periodic intervals. This volume, entitled *Paros and its Colonies*, contains scholarly papers presented during the Fourth International Congress of Archaeology on Paros and the Cyclades, which was organized in collaboration with the Municipality of Paros and the Archilochos of Paros Cultural Association, and took place in Paroikia from 11-14 June, 2015. The congress, the first ever held on the topic of colonial enterprises of the ancient Parians, attracted the interest of many scholars from Greece and abroad who presented papers on the metropolis, the island of Paros, and all three main colonies that Paros founded in the ancient world: Parion in the Propontis, Thasos in the North Aegean, and Pharos in the Adriatic (island of Hvar, Croatia).

This congress followed three previous ones on the archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades, also held in Paroikia, which were devoted to a number of important issues of the cultural heritage of Paros: (1) to the valuable Parian marble, the marble quarries and workshops of sculpture (1997), (2) the great poet Archilochos of Paros (2005) and (3) the famous sculptor and architect Skopas of Paros and his world (2010). The proceedings of these congresses were also 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; and the third, entitled *Skopas of Paros and his World*, edited by Dora Katsonopoulou and Andrew Stewart, was published in 2013.

The present volume on the fourth Congress (Paros IV), also published by IAPC, and edited by Dora Katsonopoulou, includes a total of twenty-six scholarly papers, divided into two parts. Part I, entitled *Paros, the Metropolis*, includes eight studies on the Parian enterprises outside the island and the results of archaeological work on Paros in the last three decades showing that Paros was an organized city already in the 8th century BC. Part II, entitled *Paros' Colonies: Parion – Thasos – Pharos*, contains eighteen papers on the history and archaeology of the colonies beginning with the earlier colony of Parion founded in the last years of the 8th century BC, then Thasos in the 7th and, finally, Pharos in the first half of the 4th century BC.

Part I begins with a review of the archaeological, epigraphical, and literary evidence to address the issue of Parian ventures abroad in the Archaic period and their type of civic activities or private actions of individuals (Tandy). In the next article, new evidence is presented from recent excavations and ceramic studies of major sites in Southern Italy (Siris and, above all, Incoronata) providing an exceptional record for the presence of a major Greek community of potters from the Aegean Sea, and more particularly from the Cyclades (Denti). Then, the finds from the excavations of the last 30 years on Paros, including the discovery of the official cemetery of the city, are considered to show that Paros was an organized state of considerable power already in the second half of the 8th century BC (Ζαφειροπούλου). The topography of the ancient city of Paros, one of the richest and best organized cities in the Cyclades, is presented on the basis of earlier and more recent excavation finds (Κουράγιος). Next, certain recently known sculptures

in Parian marble are discussed including the Roman statue of a Muse in Padova, a headless female statue in the Sorgente Group in Rome and architectural sculptures from Keryneia of Achaia in the northwestern Peloponnese (Katsonopoulou). Following this, a hoard buried in the late 3rd century BC and other coins found at the site of ancient sculptor's workshop in Paroikia are described (Δετοράτου) and the adjacent pottery workshops are discussed regarding their function, production and location in relation to the poleodomic plan of the ancient city (Παπαδημητρίου). Finally, issues regarding the cults of Apollo and Herakles on Paros, in connection to the respective cults in the colony of Thasos are considered (Παπαδοπούλου).

To introduce Part II, which is devoted to Paros' colonies, excavation work conducted in the last decade at the site of Parion is first presented. One of the most famous works in the city, the colossal altar of the 4th century BC, the identity of its architect Hermokreon and relevant numismatic evidence are discussed (Keleş) and the Roman pottery discovered in the ancient necropolis, dated between the 7th century BC and the late Roman times, is presented (Ergürer). Then, the history of the Roman baths from the time of their construction in the 2nd century AD until their abandonment in the 7th century is demonstrated (Alper Yılmaz) and the water supply of the Roman city of Parion is shortly presented as part of the author's doctoral dissertation (Michael Deniz Yılmaz). Last, metallurgy activities and production in Parion are described via chemical analysis and studies of the metal objects found in the excavations (Çelikbas).

The following papers refer to Thasos, beginning first with the presentation of a study of the repertory of G 2-3 table ware discovered in the pre-colonial settlement of Thasos before the arrival of the Parians (Ilieva), and secondly, with an overview of the question of mining and metal production in the early Archaic period before and after the Parian colonization (Sanidas et al.). Next, the possible Parian influences on Thasian pottery are demonstrated via presentation of the results of physico-chemical analysis of a group of one-handled mugs found at the Artemision (Perron), and an evaluation of the dissemination and use of imported decorated pottery to the Thasian colonies during the Archaic period is presented (Μανακίδου). The religious transfers between the metropolis and its colony as well as their evolution are considered next (Trippé), while the cult of Artemis is the subject of the following two papers regarding the topography of her sanctuaries in the ancient city of Thasos (Muller) and certain aspects of her identity via the study of symbolic offerings from the Artemision (Prêtre). The dedication on Thasos concludes with the presentation of the early sculpture and its possible links with the Parian colonists (Holtzmann).

The last five papers of the volume are dedicated to Pharos, Paros' colony in the Adriatic. First, literary evidence on Pharos' foundation, in the context of contemporary politics and trade in the Dalmatian area is examined (Coppola) and the results of excavations conducted between 2009 and 2013 by the Stari Grad Museum at Remete Garden are presented concluding that the fortification walls excavated are dated to the Hellenistic period (Popović και Devlahović). Next, the great number of Greek amphorae (4th-2nd centuries BC) from the excavations on Pharos is discussed in light of its agricultural economy and a brief review of wine production in the medieval period and in antiquity is provided (Kirigin). In the following paper, the presence of Greek personal names on Pharos (4th-1st centuries BC) is investigated on the basis of inscriptions on stone, lead tablets, pottery fragments, and literary sources (Marohnić). Lastly, Paros' perception as a remote metropolis in written Croatian sources from the 16th century until recently

and the contribution of recent archaeological evidence in shaping a living connection between Paros and Pharos are discussed (Čavić).

I would like to thank the City Council and the Mayor of Paros, Mr. Markos Kovaïos, for their support of the congress, and all members of the Institute for the Archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades and of the Board of the Archilochos of Paros Cultural Association for their assistance in organizing and realizing the Fourth International Congress on Paros and its Colonies.

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Recent Evidence of Sculptures in Parian Marble

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Since our First International Conference on the Archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades dedicated to the Paria Lithos and the Parian Sculpture Workshops,¹ new sculptures associated with Paros and its unique marble have come to light. Certain of these works, I would like to discuss at the present Fourth International Conference.²

THE MUSE IN PADOVA

The first among these works concerns a female marble statue in the Basilica of S. Antonio in Padova crowning the 'acquasantiera di Santa Giustina', considered a work of 16th century sculptors and identified in the past with Santa Giustina who suffered martyrdom in the first years of the 4th century under Massimilian. The figure, shown in standing position, is 85cm high, dressed in a long sleeved chiton V-shaped in the neck, and himation folded over the left arm and fallen down the body below the knees forming a sort of a kolpos around the waist (Fig. 1a-c).³ The left leg carries the body weight while the right is flexed. The left hand, brought in the front of the body, carries a pinakis held tight by the fingers (Fig. 1a, b), while the right arm partly preserved is shown more to the side, probably its hand originally attached on the right hip if the attachment mark observed is not the result of modern restorations reported for the statue (Fig. 1c). The head of the figure turns to the left inclined quite significantly toward the left shoulder, and the neck muscles follow the tension of the turn. The oval face showing traces of corrosion, with expressive eyes, well drawn lips, and chin protruded, is surrounded by rich voluminous hair parted in the middle in front and all the way in the back; it is arranged in thick locks on both sides partly covering the ears, and ends lower in the back above the neck in a knot whose both ends fall on the shoulders partially covering them (Fig. 2a, b). The overall picture breathes out a rather graceful and serene depiction of a young female figure.

In a very recent article published in 2014, the Italian scholar G. Zampieri⁴ via reexamination of relevant archival material and tracking of the statue's long history, refuted the earlier identification of the figure with Santa Giustina and proposed that it should be identified with a Muse, in all probability Kalliope. Indeed, the Muse of the heroic epics as her own name – κἄλῶν ἔπος – indicates, the most important of all Muses according to Hesiod, is usually shown holding her principal symbol, the pinakis (as in this case). Although the characteristic attributes of each



Figure 1a-c. *The Muse in Padova. (a) front view, (b) side view, left (c) side view, right.*

one of the Muses were finally crystallized in the Roman era while before a greater variety was observed, Kalliope for example shown with other attributes as well – box of papyri, pencil, laurel wreath or even a lyre –, in a late Hellenistic mosaic floor from Elis, where the symbols of Apollo, Mnemosyne and the Muses are shown, Kalliope's name is symbolized with a pinakis (Fig. 3).⁵ In sculpture, the earliest preserved monument with depictions of the Muses still remains the Mantinea base dated within the third quarter of the 4th century BC. Six Muses in groups of three are shown on the two side slabs, all but one bearing attributes to be also found in the following Hellenistic era representations. The Muse in Padova most probably derives from a Greek original of the Rhodian tradition of the 3rd-2nd centuries BC, as most of her features and depiction details suggest. In fact, in Rome where the Muses enjoyed great popularity – their statues adorning Roman villas, theaters, and baths –, the most famous group with the largest distribution of replicas was the one by Philiskos of Rhodes set up in the Temple of Apollo after its rebuilding ca. 179 BC,



Figure 2a-b. Detail of the Muse's head.

together with the triad of an Apollo, Leto and Artemis, and another naked Apollo, as Pliny reports (36.34). Most of the Muses' types given to Philiskos are represented on the famous relief of the Apotheosis of Homer, a work of Archelaos from Priene. A complete representation of the Muses including both standing and seated types, is found in another monument from Asia Minor, the Halikarnassos base, a round pedestal of the type known from cylindrical altars of Rhodes and Kos of the late 2nd century BC.

Tracing the history of the Muse in Padova back to the 16th century, Zampieri correctly rejects such a late date for the statue and suggests, on the contrary, the early Antonine period based on certain stylistic and technical elements typical of this period.⁶ A Roman date for the statue is further supported by the results of isotopic analysis of its marble which showed that it is Parian, more specifically of the type known as Paros-3 coming from the area of the open quarries at Lakkoi.⁷ The other two types, Paros-1 and Paros-2, refer to the famous Parian lychnites and the marble quarried from the Cave of the Nymphs respectively. The fact that the open Lakkoi quarries were active and in use from the Archaic times down to the Roman period but not after this time, makes a strong argument in favor of a pre-renaissance date of the work. As well known, Greek marble was generally preferred in the Roman world up to the 2nd century AD, while afterwards it was mostly replaced by Asian marble and particularly marble coming from the area of Aphrodisias.⁸

The Muse, whose first days of life began sometime in the early 2nd century AD in the Lakkoi quarries of the island of Paros, undoubtedly had an interesting story. It was then found in Italy

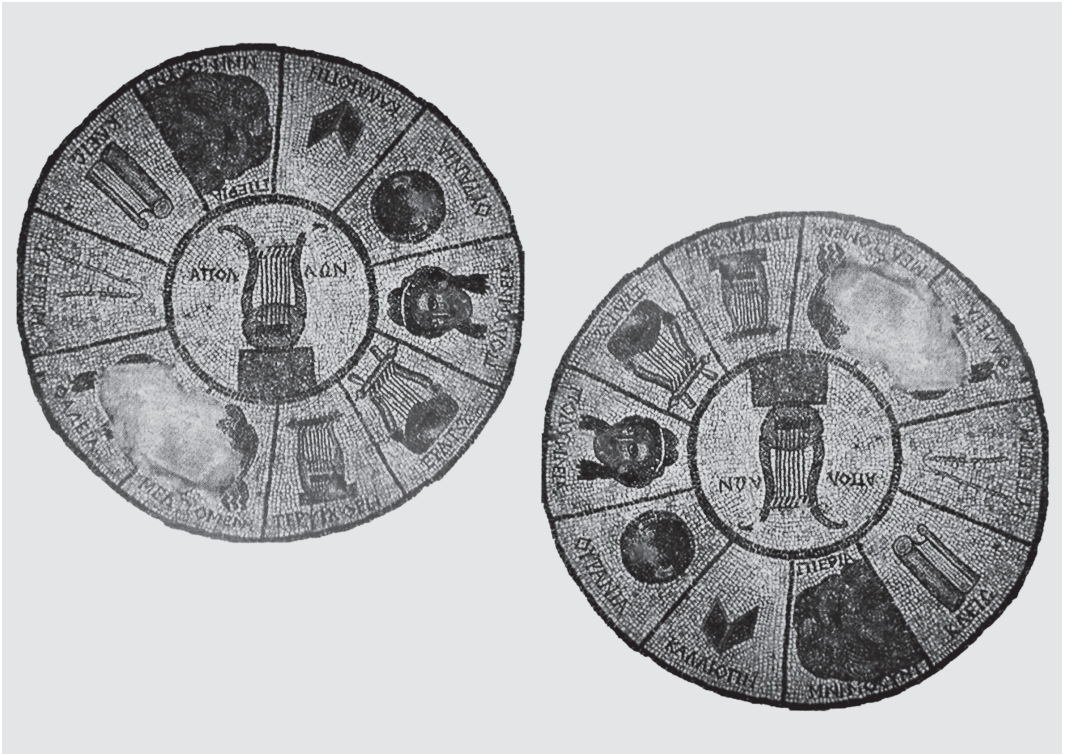


Figure 3. Mosaic of Apollo and the Muses from Elis, including Kalliope and her symbol (from Poulaki-Pantermali 2014, 13).

where, having been exposed and undergone at least two restorations through the ages, eventually found its place in the Basilica of S. Antonio in Padova, where it was first set up in the year 1514 as Santa Giustina. Finally, it was recently rediscovered and given back its identification as a Muse of antique origins.

THE SORGENTE STATUE IN ROME

The second sculpture that has drawn our attention, is a statue of a female figure made in the famous Parian lychnites, the Greek sculptural marble par excellence, bought in the Roman market by the Fondazione Sorgente Group and presented for the first time in an exhibition in Rome in 2013. The statue, a Greek original of the 5th century BC, was transferred to Rome probably during the Imperial times from a Greek sanctuary where it was originally set up. During its stay in Rome, it suffered severe damage from exposure to the elements, underwent some restorations at different times and a new head, arms and legs were applied without being known when the statue was freed from all these restorations-additions.

The statue represents a female figure in flight, right at the moment she is just alighting on the ground touched with the right foot, and the left slightly behind, her drapery still hovering in the



Figure 4a-c. The statue of the Sorgente Group. (a) front view, (b) side view, right, (c) side view, left (from La Rocca 2013, 38, 39, 41).

back along her legs and thighs (Fig. 4a-c). She is dressed in a soft peplos with the apoptygma fastened at the waist, its folds symmetrically arranged quite thickly fallen on the hips and stomach to a chiaroscuro effect, but less pronounced in the middle of the apoptygma. At the sides, the arrangement allows bare skin to show beneath the armpits (Fig. 4b, c). The way the folds of the drapery are handled shows an influence by the Severe Style but at the same time innovations later developed are included, a combination that would put a safe date for the statue after the Severe Style. E. La Rocca who studied and published the sculpture suggests a date ca. 430 BC and identifies the figure represented with Athena Nike on account of the aegis on the chest.⁹

However, this identification presents some problems. First of all, the most famous cult of the goddess in the Acropolis of Athens is known as the cult of Apteris Nike (without wings), the epiklesis of the goddess well explained by Pausanias (3.15.7). The earlier xoanon of Athena Nike was wingless and also the cult statue which the Athenians dedicated in the last quarter of the 5th century, probably corresponding iconographically to the seated Athena Nike as represented in the balustrade. And although the aegis is an attribute associated with and worn by Zeus and Athena, the aegis taken as the indisputable evidence for the Sorgente statue's identification with an Athena Nike is hardly the characteristic one worn by the goddess, that is the broad piece of



Figure 5a-c. *The Nike of Paros.* (a) front view, (b) side view, left, (c) side view, right. Photos: D. Katsonopoulou.

garment fallen over the shoulders in the back and in front above the dress and bearing the gorgoneion in the center with the usual characteristic features of a Medusa, as known from late 5th century representations of Athena. It is even unlike the narrower V-shaped and diagonally worn aegis that we see in representations of Athena of the last years of the century and in the following 4th century BC. In addition, the fact that the face of the gorgoneion in the Sorgente statue is badly weathered makes it difficult to identify with a Medusa, as also admitted by the author.¹⁰

On the other hand, in some Nike representations usually later than Classical era, a small and more humanized Medusa head is shown either at the point where the shoulder straps cross over the breast to hold the garment or used as a decorative element of a buckle. Such a central gorgoneion worn by a Nike can be seen in some Nike figures, as for example the Nike from Hierapetra – in this case in added metal –, a work of Damokrates of Itanos dating to the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century BC or in the Pitcairn Nike, a Roman era (Antonine) marble statue previously thought as reproducing the Nike held in the hand of the Pheidias Athena Parthenos and taken by La Rocca as a replica of the Sorgente statue to help reconstruct its damaged gorgoneion.¹¹ The Pitcairn Nike shows indeed remarkable similarities – and differences at the same time – with the Sorgente

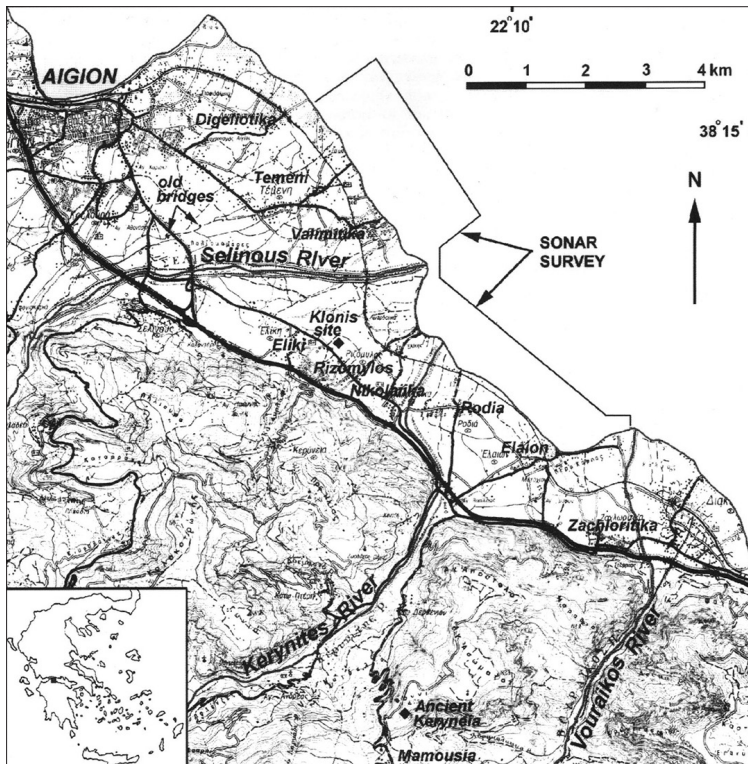


Figure 6. Map of the major Helike area including the 1988 sonar survey and the site of ancient Keryneia discussed in the text. Adapted from the Greek Army Geographic Service 1:50,000 map.

statue but a possible recognition of a gorgoneion does not necessarily result in an Athena Nike identification for the statue which is rather a Nike in flight like its magnificent Severe Style marble predecessor from Paros represented while descending impetuously from the air and just about to touch the ground with the left foot, the right still suspended, her peplos open at the right side allowing the youthful body to show under the clinging drapery (Fig. 5a-c).

The construction of the Sorigente statue, most probably a trophy, in the most famous of ancient Greek marbles, the Parian lychnites, and its transportation from the unknown Greek sanctuary where she was originally set up¹² to the capital of the Roman empire, indicate that the statue, the work of a talented carver, was of high importance and must have enjoyed quite a reputation in antiquity.

THE MARBLES FROM KERYNEIA OF ACHAEA

The next group of marbles under discussion comes from the major region of Helike in Achaea in the northwestern Peloponnese (Fig. 6), an area of the Greek mainland considered so far as being situated outside the distribution range of Parian marble. About 1km north of the modern vil-



Figure 7a-b. (a) the site of Helleniko, view from the northeast, (b) the Helike plain from Upper Vouini. Photos: D. Katsonopoulou.

lage of Mamousia, on the height of Vouini overlooking the coastal plain where the city of Helike is situated, ancient remains found have been identified with the ancient town of Keryneia,¹³ one of the early inland communities of Helike. On the northeast plateau of the hill (Upper Vouini), at the site known as Helleniko marked by the chapel of Profetes Elias (Fig. 7a), a number of architectural sculptures in Parian marble were found last century by local people. The location is of paramount physical beauty, rising above the western side of the Vouraikos river gorge (Fig. 6), with a striking view of the Helike plain on the southwest shore of the Gulf of Corinth (Fig. 7b). Among the sculptures preserved in a fragmentary state, most characteristic are two fragments preserving large

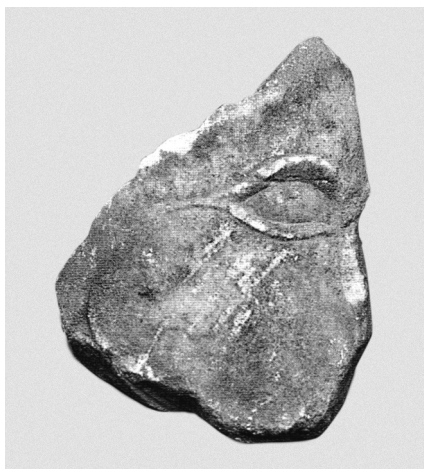


Figure 8. Marble architectural fragment from Profetes Elias showing warrior wearing helmet (from Guide, Archaeological Museum of Aigion 1994, fig. 15).



Figure 9. Marble architectural fragment from Profetes Elias showing lower part of female peploforos (from Guide, Archaeological Museum of Aigion 1994, fig. 16).

part of the face of a helmeted warrior facing to the right (Fig. 8) and the lower part of a draped female figure together with its oval shaped plinth (Fig. 9). The female figure is shown barefoot moving to the right with the left foot advanced, her peplos falling in five vertical folds over the weighted right leg following the move of the figure and draping the ground in the back.

Recent excavations carried out at the site of Helleniko revealed in a shallow depth the architectural remains of buildings including those of a large Late Archaic temple.¹⁴ In the same area, a number of fragmented pedimental sculptures in Parian marble were found¹⁵ including the head of a wild boar¹⁶ (Fig. 10), considered by the excavators as belonging to the same group as the older sculptures found by the locals. Fragments of raking simas and from two large akroteria, as well as roof tiles in Parian marble found,¹⁷ indicate that besides the pediments the temple had also a marble roof. E. Mastrokostas who briefly published the earlier sculptures, includes among the rest of the pieces two fragments that belong to male figures, one kneeling, probably of an archer, the other of a standing overlife size male, perhaps a deity.¹⁸

Based on the few published fragments of the sculptural group from Keryneia, it seems that the hunt of the Kalydonian boar was perhaps the subject matter of one of the temple's pediments.¹⁹ A mythical battle was most probably represented on the other pediment, perhaps the sack of Troy under Agamemnon as I have earlier proposed²⁰ on account of the region's history and close ties with the Mycenaeans and the family of the Atreides. In the past, J. K. Anderson suggested the identification of the peploforos from Keryneia (Fig. 9) with one of the statues of the priestesses²¹ that Pausanias (7.25.7) saw in the sanctuary of the Eumenides founded by Agamemnon's son, Orestes. The old bonds of the Mycenaeans with this region were again renewed in the early 5th century BC when a group of settlers, expelled from their homes by the Argives, sought refuge in Achaia and established themselves in the town of Keryneia ca. 468



Figure 10. Marble architectural fragment from Profetes Elias showing the head of a boar (from Kanellopoulos and Kolia 2013, fig. 14, 154).

BC.²² Their settlement in this area would not have happened without Helike's consent in whose territory Keryneia seems to have belonged before 373 BC. On the other hand, the costly construction of a temple and of its sculptures from the most precious marble of the era, the Parian, could only be undertaken by a rich and powerful city such as Helike, the first among the Achaean cities as noted by Diodoros (15.48.3): ὦν τὴν Ἑλικὴν συνέβαινε μέγιστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀχαιῶν πόλεων ἔχειν ἀξίωμα πρὸ τοῦ σεισμοῦ.

The discovery in Keryneia of an important temple constructed in Parian marble adds valuable data on the export and diffusion of this famous marble in the early 5th century BC in the Greek mainland and particularly in the western Peloponnese, where the occurrence of works in Parian marble is scarce (exempting Olympia). It also shows that other sculptures from Paros may be found in Achaia besides Helike's region, most probably in places that played a leading role after 373 such as the Hellenistic Aigion or the Roman colony of Patras, able to afford the commission of such expensive works of art. Another point to be made concerns the sculptures themselves, which are probably the creations of a Parian workshop. The sculpture school of Paros,²³ one of the most important in the ancient Greek world, was particularly active already from the second quarter of the 6th century BC as shown by a number of sculptures found in Paros itself and in the greatest sanctuary of the Cyclades, Delos, and as far as the distant panhellenic sanctuary of Delphi in central Greece. Creations like the exquisite statue of the Archaic Gorgo and the magnificent Severe Style Nike from Paros mark a 'golden age' of the art of Paros, establishing the island as one of the largest centers in the field of sculpture in Greek antiquity.

CONCLUSION

Concluding afterwards, it is once again confirmed that the reputation of the marble and the sculpture workshops of Paros had reached far beyond the island in ancient times. In this distinctive artistic development, the unique marble of the island with its distinguished qualities,

especially its warm hues and high ductility, played a significant role. For this reason, it has been of particular preference for ancient artists and their clientele. Parian marble was, for example, extensively used by the great Praxiteles particularly for his naked statues to best exploit its resemblance to real flesh. His famous contemporary Parian sculptor Skopas,²⁴ created some of his most important works in Parian marble including his extraordinary Maenad for the city of Sikyon in Korinthia.²⁵ Finally, ancient Paros' valuable asset, its unique fine white marble can still be admired and appreciated via works of art that have survived to this day, perfectly justifying the pride of the Parians in their city, which is mentioned in an inscription of the 5th century AD as *ἡ λαμπροτάτη Παρίων πόλις* – the most splendid city of the Parians.

NOTES

1. The Conference was held in October 1997 in Paroikia of Paros. The Proceedings volume first published in 2000, was re-edited in 2010.
2. The Fourth International Conference entitled *Paros and its Colonies* was organized by the Institute for Archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades and was held in Paroikia of Paros from 11-14 June 2015.
3. I thank A. Corso for providing photos of the statue.
4. Zampieri 2014.
5. Poulaki-Pantermali 2004. The same attribute of Kalliope is shown on the Roman marble sarcophagus in the Louvre, depicting all 9 Muses.
6. Zampieri 2014 and *Addendum* by A. Corso, 284.
7. Zampieri 2014, 288 n. 48.
8. Bruno 2013, 26.
9. La Rocca 2013, 43.
10. La Rocca 2013, 35, 46-7.
11. La Rocca 2013, 43, 49.
12. Not necessarily “an Attic or pro-Athenian sanctuary” as suggested (La Rocca 2013, 61). In fact, the cult of Apteris in Athens does not favor a winged depiction of the goddess there.
13. Katsonopoulou 1998, 38-41.
14. Kanellopoulos and Kolia 2011. The temple is generally referred to as Archaic although by Kanellopoulos is noted, 156, that one of the two central akroteria was installed sometime between 450-373 BC.
15. The identification of the marble is based on macroscopic observation as there has been no isotopic analysis of any of the fragments yet.
16. Kanellopoulos and Kolia 2011, 152.
17. Kanellopoulos and Kolia 2011, 154-6.
18. Mastrokostas 1985, 140. Additional fragments collected from the recent excavations include parts of drapes and of the leg of a male figure, Kanellopoulos and Kolia 2011, 157.
19. The subject was represented on the east pediment of the 4th century BC temple of Athena Alea in Tegea in Arkadia, a work of the famous sculptor and architect Skopas of Paros (Paus. 8.45.6).
20. Katsonopoulou 2000, 376-7. Of course, a study of the entire group of sculptures found so far is necessary to correctly attribute them to the pediment or pediments of the temple.
21. Anderson 1953, 168, characterizing its style as archaistic.
22. Paus. 7.25.5-6; Str. 8.6.10; Diod. 11.65 including chronological indications for the destruction of Mycenae in 468 BC.

23. On Parian marble and sculpture workshops of Paros see Schilardi and Katsonopoulou 2000, 2010 (2nd edition).
24. On most recent publications on Skopas and his work see Katsonopoulou and Stewart 2013. On the connections of Skopas' style with Paros see particularly Katsonopoulou 2004 and 2013.
25. Katsonopoulou 2016, 212-14.

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ABSTRACT

RECENT EVIDENCE OF SCULPTURES IN PARIAN MARBLE

In this paper, I discuss and comment on a group of sculptures in Parian marble that have come to light following our First International Conference on the Archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades held in 1997 and dedicated to the Paria Lithos and the Parian Sculpture Workshops.

The sculptures under discussion here include a) a Roman era statue of a Muse in the basilica of S. Antonio in Padova formerly identified with Santa Giustina and considered a work of 16th century sculptors, b) the headless statue of a Nike, a Greek original of the third quarter of the 5th century BC in the Fondazione Sorgente Group Collection in Rome, and c) a group of architectural sculptures from the site of ancient Keryneia in Achaea in the northwestern Peloponnese.

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

ΠΡΟΣΦΑΤΗ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ΓΛΥΠΤΩΝ ΣΕ ΠΑΡΙΑΝΟ ΜΑΡΜΑΡΟ

Στο παρόν άρθρο συζητώ και παραθέτω τις παρατηρήσεις μου σχετικά με μια ομάδα γλυπτών σε Παριανό μάρμαρο που έγιναν γνωστά πρόσφατα και μετά το Α΄ Διεθνές Συνέδριο Αρχαιολογίας Πάρου και Κυκλάδων που πραγματοποιήθηκε το 1997 και ήταν αφιερωμένο στην Παρία Λίθο και τα Εργαστήρια Γλυπτικής της Πάρου.

Τα γλυπτά που συζητούνται εδώ, περιλαμβάνουν α) ρωμαϊκό άγαλμα Μούσας που βρίσκεται στη Βασιλική του Αγ. Αντωνίου στην Πάντοβα της Ιταλίας και είχε προηγουμένως ταυτισθεί με την Αγ. Ιουστίνη και θεωρηθεί έργο του 16ου αιώνα, β) ακέφαλο άγαλμα Νίκης του γ΄ τετάρτου του 5ου αιώνα π.Χ. που βρίσκεται στη Συλλογή Fondazione Sorgente Group στη Ρώμη, και γ) ομάδα αρχιτεκτονικών γλυπτών από την περιοχή της αρχαίας Κερύνειας στην Αχαΐα, στη βορειοδυτική Πελοπόννησο.



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