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PAROS III

Ο ΣΚΟΠΑΣ ΚΑΙ Ο ΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΤΟΥ

ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ Γ' ΔΙΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΙΚΟΥ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ
ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ ΠΑΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΚΛΑΔΩΝ
ΠΑΡΟΙΚΙΑ ΠΑΡΟΥ, 11-14 ΙΟΥΝΙΟΥ 2010

Εκδοτική επιμέλεια:
Ντόρα Κατσωνοπούλου
και Andrew Stewart

ΑΘΗΝΑ 2013

PAROS III

SKOPAS OF PAROS AND HIS WORLD

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF PAROS AND THE CYCLADES
PAROIKIA, PAROS, 11-14 JUNE 2010

Edited by
Dora Katsonopoulou
and Andrew Stewart

ATHENS 2013

ΠΙΝΑΚΑΣ ΠΕΡΙΕΧΟΜΕΝΩΝ
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ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ

Ο ανά χείρας τόμος (*Paros III*) αποτελεί τον τρίτο 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 *Ο Σκόπας και ο Κόσμος του*, περιλαμβάνει τις επιστημονικές ανακοινώσεις που παρουσιάστηκαν στη διάρκεια του Γ' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Αρχαιολογίας Πάρου και Κυκλάδων που οργανώθηκε σε συνεργασία με το Δήμο Πάρου και τον Πολιτιστικό Σύλλογο «Αρχίλοχος Πάρου» και έλαβε χώρα στην Παροικία Πάρου από 11-14 Ιουνίου 2010. Το Συνέδριο που είναι το πρώτο που πραγματοποιήθηκε ποτέ για τον μεγάλο γλύπτη της αρχαίας Πάρου Σκόπα, συγκέντρωσε το ενδιαφέρον πολλών ειδικών επιστημόνων από την Ελλάδα και το εξωτερικό και συμπεριέλαβε στις επί μέρους ενότητες, επιστημονικές ανακοινώσεις με όλα τα διαθέσιμα μέχρι σήμερα στοιχεία για τον Σκόπα και το έργο του ως γλύπτη και αρχιτέκτονα, από όλες τις περιοχές του αρχαίου ελληνικού κόσμου όπου ο Σκόπας ταξίδεψε και δημιούργησε.

Το Συνέδριο για τον Σκόπα ακολούθησε τα δύο προηγούμενα Συνέδρια Αρχαιολογίας Πάρου και Κυκλάδων που πραγματοποιήθηκαν στην Παροικία της Πάρου και ήσαν αφιερωμένα το μεν 1ο στη διάσημη Παρία Λίθο (1997) και το 2ο στον μεγάλο ποιητή της Πάρου Αρχίλοχο (2005). Τα Πρακτικά και των δύο Συνεδρίων εκδόθηκαν από το ΙΑΠΚ: το 1ο με τον τίτλο *Παρία Λίθος: Παριανά Λατομεία, Μάρμαρο και Εργαστήρια Γλυπτικής της Πάρου (Paros I)*, με την επιμέλεια των Δημήτρη Σκιλάρντι και Ντόρας Κατσωνοπούλου, κυκλοφόρησε το έτος 2000 και επανεκδόθηκε το 2010 και το 2ο 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.

Ο παρών τόμος του 3ου Συνεδρίου (*Paros III*), έκδοση του ΙΑΠΚ με την επιμέλεια των Ντόρας Κατσωνοπούλου και Andrew Stewart, περιλαμβάνει συνολικά 34 επιστημονικά άρθρα ταξινομημένα σε τέσσερα μέρη. Το Μέρος I με τον τίτλο *Ο Σκόπας της Πάρου και η Παριανή Γλυπτική πριν από την Εποχή του*, περιλαμβάνει 8 μελέτες αναφορικά με την προσωπικότητα και το έργο του Σκόπα, τη σχέση της τέχνης του με την Πάρο και τα δημιουργήματα της παριανής γλυπτικής πριν από την εποχή του. Το Μέρος II με τον τίτλο *Σκόπας ο Αρχιτέκτων*, εμπεριέχει 9 εργασίες που αναφέρονται στο αρχιτεκτονικό έργο του Πάριου καλλιτέχνη ενώ στο Μέρος III με τον τίτλο *Σκόπας ο Γλύπτης* περιλαμβάνονται 12 άρθρα για την τέχνη του και τα αγάλματα που φιλοτέχνησε ο Σκόπας στη διάρκεια της μακράς καριέρας του σε διαφορετικές πόλεις. Το τελευταίο Μέρος IV που τιτλοφορείται *Ο Αντίκτυπος του Σκοπαδικού Έργου*, περιέχει 5 εργασίες σχετικά με την επίδραση που άσκησε η σκοπαδική τέχνη στον αρχαίο κόσμο.

Στην αρχή του Μέρους I, επιχειρείται μια συνολική επαναπροσέγγιση του Σκόπα και του έργου του με βάση φιλολογικά και νεότερα αρχαιολογικά στοιχεία στο πλαίσιο διερεύνησης της καλλιτεχνικής του προσωπικότητας (Stewart). Η σύνδεση της ξεχωριστής τέχνης του Σκόπα με παριανά εργαστήρια γλυπτικής προτείνεται και συζητείται με την παρουσίαση πρόσφατων γλυπτών από την Πάρο και με την ανάλυση της επιρροής του πολιτιστικού περιβάλλοντος και της κληρονομιάς της Πάρου στην προσωπικότητα του Σκόπα (Κατσωνοπούλου). Τα ιδιαίτερα στοιχεία που χαρακτηρίζουν το έργο του Σκόπα ως αρχιτέκτονα και γλύπτη εξετάζονται ως πρότυπο σε σχέση με το έργο του μεταγενέστερου Μεσσήνιου καλλιτέχνη Δαμοφώντα (Θέμελης) και συζητούνται οι ιστορικές συνθήκες της εποχής στην οποία εκτελέστηκαν από τον Σκόπα μεγάλα καλλιτεχνικά προγράμματα, όπως στο Αρτεμίσιο της Εφέσου και το Μαυσωλείο της Αλικαρνασσοῦ, στην Τεγέα και τα Μέγαρα (Tandy). Στο πλαίσιο διερεύνησης της παραγωγής των παριανών

εργαστηρίων γλυπτικής πριν από την εποχή του Σκόπα παρουσιάζονται σημαντικά έργα του βου και του 5ου αι. π.Χ. από τις ανασκαφές των τελευταίων δεκαετιών στην Πάρο (Ζαφειροπούλου) και στο αρχαϊκό ιερό του Απόλλωνα στο Δεσποτικό από το οποίο έχουν προέλθει σημαντικά αγάλματα κυρίως αρχαϊκών κούρων αλλά και κάποια που ανήκουν σε αγάλματα κορών (Κουράγιος). Το ειδικότερο παράδειγμα του Πάριου γλύπτη Αριστίωνα και της δημιουργίας του αναλύεται στο πλαίσιο εξέτασης της τέχνης περιοδευόντων καλλιτεχνών πριν από τον Σκόπα (Barlou). Τέλος, περιγράφονται τα εργαστήρια γλυπτικής που εντοπίστηκαν τα τελευταία χρόνια στην Παροικία της Πάρου και αναλύεται η παραγωγή τους που χρονολογείται από την εποχή του Σκόπα έως τη ρωμαϊκή περίοδο (Δετοράτου).

Στο Μέρος II διερευνάται το αρχιτεκτονικό έργο του Σκόπα ξεκινώντας από τον τόπο καταγωγής του με την ανέγερση του Πρυτανείου και του ναού της Εστίας στην πόλη της Πάρου (Ohnesorg). Ακολουθεί η παρουσίαση των πλέον πρόσφατων στοιχείων, συμπεριλαμβανομένων και εκείνων κυκλαδικής προέλευσης, από το επιφανέστερο αρχιτεκτονικό δημιούργημα του Σκόπα, το ναό της Αθηνάς Αλέας στην Τεγέα της Αρκαδίας (Østby) και συζητούνται ζητήματα εικονογραφίας, ερμηνείας και αποκαταστάσεως των αετωματικών συνθέσεων και των ακρωτηρίων του ναού (Mostratos). Ως πρότυπο και άλλων ναών στην Πελοπόννησο, όπως του Δία στη Νεμέα και της Εφεσίας Αρτέμιδος στην Αλέα της ορεινής Αργολίδας συζητείται και προτείνεται ο ναός της Αθηνάς Αλέας (Κούσουλας). Ένα ακόμη μνημείο, ο βωμός στο ιερό της Τεγέας προτείνεται ως έργο του αρχιτέκτονα και γλύπτη Σκόπα κυρίως λόγω της προηγούμενης εμπειρίας του στη γλυπτική διακόσμηση του Μουσουλίου στην Αλικαρνασσό και της σύνδεσης των Εκατομνιδών ηγεμόνων με το ιερό της Αθηνάς Αλέας (Λεβέντη). Ο ρόλος του Σκόπα ως αρχιτέκτονα, γλύπτη και αγαματοποιού στη Σαμοθράκη επανεξετάζεται στο πλαίσιο της αποκατάστασης του αρχιτεκτονικού σχεδίου του κτιρίου και της σύνδεσής του με τη μακεδονική και βορειοελλαδίτικη αρχιτεκτονική (Wescoat). Τέλος, το αρχιτεκτονικό έργο του Σκόπα στη Μ. Ασία και την κυρίως Ελλάδα εξετάζεται ως προς τις πιθανές αλληλοεπιδράσεις (Pedersen), ειδικότερα στο βωμό του υστεροκλασικού Αρτεμίου στην Έφεσο που προτείνεται ως έργο του Σκόπα (Bammer) και στο Μουσουλίο της Αλικαρνασσού (Schmid).

Στην αρχή του Μέρους III που είναι αφιερωμένο στο έργο του Σκόπα ως γλύπτη και αγαματοποιού, αναλύεται το μοναδικό γνωστό αντίγραφο ενός από τα διασημότερα έργα του Πάριου καλλιτέχνη, η Μαινάδα της Δρέσδης, και προτείνεται νέα αναπαράσταση της ασυνήθιστης συστροφής της (Barr-Sharrar) ενώ επιχειρείται η ερμηνεία της κίνησης της Μαινάδας στο Διονυσιακό πλαίσιο σε σύγκριση με πρωιμότερα και μεταγενέστερα έργα (Wolf). Η υποβλητική περιγραφή του αγάλματος από τον Καλλίστρατο (*Statuarum descriptiones* 2) συζητείται και προτείνεται ως ανάλογη «απαγγελίας»/«προφορικού δρώμενου» συγκρίσιμου προς την απαγγελία της έκφρασης της Ασπίδος του Αχιλλέα στη Σ ραψωδία της *Ιλιάδος* (Petropoulos). Σε αντίθεση με τη Μαινάδα της Δρέσδης, προτείνεται η ταύτιση του αριστουργηματικού πρωτότυπου του Σκόπα με το άγαλμα του Βερολίνου (The Berlin dancer) (Geominy). Το διάσημο σύνταγμα Αφροδίτης και Πόθου που φιλοτέχνησε ο Σκόπας για το ιερό των Μεγάλων Θεών στη Σαμοθράκη εξετάζεται στη συνέχεια σε σχέση με τη διαθέσιμη φιλολογική και αρχαιολογική μαρτυρία (Marconi) και αναζητείται ο αγαματικός τύπος της Αφροδίτης στον τύπο της Αναδυομένης που υποδέχονται ο Πόθος και ο Φαέθων (Δεληβορριάς) ενώ διερευνάται ο Πόθος του συντάγματος υπό το φως νέων στοιχείων (Lopes) και παρουσιάζονται νέες απεικονίσεις του σε δύο σφραγιδολίθους στη συλλογή Thorvaldsen (Kluge). Άγαλμα του Έρωτα Κεραυνοφόρου που είχε στηθεί κατά την ύστερη κλασική περίοδο πιθανότατα στην Αθήνα και μεταφέρθηκε αργότερα στη Ρώμη εξετάζεται και προτείνεται η απόδοσή του στον Σκόπα (Corso) και όλα τα Σκο-

παδικά αγάλματα στη Ρώμη που απαριθμούνται από τον Πλίνιο αναλύονται ρίχνοντας νέο φως στον Σκόπα και στην επιρροή του στη ρωμαϊκή τέχνη και τον πολιτισμό (Calcani). Η δημιουργία του Σκόπα στην Κνίδα διερευνάται ακολούθως με την παρουσίαση γλυπτών του 4ου αι. π.Χ. που βρέθηκαν στην Κνίδα και φανερώνουν σαφώς επίδραση της Σκοπαδικής τέχνης (Özgan) και εξετάζεται η παρουσία του Σκόπα και του εργαστηρίου του κατά τη διάρκεια της κατασκευής του ναού της Αρτέμιδος στην Έφεσο τον 4ο αι. π.Χ. (Muss).

Στο τελευταίο Μέρος IV συζητείται η επίδραση της τέχνης του Σκόπα σε διάφορες περιοχές της κυρίως Ελλάδας, όπως στο ιερό των Δελφών όπου παρατηρείται επάνοδος του Παρίου μαρμάρου και των τεχνουργών του κατά τον 4ο αι. π.Χ. μέσα από νέα ευρήματα (Partida) και βορειότερα στη Θάσο, αποικία της Πάρου, με βάση την πρώτη παρουσίαση αδημοσίετου μαρμάρινου γλυπτού Σκοπαδικής επιρροής από το Ηράκλειο (Κατσωνοπούλου και Κόρκα). Γλυπτά, πορτραίτα και αγάλματα στην Αλεξάνδρεια, με στυλιστικά χαρακτηριστικά της τέχνης του Σκόπα αναλύονται και ερευνώνται οι δίαυλοι μέσω των οποίων η γνώση της Σκοπαδικής τέχνης διείσδυσε στο ιστορικό πολιτιστικό πλαίσιο της πόλης (Ghisellini). Η επιρροή του Σκόπα και του εργαστηρίου του στην Αίγυπτο και τη Μακεδονία μελετάται σε σχέδια του παύρου του Αρτεμίδωρου και με τα αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα από τον βασιλικό τάφο II στη Βεργίνα (Adornato). Τέλος, παρουσιάζονται και αναλύονται συλλογές αρχαίων γλυπτών του α' μισού του 4ου αι. π.Χ. και της Ελληνιστικής περιόδου από την βόρεια Ποντική περιοχή όπου η επιρροή του Σκόπα είναι ιδιαίτερα εμφανής (Trofimova).

Ευχαριστούμε θερμά το Δημοτικό Συμβούλιο και τον Δήμαρχο Πάρου κ. Χρήστο Βλαχογιάννη για την υποστήριξη του Συνεδρίου καθώς και όλα τα μέλη του Διοικητικού Συμβουλίου του πολιτιστικού συλλόγου «Αρχίλοχος Πάρου» για τη βοήθειά τους. Ιδιαίτερες ευχαριστίες απευθύνονται στην αρχαιολόγο Ουρανία Ψηλού, Γραμματέα της Οργανωτικής Επιτροπής για την εξαιρετική γραμματειακή στήριξη του Συνεδρίου.

Ντόρα Κατσωνοπούλου

*Πρόεδρος Ινστιτούτου Αρχαιολογίας
Πάρου και Κυκλάδων*

Andrew Stewart

*Μέλος της Επιστημονικής Επιτροπής
του Γ' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου*

PREFACE

The present volume (*Paros III*) is the third in a series of international conferences dedicated to the archaeology and culture of Paros and the Cyclades, organized by the Institute of Archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades (IAPK) and conducted at Paroikia on Paros at periodic intervals. This volume, entitled *Skopas of Paros and His World*, contains scholarly papers presented during the Third International Conference of Classical 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, 2010. The congress, the first ever held on the great ancient sculptor Skopas of Paros, attracted the interest of many scholars from Greece and abroad. It included papers on all evidence available to date on Skopas and his work as a sculptor and architect, from all the areas of the ancient Greek world where he traveled and worked.

This congress followed two previous ones on the archaeology of Paros and the Cyclades, also held in Paroikia, which were devoted to the island's well-known Parian marble (1997) and to the great poet Archilochos of Paros (2005). The proceedings of both congresses were also published by the IAPK. The first, entitled *Paria Lithos: Parian Quarries, Marble, and Workshops of Sculpture (Paros I)*, edited by Demetrius U. Schilardi and Dora Katsonopoulou, was published in 2000 and reprinted in 2010; and the second, entitled *Archilochos and His Age (Paros II)*, edited by Dora Katsonopoulou, John Petropoulos, and Stella Katsarou, was published in 2008.

The present volume on the third Congress (*Paros III*), also published by IAPK, and edited by Dora Katsonopoulou and Andrew Stewart, includes a total of thirty-four scholarly papers, divided into four parts. Part I, entitled "Skopas of Paros and Earlier Parian Sculpture", includes eight studies on the sculptor's personality and work, and the latter's relationship to the island and its previous sculptural output. Part II, entitled "Skopas the Architect", contains nine papers on the artist's architectural projects, and Part III, entitled "Skopas the Sculptor", includes twelve papers on his art and the statues he created for various cities over the course of his long career. Finally, Part IV, entitled "The Impact of Skopas' Work", contains five papers on the influence that his art exerted during the ancient world.

Part I begins with an overview of Skopas and his work, on the basis of the literary and recent archaeological evidence relevant to the investigation of his artistic personality (Stewart). Next, a link between the particular art of Skopas and Parian sculpture workshops is proposed, via the presentation of recent finds of sculpture from Paros and an analysis of the influence of the island's cultural environment and heritage upon his personality (Katsonopoulou). Specific elements that characterize Skopas' work as architect and sculptor are then considered as a standard in relation to the output of the later Messenian artist Damophon (Themelis); and the historical context of the era in which he executed his great artistic projects at the Artemision at Ephesos, the Maussoleion at Halikarnassos, Tegea, and Megara, is addressed (Tandy). Following this, we turn to the products of Parian sculpture workshops before Skopas' time, and to significant finds of the 6th and 5th centuries BC from the last few decades of excavation on Paros (Zafeiropoulou). These include the archaic temple of Apollo at Despotiko and its important cache of archaic kouroi and some korai (Kouragios), and -as a case study of the work of itinerant Parian artists before Skopas- the sculptor Aristion and his oeuvre (Barlou). Finally, the sculpture workshops identified in recent years in Paroikia are discussed and their output from Skopas' time until the Roman period is analyzed (Detoratu).

Part II investigates Skopas' architectural work, starting from his Parian roots and the construction of the city's Prytaneion and temple of Hestia (Ohnesorg). Next comes a presentation of recent data, including the question of Cycladic elements, concerning his most prominent architectural creation, the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea in Arkadia (Østby), and a discussion of the iconography, interpretation, and restoration of its pedimental compositions and akroteria (Mostratos). The Tegea temple's rôle as a model for others in the Peloponnese, such as those of Zeus at Nemea and of Ephesian Artemis at Alea in upper Argolis, is evaluated (Kousoulas). Skopas is also proposed as the architect-sculptor of another monument, the altar in the Tegean sanctuary, on the basis of both his prior experience with the sculptural embellishment of the Mausoleion at Halikarnassos and the Hecatomnid rulers' association with the sanctuary of Athena Alea (Leventi). The role of Skopas as architect, master sculptor, and cult statue maker at Samothrace is critically reviewed via a reevaluation of the plan and elevation of the Hall of Choral Dancers and its links with northern Greek and Macedonian architecture (Wescoat). Finally, Skopas' architectural work in Asia Minor and mainland Greece is examined for possible interactions with local traditions (Pedersen), with particular attention to exploring his responsibility for the altar of the late classical Artemision at Ephesos (Bammer) and the friezes of the Maussolleion at Halikarnassos (Schmid).

To introduce Part III, which is devoted to Skopas' work as a sculptor and cult-statue maker, the only known copy of one of the Parian artist's most famous works, the Dresden Maenad, is revisited and a new reconstruction of its unusual twisting pose is proposed (Barr-Sharrar); and an interpretation of its movement in a Dionysiac context is advanced in relation to earlier and later works in this vein (Wolf). The evocative description of the statue by Kallistratos (*Statuarum descriptiones* 2) is discussed as an *ekphrasis* comparable to that of the shield of Achilles in Book 18 of the *Iliad* (Petropoulos). Alternatively, what if the so-called Berlin Dancer actually copies this masterpiece of Skopas, instead of the Dresden Maenad (Geominy)? Next, the famous group of Aphrodite and Pothos created for the sanctuary of the Great Gods at Samothrace is discussed in relation to the extant literary and archaeological evidence (Marconi); its statue of Aphrodite is sought in the naked Anadyomene type, welcomed here by Pothos and Phaethon (Delivorrias); the Pothos itself is explored in the light of new information (Lopes); and two hitherto unrecognized intaglio versions of it in the Thorvaldsen Collection are presented (Kluge). The statue of Eros Thunderbolt-Bearer erected in the late Classical period probably in Athens and later taken to Rome is examined and its attribution to Skopas revived (Corso), and all the sculptor's statues in Rome listed by Pliny are analyzed, shedding new light on his influence upon Roman art and culture (Calcani). Lastly, Skopas' work in Knidos is investigated on the basis of fourth-century marbles from the site that clearly demonstrate the impact of his style (Özgan), and his presence and that of his workshop during the construction of the temple of Artemis at Ephesos are examined (Muss).

Finally, Part IV discusses the impact of Skopas' art upon various regions of mainland Greece, such as the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi, where a revival of Parian marble and workmanship during the fourth century BC has been documented by new discoveries (Partida), and also further north on Thasos, a Parian colony, on the basis of an unpublished marble sculpture in his manner discovered at Herakleion (Katsonopoulou and Korka). Sculptures (portraits and others) at Alexandria exhibiting Skopaic stylistic features are analyzed and the channels through which knowledge of his art infiltrated the city's historical and cultural fabric are investigated (Ghisellini). The influence of

Skopas and his workshop in Egypt and Macedonia are studied through drawings on the Artemidoros Papyrus and finds from the Royal Tomb II at Vergina (Adornato). Finally, collections of ancient sculpture of the first half of the fourth century BC and Hellenistic period from the north Pontic region, where the influence of Skopas is particularly evident, are presented and analyzed (Trofimova).

We thank the City Council and the Mayor of Paros, Christos Vlachogiannis, for their support for the congress, and all members of the Board of the Archilochos of Paros Cultural Association for their help. Our special thanks go to archaeologist Ourania Psilou, Secretary of the Organizing Committee, for the congress' excellent secretarial support.

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Desperately Seeking Skopas

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In America, the academic climate has turned hostile to the exhumation of artistic personalities from Greek antiquity. Rhys Carpenter started the trend in 1960, famously declaring that Greek sculpture was “an anonymous product of an impersonal craft”.¹ And a generation later, his most distinguished pupil, Brunilde Ridgway, urged us “to remember that the ‘discovery’ of the artist as a distinct and distinctive personality did not occur until the fifteenth century”.² To this view, and exaggerating only slightly, Greek art would have developed in exactly the same way if Pheidias, Polykleitos, Praxiteles, Skopas, and Lysippos had never been born.

Scholars have given three overlapping reasons for taking this extreme stance. In my view, all of them are specious.

First, despite the galaxy of great sculptors recorded in the inscriptions and celebrated in the texts, the apparently even, uniform development of Greek sculpture seems to leave little room for strong personal interventions. Witness, for example, its traditional characterization in terms borrowed from the science of biology, as a steady, incremental, indeed almost *inevitable* evolution from archaism to naturalism. Yet as well as grossly mischaracterizing evolutionary theory itself, not only is this simplistic picture a classic example of 20-20 hindsight, but also a growing body of scholarship now devoted to the issue of *social agency* recognizes that it blinds us to the fact that all craft production – in ancient Greek, any *technê* – is performed by individual actors who impose form on material by way of socially situated creative activity.³ Their relations to each other and to the social hierarchies within which they function and against which they define themselves is complex and varies from society to society and from period to period, and cannot simply be bracketed out or written off as irrelevant. To do so is to deny the artist’s existence as a social being – indeed, almost to deny him any humanity at all.

Second, there is an increasing reluctance among scholars of Greek art to use Roman copies to this end. Put off by past excesses and apparently uninterested in studying the complex ways in which Greek art was viewed, understood, and reproduced in the Roman period, they often write them off altogether. Yet the extremely close correspondences among whole groups of copies argues strongly for the existence of authoritative archetypes, and Roman reverence for the classical Great Masters argues strongly that we should assign most of those archetypes to the fifth and fourth centuries BC.

Third, distinguishing sculptural personalities is hard. It was hard in antiquity and is even harder today, with or without the Roman copies. Thus, in late republican Rome, Dionysios of Halikarnassos warned that “not even sculptors and painters, unless they undertake an extended course in connoisseurship, scrutinizing the styles of the old masters at length – not even *they* can readily identify them and confidently say that this is by Polykleitos, this is by Pheidias, and this is by Alkamenes ...”.⁴ Presumably this uncertainty arose in part because, matched against the grossly divergent sculptural styles of republican Rome (compare any veristic portrait with any archaistic herm), stylistic differences in classical Greek sculpture paled into insignificance. Similarly, many present-day Americans and Europeans can easily distinguish the music of Dave Brubeck, Benjamin Britten, Pierre Boulez, Mikis Theodorakis, the Beatles, and Lady Gaga. But how many can easily distinguish a Josquin motet from one by Palestrina, or an overture by Lully from one by Purcell?

Of course, to return to Greek sculpture, such distinctions are even harder to make today, with 99.9% of it lost forever. Yet Peter Schultz has pointed out, the logical fallacy here is easy to spot.⁵ To move from these difficulties, which are real and undeniable, to denying *all* individual agency in Greek sculpture, is to confuse a valid *epistemological* problem with an invalid *ontological* one. Greek society and Greek art were highly complex, and thus *require* the active intervention of individual human agents to explain them. We do not deny this kind of agency to Kleisthenes and Perikles, or to Sokrates and Plato, so why deny it to Pheidias, Praxiteles, and Skopas? To do so is to commit the classic positivist fallacy, namely, that if one can’t find something in the archaeological record, it didn’t exist or doesn’t matter. Absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. Individual agency in Greek art may be hard or sometimes impossible to recover today, but that is no reason at all to deny its existence.

In fact, the classical Greeks regularly ranked their sculptors in terms of skill and achievement – i.e., as distinct artistic personalities. Thus, Plato, Xenophon, Isokrates, and Aristotle –no friends to manual labor– all ranked Pheidias and Polykleitos at the summit of their respective branches of the art.⁶ Moreover, Plato even has the sophist Protagoras remark that Polykleitos’s two sons were “nothing compared with their father”.⁷ In the early Hellenistic period, the epigrammatist Poseidippos stridently championed his favorite sculptor, Lysippos, against the claims of Hageladas, Polykleitos, and others. He even wrote poems explicitly praising Lysippos’s work, several of which survive.⁸ And so on.

Moreover, these sources also reveal major discrepancies in income from one sculptor to another. Thus, in Plato’s *Meno*, we learn that “Pheidias is so famous for his nobly created works that he made more money than ten other sculptors put together”.⁹ A century later, a number of Athenian inscriptions reveal exactly how rich the Praxiteles family had become. They are worth a brief digression.

By the mid 330s, Praxiteles and his sons had made and saved enough money to move decisively into the liturgical class.¹⁰ Because they were subject to the various civic obligations or *liturgies* imposed on the rich by the Athenian state, they must have owned property worth more than four talents. These obligations ranged from financing a chorus (the *choregia*) to financing a warship (the *trierarchy*). Praxiteles himself does not appear in the extant inscriptions, but his eldest son Kephisodotos does. Yet this lacuna is not surprising, since it has been calculated that before 340, when Demosthenes reformed the liturgy system, only 8% of eligible contributors turn up on the stones, and only 40% thereafter.¹¹

Between 336 and 326, Kephisodotos undertook no fewer than four joint trierarchies and then two individual ones.¹² These six liturgies would have cost him at least three talents. This heavy burden puts him among the richest men in Athens, alongside such magnates as Konon or Nikeratos. Could such wealth have come from the family's sculptural work? Certainly. Their lucrative sideline in portraits alone would have netted at least 1000 drachmas per commission, and the sources record almost twenty of these, chiefly female: a tidy profit of three and half talents. Clearly, they cornered the market because they could offer something that their rivals could not. The Muses of the Mantinea base, with their complex coiffures and drapery, perhaps suggests what this something was. In any case, by 336, the family was living proof of Aristotle's observation that many craftsmen were rich because what they made was in demand.¹³

But back to Skopas. What do we really know of him and his work?

A search of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* and Packard Humanities epigraphical databases confirms that no new literary or epigraphical sources on Skopas have turned up since the present writer's *Skopas of Paros* was published in 1977. We are told that he came from the island of Paros, flourished in the middle decades of the fourth century, and was a contemporary of Praxiteles.¹⁴ His roots in Parian sculpture need closer attention.¹⁵

Like Praxiteles, Skopas can be associated with a sculptural dynasty, in this case one that alternated the names of Skopas and Aristandros. Pliny assigns a Skopas to the years 420-417 BC and in 405/4 an Aristandros of Paros worked on the victory monument at Amyklai for the battle of Aigospotamoi; then comes the great Skopas, whose activity ranges from about 370 to about 330.¹⁶ In the first century BC, an Aristandros of Paros, son of Skopas, restored several statues on Delos after the Mithradatic sack of 88.¹⁷ Finally, a Severan-period statue base in Rome, now lost but apparently a renewal of a republican one, carried a "[Hercules] Olivarius, the work of Skopas Minor".¹⁸ This motley array probably confused some ancient critics as to who made what in the Skopaic corpus, and has bedeviled attributions to it from the nineteenth century onwards.

Let us table these doubts for the moment and return to the picture of the great Skopas –the fourth century one– as the ancient sources paint it. They call him an *agalmatopoios*, a maker of gods, and in this enterprise rank him with Pheidias and Praxiteles.¹⁹ About twenty such commissions are attributed to him, all but one in marble and all but one involving the younger gods such as Aphrodite, Apollo, Ares, Artemis, Athena, Asklepios, Hygieia, Dionysos, and Hestia. These statues stood in the great sanctuaries of southern Greece, the islands, and western Asia Minor (Fig. 1): Elis, Gortys, Tegea, Argos, Thebes, Athens, Paros, Samothrace, Chryse in the Troad, Ephesos, Halikarnassos, and Knidos. Many of them ended up in Rome, where the only senior Olympian in the Skopaic corpus, Poseidon, was later also to be found. This Poseidon was the centerpiece of a great marble tableau alongside Thetis, Achilles, and Nereids riding dolphins, sea-dragons, hippocamps, and other sea monsters, together with Tritons and the chorus of Phorkos, "all by the same hand, a marvelous work, even if it were that of a lifetime".²⁰

Skopas' personifications included three Furies at Athens, an Eros, Himeros, and Pothos at Megara, and a Pothos alongside his Aphrodite at Samothrace. As to heroes and other mortals, aside from the aforementioned Achilles, he is credited with a marble Herakles at Sikyon, a basket-bearer or *kanephoros*, and a Maenad, plus the sculptures of the east side of the Maussolleion at Halikarnassos. This enormous enterprise, in which he worked alongside Pytheos, Satyros, Leochares, Bryaxis, Timotheos, and perhaps also for a time Praxiteles, included several registers of marble sculpture, ranging from lifesize to colossal and comprising both freestanding statues and re-

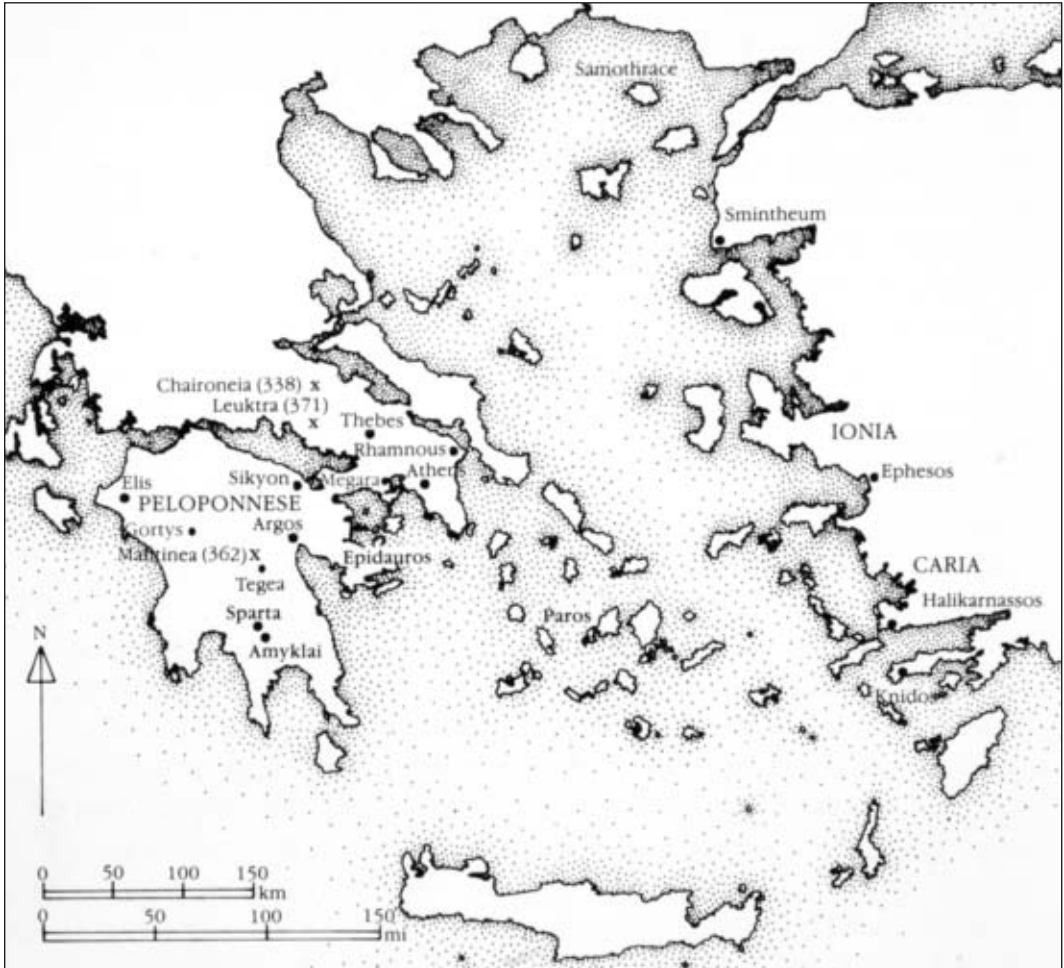


Figure 1. Map showing the location of Skopas' works as attested in the ancient sources.

lief friezes. The subjects included processions, sacrificial groups, battle scenes (both contemporary and mythological), hunts, and portraits.²¹ Finally, Skopas was also an architect, responsible according to Pausanias for designing at least one large Doric temple, the Temple of Alea Athena at Tegea.²² Its akroteria, pediments (Fig. 2), and metopes are often credited to him even though Pausanias fails to say who made them, and on other Greek temples, architect and sculptor were rarely identical.

No statue-bases signed by Skopas survive (perhaps because apart from his enigmatic *kane-phoros* he made no portraits, and apparently no athletes either); no source credits him explicitly with either a master or pupils; and no source describes or evaluates his style. The informative ancient critical tradition associated with the Argive-Sikyonian sculptural school seems to have bypassed him completely – as it did Praxiteles.

Yet in this and other, more positive respects, he and Praxiteles seem to march curiously in step. Not only did they treat many of the same subjects but also worked in several of the same



Figure 2. *Warrior's head from the west pediment of the Temple of Alea Athena at Tegea (cast), Athens NM 180. Ca. 340 BC. Photo: author.*

places. Moreover, at Megara, Skopas' Eros, Himeros, and Pothos even were grouped with Praxiteles' Peitho and Paregoros around an ancient statue of Aphrodite.²³ The sources bracket the two artists together on numerous other occasions also, sometimes in a most suggestive way.

Thus, not only was Skopas' Aphrodite at Rome rated even more highly than Praxiteles' Knidia, according to Pliny, and their two names are often mentioned in tandem, but also the ancient pundits even argued attributions between the two of them. Thus, Pliny (after listing his generally accepted oeuvre), turns to those works which for various reasons resisted attribution, remarking that: "It is uncertain whether Skopas or Praxiteles made the group of the dying children of Niobe in the temple of Apollo Sosianus, or again, which of them made the Janus brought from Egypt by Augustus and dedicated in his own temple, ... and there is also a dispute about the Cupid holding a thunderbolt in the Curia Octaviae; there is agreement about only one thing, that it is a portrait of Alcibiades, the handsomest youth of his time".²⁴

Now such disagreements are rare in Pliny and never occur elsewhere in his work on such a scale. These coincidences are even more remarkable considering what we know or think we know of Skopas' style. As Beazley and Ashmole once remarked of the Tegea sculptures (Fig. 2): "The massive heads are the opposite of everything Praxitelean".²⁵ Accordingly, some have concluded that these heads and their like have nothing to do with Skopas, and have turned to the quasi-Prax-

itelean “Hygieia” head from Tegea as a basis for their attributions, identifying it as a fragment from his Pentelic marble statue of the goddess that Pausanias saw along with his Asklepios and the archaic cult image of Athena at the east end of the temple cella.²⁶ Yet this head was not found there but outside the temple and apparently *in situ*, near a base at its southeast corner and under a column-drum. It is also made of Parian marble, not Pentelic, is severely weathered, and bears drip-marks on its crown. So presumably it belonged to a statue that stood on the base, was exposed to the elements for many centuries (drips from the cornice included), and was decapitated when the temple fell; no doubt its body was then hauled off to the lime kilns.²⁷ Probably, then, it postdates the completion of the temple in the 330s and has nothing to do with Skopas.

Should we look for another solution? Did Skopas’ style converge with Praxiteles’ in certain *genres*, and not in others?²⁸ Or were some or all of these disputed works made by the next generation in a blend of the two styles?²⁹

In the past thirty years, skeptics have challenged every traditional attribution to Skopas, asserting either that much of Pliny’s list properly should be given to Skopas Minor; or that most of his modern attributions should either follow suit or leave the corpus entirely; or both.³⁰ Thus, the Hope Herakles, Lansdowne Herakles, Meleager, Pothos, Maenad, Berlin Triton, and others have been redistributed up and down the seven hundred years from the fifth century BC to the third century AD, and have been severally reassigned to Skopas I, Aristandros I, Skopas Minor, Roman *pasticheurs*, and no one in particular.³¹ Yet even so, in 1999 the late Claude Rolley –no mean connoisseur of the art– could still publish an entirely traditional chapter on Skopas and his works, reuniting most of the corpus, reasserting its stylistic and thematic unity, and examining its influence.³²

Methodologically, Rolley was right. Concerning Pliny’s list of attributions, in the absence of the statues themselves or securely identified copies of them, it is unsound arbitrarily to assign any of them to the (presumably) late Hellenistic Skopas Minor. First, the encyclopedist’s sources –the Hellenistic and Roman connoisseurs– considered the late Hellenistic neo-classic sculptors to be “far inferior” to their classical predecessors and barely gave them the time of day.³² Second, they agreed that it was the fourth-century Skopas who made the works that Pliny lists under his name, and they had incomparably more information (the originals included) at their disposal than we do. And third, Skopas Minor’s only attested work, his Hercules Olivarius, does not appear in the literary record at all, and its *titulus* or label –*not* a true signature– shows that (here at least) one of these connoisseurs knew exactly who and what he was dealing with, and it was *not* the great Skopas. In short, Skopas Minor’s claim to Pliny’s attributions is untenable both methodologically and textually. Fixated upon his great ancestor and the golden age of Greek sculpture, the Hellenistic and Roman pundits simply ignored him.

What of the Tegea sculptures? Again, Rolley was right. They evidence a style so idiosyncratic, powerful, and influential that it points to the intervention of a major personality. Who else but Skopas? This style recurs on works such as the Lansdowne Herakles (Figs. 3, 6) and its replicas, to which may now be added a splendid new high Hellenistic amethyst from Holland (Fig. 5; cf. Fig. 4, reversed here for direct comparison).³⁴ This type is emphatically neither a variant of the Genzano Herakles (Fig. 7), nor a replica of a Hellenistic statue in the manner of Skopas, nor a Hadrianic *pastiche*.³⁵ For it is echoed on several fourth-century reliefs and referenced also on the Eleusinian painter’s pelike in St. Petersburg (Fig. 8).³⁶ These reminiscences, ignored by the skeptics, effectively quash any attempt to pry the Herakles away from the mid fourth century and (presumably)



Figure 3. *The Lansdowne Herakles, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 70.AA.109. Roman copy of a Greek original of ca. 360 BC. Photo: UCLA Photo Archive.*

Skopas. In the same vein, a red-figure lekanis lid from the Kerameikos (Fig. 9) also helps to date the Pothos to before ca. 330.³⁷ And as Rolley has reaffirmed, the latter is closer to the Tegea heads than one might think.³⁸

But none of this bears upon Skopas' central focus: the younger Olympians. Although his Palatine Apollo, perhaps taken from Rhamnous in Attica and displayed with an Artemis by Timotheos and a Leto by Kephisodotos II, has been plausibly recognized in Roman copy, these are too bland, too general, and too incomplete (i.e., headless) to help much.³⁹ A fragmentary foot, drapery fragments, and head from the Palatine may come from the original, but aside from the latter's resemblance to a series of disembodied heads known in copy and an almost equally ruinous female head from Tegea (probably part of an akroterion), they also are too damaged to take us further.⁴⁰



Figure 4. *The Lansdowne Herakles, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 70.AA.109: head, reversed for comparison with Fig. 5. Photo: UCLA Photo Archive.*



Figure 5. *Amethyst intaglio with head of the Lansdowne Herakles type, Sint Oedenrode (Netherlands). Hellenistic. Photo courtesy Sem Peters.*



Figure 6. *The Lansdowne Herakles, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 70.AA.109: head. Photo: UCLA Photo Archive.*



Figure 7. *Herm of Herakles from Genzano, London BM 1731. Roman copy of a Greek original of ca. 370-360 BC. Photo: Author.*



Figure 8. Redrawing of a pelike attributed to the Eleusinian Painter, St. Petersburg St. 1792. Ca. 340 BC. From A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* (Munich 1909) pl. 70.



Figure 9. Lekanis lid, Athens NM 1190 (CC 1970): Eros/Pothos and bride. Ca. 330 BC. Photo: Author.

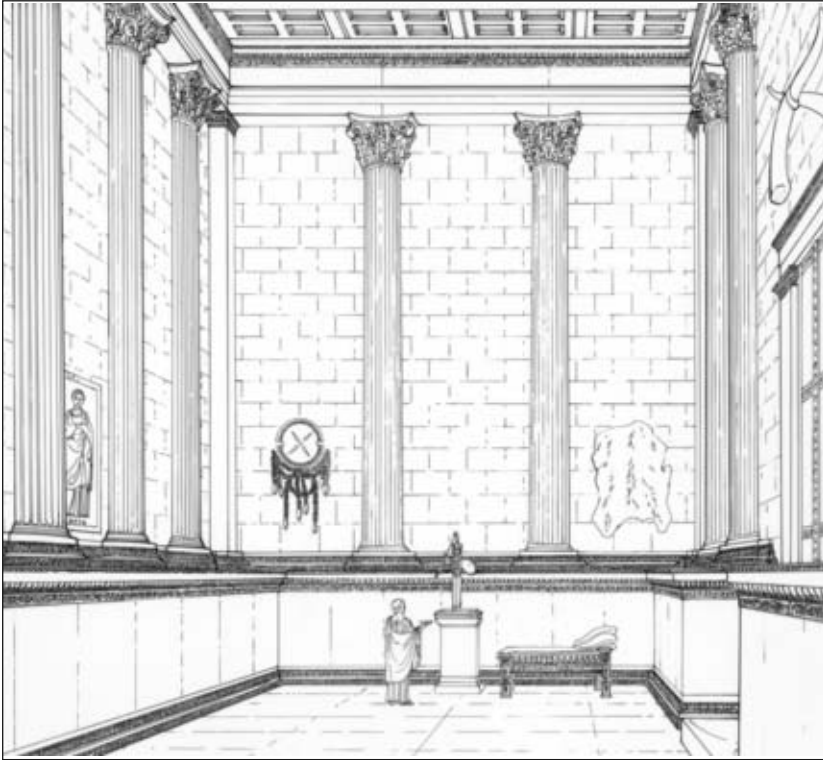


Figure 10. Reconstruction of the interior of the Temple of Alea Athena at Tegea by Candace Smith and the author, after Pakkanen 2006. Ca. 340 BC.

On the other hand, since Skopas' sole recorded work in bronze, the Aphrodite Pandemos for Elis, is mentioned only by Pausanias,⁴¹ its ascription to his grandfather, the Skopas assigned by Pliny to the 420s, remains attractive. Finally, what of the great marble group in Rome featuring Poseidon, Thetis, Achilles, the Nereids, and so on? Despite its inclusion in Pliny's list,⁴² was this a late Hellenistic creation even so, as many prefer to believe? Yet in 1983 Gilbert Picard showed that many of the motifs of the Hellenistic thiasos actually originated in the fourth century BC, the twin-tailed Triton included.⁴³ And what of the Berlin Triton, which was found probably in Rome, looks very like the Tegea sculptures, is also a lifesize appliqué relief, and cannot be a solo figure?⁴⁴ To banish the Skopaic thiasos to the late Hellenistic period leaves it orphaned, homeless, and inexplicable.

Unfortunately, though, almost nothing of this brings us much nearer the "real" Skopas, contemporary, colleague, and perhaps rival of Praxiteles.

Yet as so often in archaeology, a stalemate on one front may be offset by an advance on another. Skopas' work as an architect and his connections with the fourth-century "Ionic Renaissance" are explored elsewhere in this volume by Bammer, Ohnesorg, Østby, Pedersen, and Wescoat. As for his temple at Tegea, Jari Pakkanen has long studied its architecture, and has authorized a tentative new reconstruction of its interior (Fig. 10).⁴⁵ He eliminates the Ionic upper order, for which there is no evidence except for a gratuitous emendation of Pausanias's text,⁴⁶ and places the

Corinthian order on a continuous podium, for which there is new evidence in the form of blocks from the site.

The temple that had housed the archaic image of Tegea's guardian goddess, Alea Athena, had burned to the ground in 395, and it took the Tegeans half a century to save enough money to replace it. Their diligence was amply rewarded. When Pausanias visited Skopas' temple five hundred years later he deemed it "far superior to all other temples in the Peloponnese on many grounds, especially for its size".⁴⁷

Skopas evidently modeled his new temple, in part, on Iktinos's temple at Bassae, built in the last quarter of the fifth century.⁴⁸ Like Iktinos, he chose the severe Doric order for its exterior, but elongated the columns somewhat in order to make his building higher and more elegant. Its cella was more innovative still. Here Skopas completely rethought his model, capitalizing on the much higher ceiling (50% higher, in fact) that the building's taller exterior columns and somewhat greater size had given him. Eliminating Bassai's rear chamber and replacing its Ionic half-columns with Corinthian ones, he pushed them back against the cella walls and mounted them on a continuous podium. He may have got this idea from the tholos at Delphi by Theodoros of Phokaia, completed around 375.⁴⁹

Located at eye-level, 1.6 m above the cella floor, the top of Skopas' podium formed a strongly marked horizon around its interior.

The resulting space was both strongly unified and also less fussy and cramped than at Bassai, for these modifications both simplified it and tripled its usable volume. Finally, Skopas redesigned the Corinthian capital, eliminating its interior spirals and strengthening what remained. But these brilliant innovations merely provided a frame and backdrop for the pious votives within, diligently listed by Pausanias.⁵⁰ These included ancient trophies from the heroic exploits shown in the pediments and spoils from Tegea's long-ago wars with Sparta, that formerly great power now rapidly dwindling to second-rate status. Finally came the archaic image of Alea Athena itself: an exquisite work of ancient piety at the heart of the entire ensemble, nestling like a precious jewel in Skopas' magnificent and elegantly crafted setting.

So Skopas cleverly decanted an old wine into a new bottle – a typically fourth-century move. But it worked. It not only mightily impressed Pausanias, but also started a trend that continued deep into the Roman Empire, spreading to remote sites such as Baalbek, places that Skopas never visited or probably even dreamt of.⁵¹

NOTES

1. Carpenter 1960, v.
2. Ridgway 1999, 186; *contra*, Schulz 2007, 180-6.
3. See, e.g., Schulz 2007, 2009; with useful bibliographies.
4. *Dem.* 50.
5. In a lecture given at Berkeley in spring, 2006.
6. Pl. *Meno* 91D; *Prt.* 328C; Xen. *Mem.* 1.4.3; Isoc. *Antid.* 2-3; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 6.7.1, 1141a9-12.
7. *Prt.* 328C.
8. Poseidippos 62-70, 142 Austin-Bastianini.
9. *Meno* 91D.
10. Their registration in two demes, which has sometimes raised doubts as to whether the great sculptor's family is the one in question, is easily explained by an adoption: the adoptee would maintain his original deme registration.
11. Davies 1971, xxix.
12. *IG* 2².1623, lines 100-1; 1628, lines 57-8, 68, 74-5, 111-12; 1629, lines 674-5; see Davies 1971, 288 (no. 8334).
13. *Pol.* 2.5.6, 1268a29-32; 3.3.4, 1378a24. For the Mantinea base see Stewart 1990, figs. 493-4; Rolley 1999, figs. 250-1.
14. See, e.g., Plin. *HN* 36.25-30; for the collected testimonia see Stewart 1977, 126-55, 151; Calcani 2009, 117-41.
15. For treatment of this subject, see Katsonopoulou, this volume.
16. Plin. *HN* 34.49, 36.25; Paus. 3.18.8; etc.
17. *ID* 1696, 1697, 1710, 2494.
18. *CIL* 6.33936: a *titulus*, not a true signature. "Minor" here should be understood as "junior" or "the younger", not (necessarily) "lesser". See, e.g., Plin. *HN* 35.49 on "Micon minor" and the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* q.v. It carries no implication that Skopas Minor was the fourth-century master's son or grandson.
19. *Laterculi Alexandrini* col. 7.3-5; *P Oxy.* 10.1241.1.3-5; Plin. *HN* 36.25; Mart. 4.39.1-3; Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 23.500-6.
20. Plin. *HN* 36.26; for these commissions and modern attributions to Skopas, see Stewart 1977 and Calcani 2009 (discussion and updated bibliographies) and Adornato, Bruns-Özgan, Calcani, Corso, Delivorrias, Kousoulas, Leventi, Lopes, Marconi, and Wescoat, this volume. Since the scholarship is vast and mostly either repetitive or avowedly heterodox, I cite selected items only.
21. Waywell 1978; Cook 1995. Synopses: Stewart 1990, 180-2; Rolley 1999, 307-17 and Barr-Sharrar, Calcani, Geominy, Kluge, Marconi, Wescoat, and Wolf, this volume.
22. Paus. 8.45.4-7; Dugas et al. 1924; Norman 1984; Pakkanen 1996, 153-64; Pakkanen 1998; Pakkanen 2005; Pakkanen 2006 (I thank Jari Pakkanen for a copy of this unpublished paper, upon which -with his permission- the reconstruction in Fig. 10 is based). Also Kousoulas, Østby and Pedersen, this volume.
23. Paus. 1.43.6; see most recently Palagia 2000, Kluge and Lopes, this volume.
24. Plin. *HN* 36.26, 28; see Corso, this volume. Palagia (2010, 98) contends that the latter passage merely proves that "Pliny had no idea of the real styles of his heroes" and thus is a farrago of fictions. Clearly, though, he is not relaying his personal opinions but reporting on disputes among connoisseurs. The crucial point is that they *could* confuse the styles of the two. Cicero seems to suggest the same thing: *Div.* 1.13; 2.21.
25. Beazley and Ashmole 1932, 56.

26. Paus. 8.47.1. Norman (1986) suggests that they were probably brought into the cella in Hellenistic or Roman times; Leventi (1993 and 2003, 57 n. 74, 93) attributes them to Skopas Minor.
27. Athens NM 3602: Dugas et al. 1924, 117-20, pls. 113-5; Rolley 1999, 215-6, fig. 207 (Praxitelean; ca. 375-350); Palagia 2000, 222-3 (Skopaic); Kaltsas 2001/2002, 257, no. 538 (ca. 350-325); Leventi 2003, 93 n. 37; Calcani 2009, 37-8, 99-100, no. 10, pl. 12b (ca. 340); Leventi, this volume, attributes it to the Tegean temple's altar. For its find-circumstances see Mendel 1901, 243-4, 260-1, n. 1; Dugas et al. 1924, 65, 117, n. 1, pls. 3-5 (base G.); summary, Stewart 1977, 83.
28. So, e.g., Palagia 2000. If the Pothos type copies Skopas' Megarian version, not his Samothracian one (so Marconi, this volume), its display alongside Praxiteles' Eros, Peitho, and Paregoros could supply the reason.
29. As the Florentine Niobids might indicate: see, e.g., Stewart 1977, 118-20; Rolley 1999, 277-81.
30. Thus, e.g., Ridgway 1990, 82-90; Ridgway 1997, 251-8; cf. Leventi 1993; Palagia 2010, 98, n. 9: "Pliny *HN* 36.25-26 deals mainly with the second-century Scopas."
31. For details see Calcani 2009, 49-116, with references.
32. Rolley 1999, 268-83.
33. Plin. *HN* 34.52.
34. My thanks to Arthur Legger for alerting me to this amazing find and for sending me a picture of it; to Sem Peters for sending me more pictures of it and allowing me to publish one of them; and to Gertrud Platz for her opinion on its date and for the following information in advance of her publication of it. Dimensions: H ca. 22.5 mm; W ca. 19.2 (in setting); Th 7.2; golden setting, total H with two eyelets 43.5; W 26.3. Amethyst intaglio: oval, biconvex with flattened rear. Intact except for two chips on Herakles' chest. Bibliography: Peters 2009; van Genabeek 2010 and Platz 2013.
35. So, e.g., Lattimore 1975, 26 (Hadrianic pastiche); Raeder 1983, 53, 226-7 (ditto); *contra*, Kansteiner 2000, 11-13, 17-18 (fourth-century variant of Genzano type); Calcani 2009, 19-20, 48 (early Hellenistic, overlooking Kansteiner).
36. Reliefs, etc.: Kansteiner 2000, 11-13. Pelike: *ARV*² 1476; Para. 496; *Beazley Addenda* 381; cf. Stewart 1977, 99, pl. 42d.
37. Athens NM 1190 (CC 1970): Richter 1904/5, 242, fig. 4; Schefold 1934, 4 (no. 3), 70 (ca. 330); see Lopes, this volume, who independently realized its significance at about the same time that I did.
38. Rolley 1999, 274.
39. Stewart 1977, 93-4 (no. 2), 141-2, pl. 33b; Calcani 2009, 10, 15-18, 47, 56-9 (no. 4), 125-6 (no. 4), pl. 3; Roccas (1989) unwisely regards it as an Augustan original.
40. Palatine fragments: plausibly linked with the Ariadne-Apollo or "Deubner" head type by Jucker 1982, 95; cf. Stewart 1977, 12-14, no. 4, pl. 4 (akroterion), 141 ("Deubner" type: Skopaic?); Flashar 1990, 44, 184-91, figs. 171-88 ("Deubner" type: classicizing, 1st century BC); Calcani 2009, 56-7 (no. 4: Palatine fragments), 91 (no. 3: akroterion), pls. 2, 12a.
41. Paus. 6.25.1, also noting in the neighboring temple an Aphrodite Ourania by Pheidias, presumably made after his exile from Athens around 438; the coincidence in dates could suggest a unified program.
42. Plin. *HN* 36.26.
43. Picard 1988.
44. Stewart 1977, 99-101, pl. 43a, c; Calcani 2009, 77-8 (no. 2; with recent bibliography), pl. 7b.
45. Pakkanen 2006 and Østby, this volume; Stewart 2008, 256 fig. 137.
46. Paus. 8.45.5: ἐκτός ms (β); ἐντός Klenze.
47. Paus. 8.45.5.
48. See Cooper (ed.) 1992-1996 and Østby, this volume.
49. See Bommelaer (ed.) 1997, 59-76, figs. 55, 63, 65 and Østby, this volume.
50. Paus. 8.47.1-2.
51. See, e.g., Ward-Perkins 1981, 318, fig. 204.

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ABSTRACT

DESPERATELY SEEKING SKOPAS

In America today, opinion has turned decisively against the resurrection of artistic personalities from Greek antiquity. After investigating why scholars have taken this extreme position, this paper attempts to counter it both methodologically and philologically, then examines what we know about Skopas and his oeuvre. In particular, how do we explain his frequent appearance alongside Praxiteles in the sources, their disputes over attribution included? I then discuss some individual works, offering new or overlooked evidence for their date and attribution, and finally present a new reconstruction and evaluation of the Tegea temple's interior, based on recent work at Tegea by Jari Pakkanen.

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

ΑΝΑΖΗΤΩΝΤΑΣ ΕΠΙΜΟΝΑ ΤΟΝ ΣΚΟΠΑ

Σήμερα στην Αμερική, υπάρχει μια τάση εναντίον της επαναφοράς καλλιτεχνών από την ελληνική αρχαιότητα ως αυτόνομων προσωπικοτήτων. Αφού διερεύνησα τους λόγους για τους οποίους κάποιοι μελετητές έχουν πάρει αυτή την ακραία θέση, το παρόν άρθρο επιχειρεί να αντιμετωπίσει το θέμα τόσο μεθοδολογικά όσο και φιλολογικά. Στη συνέχεια εξετάζονται οι γνώσεις μας για τον Σκόπα και το έργο του. Ειδικότερα, πώς μπορούμε να εξηγήσουμε τη συχνή εμφάνισή του μαζί με τον Πραξιτέλη στις πηγές, συμπεριλαμβανομένων και διαφωνιών αναφορικά με την απόδοση των έργων; Στη συνέχεια εξετάζω ορισμένα επιμέρους έργα, προσφέροντας νέα ή αγνοηθέντα στοιχεία σχετικά με τη χρονολόγηση και την ταύτισή τους. Τέλος, παρουσιάζω μια νέα αποκατάσταση και αξιολόγηση του εσωτερικού του ναού της Τεγέας, με βάση τις πρόσφατες εργασίες στην Τεγέα από τον Jari Pakkanen.