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## Imports and imitations? Some observations on Archaic *kouroi* discovered in the Black Sea region

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### Abstract

This paper deals with fragments of Archaic Greek sculpture discovered in archaeological contexts in the Bosphorus and Black Sea regions. Its aim is to provide a brief overview over the disparately published material as well as to discuss the problems of assigning cultural influences on sculptural works and possible biases within the discussion of the provenance of sculpture. These biases stem mostly from ancient written sources often long postdating the phenomenon known as the ‘Great Greek Colonisation’ and which usually suggest a strong connection between *apoikiai* and their respective metropolises. Very often, attributions to cultural ‘styles’ as well as certain dates are a consequence of stylistic analyses. These problems are going to be illustrated on the basis of a few selected examples of statues of *kouroi* discovered in the Propontis and Black Sea regions. Further on, both possibilities and problems/limitations of scientific provenance analyses of ancient marbles are brought to discussion.

In and around the *apoikiai* on the shores of the Black Sea, various fragments of free-standing Archaic sculptures were discovered. While in smaller numbers *korai*, lions, sphinxes and/or griffins and representations of the goddess Kybele are represented as well, most of these fragments belong to *kouroi*, which are usually under life-sized. Unfortunately, in most cases we are lacking further details regarding their exact provenance or even archaeological context. Thus, on most occasions it is unclear whether these sculptural works were originally connected to grave contexts or to a sanctuary.<sup>1</sup> Since there is both literary and archaeological evidence that Ionian *poleis*, above all Miletus, were involved in many foundations on the shores of the Black Sea as well as the Bosphorus, a predominant role of Ionian cultural influence in the process of acculturation was often taken for granted in discussions of particular sculptural works.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, the comparatively few examples of free-standing sculpture discovered in the Black Sea region were sometimes interpreted as Ionian imports stemming from the *apoikiai*’s respective mother-cities.<sup>3</sup> Since various ancient literary sources claim that the *polis* of Miletus was involved in exceptionally many foundations on the shores of the Black Sea (Pliny *NH* 5. 112; Ps.-Scymnus *GGM* 1. 1225, 734-737), Milesian influence on the sculpture of these regions is usually considered of crucial importance.<sup>4</sup>

Similar assumptions have been made regarding other material groups, yet especially in studies of pottery, archaeometric analyses have yielded results which indicate that the importance of the direct relationship between *apoikia* and metropolis might have been overestimated, at least in some cases.<sup>5</sup> While South Ionian *apoikiai* indeed imported a great deal of pottery (which often was not of the highest quality), these imports in fact stem from various different production sites. In the early 6th century BC, North Ionian sites even seem to dominate.<sup>6</sup> In addition, it seems that branches of workshops producing South Ionian wares were established in the Troad. They

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<sup>1</sup> For the functions of *kouroi* and *koirai* in general, see Meyer and Brüggemann 2007.

<sup>2</sup> For Miletus and its outstanding number of *apoikiai*, see especially Ehrhardt 1988; See also Graham 1983, 98.

<sup>3</sup> For Ionian sculpture in general, see especially Akurgal 1955; 1966; 1986; 1987; 1989; 1992; 1993; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974; Hiller 1975; Işık 2005; Kron 1986; Laubscher 1963-64; Özgan 1978; 1989; Strocka 1977; Tuchelt 1970; von Graeve 1996.

<sup>4</sup> Floren 1987, 404, 408. For Milesian sculpture, see especially Hommel 1967; von Graeve 1975; 1983; 1985; 1986a; 1986b; 2005.

<sup>5</sup> Posamentir and Solovyov 2006; 2007; Posamentir *et al.* 2009.

<sup>6</sup> North Ionian pottery also replaced the widely spread South Ionian pottery in the Levant, Cyrenaica and Sicily: Kerschner 2000, 467.

covered the apparently high demand for Ionian pottery in the Black Sea region. Therefore, the inhabitants of the *apoikiai* seem to have associated themselves within a larger Ionian cultural community and established their own networks rather than mainly rely on their respective metropolises.

But does that also apply to prestigious objects such as sculptural works made of marble? At a first glance, it might seem that the examples of statues found along the shores of the Black Sea and the Propontis, such as the *kouros* discovered at Histria or the draped *kouroi* found in Rhaïdestos (Bisanthe) and Apollonia Pontica (see below), the under life-sized sculptures of banqueters discovered in the Cimmerian Bosphorus and in Proconnesus (see below), or the lions found at a *kurgan*-grave near Olbia,<sup>7</sup> can easily be assigned to a Milesian-Ionian background. Unlike in other areas such as the Iberian peninsula,<sup>8</sup> Ionian Greek sculpture appears to have shown no significant impetus to the development of an independent regional sculpture, especially in stone sculpture.<sup>9</sup> At least on some occasions this might result from the lack of local marble deposits in wide regions of especially the north-western Black Sea coast.

A closer look at the controversial discussions of several better-known examples reveals that the attribution to a specific provenance or cultural region can involve pitfalls.

These problems also apply to imports with which we seemed to be on more secure ground. A careful re-examination of these sculptures might thus lead to a better understanding of both Ionian sculpture and sculptural works discovered in the Black Sea region. In this paper, I am going to specifically address statues and statuettes of *kouroi*, which seem to form the largest part of Archaic Greek sculpture discovered in the Propontis and the Black Sea.<sup>10</sup>

### Archaic *kouroi* in Black Sea Contexts

The well-known fragmented *kouros* of Histria (see below) is one of the few sculptural works from the Black Sea region within an actual archaeological context.<sup>11</sup> Along with some other fragments of sculpture it was discovered in a pit close to temple A at Histria.<sup>12</sup> The circumstances of the find within a sanctuary context indicate that it either had a ritual function or served as a votive dedication. Approximately half of the under life-sized upper torso dating around 560/50 BC (and thus representing one of the earliest examples of Archaic sculpture discovered in the Black Sea regions) is preserved. While both hair and back are still in a good condition, the front surface is poorly preserved. Apart from G. Bordenache, who suggested an attribution to a Thasian workshop,<sup>13</sup> researchers usually treated the *kouros* of Histria as a Milesian or a Samian work on the basis of stylistic analysis.<sup>14</sup> Isotopic provenance analysis seemed to support the claim that it was a Milesian import, because of a match with marble stemming from

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<sup>7</sup> Lions from a grave close to Olbia: St Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. Ol. 17832-17833: Minns 1913, 298, ref. 14, 316, ref. 6; Dracuk 1975, 14. pls. 41-43, 47-49; Stročka 1977, 503-04, ref. 74; Floren 1987, 408; Alexandrescu Vianu 1999, 34, no. 12; Trofimova 2007, fig. 2,3. For the Lion Grave at Miletus, see Forbeck and Heres 1997.

<sup>8</sup> Olmos 1996; Blech 2000.

<sup>9</sup> Oppermann 2004, 3: 'Die Terrakottaplastik wurde nur sehr zurückhaltend, die Steinplastik kaum von der indigenen Bevölkerung rezipiert.' For coroplastic, see Kobylina 1970-74.

<sup>10</sup> In general, *kouroi* seem to appear more frequently than *korai* (Meyer and Brüggemann 2007, 113-19), but in Ionia it seems that slightly more *korai* than *kouroi* were discovered (Meyer and Brüggemann 2007, 117).

<sup>11</sup> Fragmented torso of a *kouros*, H 0.37 m, formerly Bucharest, National Historic Museum, inv. 1689, now in Archaeological Museum of Histria: Bîrzescu 2012-13, 208; Avram *et al.* 2008, 119-20, no. 27, 128, fig. 8; Butyagin 2007, 66-67, fig. 9.3; Oppermann 2004, 37, pl. 6.2; Domăneanțu 2006, 79-80; Alexandrescu 2004-05; Alexandrescu Vianu 1999, 31-32, no. 1, pl. 1; Floren 1987, 408, ref. 4; Bordenache 1969, 13-14, no. 1, pl. 1; Laubscher 1963-64, 81; Richter 1970, 154, no. 86a, figs. 602-604 (555-540 BC).

<sup>12</sup> Regarding the history of the find and its archaeological context, see especially Avram *et al.* 2008, 119-20; Domăneanțu 2006, 79-80; Alexandrescu 2004-05.

<sup>13</sup> Bordenache 1969, 13, no. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Milesian: Floren 1987, 408; Alexandrescu Vianu 1999, 32. Samian: Laubscher 1963-64, 81; Tuchelt 1970, 165; Loukopoulou 1989, 167.

the (modern) quarry of Denizli.<sup>15</sup> There are, however, some problems with this attribution. First of all, there is no evidence that the marble of the Denizli quarries had already been exploited in the Archaic period. Denizli lies a long way inland from Miletus, which would have meant long transport over difficult terrain. In the light of the fact that there are a couple of easily accessible quarries at the Ionian coast which were exploited in antiquity, this scenario seems unlikely. Secondly, investigations during the last two decades have brought to light a couple of pitfalls in the methodology of isotopic analyses of marbles:<sup>16</sup> because calcitic marbles are geologically highly similar, the patterns gained by a stable- isotope-analysis of carbon and oxygen usually match not just one specific but several geologically similar regions. Thus, on its own, this kind of analysis provides results too unspecific for a reliable determination of the marble's provenance. More recent scientific approaches, combining both the analysis of the carbon and oxygen isotopy and a stable-isotope- analysis of strontium, as well as microscopic examination and sometimes even chemical analysis, have proved to yield more reliable results. Therefore, I am grateful that the *kouros* discovered in Histria could receive a new scientific marble analysis which might help to clarify the question.<sup>17</sup>

Thirdly, the work differs significantly from mid-6th-century BC Milesian sculpture. Neither spine nor shoulders are pronounced, the features of the young man appear soft and undefined. His long hair, which is falling down the back in the form of a curve, finds its best parallels in Parian works.<sup>18</sup> All locks are roughly pre-structured in equally sized rectangles by a raster of parallel vertical and horizontal lines. This creates a somewhat coarse appeal that made H.P. Laubscher assume a 'provincial' background.<sup>19</sup> That the last row of locks was not given any special attention (usually, the last locks are longer and shaped as flames) is exceptional: it is possible that sculpture was in fact unfinished. Apart from the provenience of the marble, it is also important to ask *how* sculptures arrived at the *apoikiai* in the Black Sea region. In addition to imports of finished works, half-fabricates that were completed at their final destinations might have played an important role: half-fabricates are not only easier to transport, but also provide even more opportunities to meet local requirements and tastes.

A fragmented miniature *kouros* made of marble was discovered in the lower fill of a large circular pit in the south-east of excavation area A in Berezan.<sup>20</sup> Accompanying finds provide a *terminus post quem* of the third quarter of the 6th century BC. As L. Davydova has pointed out, free-standing marble *kouros* figurines in such a small scale are not very common. The surface is poorly conserved, which complicates the analysis. Davydova suggests that the probably imported figurine (she thinks of an East Greek background based on the appearance of the marble) might have been a votive in the sanctuary of Apollo at Olbia and later served as an amulet or apotropaic figure in Berezan.<sup>21</sup> But the figurine is by no means necessarily connected to Olbia: it is also possible that it was a prestige item imported for and used in a (ritual?) context in Berezan.

In Olbia, two fragments of heads of *kouros* were discovered that G. Richter assigned to the Melos group.<sup>22</sup> A fragmented torso of an under life-sized *kouros* (although, at about one- third life size, not as small as the Berezan

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<sup>15</sup> Alexandrescu Vianu 1999, 19-20, 29-30. Unfortunately, the methodological details of the analysis are not further elaborated. See also Oppermann 2004, 37.

<sup>16</sup> For this aspect, see Zöldföldi *et al.* 2008; Zöldföldi 2015.

<sup>17</sup> Conducted by J. Zöldföldi in the framework of the project 'Interdisziplinäre Analyse kultureller Kontakte in antiken Randzonen' (R. Posamentir, Tübingen University). I thank Richard Posamentir for the opportunity to work with the data gathered in his project.

<sup>18</sup> The best parallel I am aware of is a fragmented *kouros* discovered in Paros, Archaeological Museum of Paros, inv. A311: Barlou 2014, 164, pl. 59a-d.

<sup>19</sup> Laubscher 1963-64, 81. Laubscher saw stylistic similarities with the so-called Samian 'Rinderführer' (Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 130-35, pls. 53-54), who wears shorter hair that falls evenly onto his back.

<sup>20</sup> Miniature *kouros*, H 0.073 m (reconstructed H *ca.* 0.15-0.17 m), State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, inv. B86.220: Davydova 2001; 2002.

<sup>21</sup> Davydova 2001, 157.

<sup>22</sup> Fragmented head of a *kouros*(?) with bad surface-conservation, H 0.135 m, State Historical Museum, Moscow, inv. 11769: Waldhauer 1924, 46-47, fig. 1; Langlotz 1927, 103, no. 12; Laubscher 1963-64, 79; Hommel 1967, 124, 4; Richter 1970, 92; Tuchelt 1970, 165, ref. 16; Floren 1987, 408; Alexandrescu Vianu 1999, 33, ref. 84, no. 2; Davydova 2001, 157; Zhuravlev 2002, 86, no. 357. Fragmented head of a *kouros* discovered 1906 in Olbia(?), H 0.19 m, State Hermitage Museum, St

figurine) was discovered ‘in an ancient grave’ in Olbia.<sup>23</sup> Richter assigned it to the Ptoon-2 -group although stating the fragment suggested ‘Eastern connections’.<sup>24</sup> A fragmented head of a miniature *kouros* discovered in a grave at Kirik island close to Sozopol (Apollonia Pontica) was considered a local work.<sup>25</sup> The marble surface appears polished. This is also the case in a small head discovered at Kepoi, which is usually identified as the head of a *kouros* dating to the late 6th century BC.<sup>26</sup> The head from Kepoi is an insert head (a concept which is not typical for the Archaic period), made of the same marble with highly polished surface as a miniature female head discovered at Tamanskii Tholos at Kepoi.<sup>27</sup> Both heads share a hairstyle on the back of their heads: several strokes of short hair cut off in the neck. Consequently, a careful re-examination of the work would be important as it seems highly possible that this *kouros* represents an archaising work of a later period.

Even more difficult to deal with – both in regard to the dating and the cultural attribution – are objects worked in local limestone without a clear archaeological context. The well-known upper part of a *kouros* discovered in a later context at Olbia, for instance, served as an inspiration for very diverse (sometimes even contradictory) approaches and hypotheses regarding both its date and its interpretation/function.<sup>28</sup>

### **Draped *kouroi* and reclining banqueters – statements of Ionian aristocracy?**

The group of draped *kouroi* appears to be characteristic of Late Archaic Ionian sculpture.<sup>29</sup> Most examples belonging to this group were encountered in and around the big sanctuaries of Didyma and Samos, some were discovered in other sites at Asia Minor and in the Aegean, and single examples were discovered at more distant places like the Propontis and the Black Sea coast (Figure 1).<sup>30</sup> While they in many cases appear as votives in sanctuaries, some even bearing dedication inscriptions,<sup>31</sup> an about life-sized *kouros* made of local limestone was discovered next to a grave within the necropolis of Tuzla Terazi (Pitane) and thus might have served as a grave marker.<sup>32</sup> Most draped *kouroi* range between one-half and one-third of life size, but there are also few examples of life-sized and over life-sized *kouroi*, as well as of small statuettes.<sup>33</sup> H. Kyrieleis has convincingly explained the

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Petersburg, inv. 15800: Waldhauer 1931, 1, no. 84, 3, figs.3-4; Laubscher 1963-64, 79; Hommel 1967, 124, 5; Richter 1970, 92; Tuchelt 1970, 165, ref. 17; Alexandrescu Vianu 1999, 33, ref. 84, no. 1; Oppermann 2004, 37, ref. 323.

<sup>23</sup> Fragmented torso of a *kouros* discovered ‘in a grave’ near the village of Parutino (ancient Olbia), H 0.171 m, Archaeological Museum of Nikolaev: Pharmakovskii 1926; Richter 1970, 129, 143-44, no. 178, figs. 522-523; Alexandrescu Vianu 1999, 33-34, ref. 84, no. 4; Davydova 2001, 157; Oppermann 2004, 37, ref. 326.

<sup>24</sup> Richter 1970, 129.

<sup>25</sup> Fragmented head (of a small *kouros*?), H 0.056 m, Burgas Museum, inv. 615: Venedikov and Gerassimov 1973, 42, fig. 57; Floren 1987, 408, ref. 2; Alexandrescu Vianu 1999, 34, ref. 84, no. 10; Oppermann 2004, 37, ref. 325, pl. 6.3a-b; Oppermann 2007, 15, fig. 9.

<sup>26</sup> Head of a male figurine (insert head) from Kepoi, H 0.118 m, State Historical Museum, Moscow, inv. 99532: Sokolskii 1962; Kobylina 1972, 3, pl. 1; Alexandrescu Vianu 1999, 34, ref. 84, no. 7; Zhuravlev 2002, 86, no. 355; Savostina 2012, 316, fig. 272, 317.

<sup>27</sup> Sokolskii 1976, 83, fig. 44.

<sup>28</sup> Upper part of a *kouros* in limestone, H 0.55 m, State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, inv. OL.69.3470: Koshelenko *et al.* 1984, 107, pl. 11.2; Vinogradov and Kryžickij 1995, 98-99; Alexandrescu Vianu 1999, 34, ref. 84, no. 5; Davydova 2001, 158; Oppermann 2004, 37, ref. 324; Butyagin 2007, 67 with fig. 9.3; Meyer 2013, 191, ref. 5.

<sup>29</sup> For a thorough study on draped *kouroi*, see especially. Barletta 1987 who collected a total of 37 draped *kouroi*. Today, some more examples can be added to the group (now consisting of *ca.* 40 examples, see Bosnakis 2012, 183), i.e. the under life-sized *kouros* from the sanctuary of Apollo Dalios at Kalymnos with painted *ependytes* and dedicatory inscription, H 1.095 m, Kalymnos, inv. 3602: Bosnakis 2012, 2; and a fragmented torso of a draped *kouros* from Amorgos, H 0.405 m: Marankou 2012, 194-99, figs. 7-12.

<sup>30</sup> The *kouroi* from Syrakus and Athens, who are only wearing a *himation* (see n. 40) are not considered here as they differ significantly from the rest of the group.

<sup>31</sup> For *kouroi* with dedicatory inscriptions, see, for example, the *kouros* of Kalymnos (see n. 29), the Dionyshermos, unknown provenance, H 0.69 m, Paris Louvre, inv. Ma3600: for example, Langlotz 1975, 133-35; Richter 1970, figs. 616-619.

<sup>32</sup> *Kouros* of Pitane, H 1.62 m, Archaeological Museum of Bergama, inv. 16-359, see Boehringer 1959, 166-68, figs. 34-35; Akurgal 1961, 229-31, figs. 195, 197; Tuchelt 1970, 128, nos. 104, 115, 182; Langlotz 1975, 111, ref. 1 no IV, 112-15, pl. 32.2; Özgan 1978, 65-66, 164, ref. 206, fig. 37; Barletta 1987, 245, no. 24; Floren 1987, 378, 401, ref. 9; Sarioğlu 2006, 48-49, fig. 13 (L. Atila and M. Sahan state that the statue is made of marble).

<sup>33</sup> Life-sized, for example the *kouroi* of Cap Phoneas (see below n. 34) and Pitane (see n. 32); monumental, for example



completely preserved life-sized *kouros* of Cape Phoneas, who stands on his toes and lifts his robe with his right hand, as an aristocratic dancer.<sup>34</sup> It is by no means certain, however, that this interpretation applies to all members of the group as, for example, the right hands of the two *kouroi* discovered in the Propontis and the western Black Sea coast do not seem to lift their *himatia*.

The torso of the under life-sized *kouros* from the Rhaidestos collection was found in a Turkish village close to Rhaidestos (ancient Bisanthe) in 1874 and is now in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki.<sup>35</sup> The exact circumstances of the find are unknown and we thus lack information regarding its original context.<sup>36</sup> On the basis of stylistic characteristics it has been associated with Samian and Milesian workshops and sometimes even claimed to be an import.<sup>37</sup> The sculpture finds its closest parallel in an (unfortunately rather poorly preserved) fragmented torso of a life-sized *kouros* from Samos, which is dated to the last quarter of the 6th century BC.<sup>38</sup> Both *kouroi* have long hair with carefully carved curls cut off in a horizontal line under the shoulders. Their *himation* is draped in a similar fashion<sup>39</sup> and furthermore, it seems that both of them do not wear a *chiton* under their *himation*, which is exceptional.<sup>40</sup> If its marble was truly of Proconnesian origin, as S. Pelekidis had suggested, the *kouros* of Bisanthe has to be understood as a regional work – yet only scientific analysis of the marble can help to clarify this question.<sup>41</sup> The date of the torso has been discussed controversially: while R. Özgan suggested an early date around 540/30 BC,<sup>42</sup> E. Langlotz proposed a late date at the beginning of the 5th century BC.<sup>43</sup> Both scholars based their assumptions on stylistic observations. B. Barletta and G. Despinis, on the other hand, favour the last quarter of the 6th century BC, the same as the above-mentioned comparable works from Samos.<sup>44</sup>

The torso of an under life-sized draped *kouros* was discovered on the peninsula of Attia close to Sozopol (ancient Apollonia Pontica) on the western shore of the Black Sea.<sup>45</sup> The exact context of the find, which was preserved in

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Didyma, inv. S. 61 (see n. 34). One of the smallest examples is a short-haired *kouros* made of limestone from Iasos, H ca. 0.3 m: Laviosa 1985, 53, pl. 9 (and on title-photograph restored).

<sup>34</sup> Kyrieleis 1996. For the *kouros* of Cape Phoneas, H 1.79 m, Vathy Museum, Samos, inv. 68, see especially Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 150-53, pls. 59-60; Kyrieleis 1996. Other *kouroi* lifting their robe with their right hand: fragmented torso of an under life-sized *kouros*, H 0.5 m, Archaeological Museum of Miletus, inv. 3018: von Graeve 1986b, 37, pls. 3-4; fragmented torso of a half-life-sized *kouros*, Didyma, inv. Di S 16: Tuchelt 1970, 64-65, K 29, pl. 30.1-2; fragmented torso of an over life-sized *kouros*, Didyma, inv. S 61: Tuchelt 1970, 66, K 33bis, pl. 34; torso of a life-sized *kouros* (made of regional marble?) from Bodrum, H 1.04 m, Bodrum Museum, inv. 6771: Gürman 1976, 82, pls. 17-18; Özgan 1978, 66-69, 164-65, ref. 208, 234, fig. 38.

<sup>35</sup> Torso of a draped *kouros* discovered in a village close to Rhaidestos (Bisanthe), H 0.595 m, Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum, inv. 930: Pelekidis 1928, 12-19, figs. 5-8; Langlotz 1975, 112, no. 1, 114-15; Özgan 1978, 55-59, 66, 225, fig. 29; Barletta 1987, 245, no. 27; Loukopoulou 1989, 162, no. 2, 171-75, pls. 10-11; Despinis *et al.* 1997, 20-21, no. 5 (G. Despinis) with comprehensive bibliography; Chatzinikolaou 2016, 177; Adam-Veleni *et al.* 2016, 265-67 (reprint of G. Despinis 1997). Most famous among the sculptures found in the environment of ancient Bisanthe is the torso of an over life-sized *kouros* of Tekirdağ, H 1.02 m, Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, inv. 5760: Firatlı 1966, 28-29, pl. 59.4; Bayburtluoğlu 1970; Loukopoulou 1989, 161, 1, 166-70, pls. 2-3; von Graeve 1996.

<sup>36</sup> For the circumstances of the find, see Loukopoulou 1989, 162 with further references.

<sup>37</sup> Milesian import: Floren 1987, 404. Samian import: Loukopoulou 1989, 169, 173-76.

<sup>38</sup> Fragmented torso from Samos, exact find-spot unknown, Museum Tigani, inv. 40, 530/20 BC: Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 154-155, 75, pl. 62; Barletta 1987, 245, 20.

<sup>39</sup> For another parallel from Samos see the fragmented torso of an approximately half life-sized draped *kouros*, exact find-spot unknown, Vathy Museum, inv. 73: Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 153, 73, pl. 61; Barletta 1987, 245, 18.

<sup>40</sup> For this observation, see Barletta 1983, 92; 1987, 237; and more comprehensively Loukopoulou 1989, 173-74. Other examples of draped *kouroi* wearing only a *himation* are not considered here. For these examples see: fragmented torso of a *kouros* of unknown provenance, Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 3045; *kouros* of Ilissos, ca. 500 BC: Lippold 1975, 76, 8; torso of a locally produced Late Archaic *kouros*, Archaeological Museum of Syracuse: Barletta 1983, 91-92, ref. 99; 1987.

<sup>41</sup> The attribution to Proconnesian marble seems to base on observation, no scientific provenance analyses of the marble have yet been published. See Pelekidis 1928, 12; Barletta 1987, 237; Despinis 1997, 21; Chatzinikolaou 2016, 178.

<sup>42</sup> Özgan 1978, 55-56.

<sup>43</sup> Langlotz 1975, 112, ref. 1, no. X, 114-15.

<sup>44</sup> Barletta 1987, 245, 27; Despinis 1997, 21; Chatzinikolaou 2016, 177.

<sup>45</sup> Torso of a draped *kouros* from Apollonia, H 0.92 m, Burgas, Archaeological Museum, inv. 1250: Galabov 1952, 93-118, figs. 50- 57; Langlotz 1966, 33, 41, 45, 71, fig. 52; Laubscher 1968, 488; Richter 1970, 156, no. 124c, figs. 620-623;

large fragments, is unknown.<sup>46</sup> The *kouros* wears a *himation* over both a *chiton* and an *ependytes*, a short-sleeved garment that is worn by a total of ten of all draped *kouroi* we know of today.<sup>47</sup> Both in case of the *kouros* discovered at Myus<sup>48</sup> and the most recent find of a draped *kouros* in the sanctuary of Apollo Delios at Kalymnos, remains of red paint prove that the *ependytes* could be adorned with meanders.<sup>49</sup> The marble *kouros* from Apollonia Pontica is generally assumed an import (in particular, Proconnesus was suggested), although scientific analyses supporting this hypothesis are not yet published.<sup>50</sup> Langlotz assumed the best comparison was the above-mentioned about life-sized *kouros* that was discovered next to a grave in the necropolis of Tuzla Terazi (Pitane) and which he considers older.<sup>51</sup> The drapery of the *himation* of the Pitane *kouros*, with the series of long, vertical folds falling down the left shoulder, appears similar to the *himatia* of the *kouros* from Myus and the newly found *kouros* from Kalymnos. In this detail, the drapery of the *kouros* from Apollonia seems singular.

In contrast to most other draped *kouroi* which, with their soft and fleshy features, mark an almost diametrical contrast to the athletic ideal of the naked *kouros*,<sup>52</sup> the torso from Apollonia seems unusually slim. This was often explained chronologically: along with the above-mentioned *kouros* of Myus, it was argued, the torso from Apollonia marks the end of the line of Milesian draped *kouroi*.<sup>53</sup> The attempt to date the *kouroi* based on stylistic criteria alone, however, is problematic, since the sculptures are made of different materials and most probably stem from different workshops and regions. The provenance of the *kouroi* as well as their find contexts – if known – should be taken into consideration when discussing possible dates and/or ‘stylistic’ differences: the *kouros* from Apollonia lacks an archaeological context which would help to date it and, while it certainly belongs to the group of draped *kouroi* with *chiton*, *himation* and *ependytes*, it seems too singular in some details (like the folds of the *himation*) to attribute it to a specific school and/or suggest a specific date. Since it was discovered in the surroundings of the Greek *apoikia*, it can, however, probably be interpreted as a statement of a member of the local elite who might have culturally affiliated himself with the Ionian elites who used sculpture as dedications in sanctuaries and as grave markers and thereby also expressed their socio-political standing in an agonistic way.<sup>54</sup>

Another characteristic feature of Ionian sculpture is statues of reclining banqueters (Figure 2) which are mostly under life-sized.<sup>55</sup> In her extensive study of the subject, E. Baughan describes the small group of statues as ‘a self-confident statement of social identity, one that embraced luxury and opulence’ and thus as a form of self-representation of members of the social elites.<sup>56</sup> Statues of reclining banqueters are characterised by opulent corporal features and long hair (if conserved). Interestingly, not even in a single case is the head preserved. All of them are dressed in ungirded *chitons* and a *himation* that is wrapped over the left shoulder.<sup>57</sup> An under life-sized

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Venedikov and Gerassimov 1973, 42, figs. 53-54; Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 151; Hiller 1975, 43, ref. 116, pl. 27.3, 4; Langlotz 1975, 108-09, 112, ref. 1, no. VIII, 114, pl. 32, fig. 4.7; Özgan 1978, 52-53, 216, fig. 20, ref. 153; Barletta 1987, 245, 26; Floren 1987, 408; Alexandrescu Vianu 1999, 34, ref. 84, no. 13; Oppermann 2004, 37, ref. 327, pl. 6.1a-b; Oppermann 2007, 8-9, fig. 3; Laugier 2015, 294-95.

<sup>46</sup> Galabov 1952, 93.

<sup>47</sup> For a comprehensive analysis of the *ependytes*, see Özgan 1978, 101-23.

<sup>48</sup> The *kouros* was discovered with more fragments of sculpture (including fragments of reclining banqueters) in a ditch at the lower terrace of the sanctuary of Apollo at Myus. Under life-sized headless *kouros* of Milesian marble (Milet West), H 1.03 m, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. Sk 1664: Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 151, ref. 254; Langlotz 1975, 111, ref. 1, 114; Özgan 1978, 100-03, figs. 18-9; Hanfmann and Ramage 1978, 52, no. 8, figs. 55-57; Akurgal 1986, 4; 1987, 379; Barletta 1987, 245, 22; Brinkmann 2003, no. 189, figs. 189.1-2; Kyrieleis 1996; Heilmeyer 2007, 150, 159, no. 1.

<sup>49</sup> Brinkmann 2003, no. 189; Bosnakis 2012, 169-72, figs. 6-11, drawings 1-4.

<sup>50</sup> Langlotz reported that he was allowed to sample the marble (Langlotz 1975, 114).

<sup>51</sup> Langlotz 1975, 112-14. See n. 32 for the *kouros* of Pitane.

<sup>52</sup> Kistler 2011, 60 – drawing from Himmelmann 1994, 4-5.

<sup>53</sup> Langlotz 1975, 114 (ca. 500 BC); Floren 1987, 408 (‘late specimen of Milesian lineage’); Barletta 1987, 245; and Laubscher 1963-64. Özgan (1978, 52-53) suggested an earlier date (ca. 540/30).

<sup>54</sup> For sculptural works as an expression of competition, see especially Duplouy 2006.

<sup>55</sup> Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 121-22; Baughan 2011. For bronze figurines, see also Kolbe 2006.

<sup>56</sup> Baughan 2011, 44.

<sup>57</sup> Baughan (2011, 35) observed that all of the reclining figures wear the *himation* in an unusual fashion, wrapped over the left shoulder and draped around the back, hanging to the front. See also Freyer-Schauenburg 1974, 121, who noticed that the ungirded *chiton* never appears on female statues.

statuette<sup>58</sup> of a reclining man, discovered in Proconnesus<sup>59</sup> and probably made of local marble, is only briefly mentioned in Baughan's study, because it was considered a Roman work.<sup>60</sup> The banqueter's right hand and the object he held (probably a drinking vessel) are lost, probably since antiquity. I. Kleemann observed that he is reclining in a more upright posture than the symposiasts from Samos or Myus. She considered this feature as well as the construction of his moulded *kline* (which she understands as a construction with backrests) as an indication of an archaizing work of the Late Imperial period.<sup>61</sup> Since we know of no other archaizing Ionian symposiasts of the Imperial period, and the parallels Kleemann offers regarding the shape of the *kline* (for example, the 3rd-century AD sarcophagus of Caecilius Vallianus)<sup>62</sup> are not very convincing, it seems more likely that the banqueter belongs to the group of Archaic reclining symposiasts of Ionia.<sup>63</sup>

Farther north, another reclining banqueter, obviously made of local limestone, was discovered in Korokondame (Tuzla) on the Cimmerian Bosphorus.<sup>64</sup> While most examples of reclining figures seem to be connected with sanctuary contexts (some even bear votive inscriptions),<sup>65</sup> the statue from Korokondame was found 'in grave 2' within the necropolis in 1913.<sup>66</sup> In the folds of the garment, remains of red pigments are conserved. Due to the sparse information regarding its exact archaeological context within (or above) the grave, reconstructing its original function is hardly possible. The banqueter might have served as a grave marker. In that case he was one of only two possible grave markers known from the Cimmerian Bosphorus dating to the 6th century BC.<sup>67</sup> It is also possible that he belonged to the grave furniture.

## Conclusion

To my knowledge, all finds of Archaic *kouroi* discovered in the Black Sea region were found in contexts of Greek *apoikiai* or their immediate surroundings. They are thus most likely to be read as an expression of members of the elites of the Greek *apoikiai*. They occur rarely and are usually under life-sized.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, there are hardly any sculptural works created in local limestones that can be securely dated to the Archaic period. Statues or figurines of *kouroi* did not, as it seems, enter contexts of the local elites (which are, although wrongly, sometimes still summed up under the term Scythian).

One may ask if the slightly different features noticed in some of the Archaic *kouroi* from the Black Sea regions are a result of coincidence or if there is another explanation for them.

The often-suggested attribution to Milesians workshop was a result of two presuppositions:

1. It seemed highly probable that prestigious objects were imported, and along with other Archaic imports, the *apoikiai*'s mother-cities seemed a very likely source of the material;
2. Scientific analysis seemed to support this hypothesis in some cases like the *kouros* from Histria.

As previously mentioned, recent investigations in other material groups such as pottery have provided further evidence that the *apoikiai* developed not strictly depending on their respective mother-cities. Therefore, we might

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<sup>58</sup> By no means as monumental a work as it might seem in this short mention: Floren 1987, 405.

<sup>59</sup> Reclining figure from Proconnesus, L 0.32 m, H 0.20 m, Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, inv. 5508: Kleemann 1969; Langlotz 1975, 108, pl. 49.5; Floren 1987, 405.

<sup>60</sup> Baughan 2011, 26, ref. 38.

<sup>61</sup> Kleemann 1969, 62-66.

<sup>62</sup> For the sarcophagus of Caecilius Vallianus, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. 9538/9539, see, for example, Himmelmann 1973, 47-48, no. 3. pl. 26.

<sup>63</sup> See also Langlotz 1975, 119 with no. 19, who offers another parallel with the same posture on pl. 49.4 (an unfortunately lost alabaster figurine from Belgrade).

<sup>64</sup> Reclining figure (without head) from Tuzla (Korokondame) tomb 2, L 0.68 m, H 0.29 m, now in the State Historical Museum, Moscow, inv. 96334/9: Sorokina 1960, 309, figs. 1-2; Sorokina and Zhuravlev 1998, 174, fig. 2.4-5; Alexandrescu Vianu 1999, 34, ref. 84, no. 6; Baughan 2011, 26; Kreuz 2012, 46-47, 965, no. 1217, fig. 154.

<sup>65</sup> It has, however, to be mentioned that we also lack information considering the specific find-spot in case of the two examples from Myus, and the two examples in the depot of Miletus are of unknown provenance, too.

<sup>66</sup> Kreuz 2012, 46-47.

<sup>67</sup> N.P. Sorokina suggested an interpretation as sarcophagus lid: Sorokina and Zhuravlev 1998, 174. Sceptical: Kreuz 2012, 46-47.

<sup>68</sup> For this aspect, see also Birzescu 2012-13, 211.

not only have to expect purely Ionian imports or imitations manufactured by Ionian sculptors in the Black Sea *apoikiai*. Moreover, we should not take a Milesian/Samian provenance of imports for granted. We can hope that the near future will bring more results of recently conducted provenance analyses of marbles, providing more information about the geographical origins of the raw material. This will by no means clarify all questions, but it will be an important step towards a better understanding of the sculptural work of this region.

Apart from the provenance of the marble, it is important to ask *how* sculptures arrived at the *apoikiai* in the Black Sea. While it is certainly possible that finalised works were imported, the opportunity that half-fabricates, which were completed at their final destinations, were circulated – not only for means of easier transport, but perhaps also to meet local requirements and tastes, – should not be disregarded. The unusual features of several Black Sea sculptures even seem to speak in favour of such an interpretation. As a final note it has to be remarked that sculptural works such as the so-called tyrant of Ereğli demonstrate that, besides Ionian and local influences, we also have to be aware of Persian.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> For the 'tyrant of Ereğli', see Summerer 2005 with further references.



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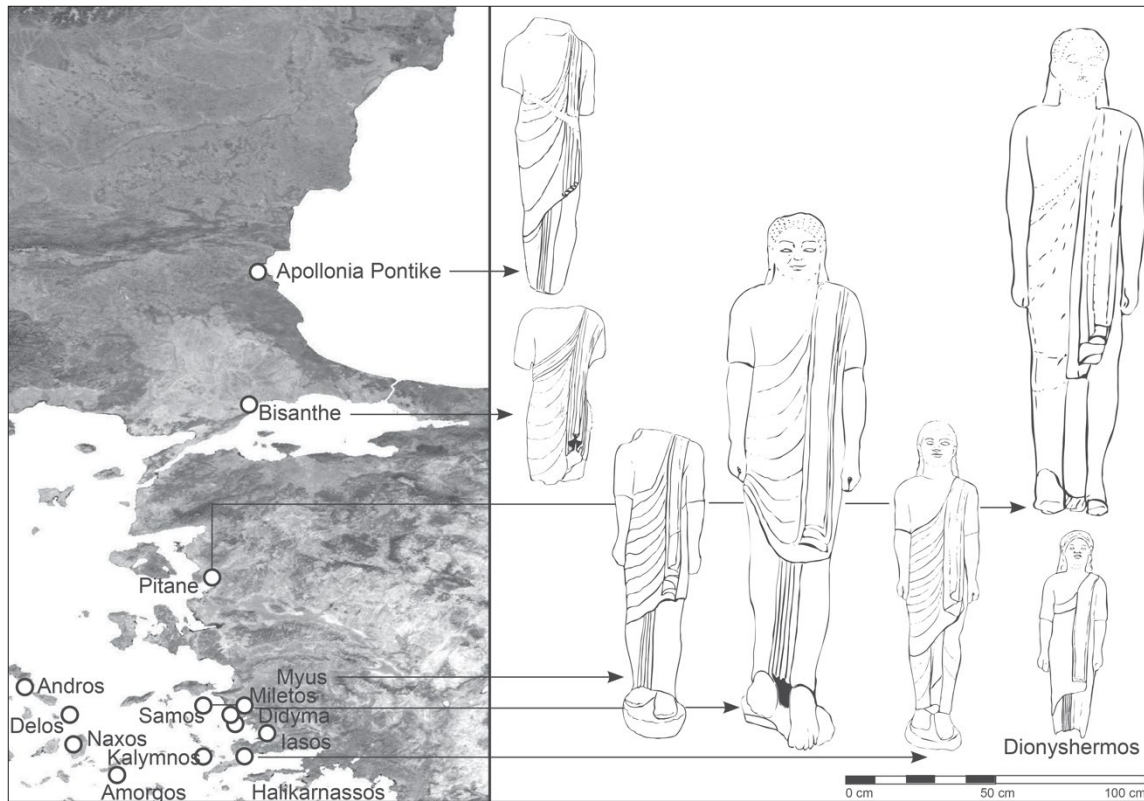


Figure 1: Find-spots of draped *kouroi* (the Athenian examples are excluded from this map) (map: Nasa Visible Earth; drawings by author).





Figure 2: Find-spots of reclining *kouroi* (map: Nasa Visible Earth; drawings by author).