

Tracing the Provenance and Circulation of the Archaic Sculptures found on Delos

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents the provenance of numerous Archaic sculptures found on Delos based on preserved dedicatory inscriptions, material, and typological, stylistic and iconographic criteria. These sculptures were often either communal dedications from Archaic poleis or votive offerings from private individuals. Defining with relative precision the centers where these sculptures –primarily kouroi and korai statues, along with other types– were created, serves as a reliable basis for understanding the political, artistic, cultic and cultural interactions between the sacred island and the places of their origin. On a broader level, these sculptural dedications –alongside other material evidence such as architecture and ceramics– highlight the movement of goods, artists and ideas from sculptural centers, primarily Naxos, Paros and beyond, to Delos. On this occasion, the movement of sculptures from these centers to the wider island area, mainland Greece and the entire Mediterranean basin during the same period is concisely presented, contributing to the reconstruction of the networks of ‘traveling’ of cultural goods and the multifased interaction between a multitude of Archaic centers.

INTRODUCTION

Since long ago, a pleiad of researchers has pointed out the close relation initially of Naxos and later of Paros, but also of Attica and Samos, with the sacred island of Delos, one of the most important sanctuaries of the cult of the Apollonia Trias, of Hera and many other Gods in the Archaic period (e.g. Kontoleon 1950, 10–5; Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, 46–7, 68–70; 2000, 143–52; Gruben 1997, 410–14; Prost 2018, 189–208). Relatively recently this topic was concisely presented anew by Chr. Constantakopoulou (2007, 53–74) in a special monograph highlighting and stressing the insular, as opposed to the Pan-Ionian, character of cult on Delos. Constantakopoulou, however, based her study exclusively on written tradition, architectural remains and ceramic finds, overlooking completely the numerically much richer and particularly important sculptural dedications of all periods in the sanctuary, which offer valuable and valid information by being the most ‘significant’, ‘luxurious’ and ‘ostentatious’ art of the period. Comprehensive to a greater extent is Fr. Prost’s quite recent approach to the topic (Prost 2018), with brief mention in a few notes of the Archaic statues, in volume 44 of the *Exploration Archéologique de Délos*, edited by R. Étienne (2018). In all these papers, the ‘traveling’ of the precious marbles of Naxos in the 7th c. and the first half of the 6th c B.C., and of Paros from the 2nd quarter of the 6th c. B.C. onwards to the Cycladic and the Delian sanctuaries is also not included. The abundant use of Naxian marble in architecture and votive sculpture during this period (Kokkorou-Alevras 1992, 104–07, 119–28; Kokkorou-Alevras et al. 1995, 95–102) and of the Parian (Schilardi and Katsonopoulou

2000), mainly in sculpture on Delos and other Cycladic islands –Andros, Melos, Amorgos– but also in Delphi, Cyrene (Kokkorou-Alevras 2000, 142–52; Barlou 2014a; Lazzarini and Marconi 2014, 138–40), is another very important parameter connecting traveling and cult in the Archaic period.

ON METHODOLOGY

The correlation between the marble sculptures found on Delos and the main stone-carving centers of the Archaic times, and hence their transportation to the sacred island via maritime networks, has been established in very few, in fact only four cases, based on inscriptional reference to their place of origin, namely Naxos. These, in chronological order, are: 1) the statue of Nikandre (Table 1: 39), 2) the base of Euthykartides' kouros (Table 1: 4a+b), 3) the fragment of Nesstiades' kouros (Table 1, no. 5), and 4) the colossal statue of Apollo (i.e. Naxian Colossus) (Table 1: 6); all four form the small collection of inscribed Archaic statues on the sacred island. As a rule, the Archaic sculptures of Delos have primarily been associated with the Naxian or Parian centers of Archaic sculpture, based on their material –marble– combined with stylistic and typological criteria, which are the result of long-term systematic studies (Kokkorou-Alevras 1975, 70–1; Pedley 1976, 18–45; Floren 1987, 150–72; Kourayos and Prost 2008; Barlou 2014a). However, the determination of marble provenance has typically been conducted in an empirical, macroscopic manner. The fear of causing damage to these priceless sculptures has, until now, largely hindered more advanced analyses (cf. Palagia and Maniatis 2014, 593–600), with only a few exceptions (e.g., Kokkorou-Alevras et al. 1995, 97–9; 2008, 419; Palagia and Herz 2002; Sheedy and Pike 2008, 493–509; Lazzarini and Marconi 2014, 118). Of particular interest is the project *Géologie et architecture à Délos*, coordinated by Jean-Charles Moretti (UAR 3155, CNRS, MOM Lyon 2, AMU, UPPA). Despite its limitations, macroscopic examination –comparing the marble with local Naxian, Parian and other examples, combined with the works' typological and stylistic features– indicates connections to prominent marble-carving centers of the period. Recent publications have also attempted to investigate the networks of marble trade with greater accuracy through systematic computer analysis of archaeological data; nevertheless, the conclusions are very close to those of the traditional archaeology (Loy 2021, 181–96; 2023; Phillips 2021, 197–218).

It is well known that Naxos, particularly during the Archaic period, was renowned for its high-quality marble and numerous quarries, which saw extensive extraction of this valuable material for use in both architecture and sculpture (Kokkorou-Alevras 1992, 101–26; Kokkorou-Alevras et al. 2014, nos. 473–485) and Paros (Schilardi and Katsonopoulou 2000; Kokkorou-Alevras et al. 2014, nos. 486–492). Actually, the creation of sculptural work at a local sculpture workshop does not necessarily imply that it was dedicated by an individual or the city associated with that center. Moreover, one should consider the possibility that a sculpture could have been commissioned to a specific center –such as Naxos or Paros– by a citizen of another Cycladic Island, or even of another city-state, given that these two were the leading centers of sculpture in the region during the second half of the 7th and the first half of the 6th c. B.C. Therefore, the transport of marble and sculptures, along with the movement of craftsmen –such as sculptors, stoneworkers, architects and bronzeworkers– accompanying their creations to erect them in their final locations, as well as worshipers traveling to Delos, might have been far more extensive than the artistic provenance of these works suggests. Consequently, conclusions about the networks of marble dedications should be drawn with this consideration in mind, a factor that has not been sufficiently evaluated thus far. More reliable conclusions, of course, are those supported by dedicatory inscriptions that explicitly name the dedicator or dedicators. The same applies to buildings with dedicatory inscriptions or secure philological evidence.

PROVENANCE OF ARCHAIC STATUES ON DELOS

NAXOS

Given the limitations outlined above regarding the determination of marble provenance, the number of kore statues found on Delos that can be definitively associated with Naxos is limited to just one: the statue of Nikandre (Table 1: 19). This statue, the earliest known marble sculpture in Greek art, is dated to slightly before the mid-7th c. B.C. Another headless kore, dated to 560 B.C., was previously identified by the author as Naxian (Table 4: 3). However, this attribution has been strongly contested. To avoid any uncertainty, it is classified as *dubia* in the present study.

The number of marble statuettes found on Delos is also small, totaling five. These depict a seated female figure, most likely the goddess Hera, as they were discovered in a cistern south of the Inopos River, near the temple dedicated to the goddess (Lévêque 1949, 126). Four of these statuettes have been attributed to the Naxian sculpture workshop (Table 1: 20–23) though three of them, dated to the late 6th c. B.C. (Table 1: 21–23), exhibit pronounced corporeality and share typological similarities with seated female Eastern-Ionian figures (Tuchelt 1970, L95–96, L99–100; Marcadé 1980, 84–5). However, they differ from their East Ionian counterparts in their hard, flat and linear forms, which strongly suggest attribution to the Naxian workshop.

Significantly larger is the number of Naxian dedicatory kouroi in the sanctuary of Delos, totaling 19, including the probable bases of kouros statues (Table 1, nos 1–18; 42). Prost (2018, 192, note 99), cites a total of 29 Naxian kouroi. These discrepancies likely stem from Prost's inclusion of unpublished kouros fragments, variations in dating, and differing attributions of certain statues to specific workshops. Notably, three of the Naxian kouroi are of colossal size, as it has been attested by the author (Table 1, nos. 6–8) (Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K 18 with note 297 and nos 61 and 62), which is particularly impressive. In addition, three more kouros statues (Table 1, nos. 4–6) bear inscriptions, as previously mentioned, that unequivocally confirm their creators' origin from Naxos and, even more significantly, their dedication by Naxians. These statues rank among the most pioneering works of the Archaic period. The statue depicting the god Apollo (the Naxian Colossus) is among the most significant creations of the Archaic period due to its colossal size – it is the largest preserved kouros from this era – as well as its elaborate details, such as added metal hair curls and, likely, an attached metal belt. The god's symbolic weapons, most probably a bow and arrow, were also likely crafted from metal and held in his fists. It is plausible that these attached elements were made of gold or silver, significantly enhancing the value and prestige of the dedication. Similar use of precious materials is observed in parts of the Archaic statues of the Apollonian Triad at Delphi (Amandry 1991, 216–19) and possibly on the hammered cult statue of Apollo at Delos, attributed to Tektaios and Angelion (Table 4: 2). A comparable approach may also be inferred for the objects held by Artemis of Nikandre (Table 1: 19; Patay-Hovarth 2008, 109 no. 152).

The kouros of Euthykartides (Table 1: 4a+b) is another securely attributed Naxian sculpture, as confirmed by the three-verse inscription engraved prominently on its base. The base, unique for its period due to its triangular shape and relief decoration, likely reflected Eastern prototypes. Its three corners were adorned with a gorgoneion, a lion's head, and a ram's head, each of which has been linked in various ways to the god Apollo (Lambrinouidakis 1984, 221–32 nos. 317–80). The inscription further reflects Euthykartides' self-confidence, as he proudly identifies himself as Naxian, likely using his origin as a hallmark of his craft, given the renowned marble-carving tradition of the island. The kouros' larger-than-life size, combined with the unique shape and decoration of its base, strongly suggests its identification with the god Apollo, especially as it was discovered on the terrace of Apollo's sanctuary. Similarly, this self-confidence is echoed in the Archaic inscription on the base of Apollo's colossal statue, which remains in situ within the sanctuary, adjacent to the Oikos of the Naxians (Table 1: 6a+b), likely serving as both a statement of pride and a trademark of Naxian craftsmanship. The inscription (Table 1: 6b) proudly declares that both the base and the statue are made from the same stone (ID 4, cf. ID 49), likely referencing the renowned and highly prized Naxian marble, the most valued material of its time, marking the birth of large, monumental sculpture. While various interpretations of the inscription have been proposed – such as indicating that the statue and base, or the statue and plinth, were carved from the same

stone, or even from a single block of marble, or emphasizing the significance of the base being made of the same valuable Naxian marble— the most plausible interpretation relates to the pride of the dedicators, in this case, the city of Naxos. The phrase highlights the prestige of Naxian marble, “the same” stone, which, during the early Archaic period, stood as the most precious material for marble carving (cf. Di Cesare 2004, 38–53).

For the remaining 13 Naxian kouros statues (Table 1: 7–18, 43), most of which are life-sized or slightly smaller, it is not possible to definitively identify them as representations of the god Apollo. These statues largely preserve the torso with portions of the limbs, while some are more fragmentary. Although it is well known that kouros statues were frequently dedicated to Apollo—leading earlier research to associate the kouros type with the god— this interpretation can be easily challenged by examples of inscribed funerary kouros, such as the statues of Kroisos and Aristodikos (Deonna 1909, 9–20; Floren 1987, 86–88; Richter 1988a, 1–2; Ridgway 1993, 66–75; Walter-Karydi 2007, 28–37).

Apollo was undoubtedly the deity depicted in the statues, to which the two ‘perforated’ colossal fists (Table 1: 7–8) belonged, as they most likely held the characteristic metallic symbols of the god. One of these hands has often been associated with the Apollo Colossus (Table 1: 7). The dating of these hands to the early 6th c. B.C. aligns with their colossal size, as this period marks the ‘momentum’ for the creation of monumental statues under Egyptian influence, with Naxos leading the way. Following this trend of carving monumental, colossal statues were also regions such as Samos, Attica and Thasos (Kokkorou-Alevras 2017, 24–30).

Regarding the chronological distribution of Naxian sculptures of all types on Delos, 7 belong to the Daedalic phase of sculpture—spanning from slightly before the mid-7th c. B.C. to its last quarter (Table 1: 1–5, 19–20)—37 to the first half of the 6th c. B.C. (Table 1: 6–18, 40–43, 45–64), and 20 to the Late Archaic period (Table 1: 21–39, 44). Although the early sculptural dedications (from the 3rd quarter of the 7th to the mid-6th c. B.C.) are numerically superior, the monumental series of 9–16 Late Archaic Naxian lions on Delos (Table 1: 24–39; Kokkorou-Alevras 1993, 91–101) underscores Naxos’s dominant presence on the sacred island. Such an impressive and costly dedication, featuring the sacred animal of the Apollonian Triad—Apollo, Artemis and Leto—must be a collective offering by the Naxians. Similarly, Apollo’s colossal statue, dated to the early 6th c. B.C., is identified as a collective Naxian dedication and not as an individual offering, as evidenced by a later inscription (4th c. B.C.) on its colossal base (ID 49) (Di Cesare 2004, 38–53; Donos 2018, 267).

All these costly dedications to the Delian gods—primarily Apollo, Artemis and Hera—crafted from Naxian marble, undeniably attest to the transportation of marble and marble products from Naxos to Delos and highlight the vibrant connections between the two islands. They also evidence the movement of Naxian craftsmen, dedicators and worshippers during the Archaic period. This pattern of transportation and contact likely extended to other Aegean sanctuaries, such as those on Thera, Melos, Andros, Amorgos, Samos and Rhodes, as well as in East Ionia, Sicily and Cyrene. The same applies to major sanctuaries and cult centers in Mainland Greece, including Attica, Delphi and Boeotia (Kokkorou-Alevras 1975, 41–70, 77–85; 1995, 78–9; Floren 1987, 150–85; Kokkorou-Alevras et al. 1995). Consequently, worshippers, stone and bronze workers, architects and sculptors likely traveled frequently between marble production centers, Delos, and other islands, facilitating cultural exchange. The precious votive offerings, both architectural and sculptural, were designed to be admired by visitors and worshippers on Delos and at sanctuaries across ancient Greece and the Mediterranean. Beyond expressing *pietas* to the gods, these inscribed monuments conveyed the wealth and power of the dedicators to all who beheld them. Most importantly, this exchange fostered a syncretism of cult ideas and practices, of local cultural values, traditions and peculiarities among these interconnected centers.

On the other hand, Prost’s view (2014, 54–6) that Naxos held primarily symbolic dominance in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delos during the 7th c. and the first half of the 6th c. B.C. is challenging to accept. It is not plausible to separate this symbolic dominance from the island’s concurrent economic and political power, as well as its supremacy and predominance in the Cyclades. This dominance left little room, particularly for rival Paros, to assert itself with significant architectural projects and a substantial number of dedications during the same period (cf. Prost 2018, 174). Even though the Monument of the Hexagons (GD no. 44) could potentially be identified as a treasure of the Parians (Treheux 1987, 383–89; Prost 2018, 188–89, 193–94), it would not have

been as imposing within the sanctuary as the ensemble of the three Naxian edifices, Oikos and the Stoa of the Naxians and possibly the Archaic Propylaia of the Apollo Sanctuary, as well as the series of the Naxian lions (GD nos. 6, 36, 5, 55; Table 1: nos. 24–39). In conclusion, the evidence strongly suggests a close and continuous connection between Naxos and the sacred island of Delos during this period.

PAROS

Kouroi

The group of Parian kouroi found on Delos is quite substantial, numbering at least 13. Prost, however, provides a different count, listing 29 Naxian kouroi as outnumbering 15 Parian ones (Prost 2018, 192). As previously noted, these discrepancies likely stem from his inclusion of unpublished kouros fragments, differing datings and varying attributions of some statues to specific workshops.

That said, I do not agree with Prost's claim (2018, 192) that no Parian kouroi existed in the sanctuary before the mid-6th c. B.C. In my view, kouroi A4045 and A3997 (Table 2: 1, 2) are securely dated to the first half of the 6th c. B.C. (Kokkorou-Alevras 1975, 42; 1981, 271; Barlou 2014a, 29–31). Similarly, the dating of the Naxian kouroi A333 and A334 (Table 1: 2–3) has been revised by Prost from the second half of the 7th c. to the first half of the 6th c. B.C., contrary to the prevailing view (Richter 1988a, 27; Floren 1987, 152; GD 57–59; Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, 81–82; Rolley 2006, 198–99).

Consequently, Parian kouroi on Delos first appear at the end of the first quarter of the 6th c. B.C. (Table 2: 1–4), significantly later than the Naxian kouroi, which begin their sequence in the sanctuary as early as the third quarter of the 7th c. B.C. Additionally, two of the Parian korai on Delos (Table 2: 14–15) and two sphinx statues (Table 2: 46–47) are also dated to the second quarter of the 6th c. B.C. Notably, the Parian kouroi are relatively evenly distributed throughout the remainder of the 6th c. B.C.

Korai

The total number of Parian statues in the kore type found on Delos is 20 (Table 2: 14–30; 34–36). This count includes three statues of standing goddesses in the kore type from the *Agora of the Gods* (Table 2: 34–36). Notably, the overall number of korai on Delos amounts to 23, compared to 34 kouros statues, a disparity likely attributable to the significant importance of Artemis's cult in the sanctuary. More than half of these korai (at least 15) are dated to the Late Archaic period (Table 2: 17–28, 34–36), with 7 being life-sized (Table 2: 17–21, 25–26). By contrast, only 7 kore statues, mostly life-sized, have been found on the island of Paros itself (Barlou 2014a, nos. B1–7). Even fewer kore statues and statuettes have been discovered on the island of Naxos (Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K53–K59).

Unfortunately, the Late Archaic Delian korai have yet to be systematically published. In this paper, this group will be analyzed in detail to establish their provenance and date, which is crucial for understanding the duration of the Parian presence on Delos. These Delian statues have already been identified as Parian by several scholars (Floren 1987, 166–68; Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, 46–7; 2000, 143–52; Karakasi 2001, 68–9, 87, 158–59; Holtzmann 2017, 451–52; Prost 2018, 192). However, some researchers have suggested an interaction with Attic sculpture or an Attic influence on these works (Marcadé 2008, 268; Jockey 1996, 44), while others refrain from identifying a specific production center or find it difficult to distinguish between Naxian and Parian origins (Kontoleon 1950, 144–45; GD, 62–3; cf. GD^{4th}, 94). Barlou (2014a, 94–101, 155) even questions their definitive attribution to Paros.

The Parian provenance of these Late Archaic korai is supported by their comparison with other korai from the same period, such as the kore in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA, inv. no. 07.306), which was found on Paros (Richter 1988b, no. 151; Karakasi 2001, 87; Barlou 2014a, 169, B5; Lazzarini and Marconi

2014, 122), and the ex-Malibu kore now in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (inv. no. 15.464) (Karakasi 2001, 84; Barlou 2014a, 97–8; Moustaka 2014, 41 n. 13). However, it should be noted that the Delian korai do not exhibit consistent typological and stylistic homogeneity.

The Late Archaic Delian korai can be categorized into two distinct groups. The first group (a), consisting of A4067 and A4068 (Figs. 1, 2; Table 2: 19–20), is distinguished by the voluminous, soft, dough-like rendering of the broad folds of the oblique himation. These folds closely resemble those seen in the aforementioned Parian kore in the New York MMA (inv. no. 07.306) and the kore of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, which is also considered a Parian creation (Richter 1988, no. 104; Karakasi 2001, 97; Barlou 2014a, 134–35). In the second group (b), comprising A4063 and A4065 on Delos (Figs. 3, 4) and the Leto statue in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (inv. no. 22) (Figs. 3, 5; Table 2: 17, 21, 36), the folds of the oblique himation are smaller, less voluminous, and more manneristic in style. This characteristic likely reflects their creation during a later phase of the Archaic period, as evidenced by the mannerism in their fold formation.

The Delian korai can also be classified into two distinct groups, based on the manner in which the diagonal strap securing the oblique himation across the chest is fashioned. In one group (c) (Fig. 2; Table 2: 20 = A4068 and Fig. 5: 36 = NAM 22), as seen in the kore of the Siphnian Treasury, the rich, wavy folds of the upper section of the oblique himation fall freely over the attachment strap. In the other group (d) (Fig. 3; Table 2: 17 = A4063), the folds are rendered in a distinctly schematized, ‘linear’ and manneristic style on the diagonal attachment strap across the upper edge of the oblique himation, similar to the Parian kore in New York. A particularly intriguing and decisive observation for attributing all these korai groups to the same Parian sculpture center is the co-occurrence of both drapery styles on some korai. For example, the Delian kore (Fig. 3; Table 2: 17 = A4063) combines the broad, voluminous perpendicular folds of the oblique himation characteristic of group (a) with the schematic, manneristic cylindrical folds of the diagonal strap seen in group (d). This duality further corroborates the Parian origin of “the group of the (7) gods”. Similarly, the kore identified with Athena (A4065) and the Leto statue in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (no. 22) (Figs. 4, 5; Table 2: 21, 36) appear to reflect the manneristic evolution of the earlier Parian korai of the second (b) group.

A distinctive stylistic example is the Delian kore, inv. no. A4064 (Table 2: 18), which combines several characteristic features. It displays the markedly schematized folds of the diagonal strap fastening the oblique himation (group d), the thin, cylindrical, manneristic folds of the oblique himation on the front side (group b), and the schematized, flattened folds on the back, which are distinctly separated by sharp incisions.

A common feature across all these Parian groups of korai is the wavy, flowing and highly naturalistic rendering of fine hair curls. This characteristic is rare among Late Archaic korai attributed to Attica, such as those in the Acropolis Museum inv. nos. 684, 685, 615, 616 (Richter 1988, figs. 578–82, 573–77, 401–4, 420–22; Karakasi 2001, pls. 192–94, 189–91, 196d, 200–1), where a slight schematization and stiffness are noticeable. This feature is also infrequent in korai from other Archaic sculpture centers, such as the possibly Laconian kore of the Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 678 (Richter 1988b, figs. 345–48; Karakasi 2001, pl. 137) or the Acropolis kore inv. no. 682 (Richter 1988b, figs. 362–67; Karakasi 2001, pl. 146–47), which is considered Eastern-Ionian and likely a product of the northeastern Aegean center. Thus, the naturalistic treatment of hair curls can be regarded as a distinct idiom of the Parian workshop.

A careful comparison of this group of Delian korai with Late Archaic korai considered Attic –particularly the Acropolis Museum korai nos. 680–81 and 684–85 (Richter 1988b, figs. 389–93, 336–40, 578–82, 573–77; Karakasi 2001, 144–45, 148–49, 192–93, 189–90)– reveals significant stylistic differences despite their evident typological affinity. The Attic korai are noticeably sturdier, more dynamic figures, characterized by fleshy corporeality and a plainer yet heavier and more voluminous rendering of drapery. This contrast is particularly apparent when comparing the Delian kore in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, inv. no. 22 (*Leto*, Table 2: 36), with the Antenor kore, Acropolis Museum, inv. no. 681, or the kore attributed to the sculptor Aristodikos, Acropolis Museum, no. 673, (Karusos 1961, 22). Similarly, the Euthydikos kore, Acropolis Museum, no. 686, displays bulkier, more tubular folds in its drapery (Richter 1988b, figs. 565–72; Karakasi 2001, pls. 203–6). In contrast, *Leto* is distinguished by its fine, calligraphic, ornamental and distinctly manneristic folds, especially in



Fig. 1. Marble Kore Delos inv. no. A 4067 (Table 2, No. 19): 530-520 BC. EFA Athens neg. no. R4333-006. ©Ministry of culture and sports/ Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development.



Fig. 2. Marble Kore Delos inv. no. A 4068 (Table 2, No. 20): 530-520 BC. EFA Athens neg. no. A 2 46676. ©Ministry of culture and sports/ Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development.



Fig. 3. Marble Kore Delos inv. no. A 4063 (Table 2, No.17): 520-510 BC. EFA Athens neg. no. R4036-011. ©Ministry of culture and sports/ Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development.



Fig. 4. Marble Kore Delos inv. no. A 4065 (Table 2, No. 21): 520-510 BC. EFA Athens neg. no. 47654. ©Ministry of culture and sports/ Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development.



Fig. 5. Marble Kore („Leto“), NAM Athens inv. No. 22 (Table 2, No. 36): 500 BC. NAM neg. no. 47257. ©Ministry of culture and sports/ Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development.

the garment. This is evident even in areas of typological similarity, such as the drapery of the lifted chiton held by the left hand. Furthermore, the folds at the hem of the himation on *Leto* differ markedly in their execution from those on the Antenor kore.

Group of gods (Ἀγορά θεῶν)

Nine additional, fragmentarily preserved statues have been associated, primarily based on their material and typology, and to a lesser extent on stylistic grounds, with both the Parian and Attic schools of sculpture. These life-sized figures are confidently identified as gods, as they bear characteristic attributes and symbols, and are part of the group of deities found in the Archaic *Dodecatheon* (GD no. 51). According to a previous theory, this group originally stood in the “Porinos” Archaic temple of Apollo (GD no. 11; GD^{4th}, 63–64; Jockey 1996, 43–59, nos. 14–19) and has been linked in various ways to the Parian or Attic schools (Jockey 1996, no. 14; Marcadé 2008, 266). Floren (1987, 180) considered these sculptures to be individual creations by different sculptors. However, this hypothesis is contradicted by the collective character of the group as well as by the stylistic coherence observed in the sculptures.

All fragmentarily preserved sculptures represent various deities: Zeus enthroned, Hera also seated, Leto, Athena and Artemis in the kore type, Apollo as *Kitharoidos*, and Ares (Table 2: 31–39) all depicted in life-size. In my view, this group can be confidently attributed to Parian craftsmanship due to the material and stylistic criteria discussed in detail above in relation to the Parian korai of Delos. Conversely, comparisons with Attic sculptures are less persuasive, and there is no apparent stylistic connection to East Ionia. The same applies to a male bearded head (Table 2: 40) of exceptional artistry, which shares stylistic traits with the upper torso of Apollo (Table 2: 32 = 4092) from the group of gods. However, the two fragments do not belong to the same statue, as evidenced by the differing arrangement of the hair curls.

Other statuary types

The fragmentarily preserved statues of two riders and a horse (Table 2: 42–44) have been attributed to the Parian workshop, as material analysis has confirmed their Parian origin. However, their structure –characterized by flat, slim and slender figures– shows significant affinity with Naxian sculpture. For this reason, the author had previously identified them as Naxian works (Kokkorou-Alevras 2008, 417–36). Similar traits are observed in other Parian sculptures (Richter 1988a, figs. 350–51; Kostoglou-Despoini 2019, 120–21), suggesting a degree of artistic interaction between the Parian and Naxian sculpture workshops during the Archaic period.

According to older and current research, the statue of a sphinx (A583, Table 2: 46) has been attributed to Parian art due to its strong stylistic resemblance to the well-known Parian kouros from the Asklepeion of Paros, now in the Louvre (inv. no. MA 3101/MND 888: Richter 1988a, figs. 356–58; Meyer 2007, 182, no. 233; Barlou 2014a, 116–17, 159–60, cat. A4). This attribution also extends to two fragmentary torsos of sphinxes (Table 2: 47–48). The connection of the renowned *Nike of Archermos* (Table 2: 45) with Parian art is also highly probable. Additionally, a headless siren (Table 2: 49), two statuettes of doves (Table 2: 50–51) and four statuettes of aquatic birds (Table 2: 52–53) are attributed to Parian craftsmanship based on their material. Furthermore, some researchers have attributed a kore (Table 4: 3) and three Late Archaic lions (Table 4: 4–6) to the Parian workshop.

All Naxian and Parian sculptures unequivocally demonstrate the dynamism and diversity of both centers of sculpture. Furthermore, the typology of these works –sometimes introducing new forms and at other times adopting types from other pioneering Archaic schools, such as the Attic and Chian– highlights the movement of marble and sculptors between the two islands and other significant centers of Archaic sculpture. For instance, the type of sphinx is considered a Naxian creation, while the type of Nike is most likely attributed to Archermos of Chios, who is closely associated with Parian sculpture (Floren 1987, 336–37; Barlou 2014a, 89–90, 143; Moustaka 2014, 40–1). Similarly, the type of rider, predominantly represented in Attica, is likely an Attic creation (Ridgway 1993, 199–203; Eaverly 1995, 69–70; Kokkorou-Alevras 2008, 420). At the same time, the stylistic study of Archaic sculpture on Delos, supported in some cases by inscribed offerings and in others by high probabilities, often provides insights into the origins of the pious dedicators, even when inscriptions do not explicitly confirm this hypothesis.

Of uncertain artistic provenance

The cult statue of Apollo created by Tektaios and Angelion (Table 4: 2) is mentioned in written sources. These two sculptors were pupils of the Cretans Dipoinos and Skyllis, who, in turn, were said to have been pupils of the mythical Daedalos – whether Cretan or Athenian remains unclear. Furthermore, their exact place of origin remains unknown, as does the precise period during which they were active (Kansteiner et al. 2014, 67–143). Based on the chronology of Daedalos, who is traditionally placed around the mid-7th c. B.C., the monumental daedalic style appears during this time. Consequently, Dipoinos and Skyllis are thought to have been active between the late 7th c. B.C. and the early 6th c. B.C., with their pupils Tektaios and Angelion working slightly later, around the mid-6th c. B.C. (Kansteiner et al. 2014, 262). On the other hand, Prost (1999, 52–5; 2018, 28) dates the Apollo statue to the 7th c. B.C., rather than the first half of the 6th c. B.C., citing its *polos* and daedalic belt, as described by Callimachus (frg. 114 Pf), as distinctively daedalic features of the god's appearance (Gruben 1997, 288–89). The temple in which the statue was housed remains uncertain – either the “Poros” Temple (GD no. 11) or the Naxian Oikos (GD no. 6; Prost 1999, 56–60). Later depictions of the statue on reliefs, coins and seal stamps suggest that Apollo was represented as a kouros, standing with his arms bent forward at the elbow. He likely held a bow and arrow in his left hand and the three Graces on a tray-base with a vertical handle in his right. The accompanying figures, such as sphinxes on bases or altars flanking the god, female figures borne on the sphinxes' heads, and flying divine figures like Hermes and Nike at shoulder height, are considered later additions (Lambrinoudakis 1984, 234, no. 390a–g). According to Prost (2018, 183), there is no evidence that these accompanying figures were part of the original statue of Apollo.

The presence of sculptures from the Cyclades or other Aegean islands in the sanctuaries of Delos appears to be occasional. This scarcity is likely attributed to the lack of local sculpture workshops and the necessary expertise on these islands. Exceptions include Melos, where three Archaic sculptures, probably created in a local workshop, have been identified (Kokkorou-Alevras 2014, I.1:124, I.1:129, I.1:131). On other Cycladic islands, such as Thera (Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, cat. nos. 9–11, 13–14, 19) and Amorgos (Kokkorou-Alevras et al. 1995, 97–101), the sculptures are more likely creations of workshops on Naxos or Paros, and occasionally from the Samian sculpture center, as seen on Amorgos and Despotikon (Kourayos 2012, 108–9).

Additionally, Naxian stylistic influence is evident in sculptures from Andros (Kokkorou-Alevras 1975, 52–3). However, as previously noted, it is highly likely that some Archaic sculptures dedicated in Delos, attributed to Naxos or Paros, were commissioned from Naxian or Parian workshops by prominent individuals or collectively dedicated by cities from other Cycladic islands, Ionia (Table 3: 1; 2: 45), or even Attica (Table 4: 4–6). Unfortunately, due to the lack of textual or other historical evidence, this hypothesis cannot be conclusively verified with the current state of research.

Find spots of Archaic sculptures of Delos

The Naxian kore dedicated to Artemis by Nikandre (Table 1: 19), along with four additional korai (Table 2: 17; 20, 25–26) – a total of 5 out of the 22 korai discovered on the island – originate from the Delian sanctuary of Artemis. These korai, dated from the mid-7th c. B.C. to the end of the Archaic period (Table 1: 19; 2: 14–30, 34–36; 4: 3), reflect the prominence of the sanctuary. Another kore was found near the “Propylaea” (GD no. 42, Table 2: 17), one in the Agora of the Italians (GD no. 52, Table 2: 21), one in the pool of the Lake's Palaestra (GD no. 67, Table 2: 16), and, finally, one in Magazine C of the Granite Monument (GD no. 54, Table 2: 28). However, it is evident that the last three korai were relocated from their original positions in later periods, as the associated structures date to much later times than the Archaic period.

On the other hand, statues of the kouros type, as well as other Archaic statuary, have been found almost exclusively within the sanctuary of Apollo. The spatial distribution of these dedications is generally described, based on the locations where the sculptures were discovered rather than by sculptural type, by Herbin (2018, 99–115, 101). Kouros fragments were found in the area northeast of the Portico of the Naxians, while Archaic dedications were possibly situated in front of its western colonnade, in the central area. Additionally, Archaic

sculptures have been unearthed in the area of the treasures, specifically east of the “Poros” Temple (GD no. 11) and around the Monument of the Bulls (GD no. 24). According to Prost, Archaic sculptures were found near the Altar of the Horns (GD no. 39), which was the principal altar during the early years of the sanctuary (Herbin 2018, 103).

Finally, near the sanctuary of Hera (GD no. 101), all the seated, matronal female figures –most likely representing the goddess herself– have been uncovered. Overall, the find spots of the main sculptural types on Delos reaffirm the well-established pattern of dedications in Greek Archaic sanctuaries: kouros statues dedicated to Apollo, korai statues to Artemis, and seated female statuettes to matronal goddesses such as Hera and others (cf. Brüggemann 2007, 33–7; Meyer 2007, 33).

CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, the dedication of Naxian marble life- and over life-sized sculptures in the sanctuary of Delian Apollo by Naxians begins a little before the mid-7th c. B.C., continues steadily throughout the 1st half of the 6th c. B.C., decreases in the 2nd half of the 6th c. B.C., and culminates in a spectacular manner with the series of late Archaic lions –9 or 16 in number– of East-Ionian/Egyptian inspiration (Kokkorou-Alevras 1993, 90–102; 1995, 121–22; Barlou 2014b). Moreover, the most frequent Archaic sculptures on Delos during the 2nd half of the 7th and 1st half of the 6th c. B.C., as well as the typologically most original and impressive due to their size, are the Naxian ones (Table 1: 4, 6–8, 24–39, 45–64).

The inclusion of the earliest monumental marble statue in the Greek world, along with other kouroi identified as dedications by Naxians, offers exceptionally important evidence of the island’s role and close relationship with the sacred island as early as the Daedalic period (Table 1: 1–5, 19). This is complemented by the even more monumental and imposing Naxian edifices, such as the Oikos of the Naxians (GD no. 6) from the end of the 7th to the beginning of the 6th c. B.C., the Stoa of the Naxians (GD no. 36) from the 3rd quarter of the 6th c. B.C. and most likely the Archaic Propylaea (GD no. 5); all three frame the sanctuary to the south and west and “flank” its Sacred Way (Gruben 1997, 306–78, 407–14; Prost 2018, 191). Similarly, the series of lions accompanies visitors entering from the north (GD no. 55). The locations of these large Naxian constructions within the sanctuary play a critical role in defining its boundaries: to the south (Oikos of the Naxians and Propylaea), to the west (Stoa of the Naxians), and to the north (series of lions). Together, they convey the enduring presence and special role of Naxos on Delos, a point well established in earlier research (GDth 33–4; Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, 46–7, 68–70; 2000, 143–52; Gruben 1997, 410–14; Prost 2018, 189–208). The evidence from sculpture is thus confirmed by written sources and by the imposing architectural remains in the sanctuary of Delos (Prost 2018, 190).

On the other hand, Paros maintains a consistent presence in the sanctuary throughout the 6th c. B.C. with numerous and varied sculptural dedications in the Parian style, including kouroi, korai, riders, Nike, sphinxes and birds (Table 2: 1–53). In terms of the number of individual dedications, Paros surpasses Naxos, but falls short in terms of majestic display, as no edifice has been definitively associated with the island (cf. Prost 2018, 174). The only possible exception is the identification of the Monument of the Hexagons (GD no. 44) as a Parian treasure (Treheux 1987, 383–89; Prost 2018, 188–89, 193–94). However, even this structure would not have rivaled the imposing scale of the Naxian edifices in the sanctuary. What is particularly notable is the difference in the frequency of dedications from each island to the sanctuary of Apollo during different chronological periods. This variability highlights the distinct approaches and contributions of the two islands over time.

More precisely, the Parian presence on Delos seems to begin in the 2nd quarter of the 6th c. B.C., marked by statues of kouroi, korai, Nike, riders and sphinxes, some of which are of monumental (life- and over life-) size (Table 2: 1–8, 17–21, 25–26, 28, 31–40). This is considerably later compared to the Naxian presence, which dates back to the decade before the mid-7th c. B.C. As previously noted, the total number of Parian korai found on

Delos is 20 (Table 2: 14–30, 34–36), significantly exceeding the single Naxian kore (Table 1: 19). Only one kore in the Parian style can be dated to the period of Peisistratean influence, primarily associated with the first purification of the island (Table 2: 16; Herodotus I.64; Thucydides III.104; GD^{4th}, 34; Prost 2018, 179–81, 197–208). In contrast, a substantial number of Parian korai –excluding the fragments of uncertain dating in Table 2: 29–30– and other sculptural types, such as seated figures, a siren, doves and aquatic birds, are dated to the late Archaic period (Table 2: 17–28, 31–41, 50–53).

This late Archaic period coincides with the Samian sovereignty of the tyrant Polycrates, who famously chained Rheneia to Delos but left no clear Samian dedications –whether sculptures or buildings– on the sacred island, apart from a statuette of East Ionian style, which is not definitively Samian (Table 3: 1). This absence further supports Constantacopoulou’s conclusion (2007, 53–62) regarding the insular rather than Pan-Ionian character of the Delian cults.

Most of the Delian korai were, as a rule, dedications or offerings by the elite of neighboring islands, with Naxos and Paros being particularly prominent. These islands were major centers of sculpture during the 7th and 6th c. B.C., and the korai were dedicated to Artemis, whose cult, based on material remains, likely predates that of Apollo (GD no. 46: Mycenaean remains in Artemision). Furthermore, the late Archaic period likely includes the Parian group of the *Agora Theon* (Table 2: 31–39), along with a bearded head, a statuette of seated goddess –most probably Hera– as well as the statue of a siren, two doves, and four aquatic birds (Table 2: 40, 41, 49–53). To the same period can be attributed three lions of disputed, Parian or Attic origin (Table 4: 3–6).

Hence, in the late Archaic period, the number of votive sculptures increases significantly, particularly those created on Paros. However, the origins of the dedicators remain uncertain due to the absence of dedicatory inscriptions. It is essential, therefore, to consider the possibility that some sculptures in Naxian and Parian styles may have been commissioned and dedicated by citizens of other Cycladic islands or Archaic cities. This likelihood arises from the absence of evidence for local sculptural activity on most of these islands –except for Melos– probably due to a lack of high-quality marble and relevant expertise. This possibility complicates the understanding of the relationships –whether in terms of political dominance, communication, circulation or dedication practices– between Naxos, Paros and the other Cycladic islands with the Delian sanctuary. While uninscribed votive offerings, whether buildings or sculptures, cannot be attributed with absolute certainty to Naxian or Parian dedicators for the reasons outlined above, they were undoubtedly transported to Delos from these islands, either as raw architectural material or as finished –and, rarely, unfinished– sculptures.

The artistic dominance of Naxos and Paros in sculptural dedications cannot be questioned. The large architectural projects, clearly collective dedications by the city of Naxos to Apollo’s sanctuary, highlight Naxos’s exceptional role on Delos, even during the period of Peisistratean hegemony. However, the reduced presence of Naxian sculptures in the 2nd half of the 6th c. B.C., long observed in scholarship (Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, 67–8; Prost 2018, 191), further emphasizes the shift in dedication patterns during this period.

However, the highly probable Parian and Naxian provenance of the majority of Delian sculptures from the Archaic period does not necessarily imply that their dedicators were exclusively Naxians and Parians. On the contrary, these sculptures may have been commissioned by affluent individuals from other neighboring Cycladic islands or further afield, who maintained connections with Naxos or Paros –the locations of the workshops– and Delos, the site of dedication.

The transportation of Parian marble and marble artifacts to Delos and other Archaic sanctuaries and cities followed patterns similar to those observed for Naxian marble and its associated craftsmen and sculptures. However, the distribution of Parian marble extended even further. How exactly an individual from another Cycladic Island, or from Mainland Greece, East Ionia, Cyrene, Italy or Sicily, commissioned a sculpture from a Naxian or Parian workshop, remains unclear. It is likely, however, that such transactions were facilitated by representatives or agents of Naxian or Parian sculpture workshops stationed on Delos. These agents may have operated during sacred festivals, where visitors could admire exceptional examples of their art, providing an ideal setting for orders to be placed. This possibility highlights the interconnected nature of Archaic sanctuaries and artistic production across the Mediterranean.

Some of the sculptures on Delos have been associated in research, as previously mentioned, with Athens (Table 4: 4–6) or with reciprocal relationships to Attic works (GD^{4th} 63–4; Jockey 1996, 43–59; Marcadé 2008, 266). Gabelmann (1965, 99–100) further hypothesizes that the Late Archaic lions or lionesses from Delos may have originated in Attica or were created under Attic influence. In contrast, only a very small number of sculptures display a clear Eastern-Ionian character (Table 3: 1). This observation aligns with Constantakopoulou's argument (2007, 53–74) regarding the insular, rather than broadly Pan-Ionian, character of the sanctuary and the island. This interpretive framework is not contradicted by the documented Samian, and specifically Polycratean, hegemony over Delos. However, the limited Eastern-Ionian artistic presence –encompassing Archaic Samian sculpture and other coastal centers of Asia Minor such as Miletus– remains difficult to interpret. Despite this rarity, general Anatolian-East Ionian influences have been observed in the sculptures and architectural features on Delos. In contrast, the noticeable number of Eastern-Ionian-style sculptures found on Amorgos and in the sanctuary of Apollo on Despotikon of Paros may reflect the historically close ties between these islands and Miletus (Kokkorou-Alevras et al. 1995; Kourayos 2012, 108–9). Prost (2018, 194–95) has examined the presence of other Cycladic islands on Delos, while the Milesian network of connections in the Archaic period has been explored by several researchers (Kontoleon 1970, 85; Marangou 1986, 119–28; Kokkorou-Alevras et al. 1995, 99–100). Moreover, it is noteworthy, though not surprising, that no sculptures from Doric centers –such as those in Corinthian, Argive or Laconian styles– have been identified on Delos during the Archaic period (cf. Constantakopoulou 2007, 53–74).

Sculptures made of Naxian and Parian marble from the Archaic period have been found not only as votive offerings and architectural elements in the sanctuaries of Delos, but also in Andros, Despotikon and Amorgos. They have similarly been discovered in other prominent sanctuaries, such as that of Apollo in Aegina, Hera in Samos, the Acropolis of Athens, Apollo in Delphi, and Mount Ptoon. Additionally, votive sculptures carved from Naxian and Parian marble have been dedicated in the Apollo sanctuary at Cyrene and in Sicily, demonstrating their widespread presence throughout the Mediterranean. Sculptures in Parian style and marble have also been identified in numerous Archaic sanctuaries in Northern Greece, including Thasos and other locations (Kokkorou-Alevras 1975, 41–70, 77–85; 1995, 78–79; Kokkorou-Alevras et al. 1995; Floren 1987, sporadically; Gruben 1997; Kourayos and Prost 2008; Barlou 2014a).

More intriguing, however, are the Near Eastern influences evident in the decoration of the triangular Euthykartides base, adorned with animal and monster protomes (Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, 65). This iconographic choice aligns with a broader tradition in Near Eastern art, where deities are often depicted standing on animals, symbolizing their dominion and power. Examples include Amun standing on a ram in Egyptian art (Assmann 1995), and Enlil on a bull in Mesopotamian iconography (Black and Green 1992). The Euthykartides base seems to follow –in a Greek version– this longstanding Near Eastern tradition.

Additionally, the East-Ionian and Egyptian practice of arranging sculptures in large series, as exemplified by the sphinxes lining the Milesian Sacred Way and the impressive series in the Ammon Temple at Karnak, underscores further Near Eastern influence. These arrangements suggest the travel of Naxians to prominent cult sites in East Ionia and Egypt, where they could have encountered these artistic traditions firsthand (Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, 64–5). It is highly plausible that Naxian sculptors personally observed such monumental series in Egypt, studied the techniques and organizational principles, and subsequently adapted these methods into their own sculptural practices. This cultural interaction not only influenced their technical approaches but also contributed to the incorporation of grandiose and symbolic series into Naxian and broader Greek artistic traditions. Such exchanges reveal the dynamic interplay between Near Eastern and Greek art during the Archaic period.

Ordinary visitors or traders from Naxos, by contrast, would have been unable to transmit to Naxian sculptors the structural and typological characteristics of Greek Archaic types – such as frontality, closed fists, and particularly the metrological system used in Egyptian statues. This is especially evident in the creation of the kouros type by Naxian sculptors during the very early stages of monumental sculpture on the island in the mid-7th c. B.C., which incorporates several Egyptian traits (Floren 1987, 86–93; Kokkorou-Alevras 1994, 331–43; 1995, 64–65; Rolley 2006, 233–35).

Finally, the fact that these sculptures and buildings have been discovered almost exclusively in sanctuaries and cult places underscores the pivotal role of religion and cult practices in the emergence, widespread distribution and dissemination of typologies, styles and architectural forms. This evidence further confirms the strong connection between centers of marble extraction and sculpture production with major cult sites during the Archaic period.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Ms. K. Manteli for translating my Greek text into English and Dr. G. Doulfis for his invaluable assistance in formatting the tables included in this work. These tables are organized by type, chronology, provenance center and key bibliography, providing a concise overview and facilitating understanding of the text. As photographs of the sculptures from Delos have been extensively published, this work includes only five photographs of Delian korai, for which I would like to express my thanks to the EFA Athenes.

| TABLE 1 | | Archaic Naxian Sculptures on Delos | | | | |
|----------------------|---|--|---|--------------------------------|--|-----------------|
| NO. | Inscribed | Type/Finding spot | Storage/ conservation place | Date | Bibliography | Remarks |
| Naxian Kouros | | | | | | |
| 1 | | Upper part+ lower torso of a Kouros From the Sacred Lake, <i>GD</i> no. 56 | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4085+A 4293 | 650–640 B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K 5; Brüggemann 2007, no. 194 + no. 194,1; Prost 2008, 381–91. | Over life-size |
| 2 | | Upper part of a Kouros torso | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 334 | 630–620 B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K 6; Brüggemann 2007, no. 195. Prost 2018, 192 note 99. | Life-size |
| 3 | | Lower part of a Kouros torso | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 333 | 4th quarter of the 7th c. B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K 7; Brüggemann 2007, no. 197; Prost 2018, 192 note 99. | Over life-size |
| 4a | Euthykartides' basis | | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 728 | 4th quarter of the 7th c. B.C. | ID 1; Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K 12; Brüggemann 2007, no. 196+196,1; Herbin 2019, II, ID 1, 119, 167; pl. 71,1; Prost 2018, 192 note 99. | |
| 4b | | Euthykartides' Kouros | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4052 | 4th quarter of the 7th c. B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K 12a; Brüggemann 2007, no. 196,1; Prost 2018; 192 note 99. | Over life-size |
| 5 | Inscribed Nesstiades' kouros fragment | Fragment of the middle part of the statue | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 2464 | 3rd quarter of the 7th c. B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K 8, fig. 23; Gruben 1997, 282–87, fig. 12. | Over life-size |
| 6a | | Apollo statue: Upper and lower torso in the Artemision, <i>GD</i> no. 46 / Plinth with foot <i>Brit. Mus.</i> | Delos, Artemis sanctuary/ London, British Mus. Inv. No. B 322 | 600–590 B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K 18; Holtzmann 1996, 199–204; Brüggemann 2007, no. 198, 198,2; Sheedy and Pike 2008, 493–509; Di Cesare 2004; Hermary 2021, 9–67. | Colossal |
| 6b | Inscribed basis of the colossal Apollo statue (Naxian Colossus) | | Delos, by the Oikos of the Naxians | 600–590 B.C. | ID 4, 49; Gruben 1997, 267–82, esp. 267–80; Di Cesare 2004, 38–57; Herbin 2019, 30–2, 118–19, M072, pl. 18; Hermary 2021, 11–7. | Colossal |
| 7 | | Kouros hand | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4094 | 1st quarter of the 6th c. B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K 61; Brüggemann 2007, no. 198,1. | Colossal |
| 8 | | Kouros hand Found W of the Apollo's sanctuary terrace | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4095 | Early 6th c. BC | Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K 62; Brüggemann 2007, no. 199; Di Cesare 2004, 27 note 9. Prost 2018,190–91, 192 note 99. | Colossal |
| 9 | | Kouros head | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4114 | 2nd quarter of the 6th c. B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, 105, no. 64, pl. 34; Brüggemann 2007, no. 202; Prost 2018, 190; 192 note 99. | Over life-size |
| 10 | | Kouros torso From Apollo sanctuary, <i>GD</i> Plan 1 | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4051 | ca 550 B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K 65; Brüggemann 2007, no. 206; Prost 2008, 383–91; 2018, 192 note 99. | Under life-size |
| 11 | | Kouros torso Found to the north-west of the Hypostyle Hall, <i>GD</i> no. 50 | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 1742 | Ca 560–550 B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K 66; Brüggemann 2007, no. 204; Prost 2008, 383–91; 2018, 192 note 99. | Over life-size |
| 12 | | Kouros torso | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4048 | Ca 560–550 B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K 67; Brüggemann 2007, no. 205. | Life-size |
| 13–18 | | Six (6) Kouros feet fragments | | | Deonna 1909 nos. 109–13; Brüggemann 2007, nos. 221–25. | |
| Naxian Korai | | | | | | |
| 19 | Kore statue of Nikandre | From the Artemision, <i>GD</i> no. 46 | Athens, NAM Inv. No. 1 | Ca 660–650 B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K 1; Karakasi 2001, 67; Meyer 2007, 69, no. 110; Kokkorou-Alevras 2014, 3–10, no. 1,1,1; 2017, sporadically; 2018; Di Cesare 2018, 11–26. | Life-size |

| TABLE 1 | | Archaic Naxian Sculptures on Delos | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|---|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|---|--|
| NO. | Inscribed | Type/Finding spot | Storage/ conservation place | Date | Bibliography | Remarks |
| Naxian Seated Figures | | | | | | |
| 20 | | Statuette of a seated Goddess | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 3991 | Last quarter of the 7th c. B.C. | Lévêque 1949, 125, I; Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K 15. | Under life- size |
| 21 | | Statuette of a seated Goddess From Inopos cistern, <i>GD</i> no. 97 | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 3992 | Last quarter of the 6th c. B.C. | Lévêque 1949, 126, III; Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K 82. | Under life- size |
| 22 | | Statuette of a seated Goddess From Inopos cistern, <i>GD</i> no. 97 | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 3993 | Last quarter of the 6th c. B.C. | Lévêque 1949, 126, IV; Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K 83. | Under life- size |
| 23 | | Statuette of a seated Goddess with a lion cub in her lap From the area of Heraion, <i>GD</i> no. 101 | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 3994 | End of the 6th c. B.C. | Lévêque 1949, 126, no II. | Under life- size Most probably Naxian (Cf. above nos. 15, 16) |
| Naxian Animals and Monsters | | | | | | |
| 24– 39 | | 9 or 16 Lion statues From the Lions terrace, <i>GD</i> no. 55 | Delos Museum | Ca 500–490 B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 1993; 1995, K 92; Barlou, 2014b. | Over life-size |
| 40 | | Rear part of a sphinx statue | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4325 | Ca 580 B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K 95. | Under life- size |
| Naxian Statue-bases | | | | | | |
| 41 | | Ionic capital basis | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4213 | Early 6th c. B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K 117. | |
| 42 | | Ionic capital basis of a kouros statue? | Delos Mus. without inv.no. | Early 6th c. B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K 118. | |
| 43 | | Ionic capital basis From the theater ramp, <i>GD</i> no. 114 | Delos Mus. without inv. no. | 1st half of the 6th c. B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K 119. | |
| 44 | | Column basis | Delos Mus. Inv. No. 4327 | Ca 490 B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, 128–29, K 120; Brüggemann 2007 no. 214; Prost 2018, 192, note 102 (Parian work). | (not belonging together with plinth and feet of kouros statue restored on it) |
| Naxian Architectural Members | | | | | | |
| 45– 64 | | Marble roof tiles From the 2nd phase of the <i>Oikos</i> <i>of the Naxians</i> , <i>GD</i> no. 6 | Delos Mus. Inv. Nos. 55–68 | 1st quarter of the 6th c. B.C. | <i>GD</i> 4th, 172–173; Ohnesorg 1993, 53–9; Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K 102. | |

| TABLE 2 | | Parian sculptures on Delos | | | | |
|----------------------|-----------|--|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|---------------------|
| NO. | Inscribed | Type/Finding spot | Storage/ conservation place | Date | Bibliography | Remarks |
| Parian Kouroi | | | | | | |
| 1 | | Kouros upper part with Head From the Apollo Temenos | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 3997 | Ca 580 B.C. | Richter 1988a, no. 47; Kokkorou-Alevras 2000, 143; Brüggemann 2007 no. 201; Barlou 2014a, 29–31. | Life-size |
| 2 | | Kouros torso | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4045 | Ca 580 B.C. | Richter 1988a, no. 48; Kokkorou-Alevras 2000, 143; Brüggemann 2007 no. 200; Barlou 2014a, 29–31. | Life-size |
| 3 | | Kouros head From Dioskourion GD no. 123 | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 3998 | 2nd quarter of the 6th c. B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, 105 note 345; Kok- korou-Alevras 2000, 145 (wrong inv. no.). | Over life- size |
| 4 | | Kouros torso Re-used as building material in the western terrace of the temenos | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4083 | Ca middle of the 6th c. B.C. | Richter 1988a, no. 111; Kokkorou-Alevras 2000, 145; Brüggemann 2007, no. 207. | Over life- size |
| 5 | | Kouros or Sphinx head (?) | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4113 | Ca 550 B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 2000, 145, figs. 8, 9; Brüggemann 2007, no. 216; Barlou 2014a, 121; Prost 2018, 193 note 109. | Life-size |
| 6 | | Lower part of kouros | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4089 | Ca 550–540 B.C. | Deonna 1909, no. 98; Brüggemann 2007, no. 209; Prost 2018, 192, note 102. | Life-size |
| 7 | | Kouros torso From Archegesion, GD no. 74 | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 3990 | 3rd quarter of the 6th c. B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 2000, 148; Zapheiroupolou 1998, no. 58; Brüggemann 2007 no. 210; Barlou 2014a, 56. | Life-size |
| 8 | | Kouros statue Found to the north- west of the Hypostyle Hall; Finding spot of the head unknown | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 1741 | 3rd quarter of the 6th c. B.C. | Richter 1988a, no. 152; Kokkorou-Alevras 2000, 148; Brüggemann no. 212; Prost 2018, 192, note 102. | Life-size |
| 9 | | Kouros torso | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4047 | After the mid-6th c. B.C. | Richter 1988a, no. 151; Kokkorou-Alevras 2000, 148; Brüggemann no. 213; Barlou 2014a, 54–5, 56; Prost 2018, 192, note 102. | Under life- size |
| 10 | | Kouros torso | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4296 | 3rd quarter of the 6th c. B.C. | Deonna 1909, no. 85; Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, 46 note 76; Kokkorou-Alevras 2000, 148; Brüggemann 2007, no. 211. | Life-size |
| 11 | | Lower part of kouros torso Found in front of the Museum | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4294 | 3rd quarter of the 6th c. B.C. | Deonna 1909, no. 96; Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, 46 note 76; Kokkorou-Alevras 2000, 148; Brüggemann 2007, no. 208. | Over life- size |
| 12 | | Upper part of kouros torso | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4292 | 3rd quarter of the 6th c. B.C. | Deonna 1909, no. 94. Kokkorou-Alevras 2000, 148. | |

| TABLE 2 | | Parian sculptures on Delos | | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------|---|-----------------------------------|--|--|-------------------------------|
| NO. | Inscribed | Type/Finding spot | Storage/ conservation place | Date | Bibliography | Remarks |
| 13 | | Upper part of kouros torso | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4084 | Late Archaic | Deonna 1909, no. 92; Richter 1988a, no. 174 figs. 521,524; Brüggemann 2007, no. 215; Prost 2018, 192, note 102. | Over life-size |
| Parian Korai on Delos | | | | | | |
| 14 | | Upper part of kore statue torso | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 3996 | 2nd quarter of the 6th c. B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 1975, 47; Kokkorou-Alevras 2000, 145; Meyer 2007, no. 121; Barlou 2014a, 91; Prost 2018, 192. | Under life-size |
| 15 | | Upper part of kore torso | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4070 | 2nd quarter of the 6th c. B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 2000, 143, notes 10, 19, figs. 5,6; Croissant 2008, 320 with note 50 pl. 23; Barlou 2014a, 92. Prost 2018, 192, note 102; Hermary 2020, 93–6. | Under life-size |
| 16 | | Kore head of marble Statuette From the pool of the Lake's Palestra, <i>GD</i> no. 67 | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 2386 | 3rd quarter of the 6th c. B.C. | Marcadé 1980, 85, pl. 24; Floren 1987, 164; Kokkorou-Alevras 2000, 145; Karakasi 2001, 73 with note 79, 148; Meyer 2007, no. 120; not in Prost 2018. | Under life-size |
| 17 | | Headless statue of a kore Found close to the "Propylaia", <i>GD</i> no. 42 or in the Artemision, <i>GD</i> no. 46 | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4063 | c. 520–510 B.C. | Richter 1988b, 89, no. 150, figs. 480–82; Karakasi 2001, 68–9, 158, pls. 67, 16, 217; Meyer 2007, 112; Hermary 2020, 93–6. | Life-size |
| 18 | | Headless kore statue Found in 1879 in the Artemision, <i>GD</i> no. 46 | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4064 | End of the 6th c. B.C. | Richter 1988b, 88 no. 147, figs. 468–71; Karakasi 2001, 68–9, 158, pls. 68, 218, 219; Meyer 2007, no. 113; Barlou 2014a, 97 (East-Ionian traits); Prost 2018, 192, note 102; Hermary 2020, 93–6. | Life-size |
| 19 | | Headless kore statue Found in 1879 in the Artemision, <i>GD</i> no. 46 | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4067 | Last quarter of the 6th c. B.C.: 530–520 B.C. | Richter 1988b, 88 no. 147; Karakasi 2001, 68–9, 158–59, pls. 70, 222, 223; Meyer 2007, no. 114; Barlou 2014a, 97, 100–1; Prost 2018, 192, note 102; Hermary 2020, 93–6. | Life-size |
| 20 | | Headless kore statue Found in 1879 in the Artemision, <i>GD</i> no. 46 | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4068 | Last quarter of the 6th c. B.C.: 530–520 B.C. | Karakasi 2001, 69, 158–59; Meyer 2007, no. 115; Prost 2018, 192, note 102; Hermary 2020, 93–6. | Life-size |
| 21 | | Headless kore statue Found in 1884 in the Agora of the Italians/ close to the Propylaia | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4065 | Last quarter of the 6th c. B.C.: 520–510 B.C. | Karakasi 2001, 68–9, 158–59, pls. 69, 220, 221; Meyer 2007, no. 118; Marcadé 2008, 265 (from the group of the 7 Gods); Barlou 2014a, 97; Prost 2018, 192 note 102. | Life-size (after Karakasi) |
| 22 | | Headless kore statue | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4297 | Last quarter of the 6th c. B.C. | Unpublished; Prost 2018, 192, note 102; Hermary 2020, 93–6. | |
| 23 | | Headless kore statue | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4298 | Late Archaic | Unpublished; Prost 2018, 192, note 102. | |
| 24 | | Head of a kore | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4115 | Late Archaic | Marcadé 1953, 288 fig. 87; Kostoglou-Despoini 1979, 129; Kokkorou-Alevras 2000, 148; Hermary 2020, 93–6. | |

| TABLE 2 | | Parian sculptures on Delos | | | | |
|---|-----------|---|--|-------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| NO. | Inscribed | Type/Finding spot | Storage/ conservation place | Date | Bibliography | Remarks |
| 25 | | Headless kore statue From Artemision, <i>GD</i> no. 46 | Delos Mus. Inv. No. A 4066 | End of the 6th c. B.C. | Marcadé 1950, 182, note 3; Kontoleon 1950, 144–45, fig. 77; Zaphiropoulou 1998, 255, cat. 71 with fig.; Barlou 2014a, 97. Prost 2018, 192, note 102; Hermary 2020, 93–96. | Life-size |
| 26 | | Kore head Found in 1879 in the Artemision, <i>GD</i> no. 46 | Delos Mus. A 4945 | Late Archaic | Richter 1988b, 104, no. 189; Karakasi 2001, 69; 158–159; Meyer 2007, no. 116. | Life-size |
| 27 | | Kore head of marble Statuette | Delos Mus. A 3993bis (ex no. 707) | Late Archaic | Marcadé 1980, 84, pl. 22; Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K 83 (not belonging to the statuette A 3993). | Under life- size |
| 28 | | Fragments of kore Found in magazine C of the Granite Monument <i>GD</i> no. 54 | Delos Mus. A 100 | Last quarter of the 6th c. B.C. | Karakasi 2001, 69, 158–59; Meyer 2007, no. 119; Prost 2018, 192, note 102. | Life-size (after Karakasi) |
| 29 | | Fragments of kore | Delos Mus. A 4072 (A 4073+A 4074+A 4078+A 4312 (?)) | | Marcadé 1952, 278 (?); Kokkorou-Alevras 2000, 152, note 28. | |
| 30 | | Fragments of kore (right leg?) | Delos Mus. A 4078 (+A 4073+A 4074+A 4312) | | Marcadé 1952, 278; Kokkorou-Alevras 2000, 152, note 28. | |
| Statues of a Parian Group of Gods from Dodecatheon, <i>GD</i> no. 51 | | | | | | |
| 31 | | Upper part of enthroned Zeus | Delos Mus. A 4054 | End of the 6th c. B.C. | Jockey 1996, 54, no. 19; Marcadé 2008, 264–69 with note 10. | Life-size |
| 32 | | Upper part of the chest of the dressed Apollo Kitharoidos | Delos Mus. A 4092 | End of the 6th c. B.C. | Jockey 1996, 50, no. 17; Marcadé 2008, 264–69 with note 6 (Attic style). | Life-size |
| 33 | | Upper and lower part of the seated Hera | Delos Mus. A 4069 | End of the 6th c. B.C. | Kontoleon 1950, 147; Jockey 1996, 52, no. 18; Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, 57; Marcadé 2008, 264 with note 9. | Life-size |
| 34 | | Athena statue | Delos Mus. A 4197 | End of the 6th c. B.C. | Jockey 1996, 44, no. 14; Marcadé 2008, 264–69 with note 5. | Life-size (preserved h. 1,27 m) |
| 35 | | Artemis statue | Delos Mus. A 4077 | End of the 6th c. B.C. | Jockey 1996, 46, no. 15; Marcadé 2008, 264–269 with note 7. | Life-size |
| 36 | | Statue of Leto | Athens, NAM 22 | End of the 6th c. B.C.: 500 B.C. | Richter 1988b, no. 148 figs. 472–75; Jockey 1996, 48, no. 16; Karakasi 2001, 68–9, 159, pls. 72, 226, 227; Meyer 2007, no. 117; Marcadé 2008, 264–69 with note 8. | Life-size |
| 37 | | Left arm of a shield-bearer (Ares) | Delos Mus. A 6932 | End of the 6th c. B.C. | Marcadé 2008, 264, figs. 18–9. | Life-size |
| 38 | | Fragments of relief shield | Delos Mus. From A 6932 (Ares) or A 4197 (Athena) | End of the 6th c. B.C. | Marcadé 2008, figs. 4–5. | Life-size |
| 39 | | Athena head of no. A 4197 (?) | Delos Mus. A 4111 | End of the 6th c. B.C. | Marcadé 1950, 216, fig. 23; Despoini 1979, 232, note 399. | Life-size |

| TABLE 2 | | Parian sculptures on Delos | | | | |
|---|-----------|--|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| NO. | Inscribed | Type/Finding spot | Storage/ conservation place | Date | Bibliography | Remarks |
| Other Parian Sculptural Types | | | | | | |
| 40 | | Head of bearded man | Delos Mus. A 4108 | Late Archaic | Floren 1987, 261 with note 50; Eaverly 1995, 123–26, Cat. No. 18; Kokkorou-Alevras 2000, 148 figs. 13–4. | According to Eaverly head of a rider. |
| Parian Statuettes of Seated Female Figures | | | | | | |
| 41 | | Statuette of seated woman (goddess) | Delos Mus. A 4329 | End of the 6th c. B.C. | Marcadé 1980, 84, pl. 20a–c. Cf. Kourayos 2012, 122–28, figs. 19–21. | Under life-size |
| Parian Statues of Riders | | | | | | |
| 42a | | Statue of rider From the Artemision, <i>GD</i> no. 46 | Delos Mus. A 4102 (+A 4101) | Ca 560 B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, 47, note 76; 2008, 417–35, figs. 429, 1c; 431, 2c; Jockey 1996, 36; Eaverly 1995, 120–22, Cat. No. 16; Hermary 2020, 93–6. | |
| 42b | | Head of horse From the area of the treasuries nos. 16–20 (<i>GD</i> plan 1) | Delos Mus. A 4101 | Ca 560 B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, 47, note 76; 2008, 417–35, fig. 434, 4a; Jockey 1996, 36; Hermary 2020, 93–6. | |
| 43 | | Statue of rider From the Artemision, <i>GD</i> no. 46 | Delos Mus. A 4098 | Ca 560 B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, 47, note 76; 2008, 428, 1a; 430, 2a; 431, 2d; Eaverly 1995, 5, 42, 119–20, Cat. No. 15; Jockey 1996, 36; Hermary 2020, 93–6. | |
| 44 | | Horse statue | Delos Mus. A 4099 | Ca 560 B.C. | Ridgway 1993, 199; Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, 47, note 76. Eaverly 1995, 5, 42, 122–23 Cat. No. 17; Hermary 2020, 93–6. | |
| Parian Statues of Mythological Figures, Monsters and Birds | | | | | | |
| 45 | | Archermos' Nike | Athens, NAM 21 | Ca 560 B.C. | Floren 1987, 336–37; Jockey 1996, 38 no. 12; Moustaka 2014, 36–41, I.1.13 with extensive bibliography. | Chian (?) dedication |
| 46 | | Sphinx statue | Delos Mus. A 583 | Ca 560 B.C. | Kokkorou-Alevras 1975, 81–2; 2000, 145; Jockey 1996, 34 no. 10; Barlou 2014a, 120–122; Prost 2018, 193 note 109; Hermary 2020, 46 note 13. | |
| 47 | | Headless sphinx statue from the sema of Hypervoreioi Parthenoi (Kontoleon) | Delos Mus. A 3842 | Ca mid-6th c. B.C. | Kontoleon 1950, 149; Kokkorou-Alevras 2000, 148; Prost 2018, 193 note 109; Hermary 2020, 46 note 13. | Under life-size |
| 48 | | Sphinx Fragment | Delos Mus. A 4326 | | Unpublished | |
| 49 | | Headless Siren | Delos Mus. A 3995 | 3rd quarter of the 6th c. B.C. | Kontoleon 1950, 149; Kokkorou-Alevras 2000, 148. <i>GD4th</i> 96, 3; Hermary 2020, 70–82. | Under life-size |
| 50 | | Headless pigeon statuette | Delos Mus. A 3122 | Late Archaic | Kontoleon 1950, 149; <i>GD4th</i> , 96,3; Hermary 2020, 83–7. | Under life-size |
| 51 | | Headless pigeon statuette | Delos Mus. A 3123 | Late Archaic | Kontoleon 1950, 149; <i>GD4th</i> 96,3; Hermary 2020, 83–7. | Under life-size |
| 52 | | Waterbird From Leto's throne? | Delos Mus. A 4049 | End of the 6th c. B.C. | Kontoleon 1950, 149; <i>GD4th</i> , 96,3; Hermary 2020, 87–90. | |
| 53 | | Waterbird From Leto's throne? | Delos Mus. A 4050 | End of the 6th c. B.C. | Kontoleon 1950, 149; <i>GD4th</i> , 96,3; Hermary 2020, 88–9. | |

| TABLE 3 | | East-Ionian Sculptures | | | | |
|---------|-----------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|----------|----------------------|-----------------|
| A/S | Inscribed | Material/Style | Location | Date | Bibliography | Remarks |
| 1 | | Headless statuette of dressed kouros | Delos Mus. A 4339 | 540 B.C. | Marcadé 1980, 82–84. | Under life-size |

| TABLE 4 | | Dubia | | | | |
|---------|--|--|---|--------------------------------|---|---------|
| A/S | Inscribed | Material/Style | Location | Date | Bibliography | Remarks |
| 1 | Kouros statue | Wood-xoanon brought to Delos by Erysihton | | Mythological information | Plutarchus, Daed fr. 10; Paus. 3, 23, 2–4; Prost 1999, 57–8; Kansteiner et al. 2014, 153–54, no. 1, 160. | |
| 2 | Kouros statue of Tektaios and Angelion | Wood and gold (?) sphyrelaton-cult statue with bow and arrow in the l. hand and three Charites/Graces in the r. hand | In the cella of the Archaic poros stone temple (Since the beginning of the 3rd c. in the peripteral temple of the 4th c. B.C.) | Around the mid-6th c. B.C. | Pind. 14, 16; Paus., 2,32,5; 9,35,3; (Pseudo)Plutarchus, De Mus. 14, 1136 A3; Lambrinouidakis 1984, 390; Gruben 1997, 287–93; Prost 1999; Prost 2018, 182–83. | |
| 3 | | Headless kore statue | Delos Mus. A 4062 | 2nd quarter of the 6th c. B.C. | Zapheiroopoulos 1985, 101, pls. 40–41; Kokkorou-Alevras 1995, K 68; Karakasi 2001, 68–70; Barlou 2014a, 80–82; Hermary 2020, 93; 95; 96. | |
| 4 | | Lion statue from Artemision, <i>GD</i> no. 46 | Delos Museum A 4103 | Late Archaic: 500 B.C. | Kontoleon 1950, 149; Kokkorou-Alevras 1993, 100; Hermary 2020, 45–64; 96. | |
| 5 | | Lion statue from Artemision, <i>GD</i> no. 46 | Delos Museum A 4104 | Late Archaic: 500 B.C. | Kontoleon 1950, 149; Kokkorou-Alevras 1993, 100; Hermary 2020, 45–64; 96. | |
| 6 | | Lioness statue Found east of the sacred lake. From “Anios temple” <i>GD</i> no. 68 | Delos Museum A 4105 | Late Archaic: 500 B.C. | Kontoleon 1950, 149; Kokkorou-Alevras 1993, 100; Hermary 2020, 67–70; 90. | |

ABBREVIATIONS

- GD Bruneau, Ph., and J. Ducat. 1983. *Guide de Délos*. 3rd ed. Athens: École Française d'Athènes.
- GD^{4th} Bruneau, Ph., and J. Ducat. 2005. *Guide de Délos*. 4th ed. Athens: École Française d'Athènes.
- ID Plassart, A. Ed. 1950. *Inscriptions de Délos 6 (1), nos 1–88*. Paris: Dépositaire Éditions E. de Boccard.

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* In earlier publications, the author's name appears in various forms, most notably as G. Kokkorou-Aletras or G. Kokkorou-Alevra. In this paper, the most common form, G. Kokkorou-Aletras, has been preferred and will be used consistently in the in-text citations.

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