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Clemente Marconi

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ANTIKE PLASTIK 31



Christian Kunze (Hrsg.)

ANTIKE PLASTIK Lieferung 31

Mit Beiträgen von

Clemente Marconi

Dimitris Damaskos

Stavros Vlizos

Efi Sapouna-Sakellaraki

Evi Touloupa

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The Goddess from Morgantina

by *Clemente Marconi*

Plates 1–13

Introduction

The Goddess from Morgantina (pls. 1–11 figs. 1–6) represents one of the best examples of Greek stone statuary of the Classical period, thanks to both the quality of its workmanship and its remarkable state of preservation. This rather exceptional piece also represents one of the best examples, in sculpture, of the Rich Style of the late fifth century. Known to the public since 1988, and already subject to a variety of interpretations regarding its identification and style, so far the statue has not been the object of a detailed publication. In addition to supplying a rich photographic documentation of the statue, this study will provide readers with a full presentation of the sculpture and of the problems associated with it¹.

Location: Aidone, Museo Archeologico Regionale inv. no. 19².

¹ I would like to thank Adolf H. Borbein and Christian Kunze for inviting me to publish this study in *Antike Plastik*, and Karol Wight, Janet B. Grossman, and Kenneth D.S. Lapatin for their warm and generous help with this project at the Getty. I would also like to thank the following people for discussing with me the various problems associated with the statue: Malcolm Bell, Lucia Faedo, Caterina Greco, Olga Palagia, Rosalia Pumo, Salvatore Settis and Paul Zanker. Last but not least, I would like to thank Sonia Amaral Rohter for assisting me with the editing of the text. Unless otherwise specified, dates are all B.C.

Measurements

Max. pres. height: 2.14 m. – Width at shoulders: 0.54 m. – Max. pres. height of head: 0.26 m. – Height of face: 0.25 m. – Height from upper lip to hairline: 0.185 m. – Height from base of nose to hairline: 0.18 m. – Height from bridge of nose to hairline: 0.088 m. – Height from below chin to base of nose: 0.09 m. – Height from chin to base of nose: 0.083 m. – Distance between earlobes: 0.158 m. – Max. width of face: 0.17 m. – Max. pres. depth of head: 0.239 m. – Width of mouth: 0.057 m. – Distance between inner corners of eyes: 0.045 m. – Distance between outer corner of eyes: 0.125 m. – Width of right eye: 0.05 m. – Width of left eye: 0.05 m. – From right corner of mouth to right ear:

² Formerly Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, accession number 88.AA.76. In absence of new inventory numbers in Aidone, references for the fragments will be made to the Getty accession numbers. On July 31, 2007, the Italian Ministry of Culture and the Getty Trust reached an agreement in which the Getty agreed to return forty objects from the Museum's antiquities collection to Italy. Among these objects is the Goddess from Morgantina. This agreement was formally signed in Rome on September 25, 2007. Under the terms of the agreement, the statue remained on view at the Getty Villa until the end of 2010. The statue was returned to Italy and put on display in the Aidone Museum in march 2011.

0.119 m. – From left corner of mouth to left ear: 0.116 m.
 – Length of nose: 0.085 m. – Max. width of neck: 0.136 m.
 – Max. pres. length of marble right forearm and hand: 0.523 m. – Max. pres. length of marble right hand: 0.14 m.

State of Preservation

At the time of its acquisition by the Getty, the limestone body of the statue was broken into three large segments, which had been drilled and pinned to each other in the modern period. The first segment corresponds to the top section, from the shoulders down to the mid-chest. The second segment corresponds to the area between the mid-chest and the top of the knees. The last segment corresponds to the area from the top of the knees down to the termination of the statue. The fractures separating these three segments are roughly horizontal with respect to the vertical stance of the sculpture. In order to reassemble the body, a single 9.5 mm hole was drilled through each of the three segments in such a way that when the segments were assembled a single hole ran down the entire length of the statue along its central axis. After using an epoxy interface to regularize the joining surfaces (which exhibited limited weathering) between the segments a high-strength 9 mm cable was threaded through the hole that ran along the central axis of the three segments. The top of the cable terminated in a threaded insert, which was fitted into an anchor attached to the central hole of the socket for the marble tenon of the head. The lower terminus of the cable was fed through the top of the pedestal where it was connected to a tensioning block³.

The marble head, right arm, and right foot have been reattached to the limestone body. Three fragments of the marble left hand and one fragment of the marble left foot cannot be reattached to the statue. Similarly, a total of 103 drapery fragments, belonging for the most part to the himation, remain separate.

Description

The Goddess from Morgantina stands with its weight on the right leg and with the left leg placed laterally (pls. 1–8). The right foot is flat on the ground, while the left foot, which was positioned slightly behind the right foot, had

The statue is nearly complete and its surface is in remarkably good condition, with the edges of the sculpted forms well preserved. There are, however, some areas of loss, and several areas of damage to the surface.

Of the limestone body (pls. 1–9), the end of the himation at the left arm and the portion of the himation originally drawn upon the neck (and perhaps also over part of the head) are broken away. The following parts are damaged. On the front side: the right breast, the tip of the left breast, the left leg, the right knee, and the lower edge of the statue. On the proper right side: the right shoulder; the right arm, including the sleeve of the chiton; the section of the himation under the sleeve of the chiton; the folds of the himation wrapped around the right lower leg; and the lower edge of the statue. On the back side: the chiton and the himation, particularly in the upper torso, and, in the case of the himation, at the right buttock. On the proper left side: the folds of the himation and the lower edge of the statue.

Of the marble head (pls. 10–11), the nose is broken, particularly the proper left side and part of its middle. There are minor abrasions on the back of the neck, immediately behind the ears. The fingers of the marble right hand (fig. 1) are missing.

Of the marble left arm, the forearm is missing, while the corresponding hand is fragmentary. One fragment corresponds to the palm, and includes part of the wrist (fig. 3). Two smaller fragments correspond, respectively, to part of the little finger and part of the middle finger (fig. 4). These fragments are separate, but they can be rejoined with the main fragment of the left hand.

Of the marble right foot, the distal phalanx of the big toe is broken away. The tips of the fourth toe and the little toe are also broken away. The index toe and the middle toe have been rejoined to the rest of the foot. The marble left foot is missing, except for a fragment consisting of the index and middle toes (fig. 5).

the heel raised off the ground. This stance affects the alignment of the hips, of which the right rises while the left dips. The alignment of the hips is counterbalanced by the position of the shoulders, of which the left one rises

³ Part of the conservation treatment of the statue at the Getty is described in *Minerva* I 1, 1990, 13.

while the right one dips. The alignment of the shoulders is in keeping with the different positions of the arms. The right arm, which corresponds to the weight-bearing leg, is extended forward. The left arm, which corresponds to the bent, free leg, is bent at the elbow and slightly drawn back. The head is turned slightly to the proper right – the side of the weight-bearing leg – and the eyes do not meet those of an observer standing in front of the statue.

The face forms a regular oval (pl. 10). The contours of the facial features are fairly soft. The forehead is high and triangular and it is framed on both sides by wavy hair suggested in low relief above the temples. The bridge of the nose is somewhat wide. The contours of the eyebrows are sharp at the inner corners and softer towards the sides. The eyes are placed high up in their sockets and closely approach the eyebrows. The upper eyelids are thicker and are made to pass over the lower eyelids at the outer corners. The lacrimal caruncles are indicated at the inner corners, but they are not particularly marked. The eyeballs are slightly convex. The mouth is small and fleshy. The lips curve and the lower lip is shorter and thicker than the upper. A narrow groove between the lips gives the impression that the mouth is slightly parted. The chin is particularly strong and the jaw line is straight. The lobes of the ears are relatively small. The neck is rather tall and in comparison with the head it appears thick.

The marble head and neck are carved in the round (pl. 11). The head ends immediately above the hairline and the earlobes, which suggests the presence of an added section corresponding to the mass of hair. With this added section the head would appear in proportion to the rest of the body, rather than disproportionately small, as it looks now that the hair is missing (the ratio between the height of the face and the original height of the statue can be estimated as about 1:9, which is close to normal). Behind the triangular-shaped forehead, the head slopes back. The top of this part of the head has an ogival profile and its surface has been worked with a point and a chisel

so that the surface appears rough. There are three pinholes on this surface. One is located in the middle, behind the forehead. The other two are located at the sides, above the ears. The pinhole in the middle is vertical (0.018 m in diameter, 0.06 m in depth), while those at the sides are almost horizontal (left pinhole: 0.02 m in diameter, 0.06 m in depth; right pinhole: 0.017 m in diameter, 0.075 m in depth). These three pins must have served to fasten the section added on top of the marble head. Rolley has suggested that this added section would have been made of plaster⁴. The relative irregularity of the joining surface would seem to speak in favor of this possibility⁵. Plaster additions, however, were normally attached using glue or relatively small pins, pins smaller than those evidenced by the three large pinholes seen on the back of our head. There are, of course, exceptions, including a series of Ptolemaic portrait heads that must have originally been completed with plaster and which each preserve one large square pinhole on their backs⁶. However, the number and location of the pinholes on the back of our head suggest that the added section was of a material heavier than plaster. Metal, in particular gilt bronze should be considered first⁷. Pinholes comparable in size to those of our head are in fact often found on heads from akrolithic statues, on which they were probably meant to hold metal attachments⁸. However, the facts that our head slopes back behind the forehead and that the back portion is not fully rendered in marble, would seem to speak against a metal attachment. In Archaic and Classical Greek sculpture, when bronze was used to render the mass of hair covering the head, it was in the form of a wig. Bronze wigs were attached to heads whose crania were fully rendered in marble, including the backs⁹. For this reason, the fact that part of the back of our head was not rendered in marble would seem to speak against the possibility of gilt bronze for the attachment. Unlike bronze, stone is a good candidate. The fact that the joining surface on the back of our head has been worked rough and is irregular does not

4 Rolley 1994, 77; Rolley 1999, caption to figs. 183–184.

5 In general, on the use of plaster by Greek sculptors for completing heads see C. Blümel, *Griechische Marmorköpfe mit Perücken*, AA 1937, 51–59; V.M. Strocka, *Aphroditekopf in Brescia*, JdI 82, 1967, 120–137; C. Blümel, *Stuckfrisuren an Köpfen griechischer Skulpturen das sechsten und fünften Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, RA 1968, 11–24; Häger-Weigel 1997, 152; A. Laronde – F. Queyrel, *Un nouveau portrait de Ptolémée III à Apollonia de Cyrénaïque*, CRAI 2001, 746–759, 773–782.

6 See esp. the head at the Louvre inv. Ma 3168: J. Charbonneau, *Portraits ptolémaïques au Musée du Louvre*, Mon Piot 47, 1953, 106–111 figs. 10–11 pl. IX; H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer* (Berlin 1975) 46–51. 171 no. D3 pls. 34–35; R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford 1988) 165–166 no. 51 pl. 36; Laronde – Queyrel (above n. 5) 746–759.

7 Giuliano 1993, 57 and Bell 2007, 14 and 17 have suggested that our statue had gilt bronze hair. – The best parallel for the pinholes

on our head is offered by the three holes above the temples of the akrolithic head in the Vatican inv. 905: Langlotz 1963, 76 pls. 86–87; Häger-Weigel 1997, 68–74. 147–165. 262 cat. no. 3 pls. 35,1–36,2; F. Sinn (ed.), *Vatikanische Museen, Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense. Katalog der Skulpturen 3: Reliefgeschmückte Gattungen römischer Lebenskultur. Griechische Originalskulptur. Monumente orientalischer Kulte* (Wiesbaden 2006) 17–20 pl. 2,1–4.

8 See Ch. Reusser, *Der Fideestempel auf dem Kapitol in Rom und seine Ausstattung* (Rome 1993) 173.

9 B.S. Ridgway, *Metal Attachments in Greek Marble Sculpture*, in: M. True – J. Podany (eds.), *Marble. Art Historical and Scientific Perspectives on Ancient Sculpture* (Malibu 1990) 194–195; T. Schäfer, *Gepickt und versteckt. Zur Bedeutung und Funktion aufgerauhter Oberflächen in der spätarchaischen und frühklassischen Plastik*, JdI 111, 1996, 25–74; T. Schäfer, *Marmor und Bronze: Materialluxus griechischer Plastik in spätarchaischer Zeit*, AW 34, 2003, 575–584; Palagia 2006, 262.

represent a problem. One may mention, as a parallel for our statue, the metopes of the Heraion (Temple E) at Selinus, which were carved using the same pseudo-akrolithic technique. The heads belonging to the metopes of the east frieze (fig. 7) show a rendering of the back that is comparable to the head of our statue¹⁰. One may also mention Roman portraits with separately carved coiffures of the Late Antonine and Severan periods, whose backs are also rough and not very regular¹¹. As for the type of stone, marble would hardly be expected, while limestone appears very likely, also in consideration of the fact that our statue was produced using the pseudo-akrolithic technique. Besides stone, wood, the material commonly used for the body of akrolithic statues, should be taken into consideration. The fact that the mass of hair of our statue is entirely missing might imply the use of some perishable material¹². However, given the consistent use of limestone for the body of our statue, the use of this material for the section added to the head would seem the most likely of the three possibilities.

On the proper right side of the head, there are the remains of two additional pinholes, above and behind the earlobe, circa 0.03 m apart (pl. 11 a). These two additional pinholes, which were both vertical and of about the same size (0.018 m in diameter), were later recut, along with the rest of the upper edge of the head on this side. This later recutting was done with the help of a claw and a chisel, which have left their marks. One last pinhole is found on the proper right side of the nape of the neck. This pinhole is horizontal (0.013 m in diameter, 0.035 m in depth).

As already mentioned, wavy hair is suggested in low relief above the temples (pls. 10, 11 a–c). The relief is too shallow to reproduce the actual hair, and it probably served to mark the lower limit of the added section corresponding to the top of the head¹³. For this reason, two small incisions to the viewer's left, near the top of the forehead, should not be taken as an indication of the di-

vision of the hair into three strands, but rather should be understood as the result of an accident. We have some indication of the original arrangement of the hair on the back of the head. Of the ears, only the lobes are indicated. In addition, slight incisions above the nape of the neck allude to the hairline. One can conclude that the hair, which was parted in the middle above the forehead, was drawn back covering part of the ears, and was gathered in a chignon leaving the nape of the neck free.

Below, the marble neck ends in a tenon, which has an approximately hemispherical section (pl. 11). This tenon, which is not particularly big, sits in the concave socket located between the shoulders of the limestone torso. On the occasion of the conservation treatment of the statue at the Getty, it was noted that the tenon does not fit accurately in its socket, and that it only seats in three or four small spots. There is an ancient hole on the bottom of the tenon, towards the front. Since a modern hole has been drilled in the socket between the shoulders to secure the head, the existence of an ancient hole in this location, corresponding to the hole in the tenon, if any, can no longer be established.

The right arm is extended toward the viewer, and the palm of the hand is turned to the side. Although the fingers are in large part missing, enough remains to suggest that the hand was not entirely open, and that the thumb was bent forward, while the middle finger and the ring finger were slightly bent toward the palm (fig. 1). The turning of the hand to the side precludes the possibility that it held an object, such as a Nike, standing on its palm¹⁴. The hand, however, was clearly not relaxed but rather was holding an object that is now impossible to identify. A spear or a torch should be excluded, based on the position of the arm, the hand, and the fingers. A scepter or a phiale are both possibilities, although each has its problems. The fact that the arm is too low and the hand is not clenched would seem to speak against a scepter: compare it, by contrast, to the left hand of De-

10 C. Marconi, *Selinunte. Le metope dell'Heraion* (Modena 1994) 88–91. 155–157 nos. 14–15.

11 Cf. esp. K. Fittschen – P. Zanker, *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom III. Kaiserinnen- und Prinzessinnenbildnisse, Frauenporträts* (Mainz 1983) 99–100 no. 145 pls. 173–174 (Rome, Museo Capitolino inv. 462); cf. also *ibid.* 83 no. 113 pls. 142–143 (Rome, Museo Capitolino inv. 469). On this technique see in general J.R. Crawford, *Capita Desecta and Marble Coiffures*, *MemAmAc* 1, 1915/1916, 103–119; K. Schauenburg, *Perückenträgerin im Blattkelch*, *StädJb N. F.* 1, 1967, 54–58; Stročka (above n. 5) 118–119 note 16; Fittschen – Zanker (above n. 11) 105 note 105.

12 A parallel for our statue would be offered by the akrolithic head in Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum inv. 74.AA.33; G. Olbrich, *Ein großgriechischer Akrolith im J. Paul Getty Museum*, *GettyMusJ* 5, 1977, 21–32; Häger-Weigel 1997, 18. 68–74. 166–182. 262–263 cat. no. 4 pls. 37,1–38,2. Häger-Weigel plausibly restores the back of

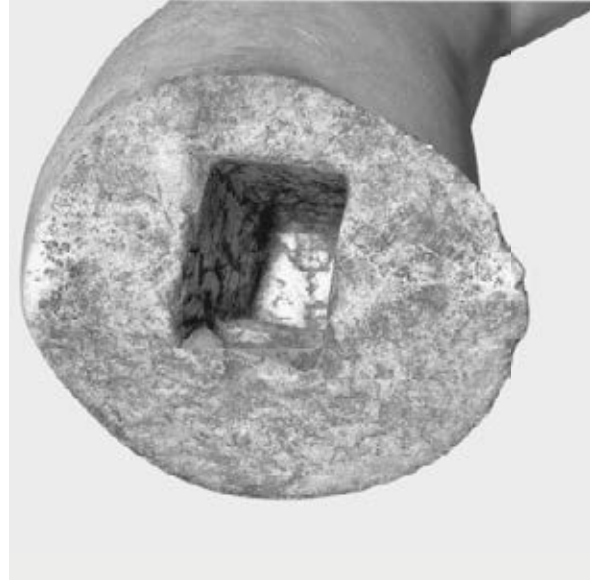
this head in wood. In the center of the back is a rectangular dowel hole.

13 A comparable indication of the hair in shallow relief above the forehead and the temples is visible on an akrolithic head from Cyrene at the British Museum (inv. 61 11-2787), dated to the 2nd century CE: R.M. Smith – E.A. Porcher, *History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene* (London 1864) 92 pl. 64; A.H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. British Museum II (London 1900) 262 no. 1506 pl. 25 fig. 2; E. Paribeni, *Volti, teste calve e parrucche*, *AttiMemMagnaGr n.s.* II (1958) 64 no. 7 pl. 19 figs. 1–2; J. Huskinson, *Roman Sculpture from Cyrenaica in the British Museum* (London 1975) 66 no. 122 pl. 47; L. Beschi, *Volti e acroliti cirenaici*, in: M. Fano Santi (ed.), *Studi di archeologia in onore di Gustavo Traversari*, *Archeologica* 141 (Rome 2004) 86–87 figs. 9–10.

14 As suggested by Giuliano 1993. Cf. below note 70.



1 Goddess from Morgantina. Right Hand. Aidone, Museo Archeologico Regionale



2 Goddess from Morgantina. Back of right arm with dowel hole

meter on the Great Eleusinian Relief¹⁵. The identification of the object as a phiale is unlikely due to the fact that normally, when statues of deities are holding this vessel, their palms are generally kept parallel to the ground, not turned vertically to the side: compare, for example, the Apollo¹⁶ and the Large Artemis from the Piraeus¹⁷, the latter represented in the act of pouring a libation but only slightly turning her right hand to the side.

At least four of the fingers were separate pieces and were joined to the right hand in antiquity (fig. 1). Mineralized iron pins are still in situ on the joining surfaces of the index finger and of the ring finger, and the corresponding holes are visible on the joining surfaces of the thumb and middle fingers. The joining surfaces are smooth and thoroughly executed, and the pinholes have been carefully centered. There is no pinhole corresponding to the little finger, which may or may not have been a separate piece. The joining of the fingers to the right hand could depend on limitations of the original marble block or it represents an ancient repair.

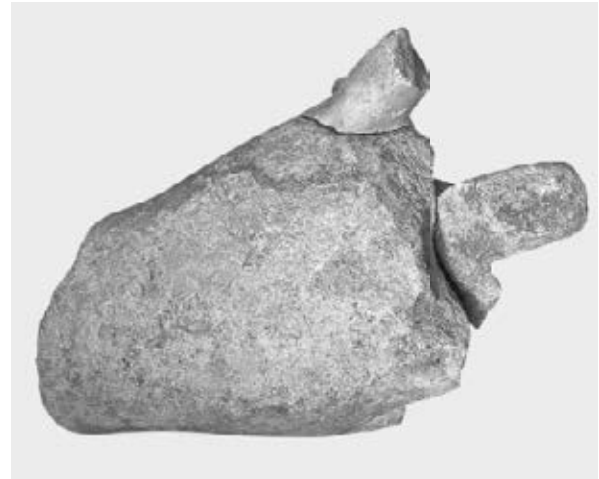
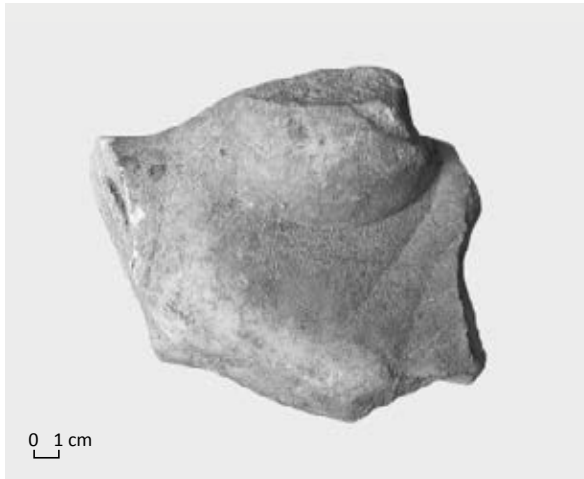
Of the right arm, the right hand, the forearm, and the beginning of the elbow are rendered in marble. The marble arm was attached to the limestone body at the elbow by a thick, rectangular dowel (fig. 2). This dowel was slotted into two sockets carved, respectively, into the backside of the marble arm and into the limestone body. A cross-pin running through the outer, proper right side of the forearm, helped to fasten this dowel and counter torsion. On the occasion of the conservation treatment of the statue at the Getty, the form and structure of the socket carved into the backside of the marble arm were carefully investigated. That investigation has suggested that a change to the position of the arm was made in antiquity. The arm was originally positioned roughly 90 degrees to the body and in a roughly straight projection from the body. The position of the arm after the change provided a more downward slope and inward angle to the body. This second position has been selected for the current reconstruction of the statue.

15 Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. 126: L. Schneider, *Das große Eleusinische Relief und seine Kopien*, AntPl 12 (Berlin 1973) 103–122; Ridgway 1981, 138–141; Boardman 1985, 182 fig. 144; Beschi 1988, 875 no. 375 pl. 588; Güntner 1997, 962 no. 88; Rolley 1999, 157–160 fig. 141; Kaltsas 2002, 100–101 no. 180; K. Clinton – O. Palagia, *The Boy in the Great Eleusinian Relief*, AM 118, 2003, 263–280; Kreikenbom 2004, 214–215. 515 fig. 143, with further lit.

16 Piraeus, Museum inv. P 4645: J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture. The Archaic Period* (London 1978) 85 fig. 150; LIMC II (1984) 239 no. 432 pl. 217 s. v. Apollon (W. Lambrinudakis et al.); G. Dontas, *Ο χάλκινος Απόλλων του Πειραιά*, in: H. Kyrieleis (ed.), *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik I* (Mainz 1986) pls. 77–78; J. Floren, *Die griechische Plastik I. Die geometrische und archaische Plastik*,

HdArch 5 (Munich 1987) 316 note 44 pl. 28, 4; Stewart 1990, 109 fig. 168; Rolley 1994, 398–399 fig. 431.

17 Piraeus, Museum inv. P 4647: G. Dontas, *La grande Artémis du Pirée: une œuvre d'Euphranor*, AntK 25, 1982, 15–34; D. Finn – C. Houser, *Greek Monumental Bronze Sculpture* (New York 1983) 62–65; LIMC II (1984) 638 no. 161 pl. 456 s. v. Artemis (L. Kahil); Stewart 1990, 179 fig. 569; L. Todisco, *Scultura greca del IV secolo* (Milan 1993) pl. 213; Boardman 1995, 71 fig. 47; B. S. Ridgway, *Fourth-century Styles in Greek Sculpture* (Madison 1997) 328; O. Palagia, *Reflections on the Piraeus Bronzes*, in: O. Palagia (ed.), *Greek Offerings: Essays on Greek Art in Honour of John Boardman*, Oxbow monograph 89 (Oxford 1997) 187–188 fig. 20; Rolley 1999, 286 fig. 292.



3–4 Goddess from Morgantina. Left hand and back of left hand with portions of the little and middle fingers reattached

The right arm, near the elbow, preserves a textile impression. The specific nature of this impression remains unknown, but it may be related to the use of some fabric to wrap up the marble arm after its modern discovery¹⁸.

The left arm is pulled back and bent at the elbow. The corresponding hand was extended forward with a slight downward slope. The forearm and hand of the left arm were rendered in marble. The forearm, now missing, was inserted into a circular socket carved into the limestone body at the elbow. The forearm was attached to the limestone body by a thick, rectangular dowel that was the same size as that used to attach the right forearm. This dowel was slotted, presumably, into two sockets carved, respectively, into the backside of the marble forearm and into the circular socket in the limestone body. This second socket is still partly preserved. The hole for a diagonal cross-pin running through the outer, proper left side of the forearm, is also partly preserved. The function of this cross-pin was to fasten the dowel into its socket and to prevent the marble forearm from falling out.

The largest fragment of the left hand (88.AA.76.2) preserves part of the wrist, the entire palm, and parts of the proximal phalanges of the thumb and index fingers (figs. 3–4). Two smaller fragments, which join with the rest of the hand but have not been reattached, consist of the proximal phalanx of the little finger (88.AA.76.4) and that of the middle finger (88.AA.76.3: rejoined from two

smaller fragments). These fragments indicate that the hand was neither clenched in a fist nor completely open (fig. 4). The thumb was held straight alongside the palm and the index finger, while the little finger was slightly pulled back. The hand may have held a thin object with the first four fingers, possibly a piece of drapery.

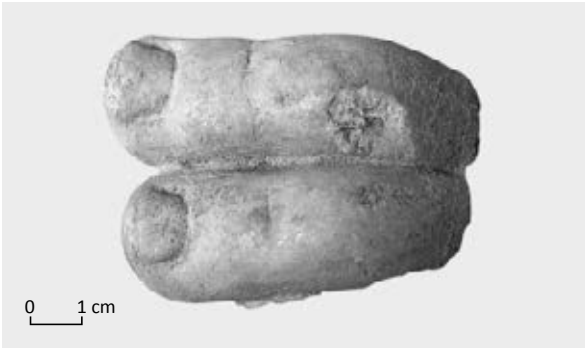
The right foot is flat on the ground. Only the front part of the foot, including the toes, is rendered in marble. The hem of the limestone chiton covers the rest of the foot, whose contours are visible through the cloth, on the proper right side. The join between the limestone body and the back of the marble foot is almost vertical, except for a modest sloping forward on the lateral, proper right side of the foot. The joining surface of the foot is worn and it does not preserve holes for pins or dowels: it was probably left rough, to facilitate the gluing of the marble foot to the limestone body. The sole was not polished, and shows the marks of a rasp.

There is some space between the marble right foot and the lower edge of the limestone body, which suggests that the statue originally wore sandals, whose soles were only a few centimeters thick. A narrow horizontal ridge seen in transparency behind the chiton, under the lateral malleolus, could be an indication of the back of that sole. The straps were presumably rendered with paint, since there is no indication of metal attachments.

Of the left foot, only the forepart was rendered in marble and glued to the limestone body. The only extant

18 Bell 2007, 20, who identifies our statue as Hera, has suggested that the textile impression is ancient, and should be understood as the remains of a belt of fabric held by the goddess in her extended right hand. Bell identifies this belt as the magic belt that Aphrodite presented to Hera as a gift in the *Iliad* (*Iliad* 14, 214, 219), and which Hera used to seduce Zeus on Mount Ida (*Iliad* 14, 292 ff.). Accord-

ingly, Bell suggests that our statue represents the epiphany of Hera before Zeus on Mount Ida. It may be noted, however, that the iconography of Hera extending the magic belt toward Zeus is not documented in ancient art (cf. Kossatz-Deissmann 1988, 683–685). In addition, the position of the fingers seems to exclude the possibility that the right hand of our statue held a small object like a belt.



5 Goddess from Morgantina. Fragment of left foot

fragment (88.AA.76.5) shows the index toe, the middle toe, and part of the depression between the middle toe and the fourth toe (fig. 5). This fragment confirms that the marble foot was raised at the heel and touched the ground only with the tips of the toes. Traces of blue are visible to the naked eye between the index and the middle toe. It is difficult to relate these traces of color to the straps of a sandal because of their position, which is neither between the big toe and the index toe, nor between the phalanx and the metatarsus, as one would expect.

The costume of our statue consists of a long-sleeved chiton and a himation¹⁹. A large part of the right sleeve of the chiton is broken away and the extant parts below the elbow and on the shoulder and upper arm are considerably worn. Still visible are some of the wavy lines radiating from the buttons of the sleeve, which are indicated by low ridges. The left sleeve of the chiton, on the shoulder and on the upper arm – where this cloth is not covered by the himation – is in a better state of preservation (fig. 6). A little round button holding the chiton is visible near the top of the upper arm. Delicate wavy lines, partly incised



6 Goddess from Morgantina. Left shoulder

and partly indicated by low ridges, radiate from this button. The other buttons on this side are worn, but the wavy lines radiating from two buttons originally located above the shoulder are still visible. These wavy lines are rendered with a series of ridges above the left breast.

In the area of the breasts, the drapery of the chiton is arranged in a series of narrow, tubular ridges with mod-

¹⁹ In the literature on our statue, there is little reference to its dress. Portale 2005, 91 has suggested that the goddess wears a chiton and himation while Bell 2007, 20 believes that the goddess is wearing a woolen peplos over a linen chiton, and a himation. This last combination is documented for late fifth-early fourth century sculpture (cf. e. g. the woman on the stele in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. 36.11.1, dated 400–390: G.M.A. Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Cambridge, Mass. 1954) 54 no. 80 pl. 65; C.W. Clairmont, *Classical Attic Tombstones*, 9 Vols. (Kilchberg 1993–95) I, 437 no. 1.772; C.A. Picón et al., *Art of the Classical World in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York 2007) fig. 151. In general, for the wearing of the chiton under the peplos in late fifth-early fourth century sculpture cf. M. Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung* (Berlin – Leipzig 1928) pl. 16.1; L. Jones Roccas, *Athena from a House on the Areopagus*, *Hesperia* 60, 1991, 401; L. Jones Roccas, *Back-Mantle and Peplos: The Special Costume of Greek Maidens in 4th-Century Funerary and Votive Reliefs*, *Hesperia* 69, 2000, 247–248). However, this combination of a woolen peplos over a linen chiton, and a himation should be excluded in the case of our statue for three main reasons. The first is the thinness of

the cloth, which is best seen at the overfold on both sides. The second is that on the left side, on the shoulder and on the upper arm, one does not see the sharp differentiation between the thick peplos and the thin chiton endymon that one would expect if the statue were wearing these two distinct pieces of cloth (in contrast to, for example, the girls on the southern side of the east side of the Parthenon frieze, who wear chitons under their peploi: cf. F. Brommer, *Der Parthenonfries* (Mainz 1977) pls. 168 and 170). The last reason is that on the left side, rather than the thick, lateral edge characteristic of a peplos, one sees a transition from the wavy lines radiating from the buttons of the sleeve to the drapery clinging to the left breast. I may add that in my opinion, the drapery seen on the front between the feet, along the lower edge of the statue, does not belong to an undergarment, but is part of the same cloth seen on the torso, on the lower left leg, and above the right foot. Near the right foot, this drapery consists of a small, compressed double-edged fold, and near the left foot the drapery consists of a bunch of small, crimped folds. Similarly crimped folds are seen on the back of the statue, along the lower edge, in correspondence to the left foot. In my opinion, these folds belong to the lower end of the chiton, and not to an undergarment.

erate projection (pls. 1–3. 8 a). These ridges form three catenaries between the breasts and long S-curves at their sides. In addition, a series of drapery ridges forms a long S-curve from the right side across the left breast. The ridges often show bifurcations, and they alternate, particularly on the front, with wide, shallow, flat-bottomed areas. In the area of the lower chest, the chiton clings more closely to the body. Above the right thigh, a series of six flat ridges curves slightly in the direction of the upper body framing the central area of the abdomen. In this area, the thin chiton clings to the body to the point of being almost fully transparent. The area around the navel is damaged, but the navel itself may have been indicated with a depression. The chiton has a long overfold, which reaches below the waist and overlaps the upper edge of the himation above the left thigh and on the proper right side²⁰. On this side, three strongly projecting ridges separated by deep, flat-bottomed furrows characterize the surface of the overfold. Above the left thigh, the overfold of the chiton is so filmy, that it nearly merges with the himation beneath. Folds here are very thin and they are rendered with shallow ridges.

In the lower body, the contours of the back of the right foot and the lower left leg are visible through the chiton. On the lower left leg, up-curving folds characterize the rendering of the chiton. These folds are rendered with widely spaced tubular ridges rising vertically from shallow and smoothly worked intervals.

The himation, which covers a large part of the back of the statue, was originally pulled up over the neck and perhaps part of the head as well (pls. 1–7. 8 b. 9 a–b fig. 6)²¹. This portion of the cloth, which was originally added and attached by glue, is no longer in place, except for the raised edge on the back of the left shoulder. That the himation covered at least the lower portion of the neck is indicated by a piece of drapery carved in relief near the top of the right shoulder. This piece of drapery is clearly different from the sleeve of the chiton beneath, and it should be understood as belonging to the portion of the himation hanging down the neck on that side. The surface of the nape of the marble neck was worked rough by a rasp in its lower portion to create a rough surface to assist in the gluing of this limestone addition. Likewise, the horizontal pinhole noted on the proper right side of the

20 The Syon House-Munich type, which is thought to represent either Aphrodite or Persephone and whose prototype is dated to about 430–420 and generally attributed to Agorakritos, offers a good parallel for this detail of the overfold of the chiton overlapping the himation at both sides: Despini 1971, 178–182; B. Vierneisel-Schlörb, *Klassische Skulpturen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., Katalog der Skulpturen, Glyptothek München 2* (Munich 1979) 163–177 no. 15 figs. 74–79; E. B. Harrison, *Two Pheidias Heads: Nike and Amazon*, in: D. Kurtz – B. Sparkes (eds.), *The Eye of Greece: Studies in the Art of Athens* (Cambridge – New York 1982) 50; A. Delivorrias,

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7 Marble Head from the East Metopes of the Heraion (Temple E) at Selinus. Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale »Antonino Salinas« Inv. 3926

nape of the neck may have assisted in fastening this addition. The fact that the neck is carved in the round would seem to speak against the idea that the head was fully covered by the himation.

The himation is folded double at the top in passing from the back to the proper right side, and it crosses the body on the front (pls. 1–5. 8 a. 9 c–d). On the proper left side, it remains unclear whether the himation was thrown over the left arm at the elbow, or whether it was held in place at the armpit by the lowered left arm. This side of the statue has suffered considerable damage and this part of the cloth has broken away.

Long S-curved drapery lines characterize the rendering of the himation. Echoing with their calligraphic swing the sweeping lines of the pose of the statue, they contribute to its effect of arrested motion (pls. 8 a. 9 d). On the proper right side, the S-curved lines behind the lower leg

Problèmes de conséquence méthodologique et d'ambiguïté iconographique, *MEFRA* 103, 1991, 145; C. Valeri, *Marmora phlegraea: sculture dal Rione Terra di Pozzuoli* (Rome 2005) 85–98 figs. 79–91. Cf. also the Leaning Aphrodite type, on which see below note 67.

21 Cf. Bieber (above n. 19) pl. 27,2–3. In the literature on the statue, it has often been remarked that the himation would have originally been pulled up over the head: cf. *Acquisitions* 1989, 110 no. 11; Boardman 1993, 135; Boardman 1995, 166; *Handbook of the Antiquities Collection*, J. Paul Getty Museum (Los Angeles 2002) 104; Bell 2007, 19–20.

convey the impression of wind-blown drapery. In comparison with the chiton beneath, the himation is treated as a heavier piece of fabric, and its carving is marked by sharp cuttings and strong plays of light and shade. On the upper back, the drapery of the himation is arranged in several thick, tubular ridges with narrow, shallow, intervening furrows. Some of these ridges bifurcate. In the areas of the left elbow and lower back the ridges are thicker and often strongly undercut. The intervening furrows have been given further depth by carving shallow grooves on their bottoms. In addition, several ridges have been re-furrowed and bifurcate. On the lower back, the drapery of the himation is characterized by four long folds that bend and widen towards the hem, ending in two large double-edged (so-called omega) folds right above the hem of the chiton. On the proper right side, great emphasis has been accorded by the sculptor to the folding up of the himation at the waist. Here, the drapery of the himation clings more closely to the body and it loses the arrangement in thick tubular ridges seen on the

back. Narrow ridges, shallow in the middle and rising vertically towards the edges, characterize the rendering of the himation on this side, particularly in the upper, folded up part. A mannerism of our sculptor that is particularly noticeable in this area is his carving of shallow ridges re-furrowed and often bifurcating at both ends. Behind the right leg, the drapery forms a series of S-curves, which are separated by a deep, shell-like hollow. These motion lines end in a series of strongly projecting folds, two of which are double-edged. On the front, the contrast found on the proper right side between shallow ridges in the middle and ridges rising vertically towards the edges is further enhanced. On this side, there is also some emphasis on the bunching of the folds of the himation around the waist. Finally, on the proper left side, the drapery of the himation is characterized by a series of S-curved, compressed folds behind the leg (pl. 5). These folds are rendered through a series of narrow ridges and intervening furrows, which are in some places deeply undercut.

Materials and Technique

The Goddess from Morgantina has been produced using the so-called pseudo-akrolithic technique. The clothed body is made from limestone. The exposed parts, namely the head, the forearms, and the foreparts of the feet, are made from marble. The attachment of the marble extremities to the limestone body was done with some difficulty. I have noted that the tenon of the head does not fit accurately into its socket. In addition, as we shall see, the left elbow was damaged during the carving of the circular socket and the dowel hole for attaching the forearm to the limestone body. On the previously mentioned chronologically earlier metopes of the temple of Hera at Selinus (460–450), which were produced using the same pseudo-akrolithic technique, the attachment of the marble parts appears to have been handled more successfully. During the conservation treatment of our statue at the Getty it was suggested that the irregular fit of the head may have been due to the marble parts having originally been used for another statue and later used for our sculpture. The recutting of the upper right section of the head may seem to lend further support to this suggestion. This

is, however, only one possibility. The irregularities could also have been caused by the sculpting of the marble parts by a different sculptor than the limestone body, or by a third, less competent person being put in charge of assembling the various pieces. It is also possible that the sculptor of the statue was simply not familiar with the pseudo-akrolithic technique.

The material of the body is a wackestone limestone, rich in micritic calcite and containing circa 30 % allochems, including foraminifera and echinoid fragments. Petrographic analysis has concluded that this limestone was procured from the Early Miocene Irminio Member of the Ragusa Formation in the Hyblean Plateau of south-eastern Sicily²².

The head, forearms, and foot segments are all made of the same white, medium to large grain marble. Isotopic analysis has concluded that the most probable provenance of the marble is Paros²³.

As for the carving process, there are no traces of marks made by a point on the limestone body. Marks of both a claw chisel and of a flat chisel are visible on the less

22 R. Alaimo – R. Giarrusso – G. Montana – P. Quinn, Petrographic and Micropaleontological Data in Support of a Sicilian Origin for the Statue of Aphrodite, in: *Cult Statue of a Goddess. Summary of Proceedings from a Workshop Held at the Getty Villa May 9, 2007* (Los Angeles 2007) 23–28.

23 The analysis was carried out by Dr. Stanley Margolis of the University of California at Davis and by The Getty Conservation Institute.

finished areas, especially between the folds and under the hanging segments of the drapery. On one of the unrestored drapery fragments (88.AA.139.35) are the cuttings produced by a knife or scraping blade (the width of the blade was circa 3–5 mm). This instrument was used for the carving of the drapery, and it has left other traces in the deep undercuttings between the folds of the statue. Another unrestored drapery fragment (88.AA.139.39) shows the marks of a gouge with a concave blade. There is no definitive evidence for the use of a drill to carve the drapery. The use of this tool was probably limited to the drilling of pinholes. Several rasp marks are visible on large part of the surface of the limestone body and on the unrestored drapery fragments. Rasps of varying size and fineness were used, sometime even in the same area (this is best seen on the unrestored drapery fragment 88.AA.139.60). The rasp appears to have been essential for the treatment of the final surface of the limestone body, which was not polished. This may be due to the particular nature of the limestone, which was a kind that would not accept polish. Not coincidentally, the same lack of polish and abundance of traces of the rasp is found on the surface of a draped female statue from Morgantina (225–200), which petrographic analysis has shown was carved in a limestone similar to that used for our statue²⁴.

The exposed surface of the marble extremities was carefully polished. The top of the marble head was worked with both a point and a chisel to create a rough surface. A claw and a flat chisel were used for the recutting of the upper right edge of the head. The marks of a rasp are visible on the nape of the neck and on the sole of the right foot.

The majority of the body was carved from a single block of limestone. There are, however, a number of portions that were separately carved and attached. These portions consist for the most part of sections of the drapery, added because of restrictions in the block size. A case in point is the portion of the himation pulled up over the neck and perhaps pulled over part of the head as well. This section of drapery was rendered in one piece, which extended from near the top of the right shoulder to near the top of the left shoulder. On the left side, this section was attached to the limestone statue by some glue along a smooth joining surface, which is partly preserved (pls. 6. 8 b fig. 6). Another portion that may have been added due to restrictions in the block size concerns the part of the himation immediately below the forearm on the proper left side. A smooth joining surface and a pinhole indicate that a portion of the edge of the himation was originally

attached. Likewise, a portion of the edge of the himation on the proper right side, immediately behind the leg, was attached, as indicated by the smooth joining surface (pl. 9 d). The situation is different for the left elbow, which was separately carved and attached along a smooth, vertical joining surface (pl. 9 a–b). This portion of the arm could be attached to the rest of the body only after placing the left marble forearm into position. It seems unlikely that the elbow was separately carved and attached to the body in order to help with the attachment of the marble forearm or in order to hide that connection. It is more likely that in the process of cutting into the limestone body to create the circular socket and the dowel hole for the forearm, the left elbow was damaged and a replacement was needed. This new section, corresponding to the elbow, was attached to the body using glue, a small rectangular dowel, and possibly the end section of the same dowel used to attach the marble forearm.

A small rectangular socket carved in the back of the left elbow may have been the result of the insertion of a limestone patch, now missing (pl. 9 b). This patch may have been used to mend a flaw in the stone or a mistake in the carving²⁵. A hole against the edge of the himation immediately below the left shoulder may have served a similar function.

On the lower back of our statue, immediately above the edge of the himation, one sees a depression behind the left foot, and a hole (0.03 m in diameter, 0.05 m in depth) behind the right foot (pl. 6). The depression and the hole are 0.21 m apart. The hole is located at a height of 0.195 m from the lower edge of the statue. While the depression may simply be due to an accidental break, the hole on the right appears intentional and ancient. It may have served to secure a clamp or a pin, which was used to hold the statue to its base or, less likely, to anchor it to a wall or a niche behind.

The lack of polish of the final surface of the limestone body of our statue was compensated for by the application of paint, which not only contributed to the polychrome effect of the statue, but also served to hide the final tool marks.

Pink, blue, and two shades of red – a deep red and a bright red – are documented for the limestone body. X-ray diffraction, X-ray fluorescence and polarized light microscopy carried out at the Getty Conservation Institute have provided the following information about the pigments. Cinnabar (HgS mercuric sulphide) was used for the deep red. Hematite (Fe₂O₃) was probably used for the bright red. Cinnabar mixed with calcium carbonate

24 Aidone, Museo Archeologico Regionale inv. 56-1749: R. Stillwell – E. Sjöqvist, *Excavations at Serra Orlando. Preliminary Report*, *AJA* 61, 1957, 159 pl. 60 fig. 32; M. Bell, *Morgantina Studies*, 1. *The Terracottas* (Princeton 1981) 47 pl. 147 fig. 16; N. Bonacasa – E. Joly,

L'ellenismo e la tradizione ellenistica, in: Sikanie. *Storia e civiltà della Sicilia greca* (Milan 1985) 297 fig. 365; Alaimo et al. (above n. 22) 28.

25 Similar patches are well documented on the metopes of the Heraion at Selinus: cf. Marconi (above n. 10) 193.

was used for the pink. Egyptian blue ($\text{CaCuSi}_4\text{O}_{10}$ calcium copper silicate) was used for the blue.

No discernable pattern of painted decoration can be observed with the naked eye.

Conspicuous traces of pink are visible on the limestone body: on the chiton, both on the front and on the lower, proper left side, as well as on the himation, on the proper right side. Pink is also visible on several unrestored drapery fragments²⁶.

Under the present lighting conditions, traces of blue cannot be detected with the naked eye on the limestone body. However, traces of this color were noted during the conservation treatment of the statue at the Getty. Blue is also visible on several unrestored drapery fragments²⁷. As noted above, it remains unclear whether blue color, visible on the marble fragment of the left foot, was used to indicate the straps of the sandals.

Traces of red are not visible to the naked eye on the limestone body. This color, however, is visible on some unrestored drapery fragments, on which two different shades, one deep and the other bright, were used²⁸.

On some of these unrestored drapery fragments, pink, blue, and red are found together on the same fragment²⁹.

One of these fragments (88.AA.139.60), whose original surface is remarkably well preserved, is particularly significant for our understanding of the original polychromy of the statue. Under a magnification of circa 20 x, it appears that the layer of pink color is applied directly

to the limestone surface, and is overlaid by a layer of blue color. This finding is confirmed by the observation of three other unrestored drapery fragments (88.AA.139.73, 88.AA.139.79, and 88.AA.139.95), on which a layer of red overlays the layer of pink. The pink was thus applied directly to the limestone surface. It remains unclear, however, whether the surface of the statue was covered in two paint washes, in which case the pink color would have served as underpainting for the finishing coat, which included blue and red for the dress³⁰; whether both the chiton and the himation were painted pink, and the use of the blue and of the red was reserved only for borders or patterns; or, finally, whether the statue was later repainted. I would opt for the first possibility, although we know too little about the polychromy of Classical limestone statuary to reach any definitive conclusion on this issue.

As for the marble head, forearms, and feet, which correspond to the exposed parts of the body, it seems clear that the white marble was meant to contribute to the general polychrome effect of the statue, reproducing the whiteness of the female flesh. The same solution was used on the previously mentioned metopes of the temple of Hera at Selinus³¹. A dark color, however, was used on the head of our statue, for rendering details of the anatomy. To the naked eye, the traces of this color can be seen on both the right and left eyes, in correspondence to both lids and the irises, and on the upper, and particularly the lower, lips.

Style and Dating

The contrapposto of the pose and the treatment of the drapery, in particular the transparency of the chiton and the sweeping folds of the himation, set the Goddess from Morgantina within the context of the so-called Rich Style, which is characteristic of the period between 430 and 400³².

More precisely, the pose of our statue and the rendering of her drapery find close parallels in Athenian art of the last quarter of the fifth century, particularly statuary and architectural sculpture of the generation after Pheidias and vase paintings by the Meidias Painter and by

26 Especially on acc. nos. 88.AA.139.35, 88.AA.139.36, 88.AA.139.39, 88.AA.139.60, 88.AA.139.73, 88.AA.139.79, 88.AA.139.95.

27 Acc. nos. 88.AA.139.38, 88.AA.139.54, 88.AA.139.58, 88.AA.139.60, 88.AA.139.73, 88.AA.139.95.

28 Deep red: acc. nos. 88.AA.139.38 and 88.AA.139.77. Bright red: acc. nos. 88.AA.139.73, 88.AA.139.79, and 88.AA.139.95.

29 Pink, blue, and red: acc. nos. 88.AA.139.73 and 88.AA.139.95. Pink and blue: acc. no. 88.AA.139.60. Pink and red: acc. no. 88.AA.139.79. Blue and red: acc. no. 88.AA.139.38.

30 Based on comparisons with marble draped female statues of the Hellenistic period (both originals and Roman copies), whose polychromy has been analyzed (cf. V. Brinkmann, *Farben und Maltech-*

nik, in: V. Brinkmann – R. Wünsche [eds.], *Bunte Götter: die Farbigeit antiker Skulptur* [Munich 2004] 175–178; for the Small Herculeum Woman cf. also C. Vorster, *The Large and Small Herculeum Women Sculptures*, in: J. Daehner [ed.], *The Herculeum Women: History, Context, Identities* [Los Angeles 2007] 67–68), one could speculate that blue was used for the chiton and red for the himation.

31 On this aspect of the metopes of Temple E see esp. Marconi (above n. 10) 138–140 and Brinkmann (above n. 31) 242.

32 For the definition of the Rich Style and its dating I am referring to G. Lippold, *Die Griechische Plastik*, HdArch 3,1 (Munich 1950) 182–215; cf. more recently Kreikenbom 2004.

Aristophanes. These parallels suggest a dating of our statue to about 410³³.

The so-called Agora Aphrodite offers the closest comparison in sculpture for the pose of our statue (pl. 12–13)³⁴. In the past, it was occasionally suggested that the Agora statue was a Roman copy³⁵, but today there is a general consensus that Harrison's initial suggestion that this sculpture is an original, comparable in style with the work of the Nike Parapet Master A and dating to about 420, is correct. Both the Agora statue and our statue have their feet placed diagonally on the plinth, and both are standing on their right legs, with their left, free legs placed slightly to the back and to the side, and with the corresponding feet raised from the ground. In addition, both statues have a chiasmic alignment of hips and shoulders, which corresponds to the position of their legs. Finally, the left arms of both statues were bent at the elbow, although the forearm of our sculpture was not held horizontal, but rather had a slight downward slope. In addition to these similarities, the two sculptures show some differences. One concerns the position of the right arm, which in the statue of the Agora was not extended forward, as it is in our statue. The turning of the head may also have been different. Our statue turns her head slightly towards the weight-bearing leg, while the Agora statue seems to have turned her head towards the free, trailing foot. One last difference concerns the left leg and foot, which in the Agora statue are drawn to the side slightly more than in our statue. Stewart has suggested that the pose of the Agora statue is a quotation of the Doryphoros. However, although a reference to

the work of Polykleitos in her chiasmic pose is undeniable, the Agora statue shows significant differences from the Doryphoros. One is that the head of the Agora statue was turned towards the free leg, not the weight-bearing leg. The other is that the left leg and foot are placed more laterally than in the Doryphoros, and at the same time they are not trailing as they are in the statue by Polykleitos. Unlike the Doryphoros, the Agora statue is thus not represented in a walking stance, but she is, to use Harrison's perceptive description »standing in a swaying pose as if she had just taken a step and paused to look back.«³⁶. A similar comment may apply to our statue.

Within the general stylistic development of draped sculpture between 450 and 370³⁷, our statue belongs to the phase in which the value of modeling lines, something that was fully exploited in the frieze and pediments of the Parthenon, was being sharply reduced, in favor of the transparent modeling of the plastic forms (phase 4 in Harrison's sequence). The most significant representative of this phase is the Erechtheion frieze³⁸, which is dated epigraphically between 409 and 406, and which is characterized from the stylistic point of view by an entirely new approach to texture and transparency, one which differs not only from the Parthenon frieze and pediments, but also from the Hephaisteion friezes (generally dated 430–425). Closely comparable to the figures of the Erechtheion frieze are some of the sculptures of the Nike Parapet³⁹. It has recently been suggested that the parapet was integral to the Nike's temple design from the beginning of the construction process and that the parapet was mentioned

33 These are, thus far, the various dates suggested for our statue in the literature: a) 425–400: Acquisitions 1989, 110 no. 11; Handbook (above n. 21) 104; J.B. Grossmann, Looking at Greek and Roman Sculpture in Stone (Los Angeles 2003) 30; G.I. Despinis, Zu Akrolithstatuen griechischer und römischer Zeit, NAWG 8, 2004, 250. b) 420: Stemmer 2001, 97 no. E 23. – c) 410: Portale 2005, 91. – d) 410–400: Giuliano 1993, 57. – e) Late fifth century: Boardman 1995, 166; R.J.A. Wilson, Archaeology in Sicily 1988–1995, ARepLond 42, 1995/96, 63; J. Boardman, Greek Art³ (London 1996) caption to fig. 161. – f) 400: Rolley 1994, 77. – g) 425–350: R.R. Holloway, The Archaeology of Ancient Sicily (London – New York 1991) 109 caption to fig. 134.

34 Athens, Agora Museum inv. S. 1882: E.B. Harrison, New Sculpture from the Athenian Agora, 1959, Hesperia 29, 373–376 pl. 82; S. Adam, The Technique of Greek Sculpture in the Archaic and Classical Periods (London 1967) 52–53; W. Fuchs, Die Skulptur der Griechen (Munich 1969) 209–210 fig. 225; Despinis 1971, 188; A. Delivorrias, Attische Giebelskulpturen und Akrotere des fünften Jahrhunderts (Tübingen 1974) 96 note 428; Vierneisel-Schlörb (above n. 20) 164 note 1a; 172 note 13; Ridgway 1981, 111–112; Delivorrias et al. 1984, 26 no. 162 pl. 19; Boardman 1985, 175–176 fig. 136; Stewart 1990, 167 fig. 425; Todisco (above n. 17) pl. 19; Rolley 1999, 142 fig. 126; Brouskari 1998, 27–28; Stemmer 2001, 97 no. E 22; Palagia 2006, 27 note 88. – The similarity in the pose between the Agora statue and our statue has been noted by Giuliano 1993, 57; Boardman 1995, 166; Rolley 1999, 195; Portale 2005, 91.

35 H. von Heintze, Herakles Alexikakos, RM 72, 1965, 37 and note 150; cf. Fuchs (above n. 34) 209–210.

36 Harrison (above n. 34) 373.

37 For this see esp. E.B. Harrison, Style Phases in Greek Sculpture from 450 to 370 B.C., in: Πρακτικά του XII Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Κλασικής Αρχαιολογίας Αθήνα 4–10 Σεπτεμβρίου 1983 III (Athens 1988) 99–105.

38 P.N. Boulter, The Frieze of the Erechtheion, AntPl 10 (Berlin 1970) 7–28; Brouskari 1974, 152–156 figs. 318–331; Ridgway 1981, 93–94; M. Brouskari, Ζωίδια λαίβεα. Nouvelles figures de la frise de l'Erechtheion, in: M. Schmidt (ed.), Kanon (Basel 1988) 60–68; Stewart 1990, 167–168 figs. 433–435; Trianti 1998, 338–353 figs. 340–383; Rolley 1999, 117–118 fig. 118; K. Glowacki, A New Fragment of the Erechtheion Frieze, Hesperia 64, 1995, 325–331; J.M. Hurwit, The Athenian Acropolis (Cambridge – New York) 207–208; B. Holtzmann, L'Acropole d'Athènes (Paris 2003) 168–169 figs. 153–155; Palagia 2006, 141–143.

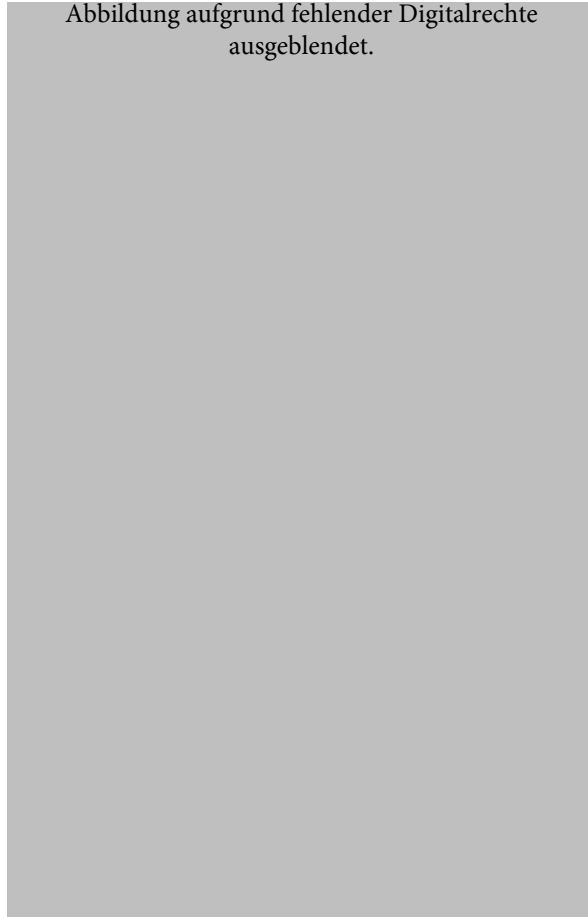
39 W.B. Dinsmoor, The Sculptured Parapet of Athena Nike, AJA 30, 1926, 1–31; W.B. Dinsmoor, The Nike Parapet Once More, AJA 34, 1930, 281–295; Carpenter 1929; Brouskari 1974, 156–163 figs. 332–347; Ridgway 1981, 97–98; Harrison (above n. 37) 103–104; Stewart 1990, 166–167 figs. 419–423; I.S. Mark, The Sanctuary of Athena Nike in Athens, Hesperia Suppl. 26 (Princeton 1993) 76. 90–91; Trianti 1998, 380–393 figs. 401–416; Rolley 1999, 112–115 figs. 100–103; T. Hölscher, Ritual und Bildsprache. Zur Deutung der Reliefs an der Brüstung um das Heiligtum der Athena Nike in Athen, AM 112, 1997, 143–166; Brouskari 1998; Hurwit (above n. 38) 213–215; Holtzmann (above n. 38) 160–163 figs. 149–151; K. Kalogeropoulos, Die Botschaft der Nikebalustrade, AM 118, 2003, 281–315; Palagia 2006, 140–141.

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8 Figures from the Erechtheion Frieze. Athens, Akropolis Museum Inv. 1071

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9 Nike from the parapet of the Temple of Athena Nike. Athens, Akropolis Museum Inv. 995

in a decree (IG I³ 64A) on a project for the Nike sanctuary dated between 430 and 420⁴⁰. However, this would still not be a compelling reason to believe that the actual carving of the parapet began before 421. For the dating of this monument, we still have to rely on stylistic considerations. Unfortunately, however, the reliefs of the Nike Parapet show so many different approaches to the rendering of drapery, that they have been variously regarded as earlier than the Erechtheion frieze (421–415: Carpenter, Boulter, Brouskari; 416–413: Mark), as almost or exactly contemporary with the Erechtheion frieze (410: Ridgway, Holtzmann; 409–406: Rolley, Hurwit), or as carved in three different phases, the last one considerably later than the Erechtheion frieze (after 400: Harrison, Stewart). Be that as it may, in both the Erechtheion frieze and the Nike Parapet we find significant parallels for the drapery style

of our statue⁴¹. In regards to the relationship of line and plastic form, a treatment comparable to the rendering of the chiton in the area of the breasts of our statue is found, on the Erechtheion frieze, on the figure (Akr. 1071) of a young woman wearing a chiton and a himation (fig. 8)⁴². This figure is part of a couple moving to the right and the two figures have generally been identified as Demeter and Kore. The upper torso of this figure is only partly preserved, but enough remains to show the transparent, thin chiton clinging to the body in the area of the navel and abdomen, along with a few low, smooth ridges at the sides and above. The treatment of the chiton on this figure is very similar to that of our statue. A similar relationship of line and plastic form is found, in the Nike Parapet, on the figure (Akr. 995) of Nike moving right (fig. 9)⁴³. Carpenter has attributed this figure to Master C and consequently

⁴⁰ P. Schultz, *The Date of the Nike Temple Parapet*, *AJA* 106, 2002, 294–295.

⁴¹ Both the Erechtheion frieze and the Nike Parapet have often been mentioned as parallels for our statue: cf. Boardman 1993, 135; Giuliano 1993, 65; Portale 2005, 91.

⁴² Athens, Akropolis Museum inv. 1071: Boulter (above n. 38) 12 pls. 11–12; Brouskari 1974, 156 fig. 331; Stewart 1990, fig. 434; Trianti 1998, fig. 383; Palagia 2006, 142 fig. 46.

⁴³ Athens, Akropolis Museum inv. 995: Carpenter 1929, 38 no. 6 pl. 15; Brouskari 1974, 161 fig. 340; Brouskari 1998, 177–179 pl. 41.

proposed its location on the west side of the parapet. This figure offers a good parallel for our statue in its drapery ridge that curves in a long arc from the girdle across the left breast, an arrangement that does not follow the actual curves of the body. Another significant parallel for our statue is offered by a female figure (Akr. 1077) depicted frontally on the Erechtheion frieze (fig. 10)⁴⁴. This figure displays a similar rendering of the himation around the lower body. I am referring, in particular, to the fold between the thighs along the lower hem of the upper, folded, part of the himation, and to the draping of this cloth at the right ankle and above the left knee. The twisting crimped folds of the chiton hanging out below the himation between the legs of both sculptures are also very similar. This last rendering is characteristic of the style of the Nike Parapet Master A, as best seen on the figure (Akr. 972+2680) of Nike restraining a bull⁴⁵. The author of our statue shares with Master A the same tendency to rely on the minute effects of close chisel-work, with the consequent overelaboration of every drapery ridge.

As a parallel for the rendering of the drapery of our statue, we may add the already mentioned so-called Agora Aphrodite (pl. 12–13). The sculptors of the two statues share the same interest in flamboyant drapery and in the contrast between the thinner material of the chiton and the thicker himation. The two statues might also have had in common the arrangement of the himation thrown over the bent, left arm, which is seen in the Agora statue and may have also been featured in our statue. The main similarities in the drapery style between the two statues consist of the re-furrowed drapery ridges, seen on the chiton of the Agora statue and on both the chiton and the himation of our statue, and in the deeply-cut furrows, seen on the lower chiton and on the himation of the Agora statue and on the himation of our statue, particularly on its left side. These last two features make both sculptures comparable with the work of Master A of the Nike Parapet.

The Erechtheion frieze, the reliefs of the Nike Parapet, and the so-called Agora Aphrodite, offer the best parallels for the drapery style of our statue. Along with these Athenian examples, one may also mention the Nike of the Messenians and Naupaktians in Olympia, a work of Paio-

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10 Female figure, from the Erechtheion Frieze. Athens, Akropolis Museum Inv. 1077

nios of Mende, apparently an Athenian-trained sculptor⁴⁶. The Nike commemorates the contribution of the Messenians to the Athenian victory against the Spartans at the Battle of Sphakteria in 425, and it is generally dated at the latest to about 420. Similarities between the Nike by Paionios and our statue include the swirling drapery, the transparency of the chiton in the area of the lower chest,

44 Athens, Akropolis Museum inv. 1077: Boulter (above n. 38) 9–10 pls. 3–4; Brouskari 1974, 154 fig. 320; Delivorrias et al. 1984, 28 no. 181 pl. 21; Stewart 1990, fig. 433; Trianti 1998, fig. 382.

45 Athens, Akropolis Museum inv. 972+2680: Carpenter 1929, 19 no. 11 pl. 5, 6, 4; Brouskari 1974, 160–161 fig. 342; Brouskari 1998, 119–128 pls. 2–3; Trianti 1998, fig. 410; Holtzmann (above n. 38), fig. 150.

46 Olympia, Archaeological Museum inv. 46–8: C. Hofkes-Bruker, Vermutete Werke des Paionios, BABesch 42, 1967, 10–11 figs. 1–2; A.H. Borbein, Die griechische Statue des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Formanalytische Untersuchungen zur Kunst der Nach-

klassik, JdI 88, 1973, 165–173 figs. 89–90; T. Hölscher, Die Nike der Messenier und Naupaktier in Olympia. Kunst und Geschichte im späten 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr., JdI 89, 1974, figs. 1–3; C. Hofkes-Bruker – A. Mallwitz, Der Bassai-Fries in der ursprünglich geplanten Anordnung (Munich 1975) figs. 39–40. 42; Ridgway 1981, 108–111 fig. 84; Harrison (above n. 20) 53–88; Stewart 1990, 89–92. 271 figs. 408–411; Todisco (above n. 17) pl. 16; Rolley 1999, 123–125 figs. 113–114; B. Schmaltz, Typus und Stil im historischen Umfeld, JdI 112, 1997, 77–84; Kreikenbom 2004, 198–199. 512 fig. 125, with further lit. – The Nike of Paionios is mentioned as a parallel for our statue by Portale 2005, 91.

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11 Chous by the Meidias Painter. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 75.2.11

the up-curving folds seen on the right leg of the Nike and on the lower left leg of our statue, and the drapery folds across the right ankle. A closer parallel between the two statues concerns the shape and the plastic treatment with deep undercutting of the folds of the lower peplos of the Nike (on both sides) and the himation of our statue (on the proper right side and on the back). The shell-like hollow visible on the proper right side of our statue and on both sides of the Nike should also be noted as a point of similarity between the sculptures.

As for Athenian red-figure vase painting of the last quarter of the fifth century, a close parallel for the pose, costume, and drapery style of our statue can be found on a chous from Athens attributed to the Meidias Painter and today in the Metropolitan Museum, which features two women perfuming clothes in the presence of a small boy (fig. 11). The woman to the right of a hanging stool comes particularly close to our statue⁴⁷. A lekythos attributed to Aristophanes and featuring two women flanking Phaon in the company of Eros (formerly in Berlin and now lost)⁴⁸, offers another close comparison for the pose

and drapery style of our statue, particularly in the figure of the woman to the right of Phaon.

Among Roman copies of fifth century works, the Aphrodite Louvre-Naples⁴⁹ (previously known as the Frejus Aphrodite) and the Dancing Maenads Reliefs⁵⁰ offer the best parallels for the drapery style of our statue. The similarities with the Aphrodite Louvre-Naples (whose original is generally dated to about 410–400) concern in particular the transparent modeling of the plastic forms under the chiton, which in the Aphrodite is slightly more advanced but is still associated with the use of modeling lines. The similarities with the Dancing Maenads Reliefs (whose original is generally dated to about 400) mainly concern the decorative rendering of the flamboyant drapery, including the double-edged folds at the bottom of pleats, which offer a close parallel for the folds of the himation on the back of our statue.

I have mentioned the suggestion that the marble parts of our statue may have previously been used for a different sculpture. Stylistically, it should be noted that the head of our statue does not look earlier than the lime-

47 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. 75.2.11: ARV² 1313, 11; Para 477; Add² 362; L. Burn, *The Meidias Painter* (Oxford 1987) M 12, 89–90, 92–93, 98 pl. 52b.

48 Berlin inv. F 2706: ARV² 1319.5; W. Hahland, *Vasen um Meidias* (Leipzig 1930) 13 pl. 21c; I. Wehgartner, *Das Ideal maßvoller Liebe auf einem attischen Vasenbild. Neues zur Lekythos F 2705 im Berliner Antikemuseum*, *JdI* 102, 1987, 188 fig. 4; *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Dokumentation der Verluste. Antikensammlung V 1, Skulpturen, Vasen, Elfenbein und Knochen, Goldschmuck, Gemmen und Kameen* (Berlin 2005) 133–134 fig.

49 Ridgway 1981, 198–201 figs. 126–127; Delivorrias et al. 1984, 34–35 no. 225 pl. 25; P. Karanastassis, *Untersuchungen zur kaiser-*

zeitlichen Plastik in Griechenland, I. Kopien, Varianten und Umbildungen nach Aphrodite-Typen des 5. Jhs. v. Chr., *AM* 101, 1986, 211–259, 279–290 pls. 46–65; Boardman 1985, fig. 197; Stewart 1990, 167 fig. 426; M. Brinke, *Die Aphrodite Louvre-Neapel*, *AntPl* 25 (Munich 1996) 7–64; Rolley 1999, 142–143 fig. 127; Kreikenbom 2004, 199, 512–513 fig. 126, with further lit.

50 Ridgway 1981, 210–213 figs. 134–135; Boardman 1985, fig. 243b; Stewart 1990, 271; L.-A. Touchette, *The Dancing Maenad Reliefs* (London 1995); *LIMC VIII* (1997) 785 no. 29 pl. 527 and 795 no. 144 pl. 549 s. v. *Mainades* (I. Krauskopf – E. Simon); Rolley 1999, 153–154 fig. 137; Kreikenbom 2004, 190–191, 510–511 fig. 118, with further lit.

stone body, but it appears to belong to about the same period. This is best revealed by a comparative analysis of the facial features, in particular the rendering of the eye and of the mouth, which over the course of the second half of the fifth century underwent a series of significant transformations⁵¹.

The facial features of the head of our statue are more advanced than those of the Laborde Head (fig. 12), which is generally associated with one of the pediments of the Parthenon⁵². We cannot judge the nose, mouth and chin of the Laborde Head, which were restored in the 19th century by Pierre-Charles Simart. However, in spite of some damage to the eyebrows, the eyes of the Laborde Head are fairly well preserved and they do not show the same degree of differentiation in the thickness of the eyelids that one sees on the head of our statue. On the Laborde Head, the lower eyelids are still thick and comparable in size to the upper eyelids while the lower eyelids of our statue are thinner than the upper eyelids and they appear much softer than the lower eyelids of the Laborde Head. The heads of two Nikai from the Nike Parapet⁵³ and the head of a goddess from the Athenian Agora (dated 440–420)⁵⁴ offer a good parallel for the rendering of the eyes of our statue, not only in regards to the differentiation between the two eyelids, but also the cutting of the upper eyelid. The head from the Agora also offers a good comparison for the rendering of the mouth. It is the so-called Hera head from the Argive Heraion, which is generally dated to about 400, that offers the closest parallel for this feature, in spite of the slight weathering of the upper lip⁵⁵. The lips of the Argive head have the same curve, the same relative proportions, and the same shape as those of our statue. Even the projection of the lower lip above the chin area appears the same. By fourth century standards, the upper lip of our statue is still not round and fleshy enough. Likewise, the eyes are still rather large and they are not sunk into the head. Both features speak

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12 Laborde Head. Paris, Louvre Inv. Ma 740

against a dating of the head of our statue too much later than the end of the fifth century.

Thus far, I have reserved my discussion of the features of the head of our statue to the rendering of the eyes and mouth. The most distinctive features of this head, however, are the remarkably full, strong chin and the tall neck. Both features are characteristic of akrolithic heads of Western Greek provenance, such as the Ludovisi Akrolith (460)⁵⁶, the Vatican Head (450)⁵⁷, and a head in Ma-

51 See esp. G.M.A. Richter, *Kouroi. Archaic Greek Youths* (London 1970) 45–56; Fuchs (above n. 34) 549–567.

52 Paris, Louvre inv. Ma 740: F. Brommer, *Die Skulpturen der Parthenon-Giebel* (Mainz 1963) 66–67 no. 18 pl. 132; E.B. Harrison, *Athena and Athens in the East Pediment of the Parthenon*, *AJA* 71, 1967, 39–41 pl. 19 fig. 20; M. Hamiaux, *Musée du Louvre. Département des antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines. Les sculptures grecques*. 2 vols. (Paris 1992–98) I, 136–137 no. 128; O. Palagia, *The Pediments of the Parthenon* (Leiden 1998) 24–25 fig. 64; L. Beschi, *La testa Laborde nel suo contesto partenonico. Una proposta*, *Rend-Linc* 6, 1995, 491–512; Rolley 1999, 99 fig. 89.

53 Athens, Akropolis Museum inv. 1014: Carpenter 1929, 27 no. 8 pl. 9, 10, 1; Brouskari 1974, 161, fig. 341; Brouskari 1998, 202–205 pl. 58. – Athens, Akropolis Museum inv. 992: Carpenter 1929, 29 fig. 2; Brouskari 1998, 170 pl. 34.

54 Athens, Agora Museum inv. S. 2094: Harrison (above n. 36) 369–370 pl. 81a–b; Fuchs (above n. 34) 559 fig. 671; E.D. Reeder (ed.), *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece*, exhibition catalogue, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery (Princeton 1995) 141–142 no. 11.

55 Athens, National Museum inv. 1571: C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum*. 2 vols. (Boston – New York 1902–05) I, 189–191 pl. 36; F. Eichler, *Die Skulpturen des Heraions bei Argos*, *ÖJh* 19/20, 1919, 131–134 figs. 77, 80; D. Arnold, *Die Polykletnachsfolge*, *JdI Erg.* 25 (Berlin 1969) 82–83 pl. 6b; E. La Rocca, *Una testa femminile nel nuovo Museo dei Conservatori e l'Afrodite Louvre-Napoli*, *ASAtene* 50/51, 1972/73, 426–429 figs. 10–11; A. Linfert, *Die Schule des Polyklet*, in: *Polyklet. Der Bildhauer der griechischen Klassik*, exhibition catalogue Frankfurt am Main, Liebieghaus, Museum alter Plastik (Mainz 1990) 259 fig. 122; Todisco (above n. 17) pl. 41; Rolley 1999, 50–51 fig. 37; Ridgway (above n. 17) 29; Kaltsas 2002, 115 no. 204; Kreikenbom 2004, 215, 516 fig. 145.

56 Rome, Palazzo Altamps inv. 8598: Langlotz 1963, 71 pls. 62–63; B. Palma in: A. Giuliano (ed.), *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le Sculture I 5. I marmi Ludovisi nel Museo Nazionale Romano* (Rome 1983) 130–133 no. 57; Häger-Weigel 1997, 18, 64–68, 115–146, 260–261 cat. no. 2 pls. 32, 1–34, 2.

57 Vatican Museums inv. 905: cf. supra note 7.

libu (450)⁵⁸. The piecing of the head may have suggested a taller neck, and in turn the taller neck may have required an adjustment in the proportions of the lower face. The full, strong chin of our statue is also strongly reminiscent of heads of goddesses and nymphs on Sicilian coins of the late fifth and early fourth century. Especially relevant here is the comparison with the female head on the obverse of the Syracusan silver dekadrachms signed by Euainetos, particularly those belonging to the mature phase of this master⁵⁹. The Syracusan silver dekadrachms signed by Kimon and Euainetos have traditionally been associated with the Athenian defeat of 413, but in the last few decades these coins have been connected with the reign of Dionysius I (405–367), and the mature phase of Euaine-

tos has consequently been lowered to about 395–370⁶⁰. A recent reexamination of the archaeological evidence, however, has called for a return to the traditional dating of these coins to the period before the rise to power of Dionysius I⁶¹. Be that as it may, the Arethusa on the coins signed by Euainetos shows the same idealized treatment of the facial features and the same fleshy expression of serene beauty as the head of our statue. A comparison of the details is no less telling: the heavily lidded eyes, the almost smooth, unbroken contour between brow and nose, the lips, and the full, strong chin are remarkably similar. The heads of some terracotta figurines from southeastern Sicily dating to the late fifth and early fourth century show analogous features⁶².

58 Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum inv. 74.AA.33: Olbrich (above n. 12); Häger-Weigel 1997, 18. 68–74. 166–182. 262–263 cat. no. 4 pls. 37,1–38,2.

59 Cf. esp. G.E. Rizzo, *Monete greche della Sicilia* (Rome 1946) 249 pls. LIV 7. LVII 1; cf. also C.M. Kraay, *Greek Coins* (London 1966) 291 pl. 34 no. 104; S. Garaffo, *Il rilievo monetale tra il VI e il IV secolo a.C.*, in: *Sikanie. Storia e civiltà della Sicilia greca* (Milan 1985) 274–275 fig. 315; Holloway (above n. 33) 134 fig. 176; Rolley 1999, 193 fig. 180; N.K. Rutter, *The Greek Coinages of Southern Italy and Sicily* (London 1997) 156 fig. 173. On Euainetos see esp. EAA III (1960) 508–510 s. v. Euainetos (L. Breglia); Garraffo (above n. 59) 270–275; Holloway (above n. 33) 130–135.

60 See esp. C. Boehringer, *Zu Finanzpolitik und Münzprägung des Dionysios von Syrakus*, in: *Greek numismatics and archaeology. Essays in honor of Margaret Thompson* (Wetteren 1979) 13–14. Cf. also A. Stazio et al. (eds.), *La monetazione dell'età dionigiiana: Atti dell'VIII Convegno del Centro Internazionale di Studi Numismatici, Napoli 29 maggio–1 giugno 1983* (Rome 1993) *passim* and more recently Rutter (above n. 59) 156–157.

61 M. Caccamo Caltabiano, *La monetazione di Dionisio I fra economia e propaganda*, in: N. Bonacasa – L. Braccisi – E. De Miro (eds.), *La Sicilia dei due Dionisi* (Rome 2002) 33–36; M. Caccamo Caltabiano, *Dinamiche economiche in Sicilia tra guerre e controllo del territorio*, in: *Guerra e pace in Sicilia e nel Mediterraneo antico (VIII–III sec. a.C.). Arte, prassi e teoria della pace e della guerra. Atti delle quinte giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima e la Sicilia occidentale nel contesto mediterraneo* Erice 12–15 ottobre 2003 (Pisa 2006) 659–661; M. Caccamo Caltabiano – D. Castrizio, *Da Berretto Frigio a Elmo Italico. Personaggi e copricapi orientali sulle monete siciliane del V sec. a.C.*, in: F. Giudice – R. Panvini (eds.), *Il greco, il barbaro e la ceramica attica. Immaginario del diverso, processi di scambio e autorappresentazione degli indigeni*, 4. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Catania, Caltanissetta, Gela, Camarina, Vittoria, Siracusa 14–19 maggio 2001 (Rome 2007) 157–160.

62 See esp. the head from Camarina now in Syracuse (Museo Archeologico Regionale »Paolo Orsi« inv. 29138) illustrated by Bell

2007, fig. 4. – The full, strong chin is also characteristic of Sicilian terracotta busts of the fourth century (the best discussion of these busts is offered by M. Bell, *Two Terracotta Busts from the Iudica Collection*, *ArchCl* 24, 1972, 1–12; see also G.E. Rizzo, *Busti fittili di Agrigento*, *ÖJh* 13, 1910, 63–86; P. Marconi, *Agrigento. Topografia e Arte* (Firenze 1929) 182–187; G. Zuntz, *Persephone. Three Essays on Religion and Thought in Magna Graecia* (Oxford 1971) 150–157; N. Allegro, *Tipi della coroplastica imerese*, in: *Quaderno Imerese I*, 1972, 35–37; M.F. Kilmer, *The Shoulder Bust in Sicily and South and Central Italy* (Göteborg 1977); Bell (above n. 24) 27–34; De Miro in: G. Rizza – E. De Miro, *Le arti figurative dalle origini al V secolo a.C.*, in: *Sikanie. Storia e civiltà della Sicilia greca* (Milan 1985) 234–236; A. Pautasso, *Terrecotte arcaiche e classiche del Museo Civico di Castello Ursino a Catania* (Rome 1996) 136. 144; E.C. Portale, *Le terrecotte di Scornavacche e il problema del »classicismo« nella coroplastica siceliota del IV secolo*, in: *Un ponte fra l'Italia e la Grecia. Atti del Simposio in onore di Antonino di Vita, Ragusa, 13–15 febbraio 1998* (Padova 2000) 273–275). It should be pointed out, however, that there are significant differences between these busts and the head of our statue. On the busts, particularly those from Agrigento, the neck tends to be massive, rather than slender as in our statue. In addition, the faces of the busts are rather broad, and they do not have the elegant oval shape of our head. Among Sicilian terracotta busts, the polychrome bust from the »Pozzo di Artemide« in Syracuse comes closest to our statue (G. Voza, *L'attività della Soprintendenza alle antichità della Sicilia orientale fra il 1965 e il 1968*, *Kokalos* 14/15, 1968/69, 363 pl. 72; G. Voza, *Esplorazioni nell'area delle necropoli e dell'abitato*, in: P. Pelagatti – G. Voza (eds.), *Archeologia nella Sicilia sud-orientale* (Naples 1973) 102–104 no. 348 pl. 30; Bonacasa – Joly (above n. 24) 313 fig. 396; Portale (above n. 62) 274–275). The neck of this bust, however, is still too heavy, in comparison to our statue. This bust is generally dated to the late fifth-early fourth century, but the materials with which it was found range from the fourth to the first half of the third century: its dating might be somewhat later.

Identification

In the literature, the Goddess from Morgantina has been variously identified, in order of appearance, with Aphrodite, Demeter, Persephone, and Hera⁶³. In the absence of the attributes that may have helped in recognizing the goddess, such a variety of suggestions is unsurprising.

The identification with Aphrodite is strongly suggested by the sensuous body, the costume, and the pose. I have already mentioned the similarity in the pose with the so-called *Agora Aphrodite*. The sensuous body, and to some extent the costume and the pose, also find a parallel in the so-called *Aphrodite Doria*. This is a Roman copy of an original generally dated to about 430 and attributed to either *Agorakritos* or *Pheidias*⁶⁴. The fact that the himation is pulled up over the neck and possibly part of the head would not speak against the identification of our statue as Aphrodite. In fact, representations of Aphrodite with her head veiled by the himation are documented for the end of the fifth century⁶⁵. One such example is the bronze plaque from Chalkis (about 400), featuring a female figure leaning on a pillar on the left, with Eros in the center in conversation with a woman on the right⁶⁶. There is now a consensus that the figure on the left should be identified as Aphrodite. This figure wears a chiton and a himation, which she has pulled up over her head and holds at her side with her raised left hand. This image echoes the statuary type of the *Leaning Aphrodite*, whose original is generally attributed to *Alkamenes* and dated to

about 440–430. One variant of this type in Naples shows the himation pulled up over the head⁶⁷. The possibility that this variant goes back to a fifth century original cannot be excluded.

It has been objected to the identification of our statue with Aphrodite that the neckline of the chiton does not slip to uncover the shoulder. This iconographical solution, which is first encountered on Figure M of the east pediment of the Parthenon, alludes to the erotic power of the goddess, and it appears to have been a characteristic feature of several statues of Aphrodite produced in the last third of the fifth century and known from Roman copies, including the already mentioned *Aphrodite Doria*⁶⁸. The absence of this *décolletage* on our statue, though, could be attributed to a technical problem, resulting as a consequence of the decision to carve the sculpture in the pseudo-akrolithic technique. This technique required the parts of the statue that represented flesh to be rendered in marble, which would have posed serious problems, particularly in joining the head and shoulders to the limestone body, had the drapery been shown slipping off of the shoulder. It may be added that there seem to have been exceptions to the general tendency to represent Aphrodite with one shoulder uncovered. One may mention a torso in the Akropolis Museum, dated to about 410–400, and recently connected to the Sanctuary of Aphrodite and Eros on the north slope of the

63 Aphrodite: True 1997, cf. I. Love, *CMGr* 28, 1988, 442; J. Walsh, Introduction: The Collections and the Year's Activities, *GettyMusJ* 17, 1989, 100; Acquisitions 1989, 110 no. 11; Rolley 1999, 194–195; True 1997, 144; Handbook (above n. 21) 104; Despini (above n. 33) 250; LIMC Suppl. (2009) 69–73 (pl. 37) s. v. Aphrodite (A. Hermary). – Demeter: Love (above n. 63) 442; Boardman 1993, 135; Giuliano 1993; Boardman 1995, 166; Wilson (above n. 33) 63; Boardman (above n. 33) caption to fig. 161; C. Greco, *Afrodite o Demetra?*, *Kalós* 19.2, 2007, 10–15. – Persephone: Portale 2005, 91. – Hera: Bell 2007, 20.

64 Despini 1971, 159–161; B. Palma in: R. Calza (ed.), *Antichità di Villa Doria Pamphili* (Rome 1977) 44–45 no. 12 pls. 10–11; Ridgway 1981, 217–218 no. 6; Karanastassis (above n. 49) 215–217. 264–267 pl. 70,1; Delivorrias et al. 1984, 25 no. 157 pl. 18; Delivorrias (above n. 20) 135–137; A. Delivorrias, Über die letzte Schöpfung des Phidias in Athen: die Diskontinuität der historischen Zeugnisse und die Kohärenz der übrigen Beweismittel, in: E. Pöhlmann and W. Gauer (eds.), *Griechische Klassik. Vorträge bei der interdisziplinären Tagung des Deutschen Archäologenverbandes und der Mommsengesellschaft* (Nürnberg 1994) 266–269; Rolley 1999, 134; A. Delivorrias in: Stemmer 2001, 78 fig. 2; A. Pasquier, Une grande Aphrodite en marbre au Musée du Louvre, *MonPiot* 82, 2003, 99–138; Kaltsas 2002, 122–123 no. 229; Kreikenbom 2004, 188–190. 510 fig. 115; M. Weber, Die Kultbilder der Aphrodite Urania der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jhs. v. Chr. in Athen-Attika und das Bürgerrechtsgesetz von 451/0 v. Chr., *AM* 121, 2006, 197–205. 209–210 pls. 25–27.

65 Cf. in general Delivorrias et al. 1984, 29–30.

66 Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. 14486; B. Rutkowski, *Griechische Kandelaber*, *JdI* 94, 1979, 180–183 figs. 4–5; W.-D. Heilmeyer, *Kopierte Klassik*, in: *Praestant Interna* (Tübingen 1982) 59–62 pl. 6,4; Delivorrias et al. 1984, 30 no. 189 with lit.; C. Rolley, *Greek Bronzes* (London 1986) 170 fig. 150; Rolley 1999, 141. 190 fig. 176.

67 Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6396; Delivorrias et al. 1984, 29 no. 185 pl. 21; Boardman 1985, fig. 216; I. Romeo, *Sull' »Afrrodite nei giardini« di Alcamene*, *XeniaAnt* 2, 1993, 36–37 figs. 10–12; C. Gasparri, *L'Afrodite seduta tipo Agrippina-Olympia*. Sulla produzione di sculture in Atene nel V sec. a.C., *Prospettiva* 100, 2000, 5 fig. 9; Weber (above n. 64) 211 pl. 26,1. On the *Leaning Aphrodite* cf. B. Schlörb, *Untersuchungen zur Bildhauergeneration nach Phidias* (Waldsassen 1964) 17–22; A. Delivorrias, *Die Kultstatue der Aphrodite von Daphni*, *AntPl* 8 (Berlin 1986) 19–34; Ridgway 1981, 116. 175; Delivorrias et al. 1984, 29–30; Romeo (above n. 67) 31–44; O. Dally, *Kulte und Kultbilder der Aphrodite in Attika im späteren 5. Jahrhundert vor Christus*, *JdI* 112, 1997, 10–11; I. Romeo in: I. Romeo – E.C. Portale, *Gortina III. Le sculture. Monografia della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente* 8 (Rome 1998) 85–88 no. 11; Rolley 1999, 140–142; Gasparri (above n. 67) 5–6; Weber (above n. 67) 165–223.

68 See esp. Delivorrias (above n. 20) 135–150; cf. also Ridgway 1981, 199 and more recently A. Stewart, *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge – New York) 102.

Akropolis. On this torso, the chiton does not slip to reveal the body⁶⁹. Weber has recently disputed the traditional identification of this torso with Aphrodite, though I still find the identification of this statue as Aphrodite the most plausible hypothesis.

The identification of our statue as Demeter⁷⁰ is suggested by the mature body and the partial veiling of the head. For the forms of the body one may mention as a comparison the Demeter on the Great Eleusinian Relief, generally dated to about 430⁷¹. For the veiled head one may mention the so-called Cherchel Demeter⁷², which is likely to represent this goddess, and whose original is generally dated to about 440.

A problem with this identification is presented by the costume, in particular by the combination of chiton and himation. Beginning with the Great Eleusinian Relief, sculptural representations of Demeter, mainly reliefs, consistently show the goddess wearing the peplos, whereas the chiton and himation are reserved for her daughter Kore⁷³. In Athenian red-figure vase painting of the fifth century this distinction in the costume is not observed, and both Demeter and Kore may wear the chiton and himation or the peplos (more often the first)⁷⁴. In particular, for a representation of Demeter wearing a chi-

ton and himation one may mention the anodos scene on the name vase of the Persephone Painter in New York, in which the mother, depicted on the right holding a scepter, is wearing these two garments⁷⁵. Still, in my view, even with these examples from vase painting at hand, the problem with the identification of our statue as Demeter remains.

The mature body and the veiled head could also speak in favor of the identification of our statue as Hera. A general characteristic of the iconography of this goddess in ancient art, best seen in reliefs and vase paintings, is her matronly appearance, in terms of both physique and costume⁷⁶. The latter generally consists of a peplos, but in the case of this goddess it is important to avoid generalizations. In ancient art, Hera appears to have been represented as a single figure less frequently than other goddesses and her identification in statuary types dating back to the Classical period is consequently not easy⁷⁷. In the list of fifth and fourth century, non-narrative sculptural representations collected by Kossatz-Deissmann, there are only three cases in which the identification as Hera appears safe, based on provenance from her sanctuaries. These are a statue and a votive relief from Samos⁷⁸, and a statuette from Foce del Sele near Paestum⁷⁹.

69 Athens, Akropolis Museum inv. 2861: Delivorrias (above n. 67) 25 note 38 fig. 5; Delivorrias et al. 1984, 32 no. 203 pl. 23; Dally (above n. 67) 16–18 figs. 3–4; Stemmer 2001, 44 figs. 8–9; Weber (above n. 64) 194–195; A. Delivorrias, *The Worship of Aphrodite in Athens and Attica*, in: N. Kaltsas – A. Shapiro (eds.), *Worshipping Women. Ritual and Reality in Classical Athens* (New York 2008) 110 fig. 4. On the North Slope sanctuary see more recently Stemmer 2001, 42–43 and R. Rosenzweig, *Worshipping Aphrodite: Art and Cult in Classical Athens* (Ann Arbor 2003) 35–40.

70 The most elaborate case for the identification of our statue as Demeter has been made by Giuliano 1993 (followed by P. Pelagatti, *Sulla dispersione del patrimonio archeologico: le ragioni di un secondo incontro e il caso Sicilia*, in: P. Pelagatti – P.G. Guzzo (eds.), *Antichità senza provenienza II. Atti del colloquio internazionale 17–18 ottobre 1997*, BdA Suppl. ai numm. 101–102 (Rome 1997) 11 and Greco (above n. 63)), who has compared our sculpture with the representation of Demeter on the obverse of bronze coins of Enna of the Hellenistic period (Beschi 1988, 851 no. 37 pl. 565; Giuliano 1993, figs. 1–8). The image of Demeter on these coins has often been identified with a statue mentioned by Cicero (*Verr.* 2, 4, 110) in the sanctuary of Demeter at Enna, which was placed in the open air along with a sculpture representing Triptolemos. According to Cicero, the statue of Demeter fell prey to the rapacity of Verres, who was unable to remove the sculpture, which was too large, but was able to steal the Nike that the goddess held in her right hand. It remains uncertain whether the Demeter on the coins can be identified with the statue mentioned by Cicero, but neither of them seem to have anything to do with our sculpture. This is because our statue could not possibly have held the figure of Nike in her right hand, like the sculpture mentioned by Cicero, or in her left hand, like the image on the bronze coins. Thus, Giuliano's other suggestion (Giuliano 1993), that our statue was a copy made for Morgantina of the Demeter at Enna, is also excluded.

71 Cf. *supra* note 15.

72 J. Dörig, *Kalamis-Studien*, JdI 80, 1965, 241–253; Ridgway 1981, 186 no. 5; Boardman 1985, fig. 208; Beschi 1988, 852 no. 54 pl. 566; Rolley 1999, 160.

73 For this characteristic of the iconography of Demeter in sculpture see esp. Despini 1971, 179; Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, 112; G. Neumann, *Probleme des griechischen Weihreliefs* (Tübingen 1979) 57; Beschi 1988, 884, 888; Vierneisel-Schlörb, *Klassische Grabdenkmäler und Votivreliefs*, Katalog der Skulpturen, Glyptothek München 3 (Munich 1988) 2.

74 See esp. Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, 78–102.

75 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. 28.57.23: ARV² 1012,1; Para 440; Add² 314; Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, 94. 148 no. V 96 fig. 31; Beschi 1988, 872 no. 328; Reeder (above n. 54) 289–291 no. 82. 76 See in general Kossatz-Deissmann 1988.

77 And often wrong, as in the case of the so-called Hera Borghese, which is now generally identified, for good reasons, with Aphrodite: Ridgway 1981, 196 n. 4. 217; Boardman 1985, fig. 214; Kossatz-Deissmann 1988, 671 no. 102; Stewart 1990, 270; A. Delivorrias, *Der statuarische Typus der sogenannten Hera Borghese*, in: H. Beck – P.C. Bol (eds.), *Polykletforschungen* (Berlin 1993) 221–252; A. Delivorrias, *Polykleitos and the Allure of Feminine Beauty*, in: W. G. Moon (ed.), *Polykleitos, the Doryphoros, and Tradition* (Madison 1995) 202–204; Rolley 1999, 46 fig. 32; A. Pasquier, *Le type statuaire de l'Héra Borghese au Musée du Louvre*, CRAI 2004, 711–741.

78 Marble statue, Berlin inv. SK 1725: Kossatz-Deissmann 1988, 672–673 no. 108 pl. 409; B.S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture*. 3 vols. (Madison 1990–2002) I, 53–54. 60 with note 36, 360. – Votive relief: Samos, Vathy Museum inv. 78: Kossatz-Deissmann 1988, 673 no. 109. 79 P. Zancani Montuoro, *Persefone e Afrodite sul mare*, in: L. Freeman Sandler (ed.), *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann* (New York 1964) 386–395; M. Napoli, *Il Museo di Paestum* (Cava dei Tirreni 1969) 41 fig. 17; Kossatz-Deissmann 1988, 673 no. 113; M. Cipriani,

These three sculptures are dated to the fourth century. While the statue from Samos shows the goddess wearing a peplos and a mantle (this detail remains unclear in the case of the votive relief) the statuette from Foce del Sele shows the goddess wearing a combination of chiton and himation.

Unlike Demeter and Hera, in the case of Persephone we know of a series of statuary representations, both originals and Roman copies, dating back to the second half of the fifth century, whose identification as Persephone can be regarded as safe⁸⁰. Two of them offer a good parallel for the pose of our statue: these are the statue from the Piraeus⁸¹ (dated to about 420), and the statue from the Illisos area⁸² (dated to about 400), both in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. Except for the veiling of the head, the statue from the Piraeus offers also a good parallel for the draping of the chiton and of the himation – the costume most commonly worn by Persephone in sculptural representations of the Classical period – including the lack of the triangular overfall of the himation which is so characteristic of images of this goddess from the last decades of the fifth century⁸³. The veiling of the head is not documented among fifth century statuary representations of Persephone, but it is well attested in other media, including the pinakes from Locri Epizephyrii in Southern Italy and from Francavilla in Sicily⁸⁴. For a chronologically and stylistically closer parallel, one may mention a fragmentary marble votive relief from the Athenian Agora, dated to the end of the fifth century, and featuring Kore in the company of Demeter – now almost completely missing except for the left hand holding a scepter – and a young man⁸⁵. On this relief, Kore is shown with the himation pulled over her head.

One may object to this identification of our statue as Persephone, by pointing out that Persephone is generally represented with a rather youthful body, as we see, for example, in the previously mentioned fragment of the Erechtheion frieze (Akr. 1071), which is thought to represent the figures of Demeter and Kore (fig. 8). On this fragment, the modeling of the breasts of Kore is rather flat, in order to indicate her young age and contrast the daughter with the mature mother. However, in the late fifth century Persephone was not always depicted as a youthful figure, as we see in the so-called »Demeter« in Eleusis⁸⁶. This over-life-sized marble statue, generally dated to about 410, has traditionally been identified with Demeter, based on her garment – a peplos belted over the overfold and a shoulder mantle – and her matronly appearance. A recent new analysis of the statue by Baumer, however, has emphasized the fact that in Athenian art of the late fifth century, the peplos belted over the overfold is typical of younger women. Baumer has consequently argued for the identification of this statue as Persephone, who would be thus represented in the act of unveiling herself on the occasion of her anodos⁸⁷. Based on parallels such as the »Demeter« in Eleusis, the identification of our statue with Persephone remains a possibility, and it is the one that I am inclined to favor.

This comparative analysis of the pose, physique, and costume shows that based on these elements alone it is impossible to reach any definitive conclusion about the identification of our statue. All the identifications proposed in the literature are more or less viable and in order to reach any definitive conclusion one would need the attributes and a clearer idea of the original context of display of the statue.

I Lucani a Paestum (Paestum 1996) 57 f.; G. Greco, *Da Hera argiva ad Hera pestana*, in: S. Adamo Muscettola – G. Greco (eds.), *I culti della Campania antica. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi in ricordo di Nazarena Valenza Mele*, Napoli 15–17 maggio 1995 (Rome 1998) 59 pl. 15,1; A. Pontrandolfo, *Spunti di riflessione attorno alla Hera pestana*, in: S. Adamo Muscettola – G. Greco (eds.), *I culti della Campania antica. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi in ricordo di Nazarena Valenza Mele*, Napoli 15–17 maggio 1995 (Rome 1998) 64–66; B. Ferrara in: S. Settis – M.C. Parra (eds.), *Magna Graecia: archeologia di un sapere* (Milan 2005) 336 no. II.239.

⁸⁰ Güntner 1997, 957–958.

⁸¹ Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. 176: Despintis 1971, 190–191; S. Karusu, *Das »Mädchen vom Piräus« und die Originalstatuen in Venedig*, *AM* 82, 1967, 158–169; Ridgway 1981, 194 fig. 125; Güntner 1997, 958 no. 7 pl. 640; Rolley 1999, 21; Kaltsas 2002, 120 no. 221; Kreikenbom 2004, 213. 515 fig. 141; N. Kaltsas in: N. Kaltsas – A. Shapiro (eds.), *Worshipping Women. Ritual and Reality in Classical Athens* (New York 2008) 138–139.

⁸² Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. 4762: A. Delivorrias, *Eine klassische Kora-Statue vom Metroon am Ilisos*, *AntPl* 9 (Berlin 1969) 7–14; Despintis 1971, 191; Güntner 1997, 958 no. 8 pl. 640; Kaltsas 2002, 125 no. 234.

⁸³ See esp. Harrison (above n. 20) 53–88.

⁸⁴ Lokri: Langlotz 1963, 73 pl. 72; H. Prückner, *Die lokrischen Tonreliefs* (Mainz 1968); Güntner 1997, 966 no. 172; M. Cardoso et al., *I pinakes di Locri Epizefiri. Musei di Reggio Calabria e di Locri. Parte I. 4 vols. AttiMGrecia s. IV 1* (Rome 1996–1999); E. Grillo et al., *I pinakes di Locri Epizefiri. Musei di Reggio Calabria e di Locri. Parte II. 5 Vols. AttiMGrecia s. IV 2* (Rome 2000–2003); F. Barello et al., *I pinakes di Locri Epizefiri. Musei di Reggio Calabria e di Locri. Parte III. 5 Vols. AttiMGrecia s. IV 3* (Rome 2004–2007); M. Mertens-Horn, *Initiation und Mädchenraub am Fest der lokrischen Persephone*, *RM* 112, 2005/6, 7–76. – Francavilla: U. Spigo, *I pinakes di Francavilla di Sicilia 1*, *BdA* 111, 2000, 1–60; U. Spigo, *I pinakes di Francavilla di Sicilia 2*, *BdA* 113, 2000, 1–78.

⁸⁵ Athens, Agora Museum inv. S. 1119: Beschi 1988, 875 no. 377; Güntner 1997, 965 no. 148 pl. 648.

⁸⁶ Eleusis, Museum inv. 64: Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, 127–128. 156 S 1; Ridgway 1981, 123 no. 1 fig. 96; Boardman 1985, 176 fig. 137; Beschi 1988, 851 no. 50; L.E. Baumer, *Betrachtungen zur »Demeter von Eleusis«*, *AntK* 38, 1995, 11–25; Rolley 1999, 133; Kreikenbom 2004, 222–223. 517 fig. 157, with further lit.

⁸⁷ Baumer (above n. 86). See already Neumann (above n. 73) 59–60. See now also LIMC Suppl. (2009) 164 no. 50 s. v. Demeter (E. Lippolis).

Function and Provenance

In regards to its function, in literature the Goddess from Morgantina has been identified as either a cult or a votive statue⁸⁸. The breaks at the breasts and at the knees appear to be impact damage, most likely from a fall. This would suggest that the statue was originally installed on a base of some height. In addition, the application of a delicate color like cinnabar to its surface makes it very unlikely that the statue was originally installed outdoors. The statue is also finished on all four sides, and the treatment of its back does not suggest that it was originally set against a wall or a niche. Such a possibility, however, still needs to be taken into account since our statue is a Greek original of the late fifth century, and there is a tendency in this period to thoroughly finish the backs of statues even when they were not meant to be visible. The large size of the statue (originally some 2.20–2.25 m high, it was over-life size) and its pose would seem to speak in favor of its identification as a cult statue (compare, for example, its size to that of the Charchel Demeter – 2.10 m in height – whose original is generally thought to have been a cult statue). However, in both regards, a votive function cannot in principle be excluded for our statue. For a contemporary statue of comparable size with a votive function, one may refer to the previously mentioned Nike of Paionios (h. 2.16 m), and perhaps also to the Hera Borghese (h. 2.13 m), for which a votive function of the original has also been suggested. As for the pose, the so-called Agora Aphrodite, which is so similar to our statue, would seem to have served as a vo-

tive. Size and pose do not offer conclusive evidence regarding the original function of our statue.

According to the results of the investigations by the Italian authorities – namely the Procura of Enna, the Comando Nucleo Tutela Patrimonio Artistico of the Carabinieri in Rome, and the Italian Ministry of Culture – our statue was found in Morgantina, Sicily, between 1978 and 1979, during an illicit dig in the area of San Francesco Bisconti⁸⁹.

Two elements support the idea that our statue had a Sicilian provenance. One is the pseudo-akrolithic technique in which the sculpture was produced, and the other is the strong Athenian inspiration of its style.

The term pseudo-akrolithic is used to refer to sculptures that combine limestone bodies with white marble extremities⁹⁰. Through the use of this term, pseudo-akrolithic sculptures are at the same time associated with and distinguished from proper akrolithic statues (from the Greek word *akrolithos*, meaning »with extremities of stone«)⁹¹. Unlike pseudo-akrolithic sculptures, akrolithic statues only used stone for the extremities, the rest of the body being made of wood or some other cheap material, which was often painted, gilded or covered by clothes⁹². The earliest known akrolithic statues date back to about 520 (the two akrolithic statues of Demeter and Kore from Morgantina, now in the Museum of Aidone), and their use thus predates, and may have directly inspired the production of pseudo-akrolithic sculptures.

88 Cult statue: Walsh (above n. 63) 100; Acquisitions 1989, 110 no. 11; Boardman 1993, 135; Boardman 1995, 166; Boardman (above n. 33), caption to fig. 161; Wilson (above n. 33) 63; True 1997, 144; Handbook (above n. 21) 104; Bell 2007, 14. – Votive statue: Giuliano 1993, 57. – The distinction is not an easy one, both from the religious and the artistic point of view: cf. EAA II Supplemento V (1997) 382–392 s. v. Statua di culto (S. De Angeli); A.A. Donohue, The Greek Images of the Gods: Considerations on Terminology and Methodology, *Hephaistos* 15, 1997, 31–45; T. Scheer, Die Gottheit und ihr Bild. Untersuchungen zur Funktion griechischer Kultbilder in Religion und Politik (Munich 2000); S. Bettinetti, La statua di culto nella pratica rituale greca (Bari 2001); B.S. Ridgway, »Periklean« Cult Images and Their Media, in: J.M. Barringer – J. M. Hurwit (eds.), *Periklean Athens and Its Legacy* (Austin 2005) 111–118.

89 See esp. J. Felch – R. Frammolino, *Chasing Aphrodite* (Boston 2011); S. Raffiotta, *Caccia ai tesori di Morgantina* (Enna 2013) 103–157; C. Greco, Traffico di reperti archeologici e iniziative per il recupero dei beni: il caso di Enna, in: *Un secolo di magnanimo virtù: i Carabinieri nei documenti degli archivi siciliani* (Palermo 2002) 181–183. On the provenance of our statue see also T. Holding – G. Fiorentini – I. Love, *CMGr* 28, 1988, 440–442; True 1997, 144–145; M. Brand, Introduction, in: *Cult Statue of a Goddess. Summary of Proceedings from a Workshop Held at the Getty Villa May 9, 2007* (Los Angeles 2007) 2–3.

90 For the definition see esp. EAA I (1958) 49 s. v. Acrolito (D. Mustilli); on pseudo-akrolithic sculpture in general cf. also C. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque: La sculpture*. 5 vols. (Paris 1935–66) I, 210; P. Noelke – U. Rüdiger, Ein spätklassischer Jünglingskopf in Gallipoli, *AA* 1967, 371–372; J. Pollini, Acrolithic or Pseudo-acrolithic Sculpture of the Mature Classical Greek Period in the Archaeological Museum of the Johns Hopkins University, in: N. Herz – M. Waelkens (eds.), *Classical Marble: Geochemistry, Technology, Trade* (Dordrecht – Boston 1988) 207–216. The use of the term pseudo-akrolithic has recently been challenged by Despinis (above n. 33) 250–251. This term is retained here, though, in consideration of its purely conventional nature and its extensive use in the archaeological literature.

91 In the literature, our statue is often inappropriately referred to as an akrolith: cf. Acquisitions 1989, 110 no. 11; Boardman 1993, 135; Giuliano 1993, 57; Boardman 1995, 166; Rolley 1999, 194–195; True 1997, 144; Portale 2005, 91.

92 On akrolithic statues see in general EAA I (1958) 48–50 s. v. Acrolito (D. Mustilli); G. Despinis, *Ακρόλιθα* (Athens 1975); Häger-Weigel 1997; N. Giustozzi, Gli dèi »a pezzi«: l'Hercules Πολυκλέους e la tecnica acrolitica nel II secolo a.C., *BCom* 102, 2001, 7–82; Laronde – Queyrel (above n. 5) 746–759; Despinis (above n. 33) 245–301; C. Marconi, Gli acroliti da Morgantina, *Prospettiva* 130–131, 2008, 2–21.

Pseudo-akrolithic sculptures also call to mind statues made in the so-called composite technique, which consisted of piecing together marbles with different physical characteristics – such as color, grain, and texture – while reserving the white marble for the exposed parts⁹³. The composite technique, which is attested later than the pseudo-akrolithic technique, is best documented in a series of Late Classical and Hellenistic statuettes from Kos and Delos, in which extremities of white marble have been attached to bodies of blue-gray marble⁹⁴. To a certain extent, the composite technique anticipates the combination of colored marble for the body and white marble for the extremities found in some Roman sculptures of the Imperial period⁹⁵.

The combination of limestone and marble is often found in Greek architecture of the Archaic and Classical periods. Mainly resulting from economic and technical considerations, this combination generally consists of the inclusion of marble elements, especially capitals, in otherwise limestone structures⁹⁶. Unlike architecture, Greek sculpture of the Archaic and Classical periods rarely combines limestone and marble. Apart from our statue, the

only other known examples of pseudo-akrolithic sculpture are the Early Classical metopes of the Heraion at Selinus (460–450) mentioned earlier (fig. 7)⁹⁷. These metopes were carved in the local limestone from the quarries near Menfi, except for the exposed parts of the female bodies (heads, hands, arms, and feet), which were carved in marble imported from Paros. Other instances of the combination of limestone and marble in Archaic and Classical Greek sculpture are hypothetical. For the most part, they concern isolated marble heads that are supposed to have been attached to bodies made of limestone, but which may instead have been made of wood. In this category belong three Late Archaic heads from Paestum (510–480)⁹⁸. It is unclear whether these heads originally belonged to the same monument, and whether they belonged to sculptures in the round or to reliefs. It also remains unclear whether these heads were originally combined with bodies made of wood, or of limestone. Likewise, an Early Classical marble head from Cyrene (470–460), which has been tentatively attributed by Langlotz to a pseudo-akrolithic relief, was later referred to by Häger-Weigel as part of an akrolithic statue⁹⁹. Other instances are even more uncertain, or implausible¹⁰⁰.

93 A. Claridge, *Roman Statuary and the Supply of Statuary Marble*, in: J.C. Fant (ed.) *Ancient Marble Quarrying and Trade* (Oxford 1988) 144; P. Jockey, *La technique composite à Délos à l'époque hellénistique*, in: M. Schwoerer (ed.), *Archéomatériaux. Marbres et Autres Roches*, ASMOSIA IV (Bordeaux – Talence 1999) 305–316; S. Brusini, *La decorazione scultorea della villa romana di Monte Calvo* (Rome 2001) 266–267. – The combination of different marbles for the same statue was in use as early as the Archaic period, at which time it seems to have been due to technical considerations. A case in point is the kore Akropolis Museum inv. 684 (G.M.A. Richter, *Korai. Archaic Greek Maidens* (London 1968) 101 no. 182 figs. 578–582; E. Langlotz in: H. Schrader (ed.), *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis* (Frankfurt a. M. 1939) 104–106 no. 55 pls. 78–81; Boardman (above n. 16) fig. 159; Floren (above n. 16) 267 note 19; K. Karakasi, *Archaic Korai* (Los Angeles 2003) pls. 192–194), whose torso is made of island marble, and whose right forearm appears to be of Pentelic. This combination of different marbles was probably due to the fact that the statue was finished at final destination and the forearms, which projected beyond the limits of the original block of island marble, were pieced together using locally available marble: cf. M.C. Sturgeon, *Archaic Athens and the Cyclades*, in: O. Palagia (ed.), *Greek Sculpture: Function, Materials, and Techniques in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (New York 2006) 53.

94 Kos: R. Kabus-Preisshofen, *Statuettengruppe aus dem Demeterheiligtum bei Kyparissi auf Kos*, *AntPl* 15 (Berlin 1975) Statuette A 36–39 pls. 11–12; Statuette C 43–46 pls. 16–18. – Delos: Jockey (above n. 93).

95 Cf. H. Gregarek, *Untersuchungen zur kaiserzeitlichen Idealplastik aus Buntmarmor*, *KölnJb* 32, 1999, 33–284; H. Gregarek, *Roman Imperial Sculpture of Colored Marbles*, in: J.J. Herrmann – N. Herz – R. Newman (eds.), *Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone*, ASMOSIA V (London 2002), 206–214; R.M. Schneider, *Nuove immagini del potere romano. Sculture di marmo colorato nell'Impero romano*, in: M. De Nuccio – L. Ungaro (eds.), *I marmi colorati della Roma imperiale* (Venice 2002) 83–105.

96 See esp. R. Martin, *Manuel d'architecture grecque I* (Paris 1965) 135; cf. more recently M. Waelkens – P. Degryse – L. Vandeput, *Polychrome Architecture at Sagalassos (Pisidia) during the Hellenistic*

and Imperial Period against the Background of Greco-Roman Coloured Architecture

, in: L. Lazzarini (ed.), *Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone*, ASMOSIA VI (Padova 2002) 518–519.

97 Marconi (above n. 10).

98 Paestum, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. nos. 133150 and 133151: Langlotz 1963, 67–68 pl. 45; R.R. Holloway, *Influences and Styles in the Late Archaic and Early Classical Greek Sculpture of Sicily and Magna Graecia* (Louvain 1975) 1–2. 47 figs. 1–8. 10; Rolley 1994, 309 fig. 335; C. Rolley, *Têtes de marbre de Paestum*, in: N. Bonacasa (ed.), *Lo stile severo in Grecia e in Occidente* (Rome 1995) 107–113; Giustozzi (above n. 92) 62 note 232; M. Cipriani in: M. Bennett – A.J. Paul (eds.), *Magna Graecia. Greek Art from South Italy and Sicily*, exhibition catalogue, *The Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland 2002) 132–133.

99 Cyrene inv. 14.413: E. Paribeni, *Catalogo delle sculture di Cirene* (Rome 1959) 23 no. 26 pls. 33–34; E. Langlotz, *Studien zur nordostgriechischen Kunst* (Mainz 1975) 205 on figs. 47,3–4; Häger-Weigel 1997, 21–22. 96–98. 266–267 cat. no. 10 pls. 6,1–7,1; Beschi (above n. 13) 82–83.

100 The use of pseudo-akrolithic technique has been suggested for the following sculptures from South Italy and Sicily dating to the Archaic and Classical periods:

1) Fragment of neck of white marble, from Pizzica Pantanello, near Metaponto: J.C. Carter, *Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Pizzica Pantanello, 1974–1976*, *NSc suppl.* 31, 1977 (1983) 478 no. 93 fig. 54. The fragment, which was originally set into a body of a different material, has been compared to the marble heads from Paestum. – It may be pointed out in connection with this fragment that a fair amount of marble statuary of the Archaic and Classical periods comes from Metaponto. Thus far, this site does not seem to have produced any evidence for the use of pseudo-akrolithic sculpture: cf. M. Mertens-Horn, *La scultura di marmo*, in: A. De Siena (ed.), *Metaponto: archeologia di una colonia greca* (Taranto 2001) 84.

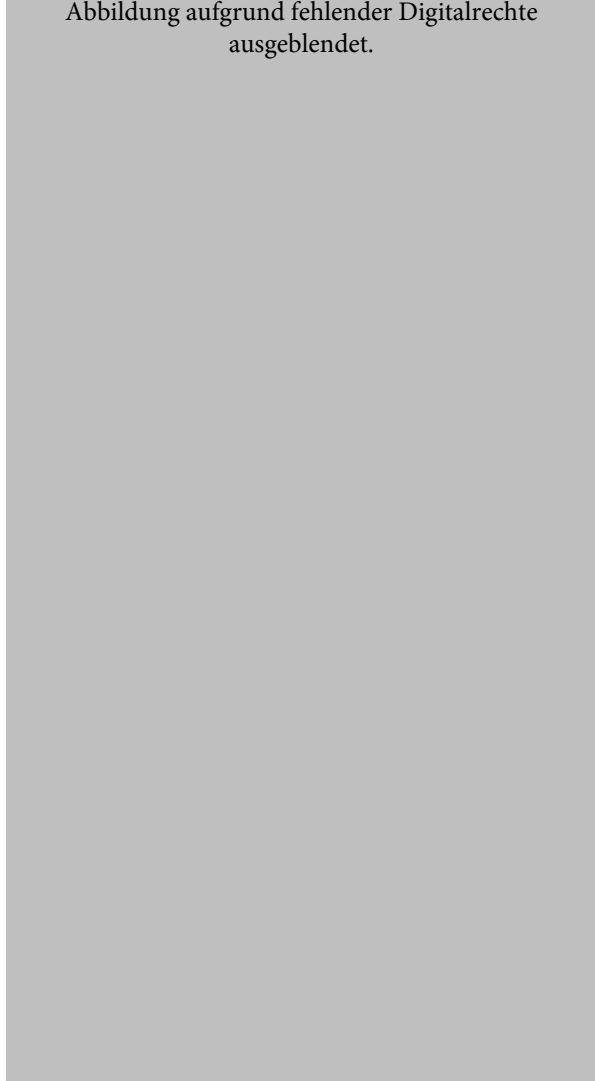
2) The pediments of the temple of Olympian Zeus (ca. 430) at Agrigento. J.A. De Waele, *I frontoni dell'Olympion agrigentino*, in: *Aparchai. Nuove ricerche e studi sulla Magna Grecia e la Sicilia antica in onore di P.E. Arias* (Pisa 1982) 271–278 and Bell 2007, 16 have sug-

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13 Female Statue from Morgantina. Aidone, Museo Archeologico Regionale Inv. 56-1749

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14 So-called Zeus from Solunto. Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale »Antonino Salinas« Inv. 5574

For the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, our evidence for pseudo-akrolithic sculpture is more consistent.

In Sicily, the pseudo-akrolithic technique was used for the previously mentioned female statue from Morgantina (225–200) (fig. 13). This sculpture combined hard

limestone for the body with marble for the head, arms and feet, which are now missing. A variation of the same technique was used for the so-called Zeus from Solunto (150–100) (fig. 14), a statue in which the use of marble is limited to the face, while the rest of the body is of soft limestone¹⁰¹. A draped female statue from Centuripe,

gested that the pediments of this building may have been carved in the pseudo-akrolithic technique. The few fragments of the pediments that have come down to us do not offer any indication in this regard. 3) Two marble fragments (a section of a face and a fragment of hair) in the Archaeological Collection of Johns Hopkins University (410–380). Pollini (above n. 90) has suggested that these two fragments could belong to pseudo-akrolithic metopes from a temple in Taranto. However, too little is preserved of them to establish whether they belonged to akrolithic or pseudo-akrolithic sculptures (Häger-Weigel 1997, 44 note 124 argues against both possibilities).

4) Marble female head, Taranto Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 3893. Dated late fifth-early fourth century: P. Wuilleumier,

Tarente des origines a la conquête romaine (Paris 1939) 279–280 pl. V 2; Langlotz 1963, 88 pl. 132; R. Belli Pasqua, *Catalogo del Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Taranto IV 1: Taranto. La scultura in marmo e in pietra* (Taranto 1995) 51–52 no. III.3. Thought by Langlotz to belong to a pseudo-akrolithic funerary relief, and by Belli Pasqua to a pseudo-akrolithic pediment.

¹⁰¹ Palermo, Museo Archeologico Regionale »Antonino Salinas« inv. 5574; Bonacasa – Joly (above n. 24) 296 figs. 327–330; S. Vlizos, *Der thronende Zeus. Eine Untersuchung zur statuarischen Ikonographie des Gottes in der spätklassischen und hellenistischen Kunst* (Rahden/Westfalen 1999) 32–34.

dated to the early 1st century B.C., combined hard limestone for the body with marble for the head, arms and feet, which are now missing¹⁰².

In Southern Italy, the pseudo-akrolithic technique is attested by a series of statuettes from Taranto featuring maids, which combine limestone bodies with marble heads¹⁰³. These statuettes are generally dated to the third-second century, and they are thought to belong to funerary monuments. Other instances of this technique are purely hypothetical¹⁰⁴.

At Cyrene, the practice of adding marble heads, hands, and feet to a body made of local limestone is well attested from the Late Classical period down to Roman times¹⁰⁵. The earliest documented instance of the pseudo-akrolithic technique is a female face of Parian marble¹⁰⁶, found in the area of the agora, dated to the fourth century and thought to belong to a votive statuette. An old photograph shows the top of the head – now lost – made of limestone. Later – dated to the first half of the first century – is a seated statue (Statue I) from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, with a limestone body and separately carved head, feet and hands made of marble¹⁰⁷. These marble parts are missing, but the corresponding sockets in the limestone body are well preserved. The pseudo-akrolithic method may have also

been used for a second statue from the same sanctuary (Statue II), dated to the same period and showing a similar iconography¹⁰⁸.

This review of the evidence for the use of the pseudo-akrolithic technique in Greek sculpture from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period strongly supports the idea that the provenance of our statue was Sicily. To date, Sicily appears, in fact, to be the only region of the Greek world in which the combination of limestone and white marble is documented in sculpture before the end of the fifth century.

Sicily is also a very good candidate from a stylistic point of view. In fact, few other regions of the Greek world show a comparable level of inspiration from Athenian art and architecture of the Classical period before the end of the fifth century.

Inspiration from Athens can already be identified in the architecture and the visual arts of Sicily during the Archaic and Early Classical periods. This inspiration, however, became particularly strong during the last third of the fifth century. This trend is clearly connected to the intensification of Athenian involvement with the island, from the first expedition of 427, led by Laches and Charoiades, to the disastrous second, great expedition against Syracuse of 415–413¹⁰⁹.

102 R.P.A. Patané, Quattro sculture nel Museo Civico di Centuripe, in: R. Gigli (ed.), ΜΕΤΑΛΛΑΙ ΝΗΣΟΙ. Studi dedicati a Giovanni Rizza per il suo ottantesimo compleanno 2 (Catania 2005) 286–292 figs. 12–15. – A different combination of marble and limestone documented in Sicily between the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. consists in fastening relief figures carved separately in white marble against a limestone background (a method attested in Greece for both the Erechtheion frieze and statue bases). See 1) Marble relief head from Pachino (ca. 450), Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale »Paolo Orsi«: P. Orsi, Due teste di rilievi funebri attici rinvenute in Sicilia, in: *Miscellanea di archeologia, storia e filologia dedicata al Prof. Antonino Salinas, nel XL anniversario del suo insegnamento accademico* (Palermo 1907) 30–35; Holloway (above n. 98) 37. 47 no. 1 fig. 229. 2) Draped female torso from Camarina: P. Orsi, Camarina (campagna archeologica del 1896), *MonAnt* 9, 1899, 258 fig. 50; Orsi (above n. 102) 32–33.

103 See e. g. 1) Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 6218: P. Wullemier, Statues inédites de Tarente, *MEFRA*, 1936, 124–125 fig. 1; H. Klumbach, Tarentiner Grabkunst (Reutlingen 1937) 32 no. 178; Wullemier (above n. 100) 287 pl. 8,4; Noelke – Rüdiger (above n. 90) 371 note 8; E.M. De Juliis – D. Loiacono, Taranto. Il Museo Archeologico (Taranto 1986) 104 fig. 86. 2) Private Collection: Wullemier (above n. 103) 124–127 pl. 1; Wullemier (above n. 100) 287 pl. 8,3; Noelke – Rüdiger (above n. 90) 371 note 8.

104 It has been suggested that a marble head (thought to belong to a male figure by Carter, and to a female by Belli Pasqua) dated to the early third century may have belonged to a pseudo-akrolithic statue. This head was found in association with the remains of Tomb 18 (Via Maturi, 1961) and with some fragments of sculptures in limestone and marble (Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 119142: J.C. Carter, The Figure in the Naiskos. Marble Sculptures from the Necropolis of Taranto, *OpRom* 9, 1973, 100–101 no. 2 figs. 3–5; Belli Pasqua (above n. 100) 79–80 no. IV.9). Among these sculptural fragments there are a section of an exposed leg in marble

(inv. 119145) and a limestone fragment of a draped left shoulder (inv. 119148), both tentatively associated by Carter with the marble head. However, as pointed out by Belli Pasqua, it is now difficult to establish with any certainty which of the materials found with the head would belong with it. – It has also been suggested that another marble female head from Taranto (once Taranto, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 4997), now lost, and dated to the Hellenistic period, belonged to a pseudo-akrolithic sculpture: cf. Belli Pasqua (above n. 100), 222.

105 See in general S.E. Kane, Sculpture from Cyrene in Its Mediterranean Context, in: J.C. Fant (ed.), *Ancient Marble Quarrying and Trade* (Oxford 1988) 132 and Beschi (above n. 13) 81–91.

106 Cyrene inv. 14.019: Beschi (above n. 99) 83–84 fig. 4.

107 Cyrene inv. 71-705. 73-279. 73-409. 73-276: S. Kane, Dedications in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Cyrene, *LibSt* 25, 1994, 159–162 fig. 1; S. Kane, The Limestone Goddesses from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore-Persephone at Cyrene, Libya, in: K.J. Hartswick – M.C. Sturgeon (eds.), *Stephanos: Studies in Honor of Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway* (Philadelphia 1998) 146–147 figs. 16,1–2; S. Kane, Transforming Power. The Use of Statues in the Cult of Demeter at Cyrene, in: C.A. Di Stefano (ed.), *Demetra: la divinità, i santuari, il culto, la leggenda* (Pisa 2008) 170 fig. 1.

108 Later examples of pseudo-akrolithic sculpture from Cyrene are: 1) Cyrene inv. 14.419. Statuette of Kore. Dated 1st century: Paribeni (above n. 99) 46 no. 74 pl. 60.

2) Cyrene inv. 14.420. Statue of Cyrene and the lion. Dated 2nd century CE: Paribeni (above n. 99) 75 no. 176 pl. 102.

109 See esp. H. Wentker, Sizilien und Athen (Heidelberg 1956); G. Maddoli, Il VI e V secolo a.C., in: E. Gabba – G. Vallet (eds.), *La Sicilia antica II* (Naples 1980) 67–88; C. Ampolo, I contributi alla prima spedizione ateniese in Sicilia (427–424 a.C.), *PP* 42, 1987, 5–11; C. Ampolo, Gli Ateniesi e la Sicilia nel V secolo. Politica e diplomazia, economia e guerra, *Opus* 11, 1992, 25–35; A. Andrewes, *The Peace of Nicias and the Sicilian Expedition*, *CAH V* 2 (1992)

In the architecture of this period in Sicily, two important examples of the inspiration from Athens are offered by the temple at Segesta (420–410) and by the Propylon to the Sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros at Selinus (420). Mertens has shown the relationship in the design of the façade between the temple at Segesta and the temple of the Athenians on Delos, and concluded that the Sicilian Greek architect responsible for the temple at Segesta was aware of contemporary developments in Athenian temple architecture. According to Mertens, this was probably not because the architect had visited Athens, but rather because he had obtained detailed information about Athenian practice, in particular individual temple plans¹¹⁰. Along similar lines, Miles has shown that the proportions of the Doric capitals and of the elevations of the facades of the Selinuntine propylon were inspired by the Attic Doric style of the Periklean period¹¹¹.

Among the visual arts, red-figure vase painting offers the best evidence for Athenian inspiration. Early Sicilian vase painting shows significant stylistic affinities with contemporary vase painting in Athens¹¹². A case in point is the Chequer Painter, who appears very close to the Pothos Painter and, in a later phase, to the Jena Painter. The figures of the Chequer Painter resemble so strongly those on Athenian red-figure vases of the last two decades of the fifth century that the main criteria for distinguishing his vases from the Athenian are the appearance of the fired clay and the poor quality of the black glaze¹¹³. The difficulty in distinguishing Early Sicilian vases from Attic vases has prompted the suggestion that the first Sicilian vases might have been the work of Athenians who took part in the Athenian expedition and gained their freedom through their skill as vase decorators¹¹⁴. On a slightly different note, it has also been suggested that Early Sicilian

vases were the product of itinerant Athenian vase painters who had left their city on the occasion of the Peloponnesian War and of the plague¹¹⁵. Be that as it may, a strong connection between Early Sicilian vase painting and Attic vase painting in the late fifth-century appears undeniable.

After vase painting, coinage offers the most significant evidence for Athenian inspiration. At times, this inspiration translates into the conscious adoption of Pheidonian and post-Pheidonian style by the master engravers. A case in point is offered by the silver tetradrachms of Syracuse signed by Eukleidas, which date to the late fifth century. Eukleidas, probably a Syracusan, and in any case a Dorian based on his signature, was responsible for two important innovations in Syracusan coinage: the substitution of Athena for the frequently non-specific female head of the tetradrachms, and the execution of the first dies with a head in three-quarter view. The head of Athena (410) by Eukleidas is clearly inspired by Pheidias' Athena Parthenos, as shown by the triple crested helmet and by the rich style in the rendering of the wavy plumes and flowing hair¹¹⁶.

I have already commented on the similarities between the head of our statue and the female head on the obverse of the Syracusan silver dekadrachms signed by Euainetos. In regards to the pose and the drapery style of our statue, among Sicilian coins of the last decades of the fifth century, the silver tetradrachms of Himera deserve a special mention. These tetradrachms feature the homonymous nymph pouring a libation at the altar in the presence of a satyr (fig. 15). The figure of the nymph on the reverse of a series of tetradrachms now dated to about 420–409, displays the same contrapposto and the same draping of the himation thrown over one arm seen on the so-called Agoraphrodite¹¹⁷.

446–463; P. Anello, *La Sicilia da Gelone ad Ermocrate*, in: E. Greco – M. Lombardo (eds.), *Atene e l'Occidente* (Athens 2007) 225–233, S. Cataldi, *Atene e l'Occidente: trattati e alleanze dal 433 al 424*, in: E. Greco – M. Lombardo (eds.), *Atene e l'Occidente* (Athens 2007) 436–461; CMGr 47, 2008; Lyons et al. 2013.

110 D. Mertens, *Der Tempel von Segesta und die dorische Tempelbaukunst des griechischen Westens in klassischer Zeit* (Mainz 1984) 179–183, 203–205, 220–227.

111 M.M. Miles, *The Propylon to the Sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros at Selinus*, *AJA* 102, 1998, 43–44, 52, 57; for the capitals see already J.J. Coulton, *Doric Capitals. A Proportional Analysis*, *BSA* 74, 1979, 91, 93, 102; see in general M. M. Miles, *Classical Greek Architecture in Sicily*, in: Lyons et al. 2013, 146–158.

112 See in general A.D. Trendall, *The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily* (Oxford 1967) 194–221 and A.D. Trendall, *Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily* (London 1989) 29–30; cf. also more recently F. Giudice, *I ceramografi del IV secolo a.C.*, in: Sikanie. *Storia e civiltà della Sicilia greca* (Milan 1985) 243–260 and F. Giudice, *La ceramica attica del IV secolo a.C. in Sicilia ed il problema della formazione delle officine locali*, in: N. Bonacasa – L. Braccisi – E. De Miro (eds.), *La Sicilia dei due Dionisi* (Rome 2002) 169–201; M. De Cesare, *Il Pittore della Scacchiera e la nascita della ceramica figurata siceliota*, in: C. Ampolo (ed.), *Immagine e immag-*

ini della Sicilia e di altre isole del Mediterraneo antico. Atti delle seste giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima e la Sicilia occidentale nel contesto mediterraneo. Erice, 12–16 ottobre 2006 I (Pisa 2009) 277–294; S. Barresi, *Vase Painting*, in: Lyons et al. 2013, 210–218. – On the import of Attic vases in Sicily during the second half of the fifth century cf. G. Giudice, *Il tornio, la nave, le terre lontane. Ceramografi attici in Magna Grecia nella seconda metà del V sec. a.C. Rotte e vie di distribuzione* (Rome 2007) 245–276, 355–367.

113 Trendall (above n. 112) 196–201.

114 Trendall (above n. 112) 194; Trendall (above n. 112) 29.

115 Giudice (above n. 112); cf. also Giudice (above n. 112) 362–364.

116 G.E. Rizzo, *Saggi preliminari su l'arte della moneta nella Sicilia greca* (Rome 1938) 77–105; Rizzo (above n. 59); Breglia (above n. 59); Garraffo (above n. 59) 271–272; Holloway (above n. 33) 131–132; T. Visser, *Die Athena Parthenos des Phidias auf den Tetradrachmen des Eukleidas von Syrakus. Eine griechische »evocatio«-Vorstellung*, *NumAntCl* 23, 1994, 93–98; Rolley 1999, 193; Portale (above n. 62) 272; C. Arnold-Biucchi, *The Art of Coinage*, in: Lyons et al. 2013, 175–185.

117 E. Gabrici, *Topografia e numismatica dell'antica Imera (e di Terme)* (Naples 1894) 68–72 pl. 6,12; F. Gutmann – W. Schwabacher, *Die Tetradrachmen- und Didrachmenprägung von Himera (472–409 v. Chr.)*, *Mitteilungen der Bayerischen Numismatischen Ge-*

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15 Silver Tetradrachm of Himera



16 Marble, female head from Agrigento. Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale Inv. AG 9245

The evidence available for the production of large-scale statuary in Sicily during the second half of the fifth century is still limited. However, a marble female head from Agrigento (fig. 16) gives us an idea of the remarkable possibilities in this medium, and of the strong Athenian inspiration of local sculptors¹¹⁸. It is more likely that this veiled head belonged to an over-life size statue of Demeter, possibly from one of the large peripteral temples built in Akragas during the second half of the fifth century. De Miro has compared this head to the veiled head from the base of Agorakritos' statue of Nemesis at Rhamnous, which is usually dated to about 420¹¹⁹. An even closer parallel is offered by the Laborde Head, especially in regards to the rendering of the strands of hair and of the facial features, particularly the thick eyelids (fig. 12). These paral-

els strongly argue for a dating of the head from Agrigento between 430 and 420. The same parallels also indicate the strong Athenian inspiration of the carver of this head, who was hardly an Athenian, judging from the massive neck on which the head sits. In contrast, a marble relief from Catania featuring Demeter and Kore, and dating to about 420–400, would appear to be an Athenian product. Material, style, iconography, and function are, in fact, all suggestive of Athenian workmanship¹²⁰.

Athenian inspiration in Sicily was also very strong in coroplastic art. The terracotta statuettes from the votive deposits of the Sanctuary of Demeter at Syracuse, in Piazza della Vittoria, deserve a particular mention here¹²¹.

sellschaft 47, 1929, Group III, nos. 18–19 pl. 10; Rizzo (above n. 59) 127 fig. 28b pl. 21 no. 22; P.R. Franke – M. Hirmer, *Die Griechische Münze* (Munich 1964) fig. 22 left; Kraay (above n. 59) 287 pl. 22 no. 69; A. Tusa Cutroni, *La monetazione di Himera: aspetti e problemi*, in: *Quaderno Imerese* (Rome 1972) 120 pl. 56,8; C. Arnold Biocchi, *La monetazione d'argento di Himera classica. I tetradrammi*, *NumAntCl* 17, 1988, pl. 3 nos. 20–21. On the iconography see LIMC V (1990) 424–425 s. v. Himera (M.C. Caltabiano). It may be added that on these coins the nymph Himera has the same mature body as our statue. The fact that the himation is not drawn up over her head and neck, would seem to preclude the possibility of identifying our statue with this or another Sicilian nymph.

118 Agrigento, Museo Archeologico Regionale inv. AG 9245: E. De Miro, *Sculture agrigentine degli ultimi decenni del V secolo a.C.*, *ArchCl* 18, 1966, 190–196 pls. 68–70,1; Beschi 1988, 862 no. 190 pl. 574; G. Pugliese Carratelli – G. Fiorentini, *Agrigento: Museo Archeologico* (Palermo 1992) 87 fig. 91a–b; De Miro in: Rizza – De Miro (above n. 62) 234 pl. A; E. De Miro, *Agrigento. I. I santuari urbani. L'area sacra tra il tempio di Zeus e porta V*, 2 vols. (Rome 2000) 97 pl. 43; Bell 2007, 16 fig. 3.

119 Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. 203: Despinis 1971; Ridgway 1981, 172–173; Boardman 1985, 147 figs. 122–123; V.C. Petrakos, *Προβλήματα της βάσης του αγάλματος της Νεμέσεως*, in: H. Kyrieleis (ed.), *Archaische und klassische griechische Plastik* (Mainz 1986) 89–107; V.C. Petrakos, *La base de la Némésis d'Agoracrite*, *BCH* 105, 1987, 227–253; Stewart 1990, 270; Rolley 1999, 134–137.

120 Catania, Museo Civico: G. Libertini, «Δημητριακά», *AEphem* 1937, 715–726; Zuntz (above n. 2) 155; Peschlow-Bindokat 1972, 113. 150 R 5 fig. 35; Neumann (above n. 73) 57–59 pl. 32a; Beschi 1988, 865 no. 229 pl. 577; A. Comella, *I rilievi votivi greci di periodo arcaico e classico. Diffusione, ideologia, committenza*, *Bibliotheca archaeologica* 11 (Bari 2002) 93. 206–207 fig. 88; G. Rizza, *Demetra a Catania*, in: C. A. Di Stefano (ed.), *Demetra: la divinità, i santuari, il culto, la leggenda* (Pisa 2008) 187–188 fig. 1; C. Marconi, *Sculpture in Sicily from the Age of the Tyrants to the Reign of Hieron II*, in: Lyons et al. 2013, 168.

121 G. Voza, *L'attività della Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Sicilia Orientale II*, *Kokalos* 22/23, 1976/77, 556–558 pls. 95–98; M.T. Lanza in: B.D. Westcoat (ed.), *Syracuse, the Fairest Greek City*.

Many of these figurines, dated between the end of the fifth and the early fourth century based on the coins from the votive deposits in which they were found, feature the familiar type of the woman holding a piglet, a torch, or an offering basket. The poses and the draping of the chitons and himations of many of these statuettes come particularly close to Attic sculpture of the last three decades of the fifth century, and offer in several instances very good parallels for our statue¹²².

In this medium, however, a small terracotta statue (h. 0.535 m) from the Akropolis of Gela offers by far the best evidence for Athenian inspiration in Sicily towards the end of the fifth century¹²³. This small statue features a goddess – Demeter or Kore, based on her provenance – wearing polos, chiton, and himation, standing on her left foot with her right foot drawn to the side. Except for the head, which is conservative and has a Late Archaic/Early Classical look, the style of this image belongs to the last decades of the fifth century and reveals a strong Attic inspiration. In particular, both her stance and dress are reminiscent of our statue. The small terracotta statue was found in the northern chamber of Sacello XII. This was a shrine of Demeter, which was built over the remains of an earlier structure that had been burnt on the occasion of the destruction of Gela by the Carthaginians in 405. Sacello XII was rebuilt between the end of the fifth century and the early fourth century, as indicated by the materials from a votive deposit found in the southern room. Likewise, the small terracotta statue was found together with votive materials dated between the end of the fifth cen-

tury and the early fourth century. The small statue may still be dated before the end of the fifth century.

This review of the evidence concerning Athenian inspiration in the architecture and the visual arts of Sicily during the last quarter of the fifth century, besides lending further support to the idea of a provenance from the island, should help in placing the problem of the authorship of our statue in the proper context. It has been proposed that the creator of our sculpture was an itinerant sculptor from Greece¹²⁴, and the possibility has even been raised that he may in fact have been a member of the Athenian expedition¹²⁵. Both are, of course, serious possibilities. However, we have noted in the previous review the existence in late fifth century Sicily of sculptures of the quality and monumentality of our statue, which could be the work of local sculptors. An inscription suggests the presence in Mainland Greece of a sculptor from Sicily during the last decades of the fifth century¹²⁶. Especially if the carver of the head of our statue was also the carver of the limestone body¹²⁷, the possibility that he was a local sculptor from Sicily who had the chance to visit Mainland Greece and work closely with sculptors active in Athens should be taken into serious consideration¹²⁸.

The incrustations that our statue carried at the time of its acquisition by the Getty, and the weathering of both its limestone body and its marble parts, suggest that the sculpture was buried until recent times. That it was found during an illicit dig is confirmed by the fact that its limestone body was broken into three pieces after the discovery, for easy packing and smuggling across the border¹²⁹.

Ancient Art from the Museo Archeologico regionale Paolo Orsi, exhibition catalogue Emory University Museum of Art and Archaeology, Atlanta (Rome 1989) 98–99 no. 18; E.C. Portale in: G. Pugliese Carratelli (ed.), *I Greci in Occidente* (Milan 1996) 748–749 no. 378, I–X; V. Hinz, *Der Kult von Demeter und Kore auf Sizilien und in der Magna Graecia*, Palilia 4 (Wiesbaden 1998) 102–107; E. De Miro, *Thesmophoria di Sicilia*, in: C.A. Di Stefano (ed.), *Demetra. La divinità, i santuari, il culto, la leggenda* (Pisa – Rome 2008) 68–72 fig. 47.

122 Athenian influence is also apparent in a terracotta statuette of Athena Ergane from Scornavacche (A. Di Vita, *Atena Ergane in una terracotta dalla Sicilia ed il culto della dea in Atene*, *ASAtene* 30–32, 1952–54, figs. 1–3; S. Stucchi, *Una recente terracotta Siciliana di Atena ergane ed una proposta intorno all'Atena detta di Endoios*, *RM* 63, 1956, 122 fig. 1; P. Demargne, *Athena*, in: *LIMC* II (1984) 962–963 no. 54; Portale (above n. 62) 272). The statuette is dated to the period between 340 and 310, but it could be related to a prototype of the late fifth or early fourth century.

123 Gela, Museo Archeologico Regionale inv. 35699: E. De Miro – G. Fiorentini, *Relazione sull'attività della Soprintendenza alle antichità di Agrigento, 1972–1976*, *Kokalos* 22/23, 1976/77, 435. 443 pl. 38,1; G. Fiorentini, *Sacelli sull'acropoli di Gela e a Monte Adranone nella valle del Belice*, *CronA* 16, 1977, 110–112 pl. 26,3; G. Fiorentini, *Gela. La città antica e il suo territorio. Il museo* (Palermo 1985) 18–19 pl. 10; R. Panvini, *Gelas. Storia e archeologia dell'antica Gela* (Torino 1996) pl. 51; Hinz (above n. 121) 65; R. Panvini in: R. Panvini (ed.), *Gela: Il Museo archeologico: Catalogo*

(Palermo 1998) 72; G. Fiorentini, *L'età dionigiiana a Gela e Agrigento*, in: N. Bonacasa – L. Braccisi – E. De Miro (eds.), *La Sicilia dei due Dionisi* (Rome 2002) 159 fig. 11; De Miro (above n. 121) 51 fig. 9.

124 Boardman 1993, 135; Boardman 1995, 166.

125 Giuliano 1993, 57.

126 The base of a bronze dedication by a Selinuntine from the Sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, carries the signature of Akron, son of Praton, from Selinus. The signature and the monument are now dated 430–400. Delphi inv. 3522: É. Bourguet, *Inscriptions de l'entrée du sanctuaire au trésor des Athéniens*, *FdD* III 1 (Paris 1929) 330–331 no. 506 fig. 48; Lippold (above n. 32) 211 note 16; *EAA* I (1958) 183–184 s. v. Akron (L. Guerrini); D. Rößler in: R. Vollkommer (ed.), *Künstlerlexikon der Antike* (Hamburg 2007) 19.

127 Cf. *supra* for the possibility that the head may have originally belonged to a different statue. Giuliano 1993, 65 has mentioned the possibility that the sculptor of the limestone body may have been different from that of the marble head.

128 Both Rolley 1999, 195 and Portale 2005, 91 have suggested that our statue is the work of a Western Greek sculptor.

129 According to the conservators at the Getty, no obvious evidence of tool marks was found to suggest that the fractures were forced by chisels or saw cuts. The breakage of the statue, however, is clearly recent. The practice, in the illicit traffic of antiquities, of breaking up statues and packing the pieces in fairly small cases is unfortunately well documented: cp. the cases of the Metropolitan Kouros (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art inv. 32.11.1: Richter (above n. 19) 1–2 no. 1 pls. 1–3; Richter (above n. 51) 41–42

The suggestion by the Italian authorities that our statue was found during an illicit dig in the area of San Francesco Bisconti in Morgantina has at times been called into question or disputed¹³⁰. Both the previously noted fact that the material for the body of our statue came from the area around Ragusa and the fact that a similar kind of limestone was used for a statue found at Morgantina would seem to support this suggestion. The statue is the previously mentioned draped female figure of the Hellenistic period, which was carved in the same pseudo-akrolithic technique as our statue (fig. 13). It may be added that the site of San Francesco Bisconti at Morgantina represents a perfectly plausible location for our statue. San Francesco Bisconti was the location of a major, monumental sanctuary of Demeter, which was in use from the second half of the sixth century down to the third century¹³¹. This sanctuary was articulated into a series of terraces, and it housed a series of buildings that were also used for the display of images, including large-size terracotta and stone statues, such as the akrolithic images of Demeter and Kore mentioned earlier. This sanctuary has thus far only been partially excavated by archaeologists and one can only hope that in the not-too-distant future it will be subject to a systematic exploration.

If its provenance is the monumental sanctuary of Demeter at San Francesco Bisconti in Morgantina, the identification of our statue with Demeter, or, as I prefer, Persephone, would appear the most likely. Visiting gods in the form of votive statues, however, are well documented in Greek sanctuaries¹³². The alternative identification of our statue as Aphrodite should consequently be retained as a possibility. This is also in consideration of the association of Aphrodite with Persephone, which is best seen at Locri Epizephyrii¹³³, and which is attested at Morgantina for the Hellenistic period¹³⁴.

In conclusion, I may point to the fact that according to Thucydides (4, 65, 1), in 424, at the Congress of Gela, Camarina took Morgantina from the Syracusans¹³⁵. Morgantina seems to have remained under the control of Camarina until 405, the year in which the Greek colony fell to the Carthaginians. This is interesting, because close diplomatic ties are documented between Camarina and Athens for the period between 422 and 415¹³⁶. These ties are reflected in the local, sculptural production, including a fragmentary funerary stele depicting a warrior, of white, possibly insular marble, dated to about 430–420, and very close to Attic works¹³⁷. This series of facts makes me wonder whether our statue could not have been dedicated at

no. 1 figs. 25–32. 60–62; Floren (above n. 16) 252 note 6) and of the Kouros from Anavyssos (Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. 3851: A. Philadelphus, *The Anavyssos Kouros*, BSA 36, 1935/36, 1–2; Richter (above n. 51) 118–119 no. 136 figs. 395–398. 400–401; Floren (above n. 16) 255 note 21 pl. 20,3; Kaltsas 2002, 58 no. 69). – In addition, it may be noted that one (inv. 88.AA.139.39) of the loose drapery fragments may show traces of the pick used for digging out the statue.

130 Walsh (above n. 63) 100; M. Bell, *Introduzione alla tavola rotonda*, in: P. Pelagatti – M. Bell (eds.), *Antichità senza provenienza. Atti della tavola rotonda American Academy in Rome* 18 febbraio 1995, BdA Suppl. 89–90 (Rome 1995) 4 note 8; Wilson (above n. 33) 63; Pelagatti (above n. 70) 11; True 1997, 144; Portale 2005, 91; Bell 2007, 22.

131 E. De Miro – G. Fiorentini, *L'attività della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Agrigento dal 1976 al 1980*, BCASic 1.1–4 (1980) 134–137 figs. 28–29; G. Fiorentini, *Ricerche archeologiche nella Sicilia centro-meridionale*, Kokalos 26/27, 1980/81, 593–598 pls. 81–85; Hinz (above n. 121) 124–127; Greco (above n. 89) 186; S. Raffiotta, *Terrecotte figurate dal santuario di San Francesco Bisconti a Morgantina* (Assoro 2007) 21–28; M. Bell, *Hiera Oikopeda*, in: C. A. Di Stefano (ed.), *Demetra. La divinità, i santuari, il culto, la leggenda* (Pisa – Roma) 156 note 8 fig. 3 F; S. Raffiotta, *Nuove testimonianze del culto di Demetra e Persefone a Morgantina*, in: G. Guzzetta (ed.), *Morgantina, a cinquant'anni dall'inizio delle ricerche sistematiche. Atti dell'Incontro di Studi*. Aidone, 10 dicembre 2005, (Caltanissetta 2009) 105–139.

132 B. Alroth, *Greek Gods and Figurines*, *Boreas* 18 (Uppsala 1989) 65–105; Rolley 1994, 32.

133 See esp. P. Zancani Montuoro, *Piccola statua di Hera*, in: E. Homann-Wedeking – B. Segall (eds.), *Festschrift Eugen v. Mercklin* (Waldsassen 1964) 174–178; M. Torelli, *I culti di Locri*, *CMGr* 16, 1977, 175–179; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *Persephone and Aphrodite at Locri*, *JHS* 98, 1978, 101–121 (cf. C. Sourvinou-Inwood, «Reading» Greek Culture. Texts and Images, Rituals and Myths [New York

1991] 147–188). On the relationship between Aphrodite and Persephone, particularly in regards to their similarities in Classical and Late Classical iconography, cf. more recently I.K. Leventi, *Περσεφόνη και Εκάτη στην Τεγέα*, *ADelt* 49/50.1, 1994/95, 83–96. 134 Contrada Agnese: H.L. Allen, *Excavations at Morgantina* (Serra Orlando), 1970–1972. Preliminary report XI, *AJA* 78, 1974, 381 pl. 75 fig. 23; H.L. Allen, *I luoghi sacri di Morgantina*, *CronA* 16, 1977, 139; V. Tusa – E. De Miro, *Sicilia occidentale* (Rome 1983) 280–281; F. Coarelli – M. Torelli, *Sicilia* (Rome – Bari 1984) 191; Hinz (above n. 121) 131 note 773.

135 E. Sjöquist, *Perchè Morgantina?*, *RendLinc* 15, 1960, 292–293; Bell (above n. 24) 5; G. Manganaro, *La Syrakosion dekate, Camarina e Morgantina nel 424 a.C.*, *ZPE* 128, 1999, 120–123; M. Bell, *Camarina e Morgantina al congresso di Gela*, in: *Un ponte fra l'Italia e la Grecia. Atti del Simposio in onore di Antonino di Vita, Ragusa, 13–15 febbraio 1998* (Padova 2000) 291–297; M. Mattioli, *Camarina città greca. La tradizione scritta* (Milan 2002) 51–52; M. Bell, *Rapporti Urbanistici fra Camarina e Morgantina*, in: P. Pelagatti – G. Di Stefano – L. de Lachenal (eds.), *Camarina 2600 anni dopo la fondazione. Nuovi studi sulla città e sul territorio. Atti del Convegno Internazionale Ragusa, 7 dicembre 2002 / 7–9 aprile 2003* (Rome 2006) 253.

136 422: cf. Thuc. 5, 4, 6. – 415: cf. Thuc. 6, 52, 1; 6, 75, 3 – 6, 88, 2. In general see F. Cordano, *Camarina fra il 461 e il 405 a.c.: un caso esemplare*, in: *Un ponte fra l'Italia e la Grecia. Atti del Simposio in onore di Antonino di Vita, Ragusa, 13–15 febbraio 1998* (Padova 2000) 192; Mattioli (above n. 135) *passim*; F. Cordano, *Camarina città democratica?*, *PP* 59, 2004, 290–292; F. Cordano, *Guerra e pace nella Sicilia orientale. Il ruolo di Camarina*, in: *Guerra e pace in Sicilia e nel Mediterraneo antico (VIII–III sec. a.C.). Arte, prassi e teoria della pace e della guerra. Atti delle quinte giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima e la Sicilia occidentale nel contesto mediterraneo*, Erice 12–15 ottobre 2003 (Pisa 2006) 140–141.

137 Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Regionale «Paolo Orsi» inv. 24882: P. Orsi, *Camarina. Nuovi scavi nella necropoli*, *NSc* 2,

Morgantina under the sponsorship of Camarina, within the context of the patronage of the Greek colony over Morgantina, which had been refounded around the middle of the fifth century with a new settlement on Serra Orlando¹³⁸. This is, of course, only a conjecture, and an attempt to explain the possible original context of our

statue following the suggestion by the Italian authorities. One can only hope that the progress of archaeological research will bring further clarification regarding the original provenance and context of display of the Goddess from Morgantina.

Literature on the Statue:

T. Holding – G. Fiorentini – I. Love in: *CMGr* 28, 1988, 440–442; Walsh (above n. 63) 100; *Acquisitions* 1989, 110 no. 11; Holloway (above n. 33) fig. 134; J. Boardman, in: *Boardman* 1993, 135 no. 125 pl. XI; Giuliano 1993, 49–65; Rolley 1994, 77 note 76; Rolley 1999, 194–195 note 66 figs. 183–184; Boardman 1995, 166 figs. 191,1–2; Wilson (above n. 33) 63; M. De Cesare, *Le statue in immagine. Studi sulle raffigurazioni di statue nella pittura vascolare greca*, *Studia archeologica* 88 (Rome 1997) 201–203 fig. 137; Häger-Weigel 1997, 43. 47 pl. 11,2; True 1997, 144–145 fig. 12; Stewart 2000, 20–21 fig. 13; Grossman

(above n. 33) 30. 98; Portale 2005, 91–92. 214–215; Greco (above n. 63) 10–15; C. Marconi, *Una dea da Morgantina a Malibu*, *Kalos* 19,2, 2007, 4–9; *Cult Statue of a Goddess. Summary of Proceedings from a Workshop Held at the Getty Villa May 9, 2007* (Los Angeles 2007); *LIMC Suppl.* (2009) 70 num. add.4 (pl. 37) s. v. Aphrodite (A. Harmacy); C. Marconi, *L'identificazione della »Dea« di Morgantina*, *Prospettiva* 141/142, 2011, 2–31; C. Bonanno, *Il Museo archeologico di Morgantina: Catalogo* (Rome 2013), 85–86; C. Marconi, *The Goddess from Morgantina*, in: Lyons et al. 2013, 60–61.

Abbreviations

In addition to the abbreviations set out in *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2005, 329–399, the following are also used:

Acquisitions 1989 *Acquisitions* 1988, *GettyMusJ* 17, 1989, 110 no. 11.

Add² T.H. Carpenter, *Beazley Addenda. Additional References to ABV, ARV² and Paralipomena²* (Oxford – New York 1989).

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1905, 429 fig. 17; Orsi (above n. 102) 26–30 pl. I; Lippold (above n. 32) 178 note 4; Holloway (above n. 98) 37. 44 fig. 230 (the suggested dating to the Early Classical period appears too early); E. Ghisellini, *Stele funerarie di età classica della Sicilia sudorientale*,

in: G. Adornato (ed.), *Scolpire il marmo. Imortazioni, artisti itineranti, scuole artistiche nel Mediterraneo antico*, (Milan 2010) 282–285, fig. 4.

138 Bell (above n. 135) 253–258; Bell (above n. 131) 155–159.

- Delivorrias et al. 1984** A. Delivorrias – G. Berger-Doer – A. Kossatz-Deissmann, Aphrodite, in: LIMC II (1984) 2–151.
- Despinis 1971** G.I. Despinis, Συμβολή στη μελέτη του έργου του Αγορακρίτου (Athens 1971).
- Giuliano 1993** A. Giuliano, Signum Cereris, RendLinc 4, 1993, 49–65.
- Güntner 1997** G. Güntner, Persephone, in: LIMC VIII (1997) 956–978.
- Häger-Weigel 1997** E. Häger-Weigel, Griechische Akrolith-Statuen des 5. und 4. Jhs. v. Chr. (Berlin 1997)
- Kaltsas 2002** N. Kaltsas, Sculpture in the National Archaeological Museum (Athens 2002).
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- Langlotz 1963** E. Langlotz, Die Kunst der Westgriechen in Sizilien und Unteritalien (Munich 1963).
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- Palagia 2006** O. Palagia, Classical Athens, in: O. Palagia (ed.), Greek Sculpture: Function, Materials, and Techniques in the Archaic and Classical Periods (New York 2006) 119–162.
- Para** J.D. Beazley, Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-figure Vase-painters and to Attic Red-figure Vase-painters (Oxford 1971).
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a



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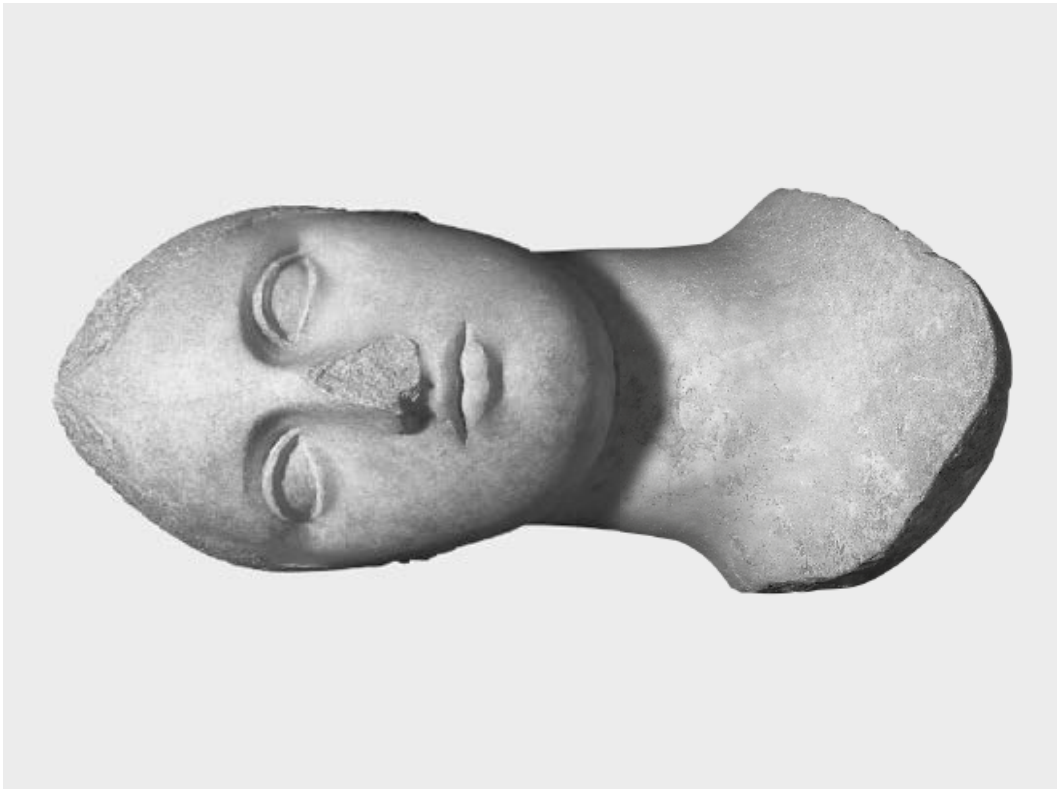


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