Athenische Mitteilungen

Abteilung des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

Band 133 · 2018

MITTEILUNGEN
DES DEUTSCHEN ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN INSTITUTS
ATHENISCHE ABTEILUNG

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ATHENISCHE ABTEILUNG

BAND 133 · 2018

GEBR. MANN VERLAG · BERLIN

VIII, 294 Seiten mit 131 Abbildungen

ISSN: 0342-1295

ISBN: 978-3-7861-2819-9

Umschlagbild: Naxos: Pyrgos Chimarrou von Süden 1994 (Foto: Paros-Naxos-Archiv des Lehrstuhls für Baugeschichte der TUM; s. S. 219)

Einbandgestaltung: U. Thaler, S. Hoffmann

Satz: www.wisa-print.de

Druck und Verarbeitung: druckhaus köthen GmbH & Co. KG · Köthen

Printed in Germany

Printed on fade resistant and archival quality paper (PH 7 neutral) · tcf

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Three ›Forgotten‹ Statues from the Athenian Agora

Elena Gagliano

Herakles, Theseus und Apollo *anadoumenos ten komen*. Drei ›vergessene‹ Statuen von der Athener Agora

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG In seiner Beschreibung der Agora erwähnt Pausanias eine Reihe von Statuen in der Umgebung des Heiligtums des Ares, von denen drei in der Forschung bisher keine Beachtung fanden: Herakles, Theseus und *Apollo anadoumenos tainia ten komen*. Der vorliegende Beitrag widmet sich diesen Skulpturen und schlägt einen Vergleich mit einem bekannten athenischen Relief vor, das heute im Museo Barracco in Rom ausgestellt ist. Aus der Gegenüberstellung ergibt sich ein Vorschlag zur Identifizierung von zwei der drei Statuen: Herakles ist im Original des sogenannten Dionysos Philadelphia zu erkennen, während für Apollo der Diadumenos des Polyklet oder eine sehr ähnliche Statue in Anspruch zu nehmen ist.

Schlagwörter Heiligtum des Ares; Pausanias; Dionysos Philadelphia; Diadumenos; Museo Giovanni Barracco.

ABSTRACT In describing the Athenian agora, Pausanias mentions, around the hieron of Ares, a series of statues, three of which scholars have never written about: Heracles, Theseus and Apollo *anadoumenos tainia ten komen*. This paper focuses on these sculptures and proposes their comparison with a well-known Athenian relief, today exhibited in the Barracco Museum in Rome. This comparison has also inspired the identification of two of the three statues: Heracles, recognised in the original of the so-called Dionysus Philadelphia, and Apollo, identified with the Diadumenos of Polykleitos, or a very similar statue.

Keywords Ares Temple; Pausanias; Dionysus Philadelphia; Diadumenos; Museo Giovanni Barracco.

Ηρακλής, Θησεύς και Απόλλων ἀναδούμενος τὴν κώμην. Τρια ‹ξεχασμένα› αγάλματα της Αγοράς των Αθηνών

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ Κατά την περιγραφή της Αγοράς των Αθηνών ο Παυσανίας αναφέρει μια σειρά αγαλμάτων γύρω από το ιερό του Άρη, σε τρία από τα οποία δεν δόθηκε από την έρευνα καμία σημασία ως τώρα: ο Ηρακλής, ο Θησέας και ο Απόλλων ἀναδούμενος ταινίᾳ τὴν κόμην. Το άρθρο αυτό επικεντρώνεται σ'αυτά τα γλυπτά και προτείνει τη σύγκρισή τους με ένα γνωστό αθηναϊκό ανάγλυφο, το οποίο εκτίθεται σήμερα στο Museo Barracco στη Ρώμη. Από την αντιπαραβολή προκύπτει μία πρόταση για ταυτοποίηση των δύο εκ των τριών αγαλμάτων: ο Ηρακλής αναγνωρίζεται στο πρωτότυπο του επονομαζόμενου Διονύσου της Φιλαδέλφειας, ενώ για τον Απόλλωνα λαμβάνεται υπόψη ο Διαδούμενος του Πολυκλείτου ή κάποιο άλλο πολύ παρόμοιο άγαλμα.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά Ναός του Άρη. Παυσανίας. Διόνυσος Φιλαδέλφειας. Διαδούμενος. Museo Giovanni Barracco.

In describing the area of the Agora around the ἱερόν of Ares, Pausanias mentions a series of sculptures: some generically said to be inside (ἔνθα […] ἐνταῦθα) the *hieron*, while others are more specifically localized around the *naos*.

> τῆς δὲ τοῦ Δημοσθένους εἰκόνος πλησίον Ἄρεώς ἐστιν ἱερόν, ἔνθα ἀγάλματα δύο μὲν Ἀφροδίτης κεῖται, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἄρεως ἐποίησεν Ἀλκαμένης, τὴν δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν ἀνὴρ Πάριος, ὄνομα δὲ αὐτῷ Λόκρος. ἐνταῦθα καὶ Ἐνυοῦς ἄγαλμά ἐστιν, ἐποίησαν δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Πραξιτέλους: περὶ δὲ τὸν ναὸν ἑστᾶσιν Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Θησεὺς καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἀναδούμενος ταινίᾳ τὴν κόμην, ἀνδριάντες δὲ Καλάδης Ἀθηναίοις ὡς λέγεται νόμους γράψας καὶ Πίνδαρος ἄλλα τε εὑρόμενος παρὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα, ὅτι σφᾶς ἐπήνεσεν ᾄσμα ποιήσας.[1]
>
> Near the statue of Demosthenes is a sanctuary of Ares, where are placed two images of Aphrodite, one of Ares made by Alcamenes, and one of Athena made by a Parian of the name of Locrus. There is also an image of Enyo, made by the sons of Praxiteles. *About the temple stand images of Heracles, Theseus, Apollo binding his hair with a fillet*, and statues of Calades, who it is said framed laws for the Athenians, and of Pindar, the statue being one of the rewards the Athenians gave him for praising them in an ode.[2]

The identifying hypotheses of the first five statues mentioned by Pausanias, generally considered to be more closely linked to the cult of Ares, have been numerous[3], while much less attention has been paid to the sculptures that are said to be περὶ δὲ τὸν ναὸν. Some discussion has been made about the two ἀνδριάντες: the poet Pindar[4] and the legislator Calades. The statue of Calades by some has been considered coherent with the presence both of Pindar in front of the Stoa Basileios[5], because he himself was most likely a poet[6], and the laws of Solon and Draco inside it[7]. Almost no attention has ever been dedicated to the three divine ἀγάλματα mentioned by Pausanias, presumably because the information that the texts provide is scarce and is limited to its location, in the heart of Athenian political life, and the iconographic characterisation of only Apollo, ἀναδούμενος ταινίᾳ τὴν κόμην.

The area where the sculptures had to have been exposed in the second century A.D., when Pausanias saw them, is generally believed to have been on the southern slopes of the Kolonos Agoraios, to the west of the Panathenaic Way *(fig. 1)*. Excavations, conducted between 1931 and 1959 by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, uncovered a complex stratigraphic situation. The identification of the temple of Ares mentioned by Pausanias as the temple building whose foundations are preserved in five layers of blocks of *poros*[8] has been fundamental for the analysis of the topography of the area. The study of the

[1] Paus. 1, 8, 4.

[2] Translation by Jones 1964, 39–41.

[3] The statue of Ares is traditionally identified with the archetype of the Ares Borghese (Conze 1869, 9 no. 2; Lippold 1950, 186 f.; Paribeni 1953, 45 f.; Freyer 1962, 211–226; Hartswick 1990, 227–283: Ares Borghese as a Classical creation made to honour the relocation of the temple; Moreno 1998, 27; Kosmopoulou 2002, 136; Harrison 2005, 119–131; ThesCRA 4, 1 a nos. 20. 59 [F. Hölscher]; contra Avagliano 2011), while the Athena of Locris has been identified in a marble torso from the late 5th cent. B.C., found reused in a Byzantine wall to the south of the sanctuary (Thompson – Wycherley 1972, 164; Delivorrias 1986, 153 f.). For a recent reconstructive proposal of the sculptural furniture from the temple of Ares, see Stewart 2016a, 577–625.

[4] On the portrait of Pindar, see Giuliani 1997, 985–988 and most recently Catenacci 2014, 55–74 with previous bibliography. Cf. *infra*.

[5] [Aeschin.] Ep. 4, 3: καὶ ἦν αὕτη καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔτι, πρὸ τῆς βασιλείου στοᾶς καθήμενος ἐνδύματι καὶ λύρᾳ ὁ Πίνδαρος, διάδημα ἔχων καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων ἀνειλιγμένον βιβλίον (Edition: Martin – de Budé 1928).

[6] Cf. Kolb 1981, 40 f.; Kotsidu 1991, 169.

[7] Osanna 2014, 247.

[8] Parts of the wall have been identified, in reuse or stray finds, both within the boundaries of the Agora, as well as outside of it. On the Ares temple see: Dinsmoor 1940; Dinsmoor 1943; Thompson 1951, 56–58; Thompson 1952, 93–98; McAllister 1959; Thompson – Wycherley 1972, 162–165; Knell 1973, 106–108; Dinsmoor 1982; Camp 1986, 181–187; Miles 1989, 145–249; Baldassarri 1998, 153–172; Korres 1992–1998, 83–104; Lippolis 1998–2000, 185–205; Burden 1999, 115–137. 243–250 cat. 4; Korres 2001, 21 f.; Lippolis 2006, 38–44; Quantin – Quantin 2007, 188–190; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2008, 24–27; Steuernagel 2009, 282–296; Camp 2010; Weber 2013, 27–31; Greco 2014, 1055–1061.

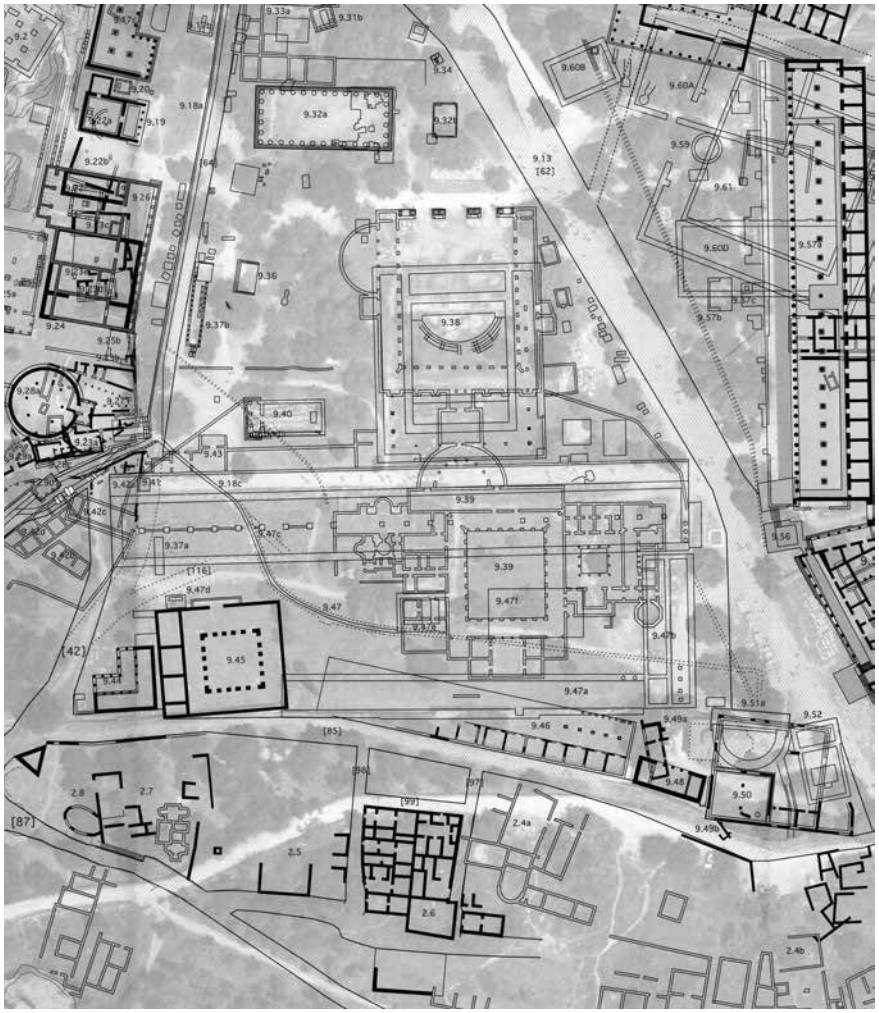

Fig. 1 The Athenian Agora, north-western corner, second century A.D.

building has generated many questions and it remains the subject of heated debate both for its general interpretation as well as its dating. The technical and formal characteristics were immediately recognised as similar to those of the nearby Hephaisteion[9], the Poseidonion at Cape Sounion[10] and the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous. These comparisons have justified the dating of the construction of the temple of Ares to the third decade of the fifth century B.C.[11] A series of technical characteristics, namely masons' marks palaeographically datable to the Augustan age placed from the highest row to the lowest one, the widening of the recesses for the cramps and the presence of reused blocks, as well as the presence of a black painted bowl, dating from the late Republican and Augustan age, in the temple foundations have led to the hypothesis that the building was built at another site and taken apart during the Augustan age to be later reassembled in the Agora. Despite this evidence, the opposite opinion has recently been put forth by Enzo Lippolis focusing on the possibility that all of the technical data that justified the interpretation of the building as a ›stray building‹ are compatible with the restoration of an existing Classical temple. Lippolis further highlighted the scarce, but existing, evidence of the cult of Ares in Athens prior to the Augustan age[12].

[9] On the architecture of the Hephaisteion, see most recently Greco 2014, 923–929 (Fausto Longo).

[10] On the architecture of the temple of Sounion, in particular for its Archaic phase, see most recently Paga – Miles 2016, 657–710 with previous bibliography.

[11] As in Dinsmoor 1940; Dinsmoor 1943; Knell 1973; Korres 1998. Summary in Greco 2014, 1055–1061 with further bibliography.

[12] Lippolis 1998–2000; Lippolis 2006, 38–44.

Regardless of the problematic question of the construction history of the temple and the history of the cult of Ares in the Agora, the identification of the building is an important factor to be able to propose a location for all of the monuments described by Pausanias near it, including the sculptural fragments found in the area during archaeological investigations.

AN ATHENIAN RELIEF AT THE BARRACCO MUSEUM

Despite the absence of the discovery of sculptures attributable to the divine *agalmata* seen and listed by Pausanias »around the temple«, some indication is perhaps traceable in the association of subjects and comparison with a known relief, dated to the second half of the fourth century B. C. The relief is today part of the Barracco collection, exhibited in the homonymous museum in Rome, and registered as coming from Athens[13] *(fig. 2)*. It is a fragmentary votive relief framed by an architrave supported by smooth Doric columns that act as a backdrop to the scene, which is composed, in the preserved portion, of two nude male figures and a bull.

The first figure from the right is sitting on a raised ›structure‹ of at least one step, with its left foot resting on it. This structure is covered by a feline skin and seems to be more an altar than a statue base[14]. The articulation in space and the centrifugal direction of the limbs contrasts with the ›will‹ expressed by the head, retrospective, by its gaze, turned towards the bull, and by the position of the bust, slightly reclined and decidedly turned to the right, to participate in the scene represented. Heracles is recognizable in the figure, not only as a result of the lion's skin upon which he sits, but also because his right arm is holding a club[15]. Regarding the perspective, the figure ›breaks through‹ the limits of the scene, with ›his‹ knee, tibia and left foot beyond the ›border‹ of the sculptural field, framed by the column. The three-quarters point of observation from which the subject was represented seems to have been chosen to emphasise the daring perspective and perhaps also to represent, in a two-dimensional relief, the twisting of the torso.

On the right of the relief, there is a second nude male figure, which unfortunately does not have the head preserved. It is in a standing position, with its weight on the left leg and the right leg flexed with the heel raised off the ground and its left arm (the only one preserved) raised in the act of wrapping its head with a ribbon. Although neither figure is represented on a base[16], it is not difficult to recognise in these two male figures the models that the sculptor was inspired by: two statues whose identification is discussed further below.

Between the two human figures, perspectively placed behind the second one and in front of the first, a large bull is represented in the charging position.

Leaving aside the bull for the moment, the two human figures are evidently, in addition to their ›statuesque‹ nature, of the same proportions, a visual manifestation of the identity of the ›rank‹ of the characters, whose nudity excludes them as giving offerings, and identifies them as divine or semi-divine characters.

[13] The relief (Inv. 136) was purchased by Giovanni Barracco as coming from Athens. Barracco – Helbig 1893, 58 pl. 51; Studniczka 1895, 725; Frickenhaus 1911, 123 no. 7; Brendel 1930, 215; Walter 1937, 44; Hausmann 1959, 71; Pietrangeli 1960, 102 no. 136; Fuchs in Helbig 1966, 652 f. no. 1908; Palagia in Boardman et al. 1988 no. 1380; Tagalidou 1993, 238 f. no. 38 and pl. 13; Neils 1995, 947 no. 305; van Straten 1995, 298 no. R93; Comella 2002, 121 cat. Atene 177 and fig. 120; Smith in Borgia et al. 2008, 105 f.

[14] Cf. Smith in Borgia et al. 2008, 105. The interpretation as ›steps of naiskos‹ by Comella 2002, 121 is surely wrong.

[15] The club is resting on an element of dubious interpretation that for Brendel 1930, 215 and Fuchs in Helbig 1966 is identified as a bucranium.

[16] The seated figure sits on a raised object that, as mentioned, seems more likely identifiable as an altar: the right foot actually rests directly on the ground, not on the raised object, as the left one.

Fig. 2 Attic relief with seated Heracles, Apollo *anadoumenos ten komen* and a charging bull. Rome, Museo di Scultura Antica Giovanni Barracco

The position of the standing figure, represented in the act of wrapping his head, in its singularity, recalls the act of Apollo seen exhibited in the Agora »around the temple of Ares«, described by Pausanias as ἀναδούμενος ταινίᾳ τὴν κόμην and inspires a deeper reflection on the matter.

SEATED HERACLES OF THE PHILADELPHIA-GUIDONIA TYPE

The choice of an observation point that is not perfectly frontal, or lateral, but rather ›three-quarters‹, for the figure of Heracles can be considered, as mentioned, an effort by the stonemason to reproduce in two dimensions a sculpture that was articulated in space in a complex way. The composition of the scene as a whole, a scene, it is important to remember, whose left half is not preserved, may have forced minimal adaptations of the subjects, while preserving their general recognizability. With this necessary premise, one can notice the striking resemblance between the figure of Heracles reproduced on the relief in the Barracco collection and the statue recently discovered at Guidonia-Montecelio in the Setteville district *(fig. 3)*. The sculpture was found during an excavation carried out as a result of the construction work for the Centro Agroalimentare Regionale in the ›Tenuta del Cavaliere‹ area, which unearthed the so-called *domus Galloniana*, otherwise known as the ›Villa dell'Ercole fanciullo‹[17], on Via Tiburtina.

Found in 19 fragments at the southwest peripheral enclosure of the villa, the statue was in an area that probably led to the garden, where it is likely that it was originally placed in a niche[18]. The figure, headless, reconstructed after its restoration, but missing the right arm and the central part of the right leg from mid-thigh to just below the knee, has its upper body slightly reclined and with a decisive turn to the right. The shoulders are moderately wide and present marked erosion which, while not allowing for a full appreciation of the rendering of the muscles, suggests detailed costal outlining, as well as other details, such as the fold above the navel, corresponding to the line of twisting of the torso. The right buttock is slightly flattened and widened under the weight of the body, the left femoral quadriceps is turgid and perhaps overly ›arched upwards‹ in relation to the position of the leg and bears the weight of the left arm lying on it, with a relaxed hand placed on the side of the knee, almost as if abandoned. The left leg, bent sharply, has the heel raised, in contrast to the right one, whose central portion is missing, and which has the right foot forward with the whole sole on the ground; the calves are fairly thin with a relatively consistent muscular rendering. The back of the statue is not particularly well-finished, especially the lower back which is unfinished and the spinal column that stops abruptly at the level of the kidneys. The figure sits on a rock shaped like a seat that is covered by a feline skin including three legs and the snout that falls forward, while the fourth leg is carved on the ›seatback‹.

Some of the technical features, together with the discovery context, have allowed Franca Taglietti to date the rendering of the sculpture to the Hadrianic era, while the archetype seems to be the same type of sculpture known as Dionysus Philadelphia.

This type gets its name from the sculpture on display at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania[19] *(fig. 4)* and was identified on the basis

[17] National Roman Museum (Inv. 393753). Moscetti 1999, 123–135; Taglietti in Adembri et al. 2001, 127–176; De Angelis d'Ossat 2002, 38; Gagliano 2013a, 118 cat. HR03; Kansteiner 2016, 219. For the context, see Adembri et al. 2001.

[18] Cf. Adembri et al. 2001.

[19] Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Museum (Inv. MS5483). Matz – von Duhm 1881, 94 no. 359; Furtwängler 1895, 213 fig. 30a; Cultrera 1911; Arndt et al. 1893–1937, no. 2009; Hall 1913, 164–167; Luce 1921, 175 no. 35; Brunn – Bruckmann 1888–1947 no. 745; Richter 1954, 27 no. 32; Gasparri 1986, 438 f. no. 141a; Moreno 1984,

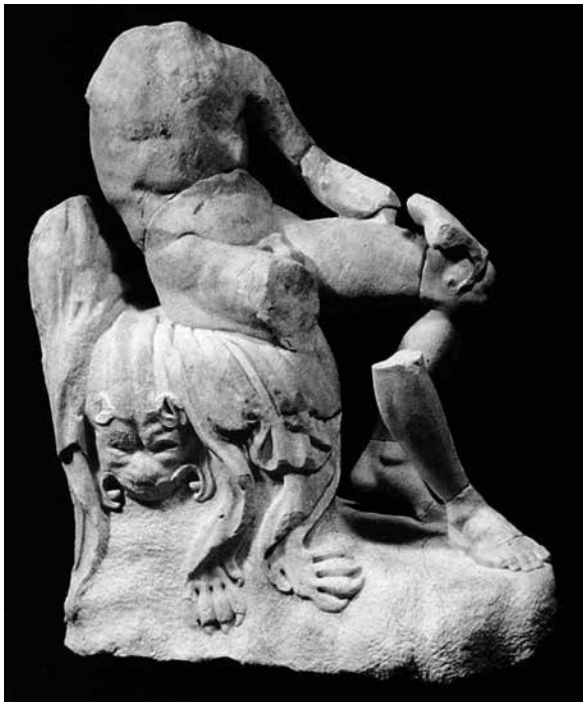

Fig. 3 Heracles Philadelphia-Guidonia. Replica found in Guidonia. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano

of two sculptural examples, the eponymous statue and one other now exhibited at the Lancut Castle *(fig. 5)*[20]. To these was added a third example kept in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence before being lost and of which only the representations in two drawings[21] are available now *(fig. 6)*.

The first sculpture *(fig. 4)* was most likely found in Rome[22] and is generally dated between the first and second century A.D. It is of a male figure sitting on a plinth covered with a feline skin, flanked by a lion which is also sitting. The right forearm leans on the feline's head and the hand seems to hold its forehead. The moderately broad shoulders with pronounced deltoids are tilted, with the right higher than the left, consistent with the position of the left arm. The pectorals are well-defined and their position is harmonious with that of the shoulders; the epigastric arch, abdominals and costal outlines, are treated analytically, almost ›scholastically‹, as is the pubic hair rendered in curls. The left arm is relaxed and lays on the left thigh, the leg is sharply bent and rests only the front part of the foot on the ground, while the heel is ›sustained‹ by a support. The right leg, less bent, has the foot placed flat on the ground and slightly further forward than the left one; both lower limbs have detailed musculature and bone structure evident from the skin on the kneecaps, ankles and shins. Although the head is not pertinent[23], the lack of traces of locks on the shoulders suggests that the hair would have been short. The plinth on which the figure sits is covered by a feline

21 f. fig. 3; Ensoli 2002, 218 fig. 58; Raggio 2005, 201 fig. 5; Bald Romano 2006, 240–246 no. 117; Gagliano 2013a, 115 f. cat. HR01. Cf. <http://www.penn.museum/collections/object.php?irn=281541> (17.10.2018).

20 Lancut, Collection Museum-Castle (Inv. S 8199 ML). Comte de Clarac 1850, no. 1529 and pl. 656; Müller – Wieseler 1856, 30 no. 322; Arndt et al. 1893–1937, no. 745; Michalowski 1955, 89; Pochmarski 1974, 185–187; Pietrzykowski 1970, 169–233; Gasparri 1986, 438 f. n° 141b; Moreno 1984, 22; Mikocki 1992, 208 f. pl. 80, 1. 2; Mikocki 1994, 216–221 pl. 9, 2. 3; Gagliano 2013a, 117 cat. HR02; Kansteiner 2016.

21 This sculpture was initially preserved in Palazzo Valle in Rome, then moved to Florence as part of the Medici collection and lost here probably as a result of the disastrous fire of 1762. Cf. Gori 1740, pl. 48; Bencivenni 1779, 204; Cultrera 1911, 10; Mansuelli 1958, 265 fig. 326; Gasparri 1986, 438 f. no. 141c; Mikocki 1992, 208 f.; Gagliano 2013a, 98 f.; Kansteiner 2016, 219 fig. 5.

22 Probably found in Rome, the sculpture was bought by Michelangelo Tonti (1566–1622) and inherited, along with the entire Palazzo Ferratina collection to which it belonged, by ›Collegio Nazzareno‹ in Rome in 1622. Likely restored between 1609 (the year of the purchase of the villa where it was exhibited) and 1612 (the year of the death of Cardinal Tonti's trusted restorer), it was used as an ornament in a fountain, evidenced by the holes recognizable in the lion's head and at the height of the genitals of the human figure, at a time that at present is impossible to define. In 1911, Lucy Wharton Drexel bought it on behalf of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology from the Roman antique dealer Simonetti, whose office was located on Via Vittoria Colonna in Rome. It was included in the catalogue of the sculptures in the Museum of Philadelphia by Matz – von Duhm 1881, 94 no. 359, and was studied by Cultrera 1911, who focused mainly on its iconographic appearance trying to prove that the association with the lion allowed for a positive identification of the subject with the god Dionysus.

23 Cultrera 1911, fig. 1 shows the sculpture without the head.

Fig. 4 Heracles Philadelphia-Guidonia. Replica from Rome. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology

skin, with the snout and legs sculpted in the front in low relief, while the rear presents a treatment similar to that of a cloth rather than a skin. The body of the lion to the right of the human figure, largely restored, is proportional, presenting a precise indication of muscle and bone structure; the snout, too large compared to the size of the skull, is characterised by a large nose, slightly sunken eyes, open jaws with an unnatural semi-circular profile on the sides, and a short mane with wavy locks in low relief artificially oriented towards the back.

The second sculpture *(fig. 5)*, also from Rome[24], is structurally very similar to the first, though seemingly more ›rigid‹ in the rendering, and differs in its iconographic characterisation. The male figure actually sits on a crouching ram[25] with his right arm resting on the head, which in turn supports the weight of the reclined torso. The animal has its back par-

[24] The first indication of the sculpture can be found in Guattani 1786 which supplied the description of an engraving made by Alessandro Mocchetti dated to June 1786 *(Fig. 7)* and which reported that the work was bought and restored by Vincenzo Pacetti and was later sold to Count Stanislaus Potocki and transferred to the Lancut castle. Mention is made (and a reproduction of the Mocchetti engraving) in Müller – Wieseler 1856, 30 no. 322 and, more recently, in Pietrzykowski 1970, fig. 6. In Arndt et al. 1893–1937, no. 745, the first photograph of the statue was published in which the wings do not appear on the head and there is no caduceus in its right hand present in the engraving.

[25] The animal has a long snout, long horns and fleece shown as locks in relief with a moderately contrasting effect.

Fig. 5 Heracles Philadelphia-Guidonia. *Umbildung* from Rome. Lancut, Collection Museum-Castle

tially covered by a *himation* draped with dense, deep creases that give a marked contrasting effect and that tend to widen in tangential ›circles‹ from the animal's neck. In this case as well, the head of the figure, seemingly pertinent, presents short sculpted hair curls, while the oval of the face is elongated with large eyes, the nose has a square profile, and the mouth is open and fleshy. The legs have musculature that is detailed and consistent in its structure.

The two sculptures are very similar to those represented in two drawings, made respectively by Pierre Jacques *(fig. 6)*, between 1572 and 1577, and Antonio Francesco Gori, prior to 1740. The drawings show a sculpture depicting a male figure sitting on a rock covered by a feline skin with both legs bent; the right foot is placed flat on the ground and the left set behind it with the heel raised. The bust, slightly reclined and turned to the right, is supported by the right arm, the elbow of which rests on a raised part of the ›rock‹ seat. Along the edge runs a vine with two clusters of grapes, one of which is supported by the right hand; the left forearm rests relaxed on the left thigh. The head, whose pertinence to the statue already appeared uncertain to Guido Achille Mansuelli[26], has long hair falling in curls on its shoulders. In front of the rock, there is a large feline that turns its snout towards the grape clusters[27].

The first to correlate these examples and to recognise the existence of a sculptural tradition were Paul Arndt and Georg Lippold who compared the sculpture of Philadelphia, at that time preserved at Collegio Nazzareno in Rome, with the example, already lost, from the Medici collection in Florence and the statue from the Potocki collection stored at Lancut Castle in south-eastern Poland. In this last sculpture they recognised a Roman *Umbildung* on the basis of iconographic comparison between the drawings of the Florentine lost statue and

[26] Mansuelli 1958, 265. It should be noted from the outset that none of the preserved examples show a trace of the locks on the shoulders. Cf. *infra*.

[27] Pierre Jacques' engraving presents some minor inconsistencies with that made by Gori: a single lock on the right shoulder, the right hand placed lower, the panther in profile with its snout raised and the left arm not resting on the leg, but hanging and parallel to it. Despite these differences, explainable simply as artistic license, the identity of the subjects is not believed to be in doubt.

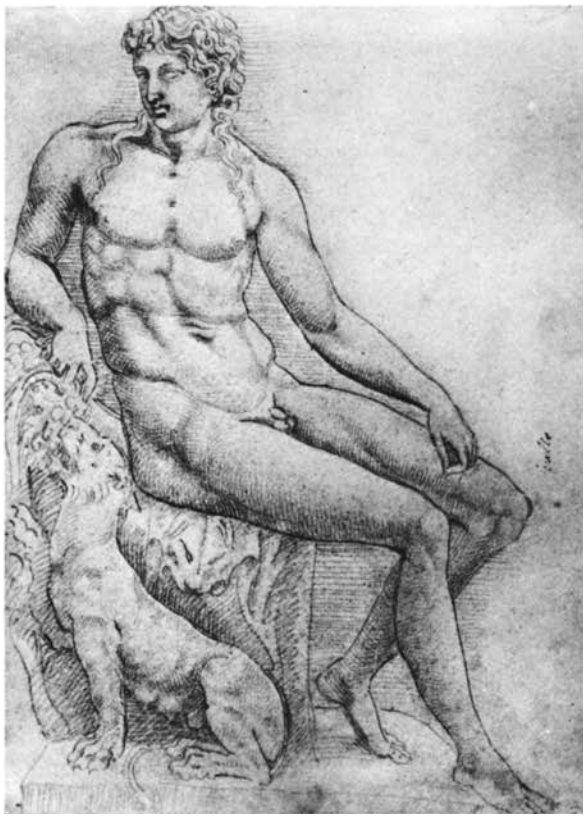

Fig. 6 Drawing of Dionysus' statue in Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi by Pierre Jacques (ca. 1572–1577)

Fig. 7 Drawing by Alessandro Mocchetti (1786)

the one of the Collegio Nazzareno. Meanwhile they dated the archetype, in their opinion depicting Dionysus and inspired by figure D of the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, to the fourth century B.C.

The close comparison between the three sculptures was almost never denied from the beginning of the twentieth century onwards and the identification of the archetype with Dionysus was definitively ›legitimised‹ in 1911 by the publication of the study by Giuseppe Cultrera that, by focusing on the iconographic appearance and recognising the feline skin on which the figure sits as a panther skin[28], tried to show how the association to the lion allowed for a positive identification of the subject with the god of wine and an archetype derived from pictorial models.

The only dissenting opinion was by Michał Pietrzykowski, who in 1970 published a study solely of the statue from the Potocki collection identifying not only the statue but also its archetype with Hermes[29] particularly in light of the presence of the ram and the attributes reproduced on an engraving by Alessandro Mocchetti *(fig. 7)*[30].

A few years later, Paolo Moreno called attention to the absence of other representations of Hermes seated in a similar position, both pictorial and sculptural, prior to the Lysip-

[28] To be noted, however, is that based on the iconography it could also be a lion's skin that, very often, is not sculpted, to be imagined perhaps painted. Cf. Boardman et al. 1988, passim.

[29] Pietrzykowski 1970.

[30] The attributes that appear in the Mocchetti drawing may have been created by the restorer or, more likely, added by the engraver. No wings have been preserved and the photograph of the head published by Mikocki does not appear to show traces of their presence. Given these considerations, the attributes reproduced by Mocchetti will not be taken into account in this investigation. Cf. *supra* n. 20.

Fig. 8 Heracles Philadelphia-Guidonia. Replica from Rome. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini

pian Hermes, whose position is, however, significantly different. He definitively denied the identification proposed by Pietrzykowski for the archetype of Philadelphia type, identifying it, in the wake of Cultrera, as Dionysus. Moreno proposed to recognise in it the *agalma* from the sanctuary of Mount Helicon described by Pausanias[31] and Lucian[32] and attributed to Lysippos by him[33].

The problem of the statues' relationship to figure D on the east pediment of the Parthenon in Athens, already dealt with by Arndt and Lippold, was addressed by Erwin Pochmarski who considered the Philadelphia archetype an original from the middle of the fifth century B.C. representing Dionysus, from which Phidias had taken his inspiration[34], a view that is also shared by Carlo Gasparri[35] and Tomasz Mikocki[36]. This last scholar proposed a new list of copies of the so-called Dionysus Philadelphia which includes a fourth example *(fig. 8)*: a sculpture in white marble found in Rome, part of the Capitoline collections and now on display in the Sala Macchine of Centrale Montemartini[37]. It is a headless seated statue with life-sized dimensions with its bust slightly reclined and decidedly twisting to the right, pelvis in profile and moderately broad shoulders roughly parallel to the ground. The chest, which clearly shows the costal outline, is characterised by the rendering of moderately sculpted musculature, large and not particularly detailed, and a fold above the navel corresponding to the twisting line of the bust. The pelvis is shown in profile just as the legs must have been, of which only the attachment has been preserved. The right buttock is slightly flattened and expanded under the weight of the body; the iliac crest is moderately overhanging. The back of the statue, while not being particularly well-finished, presents the spinal column as a line consistent with the curvature of the *linea alba*. The right arm was

[31] Paus. 9, 30, 1.
[32] Lucianus JTr. 12.
[33] Moreno 1987, 68–72. Cf. Todisco 1993, 251.
[34] Pochmarski 1974, 185.
[35] Gasparri 1986, 438 f.
[36] Mikocki 1992, 208 f.
[37] Rome, the Capitoline Museums, Centrale Montemartini, Sala Macchine II 47 (Inv. 2093). Mustilli 1938, 148 no. 13 pl. 90, 338; Mikocki 1994, 216–221; Bertoletti et al. 1997, 60; Gagliano 2013 a, 120 cat. HR05; Kansteiner 2016, 219.

Fig. 9 Heracles Philadelphia-Guidonia. Fragmentary replica, unknown origin. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

resting on an element, now lost, which served as support for the entire figure, whose position is extremely unbalanced. Based on the attachment of the shoulder, the left arm must have been relaxed, most likely resting on the left thigh. The attachment of the legs allows for the reconstruction of the position of the thighs, which could only have been parallel to the ground. The sculpture briefly described in 1938 by Domenico Mustilli in the catalogue of the Mussolini Museum was considered to be a Roman copy linked with figure D on the east pediment of the Parthenon[38], but it never was the subject of a comprehensive publication[39].

Although it was scarcely considered in the definition of the type due to the absence of an iconographic characterisation, a fifth example *(fig. 9)* should be mentioned. Made of white marble with only part of the bust preserved, it is now stored at the Metropolitan Museum in New York[40]. Its similarity with the Dionysus Philadelphia was already reported by Gisela M. A. Richter in 1930[41]. It is a headless torso, presenting a sharp fracture at the attachment of the neck and a more irregular one at the level of the mid-abdominals, while both arms are broken off above the elbows. The shoulders, moderately broad, display faint indications of the deltoids and clavicles, while the chest, moderately sculpted, is characterised by an inclination inconsistent with the shoulders. The *linea alba* is highly curved to the left and the epigastric arch is rendered in moderate relief. The twisting of the bust is made evident by the angle between the rib cage and the ›waistline‹ to the right, while the left side has a curved line. The back of the statue, although carefully finished – the marble surface looks well-polished –, displays fairly detailed treatment of the musculature and less care than

[38] It is worth mentioning that Mustilli 1938, 148 noted that »of the laying surface, on which lay the lower part of it [the figure], there remains a small fragment next to the right thigh, and because it appears slightly raised, it is likely that it was an animal skin or a cloak«.

[39] The card, which accompanies the current exhibition in the Sala Macchine of the Centrale Montemartini, identifies it as a Greek original from the mid-fifth century B.C., from Athens, reused in a pediment in Rome and thus it is also cited in the recent guide to visiting the collections of the Museum (Bertoletti et al. 1997, 60) which unfortunately does not contain a catalogue.

[40] New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Inv. 19.192.38). Reinach 1924, 344 fig. 4; Richter 1930, 243; Richter 1953, 79 pl. 59a; Richter 1954, 27 no. 32 and fig. 30 d. e; Gagliano 2013a, 119 cat. HR04. Cf. <http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections/130011253?img=0> (17.10.2018) and Lazzarini – Marconi 2014, 117–140.

[41] Richter 1930, 243. Of unknown origin, the torso which displays a clean break from the head, apparently intentional, was bought in 1919 by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, where it is still exhibited.

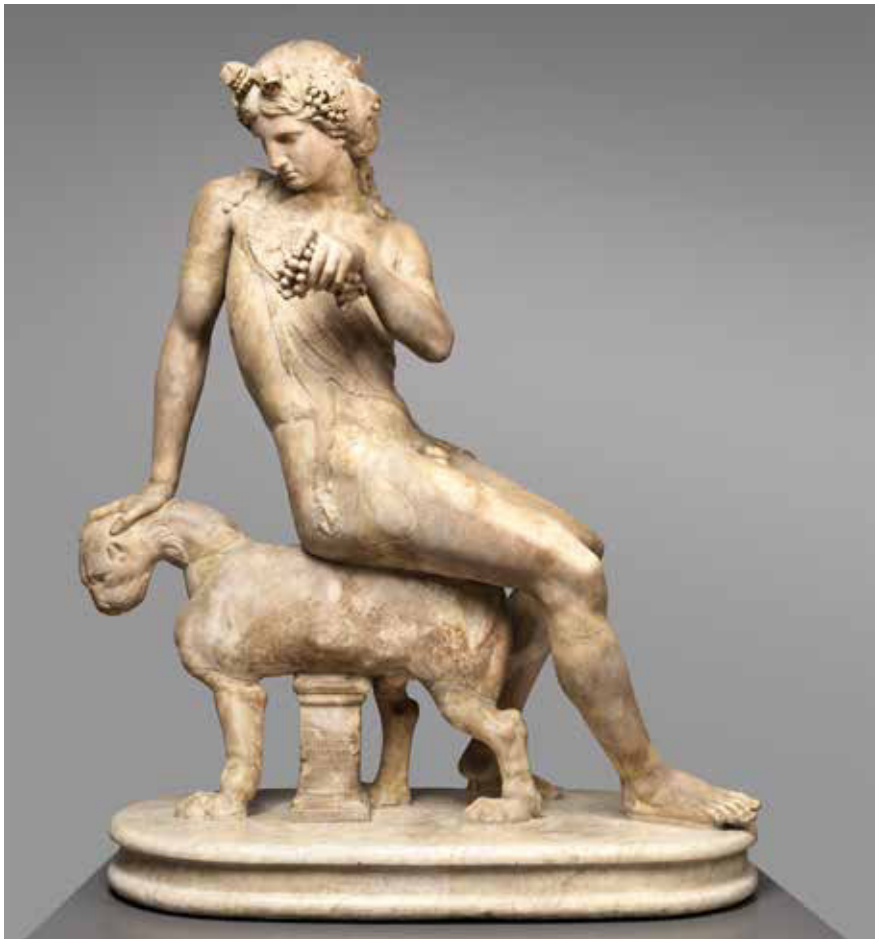

Fig. 10 Heracles Philadelphia-Guidonia. Restored replica, already part of the Giustiniani Collection, from Rome (?). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

the front part in the rendering of anatomical details: the spinal column is in fact rectilinear, inconsistent with the curved tendency of the *linea alba*.

In the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York there is another copy of the same archetype that was recently recognised *(fig. 10)*[42]. The statue, bought in 1903 together with part of the Giustiniani Collection, was probably found in Rome and strongly restored in 1635 by François Duquesney[43]. Today it appears like a Dionysus sitting on a panther which has an altar under its belly, with his right arm outstretched and the hand on the head of the animal which supports the weight of the reclined torso, while his left arm is bent forward and holds a bunch of grapes. The torso wears an animal skin, maybe a *nebris*, the long-haired head is crowned by vine, and the legs are flexed, but the right foot is set forward. Already in 1939 Richter distinguished the repairs from the original parts that are only the torso and the body of the panther. Recent archaeometrical analysis definitively demonstrates which white marble the original statue and the restaurations were made of: Pentelic and Carrara[44]. Only in 2001 Laura Buccino identified the archetype of the preserved original torso in the Dionysus Philadelphia typus. Despite the care in the iconographic characterisation as Dionysus[45], the Giustiniani statue appears ›rigid‹ in the rendering and its quality must have been mediocre[46].

[42] New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (Inv. 03.12.7). Richter 1954, 107, no. 209, pls. 148 a. b; Buccino in Fusconi 2001, 259–264; Abramitis 2005; Raggio 2005; <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/246990> (17.10.2018); Kansteiner 2016, 219 f.

[43] See Raggio 2005.

[44] See Abramitis 2005.

[45] The presence of the *nebris*, above all. Cf. *supra*.

[46] See Buccino in Fusconi 2001, 259–264.

A seventh replica of the so-called Dionysus Philadelphia was found during the excavation of the ›Grandi Terme‹ (›Baths of Trajan‹) in Cyrene, but considered one of the pediment sculpteres of the Temple of Apollo[47]. Enrico Paribeni, who proposed to identify it with Hermes, recognised the archetype of this statue, first published by Ettore Ghislanzoni in 1915. The male figure, only preserved in the torso and the right arm, sits on a rock covered by a *chlamys*, wears a *himation* on the shoulders and leans on a tree, the tree of the Hesperides in Paribeni's opinion. The muscles seem to be treated ›scholastically‹, as is demonstrated by the shape of the right buttock, not modified by the weight of the figure.

In the garden of a private house in Scauri near Minturno another replica of the Philadelphia type is exposed in which only the torso without the shoulders, part of the seat covered by a feline skin and both the thighs are preserved[48]. This statue appears as stylistically different from the others because of the more ›plastic‹ rendering of the muscles that gives to the naked figure a marked chiaroscuro effect.

The last known replica is actually the first recognised by John Thorpe, who suggested to Vincenzo Pacetti the resemblance between it and the statue depicting Hermes that Pacetti was selling: the one today in Lancut Castle[49]. This statue, forgotten for a long time by scholars, has been recently ›rediscovered‹ by Sascha Kansteiner who drew attention to it by writing about the Hermes Potocki. The statue is today exposed in a niche in the garden of the Palazzo Pecci-Blunt in Piazza Aracoeli in Rome, where it was probably transferred from Villa Ludovisi where Pacetti saw it. Stucturally very similar to the other ones, it depicts a beardless, short haired, male figure, interpreted as Dionysus, who wears a feline skin on the shoulders with the paws tied in front of the chest, an attitude normally typical of Heracles, Satyrs and Marsyas. He sits on a rock, leaning on an *oinochoe* held in his right hand, whilst in his left he apparentely holds a bunch of grapes.

These nine examples (eight without the lost florentine statue) and the aforementioned sculpture found in the garden of the *domus Galloniana* recognised by Taglietti as a good quality copy of the Dionysus of Mount Helicon by Lysippos[50] are structurally very similar, and differ in some details of their stylistic rendering. The statue from Philadelphia, the one at Centrale Montemartini, the Giustiniani replica, the one in the Pecci-Blunt villa and, above all, the one in the Lancut Castle are more academic than the others, up to the point of conveying the impression of stiffness. The so-called Hermes that was already part of the Potocki collection, with its excessively elongated proportions and mechanical and analytical reproduction of the anatomical details that are not harmonized with each other, is actually of low quality. Although it was thoroughly restored by Pacetti[51], except in small part these characteristics do not seem to be attributable to sanding. Given the mediocrity of the eponymous statue of the type already highlighted by Cultrera, the high quality of the example found in Guidonia suggests a change of name of the sculptural type from Philadelphia to Philadelphia-Guidonia. Besides, it makes a compelling argument for also giving it a central role in the definition of the archetype, reconstructed as a male seated figure with its pelvis and legs in profile and torso twisted almost frontally and slightly reclined. It was most likely

[47] Cirene, Donario degli Strateghi (Inv. 14.109). Ghislanzoni 1915, 123; Paribeni 1959, 129 no. 364 and pl. 164; Ensoli 2002, 203. 216–220 fig. 40; Kansteiner 2016, 219.

[48] Scauri, private house. Rosi 1989, 107 f. pl. 26, 3; Kansteiner 2016, 220.

[49] Rome, Villa Pucci-Blunt, ›Uccelleria‹. Schreiber 1880, 211 no. 216; Palma in Giuliano 1983, 111 cat. I.4; Kansteiner 2016, 216 fig. 6.

[50] Taglietti in Adembri et al. 2001 who discusses the identification of the archetype of the Philadephia type proposed by Moreno 1987. The association of a sculpture from Guidonia-Montecelio with Heracles Altemps proposed by Moscetti 1999 and revisited in De Angelis d'Ossat 2002, 38 is probably not referred to this statue. Cf. Gagliano 2014, 103 n. 2.

[51] Cf. Mikocki 1992.

characterised by detailed anatomical definition, the result of careful and analytical study of the musculature, typical of the experimentation of the second half of the fifth century B.C. The consistency with the position of the buttocks relaxed and ›flattened‹ by the body weight in the eponymous sculpture and the one recently discovered in *domus Galloniana*, the search for harmony in the rendering of the muscles and the attempt to overcome the frontal representation of the subject allow for the dating of the archetype not before the second half of the fifth century B.C.[52]. The uncertainties that seem to have characterised the connection made between the bust, represented nearly frontally, and the legs in profile, together with the general impression of stiffness that the lower limbs impart, suggests, then, to consider it as an expression of an experimental phase of free-standing sculptural representation of seated twisted figures, thus contemporary or slightly later than the Parthenon pediments, and to date it roughly between 430 and 420 B.C.

The absence of any attribute from the archetype, except for the feline skin on which the figure sits, could justify the traditional identification with Dionysus. However the *argumentum ex absentia* does not seem to be enough. The drawings of the statue lost during the fire at the Uffizi Galleries do not provide a resolution to the problem as they reproduce a sculpture not preserved, which may have had additions and restorations[53], and because the type was used to make *Umbildungen*, as demonstrated also by the example now in Poland. At present the only attribute that can definitely be considered relevant to the archetype is the feline skin on which the figure sits, which could actually make one think of Heracles rather than Dionysus.

Nevertheless, the identification with Dionysus has enjoyed particular success in the history of the studies also based on a comparison with the so-called Dionysus of the Parthenon in Athens. As has been mentioned, Arndt and Lippold were the first to notice the resemblance of the archetype to figure D on the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, while more recently Pochmarsky, and then Gasparri, suggested Phidias was inspired by an Athenian cult statue belonging to the Philadelphia-Guidonia archetype for the decoration of the Parthenon. They drew attention especially to the similarity to figure 25 of the frieze, which would be considered the first iconographic proof of the god beardless[54]. However appealing, the interpretation based on such assumptions causes many concerns. Although it is not possible to deal with the age-old debate on the identification of Dionysus with regard to figure 25 of the frieze and figure D of the eastern pediment here, it can be noted that the opinions, even authoritative, have been and remain conflicting[55].

Therefore, the comparison with the iconography of the Parthenon cannot support the identification of Dionysus in the archetype of the Philadelphia-Guidonia sculptural type.

As has been noted, the objective data derived exclusively from the free-standing sculptural examples does not allow for certainty: it is necessary, therefore, to search for more detailed comparisons of the ›iconographic‹ type in minor art objects or artistic crafts, among which votive reliefs play a role of undeniable importance.

At present the only iconographic comparison related to the identification of the Philadelphia-Guidonia archetype seems to be the aforementioned seated figure on the relief

[52] On the relationship between anatomical research and progress made in the sculptural rendering, cf. Leftwich 1995, 38–51.

[53] The need for caution in the use of drawings and engravings is confirmed by the comparison between the aforementioned drawing by Alexander Mocchetti and the statue reproduced, which is now in Warsaw.

[54] On the eastern frieze of the Parthenon, see most recently Neils 2001; Jenkins 2006; Fehr 2010 and Osada 2016 with previous bibliography.

[55] On the east pediment of the Parthenon, see most recently Williams 2013; on figure D see also Gagliano 2013a, 59–62; Stewart 2016a, 589–595; Gagliano in press a and Gagliano in press b with previous bibliography.

from the Barracco collection, in which the presence of the club allows for the identification as Heracles[56].

It should be noted, however, that the comparison with this figure is not accurate: the position of the right arm in all of the sculptural testimonials differs from that of the relief reproduction of the sculpture. If this detail, on the one hand, could be used to deny the proposed identification, on the other hand, the difficult rendering of perspective in the relief cannot be concealed, and the composition of the scene would justify a few ›adaptations‹. Not only this, but the right arm bent and resting in front of the figure, as in the Philadelphia-Guidonia archetype, would partly have covered the bull. The choice to represent the statue in three-quarters seems to have been made to make perceptible, in a ›synthetic‹ way, the twisting of the body that characterises the free-standing examples. It is also possible that the archetype of the Philadelphia-Guidonia sculptural testimonials was a ›variant‹ of the statue reproduced on the Barracco relief. Otherwise it does not seem unlikely that the sculpture reproduced on the Athenian relief in the second half of the fourth century B.C. and the Philadelphia-Guidonia archetype were at least partially related to each other and that both were characterised by a beardless youthful face, similar to the one shown on the relief[57], and representative of Heracles. It is furthermore interesting that two of the preserved replicas are characterised by attributes that could be considered allusions to Heracles: the feline skin on the shoulders of the Pecci-Blunt statue, very similar to a *leonté*, and the apple tree in the replica found in Cyrene.

THE GOD WHO PUTS A HEADBAND ON

Even if the sculptural model of the figure on the right of the Barracco relief was never the subject of specific interest, there has always been unanimity on its identification with Heracles. Differences of opinion were expressed, however, about the identification of the standing figure, whose proportions are identical to those of Heracles and synthesize visually, as has been stated, the identity of its *status*.

These proportions seem to dismiss the credibility of the proposed identification by Eugenia Tagalidou, who suggested that the standing youth is an offering ephebe, also based on the presence of the bovine that scholars agree refers to the sacrifices to Heracles by the ephebes[58].

Other proposals seem more plausible: in view of the cautious assumption that it is a generic heroic or divine character[59], the proposed identification by Otto Brendel as Theseus has been the most commonly accepted[60]. Such identification would be supported by the presence of the bull, whose head position, facing downwards, has been considered an allusion to its imminent death at the hand of Theseus[61]. The bull referred to would have been the bull

[56] On the absence of objective data that can support the hypothesis of the presence of a beardless Dionysus statue in Athens within the end of the fifth century B.C. see Gagliano in press a.

[57] All the proofs of the Philadelphia-Guidonia ›iconographic type‹, even in vase painting, exhibit a youthful face and short, curly hair, the same that is found in the examples from Philadelphia and Warsaw that, however, can not be considered as settling the issue as one is a restoration and the other has been adapted to the subject of the *Umbildung*, cf. Mikocki 1992, 208 f. and Kansteiner 2016. See Gagliano 2013a, 102–112 and Gagliano in press b.

[58] Tagalidou 1993, 238 f. The representation of the bovine, which does not present the dimensional emphasis typical of representations of animals to be offered, therefore ›made sacred‹, and depicted respecting the principle of hierarchical proportions, does not seem decisive in this sense. Contra Comella 2002, 121.

[59] Comella 2002, 121.

[60] Brendel 1930, 215. The interpretation, already taken up by Fuchs in Helbig 1966, 653, was revived by Federica Smith in the catalogue record of the relief: Borgia et al. 2008, 105 f.

[61] Cf. Brendel 1930, 215; Fuchs in Helbig 1966, 653; Comella 2002, 121.

from Marathon that, after being conquered by Heracles on Crete, had come to Attica where Theseus would have captured it and offered it as a sacrifice[62]. In the absence of inscriptions that offer suggestions for the identification of the character who puts a headband on, prudence is necessary. However, it can be noted from the outset that the bull represented by the stonemason between the two divine figures is far from being submissive and is clearly characterised as charging. This is demonstrated not only by the head position which, with careful observation, seems bent so as to direct the horns forward towards an antagonist, but also that of the legs, with the right one tense, placed on the ground to support the weight of the body and the left bent to take on the imminent attack.

Despite the inverted weighting, the figure closely resembles the Diadumenos of Polykleitos *(fig. 11)*, described by Pliny the Elder as *molliter iuvenis*[63] and prematurely recognised in sculptural tradition which consists of several examples[64], only one of which was preserved intact: a statue found at Delos in 1894 and which is today on display at the National Museum of Athens[65].

The comparison between the various examples has led to a proposal of an archetype whose articulation in space, although still linked to an essentially frontal fruition, is more free than the youthful sculptures of Polykleitos, suggesting an evolution in taste. This is also evident in the hair which shows much more ›movement‹ than in previous creations by the Argive master and seems broadly consistent with the work aimed at overcoming the frontal view, already found in the Philadelphia-Guidonia conception of Heracles, which is contemporary.

In the Diadumenos, a special bond with Attic art has always been recognised, confirmed by the chronological coincidence of the presence of Polykleitos in Athens, usually dated between 440 and 430 B.C.; the subject, according to the communis opinio, has been identified as a victorious athlete. It could be either a divine or semi-divine character[66], which Friedrich Hauser identified as the god Apollo[67]. The hypothesis, immediately opposed firmly by Emanuel Löwy, has enjoyed little success largely due to the absence of further iconographic comparisons that could support it and a similar recovery context to justify it[68]. Not enough emphasis however, seems to have been given to the characterisation of the oldest copy available, that of Delos, with the presence of a single attribute leaning on a tree trunk that, near the right leg of the figure, acts as a support: a quiver[69]. Hardly compatible with the hypothesis that the subject was a victorious athlete, the presence of a quiver, a typical attribute of the god Apollo, seems to support Hauser's hypothesis[70] and confirms the identification of at least the Delian replica. This is the only copy that has survived almost intact[71], and is, at

[62] Cf. *infra*.

[63] Plin. nat. 34, 55. 56. A collection of sources relating to the Diadumenos can be found in S. Kansteiner et al. 2014, nos. 1222–1225.

[64] For the collection of all the examples, a detailed study of *Kopienkritik* and a discussion of the type, see Kriekendom 1990, 109–140.

[65] Athens, National Archaeological Museum (Inv. EAM 1896). Cf. Couve 1895, 484 f.; Marcadé 1969, 288 f.; Kaltsas 2000, 111–113 cat. no. 201 with further bibliography. Regarding the Delian copy, a presumed ›pictorial‹ taste that seems typically late Hellenistic was highlighted; cf. most recently Gobbi in Borgia et al. 2008, 82 with previous bibliography.

[66] Cf. p. 98.

[67] Hauser 1909, 100.

[68] Hauser 1905, 42–51; Löwy 1905, 269–274; Hauser 1906, 279–286; Hauser 1909. Anti 1920, 632–639. See also Hill 1970, 21–24; Settis 1985, 489–497; Settis 1992. Cf. Kansteiner et al. 2014, no. 2, especially p. 469.

[69] Also recently in Kansteiner et al. 2014, 469.

[70] This includes Maviglia 1912, 37–50, who tried to justify the identification with the references in literary sources to the link between Apollo and athletics, and, more recently, Lambrinoudakis et al. 1986, no. 468 and Kansteiner et al. 2014, 468 f.

[71] The copy on display at the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Inv. 25.78.56), apparently intact, is actually the result of a very invasive restoration of a few ancient fragments: some parts of the plinth, the supporting shape of a tree, the lower parts of the legs and arms. Cf. Kriekendom 1990, 188 cat. V.2 with further bibliography.

Fig. 11 Diadumenos of Polykleitos. Replica from Delos.
Athens, National Archaeological Museum

present, the oldest free-standing copy of the original. If the similarity of the sculpture to that reproduced on the Barracco relief and the testimonial of Pausanias which attests to the presence of an Apollo *anadoumenos tainia ten komen* erected in the Agora near a statue of Heracles are added to this, the hypothesis for an identification of the Diadumenos as a divine son of Leto seems less far-fetched.

The figure on the relief, although presenting the same articulation of limbs in space with a marked imbalance of body weight and its arms raised to hold the edges of the ribbon that it is wreathing its head with, is not an exact reproduction of the original by Polykleitos because of its inverted weighting and, consequently, the absence of what seems to be a constant in the known sculptures of Polykleitos: the supporting right leg and the head facing to the side of the supporting leg[72]. The absence of any other iconographic comparisons for the Diadumenos, as well as the attitude of the relief's stonemason in making small changes to the sculptural models, together with the chronological coincidence of the presence of Polykleitos in Athens and the creation of both the Diadumenos and the Philadelphia-Guidonia Heracles, may suggest the identification of the figure in the relief as one of the latest creations from the Argive master of which we have evidence[73]. Its identification as Apollo could also be suggested by the testimony of Pausania, who saw the Apollo *anadoumenos ten komen* in the second century A.D. in the Agora »near the temple of Ares«, close to a statue of Heracles, as in the Barracco relief.

HERACLES, THESEUS, APOLLO AND THE ›MARATHONIAN‹ BULL

Leaving aside the identification of the *agalmata* seen by Pausanias, it may be useful to consider the combination of the three subjects περὶ τὸν ναὸν. As noted, these would be the god who was revered in the Agora as Patroos[74], the hero *ktistes* of the polis and the hero-god protected by Athena. These three ›superhuman‹ entities were united by their connection to the bull of Marathon, whose myth was passed down in the sources in a number of different variations that are worth commenting on. The oldest literary evidence of the spread of the myth of Theseus who captures and kills the bull of Marathon is found in two fragmentary tragedies, both entitled ›Aegeus‹: one by Sophocles[75], the other by Euripides[76]. The episode in the visual arts is much more ancient, although it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to define the exact moment of its introduction: its iconographic references are often confused with the representation, which seemed to be spreading at the same time, of Heracles fighting the Cretan bull[77]. At present, the oldest depiction in which Theseus is certainly recognizable is found on a black-figure amphora, dated to around 530 B.C. [78], while the first conscious parallelism of the two sets of challenges, not without intent for propaganda, can be seen on metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi, constructed, according to the testimony of

[72] Cf. La Rocca 1979, 538.

[73] Anti 1920, 511.

[74] The Apollo Patroos cult seems to be archaeologically attested from the 4th c. B. C. See De Schutter 1987; Hedrick 1988; Lawall 2009, 387–403; Dubbini 2014; Stewart 2017, 273–323.

[75] In Sophocles, Aegeus fr. 25 (TrGF = Radt 1999, 216 F. 25) reference is made to the cords used by Theseus to capture the bull.

[76] Represented around 450 B.C., it seems to be mainly focused on the threats against Theseus outlined by Medea: convincing Aegeus to send him to capture the bull of Marathon and the attempted poisoning.

[77] On the relationship between the two sets of challenges, cf. *infra.* On the commonality of iconographic schemes in the last quarter of the sixth century B.C., cf. Servadei 2005, 208.

[78] Beazley 1963, 172 n°4; Burn – Glynn 1982, 184; Servadei 2005, 72. 81 cat. 04.00004.

Pausanias, with the spoils from the battle of Marathon[79]. The metopes of the small building represent the labours of the two heroes[80]. The east ones show those of Heracles and the west ones those of Theseus, establishing a kind of ideological continuity between the figure of Heracles during his ›deadly life‹ and that of Theseus, in context, at the sanctuary of Apollo, which guaranteed the highest visibility and left no doubt about the intention to characterise the two heroes as the ›hypostasis‹ of Athenian citizenship[81].

The iconographic connection between Theseus and Heracles is reflected much later at a mythographical level in the version of the myth told by Diodorus Siculus, the source of which is unknown. This tradition identifies the bull from Marathon with the Cretan one, father of the Minotaur, captured and led by Heracles into the Peloponnese, then conquered by Theseus on the Attic plain and brought to Athens, where it would be sacrificed to Apollo by King Aegeus[82]. Other authors were also aware of this myth, including Strabo, who gave vague mention of it in the ninth book of his Geography[83], Ovid, who alluded to it in the seventh book of the Metamorphosis[84] and, above all, Plutarch. In the Life of Theseus he recounted a version essentially similar to that of Diodorus Siculus, being different only in relation to the sacrifice, which would not be offered by Aegeus to a generic Apollo, but directly by Theseus to Apollo Delphinius[85].

The second century A.D. seems to have brought about other versions that are partially discordant with the previous ones. The first is the detailed testimony of Pseudo-Apollodorus' account of the bull, captured in Crete by Heracles, and then led to Argus in the presence of Eurystheus who would then free it. The animal, after wandering around the Peloponnese, crossed the Isthmus and settled in Marathon where it would kill, among others, Androgeus, son of Minos who had been pushed by Aegeus into the contest[86]. The final part of the myth reaches us only in the Epitome of the work by Pseudo-Apollodorus that tells of a different fate of Theseus who, also having been sent to fight the bull by Aegeus, on the advice of Medea, was able to capture and to kill it[87]. During the same years, Pausanias reported a slightly different version of the myth that adds details to Pseudo-Apollodorus' account of the expedition of Minos against Attica after the death of Androgeus, that was the *aition* of the annual tribute of seven boys and seven girls at Knossos as the fee to the Minotaur. It also replaces the epilogue with a completely different version in which the bull is led by Theseus onto the acropolis and sacrificed there to Athena[88].

The most significant difference between Pausanias' version and the older one is in which god the sacrifice of the bull of Marathon is addressed to, while nevertheless Apollo seems the more likely identification. In fact, the oldest sources available agree on the identification of the Theseus' ›protector‹ god as the beneficiary of the sacrifice and the version reported by Pausanias seems as if it could be explained by the hypothesis that it is a rationalising interpretation for the presence of the sculptural group of Theseus and the Marathonian bull

[79] Paus. 10, 11, 5. The history of the building, despite the literary evidence, is at the center of a long debate. On the metopes cf. most recently von den Hoff 2009, 96–104; Gensheimer 2017 with previous bibliography. See also von den Hoff 2010.

[80] On the definition of ›hero‹ in relation to Heracles, cf. *infra*.

[81] On the subject, cf. *infra*. According to a recent hypothesis by Coarelli 2017, 111–117, during the same years, the association of Heracles and Theseus in a culturally and politically relevant context would also be revived by Cimon on the pediment of the ›Large Temple‹ of the *hieron* of Apollo at Delos.

[82] D.S. 4, 59, 6.

[83] Strab. 9, 1, 22.

[84] Ov. met. 7, 433. 434. In comments on the text, Kenney – Chiarini 2011, 270 note that although it is actually Ovid that introduces the canonical list of ›monsters‹ faced by Theseus on the journey between Troezen and Athens, the episode of the bull, set in Attica, seems to be an addition to a different narrative core. Not surprisingly, perhaps, are the authors that allude to the fact that there is no consensus on the relative chronology of the episode.

[85] Cf. Plut. Thes. 14, 1.

[86] Apollod. 2, 95; 3, 15, 7.

[87] Apollod. Epit. 1, 5.

[88] Paus. 1, 27, 9–10.

on the Acropolis inside the sanctuary of Athena Polias[89]. It must, however, be noted that the existence of some representations on Attic pottery of the capture of the bull in the presence of Athena could propose the simultaneous circulation of two alternative versions of the myth as early as the fifth century B.C.[90]

The mythical story of the Cretan bull, confronted, captured and taken to the Argolid by Heracles during one of his labours, arriving in Marathon and there being slain by Theseus and sacrificed to Apollo, is the connection between the subjects of the three simulacra seen by Pausanias near the temple of Ares.

Even if the event itself is well known, it takes on a different significance when compared with the fragmented relief from the Barracco Museum that, as we have seen, represents Heracles, a young god *anadoumenos ten komen* with a bull in the attacking position. From an iconographic point of view, nothing seems to preclude the identification of the god Apollo mentioned by Pausanias in the young man that puts a headband on, nor can it be considered unlikely that the charging bull between Apollo and Hercules can be interpreted as an allusion to the aggressive bull from Marathon.

The missing figure, imagined to have been represented in the lost half of the relief, would therefore be that of Theseus, which it is easy to assume was in ›heroic nudity‹ as the two that are preserved, and was perhaps characterised by the presence of the *xyphos*, the weapon that is often found along with him in representations of the capture of the bull.

It is worth noting that Pausanias does not mention the bull: we must infer that there was no statue of the Marathonian bull associated with Heracles, Theseus and Apollo. But is it true? It is possible that the sculptor who made the relief added the bull simply because of its close relationship with the trio and the context of dedicated statues. There is, however, another possible explanation. The complex architectural history of the north-central area of the Agora allows for the strong possibility that the Ares temple was transferred there in Augustan age from another location[91]. If this is true, we must assume that the entire area was cleared and remodelled to accommodate the temple, and, as a consequence, that all the sculptures mentioned by Pausanias were relocated there on this occasion; Heracles, Theseus and Apollo *anadoumenos ten komen* included. In this case, it is not impossible that the bull, originally exhibitied with the three ›superhuman‹ figures and reproduced by the sculptor on the Barracco relief, was not transferred to the agora and, of course, not seen by Pausanias.

HONOURS FOR HERACLES, THESEUS AND APOLLO ?

It is difficult to determine if the three statues were the object of worship and if so, when. It is worth noting that the Heracles on the Barracco relief sits on a support which, as already argued, seems to be an altar and that behind Heracles and Apollo, a Doric colonnade is depicted that could be considered the representation of a temple. Nevertheless, even if the ›group‹ was the object of worship, we cannot be sure about the location of the temple and the altar sculpted on the relief. It is not implausible, in fact, that the entire group was transferred to the Agora during the Roman era, but there are no elements to hint at its original location. It can, however, be underlined that the Agora itself presents several pieces of evidence related to the presence of all the three and, consequently, that the statues may already have

[89] Compared to the more widely attested version, Paus. 1, 27, 10 modifies even the relative chronology of the episode, after contextualising the return of Theseus from Crete, in the face of the almost unanimous version that would have the killing of the ›bull of Marathon‹ before that of Minotaur. For a reconstructive proposal of the group, cf. Hafner 1961, 148–154.

[90] Neils 1995, 937 no. 187 (ca. 490 B.C.); 190 (ca. 470 B.C.); 193 (4th c. B.C.).

[91] Korres 1992–1998, 83–104; Korres 2001, 21 f.

been in the Agora in the fifth century, even if not in the same place where Pausanias saw them.

The three *agalmata* mentioned by Pausanias near the temple of Ares may therefore not be independent of one another, as has been suggested[92], but rather part of a coherent set of statues recalling two of the main religious cults of the democratic polis, that of the hero of synechism, Theseus, and that of the god of the Apotheosis, Heracles, placing them together and reconnecting them with Apollo.

On the eastern slopes of the Kolonos Agoraios, different manifestations of the god were actually juxtaposed[93]: Pausanias recounts this, and cites that, not far from Apollo *anadoumenos ten komen*[94], the temple and the simulacrum made by Euphranor of Apollo Patroos[95], there was a statue of Apollo of Leochares, one of Apollo Alexikakos of Calamis[96] and another simulacrum of the god inside the Metroon[97]. This is confirmed by various archaeological finds[98].

About Heracles: in 1933, the fragments of an altar base with a dedication to him by a certain Timotheos[99] were recovered, reused in a wall of a Byzantine house south of the Altar of the Twelve Gods. They are dated, based on palaeographic evidence, in the fourth century B.C.[100] It is not unlikely that the fragments were reused not far from their original location. The importance of Heracles in the area can also be found in his multiple presence. Aside from his appearance in the painting of the Marathonomachoi exhibited in the Stoa Poikile[101], he is represented bearded[102] on the metopes on the eastern side of the Hephaisteion on the Kolonos Agoraios. And perhaps the discovery of a white marble relief from the late sixth century B.C. representing Heracles, also bearded, that carries the Erymanthian boar on his shoulders[103] underlines the link to this zone as well. As previously mentioned, Theseus' challenges were associated for the first time with those of Heracles on the metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi where, as on the Kolonos Agoraios, the iconography chosen for the representation of the heroic son of Alcmene shows him bearded, still canonical between

92 Cf. Leone 2014, 1006–1010.

93 Though it is difficult or perhaps impossible to better define its character, the presence of a temenos and a hieron of Apollo in this area seems to be attested epigraphically from before 434 B.C. (IG I³ 138). This inscription, however, was found near the Lykeum and it is also possible that it is linked to it. The statue of Calamis, if it was not moved here from another location, maybe traces the presence of Apollo to the mid-fifth century B. C. Then, Agora 19, L4a (363/362 B.C.) could provide evidence for sacrifices to Apollo Patroos in the Agora from just before the mid-fourth century B.C., even though the god does not seem to have had a dedicated specific day in the Athenian festive calendar, nor a procession. See Saporiti 2014, 1004 f. The proposal to ascribe festivals dedicated to Apollo Pythios and the sacrifice to Apollo Patroos to the Pyanopsia remain conjecture that seems to have been offered by the prytany of the phyle Antiochis in 140/139 B.C. On the Pyanopsia see Parker 2005, 204–206. 480.).

94 Paus. 1, 8, 4.

95 The first epigraphic attestation seems to be, at present, the incomplete votive inscription IG II² 4557 from the first half of the 4th c. B.C., while there is still great uncertainty about the identification of the temple in different chronological phases. A reasonable summary done recently with previous bibliography can be found by Longo 2014, 1001–1003.

96 Paus. 1, 3, 4.

97 Paus. 1, 4, 1–6.

98 For recent studies on the sculptural findings of the Agora, see Stewart 2012; Stewart 2016a; Lawton 2017, 30–34; Stewart 2017a; Stewart 2017b with previous bibliography.

99 For Jameson 2000, 224, he must be considered a member of the *genos* of the Praxiergidai.

100 Inv. Agora 1, 1052. Cf. Lambert 1999, 124; Jameson 2000, 217–227; Gorrini 2015, 188.

101 Paus. 1, 15, 2–4. The *graphe* is also cited by Plin. nat. 35, 57; Ail. nat. 7, 38; Arr. an. 7, 13, 5.

102 On the subject, see most recently Barringer 2009, 105–120; Shear 2016, 137–160 with previous bibliography.

103 Inv. NM 43. Pyttakis 1835, no. 294 and Svoronos 1908–1937, 89 report its discovery in 1839 »near the Theseion«, therefore on the Kolonos Agoraios near the Hephaisteion, that in the 19th c. was considered to be the temple of Theseus. Recently Beschi 1988, 143–149 identified a drawing pre-dating 1839 that seems to represent the relief and indicate the ›Gymnasium‹ as its place of discovery, alias the Stoa of Attalos, which in the first half of the 19th c. was considered part of the ›Gymnasium of Ptolemy‹. Cf. among the latest Tagalidou 1993, 238 no. 38; fig. 13 and Comella 2002, 21 cat. Atene 72. If Beschi's hypothesis is confirmed, the relief may be attributable to the same sacred area that other materials found in the east area of the Agora are attributed to. Cf. *infra*.

the late sixth and early fifth century B.C., at least in sacred contexts[104]. The beardless Heracles appears beginning in about the mid-fifth century B. C. Currently the oldest sculptural example of this new iconography actually comes from the Agora: it is an unfinished statuette of Pentelic marble *(fig. 12)* found on May 26, 1937 inside a well on the south slopes of the Kolonos Agoraios, together with ceramic material dating from the late fifth century B.C.[105] The statuette immediately drew attention, not so much for its iconography, but because although almost finished on its front side it is still very rough on the back. Its presence was considered further evidence of stonecutters' work near the Agora[106], and therefore the statuette was investigated mainly from the technical point of view. It was exactly this workmanship that led Homer A. Thompson to hypothesize that the statue had been conceived as a figure intended to be used in a multi-material relief: a frieze, similar to that of the Erechtheion, or a base of a statue. The reduced dimensions, however, were considered by Peter E. Corbett to be sufficient for scepticism[107]. The statuette, found in an area not far from the so-called Street of the Marble Workers[108], which owes its name to its high concentration of sculptural workshops, identified by the scraps from their work, cannot be related with certainty to a context near the area of discovery, nor with that of production[109]. Its presence not only proves that a beardless iconography of Heracles was established by the second half of the fifth century B.C. also in sacred contexts, which the figure must have been bound for, it also coincides with the iconography of Heracles on the Barracco relief and, consequently, with the Philadelphia-Guidonia archetype. This does not confirm nor contradict the hypothesis that one of these representations could have found its place in the Agora as early as circa 430 B.C. and may have been a source of inspiration for the anonymous stonemason who carried out the statuette that was left unfinished.

Fig. 12 Unfinished Heracles statue found in the Athenian Agora

Significant items attributed to Heracles around the Agora[110], albeit apparently not relevant to the specific context, are the two *horoi* from a *hieron* of Heracles. One of them, dated on the basis of palaeographic evidence to the mid-fifth century B.C., was found in 1932 be-

104 On the subject, see Gagliano 2013a, 30–48; Gagliano 2013b, 29–31; Gagliano 2016, 485 f. and Gagliano in press b.

105 Inv. Agora S 948. Corbett 1949, 305 f. 341 no. C 136 and pls. 102. 103.

106 On the presence of stonemasons' workshops along the ›Street of the Marble Workers‹, between the northwestern slopes of the Areopagus and those of the northeastern Pnyx, see most recently Longo – Tofi 2010, 214–216 and related tables; Stewart 2016b, 605–650.

107 Corbett 1949, 305 f. 341.

108 On this area vd. Stewart 2016 b. Cf. Greco 2010, 237–248.

109 The ›Street of the Marble Workers‹ is next to the hypothetical exhibition location of the three sculptures mentioned by Pausanias, cf. *infra et supra* and n. 64.

110 For a recent report about the presence of Heracles within the Agora see Lawton 2017, 81–84.

ing reused in a house near the Middle Stoa[111] and the other was actually a reused marble tile with an inscription dating from the late fifth and early fourth century B.C., found in 1964 in the current Plaka quarter, at Odos Philippou 5[112]. These *horoi* sometimes have been considered pertinent to a sanctuary that would have been located in the north-east of the Agora, an area which also included other material related to hero-god worship: a *pinax* votive[113] and a sculpture[114].

About Theseus: despite the fact that there do not appear to be any direct testimonials to his cult in the area, the importance given in the Agora area to the hero *ktistes* starting from at least the mid-fifth century B.C. is demonstrated by his presence, along with that of Heracles, in the painting of the *Marathonomachoi* and on the metopes of the Hephaisteion[115]. Even if these occurrences do not seem to be sufficient to hypothesize what ›role‹ Theseus can be given in this area, nor what significance was attributed to the implicit connection established with Heracles, they still bear witness to his importance.

In conclusion, even if the area where Pausanias saw the three ›forgotten‹ statues can not be considered the same where they were exposed in the fifth century B.C., we can not exclude that the ›group‹ was in another area in the Agora or nearby. Of course we cannot have any certainty, but the aforementioned testimonies to the importance of the three figures in the area seems to be coherent with the proposal. Although the cults of Apollo and Theseus were both present even earlier in Athens, in the beginning of the fifth century B.C. both saw a decisive ›renovation‹. This required, first and foremost, a kind of legitimation from Athena, the patron goddess from which the city took its name. Heracles was the hero she protected in the myth, who became a god and, as such, was revered at Marathon, where Theseus recaptured the bull previously caught by Heracles himself with the help of Athena, to consecrate it to Apollo. Although, as far as we know, the animal appears not to have had a simulacrum in the Agora when Pausanias passed across it, it seems more than likely that its presence was evoked by the association of the three *agalmata* mentioned by Pausanias and reproduced in the second half of the fourth century B.C. on the aforementioned anonymous relief in association with at least two of the three ›forgotten‹ statues from the Agora. In this context, even the choice of the iconography of Heracles, at present the oldest evidence of a free-standing sculpture of the beardless god from Athens, does not seem accidental. This iconography represents Heracles after his ἀποθέωσις, who was first worshipped as god in the sanctuary of Marathon[116], a place linked to the *post mortem* rejuvenation of Heracles and his marriage to Hebe[117]. It therefore does not seem far-fetched to assume that the icono-

111 IG I³ 1058. Meritt 1934, 64 f. and Wycherley 1959, 68.

112 Καλλιπολίτης 1965, 52–55; SEG 24.208 = IG I³ 1059. Most recently Jameson 2000, 224. The *horos*, connected by Travlos 1971, 274–277 to the one found near the Middle Stoa in 1932, was found in a context of remains of foundations of a wall dated to the 5th c. B.C. Cf. most recently Gorrini 2015, 188 and especially Benardini – Longo 2014, 812 f., who support the opinion of Ritchie 1990 according to whom the sanctuary that the two *horoi* come from would not be in the Agora, but would correspond to the findspot of the second *horos*, in the modern Plaka district and could be identified with the same structure that it was found in during the 1964 excavation.

113 The *pinax* – Inv. Agora T 2466 – in terracotta bears the representation in relief of Hercules riding a mule and was discovered in 1947 north-east of the hill of the Nymphs. Cf. Thompson 1948, 180 f. and pl. 60, 2; Palagia in Boardman et al. 1988, no. 1585.

114 The fragmentary sculpture from the 2nd c. B.C. – Inv. Agora S 1318 – in white marble, with less than real-sized proportions was found in 1948 north-east of the hill of the Nymphs and appears to represent Heracles recumbent. Cf. Thompson 1949, 221 and pl. 44, 1.

115 Cf. Di Cesare 2015, 77 f. who suggests that the legend of the epiphany for both of them during the battle of Marathon is not an invention of the Cimonian family (pace McCauley 1999, 91), but is earlier.

116 Isokr. or. 5, 33; Diod. 4, 38; Paus. 1, 15, 3. Pausanias, perhaps not coincidentally, refers to the prevalence of the Marathonians in the divine worship of Heracles during the description of the *graphe* of *Marathonomachoi* exhibited in the Stoa Poikile.

117 Cf. Gagliano 2013b, 47–50 and Gagliano in press b.

graphy of the divine Heracles, in its beardless form or, as Hesiod wrote, »ἀπήμαντος καὶ ἀγήρως«[118], came from Marathon.

The association to the deified beardless Heracles of Marathon would have had, therefore, an ennobling function for Theseus, the only one after Heracles that was able to defeat the bull, and would also have been an allusion to the cult of the respective ›tutelary‹ gods. For Heracles it was Athena, the goddess protectress of the polis, for Theseus Apollo, the god of Delphi, worshipped as Patroos in the Agora area where Pausanias saw them and to whom the bull of Marathon was sacrificed.

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[118] Hes. theog. 955: »devoid of hard work and old age«.

Sources of illustrations: *fig. 1:* after E. Greco, Topografia di Atene. Sviluppo urbano e monumenti dall'origine al III secolo d.C. 5, 2, Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Athenarum ad ἄστυ pertinens adiecto indice tomorum I–IV, Athens 2015, pl. I5. Courtesy of Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene. – *fig. 2. 8:* photograph: E. Gagliano; © Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali. – *fig. 3:* adapted by author from Adembri et al. 2001, 155 fig. 29. – *fig. 4:* courtesy of Penn Museum. – *fig. 5:* photograph: M. Szewczuk; courtesy of Museum-Castle of Lancut. – *fig. 6:* adapted by author from Moreno 1984, fig. 1. – *fig. 7:* adapted by author from Micocki 1992. – *fig. 9:* New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, after https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/250770 (10.10.2018). – *fig. 10:* New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, after https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/246990 (10.10.2018). – *fig. 11:* © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports / Archaeological Receipts Fund. – *fig. 12:* courtesy of American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations; after http://agora.ascsa.net/id/agora/object/s%20948?q=s%20948&t=&v=list&sort=&s=1 (10.10.2018).

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