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Πήλινα γλυπτά και κεραμώσεις: **Terracotta Sculpture and Roofs:**
Νέα ευρήματα & νέες προοπτικές **New Discoveries & New Perspectives**

Πρακτικά **Proceedings**

ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΛΗΤΙΣΜΟΥ
Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων

MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS
Archaeological Receipts Fund

Αθήνα 2018 **Athens 2018**

Γενική επιμέλεια
ΕΛΕΝΗ ΚΩΤΣΟΥ

Υπεύθυνη έκδοσης
ΜΑΡΙΑ ΚΑΖΑΚΟΥ

Καλλιτεχνική επιμέλεια
ΣΤΕΛΙΟΣ ΣΚΟΥΡΛΗΣ
Σχεδιασμός εξωφύλλου βάση της αφίσας της Erin McGowan

Εκτύπωση
ΦΩΤΟΛΙΟ Α.Ε.

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Παρασκευή 15 Μαΐου 2015, Friday 15th May 2015,
Upper House, Upper House,
Βρετανική Σχολή Αθηνών British School at Athens

Επιστημονική επιμέλεια Editor
Αλίκη Μουστάκα Alikì Moustaka

Πρακτικά Proceedings

ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΘΛΗΤΙΣΜΟΥ MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS
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It was with great pleasure and enthusiasm that the British School at Athens accepted Alikí Moustaká's proposal to host the workshop from which this book derives. The idea was timely: the quantity and diversity of new finds, and a trend towards the reappraisal of important older discoveries, offered the prospect of a genuinely new understanding of the role and development of terracotta sculpture in Archaic and Classical Greece. From the outset, our aim was not only to invite presentation and discussion of material from as many parts of Greece as possible, but also to consider connections and relationships, and as a result to make a new assessment of the medium, accessible to students and established scholars alike.

At every step, the vast expertise and energy of Alikí Moustaká has proved key to the success of this enterprise. She assembled an outstanding team of contributors, and together with a long-established group of expert friends and collaborators – Nancy Bookidis, Nancy Winter, Patricia Lulof, and Marie-Françoise Billot – fostered discussion that was as rich as it was convivial. Sincere thanks are due to her for her part in a memorable meeting in the hospitable and intimate setting of the Saloni of the School's Upper House, and for editing these proceedings. The result will, we trust, mark a turning point in our appreciation of this long underrated medium.

Catherine Morgan
Former Director of the British School at Athens
Senior Research Fellow, All Souls College
Professor of Classical Archaeology, Oxford University

Με μεγάλη ευχαρίστηση και ενθουσιασμό η Βρετανική Σχολή δέχθηκε την πρόταση της Αλίκης Μουστάκα να φιλοξενήσει την ημερίδα, η οποία οδήγησε στο παρόν βιβλίο. Η ιδέα ήρθε την κατάλληλη στιγμή: το πλήθος και η ποικιλία νέων ευρημάτων, καθώς και η τάση προς την κατεύθυνση της επανεξέτασης σημαντικών παλαιότερων ανακαλύψεων, προσέφεραν την προοπτική μιας νέας κατανόησης ως προς το ρόλο και την εξέλιξη της πηλοπλαστικής της αρχαϊκής και κλασικής Ελλάδας. Ήδη από την αρχή σκοπός μας ήταν όχι μόνο να εντάξουμε στις παρουσιάσεις υλικό από, όσο το δυνατόν, περισσότερες περιοχές της Ελλάδας, αλλά και να λάβουμε υπόψη μας σχέσεις και συγγένειες που θα οδηγούσαν σε μια επανεκτίμηση αυτής της ιδιαίτερης κατηγορίας, με σκοπό να γίνει προσβάσιμη τόσο σε φοιτητές όσο και σε ερευνητές του χώρου.

Σε κάθε βήμα η ευρεία εξειδίκευση και ενεργητικότητα της Αλίκης Μουστάκα αποδείχθηκε σημαντική για την επιτυχία του εγχειρήματος. Συγκέντρωσε έναν αριθμό από εξέχοντες συναδέλφους και μαζί με μια ομάδα ειδικών, φίλων και συνεργατών, τους οποίους συνδέει η μακρόχρονη ενασχόληση με το αντικείμενο, όπως η Nancy Bookidis, η Nancy Winter, η Patricia Lulof και η Marie-Françoise Billot, πλαισίωσαν την ουσιαστική και ζωντανή αυτή ανταλλαγή απόψεων. Της εκφράζονται ειλικρινείς ευχαριστίες για αυτή την αξέχαστη συνάντηση στο φιλόξενο και οικείο Σαλόνι του Upper House της Βρετανικής Σχολής και για τη φροντίδα της δημοσίευσης των Πρακτικών. Το αποτέλεσμα θα σηματοδοτήσει, πιστεύω, μια στροφή στην εκτίμηση αυτού του, για μεγάλο χρονικό διάστημα, υποτιμημένου αντικειμένου της πλαστικής.

Catherine Morgan
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ΠΡΟΛΟΓΟΣ

*«Το γλυπτό γεννιέται στον πηλό,
πεθαίνει στον γύψο και ανασταίνεται στο μάρμαρο»
(Γ. Χαλεπάς)*

Πλάι στα μεγάλα έργα της πλαστικής, τα κατασκευασμένα από λαμπρό μάρμαρο, που αναμφίβολα αποτελούν την ύψιστη έκφραση δημιουργίας στο χώρο των πλαστικών τεχνών, τα πήλινα γλυπτά, ακριβώς λόγω του ευτελούς υλικού τους, εμφανίζονται συνήθως ως έργα δευτερεύουσας ή και αμφίβολης καλλιτεχνικής αξίας. Και όμως η άποψη αυτή δεν μπορεί να είναι αποδεκτή εφόσον ο πηλός ως αρχέγονη ύλη, όπως είπε και ο Χαλεπάς, αποτελεί την αφετηρία για τη δημιουργία που σχετίζεται με την απόδοση κυρίως της ανθρώπινης μορφής σε άλλο υλικό, είτε είναι αυτό μάρμαρο είτε χαλκός κ.ά. Είναι, άλλωστε, απορίας άξιο ότι, σε μεμονωμένες περιπτώσεις καλά διατηρημένων πήλινων έργων, όπως στο περίφημο σύμπλεγμα Δία και Γανυμήδη από την Ολυμπία, η καλλιτεχνική του αξία, πλάι και στη σημασία του για την εικονογραφία του συγκεκριμένου μύθου, δεν έχουν ποτέ αμφισβητηθεί. Αντίθετα, ως εξαίρετο δημιούργημα του αυστηρού ρυθμού, προβάλλεται και συγκρίνεται συχνά με σύγχρονα χάλκινα, κυρίως, έργα.

Πάντως, χάρη κυρίως σε διάφορες δημοσιεύσεις ευρημάτων που προέρχονταν αρχικά από τα μεγάλα πανελλήνια ιερά, η γενικευμένη αυτή αντίληψη τείνει σταδιακά, τουλάχιστον τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες, να υποχωρήσει. Σε αντίθεση με τη γειτονική Ιταλία, όπου η πληθώρα του υλικού, τόσο στη Μεγάλη Ελλάδα όσο και στην Ετρουρία, είναι αναντίστοιχα πιο εντυπωσιακή, στον τόπο μας μετά τη συνολική δημοσίευση των ευρημάτων του είδους αυτού που είχαν βρεθεί στα μεγάλα ιερά, τους Δελφούς, την Ολυμπία και βεβαίως πάνω από όλα, το μεγάλο κέντρο παραγωγής, την Κόρινθο, καθώς και λίγους ακόμα χώρους, κυρίως της νότιας Ελλάδας, το ερευνητικό αυτό πεδίο έμοιαζε να είναι ήδη κορεσμένο. Όμως μια σειρά από μεμονωμένα ευρήματα πήλινων γλυπτών, σε διάφορα σημεία του ελληνικού χώρου, έδωσαν τα τελευταία 25 χρόνια πάλι σιγά-σιγά την αφορμή, να ξαναδεί κανείς αυτή την κατηγορία της γλυπτικής που είναι πλασμένη από το τόσο ζωντανό υλικό του πηλού διατηρώντας συχνά και τα χρώματα στην επιφάνειά του, και συγχρόνως να ξανακοιτάξει μαζί με τα καινούρια και κάποια από τα παλαιότερα ευρήματα θέτοντας ερωτήματα, όπως εκείνα που αφορούν τη δραστηριότητα των ντόπιων εργαστηρίων και τη σχέση τους με εκείνο της Κορίνθου, που θεωρείτο πάντοτε το κυρίαρχο.

Τα πήλινα έργα μεγάλου μεγέθους αποτελούσαν κυρίως ελεύθερα γλυπτά, σε πολλές περιπτώσεις όμως λειτουργούσαν και ως αρχιτεκτονικά. Έτσι, λοιπόν, στην περίπτωση που πλαστικός διάκοσμος και κεραμώσεις έχουν βρεθεί μαζί και δεν υπάρχει αμφιβολία ότι συνανήκουν, επιβάλλεται κάποιες από τις κεραμώσεις να μελετηθούν συγχρόνως με τον πλαστικό τους διάκοσμο. Σημαντικό σημείο αναφοράς για την έρευνα που αφορά στον ελληνικό χώρο αποτελούν τα «ιστορικά» πλέον συνέδρια «First International Conference on Archaic Greek Architectural Terracottas» και «Greek Architectural Terracottas of the Classical and Hellenistic Periods» που πραγματοποιήθηκαν με πρωτοβουλία της Ν. Winter το 1988 και το 1991, αντίστοιχα και δημοσιεύθηκαν υποδειγματικά σε πολύ σύντομο χρονικό διάστημα. Μια νέα πρωτοβουλία που αφορά τον, ιταλικό κυρίως, χώρο μας δίνει η σειρά των *Deliciae Fictiles* που ξεκίνησε το 1993 και συνεχίζει δυναμικά την πορεία της μέχρι σήμερα που βρίσκεται πλέον στην 5η συνάντηση. Σε αυτά τα συνέδρια προτεραιότητα δόθηκε βέβαια στις ποικίλες κεραμώσεις, χωρίς να λείπει όμως και αναφορά στον ενδεχόμενο πλαστικό τους διάκοσμο.

Η ιδέα μιας συνάντησης με θέμα ακριβώς νέα ευρήματα και νέες έρευνες στο χώρο των πήλινων γλυπτών, πήλινων αναγλύφων και ενδεχόμενων συνανηκόντων κεραμώσεων που, παρακο-

λουθώντας τις εξελίξεις, άρχισε να με απασχολεί όλο και περισσότερο τα τελευταία χρόνια, συνάντησε ευήκοα ώτα σε διάφορους φίλους και συναδέλφους, στους οποίους και άρχισα να αναφέρω τις σκέψεις μου. Καταρχάς στις δύο Nancy, τη Nancy Bookidis και τη Nancy Winter, με τις οποίες η τύχη θέλησε να ασχολούμαστε συγχρόνως την ίδια αξέχαστη περίοδο, κάποιες δεκαετίες πριν, με αυτά τα γήινα πήλινα έργα. Όταν η ιδέα άρχισε να παίρνει σταδιακά σάρκα και οστά, η πρώτη δέχθηκε, παρά το γεγονός ότι είχε περάσει στο μεταξύ και σε άλλες θεματικές ενότητες, να παρουσιάσει, με τη μεγάλη πείρα και γνώση που διαθέτει στον τομέα αυτό, μια σύνθεση των δεδομένων. Την ευχαριστώ ιδιαίτερα γι' αυτό. Η δεύτερη, με τη γνωστή της αισιοδοξία και τον ενθουσιασμό που την διακρίνει για το αντικείμενο και όχι μόνο, στήριξε από την αρχή αυτή την ιδέα και προσάρμοσε έτσι το πρόγραμμά της ώστε να βρίσκεται στην Αθήνα από τη μακρινή Santa Barbara για να είναι παρούσα και μας βοήθησε με μεγάλη προθυμία στις μεταφράσεις κειμένων στα αγγλικά. Η πολύχρονη φίλια μας έχει βαθιές ρίζες και παρά τη σχέση μας με τον πηλό κάθε άλλο παρά σε ... πήλινα πόδια στέκεται.

Όμως η ημερίδα αυτή, η οποία έλαβε χώρα στις 15 Μαΐου του 2015, δεν θα μπορούσε να γίνει πραγματικότητα χωρίς την άμεσα και αυθόρμητα θετική στάση της τότε διευθύντριας της Βρετανικής Σχολής κυρίας Cathy Morgan, η οποία δημιούργησε όλες τις προϋποθέσεις για τη διεξαγωγή της στους φιλόξενους χώρους του Upper House. Η έκφραση της οφειλόμενης ευχαριστίας είναι τέτοια που ξεπερνά τα απλά λόγια. Στην πολλαπλή βοήθεια που μας προσέφερε συμπεριλαμβάνεται και η υποστήριξη και σε άλλους τομείς, όπως ο σχεδιασμός της μικρής χαριτωμένης αφίσας από την Erin McGowan και η προσφορά των εδεσμάτων τόσο στο διάλειμμα όσο και στη δεξίωση που έλαβε χώρα στο ανοιξιάτικο πάρκο της Σχολής. Στο προσωπικό της Σχολής εν γένει οφείλονται επίσης θερμές ευχαριστίες.

Στο σημείο αυτό θα πρέπει επίσης να τονίσω ότι στην ημερίδα προσέφεραν φιλοκερδώς και με ενθουσιασμό τις υπηρεσίες τους δύο φοιτητές του Αριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου, ο υποψήφιος διδάκτορας Δημήτρης Γεροθανάσης και η μεταπτυχιακή φοιτήτρια Σοφία Αναστασίου που ήρθαν ειδικά από τη Θεσσαλονίκη. Η συνεισφορά τους ήταν επίσης ανεκτίμητη.

Last but not least θα ήθελα να ευχαριστήσω ιδιαίτερα και τις Katja Sporn, Διευθύντρια του Γερμανικού Αρχαιολογικού Ινστιτούτου, καθώς και Έλενα Walter-Καρούδη, ομότιμη καθηγήτρια του Πανεπιστημίου του Saarbrücken, που μας έκαναν την τιμή να αναλάβουν δύο προεδρίες.

Στην ημερίδα προσπαθήσαμε να περιλάβουμε παραδείγματα από όλες τις περιοχές του ελληνικού χώρου, πράγμα που δεν ήταν όμως πάντοτε εφικτό. Υπάρχουν περιοχές, όπως για παράδειγμα η Κρήτη και το Αιγαίο, που τελικά δεν εκπροσωπήθηκαν, παρόλο ότι η συμμετοχή τους σε αυτή την τέχνη δεν είναι άγνωστη. Αν και δεν ήταν αρχικά προγραμματισμένο, η ημερίδα διευρύνθηκε και με ορισμένες συμμετοχές που αφορούν την ιταλική χερσόνησο, πράγμα που μας έδωσε την ευκαιρία να επανεξετάσουμε τους στενούς δεσμούς ανάμεσα στους δύο κόσμους. Τα θέματα καλύφθηκαν από τους συνολικά 14 συναδέλφους, πανεπιστημιακούς ή αρχαιολόγους διάφορων Εφορειών, που ήλθαν από ποικίλα σημεία του ορίζοντα, από την Καλιφόρνια, το Άμστερνταμ, το Μόναχο, τη Ρώμη, την Κατάνια, και από διάφορες περιοχές της Ελλάδας. Σε όλους μαζί και στον καθένα προσωπικά οφείλω επίσης τις θερμότερες ευχαριστίες μου.

Στην αναζήτηση για ενδεχόμενη δημοσίευση της ημερίδας ήταν ιδιαίτερα θετική η αντίδραση του Ταμείου Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων και Απαλλοτριώσεων και ειδικότερα της υπεύθυνης των εκδόσεων Ε. Κώτσου. Έτσι, με τη σύμφωνη γνώμη του Διοικητικού Συμβουλίου αποφασίστηκε η ένταξη της ημερίδας στο εκδοτικό πρόγραμμα και προχώρησε στην πραγματοποίησή τους με την ποιότητα που το διακρίνει. Την ευχαριστώ θερμά, καθώς και τους συνεργάτες της, Μ. Καζάκου και Σ. Σκουρλή, που επιμελήθηκαν την έκδοση. Με κάποιες μικρές εξαιρέσεις, οι περισσότεροι από τους συμμετέχοντες έστειλαν άμεσα το κείμενό τους ώστε να καταστεί δυνατή η επεξεργασία των Πρακτικών.

Από την ημερίδα δεν έλειπε, παρόλο ότι δεν έλαβε μέρος με δική της ανακοίνωση, μια ακόμη συνάδελφος με αποκλειστική ειδικότητα στις πήλινες κεραμώσεις και στα πήλινα γλυπτά, η Marie-Françoise Billot. Παρακολούθησε τις ομιλίες από την αρχή μέχρι το τέλος με το γνωστό της αμείωτο ενδιαφέρον και το ζήλο να μην της ξεφύγει ούτε και η παραμικρή λεπτομέρεια. Δύο χρόνια μετά ο ξαφνικός και αδόκητος χαμός της στην Τήνο τη στέρησε από την οικογένειά της και από την οικογένεια των «εραστών του πηλού», στον οποίο είχε ακόμα πολλά να δώσει.

Στη μνήμη της αποφασίσαμε να αφιερώσουμε τον τόμο αυτό.

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PROLOGUE

“Sculpture is born in clay, dies in plaster and is resurrected in marble”
(G. Halepas)

Alongside great works of sculpture created from shining marble, which undoubtedly constitute the highest expression of creation in the field of plastic art, clay sculpture, precisely because of its inexpensive material, usually is considered as works of secondary or even of dubious artistic value. And yet this view cannot be accepted, if the raw material of clay, as Halepas stated, constitutes the starting point for the creation in rendering the human form in other materials, be it marble or bronze, etc. It is also worthy of note that in individual cases of well-preserved terracotta works, such as the famous group of Zeus and Ganymede from Olympia, its artistic value, as well as its importance for the iconography of this particular myth, have never been in doubt. On the contrary, as an exceptional work of the Severe style, it is often compared with contemporary, mainly bronze, works.

In any case, thanks mainly to various publications of finds which come mainly from the great Panhellenic sanctuaries, this general perception is gradually subsiding, at least in the last decades. In contrast to neighboring Italy, where the abundance of material, both in Magna Graecia and in Etruria, is correspondingly more impressive, in our country, following the complete publication of this type of finds from the great sanctuaries of Delphi, Olympia, and of course above all in the large center of production, Corinth, as well as a few other sites primarily in southern Greece, this field of research seems to be already saturated. However, a series of individual finds of terracotta sculpture in various parts of Greece over the last 25 years have provided the occasion to look again at this category of sculpture made of the so-called living material of terracotta, often preserving even the colors on its surface, and at the same time to revisit together with the new also some older finds, asking questions such as those concerning the activity of local workshops and their relationship with that of Corinth, which is always believed to be the leading one.

The large-scale terracotta works were mostly free-standing sculptures, but in some cases they also belonged to roofs of buildings. Thus, in cases where sculpted decoration and tiles were found together and leave no doubt that they belong, it is necessary to study at the same time the roof elements together with its plastic decoration. An important benchmark for research related to Greek lands are the “historic” conferences “First International Conference on Archaic Greek Architectural Terracottas” and “Greek Architectural Terracottas of the Classical and Hellenistic Periods” carried out at the initiative of N. Winter in 1988 and 1991 respectively and published in exemplary fashion very shortly thereafter. A new initiative which deals with primarily Italian sites is the *Deliciae Fictiles* series which began in 1993 and actively continues until today, now in its 5th meeting. In these conferences priority was given certainly to the varied tile roofs without, however, ignoring their sculptural decoration.

The idea for a meeting with the precise theme of new finds and new studies in the field of terracotta sculpture, terracotta reliefs, and their probable associated roofs, tracing new developments, began to occupy me ever more in recent years, and found an eager response from different friends and colleagues with whom I began to share my thoughts. Above all with the two Nancys, Nancy Bookidis and Nancy Winter, who, as luck would have it, had also been working on architectural terracottas at the same time as me, some decades ago. When the idea began to take shape the first Nancy, despite the fact that she had in the meantime moved on to other topics, agreed to present, with her great experience and knowledge in this field, a synthesis of known evidence. I thank her especially for this. The second Nancy, with her well-known optimism and enthusiasm

for the subject and for other things, supported the idea from the beginning and adapted her schedule so that she could be present in Athens from far-away Santa Barbara and she helped with great eagerness translating several texts into English. Our longstanding friendship has deep roots and, beyond our connection to terracotta, stands on anything other than terracotta feet. I would like to extend my thanks to the other colleagues and friends who came from different parts of Greece and abroad and presented examples of their research that expand our present knowledge about the diffusion of terracotta works.

However, this meeting, which took place on May 15, 2015, could not have been a reality without the immediate and spontaneous support of Dr. Cathy Morgan, then-director of the British School, who created all the preconditions for holding it in the hospitable rooms of the Upper House. Words cannot express the deep thanks we owe her. The varied help we received included support in other areas such as the design of the small delightful poster by Erin McGowan and the offer of food and drink both during the breaks and at the reception which took place in the spring garden of the School. To the staff of the School we also owe our warmest thanks.

At this point I should also mention that two students of the Aristotle University, doctoral candidate Dimitris Gerathanasis and postgraduate student Sofia Anastasiou, who came all the way from Thessaloniki, enthusiastically volunteered their services. Their contribution was also invaluable.

Last but not least I would like to thank especially also Katja Sporn, director of the German Archaeological Institute, as well as Elena Walter-Karydi, professor emerita of the University of Saarbrücken, who gave us the honor of serving twice as chair person.

At the workshop we tried to include examples from all areas of the Greek world, which was not always possible. There are areas, such as Crete and the Aegean, which were eventually not represented, even though their participation in this field of art is not unknown. Although it was not originally programmed, the workshop was widened to include some contributions from the Italian peninsula, which gave us the opportunity to rethink the close ties between the two worlds. The themes were covered by a total of 14 university colleagues or archaeologists from various Ephorates who came from diverse points on the horizon, from California, Amsterdam, Munich, Rome, Catania, and various parts of Greece. To them as a group and as individuals I also owe my warmest thanks.

In the search for an eventual publication of the workshop came the very positive response of the Archaeological Receipts Fund and particularly of its director of publications, E. Kotsou. Thus, with the agreement of the Council, it was decided that the conference should be included in the Archaeological Receipts Fund's publication program and came to fruition with the quality that distinguishes it. Sincere thanks are due to her and her colleagues, M. Kazakou and S. Skourlis, for this publication. With some minor exceptions, most of the participants immediately sent their texts to facilitate production of the proceedings.

Also in attendance at the workshop, even though she did not take part with her own contribution, was another colleague with a dedicated specialization in terracotta roofs and architectural terracottas, Marie-Françoise Billot. She followed the talks from start to finish with her well-known interest and zeal, never missing even the smallest detail. Two years later her sudden and unexpected loss in Tinos deprived her family and the family of "terracotta-lovers", to whom she had still so much to give.

We dedicate this volume to her memory.

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“Greek” Connections in Rome. The Amazon of the Esquiline and Terracotta Sculpture at the Beginning of the 5th century BC¹

Patricia S. Lulof

The context of the discovery of the torso in the excavations on the Esquiline (1875-1877)

In his report of the spring of 1875, Rodolfo Lanciani, the main excavator of Rome, mentioned briefly that he did not want to withhold a spectacular discovery he made in July 1874, of what he called “un torso di bellissima statuetta grande un terzo dal vero, rappresentante un guerriero ferito nel petto”. It was discovered in the area of the necropolis of the Esquiline, close to the Porta Esquilina, mixed with objects from the Orientalizing, Archaic and Hellenistic periods. The objects varied from Etruscan vases, votive statuettes representing Demeter and Persephone, bronzes and architectural terracottas belonging to different roofs. This is a very interesting fact, because there are no indications that architectural structures, at least from the pre-Hellenistic periods, were found at the time. Lanciani mentioned in his report that several objects were found in and around the Hellenistic tombs. It was clear from the find-circumstances and the variety of the objects that the stratum was a kind of fill, un *strato di riempimento*, with deposited material that was not originally from the place itself and perhaps taken from elsewhere².

We know that after 29 BC Maecenas had his villa with the famous *Horti* constructed in this very place, close to the necropolis of the Esquiline. According to Lanciani these activities completely destroyed the necropolis, leveling the terrain for the construction of the gardens³. Drawings published by Giovanni Pinza in 1914, with a clear section of the excavations, show the stratigraphy and the find circumstances of the objects (Figs. 1-2)⁴. He recognized four different periods of use of the necropolis before the Augustan constructions; it is, in fact, in the pre-Augustan stratum of the embankment/elevation covering the *puticoli*, the *zona delle arche*, with Hellenistic tombs, where I believe the fragments of the statue were found. We will see later that these stratigraphical details are very important for the interpretation of the provenance of the statue. Although many uncertainties must remain about the find circumstances

1. This paper has been read at the Conference on Terracotta Sculpture. New Discoveries & New Perspectives, in Athens on May 15, 2015, at the British School in Athens. The topic of the Amazon of the Esquiline has been thoroughly discussed by me, and published in Italian in 2007, in the *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*, see Lulof 2007, 7-31. Although cited by many colleagues in Italy and elsewhere, the Amazon of the Esquiline has remained relatively unknown by colleagues from Greece. It was Aliko Moustaka's request that I spoke of the Amazon before a Greek audience and take the opportunity to publish my research on this Greek statue in an English version, and update it with the current findings and comments. For this occasion I am very grateful. The drawings and photographs of the Amazon and its reconstruction are all by the author.
2. Lanciani 1875a, 53-54 “di arte evidentemente etrusca”; cf. Bodel 1994, 13-23 and 38-54 on the esquiline necropolis, with a thorough discussion of the stratigraphy; on the excavations of Lanciani, see the recent publication of Palombi 2006, 127, 306-331. Lanciani 1875a, figs. XVI-XVIII.
3. Lanciani 1875b, 192; the *horti mecenati* have been thoroughly studied: Häuber 1991, 7-33; also the contribution in *Horti Romani* 1998 by Wiseman (13-18) and Bell (295-298). The *terminus ante quem* for the acquisition is fixed on 38/35 BC and for the construction on 29 BC. According to these studies the necropolis that was situated both inside and outside the wall, and also north of the Porta Esquilina, was completely covered and invisible, cf. also Palombi 1997, 8, n. 3.
4. The plan includes a vertical section of the excavation, with indication of the “zona delle arche” where we presume the torso was found; Lanciani 1875a, fig. XX; Pinza 1914, 133, fig. 3. *Ibid.*, 167-168, fig. 7; see also Ferrea 2005 for a thorough investigation of the archives of the Antiquarium comunale; Strazzulla 2011, 36-37 re-examines the find circumstances of the Amazon and other architectural terracottas very precisely.

Fig. 1. Plan and section of the excavation site on the Esquiline (Lanciani 1875a).

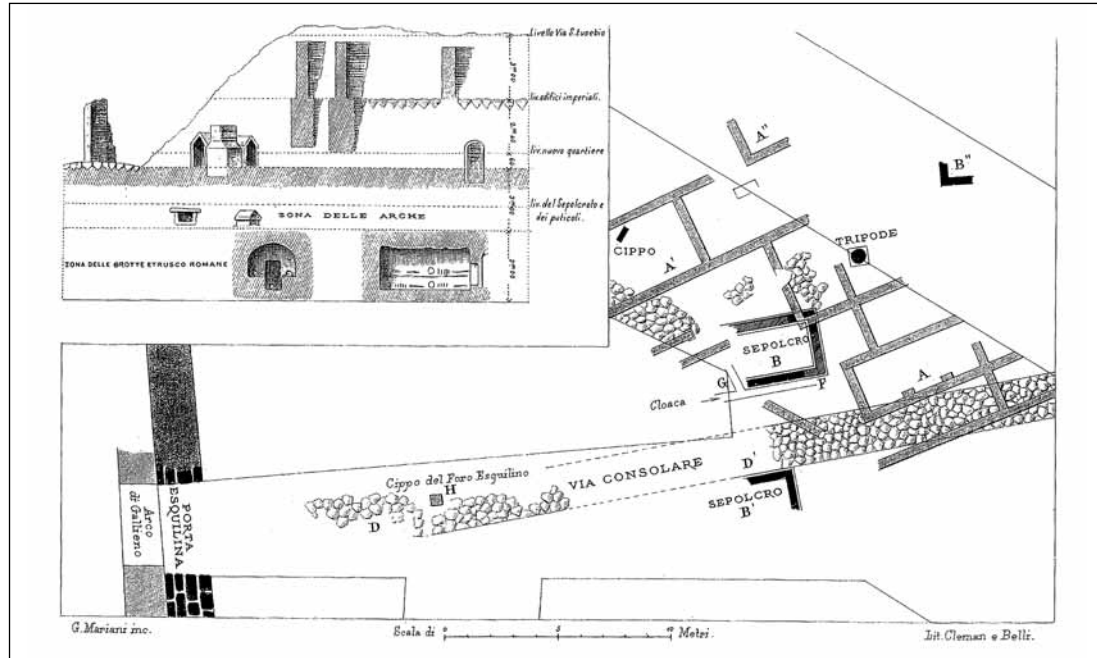
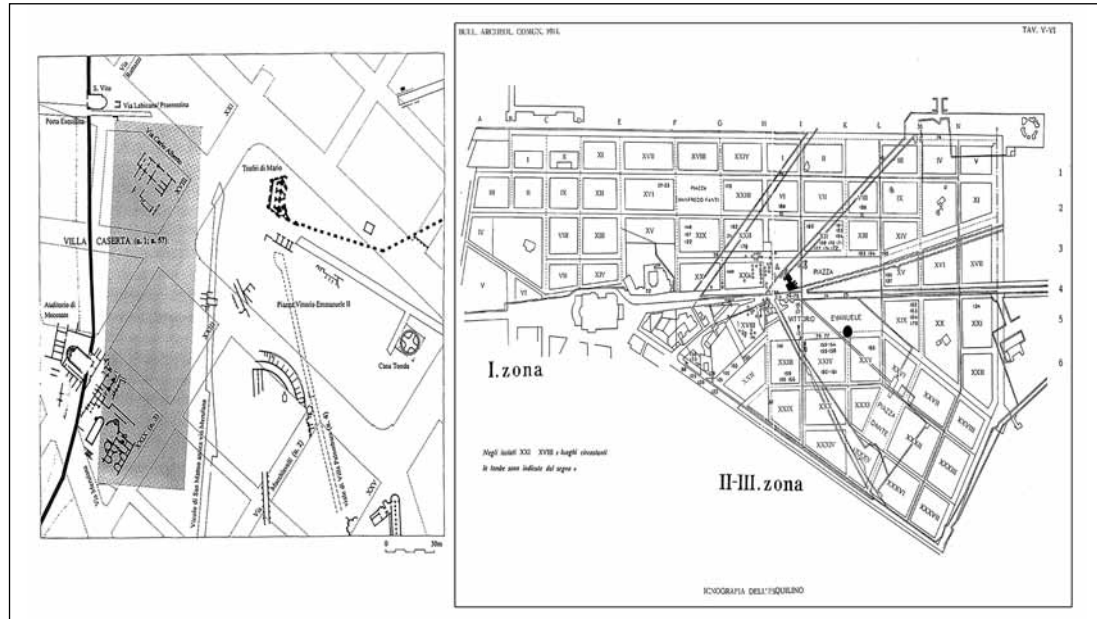


Fig. 2. Plan of the Esquiline and the location of the Horti Mecenati; dot is findspot of the torso of the Amazon (Pinza 1914 and Ferrea 2005).



of the statue, the attention the piece received soon after the discovery is without precedents. The bibliography on the statue is immense, covering at least 45 citations and discussions in publications from 1875 onwards⁵.

5. See Lulof 2007, 9-10, esp. note 12, with all previous publications. Hereafter, the Amazon was discussed on several occasions. The petrography of the Amazon was published in 2009 by Winter *et al.*, 9, 14; the reconstruction and attribution were discussed by Mura Sommella in 2010, and by Strazzulla and Willemsen in 2011. Bookidis 2010, 38-39, mentions the statue too. The last, lengthy references come from Hopkins 2016, 132-135, 138 and 172.

Previous studies

Elizabeth van Buren in 1921 dealt with the statue in detail for the first time. She identified the torso as a part of an acroterial statue and recognized the part of the lower leg, found in the same excavations of Lanciani, but never mentioned before, as belonging to the statue. Van Buren identified the statue as an Amazon, on account of the color of the skin, traditionally white for women, wearing Greek armor, and dated it to the last years of the 6th century BC. In the early publications the statue was shown, mounted on a terracotta altar, that had been found in the same stratum⁶. In 1948, Giulio Quirino Giglioli published a completely different view on the statue and its cultural environment. He decided on the basis of the closeness in technique that the piece was originally Greek and could only be compared with the statues from Olympia, which were only very recently discovered at the time⁷. He identified the statue as a male warrior, because on the Olympia statues male skin was painted white instead of the usual red. Last but not least, he argued that the work was a creation of the famous Damophilos and Gorgasos, mentioned by Pliny in his *Naturalis Historiae* as being the Greek artists who came to Rome to decorate the Temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera in 493 BC⁸. His hypothesis had an enormous influence on all subsequent scholars, among them Giovanni Colonna who, in 1977, shared Giglioli’s opinion and refined some of the conclusions on the ethnicity of the Greek artists, whose names he gave a Doric or Laconian origin, perhaps coming from South Italy or Sicily⁹. Colonna regarded the statue as “Corinthian” in technique and removed it from any architectural context, deciding that the wounded male warrior once had been part of a large votive group¹⁰. The conclusions of Colonna were never contradicted.

A new description. The image and technique

Let us now look closer at the fragments of this magnificent piece of coroplastic workmanship. Only two pieces remain of the statue: a torso in a corselet with the left arm holding a shield, and a right lower leg with a greave. The figure represents a warrior, a little over half life-size, dressed like a hoplite with a black *chitoniskos* decorated at the hem, showing the bent arm that is painted white. The figure wears a simply decorated cream cuirass with loose shoulder pieces that are held in place by red straps bound together just under the chest. The decorations on the corselet are simple and perfectly executed. Undoubtedly the corselet copies a leather or linen example with painted or embroidered decoration (Fig. 3)¹¹.



Fig. 3. *The torso. Frontal view. Inv. 3363 (foto Musei Capitolini).*

6. Van Buren 1921, 42, 50-51, pl. XIX.3, n. 3.

7. Giglioli 1946-1948.

8. *Ibid.*, 146.

9. Colonna 1977, 162-165; rediscusses the torso in the context of Latium, similar to terracotta production from Satricum and Ardea, but with a completely different technique.

10. *Ibid.*, 164-165: not a columnen decoration. Other opinions are listed in Lulof 2007, 10-11, n. 22-24.

11. Torso Inv. 3363; leg Inv. 3368; Musei Capitolini, Antiquarium Comunale. Torso and arm H. 31.4, L. 21.2; walls: torso 3.0-2.2, shield 3.0-1.5; Th. arm 6.2-5.0; leg L. 23.0, W. 8.4-4.0.

Fig. 4. The torso showing wound, blood and breasts (foto Musei Capitolini).



Fig. 5. The shield, view from the back. Inv. 3363 (foto Musei Capitolini).



Fig. 6. The leg. Frontal view. Inv. 3368 (foto Musei Capitolini).

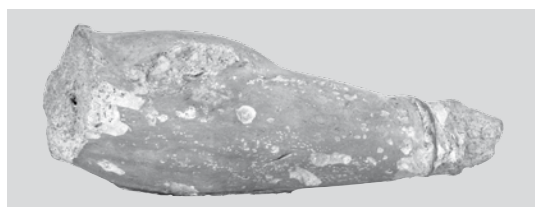


Fig. 7. Torso and leg in reconstructed position (showcase Musei Capitolini).



At the chest, just under the left breast, is a broad cut, indicating a mortal wound from which blood spurts out, painted very realistically with little blood clots (Fig. 4).

The shield the figure holds is perfectly round and has a diameter of 60 cm. The concave inner side is shown to the viewer, painted dark red. The outside of the shield is painted cream and decorated with a large star in red and black as an *episema* (Fig. 5).

The slender lower leg, is strongly bent and completely solid. The position of the ankle bone and the swelling of the calf muscle are decisive for the attribution of the piece to the right leg of the figure. The leg is protected by a greave, undoubtedly copying a bronze example. A scar is visible on the top of the calf belonging to another terracotta piece that was once attached to the leg and now is missing (Fig. 6).

Important indications for the position of the entire figure are given not only by the direction of the flow of blood and the folds of the *chitoniskos*, but also by some specific fractures. Under both the right side of the body and the right side of the leg there are

breaks, scars of a horizontal element to which the figure was once attached. Around the fractures are traces of black paint. All these details indicate that the figure was originally depicted in a horizontal position, fallen to the ground, lying on the right side of the body, the head to the far left. The statue was placed on a horizontal base, as usual painted black (Fig. 7)¹².

12. All plinths are painted black, f.i. Lulof 1996, 145-148.

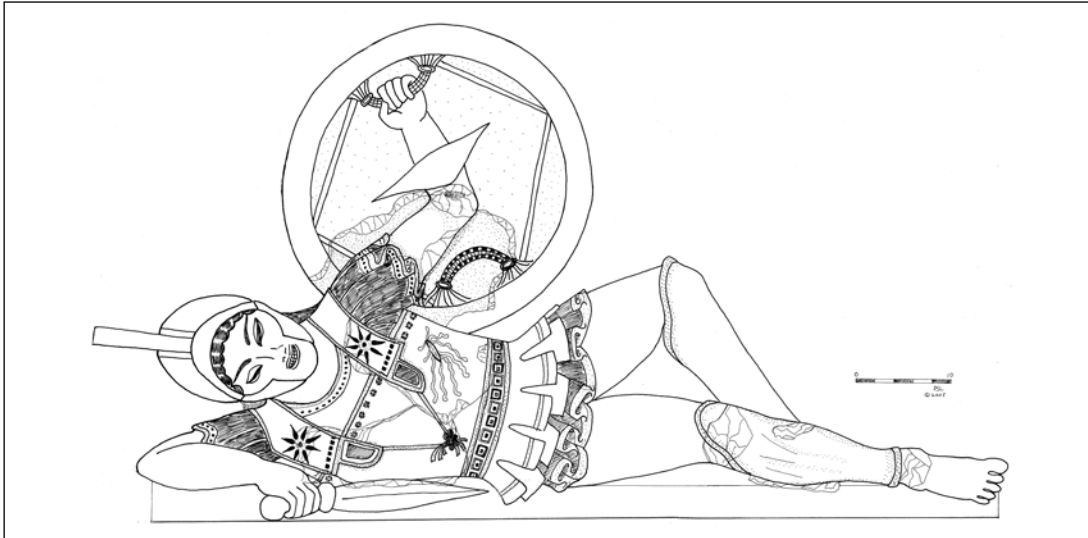


Fig. 8. Reconstruction drawing of the Amazon with the insertion of the torso and the leg.

The reconstruction of the statuary group. A slain Amazon

The full reconstruction of the figure in this position must have been almost 1 m in width. The figure was lying on its right side. The position of the shoulder pieces indicate that the right shoulder was pulled backwards and that the figure was probably resting on its right arm. The left leg was probably pulled up. The right leg was stretched out (Fig. 8).

A very important detail is presented by the oval scar with traces of another terracotta piece on top of the lower leg: undoubtedly this belongs to the foot of an adversary, or better, to the toes of a right foot. There are little traces of red paint around the scar. The shape and the dimensions of the scar leave no doubt about this reconstruction (Fig. 9).

Finally, let us for once and for all decide on the sex of the figure. The corselet stresses the thorax of the figure, but clearly shows the anatomy. Although the breasts are tightly bound by the corselet, they are nevertheless visibly indicated, especially when seen from the chest upwards (Fig. 4). And another observation is also important for the identification of the figure: the *biceps* and *pectoralis*, typical anatomical details in contemporary warriors, are absent in the anatomy of this figure. The warrior presented here is clearly female. The whiteness of her skin is completely in harmony with this identification.

Parallels for fighting female warriors and goddesses, present in contemporary terracotta statuary and reliefs both in Greece and in Italy, show the light skin as well as the lack of muscularity. They are never full-breasted and resemble, at least physically, ephebic women with slender, elegant limbs that set them apart from male warriors (Fig. 10)¹³.

And it is also not true, as Giglioli had stated, that all terracotta statues that present male figures of Greek origin or Greek production have a light-coloured skin, as is shown by the Zeus from Paestum or the Zeus and Ganymede group from Olympia¹⁴. Indeed, in the opposite case, all the terracotta statues of goddesses from Greece, South Italy, Sicily, and Central Italy,

13. Moustaka 1993, fig. 16, 33, fig. 8, arm of Athena holding a shield; Lulof 1996, A 3, E 4 and 189-191, on the anatomy of the statues of Satricum. On the not so very female anatomy of Amazons, Moustaka 1993, 31, n. 119 and those of Satricum, Lulof 1997, 98-101.

14. Zeus of Paestum or Ganymedes of Olympia, Rolley in *Western Greeks* 1996, 385, cat. 65; Moustaka 1993, fig. 33.

Fig. 9. Hypothetical reconstruction of the acroterial group.

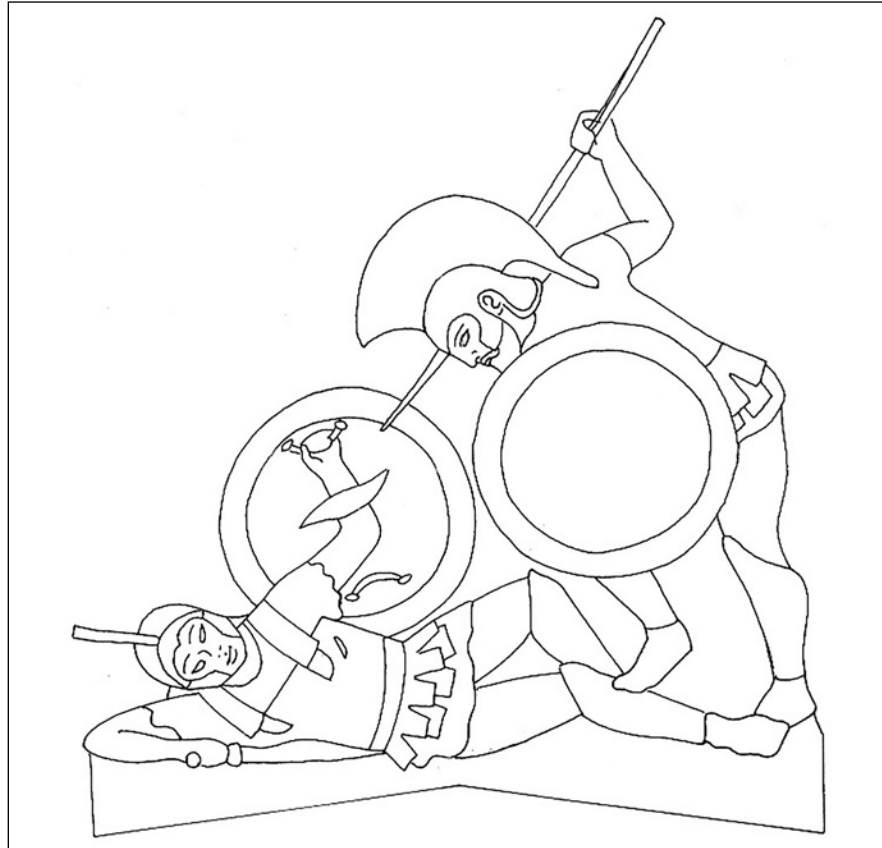


Fig. 10. Amazons from Ardea (foto author).



as well as Amazons in the Etrusco-Italic world have, without exception, a light-coloured skin (Fig. 11a-b)¹⁵.

So, the fragments I have presented here, I believe, belong to a sculptural group in polychrome terracotta, representing a combat, in which a female warrior, undoubtedly an Ama-

15. I know of two other groups of Amazons in temple decoration, from Pyrgi and Caere; these are riders, dressed in *chitoniskos*, but without arms, only greaves. They have dark pink skin: Colonna 2000, 285-287; Lulof 2010; Willemssen 2011, with a complete list of references.



Fig. 11a. Amazon from Ardea (Ceccarelli 2011).



Fig. 11b. Amazon from Segni (Strazzulla 2011).



Fig. 12. Attic vase-painting with Amazonomachy and Herakles (Berlin painter, Basel Museum, <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk>).

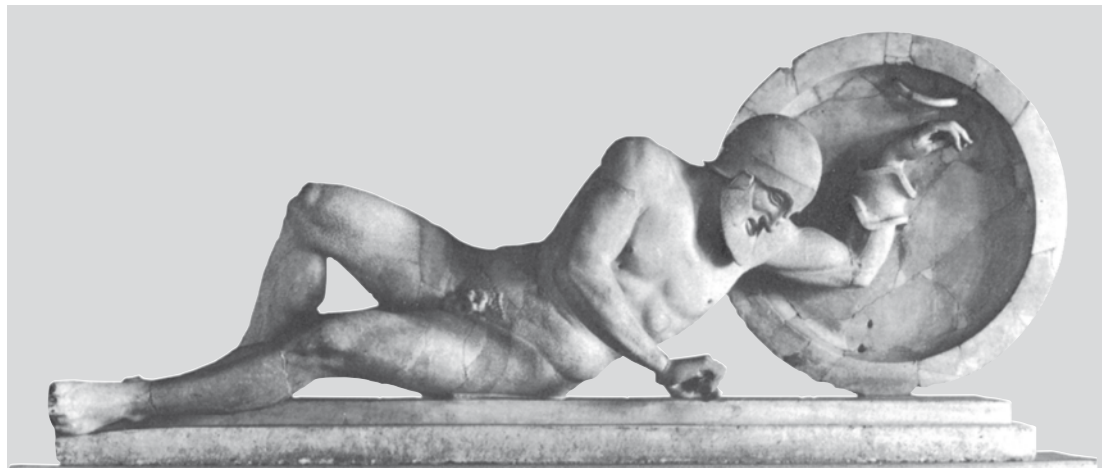
zon, is struck down, mortally wounded, after having been slain by an unidentified opponent, attacking her from the right. The Amazon may be identified as Penthesileia in combat with Achilles, or Hippolyte being overthrown by Herakles, like in many vase paintings (Fig. 12). Unfortunately, the group is too lacunose to be more specific about the identity of the Amazon. Nevertheless, the group depicted a monomachy, a theme that was very common in both Central Italic and Greek sculpture (Figs. 13-14)¹⁶.

16. On the Archaic Amazons: Blok 1995, 293-296, and chapter 5, with a catalogue of all known Amazonomachies. See on the Amazons in Central Italic roof decorations ultimately, Willemsen 2011.

Fig. 13. *Acroterion from Orvieto* (Stopponi 2011).



Fig. 14. *Dying warrior from Aegina* (Rolley 1994).



Style and manufacture: parallels in archaic terracotta sculpture

Now let us discuss the style and manufacture of the statue in regard to its attribution to a specific cultural environment. It is very unfortunate that the head of the statue is lacking, otherwise it would have been much easier to discuss the style and provenance of the piece. The armor (corselet, shield and greave) is of an Attic typology that was almost always used in Archaic terracotta sculpture in Central Italy, so that will not help us much in further pinpointing the background of the artist who created the statue¹⁷. However, when closely examined, there are also some clear differences between the Etrusco-Italic models and the armor of the Amazon of the Esquiline. The style and decorative details of the armor and the few parts of the anatomy, in particular the sobriety and high quality of manufacture, reflect a different, possibly

17. A beautiful example of a Greek-armoured Minerva is known from Veii, Colonna 1987, 7-41, fig. 1 e 43.

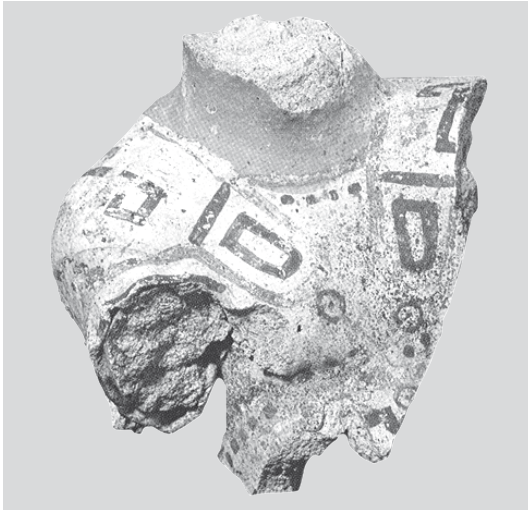


Fig. 15a. Warrior from Ardea (Strazzulla 2011).

Fig. 15b. Warrior from Segni (Strazzulla 2011).

Greek, world. Etrusco-Italic terracotta sculpture, albeit spectacular and fantastic, mostly is more over-done and a little sloppy (Fig. 15a-b). Although we detect a strong Greek style in the architectural decoration of temples in Satricum, dated 500 BC, and Ardea and Segni, dated after 500 BC, we clearly see a difference¹⁸.

In fact the closest counterparts are to be found in Greece. In the statues of Olympia, close comparisons can be found that reflect the same style and technical level in the treatment of the shield, the arm, the folds of the drapery, and the greaves, as well as the same sobriety in the decorative motives (Fig. 16). These statues have been dated around 500 BC. At this point, I would like to suggest a similar date for the Amazon of the Esquiline, based on these dated counterparts from Satricum and Olympia. The provenance of the artist could very well be sought in the Greek or Western Greek world¹⁹.

We have not yet discussed the very fine quality of the coroplastic work of the statue (Fig. 17a-b). The hollow sculpture has been built from a core of heavily-tempered clay and covered by a thick layer of fine clay, up to almost 2 cm thick, without any inclusions visible to the naked

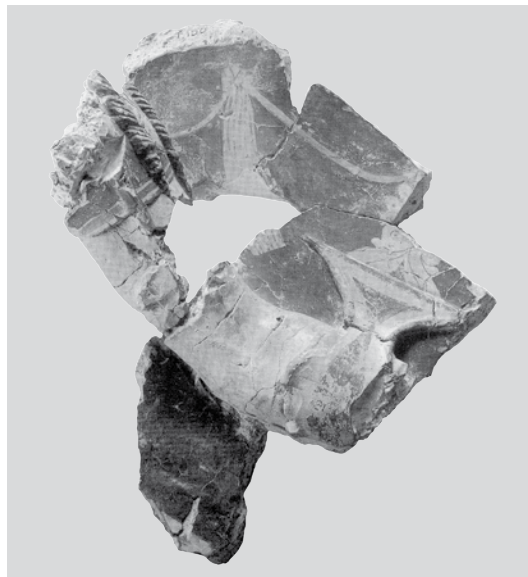


Fig. 16. Arm and shield. Acrotorion of Athena fighting a Giant (Moustaka 1993).

18. Lulof 1996, 72-74, the torso of a Giant, no E4; the warriors of Falerii and Segni: Menichelli 2011; Strazzulla 2011 and Cifarelli 2012; the warriors of Caere, Lulof 2010; on armour in general Lulof 1996, 199; Bellelli 2004; see also Ceccarelli 2011 on the amazons from Ardea.

19. Moustaka 1993, 10-25, figs. 5, 8 (group of Athena and a Giant), 26-41, figs. 16 (Group of warriors). Schürmann 1988, 45-47 and Gilotta 2000, 155-157; on Sicilian terracotta sculpture: Rizza in *Western Greeks* 1996, 399-412: antefix with the face of the Nike from Karlsruhe (Mertens-Horn 1991, 12-13, figs. 4-5, fig. III.b) and the antefix from the Esquiline (*La grande Roma*, 1990, 69, 3.6.2) are very close in style but not in material. Giglioli 1946-1948, 146 thought of a Sicilian background; Colonna 1977, 162-165, also thought of Paestum and Reggio, La Rocca in *Western Greeks* 1996, 607-608, suggested even Greece itself. See also Lulof 2007, n. 75 for all the references.

Fig. 17a. Detail of the torso. Section of the arm (foto Musei Capitolini).



Fig. 17b. Detail of the torso, showing technical detail in modelling (foto Musei Capitolini).

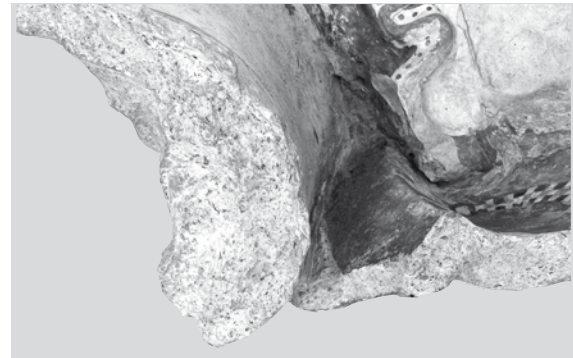


Fig. 18. Memnon, from Satricum (foto author).



eye²⁰. The fired result shows a dark pink-brownish core covered with an ivory white surface layer. This layer was then painted moderately with details in black, shades of red and creamy yellow²¹. However, in this case, the layer of pure clay was added only to the front of the statue, in particular to the arm and the chest. At the back, the layer is much thinner, and does not completely cover the rough surface of the core. This high quality of manufacture is known to have been reached only by the Greeks, who mastered the firing in such a manner that the thick layer never cracked or loosened from the rough core. This technique is one of the main reasons to attribute the statue to Greek workmanship, and is indeed nowhere to be found in Etruria and Latium. Although I have suggested, for Satricum, that the artisans tried to imitate this technique, they never really succeeded. In this world of terracotta craftsmanship they used slip, directly applied to the surface of the clay and used to create a more or less fine surface ready

for painting (Fig. 18)²². The terracotta statues from Athens, Corinth and Olympia were all made using this magnificent technique, where the layer was evenly applied to the rough surface of the core and beautifully polished afterwards²³.

In South Italy and Sicily, however, this technique was also used, as proven by important works from Paestum, Gela, Naxos and Syracuse. But here, the purified layer was also irregular in thickness, as in the Amazon of the Esquiline. The so-called Nike of Karlsruhe, certainly com-

20. Munsell soil color code: Core: 5YR 7/6-6/4 (reddish yellow-light reddish brown). Upper layer: thin covering layer 2.5Y 6/4-7/4 (yellow-pale yellow).

21. Munsell soil color code: 10 YR 8/2 (white), 7.5 YR 7/4 (pink), 7.5 N 2/ (black), 5 R 3/4 (red), 7.5R 3/4 (dark red), 2.5 YR 5/8 (red).

22. Sometimes 0.2 cm thick. Another technique is used on the terracotta sculpture from Satricum, Lulof 1996, 175-182 and in comparison with Olympia: Lulof 1995, 230-231. There is only one other example with the same technique as the Amazon: a helmeted head of an Amazon from Segni, Cifarelli 2012.

23. Moustaka 1993, 4-8; Lulof 1995, 230-231; Bookidis 2010, 35-80.



Fig. 19a-b. Acroterion from Gela, the “Nike of Karlsruhe”. Front and backside (Schürmann 1988).

ing from Gela, has a similar irregularity in the application of the purified layer of clay: fragments from the back of this statue clearly show that the layer was very thin (Fig. 19a-b)²⁴.

By the naked eye I had already noticed that one very important, typically Roman, inclusion was missing from the clay used for the statue, namely the black grit that has been identified as augite. Rome and its surroundings contain very good clays and inclusions came from the deposits of the volcanic areas. I found it very curious that augite was missing from the clay of the Amazon. Also, the terracotta of Latium in the period under question is almost always cream-coloured to greenish²⁵. In Greece, for instance in Corinth, but also in Olympia, large inclusions were mixed with the clay, mostly thick lumps of grog. These are absent from the clay matrix of the Amazon²⁶. However, studying the material from South Italy and Sicily, we may conclude that here indeed strong similarities can be found. Again, the Nike from Gela shows exactly the same clay colour and inclusions as the material used for the Amazon, and material from Syracuse is likewise very similar. But these observations have been made with the naked eye, and in the end, cannot be conclusive (Fig. 20a-b)²⁷.

Of course, analysis of the clay and inclusions could be very helpful, if regarded as auxiliary and not definitive, in my personal opinion. Clay samples have indeed been taken from the Amazon of the Esquiline, the results for which I was allowed to use for my research on the Amazon. The samples were analysed by the Fitch Laboratory at the British School in Athens

24. Van Buren 1923, 62-80 (Syracuse), 15-21 (Gela); Zeus from Paestum and the bull with Europa, Orlandini in *Megale Hellas* 1983, nos 392-393; Nike of Karlsruhe (from Gela), Schürmann 1988; Gilotta 2000, 155-159; See also *Deliciae Fictiles* IV, several contributions on architectural terracottas from Sicily, 389-503.

25. Description of clay characteristics and technique of typical materials in Rome and Latium, Lulof 1996, 175-182: see especially colorplate 1.2 and Winter *et al.* 2009, color plates 10-13.

26. In 2006, Nancy Bookidis, Nancy Winter, and Aliko Moustaka, after closely inspecting the fired clay of the Amazon, concluded that the material wasn't Greek either, at least not from Corinth or Olympia. I thank them sincerely for sharing this with me.

27. On the technique of the Nike from Gela, Schürmann 1988, 19-23; 45, n. 98: decides that the clay is not Greek. The Munsell codes and all the technical observations (Munsell 5YR 7/6 and 5 YR 6/5). During the *Deliciae Fictiles* IV conference, held in 2009 in Rome and Syracuse, we had again the opportunity to study materials from Gela and Camerina. The similarity in colour, structure and characteristics, observed by the naked eye, was striking. Future petrographical analysis would certainly yield interesting results.

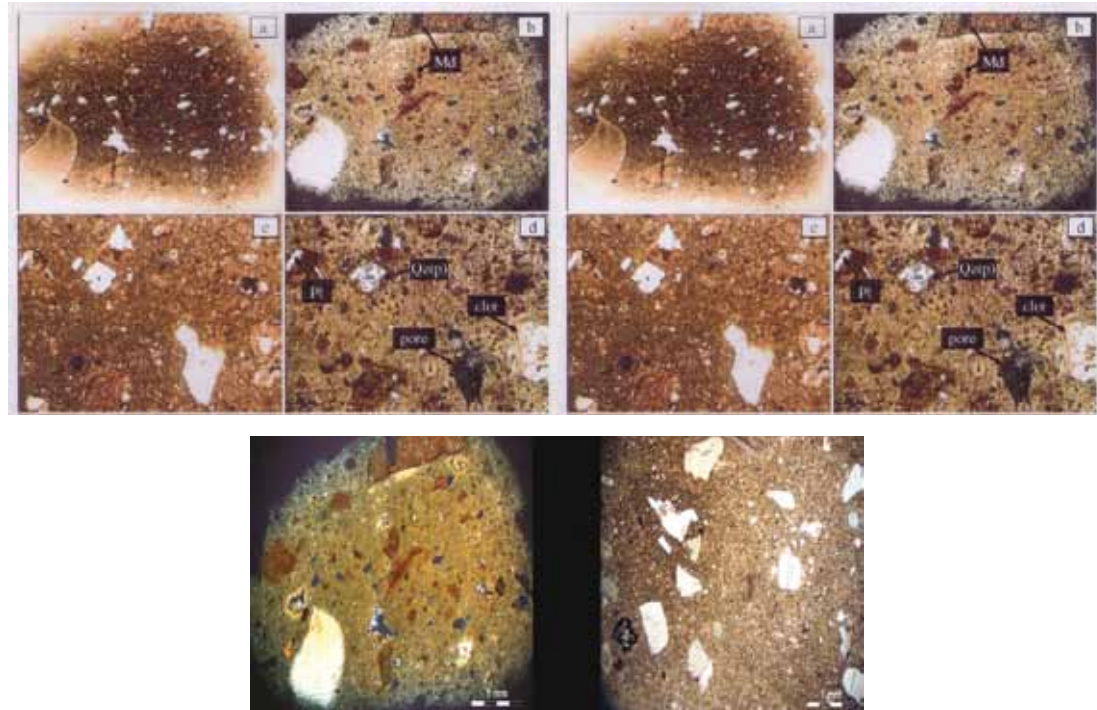
Fig. 20a. Close-up of fired clay-matrix of the Amazon (foto Musei Capitolini).

Fig. 20b. Close-up of fired clay-matrix of the "Nike of Karlsruhe" (Schürmann 1988).



Fig. 21a. Petrographical analysis of sample taken from the Amazon of the Esquiline (Internal Report Musei Capitolini).

Fig. 21b-c. Thin sections confronted: sample of Amazon (mudstone) versus sample from Palatine (augite) (Winter et al. 2009).



(Fig. 21a-b-c)²⁸. The petrographical analysis on the Amazon agreed that the temper and inclusions did not come from Rome and its environments, not only because of the absence of augite that is typically Roman, but also because the temper included one specific element, namely mudstone, that is completely absent in Roman clays. Mudstone was used frequently in Corinthian terracottas. But we have seen that it is doubtful that the material came from Greece, given the fact that here big lumps of grog and mudstone were used, that are absent in the Amazon. Mudstone, however, is very, very common in southeastern Sicily, as analyses and geological reports have concluded (Fig. 22)²⁹.

28. Winter *et al.* 2009, 9, 14. See especially Table 2 for the Roman fabrics, type A.

29. Absent in Rome and its surroundings, f.i. argillite or *mudstone*, Ammerman - Filippi 2000. Mudstone, quartz and plagioclase, are common minerals in the area of Gela and Syracuse, and they are also present in the sample of the Amazon, Duèe 1970, fig. 7; Pichler 1970, 264-271, Tabela 1-2.

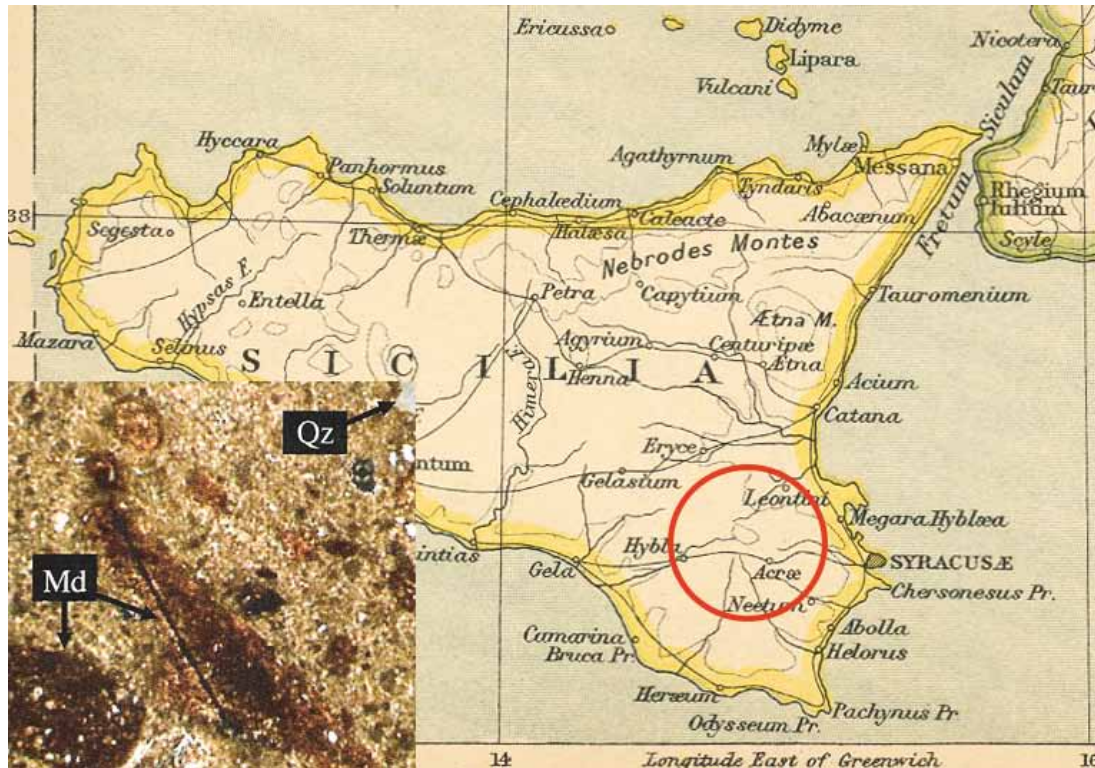


Fig. 22. Map of Sicily with indication of the geological location of mudstone.

At this point, therefore, I would like to suggest that the artist responsible for the creation of the Amazon of the Esquiline came from a non-Italic background and, based on style and technique, most probably came from the Greek world. The material he used to make the statue most probably came from Sicily.

Architectural attribution: a central acroterion?

Scholarly opinions on the function of the Amazon of the Esquiline have varied ever since its discovery. At first the Amazon was believed to have had an architectural function, as a central acroterion or as part of the decoration of a pediment. Colonna refuted such an attribution on account of the high quality of the statue and suggested it was part of a votive group or some kind of celebrative monument³⁰. In my opinion, such an attribution must be excluded, and not only on account of the theme of the group: a combat scene. I believe that we have to look for an architectural function, preferably in the context of a temple. The technical data give the format of the group as nearly 1 m wide and 30 cm in depth. It is modeled in the round with a clear frontality, so a high relief should be excluded.

We know nothing of other figures present in the scene except for the adversary. The dimensions and triangular composition in the reconstruction find numerous counterparts in contempo-

30. Colonna 1977, n. 88, followed by Martini in *La Grande Roma* 1990, 144; Cristofani 1992, 137. On the possibility of archaic votive statues in Greece, Moustaka 1993, 166-167; and in Italy, Lulof 1996, 167-171; *eadem* 2000, 209. Recent publications, however, have shown there existed votive statues from this period, however rare. Bookidis 2010, 81-85, and Baglione 2001, 69-70. Combat scenes, however, can hardly be considered a votive group.

Fig. 23. Reconstruction drawing of the acroterial group from Olympia (Moustaka 1993).



rary central acroteria mounted on the apex of the roof of a temple or treasury, both in Greece, as in Olympia, but also clearly present in the Etrusco-Italic world (Fig. 23)³¹.

All counterparts have the same measurements and depict monomachies. Second, the fact that the backside of our Amazon has been finished, albeit modestly, with painted decoration added to the shield, finds perfect reflection in numerous examples of central acroteria, as, for instance, the Athena and Giant in Olympia, the Nike from Gela and again Orvieto (Fig. 24)³².

We have found proof that the base of the Amazon of the Esquiline was horizontal to receive the fallen body, perhaps with a pitched bottom edge in order to match the apex of the roof, similar to known bases from Olympia (Fig. 25)³³.

An attribution as part of a pedimental decoration, in the Greek mode, with a series of groups or single statues, worked in the round and set against a closed background, like numerous examples in

31. Danner 1993 gives an overview of central acroteria in Central Italy, in 1997 of Western Greek acroteria. Stopponi 2011 discusses the Orvieto acroterion.

32. Moustaka 1993, fig. 35; Schürmann 1988, fig. 2; Van Buren 1921, fig. xix.1; Stopponi 2011, fig. 11.

33. Moustaka 1993, figs. 10-11; Τουλούπα 2002, figs. 5-6.



Fig. 24. Acroterion from Orvieto, backside (da Stopponi 2011).

marble that decorated the pediments of famous Archaic temples in Greece and Sicily must be excluded. The dimensions of the Amazon of the Esquiline are perfect for a central acroterion but far too small for a pediment. There are no counterparts of these dimensions found in Greece, Magna Graecia or the Etrusco-Italic world. In the Archaic Roman world, pedimental sculpture did not exist yet.

Very good counterparts for an attribution of our Roman central acroterion to the Greek world are found in examples from Greece, such as the Amazonomachy of Corinth (Fig. 26), and the somewhat larger marble acroterion representing an Amazon in battle from Eretria (Fig. 27), but first and foremost the warrior from Olympia. This terracotta statue, probably also a central acroterion representing an Amazonomachy, is in my opinion the most important counterpart for our acroterial group, in dimensions, composition, style, date and attribution (Fig. 28)³⁴.

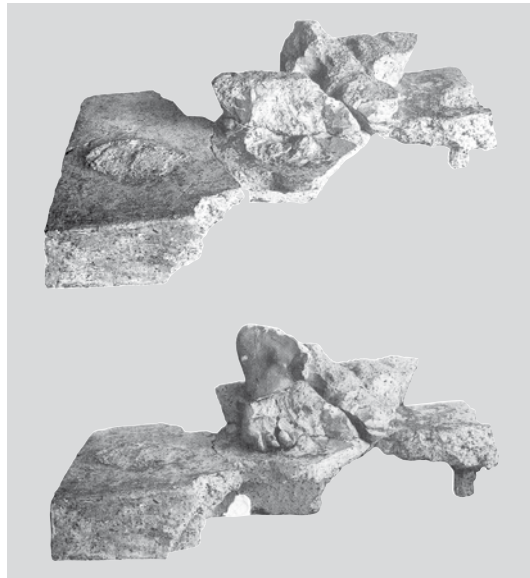


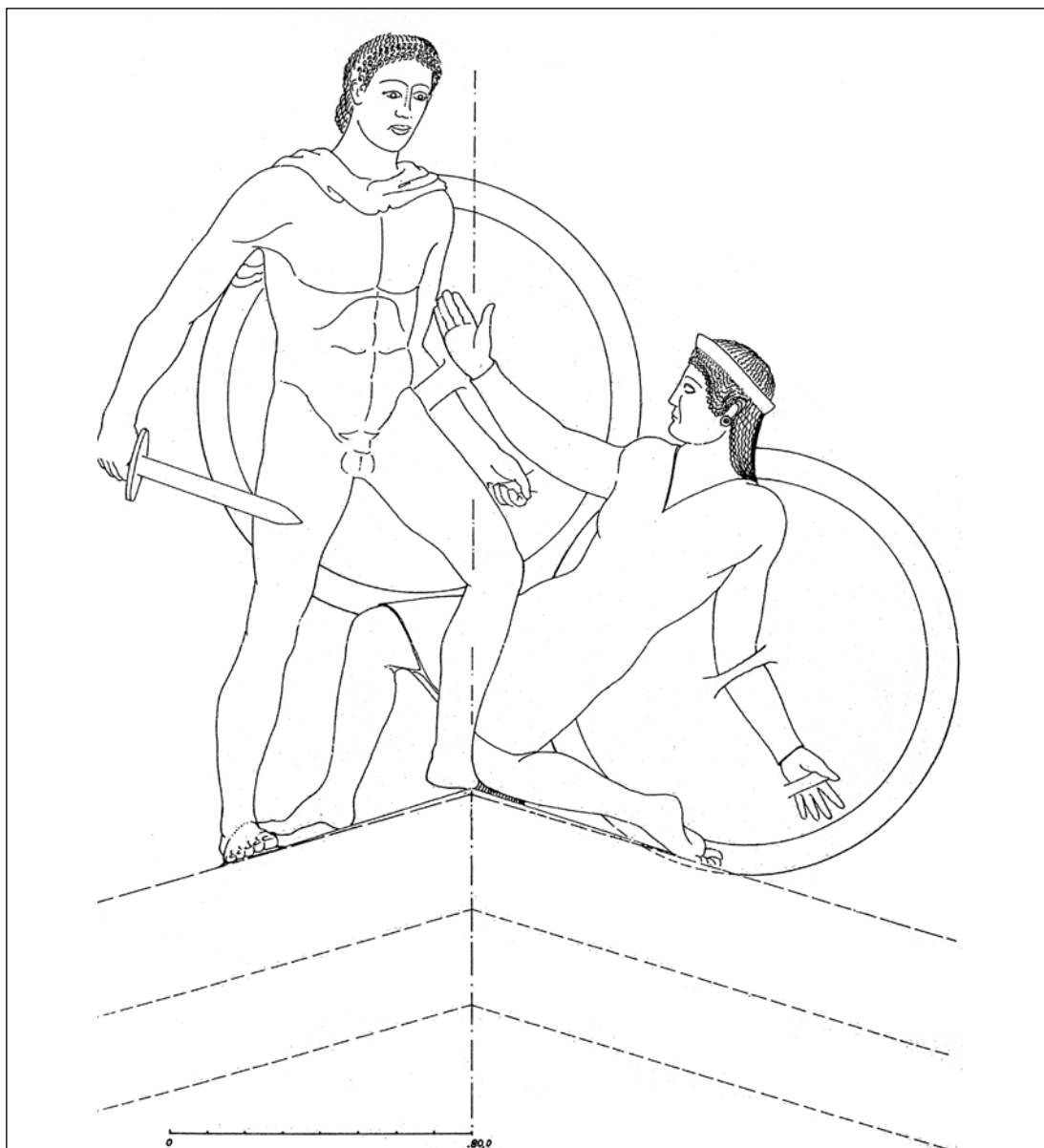
Fig. 25. Basis for acroterion Athena and Giant from Olympia (Moustaka 1993).

34. I thank Nancy Bookidis for this suggestion: the relatively small dimensions of this group could suggest a destination as pedimental sculpture for a small building. The group of Eretria, however, is convincingly reconstructed as an acroterion. Corinth: Weinberg 1957, 307, no. 10, fig. 66; Eretria: Τουλούπα 2002, 77, fig. 7. Moustaka 1993, 26-33, figs. 16-27; a reconstruction as an acroterion is not certain; Aliki Moustaka also considers a possible pedimental destination, notwithstanding its modest dimensions.

Fig. 26. Group of Amazons from Corinth (American School of Classical Studies, Corinth excavations; foto I. Ioannidou, L. Bartziotou).



Fig. 27. Reconstruction drawing of the acroterial group from Eretria (Τουλούπα 2002).



I therefore conclude that the Amazon of the Esquiline was part of a central acroterion, once decorating the apex of a temple in Rome, following Greek models. The makers, the artists or artisans, were beyond doubt Greeks or Western Greeks. But how did the statuary group come to Rome? The clay and temper used for this statue do not come from Roman clay beds, but more probably from Sicily, and more specifically from southeastern Sicily, the region of Gela and Syracuse, a Corinthian colony. One could probably propose transportation of the acroterion by sea, as I have demonstrated on other occasions to be the case for entire Campanian roofs at the end of the 6th century BC³⁵.

A Greek-Sicilian terracotta sculpture in Rome

After the turn of the century, around 500 BC, the political situation changed and Rome turned to the Greek colonies in Sicily for economic reasons, imports increased and their contacts became very strong, especially in cultural and religious matters. Coroplastic art and architectural decorations of temples in Rome and its surroundings became more and more Greek, or better to say Western Greek, in style and also in technique. The influence from the South at the beginning from the so-called Second decorative style was immense³⁶.

The temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera in Rome was inaugurated in 493 BC at the foot of the Aventine, and reflected the cult of a typical Sicilian triad, that of Demeter, Dionysos, and Persephone³⁷. According to Pliny the Elder, this temple was decorated by the painter Damophilos and the coroplast Gorgasos³⁸. According to many scholars, the painter’s name was of Doric origin,



Fig. 28. Terracotta group with warrior from Olympia (Moustaka 1993).

35. Lulof 1996, 204-208; Lulof 2006.

36. Cristofani 1987, 108-118; Bellelli 2004, 95-118, n. 54-55; Gilotta 2000, 155-159: relations between Sicily, Greece, Campania, Ionia and Etruria for monumental terracotta sculpture; Bellelli 2004, n. 53-54; Mertens 2006, 250-256, and ultimately, Hopkins 2016, 133-134, 172.

37. Zevi 1999.

38. Plin. *NH* XXXV.154: *Plastae laudatissimi fuere Damophilus et Gorgasus, iidem pictores, qui Cereris aedem Romae ad circum maximum utroque genere artis suae excoluerant, versibus inscriptis Graece, quibus significarent ab dextra opera Damophili esse, ab laeva Gorgasi, ante hanc aedem Tuscanica omnia in aedibus fuisse auctor est Varro, et ex hac, cum reficeretur, crustas parietam excisas tabulis marginatis inclusas esse, item signa ex fastigiis dispersa.*

but also Syracuse has been proposed. Gorgasos is a rare name, but its origin has also been sought in Sicily. They both were probably Greeks, specialists in the field of terracotta roof decoration, and possibly immigrants to Sicily³⁹. Syracuse and Gela were at the time booming with building activities and famous for their terracotta production centres⁴⁰. It is thinkable that Damophilos and Gorgasos were attracted to this prosperous situation and joined terracotta workshops at Syracuse or Gela before they were commissioned by Rome. In any case, the ancient sources give us independent evidence that there were Greek coroplasts working in Rome, exactly at the same time when the Amazon of the Esquiline was created. Ancient sources also confirm that there were terracotta statues in Rome that were made by Western Greek artists, which in itself strengthens the hypothesis that the Amazon of the Esquiline was of Western Greek or better Sicilian manufacture. We could now very well hypothesize that this piece of coroplastic art was indeed the work of Damophilos and Gorgasos, commissioned for the decoration of the temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera – the first temple for the people – just before 493 BC.

One problem remains. The fragments of the Amazon have been found on the Esquiline, and not at the place where the temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera must have been located, namely at the foot of the Aventine hill, less than 1 km away, but still. To overcome this problem, I would like to suggest the following:

In 29 BC, Maecenas created his famous *Horti*. As I have shown at the beginning of my paper, the soil used for the embankment of these gardens was filled with mixed objects from different periods, among which were the torso and leg of the Amazon. We know from ancient sources that the temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera was destroyed by lightning in the same century, in 31 BC, after which the temple was restored⁴¹. If the *signa ex fastigiis*, the statues that decorated the roof, were indeed *dispersa*, as Varro – a contemporary of Maecenas –, says, according to Pliny, it could very well be possible that the terrain of the destroyed temple was cleared and that the soil containing fragments of these statues was subsequently used to facilitate the construction of the *Horti Maecenati* that began in 29 BC⁴². It is also interesting to note that numerous statuettes depicting Demeter and Persephone, from the Classical and Hellenistic periods, were found by Lanciani in the same layer that contained the fragments of the Amazon. Perhaps these votive statuettes were part of a votive deposit belonging to the temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera, Ceres and Libera being the Latin counterparts of these Greek goddesses⁴³.

39. Colonna 1977, 162-165, suggests a Doric background for the names, coming from Paestum or Reggio; Zevi 1996, 306, thinks Damophilos is a Doric name, while Gorgasos is rare; he thinks of a Sicilian background; Saur 2000, 49, regards Damophilos similar to Demophilos, *pittore di Imera* (Liv. XXXV, 61). See also Lulof 2007, n. 75, for all further references.

40. Rizza in *Western Greeks* 1996, 410-413; Coarelli 1993, 260-261; Lulof 2014.

41. Coarelli 1993, 260-261: on the temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera and its destruction and restoration. Varro probably cited the destruction by fire around 31 BC. See also Lulof 2007, 28, n. 80 on the consequences of Varro's citation and dates; see also Strazzulla 2011, 35-36.

42. Varro and Maecenas were contemporaries, Varro dies in 27 BC, Maecenas in 8 BC; the destruction date of 31 BC of the temple coincides with the hypothesis that a secondary fill, which contained materials from a sanctuary dedicated to Demeter and Persephone (Ceres and Libera), perhaps could well have been used to level the area for the construction of the *Horti Maecenati*, from 29 BC: Häuber 1991, 7; Coarelli 1993, 260; see on the analysis of Pliny's text: Strazzulla 2011, 36.

43. Lanciani 1877, 276-277; Colonna 1977, 134, n. 14, 183, n. 63 believes that close to the Porta Esquilina there existed an unidentified sanctuary that was decorated with the architectural terracottas found at the site, probably dedicated to Spes, already known in 477 BC (Liv. II 51.2); Bodel 1994 thoroughly studied the *Lucus Libitinae*; Coarelli 1995, 382-384, also thinks of a funerary temple at the site, as does Torelli 1984. This idea is followed by Strazzulla 2011, 35-36, who extensively rediscusses the possibilities of a temple at the site where the Amazon was discovered; Hopkins 2016, 135, however, takes up my idea of an organized dump, coming from elsewhere.



Fig. 29. Terracotta sculpture of "Nike" from Gela (Ferrara 2011).

Nevertheless, I would like to conclude that I believe that the Amazon of the Esquiline is of an exceptional importance and emphasizes the close relations between Sicily and the Roman world at the beginning of the 5th century BC.

These same relations can be followed when studying the Second decorative system in roofs in Central Italy, beginning with the monumental temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, dedicated in 509 BC and of Western Greek dimensions. Similar, its roof must have been decorated with giant statues, like the statue of Hercules, or the quadriga, mentioned by the ancient authors and only comparable with the contemporary terracotta sculpture known from Sicily. Unfortunately only very few fragments of this roof have been found, but comparison with the Second phase decorative roof *par excellence* the one in Satricum, with a row of life-size statues on the roof, makes us believe it was very similar, only thirty percent larger⁴⁴. The monumental roof decorations were only paralleled by the terracotta sculptures from Sicily, especially Gela and Camarina, displaying enormous over life-sized acroteria in the shape of horsemen and/or Nikai (Figs. 29-30)⁴⁵. The Western Greek connection



Fig. 30. Terracotta sculpture of "Rider" from Camarina (Ciurcina 2011).

44. Satricum: Lulof 2014, 119-123, on the beginning of the monumental Second decorative system. The latest analysis of the temple: Hopkins 2016, 97-105; Lulof 2014, 119 and Hopkins 2016, 102 and n. 110, on the large-scale roof decoration, with previous bibliography.

45. Ciurcina 2011; Ferrara 2011 for material of immense proportions, statues for the roof close to 2.50 meters.

played an important role not only in the development of religious architecture, but also clearly influenced the Roman roofing industry, and the workshops active in this period show a different artistic and technical input, mostly, reflecting trends from Campania and Sicily. This change may provide a clue to understanding the political, cultural and historical setting of the building activities in this period.

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«Ελληνικές» διασυνδέσεις με τη Ρώμη

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Κατά τη διάρκεια του 19ου αιώνα ο Rodolfo Lanciani ανέσκαψε, μέσα σε ένα δευτερογενές γέμισμα του 1ου αι. π.Χ. στα *Horti* του Γάιου Μαικήνα στη νεκρόπολη του Εσκουιλίνο στη Ρώμη ένα, αποσπασματικά διατηρημένο, πήλινο γλυπτό, το οποίο απεικονίζει Αμαζόνα που έχει πέσει σε μάχη. Ήδη κατά την ανεύρεση αναφέρθηκε πως, λόγω της εξαιρετικής του ποιότητας, θα πρέπει να ήταν έργο ενός έλληνα δημιουργού. Όπως είναι γνωστό, η τεχνική της δημιουργίας των πήλινων γλυπτών με ένα στρώμα λεπτού καθαρού πηλού στην επιφάνεια, το οποίο λειαινόταν και επιζωγραφιζόταν πριν από την όπτηση, έφθασε σε μεγάλη ακμή στην Ελλάδα και συναντάται επίσης στη Νότια Ιταλία και τη Σικελία. Στην προκείμενη παρουσίαση υποστηρίζω πως η πληγωμένη Αμαζόνα αποτελούσε μέρος ενός κεντρικού ακρωτηρίου που κοσμούσε ένα ναό του τέλους του 6ου ή των αρχών του 5ου αι. π.Χ. και ήταν έργο ενός σικελού καλλιτέχνη. Την άποψη αυτή της εισαγωγής από τη Σικελία στηρίζει και η ανάλυση του υλικού του πηλού. Τέλος, στο πλαίσιο αυτό συζητείται και το ενδεχόμενο το ακρωτήριο να κοσμούσε τον φημισμένο ναό της Ceres Liber και Libera στον Αβεντίνο λόφο της Ρώμης και να είναι έργο των περίφημων Δαμόφιλου και Γόργασου, οι οποίοι σύμφωνα με τον Πλίνιο, εργάστηκαν για τη διακόσμηση του ναού περί το 500 π.Χ.

Patricia S. Lulof

