60

Head of Hades

400-300 BC

Expand All

Object Details

Catalogue Number	**60**
Inventory Number	85.AD.105
Typology	Head
Location	Sicily
Dimensions	H: 26.7 cm; W: 20.4 cm

Fabric

Pinkish in color (Munsell 5 yr 7/4); in the back, the clay is a lighter hue (Munsell 5 yr 8/2), with a friable, porous consistency. The surface is coated with a layer of greenish diluted clay and a layer of whitish slip (calcite?). Polychromy: light blue (beard), pink (neck, face, lips), reddish brown (curls of hair). The added pigments would have been applied after the firing process.

Condition

The head is broken off on a line with the neck; several curls from the beard and hair are missing; the polychromy is worn away in many places. There are traces of black (from combustion?) on the left cheek and on the curls. The surface is heavily encrusted with clay/dirt and clay/carbonate mixture. There are numerous areas of pigment loss and ground loss. Pigment areas are powdery and fragile, adhering only loosely to the surface.

Provenance

– by 1982–1985, Maurice Tempelsman (New York, New York), sold through Robin Symes (London, England) to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1985.

Bibliography

C. C. Vermeule, *A Catalogue of a Collection of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Antiquities Formed by a Private Collector in New York City during the Past Few Decades* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983–84), no. 11; ACQUISITIONS 1985, p. 186, no. 19; COLOR OF LIFE 2008, no. 20, pp. 136–37; LYONS, BENNETT, AND MARCONI 2013, pp. 53 and 192, fig. 133.

Description

The male head is characterized by a voluminous beard and a thick hairstyle that covers the entire cranium. Both beard and hair consist of hand-worked thick, spiraling curls that were applied before firing. The face is squared off; the forehead is low and wreathed by a regularly-shaped border of hair; the cheekbones are high, and the eyebrows straight. The almond-shaped eyes are defined by deep incisions made while the clay was still damp; the iris is rendered through a shallower incised line, and the eyelids are indicated by a light swelling. The nose is straight and narrow, the lips are fleshy, barely open, and not joined at the corners; the upper lip is more thoroughly modeled and the lower lip is almost straight. The transition from the smooth cheeks to the curls of the beard is rendered with finely incised lines, and the undulating shape of the moustache is formed by an overlaid layer of clay with oblique lines cut into it.

The facial features are inscribed in the face with a rigid linearity and, in its original appearance, the vibrant intensity and the abstract quality of the applied pigments would have been meant to express the dramatic epiphany of the god. As the discontinuous break on a line with the neck indicates, the head belonged to a larger figure, probably a statue.

This very peculiar head comes from Morgantina, a settlement in central Sicily. Its archaeological context was confirmed by the discovery of terracotta statue fragments in the area of the *Thesmophorion* sanctuary at San Francesco Bisconti in Morgantina, site of the women's cult of Demeter. Among the fragments of drapery and limbs, probably detached from large-scale sculptures, a number of hand-shaped spiral curls were found that are identical to those on this head in terms of dimensions, style, color, and fabric.[1]

The extramural sanctuary of San Francesco Bisconti, the most important in Morgantina dedicated to the goddesses Demeter and Persephone, was continuously occupied over a long period of time between the sixth and third centuries BC. It comprises a complex of cultic *sacella* and *naiskoi* built on artificial terraces cut into the hillside.[2] This sanctuary is the presumed context for a life-size statue of Demeter in marble and limestone, which is

exhibited in the Museo Archeologico di Morgantina in Aidone, as well as two sets of marble acroliths—heads, hands, and feet—belonging to seated cult statues of Demeter and Persephone.[3] In interpreting the head's iconography, it is important to consider that it had appeared on the antiquities market together with a terracotta female head wearing a *polos*. The female head is of similar dimensions and displays an identical technical and stylistic rendering of the facial features: voluminous masses of hair, incised eyes, straight nose, and a mouth defined by an undulating upper lip and downturned outer corners. These characteristics make its association with this bearded head almost certain. Considered together, the presumed findspot in the *Thesmophorion* sanctuary and the possible connection with the image of a female deity would allow us to identify the pair as Hades and Persephone, central figures of ancient Sicilian worship.[4]

Both the articulation of the sanctuary architecture and the types and peculiar placement of votive offerings in various areas clearly allude to the cult of Persephone and her mother Demeter, which was closely tied to agricultural fertility, female fecundity, and women's roles as brides and mothers. In this context, the abduction and rape of Kore-Persephone, her marriage to Hades, and her cyclical return to earth (the *kathados* and *anados*) on which the flourishing of nature depends, were understood by the worshipers as the model of mortal marriage, closely intertwined with life and death, and with female and natural bounty.[5] In particular, Kore's abduction was marked as a metaphor for the crucial and violent passage between maidenhood and a woman's new status as a bride, a moment particularly celebrated within the ancient civic community.[6]

The god of the Underworld, like male figures generally, is infrequently represented in the coroplastic production of Sicily, but occurs somewhat more regularly in Morgantina. From sanctuary deposits at the site, Hades has been identified in a small group of large-dimension statuettes , representing a young, beardless male standing figure wrapped in a himation that covers the legs, datable to the third century BC. In some examples, his arm is bent forward in a sacrificial gesture; he wears the characteristic wreath of the bridegroom; in one case, he holds a turquoise snake, a typically chthonic attribute. According to Bell, the young man identified as Hades is represented as beardless in his role of bridegroom, on the occasion of his wedding with Persephone.[7]

Hades and Persephone are also the main characters in scenes depicted on the *pinakes* dedicated as *anathemata* in the Persephoneion at Mannella, near Locri, mainly datable to 490–450 BC. They depict the various episodes of the myth and the rituals celebrated in honor of the goddess in connection with the passage from childhood to adulthood, and in particular from the status of *kore* to that of *nymphe*. In the *pinakes*, the god plays the dual role of Kore's abductor and Persephone's bridegroom in the Underworld. In the first subject, one of the

most frequently represented among the different iconographic variants, Hades is identified with certainty only as an adult with full beard and curly or wavy hair. The beardless young abductor depicted in some *pinakes*, by contrast, has been extensively discussed and is interpreted by some as a mere mortal: in this case, the scene could be a symbolic representation of a ritual celebration of nuptials inspired by the mythological event.[8]

In the *pinakes* belonging to the group of the "consenting rape," Hades and Persephone are represented as a divine pair sitting calmly in a quadriga, Persephone having already achieved her status as a bride; there is no allusion to the violence of the act.[9] The divine pair is also extensively depicted in the *pinakes* of the *anakalypteria* (unveiling) group, which shows Hades and Persephone, enthroned as Queen of the Underworld, in a royal, solemn attitude, like two simulacra, receiving offerings from other deities. In such images, Hades is shown wrapped in a himation that covers the lower part of his body; he may hold any of a variety of attributes (a pomegranate, a scepter, a phiale, wheat ears, or a goose). He wears a long beard and moustache, and his hair is either tied with a ribbon, wreathed with leaves or flowers, or adorned with a diadem. In some examples (type 8/10), the presence of a door may recall, as a visual synecdoche, the *thalamos* (bridal chamber), the realm, or a cultic place.[10]

Hades' iconography is generally quite problematic and can entail interpretive ambiguities. Certain distinctive elements, nevertheless, rather than physiognomic features per se, can support his identification: an enthroned position next to a *paredra* (consort); the half-face representation; visual allusions to the realm of the Underworld; or the presence of a scepter and, in some cases, a cornucopia, a snake, or Cerberus.[11] There is another remarkable group of *pinakes*, also from the area of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Francavilla di Sicilia, a center that in the fifth century BC was under the political influence of Syracuse. In this group—derived from Locrian prototypes, as is evident from various stylistic and iconographic aspects—the abduction scene recurs with the representation of Hades and Persephone as a divine couple on a quadriga in the schema of the consenting rape, or enthroned in their roles as sovereigns of the Underworld (*theogamiai* group), alone or with other deities. In the *epiphaniai* group, the two heads are depicted in silhouette, detached from any mythological description in order to underscore the essentially abstract and solemn values of the image.^.^[12] In the Francavilla *pinakes*, Hades displays the usual features but also more peculiar details alluding to those *epikleses* (invocations) that better help to connote the god: for example, the wreath or garland, probably of roses, alludes to Zeus Katachthonios ("Underworld Zeus"), who is also assimilated with Hades in his role as sovereign of the Underworld; or to Zeus Meilichios ("kindly" or "honeyed" Zeus), a beneficent figure who was associated with rites of expiation and purification. In some *pinakes*, Hades is also compared to Zeus Eleutherios ("Deliverer") by holding an eagle-headed scepter and wearing a garland of

oak leaves. The cult of Zeus Eleutherios flourished particularly in Syracuse after the fall of Thrasybulus in 466 BC and the subsequent institution of democratic government.[13]

In Attic vases and especially in Apulian red-figure vases of the fourth century BC, the Underworld couple is extensively depicted seated or standing inside a *naiskos* surrounded by various mythological figures, in lively scenes characterized by the decorative exuberance peculiar to South Italian pottery. In a volute krater from Canosa datable to 320 BC, for example, Hades demonstrates his majesty through an eagle-headed scepter and sumptuous garments while Persephone wearing a diadem and veil stands before her bridegroom holding a four-headed torch; a volute krater by the White Saccos Painter is characterized by a reprisal of the schema of the two enthroned deities that is seen in the *pinakes*.[14] This iconographic model of the couple, repeatedly illustrated on the *pinakes* of Locri and Francavilla, shows them in their chthonic aspect but also in a positive role as givers of fertility, possibly enthroned in a solemn, epiphanic vision. After more than a century, this model was reproduced again in the Getty's head of Hades connected to the near twin head of Persephone, both of which were probably installed within a *sacellum* in the *Thesmophorion* of Morgantina.[15] Another iconographic typology, which was already codified in the fifth century BC in specific contexts, centered on the figure of Persephone; it recurred especially in the area of Syracuse, to which both Francavilla and Locri were connected politically and culturally.[16]

This interpretation is necessarily hypothetical, given the paucity of male cult sculptures recovered from sanctuaries dedicated to Demeter and Persephone and the absence of a precise archaeological context.[17] Nevertheless, analysis of the physiognomic and formal elements allow the placement of this head in a context influenced by a number of works of post-Phidian derivation, characterized in some cases by the coloristic effects of the red hair and blue beard. In the fourth century BC, this virile type, defined by the dense mass of hair and voluminous beard, was adopted for a diverse array of deities, such as Dionysos, Hades, and Zeus, evidencing the iconographic contamination that was quite common in the Hellenistic period. In this instance, however, further identifying elements are lacking.

In the rare representations of Hades, the Underworld god often shares traits with Zeus, especially when Zeus takes on chthonic connotations linked with the sphere of natural fertility, as with Zeus Meilichios or Zeus Katachthonios. These traits, as noted above, are assimilated to Hades in the *pinakes* of Locri and Francavilla.[18] In sculpture, a statue of Zeus Katachthonios datable between 440 and 430 BC is known to have been made by Agorakritos, and it has been recognized in the so-called Dresden Zeus, which is characterized by distinctively intense chiaroscuro tones, especially notable in the hair and beard.[19]

A number of physiognomic details—the ringlets of the beard, the treatment of the hair under the lower lip, the accentuated cheekbones, and the mustache—place the Getty's head within an iconographic tradition that runs from the archetype of the Phidian colossus in the Temple of Zeus at Olympia; continuing through the head of Zeus from Cyrene, also traceable to the typology of the Dresden Zeus; and finally recognizable in the middle-Italic and Etruscan contexts in a number of terracotta bearded heads, such as the one in the architectural decoration of the temple at Lo Scasato at Falerii, in Faliscan territory, dated to the fourth century BC. It signals the persistence of the Phidian artistic model, which enduringly influenced generations of artists.[20]

In the fourth century as well, in two coinage series of Syracuse—datable to after 348 BC, during the Timoleontic period, and imitated in the issues of other Sicilian towns—the profile head of Zeus Eleutherios can be seen, with a long beard and curly hair held back by small olive branches. In particular, one of the series was thought to have been derived from the staters of Elis-Olympia, minted for the first time after 421 BC and influenced by the work of Phidias, which continued to evolve typologically until the middle of the fourth century BC.[21] Morgantina, during its war against the Romans between 213 and 211 BC, also produced a silver litra characterized by the head of Zeus Eleutherios; on the reverse is the legend SIKELIOTAN, interpretable as an expression of the town's freedom and independence in this critical period.[22]

It is difficult to connect the Getty's head closely with the Syracusan coins of the second half of the fourth century because the images on the coins rarely find exact iconographic correspondences in other media; nevertheless, stylistically the head can be considered as a local "baroque" or stereotyped interpretation of a noble typology elaborated within the classical Phidian tradition, which characterizes the artistic production of Sicily in this period. In this sense, the reprisal of classical motifs during the age of Timoleon in a production associated with the religious sphere was intended to express, in a conservative and recognizable language, the bond to an artistic model that still felt alive and distinguished, in order to represent religious and political ideals.

Given the lack of comparable male terracotta sculptures from archaeological contexts, it is difficult to bracket the chronology of the piece. Some features, such as the mouth shape and the general facial structure, seem to be related stylistically to the late fifth century BC, but the possibility that these elements represented a stylistic heritage from the second half of the fourth century, drawn from an earlier prototype, a period when Syracusan models dominated the artistic production of Morgantina, cannot be ruled out.[23]

The most distinctive feature in the definition of the face—the incised line in the rendering of the eyes—is found in Magna Graecia and Sicily in a number of fictile heads that date from the sixth century BC. Examples include a head, probably of a sphinx, from Agrigento (550–530 BC); a head from Caulonia (late sixth century) now in the Museo Nazionale di Reggio Calabria; a large head of a female deity from Medma (late sixth to early fifth century BC); and a number of protomes from Locri, where the delineation of the eyes through deep incision appears to have been fairly common.[24] The same detail, which may point to bronze prototypes, is also found in the Etruscan milieu. A female head from the Campetti votive deposit at Veii, not far removed from this piece in the treatment of the lips, eyebrows, and nose, finds parallels in typologies dating from the Classical period, and is probably assignable to the middle of the fifth century BC. The possibility that the eyes and the incisions in this piece were refined with color in order to give the face greater expressive intensity cannot be excluded.[25] On the other hand, it seems improbable that lashes in bronze or any other material were inserted into the incision. This practice was more common on marble statues (such as the female head from the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia in Crotone and a marble head from Metaponto), though metal ornaments such as earrings did often decorate terracotta heads and votive busts.[26]

The polychromy, in particular the blue beard, clearly had symbolic meaning; blue was emblematic of eternity, due to its resemblance to the color of the sky, as well as being indicative of power and worth.[27] From the Homeric age and according to a convention deriving from Egypt and Middle Eastern traditions, the color blue particularly connoted the gods and was used in literature for its evocative and poetic meanings, especially in relation to Poseidon, Dionysos, and Hades. In fact, blue is only used for the representation of mortals when the character is already dead or transfiguring through the intervention of a god.[28] In sculpture, the most famous example is the "blue-bearded" monster from the pedimental group of the Old Athena Temple in Athens, datable to 575–550 BC; here, too, the bright color could be a figurative translation of a literary and poetic convention.[29]

Appendix

This head was subjected to the following analyses: energy dispersive XRF of pigments and ground; microscopic and microchemical analysis of the blue pigment; infrared analysis of the rose color; determination of the terracotta's firing temperature by means of thermomechanical and thermoluminescence analysis. The results confirmed the authenticity of the piece and the dating proposed here.

Results: Pigment is Egyptian blue. The reddish-brown color contains an iron oxide pigment (ocher); a high lead content also suggests the presence of lead white. The firing temperature

of the terracotta was approximately 785°C. The pigments found on the head are consistent with those used at the proposed date of origin.

Notes

1. For the fragments of a statue from the sanctuary of San Francesco Bisconti, see RAFFIOTTA 2007, pp. 98–110, 124–25; for the curls, idem., p. 102, nos. 138–40, pl. 27. More curls discovered in the same area are stored in the Museo Archeologico di Morgantina in Aidone. The curls were found to join perfectly to gaps in the beard and hair of the head in a 2012 examination conducted by the Getty's Antiquities Conservation Department, which confirmed their findspot in the San Francesco Bisconti sanctuary. The Head of Hades was approved for deaccession in 2012.

2. The first archaeological research in the area was conducted in late 1979, in consequence of unauthorized excavations reported in 1977; a second excavation followed in 1987; see E. De Miro, "L'attività della Soprintendenza Archeologica della Sicilia dal 1976 al 1980: Morgantina (Aidone–San Francesco Bisconti)," in *Beni Culturali Ambientali (Sicilia)* 1 (1980), pp. 134–37; G. Fiorentini, "Ricerche archeologiche nella Sicilia centro-meridionale: Morgantina (Aidone–San Francesco Bisconti)," *Kokalos* 26–27 (1980–81), pp. 581–600, esp. pp. 593–98; G. Fiorentini, "Attività della Soprintendenza Beni Culturali e Ambientali della Sicilia centro-meridionale (Agrigento, Caltanissetta, Enna) (1984–1988)," *Kokalos* 34–35 (1988–89), pp. 501. E. Caruso, "The Sanctuary at San Francesco Bisconti," in LYONS, BENNETT, AND MARCONI 2013, pp. 52–53. For the most recent research, see below n. 6.

3. On the Demeter statue of Morgantina, see C. Greco, "Afrodite o Demetra? A proposito della statua di divinità femminile al J. Paul Getty Museum di Malibu," *Kalós: Arte in Sicilia* 2 (April–June 2007), pp. 10–15; C. Marconi, "Una dea da Morgantina a Malibu," ibid., pp. 4–9; and C. Greco, "Una dea per Morgantina," *Kalós: Arte in Sicilia* 4 (October–December 2010). For the acroliths in particular, see C. Marconi, "Gli acroliti di Morgantina," *Prospettiva* 130–31 (2008), pp. 2–21.

4. The female head with *polos* was published in an auction catalogue: *Antiquities and Islamic Works of Art*, Sotheby's New York, December 8, 2000, no. 85; the piece's current whereabouts are unknown.

5. For the chthonic cults in Morgantina and in particular at San Francesco Bisconti, see C. Greco, "Il thesmophorion in contrada San Francesco Bisconti a Morgantina (Scavi e ricerche 2002–2004)," in PANVINI AND SOLE 2009; C. Greco, S. Nicoletti, and S. Raffiotta, "Morgantina: Due santuari delle divinità ctonie in contrada San Francesco Bisconti," in PANVINI AND SOLE 2009, pp. 129–31; see also S. Raffiotta, "I contesti dell'area ennese," in ALBERTOCCHI AND PAUTASSO 2012, pp. 39–67; RAFFIOTTA 2007, pp. 24–26, 111–29; and BELL 1981, pp. 98–111. For the *thesmophoria* in Sicily, see E. De Miro, "Thesmophoria di Sicilia," in DI STEFANO 2008, pp. 47–92.

6. For the cult of Demeter and Kore in Sicily, see GRECO 2013, with select bibliography on this theme.

7. For the depiction of Hades in Morgantina, see BELL 1981, pp. 88–91, nos. 295–99; for the statuette with a snake, see no. 297; for the cult of Demeter and Persephone at Morgantina, see ibid. pp. 98–103.

8. For the identification of the beardless abductor, see R. Schenal Pileggi, in LISSI CARONNA, SABBIONE, AND VLAD BORRELLI 1999, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 248–56.

9. For the scene of the rape in the *pinakes* of Locri with a bearded abductor, see LISSI CARONNA, SABBIONE, AND VLAD BORRELLI 1999, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 216–22 (group 2, types 2/1); idem., vol. 1, no. 3 (groups 2/18, 2/19, 2/22, 2/30), pp. 740–45, 764–77, 877–91. For the "consenting rape," see the type 2/24, pp. 814–25.

10. For the *anakalypteria* group, see R. Schenal Pileggi in LISSI CARONNA, SABBIONE, AND VLAD BORRELLI 2007, vol. 1, pp. 14–22; see, for example, type 8/10, pp. 126–35, pl. XVIII; type 8/13, PP. 171–84, pl. XXXVI. For type 8/32, see idem, vol. 2, pp. 453–59, pl. CXXXIV.

11. See LINDNER 1988, pp. 389–94. On this problem, see also C. Pizzirani, "Identità iconografiche tra Dioniso e Ade in Etruria," *Hesperia: Studi sulla grecità d'Occidente* 26 (2010), pp. 47–70.

12. See SPIGO 2000a; for the "consenting group," see type II, pp. 24–26, in which Persephone wears a low *polos*, a headdress that occurs very rarely in such representations in Locri and Francavilla. For the *theogamiai* group, see SPIGO 2000b, type XII, pp. 15–18; type XIV, pp. 23–27; type XV, pp. 31–33. For the group of the *epiphaniai*, type XVI, pp. 33–35, figs. 47–48. See also M. Albertocchi, "La coroplastica siceliota nella prima metà del V secolo a.C," in ALBERTOCCHI AND PAUTASSO 2012, pp. 142–61.

13. For the assimilation of Zeus Katachthonios and Zeus Meilichios, see SPIGO 2000b, type XVI.1, pp. 34–35, fig. 48 and n. 105; for Zeus Eleutherios, idem., type XVII, pp. 38–39. See also C. Giuffrè Scibona, "Lo sposo di Persphone a Locri: Tipologia ed ideologia della coppia nella religione demetriaca," *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Archeologia dell Università di Messina* 2 (1986–87), pp. 73–90; and G. Sfameni Gasparri, *Misteri e culti mistici di Demetra* (Rome, 1986), pp. 91–99, 103–5.

14. See LINDNER 1988, nos. 126, 132. See also PENSA 1977, pp. 61–66, pls. I–V, for two volute kraters from Ruvo and Altamura; and BELL 1981, pp. 88–91. For the Attic pottery, see H. Metzger, *Les représentations dans la céramique attique du IVe siècle* (Paris, 1951), p. 23, nos. 55–60.

15. The possibility that the terracotta lion's paw and drapery fragments found in one of the sacella on the upper terrace of the sanctuary of San Francesco Bisconti could be associated with this statue cannot be excluded; see RAFFIOTTA 2007, p. 125, no. 152, pl. 29, and no. 145. A type of throne with lion's paw feet also recurs in the pinakes of Locri; see, for example, LISSI CARONNA, SABBIONE, AND VLAD BORRELLI 2007, vol. 5, pl. LXIV, CXXXIV, CXXVIII, no. 33; and for Francavilla, SPIGO 2000b, p. 16, fig. 28; p. 36, fig. 29.

16. See GRECO 2013.

17. See on this topic HINZ 1998, pp. 138–39. In these contexts, the few large-scale terracotta sculptures published are female; see also idem., pp. 232–33 for male figurines from Sicilian sanctuaries. One should also mention the discovery of fragments of terracotta statues, also male, that were architectural decorative elements of cultic buildings from the site of Monte Altesina, north of Enna; among them was found the curl of a female protome of the second half of the fourth–beginning of the third century BC, similar to those of our head: see C. Bonanno, "Frammenti di terrecotte architettoniche da Monte Altesina Nicosia (EN)," in *Deliciae fictiles IV: Architectural Terracottas in Ancient Italy: Images of Gods, Monsters and Heroes*: Proceedings of an International Conference held in Rome (Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, Royal Netherlands Institute) and Syracuse (Museo Archeologico Regionale Paolo Orsi), October 21–25, 2009, ed. P. Lulof and C. Rescigno (Oxford, 2011), pp. 539–47, esp. fig. 4. In Greece, in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, the majority of large-scale terracotta sculptures, Bookidis believes, represent young male votaries "more likely than cult figures," but the author also remarks that this preponderance is puzzling if we consider that the majority of the figurines are female and "the absence of parallels for this type of material among the excavated sites and the existing sources" should be a warning: N. Bookidis, *Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore: The Terracotta Sculpture*, Corinth 18 (Princeton, 2010), pp. 272–76.

18. For the iconography of Zeus, see I. Leventi, s.v. "Zeus," LIMC 8 (1997), pp. 310–46. On relations between Zeus and Hades, see LINDNER 1988, esp. pp. 367–69; and W. Burkert, *Greek Religion*, trans. J. Raffan (Cambridge, Mass, 1985), pp. 200–201.

19. For the statue of Zeus Katachthonios and for the Dresden Zeus, see TODISCO 1993, fig. 12, p. 40.

20. In this connection, see P. Moreno, *La bellezza classica: Guida al piacere dell'antico* (Turin, 2001), pp. 92–94; for the heads from Falerii, see M. Cristofani, "La decorazione frontonale in Italia centrale fra IV e III secolo a.C.: Scelte iconografiche e stile," in *La coroplastica templare etrusca fra il IV e il II secolo a.C.: Atti del XVI Convegno di studi etruschi e italici, Orbetello, 25–29 aprile 1988* (Florence, 1992), pp. 37–55; M. Cristofani and A. Coen, "Il ciclo decorativo dello 'Zeus' di Falerii," *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia d'Arte* 14–15 (1991–92), pp. 73–129; for other comparisons, see a bearded fictile head formerly on the Swiss antiquities market, in M. Cristofani, "Arte ufficiale ed arte privata nell'Etruria del primo ellenismo," in *Akten des XIII Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie, Berlin, 1988* (Mainz am Rhein, 1990), p. 69, pl. 8, no. 8; see also a head from the Palatine in P. Pensabene, "Contributo delle terrecotte architettoniche alla definizione dei luoghi di culto dell'area sud occidentale del Palatino," *Ostraka* 10, nos. 1–2 (2001), pp. 81–103; and two fragments of a fictile bearded head probably

from the pedimental decoration datable to the beginning of the third century BC, which reflects classical influences: P. Pensabene, "Il tempio della Vittoria sul Palatino," *Bollettino di Archeologia* 11–12 (1991), pp. 11–51.

21. In this connection, see S. Garraffo, "Zeus Eleutherios-Zeus Olympios: Note di numismatica siracusana," *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 23–24 (1976–77), pp. 9–37; for the effigies of Zeus Eleutherios in the Syracusan coinage of the second half of the fourth century BC and the problem of links with an earlier iconographic tradition, see C. Tzouvara Souli, "Cults and Temples in Epirus, Magna Grecia and Sicily," in *La Magna Grecia e i grandi santuari della madrepatria, AttiTaranto 31, 1991* (Taranto, 1992), pp. 91–123.

22. For the silver litra (12 litra), see S. Raffiotta, "Il lungo viaggio del tetradramma di Morgantina," in *Morgantina, a cinquant'anni dall'inizio delle ricerche sistematiche, Atti dell'incontro di studi, Aidone, 10 dicembre 2005*, ed. G. Guzzetta (Caltanissetta, Rome, 2008), pp. 59–68. See also T. Buttrey, K. T. Erim, T. Gros, and R. Holloway, *The Coins*, Morgantina Studies 2 (Princeton, 1989).

23. The problems relative to these later phenomena and the reprisal of earlier models in the second half of the fourth century BC in Sicily, owing in part to the prestige of reference models, has been discussed for the typology of votive busts in PORTALE 2000. For the influence of Syracuse on Morgantina's production, see RAFFIOTTA 2007, p. 118; and in Sicily, PORTALE 2008, pp. 55–56.

24. For Agrigento, see U. Spigo's entry in PUGLIESE CARRATELLI 1996, no. 62, p. 673; for the head from Caulonia, see P. G. Guzzo, "I documenti per lo studio della produzione artigianale (VII–IV sec. a.C.)," in SETTIS 1987a, p. 445, no. 391; for the deity from Medma, see ORLANDINI 1983, and CATONI AND SETTIS 2008, no. 17, fig. 319, with further bibliography; for the protomes from Locri, see BARRA BAGNASCO 1986, pp. 29–30, pl. III. This detail appears also in stone sculpture, as shown in the fifth-century marble head from the sanctuary of Apollo Lykaios in Metaponto; see PUGLIESE CARRATELLI 1983, figs. 433–34; and PUGLIESE CARRATELLI 1990, p. 300, figs. 453–54.

25. For the female head with the outline of the eyes marked by a deep groove, see L. Vagnetti, *Il deposito votivo di Campetti a Veio: Materiali degli scavi 1937–1938* (Florence, 1971), pp. 46–47, pl. XVIII.

26. For the marble female head from the area of the temple of Hera Lacinia in Crotone datable at 470–460 BC, in which the orbital cavity was outlined with a thin bronze lamina, creating an impressive effect, see R. Spadea, ed., *Il tesoro di Hera: Scoperte nel Santuario di Hera Lacinia a Capo Colonna di Crotone,* exh. cat. (Rome, Museo Barracco, 1996), pp. 85–87; see also the head of Athena from Magna Graecia datable to the beginning of the fifth century BC in CATONI AND SETTIS 2008, p. 327, no. 39. For eyelashes in bronze, see also *COLOR OF LIFE* 2008, fig. 77. For the use of metal ornaments in terracottas, see no. 51 in this catalogue. For metal ornaments in sculpture, see B. S. Ridgway, "Metal Attachments in Greek Marble Sculpture," in RIDGWAY 2004, pp. 158–84.

27. On interpretative problems with the polychromy, see V. Manzelli, *La policromia nella statuaria greca arcaica* (Rome, 1994), pp. 67–92. See also P. Dimitriou, "The Polychromy of Greek Sculpture: To the Beginning of the Hellenistic Period," Ph.D. diss., Columbia University (1947), pp. 94–95; and L. Luzzatto and R. Pompas, *Il significato dei colori nelle civiltà antiche* (Milan, 1988), pp. 127–51.

28. See R. Drew Griffith, "Gods' Blue Hair in Homer and in Eighteenth-Dynasty Egypt," *Classical Quarterly* 55, no. 2 (December 2005), pp. 329–34. For the chthonic value of blue, consider the above-mentioned snake in the male statuette from Morgantina (BELL 1981, no. 297) and, in a different context, the statues of Sirens in the Serapeion of Memphis in Saqqara, datable to the third century BC, which show blue plumage: LAUER AND PICARD 1955, pp. 216–27. These are evidence of a persistent convention that in a few centuries would merge into the artistic and symbolic traditions of Christian art.

29. For the pedimental "blue-beard" group from the Old Temple of Athena on the Athenian Acropolis (570–550 BC), see A. Stewart, *Greek Sculpture: An Exploration* (New Haven, 1990), pp. 114–15, figs. 70–71.