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UZ SKULPTURU IKARA IZ DARUVARA

CONTRIBUTION TO THE SCULPTURE OF ICARUS FROM DARUVAR

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Povod je pisanju ovoga rada jedan kipić koji se čuva u dvorcu Drašković u Daruvaru, a dosad je u literaturi imao nekoliko različitih atribucija. Budući da je cilj rada analiza ikonografije Ikarovih prikaza u skulpturi, prikupljene su i analizirane sve rimske skulpture koje prikazuju antičkoga mitskog Ikara. Osim toga istražuju se eventualne razlike u ikonografiji između skulpturalnih prikaza Ikara i prikaza Ikara u drugim umjetničkim medijima. Isto se tako pokušava utvrditi tipologija njegovih prikaza na kipovima. Zahvaljujući ikonografskoj analizi, moći ćemo napokon atribuirati i kipić iz Daruvara, ustanoviti kojemu tipu prikaza pripada i kronološki ga preciznije odrediti.

Ključne riječi: Ikar, Daruvar, skulptura, ikonografija, tipologija, antička mitologija

The motive for the writing of this paper is the statue held in the castle Drašković in Daruvar, which had been attributed differently in scientific literature. Following the basic premise, this work will gather and analyze all Roman sculptures which depict the mythical Icarus from Antiquity, with the aim of analyzing the iconography of Icarus' representations in sculpture. Furthermore, possible differences in the sculptural iconography and in other various forms of representation of Icarus will also be analyzed. Likewise, we will try to establish a typology of its sculptural representations. With the help of the iconographic analysis, we will be able to finally attribute the statue from Daruvar, determine which type of representation it belongs to, and chronologically date it more precisely.

Key words: Icarus, Daruvar, sculpture, iconography, typology, mythology, Antiquity

1. UVOD

U dvorcu grofova Janković u Daruvaru (inv. br. 23) čuva se skulptura muškarca s krilima.¹ Pronađen je, djelomično oštećen, 1952. g. kao spolij u takozvano-me rimskom bedemu u Daruvaru. O okolnostima nalaza prvi je put izvijestila kustosica Arheološkoga muzeja u Zagrebu I. Degmedžić.² Autorica u izvještaju, između ostaloga, iznosi i neobično mišljenje da se najvjerojatnije radi o prikazu gladijatora, iako kip podsjeća na vugrovečkoga Ikara. Dvadesetak godina kasnije o kipu je podrobnije pisala D. Pinterović (1975: 149–150) koja ga je interpretirala kao Ikara i datirala na kraj 2. i početak 3. stoljeća. Spominje ga i B. Schejbal (2004: 112, sl. 18) koji prihvaća atribuciju D. Pinterović.

Kako je oko atribucije daruvarske statue bilo nekih dvojbi, a LIMC se uopće ne referira na Ikarove kipe, zadaća nam je da u ovome radu ustanovimo ikonografiju Ikarovih prikaza u skulpturi, analiziramo eventualne razlike u ikonografiji između skulpturalnih i drugih prikaza Ikara te, po mogućnosti, odredimo tipologiju njegovih prikaza na kipovima (usp. Nyenhuis 1986: 313–321, sl. 1–57). Zahvaljujući ikonografskoj analizi, moći ćemo konačno atribuirati i naš kipić iz Daruvara, a s pomoću tipologije doznati i odakle potječe.

2. O SKULPTURI

Ovaj je mali kip zajedno s postoljem isklesan u vrlo dubokome reljefu od jednoga komada kamena vapnenca visine 50,5 cm (sl. 1). Postolje je dugačko 20 cm, visoko 6 cm, a duboko 16 cm. Sam kipić (bez dijela glave i postolja) visok je 44,5 cm i širok 23,5 cm. Skulptura se tijekom vremena raspolovila vodoravno, po samoj sredini. Na vrhu sačuvanoga dijela glave nalazi se rupica (široka 1 cm i duboka 2,5 cm). Majstor je pri izradi kipa pažnju posvetio samo izradi prednje strane, dok je stražnja strana kamenoga bloka tek grubo obrađena.

¹ Zahvaljujem Krešimiru Karlu, konzervatoru Konzervatorskoga odjela u Bjelovaru, i gospođi Veroniki Pilat, zamjenici gradonačelnika, što su nam pomogli pri razgledavanju i fotografiranju kipa. O dvorcu v. Obad Šćitaroci & Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci 1998.

² I. Degmedžić, *Izvištaj AMZ o putovanju u Daruvar 4. 4. 1952*, AMZ RD. I. Degmedžić pisala je i o vugrovečkome Ikaru. Tom je prilikom spomenula Aristotelovu verziju bijega Dedala i Ikara (Ps. Arist, *De mir. ausc.* 81.836.11) prema kojoj su oni otišli na Jadran, i to na otoke Elektride. Međutim autorica koja poznaje i Ikara iz Pljevlja ne spominje daruvarsku figuru jer u njoj ne vidi Ikara (Degmedžić 1957).

1. INTRODUCTION

At the Castle of the Counts Janković in Daruvar (inv. no. 23) there is a sculpture of a winged man.¹ It was found in 1952, partially damaged, as a piece of spolium from the so-called Roman rampart in Daruvar. The circumstances of the find were first reported on by the Curator of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, I. Degmedžić.² Among other things, the author makes an unusual statement in her report saying the statue most likely represents a gladiator, even though it resembles the Vugrovec Icarus. Twenty years later, D. Pinterović (1975: 149–150) wrote about the statue in more detail and interpreted it as Icarus, dating it to the end of the second and the beginning of the third century. B. Schejbal (2004: 112, ill. 18) mentions the statue as well, accepting the attribution made by D. Pinterović.

As there has been some doubt regarding the attribution of the Daruvar statue, and since LIMC does not refer to Icarus statues at all, the task of this paper is to establish the iconography of Icarus representations in sculpture, to analyze possible differences in the iconography between sculptural and other depictions of Icarus, and, if possible, to determine the typology for his sculptural depictions (cf. Nyenhuis 1986: 313–321, ill. 1–57). The iconographic analysis will enable a definitive attribution of the Daruvar statue, while the typology will help establish its origins.

2. ABOUT THE SCULPTURE

The small statue, along with the pedestal, is carved in high relief from a single block of limestone, 50,5 cm in height (fig. 1). The pedestal is 20 cm long, 6 cm high, and 16 cm wide. The statue itself (without the head and pedestal) is 44,5 cm high and 23,5 cm long. The statue was split in half over time, horizontally across the middle. At the very top of the preserved part of the head there is a small hole (1 cm wide, 2,5 cm deep). The sculptor turned his atten-

¹ I would like to thank Krešimir Karlo, the conservator of the Conservation Department in Bjelovar, and Mrs. Veronika Pilat, Deputy Mayor, for assisting us in the survey and the photographing of the statue. For more information on the castle, see Obad Šćitaroci & Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci 1998.

² I. Degmedžić, *Izvištaj AMZ o putovanju u Daruvar (AMZ Report on the Trip to Daruvar)*. 4. 4. 1952, AMZ RD. I. Degmedžić wrote about the Vugrovec Icarus. She mentioned Aristotle's version of the story of Dedalus and Icarus's escape (Ps. Arist, *De mir. ausc.* 81.836.11), according to which they had gone to the Adriatic Sea, to the islands Elektrides. The author is familiar with Icarus from Pljevlja, however she does not mention the piece from Daruvar as she does not identify it with Icarus (Degmedžić 1957).



Slika 1. Skulptura Ikara iz Daruvara (foto: D. Tončinić)

Figure 1. The sculpture of Icarus from Daruvar (foto: D. Tončinić)

Kipić pokazuje mušku osobu s krilima. Predstavljen je u kontrapostu s malo izbačenom lijevom nogom i čvrsto oslonjen na desnu nogu. Potpuno je nag, a dugački *pallium*, koji je na prsima svezan u čvor, seže do tla, odnosno do stopala. Statua je odlomljena na gornjemu dijelu ruba, pa se od glave lika sačuvao samo stražnji dio, dok se brada i vrat mogu tek razaznati. Površina statue vrlo je oštećena, pa se ne mogu raspoznati anatomske detalje. Obje su ruke spuštene, lagano odmaknute od tijela. Lijeva je ruka sačuvana do lakta, a desna do zapešća. Iako su oba stopala oštećena, ipak se mogu raspoznati. Iza palija vide se tragovi desnoga krila. To je krilo dugačko koliko i sam lik. Još uvijek se mogu nazreti obrisi manjih pera iz desnoga krila iza ramena i vrata te dva dugačka pera koja sežu do stopala. Lijevo se krilo zbog oštećenja ne može raspoznati ni u jednome dijelu.

tion to the front of the statue in his work, while the rear of the stone block remained roughly carved.

The statuette represents a male person with wings. He is presented in contrapposto, his left leg cast aside a little, the right planted firmly on the ground. He is nude, with a long *pallium* tied in a knot at the chest, reaching to his feet on the ground. The statue has been broken off at the edge of its upper part, so only the rear of the head remains, while the chin and neck are barely discernible. The surface of the statue is highly damaged and anatomical details are not recognizable. Both arms are lowered and slightly set aside from the body. The left arm is preserved above the elbow, the right arm above the wrist. Both feet are damaged yet recognizable. Parts of the right wing are discernible behind the *pallium*. The wing is as long as the figure itself. Outlines of smaller feathers can still be seen in the right wing, beneath the shoulder and the neck, as well as two long feathers reaching the feet. The left wing cannot be recognized in any part due to overall damage.

3. MITOLOGIJA

Priča o Ikaru usko je povezana s njegovim ocem Dedalom, slavim atenskim izumiteljem (von Ranke-Graves 1995: 282–286). Grci su u mitologiji pripisivali Dedalu više tehničkih inovacija, kao i izradu statua.³ O njemu piše već Homer (*Ilijada* 18, 590–592) kad pripovijeda kako je za Arijadnu izradio plesni podij.⁴ Međutim osim što se u mitologiji govori o njegovoj izvanrednoj tehničkoj darovitosti, pripisana mu je i zavist prema nećaku Talu kojega je gurnuo u provaliju jer se počelo pokazivati da je mladić talentiran kao i on (Higin, *Fab.* 278; Plinije *NH* VII, 57). Zbog toga je nedjela bio kažnjen progonstvom na Kretu (*Paus.* I 21).

Iako su se opisi događaja na Kreti javili i ranije (Eschil, *Pers.* 890), najbolje su sačuvani u Ovidija (*Met.* 8, 183–259).⁵ Na Kreti je Dedal svoje talente stavio u službu kralja Minosa, pa mu je, između ostaloga, sagradio i labirint, zgradu sa spletom zamršenih hodnika iz koje nitko nije znao izaći. Labirint je od javnosti trebao skrivati Minotaura kojega je rodila Minosova žena Pasifaja nakon veze s bikom. Da bi se taj bik uopće približio ženi koja ga je željela, Dedal je konstruirao kravu u koju je Pasifaja ulazila prije odnosa. Pasifaja je rodila čudovište – polučovjekopolubika – kojega su hranili mladim Atenjanima. Na taj je način u labirint dospio i Tezej. Međutim Tezeju je u pomoć pritekla princeza Arijadna. Želeći ga spasiti od smrti, molila je Dedala za savjet kako se izlazi iz labirinta. Dedal joj je savjetovao da pri ulasku koristi vunenu nit s pomoću koje će se kasnije vratiti iz labirinta. Što se Tezeja tiče, on ne samo da se vratio iz labirinta nego je i ubio Minotaura.

³ U znanosti se neko vrijeme s mitom o Dedalu povezivalo i jedno razdoblje u razvoju grčke umjetnosti. U posljednje vrijeme o tome je pisala R. Corchia (1981) koja raspravlja o tezi prema kojoj se mit o Dedalu stvara istodobno s oblikovanjem arhajskih monumentalnih skulptura u 7. i 6. st. pr. Kr. Sličnu je tezu S. P. Morris detaljno analizirala u knjizi *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* (1992). Jedan od posljednjih radova u kojemu se spominje ta teza onaj je M. Franza (2005: 218–226) koji razglaba o tome kako su Grci s pomoću priča pokušali objasniti tehnički razvoj skulpture. Iznova podsjeća na to da je u 4. st. pr. Kr. Palefat u svojem djelu *Nevjerojatne zgode* (21) napisao da je Dedal bio prvi koji je načinio kip u raskoraku. Govori i o pokušaju da se među prve kipare ubroji i jedan Dedal iz stvarnoga života (Diodor 4,76). Podsjeća na to da je nakon pronalaska monumentalnih kipova iz 7. st. pr. Kr. na Kreti i arheološka znanost u 19. st. tragala za stvarnim umjetnikom, iz čega je potekao i danas upotrebljavani naziv „dedalska plastika“.

⁴ Neko se vrijeme u znanosti spekuliralo o tome da se *daidaleion*, koji se spominje na linear B tekstovima s Knosa, odnosi upravo na Dedalov plesni podij (Simon & Hirmer 1985: 271).

⁵ Ovidijeva verzija toga mita ona je koja je ostala zapamćena do današnjih dana. To što je mit o Dedalu i Ikaru i danas prisutan u likovnim umjetnostima, može se pripisati, kako nam se čini, upravo popularnosti Ovidijevih stihova uopće, a ne samo njegovih *Metamorfoza* (usp. Ahern 1989).

3. THE MYTHOLOGY

The story of Icarus is closely related to the story of his father Daedalus, the famous Athenian inventor (von Ranke-Graves 1995: 282–286). The Greeks ascribed many technical innovations to Daedalus, among them the making of statues.³ Homer mentions him (*Iliad* 18, 590–592) when describing the tale of Daedalus making a dance-floor for Ariadne.⁴ However, despite his extraordinary technical talent often mentioned in mythology, Daedalus is also described as envious of his nephew Talus, whom he pushed into a chasm when the young man showed signs of talent that could rival Daedalus' (Hyginus, *Fab.* 278; Pliny *NH* VII, 57). Daedalus was exiled to Crete as punishment for his crime (*Paus.* I 21).

Even though descriptions of the events occurring on Crete appear earlier (Aeschylus, *Pers.* 890), the best preserved ones come from Ovid (*Met.* 8, 183–259).⁵ Daedalus used his talent in the service of King Minos, constructing, among other things, a labyrinth for him, consisting of a building with an intricate network of halls where the exit was impossible to find. The labyrinth was intended to hide the Minotaur, the son of Minos' wife Pasiphae and a bull. In order to mate with the bull, Pasiphae had Daedalus construct a wooden cow which she would enter before having intercourse. Pasiphae gave birth to a monstrous creature, half man half bull, who ate young Athenians that were sacrificed to him. Theseus entered the labyrinth as such an offering. However, help came in the form of princess Ariadne. Wanting to save Theseus from certain death, she begged Daedalus to tell her how to find a way

³ Scholars have linked a period of Greek art to the myth of Daedalus. R. Corchia (1981) wrote on this subject in recent times, discussing the thesis of the myth of Daedalus appearing simultaneously as the formation of Archaic monumental sculpture in the 7th and 6th centuries BC. A similar thesis was brought forward by S. P. Morris and analyzed in detail in her book *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* (1992). One of the recent works dealing with this subject is that of M. Franza (2005: 218–226) who speculates how the Greeks tired to explain their sculptural technical development through stories. He recalls how Palaephatus was the first to write in 4th century BC, in his work *On Unbelievable Tales* (21), that Daedalus was the first to make a statue of a figure standing with feet apart. He talks about the attempt to count a real life Daedalus (Diodorus 4, 76) among the first sculptors. He reminds us how 19th century archaeologists, after the discovery of monumental statues from Crete dated to the 7th century BC, searched for the real artisan behind the name, which resulted in the term, still used today *Daedalic sculpture*.

⁴ It was speculated for a while in scientific literature that the *daidaleion* mentioned on Linear B tablets from Knossos refers to the dance-floor made by Daedalus (Simon & Hirmer 1985: 271).

⁵ Ovid's version of the myth is the most familiar one. The fact that the myth of Daedalus and Icarus has remained present in art even to this day can be ascribed to the popularity of Ovid's writings in general, not just his *Metamorphoses* (cf. Ahern 1989).

Prema priči na Kreti se Dedalu iz veze s robinjom Naukratom (Apol. *Epitome* I, 12) rodio sin Ikar. Minos je bio bijesan na Dedala zato što je pomogao Arijadni, pa je dao zatvoriti i njega i Ikara. Jedini način na koji su mogli umaći zarobljeništvu bio je da odlete s otoka. Dedal se dosjetio da bi mogao konstruirati krila za sebe i Ikara. Krila su bila izrađena od ptičjih pera; ona veća bila su spojena uzicom, a manja slijepljena i povezana voskom. Upravo je zbog voska Dedal upozorio mladića da se ne približava suncu jer bi se vosak mogao rastopiti. Prema mitu krila su bila bespriječno izrađena, pa su se otac i sin uspješno vinuli iznad grčkih otoka. Međutim Ikar je bio zanesen izvanrednim doživljajem letenja, pa je zaboravio na očev savjet i previše se približio suncu. Mladenačka hrabrost i neoprez odmah su bili kažnjeni. Vosak se rastopio, pera su se raspršila, a Ikar je počeo padati. Umro je u morskim dubinama (Verg. *Aen.* 6.9–44).

Prema drugoj priči (Menekrat FGrH 769 F1; Paus. IX 11), Dedal je s Krete pobjegao malim brodovima za koje je izumio jedra, pa je zbog njih i zbog povoljnoga vjetra bio brži od Minosovih brodova na vesla koji su ga progonili. Kako Ikar nije bio vješt kormilar, njegov se brodic prevrnuo, mladić se utopio, a valovi su mu izbacili tijelo na jedan tada bezimena otok u blizini Sama. Tamo se zatekao Heraklo koji je prepoznao mrtvoga mladića i dostojno ga pokopao. Zato se i otok i more oko njega otada nazivaju Ikarovim imenom.

Dedal je nastavio sam i, kako se čini, zaustavio se u Kumi blizu Napulja, sagradio Apolonov hram i nakon toga stigao u Kamiku na Siciliji. Prema priči Minos je saznao gdje se Dedal nalazi te je s brodovljem došao po njega i od Kokala tražio da mu ga izruči. Dedal se pobrinuo za sebe priredivši Minosu smrtonosnu kupku u vreloj vodi. Čini se da su mu na kraju i Atenjani oprostili ubojstvo nečaka, pa se vratio u domovinu (Higin, *Fab.* 39, 40 i 44; Apoll. *Bibl.* 3.15.8; *Epitome* 1.12–15; Diod. 4.76.1–78.5).

Međutim postoji još jedna priča (Ps. Arist, *De mir. ausc.* 81 = 836a.b) o Dedalovu bijegu s Krete u kojoj se, između ostaloga, spominje i njegov dolazak na otoke Elektride u Jadranskom moru (otoci u Kvarnerskom zaljevu?) (usp. Mastrocinque 1991; Braccese 2001). Tamo je Dedal izradio dvije skulpture, jednu od bakra, drugu od kositra, koje su predstavljale njega i sina.

out of the labyrinth. Daedalus advised her to use a woolen thread when entering the labyrinth, which would guide her back. Thus Theseus managed to return from the labyrinth after slaying the Minotaur.

According to the story, Daedalus had a son on Crete with the slave girl Naucrate (Apol. *Epitome* I, 12). Minos was furious with Daedalus for helping Ariadne, so he had him and his son Icarus imprisoned. Their only way of escape was to fly off the island. Daedalus then came up with the idea to construct wings for both of them. The wings were made of feathers; the bigger ones tied with a string, the smaller ones glued together with wax. Because of the wax, Daedalus warned Icarus not to fly too close to the sun, as the wax might melt. The myth tells us the wings were impeccably made, and father and son successfully escaped, soaring above the Greek archipelago. Icarus was so enthralled by the extraordinary experience of flying he forgot his father's advice and got too close to the sun. Youthful courage and imprudence were immediately punished. The wax melted, the wings disintegrated, and Icarus began to fall. He drowned in the depths of the sea (Virgil, *Aen.* 6.9–44).

According to a different story (Menekrates FGrH 769 F1; Paus. IX 11), Daedalus escaped from Crete on small ships for which he had constructed sails that enabled him to sail faster in favorable winds than Minos' ships which were in pursuit. Since Icarus was not a skillful helmsman, his ship foundered, the young man drowned, and his body was cast ashore on an unnamed island near Samos. When Hercules found himself on that island he recognized the young man and gave him a decent burial. The island and the sea around it were then named after Icarus.

Daedalus carried on alone, stopping at Cumae near Naples where he built the Temple of Apollo and then left for Camicus in Sicily. The story tells us that Minos found out where Daedalus was hiding and he sailed his fleet to Sicily to capture him, arriving at King Cocalus' court demanding Daedalus' extradition. But Daedalus prepared a poisonous hot bath for Minos and saved himself once more. It seems the Athenians eventually pardoned him for the murder of his nephew and he returned safely to his homeland (Hyg, *Fab.* 39, 40 i 44; Apoll. *Bibl.* 3.15.8; *Epitome* 1.12–15; Diod. 4.76.1–78.5).

There is another story however (Ps. Arist, *De mir. ausc.* 81 = 836a.b) of Daedalus' escape from Crete in which he travels to the Adriatic islands called Elektrides (the islands of the Kvarner Gulf?) (cf. Mastrocinque 1991; Braccese 2001). There he makes two sculptures, one from copper and the other from tin, which represent him and his son.

4. IKAR NA SKUPNIM PRIKAZIMA

4.1. ZAJEDNIČKI PRIKAZI DEDALA I IKARA

Iako nas zanimaju prikazi samoga Ikara zbog boljeg upoznavanja njegove ikonografije, valja se osvrnuti i na njegova obilježja na spomenicima gdje je u društvu svojega oca i eventualno nekih drugih figura (Hampe 1974; Bérard & Hofstetter 1979; Calderone 1982; Nyenhuis 1986; Bonacasa 2003). Među uistinu velikim brojem radova koji se bave ovim dvojcem vrlo se često citira članak J. E. Nyenhuisa (1986) objavljen u slavnome LIMC-u. On citira šezdesetak artefakata koje je podijelio u tri glavne skupine: prikazi samoga Dedala, prikazi samoga Ikara i zajednički prikazi.⁶ U ovome ćemo radu slijediti Nyenhuisovu podjelu na navedene tri skupine spomenika te im, kad se pokaže nužnim, priključiti one artefakte koji su Nyenhuisu promakli, a mogli bi doprinijeti novim spoznajama o Ikarovoj ikonografiji.⁷ Započet ćemo s analizom radova iz grupe prikaza na kojima se Dedal i Ikar pojavljuju zajedno. Među njima je Nyenhuis izdvojio tri tipa prikaza: *dovršavanje krila, let Dedala i Ikara i Ikarov pad*.

4.1.1. Prikazi tipa *dovršavanje krila*

Prva tip prikaza nazvan *dovršavanje krila* može se vidjeti na južnoitalskim vazama, rimskim reljefima, freskama, a posebno je bio omiljen na gemama.⁸ On pokazuje različite faze izrade krila za Ikara.

⁶ Nyenhuis se (1986: 237–242 (table), 313–321 (tekst)) bavi ikonografijom Dedalovih i Ikarovih prikaza te donosi opširnu bibliografiju. Usprkos velikoj citiranosti (što pripisujemo ugledu samoga LIMC-a) članak je, nažalost, vrlo površan. Autor ne poznaje velik broj zanimljivih spomenika s prikazom Dedala i Ikara i ne navodi nijedan od brojnih reprezentativnih primjera Ikarovih kipova iz provincija. Zbog toga nedostatak Nyenhuisova ikonografska analiza Ikara u najmanju je ruku manjkava.

⁷ Vidjeli smo u tekstu da je priča o Dedalu vrlo stara, a čini se da su vrlo stari i njegovi prikazi. Iako prikazi samoga Dedala nisu predmet ove rasprave, ipak valja spomenuti da je 1988. g. u Cerveteriju pronađena jedna olpa *bucchero* na kojoj je prikazan Dedal. Ta je etruščanska olpa datirana u treću četvrtinu 7. st. pr. Kr., što znači da je na njoj najstariji, zasad poznati, Dedalov prikaz. Čuva se u zbirci Marine Martelli u Rimu (Simon 1998; Simon 2004; Nyenhuis 2003: 36, sl. 3). Vrlo je zanimljiv jedan etruščanski zlatni privjesak (*bulla*) nesigurnoga mjesta nalazišta (Camacchio?) koji se danas čuva u Walters Art Gallery u Baltimoru (inv. br. 57371). S jedne strane prikazuje Dedala, a s druge Ikara. Na privjesku koji je datiran u 5. st. pr. Kr. napisano je Dedalovo i Ikarovo etruščansko ime: *Taitale* i *Vikare*. Etruščani su se vrlo rano upoznali s Dedalovom pričom, pa ga prikazuju od arhajskih vremena, i to najčešće kao izumitelja i konstruktora. Primijetio je to i Nyenhuis, ali mu je promakao, po našem mišljenju, najekspresivniji rani etruščanski prikaz Dedala-inovatora s jedne kamene stele iz Spine (v. Prayon 1998).

⁸ Usp. Nyenhuis 1986: 316–317. Rimskim reljefima na kojima je prikazano dovršavanje krila, a citira ih Nyenhuis, pridružit ćemo još jedan nama poznati i vrlo dobro sačuvani reljef iz

4. ICARUS IN GROUP REPRESENTATIONS

4.1. REPRESENTATIONS OF DAEDALUS AND ICARUS

Even though we are primarily interested in the representations of Icarus alone, to better understand his iconography, we must also take note of the characteristics of monumental representations of Icarus with his father and other possible figures (Hampe 1974; Bérard & Hofstetter 1979; Calderone 1982; Nyenhuis 1986; Bonacasa 2003). Among the large number of work dealing with this pair, the paper of J. E. Nyenhuis (1986) published in the notable LIMC is often quoted. He cites around sixty artifacts which he has divided into three main groups: representations of Daedalus alone, representations of Icarus alone, and representations of the two together.⁶ This work will adhere to Nyenhuis's division into these groups of monuments, and when necessary, it will add the artifacts Nyenhuis overlooked, which could contribute new insights to the iconography of Icarus.⁷ We will start with the analysis of representations of Daedalus and Icarus together. Among them, Nyenhuis has singled out 3 types: *The Completion of the Wings, The Flight of Daedalus and Icarus*, and *Icarus' Fall*.

⁶ Nyenhuis (1986: 237–242 (plates), 313–321 (text)) deals with the iconography of the representations of Daedalus and Icarus, and contributes an extensive bibliography on the subject. Despite the high citation rate (which can be credited to LIMC's reputation), the article is unfortunately very superficial. The author is not familiar with a great number of interesting monuments representing Daedalus and Icarus, and he does not cite a single representative example of Icarus statues from the provinces. For this reason Nyenhuis' analysis of Icarus iconography is, at the very least, lacking.

⁷ We have already seen in the text that the story of Icarus is very old, and his representations seem to be very old as well. Even though the representations of Daedalus are not the primary topic of this work, the 1988 find of a *bucchero* olpe depicting Daedalus needs to be mentioned here. This Etruscan olpe has been dated to the third quarter of the 7th century BC, which makes it the oldest known representation of Daedalus. It is part of the Marina Martelli collection in Rome (Simon 1998; Simon 2004; Nyenhuis 2003: 36, ill. 3). The Etruscan gold pendant (*bulla*) from an unknown site (Camacchio?) in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (inv. no. 57371) is also very interesting. It shows Daedalus on one side, and Icarus on the other. The pendant has been dated to the 5th century BC and it contains the Etruscan names of Daedalus and Icarus: *Taitale* and *Vikare*. The Etruscans were familiar with the story of Daedalus early on, so his representations come from archaic times, and he is mostly represented as an inventor and constructor. Nyenhuis noticed this as well but in our opinion he overlooked the most expressive early Etruscan representation of Daedalus as an innovator that comes from a stone stele from Spina (see Prayon 1998).

Najčešće se prikazuje trenutak kad je uspravnomu, nagomu i frontalno prikazanomu Ikaru već pričvršćeno jedno krilo. Dedal, koji je uglavnom prikazan postrance kako sjedi, kleči na jednome koljenu ili pak stoji pred sinom i upravo završava drugo krilo. Postoje i prikazi na kojima su Ikaru pričvršćena oba krila, a Dedal upravo završava posao s pričvršćivanjem uzica. Ponekad je prizor smješten u radionicu, pa su prikazane i alatke.⁹

U svim je prizorima Ikar predstavljen kao nag, golobrad i mlad muškarac. Krila su mu velika i moćna, sastavljena uglavnom od dviju vrsta pera i privezana uzicama ili omčama.¹⁰ Taj tip prikaza pojavljuje se i na sarkofazima, o čemu svjedoče dva fragmenta maloazijskih sarkofaga (Nyenhuus 1986: 317). Radi se o fragmentima sarkofaga nazvanih *Beirut A* i *Myra B1*. Prikazi su na obama fragmentima gotovo identični. Dedal sjedi i još uvijek dovršava jedno krilo. Pred njim je nagi Ikar s drugim krilom koje je pričvrstio dvjema trakama što mu sežu do bokova te se križaju preko cijeloga torza (Strocka 1984: 215; sl. 11, 16). Navest ćemo još jedan spomenik na kojemu Dedal ne pričvršćuje Ikaru krila, nego to čini netko drugi. Radi se o reljefu iz Flavije Solve (sl. 5). Na njemu je prikazan nagi, golobradi Ikar potpuno raširenih ruku s krilima. Pokraj njega sjedi ženski lik, možda Parka, koja upravo dovršava pričvršćivanje

4.1.1. Representations of the Completion of the Wings

The first type of representation named *The Completion of the Wings* can be seen on South Italian vases, Roman reliefs, frescoes, and it is especially favored on engraved gems.⁸ It depicts the various stages of the construction of Icarus' wings. The most common scene depicted is Icarus standing upright, nude, shown from the front, with one wing already attached to his arm. Daedalus usually sits aside, kneeling on one knee, or he stands in front of his son as he completes the second wing. There are representations of Icarus with both wings attached while Daedalus finishes tying the strings on them. Sometimes the scene is set in a workshop so tools are also present.⁹

Every scene depicts Icarus as a young man, nude and beardless. His wings are great and powerful, usually made of two types of feathers and tied with strings and loops.¹⁰ This representation type appears on sarcophagi, as evidenced by two sarcophagi fragments from Asia Minor (Nyenhuus 1986: 317). The fragments come from sarcophagi named *Beirut A* and *Myra B1*. The representations are almost identical on both fragments. Daedalus is seated and in the process of finishing one wing. A nude

Rusovce (Gerulata) (tragovi boje). Na njemu Dedal odjeven u kratku tuniku sjedi na stolcu. Pred njim je na tlu pravokutni predmet na koji je naslonio lijevo stopalo kako bi podignuo koljeno. Na njega je naslonio krilo na kojemu još radi, a ispred njega je nagi, golobradi Ikar. Lijeva ruka, na koju mu je već pričvršćeno krilo, spuštena je, a desnom pridržava krilo na kojemu Dedal još radi (usp. Verzar-Bass 2006).

⁹ Na jednoj kameji iz Nacionalnoga muzeja u Napulju (inv. br. 25838) prikazana je jedinstvena scena s Ikarom. On naime stoji na jednoj bazi na kojoj je bio i natpis. Prikazan je nag, frontalno, u kontrapostu, a oba su mu krila već raširena na leđima. Ova kameja prikazuje uistinu rijedak prizor. Ikarova lijeva ruka već je obručima pričvršćena na lijevo krilo. Desna mu je ruka spuštena, a šaku mu pridržava bradati Dedal odjeven samo u somu. Dedal kao da Ikaru na ruku stavlja obruče koje bi kasnije trebao pričvrstiti na desno krilo. Do Dedala je ženska osoba odjevena u stolu i palu (Pasifaja?) koja u lijevoj, malo podignutoj ruci drži *asciae* istodobno pridržavajući kraj svojega plašta. Desnom rukom pridržava vrh desnoga, još nepričvršćenoga krila. Desno od Ikara nalazi se ženska figura odjevena u stolu prikazana tri četvrtine frontalno (Artemida?). Sjedi na tronu, jedna joj je noga lagano ispružena, a druga savijena u koljenu. Preko nogu joj je prebačena pala. Desnom rukom koja je naslonjena na desnu nogu drži ceptar (Nyenhuus 1986: 317).

¹⁰ Poznata nam je jedna republikanska italska gema iz Korčule koja pripada privatnoj kolekciji A. Evansa, a nalazi se među onim gemama iz Dalmacije što su dospjele u muzej Ashmolean (br. 107) gdje se i danas čuvaju. Na toj su gemi prikazani Dedal i Ikar. Bradati, potpuno nagi Dedal, koji je prikazan postrance, sjedi na stolcu i drži u lijevoj ruci nekoliko pera (ili sasvim malo krilo?). Pred njim stoji golobradi i nagi Ikar prikazan tri četvrtine sprijeda. I on u savijenoj desnoj ruci drži nekoliko pera (krilo?), a u lijevoj, uz tijelo ispruženoj ruci dvije trake. Gema je datirana između 3. i 2. st. pr. Kr. (Middleton 1991: 37).

⁸ Cf. Nyenhuus 1986: 316–317. We can add the well preserved relief from Rusovce (Gerulata) (traces of color to the list of Roman reliefs depicting the completion of wings cited by Nyenhuus. It shows Daedalus dressed in a short tunic sitting on a chair. On the ground in front of him there is a rectangular object on which his left foot is placed in order to lift up his knee. On his knee he has placed the wing which he is still working on. A beardless nude Icarus stands in front of him. His left arm is lowered and has one wing already attached to it, while his right hand supports the wing Daedalus is still working on (cf. Verzar-Bass 2006).

⁹ A cameo from the Naples National Museum (inv. no. 25838) shows a unique scene with Icarus. He is standing on a pedestal with an inscription on it. He is depicted from the front, nude, in cotraposto, with the wings on his back already spread. The scene from this cameo is truly rare. Icarus' left arm is already attached to the wing with hoops. His right arm is lowered, and his fist is held by a bearded Daedalus dressed in a soma. Daedalus seems to be placing the hoops on Icarus which would later be attached to the right wing. A female figure stands next to Daedalus, dressed in a stola and palla (Pasiphae?), her left hand is lifted and grasping the *asciae*, while simultaneously holding the ends of her mantle. The right hand supports the unattached right wing. On the right side of Icarus another female figure stands dressed in a stola, shown three quarters frontally (Artemis?). She is sitting on a throne with one leg slightly extended, the other bent at the knee. A palla is draped over her legs. The right hand is holding a scepter and leaning on her right leg (Nyenhuus 1986: 317).

¹⁰ We know of a Roman Republic Italic gem from Korčula, part of the private collection of A. Evans, which is among the engraved gems from Dalmatia that have ended up in the Ashmolean Museum (no. 107) where they are still kept today.

krila na njegovoj desnoj ruci (Hudeczek 2004: br. 87; Nyenhuis 1986: 318). A na jedinome, zasad poznatome, potpuno sačuvanome sarkofagu iz Messine prikazana su čak dva prizora iz priče s Krete: dovršavanje krila, odnosno njihovo pričvršćivanje Ikaru, kao i Ikarov pad (Nyenhuus 1986: 318; Nock 1946; Calderone 1982). U obama je prizorima Ikar potpuno nag i golobrad. Na njegovim rukama nema uzica kojima bi umjetna krila bila pričvršćena, a tako je i u prikazima na vazama (Nyenhuus 1986: 316). Zanimljivo je da je na tome sarkofagu, kao i na reljefu iz Flavije Solve, pričvršćivanje krila prepušteno Parki. Međutim na sarkofagu je prikazan i Dedal koji radi na dovršavanju jednog krila.¹¹

Slijedeći tijek mitološke priče, na ovome bismo mjestu spomenutim artefaktima pridružili još neke druge, nama poznate, vrlo posebne spomenike.¹² Zahvaljujući tim spomenicima, moglo se ustanoviti da su u antici bili poznati i drugi tipovi prikaza oca i sina. U ovome ćemo radu navesti još dva sasvim nova tipa, ali samo onda kad znamo za više od jednoga istog prikaza. Tako je prvi novi tip, koji smo nazvali *Ikar pomaže ocu*, smješten u Dedalovu radionicu. Drugi tip nazvali smo *Dedal tuguje nad mrtvim Ikarom*, a on prikazuje sam završetak te tužne priče i o njemu će biti riječi nakon analize tipa *Ikarov pad*.

A. Na arheološkome lokalitetu Zeugma na Eufratu u Turskoj pronađeni su brojni mozaici (Tanaka 2007). Nakon što je zbog gradnje brane lokalitet potopljen, mozaici su 2005. g. preneseni u proširen Arheološki muzej u Gaziantepu. U njemu se čuva i panel jednoga mozaika s prikazom Dedala i Ikara koji je zasad datiran u carsko doba. Panel je dio većega podnog mozaika koji ima još jedan figurativni panel. Taj pak prikazuje Dionisa na kolima koja vuku dvije pantere. U društvu Dionisa nalazi se i malena, krilata Nika, smještena iza njegova ramena, te rasplesana Bakantica. Na obama panelima toga mozaika figure su imenovane tako da je atribucija itekako olakšana. Scena na panelu s Dedalom i Ikarom smještena je djelomično unutar odaja kraljice Pasifaje, a djelomično u otvoreni prostor. Odaje kraljice simboliziraju zavjese s resama i dijelovi unutarnje arhitektu-

Icarus stands in front of him with the other wing attached with two bands that fall to his hips and cross across the torso (Strocka 1984: 215; sl. 11, 16). Another sculptural work will be mentioned that does not show Daedalus, rather someone else, attaching the wings to Icarus. It is a relief from Flavia Solva (fig. 5). A nude, beardless Icarus is depicted, with outstretched winged arms. A female figure is sitting next to him, possibly Parca, who is finishing tying the wing to his right arm (Hudeczek 2004: br. 87; Nyenhuis 1986: 318). The only known sarcophagus from Messina shows two scenes from the Cretan story: the completion of the wings, i.e. their attachment to Icarus, and Icarus' fall (Nyenhuus 1986: 318; Nock 1946; Calderone 1982). In both depictions Icarus is nude and beardless. His arms bear no mark of strings that would hold the wings, and the same principle applies to the depictions of Icarus on vases (Nyenhuus 1986: 316). Interestingly, Parca is securing the wings, same as on the relief from Flavia Solva. The sarcophagus depicts Daedalus as well, working on the completion of the second wing.¹¹

Following the course of the mythological story, we would like to mention now some other, very familiar and special monuments.¹² These monuments have made it possible to establish other types of representation of father and son in antiquity. This work will mention two new types that are familiar from more than one representation. The first type is called *Icarus Helping His Father* and it is set in Daedalus' workshop. The second type is titled *Daedalus Grieving over Dead Icarus* and it shows the ending of the sad story. This second type will be mentioned after the analysis of *Icarus' Fall*.

A. The archaeological site Zeugma on the Euphrates in Turkey has yielded numerous mosaics (Tanaka 2007). After the flooding of the site due to dam construction, the mosaics were transferred to the expanded Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep. It holds the panel of a mosaic showing Daedalus and Icarus, dated to the Imperial Period. The panel is part of a larger mosaic floor with another figurative panel depicting Dionysus in a chariot drawn by two panthers. A small, winged Nike stands behind

¹¹ Ovaj je sarkofag Nyenhuis (1986: 318) uvrstio u posebnu grupu koju je nazvao *prikaz niza scena*.

¹² Osobito smo dirnuti zidnom freskom koja je krasila časnički stan u kastelu Echzell. Danas se čuva u Bad Homburgu u Saalburgmuseumu (Schleiermacher 1991: 96–120, sl. 7). Vjerojatno je sačuvano još prikaza tipa *dovršavanje krila*, osobito na gemama. Međutim uvjereni smo da smo s navedenim spomenicima uspjeli obuhvatiti ikonografiju Ikara i da bi se svaki novopronađeni prikaz mogao uvrstiti među ove zasad poznate.

¹¹ Nyenhuis (1986: 318) has allocated this sarcophagus to a separate group called *depiction of a series of scenes*.

¹² We are particularly moved by the wall fresco in the officer's apartment from Echzell castellum, held today in Bad Homburg in Saalburgmuseum (Schleiermacher 1991: 96–120, fig. 7). There are probably more depictions of the *completion of the wings*, especially on gems. However, we are convinced those mentioned so far have encompassed the iconography of Icarus successfully and any new representations may be included in those already analyzed here.

re. Otvoreni prostor pred palačom predstavljen je kroz prikaz neba i udaljenih gradskih kuća. Kompozicija slijeva započinje likom Pasifaje koja sjedi na stolcu. Pokraj njezinih je nogu drvena glava bika i zaigrani krilati Erot s lukom i strelicom. Do kraljice kojoj je iznad glave napisano ime na grčkome stoje dvije osobe. Prva je mlada žena koja gleda Pasifaju i koja nije imenovana, a druga je starija osoba s imenom *Trophos*.¹³ Taj lik ima ispruženu desnicu i kao da se obraća Dedalu. Bradati Dedal, odjeven u kratki palij, prikazan je u raskoraku, a glava mu je okrenuta prema palači. U desnoj ruci drži pilu, a u lijevoj komad dugoljasta drva. Iznad lijeve ruke napisano mu je ime. Na desnoj strani panela smještena je posljednja figura koja predstavlja mlađega muškarca. On je okrenut leđima, sjedi na četvrtastome predmetu, a odjeven je samo u kratki komad platna učvršćen oko bokova. Ispred sebe drži komad drveta koji obrađuje nekom alatkom. Kako mu je uz glavu napisano ime, saznajemo da je to Ikar. Na tlu su prikazani još neki alati i veći komad drva. Čini se da Dedal uz Ikarovu pomoć dovršava drvenoga bika za kraljicu. Već je ranije u tekstu bilo govora o tome da se Dedal i Ikar prikazuju zajedno u sljedećim dvama slučajevima: *dovršavanje krila* (kako bi se pripremili za bijeg s Krete) i *Ikarov pad* (odnosno njegova pogibija). Na prikazu iz Zeugme koji se očito zbiva na Kreti prikazano je kako Ikar pomaže ocu graditi bika za kraljicu. Izgleda da taj mozaik nije jedini koji prikazuje Ikara dok pomaže ocu jer je na sjevernome zidu triklinija kuće Vetija u Pompejima sačuvana freska slične kompozicije (Von Blanckenhagen 1968). Ona prikazuje Pasifaju koja sjedi, a dvije osobe stoje joj iza leđa. Jedna je od njih ženska osoba pokrivena glavom. Ispred Pasifaje je Dedal s već završenim umjetnim bikom, a u desnome donjem kutu prikazan je dječarac koji sjedi i radi na izradi nekoga drvenog predmeta. Zahvaljujući mozaiku iz Zeugme, mogli bismo dječarca s te freske lako atribuirati kao Ikara. Sudeći po radu M. P. San Nicolas Pedraz (1998), ta se scena s Ikarom u Dedalovoj radionici može naći i na još ponekoj rimskoj fresci, a nalazi se i na jednome podnom mozaiku iz *Kuće konja* u Kartagi (San Nicolas Pedraz 1998). Držimo da ovaj tip prikaza koji smo nazvali *Ikar pomaže ocu* može činiti zasebnu skupinu.

B. Vrlo je zanimljiv i grobni spomenik pronađen 2003. g. u Beču. Prednja strana spomenika podijeljena je na tri polja. U sredini je natpis, a na desnome i lijevome polju od natpisa po jedan je reljefni

Dionysus' shoulder, and a dancing maenad accompanies him. The represented figures are all named, on both panels, so their identities can be discerned easily. The panel scene with Daedalus and Icarus is placed partly inside the chambers of Queen Pasiphae, and partly in the open space outside. The chambers are symbolized by curtains with tassels and parts of interior architecture. The open space outside the palace is represented by the sky and distant townhouses. The composition on the left begins with Pasiphae sitting in a chair. A wooden bull's head lies beside her feet along with a playful, winged Eros with a bow and arrow. Two figures stand beside the queen whose name is clearly written above her head. The first figure is an unnamed young woman who is looking at Pasiphae, and the second is an older person named Trophos.¹³ This figure has the right arm extended out and appears to be addressing Daedalus. A bearded Daedalus, dressed in a short *pallium*, stands with feet apart, his head turned towards the palace. He holds a saw in his right hand, and an oblong piece of wood in his left. His name is written above his left hand. The last figure placed on the right side of the panel represents a young man. His back is turned, he is sitting on a rectangular object, dressed in only a small piece of cloth tied around his hips. He holds a piece of wood in front of him and he is carving it with tools. His name is written down by his head, so we know it is Icarus. Other tools and a bigger piece of wood lie on the ground. It seems Daedalus is finishing the wooden bull for the queen, with the help of Icarus. We have mentioned earlier how Daedalus and Icarus appear together in representations of *The Completion of the Wings* (to prepare their escape from Crete) and *Icarus' Fall* (his death). The depiction from Zeugma is obviously occurring on Crete and it shows Icarus helping his father to build the bull for the queen. It appears this mosaic is not the only one showing Icarus helping his father, because the northern wall of the triclinium of the House of Vettii in Pompeii bears a fresco with a similar composition (Von Blanckenhagen 1968). It depicts a seated Pasiphae, with two figures standing behind her. One of them is a woman with her head covered. In front of Pasiphae stands Daedalus with the finished artificial bull. In the lower right corner a small boy sits while making some wooden object. With the help of the fresco from Zeugma we can identify the boy as Icarus. Based on the work of M. P. San Nicolas Pedraz (1998), we can conclude the

¹³ Možda se radi o dadilji, odnosno o čuvarici odaja (Silver 1992: 219).

¹³ It may be the nanny, i.e. the keeper of the chamber (Silver 1992: 219).

prikaz.¹⁴ Iako je spomenik prilično oštećen, mogu se dobro razabrati prikazane figure. Tako se u desnome polju raspoznaje Dedal koji sjedi na stolcu i nekom alatkom u desnoj ruci upravo dovršava izradu drugoga krila. Na lijevome reljefnom polju prikazan je nagi Ikar kako stoji, a već mu je pričvršćeno jedno krilo. Podigao je desnicu čekajući da mu se pričvrsti i drugo. Dakle radi se o zanimljivome načinu prikazivanja scene *dovršavanja krila*, i to diobom na dvije reljefne ploče.

4.1.2. Prikazi tipa *let Dedala i Ikara*

Drugu skupinu prikaza Dedala i Ikara čini scena zajedničkoga leta oca i sina. Takvi prikazi poznati su s grčke i etruščanske keramike te s rimskih gema i svjetiljki (Nyenhuis 1986: 317–318). Na njima je Ikar, koji uz oca leti zrakom, prikazan ili nag (češće) ili s kratkim palijem koji mu, pričvršćen oko ramena, slobodno pada niz leđa. Međutim na jednoj italjskoj amfori koja se danas čuva u Kielu u Kunsthalleu (inv. br. B 700) i koja je datirana oko 550. g. pr. Kr. Ikar u desnoj ruci nosi i neki predmet (mjerni instrument?) koji se sastoji od dviju jednakih, na vrhu zakrivljenih šipki (Nyenhuis 1986: 317). Činjenica da i Dedal u ruci nosi alatke navela je F. Prayona na zaključak da su slikari te amfore inspiraciju pronašli u etruščanskim prikazima Dedala-majstora (Prayon 1998: 103).

4.1.3. Prikazi tipa *Ikarov pad*

Treća skupina konačno prikazuje nesretnu dječakovu sudbinu, a uz njega su prisutne i druge figure, prije svega Dedal. Već smo spomenuli da se može ustanoviti novi tip prikaza koji smo nazvali *Dedal tuguje nad mrtvim Ikarom*. O tome će tipu biti riječi na kraju ovoga odlomka.

Ikarov pad najčešće je prikazan na zidnim freskama, ali su poznati i primjeri s jednoga brončanog reljefa i s jedne geme (Nyenhuis 1986: 318–319). Iz Pompeja potječe čak deset različitih panela, a utvrđeno je da su pompejanski umjetnici prikazali Ikarov tragični kraj na dva načina: 1. u trenutku pada; 2. kad je već mrtav (Von Blanckenhagen 1968: 106–143). Jedan od primjera za prvi način prikazivanja nalazi se na pompejanskoj fresci koja se čuva u Britanskome muzeju. Ondje je u gornjemu lijevom uglu prikazan neki grad, na nebu je Dedal koji leti i Ikar koji već strmoglavo pada raširenih krila. Na moru je brodić s dvama ribarima, a na kopnu je prikazana grobnica

scene of Icarus in Daedalus' workshop appears on other Roman frescoes and on one mosaic floor in the House of Horses in Carthage (San Nicolas Pedraz 1998). We hold here this scene of Icarus helping his father represents a separate type we call *Icarus Helping His Father*.

B. There is an interesting grave monument in Vienna, discovered in 2003. Its front side is divided into three fields. An inscription stands in the middle, while the right and left field hold a relief depiction.¹⁴ Even though the monument is visibly damaged, certain figures can be discerned. The right field depicts the figure of Daedalus sitting on a chair and in the process of completing the second wing by using some sort of tool. The left relief depicts a nude Icarus standing with one wing already attached. He is holding up his right hand, waiting for the other wing to be attached. On the whole, a very interesting way of depicting *The Completion of the Wings* by dividing the scene into two panels.

4.1.2. Representations of the Flight of Daedalus and Icarus

The second group of Daedalus and Icarus representations comprises the scene of the joint flight of father and son. These scenes are familiar from Greek and Etruscan pottery and from Roman gems and lamps (Nyenhuis 1986: 317–318). They show Icarus, flying alongside Daedalus, nude (more often) or wearing a short *pallium* fastened around the shoulders, falling freely down his back. However one Italic amphora, kept in the Kunsthalle of Kiel (inv. no. B700), dated to around 550 BC, Icarus is depicted holding some sort of object (measuring instrument?) in his right hand, consisting of two equal bars curved at the top (Nyenhuis 1986: 317). Since Daedalus is also depicted carrying tools in his hands, F. Prayon has concluded that amphora painters found their inspiration in Etruscan representations of Daedalus, the artisan (Prayon 1998: 103).

4.1.3. Representations of Icarus' Fall

The third group finally shows the boy's tragic fate, along with other figures in the scene, primarily Daedalus. We have already mentioned how a new type of representation can be established here, and we called it *Daedalus Grieving over Dead Icarus*. This type will be discussed in more detail at the end of

¹⁴ O tome se nalazu tek kratko izvještava u *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst- und Denkmalpflege* 58, 2004, Heft 2, str. 337. Trenutačno se čuva u depou kartuzijanskoga samostana u Mauerbachu.

¹⁴ There is a brief report on it in *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst- und Denkmalpflege* 58, 2004, Heft 2, pg. 337. It is currently on hold in the depot of the Carthusian monastery in Mauerbach.

i razlistano drvo, ali i više ljudi koji prate događaj. Jedan od primjera za drugi način prikazivanja nalazio se u pompejanskoj Imperijalnoj vili. Na toj je fresci na nebu Dedal koji leti, dok je u prvome planu, sasvim sprijeda, Ikar koji leži na tlu.

Prikaz *Ikarova pada* pojavio se i na jednome brončanom disku na kojemu su uz Dedala – koji još uvijek leti i kao da traži sina koji je već mrtav na tlu – prikazani Sol i Neptun (Bérard 1963). Na gemi iz Muzeja Thorvaldsen u Kopenhagenu (inv. br. I 876) prikazan je Dedal u letu i Ikar koji leži na boku (u moru?). Naime poznat je još jedan prikaz mrtvoga Ikara. U Karnuntu je 1885. g. pronađena desna polovica jednoga zabatnog reljefa na kojemu je prikazan mrtvi Ikar. Reljef se danas čuva u Donjoaustrijskome zemaljskom muzeju (inv. br. 3931 (10804)). Sasvim je nag i golobrad s dužom, bujnom, valovitom kosom. Prikazan je kako leži na boku. Lijeva ruka i krilo koje je dvjema omčama bilo pričvršćeno na zapešću i nadlaktici priljubljeni su mu uz tijelo, a desna mu je ruka ispružena i položena ispod glave. Na toj se ruci, na nadlaktici, vidi jedna omča. Međutim lijevi dio toga zabatnog reljefa nije sačuvan, pa se ne može znati što je bilo prikazano u desnome dijelu zabata (Buora & Jobst 2002: 226, br. III, p. 22).

Na spomenutim se prikazima Ikar pojavljuje u trenutku kad pada ili je već mrtav na tlu. Uvijek je prikazan gol. Ako pada, još uvijek ima krila, ali je okrenut na leđa (čime se implicira nefunkcioniranje krila) ili se prikazuje njegovo strmoglavlivanje. Ako već leži mrtav (na leđima ili na boku), s ruku mu je spaljeno jedno ili oba krila te leže uz njega na tlu. Na brončanome disku prikazan je sleđa, a krila mu beživotno vise uz tijelo.

4.1.4. Prikazi tipa *Dedal tuguje nad mrtvim Ikarom*

Na Siciliji, u grčkoj koloniji Himeri, pronađeno je tijekom iskopavanja više malenih glinenih oltara datiranih između 430–409. g. pr. Kr. Na njima je prikazan bik na čijim leđima sjedi stariji muškarac koji u rukama drži tijelo mrtvoga dječaka. Nakon što je Adriani (1970: 385, tab. 22–26) na prikazu prepoznao Dedala i Ikara, došlo je do znanstvene rasprave oko atribucije koja traje do današnjih dana.¹⁵ Ovom prilikom donosimo i naš prilog raspravi upućujući na jedan spomenik s prikazom Dedala koji u rukama drži mrtvo sinovljevo tijelo.

Na jednome ulomku apulskoga crvenofiguralnog kaležastog kratera (British Museum, inv. br. GR 2007.5004.1), datiranoga između 390. i 380. pr. Kr.,

this passage. *Icarus' Fall* is mostly depicted on wall frescoes, but there are other examples that come from a bronze relief and one gem (Nyenhuis 1986: 318–319). As many as 10 different panels come from Pompeii, and it has been established that Pompeian artisans depicted Icarus' tragic end in two ways: 1. while he is falling 2. when he is already dead (Von Blanckenhagen 1968: 106–143). An example for the first type of representation comes from a Pompeian fresco which is on hold in the British Museum. In the upper left part we can see a city depicted, while in the sky Daedalus is flying while Icarus plummets down with wings spread. A boat is sailing on the sea with two fishermen in it, while on land a tomb is depicted alongside a tree in full leaf, with many people watching the event unfold. Another example for a different type of representation can be found in the Pompeian Imperial villa. This fresco depicts Daedalus flying in the sky while Icarus lies on the ground in the forefront.

The representation of *Icarus' Fall* is also depicted on a bronze disk where Sol and Neptune appear alongside Daedalus, who is still flying and seems to be looking for his son who already lies dead on the ground (Bérard 1963). A gem from the Thorvaldsen Museum in Copenhagen (inv. no. I 876) depicts Daedalus in flight and Icarus lying on his side (in the sea?). There is another example of a representation of Icarus dead. The right half of a gable relief found in 1885 in Carnuntum depicts a dead Icarus. The relief is kept in the Landesmuseum of Lower Austria today (inv. no. 3931 (10804)). Icarus is nude and beardless, with long, thick wavy hair. He is depicted lying on his side. His left arm and the wing that was attached to his wrist and upper arm with two loops lie pressed against his body, his right arm is extended and placed under his head. A loop can be seen on his right upper arm. The left part of the gable relief has not been found, so we cannot know what was depicted on the right side of the gable (Buora & Jobst 2002: 226, no. III, p. 22).

The representations that have been mentioned so far show Icarus while he is falling or when he is already on the ground, dead. He is always depicted nude. If he is falling, he still has his wings, but he is turned on his back (which implies the wings are not functioning) or he is plummeting headlong. If he is already dead (lying on his back or side), one or both wings have fallen from his arms and they lie next to him on the ground. The bronze disk shows him from the back, his wings lifelessly dangling from his body.

¹⁵ O toj je problematici posljednji pisao N. Bonacasa (2003) koji navodi opsežan popis literature.

prikazano je kako Dedal – još s krilima – u rukama nosi malo, golo, mrtvo Ikarovo tijelo (Woodford 2009). Na prikazu se, zbog fragmentarne sačuvanosti, ne može vidjeti je li uz Dedala i Ikara bio još netko naslikan. Međutim vrlo je jasno da je na vazi prikazana još jedna scena iz mita o Dedalu i Ikaru koju bismo možda mogli izdvojiti u poseban tip prikaza nazvan *Dedal tuguje nad mrtvim Ikarom*.

5. DEDAL I IKAR KAO GRUPA STATUA

Osim navedenih primjera poznati su spomenici koji navode na zaključak da su se Dedal i Ikar prikazivali i kao grupa statua još u 5. st. pr. Kr.

O tome primjerice postoji važno epigrafsko svjedočanstvo s natpisa na jednome postolju (Picard 1955; Eck 1997). To je postolje, datirano u Trajanovo vrijeme, pronađeno u kupelji gimnazija u luci u Efezu. Ono je bilo, kako se na njemu može pročitati, baza za danas izgubljenu grupu statua Dedala i Ikara.

Jednoj takvoj grupi pripadao je, po našem mišljenju, i kip veličine 190 cm koji se čuva u Nacionalnome muzeju u Ammanu. Iako su se vodile rasprave o atribuciji toga kipa, smatramo da njegova ikonografija – prije svega trake (za krila?) omotane oko torza i (vrlo skromni) ostaci krila na leđima – mogu uputiti na Dedala. U literaturi se može pročitati da su uz tu skulpturu nađeni i dijelovi danas nestaloga kipa dječaka. Čini nam se stoga da i okolnosti nalaza ammanskoga Dedala upućuju na to da je on nekoć bio dio grupe s Ikarom (Ilfie 1953; Möbius 1953; Hannestad 1999; 2001). Ta se grupa međutim datira u vrlo širokome rasponu od 2. do 4. st.¹⁶

U kontekstu statue iz Ammana, kao i postolja iz Efeza, obratili smo posebnu pozornost na kip Ikara koji se danas čuva u Muzeju Centrale Montemartini pod inventarnim brojem MC2307 (Picard 1955: 26, n. 2; Koortbojian 2002: 192, sl. 8.13). Analizirajući tu prekrasnu statuu, došli smo do zaključka da je morala biti dio grupe s Dedalom. Zašto? Iako je skulptura djelomično oštećena, pa nije sačuvana cijela lijeva noga, desna potkoljenica, lijeva šaka i dio desne ruke, ipak je posve jasno da predstavlja Ikara. Prikazan je kao vrlo mlad muškarac, potpuno nag, samo s trakama koje su mu omotane oko prsa i s pomoću kojih mu je bilo pričvršćeno jedno krilo. To je krilo djelomično sačuvano, a nalazi se na desnoj, podignutoj ruci. Od nje se danas vidi samo manji dio nadlaktice uz pazuhu i rame. Lijeva mu je ruka spuštena, savijena u laktu na trbuhu, nedosta-

4.1.4. Representations of Daedalus Grieving over Dead Icarus

Numerous small clay altars have been found in the Greek colony of Himera on Sicily, and they have been dated between 430 – 409 BC. They depict an older man sitting on a bull, and holding the body of a dead boy. After Adriani (1970: 385, tab. 22–26) had recognized Daedalus and Icarus in these figures, a scientific debate erupted, and it has lasted until the present day.¹⁵ We use this opportunity to give our contribution to this debate by referring to a monument depicting Daedalus holding the dead body of his son in his hands. A fragment of an Apulian red-figure bell krater (British Museum, inv. no. GR 2007.5004.1), dated between 390 and 380 BC, shows Daedalus – the wings still on his back – carrying the small, nude dead body of Icarus in his arms (Woodford 2009). Due to fragmentary preservation, it is not visible if there was someone else depicted besides Daedalus and Icarus. What is clear however is that there is another scene from the myth of Daedalus and Icarus depicted on the vase, a scene which can be singled out as a separate representation type called *Daedalus Grieving over Dead Icarus*.

5. DAEDALUS AND ICARUS AS A GROUP STATUE

Apart from the mentioned examples, there are a number of monuments which lead to the conclusion that Daedalus and Icarus were represented as a group statue as early as 5th century BC. Important epigraphic evidence concerning this comes from a pedestal inscription (Picard 1955; Eck 1997). This pedestal, dated to the Age of Trajan, was found at the gymnasium bath in the port of Ephesus. The inscription tells how the pedestal served as a base for the lost group statue of Daedalus and Icarus. Another statue belonging to such a group comes from, in our opinion, the National Museum in Amman. Despite the numerous debates on the attribution of this statue, we believe its iconography – above all the bands tied around the torso and the modest remains of wings on the back – confirms the figure represents Daedalus. Scientific literature informs us how beside this stature fragments of another statue of a little boy were found. It seems the circumstances surrounding the discovery of Amman Daedalus suggest he once formed part of a group statue with

¹⁶ Möbius ga je (1953: n. 40) datirao u 2. odnosno u 3. stoljeće, a Hannestad (n. 40) u sredinu 4. st.

¹⁵ N. Bonacasa (2003) is the latest author to write on this topic, and he offers an extensive list of references.

je mu šaka. Međutim ni na lijevoj strani leđa ni na ruci nema nikakvih tragova drugoga krila. Možemo pretpostaviti da je Ikar prikazan u trenutku iščekivanja da Dedal završi i pričvrsti mu drugo krilo. Poznati su takvi zajednički prizori Dedala i Ikara, a i najčešće su sačuvani njihovi prikazi (Nyenhuis 1986: 316–317). Statua iz muzeja Centrale Montemartini grčki je original, a datira se u 5. st. pr. Kr.

6. IKONOGRAFIJA IKARA NA SKUPNIM PRIKAZIMA

Na prikazima koje smo spominjali, pogotovo na grčkim vazama, rimskim freskama i mozaicima, uz Dedala i Ikara pojavljuju se ponekad i drugi likovi. To su mogla biti božanstva kao što su Atena, Sol, Perzefona, Neptun i Eroti, zatim strašne Parke, Minos, Parsifaja i njihovi dvorjani, ali i ribari i slučajni promatrači te likovi koji dosad nisu mogli biti atribuirani.

Na spomenutim prikazima na kojima se pojavljuje u društvu drugih likova Ikar se ponovno prikazuje kao mladi, golobradi muškarac. Kosa mu je najčešće valovita i pada oko lica i vrata. U najviše je slučajeva nag, iznimno nosi palij (dugačak ili kratak) koji je na prsima ili na jednome ramenu pričvršćen kopčom. Kad je prikazan u očevoj radionici, na sebi ima kratku tuniku. Na jednome mozaiku omotao je samo kratku pregaču oko bokova, a na jednoj grčkoj vazi nosi krilate čizmice na nogama.¹⁷

Ikarova krila prikazana su kao složena ptičja pera dviju različitih dužina. Pri vrhu su kraća, pri dnu duža. Na većini djela na tim se njegovim krilima jasno raspoznaju ručke za koje se Ikar može uhvatiti prstima. Ponekad su to jedna ili dvije okrugle omče kroz koje može provući cijelu ruku. Na nekim su prikazima krila pričvršćena trakama koje se omataju preko prsa, ponekad i više puta. Na jednoj gemi iz Britanskoga muzeja (inv. br. Gem 3133) Dedal pričvršćuje uzice Ikaru iza leđa. Uzice se, ustvari, naslućuju jer se jasno razabiru njihovi krajevi koji vise s krila.

Na nekim prikazima, prije svega na grčkim vazama, etruščanskim spomenicima, ali kadšto i na ponekoj rimskoj gemi, umjetnici ničime ne pokazuju da su

¹⁷ Kao najraniji prikaz samoga Ikara (prva polovica 6. st. pr. Kr.) Nyenhuis (1986: 316) navodi fragment atičke hidrije koji se čuva u atenskome Nacionalnom muzeju. Na fragmentu su još uvijek vidljive noge u trku obuvane u čizmice s krilcima, kao i mali dio ruba hitona osobe kojoj pripadaju te noge. Iako je sačuvan samo donji dio toga lika, sigurno je prikazan Ikar jer je na tome fragmentu sačuvano i njegovo ime *IKΑΡΟΣ*. Međutim uz desni rub fragmenta dobro je raspoznatljiv i rub nečijega himationa te neki predmet (štit?). Taj uistinu zanimljiv fragment ne spada dakle u skupinu prikaza na kojima je Ikar sam.

Icarus (Iliffe 1953; Möbius 1953; Hannestad 1999; 2001). However, the dates for this group vary greatly, from the 2nd to the 4th century.¹⁶

In the context of the statue from Amman, as well as the pedestal from Ephesus, we draw attention to the statue of Icarus kept in the Centrale Montemartini Museum today, under the inventory number MC2307 (Picard 1955: 26, n. 2; Koortbojian 2002: 192, fig. 8.13). In our analysis of this exquisite statue, we have come to the conclusion that it must have been part of a group with Daedalus. Why? Because despite being partially damaged - the left leg, right lower leg, left hand and part of right arm are missing - it is clear that this statue represents Icarus. He is depicted as a young man, nude, with bands wrapped around his chest for attaching the wing. This wing has been partially preserved on the raised right arm. We can see a smaller part of the upper arm beside the armpit and shoulder. His left arm is lowered, bent at the elbow by the stomach, his hand missing. There are however no traces of the other wing on the back left side or the left arm. We can presume Icarus was depicted as waiting for Daedalus to finish the other wing and secure it. These types of collective scenes of Daedalus and Icarus are well known, and their representations are most often preserved (Nyenhuis 1986: 316–317). The statue from the Centrale Montemartini Museum is a Greek original, and it has been dated to the 5th century BC.

6. THE ICONOGRAPHY OF ICARUS IN GROUP REPRESENTATIONS

The representations we have thus mentioned, especially those on Greek vases, Roman frescoes and mosaics, sometimes depict other figures beside Daedalus and Icarus. They can be deities such as Athena, Sol, Persephone, Neptune and the erotes, then the terrible Parcae, Minos, Pasiphae and their courtiers, but also fishermen and other casual observers which could not be attributed so far.

In these group representations Icarus again appears as a young, beardless man. His hairy is usually wavy and falls around his face and neck. In most cases he is nude, sometimes he wears a *pallium* (long or short) fastened with a buckle at the shoulder or chest. When he appears in his father's workshop, he is wearing a short tunic. In one mosaic he has a short apron wrapped around the hips, and on one

¹⁶ Möbius (1953: n. 40) dates it to the 2nd or 3rd century, while Hannestad (n.40) dates it to the middle of the 4th century.

krila umjetna, odnosno pričvršćena na Ikara. Međutim u tim je slučajevima Ikar uvijek nekako doveden u vezu s prisutnom osobom (a to je najčešće njegov otac), zbog čega je jasan njegov identitet.

7. PRIKAZI SAMOGA IKARA

U okviru ovoga istraživanja posvetit ćemo posebnu pozornost prikazima samoga Ikara. Nyenhuisov rad nije nam, nažalost, bio od velike koristi zato što navodi tek pet spomenika. Među tih je pet artefakata i fragment atičke hidrije za koji smo utvrdili da ne prikazuje Ikara samoga.¹⁸ Ostala četiri spomenika dva su grčka i jedan grčko-rimski brončani kipić te jedna gema. Sukladno materijalu koji je obradio Nyenhuis (1986: 320) u zaključku članka ističe: „...the appearance of Icarus alone is rare and early except for 17–18 which are 1st cen. B.C. od A.D.”¹⁹

Takva nam se analiza učinila nevjerojatno manjkavom jer se u njoj, između ostaloga, ne spominje nijedan kameni Ikarov kip. Naime samo je iz provincija Norik i Panonija sačuvan impozantan broj takvih kipova, a oni pomiču vrijeme izrade Ikarovih skulptura do polovice 4. st. (Lorenz 1999).

No krenimo redom. Već je bilo riječi o tome da Grci poznaju priču o Dedalu i Ikaru od najdavnijih vremena i da vrlo rano izrađuju njihova plastična djela. Spomenuli smo grčku mramornu statu u muzeja Centrale Montemartini. Nadamo se da smo uspjeli pokazati da se radi o statui iz grupe s Dedalom, pa ona, naravno, neće biti uključena u analizu prikaza samoga Ikara. Međutim može ukazivati na to da su se već u to vrijeme možda izrađivala i djela koja prikazuju samoga Ikara. Da je tomu tako, pokazuju dva brončana kipića iz 5. odnosno iz 4. st. pr. Kr. koja prikazuju nagoga, golobradoga Ikara s krilima (Nyenhuis 1986: 316, br. 15, 16).²⁰ Već smo isticali da analiza Ikarovih ikonografskih atributa na prikazima na kojima je zajedno s Dedalom upućuje na to da su njegova krila bila uglavnom prikazivana kao umjetna, pričvršćena s pomoću traka ili omči koje su se nalazile na krilima ili su se križale na prsima, a ponekad vezale na leđima. Tako je i na ovim grčkim brončanim kipićima. Onaj koji se čuva u Britanskome muzeju (inv. br. 1451) ima vrlo dugačka krila koja su pričvršćena na raširenim rukama, a

Greek vase he wears winged boots on his feet.¹⁷ Icarus' wings are depicted as arranged bird feathers of two different lengths. They are shorter at the top, and longer at the bottom. On most parts, handles are visible on the wings which Icarus can grasp. Sometimes they are round loops through which he can put his arm. On some representations they are bands wound around his chest many times, for attaching the wings. One gem from the British Museum (inv. no. 3133) shows Daedalus attaching the strings on Icarus' back. The strings are hinted by their ends hanging from the wings.

Some representations, primarily Greek vases, Etruscan monuments, and sometimes Roman gems, have nothing that would indicate these wings are artificial, i.e. attached to Icarus. But in these instances, Icarus is always brought into connection with another person (most often his father) so his identity is clear.

7. REPRESENTATIONS OF ICARUS ALONE

In this research we will devote special attention to the representations of Icarus alone. Nyenhuis' work has not been of much help, unfortunately, because he cites only 5 examples. However, among these five artifacts is the Attic hydria fragment which represents in fact Icarus in the company of someone else, as we have already established.¹⁸ The other four are two Greek and one Greco-Roman bronze statuette, and one gem. In accordance with the material he has analyzed, Nyenhuis (1986: 320) concludes: “[T]he appearance of Icarus alone is rare and early except for 17–18 which are 1st century B.C. or A.D.”¹⁹

This type of analysis seems deficient because it does not mention, among other things, a single stone statue of Icarus. From the provinces of Noricum and Pannonia alone there is an impressive number of such statues, and they move the date of Icarus sculpture production to the mid-fourth century (Lorenz 1999).

¹⁷ Nyenhuis (1986: 316) lists a fragment of an Attic hydria from the National Museum of Athens as the earliest representation of Icarus (first half of 6th century BC). Running feet wearing winged boots can be seen on the fragment, as well as a small part of the hem of the chiton draped across the person. Even though only the lower part of the figure has been preserved, we can be sure it depicts Icarus because the name *IKAPOΣ* appears next to the figure. However, another hem of a chiton and some sort of object (shield?) appear alongside the right edge of the fragment. This interesting piece clearly does not belong to the representations of Icarus alone.

¹⁸ See previous note.

¹⁹ Cf. Franciscis 1961; Bérard 1963; Lorenz 1999.

¹⁸ V. prethodnu bilješku.

¹⁹ Usp. i Franciscis 1961; Bérard 1963; Lorenz 1999.

²⁰ Iz 5. st. pr. Kr. potječe i jedna brončana figurica koja bi mogla prikazivati Ikara. Čuva se u Walters Art Galleryu u Baltimoreu (inv. br. 541037). Iako joj je površina prilično oštećena i tek je djelomično sačuvana (nedostaju noge i lijeva ruka), mogu se prepoznati tragovi trake kojom je krilo bilo pričvršćeno na podignutu desnu ruku. Lijeva je ruka spuštena i malo odmaknuta od tijela.

ima i čizmice s malim krilcima. Raširena krila toga brončanog Icara nemaju nikakve omče ni uzice, ali izgledaju vrlo umjetno i kao da su slijepljena na njegovim rukama. Na kipiću iz Smirne krila su pričvršćena na leđima s pomoću traka preko prsa, dok su ruke savijene prema naprijed.

Nyenhuis (1986: 316, br. 18) spominje i jedan rimski brončani kipić Icara. Taj kipić nije mogao samostalno stajati na podlozi jer je sasvim nagi i golobrađi Ikar prikazan u letu: desna mu je noga ispružena, lijeva savijena u koljenu. Obje su mu ruke podignute nešto malo iznad ramena. Na njima su krila pričvršćena uzicama. Ovdje valja spomenuti još jedan, nama poznati, rimski brončani kipić koji je 2009. g. pronađen u Vallonu i koji se danas čuva u Musée Romain de Vallon. Kipić je vrlo dobro sačuvan (nedostaje mu samo desna potkoljenica). Ikar je prikazan kao golobrađi mladić, malo duže valovite kose, nag, potpuno raširenih krila. Ta su krila pričvršćena trakama što su više puta omotane oko njegovih ruku (Monnier 2010).

Osvrnimo se na rad J. D. Beazleya (1927) koji se, unatoč obećavajućemu naslovu, bavi samo prikazima Icara s antičkih vaza. Dok je pisao tekst, autor je poznavao dva prikaza Icara s antičkih vaza, a još je tri lika s vaza namjeravao identificirati kao Icara. Zbog toga je, između ostaloga, raspravljao i o prizoru s fragmenta jednoga crvenofiguralnog lekita. Na tome je fragmentu prikazan krilati muškarac u padu i ptica koja se obrušava prema njemu. U prikazu je autor vidio Icara u trenutku pada, a činjenicu da na njegovim krilima nema nikakvih naznaka da su umjetna objašnjava ovako: „...and if the wings are neither detached nor deteriorated – early artists prefer to show things perfect as long as they possibly can“ (Beazley 1927: 231). Na prvi se pogled čini da bi na lekitu mogao biti prikazan Ikar, i to zato što je na antičkim vazama citiranima u LIMC-u Ikar uistinu prikazan bez omči i traka na krilima (apuljski crvenofiguralni krater s volutama iz Nacionalnoga muzeja u Napulju, inv. br. H 1767; fragment crvenofiguralnoga skifa iz Muzeja Ashmolean u Oxfordu, inv. br. 1922.208; crvenofiguralna amfora iz muzeja Kunsthalles u Kielu, inv. br. B 700; usp. Nyenhuis 1986: 317). Ali na tim trima vazama uz njega je i Dedal koji mu ili pričvršćuje krila ili leti uz njega. Ako se prisjetimo Ikarove statue iz muzeja Centrale Montemartini iz 5. st. prije Kr. i traka koje se križaju na Ikarovim prsima, bit će nam jasno da su umjetnici itekako nalazili načina da vrlo jasno upute na umjetna krila. Stoga nam se izjava J. D. Beazleya o perfekcionizmu ranih grčkih autora čini pretjeranom.²¹

²¹ Neki su autori muškarca sa spomenutoga lekita smatrali Dedalovim nećakom Talom, iako se moramo zapitati zbog čega bi Tal imao krila (San Nicolas Pedraz 1998: 403, tab. 4). Autorica Tala naziva Perdix, a tako se zvala i Dedalova sestra.

But let us start from the beginning. We have already discussed how the Greeks were familiar with the story of Daedalus and Icarus since the earliest times and that they developed sculptural representations of it. We have mentioned the Greek marble statue from the Centrale Montemartini Museum. We hope we have clearly shown this statue formed part of a group with Daedalus, so it will not be included in the analysis of Icarus alone. It can indicate however that other representations of Icarus were made at the same time. Two bronze statuettes from the 5th and 4th centuries BC show that this is the case. They represent a nude beardless Icarus with wings (Nyenhuis 1986: 316, no. 15, 16).²⁰ We have already pointed out that the analysis of Icarus' iconographic attributes on representations with Daedalus indicates that his wings were mostly depicted as artificial, attached with bands or loops positioned on the wings or crossed on the chest, sometimes tied at the back. The same situation occurs on the Greek bronze statuettes. The statuette in the British Museum (inv. no. 1451) has very long wings attached to the spread arms, and boots with small wings. The spread wings on this bronze Icarus have no strings or loops, but they look very artificial and appear to be glued to his arms. The statuette from Smyrna has the wings attached to the back with bands wound across the chest, while the arms are bent forward.

Nyenhuis (1986: 316, no. 18) mentions one Roman bronze statuette of Icarus. This statuette could not have stood on its own because the nude beardless Icarus is depicted in flight: the right leg is extended, the left bent at the knee. Both arms are raised above the shoulders. The wings are attached to them with strings. It is worth mentioning here that another Roman bronze statuette was found in 2009 in Vallon, and it is on hold in the Musée Romain de Vallon. The statuette is very well preserved (only the right lower leg is missing). Icarus is depicted as a young beardless man, with longer wavy hair, nude and with wings spread. The wings are attached with bands wound multiple times around his chest (Monnier 2010).

Let us look at the work of J. D. Beazley (1927), which deals only with the representations of Icarus on vases from classical antiquity, despite its more promising title. While writing his text, the author was familiar with two depictions of Icarus on antiquity

²⁰ A bronze statuette from the 5th century BC could also represent Icarus. It is kept in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (inv. no. 541037). Even though its surface is pretty damaged and the statuette has only been partially preserved (the legs and left arm are missing), traces of the tape used to attach the wing to the raised right arm are clearly visible. The left arm is lowered and extended from the body.

Nyenhuis spominje i dvije rimske geme gdje je prikazan goli, golobradi Ikar koji leti (Nyenhuis 1986: 316, br. 17). Tako je i na gemi iz Britanskoga muzeja (inv. br. AN 970415001) prikazan Ikar koji leti, s raširenim rukama na kojima su krila i lagano savijenim nogama. I na toj su gemi vidljive omče s pomoću kojih su mu krila bila pričvršćena na ruke.

7.1. IKAROVE KAMENE SKULPTURE

Budući da nas ponajviše zanima kameni kipić iz Daruvara, činilo nam se da moramo obratiti posebnu pažnju baš na Ikarove kamene skulpture koje su, kako smo ustanovili, sačuvane u većemu broju. Da bismo uspostavili eventualnu analogiju s kipom iz Daruvara, prikazat ćemo ih tako da osobitu pozornost posvetimo njihovim ikonografskim obilježjima. Naime u LIMC-u su Ikarovi kamene kipovi potpuno izostali, a mi poznajemo čak 23 takva spomenika. Prije ikonografske analize valja istaknuti da se, bez obzira na to što svim tim kamenim kipovima nedostaje ili glava ili dijelovi nogu ili pak oboje, može uočiti da im visina varira, ali je uvijek manja od naravne ljudske veličine. Kretala se od 30 cm do 140 cm.

Smatra se da su kipovi Ikara analizirani u ovome radu bili dio sepulkralne kulture onih područja na kojima su nađeni (10. regija – Norik – Panonija – Dalmacija), s čime se možemo složiti.²² Jesu li kipovi bili postavljeni na nadgrobnome spomeniku, na zidnoj ogradi grobne parcele ili čak na vrhu tumula, ne može se znati. Sigurno je jedino da je kip 11 bio grobni prilog u jednome dječjem grobu.

Neki od kipova (6, 8, 13, 21) imaju ispod postolja, ali i na glavi (22) rupu od svrdla koja ne mora biti antičkoga podrijetla. Kako se ponegdje može pročitati, ta je rupa služila za pričvršćivanje na vrhu grobnoga spomenika (Hudeczek 2008: 25). Budući da većini kipova nedostaje ili glava, ili postolje, ili uglavnom oboje, nije moguće donijeti točan zaključak.

U literaturi je datiran tek manji broj tih kamenih Ikarovih kipova, i to vrlo okvirno. Tako se vrijeme nastanka onih koji su datirani kreće od prve polovice 1. st. do kraja 4. st.²³ Datiranje uvelike otežava

²² V. raspravu kod Hudeczek (2008: 25–28, tab. 9–10). Na ovome mjestu podsjećamo na deset fresaka iz Pompeja s prikazom Ikarova tragičnoga kraja. Valjalo bi razmisliti o nekome drugom kontekstu tih prikaza koji su resili unutarnje zidove pompejanskih kuća.

²³ Vogt je (2003) kip iz Aquleje (1) datirala u prvu polovicu prvoga stoljeća samo na osnovi kvalitete izrade, što bi se možda moglo dovesti u pitanje. Kip iz Altina datirala je nešto kasnije, u sredinu 1. st., i to zbog sličnosti s karakteristikama stila klauidijske plastike iz Aquleje.

vases, and he was planning to identify another three figures from the vases as Icarus. Because of this, he was discussing a scene from a red-figure lekythos fragment. The fragment shows a winged man falling and a bird swooping towards him. The author identified this scene as Icarus's fall, and the fact that his wings show no indication of being artificial he explains thus: "and if the wings are neither detached nor deteriorated – early artists prefer to show things perfect as long as they possibly can" (Beazley 1927: 231). It would seem at first that the lekythos does show Icarus, moreover because the vases from classical antiquity quoted in LIMC indeed depict Icarus without loops or bands on his wings (the Apulian red-figure volute krater from the National Museum in Naples, inv. no. H 1767; the red-figure skyphos fragment from the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, inv. no. 1922.208; the black-figure amphora from the Kunsthalle Museum in Kiel, inv. no. B 700; cf. Nyenhuis 1986: 317). But beside Icarus, Daedalus appears on these three vases, attaching his wings or flying next to him. If we recall the statue of Icarus from the Centrale Montemartini Museum, from 5th century BC, and the bands crossed on Icarus' chest, it will be clear that artisans found many ways to indicate that the wings were artificial. So J. D. Beazley's statement on the perfectionism of early Greek authors seems a bit exaggerated now.²¹

Nyenhuis also mentions two Roman gems that depict a nude, beardless Icarus in flight (Nyenhuis 1986: 316, no. 17). The gem from the British Museum (inv. no. AN 970415001) also depicts a nude Icarus in flight, with winged arms spread and legs slightly bent. Here the loops used to attach the wings to the arms are also visible.

7.1. STONE SCULPTURES OF ICARUS

Since we are primarily interested in the stone statue from Daruvar, it seemed most appropriate to pay special attention to Icarus' stone sculptures which have been preserved in large numbers. To make a possible analogy between stone statues of Icarus and the statue from Daruvar, we will focus on their iconographic characteristics. LIMC does not mention stone statues of Icarus, while we know of 23 examples. Before analyzing the iconography, it should be pointed out that all these stone statues, regardless of the head, legs or parts of legs, or both the head and legs missing, vary in height, but they are

²¹ Some authors identified the man on the cited lekythos as Daedalus' nephew Talos, even though one has to wonder why Talos would have wings (San Nicolas Pedraz 1998: 403, table 4). The author calls Talos Perdix, which is also the name of Daedalus' sister.

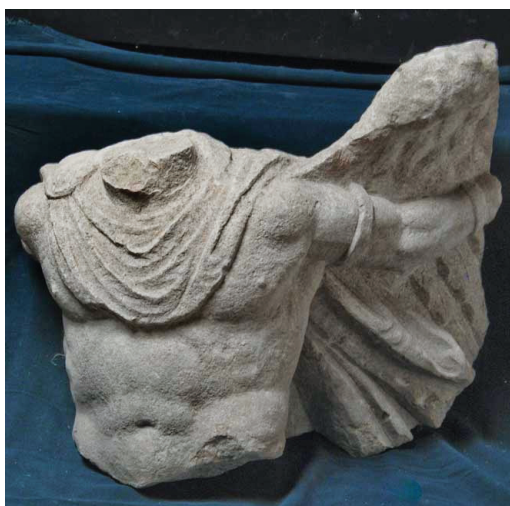
činjenica da, osim u jednome slučaju, nisu poznati konteksti nalaza kipova. Iznimku predstavlja kip 11 koji je bio grobni prilog, što je omogućilo njegovo datiranje u drugu polovicu 4. st., odnosno između 350. i 390. g.

7.1.2. Katalog Ikarovih kamenih skulptura

Najveći broj Ikarovih kipova pronađen je na području provincije Panonije i Norika. Nekoliko ih potječe iz 10. italske regije, a poznat nam je i jedan kip iz provincije Dalmacije. No krenimo od sjeverozapada. Poznajemo tri kipa iz italske regije Venetia et Histria: jedan iz Akvileje, jedan iz Altina i jedan iz Emone.

7.1.2.1. Venetia et Histria

1.



Slika 2: Ikar iz Akvileje
Fig 2: Icarus from Aquileia

U Arheološkome muzeju u Akvileji čuva se djelomično sačuvana Ikarova statua (Scrinari 1972: 21). Od statue (inv. br. 1271) koja je bila izrađena od vapnenca danas je sačuvan samo torzo bez glave (visina 47,5 cm) i dio lijeve ruke. Ikar je prikazan gol; samo je ogrnut palijem koji mu pokriva dio između vrata i ramena te dio prsa do grudi, a pričvršćen je okruglom kopčom na desnome ramenu. Nabori plašta vidljivi su i ispod lijeve ruke koja je sačuvana do zapešća. Ta je ruka podignuta gotovo do razine ramena i usmjerena unatrag. Provučena je kroz dva obruča (na nadlaktici i na podlaktici) s pomoću kojih je Ikar pričvrstio krilo. Od krila je ostalo sačuvano samo nekoliko pera dviju različitih dužina.²⁴

²⁴ Tomu se kipu pripisuje i jedan fragment krila (Arheološki muzej u Akvileji, inv. br. 839) na kojemu je sačuvan prikaz podlaktice provučene kroz obruč te šaka koja čvrsto drži drugi obruč (Scrinari 1972: 21).

always smaller than human size. The height varies between 30cm and 140 cm.

It is generally regarded that the statues of Icarus analyzed in this paper formed part of the sepulchral culture of the areas where they were found in (10th region – Noricum – Pannonia – Dalmatia), which we can agree with.²² Whether the statues were placed on tombstones, wall fences of burial plots or even on top of tumuli cannot be known for certain. The only sure thing is that statue 11 served as grave goods in one child grave.

Some of the statues (6, 8, 13, 21) have beneath their pedestal, and on the head (22), a drill hole that is not necessarily from the time of classical antiquity. As can be read elsewhere, the hole served for attaching the statue to the top of a grave monument (Hudeczek 2008: 25). Since most statues are missing either the head or pedestal, or mostly both, an accurate conclusion cannot be reached.

Scientific literature has dated only a small number of these stone statues of Icarus, and very generally at that. The dates range from the first half of the 1st century to the end of the 4th century.²³ Dating has been made difficult by the fact that, except in one case, the context of the find is not known for these statues. The exception is statue 11 which served as grave goods, and this enabled the dating to the second half of the 4th century, i.e. between 350 and 390.

7.1.2. Catalogue of the Stone Sculptures of Icarus

The biggest number of Icarus statues has been found in the area of the Pannonia and Noricum provinces. A few come from the 10th Italic region, and there is one statue from the province of Dalmatia. But let us start from the northwest. We know of three statues from the Italic region of Venetia et Histria: one from Aquileia, one from Altinum, and one from Emona.

7.1.2.1. Venetia et Histria

1.

The Archaeological Museum in Aquileia has a partially preserved statue of Icarus (Scrinari 1972: 21) on hold. The statue is made from limestone (inv.

²² See the treatise of Hudeczek (2008: 25–28, tab. 9–10). We would like to recall here the 10 frescoes from Pompeii that depict Icarus' tragic end. Another context within which these scenes were used as interior decoration of Pompeian houses needs to be considered.

²³ Vogt (2003) has dated the statue from Aquileia (1) to the first half of the 1st century, based solely on the quality of workmanship, which could be called into question. She has dated the statue from Altinum a little later, to mid-first century, because of the similarity with the characteristics of Claudian sculpture of Aquileia.

Ipak, taj položaj ruku i krila koja se nalaze iza tijela nagoviješta da je Ikar bio prikazan u trenutku leta. Statua je datirana u prvu polovicu 1. st.

2.



Slika 3: Ikar iz Altina

Fig 3: Icarus from Altino

Iz Altina potječe i u njemu se danas čuva (Museo archeologico nazionale) djelomično sačuvan kip Ikara visine 63 cm izrađen od vapnenca. Ikar je nag, a nisu sačuvani vrat, glava i potkoljenice. Nosi samo palij koji se u naborima spušta niz leđa i iza bedara. Sprijeda mu palij prekriva dijelove između vrata i ramena te dio prsa do grudi. Palij je na desnome ramenu pričvršćen okruglom kopčom. Desna ruka kojoj nedostaje podlaktica podignuta je do visine ramena, malo je savijena u laktu i usmjerena unatrag. Na njoj je s pomoću još raspoznatljivoga obruča pričvršćeno krilo. Nedostaje lijeva ruka i krilo koje joj je pripadalo. Iako kipu nedostaju obje potkoljenice, može se raspoznati da su noge bile prikazane u raskoraku; pritom je lijeva noga ispružena prema naprijed, a desna savijena u koljenu. Čini se stoga da je Ikar bio prikazan kako leti (Vogt 2003: 673). Kip je datiran u sredinu 1. st.

3.

Godine 1949. u Gradskome muzeju u Ljubljani pronađen je djelomično sačuvan mramorni Ikarov kip visine 47 cm; ondje se i danas čuva (inv. br. R 12660).²⁵ Od nekadašnjega kipa sačuvana je samo

²⁵ Taj je muzej posudio kip iz Narodnoga muzeja Slovenije u Ljubljani.

no. 1271) and only the torso has survived with part of the left arm (height 47,5 cm). Icarus is depicted nude; he has a *pallium* slung over his shoulder area and across the chest right below his neck, which is attached with a round buckle to his right shoulder. The mantle folds are visible beneath his left arm which is preserved to the wrist. The arm is lifted almost to shoulder height, and aimed backwards. It is inserted through two hoops (on the upper arm and forearm) used to attach the wing to Icarus' arm. Only a few feathers of varying length remain from the wing.²⁴ This position of the arm and wing placed behind the body suggests Icarus was depicted during the time of the flight. The statue has been dated to the first half of the 1st century.

2.

A partially preserved statue of Icarus, made of limestone and with the height of 63 cm, comes from Altinum and is on hold there (Museo archeologico nazionale). Icarus is depicted nude, with the neck, head and lower legs missing. His *pallium* cascades in folds down the back and behind the thighs. From the front, the *pallium* covers the shoulder area and parts of the chest beneath the neck. It is attached to the right shoulder by a round buckle. The right upper arm (the lower is missing) is lifted to shoulder height, bent a little at the elbow and directed backwards. The wing is attached with the recognizable hoop. The left arm and wing are missing. Even though the lower legs are missing, it is obvious the feet were positioned wide apart; the left leg extending forward, the right bent at the knee. It seems Icarus was depicted during flight (Vogt 2003: 673). The statue has been dated to mid-first century.

3.



Slika 4: Ikar iz Ljubljane

Fig. 4: Icarus from Emona

²⁴ A fragment of a wing (Archaeological Museum in Aquileia, inv. no. 839) is attributed to this statue; it depicts the forearm inserted through a hoop with the hand holding tightly another hoop (Scrinari 1972: 21).

glava i dio torza s lijevom rukom. Iako mu je glava mjestimično oštećena, još uvijek se mogu razaznati mladolike, pravilne crte lica s kratkom kosom koja u gustim pramičcima seže do polovice čela. Ikar je bio prikazan nag, ogrnut palijem koji je vjerojatno bio pričvršćen na desnome ramenu. Palij mu prekriva dijelove između vrata i ramena te prsa od vrata do grudi. Lijeva ruka s vrlo nezgrapno prikazanim prstima podignuta mu je do razine ramena i odmaknuta prema natrag. Trima omčama i uzicama pričvršćena je za krilo. Na Ikarovu torzu križaju se dvije trake koje također drže krila. Noge mu nisu sačuvane. Kip je datiran u sredinu 2. st.²⁶

7.1.2.2. Noricum



Slika 5: Ikar iz Flavije Solve

Fig 5: Icarus from Flavia Solva

Velik broj Ikarovih skulptura potječe iz rimske provincije Norik – čak devet primjeraka. Njihovi nalazi koncentrirani su na prostoru noričkoga municipija Flavia Solva na kojemu je pronađeno čak osam spomenika.²⁷ O svima njima više se puta raspravljalo u stručnoj literaturi, a posljednji su put obrađeni u austrijskome korpusu rimskih skulptura (Hudeczek 2008: 25–28). Iz Norika potječe i Ikarov kipić pronađen u Celju, odnosno u njegovoj okolini (Kolšek 1968: sl. 1).

Već su u 19. st. pronađeni Ikarovi kipići na prostoru nekropole municipija Flavia Solva koji je danas smješten između Wagne i Leibniza (Steiermark, Austrija).²⁸ Njih sedam čuva se u Universalmuseum Joanneum u Grazu (dalje: UJG) pod inventarnim brojevima 25, 114, 129, 133, 135, 137 i 257. Jedan je pohranjen u Institutu za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Grazu.²⁹

²⁶ Šašel je (1958) ovaj kip datirao u sredinu 2. st.

²⁷ Iz Flavije Solve potječe i reljefni prikaz Ikara koji smo spomenuli ranije u tekstu (usp. Hudeczek 2004: br. 87; Nyenhuis 1986: 318).

²⁸ O tim se kipovima više puta pisalo u stručnoj literaturi. Posljednji se put o njima raspravljalo 2008. g. pri objavi u katalogu rimskih skulptura iz Austrije. Tada su navedeni sveobuhvatni podaci i detaljan popis relevantne literature te fotografije kipova (Hudeczek 2008: 25–28, br. 21–28).

²⁹ Ikarov kip koji je pohranjen u Institutu za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Grazu pronađen je 1996. g. prilikom zaštitnih radova u Kalsdorfu u blizini Graza, nedaleko od Flavije Solve (v. Lorenz 1999).

A partially preserved statue of Icarus (height 47 cm) was discovered in the City Museum of Ljubljana in 1949, where it is still on hold (inv. no. R 12660).²⁵ Only the head and part of the torso with the left arm remain. Despite sporadic damage to the head, the youthful regular features are still visible, with the short hair covering half of the forehead with thick forelocks. Icarus was depicted nude, caped in a *pallium* which was probably attached to the right shoulder. The *pallium* covers the area between the neck and shoulder and the upper part of the chest beneath the neck. The left arm, with awkwardly depicted fingers, is raised to shoulder height and directed backwards. Three loops and strings serve to attach the wing to the arm. Two strips of tape intersect at the torso, also serving as support for the wings. The legs are not preserved. The statue has been dated to mid-second century.²⁶

7.1.2.2. Noricum

A great number of Icarus' sculptures come from the Roman province of Noricum – as many as nine examples. The finds are concentrated around the area of the Noricum municipium Flavia Solva, where eight of these statues have been found.²⁷ All of them have been discussed in scientific literature, and the last analysis has been done in the Austrian corpus of Roman sculpture (Hudeczek 2008: 25–28). The statue of Icarus discovered in Celj, i.e. the Celj area, also comes from Noricum (Kolšek 1968: fig. 1).

Already during the 19th century, statues of Icarus were being brought to light from the necropolis of the municipium Flavia Solva, situated between Wagna and Leibnitz today (Styria, Austria).²⁸ Seven of them are kept in the Universalmuseum Joanneum in Graz (hereinafter: UJG), under the inventory numbers 25, 114, 129, 133, 135, 137 and 257. One is on hold at the Institute of Archaeology, University of Graz.²⁹

²⁵ The statue had been borrowed from the National Museum of Slovenia in Ljubljana.

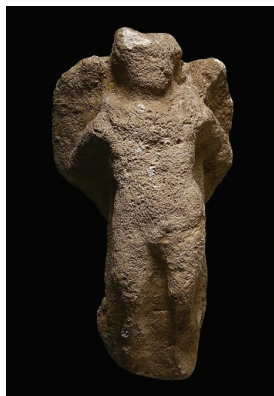
²⁶ Šašel (1958) dates this statue to mid-second century.

²⁷ A relief depiction of Icarus mentioned earlier in the text also comes from Flavia Solva (see Hudeczek 2004: br. 87; Nyenhuis 1986: 318).

²⁸ These statues have been discussed numerous times in scientific literature. The last treatise was done in 2008 for the publication of the catalogue of Roman sculptures from Austria. Comprehensive data with a detailed list of relevant references, as well as photographs of the statues, have been supplied (Hudeczek 2008: 25–28, no. 21–28).

²⁹ The Icarus statue from the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Graz was found in 1996 during rescue excavations in Kalsdorf near Graz, not far from Flavia Solva (see Lorenz 1999).

4.



Slika 6: Ikar iz Leibnitz

Fig 6: Icarus from Leibnitz

Ovaj se kip čuva u UJG pod inventarnim brojem 129. Iako je poznato da kip potječe iz Leibnitz, ne zna se ništa o drugim okolnostima nalaza. Načinjen je od pješčenjaka, a sačuvana visina iznosi 42 cm. Kipu nedostaje gornji dio glave, podlaktice i potkoljenice te dijelovi krila. Iako je površina kipa vrlo oštećena, dade se raspoznati da je Ikar bio prikazan s kosom koja mu seže do ramena. Vide se ostaci palija pričvršćenoga na desnome ramenu koji mu prekriva dijelove između vrata, ramena i grudi. Ruke su mu odmaknute od tijela i djelomično zabačene unatrag. Na rukama su mu bila krila (na svakoj se nadlaktici mogu raspoznati tragovi omče) koja su zbog položaja ruku smještena iza tijela. Noge su mu položene jedna pored druge, bez dinamike, kao da vise, zbog čega se čini da ga je majstor namjeravao prikazati kako leti. Kip je datiran između 350. i 400. g. (Hudeczek 2008: 25–28).

5.

Statua se čuva u UJG pod inventarnim brojem 133. Pronađena je u Leibnitzu, ali nema podataka o točnome nalazištu i o okolnostima nalaza. Izrađen je od pješčenjaka, a sačuvana visina iznosi 47 cm. Iako je površina kipa vrlo oštećena, na dijelovima plašta i krila sačuvani su tragovi crvene boje. Nedostaju potkoljenice i rubovi krila. Može se razaznati da je Ikar prikazan s valovitom kosom koja mu seže do ramena. Nag je, ogrnut samo palijem koji je svezan na desnome ramenu i koji prekriva dijelove između vrata, ramena i grudi. Tijelo mu je u kontrapostu, ruke ispružene i priljubljene uz tijelo. Šakama, prikazanima postrance, čvrsto je obuhvatio ručke na krilima. Statua je datirana između 350. i 400. g. (Hudeczek 2008: 25–28).

4.

This statue is kept at the UJG under the inventory number 129. Although it is known that the statue comes from Leibnitz, the circumstances of the find are unfamiliar. The statue is made from sandstone, and the preserved height is 42 cm. The upper part of the head, forearm, lower leg and wing parts are missing. Even though the surface of the statue is very damaged, it can be discerned that Icarus was depicted with hair reaching to his shoulders. Parts of the *pallium* attached to the right shoulder are still visible; it covers the area between the neck and shoulder and the upper chest. The arms are extended from the body and partly tilted backwards. They had wings attached to them (traces of loops are visible on both upper arms) that were placed behind the body due to the position of the arms. The legs have no dynamic, they are simply placed one next to the other as if they were hanging, which would seem to be due to the artisan's attempt to depict Icarus as flying. The statue has been dated between 350 and 400 (Hudeczek 2008: 25–28).

5.

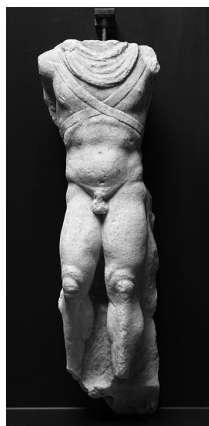


Slika 7: Ikar iz Leibnitz

Fig 7: Icarus from Leibnitz

The statue is kept in the UJG under the inventory number 133). It comes from Leibnitz, but there are no precise data on the exact spot or circumstances of the find. It is made of sandstone, and the preserved height is 47 cm. Even though the surface area is quite damaged, parts of mantle and wing show traces of red color. The lower leg and wing edges are missing. It is visible Icarus is depicted with wavy hair reaching to his shoulders. He is nude, caped in a *pallium* attached to his right shoulder and covering the area between the neck and shoulder and upper chest. The body is in contrapposto, the arms outstretched and placed close to the body. Both

6.



Slika 8: Ikar iz Leibnitz

Fig 8: Icarus from Leibnitz

Ova se skulptura čuva u UJG pod inventarnim brojem 135. Pronađena je u Leibnitzu, a od okolnosti nalaza poznat je samo podatak da je bila sekundarno ugrađena. Izrađena je od mramora, sačuvana visina iznosi 80 cm. Tijelu nedostaju glava, ruke, krila i stopala. Sačuvan je samo dio baze u kojoj je bila rupa. Ikar je prikazan nag, u kontrapostu, ogrnut palijem koji je na desnome ramenu pričvršćen okruglom kopčom. Palij prekriva dijelove između vrata, ramena i grudi. Preko torza dvije su trake koje se križaju nešto niže od grudi. Sačuvan je rameni početak desne ruke koji ukazuje na to da su mu ruke bile ispružene, u istoj ravnini s ramenima. Skulptura nije datirana (Hudeczek 2008: 25–28).

7.

Ova se Ikarova statua čuva u UJG pod inventarnim brojem 137. Pronađena je između 1842. i 1846. g., a u literaturi je navedeno samo da se nalazila u grobnome humku na prostoru između Wagne i Leibnitz. Izrađena je od mramora, sačuvana visina iznosi 48 cm. Nedostaje lice, desna noga i potkoljenica lijeve noge. Ikar je bio prikazan nag, u kontrapostu, s palijem koji je pričvršćen na desnom ramenu tako da mu je prekriven dio između vrata, ramena i grudi. Još uvijek se vidi da je Ikar imao dužu, valovitu kosu koja mu je padala iza ramena. Ruke su mu ispružene, malo udaljene od tijela. Ručke, koje su pričvršćene pri kraju krila, lagano pridržava šakama tako da su mu palčevi položeni iznad ručki, a prsti unutar njih. Krila su vrlo lijepo sačuvana. Bila su načinjena od dviju vrsta pera: kraćih pri vrhu, a duljih na dnu. Statua nije datirana (Hudeczek 2008: 25–28).

hands, depicted from the side, are firmly grasping the handles on the wings. The statue has been dated between 350 and 400 (Hudeczek 2008: 25–28).

6.

The sculpture is kept in the UJG under the inventory number 135. It was found in Leibnitz, but of the find circumstances we know only that it had been secondarily incorporated. It is made of marble, and the preserved height is 80 cm. The body is missing the head, arms, wings and feet. Part of the pedestal with a hole has been preserved. Icarus is nude, in contrapposto, caped in a *pallium* attached to his right shoulder with a round buckle. The *pallium* covers the shoulder and upper chest area. Two bands intersect across lower part of the torso. The beginning of the right arm, just underneath the shoulder, has been preserved, and it indicates the arms were outstretched and in shoulder height. The sculpture has not been dated (Hudeczek 2008: 25–28).

7.



Slika 9: Ikar iz Wagne

Fig 9: Icarus from Wagna

This statue of Icarus is kept in the UJG under the inventory number 137. It was found between 1842 and 1846, and scientific literature mentions only that it was located in a grave mound in the area between Wagna and Leibnitz. It is made of marble, and the preserved height is 48 cm. The face, right leg and lower left leg are missing. Icarus was depicted nude, in contrapposto, with a *pallium* attached at the right shoulder covering the shoulder and upper chest area. It is visible he had longer wavy hair reaching beyond his shoulders. His arms are outstretched, slightly extended from the body. He holds the handles, attached at the ends of the wings, gently so that his thumbs are placed above

8.



Slika 10: Ikar iz Grafendorfa

Fig 10: Icarus from Grafendorf

Kip se čuva u UJG pod inventarnim brojem 114. Pronađen je 1869. g. na starome groblju u Grafendorfu. Izrađen je od mramora, sačuvana visina iznosi 64 cm. Nedostaje glava, šaka desne ruke, desna noga, stopalo lijeve noge, dijelovi krila i prednji dio postolja. U postolju je bila izbušena rupa. Ikar je nag, u kontrapostu, ogrnut palijem koji je pričvršćen na desnome ramenu. Palij prekriva dijelove između vrata, ramena i prsa, a djelomično i grudi. Ruke su mu odmaknute od tijela, pa su i krila, sukladno takvu položaju, raširena. Ikar je provukao ruke kroz držače pričvršćene na krilima. Držači koji prekrivaju unutrašnju stranu lakta lijepo su sačuvani. Čini se kao da su napravljeni od tvrde kože i pričvršćeni s po dvije zakovice na rubovima. Površina lijeve šake u vrlo je lošem stanju, a desna potpuno nedostaje. Dakle iako je Ikar vjerojatno šakama držao ručke, to se ne može sa sigurnošću ustvrditi. Ni ovaj kip nije datiran (Hudeczek 2008: 25–28).

9.

I ovaj se kip čuva u UJG, i to pod inventarnim brojem 275. Pronađen je 1982. g. u kasnorimskome bunaru smještenome na grobljanskoj cesti Flavije Solve. Izrađen je od mramora, a sačuvan visina iznosi 44 cm. Nedostaju glava, stopala i gornji dijelovi krila. Ikar je prikazan nag i u kontrapostu. Ogrnut je palijem koji je okruglom kopčom pričvršćen pod vratom i prekriva mu prsa i vrhove ramena. Ruke su mu ispružene i vrlo malo udaljene od tijela. Prikazane su s unutrašnje strane kao i stisnute šake. Njima drži ručke pričvršćene pri završetku krila, a da bi mu stisak bio što čvršći, pritisnuo je palce iznad prstiju. Kip nije datiran (Hudeczek 2008: 25–28).

the handle and his fingers below it. The wings are very nicely preserved. They were made of two types of feathers: shorter ones at the top and longer ones at the bottom. The statue has not been dated (Hudeczek 2008: 25–28).

8.

The statue is kept at the UJG under the inventory number 114. It was found in 1869 at the old cemetery in Grafendorf. It is made of marble, and its preserved height is 64 cm. The head, right hand, left foot, wing parts and the front of the pedestal are all missing. The pedestal had a hole drilled in it. Icarus was nude, in contrapposto, caped with a *pallium* attached at the right shoulder. The *pallium* covers the neck, shoulder and upper chest area. The arms are extended away from the body, and the wings are accordingly spread out. Icarus has pulled his arms through the holders attached to the wings. The holders on the inner part of the elbow have been preserved very well. They appear to be made out of hard leather and attached at the edges with two rivets on either side. The surface of the left hand is badly damaged, and the right is completely missing. Though we cannot know for sure, it is probable Icarus was holding both handles with his hands. The statue has not been dated (Hudeczek 2008: 25–28).

9.



Slika 11: Ikar iz Flavije Solve

Fig 11: Icarus from Flavia Solva

This statue is also kept in the UJG, under the inventory number 275. It was found in 1982 in a late Roman well situated on the cemetery road of Flavia Solva. It is made of marble and its preserved height is 44 cm. The head, feet and upper parts of the wings are missing. Icarus is depicted nude and in contrapposto. A *pallium* is attached with a round buckle under his neck and it covers his chest and shoulder tips. His arms are extended and very slightly re-

10.



Slika 12: Ikar iz Kalsdorfa

Fig 12: Icarus from Karlsdorf

Skulptura se čuva u Institutu za arheologiju Sveučilišta u Grazu. Pronađena je 1996. g. prilikom građevinskih radova u Kalsdorfu nedaleko od Flavije Solve. Od mramora je, a sačuvana visina iznosi 57,5 cm. Skulpturi nedostaje glava, veći dio desne ruke, potkoljenice i krila. Ikar je prikazan nag, u kontrapostu i ogrnut je palijem pričvršćenim na prsima. Palij mu prekriva ramena, prsa, čak i gornji dio nadlaktice. Od desne strane prsa prema lijevome boku proteže se jedna traka. Lijeva mu je ruka ispružena i malo udaljena od tijela. Šakom je obuhvatio ručku koja se nalazi na krilu. Kip je datiran u sredinu 2. st. (Hudeczek 2008: 25–28).

11.

Kip se čuva u UJG pod inventarnim brojem 25. Pronađen je 1997. g. u grobu nekropole Flavije Solve. Kip je bio polegnut iznad glave pokojnika. Izrađen je od pješčenjaka i sačuvan u visini od 38,4 cm. Nedostaju mu glava, podlaktice, dio lijevoga krila, dio lijevoga stopala i lijevi dio postolja. Ikar je nag, u kontrapostu. Ogrnut je dugačkim palijem koji mu prekriva poprsje i prostor između vrata i ramena, a na desnome je ramenu pričvršćen kopčom. Kip je po površini vrlo oštećen, pa nije moguće razaznati kako su mu bila pričvršćena krila. Datiran je između 350. i 390. g. (Hudeczek 2008: 25–28).

12.

U Celju je među ruševinama jedne kapele u Starome gradu pronadjen kipić Ikara. U Slovenskim Konjicama (kod Celja) pronadjen je i nadgrobni spomenik koji je na kruništu imao prikaz Ikara u dubokome

moved from the body. The arms' inner side is shown and his fists are clenched. He is holding the handles attached at the edges of the wings, and to make his grasp firmer, he has pressed his thumbs above his fingers. The statue has not been dated (Hudeczek 2008: 25–28).

10.

The sculpture is kept at the Institute of Archaeology at the University of Graz. It was found in 1996 during construction work in Kalsdorf near Flavia Solva. It is made of marble, and its preserved height is 57,5 cm. The sculpture is missing the head, most of the right arm, lower legs and wings. Icarus is depicted nude, in contrapposto and caped in a *pallium* attached at the chest. The *pallium* covers his shoulders, chest and upper arm. One band extends from the right side of the chest to the left hip. The left arm is extended and positioned slightly away from the body. He is clenching the handle on top of the wing with his fist. The statue has been dated to mid-second century (Hudeczek 2008: 25–28).

11.



Slika 13: Ikar iz Flavije Solve

Fig 13: Icarus from Flavia Solva

The statue is kept at the UJG under the inventory number 25. It was found in 1997 in a grave of the Flavia Solva necropolis. The statue was lying above the head of the deceased. It is made of sandstone and its preserved height is 38,4 cm. The head, forearms, part of the left wing, part of the left foot and the left part of the pedestal are missing. Icarus is nude and in contrapposto. He is caped with a long *pallium* that covers his chest and shoulder area, and is attached at the right shoulder with a buckle. The surface of the statue is very damaged and it is impossible to determine how his wings were secured. The statue has been dated between the years 350 and 390 (Hudeczek 2008: 25–28).

reljefu.³⁰ Kip iz Staroga grada u Celju, koji je sačuvan u visini od 34 cm, čuva se u Celjskome muzeju pod inventarnim brojem 223. Ikaru je sačuvana glava i torzo s rukama te većina krila. Zato se lijepo vidi da je prikazan kao mladić duže valovite kose. Ogrnut je palijem pričvršćenim na desnome ramenu tako da mu prekriva dio između vrata i ramena te prsa iznad grudi. Ruke su mu položene uz tijelo, a šakama je (koje su tek djelomično sačuvane) prihvatio ručke na krilima. Kip je datiran u 2. st. (Kološek 1968: 227–229).

7.1.2.3. Panonnia

Na prostoru nekadašnje rimske provincije Panonije pronađeno je deset Ikarovih statua (dvije su iz Hrvatske), kao i više reljefa s njegovim likom.³¹ O njima se pisalo u stručnoj literaturi, ali ne tako često kao o noričkima (Schober 1923: 166; Diez 1972–1973: 8–12; Lorenz 1999: 47–53; Brunšmid 1903–1904: 229–230). Za razliku od Norika gdje su kipovi pronađeni na području municipija *Flavia Solva*, u Panoniji se oni pojedinačno pronalaze po cijeloj provinciji. Ipak, valja napomenuti da najviše Ikarovih kipova potječe iz Budimpešte – čak četiri.

13.



Slika 15: Ikar iz Ptuja

Fig 15: Icarus from Ptuj

³⁰ Ikar je na kruništu toga nadgrobnog spomenika smješten između dvaju lavova na akroterijima. Prikazan je nag u kontrapostu i ogrnut je palijem. Ruke s pričvršćenima krilima odmaknute su mu od tijela (Balduin & Klemenc 1939: 33; Pahić 1977: 54). (Slovenske Konjice 1). U Szombathelyju (Savaria Muzeum, inv. br. 67.10.48) čuva se vrlo slično krunište jednoga rimskog nadgrobnog spomenika (Lupa: 3392).

U ovome nam je istraživanju uvelike pomogla baza podataka *Ubi erat lupa* (<http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/>). U njoj su pohranjene informacije o velikome broju rimskih kamenih spomenika među kojima su i oni teže dostupni, pohranjeni u manjim regionalnim muzejima. Na informacije iz te baze u tekstu ćemo upućivati kraticom Lupa i rednim brojem spomenika.

³¹ Već je u tekstu bilo govora o reljefima s nadgrobnihi spomenika na kojima je prikazan Ikar (v. bilješke 8 i Hudeczek 2004: XX,

12.



Slika 14: Ikar iz Celja

Fig 14: Icarus from Celje

Amidst the ruins of a chapel in the Old Town of Celje a statue of Icarus has been found. A tombstone depicting Icarus in high relief at the apex has also been found in Slovenske Konjice (near Celje).³⁰ The statue from the Old Town of Celje, its preserved height 34 cm, is kept at the Celje Museum under the inventory number 223. The head and torso with the arms and most of the wings have been preserved. It is clear the man depicted is young and has long wavy hair. He wears a *pallium* attached to his right shoulder which covers the area between his neck and shoulders and the upper chest. His arms are placed beside the body, and his hands (only partially preserved) grasp the handles on the wings. The statue has been dated to the 2nd century (Kološek 1968: 227–229).

7.1.2.3. Pannonia

Across the territory of the former province of Pan-
nonia, 10 statues of Icarus (two from Croatia) have been found, in addition to numerous reliefs depict-

³⁰ Icarus is placed at the apex between two lions at the acroteria. He is shown nude, in contrapposto, with a *pallium*. His arms are outstretched and have wings attached to them (Balduin & Klemenc 1939: 33; Pahić 1977: 54). (Slovenske Konjice 1) A very similar apex of a Roman tombstone is kept at Szombathely (Savaria Museum, inv. no. 67.10.48) (Lupa: 3392).

The database *Ubi erat lupa* (<http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/>) has been of great help during this research. The information stored here is on the large number of Roman stone sculptures, many of which are difficult to access, kept at minor regional museums. The information from this database will be referred to in the text under the abbreviation Lupa, followed by the serial number of the sculpture.

U pokrajinskome Muzeju u Ptuju pod inventarnim se brojem RL 111 čuva mramorna skulptura Ikar; visoka je 54 cm. Iako su mu crte lica nerazpoznatljive, još je uvijek vidljivo da je prikazan s kovrčavom kosom koja mu seže do ramena. Ikar je nag; palij mu je pričvršćen na desnome ramenu i prekriva mu dio tijela između vrata i ramena te prsa i dio grudi i seže do tla. Ruke su mu podignute do visine ramena i potpuno zabačene unatrag, zbog čega su mu oba krila, koja su pričvršćena za ruke, iza tijela.³² Iako mu nisu sačuvane potkoljenice, čini se da nije stajao, nego da su mu noge visjele, što znači da je prikazan kako leti. Ni ta skulptura nije datirana (Abramić 1925: 58; Lupa: 4256).

14.



Slika 16: Ikar iz Savarije

Fig 16: Icarus from Savaria

Iz Savarije potječe kip koji se pod inventarnim brojem 67.10.63 čuva u Szombathelyju u Savaria Muzeumu. Zajedno s postoljem isklesan je u vrlo dubokome reljefu od jednoga komada kamena pješčenjaka. Visina mu je 30 cm. Iako mu je površina izlizana, kip je vrlo dobro sačuvan, pa se vide čak i tragovi crvene boje na paliju.³³ Glava je oštećena na desno-

br. 87; Nyenhuis 1986: 318; San Nicolas Pedraz 1998; Hudeczek 2008: 25–28.) Tim prikazima možda možemo dodati još jedan reljefni prikaz Icara sa zabata nadgrobne stele koja se čuva na Arheološkome institutu Sveučilišta u Grazu. U zabatu spomenika, kojemu je vrh oštećen, frontalno je u dubokome reljefu prikazan muškarac s krilima. Iako je prikaz po površini vrlo oštećen, a nije mu sačuvana ni glava, može se uočiti da je prikazan gol, u kontrapostu. Ruke su mu tek lagano odmaknute od tijela, a na njima se razabiru tragovi krila. Premda se čini da se na njegovim prsima vide trake, zbog oštećenosti spomenika nije moguće sa sigurnošću utvrditi jesu li mu krila na taj način bila pričvršćena. Kako su umjetna krila bitan Ikarov ikonografski element, ne možemo pouzdano reći je li na zabatu njegov prikaz. Ta stela potječe iz ostavštine Saria. Spomenik se nalazi u dokumentaciji *Antike Grabdenkmäler aus Serbien* pod brojem 20 (Lupa: 6787).

³² Umjetnik imitira let ptica: da bi se letjelo, krila se moraju skupljati i širiti.

³³ Ostaci crvene boje na paliju vide se i na kipu 5 iz Flavije Solve.

ing his image.³¹ They have been mentioned in scientific literature, but not as much as their Noricum counterparts (Schober 1923: 166; Diez 1972–1973: 8–12; Lorenz 1999: 47–53; Brunšmid 1903–1904: 229–230). Unlike in Noricum, where the statues were found in the territory of the *municipium Flavium Solva*, in Pannonia they are evenly distributed across the province. We should mention however that most of statues, four of them, come from Budapest.

13.

The regional Museum of Ptuj has under the inventory number RL 111 a marble sculpture of Icarus, tall 54 cm. Even though his facial features are not recognizable, it is still discernible that he has wavy hair which reaches to his shoulders. He is nude, his *pallium* is attached at the right shoulder and it covers the shoulder area and upper chest, reaching to the ground. His arms are raised at shoulder height and tilted backwards making both of his wings, which are attached to his arms, flung behind the body.³² Even though the lower legs are not preserved, it appears he was not standing, rather his legs were hanging, meaning he was depicted in flight. This sculpture has not been dated (Abramić 1925: 58; Lupa: 4256).

14.

A statue from Savaria, under the inventory number 67.10.63, is on hold in Szombathely at the Savaria Museum. Together with the pedestal it is carved in high relief from a single block of sandstone. Its height is 30 cm. Despite the worn surface, the statue is very well preserved, with traces of red color on the *pallium* still visible.³³ The head is damaged on

³¹ This text has already mentioned tombstone reliefs depicting Icarus (see notes bilješke 8 and Hudeczek 2004: XX, br. 87; Nyenhuis 1986: 318; San Nicolas Pedraz 1998; Hudeczek 2008: 25–28.). We can add another relief depiction of Icarus to this list from the gable of a funerary stela kept at the Institute of Archaeology of the University of Graz. The top of the gable is damaged, and it depicts in high relief a man with wings from the front. Despite the extensive damage and a missing head, it is discernible the figure is nude and in contraposto. The hands are slightly outstretched from the body and display signs of wings. There seem to be traces of tape across his chest, but due to the overall damage it is impossible to claim with certainty that the wings were attached in this manner. Since artificial wings are a key element in Icarus' iconography, we cannot know for certain whether or not the gable depicts him. This stela comes from the Saria inheritance. The monument is registered in the documentation *Antike Grabdenkmäler aus Serbien* under the number 20 (Lupa: 6787).

³² The artisan is mimicking the flight of birds: to enable flight, wings need to contract and expand.

³³ Traces of red color on the *pallium* are also visible on statue 5 from Flavia Solva.

me dijelu tjemena, no vrlo se jasno može razabrati da prikazuje mladoga čovjeka (gotovo dječaka) s dužom, valovitom kosom. Palij je pod grudima pričvršćen nerazpoznatljivom kopčom i prekriva vrhove ramena i grudi, ali ne seže kao kod drugih kipova do tla, nego do koljena. Osim toga ogrtača dječak nema ništa na sebi, a na postolju stoji u kontrapostu. Ruke, kojima nedostaju podlaktice, odmaknute su od tijela, ali nisu podignute. Na njima su krila, ali kako nedostaju šake, ne vidi se kako ih je držao. Iako se danas zbog oštećenosti ruku ne može vidjeti kako su mu krila bila pričvršćena, s pomoću analogije prema drugim spomenicima možemo i ovaj kip lako pripisati Ikaru.³⁴ Kip nije datiran (Lupa: 3396).

15.



Slika 17: Slika iz Zalalövöjau

Fig 17: Icarus from Zalalövö

U muzeju u Zalalövöu (Salla) pronađena je vrlo oštećena statua Ikara; ondje se i danas čuva. Zajedno s postoljem visoka je 43,5 cm. Isklesana je u vrlo dubokome reljefu od jednoga komada kamena. Osim što su konture potpuno nestale, Ikaru nedostaju glava, desna ruka i podlaktica lijeve ruke. Ipak, dade se prepoznati tip prikaza Ikara koji stoji nag u kontrapostu, ruku lagano odmaknutih od tijela na kojima su bila krila. Ni ova statua nije datirana (Cserményi 1977: 269–270, sl. 70).

16.

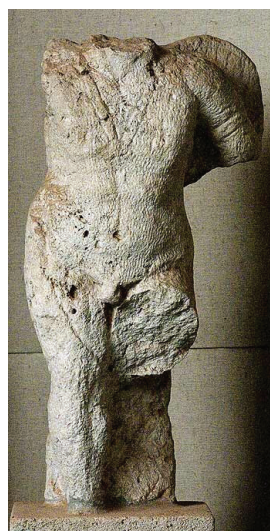
U muzeju u Táciu pohranjen je kip Ikara pronađen u Gorsiju. Tomu kipu od vapnenca visokomu 65 cm

the right side of the vertex, but it is visible that it is a representation of a young man (almost a boy) with long wavy hair. The *pallium* is attached at the chest with an unrecognizable buckle and it covers the shoulder tips and chest, but it does not reach to the ground as in other statues, rather to the knees. Apart from the mantle, the boy is wearing nothing, and he stands on the pedestal in contrapposto. The upper arms (the forearms are missing) are moved away from the body, but they are not lifted. They have wings placed on them, but since the hands are missing, it is now visible how he was holding them. Due to the damage done to the arms we cannot see precisely how the wings were attached to them, but by making an analogy with other statues we can conclude this is a representation of Icarus.³⁴ The statue has not been dated (Lupa: 3396).

15.

A very damaged statue of Icarus has been found at the Museum of Zalalövö (Salla), where it is still kept today. Together with the pedestal, its height is 43,5 cm. It was carved in high relief from one stone block. Apart from the contours being completely gone, the head, right arm and left forearm are missing. Despite this, Icarus can be recognized, standing nude in contrapposto, his arms slightly extended from the body, with wings attached to them. This statue has not been dated (Cserményi 1977: 269–270, fig. 70).

16.



Slika 18: Ikar iz Gorsija

Fig 18: Icarus from Gorsium

³⁴ Na statuama 5, 7, 9, 10. i 11. iz Norika Ikar je držao krila šakama; ne vide se drugi načini pričvršćivanja krila.

³⁴ On statues 5, 7, 9, 10, 11 from Noricum, Icarus is holding the wings with his hands; no other forms of attachment are visible.

nedostaju glava, desna ruka i desno krilo, dio nadlaktice i podlaktica lijeve ruke te donji dio lijevoga krila. Nedostaje mu i donji dio i stopalo desne noge, a od lijeve noge sačuvan mu je samo početak bedra. S pomoću sačuvanoga dijela lijeve ruke dade se naslutiti da su mu ruke bile ispružene i malo odmaknute od tijela. Međutim na malenome preostalom dijelu lijeve nadlaktice jasno se raspoznaje omča koja je držala krilo. Krila su osim toga bila pričvršćena trakama koje se križaju na prsima i koje se još uvijek jasno razabiru. Kip je datiran između 150. i 200. g. (Lupa: 4045).

17.



Slika 19: Ikar iz Akvinka

Fig 19: Icarus from Aquincum

U Budimpešti u Aquincumi Múzeumu pod inventarnim se brojem 64.11.180 čuva mramorna statua Icara pronađena u Akvinku. Kip je sačuvan u visini od 33 cm. Nedostaju mu glava, desna ruka i desno krilo te obje potkoljenice. Lijeva je ruka sačuvana, iako su prsti djelomično nestali. Lijevo je krilo prilično oštećeno, sačuvan je samo dio oko podlaktice. Ipak, jasno se razabire nag muškarac bez ogrtača. Sačuvana ruka ukazuje na to da su ruke bile lagano odmaknute od tijela i malo zabačene unatrag. Na zapešću je prizor koji se inače ne nalazi na drugim kipovima. Riječ je o prikazu kompliciranih uzica kojima je bilo pričvršćeno krilo; ono ima i ručku koju Ikar drži šakom. Krila su bila pričvršćena i dvjema dugačkim trakama koje se, jedna uz drugu, protežu od lijevoga ramena do desnoga boka. To je jedinstveni prikaz traka koje su bile različite širine – na ramenima šire, na torzu uže, a na bokovima su se opet širile. Kip je datiran između 150. i 250. g. (Lupa: 2936).

18.

U Budimpešti u Aquincumi Múzeumu čuva se još jedan kip (inv. br. 64.11.117) visok 60 cm. Izrađen

The Museum of TÁC has a statue of Icarus found at Gorsium. It is made of limestone, with the height of 65 cm, its head, right arm and right wing are missing, along with parts of the left upper arm and forearm, and lower parts of the left wing. The lower area and right foot are also missing; of the left leg the beginning of the thigh is preserved. The preserved parts of the left arm indicate his arms were extended and slightly moved away from the body. But the loop holding the wing on the remaining part of the left forearm is barely visible. The wings were attached with bands crossing on the chest, which are still clearly visible. The statue has been dated between the years 150 and 200 (Lupa: 4045).

17.

At the Budapest Aquincumi Múzeum a marble statue of Icarus found at Aquincum is kept under the inventory number 64.11.180. The statue's height is 33 cm. It is missing a head, right arm, right wing and lower legs. The left arm is preserved even though the fingers are partially missing. The left wing is damaged, with the area around the forearm being the only one preserved. Still, a nude man without a mantle can be discerned. The preserved arm indicates both were slightly move away from the body and tilted backwards. The wrist depicts a rare representation not usually found on other statues: a complex set of strings tied to the wing. The wing also has a handle which Icarus is holding. The wings were also attached with two long bands that stretch, side by side, from the left shoulder to the right hip. This is a unique depiction of bands that are of different width – wider at the shoulder, narrower at the torso, and wider at the hips again. The statue has been dated between the years 150 and 250 (Lupa: 2936).

18.



Slika 20: Ikar iz Akvinka

Fig 20: Icarus from Aquincum

At the Budapest Aquincumi Múzeum there is another statue (inv. no. 64.11.117), 60 cm tall. It is

je od vapnenca i pronađen u Dunavu. Kipu nedostaju glava, desna ruka i krilo te obje noge od gornje polovice natkoljenice. Međutim neprijeporno je da je riječ o Ikarovu prikazu jer su mu krila bila pričvršćena trakama koje su se križale na prsima i uzicom na lijevome sačuvanom krilu. Ikar je potpuno nag, nema ni ogrtač, ruke je podigao do visine ramena i zabacio sasvim unatrag. Ne može se utvrditi u kakvu su položaju bile njegove noge, ali po položaju ruku i krila dade se naslutiti da je Ikar bio predstavljen dok je letio. Kip nije datiran (Lupa: 4256).

19.



Slika 21: Ikar iz Akvinka

Fig 21: Icarus from Aquincum

U Budimpešti u Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumu pod inventarnim se brojem 62.185.1 čuva Ikarova statua visoka 35 cm. Pronađena je u Akvinku i izrađena je od vapnenca. Sačuvana je glava i gornji dio tijela s rukama. Ikar je prikazan kao sasvim mlad muškarac duge valovite kose. Na ramenu mu je bio pričvršćen palij. Ruke je podigao nešto iznad ramena i zabacio ih unatrag, iako ne potpuno. Na nadlakticama i podlakticama vide se omče kojima su bila pričvršćena krila, kao i kopče koje je držao šakama. Ikar je vjerojatno bio prikazan kako leti. Statua nije datirana (Lupa: 10034; Vogt 2003: 637, sl. 5).

20.

U Budimpešti u Magyar Nemzeti Múzeumu čuva se još jedan Ikarov kipić koji nema inventarni broj, a nalazi se u depou muzeja i ne zna mu se mjesto nalaza. Izrađen je od vapnenca, a sačuvana mu je visina od 40 cm. Nedostaju mu glava, dio bedra i potkoljenice desne noge te potkoljenica lijeve noge. Ikar je prikazan nag, bez ogrtača, kako stoji u izraženoj kontrapostu. Ruke su ispružene, malo odmaknute i provučene kroz dva obruča koja se nalaze na nadlakticama i podlakticama. Zanimljivo je da je

made of limestone and was found at the bottom of the Danube. The statue is missing the head, right arm and wing, and both legs from the upper part of the thigh. However, it is undoubtedly a representation of Icarus because the wings were attached with bands crossing on the chest, and with strings, parts of which are preserved on the left wing. Icarus is nude, he has no mantle, his arms are raised to shoulder height and tilted backwards. The position of the legs cannot be determined, but by the position of the arms and wings, it is clear he was depicted in flight. The statue has not been dated (Lupa: 4256).

19.

The Budapest Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum has an Icarus statue under the inventory number 62.185.1. The statue is 35 cm tall. Found in Aquincum, it is made of limestone. The head and upper part of the body, along with the arms, have been preserved. Icarus is depicted as a young man with long wavy hair. A *palium* is attached at his right shoulder. His arms are raised above shoulder height and tilted backwards, though not entirely. The upper arms and forearms display the loops used to attach the wings, as well as the handles he was clutching with his hands. Icarus was most likely depicted in flight. The statue has not been dated (Lupa: 10034; Vogt 2003: 637, fig. 5).

20.



Slika 22: Ikar iz Budimpešte

Fig 22: Icarus from Budapest

The Budapest Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum has another statue of Icarus which has no inventory number and is kept in the depot of the museum. Its location of discovery is unknown. It is made of limestone, and its preserved height is 40 cm. The head, right lower leg and parts of the thigh, and the left lower leg are missing. Icarus is depicted nude, without a mantle, standing in pronounced contrapposto. The arms are extended, slightly outstretched and pulled through two hoops located at the forearms and upper arms. It is interesting that three fingers (index

tri prsta (kažiprst, srednjak i prstenjak) lijeve šake (desna je neprepoznatljiva) provukao kroz još jedan držač. Jako su dobro sačuvana krila, pa se vidi da su bila izrađena od dviju vrsta pera: na vrhu su kratka, na dnu duža. Kipić nije datiran (Lupa: 9852).

21.



Slika 23: Ikar iz Vugrovec (D. Demicheli)

Fig 23: Icarus from Vugrovec (D. Demicheli)

Godine 1892. u mjestu Vugrovec u okolici Zagreba pronađena je mramorna skulptura Ikara visoka 61 cm. U zagrebački Arheološki muzej (inv. br. 1892) dospjela je darovnicom.³⁵ Skulptura je zajedno s postoljem isklesana u vrlo dubokome reljefu, a nedostaju joj glava i prednji dio postolja. Obrađena je samo sprijeda, dok je sa stražnje strane kamen samo grubo zaglađen. Ikar je nag, ima palij koji mu prekriva ramena i koji je okruglom kopčom pričvršćen pod vratom. Palij je veoma dugačak, zbog čega se na tlu nabrao. Ruke su mu ispružene i malo odmaknute od tijela. Šakama stiše kopče kojima su

³⁵ Zahvaljujući kolegijalnoj susretljivosti ravnatelja muzeja Ante Rendića Miočevića skulpturu smo mogli vrlo podrobno razgledati, izmjeriti i fotografirati (visina 55,5 cm, širina 42 cm, visina postolja 11 cm, širina postolja 28 cm, dužina krila 42 cm).

finger, middle finger and ring finger) from his left hand (the right is not discernible) are slid through another handle. The wings are very well preserved so the two types of feathers used are visible: the short ones at the top and the longer ones at the bottom. The statue has not been dated (Lupa: 9852).

21.

A marble statue of Icarus was found in Vugrovec near Zagreb in 1892. Its height is 61 cm. The statue has been donated to the Archaeological Museum of Zagreb (inv. no. 1892).³⁵ Together with the pedestal, the sculpture has been carved in high relief. The head and front part of the pedestal are missing. It has been carved from the front side only, while the back is merely roughly smoothed. Icarus is nude, he has a *pallium* that covers his shoulders and is attached at the neck with a round buckle. The *pallium* is very long, its folds gathering on the ground. His arms are extended and outstretched. His hands are tightly holding the buckles attached to the wings. The wings are well preserved and almost as big as Icarus himself. They are made of shorter and longer feathers. The statue has been dated to the first half of the 3rd century (Brunšmid 1903–1904: 229–230; Degmedžić 1957: 92–95).

22.

We can add our statue from Daruvar to this group of Pannonia statues. We have already presented it thoroughly at the beginning of this paper (fig. 1). The statue has been dated to the second or the beginning of the third century.³⁶

7.1.2.4. Dalmatia

23.

From the Roman province of Dalmatia comes one partially preserved statue (62,5 cm) made of limestone, found in the old town of Pljevlja.³⁷ It is kept

³⁵ With the help of our courteous colleague and museum director, Ante Rendić Miočević, we were able to thoroughly examine, measure and photograph the statue (height 55,5 cm, width 42 cm, pedestal height 11 cm, pedestal width 28 cm, wing length 42 cm).

³⁶ See note 2 and Pinterović 1975: 149–150; Schejbal 2004: 112, sl. 18

³⁷ Pljevlja are located in the southeastern part of Montenegro. It is thought the town lies on the location of the ancient Roman municipium known only by the first letter of its name, S. The mystery of the name has not been resolved to this day, nor has the layout of the town been determined. But thanks to the discovery of two cemeteries belonging to the municipium (at the village Komini near Pljevlja), it is possible to obtain much information on the former population of this ancient city. Based

mu pričvršćena krila. Krila su dobro sačuvana i bila su velika gotovo kao i sam Ikar. Konstruirana su od kraćih i dužih pera. Skulptura je datirana u prvu polovicu 3. st. (Brunšmid 1903–1904: 229–230; De-gmedžić 1957: 92–95).

22.

Ovoj skupini panonskih statua možemo pridružiti i naš kip iz Daruvara koji smo podrobno predstavili na početku rada (sl. 1). Kip je datiran u 2. ili na početak 3. st.³⁶

7.1.2.4. Dalmatia

23.



Slika 24: Ikar iz Plevlja (Adnan Busuladžić)

Fig 24: Icarus from Pljevlja (Adnan Busuladžić)

Iz rimske provincije Dalmacije potječe jedan djelomično sačuvani kipić (62,5 cm) od vapnenca koji je pronađen u starome dijelu grada Pljevlja.³⁷ Danas

³⁶ V. bilješku 2 i Pinterović 1975: 149–150; Schejbal 2004: 112, sl. 18.

³⁷ Za Pljevlje, koje se danas nalazi u sjeveroistočnome dijelu Crne Gore, misli se da je bio na području rimskoga municipija koji je poznat samo po prvome slovu svojega imena, S. Do danas se nije riješila enigma imena, kao ni raster nekadašnjega grada. Međutim zahvaljujući otkrićima dviju nekropola toga municipija (u naselju Komini pokraj Pljevlja), moguće je saznati brojne podatke o nekadašnjemu stanovništvu antičkoga grada. Na

today at the National Museum in Sarajevo (inv. no. 306).³⁸ It has been carved from the front side only, and its preserved elements are the head, right arm and wing, beginning of the left shoulder and corresponding wing part, torso and left upper thigh. The surface of the statue is badly damaged. This unskilled work of stonemasonry depicts a nude Icarus spreading his arms at shoulder height. The right arm is unusually short and has two loops (on the wrist and upper arm) attaching the wing to it, which is depicted in low relief. The wing has two types of feathers. The extreme disproportion of the figure is highlighted by a large head with curls arranged across it as if they formed part of a cap. The face is depicted with highlighted cheeks and big eyes represented by two curved lines and a circle, while a straight hollowed line forms the mouth. The statue has not been dated (Patsch 1912: 122, fig. 44).

7.1.3. Iconography of the Stone Sculptures of Icarus

Even though most sculptures presented here are missing a head, leg or parts of the wings, they indisputably represent Icarus.³⁹ All statues are very similar on first sight because they represent Icarus nude, wearing only a *pallium*. Four of these statues (16, 17, 18, 20) depict Icarus without a *pallium*, and for one (23) it is hard to establish whether he has a mantle or not. The *pallium* is attached with a round fibula below the neck (9, 10, 14, 21, 22) or at the right shoulder (all other statues). Parts of the mantle cover the space between the neck and the shoulder, and the upper chest. In some cases (9, 10, 14, 21, 22) the mantle covers the shoulders, and in two statues it covers parts of the lower chest as well (1, 2, 8, 10). Regardless of the state of preservation, it can be discerned that the *pallium* reaches to the ground on all statues but one (14). Some statues have a preserved (or partially preserved) head (3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 19, 22, 23). Icarus is always depicted as a young man with wavy hair reaching to his shoulders; except in two cases (3, 23).

What sets Icarus apart from other mythical winged creatures is that his wings are artificial, created

on the architecture of burial constructions and the analysis of grave goods, it is believed the city existed from the 1st until the 5th century. The so-called *necropolis II* stands out by the monumentality and variety of its tombs. Amidst the many remains of funerary architecture, numerous pieces of stone sculpture (lions, human figures) have been noted, which were thought to have served as decorations for monumental tombs (Marković 2006).

³⁸ I would like to thank the director of the National Museum in Sarajevo, Dr Adnan Busuladžić, for providing the photographic material on the statue and the data from inventory books.

³⁹ The art of classical antiquity depicts many winged creatures

se čuva u Zemaljskome muzeju u Sarajevu (br. inv. 306).³⁸ Obrađen je samo s prednje strane, a sačuvana mu je glava, desna ruka s krilom, sam početak ramenoga dijela lijeve ruke i pripadajućega djelića krila, torzo i gornji dio lijevoga bedra. Statua je po površini prilično oštećena. Ovaj vrlo nevješti klesarski rad prikazuje nagoga Ikaru koji je raširio ruke u liniji ramena. Na neobično kratkoj desnoj ruci dvjema mu je omčama (na zapešću i nadlaktici) pričvršćeno krilo prikazano u plitkome reljefu. Krilo je ipak imalo dvije vrste pera. Izrazitu neproporcionalnost figure naglašava i velika glava s kovrčama raspoređenima na glavi kao kapa. Na licu naglašenih obraza ističu se goleme oči prikazane dvjema zakrivljenim linijama i krugom, dok mu usta čini ravna izdubljena crta. Kip nije datiran (Patsch 1912: 122, sl. 44).

7.1.3. Ikonografija Ikarovih kamenih skulptura

Iako većini predstavljenih statua nedostaje ili glava ili dijelovi nogu, pa i dijelovi krila, neprijeporno je da prikazuju Ikaru.³⁹ Sve su statue na prvi pogled vrlo slične jer ga prikazuju kako stoji nag, ogrnut tek palijem. Na četirima je kipovima (16, 17, 18, 20) Ikar bio prikazan bez palija, a za jedan se (23) danas ne može sa sigurnošću utvrditi ima li ogrtač. Palij je pričvršćen okruglom fibulom pod vratom (9, 10, 14, 21, 22) ili na desnome ramenu (svi ostali kipovi). Dijelovi plašta prekrivaju mu prostor između vrata i ramena te prsa do grudiju. U nekim slučajevima (9, 10, 14, 21, 22) plašt prekriva i ramena, a na dvama kipovima i mali dio tijela ispod grudi (1, 2, 8, 10). Bez obzira na stanje očuvanosti pojedinih statua može se razabrati da palij seže do tla na svim kipovima osim na jednome (14). Nekim je kipovima sačuvana (ili djelomično sačuvana) glava (3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 19, 22, 23). Ikar je uvijek prikazan kao mladi muškarac s valovitom kosom koja mu, osim u dvama slučajevima (3, 23), seže do ramena.

Ono što Ikaru razlikuje od drugih mitskih krilatih stvorenja umjetna su krila koja mu je izradio otac Dedal da bi pobjegao s Krete. Nažalost, na predstavljenim su kipovima krila najviše oštećena, isto kao i glava i ekstremiteti. Ipak, ono što se od njih sačuvalo daje naslutiti da su bila duga ili visoka uglavnom koliko i Ikar te da su sezala od glave do tla, a samo

temelju arhitekture grobnih konstrukcija i analize grobnih priloga misli se da je grad postojao od 1. do 5. st. Po monumentalnosti i raznolikosti grobnica ističe se tzv. *nekropola II*. Među uistinu brojnim ostacima grobne arhitekture uočeno je i više komada kamene plastike (lavovi, ljudske figure) za koje se misli se da su ukrašavali monumentalne grobnice (Marković 2006).

³⁸ Zahvaljujem ravnatelju Zemaljskoga muzeja u Sarajevu dr. Adnanu Busuladžiću što nam je ustupio fotografije kipa i podatke iz inventarne knjige.

³⁹ Antička umjetnost poznaje krilata bića čija je ikonografija različita od Ikarove.

for him by his father Daedalus in order to escape from Crete. Unfortunately, the wings are the most damaged parts on the presented statues, as are the head and limbs. However, what remains of them indicates that they were as big as the figure of Icarus, and that they stretched from the head to the ground; occasionally to the middle of the calf. They are mostly wider than the body of Icarus, especially the upper part. Their shape and position imitate bird wings. From what can be discerned today, they were made of different types of feathers; shorter, rounder and softer at the top, and longer, narrower and sharper at the bottom. In one case the feathers are all of the same length (2). That these wings are artificial can be recognized by depiction of various bands, belts and handles used to attach the wings to Icarus' body, i.e. his hands. On nine statues (1, 2, 4, 8, 11, 13, 19, 20, 23) the wings are attached with belts placed on the interior part of the wings, through which Icarus pulls his arms. One loop-like belt is placed at the forearm and one at the upper arm, in one case across at the elbow as well (8). The other nine statues depict Icarus holding his wings merely by the handles placed at their lower parts, which he grabs with his hands (5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 21, 22). Some statues depict the wings attached to Icarus in both ways (8, 11, 13, 19, 20), while on others it is difficult to establish a method of attachment due to the poor state of preservation (14, 15). The wings were also secured to Icarus with bands that crossed at the chest (3, 6, 16, 17, 18); in such cases the wings were also attached to his hands. Some statues are missing the hands however (6, 16), so one cannot know if they had loops for the hands as well.

Statue 17 needs to be mentioned as having the bands across the chest and wrists depicted in a more imaginative way. The statue from Gorsium (16) has two bands attached at the chest with a round buckle. Some authors believe they represent a necklace with a medallion (Lupa: 4045). If that were true, then this would be a unique depiction. However, we believe it is part of a fastening system for the wings, primarily because we are not familiar with medallion necklaces appearing in the iconography of mythological creatures in classical antiquity.

This analysis has shown that, even when Icarus is represented in sculpture, he still retains his own unique and familiar iconography which does not differ from the ones mentioned earlier in the text.

7.1.4. Typology of the Stone Sculptures of Icarus

It is possible to establish several types or representation in this group of stone sculptures of Icarus. They are characterized by the position of Icarus' arms, i.e.

ponekad do polovice listova nogu. Uglavnom su šira od Ikarova tijela, pogotovo njihov gornji dio. Svojim oblikom i položajem pera imitiraju ptičja krila. Koliko se danas može vidjeti, bila su načinjena od različitih vrsta pera; kraća, oblija i mekša bila su pri vrhu, a duža, uža i oštija pri dnu. U jednome su slučaju pera iste dužine (2). Da se radi o umjetnim krilima, prepoznaje se po prikazu različitih traka, remenja i ručki kojima su krila bila pričvršćena na Ikarovo tijelo, odnosno za ruke. Na devet kipova (1, 2, 4, 8, 11, 13, 19, 20, 23) krila su pričvršćena s pomoću remenja koje se nalazi na unutrašnjosti krila, a Ikar je kroz njih provukao ruke. Po jedan remen nalik omči smješten je na podlaktici i na nadlaktici, u jednome slučaju čak i preko lakta (8). Na drugih devet statua Ikar pridržava krila samo s pomoću ručki smještenih u donjemu dijelu krila koje pridržava šakama (5, 7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 21, 22). Na nekim su kipovima krila na tijelu pričvršćena na oba načina (8, 11, 13, 19, 20), dok na drugima zbog izrazito loše očuvanosti nije moguće raspoznati način pričvršćivanja (14, 15). Ikaru su krila znala biti aplicirana i s pomoću traka koje su se križale na prsima (3, 6, 16, 17, 18); u tim slučajevima ona su bila pričvršćena i na rukama. Nekima međutim nedostaju ruke (6, 16), pa se ne može znati jesu li omče bile i na rukama.

Napomenimo da su na kipu 17 trake na prsima i na zapešću maštovitije prikazane. Na kipu iz Gorsija (16) na prsima se vide i dvije trake koje se na grudima spajaju okruglom kopčom. Neki autori misle da se radi o ogrlici s medaljonom (Lupa: 4045). Kad bi to bilo točno, tada bi se radilo o jedinstvenome prikazu. Međutim držimo da je riječ o dijelu sustava za pričvršćivanje krila, prije svega zato što nam nije poznato da se ogrlice s medaljonom pojavljuju u antičkoj ikonografiji mitoloških bića.

Analiza je pokazala da čak i kad se Ikar prikazuje u skulpturi, zadržava sebi svojstvenu i poznatu ikonografiju koja se ne razlikuje od drugih prikaza spominjanih ranije u tekstu.

7.1.4. Tipologija Ikarovih kamenih skulptura

U ovoj skupini Ikarovih kamenih skulptura može se ustanoviti nekoliko tipova prikaza. Karakterizira ih položaj Ikarovih ruku, odnosno krila, s čime je usklađen položaj nogu. Zahvaljujući različitim položajima ruku, krila i nogu, lučimo tri tipa prikaza koji kao da prikazuju tri različite faze u kojima se nalazi Ikar: miruje, sprema se za let i leti.

Tip 1. Ikar stoji

Ruke su uz tijelo, krila su skupljena, noge su u kontrapostu (5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 20, 21, 22).

Tip 2. Ikar se sprema poletjeti

wings, and the placement of the legs which are coordinated with the arms. These different arm, leg and wing positions produce three types of representation that seem to depict the three different phases of Icarus: rest, preparation for flight, and flight.

Type 1. Icarus Standing Still

The arms are pressed against the body, the wings are curled up, the legs in contrapposto (5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 20, 21, 22).

Type 2. Icarus Getting Ready to Fly

The arms are away from the body, the wings are spread, the legs in contrapposto (6, 8, 16).

Type 3. Icarus Flying

The arms are flung behind the body, the wings are partially spread, the legs appear to be hanging (1, 2, 3, 4, 13, 18, 19, 23).

8. CONCLUSION

If we recall that the first known representations of Icarus date to the 5th century BC, it is easy to conclude that he must have been a popular legendary figure whose tragic fate fascinated the population of the classical antiquity period; thus his story was represented across the Greek and Roman world for almost nine centuries.⁴⁰ It seems that his story was especially popular in Noricum, Pannonia and Pompeii. We believe this popularity had more to do with fashion and less with some unique spirituality, and that it did not have any symbolic meaning other than the one inherent in the myth itself.

The sculptures analyzed in this paper were created in the time period between the first half of the 1st century up until the end of the 4th century. The oldest statue from Aquileia is dated to the beginning of the 1st century, and the youngest one from Flavia Solva is dated to the second half of the 4th century. We need to remember that this statue from Flavia Solva is the only one with a precise date, thanks to the grave goods which were found in the same context. Despite the relatively long period of time during which Icarus was represented, his iconographic characteristics did not change, as was shown in this paper, regardless of him being in the company of other figures, with Daedalus or alone. He was always represented as a nude young man with artificial wings. These wings were secured to him with belts, strings, buckles or bands, in various, highly

whose iconography differs from the iconography of Icarus.

⁴⁰ The story of Daedalus and Icarus has never ceased to intrigue artists. The message and lesson of this ancient myth is popular even today.

Ruke su odmaknute od tijela, krila su raširena, noge su u kontrapostu (6, 8, 16).

Tip 3. Ikar leti

Ruke se nalaze iza tijela, krila su djelomično raširena, a noge kao da vise (1, 2, 3, 4, 13, 18, 19, 23).

8. ZAKLJUČAK

Ako se prisjetimo da su prvi zasad poznati prikazi Ikar nastali u 5. st. pr. Kr., lako se dade zaključiti da je bio omiljen legendarni lik čija je nesretna sudbina fascinirala antičko stanovništvo, pa se njegova priča u različitim krajevima grčkoga i rimskoga svijeta prikazivala gotovo devet stoljeća.⁴⁰ Čini se da je u Noriku, Panoniji i Pompejima njegova priča bila posebno popularna. Držimo da je ta popularnost bila više pitanje mode, a manje odraz nekoga posebnog duhovnog stanja te da nije imala simboličko značenje drugačije od samoga mita.

Vrijeme nastanka skulptura koje smo razmatrali u ovome tekstu proteže se od prve polovice 1. st. do kraja 4. st. Najstariji je kip iz Akvileje i datiran je na početak 1. st., a onaj je najmlađi iz Flavije Solve i datiran je u drugu polovicu 4. st. Napomenimo da je upravo ta statua iz Flavije Solve jedina sigurno datirana, i to zahvaljujući priložima iz groba u kojemu je pronađena.

Unatoč relativno dugomu razdoblju prikazivanja, Ikarova se ikonografska obilježja, kako se u našoj analizi pokazalo, nisu mijenjala bez obzira na to je li se nalazio u društvu više osoba, s Dedalom ili je bio sam. Uvijek se prikazuje kao nagi mladić s umjetnim krilima. Ta su mu krila s pomoću remenja, uzica, kopči ili traka mogla biti pričvršćena na različite, kadšto vrlo maštovite, načine.⁴¹ Pričvršćivala su se na ruke ili su se vezala na tijelo, a moguće su i kombinacije tih dvaju načina.

Uvidjeli smo da među dvadeset trima Ikarovim statuama postoje tri različita tipa, odnosno tri načina prikazivanja. Najveći broj kipova, njih dvanaest, pripada tipu 1. Većina je pronađena na području oko Leibniza, a po jedan u Celju, u okolici Zagreba i u Daruvaru.⁴² Tri primjerka pripisujemo tipu 2. Dva su pronađena u okolici Leibniza, a jedan u Tazu.

imaginative ways.⁴¹ They were attached to the arms or tied to the body, or some other combination of the two was possible.

We have seen that among the 23 statues of Icarus, three different types exist, i.e. three modes of representation. Most of the statues, 12 of them, belong to the first type. The majority comes from the area of Leibnitz, one from Celj, one from the Zagreb area, and one from Daruvar.⁴² Three examples belong to the second type. Two come from the Leibnitz area and one from Tac. The other 8 statues belong to the third type. Three come from the 10th Region, four from Pannonia and one from the Leibnitz area.

We agree with the thesis claiming mass production of Icarus statues originated in the area of Graz, namely the municipium Flavia Solva. Since it was well received, customer demand started to appear outside the municipium borders.

S. Vogt's claim (2003: 637) that the statues from Noricum and Pannonia typologically fall under the influence of earlier statues from Aquileia and Altinum (which she dates to the 1st century) is debatable. First of all, these two statues, as well as a third statue from the 10th Region, belong to the third type of representation which depicts Icarus in flight. Only one statue of the third type has been found in Flavia Solva (4), three come from Pannonia, and one from Dalmatia. These facts are not enough to support her claim. Moreover, we believe that the first type is an original product of some artisan from Noricum. Why? Icarus' marble statues 9 and 21 prove the originality of the Noricum workshop. It is immediately clear that both statues are of the same height, and that they are typologically and iconographically identical. There is no doubt that they were both made in the same workshop, possibly even by the same artisan, regardless of the fact one was found in Noricum (Flavia Solva), and the other in Pannonia (Vugrovec near Zagreb).

Most of the other statues belonging to the first type are badly preserved; their surface has been damaged and the wings, legs and heads broken off. This is why they all appear to be different at first. On closer inspection however, and with the help of reconstruction drawings on photographs, it becomes obvious that they belong to the same type. This of course does not mean they were crafted by the same artisan. A good example is statue 7 from Flavia Sol-

⁴⁰ Priča o Dedalu i Ikaru nikada nije prestala zanimati umjetnike. Tako je poruka i pouka toga drevnog antičkog mita i danas aktualna.

⁴¹ Na fragmentu jedne antičke hidrije pojavio se s krilatim čizmicama, a jednom i kao Dedalov pomoćnik – tada je prikazan bez krila. U obama slučajevima Ikar se može identificirati zahvaljujući natpisu.

⁴² Kip 20 koji također pripada tom tipu čuva se u Budimpešti, ali mu nije poznato mjesto nalaza.

⁴¹ He appears with winged boots on one fragment of an Attic hydria, and on another as Daedalus' assistant – he is depicted without wings then. In both cases Icarus can be identified due to the inscription.

⁴² Statue 20, which also belongs to this type, is kept in Budapest, but the location of its find is not familiar.

Ostalih osam kipova pripada tipu 3. Tri su pronađena u 10. regiji, četiri u Panoniji i jedan u okolici Leibnitza.

Skloni smo tezi da je iz okolice Graza, iz municipija Flavija Solva, krenula masovnija proizvodnja Ikarovih kipova. Budući da je naišla na dobar odjek, kupaca je bilo i izvan samoga municipija.

O tvrdnji S. Vogt (2003: 637) da je tipološka pripadnost kipova iz Norika i Panonije bila pod utjecajem ranijih kipova iz Akvileje i Altina (koje je ona datirala u 1. st.) dade se raspravljati. Prije svega ta dva kipa, kao uostalom i treći kip iz 10. regije, pripadaju prikazima tipa 3 koji predstavljaju Ikara kako leti. U Flaviji Solvi pronađen je samo jedan kip tipa 3 (4), u Panoniji tri kipa, a u Dalmaciji jedan. Ti podaci ne mogu potvrditi njezinu tvrdnju. Štoviše, držimo da je tip 1 izvorni proizvod nekoga noričkog majstora. Zašto? O originalnosti noričke radionice svjedoče Ikarovi mramorni kipovi 9 i 21. Na prvi je pogled jasno da su oba kipa jednake visine te da su tipološki i ikonografski istovjetni. Nema sumnje da su izrađeni u istoj radionici, čak i da ih je izradio isti majstor, bez obzira na to što je jedan pronađen u Noriku (*Flavia Solva*), a drugi u Panoniji (Vugrovec kod Zagreba).

Većina drugih kipova koji pripadaju tipu 1 nije tako dobro sačuvana jer ne samo da im je uništena površina nego su im i odlomljena krila, noge ili glava. Zato se svaki od njih na prvi pogled čini drugačijim. Ipak, uz pažljivije promatranje (i uz malu pomoć crtačke rekonstrukcije na fotografijama) lako je uočiti da je to jedan te isti tip. To, naravno, ne znači da ih je isklesao isti majstor. Kao dobar primjer za to može poslužiti kip 7 iz Falvije Solve. I on je od mramora, a ikonografija i tipologija istovjetne su kipovima 9 i 21. Međutim lako je uočljivo da njegov autor ni izdaleka nije bio tako vješt kao majstor koji je izradio kipove 9 i 21. On ne vlada proporcijama, ne poznaje anatomiju i nema klesarskih vještina (što je došlo do izražaja osobito pri izradi krila).

Ikarove statue pronađene su, kako smo vidjeli, i na području Panonije: šest je pojedinačnih nalaza (Ptuj, Szombathely, Vugrovec, Daruvar, Zalalövö i Tac), tri su pronađena u Akvinku ili u njegovoj blizini, a jednomu se ne zna mjesto nalaza. Svi oni imaju ikonografska obilježja poznata s drugih Ikarovih prikaza. Međutim među njima je utvrđena veća tipološka raznovrsnost nego među kipovima iz Norika. Ikarovi kipovi iz Panonije pripadaju podjednako svim trima tipovima prikaza. Ta bi činjenica mogla ukazivati na mogućnost da su i u Panoniji djelovale klesarske radionice u kojima su se izrađivale Ikarove statue. Kako su u Akvinku i okolici pronađena tri kipa, možda možemo pretpostaviti da je jedna od radionica bila smještena baš u tome gradu, u sredi-

va. It is made of marble, and its iconography and typology matches those of statues 9 and 21. However it is clear that the artisan who made statue 7 was not nearly as skilled as the artisan who made statues 9 and 21. He had no grasp of proportion, he was unfamiliar with anatomy and he had no stonemasonry skills (which was fully manifested in the carving of the wings).

As we have seen, Icarus' statues have been found across the territory of Pannonia: there are six individual finds (Ptuj, Szombathely, Vugrovec, Daruvar, Zalalövö and Tac), three come from Aquincum and its surrounding area, and one is of unknown find location. They all have iconographic characteristics known from other depictions of Icarus. However, a greater typological diversity has been established among them, than among the statues from Noricum. Icarus' statues from Pannonia equally belong to all three types of representation. This fact may be an indication of the existence of stonemasonry workshops in Pannonia that produced statues of Icarus. Since three statues have been found in Aquincum and its surrounding area, we could hypothesize that one of the workshops was possibly located in that very town, the center of the province Pannonia Inferior. The problem is that these three statues differ greatly from one another, not just typologically, but also in the iconographic characteristics of Icarus' artificial wings, and in the quality of manufacture.

Finally, it would seem important to recall the view of M. Gorenc and complement it in the slightest. Gorenc (1971: 17) emphasizes that: "The territorial integrity along with the villages and towns of Flavia Solva – Leibnitz, Poetovio – Ptuj, Celeia – Celje, Aquae Iasae – Varaždinske Toplice and their surrounding areas indicate a continuity of production and creativity from the 1st to the 4th century." However, one should dare to expand this territory of production and creative continuity of which Gorenc writes, all the way to the Danube.

štu provincije Panonije Inferior. Problem je u tome što se ta tri kipa međusobno razlikuju ne samo tipološki i po ikonografskim obilježjima umjetnih Ikarovih krila nego i po kvaliteti izrade.

Na kraju nam se čini da je važno podsjetiti na razmišljanje M. Gorenc i malo ga dopuniti. Naime Gorenc (1971: 17) ističe: „Teritorijalna cjelokupnost s naseljima i gradovima *Flavia Solva* – Leibnitz, *Poetovio* – Ptuj, *Celeia* – Celje, *Aquae Iasae* – Varaždinske Toplice i njihovom okolicom ukazuju na proizvodni i stvaralački kontinuitet od I–IV st. n. e.“ Međutim valjalo bi se usuditi taj teritorij proizvodnoga i stvaralačkoga kontinuiteta o kojemu Gorenc govori proširiti sve do Dunava.

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

LIMC	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae
Lupa	UBI ERAT LUPA http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org

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