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O atribuciji takozvanog *Ikarovog torza* iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu*

On the attribution of the so-called “torso of Icarus” from the Archaeological Museum in Split*

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U Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu čuva se jedan antički torzo (inv. br. C-237) u kojemu je prepoznat lik Ikara, Dedalova sina. U radu se preispituje ta atribucija te se, na temelju dvaju još uvijek vidljivih ikonografska obilježja, predlaže nova, koja bi torzo pripisala nekom liku iz Dionizova kruga.

Ključne riječi: rimskodobni torzo, Ikar, krila, jareća koža, Dioniz, sarkofag

A Roman-era torso (inv. No. C-237) is held in the Archaeological Museum in Split; it has been classified as portraying as Icarus, the son of Daedalus. This work re-examines this attribution, and based on two still visible iconographic features, proposes a new attribution of the torso as a figure from the Dionysiac circle.

Key words: Roman period, torso, Icarus, wings, goatskin, Dionysus, sarcophagus

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Uvodno o torzu

U Arheološkome muzeju u Splitu se, pod inventarnim brojem C - 237, nalazi djelomično sačuvana statua krilatog muškarca koja je, kako kaže inventarna knjiga, atribuirana Ikaru (sl. 1). Od nekadašnjeg kipa ostao je samo torzo. Površina mu je lijepo sačuvana pa se vide konture prednje i stražnje muskulature muškog tijela, dijelovi krila i komad odjeće. Zahvaljujući tako dobro sačuvanom torzu, moguće je obaviti ikonografsku analizu koja bi mogla pokazati je li ta skulptura nekoć uistinu predstavljala Ikaru te, ako nije, možda bi se pomoću takve analize dalo istražiti koga je prikazivala.

Nije sigurno kako je i odakle torzo dospio u Muzej pa su vrijeme i mjesto nalaza nepoznati.¹ Izrađen je od mramora, visine je 35,5 cm, širine 22 cm.² Prikazuje muški lik koji je gotovo posve nag. Skulpturi danas nedostaju vrat, glava i obje ruke, dok je od nogu sačuvan gornji dio bedra desne noge te manji gornji dio bedra lijeve noge. Kako je uvodno rečeno, sačuvani dio nekadašnjeg kipa u vrlo je dobrom stanju. Čini se da je lik bio prikazan u pokretu, jer se dađe zamijetiti da je desno rame ponešto podignuto u odnosu na lijevo. Taj dojam može potvrditi i položaj sačuvanih dijelova bedara, pri čemu gornji dio lijevog bedra ukazuje na pokret noge prema naprijed, što mogu potvrditi i glutealni mišići, koji pokazuju nejednak stupanj napetosti. Jedini je komadić odjeće na skulpturi uska jareća koža koja je na lijevom ramenu pričvršćena u čvor. Čvor je svezan od dijelova koji su nekoć prekrivali jareće noge. Koža posve prekriva desnu stranu prsa, dok je lijeva strana tek djelomično pokrivena. Nije potpuno priljubljena uz tijelo, zbog čega se gornji vanjski rub svinuo prema van pa se zamjećuje da nije bio ravan. Sačuvan je i dio kože spolnog organa jarca, koji je na prednjem dijelu torza vrlo plastično prikazan. Jareća je koža prekrivala i dio leđa, no ona je tamo tek naznačena. Na leđima figure sačuvali su se i dijelovi dvaju krila, između kojih je prebačen stražnji dio kože. Krila su sastavni dio lika jer rastu iz njegovih lopatica. Iako se nisu očuvala u cijelosti, po izmjerama (širina 16,5 cm) se može zaključiti da nisu bila vrlo velika (sl. 2).

Na prednjoj desnoj strani torza između ključne kosti i prsa nalazi se kvadratni odbojak (3 x 3 x 3,5 cm), koji je nekoć ovu figuru spajao s drugom figurom ili objektom, kako bi se postigla bolja stabilnost. Takva su klesarska pomagala bila uobičajena i

Introductory remarks on the torso

A partially preserved statue of a winged man is held in the Archaeological Museum in Split under inventory number C-237. According to the inventory log, it is attributed to Icarus (Fig. 1). Only the torso remains of the former statue. Its surface has been nicely preserved, so the contours of the musculature of a male body from front and back, parts of wings and a piece of clothing are visible. Thanks to this well-preserved torso, it is possible to conduct an iconographic analysis that may show whether the sculpture once indeed portrayed Icarus, and if it did not, perhaps such an analysis may help in ascertaining who it in fact depicted.

It is uncertain as to how and whence the torso found its way into the Museum, so the find site and date are unknown.¹ It is made of marble, its height is 35.5 cm, and its width is 22 cm.² It portrays an almost entirely nude male figure. The sculpture is currently missing its neck, head and both arms. Only the upper part of the right thigh and a smaller portion of the left thigh have been preserved. However, as noted above, the remaining part of the statue is in very good condition. It would appear that the figure was depicted in motion, since it can be seen that the right shoulder is slightly raised in relation to the left shoulder. This impression is reinforced by the position of the preserved thighs, as the upper portion of the left thigh indicates forward movement of the leg, and this is also confirmed by the buttocks, which exhibit an uneven degree of tension. The only piece of clothing on the sculpture is a narrow piece of goatskin which is fastened into a knot at the left shoulder. The knot is tied from those parts which once covered the goat's legs. The goatskin entirely covers the right portion of the chest, and part of the left portion. It is not entirely pressed against the body, which is why the upper outside edge curves outward, so it is apparent that it was not straight. A part of the skin of the goat's genitalia has been preserved, which is very plastically portrayed in the front of the torso. The goatskin naturally covered part of the back, however it is only indicated there. Parts of two wings have been preserved on the figure's back, with the rear part of the skin thrown between them. The wings are a component of the figure, as they are depicted as growing out of his shoulder blades. Although not entirely preserved, based on their measures (width 16.5 cm) it may be concluded that they were not very large (Fig. 2.)

On the front right side of the torso between the clavicle and chest, there is a square holder (3 x 3 x 3.5 cm) which formerly connected this figure with another or some object which improved its stability. Such sculptor's aids were customary and known on

1 U inventarnoj je knjizi navedeno da kip pripada *staroj zbirci*, što je (kako su me izvijestili u Muzeju) sinonim za predmete s nepoznatih nalazišta, koji su u Arheološki muzej dospjeli prije negoli je F. Bulić postao njegovim ravnateljem. Danas možemo samo pretpostavljati s kojeg je lokaliteta figura dospjela u Muzej, je li onamo stigla iz Salone, Ekvu ili pak s nekog trećeg mjesta.

2 Koristeći se Vitruvijevim (*De architectura* III, 2-3) naputcima o proporcijama ljudskog tijela, može se pretpostaviti da je figura nekoć bila visoka između 70 i 80 cm.

1 The inventory log notes that the statue belongs to the *old collection* which (as they informed me in the Museum) is a synonym for objects from unknown sites which made their way to the Archaeological Museum before F. Bulić became its director. Today one may only speculate as to the whereabouts of the site whence it came to the Museum: Salona, Aequum or someplace else.

2 Based on the instructions of Vitruvius (*De architectura* III, 2-3) on the proportions of the human body, it may be assumed that the figure was once between 70 and 80 cm high.



Slika 1.
Prednji dio torza, Split,
Arheološki muzej, inv. br. C - 237
(foto: T. Seser).

Figure 1.
Front of the torso, Split,
Archaeological Museum, inv. no.
C - 237 (photograph: T. Seser).



Slika 2.
Stražnji dio torza, Split,
Arheološki muzej, inv. br. C - 237
(foto: T. Seser).

Figure 2.
Back of the sculpture, Split,
Archaeological Museum, inv. no.
C - 237 (photograph: T. Seser).

poznata su i s drugih antičkih statua.³ Ovakvi su se odbojci koristili ne samo kod izrade jedne figure nego i kod prikaza skupine likova. Zbog nekadašnje visine kipa, kao i zbog položaja odbojka i stanja obrađenosti stražnje strane, skloni smo pretpostaviti da se ova figura nalazila u pratnji druge figure ili je bila jedna od figura među skupinom kipova.

Je li riječ o prikazu Icara?

Budući da se za ovaj torzo pretpostavlja da je predstavljao Icara, te ga se pod tim "radnim nazivom" i čuva u splitskome Muzeju, najprije ćemo razmotriti tu mogućnost. Mitološka priča, kako znamo, kaže da se za boravka na Kreti atenskom izumitelju Dedalu

other statues from Antiquity.³ Such holders were not only used to portray a single figure, but also sculpted portrayals of groups. Due to the former height of the statue, as well as the position of this section and the condition of work on the rear side, I tend to believe that this figure was accompanying another figure, or was one figure in a group of statues.

Is this in fact a portrayal of Icarus?

Since the general assumption is that this torso portrays Icarus, and it is even held under this "working designation" in the Museum in Split, I shall first consider this possible attribution. As we know, in the original myth Icarus was born to the Athenian inventor

3 Fuchs 1969, str. 361, 379; Charbonneau, Martin, Villard 1984, str. 212; Charbonneau, Martin Villard 1988, str. 331; Boardmann, Dörig, Fuchs, Hirmer 1992⁵, sl. 162, 186, 207, 210, 211, 226, 232, 233, 242, 243.

3 Fuchs 1969, pp. 361, 379; Charbonneau, Martin, Villard 1984, p. 212; Charbonneau, Martin Villard 1988, p. 331; Boardmann, Dörig, Fuchs, Hirmer 1992⁵, Fig. 162, 186, 207, 210, 211, 226, 232, 233, 242, 243.

i robinji Naukrati rodio sin Ikar.⁴ Nakon što je Dedal pomogao Arijadni u bijegu, njezin ga je otac, kralj Minos, u ljutnji dao zatočiti zajedno s Ikarom. Kako bi se domogao slobode, Dedal je za sebe i sina načinio krila od ptičjih pera, uzica i voska. Prije negoli su poletjeli, Dedal je upozorio mladića da se ne približava Suncu jer bi se vosak mogao otopiti. Ikara su, međutim, kako piše Vergilije, ponijele visine, te se, zaboravivši na očeve savjete, previše približio Suncu, pa se vosak otopio, a mladić našao smrt u morskim dubinama.⁵

Umjetnici su tijekom cijele antike prikazivali taj tragični događaj.⁶ U nedavnoj analizi koju smo proveli nad Ikarovim prikazima, proučili smo, među ostalim, i njegovu ikonografiju.⁷ Pokazalo se da se Ikar predstavlja kao mlad muškarac, kovčave, katkad i nešto duže kose i bez brade. Te nam Ikarove značajke, međutim, ne mogu pomoći u pronalaženju moguće ispravne atribucije lika što ga u ovom radu analiziramo, budući da torzu nedostaje glava. Međutim, ustanovili smo da se Ikar prikazuje uglavnom nag te da tek katkad nosi palij. Na torzu iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu vidljivo je da je lik bio gotovo nag ili, preciznije rečeno, da je nosio jareću kožu pričvršćenu na lijevom ramenu koja mu pokriva dio tijela, što kod Ikarovih prikaza nikad nije slučaj.⁸

Što je onda bio razlog zbog kojeg je ovaj torzo označen kao Ikarov? Vjerojatno je da su taj razlog bila krila na leđima. No ako se prisjetimo činjenice da Ikar nema vlastita krila, nego da mu ih je izradio otac Dedal, onda krila u splitskom slučaju ne mogu biti dokaz da je skulptura predstavljala Ikara. Antički su umjetnici u svojim djelima taj mitološki lik prikazivali gotovo u svim trenucima njegove tragične letačke epizode. Tako su sačuvana i djela s prizorom trenutka kad mu se pričvršćuju krila.⁹ U takvim slučajevima Ikar na sebi nosi tek jedno krilo i čeka na drugo. Postoje dakako i prizori leta, na kojima je Ikar sam ili s ocem Dedalom, kao i prizori pada. Ono što je nama ovdje zanimljivo, jest činjenica da je Ikar na najvećem broju sačuvanih skulptura prikazan s oba krila,¹⁰ kao i to da su ta krila, bez obzira na sadržaj prikaza, bez iznimke, dakle uvijek, predstavljena kao artificijelna. To je postizavano tako što bi se vrlo jasno pokazao način na koji su krila bila pričvršćena uz ruke, odnosno za tijelo. Radi se ili o vrpčama koje se križaju preko prsa ili o omčama kojima su krila vezana oko nadlaktica ili podlaktica. Za usporedbu možemo - među uistinu brojnim sačuvanim primjerima - izdvojiti dva. Neka prvi primjer bude kip koji se danas čuva u muzeju *Montemartino* u Rimu.¹¹ On predstavlja potpuno nagog, mladolikog Ikara na kojemu je vrlo zorno prikazan način kako mu je privezano krilo

Daedalus and the servant Nafsicrate on the island of Crete.⁴ After Daedalus aided Ariadne, her enraged father, King Minos, had him put in captivity together with Icarus. In order to escape, Daedalus made wings of bird feathers, string and wax for himself and his son. Before they took flight, Daedalus warned the youth not to fly too close to the sun, because the wax could melt. However, Icarus, as Virgil wrote, was exhilarated by the heights and forgot his father's advice, and flew too close to the sun, causing the wax to melt. The youth then fell to the sea and drowned.⁵

Artists throughout Antiquity have depicted this tragic event.⁶ In a recent analysis of portrayals of Icarus conducted by this author, I also examined his iconography among other things.⁷ It emerged that Icarus was portrayed as a young man, with curled and sometimes slightly longer hair and no beard. These features, however, do not help in finding the correct attribution of the figure being analyzed here, since the torso is missing the head, and there is no way of knowing its physiognomy. However, I have ascertained that Icarus is generally depicted nude, and sometimes wearing a pallium. This torso in the Archaeological Museum in Split is mostly nude, i.e., the figure is wearing a goatskin fastened at the left shoulder covering part of the body, which is never the case in portrayals of Icarus.⁸

Why then was this torso attributed to Icarus? The most likely answer is because of the wings on his back. However, recalling that Icarus did not have his own wings, rather they were crafted by his father Daedalus, then these wings in the Split example cannot serve as evidence that the sculpture depicts Icarus. The artists of Antiquity have shown this mythical character in almost all moments of his tragic flight. Thus, there are even works which depict the scene of the wings being fastened to his body.⁹ In such cases, Icarus is wearing one wing and waiting for the other to be mounted. To be sure, there are also scenes of the flight, in which Icarus is either alone or with Daedalus, as well as scenes of his fall. Interesting here is the fact that Icarus is shown with both wings on most preserved statues,¹⁰ and that these wings, regardless of the scene being depicted, are without exception always shown as artificial. This was achieved such that the manner in which the wings were fastened to the arms and body is clearly shown. This involves straps which intersect over the chest or cords used to tie the wings around the upper and lower arms. For the sake of comparison, from the truly numerous preserved examples, two may be highlighted. Let the first example be the statue today held in the Montemartino Museum in Rome.¹¹ It portrays an entirely nude, youthful Icarus which clearly shows how the wing is fastened

4 Apol. *Epitome* I, 12.

5 Verg. *Aen.* 6. 9-44.

6 Nyenhuis 1986, str. 313-321, i likovni prilozi br. 1-57.

7 Sanader 2012, str. 105-142.

8 Sanader 2012, str. 135-137.

9 Sanader 2012, str. 111-114.

10 Sanader 2012, str. 121-134.

11 Sanader 2012, str. 116-117.

4 Apol. *Epitome* I, 12.

5 Verg. *Aen.* 6. 9-44.

6 Nyenhuis 1986, pp. 313-321 and the artistic supplements, no. 1-57.

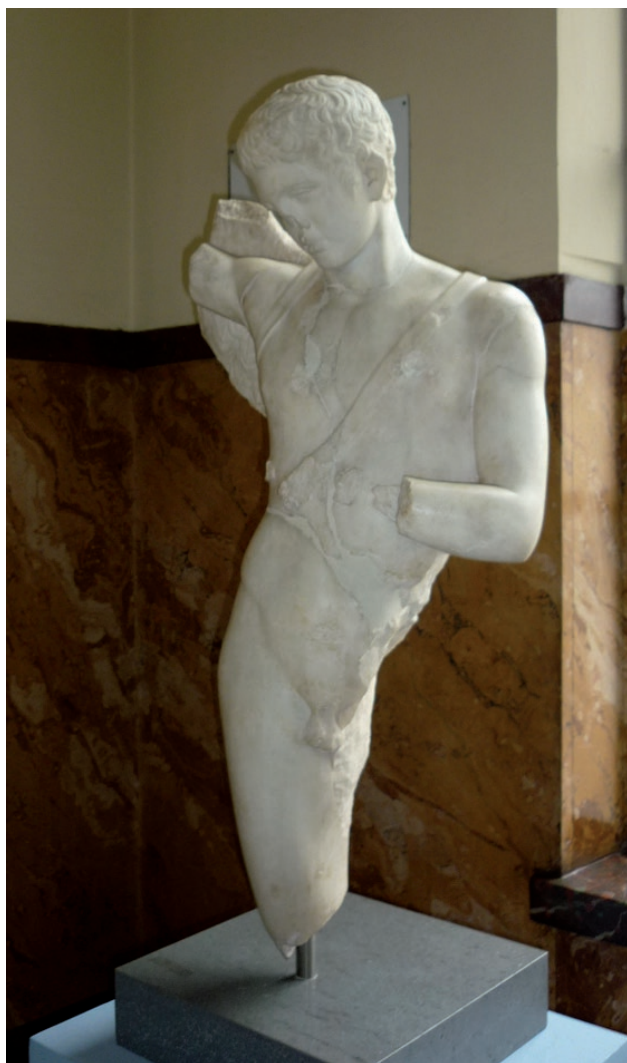
7 Sanader 2012., pp. 105-142.

8 Sanader 2012, pp. 135-137.

9 Sanader 2012, pp. 111-114.

10 Sanader 2012, pp. 121-134.

11 Sanader 2012, pp. 116-117.



Slika 3.
Ikar, Rim, Muzej Montemartino,
inv. br. MC2307.

Figure 3.
Icarus, Rome, Montemartino
Museum, inv. no. MC2307.



Slika 4.
Ikar, Zagreb, Arheološki muzej,
inv. br.1892.

Figure 4.
Icarus, Zagreb, Archaeological
Museum, inv. no. 1892.

(sl. 3). Pričvršćeno mu je naime tek desno krilo, i to uz pomoć vrpca koje se obavijaju oko desnog ramena i prsa.

Drugi primjer ilustrira već opisanu situaciju, kad su ponekad na krila pričvršćene ručke koje Ikar obuhvaća šakama, kao što je slučaj na kipu iz Vugrovca (sl. 4) koji se čuva u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu.¹² Ikar s ove skulpture odjeven je u palij.

Usporedimo li dakle torzo iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu s Ikarovim antičkim prikazima, razvidno je da on ne može predstavljati Ikara, jer ne posjeduje ni jedno obilježje njegove ikonografije. Muškarac na našem torzu ima vlastita krila i nosi jareću kožu, dok su Ikarova krila umjetna, a ako se prikazivao u odjeći, onda je to bio palij.

to his body (Fig. 3). Only the right wing is fastened with the help of a strap wrapped around the right shoulder and chest.

The second example illustrates the already described situation, when handles were sometimes affixed to the wings which Icarus grasps with his hands, as in the case of the statue from Vugrovec (Fig. 4) held in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb.¹² In this statue, Icarus is wearing a pallium.

If the Split torso held in the Archaeological Museum is therefore compared to the portrayals of Icarus made in Antiquity, it is apparent that it cannot represent Icarus, because it does not bear any of the features of his iconography. The man in this torso has his own wings and wears a goatskin, while the wings of Icarus are artificial, and if he wears anything at all then it would be a pallium.

¹² Sanader 2012, str. 133-134.

¹² Sanader 2012, pp. 133-134.

Koga je ovaj splitski kip mogao predstavljati?

Da bismo dobili odgovor na to pitanje, valja nam obratiti pozornost na dva sačuvana ikonografska obilježja na splitskome torzu i nadati se da su ona dostatna za dobivanje traženog odgovora.

Prvo su takvo obilježje krila. Ona su sastavni dio torza, što bi značilo da se u ovom slučaju radi o nekom krilatom liku, dakle o nekom mitološkom biću. Antička je mitologija, kao uostalom i one starije, istočne, poznavala mnoga mitološka muška i ženska krilata bića, a izgled je nekih od njih i danas poznat jer su prikazivani u različitim umjetničkim medijima.¹³ Tako su krila imali različiti demoni, čudovišta i poluljudi. Osim njih mitologija poznaje i više polubožanstava i božanstava s krilima. Tu su prije svega Eros, Kairos, Hipnos, Tanatos, Momos, pa bogovi vjetrova Anemoi, da spomenemo muške krilate likove, i to one najpoznatije među njima, odnosno one koji su u antici bili najčešće prikazivani.¹⁴ Napomenimo da su Rimljani, osim navedenih krilatih likova, poznavali i krilate genije, kao zaštitnike u svakodnevnom životu, ali i kao pratioce u smrti.¹⁵

Drugo je obilježje torza iz Splita jareća koža.¹⁶ Na antičkim je prikazima u jareću kožu najčešće odjeven Dioniz, ali i osobe vezane uz njegov kult.¹⁷ Sam Dioniz se prikazuje odjeven u kožu pantere ili leoparda, ali i u jareću kožu.¹⁸ Iz skupine tih prikaza na kojima je odjeven u jareću kožu za ovu ćemo prigodu navesti kip, tzv. *Lansdowne* Dioniza, koji se nalazi u Santa Barbari (sl. 5). Da se u tom slučaju radi o koži jarca, a ne pantere, pokazuju papci koji su jasno prikazani na njegovu desnom ramenu.¹⁹

Već smo naglasili da se kožom jarca ne odijeva samo Dioniz nego i likovi iz njegove pratnje. Jedan natpis iz Efeza naziva sudionike Dionizova kulta *σακηφόροι*, dakle onima koji su odjeveni u *σάκος* - jareću kožu.²⁰ Naravno, naš splitski torzo nije pripadao tom božanstvu, jer Dioniz nije bio krilat, no možda prikazuje neku osobu iz Dionizove pratnje. A da je ovaj lik mogao biti dio jedne skulpturalne skupine, to jest nalaziti se u nekom društvu, na to ukazuje, kako smo već prije u tekstu naveli, i ostatak odbojka na desnoj strani prsa.

Who may be depicted in this statue in Split?

In order to answer to this question, it would be worthwhile to direct attention to two preserved iconographic features on the Split torso and hope that this will be sufficient to reach an answer.

The first such feature is the wings. They are a component of the torso, which would mean that in this case it is a depiction of a winged figure, thus a mythical being. Many mythical male and female winged beings were common in Classical mythology, as well as the older, Oriental mythology, and the appearance of some of them is known because they were depicted in various artistic media.¹³ Thus, various demons, monsters and hybrid semi-humans had wings. Besides them, a number of gods and demi-gods with wings are also common in mythology. These are above all Eros, Kairos, Hypnos, Thanatos, Momos, and even the wind god *Ανεμοι*, to mention the male winged figures and the best known among them, i.e., those most often depicted in Antiquity.¹⁴ It should be noted that besides these winged figures, the Romans also had the winged genii as the protectors of various domains of everyday life and also escorts in death.¹⁵

The second feature of the Split torso is the goatskin.¹⁶ In Antiquity, most often Dionysus, as well as persons associated with his cult, was depicted wearing a goatskin.¹⁷ Dionysus himself was shown wearing a panther or leopard hide, but also goatskin.¹⁸ Among the group of these portrayals in which he is wearing a goatskin, here I shall cite the statue of the so-called *Lansdowne* Dionysus, which is now held in Santa Barbara (Fig. 5). That he is wearing a goatskin and not a panther hide here is indicated by the hooves clearly depicted on his right shoulder.¹⁹

I have already pointed out that a goatskin is not only worn by Dionysus but also the figures in his retinue. An inscription from Ephesus calls the participants in the Dionysiac cult *σακηφόροι*, i.e., those wearing *σάκος* - goatskin.²⁰ Naturally, the Split torso did not belong to the god, because Dionysus was not winged. However, it may depict a person from his retinue. And that this figure may have been a part of a sculptural group, i.e., a part of a troupe, is also indicated - as stated above - by the remainder of a holder on the right side of the chest.

13 Prikazi grčkih mitoloških krilatih bića odavno su bili predmetom proučavanja znanstvenika (Gerhard 1840; Langbehn 1881).

14 Simon 19853; Schauenburg 1987, str. 199-232; Schefold 1993.

15 Vogel 1973, str. 33-39.

16 Jarećom je kožom (pri čemu se uz jarca veže plodnost), prekrivena i *Juno Sospita*, i to tako da joj jareća glava prekriva tjeme, a ostaci kože vrat i ramena (Wissowa 19712, str. 181-191). Najpoznatiji primjer je statua *Juno Sospita* iz Vatikana, muzej *Pio Clemente*, inv. br. 241.

17 Otto 1965, str. 169.

18 K. Kerenyi piše da je Dioniz odjeven kao Melanaigris u crnu jareću kožu (Kerenyi 1988^o, str. 214.), te navodi da su se u Dionizovu čast jeli jarčići.

19 Pantere nemaju papke nego šape. Vidi: <http://animaldiversity.ummz.umich.edu>.

20 SEG IV, 522. Vidi i Nilsson 19884, str. 363.

13 The portrayals of various Greek mythical winged beings has long been the subject of study by scholars (Gerhard 1840; Langbehn 1881).

14 Simon 19853; Schauenburg 1987, pp. 199-232; Schefold 1993.

15 Vogel 1973, pp. 33-39.

16 A goatskin - keeping in mind that the goat was associated with fertility - also covered *Juno Sospita*, such that the goat's head covers her head, while the remainder of the hide covers her neck and shoulders (Wissowa 19712, pp. 181-191). The best known example is the statue of *Juno Sospita* in the Vatican, *Pio Clemente* Museum, inv. no. 241.

17 Otto 1965, p. 169.

18 K. Kerenyi wrote about Dionysus dressed as Melanaigris in black goatskin (Kerenyi 1988^o, p. 214), and noted that young goats were eaten in honour of Dionysus.

19 Panthers have paws rather than hooves. See: <http://animaldiversity.ummz.umich.edu>.

20 SEG IV, 522. See also Nilsson 19884, p. 363.



Slika 5.
Lansdowne Dioniz, Santa
Barbara, Muzej umjetnosti, inv.
br. 1978.4.5.

Figure 5.
The so-called Lansdowne
Dionysus, Santa Barbara,
Museum of Art, inv. no. 1978.4.5.



Slika 6.
Dioniz, Pan i pantera, Rim,
Nacionalni muzej, palača
Altamps, inv. br. 8606.

Figure 6.
Dionysus, satyr and panther,
Rome, National Museum,
Altamps Palace, inv. no. 8606.

Čini se međutim da ova figura nije uz pomoć odbojka bila pričvršćena za neki objekt poput stupa ili debla, koji na antičkim skulpturalnim skupinama često imaju ulogu potpornja. Odbojak se naime nalazi na takvu mjestu na torzu da bi ga takav potporanj potpuno zaklonio, jer bi morao biti smješten ispred same figure, što nije bilo uobičajeno niti je poznato na sačuvanim artefaktima. Dakle, naša se figura, sasvim je izvjesno, naslanjala na neku drugu figuru, a ona se, za razliku od debla ili nekog drugog potpornja, mogla nalaziti pred njom. Jedan je primjer takve skulpturalne skupine s Dionizom (tzv. Ludoviškim) ona koja prikazuje to božanstvo s Panom i panterom (sl. 6). Na tom se primjeru jasno vidi svrha i način upotrebe odbojka. U prilog pretpostavci da je naš kip u pratnji neke važnije figure, a osim mogućnosti da ga je ona mogla djelomično zaklanjati, može pomoći i podatak da je bio visok između 70 i 80 cm, što je manje od naravne ljudske visine. A na ovdje spomenutim skulpturalnim skupinama vidljivo je da su se likovi koji su bili u skupini s nekim božanstvom kao njegova pratnja, prikazivali manjima od samog božanstva.

It would appear, however, that this figure was not fastened to some object like a column or tree trunk, which were often used as supports in the sculptural groups of Antiquity. This is because the holder is located at such a point on the torso that such a support would entirely obscure him, as it would have been situated directly in front of the figure, which was not customary nor known in preserved artefacts. Thus, this figure was quite certainly leaning against another figure, which, unlike a tree or some other support, could have been in front of him. One example of such a sculptural group with Dionysus (the so-called Ludovisi Dionysus) shows the deity together with a satyr and panther (Fig. 6). The purpose and use of the holder can be seen clearly in this example. The hypothesis that the figure under consideration here could have accompanied a more important figure, which may have even partially obscured him, may be backed by the fact that it was between 70 and 80 cm high, which is lower than natural human height. Among the sculptural groups specified herein, it is apparent that the figures who were in the company of a god as his/her retinue were depicted smaller than the actual deity.

Poznato je da je Zeusova sina Dioniza antička umjetnost nebrojeno puta prikazala, u svim trenucima njegova života. Amplituda prikaza ide od scena njegova čudesnog rođenja iz očeva bedra i djetinjstva s Hermom, preko mladosti s učiteljem Silenom, vjenčanja s Ariadnom i pijanstva, pri čemu se oslanja na neku figuru, do prikaza njegova trijumfalnog pohoda, da nabrojimo samo neke od poznatih epizoda iz njegova života. Dakako da antički umjetnici to božanstvo prikazuju i samo, ali često i u društvu drugih mitoloških bića i osoba.²¹

Čini nam se da ovdje za naše potrebe možemo izdvojiti dvije skupine Dionizovih prikaza, među kojima bismo mogli potražiti odgovor na pitanje koga zaista predstavlja splitska statua.

Prvu skupinu čine prikazi Dioniza koji se, zbog omamljenosti vinom (reklo bi se, u pijanom stanju), naslanja na neku figuru (kadšto i na dvije). Taj vrlo česti motiv - koji se u antičkoj umjetnosti prvi put pojavljuje oko 500. g. pr. Kr. na oslikanim vazama, a posljednji put tisuću godina kasnije, na jednom koptskom koštanom reljefu, oko 500. g. poslije Kr. - u stručnoj je literaturi nazivan *Stützmotiv*.²²

Druga skupina prikaza među kojima bismo mogli potražiti analogiju s našim splitskim slučajem nalazi se na sarkofazima. Radi se o prikazima Dionizova trijumfa i prikazima godišnjih doba, na kojima se božanstvo pojavljuje sa četiri krilata mladića koji personificiraju godišnja doba, kao i s brojnom pratnjom u slavljeničkom pohodu pri obilasku različitih zemalja. Njegov *thiasos* čine najčešće satiri, fauni, bakantice, Menade, Pan i Eros. A što Dioniz - ili Bakho, što mu je drugo ime, koje su preuzeli Rimljani - slavi u tim scenama? Antička vrela kažu da se Dioniz, pošto mu je kult bio prihvaćen i na Istoku, pobjedonosno vraća u Tebu.²³ Neki su antički autori proširili trijumf Dionizova kulta sve do Indije.²⁴ Prikazi njegove slavljeničke povorke prisutni su od samih početaka antičke umjetnosti i traju do koptskih likovnih uradaka na tekstilu.²⁵ Iako se Dionizov trijumf u kombinaciji s godišnjim dobima prikazivao već u grčkoj umjetnosti, smatra se ipak da je to proizvod rimskih radionica.²⁶ A kako misli L. Abad Casal, motiv krilatih mladića kao personifikacije godišnjih doba na dionizijskim se sarkofazima susreće tek od 3. st.²⁷

Pregledom nama dostupnog likovnog materijala moglo se ustanoviti da figure iz neposredne Dionizove blizine, a koje bi se ticale naše splitske statue, mogu biti ili Satir (jareća koža) ili Eros (krila). Pauzanija piše da je u Dionizovu hramu vidio

It is known that the son of Zeus, Dionysus, was depicted countless times in the art of Antiquity in all moments of his life. The sheer volume of depictions run from scenes of his miraculous birth from his father's thigh, his childhood with Hermes, his youth with his teacher Silenus, his marriage to Ariadne and his drunkenness, wherein he is usually shown leaning on another figure, to scenes of his triumphal march, to list just some of the better known episodes from his life. To be sure, the artists of the Classical era depicted this deity alone as well, but also frequently in the company other mythical personages and beings.²¹

It would appear that for the needs of this study, two groups of Dionysiac portrayals may be highlighted in which an answer to the question of who is actually depicted in the Split statue may be sought.

The first group consists of depictions in which Dionysus, made sluggish by wine (i.e., inebriated), leans on another figure (sometimes even two). This very common motif, which first appeared in Classical art at around 500 BC on paintings on vases and last appeared a thousand years later on a Coptic bone relief from roughly 500 AD, is called the *Stützmotiv* in the relevant scholarly literature.²²

The second group of depictions in which an analogy to the Split case may be sought can be found on sarcophaguses. These are depictions of the triumph of Dionysus and the seasons of the year, and on them the deity appears with four winged youths who personify the seasons, and with a sizeable retinue in a festive procession through various countries. His *thiasos* most often consists of satyrs, fauns, Baccantes, maenads, Pan and Eros. And what is Dionysus, or Bacchus (his other name, assumed by the Romans), celebrating in these scenes? Classical sources tell us that Dionysus, after his cult was accepted in the Orient, returned to Thebes in triumph.²³ Some Classical writers expanded the triumph of the Dionysiac cult all the way to India.²⁴ The depictions of his triumphant procession were present from the very beginnings of Classical art and they persisted to the time of Coptic textile artworks.²⁵ Even though the triumph of Dionysus combined with the seasons was already portrayed in Greek art, it was nonetheless deemed a product of Roman workshops.²⁶ And as L. Abad Casal believed, the motif of winged youths as personifications of the seasons can only be seen on Dionysiac sarcophaguses from the third century onward.²⁷

Based on an overview of the available artistic materials, it was possible to ascertain that those figures in the immediate company of Dionysus which could pertain to the Split statue may be a satyr (goatskin) or Eros (wings). Pausanias wrote that he saw in a temple

21 Gasparri 1986, str. 540-566, 628-656.

22 Pochmarski 1990.

23 Ovidije, *Ars* I, 543-547; Lukijan, *deor. concil.* 4.

24 Seneka, *Phaedra* 753; Lukijan, *Bacch.* 2; Nonnos, *Dion.* 13-24; 26-40. Vidi i Peek, Berlin 1969.

25 Heuck Allen 1990, str. 3-10.

26 Sarkofazi s prikazom Dionizova trijumfa, odnosno s dionizijskim motivima bili su omiljeni i među antičkim stanovništvom istočne jadranske obale. Nažalost, do danas se ni jedan nije sačuvao u potpunosti. Vidi: Cambi 1988, str. 43-45.

27 Abad Casal 1990, str. 891-920 i 576-596.

21 Gasparri 1986, pp. 540-566, 628-656.

22 Pochmarski 1990.

23 Ovid, *Ars* I, 543-547; Lucian, *deor. concil.* 4.

24 Seneca, *Phaedra* 753; Lucian, *Bacch.* 2; Nonnos, *Dion.* 13-24; 26-40. See also Peek, Berlin 1969.

25 Heuck Allen 1990, pp. 3-10.

26 Sarcophaguses with images of the triumph of Dionysus and Dionysiac motifs were favoured among the Roman-era populations of the eastern Adriatic. Unfortunately, up to the present not one has been preserved in its entirety. See: Cambi 1988, pp. 43-45.

27 Abad Casal 1990, pp. 891-920 and 576-596.



Slika 7.
Dioniz i Eros, Brocklesby Park
(prema E. Pochmarsky).

Figure 7.
Dionysus and Eros, Brocklesby
Park (based on E. Pochmarsky).



Slika 8.
Brončano poprsje krilatog Erosa s
jarećom kožom i grožđem, nekoć
Morven Collection of Ancient Art
(<http://www.christies.com>).

Figure 8.
Bronze bust of winged Eros with
goatskin and grapes, formerly part
of the Morven Collection of Ancient
Art (<http://www.christies.com>).

jednu pokraj druge dvije skulpturalne skupine: na jednoj se uz božanstvo nalazi Satir, a na drugoj Eros.²⁸ Kako Pausanija ništa ne kaže o ikonografiji Satira i Erosa, pretpostaviti je da na njima nije bilo ničega što bi odudaralo od ustaljene antičke predodžbe tih likova.

S obzirom na činjenicu da splitski torzo ima i krila i jareću kožu, valja nam potražiti prikaze na kojima se Dioniz pojavljuje u društvu Erosa koji je odjenuo jareću kožu ili pak Satira s krilima, kako bismo usporedbom mogli učiniti korak dalje u rješavanju naše zadaće.

U Brocklesby Parku čuva se jedna skupina statua koja prikazuje Dioniza u društvu Erosa (sl. 7), koji je prikazan s krilima

of Dionysus two sculptural groups next to each other, so that in one there was a satyr next to the god, and Eros in the other.²⁸ Since Pausanias said nothing about the iconography of the satyr and Eros, it may be assumed that there was nothing about them which deviated from the established Classical-era conceptions of these figures.

Given that the Split torso has both wings and a goatskin, it would be worthwhile to seek out portrayals on which Dionysus appears accompanied by Eros who is wearing a goatskin, or a satyr with wings, thus using a comparison to come one step closer to resolving the task set forth in this work.

In Brocklesby Park, there is a group of statues which depicts Dionysus in the company of Eros (Fig. 7), who is shown with

28 "U susjednom Dionizovom hramu postoji dječak Satir koji Dionizu pruža vrč. Tamlil je izradio Dioniza u grupi s Erosom, koji stoji do njega" (Pausanija, I, 20, 2).

28 "[...] while a Satyr is in the temple of Dionysus hard by, a boy holding out a cup. The Love standing with him and the Dionysus were made by Thymilus" (Pausanias, I, 20, 2).



Slika 9.
Kipić od terakote, Eros s
nebridom, Pergamski muzej u
Berlinu (prema Schwarzmaier
2011, sl. 1).

Figure 9.
Small terracotta statue, Eros
with nebris, Pergamon Museum,
Berlin (based on Schwarzmaier
2011, Fig. 1).



Slika 10.
Sarkofag Badminton, New York,
The Metropolitan Museum of
Art, inv. br. 55115.

Figure 10.
Badminton Sarcophagus, New
York, The Metropolitan Museum
of Art, inv. no. 55115.

i zaogrnut jarećom kožom.²⁹ Premda je ova skupina u literaturi ocijenjena i kao mogući *pasticcio*, smatramo da restauratori nisu mogli Erosu dodati jareću kožu, jer je ona isklesana u jednom komadu s tijelom.³⁰ Isti je slučaj i s krilima koja mu izlaze iz lopatica, što i kod većih oštećenja ostavlja tragove na leđima. Već je A. Michaelis uočio neobičnost takve Erosove ikonografije (jareća koža), ali činjenica da mu je lijevo krilo bilo dobro sačuvano, pomogla mu je u atribuciji lika.³¹ Iako bi se ovom analogijom naša potraga mogla i okončati, ipak smo, vodeći računa o onoj *testis unus testis nullus*, pronašli još dva primjera koji pokazuju Erosa odjevena u jareću kožu.

wings and wrapped in a goatskin.²⁹ Although this group has been assessed as a possible pastiche in the scholarly literature, I believe that the restorers could not have added a goatskin to Eros, because it was sculpted in a single piece with the body.³⁰ The same case applies to the wings, which come out of his shoulder blades, and in cases of greater damage there would have been traces on the back. A. Michaelis had already observed the unusual nature of this iconography for Eros (goatskin), but the fact that the left wing had been preserved aided in the attribution of the figure.³¹ Even though this analogy could mark the end of the search for this analysis, guided by the principle of *testis unus testis nullus*, I found two more examples in which Eros is depicted wearing a goatskin.

29 Michaelis 1882, br. 90, str. 237-238.

30 Pochmarski 1990, str. 324.

31 Michaelis 1882, br. 90, str. 237-238.

29 Michaelis 1882, no. 90, pp. 237-238.

30 Pochmarski 1990, p. 324.

31 Michaelis 1882, no. 90, pp. 237-238.



Slika 11.
Cumberlandov crtež reljefa od terakote iz Villa Albani u Rimu koji prikazuje tzv. satiresknog Kupida.

Figure 11.
Cumberland's sketch of the terracotta relief from the Villa Albani which depicts a so-called satyresque Cupid.

U *Morven Collection of Ancient Art* nalazilo se brončano poprsje krilatog Erosa (sl. 8)³² odjevenog u jareću kožu, koji u desnoj ruci drži grozd, na glavi ima vijenac, a na leđima krila.

Iz Mirine potječe figura od terakote koja prikazuje Erosa odjevenog u nebridu i ogrtač (sl. 9).³³ Naime, da je riječ o nebridi, koži laneta, tvrdi A. Schwarzmaier.³⁴ Pa premda se dakle u ovom slučaju ne radi o jarećoj koži, što bi ga posljedično moralo dovesti u vezu s Dionizom, ovaj kipić može biti primjer za mogućnost da Eros na antičkim prizorima, kad je prikazan odjeven, na sebi može nositi i nešto drugo osim hlamide.

Potragu za likom koji ima i krila i jareći kožuh nastavili smo i na reljefnoj plastici s prikazima Dionizova slavljeničkog pohoda, na kojima se pojavljuje najveći broj figura. Pronašli

In the *Morven Collection of Ancient Art*, there was a bronze bust of a winged Eros (Fig. 8)³² wearing a goatskin and holding a grape bunch in his right hand, with a wreath around his head and wings on his back.

A terracotta figure from Mirina depicts Eros wearing a nebris and robe (Fig. 9).³³ A. Schwarzmaier asserted this is in fact a nebris, or the hide of a fawn³⁴ So even though it is not a goatskin in this case, which would consequentially associate it with Dionysus, this statue may serve as an example of the possibility that Eros in Classical scenes, when portrayed in attire, may wear something besides a chlamys.

The search for a figure with wings wearing a goatskin also led to relief sculptures showing Dionysus on his triumphant procession on which the highest number of figures appears. I found it on the so-

32 Ovo se poprsje prodavalo na dražbi kod *Christie's* 8. lipnja 2004. u New Yorku, kad je u opisu navedeno da poprsje predstavlja Satira ili Erosa. (http://www.christies.com/LotFinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=4287503).

33 Schwarzmaier 2011, str. 370-375, 492, kat. br. 4. 7.

34 Schwarzmaier 2011, str. 371.

32 This bust was sold at *Christie's* auction in New York on 8 June 2004, at which the description stated that it was a bust of a satyr or Eros (http://www.christies.com/LotFinder/lot_details.aspx?intObjectID=4287503).

33 Schwarzmaier 2011, pp. 370-375, 492, cat. no. 4. 7.

34 Schwarzmaier 2011, p. 371.

smo ga na tzv. *Badminton* sarkofagu, koji prikazuje Dionizov trijumf i četiri godišnja doba, koja personificiraju nagi krilati mladići s hlamidama (sl. 10). Taj slavni i iznimno dobro sačuvani sarkofag čuva se danas u *Metropolitan Museum of Art* u New Yorku.³⁵ Zanimljivo je da je na desnoj bočnoj strani sarkofaga prikazana muška figura u poluležećem položaju (personifikacija rijeke) između dvojice krilatih mladića. Lijevi je mladić odjeven u jareću kožu baš kao i naša figura, odnosno torzo iz Splita. Osim što je krilat i odjeven u jareću kožu, newyorški lik lijevom rukom pridržava prednje noge jarčića kojeg je zabacio na lijevo rame, a u savijenoj desnici drži zdjelicu. O njemu, međutim, ne postoje precizniji analitički radovi, te se u literaturi pojavljuje samo naznaka da se radi o krilatom mladiću.³⁶

Što se tiče eventualnih drugih prikaza krilatih Satira, spomenimo da se u literaturi o njima raspravljalo.³⁷ Tako F. Creuzer piše da je već J. J. Winkelman raspravljao o liku krilatog satira prikazanog na jednom reljefu od terakote iz *Villa Albani*³⁸ (sl. 11), nazivajući ga satiresknim Kupidom. F. Creutzer u takvim bićima vidi isticanje Dioniza kao vladara godišnjih doba, ali i vladara izvora i vode, što dadu naslutiti i njegovi misteriji.³⁹

Na kraju valja još jednom naglasiti da smo metodom ikonografske komparacije ustvrdili kako torzo iz Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu ne predstavlja Ikara, budući da ovaj u pravilu nosi umjetna krila. Ukazali smo, nadalje, na temelju relevantnih podataka, na mogućnost smještaja tog torza s krilima i jarećom kožom u Dionizovo okruženje. K tome smo pokazali da je lik na splitskoj skulpturi izvorno mogao biti jedan od dva kipa ili nekoliko kipova neke skupine figura iz Dionizove pratnje. Svaki daljnji zaključak o torzu bio bi, zbog tek djelomične sačuvanosti i nepoznavanja okolnosti nalaza, u sferi spekulacije. Zato zasad treba ostati na ovim zaključnim konstatacijama, pogotovo ako smo svjesni činjenice koju je jednom tako zgodno istaknuo R. Wünsche: *...der Phantasie der antiken Meister ist man nicht gewachsen*.⁴⁰

called *Badminton Sarcophagus*, which shows Dionysus triumphant and the four seasons, personified as nude, winged youths wearing chlamydes (Fig. 10). This famed and extraordinarily well preserved sarcophagus is today held in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.³⁵ It is interesting that on the right lateral side there is a male figure in semi-repose (personification of a river) surrounded by two winged youths. The one on the left wears a goatskin just like the figure, or rather torso, from Split. Besides being winged and wearing a goatskin, the New York figure holds the goat hooves in his left hand, which are thrown on the left shoulder, while he holds a small bowl in his right hand. However, there are no more detailed analytical works on this figure, and it is only referred to as a winged youth in the relevant literature.³⁶

As to possible other portrayals of winged satyrs, it is noteworthy that they were discussed in the relevant literature.³⁷ Thus, F. Creuzer wrote that J. J. Winkelman had already been confronted with the image of a winged satyr, depicted on a terracotta relief from the *Villa Albani* (Fig. 11),³⁸ calling it a satyresque Cupid. Creutzer saw in such beings the extolling of Dionysus as the ruler of the seasons, but also the master of springs and waters, which is indicated by his mysteries.³⁹

In the end, it would be worthwhile to once more emphasize that using the iconographic comparison method, I have established that the torso from the Archaeological Museum in Split does not depict Icarus, since this figure generally wears artificial wings. I have furthermore shown that based on the relevant data it is possible to place this winged torso wearing a goatskin in the retinue of Dionysus. In this regard, I have demonstrated that the figure in the Split sculpture may have originally been one of two or more statues in a group of figures accompanying Dionysus. Due to its only partial state of preservation and the lack of any knowledge of the circumstances under which it was found, any further conclusions on the torso would be mere speculation. This is why for now I shall go no farther than the concluding remarks made herein, which would seem prudent, particularly given the rather apposite observation made by R. Wünsche: *"der Phantasie der antiken Meister ist man nicht gewachsen"*.⁴⁰

35 Alexander 1955, str. 39-47.

36 Alexander 1955, str. 44; Turcan 1967, str. 135-151.

37 Creuzer 1822, str. 416-417.

38 Cumberland 1829, crtež 38.

39 Creuzer 1822, str. 416.

40 *... nismo dorasli fantaziji antičkih majstora* (Wünsche 1998, str. 83).

35 Alexander 1955, pp. 39-47.

36 Alexander 1955, p. 44; Turcan 1967, pp. 135-151.

37 Creuzer 1822, pp. 416-417.

38 Cumberland 1829, sketch 38.

39 Creuzer 1822, p. 416.

40 *"... We cannot match of the fantasies of the ancient masters"* (Wünsche 1998, p. 83).

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