

# THE ROMAN DISPLAY CONTEXTS OF THE THREE-FIGURE RELIEFS

by

NATALIE ALISON FORT

(Under the Direction of Mark Abbe)

## ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the proveniences of the Three-Figure Reliefs, a distinctive class of mythological relief sculpture in Roman art dating from the first century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. The extant corpus of eighteen large-scale marble panels depicts five canonical Greek myths in Classical style. These replicas are generally considered to reproduce a series of reliefs from an unknown public monument erected in Athens during the second half of the fifth century B.C.E. This thesis reexamines the Roman replicas' little-noted archaeological proveniences to reveal their known ancient display contexts in the Roman period. Replicas of the Three-Figure Reliefs were displayed in the Domus Tiberiana, an imperial palace in Rome, the Villa Sora, a maritime luxury villa near Herculaneum, and the sanctuary of the Sacred Spring at Corinth. These contexts – private and public – suggest the Three-Figure Reliefs' different functions in Roman antiquity.

INDEX WORDS: Three-Figure Reliefs, Roman relief sculpture, Mythological relief sculpture, Domus Tiberiana, Villa Sora, Sacred Spring, Corinth, Roman décor, Votive reliefs

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NATALIE ALISON FORT

B.A., Randolph-Macon Woman's College, 2009

M.A., The University of Georgia, 2012

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NATALIE ALISON FORT

Major Professor: Mark Abbe

Committee: Shelley Zuraw  
Asen Kirin

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso  
Dean of the Graduate School  
The University of Georgia  
May 2014

## DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to the memory of my father and honor of my mother. I also dedicate this thesis to a man, whom I never met, but whose dedication, creativity, kindness, and thoroughness inspires my own: Timothy Gantz.

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## INTRODUCTION

The so-called Three-Figure Reliefs, dating from the first century B.C.E. to the first century C.E., constitute one of the most distinguishable classes of mythological relief sculpture in Roman art before sarcophagi. In ancient Greece, mythological relief sculptures adorned public buildings and funerary monuments and in the Roman period, replicas of such Greek sculptures were commissioned for display in Roman domestic environments. The extant corpus of eighteen large-scale marble panels (average 1.2 m in height and 1.0 m in width) depicts five canonical Greek myths in Classical style. The majority of reliefs appear to be carved in fine-grained Greek marble. Major collections in Rome, Naples, Paris, St. Petersburg, and New York currently display Three-Figure Reliefs. The existing scholarship on the Three-Figure Reliefs has focused on the alleged origins and possible display contexts of the putative Greek “originals” on an Athenian monument of the second half of the fifth century B.C.E. Despite extensive speculation, no archaeological evidence supports the nature, form, or function of this putative monument and there is no agreement about how the reliefs were displayed within it.<sup>1</sup> The approach of this thesis is different: it advances research on the Three-Figure Reliefs by re-examining their little-noted proveniences and market provenances to reveal their varied display contexts in Roman antiquity. These contexts – private and public – shed light on the diverse functions of the Three-Figure Reliefs in the Roman period.

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<sup>1</sup> Götze (1939, 251-280) argued that the Three-Figure Reliefs belonged to the Altar of Pity or a funerary monument of a Greek tragedian. Thompson (1952, 47-82) proposed that the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Athenian Agora displayed the reliefs; however, Gadbery (1992, 447-89) convincingly disproved his assertion. Nulton (2009, 30-4), without asserting any new evidence, argues that the reliefs are Neo-Attic creations dating between first century B.C.E. and first century C.E. Palagia (2009, 40-3) refutes that the reliefs were displayed in a choregic or funerary monument based on the replicas’ multiplicity and content. She suggests that they served as decorative panels around a sanctuary’s entrance or votive reliefs to Athena.

## MYTHOLOGICAL NARRATIVES AND THEMES

The Three-Figure Reliefs portray five well-known Greek myths. All of their compositions depict three figures in the defining moment of their dramatic narrative. Five out of eighteen reliefs - nearly a third of the entire corpus - portray the final parting of Orpheus and Eurydice. Hermes grasps Eurydice's wrist to lead her back into the Underworld while Orpheus pulls back her veil, simultaneously viewing and losing his wife in a condensed moment of tragic reversal. Four reliefs portray Medea's deception of the daughters of King Pelias. Medea, her head veiled in anticipation of a ritual, and two Peliads stand beside a cauldron, containing the cooked remains of their murdered father. The scene reveals a moment of acute narrative anticipation just before the daughters realize the consequences of their actions. Four reliefs depict Theseus' final departure from his friend Pirithous. Heracles and Theseus stand beside Pirithous, seated in the center, and contemplate his punishment of eternal bondage to a seat for his attempted rape of Persephone. Four reliefs portray Heracles' retrieval of the apples from the Hesperides. Heracles, seated in the center and resting from his perilous journey, is flanked by the Hesperides, who bring the hard-earned golden fruit of his labors. A fragmentary Three-Figure Relief – known through only one example – depicts three standing, sumptuously dressed women. The majority of scholars have identified the relief as the Graces, but this seems unlikely because the composition differs from portrayals of the harmonious goddesses.<sup>2</sup> In the manner of the other Three-Figure Reliefs that portray dramatic narrative moments, this relief may depict the Judgment of Paris, a renowned myth of three goddesses in a defining and divisive moment, although the exact identity of the goddesses remains speculative.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Tomei (1997, 144), Fuchs (1966, 228-9), and von Steuben (1966, 870) identify the relief of three women as the Graces based on a comparative Neo-Attic relief (see Fig. 52).

<sup>3</sup> Based on the discord of the figure-at-right (see Figures 53 and 54), the relief's composition compares closely to the narrative of Athena, Hera, and Aphrodite at the Judgment of Paris, which isolates Aphrodite from the triad. The

The Three-Figure Reliefs convey complex themes, highlighting the defining moments of their scenes and thus their dramatic mythological narratives. Scholars argue that the Orpheus, Pirithous, and Hesperides types of Three-Figure Reliefs flexibly convey themes of rejuvenation, immortality, and forgiveness in addition to their tragic themes.<sup>4</sup> The contextualized meanings of the reliefs in the fifth century B.C.E. remain elusive. By looking at the ancient display contexts of the extant Roman-period replicas of the Three-Figure Reliefs, their possible reception and interpretation in Roman antiquity may be better defined and understood.

#### REPLICAS WITHOUT AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROVENIENCE

The vast majority of Roman marble sculpture in historic collections lacks a documented archaeological provenience. The Three-Figure Reliefs are no exception. Only five of the eighteen reliefs preserve secure archaeological proveniences. The other thirteen reliefs have only associations with historic collections or market provenances. Interesting patterns, however, emerge from the recorded origins of these thirteen Three-Figure Reliefs.

At least three of five Orpheus reliefs have provenances associated with Rome and probably originate from central Italy if not from Rome itself or its environs. In the late sixteenth century, the French artist Pierre Jacques drew the earliest known Orpheus relief (Fig. 1), now in

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closest visual comparison in terms of composition and date of the putative “original” Three-Figure Reliefs is an Attic red-figure hydria dating to 470 B.C.E. from Capua (Kossatz-Deissmann 1994, *LIMC* VII.I 180, n. 38). Similar to the relief of three women, two goddesses, Hera and Athena, stand together and apart from Aphrodite, who stands alone and faces Paris, who has just placed the golden apple in her outstretched hand (Fig. 55). The Judgment of Paris was also a recurrent scene in Roman domestic wall paintings of the first century C.E. The paintings in one house (Region V 2.15), now in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples (Inv.-Nr. 119691), and the *Domus Postumiorum* (Region VIII 4.4) depict Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite intently focused on Paris, whom Hermes just delivered before the goddesses. Unlike the goddesses in the Three-Figure Relief, the goddesses in the vase painting and wall paintings are not uniformly represented, but are clearly identified through their regal, warrior-like, or sensual appearance.

<sup>4</sup> Touchette (1990, 86) and Nulton (2009, 30) see Orpheus and Eurydice’s indirect gazes at each other and intimacy, unusual conventions for Classical sculpture, as a visual narrative of their marriage and successful return to the Upper-world that parallels fourth and fifth century B.C.E. variations of the myth. Gantz (1993, 292-3) notes that Byzantine commentators recorded the escape of Theseus and Pirithous from the Underworld with Heracles’ assistance in Euripides’ *Pirithous* (now lost). Harrison (1964, 79) and Raeder (1994, 391) view the golden apples that the Hesperides give to Heracles as gifts bestowing immortality upon the hero: Heracles successfully returns from the Underworld in his final labor and the Olympian gods grant him an apotheosis and divine marriage to Hebe.

the Louvre, when it was displayed in the Belvedere courtyard of the Vatican (Fig. 2). Another Orpheus relief (Fig. 3) was in the Villa Albani in the first half of the eighteenth century. A fragment of Orpheus' head (Fig. 4) was discovered in Rome and placed in the Vatican Museum in the late nineteenth century; however, no extant documentation elucidates its discovery or purchase.<sup>5</sup>

Two of the four known Pirithous reliefs also originated from historic collections in Rome in the eighteenth century. The Pirithous relief (Fig. 5) currently in the Louvre was also drawn by Pierre Jacques (Fig. 6) in the late sixteenth century when it was displayed in the Palazzo della Valle. Another Pirithous relief was in the Villa Albani (Fig. 7) by the first half of the eighteenth century. The fragmentary head of Theseus from another replica (Fig. 8), now in Berlin, was acquired by the Ingenheim collection in the late nineteenth century and probably originated from the intense acquisition of ancient sculptures in northern Europe from historic collections in Italy in the same period.

Three out of four Medea reliefs also appear to originate in Rome. The replica (Fig. 9) now in the Vatican was drawn by an anonymous Italian artist (Fig. 10) in the first half of the seventeenth century. This relief was subsequently rediscovered in 1814 in the Via del Corso in Rome. The replica now in the Berlin Museum (Fig. 11) was displayed in the Palazzo Strozzi in Rome by the mid to second half of the sixteenth century. The fragmentary head of Medea from another replica (Fig. 12) was acquired in Rome by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1923 and presumably came from the city, its environs, or central Italy.<sup>6</sup>

The four replicas of the Hesperides reliefs all have a provenance associated with Rome. The replica now in the Villa Albani (Fig. 13) was drawn by the Italian artist Amico Aspertini

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<sup>5</sup> Kaschnitz von Weinberg 1936, 180. Paribeni (1953, 120) and Sinn (2006, 99) list or count the fragment in the Orpheus type of Three-Figure Reliefs.

<sup>6</sup> Richter 1954, 42.

(Fig. 14) around 1500 to 1503 in the so-called Monte Giordano, a property that covered the ancient Gardens of Sallust on the Quirinal Hill.<sup>7</sup> It is not certain that the replica originated from the ancient *hortus*. The other three Hesperides reliefs were purchased in Rome: the Shugborough relief (Fig. 15) in 1765, the Hermitage relief (Fig. 16) around 1840, and the fragmentary replica (Fig. 17) now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1922.

In sum, twelve out of eighteen Three-Figure Reliefs lack an archaeological provenience. All of these have a historic or market provenance based in central Italy, with a concentration in Rome itself. Only four of five Three-Figure Reliefs with secure archaeological proveniences come from Rome and central Italy. Their find spots - discussed in detail below – include three from the Domus Tiberiana, the imperial palace on the Palatine Hill in Rome, and a single replica from the Villa Sora, a luxury seaside villa south of Herculaneum. Both locations are private Roman domestic contexts and shed light on the kinds of probable display contexts of the other twelve reliefs apparently from central Italy or Rome. They were most likely displayed in villas and *horti* owned by members of the Roman elite. In private Roman domestic environments, the Three-Figure Reliefs most likely imbued their display contexts with a cultured Greek sacro-idyllic ambience.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Hartswick 2004, 63. Mandowsky and Mitchell, ed. (1963, 223) provide Pirro Ligorio's description (ca. 1550), the earliest written account of the Hesperides relief in the Monte Giordano.

<sup>8</sup> The adjective "sacro-idyllic" in this thesis defines the charming and picturesque simplicity of the Three-Figure Reliefs or a display environment that serves as an accessible retreat. Carroll-Spillecke (1994, 909) points out that public Greek gardens and gymnasia influenced private Roman domestic gardens. Kuntz (1994, 898) asserts that the demand for Greek reliefs from the second century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. increased based on the large number of Greek reliefs in Rome and its environs and the four Classical reliefs discovered in the remains of the Mahdia shipwreck. Hölscher (1994, 887) also acknowledges this increase, and he connects the sculptures' display in Roman public (*negotium*) and private (*otium*) realms. Kuntz (1994, 899) and Hölscher (1994, 887) suggest that the display of Greek sculptures or Roman replicas of them in Roman villas and gardens, specifically those on the Esquiline Hill of Rome, displayed their owners' education and prosperity. Kuntz (1994, 899) further explains that representations of divinities and heroes were highly favored and the incorporation of Classical votive or public, monumental reliefs evoked a sacred atmosphere, further emphasized through their 'old charm,' in Roman gardens and houses.

## A PROGRAMMATIC DISPLAY IN THE DOMUS TIBERIANA, ROME

The Domus Tiberiana, an imperial palace constructed around the second decade of the first century C.E. on the northwest corner of the Palatine Hill, is the only known ancient display context featuring the display of multiple Three-Figure Reliefs. At least three Three-Figure Reliefs were programmatically displayed together in the imperial residence in the first to second centuries C.E. An Orpheus relief (Fig. 18), the relief of three women (Fig. 19), and the fragmentary head of Theseus from a Pirithous relief (Fig. 20) were discovered during the nineteenth century in the excavations of the Domus Tiberiana. The Italian archaeologist Pietro Rosa led excavations between 1861 and 1879 in the northern section of the palatial remains that revealed the fragmentary Hermes from the Orpheus relief and the relief of three women.<sup>9</sup> Before 1879, Rosa also excavated the fragmentary head of Theseus in the same location, but discovered it separately from the Hermes fragment and relief of three women.<sup>10</sup> The fragmentary upper torso of the central female was displayed in the Giardino della Pigna of the Vatican Museum until 1899.<sup>11</sup> By 1995, the torso was rejoined to the relief of three women in the Palatine Museum. The Italian archaeologist Gianfilippo Carettoni discovered the fragmentary torso of Eurydice from the Orpheus relief in 1963 during the limited excavations of the vaults of the Domus Tiberiana underneath the Farnese Gardens.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Cardinal Farnese converted the north and western sides of the Domus Tiberiana into gardens between 1540 and 1550 (Richardson in *NTDAR* 1992, 282). Tomei (1997, 144-5) and Carettoni (1967, 148-9) attribute the discovery of the Hermes fragment and relief of three women to Pietro Rosa's excavations. Napoleon III purchased the Farnese Gardens in 1860 and entrusted them to Pietro Rosa, who excavated the northern, northeastern, and southern sides from 1861 to 1870 (Krause in *LTUR* 1995, 2, 191). Although Napoleon III sold the gardens to the Italian state in 1870, Rosa continued to excavate there, built a museum to exhibit his finds, and supervised restorations on the site (Tomei and Filetici 2011, 24 and 27).

<sup>10</sup> Paribeni (1953, 68) and Touchette (1990, 86-7) connect the provenience of the fragmentary head of Theseus to the Domus Tiberiana or Palatine Hill. Parker (1879, no. 2292) cites a photograph (Fig. 56) of sculptures excavated from the Palatine Hill on display in Pietro Rosa's museum. The photograph depicts the fragmentary head of Theseus, indicating its discovery in the mid-nineteenth century, the same period as the discovery of the fragmentary torso of Hermes from the Orpheus relief and relief of three women.

<sup>11</sup> Fuchs 1966, 228-9.

<sup>12</sup> Carettoni 1967, 148.



All of the Three-Figure Reliefs from the Domus Tiberiana share similar carving techniques and style, suggesting that they were the products of a single commission and workshop. They display a consistent, simplified, almost two-dimensional quality and cursory finish – especially visible in the folds of the figures' garments and anatomy - that closely compare to other Roman architectural reliefs. The reliefs' simplified treatment speaks not to their quality, but rather to their probable architectural display context. The excavators of the Domus Tiberiana deduced from the remains that a palatial garden or covered hall existed at outermost and northern edge of the imperial residence (Figures 21 and 22), the same vicinity where the three Three-Figure Reliefs were discovered.<sup>13</sup> Thus, the three reliefs were most likely programmatically displayed in the architectural superstructure high above potential viewers in this more private area of the imperial residence. The probable function of the three Three-Figure Reliefs discovered in the Domus Tiberiana was undoubtedly raised architectural décor that contributed to the overall adornment of this palatial garden or covered hall in the more private areas of the imperial residence.

#### THE ORPHEUS RELIEF FROM THE VILLA SORA, TORRE DEL GRECO

The best-preserved Orpheus relief in the corpus of Three-Figure Reliefs was excavated from the Villa Sora in Torre del Greco, a suburb south of Herculaneum. During the second half of the first century B.C.E., the Villa Sora, a luxury maritime villa, was constructed on the Bay of Naples (Fig. 23).<sup>14</sup> Its location on the shore and ample spaces for entertainment, including *triclinia* (dining rooms), gardens, and *exedrae* distinguish this large domestic structure as a villa

<sup>13</sup> Carettoni (1967, 149 n.1) points out that marble channels that carried water away from the original structure were found close to the fragmentary torso of Eurydice, and they provide evidence for an enclosed garden or covered hall along the outer edge of the Domus Tiberiana.

<sup>14</sup> Hörich (1985, 153-4) compiles all of the unpublished reports or references to many villas in the suburbs of Herculaneum and the most prominent works of art from the villas' excavations. Neudecker (1988, 243) provides a comprehensive catalogue entry for the Villa Sora and its sculptural program. Pagano (1991, 149-161) briefly summarized the history of excavations and major works of art found at the Villa Sora, including the Orpheus relief. Adams (2006, 74) dates the construction of the Villa Sora in the Sullan-Caesarian period.

*maritimae* and *suburbana*.<sup>15</sup> The primary occupation and renovation of the villa dates to the first century C.E. before the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 C.E.; archaeological evidence suggests its continuous repair and inhabitation through the second century C.E.

A replica of the Orpheus relief (Fig. 24) was discovered by Italian archaeologist Giuseppe Balzano around 1641 within or near the remains of the Villa Sora by the ‘Royal Road’ to Salerno.<sup>16</sup> The precise location of the relief’s discovery in relation to the remains of the ancient villa remains uncertain, but an elaborate dining room (Fig. 25) that Balzano subsequently excavated may have originally displayed the relief.<sup>17</sup> The fine carving and finish of the Orpheus relief indicate its possible intentional display close to its viewers, who could examine its detail intimately. Although the precise ancient display context of the relief within the Villa Sora is indeterminable, one might speculate that it was prominently displayed axially within the large *triclinium* in the manner of the recently discovered Dionysian marble relief (Fig. 26) still embedded in the *triclinium* of an unidentified house at Herculaneum (Fig. 27).<sup>18</sup> Similar to the Dionysian relief in the villa at Herculaneum (Figures 26 and 27) and other sculptures excavated from the Villa Sora, the Orpheus relief most likely imbued the luxury villa with an air of Hellenic sophistication, erudition, and sacredness.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Bonucci (1834, 148) and Neudecker (1988, 243) provided a general description of the Villa Sora’s plan. Adams (2006, 72-4) concluded that the Villa Sora demonstrates more characteristics of a *villa suburbana* than a *villa maritimae*, but its position near the coast and architectural construction allows for its appropriate classification to either type of villas.

<sup>16</sup> Höricht (1985, 153-4) provided the earliest documentation, a document drafted in 1641 by Balzano and the notary, for the Orpheus Three-Figure Relief at the Villa Sora.

<sup>17</sup> Balzano identified that the location originally served as a nymphaeum. G. Balzano 1688, 17 of his *L’antica Ercolano, ovvero la Torre del Greco tolta dall’oblio*, reprinted in Pagano 1991, 149. Pagano (1991, 149) asserts that the Orpheus relief was probably discovered close to this part of the Villa Sora.

<sup>18</sup> Guidobaldi and Guzzo (2010, 251-6) published the excavation and restoration of the Dionysian relief at Herculaneum.

<sup>19</sup> Two replicas of well-known Greek prototypes discovered in the niches of the garden at the Villa Sora (Fig. 25) include Lysippos’ bronze ‘Heracles wrestling a deer’ (Höricht 1985, 155-6) and Praxiteles’ marble ‘satyr pouring’ (Höricht 1985, 154-6). Two freestanding marble sculptures discovered in the same location depict a young satyr with a young panther emerging from a sack (Höricht 1985, 158) and Silenus with a rhyton (Höricht 1985, 159).

## A FRAGMENTARY MEDEA RELIEF FROM THE SACRED SPRING, CORINTH

The fragmentary head of the central Peliad (Fig. 28) from a Medea relief was discovered in the Sacred Spring of Corinth in 1897 during the excavations directed by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.<sup>20</sup> In the Roman period, the Sacred Spring (Fig. 29) served as a natural spring and sanctuary to female deities, south of the Temple of Apollo and north of the forum.<sup>21</sup> The sanctuary, close to Corinth's civic, commercial, and sacro-religious center (Fig. 30), preserved votive reliefs and sculptures honoring semi-divine and divine women. These included a fragmentary, cylindrical monument in the class of Dancing Maenad Reliefs, a replica of the Great Eleusinian Relief, and an archaic Doric column shaft inscribed ARTAMΩ.<sup>22</sup> ARTAMΩ can be translated as 'to Artemis,' 'to a murderer,' or refers to someone who cuts or cooks. Based on the inscription, the shaft potentially functioned as a votive offering alluding to animal sacrifices at the site during festivals, a votive offering to Artemis, or to Medea, who deceived the Peliads into dismembering and cooking King Pelias. Although the original purpose of the shaft at the sanctuary is unknown, its discovery with other sculptures portraying feminine mythological figures suggests its dedication to a divine or semi-divine woman.

The display of the Medea relief in the Sacred Spring certainly had local relevance in Roman Corinth. According to mythological narratives, Medea fled to Corinth after King Pelias' death. The relief, a rare representation of Medea in large-scale sculpture, represented the

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Pagano (1991, 149) noted the donation of the exquisite sculptures to the Archaeological Museum at Palermo in 1831, providing a *terminus ante quem* for the sculptures' excavation.

<sup>20</sup> Johnson (1931, 121) records a general location for the fragment's find: northeast of Peirene. The American School of Classical Studies (Excavations at Corinth 1897-1964, 45) excavated the area of the Sacred Spring (Fig. 30).

<sup>21</sup> Sanders (2010, 365, 380, 386, and 389) points out the ambiguity concerning the particular goddesses celebrated at the sanctuary and that Hera, Artemis, and Medea were connected to the spring through the celebration of the Helloteia. The Helloteia primarily celebrated Bellerophon's bridling of Pegasus with Athena's guidance at the Sacred Spring of Corinth, but it also commemorated the death of an unidentified infant, Eurytione, and Hellotis in a temple fire or the sacrifice of King Leos' daughters (according to different literary sources).

<sup>22</sup> Broneer (1951, 298) confused the Peliad fragment with the Maenad fragments. Ridgway (1981, 438) discusses the discovery of one replica in the class of Great Eleusinian Reliefs in addition to the Peliad fragment. Sanders (2010, 371) discusses the column shaft's potential dedication to Artemis, whom he argues that the sanctuary primarily commemorated.

mythological event leading to Medea's asylum in the city. Medea's children also had a mythological connection to Corinth: Hera granted immortality to them, and they were celebrated through a cult founded at Corinth.<sup>23</sup> The *mnêma* (memorial) to Medea's children may have been located next to the Odeion, northwest of the Sacred Spring.<sup>24</sup> Medea herself appears to have been associated with multiple monuments in the historic core of Roman Corinth, including the Sacred Spring, the fountain of Glauke, and the *mnêma* of Corinth.<sup>25</sup>

The exact function of the Medea relief in the Sacred Spring is uncertain. It may have served as a votive offering or site-specific, commemorative decor. Given its immediate mythological relevance to Corinth, the reception of the Medea relief was certainly contextually defined and site-specific to the Sacred Spring. The relief provides the only secure example of a Three-Figure Relief outside of Italy and in Greece. Although many, if not most of the Three-Figure Reliefs appear to be carved in Greek, often Pentelic marble, all other secure examples originate from Rome and central Italy. It may be emphasized that while Roman patrons commissioned Roman replicas of Classical sculptures as decor to adorn their houses in Rome, central Italy, and Greece, they also dedicated them as votive gifts in sacro-religious sanctuaries in Greece during the Roman period. Many of the Roman replicas may have portrayed the same compositions as their Greek prototypes that most likely remained and were still viewable in these

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<sup>23</sup> Gantz (1993, 368) explains that the reason behind the ultimate un-fulfillment of Hera's gift remains unknown. Gantz (1993, 368-9) discusses the ancient literature that conveys the deaths of Medea's children in Corinth: the scholia on Pindar's *Olympian Ode* 13.31 includes a direct citation to Eumelos' *Corinthiaca*, a regal history of Corinth. Eumelos, a Corinthian poet, provided two accounts about the deaths of Medea's children: Parmeniskos told that the Corinthians, distrusting Medea, killed her children on an altar to Hera and Kreophylos, either a seventh century B.C.E. poet of Samos or a fourth century B.C.E. historian of Ephesos, told that the Corinthians killed her children in retaliation of her assassination of King Creon. Both narratives potentially influenced Euripides' *Medea* and in the scholia on his tragedy, it is mentioned that the Corinthians may have paid Euripides, the Athenian playwright, to conceal the Corinthians' guilt by portraying Medea as the murderess of her own children.

<sup>24</sup> Pache (2004, 43) notes that the *mnêma* has not been excavated.

<sup>25</sup> Medea poisoned Jason's betrothed, the Corinthian princess, who jumped into the spring at the fountain of Glauke. The fountain was restored in the first century C.E., but it retained its original architecture in order to perpetuate its mythical and to the Romans, historical ambience. Robinson 2011, 179-80.

original votive contexts as esteemed dedications five to seven centuries old. Such works were a focus of Pausanias and other Roman era authors.

#### A POSSIBLE ORPHEUS RELIEF FROM THE ACADEMY, ATHENS

The excavations led by Greek archaeologists of the Academy at Athens (Fig. 31) in 1933 uncovered a fragment (Fig. 32), noted to look similar to Hermes' face in the Orpheus Three-Figure Reliefs.<sup>26</sup> The poorly documented excavations at the Academy that were concentrated around the gymnasium (Fig. 33) were the most probable location for the fragment's discovery.<sup>27</sup> However, the fragment was not found with any additional fragments of a Three-Figure Relief or other relief sculpture.

A close visual comparison of the fragment (Fig. 34a) to Hermes' profile in the Orpheus reliefs (Figures 34b, c, d, and e) sheds light on the fragment's possible attribution to the Three-Figure Reliefs. This comparison is not able to prove that the isolated fragment belongs to a Three-Figure Relief of the Roman period as opposed to an original Greek funerary or votive relief of the Classical period. The size of the fragment and number of curls framing its face correspond to the heads of Hermes from the Orpheus reliefs. However, the rendering of the eye, nose, and lips differ significantly between the fragment and the Hermes heads. Typically, the carving of the hair, eyes, nose, and lips are similar across multiple Roman replicas of the same relief. The eyelids and brow are sharply delineated and the eye is almost almond-shaped rather than foreshortened in the fragment. The eye and its related features in the fragment are more

<sup>26</sup> Karouzou (1968, 45) first asserts that the fragment is a Roman replica dating to the first century C.E. that also possibly belonged to an Orpheus type of Three-Figure Relief. Touchette (1990, 77 n.1) refers to the possibility that the fragment provides evidence for a sixth Orpheus relief and Sinn (2006, 99) probably includes the relief in his count of extant Orpheus reliefs, but he does not name or describe the Athens fragment explicitly.

<sup>27</sup> Caruso (2013, 71-3 and Fig. 20) points out the lack of archaeological documentation for the sculptures excavated from the Academy and in particular, the gymnasium, save a large head of bearded man. If the fragment was in fact discovered from the gymnasium and belonged to an Orpheus Three-Figure Relief, the library or *mouseion* (sanctuary to the Muses) serve as likely places of its display during the Roman period. Literary evidence conveys that sculptures contributing to an academic ambience adorned domestic libraries. Cicero (*Ad Att.* 1.10.3-4) discusses the suitability of sculptures to their display contexts as he plans for the future decoration of his private library.

similar to fourth or fifth century B.C.E. Greek reliefs than first century B.C.E. to first century C.E. Roman reliefs or replicas. A wider space separates the nose and upper lip in the Hermes heads opposed to the fragment: another difference that suggests that the fragment is not an exact copy of the heads of Hermes. Hermes' lips are positioned nearly straight across as opposed to the strong pout of the young man in the fragment that looks similar in style to the male facial features in Greek relief sculptures of the fourth to fifth century B.C.E. This exercise in *Kopienkritik* reveals more differences than similarities between the fragment and profiles of Hermes in the Orpheus reliefs.<sup>28</sup> Further examination and study are necessary before the fragment from the Academy can be attributed to the class of Roman Three-Figure Reliefs.

#### CONCLUSION: THE ROMAN DISPLAY CONTEXTS AND FUNCTIONS OF THE THREE-FIGURE RELIEFS

The highest concentration of Three-Figure Reliefs in central Italy coincides with the density of Roman villas in the same period of the first century B.C.E. to the first century C.E. The Orpheus relief excavated from the remains of the Villa Sora, a maritime villa in Torre del Greco south of Herculaneum, is a contextualized example. It may have adorned a *triclinium* and functioned as décor. Three reliefs - the most Three-Figure Reliefs discovered in one setting - in the Domus Tiberiana, an imperial palace on the Palatine Hill, exemplify an altered adoption of villa-type adornment into the urban setting of the imperial residence. The reliefs were most likely programmatically displayed and functioned as architectural décor in a garden or covered hall that served as a retreat in an otherwise immense and publicly known imperial palace. The majority of the Three-Figure Reliefs probably served as elevated décor in villas and *horti* in Rome, its environs, and central Italy. It is clear that the Three-Figure Reliefs were not commissioned

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<sup>28</sup> *Kopienkritik* is an exercise involving the analysis of Roman copies of putative Classical sculptures in an attempt to understand the lost Classical sculptures.

exclusively for private luxury contexts in Italy. The Medea relief from the Sacred Spring of Corinth – the only Three-Figure Relief discovered in Greece – appears to have had a local reception and may have functioned as a votive relief or site-specific adornment that conveyed the sanctuary's long established sacro-religious character. Thus, the interpretations and functions of the Three-Figure Reliefs were acutely contextually defined in both Italy and Greece in the Roman period.

Unlike the existing scholarship that has aimed to re-contextualize the putative originals of the Three-Figure Reliefs to an Athenian monument of the fifth century B.C.E., this thesis has revealed the varied display contexts and multiple functions of the extant replicas in the Roman period. While the programmatic display of at least three of the Three-Figure Reliefs in the Domus Tiberiana suggests that the original reliefs were part of a cohesive decorative program, little if anything can be confidently determined about the unknown fifth century B.C.E. monument. This thesis has demonstrated how the in the Roman period individual replicas were often seen in isolation in a variety of contexts.

Ultimately, the Three-Figure Reliefs may be best understood when contextualized with other Roman replicas of Greek mythological reliefs that adorned villas, *horti*, and sanctuaries in Italy and Greece during the Roman period. Such marble sculpture includes the Telephos relief from Herculaneum, the Helen and Paris reliefs, the Great Eleusinian Relief, marble kraters, and the so-called Dancing Maenad Reliefs.<sup>29</sup> Although recent research has demonstrated the various

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<sup>29</sup> The Telephos relief from Herculaneum and the Helen and Paris reliefs were discovered in Roman domestic contexts in central Italy similar to the Three-Figure Reliefs (Froning 1981, 63-71). Karouzou (1963, 38) and Kaltsas (2002, cat. no. 180) discuss the Great Eleusinian Relief, which originally adorned a Greek sanctuary at Eleusis, and the subsequent replicas that were commissioned in the Roman period to adorn Roman villas and other sanctuaries. Similar to the Three-Figure Reliefs, the Great Eleusinian Relief serves as a large-scale (average 2 m in height and 1.5 m in width) depiction of a defining moment of a dramatic mythological narrative: Demeter gives the golden grain to Triptolemos, who, with Persephone's blessing, teaches agriculture to mortals. Marble kraters and the Dancing Maenad Reliefs, similar to the replicas of the Great Eleusinian Relief and Three-Figure Reliefs, were also

environments and functions of these other classes of Roman replicas of mythological relief sculptures in Italy and Greece, such research has not previously discussed the Three-Figure Reliefs in detail. This thesis has elucidated both the isolated single and programmatic displays of the Three-Figure Reliefs in the variety of securely documented ancient contexts. The Three-Figure Reliefs acquired different interpretations and functions through their settings of display in Italy and Greece and thereby, demonstrated the different cultural reception of Greek myth and art in the distant cultures of the Latin West and Greek East that formed the Roman Empire.



## CATALOGUE OF THREE-FIGURE RELIEFS

This catalogue aims to be helpful, not exhaustive, in the information that it provides. I attempted to maintain consistency when recording measurements, and I noted the respective authors who have cited different inventory numbers or other information for the reliefs. The bibliography per entry lists only sources that contributed to the narrative of this thesis and attempts to provide the most up-to-date and useful sources.

## HERMES, EURYDICE, AND ORPHEUS

Figure 35 portrays a general composition of the Hermes, Eurydice, and Orpheus type of Three-Figure Reliefs.

### **1. Naples, Museo Archeologico; Inv.-Nr. 6727. (Figure 24.)**

Figures: Hermes, Eurydice, and Orpheus.

Material: Pentelic marble (Götze).

Measurements: H: 118-9 cm. W: 96 cm (B: 99 cm. T: 92.5 cm.). D: 7.5-8 cm.

Date: Early first century C.E. (Neudecker).

Condition: Its surface is heavily abraded, especially the figures' heads and right sides of their bodies. A crack extends diagonally across the relief from the upper left corner to the bottom right corner.

Restorations and additions: The relief's upper left corner, half the thickness of the original relief, was added. The Greek inscriptions are post-antique additions. Hermes' right elbow, part of his upper arm, and his right hand's thumb and forefinger are restored. A restored patch covers Eurydice's index finger on her left hand. Orpheus' Thracian cap, face, part of his left foot, right hand, and part of his right forearm are restorations.

Provenience: The relief was found on a farm near the 'Royal Road' to Salerno before 1641.

Excavations that began in 1734 in the same location revealed the remains of the Villa Sora.

Provenance: By 1645, the relief was moved into the royal collections of Naples for preservation.

Bibliography: Götze 1939, 191-2. Paribeni 1953, 66. Schwarz 1988, *LIMC* IV, 99, n.5,a.

Neudecker 1988, 243. Höricht 1985, 154-9. Touchette 1990, 77-78. Pagano 1991, 149. Adams 2006, 72-4.

**2. Rome, Museo Palatino; Inv.-Nr. 508 (Götze, Paribeni, and Touchette) and Inv.-Nr. 37339 (Tomei). (Figure 18.)**

Figures: Torso and profile of Hermes, torso of Eurydice, and Orpheus' right hand.

Material: Fine-grained Greek marble (Götze, and Paribeni).

Measurements: H: 63 cm. W: 64 cm. D: 5-6cm.

Date: First century C.E. (Tomei).

Condition: The relief is recomposed of fragments that are slightly eroded on the surface. One fragment portrays Hermes and the other, Eurydice. Hermes' face shows signs of damage. A break between Hermes and Eurydice's bodies separated the fragments. The breaks at the top, bottom, and left side of the Eurydice fragment are predominately horizontal. Eurydice's head and neck, right hand, and legs are missing. Part of Orpheus' right hand near Eurydice's left shoulder remains. Hermes' left hand and legs are absent.

Restorations: No restorations or additions.

Provenience: The Hermes fragment was discovered during the excavations of the Domus Tiberiana on the Palatine Hill by Pietro Rosa between 1860 and 1879. In 1963, the Eurydice fragment was discovered in one of the vaults beneath the Domus Tiberiana. The general find spot of both fragments is the northwest corner of the Domus Tiberiana.

Provenance: The Hermes fragment was previously exhibited in the National Museum of Rome until 1963. Currently, this fragment is on display with the Eurydice fragment in the Palatine Museum.

Bibliography: Savignoni 1897, 76-8. Götze 1939, 193. Paribeni 1953, 66-7. Carettoni 1967, 148.

Schwarz 1988, *LIMC* IV 99, n.5. Tomei 1997, 145. Touchette 1990, 86.

### **3. Paris, The Louvre; MA 854 (MR 702). (Figure 1.)**

Figures: Hermes, Eurydice, and Orpheus.

Material: Fine-grained Greek marble (Götze). Pentelic marble (Pasquier and Martinez).

Measurements: H: 122 cm. W: 94 cm (B: 89 cm. T: 81 cm.). D: 8 cm.

Date: First century B.C.E. (Pasquier and Martinez).

Condition: The relief is largely intact. The left edge is re-cut and the bottom and right edges are broken off. Two indentations at the top show damage from metal clamps and traces from metal clamps are visible on the relief's bottom edge. A thin break runs from the left side of the relief across Hermes' lower legs and the front of Eurydice's right foot. Orpheus lacks part of his nose, left arm, left foot, and the left side of his lyre.

Restorations and Additions: The inscriptions, added before the sixteenth century, are modern. A triangular section was added to the left corner of the relief; it depicts Hermes' traveling boots, a characteristic that does not appear in the other reliefs. A metal dowel attaches the lower left corner to the relief.

Provenience: Unknown. Presumably Rome or central Italy.

Provenance: A drawing (Fig. 2) by Pierre Jacques in the second half of the sixteenth century depicts the relief in the Belvedere courtyard of the Vatican. Between 1756 and 1765, the relief was displayed in the Villa Borghese. The relief was purchased in 1807 from the Borghese collection and was received and displayed by 1810 in the Louvre.

Bibliography: Aldrovandi and Reinach 1902, Fig. 6. Winckelmann 1764, 131-2 and 236 n.709. Götze 1939, 192-3. Paribeni 1953, 66. Schwarz 1988, *LIMC* IV 99, n.5,c. Touchette 1990, 77-9. Pasquier and Martinez 2007, 90. Fabrèga-Dubert 2009, 106.

#### **4. Rome, Villa Albani; Inv.-Nr. 1031. (Figure 3.)**

Figures: Hermes, Eurydice, and Orpheus.

Material: Pentelic marble (Götze). Fine-grained white marble (Bol).

Measurements: H: 104 cm. W: 94 cm (B: 95 cm. T: 92.5 cm.). D: 4.5 cm.

Date: First century C.E. (Bol).

Condition: A light red patina and root marks cover the relief's surface. Eurydice's lip is slightly chipped.

Restorations and additions: The relief is heavily restored. Additions include the upper right corner, Orpheus' feet, Eurydice's right foot, and half of Hermes' right forearm and heel from the ankle down. The lower edge of Hermes' *petasos* has been recarved. Orpheus' lower right leg is patched with plaster. The rocky ground line and inscriptions are post-antique additions.

Provenience: Unknown. Presumably Rome or central Italy.

Provenance: The relief was displayed in the Villa Albani around the first half of the eighteenth century. Reinach drew the relief (Fig. 36) in order to compare its composition with the replica displayed in the Louvre (see catalogue entry 3).

Bibliography: Winckelmann 1764, 131-2 and 236 n.709. Helbig 1899, 43. Reinach 1912, Fig. 5. Götze 1939, 193. Paribeni 1953, 66. Fuchs 1972, 225. Schwarz 1988, *LIMC* IV 99, n.5,b. Bol 1989, 451-3.

#### **5. Rome, The Vatican Museum; no Inv.-Nr. (Figure 4.)**

Figures: Head of Orpheus.

Material: Marble.

Measurements: H: 16.5 cm. D: 5 cm.

Date: First century C.E. (Touchette).

Condition: Only the fragmentary head of Orpheus survives. The break pattern closely follows the outline of the crown of Orpheus' head and his neck. His forehead, nose, and front of his lips are damaged. The edge of his Thracian cap is heavily abraded.

Restorations: No restorations or additions.

Provenience: Unknown.

Bibliography: Kaschnitz von Weinberg 1936, 180. Paribeni 1953, 66. Touchette 1990, 77, n.1.

## HERACLES, PIRITHOUS, AND THESEUS

Figure 37 portrays a general composition of the Heracles, Pirithous, and Theseus type of Three-Figure Reliefs.

### **1. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano; N. 56347 (Paribeni). (Figure 20.)**

Figures: Head of Theseus.

Material: Italic marble (Paribeni).

Measurements: H: 23 cm. D: 6.5 cm.

Date: First century C.E.

Condition: The surface of the relief is slightly abraded. Theseus' nose, chin, and front of his lips are missing. The top break follows the curve of Theseus' head and the bottom break follows the upward curve of Theseus' right shoulder. Parts of a flat, unadorned background remain in front and behind Theseus' neck.

Restorations: No restorations or additions.

Provenience: The Theseus fragment was discovered during the excavations of the northwest corner of the remains of a palatial garden or covered hall of the Domus Tiberiana by Pietro Rosa between 1860 and 1879.

Provenance: The Theseus fragment was first displayed in the late nineteenth century in Pietro Rosa's museum of antiquities on the Palatine Hill. Later, it was moved into the National Museum of Rome.

Bibliography: Parker 1879, no. 2292. Paribeni 1953, 67. Touchette 1990, 86-7, n. 79.

## **2. Paris, The Louvre; MA 960 (MR 817). (Figure 5.)**

Figures: The torso of Pirithous and legs of Theseus.

Material: Greek marble (Götze).

Measurements: H: 73 cm. W: 76 cm. D: 13 cm.

Date: Second century C.E.

Condition: Scarring from iron clamps are visible on the base of the relief's right side. Almost all of Pirithous' body remains, except for his head, on a central fragment and a fragment at right portraying Theseus' legs, feet, and lower half of his staff remains. Sinter does not appear on the chest of the seated figure or legs of the standing figure, indicating that these parts have probably been preferentially cleaned.

Restorations and Additions: A relief of Athena was added in place of Theseus before the late sixteenth century, but was removed by 1939. To the left of the staff held by the seated figure, a modern base extends the ancient base by 2 cm wide.

Provenience: Unknown. Presumably Rome or central Italy.

Provenance: A drawing (Fig. 6) by Pierre Jacques from the late sixteenth century portrays the relief with the Athena addition on display in the Palazzo della Valle in Rome during the sixteenth century. The relief was on display in the Villa Borghese in the first half of the eighteenth century. An etching (Fig. 38) by de Clarac around the mid-nineteenth century also portrays the upper torso and profile of Athena. The relief was purchased and transported to the Louvre by 1810. Upon the relief's arrival at the museum, restorers removed the fragment of Athena because it did not fit the other fragments.

Bibliography: Aldrovandi and Reinach 1902, Fig. 71. Götze 1939, 207-8. Fabréga-Dubert 2009, 107.



**3. Rome, Villa Albani (original) and Torlonia Museum; Inv.-Nr. 308 (Torlonia Museum: N. 377). (Figures 7 (Villa Albani) and 40 (Torlonia Museum).)**

Figures: Heracles, Pirithous, and Theseus.

Material: Greek marble (Götze).

Measurements: H: 120 cm. W: 101.7 cm.

Date: First century C.E.

Condition: The relief is heavily restored to portray a complete scene of the three heroes.

Restorations and additions: The relief is heavily restored; over half of its parts are modern additions. The right and left edges of the frame, the base, half of the rock covered by a quiver as well as the quiver are modern additions. Heracles' hand and left forearm are modern additions and his toes on both feet are restored. Pirithous' head, half of his neck, his right arm, and his garments are modern additions. Restorations on Theseus include a patch on his right foot, the end of his scabbard, his head, and his right hand holding a staff.

Provenience: Unknown. Presumably Rome or central Italy.

Provenance: The relief was displayed in the Villa Albani by the mid to late eighteenth century.

Georg Zoega drew and titled the relief "Three Corineti" within the first decade of the nineteenth century after its preliminary restorations and additions (Fig. 39). Later, the relief was transferred to the Torlonia Museum (Fig. 40) for additional conservation.

Bibliography: Fea and Morcelli 1803, 25. Fea, Morcelli, and Visconti 1869, 51. Piranesi, Piroli, and Zoega 1808, 23. Helbig 1899, 65. Götze 1939, 207. Paribeni 1953, 67. Maderna-Lauter 1989, 340-1.

**4. Berlin, Staatliche Museen; K. 187 (or 967). (Figure 8.)**

Figures: Head of Theseus.

Material: Pentelic marble (Götze).

Measurements: H: 26 cm. W: 25 cm. D: 8 cm.

Date: First century C.E.

Condition: The fragment preserves Theseus' head and the top of his right hand on his (absent) staff. This inscription is modern. A break outlining Theseus' head separated the fragment from its relief. A crack extends alongside his nose to his right hand's forefinger.

Restorations: Partial restorations replace the sides and background of the fragment. The tip of Theseus' nose has been replaced.

Provenience: Unknown.

Provenance: The fragment was first displayed in the Ingenheim collection in Germany in the late nineteenth century and went missing in 1919. Dr. Phil Lenz rediscovered the fragment in an antique shop in Leipzig in 1932 and by 1938, the fragment was exhibited in the Berlin Museum. Helbig connected the shape of the fractures around Theseus' head in Berlin to the fractures around the headless Theseus in the Villa Albani relief (Fig. 41). Helbig's discovery led to a corrected identification of this type in the class of Three-Figure Reliefs.

Bibliography: Helbig, 1899, 65. Götze 1939, 208. Paribeni 1953, 67.

## MEDEA AND DAUGHTERS OF PELIAS

Figure 42 portrays a general composition of the Medea and Peliads type of Three-Figure Reliefs.

### **1. Corinth, Museum of Corinth; Inv. S-60 (S 729). (Figure 28.)**

Figures: Head of Peliad.

Material: Medium to large grain marble.

Measurements: H: 21 cm. W: 23 cm. D: 10.4 cm.

Date: Second century B.C.E. to first century C.E. (Ridgway 1984).

Condition: The fragment is broken on each side. The facial features are extensively damaged; the nose is missing and the cheek and lips are heavily abraded. A rough break removed part of her neck. The relief is smooth in front of her face, but slightly abraded behind her head and neck.

The back of the relief is rough.

Restorations: No restorations or additions.

Provenience: The fragment was found in the remains of the Sacred Spring of Corinth, a little east and north of Peirene, during the excavations supervised by the American School of Classical Studies.

Bibliography: Johnson 1931, 121. Broneer 1951, 298. Harrison 1964, 76 ff. Ridgway 1981, 437-8. Ridgway 1984, 71. Sinn 2006, 98.

### **2. Rome, Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense, Musei Vaticani; Inv. 9983. (Figure 9.)**

Figures: Medea and two daughters of Pelias.

Material: Pentelic marble (Götze). Fine-grained marble with fine, straight cracks, similar to sheets of slate, glittering grains of mica, and an off-white, grey patina (Sinn).

Measurements: H: 110.5 cm. W: 96-93 cm (B: 96 cm. T: 95 cm.). D: 11 cm.

Date: First century C.E. (Sinn).

Condition: The relief is highly intact. Its surface is extensively abraded. A deep crack runs slightly off center from the relief's top to the bottom edges. Another crack extends from the bottom quarter of the relief's left side to the center of Medea's *chiton* from where it slopes down and ends slightly above the center of the cauldron's left leg. The facial features of the three figures are worn away; only faint outlines of their lips and noses and deeper indentations of their eyes and brows remain. Medea's left hand and the Peliad-at-right's right wrist and forearm are extensively damaged. The figures' clothing preserves the most original detail.

Restorations: No restorations or additions.

Provenience: Unknown. Hirt found the relief in 1814 in the Palazzo Simonetti along the Via del Corso in Rome (Götze).

Provenance: The relief was known during the first half of the seventeenth century when it inspired two drawings: one in the *Codex Dal Pozzo* (Fig. 10) and another now in Windsor Castle. The relief was subsequently lost, but was rediscovered by Hirt in 1814 under the pavement of the Palazzo Simonetti along the Via del Corso in Rome. The relief was later displayed in the palazzo's courtyard. The relief was purchased for the papal collection in May 1852 and was exhibited by 1867. In 1963, the relief was moved to the Lateran Museum of the Vatican Museum.

Bibliography: Kern 1888, 68-72. Götze 1938, 200-1. Thompson 1952, 63 and 68-9. Harrison 1964, 76 and 78. Bieber 1977, 21-2. Ridgway 1981, 206-7 and 209. Stemmer, ed. 1995, 294-5. Sinn 2006, 96-102.

### 3. Berlin, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen; Sk 925. (Figure 11.)

Figures: Medea and two daughters of Pelias.

Material: Pentelic marble. (Schwarzmaier, Scholl, and Maischberger, ed.)

Measurements: H: 116.5 cm. W: 86-96 cm (B: 97 cm. T: 89.5 cm.). D: 9-12 cm.

Date: First century C.E. (Schwarzmaier, Scholl, and Maischberger, ed.)

Condition: The relief has been extensively cleaned and restored. Two naturally occurring cracks extend horizontally across the *phorismos* and just above Medea's right elbow.

Restorations and Additions: A triangular strip (14 cm in height and 46 cm in length) on the bottom left corner of the relief replaced Medea's feet and the front of the central Peliad's right foot. A restorer carved an olive branch in shallow relief over a dagger, a detail in the ancient composition, in the Peliad-at-right's right hand. Conze suggested that the crack running diagonally across the cauldron was added to 'age' the relief. The shallowness of the crack suggests that the crack is not part of the relief's natural damage.

Provenience: Unknown. The earliest recorded location is Rome.

Provenance: Cardinal Ridolfi owned the relief by 1550. After the second half of the sixteenth century, the relief was displayed in the Palazzo Strozzi in Rome and later, the Palazzo Niccolini in Florence. Maldura Giovanni owned the relief in 1838 and Gustav Friedrich purchased it from him by 1842. By 1922, the relief became the property of the ancient collections of the Berlin Museum.

Bibliography: Conze 1884, 99-104. Kern, 1888, 68-72. Götze 1939, 201-2. Thompson 1952, 63 and 68-9. Ridgway 1981, 206-7 and 209. Ridgway 1984, 72. Sinn 2006, 98. Schwarzmaier, Scholl, and Maischberger, ed. 2012, 223 and 225.

**4. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; Inv. 23.160.86. (Figure 12.)**

Figures: Head of Medea.

Material: Fine-grained marble (Richter).

Measurements: H: 16.5 cm. W: 14 cm. D: 6 cm.

Date: First to second century C.E. (Richter).

Condition: A break extends from the base of Medea's chin to the back of her neck at about a forty-five degree angle. A rough break follows the edge of her forehead to the back of the crown of her head. Her forehead and half of her nose are damaged. Her upper cheek, eye, center brow, and side of forehead bear signs of blunt damage. A deep break cuts through the back of her mantle. Rasp marks appear on the front and back of the fragment. Root marks adhere to the fragment's surface.

Restorations: No restorations or additions.

Provenience: Unknown. Purchased in Rome.

Provenance: Acquired for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York by 1923 through the Rogers Fund.

Bibliography: Thompson 1952, 61. Richter 1954, 42.

## HERACLES AND HESPERIDES

Figure 43 portrays a general composition of the Heracles and Hesperides type of Three-Figure Reliefs.

### **1. Rome, Villa Albani; Inv.-Nr. 1008. (Figure 13.)**

Figures: Heracles, two Hesperides, and a snake.

Material: Pentelic Marble. Yellowish Greek marble with restorations in white marble with grey veins (Cain).

Measurements: H: 117 cm. W: 82 cm.

Date: Early first century C.E. (Cain).

Condition: This relief is the most extensively restored relief in the class of Three-Figure Reliefs.

Only a quarter of the relief is ancient: the entirety of Heracles and the majority of the Hesperid-at-right. The ancient fragments have been cleaned and painted over with a sinter in order to provide uniformity with the newer marble additions. Additions to the relief are in a grey-veined, white marble. The ancient sections of the relief are well preserved.

Restorations and Additions: The snake just above Heracles head was added to the ancient fragments before 1550; however, the majority of additions and restorations was completed during the eighteenth century before or shortly after the relief was displayed in the Villa Albani.

A line extending across the lower quarter of the relief added the rocky ground under Heracles and the Hesperides' feet. Parts of this ground and Heracles' seat were restored in plaster.

Another line separating the top third of the relief was an addition; it portrays a tree laden with apples. One-third of the relief's left side, including the Hesperid-at-left, was added.

Provenience: Unknown. The so-called “Monte Giordano,” the residence and garden owned by Cardinal Ippolito d’Este in the sixteenth century, is the relief’s earliest known location of display.

Provenance: One of the earliest drawings (Fig. 14) of the ancient fragment dating between 1500 and 1503 was labeled “in monte Giordano” by Amico Aspertini in the so-called *Wolfegg Codex*. Prior to Aspertini’s drawing, a drawing (Fig. 44) attributed to Pisanello depicted the Hesperid-at-left, but with no indication that she belonged to an ancient relief. Pirro Ligorio described the same relief, located above a doorway to the so-called Monte Giordano in the mid-sixteenth century, which his patron Cardinal Ippolito d’Este owned. Girolami da Carpi, similar to Pisanello, drew Heracles and the Hesperid-at-left (Fig. 45) with no indication of the relief that displayed the same composition. Illustrations portraying Heracles and the Hesperid-at-left were drawn and also included in codices in the mid-sixteenth century: the *Codex Coburgensis* (Fig. 46) and *Codex Pighianus* (Fig. 47). In the early eighteenth century, Lorenz Beger replicated the drawing in the *Codex Pighianus* (Fig. 48). Stefano Morcelli recorded the relief in his catalogue of antiques in the Villa Albani in 1785. Zoega drew the relief (Fig. 49) before 1808 and after its restorations and additions. Reinach copied the relief’s general composition (Fig. 50) for comparison to Roman mythological relief sculptures on display in the Louvre. Currently, the relief is in the Villa Albani.

Bibliography: Beger 1705, fig. 12. Piranesi, Piroli, and Zoega 1808, 89-95. Morcelli, Fea, and Visconti 1869, 144. Helbig 1899, 64-6. Amelung 1923, 3-10, figs. 1-2. Götze 1938, 220-1 ff. Thompson 1952, 47. Mandowsky and Mitchell, ed. 1963, 233. Harrison 1964, 76 ff. Fuchs, ed. 1972, 224-5. Cain 1989, kat.-nr. 127, 2. Kokkorou-Alewrass 1990, *LIMC* V 103. Bober and Rubinstein 2010, 189.



## **2. St. Petersburg, The Hermitage; Inv.-Nr. 641. (Figure 16.)**

Figures: Hesperid-at-left and Heracles' head.

Material: Fine-grained marble, probably Pentelic marble (Götze, and Richter).

Measurements: H: 57 cm. W: 58 cm. D: 4.5 cm.

Date: Early second century C.E. (Raeder).

Condition: The fragment is well preserved. Remnants of a brown sinter cover the fragment's surface. The fragment's left edge tapers upward and overall, the fragment preserves fine details rendered by a sculptor's chisel and drill. Heracles' curls and the lips and ears of both figures display drill work. The noses of Heracles and the Hesperid are broken at the tips, and the Hesperid's entire nose is missing. A small dowel hole in the top left is probably ancient.

Restorations: The Hesperid's face was re-carved and polished. A similar polish covered her braids framing her forehead. The Hesperid's nose was reattached save its tip.

Provenience: Unknown. The relief was purchased in Italy.

Provenance: The relief was purchased for the Patz Collection in Warsaw, Poland in the 1840s.

Amelung found the fragment in a basement and the Lazenkowski Palace in Warsaw subsequently acquired the fragment in 1912. Amelung commissioned a general composition (Fig. 51) of the Heracles and Hesperides type of Three-Figure Reliefs based on the fragments in the Hermitage and Villa Albani. The Hermitage acquired the relief by 1913.

Bibliography: Amelung 1923, 3-10. Götze 1938, 221 ff. Thompson 1952, 69. Richter 1954, 41-2.

Cain 1989, 399-400. Raeder 1994, 386-7. Suslov, ed. 1994, 178-9.

## **3. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; 22.139.21. (Figure 17.)**

Figures: Torso of the Hesperid-at-right.

Material: Pentelic marble (Richter).

Measurements: H: 62.2 cm. W: 33 cm. D: 10.2 cm.

Date: First to second century C.E.

Condition: The fragment is broken at the top, bottom, and right sides of the relief. Part of the original left edge is preserved and tapers upward. The fragment's left edge displays the use of a pointing tool. There is an ancient dowel hole along the relief's top break and the remains of two clamp holes on its smooth back. Root marks cover the back of the relief. In 1950, a conservator cleaned the fragment with water to remove its brown spots, which covered an unpleasant sheen caused by an acid bath. A modern conservator pre-dating 1950 probably used an acid bath to remove a brownish layer on the fragment.

Restorations: No restorations or additions.

Provenience: Unknown. Purchased in Rome in 1922.

Provenance: Acquired for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York by 1922 through the Rogers Fund.

Bibliography: Götze 1938, 221 ff. Thompson 1952, 62 and 64. Richter 1954, 41-2. Raeder 1994, 388.

#### **4. Shugborough, Staffordshire; no inv.-nr. (Figure 15.)**

Figures: Torso of the Hesperid-at-left.

Material: Greek marble (Raeder).

Measurements: H: 36 cm. W: 24 cm (from shoulders). D: 4-5 cm.

Date: Early second century C.E. (Raeder).

Condition: Overall, the fragment is well preserved and provides evidence of fine chisel work.

The relief has been cleaned. The index finger and thumb on the Hesperid's left hand are missing and the hem of her *kolpos* is damaged.

Restorations and Additions: A restorer added the head, neck, part of the right shoulder, and the *peplos*' hem on the torso's left shoulder around the ancient fragment, which did not appear to have been altered.

Provenience: Unknown. Purchased and restored in Rome.

Provenance: Joseph Nollekens, a personal agent, purchased the relief in 1765 in Rome for Thomas Anson.

Bibliography: Raeder 1994, 383-391.

### THREE WOMEN

#### **1. Rome, Museo Palatino; Inv.-Nr. 12449 (Tomei) or 1193 (Touchette). (Figure 19.)**

Figures: Three standing goddesses or personifications.

Material: Pentelic marble (Tomei).

Measurements: H: 90 cm. W: 112 cm.

Date: First century C.E. (Tomei).

Condition: The relief is broken at the top and bottom and only a small part of the relief's sides are preserved. This is the best-preserved Three-Figure Relief from the excavations on the Palatine Hill. The face and right arm of the female figure-at-left are damaged. Her right hand, left hand, and legs are missing. Breaks extend between the figure-at-left and central figure's bodies and across the central figure's chest and abdomen. The bottom fragment portrays the central figure's lower half of her upper torso and part of the figure-at-right's upper torso. The central figure's nose is damaged and the fingers on her right hand, left hand, and her legs are missing. Two extant fragments constitute the figure-at-right: the upper right half of her torso up to her neck and the lower half of her torso down to the upper calf of her right leg.

Restorations and Additions: Plaster repairs the nose and cheek of the female-at-right as well as the break extending across her body. There are no post-antique restorations or additions to this relief.

Provenience: The relief, except for the top, central fragment, was excavated from the northwest corner of the Palatine Hill in the area of the Domus Tiberiana between 1860 and 1880 under Pietro Rosa's supervision.

Provenance: The relief was first exhibited in Rosa's museum on the Palatine Hill and later, the National Museum of Rome. The central fragment was displayed above a fountain in the Giardino della Pigna until 1899 when it was transferred into the Chiaramonti Museum of the Vatican Museum. It was re-joined to the extant fragments in the Palatine Museum by 1995.

Bibliography: Savignoni 1897, 74-81. von Steuben 1966, 869-70. Carettoni 1967, 149. Andreae, Anger, and Stadler, ed. 1995, 431. Touchette 1990, 86-7, n. 79. Tomei 1997, 144.

## INDETERMINATE FRAGMENT

**1. Athens, National Archaeological Museum of Athens; Inv.-Nr. 3775. (Figure 32.)**

Figures: Face of a male youth facing right.

Material: Marble (Karouzou).

Measurements: H: 16 cm.

Date: Fifth century B.C.E., or first century C.E. (Karouzou).

Condition: Only a small fragment of the face survives. The nose is broken and the back of the neck, ear, and head are broken in a curved and diagonal line. The top of the head is unevenly broken and the curls in the hair are heavily abraded.

Restorations: No restorations or additions.

Provenience: The fragment was discovered by Greek archaeologists during the excavations of the Academy of Athens in 1933 that were largely focused on the remains of the gymnasium.

Bibliography: Karouzou 1968, 45. Touchette 1990, 77 n.1.

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## FIGURES



Figure 1. Hermes, Eurydice, and Orpheus Three-Figure Relief. First century B.C.E. Pentelic marble. Paris: The Louvre; Inv.-Nr. MA 960 (MR 817). Pasquier and Martinez 2007, 91.



Figure 2. Drawing of a Hermes, Eurydice, and Orpheus Three-Figure Relief, Belvedere courtyard, Rome: The Vatican. Pierre Jacques. Ca. 1572-7. Aldrovandi and Reinach 1902, Fig. 6.





Figure 3. Hermes, Eurydice, and Orpheus Three-Figure Relief. First century C.E. Fine-grained marble. Rome: Villa Albani; Inv.-Nr. 1031. Bol 1989, Fig. 259.



Figure 4. Fragmentary head of Orpheus from a Three-Figure Relief. Rome: Vatican Museum, no Inv.-Nr. Kaschnitz von Weinberg 1936, Fig. 74.



Figure 5. Fragmentary Pirithous and Theseus from a Three-Figure Relief. First century C.E. Greek marble. Paris: The Louvre; Inv.-Nr. MA 960 (MR 817). Foertsch, admin. of *iDAI.Images/Arachne* 2014, <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilderbestand/881357>.





Figure 6. Drawing of fragmentary Pirithous with Athena addition from a Three-Figure Relief, Rome: Palazzo della Valle. Pierre Jacques. Ca. 1572-7. Aldrovandi and Reinach 1902, Fig. 71.



Figure 7. Plaster cast of Heracles, Pirithous, and Theseus Three-Figure Relief, Rome: Villa Albani. Maderna-Lauter 1989, Fig. 220.



Figure 8. Fragmentary head of Theseus from a Three-Figure Relief. First century C.E. Pentelic marble. Berlin, Staatliche Museen; Inv.-Nr. K. 187. Helbig 1899, Fig. 40.

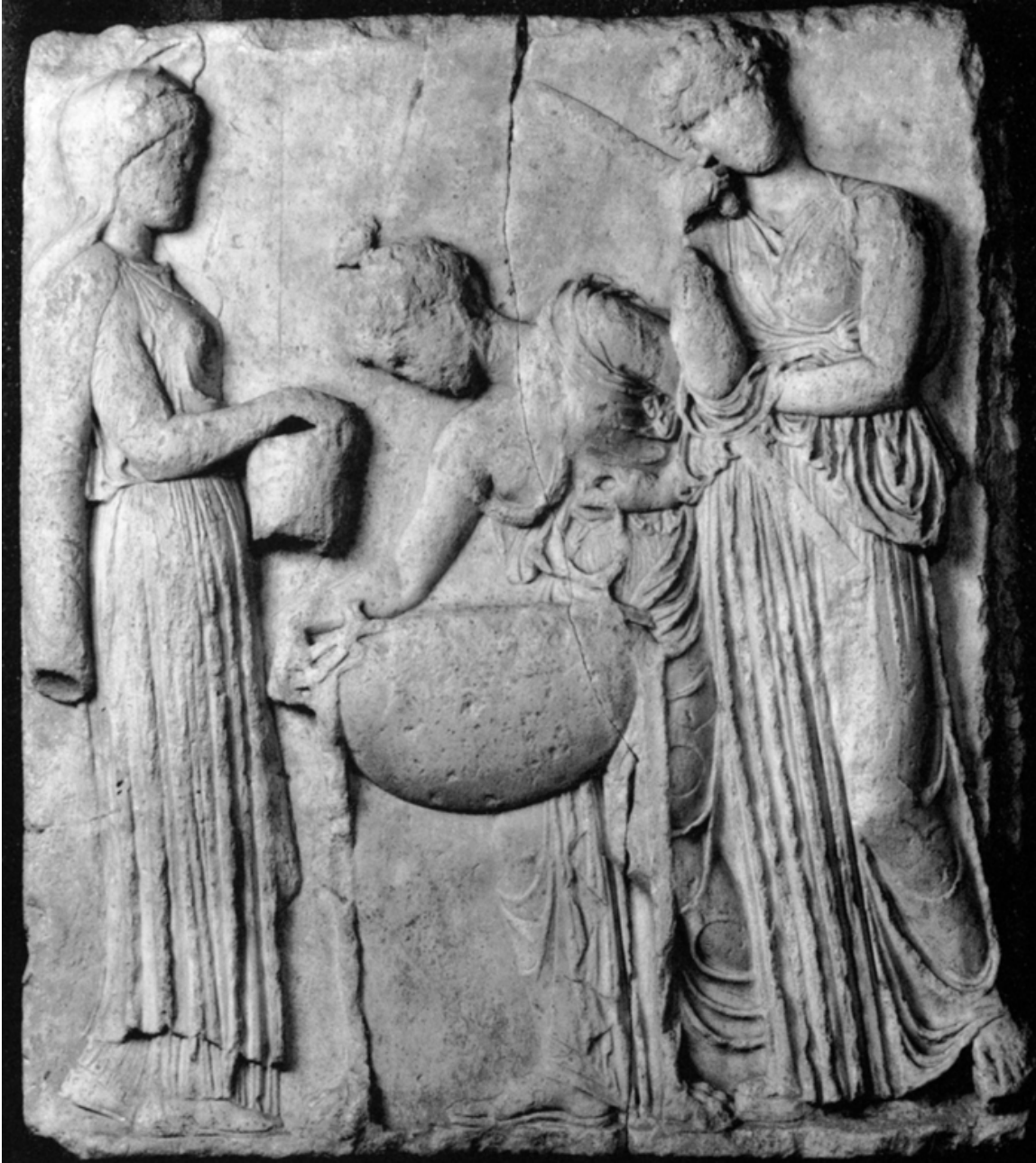


Figure 9. Three-Figure Relief of Medea and the Peliads. First century C.E. Pentelic marble. Rome, Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense, Musei Vaticani; Inv.-Nr. 9983. Sinn, ed. 2006, Fig. 23.1.

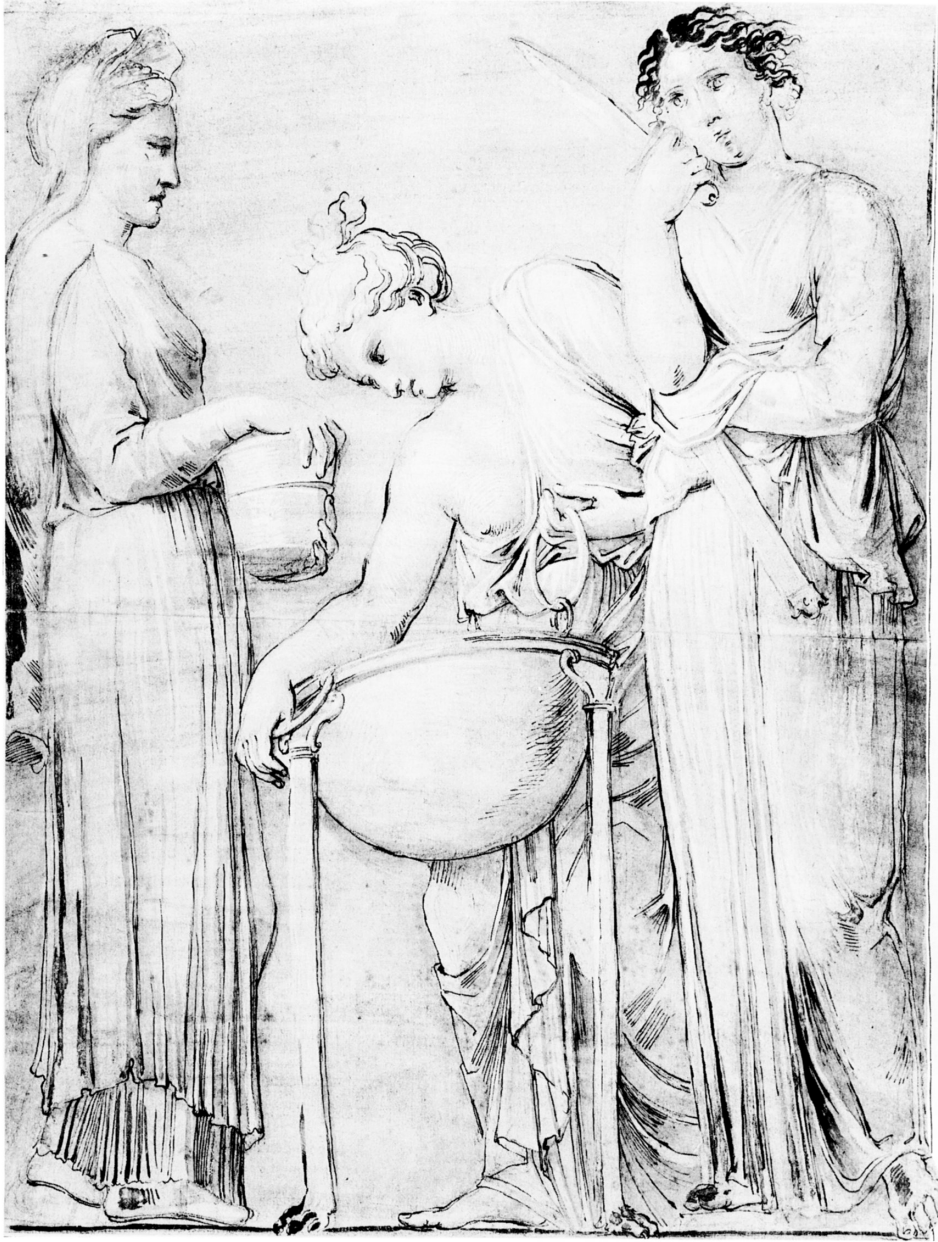


Figure 10. Drawing of Medea and Peliads Three-Figure Relief from the *Codex dal Pozzo*. Unknown Italian artist. Ca. 1600-1650. Claridge 1993, 55.





Figure 11. Three-Figure Relief of Medea and the Peliads. First century C.E. Pentelic marble. Berlin: Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen; Inv.-Nr. Sk 925. Schwarzmaier, Scholl, and Maischberger, ed. 2012, Fig. 224.



Figure 12. Fragmentary head of Medea from a Three-Figure Relief. First-second century C.E. Marble. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; Inv.-Nr. 23.160.86. "Marble relief fragment with the head of Medea" of the *Metropolitan Museum of Art* 2000-2013, <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/251419>.

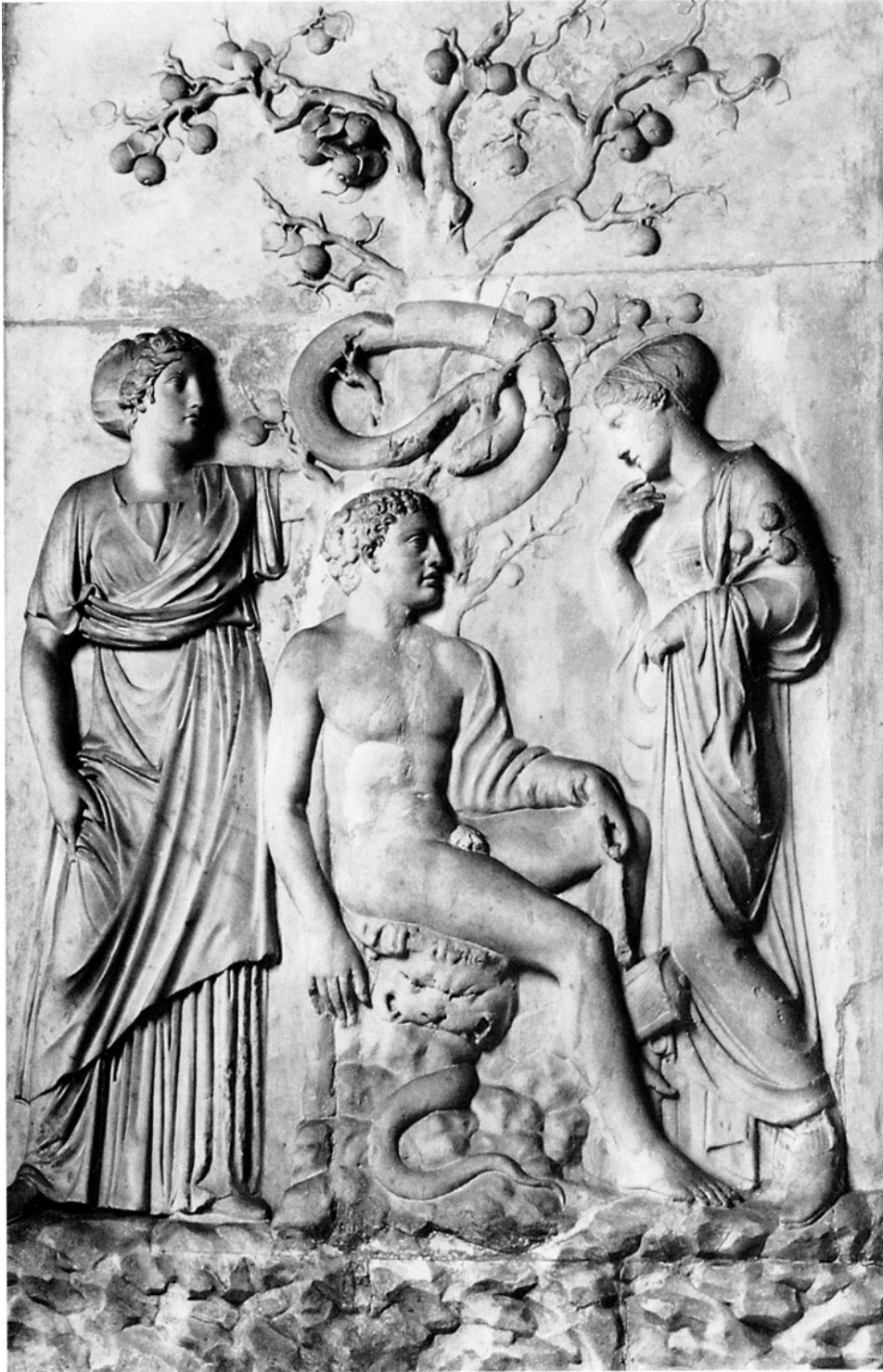


Figure 13. Three-Figure Relief of Heracles and the Hesperides. Early first century C.E. Pentelic marble. Rome, Villa Albani; Inv.-Nr. 1008. Cain 1989, Fig. 227.





Figure 14. Detail of Heracles and a Hesperid from a Three-Figure Relief. Amico Aspertini. 1500-1503. Drawing in brown ink. Eichberg of *CensusID* 1990, <http://census.bbaw.de/easydb/censusID=57706>.



Figure 15. Fragmentary torso of a Hesperid from a Three-Figure Relief. Early second century C.E. Greek marble. Shugborough, Staffordshire; no Inv.-Nr. Raeder 1994, 384.



Figure 16. Fragmentary Hesperid and Heracles from a Three-Figure Relief. Early second century C.E. Fine-grained marble. St. Petersburg, The Hermitage; Inv.-Nr. 641. Suslov, ed. 1994, 178-9.



Figure 17. Fragmentary torso of a Hesperid from a Three-Figure Relief. First to second century C.E. Pentelic marble. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; Inv.-Nr. 22.139.21. "Marble relief fragment with the torso of a Hesperid holding apples" of the *Metropolitan Museum of Art* 2000-2013, <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/251199>.





Figure 18. Fragmentary Hermes and Eurydice from a Three-Figure Relief. First century C.E. Pentelic or Luna marble. Rome: Museo Palatino; Inv.-Nr. 37339. Tomei 1997, 145.



Figure 19. Three-Figure Relief of Three Women. First century C.E. Pentelic marble. Rome: Museo Palatino; Inv.-Nr. 12449. Tomei 1997, 144.



Figure 20. Fragmentary head of Theseus from a Three-Figure Relief. First century C.E. Italian marble. Rome: Museo Nazionale Romano; Inv.-Nr. 56347. Paribeni 1953, Fig. 121.



Figure 21. Plan of the Domus Tiberiana. Ovals over section 17 mark the probable find spots of the three Three-Figure Reliefs. Studer in *LTUR* 1995, 2, Fig. 53.



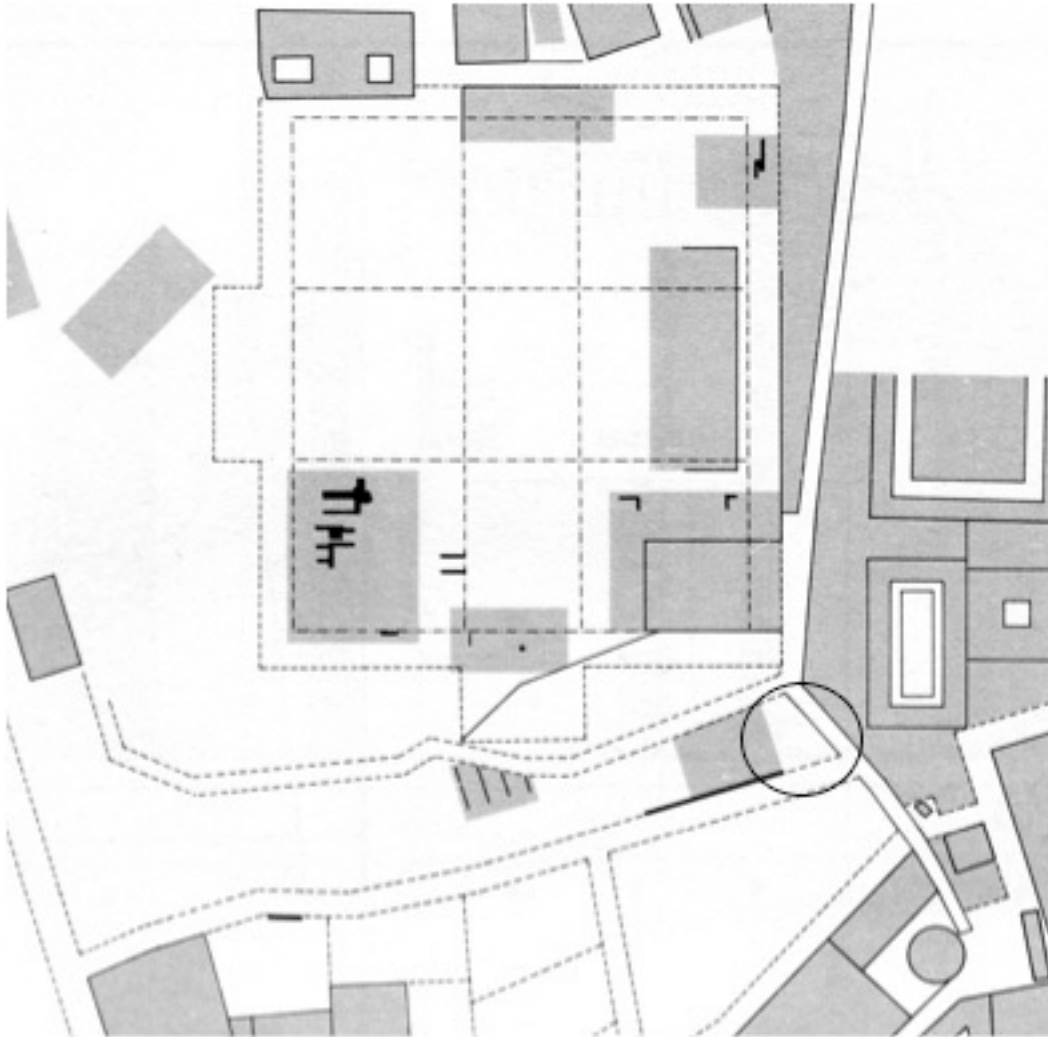


Figure 22. Illustration of the floor plan, Domus Tiberiana, ca. 15-40 C.E. The circle marks the general region where three Three-Figure Reliefs were most likely found. Studer in *LTUR* 1995, 2, Fig. 54.





Figure 24. Hermes, Eurydice, and Orpheus Three-Figure Relief from the Villa Sora. Early first century C.E. Pentelic marble. Naples: Museo Archeologico Nazionale; Inv.-Nr. 6727. Froning 1981, Fig. 19.2.

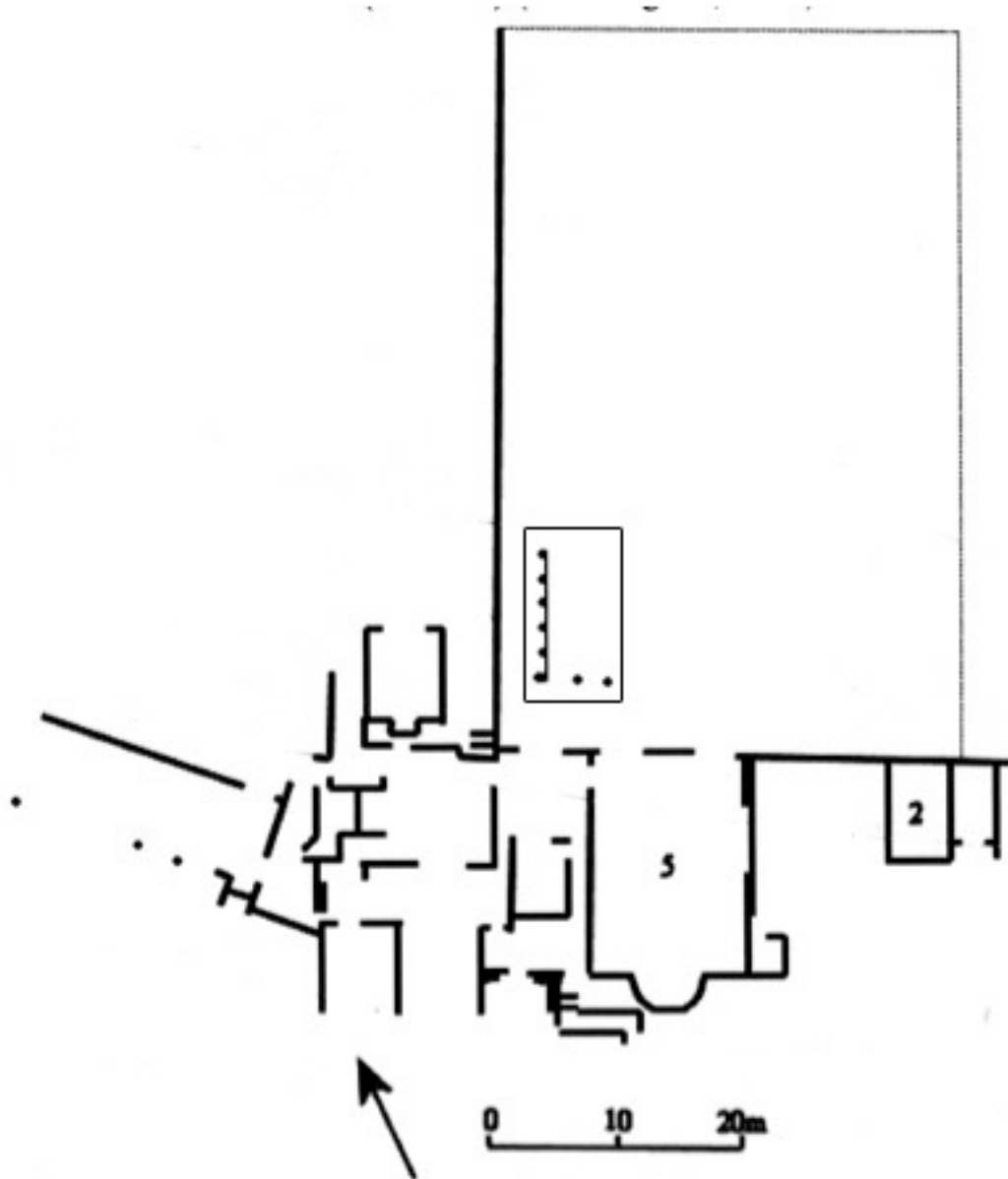


Figure 25. Plan of the Villa Sora. Room 5 designates an elaborate dining room close to where Guiseppe Balzano most likely discovered the Orpheus relief in the Villa Sora. The rectangle north of room 5 indicates the location of niches in the garden where Roman replicas of well-known Greek freestanding sculptures were found. Adams 2006, 163.



Figure 26. Dionysian marble relief discovered February 18, 2009 in Insula I ISAE at Herculaneum. Guidobaldi and Guzzo 2010, Fig. 4.



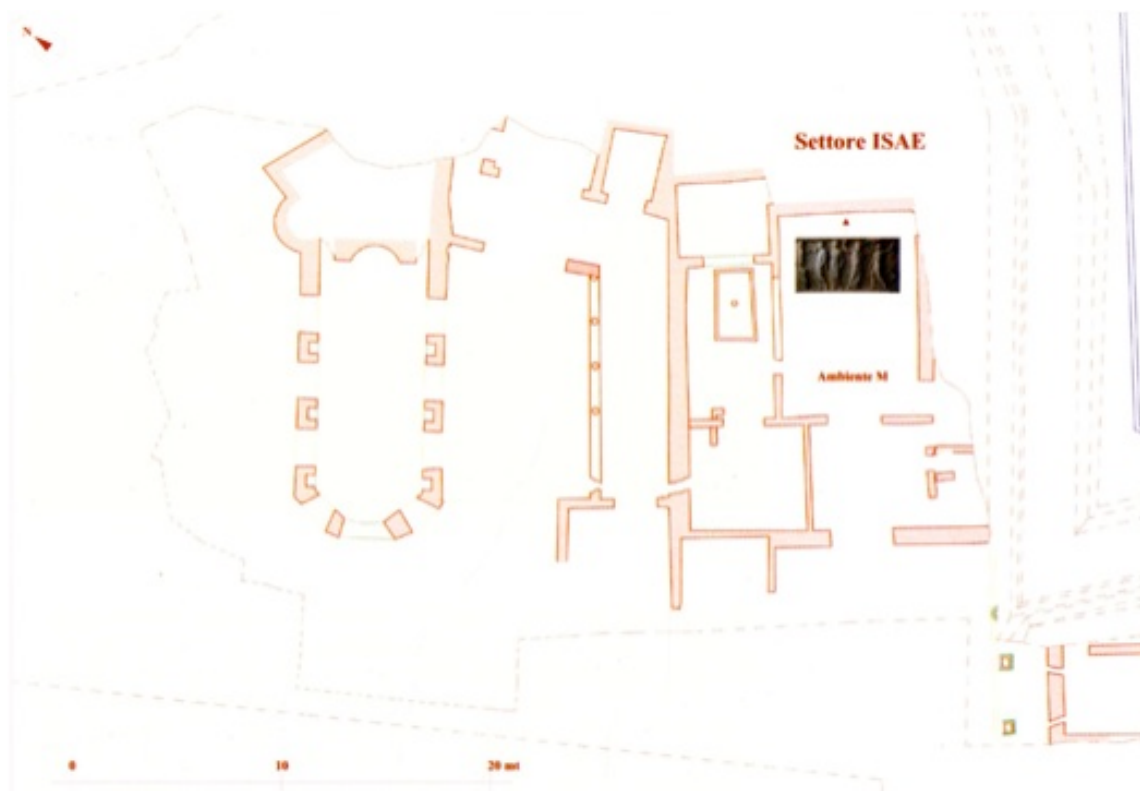


Figure 27. Plan of Insula I ISAE in Herculaneum where the Dionysian marble relief (Fig. 26) was discovered. Guidobaldi and Guzzo 2010, Fig. 3.

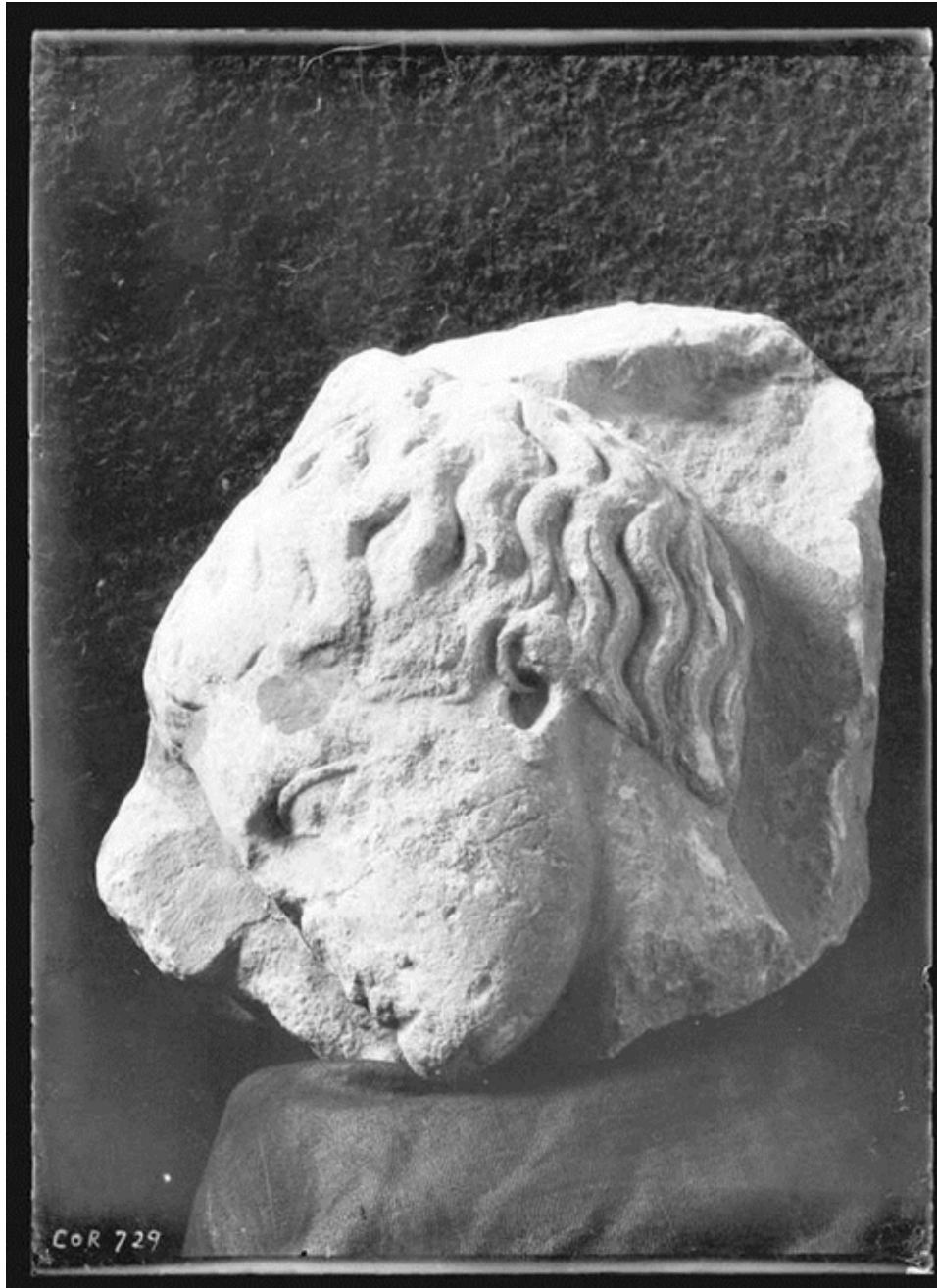


Figure 28. Fragmentary head of a Peliad from a Three-Figure Relief. Second century B.C.E. to first century C.E. Marble. Corinth, Museum of Corinth; Inv.-Nr. S-60 (S 729). "Corinth Excavations Image: BW 1908 0729" of *The American School of Classical Studies, Excavations at Corinth* 2009, [http://ascsa.net/id/corinth/image/bw\\_0729\\_gp](http://ascsa.net/id/corinth/image/bw_0729_gp).

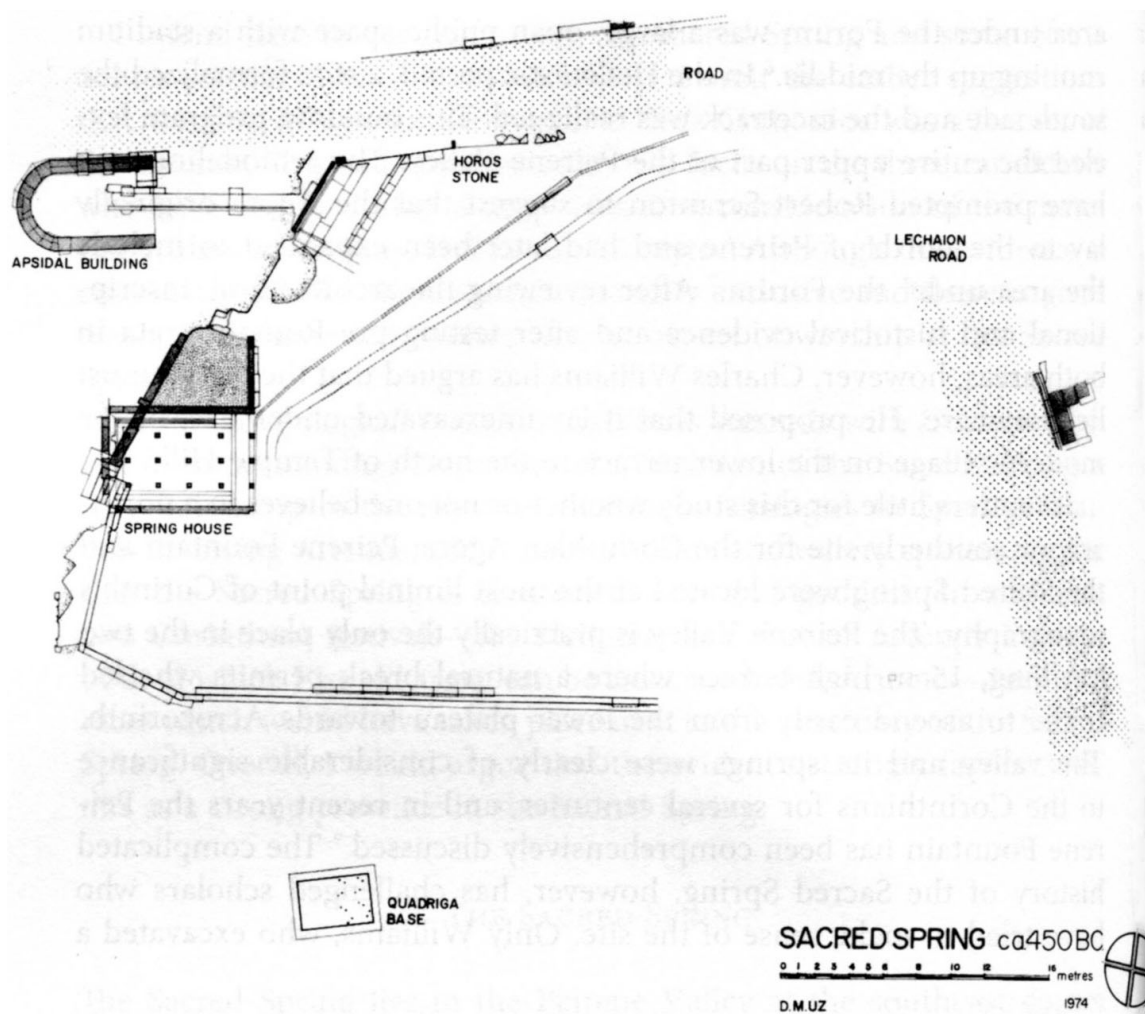


Figure 29. Plan of the Sacred Spring, 450 B.C.E. Sanders 2010, Fig. 12.1.



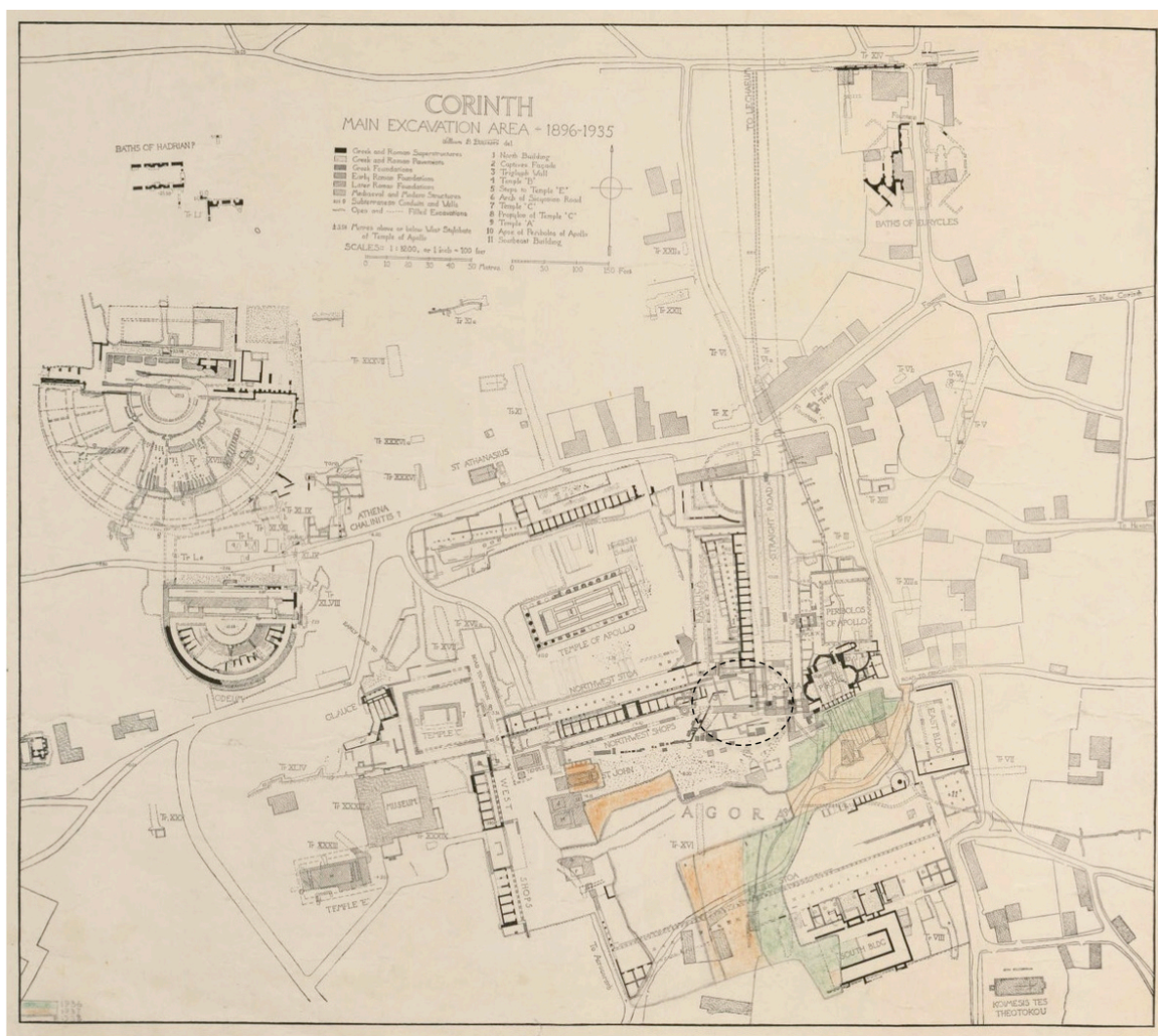


Figure 30. An unpublished map of Corinth. The oval drawn with a dotted line indicates the area of the Sacred Spring. "Corinth: Main Excavations Area" of The American School of Classical Studies, Excavations at Corinth 1896-1935 affiliated with Athens: The American School of Classical Studies.

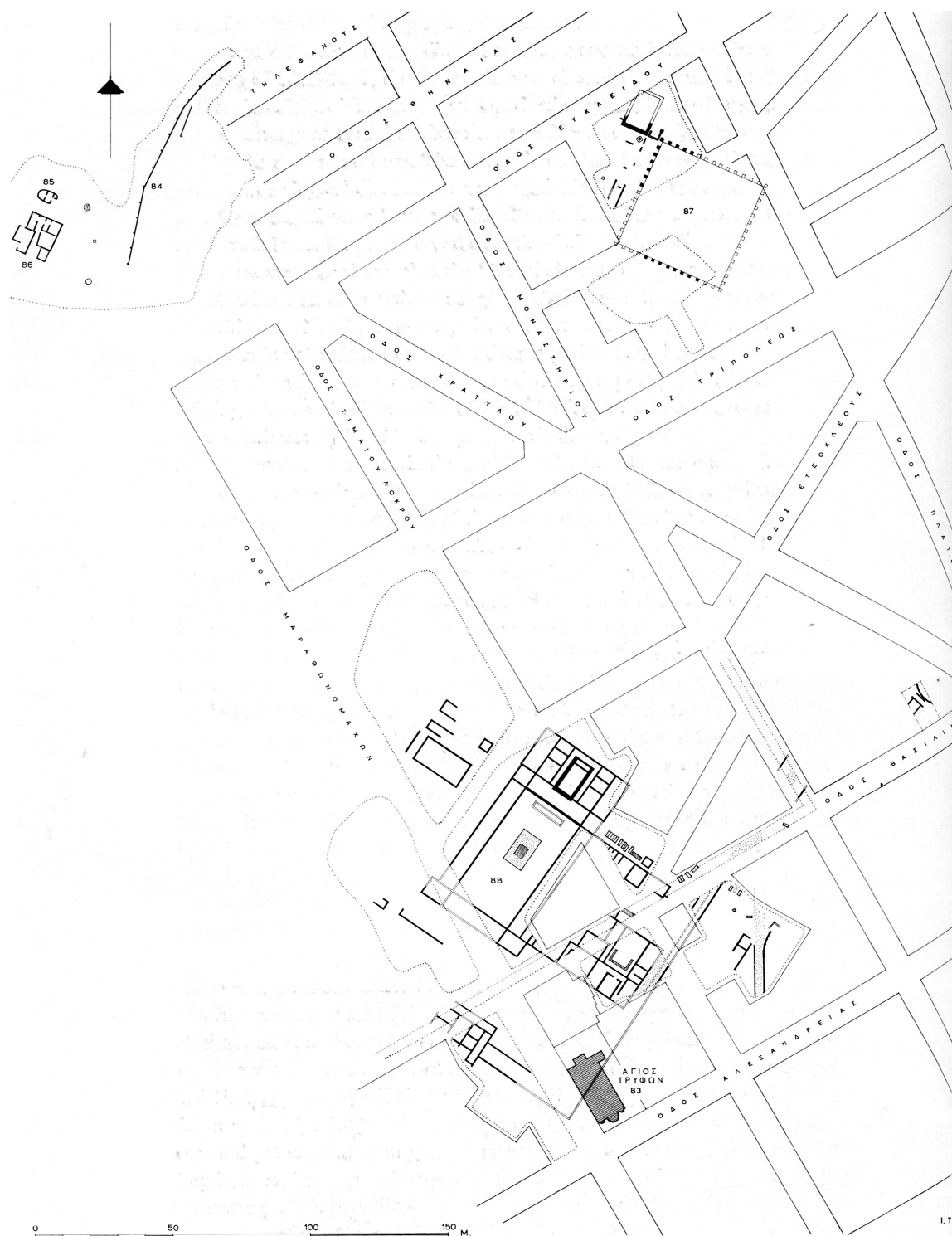


Figure 31. Plan of the excavations at the Academy of Athens. Travlos in *Athens* 1971, Fig. 62.



Figure 32. Fragment of a male youth facing right. First century C.E. Marble. Athens: National Archaeological Museum of Athens; Inv.-Nr. 3775. Courtesy of the National Archaeological Museum, Athens (photographer: Kostas Konstantopoulos). © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

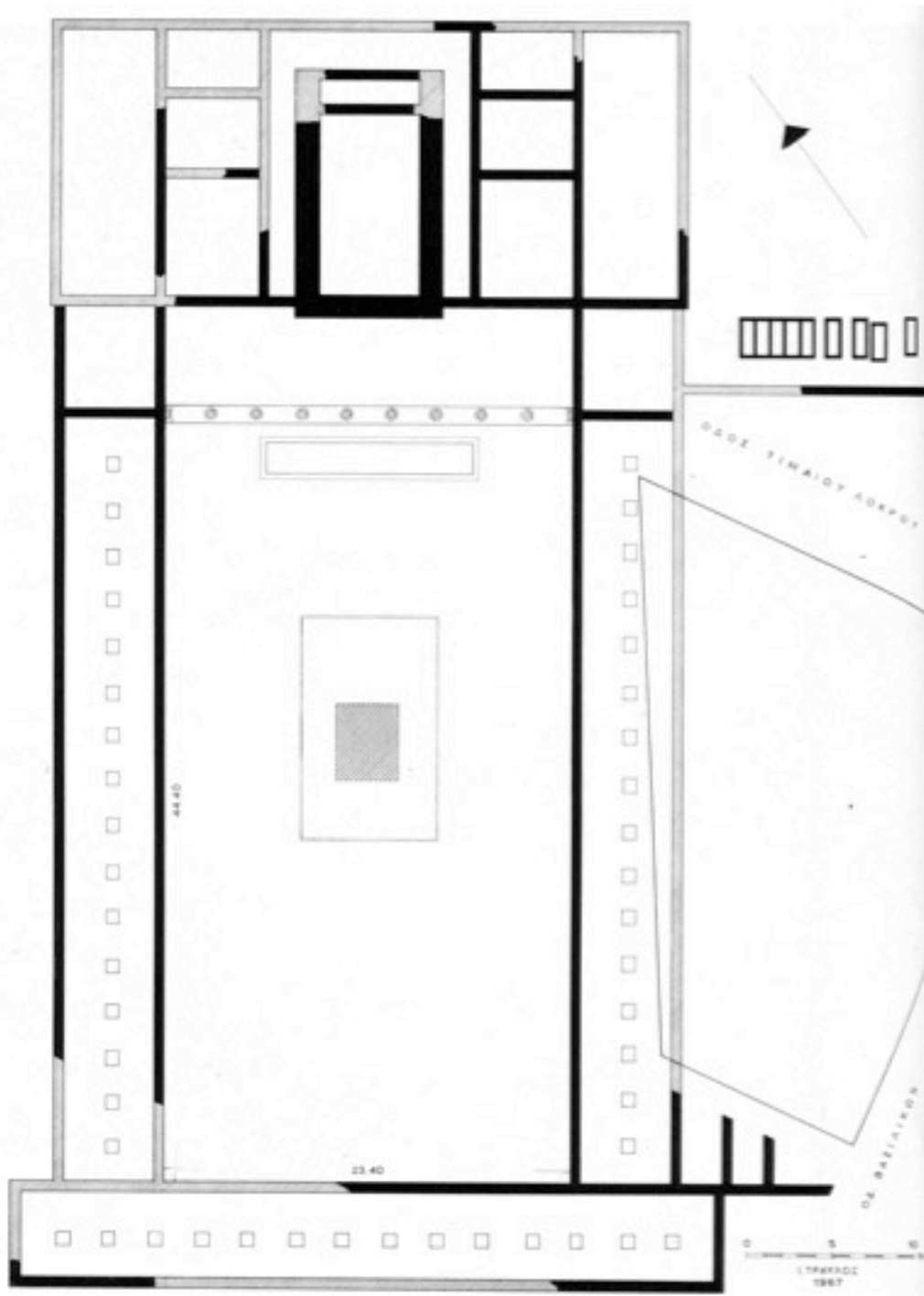


Figure 33. Plan of the gymnasium of the Academy at Athens. Black lines indicate the remains of the gymnasium's walls. The rectangular, thick-walled structure to the north is the library and the slender rectangle located behind a row of columns in front of the library is the *mouseion*. Travlos in *Athens* 1971, Fig. 59.

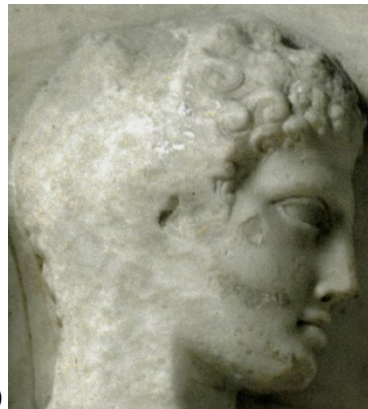




(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)

Figure 34. Details of the heads of Hermes in the Orpheus type of Three-Figure Reliefs compared to the fragment from the Academy of Athens (a), which is angled in a similar position. Domus Tiberiana (b), Villa Sora (c), Louvre (d), and Villa Albani (e). Source for Fig. 34(c): Erich Lessing. Culture and Fine Arts Archives, ART RESOURCE, N.Y. (ARTSTOR ID: 10-01-02150). Sources for the other figures are recorded with the unaltered figures in this thesis: (a): Fig. 32, (b): Fig. 18, (d): Fig. 1, (e): Fig. 3.



Figure 35. Illustration of Hermes, Eurydice, and Orpheus type of Three-Figure Reliefs. Götze 1939, Fig. 3.



Figure 36. Contour drawing of the Hermes, Eurydice, and Orpheus Three-Figure Relief, Rome: Villa Albani. Reinach 1912, Fig. 5.

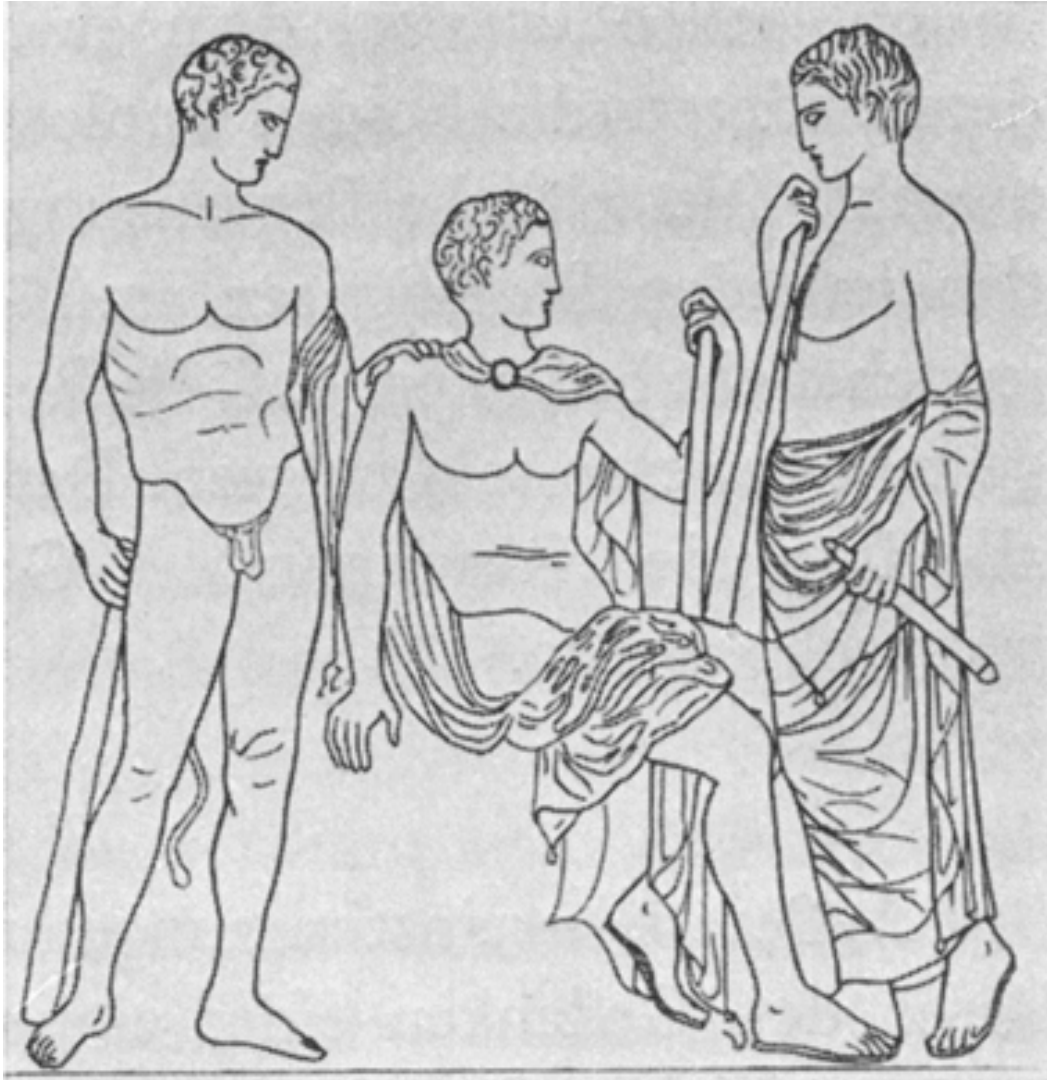


Figure 37. Illustration of Heracles, Pirithous, and Theseus type of Three-Figure Reliefs. Götze 1939, Fig. 4.





Figure 38. Etching of the Pirithous and Athena fragments by Charles Othon Frederic Jean-Baptiste de Clarac. Fabrèga-Dubert 2009, 107.



Figure 39. Illustration of the restored Heracles, Pirithous, and Theseus Three-Figure Relief, Rome: Villa Albani. Piranesi, Piroli, and Zoega 1808, Fig. 103.

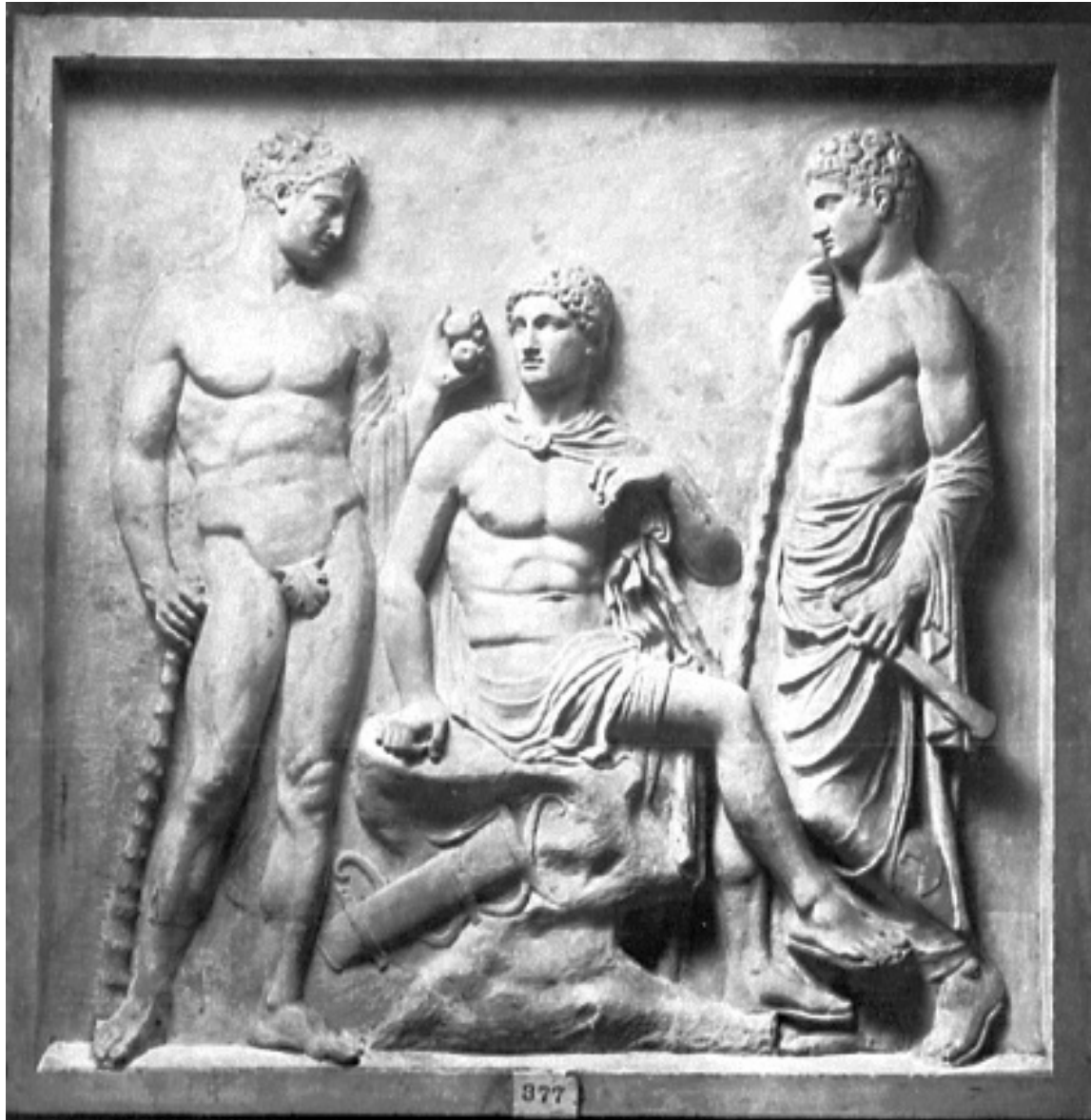


Figure 40. Restored Heracles, Pirithous, and Theseus Three-Figure Relief. First century C.E. Luna marble. Rome: Torlonia Museum; Inv.-Nr. 377 (current) and Villa Albani; Inv.-Nr. 308 (original). Foertsch, admin. of *iDAI.Images/Arachne* 2014, <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilderbestand/881353>.

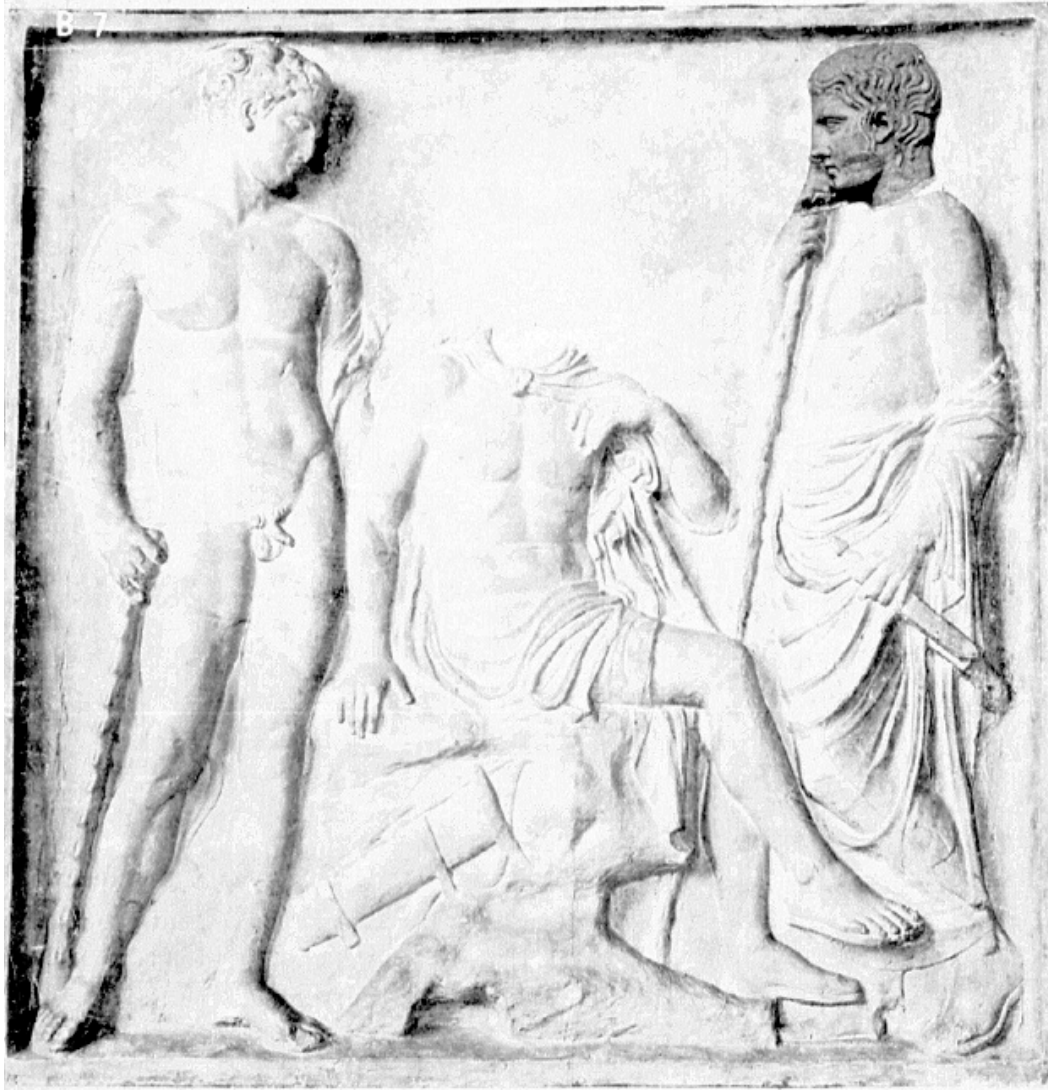


Figure 41. Fragmentary Theseus' head (Berlin Museum) joined to a plaster cast of the Pirithous relief (Villa Albani). Foertsch, admin. of *iDAI.Images/Arachne* 2014, <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilderbestand/881355>.



Figure 42. Illustration of the Medea and Peliads type of Three-Figure Reliefs. Götze 1939, Fig. 5.

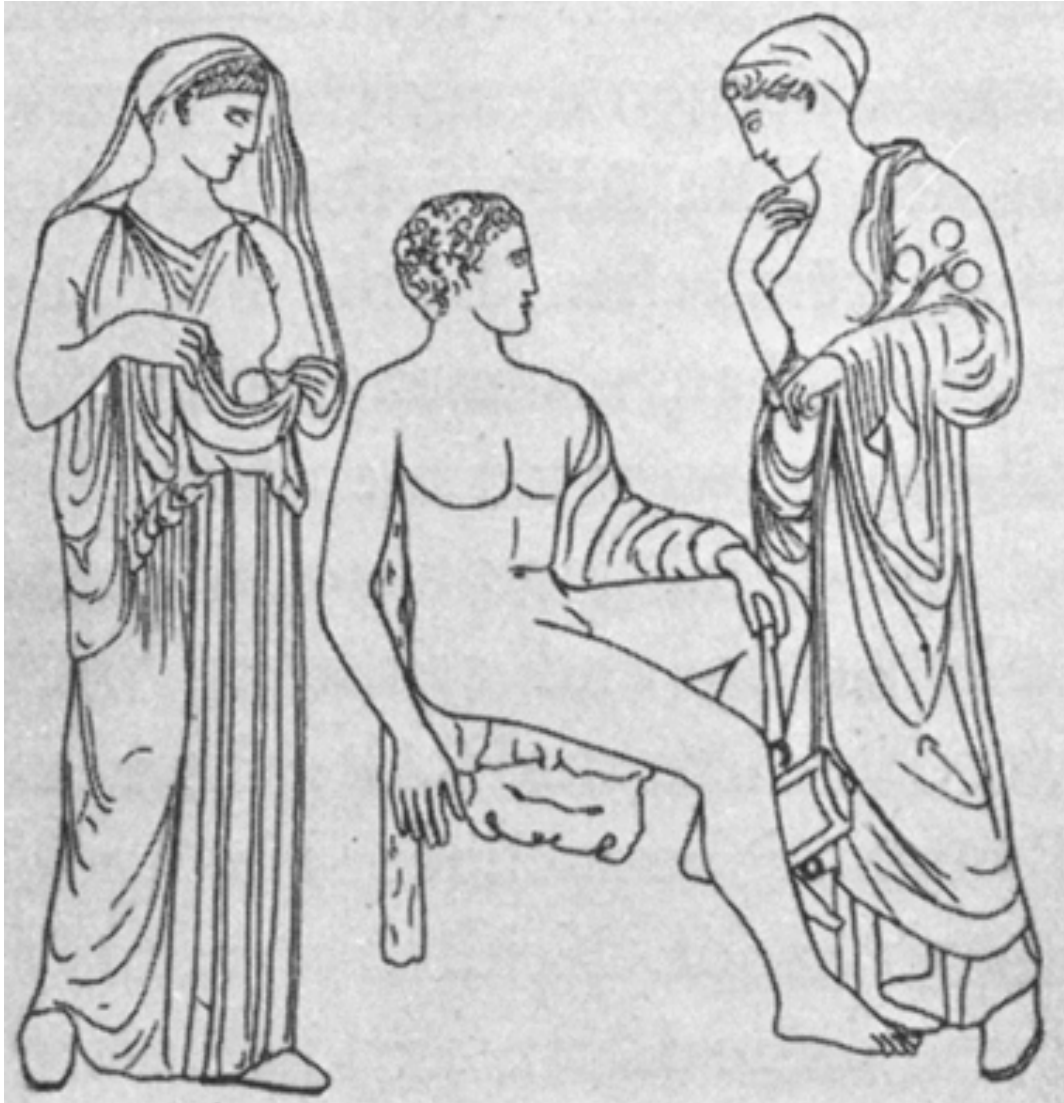


Figure 43. Illustration of Heracles and Hesperides type of Three-Figure Reliefs. Götze 1939, Fig. 6.



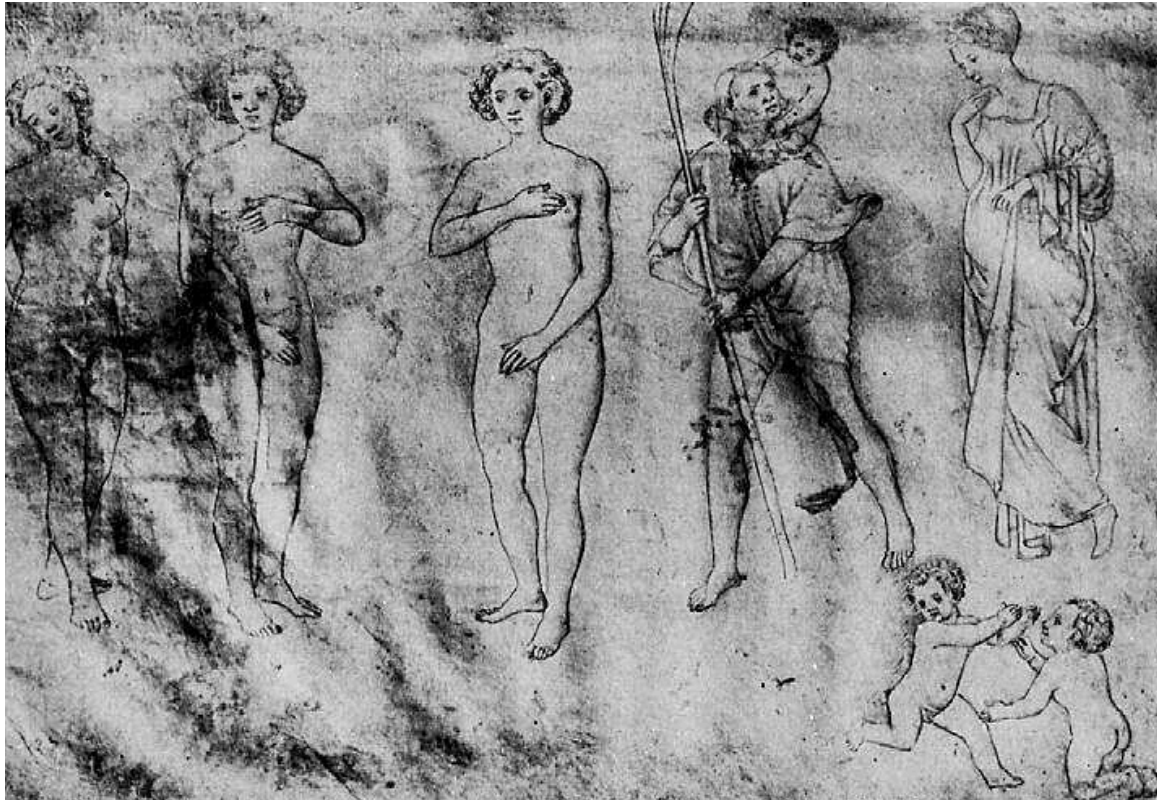


Figure 44. Detail of Hesperid, top right corner, from a Three-Figure Relief. Attributed to Pisanello. *Terminus ante quem* 1455. Drawing. Eichberg of *CensusID* 1990, <http://census.bbaw.de/easydb/censusID=63334>.



Figure 45. Drawing partially inspired by the Heracles and Hesperides Three-Figure Relief. Girolamo da Carpi. 1525-1550. Drawing in pen. Eichberg of *CensusID* 1990, <http://census.bbaw.de/easydb/censusID=63335>.





Figure 46. Drawing of Heracles and Hesperid fragment from a Three-Figure Relief in the *Codex Coburgensis*, no. 102. Artist unknown. Ca. 1550. Mandowsky and Mitchell, ed. 1963, Fig. 72d.



Figure 47. Drawing of the Heracles and Hesperid fragment from a Three-Figure Relief in the *Codex Pighianus*. Artist unknown. 1550-1555. Drawing. Eichberg of *CensusID* 1990, <http://census.bbaw.de/easydb/censusID=57707>.



Figure 48. Drawing of the Heracles and Hesperid fragment from a Three-Figure Relief, reproduced from the *Codex Pighianus*. Beger 1705, Fig. 12.





Figure 49. Illustration of the restored Heracles and Hesperides Three-Figure Relief, Rome: Villa Albani. Piranesi, Piroli, and Zoega 1808, Fig. 64.



Figure 50. Contour drawing of the Heracles and Hesperides Three-Figure Relief, Rome: Villa Albani. Reinach 1912, Fig. 3.

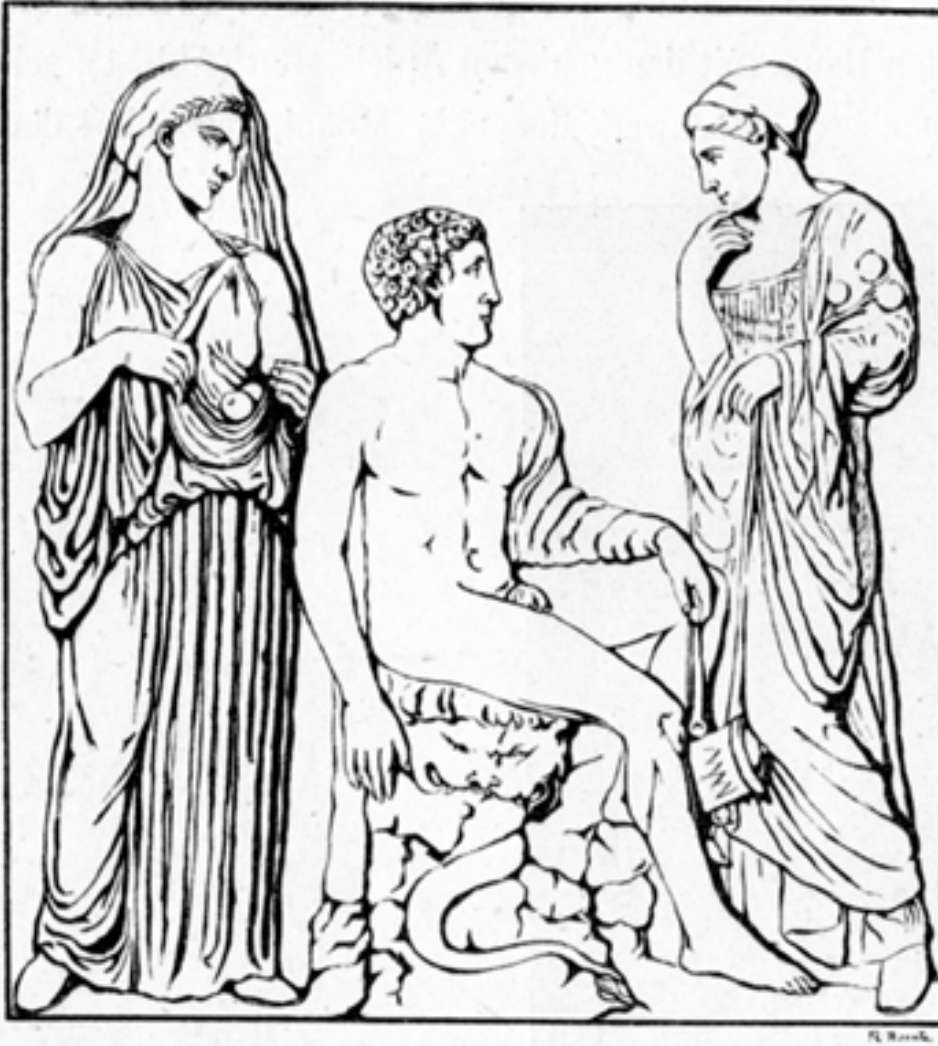


Figure 51. Illustration of the putative ancient composition of the Heracles and Hesperides Three-Figure Reliefs by F. Rosati. Amelung 1923, Fig. 3.

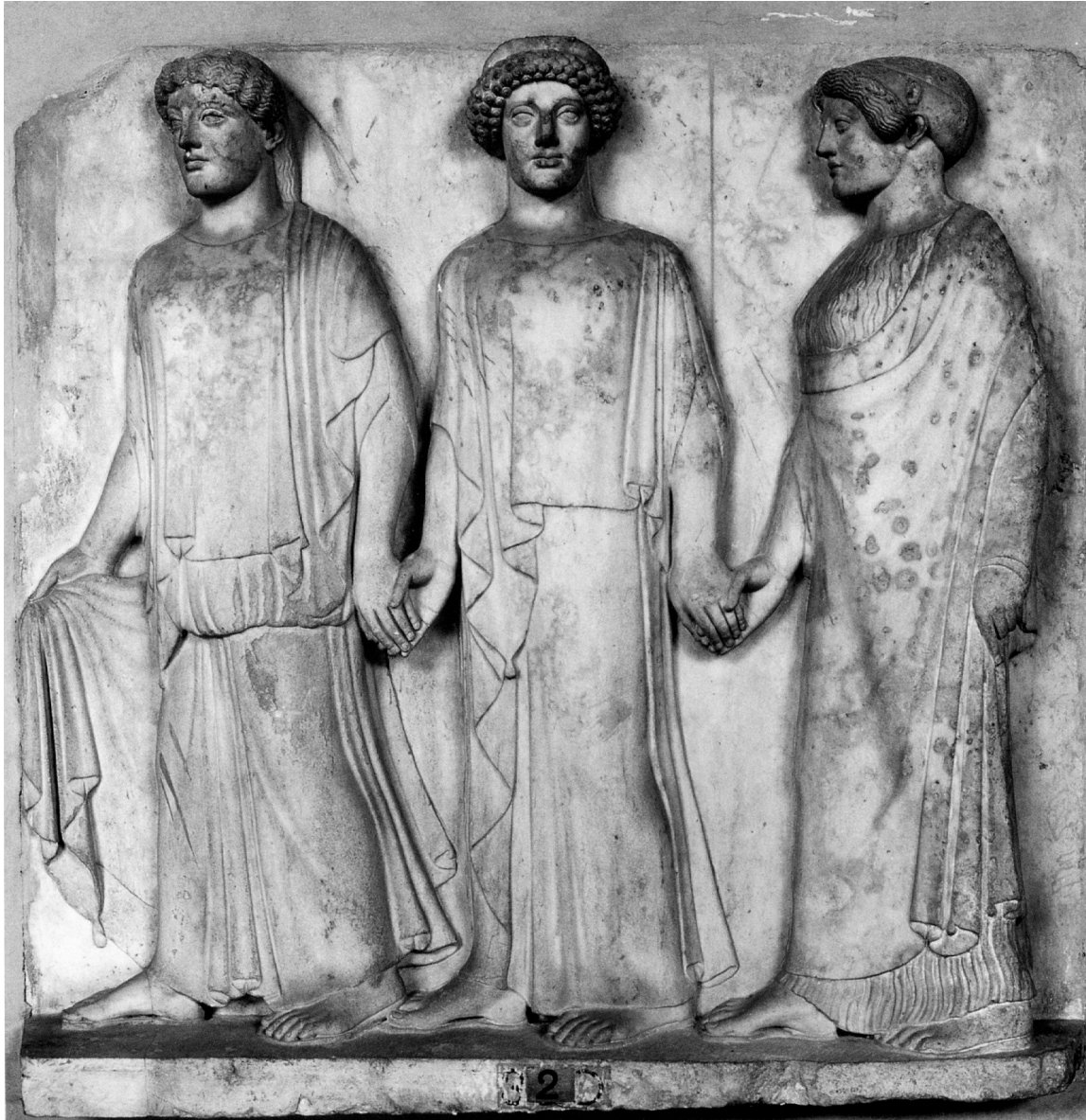


Figure 52. Relief of three Graces. Late first century to early second century C.E. Marble. H: 1.83 m. L: 1.87 m. Rome: Museo Chiaramonti; Inv.-Nr. 360. Andreae, Anger, and Stadler, ed. 1995, Fig. 31.2.



Figure 53. Proposed composition of the Three-Figure Relief of Three Women. Savignoni 1897, 77.





Figure 54. Proposed reconstruction of the Three-Figure Relief of Three Women. Adapted from Tomei 1997, 144.



Figure 55. Attic red-figure hydria of the Judgment of Paris. 470 B.C.E. London: British Museum; Museum number 1873, 0820.353. © Trustees of the British Museum.  
[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details/collection\\_image\\_gallery.aspx?assetId=480684&objectId=459048&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details/collection_image_gallery.aspx?assetId=480684&objectId=459048&partId=1).



Figure 56. KM 2000.1.2292, Photo of Sculpture: General view of the fragments found on the Palatine, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan. The fragmentary head of Theseus from a Three-Figure Relief is located slightly to the right of the photograph's center and directly below a freestanding marble sculpture of a female figure.