

Kairos or Someone Else

Kairos ali nekdo drug

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Izvleček

Gola moška figura na fragmentu ptujskega rimskodobnega reliefa, opredeljena kot podoba Lizipovega Kairosa, potrebuje za potrditev ali zavrnitev te atraktivne določitve skrbno analizo vseh elementov reliefa. Fragment marmorne plošče se je po naši analizi izkazal za spodnji del nagrobne stele, razdeljen na tri polja, sestavljena iz štirih modulov. V na pol ohranjenem srednjem polju je upodobljena gola moška figura, ki naj bi prikazovala Kairosa oziroma po drugi interpretaciji satira v paru z (uničeno) menado. S formalno analizo figure so bile ugotovljene velike razlike med njo in Lizipovim Kairosom, ne pa tudi satirom neoatiške provenience, kakor ga najdemo na sarkofagu iz Ioannine in na risbi nekega izginulega ptujskega reliefa. Z novo natančno 3D-fotografijo reliefa so bili za hrbtom moškega ugotovljeni sledovi vihrajočega ogrinjala. Ta detajl določa figuro kot eno od mitoloških božanstev/herojev v lovu na neko žensko osebo. Motiv in njegova postavitev kažeta izhodišče v neoatiški tradiciji.

Ključne besede: Kairos; satir in menada; atiški sarkofagi; Ptuj

Abstract

The Roman reliefs from Ptuj include one that shows a nude male figure previously interpreted as Lysippian Kairos. It is an attractive interpretation, but one that calls for a careful analysis of all the elements of the relief to either support or refute it. The analysis has revealed the relief to be a fragment of the lower part of a marble sepulchral stela divided into three panels covering four modules. Only half of the central panel survives and depicts a male nude, whom some authors identified as Kairos; others saw him as a satyr paired with a (now missing) maenad. A new formal analysis of the figure, however, has shown significant differences when compared with Lysippian Kairos, but not with regard to a satyr depicted according to Neo-Attic models, such as is portrayed on a sarcophagus from Ioannina and on a drawing of a now lost relief from Ptuj. The new and precise 3D photographs of the Ptuj relief have furthermore revealed traces of a cloak billowing behind the male figure, a detail that identifies it as one of the mythological deities/heroes pursuing a female figure. The motif and its composition indicate an origin in the Neo-Attic tradition.

Key words: Kairos; satyr and maenad; Attic sarcophagi; Ptuj

The title of this paper is a deliberate paraphrase of the title of an important article by Nenad Cambi,¹ in which he discusses the long-standing and widely accepted interpretation and name *Attis tristis* for a motif that he convincingly identified rather as the mourning Easterner and/or oriental shepherd. The text below debates a similar case

with the motif of Kairos that first Josip Korošec Jr² and more recently Katarina Šmid³ identified in a damaged relief of a marble monument held in the Povoden Museum in Ptuj (*Fig. 1*). Considering the frequent occurrence in specialist studies of a seemingly plausible interpretation becoming

¹ Cambi 2021.

² Korošec 1998.

³ Šmid 2023.

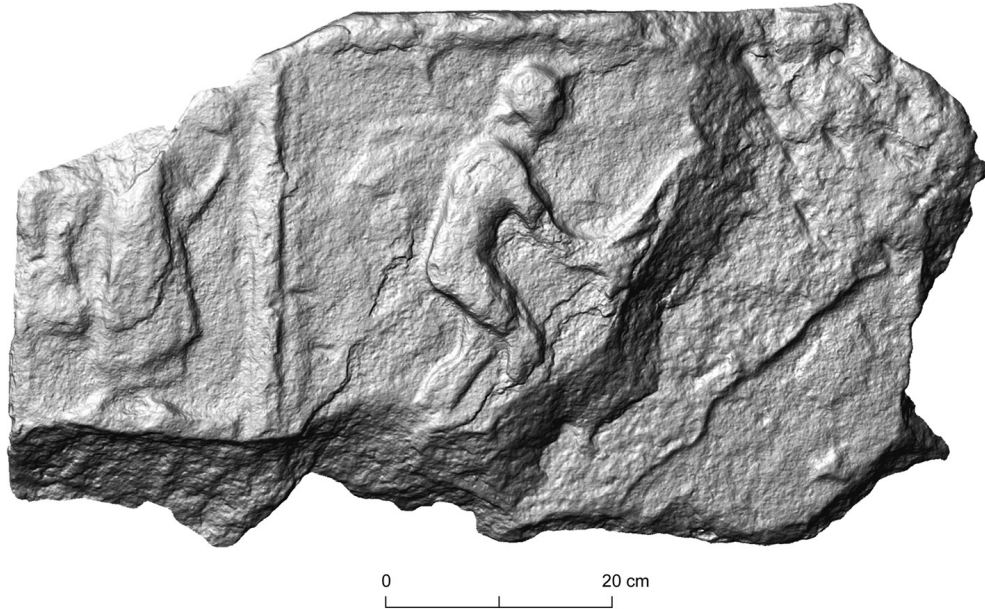


Fig. 1: Fragment of a relief built into the stairway of the Ptuj City Tower, 3D image taken in January 2024.
Sl. 1: Relief, vzidan v stopnišče Mestnega stolpa na Ptuju, stanje januarja 2024 (3D-posnetek).

entrenched, there is a fairly high probability that such an interpretation of the figure in question would become established and persist despite differing opinions. Erwin Pochmarski, for example, identified the nude male figure as a satyr paired with a (missing) maenad.⁴ Ortolf and Friederike Harl initially adopted his interpretation in the Ubi erat lupa online database,⁵ but altered it without question after Šmid's publication. In order to avoid the risk of persistent misinterpretation, it seems appropriate and necessary to verify the arguments for and against the proposed identifications and, for this purpose, to carefully examine the relief itself.

THE RELIEF SLAB⁶

It is a fragment of a monument with relief depictions⁷ that is displayed in the Povoden Museum⁸ in Ptuj, built into the staircase of the Ptuj City Tower. The fragment had previously been positioned on

top of a slab with the depiction of a *sella curulis*⁹ to the right of the staircase (Fig. 2). In 1962–64¹⁰, it was moved and inserted into the staircase, in the spot earlier occupied by a fragment of a stela with the depiction of Actaeon,¹¹ now held in the Ptuj-Ormož Regional Museum.¹²

Researchers have voiced different opinions concerning the type and function of the monument this fragment belonged to. Mihovil Abramić, who was the first to describe it,¹³ did not discuss this aspect. Josip Korošec Jr saw it as a part of a funerary stela of the aedicular type and located it specifically under the architrave. Ortolf and Friederike Harl interpret it as part of a *Grabbau*. Bojan Djurić initially interpreted it as part of an ash chest,¹⁴ with which Erwin Pochmarski concurred,¹⁵ while Katarina Šmid does not venture an identification. With the fragment now built into the wall of the staircase, we cannot examine all its sides, only the front; the other sides are partially visible on a print

⁴ Pochmarski 2015, 217.

⁵ Lupa 4844.

⁶ I wish to thank Stephan Karl and Paul V. Bayer for their generous assistance in the new documentation of the relief.

⁷ Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj-Ormož = PMPO RL 781; lupa 4844.

⁸ Skrabar 1933. Neither Simon Povoden nor his open-air museum have yet been the subject of a comprehensive historical and archaeological analysis.

⁹ PMPO RL 782, lupa 4666; for the first description, see Abramić 1925, 143 no. 159.

¹⁰ During the renovation led by the heritage protection services, regional office Maribor; Petru 1962; Curk 1962–64.

¹¹ PMPO RL 812; lupa 5893.

¹² This move led to the misidentification of the figure as Actaeon in Djurić 2001.

¹³ Abramić 1925, 143 No. 159.

¹⁴ Djurić 2001.

¹⁵ Pochmarski 2015.

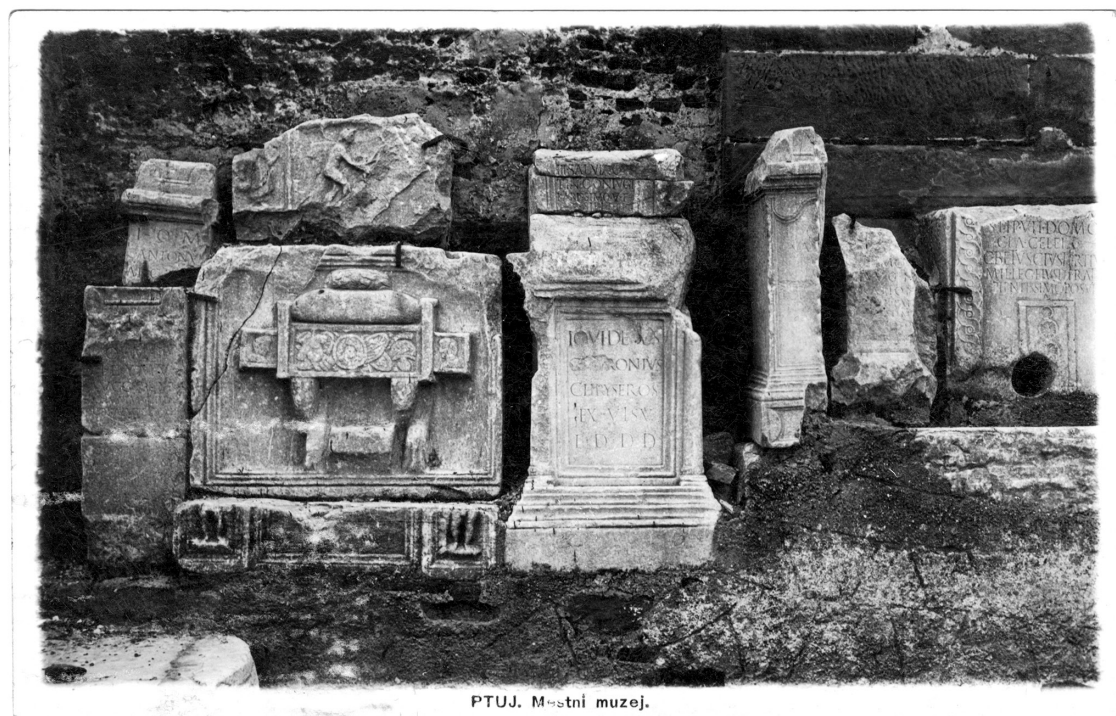


Fig. 2: Right part of the east façade of the Ptuj City Tower, on a postcard from 1934 or earlier (Domoznanski oddelek, Knjižnica Ivana Potrča Ptuj, Zbirka razglednic, sign. Pt-muz-18).

Sl. 2: Desni del vzhodne fasade Mestnega stolpa na razglednici iz leta 1934 ali prej (Domoznanski oddelek, Knjižnica Ivana Potrča Ptuj, Zbirka razglednic, sign. Pt-muz-18).

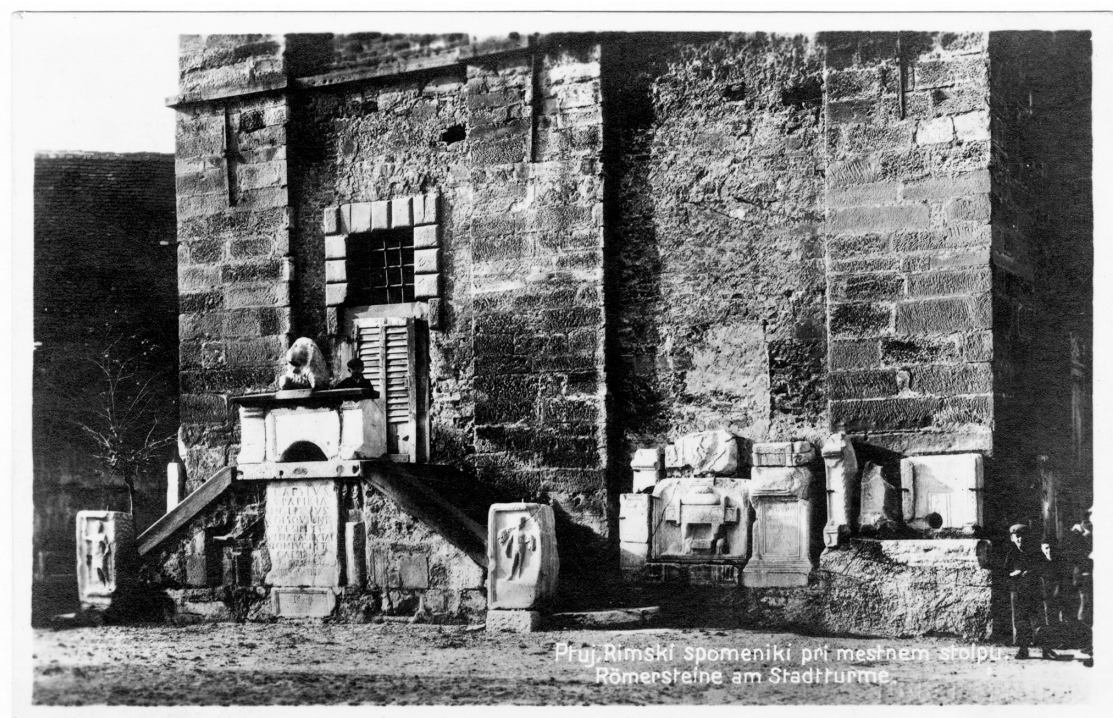


Fig. 3: East side of the Ptuj City Tower on a photograph from 1929 (Domoznanski oddelek, Knjižnica Ivana Potrča Ptuj, Zbirka razglednic, sign. Pt-muz-9).

Sl. 3: Vzhodna stranica Mestnega stolpa na fotografiji iz leta 1929 (Domoznanski oddelek, Knjižnica Ivana Potrča Ptuj, Zbirka razglednic, sign. Pt-muz-9).



Fig. 4: Detail showing the upper part of the fragment with a finely dressed surface and broken upper end.

Sl. 4: Zgornji rob plošče z gladko obdelanim in odlomljenim delom.

of Alois Kasimir¹⁶ from 1895 and slightly better on a photograph/postcard from 1929 (Fig. 3).¹⁷

The recent close examination has revealed that the correct interpretation is that by Korošec, as a stela; rather than under the architrave as he saw it, however, the fragment was located under the inscription and formed the base of the stela.¹⁸ The

¹⁶ Illustration in Felsner 1895.

¹⁷ Published by V. Blanke; kept in the Domoznanski oddelek, Knjižnica Ivana Potrča Ptuj, Zbirka razglednic, sign. Pt-muz-9.

¹⁸ Such a tripartite relief base can be observed on stelae such as the marble one from Odra near Zagreb (Heger 2007; Rendić-Miočević 2013; lupa 8814) and the stela from Sremska Mitrovica held in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Dautova Ruševljan 1985 No. 5; lupa 4005).

functional identification of Ortolof and Friederike Harl has been found to be erroneous in spite of the formal similarity of the fragment with the piece of funerary architecture from Dravinjski vrh,¹⁹ which earlier archaeological literature in Slovenia²⁰ interpreted as an ash chest. The visible upper part of the Ptuj fragment shows a 4-cm-deep horizontal surface that terminates towards the interior at a line where the stela continued perpendicularly upwards, into the part that is now missing (Fig. 4). The above-mentioned print and old photograph indicate that the fragment with the relief depictions is at least 20 cm thick. The missing upper part would thus be at least 16 cm thick, which refutes the possibility that this missing part could be interpreted as the raised semicircular edge along the interior of a sarcophagus or ash chest serving to keep the lid in place. This detail is conclusive evidence of the fragment not representing the left front fragment of an ash chest, as previously believed, but most plausibly the lower part of a stela of an aedicular structure, with the upright detail being the stub of the inscription panel flanked by a pair of pilasters. The bottom left corner of the stela is clearly visible on the photograph from 1934 (Fig. 5), whereas the tenon is broken off.

Further evidence against the fragment being part of an ash chest is the specific use of the block

¹⁹ Lupa 4275.

²⁰ Šubic 1975; Pahič 1977; Djurić 2001; Ragolič 2023.



Fig. 5: The fragment showing the bottom left corner of the stela and the modest remains of the cloak billowing behind the figure.

Sl. 5: Detajl, na katerem sta vidna levi spodnji vogal stele in ogrinjalo na hrbtu figure.

of Pohorje marble²¹ from which the fragment is made. The damage observable on the fracture and other surfaces is the result of the rock's schistosity²² and is not present on other ash chests and sarcophagi of Poetovio. Schistosity is a characteristic of Pohorje marble that Roman stonemasons would have been familiar with and took it into consideration when making sarcophagi and ash chests by carving their vertical sides perpendicularly to the schistosity, presumably to facilitate hollowing the rectangular interior of the chest.²³ In contrast, the vertical sides of the slabs used for stelae or other monuments were carved parallel to the schistosity, resulting in the type of damage observable on the fragment discussed here.

The common feature of both monolithic and composite sepulchral monuments of Poetovio, more precisely ash chests, sarcophagi and the podia of funerary aediculae, is the characteristic tripartite front.²⁴ In spite of the fragmented state, enough

of the stela survives to allow us to reconstruct the structure of its lower part. If applying the rules governing the structure of the monolithic monuments, primarily ash chests, which seems justifiable given the surviving elements, we can conclude that the width of the fragment is made up of four equal parts (modules; *Fig. 6*); the lateral decoration panels cover one module each and the central panel covers two. The panels on the ash chests, sarcophagi and sepulchral aediculae of Poetovio predominantly have a moulded frame with straight sides, only the lateral panels most frequently have a Norico-Pannonian volute as the upper section of the frame, whereas the lower frame could remain unmoulded. The left and right moulded frames of the central panel are made within the lateral modules, and the central panel is usually sunken with regards to the lateral panels. The lateral and central panels are not consistently of the same height, with the lower edge of the central panel usually lower than those on the lateral panels, whereas the upper edges are consistently levelled. This basic architectural form was created in the first phase of production, likely in the workshop in or near the quarry. The decoration was carved in the second phase and probably in another workshop. For the purposes of reconstructing the fragment from the Ptuj City Tower, it is therefore

²¹ Identification Harald W. Müller, Sample PET 58.

²² Schistosity is a mode of foliation that occurs in certain metamorphic rocks as a consequence of the parallel alignment of platy and lath-shaped mineral constituents, causing the rock to split longitudinally; see Fajfar, Žagar Karer 2022.

²³ The only known sarcophagus of Eastern Alpine marble that shows the opposite approach is the one from Prevalje (Djura Jelenko, Visočnik 2006, 375 no. 13; lupa 11459), made from very homogenous marble of the Kraig quarry.

²⁴ For the ash chests, see Diez 1948; Djurić 2001; Djurić 2024; Pochmarski 2015; for the sarcophagi, see Djurić 2001,

Pochmarski 2015, Djurić 2024; for the funerary aediculae, see Kremer 2001, Maver 2008.

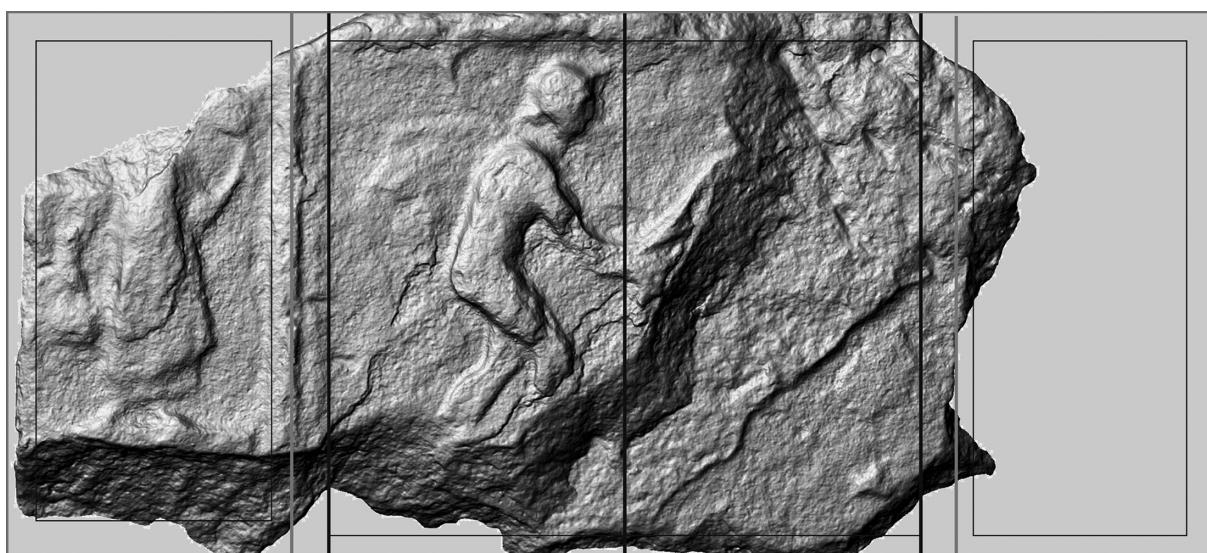


Fig. 6: Tripartite lower part of the aedicular stela from Ptuj with marked four modules (3D image).

Sl. 6: Tridelna baza rekonstruiranega spodnjega dela edikularne stele in njeni štirje moduli (3D-posnetek).

important to bear in mind these general rules of production and design to avoid incorrect reconstructions not only of individual panels, but also their relief depictions.



Fig. 7: Preserved fragment positioned on a semi-finished aedicular stela from Vukovar (lupa 26330).
Sl. 7: Ohranjeni fragment, postavljen na edikularno stelo – polizdelek iz Vukovarja (lupa 26330).

Considering the above, we can conclude that Korošec's hypothesis of a tripartite division with a square central panel²⁵ is inconsistent with the principles governing the tripartite design. It is also incorrect in that it seeks to derive the rules for such a design by analysing the figural depictions within them, thus placing the operations of the second production phase before or simultaneously with those of the first phase. Šmid does not address the structure of the fragment and limits her analysis on the relief depictions. Nor is the structural aspect explored by Pochmarski.

The reconstruction of the tripartite base of the stela that is proposed here, and one that is consistent with the examples of such stelae known so far, is as follows (Fig. 6). The stela's lower part consists of four modules, with the side two comprising the lateral figural panels and the middle two the rectangular central, also figural panels. The lateral panels are narrower than the width of the module by the width of the moulded frame of the central panel, which is sunken with regards to the lateral panels. All panels are enclosed with moulded frames with straight sides, only the upper sides of the lateral panels bear a Norico-Pannonian volute. The reconstructed width of the stela is roughly 102 cm.

The damage to the surviving slab shows that the original aedicular stela (Fig. 7) was broken off above its lower part that was narrowed by a quarter on the right; the tenon was also broken off. In addition, the right third of the fragment was thinned by diagonal blows with a flat chisel, which chipped off the right half of the central depiction, and additionally thinned the slab using a point chisel. The resulting piece was used as a construction element.

The fragment bears two poorly surviving figures in relief, one in the left lateral panel and the other in the central panel. This is further evidence against the fragment representing an ash chest, as the central panel on the known ash chests from Poetovio is consistently reserved for the inscription (Fig. 8).

The left figure is a woman shown *en face*, standing on a pedestal, probably with concave sides (Fig. 9). She is wearing a long tunic and a shorter upper tunic, i.e. costume characteristic of the *norische Mädchen*.²⁶ In her right hand, extended along the body, she holds a bucket, her left arm

²⁵ Korošec 1998, 43–44.

²⁶ Pochmarski 2003; 2004.

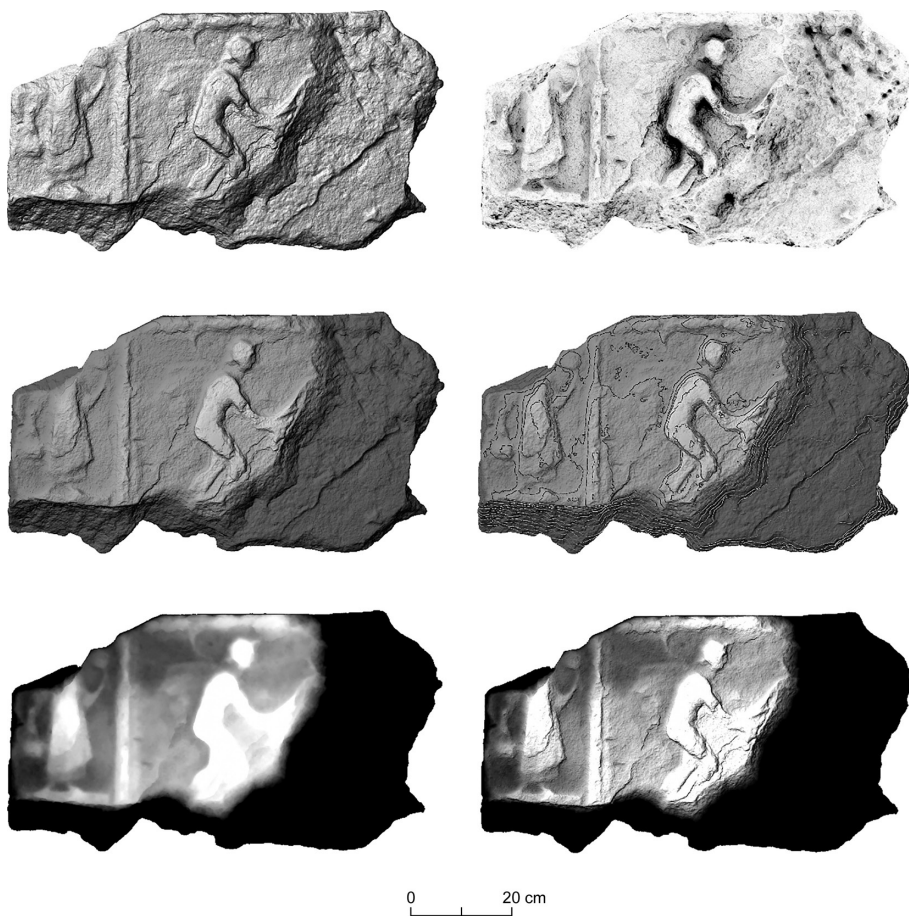


Fig. 8: 3D images of the relief slab.
Sl. 8: 3D-posnetki obeh reliefov.

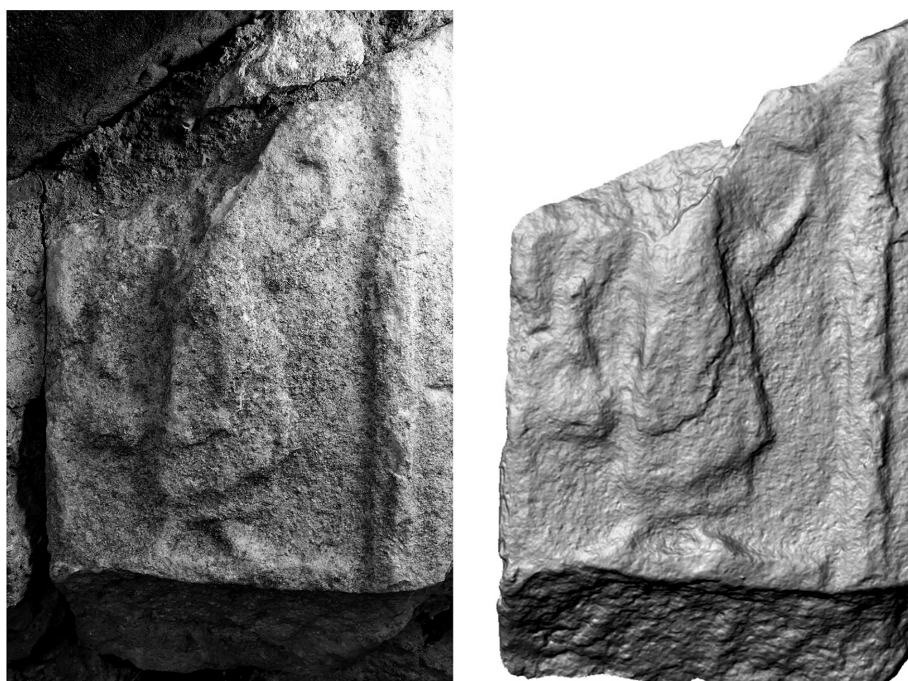


Fig. 9: The surviving relief of a female servant/slave in the left lateral panel.
Sl. 9: Ostanke reliefa služabnice/sužnje v levem polju.

is raised holding a handled bowl (*Griffschale*),²⁷ while a napkin (*mappa*) is placed over her left shoulder; the three items form a hand-washing set. The figure represents a female servant or slave performing her duties at a banquet (*convivium*).²⁸ A number of similar depictions indicate that she would very likely have had a pendant in the right lateral panel, in the shape of a male servant/slave carrying a drinking set.

KAIROS

The surviving left half of the central panel shows a nude male figure in profile, facing right (*Fig. 10*). The figure is outlined with a deeper incised line, clearly visible in the new 3D image. He is leaning forward, his legs are bent at the knees with the right leg moving forward and the left leg behind it; the feet are missing. His right arm is extended forward and down, to waist height, and holds an object or a person as inferred from the remains of the largely missing relief on the right half of the panel. The left arm may be held parallel behind the right one, with its traces visible behind

the biceps of the right arm. It is unlikely that the left arm is raised up and behind the back, as that part of the relief is not destroyed. The feature (A in *Fig. 9*) at the edge of the upper moulded frame (C) behind the head, which could suggest a raised arm, is actually the result of flaking damage to the moulding with its centre in the chisel mark visible behind the head (a). The head is positioned so as to continue the straight line of his back, the gaze is directed forward. The hairstyle is damaged, suffering the same flaking damage mentioned above, and shows a silhouette of hair that reach to the back of the neck and appear to reach in a lock above the forehead; this lock was the key argument in identifying the figure as Kairos. However, the 3D image clearly shows a damaged surface of the relief in front of the head (B), the boundary of which runs from the forehead obliquely to the right towards the moulded frame. The 'lock' is therefore not as convincing as the authors of the Kairos hypothesis thought.²⁹ The figure is clearly shown with a cloak billowing behind it, with the

²⁷ For the use of this term, see Mustață 2011, 235.

²⁸ Dunbabin 2003.

²⁹ Given its poor condition, the shape of the relief around the head may also be identified as a hat – *pétasos/petanus* (πέτασος), such as is characteristic of Hermes/Mercury (Paris 1877–1919). I thank Katharina Zanier for this suggestion.

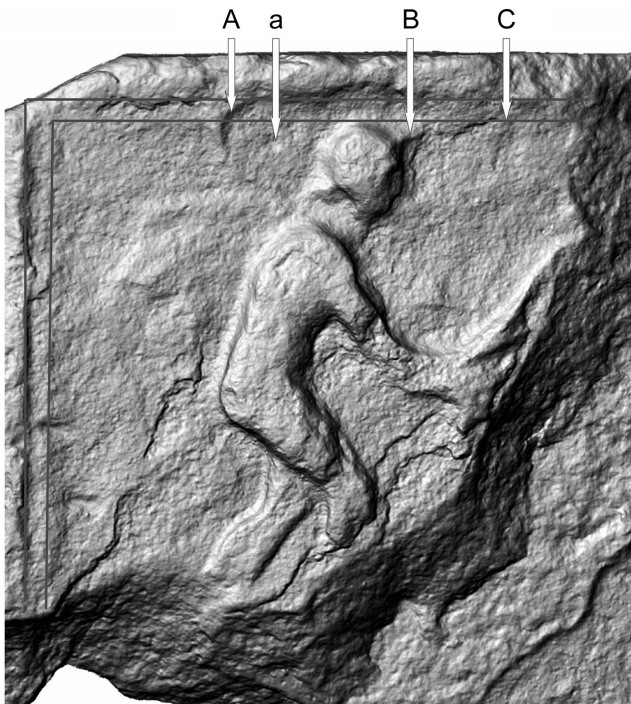


Fig. 10: The male figure on the Ptuj relief (3D image – left) and the reconstruction of Lysippos' Kairos (right) (from Moreno 1990).

Sl. 10: Moška reliefna figura (3D-posnetek – levo) in rekonstrukcija Lizipovega Kairosa (desno) (iz Moreno 1990).

cloak rather poorly preserved and separated from the body with an incised line.

Korošec and Šmid identified the figure as a two-dimensional representation of the bronze statue of Kairos by Lysippos, from the 4th century BCE,³⁰ such as are known on the reliefs from Trogir³¹, Turin³² and Athens (Acropolis).³³ In contrast, Pochmarski³⁴ saw in it a satyr paired with a (missing) maenad.

Let us examine the similarities and differences between the Ptuj relief and the known representations of the Lysippian Kairos. Korošec emphasised their similar vertical proportions.³⁵ Šmid enumerated the following features of the Ptuj relief that, in her opinion, identify the male figure as the Lysippian Kairos: nudity, lock of hair above the forehead, running movement, posture, both hands holding an object on cords and hypothetical wings on the back.³⁶

Leaving aside the direction of movement of the Ptuj figure, which is the opposite to all known depictions of Kairos, and seeing it as a mirror representation that was a practice ubiquitous in Antiquity, we should, however, not disregard the posture of the legs and arms. These differ significantly from the Lysippian model.

The left, slightly bent leg in the foreground, with which the Lysippian Kairos alighted on the ground, is positioned just behind the line of the shoulders, while the right leg in the background reaches forward and is almost extended, indicating a transition from a flying to a running motion. The figure on the Ptuj relief, in contrast, has its foreground leg slightly bent so that the knee is placed in front of the shoulder line and the foot is presumably directly below it, providing stability. The background leg is also slightly bent, but reaches far back, with the heel located beyond the rear point of the back. The Ptuj figure is therefore shown in a stable posture in a quick step rather than running or transitioning from flying to running.

³⁰ Moreno (1990) proposed a reconstruction of the lost statue; also see Moreno 1995.

³¹ Abramić 1929; 1932; Cambi 1980–1981; 1994–1995; Moreno 1995, 192–193 No. 4.28.1; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 95–96, 141, No. 1.

³² Schwarz 1975; Barra Bagnasco 1976–1977; Moreno 1990, 922, No. 4; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 96–97, 142–143, No. 4; Oakley 2011, 26–27.

³³ Moreno 1995, 193 No. 4.28.2; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 96, 141–142, No. 2.

³⁴ Pochmarski 2015, 217.

³⁵ Korošec 1998, 47.

³⁶ Šmid 2023, 320.

The arms of the Lysippian Kairos extend forward, with the foreground arm at shoulder height and the background arm directed downward at waist height. The foreground arm holds an equal-arm balance on a razor, while the background arm presses on one of its two pans suspended on cords, pushing it downwards. The Ptuj figure has the foreground arm positioned diagonally forward and down to waist height. With it, the figure is in contact with an object or person in front of him, the relief remains of which Šmid interprets as the cords of a balance. The other arm is supposedly depicted behind and parallel with the foreground arm, perhaps identifiable in the bulge behind the biceps of the right arm.

The posture of the body further differs in the torso and head. The Lysippian Kairos has a vertically positioned back that bends slightly forward in the direction of the movement, while his head tilts slightly back. The back on the Ptuj figure, in contrast, is perfectly straight and angles forward, with the head following the oblique angle of the back.

Then there are the wings of Kairos that Korošec presumed and sketched on the back of the Ptuj figure, and Katarina Šmid tentatively accepted. The recent 3D image has conclusively shown that the relief remains behind the back of the figure are clearly separate from its back and cannot be the remains of wings. The outer outline rather suggests the characteristic shape of a cloak billowing behind the figure, such as is known from the depictions of a myriad of mythological figures, but not those of Kairos.

We can conclude that the posture and movement of the Ptuj figure deviate significantly from that of Lysippian Kairos. It should be noted that his representation underwent many changes in the period after the creation in the 4th century BCE.³⁷ It is these changes, particularly those observable in some of the depictions on Roman intaglios, that Šmid refers to in explaining the deviations of the Ptuj relief from the canonical image of Kairos. She even proposes, unconvincingly in our opinion, that the origin should be sought in one of these intaglios.

Other characteristics listed by Šmid also occur on other figures in the Roman mythological reliefs. Nudity and the (presumed) lock of hair above the forehead, for example, are also found in

³⁷ For the numerous changes in the representation and meaning, see Boschung 2013; 2020.

many depictions of satyrs,³⁸ which are of particular interest here. The cords presumably holding a balance pan are, if we were to interpret the relief figure as Kairos, anything but straight, which is also clear from the sunken contour line. In this interpretation, it is furthermore unclear where the central element, i.e. razor holding the arms of the balance, would be located.

The analysis above shows that the identification of the male figure on the Ptuj relief with Kairos is anything but conclusive. If not Kairos, who could this figure represent?

SATYR AND MAENAD

Pochmarski identified the nude figure in the Ptuj relief as a satyr paired with a maenad on the basis of his nudity, the (presumed) lock of hair above the forehead, the posture of the body and the arm stretched out towards the missing figure on the right. To this, we can add the width of the

³⁸ E.g. Pochmarski-Nagele 1992 No. 67; lupa 1281.

reconstructed central panel composed of two modules, with the mid-point between them running precisely through the point of contact between the two figures and requiring an equivalent figure on the right to balance the figure on the left. Defining the left figure as a satyr, then the right figure can only be a maenad/nymph.³⁹

The motif of a maenad/nymph and satyr, in which the latter attempts to undress the maenad/nymph, is known in ancient art from the Greek Archaic period onwards. Alongside its evident erotic connotations, one of the underlying ideas behind this motif is the understanding of the body as the dress of the soul, a reference to which can already be found in the 5th century BCE in the writings of Empedocles.⁴⁰ In the second half of the

³⁹ Jože Kastelic would explicitly have identified her as a nymph (Kastelic 1998, 347); Matz uses the term *Mädchen* to describe the female figure paired with the satyr on the sarcophagus from Ioannina (Matz 1968, 105).

⁴⁰ Empedocles B 126: 'enveloping in an unfamiliar cloak of flesh' (B 126 = D 19); trans. Laks and Most 2016.



Fig. 11: Interior of a Hellenistic hinged mirror (left), 300–280 BCE, British Museum (© The Trustees of the British Museum) and relief from Herculaneum (right), 1st century CE, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (courtesy of the MANN).
Sl. 11: Notranja stran helenističnega preklopnega ogledala (levo), 300–280 pr. Kr. št., British Museum, inv. št. 1891,0522.1 (© The Trustees of the British Museum) in relief (desno) iz 1. st. iz Herculaneuma v Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 124666 (z dovoljenjem MANN).

2nd century CE, Artemidoros of Daldis⁴¹ likened the body to the cloak of the soul,⁴² while in the 3rd century, Plotinus spoke of shedding clothes as the soul ascended toward the Good.⁴³

In the production of the Norican marble workshops, a satyr undressing a maenad/nymph occurs as an independent group motif on only a handful of funerary monuments,⁴⁴ dating to the Late Antonine and Early Severan periods, and was most

⁴¹ Artemidoros Daldianos, *Oneirocritica* IV 30; cf. Kastelic 1998, 354.

⁴² 'For just as the cloak surrounds him, so also his body surrounds his soul.' Trans. R. J. White.

⁴³ Plotinus, *Enneads* 1.6.7, trans. S. MacKenna.

⁴⁴ In Noricum, for example on the two aedicula tombs for the Ennii and Spectatii families from Šempeter (Klemenc, Kolšek, Petru 1972; lupa 13258, 13330) and on a funerary monument from Zollfeld/Gospovetsko polje (CSIR Virunum 327; lupa 1038), in Pannonia on a marble funerary monument from Osijek (Pochmarski, Filipović 1996; lupa 2810).

likely borrowed from Attic Dionysian sarcophagi.⁴⁵ The motif was used throughout Antiquity, from the Classical period onwards, as part of the general visual culture and also appeared on a variety of utilitarian objects that may sometimes be associated with the sepulchral sphere.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ For the Neo-Attic origin of the motif, see Matz 1956; for the Neo-Attic models in the Norican production, see Pochmarski 2010; Pochmarski-Nagele 1992. For a detailed overview of the history of the motif, see Pochmarski, Filipović 1996.

⁴⁶ E.g. the ceramic lamp from Nin (Muzeji i zbirke Zadra, 1954, Fig. 77) or the carnelian intaglio held in the Hermitage (Inv. No. GR 25714; <https://collections.hermitage.ru/entity/OBJECT?query=ΓΡ%2025714&fund-coll=1426405694>). For more comprehensive information, see Pochmarski, Filipović 1996. A complete range of different compositions of the satyr and maenad motif can also be found on the 3rd century floor mosaic from Soussa (Foucher 1960, No. 57.220, Pl. 50).

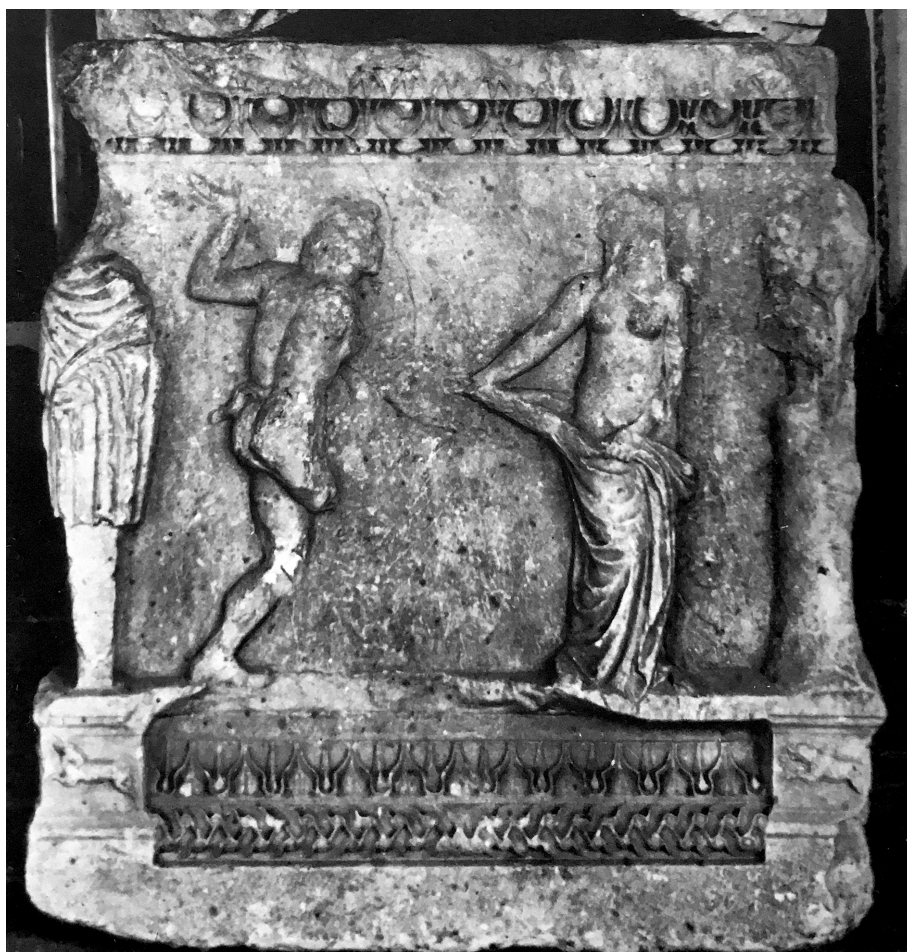


Fig. 12: Right side of the sarcophagus from Ioannina (from Matz 1968 No. 8).

Sl. 12: Desna, krajša stranica sarkofaga iz Ioannine (iz Matz 1968, št. 8).

Friedrich Matz, in his overview of the types of figures⁴⁷ that appear in various combinations on Roman Dionysian sarcophagi, does not list the type of satyr reaching with both hands towards the maenad/nymph. Of course, this does not mean the type never existed in the Neo-Attic tradition (Fig. 11). Matz did include the group of satyr and maenad among the rare group motifs on Dionysian sarcophagi, which he also specially discussed.⁴⁸

The Attic sarcophagi, which are the most relevant source for the Norican depictions, show the satyr with a small tail on his back in a dancing posture

⁴⁷ Matz 1968.

⁴⁸ Matz 1956; the motif of the satyr reaching with both hands for the dress of a maenad can be found, for example, on the interior of a Hellenistic bronze mirror held in the British Museum, Inv. no. 1891,0522.1 (Züchner 1942, 22–23, Pl. 23; Walters 1899, 41 no. 288 Pl. VIII) or on a relief from Herculaneum held in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Inv. no. 124666, from the early 2nd century (Reinach 1912, 83 Fig. 6).

and in a three-quarter turn, with one arm raised and the other outstretched towards the maenad (Fig. 12). This type of satyr already appears in the early imperial period, but only passes to sepulchral monuments with the Roman Metropolitan and Attic Dionysian sarcophagi of the 2nd century. Usually depicted quite close together, so that they form a group proper; only on the sarcophagus from Ioannina are the satyr and the maenad placed at a certain distance from one another, similarly as the figures on the Ptuj relief.

The figure of a satyr moving to the right, grasping the dress of a fleeing maenad with his right hand, holding an upright *lagobolon* in his slightly bent left hand, and with an animal skin over his left shoulder and down his back, is found on a Dionysian sarcophagus (*lenos*) held in Los Angeles (Fig. 13).⁴⁹ This figure shows similarities to the figure in the Ptuj relief in its stride, body posture,

⁴⁹ Los Angeles County Museum, Inv. No. A5141.50.890.



Fig. 13: *Lenos* with the depiction of a satyr and maenad, held in the Los Angeles County Museum (from Matz 1968).
Sl. 13: *Lenos* v Los Angeles County Museum z upodobitvijo satira in menade (iz Matz 1968).

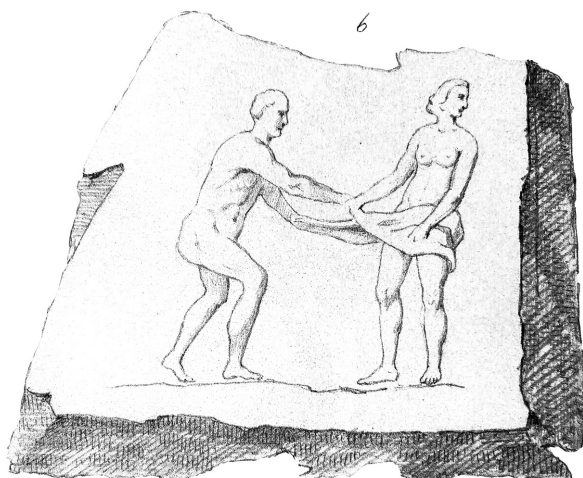


Fig. 14: Drawing of a missing relief slab from Ptuj (graphic preparatory work, Vienna, storage location unknown).
Sl. 14: Risba neohranjene ptujске plošče z reliefom (grafična predloga, Dunaj, mesto hranjenja neznano).

position of the right arm and the absence of a tail on the back, but differs significantly in the attributes and position of the left arm.

The male figure, with both arms reaching towards the dress of the female figure standing opposite to him, and not turned in a three-quarter 'mythical ballet' pose – as Jože Kastelic describes the motif of the maenad and satyr with his arm raised – can also be found depicted among the drawings of the Ptuj reliefs preserved in a Viennese preparatory work.⁵⁰ Drawing No. VI 6 (Fig. 14) shows a now missing relief from Ptuj bearing a motif similar to that on the sarcophagus from Ioannina. The male figure in the drawing closely corresponds with the surviving Ptuj relief in the posture of the legs and arms, and forms a balanced composition with the associated female figure within the figural panel, as we have reconstructed above. The female figure in the drawing is almost identical to the female figure depicted on the right side of the Attic sarcophagus from Ioannina,⁵¹ with the main difference being the dress that completely covers the lower body in the relief from Ioannina, but not in the

⁵⁰ It is most probably the preparatory work of Anton von Steinbüchl, director of the Münz- und Antikenkabinett between 1819 and 1840, for the publication of all the Roman inscriptions of the Austrian monarchy (*Corpus inscriptionum antiquorum imperii Austriaci*), for which Somenzari made at least part of the drawings from Ptuj (*Pettau's roemische Steine*, Archiv Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien AS 23).

⁵¹ Archaeological Museum of Ioannina; Matz 1968, 105 Pl. 11.

drawing. If we assume that the Ptuj relief already suffered considerable surface damage when placed near the tower and that the illustrator added or completed some parts of the relief – explaining the differences in the clothing and the addition of the male figure's left arm – but did not see some of the other parts (cloak behind the back), then the drawing might indeed represent the relief in question. This would allow us to identify the Ptuj relief as a variant of Type B group (*Verfolgungsgruppe B*) according to Matz or a variant of Type XXII according to Pochmarski Nagele. It could be seen as a partially modified copy of the motif surviving on the Ioannina sarcophagus, confirming Neo-Attic models in the Poetovio production of sepulchral monuments. However, we should not disregard the doubts concerning the correctness of such an assumption, as the outline of the drawn relief slab that furthermore lacks the left panel with the female servant is completely irreconcilable with the surviving piece. It should be noted that the cloak billowing behind the back of the male figure speaks even more clearly against the male figure representing a satyr.

MYTHICAL HERO OR DEITY?

It is clear from the above that the male figure on the Ptuj relief represents neither Kairos nor a satyr paired with a maenad/nymph. The nudity of the figure and especially the billowing cloak behind his back, especially if we disregard the lock of hair above his forehead that may be the result of damage, identify the image as one of the mythological male figures paired with another, probably female figure, now destroyed. In the absence of any recognisable attributes, the male figure is not unambiguously identifiable. Having said that, there are not many figures in the ancient mythological motifs who are in an erotic pursuit of a female figure in the way depicted in the Ptuj monument. The closest parallels seem to be the very rare depictions on sepulchral monuments of the motif of Apollo pursuing Daphne (Δάφνη), daughter of Ladon (or Peneus) and Gaia,⁵² as found on a monument from Trier (Fig. 15 left)⁵³

⁵² Bandy Konstanz 1997.

⁵³ Hettner 1903, 32 No. 39; Bauchhenss 1984, 456 No. 593; Palagia 1986, 346; Faust, Seewaldt, Weidner 2007; the relief in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier, Inv. No. 20616, was found in 1896 in the imperial baths in Trier.

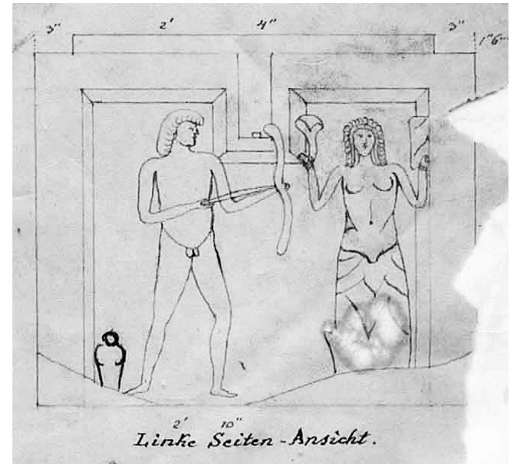


Fig. 15: Relief of Apollo and Daphne (left) held in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier (©Rheinisches Landesmuseum) and drawing of the left side of a sarcophagus from Sisak (right) (from Vukelić 2009).

Sl. 15: Relief Apolona in Dafne (levo) v Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier (©Rheinisches Landesmuseum) in (desno) risba leve krajše stranice sarkofaga iz Siska (iz Vukelić 2009).

dated to the 2nd or perhaps the 3rd century. After Ovid had written his *Metamorphoses*⁵⁴ in the 1st century, the motif of Apollo and Daphne was often featured in the frescoes of cities in Campania,⁵⁵ the focus in which was on the romantic aspects of the story. From the 2nd century onwards, interest shifted toward Apollo's pursuit and Daphne's metamorphosis.⁵⁶ Viewed in the latter sense, the motif was also adopted in the funerary sphere as a metaphor for death, albeit infrequently. On sarcophagi, we only know of her depiction on the left side of a sarcophagus for Maximiana Aemilia from Sisak (*Siscia*), surviving in a drawing⁵⁷ and dating to the first half or middle of the 3rd century (Fig. 15 right).

DISCUSSION

The relief from Ptuj truly poses a challenge in terms of its identification. Nevertheless, we

believe there are sufficient indications to convincingly reject the identification of the male figure as either Kairos or satyr paired with a maenad, but also to suggest another mythological figure, perhaps Apollo in the pursuit of Daphne.⁵⁸ Our analysis has thus not confirmed the attractive interpretation proposed by Josip Korošec and Katarina Šmid, who identified the male figure as Lysippian Kairos, an interpretation that has also been adopted in the Ubi erat lupa online database. Similarly unconfirmed is the interpretation of a satyr paired with a maenad by Erwin Pochmarski, a motif that was used also in Poetovio, as the surviving drawing of the now missing relief from Ptuj shows. What is certain, on the other hand, is that we can confirm that the Norican and neighbouring masonry workshops, in their production of stone reliefs, used Neo-Attic models, especially those on the Attic sarcophagi of the 2nd and 3rd centuries⁵⁹ and first clearly demonstrated on the tomb of the Spectatii family in Šempeter v Savinjski dolini.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ *met.* I, 452–567.

⁵⁵ E.g. Stabiae, Villa Arianna, Diaeta 12, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Inv. No. 9535; Rocco 2010.

⁵⁶ Palagia 1986, 348.

⁵⁷ Vukelić 2009; Migotti 2017; lupa 4316; drawing by Mijat Sabljari in the archives of the Arheološki muzej Zagreb, sign. 6.

⁵⁸ If the male figure wears a *petasus* on the head, it could be identified as Hermes psychopompos (?). I would like to thank Katharina Zanier for the suggestion.

⁵⁹ For the Attic sarcophagi and their iconography, see Ewald 2018.

⁶⁰ Bonanno Aravantinos 1993.

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Kairos ali nekdo drug

Prevod

Naslov namenoma parafrizira pomemben članek Nenada Cambija,¹ v katerem je problematiziral dolgo in ustaljeno interpretacijo in poimenovanje žalujočega Atisa (*Attis tristis*) ter ga prepričljivo opredelil kot žalostnega Vzhodnjaka in/ali orientalskega pastirja. Nič podobnega se še ni zgodilo s podobo Kairosa, ki sta ga najprej Josip Korošec ml.² in pred nedavnim še Katarina Šmid³ prepoznala v precej poškodovanem reliefu marmornega spomenika v Povodnovem muzeju na Ptuju (*sl. 1*). Glede na razširjeni pojav v polju specialističnih študij je zelo verjetno, da bi se taka interpretacija zadevne figure kljub drugačnim mnenjem ustalila in obstala. Erwin Pochmarski⁴ je namreč golo moško osebo na reliefu prepoznal kot satira v paru z (uničeno) menado, kar sta prevzela tudi zakonca Harl v spletni bazi Ubi erat lupa,⁵ po novi objavi Šmidove pa brez sence dvoma spremenila. Da bi se izognili nevarnosti dolgotrajnih napačnih

interpretacij se zdi primerno in potrebno preveriti argumente za in proti predlaganim določitvam in poimenovanjem. Pri tem pa natančno preveriti sam predmet.

RELIEFNA PLOŠČA⁶

V Povodnovem muzeju⁷ na Ptuju je danes v stopnišče Mestnega stolpa vzdian fragment spomenika,⁸ ki je bil v izvirni postavitvi položen na blok z upodobitvijo *sella curulis*⁹ desno od stopnišča (*sl. 2*), v letih 1962-64¹⁰ pa vzdian na

⁶ Za nesebično pomoč pri novem dokumentiranju reliefa se zahvaljujem Stephanu Karlu in Paulu V. Bayerju.

⁷ Skrabar 1933. Doslej celovite zgodovinske in arheološke obravnave nista doživela ne Simon Povoden ne njegov muzej na prostem.

⁸ Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj - Ormož = PMPO RL 781; Lupa 4844.

⁹ PMPO RL 782, Lupa 4666; za primarni opis glej Abramič 1925, 143, št. 159.

¹⁰ Pri prenovi pod vodstvom Zavoda za spomeniško varstvo Maribor; Petru 1962; Curk 1962-64.

¹ Cambi 2021.

² Korošec 1998.

³ Šmid 2023.

⁴ Pochmarski 2015, 217.

⁵ Lupa 4844.

mesto fragmenta stele z upodobitvijo Aktajona,¹¹ zdaj shranjen v ptujskem muzeju.¹²

Glede oblike in funkcije fragmenta si različni avtorji niso bili edini. Mihovil Abramić, ki ga je prvi opisal,¹³ se glede tega ni opredelil, Josip Korošec ml. ga je razumel kot del nagrobne stele edikularnega tipa pod njenim arhitravom, zakonca Harl vidita v njem del nagrobne stavbe, Bojan Djurić ga je razložil kot del pepelnice,¹⁴ s čimer se je strinjal tudi Erwin Pochmarski,¹⁵ medtem ko se Katarina Šmid glede tega ni opredelila. Ker je fragment vzdignjen v steno stopnišča, danes ni več mogoče preveriti njegovih stranskih ploskev, ki so delno sicer vidne na grafiki Aloisa Kasimirja¹⁶ iz leta 1895 in malo bolje na fotografiji/razglednici iz leta 1929 (sl. 3).¹⁷

Domneva J. Korošca glede stele je pravilna, vendar ne za del pod njenim arhitravom, temveč za del pod napisom oz. na bazi stele.¹⁸ Funkcionalna opredelitev zakoncev Harl se je pokazala za nepravilno kljub formalni sorodnosti s tako opredeljenim spomenikom iz Dravinjskega vrha,¹⁹ ki je bil v slovenski strokovni literaturi²⁰ doslej opredeljevan kot pepelnica. Zgornja ploskev ptujskega fragmenta kaže na sprednji strani 4 cm širok raven rob, ki se proti notranjosti pravokotno prelomi v danes odlomljen navpični del, ki ga je mogoče razumeti kot ploščo (sl. 4). Debelina plošče z reliefoma, kolikor je o njej mogoče sklepati na podlagi omenjene grafike in stare fotografije, je vsaj 20 cm. Odlomljena plošča na zgornji ploskvi je torej debela vsaj 16 cm, kar govori proti zaobljeni odebelitvi, kakršno imajo sarkofagi in pepelnice za pritrditev pokrova. Ta detajl nedvoumno potrjuje, da plošča ni fragment pepelnice oz. njen levi sprednji del, kakor smo menili doslej. Fragment je še najverjetneje spodnji del stele edikularne sheme in navedeni detajl ostanek napisnega polja

med polstebroma. Levi spodnji vogal stele je na fotografiji iz leta 1934 lepo viden (sl. 5), medtem ko je vsadnik/trn stele odbit.

Da ne gre za del pepelnice, govori tudi specifična raba bloka pohorskega marmorja,²¹ iz katerega je izdelana plošča. Ta kaže na prelomih in na površini poškodbe, ki so posledice skrilarosti kamnine²² in jih na drugih poetovionskih pepelnicah in sarkofagih ne srečamo. Značilnost pohorskega marmorja je prav njegova skrilarost, kar so kamnoseki dobro poznali in pri izdelavi skrinj tudi upoštevali tako, da so navpične ploskve sarkofagov in pepelnic oblikovali pravokotno na skrilarost, verjetno zaradi lažjega klesanja pravokotne luknje skrinje.²³ Nasprotno so stele in plošče nagrobnih zgradb oz. njihove navpične ploskve oblikovane vzporedno s skrilarostjo, kar se lahko kaže v poškodbah, podobnih tistim na obravnavani plošči.

Skupna značilnost poetovionskih monolitnih in kompozitnih spomenikov, pepelnic, sarkofagov in baz nagrobnih edikul je tipična tridelna sprednja stranica.²⁴ Kljub poškodovanosti obravnavane plošče je ohranjenih elementov na njej vseeno dovolj za rekonstrukcijo njene strukturne sheme. Če za obravnavano ploščo uporabimo pravila izdelave monolitnih spomenikov, predvsem pepelnic, kar se zdi po ohranjenih elementih utemeljeno, lahko ugotovimo, da je arhitektura plošče zgrajena iz štirih delov enake širine (modulov; sl. 6). Stranski dekorativni polji zavzemata po en modul, srednje polje pa dva modula. Polja so pri vseh navedenih oblikah večinoma uokvirjena v profiliran okvir ravnih stranic, le stranski polji imata zgornji stranici najpogosteje oblikovani v noriško-panonsko voluto, njuni spodnji stranici pa lahko ostaneta neprofilirani. Stranski profilirani stranici srednjega polja sta običajno izdelani znotraj stranskih modulov, stranski polji pa pogosto rizalito izstopata iz ploskve sprednje stranice. Višine stranskih in srednjega polja niso vedno enake, spodnji rob srednjega polja je običajno nižji od spodnjih robov stranskih polj,

¹¹ PMPO RL 812; Lupa 5893.

¹² Ta fizična zamenjava je bila vzrok za našo napačno določitev figure kot Aktajona v Djurić 2001.

¹³ Abramić 1925, 143, št. 159.

¹⁴ Djurić 2001.

¹⁵ Pochmarski 2015.

¹⁶ Ilustracija v Felsner 1895.

¹⁷ Založil V. Blanke; hrani Domoznanski oddelek Knjižnice Ivana Potrča Ptuj, Zbirka razglednic, sign. Pt-muz-9.

¹⁸ Tak tridelni relief imata npr. marmorni steli iz Odre pri Zagrebu (Heger 2006; Rendić-Miočević 2013; Lupa 8814) in tiste iz Sremske Mitrovice v Kunsthistorisches Museum na Dunaju (Dautova Ruševljan 1985, št. 5; Lupa 4005).

¹⁹ Lupa 4275.

²⁰ Šubic 1975; Pahić 1977; Djurić 2001; Ragolić 2023.

²¹ Določitev Harald W. Müller, vzorec PET 58.

²² Skrilarost je lastnost metamorfne kamnine, da lističasti minerali sljud in podolgovati kristali amfibolov rastejo vzporedno, zaradi česar se kamnina kolje vzdolžno; glej T. Fajfar, M. Žagar Karer 2022.

²³ Edini znani sarkofag iz vzhodnoalpskega marmorja, ki kaže nasprotni pristop, je tisti s Prevalj (Djura Jelenko, Visočnik 2006, 375, št. 13; Lupa 11459), izdelan iz zelo homogenega marmorja iz kamnoloma Kraig.

²⁴ Za pepelnice glej Diez 1948; Djurić 2001; Pochmarski 2015; za sarkofage glej Djurić 2001, Pochmarski 2015, Djurić 2024; za nagrobne edikule glej Kremer 2001, Maver 2008.

medtem ko potekajo zgornji robovi v isti višini. Ta osnovna arhitekturna oblika je nastala v prvi fazi izdelave, verjetno že v delavnici v ali v bližini kamnoloma, medtem ko je okras nastal v drugi fazi izdelave in verjetno tudi v drugi delavnici. Za rekonstrukcijo obravnavanega fragmenta je zato pomembno upoštevati te splošne zakonitosti izdelave in oblikovanja, da bi se izognili napačnim rekonstrukcijam ne le posamezne stranice, marveč tudi na njej oblikovanih reliefov.

Ob povedanem lahko ugotovimo, da je domneva J. Korošca o tridelni delitvi reliefne ploskve na kvadratno srednje polje²⁵ in pravokotni stranski polji neskladna z načeli oblikovanja tridelnih stranic. Napačna je tudi zato, ker išče pravila oblikovanja polj na podlagi analize figuralnih upodobitev v njih ter s tem postavlja operacije druge faze izdelave pred operacije prve faze ali vzporedno z njimi. K. Šmid se z vprašanjem arhitekture objekta, na katerem je upodobljena figura, ki jo zanima, ne ukvarja, oz. figuralno polje ni predmet njene analize. Prav tako se s tem vidikom spomenika ni ukvarjal E. Pochmarski.

Rekonstrukcija tridelnega spodnjega dela stele, ki jo predlagamo in je v skladu z doslej znanimi primeri, je naslednja (sl. 6): sestavljena je iz štirih modulov, pri čemer zajemata srednja dva srednje figuralno polje, stranska dva pa stranski figuralni polji; stranski polji sta ožji od širine modula za širino profilirane stranice srednjega polja in rizontalno izstopata iz ravnine ploskve oz. je srednje polje glede na stranski polji poglobljeno. Polja so obdana s profiliranimi okvirji ravnih stranic, samo zgornji stranici stranskih polj sta oblikovani v noriško-panonsko voluto. Rekonstruirana širina stele je okoli 102 cm.

Poškodbe ohranjene plošče kažejo, da je bila originalna edikularna stela (sl. 7) razbita in njen spodnji del na desni strani z udarci skrajšan za četrtno, odbit pa je bil tudi njen vsadnik. Desna tretjina tako dobljene plošče je bila stanjšana z diagonalnimi udarci ploščatega dleta, s čimer je bila odbita desna polovica centralne upodobitve, v zgornjem delu pa je bila plošča dodatno stanjšana s koničastim dletom. Tako dobljena plošča je bila uporabljena kot gradbeni element.

Ohranjena sta dokaj poškodovana reliefa dveh figur, ena v levem stranskem polju in druga v srednjem polju, kar dodatno dokazuje, da ne gre za pepelnico, saj je srednje polje pri vseh doslej

znanih poetovionskih pepelnicah rezervirano za napis (sl. 8).

Leva figura predstavlja žensko *en face*, stoječo na podstavku, verjetno konkavnem (sl. 9). Oblečena je v dolgo tuniko in krajšo zgornjo tuniko, značilna oblačila t. i. Noriške deklice.²⁶ V iztegnjeni desnici nosi ob nogi kotliček, levo roko dviguje in v njej drži *Griffschale*,²⁷ prek leve rame pa ji visi prtčček (*mappa*), kar vse sestavlja komplet za umivanje rok. Oseba je služabnica/sužnja, ki opravlja svoje dolžnosti na banketu (*convivium*).²⁸ V drugem, desnem stranskem polju je bil, v skladu s številnimi podobnimi upodobitvami, najverjetneje prikazan služabnik/suženj z opremo za pitje.

KAIROS

Znotraj leve (ohranjene) polovice srednjega polja je prikazana gola moška figura v profilu, obrnjena v desno (sl. 10). Zanj je značilno obrisno definiranje figure z globlje vsekano linijo, zelo jasno razvidno na novem 3D-posnetku. Moško telo je nagnjeno naprej, nogi sta v kolenih pokrčeni tako, da je sprednja desna noga potisnjena naprej, leva pa nazaj. Spodnji deli nog so uničeni. Sprednjo (desno) roko ima stegneno naprej in navzdol do višine pasu, z njo pa drži nek predmet ali osebo, kakor se da sklepati iz ostankov reliefa na desni strani. Drugo roko morda drži vzporedno s prvo in je njen ostanek na reliefu viden za bicepsom desne roke. Ni verjetno, da bi jo držal skrčeno navzgor in nazaj in bi bila zdaj uničena. Reliefna sled (A na sl. 10) na robu zgornjega profiliranega okvirja (C) za glavo figure, ki bi jo lahko razumeli kot ostanek dvignjene roke, je namreč posledica luskaste poškodbe reliefne profilacije s središčem udarca s koničastim dletom za glavo figure (a). Glava moške figure je poravnana z linijo ravnega hrbtna, njen pogled je usmerjen naprej. Poškodovana pričeska kaže silhueto las, ki segajo zadaj na vrat, spredaj pa se navidezno dviga v čop nad čelom, kar je bil ključni element opredelitve osebe za Kairosa. Navidezno zato, ker 3D-posnetek jasno kaže na površini reliefa pred glavo poškodbo (B), katere meja poteka od čela osebe poševno na desno proti profiliranemu okvirju. "Čop" nad čelom zato ni tako prepričljivo oblikovan, kakor se je zdelo

²⁶ Pochmarski 2003; 2004.

²⁷ Za rabo termina glej Mustatã 2011, 235.

²⁸ Dunbabin 2003.

²⁵ Korošec 1998, 43–44.

avtorjem hipoteze o Kairosu.²⁹ Gola moška figura ima za hrbtom razločno prikazano sicer precej slabo ohranjeno razvito ogrinjalo, od telesa jasno ločeno s poglobljeno linijo.

V opisani figuri sta J. Korošec in K. Šmid prepoznala dvodimenzionalno podobo bronastega Lizipovega kipa Kairosa³⁰ iz 4. st. pr. Kr. št., kakršno poznamo z reliefov iz Trogirja,³¹ Torina³² in Aten (Akropola),³³ medtem ko je E. Pochmarski³⁴ v njej videl satira v paru z (manjkajočo) menado.

Poglejmo, katere značilnosti ptujskega reliefa so enake reliefom lizipovskega Kairosa in katere ne. J. Korošec je v tem pogledu poudaril predvsem enake vertikalne proporce obeh figur,³⁵ K. Šmid pa je med lastnostmi ptujskega reliefa,³⁶ ki ga po njenem mnenju opredeljujejo kot figuro lizipovskega Kairosa, naštela: golota, čop las nad čelom, figura v teku, drža, obe roki, s katerima drži predmet na vravicah, in hipotetična krila na hrbtu.

Če pustimo ob strani smer gibanja ptujske figure, ki je nasprotna vsem znanim reliefom Kairosa in jo razumemo kot njeno zrcalno podobo, v antiki uporabljano brez omejitev, se moramo ustaviti predvsem pri držbi njenih nog in rok. Te pri ptujski figuri povsem odstopajo od lizipovskega modela.

Sprednja, rahlo pokrčena noga, s katero Lizipov Kairos pristaja na tleh, je postavljena nekoliko za rameni, druga noga pa je skoraj iztegnjena naprej v korak, s katerim iz leta prehaja v hitri tek. Ptujška figura ima sprednjo nogo rahlo pokrčeno tako, da je njeno koleno postavljeno pred ramo in njeno stopalo predvidoma neposredno pod njo, s čimer zagotavlja svojo stabilnost. Drugo nogo ima prav tako rahlo pokrčeno, vendar postavljeno precej nazaj, tako da njena peta presega zadnjo točko hrbta. Ptujška figura je torej prikazana v stabilni

držbi v hitrem koraku in ne v teku oz. prehodu iz leta v tek.

Roki Lizipovega Kairosa sta iztegnjeni naprej, sprednja v višini ramen, druga navzdol in naprej v višini pasu. S sprednjo drži na rezilu dvokrako tehtnico, z drugo pritiska na enega od njenih krožnikov, ki visita na vravicah, in ga potiska navzdol. Ptujška figura ima sprednjo roko potisnjeno diagonalno poševno naprej in navzdol do višine pasu. Z njo je v stiku z nekim predmetom ali osebo, katere reliefne ostanke K. Šmid interpretira kot vrvice tehtnice. Druga roka naj bi bila upodobljena za sprednjo in z njo vzporedna, morda vidna kot odebelitev za bicepsom desnice.

Drža telesa se kaže tudi v oblikovanju trupa in glave figure. Lizipov Kairos ima hrbet navpičen in rahlo ukrivljen naprej v smeri gibanja, glavo pa rahlo vrženo nazaj. Ptujška figura ima hrbet popolnoma raven in nagnjen pod kotom naprej, v isti liniji s hrbtom je oblikovana tudi glava.

Posebno pozornost kaže posvetiti Kairosom krilom, ki jih je na hrbtu ptujske figure zaslučil in skiciral J. Korošec, za njim pa previdno povzela tudi K. Šmid. Novi 3D-posnetek je dokončno pokazal, da so plitvi sledovi za hrbtom figure jasno ločeni od hrbta in ne morejo biti ostanke kril. Njihova reliefna oblika kaže, da gre za tipično vihrajoče ogrinjalo za hrbtom figure, kakršno najdemo pri upodobljanju različnih mitoloških oseb, vendar ne pri Kairosu.

Sklenemo lahko, da ptujška figura po držbi in gibanju močno odstopa od Lizipovega Kairosa, čigar podoba je v času po njenem nastanku v 4. st. pr. Kr. št. doživela precej sprememb.³⁷ Prav na te spremembe, ki jih je mogoče najti na nekaterih upodobitvah na rimskih gemah, se sklicuje K. Šmid, da bi pojasnila odstopanja ptujskega reliefa od kanonske podobe Kairosa ter celo predlaga, po našem mnenju precej neprepričljivo, njegovo izhodišče v eni od gem.

Druge značilnosti, ki jih našteva K. Šmid, so lastne tudi drugim osebam na rimskih mitoloških reliefih. Golota in (domnevni) štrleči čop nad čelom sta lastnosti mnogih upodobitev satirov,³⁸ ki nas tu še posebej zanimajo. Vrvice, na katerih naj bi bil pritrjen predmet (predvidoma krožnik tehtnice), ki naj bi ga Kairos držal v rokah, pa so, če ostanke reliefa razumemo v tem smislu, vse prej kot ravne, kar kaže tudi poglobljena obrisna

²⁹ Obliko pričeške je ob slabi ohranjenosti reliefa mogoče prepoznati tudi kot klobuk – *pétasos/petasis* (πέτασος), značilen za Hermesa/Merkurja (Paris 1877–1919). Za sugestijo se zahvaljujem Katharini Zanier.

³⁰ Rekonstrukcijo izgubljenega kipa je predlagal Moreno 1990; glej tudi Moreno 1995.

³¹ Abramić 1929; 1932; Cambi 1980–1981; 1994–1995; Moreno 1995, 192–193, št. 4.28.1; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 95–96, 141, št. 1.

³² Schwarz 1975; Barra Bagnasco 1976–1977; Moreno 1990, 922, št. 4; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 96–97, 142–143, št. 4; Oakley 2011, 26–27.

³³ Moreno 1995, 193, št. 4.28.2; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2006, 96, 141–142, št. 2.

³⁴ Pochmarski 2015, 217.

³⁵ Korošec 1998, 47.

³⁶ Šmid 2023, 320.

³⁷ Za številne spremembe podobe in pomena glej Boschung 2013; 2020.

³⁸ Npr. Pochmarski-Nagele 1992, št. 67; Lupa 1281.

linija. V tej interpretaciji tudi ni jasno, kje je srednji element, na katerega je tehtnica položena in naj bi ga Kairos držal.

Naša analiza kaže, da je identifikacija moške figure na ptujskem reliefu s Kairosom vse prej kot prepričljiva. Toda koga bi lahko ta figura predstavljala, če ne gre zanj?

SATIR IN MENADA

Ko je E. Pochmarski golo figuro ptujskega reliefa opredelil za satira v paru z menado, je imel za to na voljo njeno goloto, (domnevni) čop las nad čelom, držo telesa in roko, iztegnjeno proti manjkajoči figuri na njeni desni strani. Mi lahko k temu dodamo še rekonstruirano figuralno polje, sestavljeno iz dveh modulov, katerih spoj poteka natančno skozi točko stika dveh figur in zahteva na desni strani figuro, enakovredno levi. Ob opredelitvi prve figure za satira je druga lahko samo menada/nimfa.³⁹

Motiv satira in menade/nimfe, v katerem skuša prvi sneti oblačilo z menade/nimfe, je v antični umetnosti znan vse od grške arhaike. Ob nedvomni erotični vsebini motiva je ena od idej v ozadju tega motiva razumevanje telesa kot oblačila duše, kar lahko že v 5. st. pr. Kr. št. najdemo pri Empedoklu.⁴⁰ V drugi polovici 2. st. Artemidor Daldijski⁴¹ telo primerja s plaščem duše⁴² in v 3. st. Plotin govori o odlaganju oblačil, ko se duša dviguje k Dobremu.⁴³

V produkciji noriških delavnic marmorja nastopa satir, ki snema obleko z menade/nimfe, kot samostojni skupinski motiv le na nekaj nagrobnih spomenikih,⁴⁴ datiranih v poznoantoninsko in zgodnjeseversko obdobje, ter je bil najverjetneje

prevzet z atiških dionizičnih sarkofagov.⁴⁵ Motiv je bil v antiki vse od klasičnega obdobja uporabljan v splošni vizualni kulturi ter se je pojavljal na različnih uporabnih predmetih, ki jih je včasih mogoče povezovati tudi s sepulkralno sfero.⁴⁶

Friedrich Matz, ki je sestavil pregled tipov figur,⁴⁷ nastopajočih v različnih kombinacijah na rimskodobnih dionizičnih sarkofagih, vanj ni uvrstil satira, ki bi z obema rokama segal k menadi/nimfi, kar seveda ne pomeni, da figure satira te vrste nikoli ni bilo (*sl. 11*). Med redke skupinske motive na dionizičnih sarkofagih pa je F. Matz uvrstil prav skupino satira in menade, ki ji je namenil tudi posebno razpravo.⁴⁸

Na atiških sarkofagih, ki so najpomembnejši vir noriških upodobitev, nastopa satir z repkom na hrbtu v plešočem koraku in tričetrtinskem obratu, eno roko ima dvignjeno, druga pa je iztegnjena proti menadi (*sl. 12*). To je tip satira, ki se pojavi že v zgodnjecesarskem času, na sepulkralne spomenike pa preide šele z metropolitanskimi in atiški dionizičnimi sarkofagi 2. st. Običajno prikazana dokaj tesno skupaj, tako da tvorita pravo skupino, sta satir in menada samo na sarkofagu iz Ioannine postavljena dokaj narazen, podobno, kot sta postavljeni figuri na ptujskem reliefu.

Figuro satira v koraku proti desni, ki z desno roko grabi oblačilo bežeče menade, v rahlo pokrčeni levici pa drži navzgor štrleč *lagobolon* ter ima prek leve rame in navzdol ob hrbtu vrženo živalsko kožo, najdemo na dionizičnem sarkofagu (*lenos*), ki ga hranijo v Los Angelesu (*sl. 13*).⁴⁹ Ta figura kaže v koraku, drži telesa in drži njene desne roke

³⁹ Jože Kastelic bi jo izrecno opredelil kot nimfo; Kastelic 1998, 347; F. Matz uporablja pri opisu ženske osebe v paru s satirom na reliefu sarkofaga iz Ioannine izraz dekle (*Mädchen*); Matz 1968, 105.

⁴⁰ Empedokles B 126: "enveloping in an unfamiliar cloak of flesh" (B 126 = D 19), prev. Laks and Most 2016.

⁴¹ Artemidoros Daldianos, *Oneirocritica* IV 30; cf. Kastelic 1998, 354.

⁴² "For just as the cloak surrounds him, so also his body surrounds his soul." Prev. R. J. White.

⁴³ Plotin, *Zbrani spisi* 1.6.7, prev. S. Weiss.

⁴⁴ Predvsem na dveh šempetrskih edikulah – Ennijev in Spektacijev (Klemenc, Kolšek, Petru 1972; lupa 13258, 13330), na delu grobnice z Gosposvetskega polja (Zollfeld) (CSIR Virunum 327; lupa 1038) in v Pannoniji na delu marmorne grobnice iz Osijeka (Pochmarski, Filipović 1996; lupa 2810).

⁴⁵ Za neoatiškost motiva glej Matz 1956; za neoatiške vzore v noriški produkciji glej Pochmarski 2010; Pochmarski-Nagele 1992. Za natančen pregled zgodovine motiva glej Pochmarski, Filipović 1996.

⁴⁶ Npr. glinena svetilka iz Nina (Muzeji i zbirke Zadra, 1954, sl. 77) ali pa gema iz karneola v Ermitažu (inv. št. GR 25714; <https://collections.hermitage.ru/entity/OBJECT?query=ΓP%2025714&fundcoll=1426405694>). Za popolnejše podatke glej Pochmarski, Filipović 1996. Celotni nabor različnih shem satira z menado najdemo na talnem mozaiku iz 3. st. iz Sousse (Foucher 1960, št. 57.220, t. 50).

⁴⁷ Matz 1968.

⁴⁸ Matz 1956; motiv satira, ki z obema rokama sega po oblačilih menade, najdemo npr. na notranji strani helenističnega bronastega ogledala v Britanskem muzeju (Züchner 1942, 22–23, t. 23; Walters 1899, 41, št. 288, tab. VIII) ali pa na reliefu iz Herculanuma v Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. št. 6724 iz zgodnjega 2. st. (Reinach 1912, 83, sl. 6).

⁴⁹ Los Angeles County Museum, A5141.50.890.

ter odsotnosti repka na hrbtu precej sorodnosti s figuro na ptujskem reliefu, v atributih in drži leve roke pa se od nje pomembno razlikuje.

Moško figuro, ki z obema rokama sega proti nasproti stoječi ženski figuri oz. njenem oblačilu in ni zavrtena v tričetrtinski obrat "mitskega baleta", kakor motiv menade in satira z dvignjeno roko imenuje Jože Kastelic, najdemo tudi med risbami ptujskih reliefov, ki so se v grafični obliki ohranile v nekem dunajskem besedilu.⁵⁰ Risba številka VI 6 (*sl. 14*) prikazuje neohranjeni ptujski relief s podobno oblikovanim motivom, kot ga srečamo na sarkofagu iz Ioannine. Moška figura na tej risbi skoraj v celoti ustreza obravnavanemu ptujskemu reliefu po drži nog in roke, spremljajoča ženska figura pa sestavlja z njim uravnoteženo kompozicijo znotraj figuralnega polja, kakor smo ga rekonstruirali tukaj. Ženska figura je skoraj povsem enaka ženski figuri, upodobljeni na desni krajši stranici atiškega sarkofaga v Ioannini,⁵¹ pri čemer je glavna razlika med njima oblačilo, ki na reliefu v Ioannini povsem prekriva spodnji del telesa, na risbi pa ne. Če bi domnevali, da je bil ptujski relief že pri postavitvi ob stolp površinsko precej poškodovan in je risar nekatere dele reliefa dodal oz. dopolnil, s čimer bi lahko razložili razlike v oblačilu ene in druge figure ter dodano levo roko moške figure, nekaterih pa ni videl (ogrinjalo za hrbtom), bi lahko šlo za risbo obravnavanega reliefa. S tem bi ptujski relief lahko razložili kot različico skupine tipa B po Matzu (njegovo *Verfolgungsgruppe B*) oz. različico tipa XXII po M. Pochmarski Nagele. Razložili bi ga lahko kot deloma spremenjeno kopijo motiva ohranjenega na sarkofagu v Ioannini ter potrdili neoatiške vzore v poetovionski proizvodnji nagrobnih spomenikov. Toda dvomov o pravilnosti take domneve ni mogoče zanemariti, saj je oblika narisane plošče z reliefom, ki mu manjka levo polje s služabnico, v popolnem neskladju z ohranjeno ploščo. Še jasneje pa proti temu, da bi v moški figuri prepoznali satira, govori razvito ogrinjalo za njenim hrbtom.

⁵⁰ Najverjetneje gre za pripravljeno delo Antona von Steinbüchla, med letoma 1819 in 1840 direktorja Münz- und Antikenkabinetta, na objavo vseh rimskih napisov avstrijske monarhije *Corpus inscriptionum antiquorum imperii Austriaci*, za katerega je risarske predloge s Ptuja vsaj deloma izdelal Somenzari (*Pettau's roemische Steine*, Archiv Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien AS 23).

⁵¹ Arheološki muzej Ioannina; Matz 1968, 105 t. 11.

MITSKI JUNAK ALI BOŽANSTVO?

Moška figura na obravnavanem reliefu očitno ni ne Kairos ne satir iz skupine z menado/nimfo. Golota figure in predvsem vihrajoče ogrinjalo za njenim hrbtom, posebej če čop las nad čelom odmislimo kot posledico poškodbe, določata podobo kot eno od mitoloških moških oseb v paru z drugo, uničeno, verjetno žensko osebo. Ob odsotnosti vsakršnih vidnih atributov moški ni nedvoumno določljiv. Hkrati pa med upodobitvami motivov iz antične mitologije ni veliko oseb, ki bi v erotičnem lovu posegale po ženskah tako, kot je upodobljeno na ptujskem spomeniku. Še najbližje se zdijo na sepulkralnih spomenikih sicer zelo redke upodobitve motiva Apolona, ki zasleduje Ladonovo (ali Peneiovo) in Gajino hčerko Dafno (Δάφνη),⁵² kakršno najdemo na spomeniku iz Trierja (*sl. 15 levo*),⁵³ datiranim v 2. ali morda 3. st. Motiv Apolona in Dafne je bil po nastanku Ovidovih *Metamorfoz*⁵⁴ v 1. st. pogosto upodobljen na freskah kampanjskih mest⁵⁵ s poudarkom na ljubezenskih vidikih zgodbe, medtem ko se je od 2. st. naprej zanimanje usmerilo na Apolonovo zasledovanje in Dafnino metamorfozo.⁵⁶ Takó razumljen je bil motiv kot metafora smrti lahko uporabljen tudi v sepulkralni sferi, v kateri pa je bil dokaj redko uporabljan. Na sarkofagu nam je znan le na levi krajši stranici v risbi ohranjenega sarkofaga Maximiane Aemilie iz Siska (*Siscia*),⁵⁷ datiranega v prvo polovico ali sredino 3. st. (*sl. 15 desno*).

DISKUSIJA

Ob resnično težko prepoznavnih delih in detajlih ptujskega reliefa menimo, da je na njem vendarle ohranjenih dovolj indicev, ki dokaj prepričljivo zavračajo interpretacije moške figure v smislu Kairosa ali satira v paru z menado ter naše razumevanje usmerjajo k neki drugi mitološki osebnosti, morda

⁵² Bandy Konstanz 1997.

⁵³ Hettner 1903, 32, št. 39; Bauchhenss 1984, 456, št. 593; Palagia 1986, 346; Faust, Seewaldt, Weidner 2007; relief v Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier, inv. št. 20616, je bil odkrit leta 1896 v cesarskih termah v Trierju.

⁵⁴ *Met.* I, 452–567.

⁵⁵ Npr. Stabiae, Ariadnina vila, diaeta 12, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. št. 9535; Rocco 2010.

⁵⁶ Palagia 1986, 348.

⁵⁷ Vukelić 2009; Migotti 2017; Lupa 4316; risba Mijata Sabljara v arhivu AMZ, sign. št. 6.

k Apolonu v paru z Dafno.⁵⁸ Atraktivna interpretacija J. Korošca in K. Šmid, ki sta v ptujski figuri prepoznala Lizipovega Kairoso, kar se je nato znašlo tudi v pomembni spletni bazi Ubi erat lupa, se z našo analizo žal ni potrdila. Prav tako nepotrjena ostaja interpretacija E. Pochmarskega o satiru in menadi, ki ima v ohranjeni risbi neohranjenega

ptujskega reliefa sicer potrditev, da je bil ta motiv uporabljan tudi v Poetovionii. Ob vsem tem pa lahko nedvoumno potrdimo navezanost noriških in njim sosednih kamnoseških delavnic na neoatiške modele, znane predvsem na atiških sarkofagih 2. in 3. st.⁵⁹ ter prvič jasno dokazane na grobnici Spektacijev v Šempetru v Savinjski dolini.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Če bi imela moška figura na glavi petasus, bi jo bi bilo mogoče razumeti kot Hermesa Psihopompa (?) (*Hermes psychopompos*). Za sugestijo se zahvaljujem Katharini Zanier.

⁵⁹ Za atiške sarkofage in njihovo ikonografijo glej Ewald 2018.

⁶⁰ Bonanno Aravantinos 1993.

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Illustrations: Fig. 1,6,8–10 (3D image: P. V. Bayer, Archaeogon, Bayer & Karl GesbR). – *Fig. 5* (photo: E. Diez, Institut für Antike der Uni Graz).

Slikovno gradivo: Sl. 1,6,8–10 (3D posnetek: P. V. Bayer, Archaeogon, Bayer & Karl GesbR). – *Sl. 5* (foto: E. Diez, Institut für Antike der Uni Graz).

Podatki, na katerih temelji ta članek, so na voljo v članku in v njegovem dodatnem spletnem gradivu. / The data underlying this article are available in the article and in its online supplementary material.