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New from Research on the Riace Bronzes

During the last five decades, numerous scientific hypotheses have been proposed regarding the identification of the Riace Bronzes, largely based on the available data. To initiate a scientific investigation into the two statues found in the sea off Riace, in the province of Reggio Calabria, near the Strait of Messina that separates Calabria and Sicily, it is necessary to establish some fixed points. The two bronze statues, measuring 1.96 and 1.97 meters in height, are known as Bronze A (or “the young”) and Bronze B (or “the elderly”). They were created in the second half of the 5th century BC, as confirmed by carbon-14 analysis and the examination of ceramic fragments found inside the leg of Bronze B.

Although much of the specialized bibliography suggests otherwise, a simple comparison of the two statues reveals a striking similarity in their composition, supporting the conclusion that they were produced in the same workshop, even if not by the same artist. This workshop was likely large, involving at least two master sculptors, each supported by their own teams. Graphical analyses have demonstrated that the faces and even the bodies of the two statues align closely, sharing identical dimensions and proportions.

The place of production is reliably identified through four separate analyses of the clay cores — conducted twice in Rome, once in Glasgow [1, pp. 221–227], and once in Athens — which increasingly point to Argos, in the Peloponnese, as the origin of the workshop. Another well-established fact is that the Bronzes were transported from Greece to Rome, likely during the Augustan age, where they underwent restoration: Bronze A’s helmet was replaced, and a new right arm and left forearm were added to Bronze B. The clay cores of these arms are distinctly different from those in the rest of the statues. We believe the new arms were cast from molds of the damaged originals rather than being parts of another statue later attached, as the arms of Bronze B closely resemble those of Bronze A. Similar restoration techniques can be observed in Roman statues such as the “Horse of Hegias” (Fig. 1) and the “Bull” in the Capitoline Museums. To conceal these restorations and mitigate the bronze oxidation, the statues were coated with glossy black paint, traces of which remain visible today.

In addition to extensive archaeological and literary evidence attesting to the presence of the Bronzes in Rome between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD, we can now add a 30-cm-tall bronze statuette housed at the Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art in Connecticut. This statuette, a copy of Bronze A, was reportedly found in the Tiber in 1906 and subsequently acquired by J. P. Morgan, who later donated it to the museum. A simple comparison of the statuette with the original statues confirms its status as an ancient copy, notable for features such as the open mouth and hand position for holding a spear. While J. Boardman previously classified the piece as an original from the 5th century BC [2, p. 233], we contend that it is an unrefined copy of



Fig. 1. Bronze horse of *Hegias*, 5th century BCE, Musei Capitolini, Rome. Photo by Daniele Castrizio

Bronze A, produced in Rome during the 1st or 2nd century AD.

Studies on the coloration of ancient statues are still in their early stages. However, in the case of the Riace Bronzes, we have conducted experiments on bronze samples with the same percentages of copper and tin as those found in the statues. These percentages, determined through the studies of Eriberto Formigli, were further investigated by Koichi Hada and Japanese artist Takashi Matsumoto. Under Professor Hada's guidance, Matsumoto replicated models using ancient construction techniques similar to those of the Greek world. The results of these tests revealed a golden color in the bronze, attributed to a higher-than-usual tin content of 12 %. This unusual alloy, while resulting in a weaker bronze, compensates with increased metal fluidity, which is advantageous for crafting intricate details and achieving a brilliant, gilded appearance. Notably, while the Romans of the imperial era used gilding to achieve this golden hue, the Riace Bronzes exhibited it from the time of their creation.

Based on the data available, we questioned the original color of the finished sculptures, beginning with some general considerations. First, the polychromy of the Bronzes is unequivocally established. This is evident from the use of copper to render the lips and nipples red, the eyes made of calcite and vitreous paste, and the small pink stone replicating the *caruncula lacrimalis*, the fleshy nodule in the inner corner of the eye. Additionally, Bronze A features white teeth crafted from silver. Given this evidence, we asked why the alloy was intentionally composed to give the bronze a golden hue. Upon examining numerous marks on the beard and hair of both statues, we concluded that the color choice reflected a depiction of the heroes with blond hair and beards, consistent with traces of color found on other statues. In Bronze A, twenty-two strands of beard and hair exhibit a different alloy composition, with tin content ranging from 2 % to 9 %. This variation not only served technical purposes but also created chromatic contrasts, rendering the blond hair and beard with locks of varying red shades.

Regarding the skin tone, empirical experiments using liver of sulfur (a compound including potassium sulfide, potassium polysulfide, potassium thiosulfate, and likely potassium bisulfide, still used for burnishing bronze) led us to represent the Bronzes with a lightly tanned complexion. While recognizing the subjectivity of this choice within the spectrum of possible skin tones, we aimed to align with the chromatic characteristics discernible in surviving works. The results are visually summarized in the reconstructions by designer Saverio Autellitano,

illustrating our interpretation based on ancient sources, archaeometric data, and iconographic studies in Greek art history [3, pp. 83–101] (Ill. 9).

Finally, having established these foundational points, it must be noted that few scholars studying the Bronzes have carefully examined the traces of additional elements lost over the centuries. These traces are crucial for reconstructing the original attributes of the statues, which would have helped viewers identify the figures represented [4, pp. 62–69].

The first element lost over the centuries that can be confidently reintegrated is the Corinthian helmet worn by both statues. On Bronze A, its presence is confirmed by numerous marks on the metal used to secure the helmet firmly to the skullcap, which is covered with hair. A key feature identifying this element as a Corinthian helmet is a triangular-shaped block located at the temples, precisely where the headband wraps around the head. This block corresponds perfectly to the junction between the cheekpieces and neck roll of mid-5th century BC Corinthian helmets, allowing the helmet to rest in a raised position on the forehead. Additionally, a support base at the nape of the neck, designed to accommodate the helmet's neck roll, provides further definitive evidence that Bronze A wore a helmet. The depiction of hair beneath the helmet is not surprising, as the Corinthian skullcap, complete with a carved nose guard, would have been visible from various angles, including the eye holes and the front of the headgear. Finally, the pivot at the top of the head is a significant detail: it originally consisted of a carefully crafted pin that likely broke in antiquity. This pivot was subsequently cut down and hammered to reduce its visibility, while the hole was enlarged to accommodate a replacement bar intended solely to support the helmet. These numerous fastening mechanisms indicate the artisan was concerned about the statue's exposure to wind and weather.

Another noteworthy feature beneath the helmet is a protective lining. Contrary to previous interpretations, suggesting that it was a royal diadem, it indeed served as a head covering separating the helmet from the skull.

For similar reasons of stability, the skullcap of Bronze B was deliberately deformed to better fit the Corinthian helmet. Despite this precaution, two pins were inserted at the top of the head to secure the helmet. Unlike Bronze A, Bronze B did not display visible hair beneath the helmet, as it featured a bonnet with a curled neck roll, earflaps, and a chinstrap. The presence of this bonnet is demonstrated by a rectangular red copper insert at the eye level, set into a specially carved recess. The copper surface bears hammer-induced speckling, an iconographic convention indicating tanned leather or cowhide. Similarly, a triangular copper piece with the same texture was placed on the forehead, visible beneath the cheekpieces and serving to stabilize the front of the helmet. Three bronze fins beneath the rear of the helmet anchored the bonnet, supporting the curled copper neck roll. The upper parts of the ears were unfinished and contain holes for pins to attach the earflaps. Lastly, a clear trace in the beard marks where the chinstrap, likely made of leather rather than metal, was affixed (Fig. 3).

This type of bonnet is a common element in hundreds of Greek, and to some extent Roman, depictions. It appears frequently on coins showing Athena wearing a Corinthian helmet, as well as on representations of *Ares* or *Mars*, and is associated with many Greek heroes. While often overlooked by Greek art historians, this bonnet is depicted on classical ceramics and statues. However, marble copies of bronze originals struggle to replicate it due to the material's fragility, resulting in the curled neck roll being folded under the back of the Corinthian helmet.



Fig. 2. Comparison between the head of the statuette from the Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art in Connecticut and that of Bronze A.

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Fig. 3. Reconstruction of the head of Bronze B, with the integration of the helmet and the *kynê*.

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The identification of this bonnet was aided by literary and iconographic studies, particularly *Herodotus'* description, where he uses the term *korinthie kynê*. Research into ancient sources has revealed that the curled neck roll symbolized military and political authority. It was a distinctive feature of the Doric world in the 5th century BC and carried iconographic significance, denoting supreme command, whether held by a strategist, a colonization leader, a king, or a tyrant [5, pp. 83–104].

The identification of the other iconographic attributes of the two statues is relatively straightforward (Fig. 4). Based on the marks on their arms, it is possible to confirm the presence of a spear held in the right hand of both Bronzes. Bronze A grips the spear between the thumb, index, and middle fingers in a distinctive pose that appears in other ancient depictions. Additionally, the presence of hoplite shields on the left arms of both Bronzes is beyond doubt. Evidence includes the *porpax* located on the upper forearm and the *antilabe* held in the left hand. The *porpax* served to bear the weight of the shield, while the *antilabe*, resembling a rope handle, allowed the shield to be maneuvered in battle. One of the original *antilabe* was discovered and expertly crafted to imitate a rope handle in bronze.

Further analysis of the statues reveals that Bronze A features silver teeth set into red copper lips. This detail aligns with the iconographic convention in ancient art depicting a man showing his teeth as a gesture of hostility. Ethologists, beginning with Konrad Lorenz, have noted that this feral display of teeth signifies a threat, typical of carnivorous animals.

Despite the differences in how the eyes and lips of the two statues were assembled — indicating the work of multiple craftsmen collaborating on a unified statuary group — certain shared features point to a single workshop under the direction of one master. Notably, both statues exhibit a lacrimal caruncle made of pink stone, and the third toes of each foot were cast separately, demonstrating identical casting techniques down to the millimeter [6, pp. 101–115]. This remarkable precision confirms that the two Bronzes belong to the same statuary group [7, pp. 40–41].

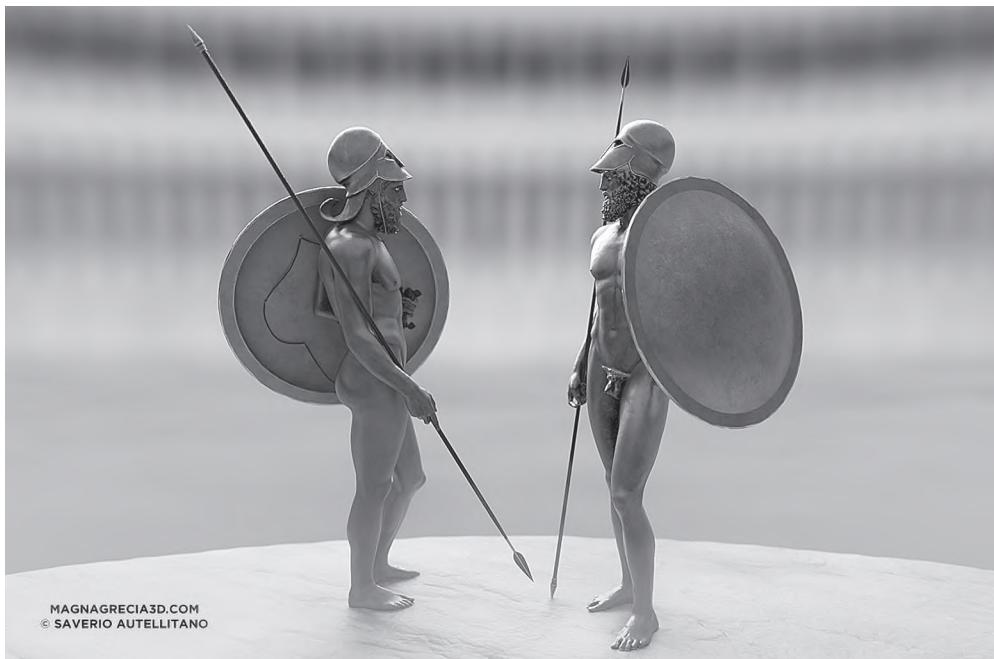


Fig. 4. Reconstruction of the Riace Bronzes with the integration of the weapons. © Saverio Autellitano

Although no comparable works exist in Athens, several similar examples from the 1st to the 3rd century AD have been found in Rome. The primary feature linking these works is the expression of hostility observed on the face of Bronze A. This trait appears in numerous Roman representations, all derived from a single statuary group [8, pp. 579–598]. Evidence of this group's presence in Rome during the imperial era is provided by *Tatianus* the Syrian, a Christian rhetorician, who reproached the pagans: "As it is not hard (to believe) that you hold in honor the fratricide, you are the ones who look at the figures of *Polynices* and *Eteocles* and do not put them in a grave together with their author *Pythagoras*, deleting the memories of such crime!" The use of the word "look" confirms the physical presence of this statuary group in Rome, where *Tatianus* composed his *Speech to the Greeks* before returning to Syria in 172 AD.

Many scholars have identified these references as echoes of the "Fratricides" by *Pythagoras of Rhegium*. *Pythagoras*, along with his teacher *Clearchus* and his pupil and nephew *Sostratos*, belonged to the renowned *Rhegium* school of bronze sculpture. Although ancient sources praise their artistry, modern scholarship has yet to fully illuminate their contributions.

The tragic tale of the fratricides, *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, unfolds after the abdication of their father, *Oedipus*. The brothers agreed to alternate ruling *Thebes* each year. However, the curse of their lineage doomed the arrangement from the outset, as illustrated on a sarcophagus in the Nationalmuseet of Copenhagen. The sarcophagus depicts the brothers, clad in civilian dress, shaking hands to seal their pact, while the Furies *Megaera* ("jealous rage") and *Tisiphone* ("vengeful destruction") loom behind them symbolizing inevitable betrayal (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5. Sarcophagus in the Nationalmuseet of Copenhagen with *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, 3rd century BCE. Photo by Daniele Castrizio

Eteocles, the elder, reneged on the agreement and exiled *Polynices* after his first year of rule. *Polynices* sought refuge in Argos, where his father-in-law organized a military campaign to reclaim his throne, known as the “Seven Against Thebes.” The conflict culminated in a duel between the brothers. In various Roman depictions of the “Fraticides” group, the central figure is their mother, shown attempting to prevent the fatal combat. One brother, often depicted with an aggressive expression, matches the hostile visage of Bronze A. This parallel strongly supports the identification of the Riace Bronzes as *Eteocles* and *Polynices* at the moment when their mother tries to avert their tragic fate.

Further evidence comes from an Attic sarcophagus from the 2nd century, now in Villa Doria Pamphilj, depicting a five-figure arrangement that likely reproduces the composition of *Pythagoras*’ group. The mother occupies the central position, flanked by *Eteocles* and *Polynices* at either end. Between them are *Tiresias*, identifiable by his contemplative gesture of a clenched fist against his chin, and *Antigone*, their sister, who stands watchfully. Based on this comparison, the Riace Bronzes may be part of the renowned “Fraticides” group by *Pythagoras*. Considering the innovative techniques observed in Bronze B, it is plausible that *Sostratos*, *Pythagoras*’ neph-

ew, contributed to completing the commission, ensuring timely delivery of a complex multi-figure bronze ensemble.

The evidence that the Riace Bronzes were once in Rome is found in the *Thebaid* by *Publius Papinius Statius*, an epic poet from the time of Domitian's reign. In the eleventh book of the poem, when the two brothers meet, Statius demonstrates familiarity with the Riace Bronzes. In lines 396–399, he describes *Polynices*:

“So, looking with hostility at his brother; in fact, it burns deep in the heart for the countless companions, for the royal helmet, for the horse covered with purple, and for the shield that flashes for the tawny metal [...]”

In these lines, the poet not only accurately depicts the expression of Bronze A (*hostile tuens fratrem*) but also explains the source of his hostility: the sight of the king's helmet (*regia cassia*) on his brother's head, as well as other symbols of royal power. The only known “king's helmet” in the ancient world combines a Corinthian helmet with a bonnet featuring a curled neck roll, as seen on Bronze B.

To understand the group of the “Fraticides,” we turn to a likely literary inspiration: the *Papyrus of Lille*, which most classical philologists consider part of the *Thebaid* by *Stesichorus of Himera*. Although incomplete, the surviving text offers key insights. It begins with the prophecy of the seer *Tiresias*, who warns that if the brothers fight, neither will survive. Their mother proposes a raffle to settle the dispute, in which the winner will rule *Thebes*, while the loser will inherit the herds and family gold but renounce his claim to the throne and go into permanent exile. The extant portion of the *Papyrus* concludes with the words: “The two were in agreement.”

In the continuation of the story, *Tiresias* argues that *Polynices* cannot participate in the raffle because he has brought war to his homeland. “Take the herds and the gold and go away,” he declares, implying that *Polynices* should become the king of *Argos*. Other fragmented lines describe the great fear gripping *Thebes* and state explicitly that the duel is taking place before its walls. The last readable fragment refers to *Polynices*, who grows enraged upon hearing the seer's words.

Following this version of the myth as depicted in the *Papyrus of Lille*, *Pythagoras* chose to represent the moment when the mother offers the raffle as a solution. She is accompanied by *Tiresias*, the future architect of the plan's failure, and *Antigone* who attempts to calm *Polynices*. At opposite ends of the scene, the two brothers mirror each other in posture but with starkly contrasting facial expressions. *Eteocles*, wearing a bonnet with a neck roll — a symbol of tyranny and the true object of *contention* — gazes downward, his face reflects guilt and resignation to his fate. In contrast, *Polynices* is consumed with anger, his gaze fixed intently on his enemy and brother. His expression, characterized by hostility, is evident in his bared teeth and unforgiving, merciless eyes.

The archaeometric analysis has traced the journey of the Bronzes from their creation in *Argos*, in the Peloponnese, to their transport to Rome, their restoration, and their prolonged display to the Roman public. However, by the early 4th century AD, the Bronzes seem to vanish from Roman visual culture, sinking into obscurity until their dramatic rediscovery on August 16, 1972, lying on the seabed near Porto Forticchio in Riace, Calabria.

The dating of the amphora fragment found embedded between the right wrist and right hip of Bronze A, attributed to the first half of the 4th century AD, allows us to propose a hypothesis

linked to the second book of the *Anthologia Palatina*, composed by *Christodorus of Koptos* in the 6th century BCE. This book contains a description of the statues in the public gymnasium of Constantinople (known as the Gymnasium of *Zeuxippus*), which had been transported from Ancient Rome to New Rome by Constantine the Great and his son, Constantius II. We believe that the group of the “*Fratricides*,” along with many other statues from Rome belonging to the emperor, was embarked for transport by sea to Constantinople — except, as history suggests, accidents intervened... [9, pp. 58–59].

Fifty years after the discovery of the Riace Bronzes, significant progress has been made in researching the origins of these masterpieces. Greek archaeologist Konstantinos Tziampasis identified the base of Statue A (*Polynices*) on an exedra in the ancient *Agora* of Argos. Subsequently, we decided to verify his findings firsthand. Visual designer Saverio Autellitano acquired 3D models of the area indicated by Tziampasis, revealing that the shape of the statue displayed in Reggio Calabria perfectly matches the impressions identified in Argos. Moreover, a mark adjacent to the footprint of the right foot precisely aligns with the point where the spear was supported (Ill. 10). For us, this evidence constitutes definitive confirmation of the Greek archaeologist’s conclusions.

It is worth noting that the statues’ original positioning relied solely on balance and weight, as the lead tenons now supporting them were part of Roman restorations. Numerous examples exist of statue bases of comparable size to the Riace Bronzes that do not utilize tenons. Our reconstruction of the Hellenistic-period exedra in the *Agora* of Argos, with the repositioned group of *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, also accommodates the display of the “Seven Against Thebes” group by *Alcamenes* of Argos alongside it.

An additional revelation awaits: the bronze statue discovered by archaeologist Christos Piteròs in Argos in 1992, currently undergoing restoration at the National Museum of Athens, merits further study. This bronze figure, sharing the same clay core construction as the Riace Bronzes, matches the dimensions and form of our hypothesized *Tiresias* from the group of *Eteocles* and *Polynices* by *Pythagoras*. Found adjacent to the wall of a Hellenistic-era bronzesmith’s workshop, many of its parts had already been repurposed for new metalwork.

Finally, we must reflect on the profound political symbolism of the statue group portraying *Eteocles* and *Polynices*. It captures a dramatic, theatrical moment in bronze conveys the futility of fratricidal conflict — there are no victors in a civil war, only defeat for all. This anti-civil war message, originally conceived in *Argos*, gained new significance when Augustus placed the “*Fratricides*” group in the Theater of Pompey, where Julius Caesar had been assassinated, marking the beginning of decades of Roman civil wars. The powerful message — *the civil wars are ended!* — traveled from *Argos* to Rome and might have reached Constantinople, had the gods not decreed otherwise...

New signs on the Riace Bronzes (Saverio Autellitano)

Statue A

As previously noted, the shape of the hair, the triangular marks above the ears on the band encircling the forehead, and the confirmed presence of a fastening pin all indicate that something was intended to cover the upper portion of the head. Upon closer examination, the modeling of the two curls protruding from beneath the band appears unusual, causing them to

extend unnaturally from their proper position. In fact, the curvature of these locks would seem unnatural unless it served to support the cheek guards of a 5th century BCE Corinthian helmet, fitting with the overall composition of the head.

The figure's expression reveals its teeth and wide eyes, conveying anger and hostility. Further evidence of this emotional state is provided by the furrowed skin of the forehead, which contributes to the intense facial expression. Additionally, the upper lip and surrounding musculature are drawn upward, further exposing the teeth.

Statue B

It has been previously observed that two hammered bronze plates with a coppery hue simulate the appearance of leather visible through the openings of a 5th century BCE Corinthian helmet. Signs of a cap beneath the helmet, known as the *korinthie kynē*, are confirmed by nail marks used to affix the ear guards and a notch for a chin strap amid the curls of the beard. The elongated shape of the back of the head accommodated the complex combination of the helmet and cap. A mark from a recent violent tear is visible on the nape of the neck (Fig. 6), suggesting that the neck cover was forcefully removed — not in antiquity but possibly just before the statue's discovery. The fractures on the nape are consistent with those on the right index finger, indicating their relatively recent nature. Additional confirmation of the headgear is provided by a visible support mark, perfectly matching the leather curl of the *kynē*, worn beneath the Corinthian helmet to signify a *strategos*.

As noted earlier, such a sophisticated system required secure attachment. The two square notches on the top of the head served as ideal points for inserting pins to anchor both the helmet and cap. Once assembled, this structure represents the “King’s Helmet”, a Corinthian helmet worn over the *kynē* (Fig. 7).

The examination of the marks on the arms and forearms, as well as the positioning of the fingers, indicates that both statues originally held hoplite spears. However, in the case of Statue B, some components were replaced in antiquity, likely during its time in Rome. The lead



Fig. 6. Indications of the fastening marks of the *kynē* on the nape of Bronze B.
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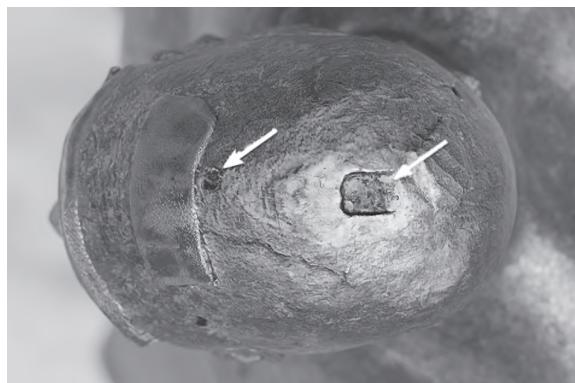


Fig. 7. Square notches on the top of the Bronze B head, for inserting pins to anchor both the helmet and cap. © Saverio Autellitano

traces in the right hand and the corresponding marks on the right arm and forearm suggest that the arm may have been taken from another statue with a similar posture but holding the spear in a different position than originally intended. Specifically, the spear of Statue B was designed to pass under the right armpit, whereas the spear of the donor statue appears to have been held more loosely, above the arm and forearm.

The melted lead inside the hand suggests that the ancient restorer attempted to restore the original posture, with the spear passing beneath the arm, using the materials at hand. The cast of the original arm may have been made and then welded onto the statue without considering the alignment marks that stabilized the weapon. The result is a somewhat crude lump of metal, though functional in preserving the storytelling aspect of the figure, which was clearly an important iconographic element that the restoration sought to replicate as faithfully as possible.

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Title. New from Research on the Riace Bronzes

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Abstract. In recent years, research on the Riace Bronzes has yielded fascinating insights that remain largely unfamiliar to the international scholarly community. Collaboration with Greek archaeologists Ch. Piteròs and K. Tziampasis has enabled the key findings like that of a bronze statue unearthed in excavations at Argos, and special studies like the reconstruction of the helmet crest on Bronze B's head. The Argos discovery of a statue, which is similar in size and construction technique to the Riace Warriors and is made from the same casting material, prompt that it might have belonged to the same sculptural group. New investigations into Bronze B have revealed the evidence of two pins at the top of the head for securing a helmet, markings at the nape for attaching a headband, and signs of a fastening gear around the neck of the statue, confirming the presence of the korinthiké kynē on it — a symbol of absolute power. Collaborative work also led to the discovery of a base, still in situ, in the

Agora of Argos, showing clear impressions of footprints and a hole designed to fix the spear and matching the Bronze A, which proves that the statue originated in that city. The search for ancient copies of the Riace Warriors has led to the identification of a Roman-origin 30 cm bronze statuette found in Rome in 1906, and now housed in an American museum in Connecticut, that reproduces the features of Bronze A, providing further evidence of the Bronzes' transportation and display in Rome and representing the earliest known ancient copy of Bronze A. The study of the iconography of Polynices and Eteocles, as depicted in the Riace Bronzes, has resulted in the recognition of the scene on an Etruscan sarcophagus in the Copenhagen Museum portraying the episode of the two brothers shaking hands in a pact to alternate ruling Thebes for one year each. However, behind them stand two demons, signaling that the pact is cursed and will be broken by Eteocles. The art-piece is recognized as the earliest depiction of the fraudulent pact between the sons of Oedipus.

Keywords: Riace bronzes, iconography, Greek art, archaeology, numismatics

Название статьи. Новое в исследованиях бронз из Риаче

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Аннотация. В последние годы исследования бронзовых скульптур из Риаче дали захватывающие результаты, которые пока малоизвестны международному научному сообществу. Основные открытия касаются реконструкции гребня шлема Воина В; обнаружения в Аргосе статуи, отлитой из того же материала, что и воины из Риаче и идентификации отпечатков ног и копья Воина А на основании находок на агоре в Аргосе. Новые исследования фигуры Воина В позволили выявить следы двух штифтов для крепления шлема в верхней части головы, отметку для фиксации налобной повязки на затылке и признаки застёжки вокруг шеи, что однозначно подтверждает наличие на статуе коринфской купе — символа абсолютной власти. В сотрудничестве с греческими археологами Х. Питеросом и К. Циампасисом начато изучение бронзовой статуи из раскопок в Аргосе. Сходная по размеру и технике изготовления с бронзами из Риаче, эта статуя, возможно, относится к той же группе скульптур. На аргосской агоре был обнаружен сохранившийся *in situ* постамент с отчетливыми отпечатками ног и отверстием для копья Воина А, что подтверждает создание статуи в этом городе. Бронзовая статуэтка римского времени (выс. 30 см), найденная в 1906 г. в Риме и хранящаяся ныне в музейном собрании в Коннектикуте (США), признана самой ранней из известных копий фигуры Воина А. Её идентификация подтверждает факт перевозки и демонстрации бронз в Риме. Изучение иконографии Полиника и Этеокла на примере бронз из Риаче позволило отождествить сцену на этрусском саркофаге из Национального музея в Копенгагене, где изображен момент, когда братья пожимают руки, заключая договор поочередно править в Фивах по одному году. Однако стоящие позади две фигуры демонов указывают на то, что договор проклят, и будет нарушен Этеоклом. Саркофаг из Копенгагена признан наиболее ранним изображением сюжета о нарушенном соглашении между сыновьями Эдипа.

Ключевые слова: бронзы из Риаче, иконография, греческое искусство, археология, нумизматика



Ill. 9. Reconstruction of the heads of the Riace Bronzes, with the restoration of the original color. © Saverio Autellitano



Ill. 10. Marks of the feet of Bronze A on a stone base from the Agora of Argos. © Saverio Autellitano