

A rare mythological scene at Gornji Grad: the tale of Scylla and Minos?

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Izvleček

Prispevek obravnava osrednji motiv na spodnjem delu grobne edikule v Gornjem Gradu, ki je bil od temeljne študije Erne Diez dalje skupaj z reliefoma iz Oswaldgrabna (zahodna Štajerska, Norik) in Akvinka razložen kot *snidenje Menelaja in Helene po koncu trojanske vojne*. Pomisleke o pravilnosti te interpretacije vzbudijo primerjave tega motiva s slabo poznanim ogledalom z nekropole *Bulla Regia* (provinca *Africa proconsularis*), z domala enako kompozicijo. Na sredini reliefa je upodobljena starejša ženska, ki pa se v omenjeni zgodbi ne pojavi. Osnovne karakteristike motiva, roka na ročaju meča in ženska, ki moškemu nekaj ponuja, nastopijo pri še enem prizoru, namreč pri redko upodobljenem srečanju med Minosom in hčerko kralja Nizusa, Skilo, najnatančneje opisanem v krajši pesnitvi, epiliju *Ciris*. Skila se po posredovanju Erosa zaljubi v sovražnega kralja Minosa, v zaroti proti domovini ter lastnemu očetu ji pomaga tudi starejša ženska, njena dojilja.

Na podlagi ikonografske analize in literarnega izročila avtorica doslej znanim upodobitvam Minosa in Skile dodaja štiri druge: tri na kamnitih reliefih iz Norika (Gornji Grad, Oswaldgraben) in Panonije (Akvink) ter eno na bronastem ogledalu iz *Bulla Regia* v Tuniziji. Vse te upodobitve so bile prej razložene kot *snidenje Menelaja in Helene po koncu trojanske vojne*.

Ključne besede: rimska doba, grobna edikula, Minos, Skila, Menelaj, Helena, Parisova sodba, ikonografski motiv, epilij *Ciris*, Norik, Gornji Grad, Slovenija

Abstract

The article discusses a central motif on the socle of a funerary monument at Gornji Grad, Slovenia. Together with those from Oswaldgraben (western Styria, province of Noricum) and Aquincum, it has been interpreted ever since the fundamental study written on the subject by Erna Diez as showing the reunion of Menelaus and Helen after the end of the Trojan War. This interpretation, however, becomes less certain upon comparing the relief to a less well-known mirror from the Bulla Regia cemetery (province of Africa proconsularis). The latter shows an almost identical composition, but includes the figure of an elderly woman who does not appear in the reunion story. The main features of the scene, the hand on the hilt of the sword, the woman offering an object to the man, and the active role of Eros, can be found in another, rarely depicted myth, namely the meeting of Minos and Scylla, described in most detail in the *Ciris* epyllion. According to the latter, Scylla, the daughter of King Nisus, falls in love with the enemy King Minos after an intervention by Eros, and is aided, in conspiracy against her father and homeland, by her nurse.

Iconographical analysis and literary sources have enabled the author to add four new depictions of Minos and Scylla to those already known. Three of those newly-added are depictions on stone reliefs, from Noricum (Gornji Grad, Oswaldgraben) and Pannonia (Aquincum), with the fourth one on the above-mentioned bronze mirror. All of them had previously been interpreted as the reunion of Menelaus and Helen after the end of the Trojan War.

Keywords: Roman period, aedicula tomb, Minos, Scylla, Menelaus, Helen, the Judgment of Paris, iconographic theme, *Ciris* epyllion, Noricum, Gornji Grad, Slovenia

The church of St. Hermagoras and Fortunatus (sv. Mohor in Fortunat in Slovenian) at Gornji Grad (Oberburg in German in early literature) houses a small collection of ancient stones in the belfry. The collection includes a relief-decorated marble slab (figs. 1–4), measuring $1.82 \times 1.20 \times 0.36$ m, of unknown provenance.¹ Originally, it formed the front side of a socle of a funerary monument. The precise form of the latter cannot be determined on the basis of the slab alone, though the repertory of the monuments at nearby Šempeter v Savinjski

¹ The area of Gornji Grad has so far revealed no remains from the Roman period (cf. Pahič 1975). As for the slab, Josip Klemenc supposed it could originally have been brought from the cemetery at Šempeter (Klemenc 1955, 60). It is further possible that it was brought to Gornji Grad by the order of Krištof Ravbar, Bishop of Ljubljana, who resided at Gornji Grad. It is known from written sources that Ravbar had the church and the former monastery enclosed within defence walls with towers in 1517, while the slab was immured into the exterior wall of the so-called prison inside the defence walls. It remained there until 1955 when the stone collection was arranged in the belfry (Kastelic 1998, 440–441; Kokole 2003, 194–197).

dolini indicates the possibilities.² The front of the slab is divided into three panels, each of which has a relief within a moulded frame. On the top, the latter takes the form of a Norico-Pannonian volute. The wider central panel (fig. 4) shows a man wearing a chlamys standing to the right. His right hand rests on the hilt of a sword and his left hand holds the folds of the cloak. Behind him is another, less well-preserved figure with a crested helmet on his head and an oval shield at his feet. Opposite, on the left, stands a half-nude female figure in a himation, which covers only her feet. Behind her, on a cylindrical pedestal, stands a winged boy in a posture as if pushing the woman forward, with his hands against her back. Discernible between the two main figures, closer to the female but facing the male, is an outline of another female figure wearing a dress that reaches to her feet. Frontally depicted in each of the side panels is a standing female figure with parted legs. In her left/right hand she holds folds of clothing

² Klemenc 1955, 57–60; Pahič 1975; Toynbee 1977, 365; Kahil 1988, 539, no. 234; Kremer 2001, 206, no. 108.



Fig. 1: Socle of a funerary monument at Gornji Grad. Immured into the exterior wall, before 1955 (photo: F. Ugovšek).
Sl. 1: Spodnji del grobne edikule v Gornjem Gradu. Vzidan v zunanji steni, stanje pred letom 1955 (foto: F. Ugovšek).

arching above her head. Both sides of the socle are decorated with plant motifs (fig. 3).

The socle slab from Gornji Grad was first published by Josip Klemenc in 1955. He interpreted the central scene as the *Judgment of Paris*. The female figures in the side panels were conditionally interpreted as Aphrodite's companions Charites, but the possibility was not excluded that they represented erotes, namely Himeros and Pothos. As for the central relief, the male with the sword on the right was interpreted as Paris wearing a chlamys. In front of him stood the half-nude Aphrodite holding a wreath in her right hand extended towards Paris. Behind her, on a pedestal, was Eros, while standing behind Paris was Athena wearing a helmet with a large crest and an oval shield leaned against her legs. The barely discernible figure between them could only, in analogy with the mythological story of the Judgment of Paris, be Hera.³

Klemenc's interpretation was considered valid until the study on the subject published by Erna Diez in her 1966–1967 article entitled *Nochmals:*

³ Klemenc 1955, 57–58.

Helena und Menelaus.⁴ Based on the analogy with the reliefs from Oswaldgraben at Voitsberg (figs. 5, 6)⁵ and Aquincum (fig. 7),⁶ Diez interpreted the scene on the Gornji Grad slab as the reunion of Menelaus and Helen after the end of the Trojan War.⁷ Common to all three reliefs is a standing bare-breasted female figure, depicted in profile, with the folds of her dress only enveloping her

⁴ Diez 1966–1967. Jože Kastelic was not familiar with the articles by Diez on that subject and repeated Klemenc's interpretation (Kastelic 1998, 440 ff).

⁵ Immured in a road-side chapel (see Hebert 1993, 139–146).

⁶ Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, inv. no. 72.1857/3. On the reliefs see Diez 1952; Toynbee 1977, 364–365; Ghali-Kahil 1955, 246, no. 200, pl. LXXV: 3; Kahil 1988, 539, no. 233; Kremer 2001, 239, no. 229.

⁷ Diez had already interpreted the relief from Oswaldgraben as representing the reunion of Menelaus and Helen after the end of the Trojan War in 1952, mostly on the basis of literary sources and comparison with the relief from Aquincum (see Diez 1952, 21 ff). The latter had previously been interpreted with some doubt as the reunion of Menelaus and Helen by Julius Ziehen (Ziehen 1890, 65–66).



Fig. 2: Socle of a funerary monument at Gornji Grad. In lapidarium, after 1955 (photo: S. Habič).
Sl. 2: Spodnji del grobne edikule v Gornjem Gradu. V lapidariju, stanje po letu 1955 (foto: S. Habič).



Fig. 3: Socle of a funerary monument at Gornji Grad, side view. Immured into the exterior wall, before 1955 (photo: F. Ugovšek).

Sl. 3: Spodnji del grobne edikule v Gornjem Gradu, pogled od strani. Vzidan v zunanji steni, stanje pred letom 1955 (foto: F. Ugovšek).

lower legs. The reliefs from Aquincum and Gornji Grad show a winged boy on a pedestal behind her, with his hands against her back as if trying to push her towards the male on the right.⁸ The male on both reliefs (Aquincum and Gornji Grad) has the right hand on the hilt of his sword, although the chlamys of the male on the Aquincum relief is only thrown over his left shoulder. The relief from Oswaldgraben is, unfortunately, less well-preserved and only the lower legs and the lower part of the drapery are clearly visible of the person in the middle. The person further to the right is more discernible, with a crested helmet on his head,

an oval shield leaning against his left leg, and a spear in his right hand. As a motif, it corresponds to the figure on the far right on the Gornji Grad relief. The apparent similarities between the three above depictions led Diez to interpret the bare-breasted figure depicted in profile as Helen, and the juxtaposed male figure, with his hand on the hilt of his sword, as Menelaus. The arms-bearing figure behind the latter would be one of his companions, possibly Agamemnon or Odysseus. The poorly preserved figure between the two main protagonists on the Gornji Grad relief,⁹ could

⁸ Eros was probably also depicted on the Oswaldgraben relief, as suggested by the traces of a hand behind Helen's back and the lack of the left side.

⁹ In spite of there being sufficient space in front of Helen for another figure to be carved, investigation of the relief from Oswaldgraben has shown that the space was left empty (Diez 1952, 24; ead., 1966–1967, 105–106).



Fig. 4: Socle of a funerary monument at Gornji Grad, front slab. Depiction of Minos and Scylla (photo: S. Habič).
 Sl. 4: Spodnji del grobne edikule v Gornjem Gradu, osrednji del. Prizor Minosa in Skile (foto: S. Habič).



Fig. 5: Relief in Oswaldgraben, western Styria, Austria.
Sl. 5: Relief v Oswaldgrabnu, zahodna Štajerska, Avstrija.

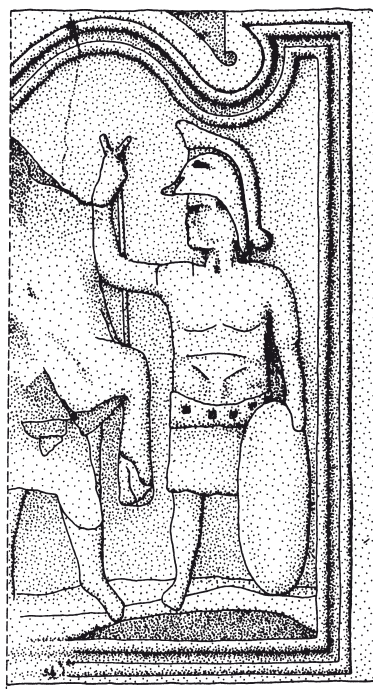
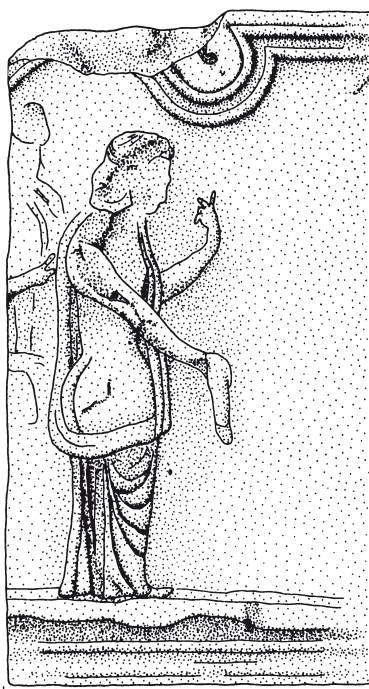


Fig. 6: Drawing of the relief in Oswaldgraben, western Styria, Austria (after Hebert 1993).
Sl. 6: Risba reliefa v Oswaldgrabnu, zahodna Štajerska, Avstrija (po Hebert 1993).



Fig. 7: Relief from Aquincum (Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, inv. no. 72.1857,3).

Sl. 7: Relief iz Akvinka (Mađarski narodni muzej v Budimpešti, inv. št. 72.1857,3).

only be the goddess Aphrodite, whose intervention had thwarted Menelaus' evil intentions and rekindled his love for his wife.¹⁰ Diez interpreted the two figures in the side panels as maenads, which frequently appear on Norican monuments.

The reunion of Menelaus and Helen after the end of the Trojan War is recounted in two epics preserved in only a few fragments, namely the *Ilioupersis* and the Little Iliad. The type inspired by the Little Iliad shows Menelaus threatening Helen, sword in hand following the fleeing Helen, or already lowering his sword at the sight of her. The second type follows the *Ilioupersis*, with Mene-

laus grabbing or about to grab his wife's himation, elbow, or wrist. Both types show Menelaus as a mature bearded man; sometimes depicted in heroic nudity, but more often dressed in a long chiton and himation, sometimes even shown as a soldier. The scene can also contain Aphrodite or merely Eros as her attribute. Diez, in her interpretation of the reliefs, depended on the fragment of the Little Iliad (fr. 13), which tells how, after the war had ended, the enraged Menelaus threatened his unfaithful wife with his sword but, captivated by the beauty of her nude breasts, dropped his arms and forgave her. Both the sword, which the male figure was intent on putting back into its scabbard, and the nude breasts, closely corresponding to the literary evidence, represent the main iconographical features of all the relief depictions discussed

¹⁰ Diez 1966–1967, 101–103. Either Aphrodite herself or her altar forms part of this motif as early as in Greek vase painting (see esp. Ghali-Kahil 1955, 81–83, nos. 53–57).



Fig. 8: Fresco in *Domus Aurea* (after Salis 1947).
Sl. 8: Freska v *Domus Aurea* v Rimu (po Salis 1947).

above. The sword, which Menelaus lowers at the sight of Helen, already represents one of the main iconographical features of the motif in early Greek vase painting.¹¹

A year after publishing her first article on the reunion of Menelaus and Helen, Erna Diez drew attention to a poorly preserved fresco from Nero's *Domus Aurea* (fig. 8).¹² The fresco depicts a female figure dressed in a long chiton facing a male figure wearing a chlamys. Standing between them is a female figure holding a small branch in her left hand, and beside her is a small nude winged boy holding a piece of clothing in his left hand and reaching with his right hand towards the female depicted in profile, as if attempting to draw her closer towards the male. In the background behind the man, another less well-preserved male figure is discernible, dressed in a knee-length chiton. The poor state of preservation of this fresco, however,

made it difficult to interpret the scene, which thus remained unexplained for a long time. It was Fritz Weege who finally tackled it and proposed an interpretation of the first meeting of Helen and Paris in light of the context of other frescos and the supposed iconographic programme of the *Domus Aurea*.¹³ Diez, in her study titled *Zur Wiedersehensszene zwischen Helena und Menelaus: ein Nachtrag*, pointed out certain iconographical problems of Weege's interpretation; she instead interpreted the scene as the reunion of Menelaus and Helen. She interpreted the central figure, with no shadow of a doubt, as Aphrodite.¹⁴ Based on a comparison with the fresco, she also explained the weathered object in Helen's hand on the relief from Oswaldgraben (figs. 5, 6) as some sort of a ribbon or other symbolic object that would either

¹¹ Hedreen 1996, 165–166. For the typology in vase painting, cf. esp. Ghali-Kahil 1955, 71–113; Kahil 1988, 537–552, 559–560. For depictions of Menelaus, cf. Kahil 1997, 834 ff.

¹² Diez 1953. About the fresco in *Domus Aurea* cf. Ghali-Kahil 1955, 246; ead. 1988, 523, no. 130; Bažant 1992, 571, no. 13; Canciani 1994, 793, no. 2.

¹³ Weege 1913, 223–225. According to Weege, Helen may be holding part of her drapery, a ribbon, or the edge of her dress in her extended hand, while the female in the centre is interpreted as Aphrodite with Eros at her side. Standing behind Paris is Aeneas.

¹⁴ Diez 1953, 246; ead., 1966–1967, 106–108. The fresco's motif could serve as a parallel to the scene of the parting of Hector and Andromache and thus underline the contrast between the two couples, between the faithful Andromache and the unfaithful Helen.

abate her husband's anger or show that she was under the goddess' protection.¹⁵

An object overlooked in the repertory of the depictions of Menelaus and Helen reuniting after the end of the Trojan War,¹⁶ but of great importance for the interpretation of the relief from Gornji Grad, is a bronze mirror (figs. 9, 10), found in 1889 in a sarcophagus at the *Bulla Regia* cemetery in northwestern Tunisia.¹⁷ Upon discovery, the scene on the mirror was described in detail, but not interpreted.¹⁸ Based on stylistic features, particularly the hairstyle of the female figure – reminiscent of the hairstyle of Calpurnia, Caesar's wife – Auguste Vercoutre dated the mirror to the beginning of the first century AD.¹⁹ The first to tackle the mirror's mythological content was Salomon Reinach. Taking into consideration the relief from Aquincum (fig. 7), published a bit earlier and interpreted as the reunion of Menelaus and Helen after the end of the Trojan War by Ziehen, Reinach accepted his interpretation.²⁰ On the other hand, according to Auguste Vercoutre, the mirror would show a scene from the *Odyssey*, when Odysseus is leaving the island of Phaeacians and bids farewell to Nausicaa.²¹ Reinach's interpretation was further

supported by Gisela Zahlhaas, who also drew a comparison with the relief from Oswaldgraben.²²

The socle slab from Gornji Grad, which clearly shows more similarities with the bronze mirror than the reliefs from Aquincum and Oswaldgraben, was apparently not known to Gisela Zahlhaas. The similarity between the mirror and the Gornji Grad slab is primarily in the figure of the winged boy, standing on a pedestal on the far left and pushing a bare-breasted female with his hands towards a young beardless male. Furthermore, the depiction of the latter corresponds exactly to the posture of Menelaus on the relief from Gornji Grad, holding a chlamys in his left hand and with his right hand on his chest. The part of the hand on his chest is not well preserved, making it impossible to determine whether he is, in fact, reaching for his sword. Standing behind him is a soldier with a helmet on his head and a large oval shield leaning against his leg, which he is touching with his left hand. Standing in the background between the two main figures, though slightly closer to the young woman, is an elderly female figure holding a branch in her hand.²³ The three figures are positioned in front of a wall.

It is clear that both the bronze mirror from Tunisia and the Gornji Grad relief show the same motif, which raises doubts about the correctness of the interpretation. The first feature to raise doubts is the central figure, which, *per analogiam* with the figure on the mirror showing distinct signs of old age, cannot be interpreted as Aphrodite and, moreover, an elderly woman does not appear in the story of the reunion of Menelaus and Helen. Additional uncertainty is caused by the figure of Menelaus, who is described in literary sources but also depicted as an elderly man, whose old age is underlined by his beard. The reliefs from Gornji Grad and Aquincum, on the other hand, show the figure as beardless, the relief from Aquincum even with youthful-looking locks of hair tumbling down his neck. Moreover, the figure of Helen is shown as completely calm, standing before her husband intent on killing her for infidelity and for being the cause of the Trojan War. Other depictions of the reunion of Menelaus and Helen depict the

¹⁵ Uninfluenced by Diez, the fresco in *Domus Aurea* was also interpreted as the reunion of Menelaus and Helen by Gisela Zahlhaas, who knew only the first article on that subject written by Diez (Zahlhaas 1975, 49–50).

¹⁶ See for example *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* [herausgegeben von W. H. Roscher] (Stoll, Menelaos, II, 2, 1890–1897, 2776–2791); *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Schmidt, Menelaos 2, XV, 29, 1931, 808–829); Ghali-Kahil 1955; *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale* (Comotti, Elena, III, 1960, 293–297; Paribeni, Menelao, IV, 1961, 1018–1022), *LIMC* (Kahil, Hélène, IV 1, 1988, 498–563; ead., Menelaos, VIII 1, 1997, 834–841).

¹⁷ The mirror was formerly in the collection of the Alaoui museum and is now kept in the Bardo National Museum, present-day Tunisia (Musée National du Bardo). On the mirror, see Reinach 1890, 93–96; Vercoutre 1893; Zahlhaas 1975, 48–49, no. 28, pl. 26.

¹⁸ Carton 1890, 197–199.

¹⁹ Vercoutre 1893, 81.

²⁰ Cf. note 7. Reinach 1890, 93–96.

²¹ Vercoutre 1893. The walls would represent the palace, in front of which the farewell took place, while the branch would represent the tree in the garden adjacent to the palace. Standing to the left of Odysseus would be old Alcinous, the father of Nausicaa. Nausicaa is standing behind her father and is extending her hand towards Odysseus in a plea for him not to leave her; nonetheless, Odysseus leaves. Pallas Athena is shown behind the latter.

²² Zahlhaas 1975, 48–49, no. 28, pl. 26.

²³ This figure was interpreted as male (Carton 1890, 197; Reinach 1890, 93; Vercoutre 1893, 82; Zahlhaas 1975, 48), although both the clothing and the hairstyle instead indicate an elderly woman.



Fig. 9: Drawing of the bronze mirror from the *Bulla Regia* cemetery, Tunisia (after Zahlhaas 1975).

Sl. 9: Risba bronastega ogledala iz nekropole Bulla Regia v Tuniziji (po Zahlhaas 1975).

latter as terrified and on no other depiction does she offer something to her husband.

Apart from the relief from Gornji Grad (figs. 1–4) and the mirror from *Bulla Regia* (figs. 9, 10), a female in the middle is also shown on the fresco from the *Domus Aurea* (fig. 8), which Carl Robert in 1914, differently from Weege (1913) a year before him and Diez (1953) and Zahlhaas (1975) after him, interpreted as a rarely depicted scene of Scylla who, accompanied by old nurse Carme, is handing a lock of her father's hair to Minos.²⁴ A detailed account of the meeting of Scylla and Minos is given in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (8.87–100), with even more detail in the Pseudo-Vergil *Ciris*. According to the latter, Minos, in his campaign

against Athens, first attacked the city of Megara. The city was ruled by King Nisus, who possessed a purple lock of hair with magic powers that granted him invincibility against Minos' siege. After an intervention by Eros, however, who punished Nisus' daughter Scylla for an offence she had committed against Juno as a girl, she fell in love with Minos.²⁵ At night and with the aid of her nurse, she cut off a lock of her father's hair and brought it to Minos in the hope of inspiring love in him. Minos, alas, was horrified by her treachery and the consequential patricide, and recoiled from Scylla, damning the young girl, according to some sources even killing

²⁴ Instead of the name "Scylla", Robert uses "Ciris," a sea bird into which the girl transformed herself due to her indirect patricide (Robert 1914, 158–159). Robert's interpretation was rejected both by Diez (1966–1967, 107–108) and Ghali-Kahil (1955, 243).

²⁵ Ps. Verg. *Ciris* 158–162; edition commented by Lyne 1978, 164–165. "But that fickle god (by whom whatever falsehood lurks in any spoken word is ever marked out of punishment), drawing golden shafts from his gleaming quiver (shafts which, alas, strike home with aim all too sure), had lodged them all in the damsel's tender heart." [Translated by: H. Rushton Fairclough].



Fig. 10: Drawing of the bronze mirror from the *Bulla Regia* cemetery, Tunisia (after Vercoutre 1893).
 Sl. 10: Risba bronastega ogledala iz nekropole Bulla Regia v Tuniziji (po Vercoutre 1893).

her.²⁶ The literary sources and figural depictions are primarily in accordance with the figures of the nurse and Eros, the latter playing an active role also on all of the above-mentioned Norico-Pannonian

²⁶ The nurse as Scylla's co-conspirator and helper only appears in the *Ciris* (206–385; edition commented by Lyne 1978, 185–186). Lyne refutes the possibility of the nurse's already appearing in earlier versions of the myth and rather supposes her the consequence of contamination with Cinna's lost epyllion of *Zmyrna*. Knox, on the other hand, in his review of Lyne's commentary, does not exclude the possibility that Ovid decided to drop the nurse so as to give more emphasis on Scylla's inner sense of morality. He proposed this on the basis of the word *crevit* (*Talia dicenti curarum maxima nutrix / nox intervenit, tenebrisque audacia crevit* [...]) "While Scylla said this, night that heals our cares / came on, and she grew bolder in the dark"; *Met.* 8.81–82 [translated by: Brookes More]], which in Ovid's epics usually refers to a particular person. It follows from this that the nurse had, in fact, appeared in earlier, unpreserved versions of the myth (Knox 1990).

reliefs,²⁷ on the mirror from *Bulla Regia*, but also on the fresco from the *Domus Aurea*, since he is pushing the female figure towards the male one. Moreover, the branch, held by the woman in the fresco from the *Domus Aurea* and the mirror from *Bulla Regia*, could also be the aspergillum mentioned by Pseudo-Vergil (*Ciris* 376).²⁸

The meeting of Scylla and Minos is a scene that rarely appears in the figural art of the Imperial period and is completely unknown before that. An

²⁷ Cf. note 8.

²⁸ Ps. Verg. *Ciris* 376 (*pergit Amyclaeo spargens altaria thallo* [...]) "and sprinkling the altars with Amyclaeon branch" [translated by H. Rushton Fairclough]. The word *thallus* appears extremely rarely in Latin and it is difficult to be translated. The two principal translations are either a hyacinth growing at Amyclae, where Hyacinthus' tomb was also located, or an aspergillum. Carme could thus have sprinkled the altar with holy water, while the *thallus* could most likely be identified as a laurel branch (Cazzaniga 1959, 453 ff; Lyne 1978, 262).



Fig. 11: Drawing of the terracotta medallion from Arles (after Wuilleumier, Audin 1952).

Sl. 11: Risba terakotnega medaljona iz Arlesa (po Wuilleumier, Audin 1952).

undisputed, inscription-supported depiction of the couple can be found on a Gallo-Roman terracotta medallion (figs. 11, 12) from the mid-first century AD. The original, found in Arles, is unfortunately lost.²⁹ The relief shows King Minos standing on the left, nude, beardless, with only the chlamys falling across his left shoulder. He holds a sword in his right hand, already half-drawn from the scabbard.³⁰ In this, it is strongly reminiscent of the reliefs from Gornji Grad and Aquincum. Facing him is Scylla, bare-breasted, offering the lock of her father Nisus' hair. The composition of a pair of figures standing opposite each other, one male, his hand on the sword hilt, and the other female,

half-nude in a calm pose, offering something to the male in her extended hand, is practically identical to the depictions supposedly representing the reunion of Menelaus and Helen from Noricum and Pannonia, where the unidentified object in her hand could easily be a stylized lock of hair.

Apart from this terracotta relief, Minos and Scylla also figure on a poorly, though *in situ* preserved wall painting in the *Casa dei Dioscuri* (VI, 9, 6–9), dated to the Flavian period. The scene here takes place within a palace, as indicated by a wall (fig. 13).³¹ Minos sits on his throne, standing before him is Scylla, holding a lock of invincible hair in her hand extended towards Minos. Behind him stand his servants, while standing beside Scylla is again an elderly woman, extending her right hand towards Minos. Scylla further figures on a wall painting from a villa at Tor Marancia in

²⁹ Its cast is kept in the Musée d'Archéologie Nationale at Saint-Germain-en-Laye (inv. no. 31653). Wuilleumier, Audin 1952, 122, no. 208; Bažant 1992, 571, no. 14; Canciani 1994, 793, no. 5.

³⁰ The visible elements are the hilt, the upper part of the blade, and the upper part of the scabbard with two transverse mounts (observation by Dragan Božić).

³¹ Bažant 1992, 571, no. 12; Canciani 1994, 793, no. 1; Hodske 2007, 260, no. 290, pl. 178: 1–2.



Fig. 12: Terracotta medallion from Arles, cast (after Canciani 1994).

Sl. 12: Terakotni medaljon iz Arlesa, odlitek (po Canciani 1994).

Rome, near Porta San Sebastiano, as part of a series of heroines destroyed by their unrequited love. Scylla wears a long himation, again holding the fatal lock of hair in her right hand; as such she is most similar to the woman on the left on the fresco from the *Domus Aurea*.³²

Iconographical discussions about the reunion of Menelaus and Helen after the end of the Trojan War rarely cite the mirror from the *Bulla Regia* cemetery. The scene on the mirror is clearly the same as the one on the socle slab from Gornji Grad, but this shows that the female figure in the centre cannot be that of Aphrodite, but rather of an elderly woman. This leads us to question the above interpretation, all the more so when considering the youthful appearance of the beardless male figure and the calm, self-confident posture of the bare-breasted female figure, which only appear on the reliefs from Noricum and Pannonia

and the mirror from *Bulla Regia*. Also pointing towards a different interpretation is the fresco from the *Domus Aurea*, cited by Diez and Zahlhaas as among the depictions of Menelaus and Helen, but previously identified by Carl Robert as representing the meeting of Minos and Scylla. The most detailed account of this meeting is to be found in the *Ciris* by Pseudo-Virgil. This motif had been completely unknown prior to the Imperial period and even then was very rarely depicted, most frequently under the Flavian dynasty. In these depictions, Scylla is always shown holding a lock of hair in her hand extended towards a beardless Minos, who is appalled at her betrayal, his hand already holding the hilt of his sword. The exact same gestures can be found on the reliefs from Noricum and Pannonia, whereby the oblong object in the female's extended hand could easily be a lock of hair. Scylla's nurse appears as an elderly woman on the frescos in the *Casa dei Dioscuri* and the *Domus Aurea* and on the mirror from *Bulla Regia*, and features as a co-conspirator

³² Canciani 1994, 793, no. 4.



Fig. 13: Drawing of the fresco in *Casa dei Dioscuri* (VI, 9, 6–9) (after Hodske 2007).

Sl. 13: Risba freske v *Casa dei Dioscuri* Pompejih (VI, 9, 6–9) (po Hodske 2007).

in the *Ciris* epyllion. The latter source also mentions Eros, whose intervention made Scylla fall in love with the enemy of her homeland – this would explain his pushing the female figure towards the male figure on the reliefs from Noricum and Pan-
 nonia, on the fresco from *Domus Aurea*, and also on the mirror from *Bulla Regia*. Although Diez and Kahil rejected Robert's interpretation of the fresco in *Domus Aurea* (cf. note 24), all these observations speak in favour of the hypothesis that the fresco in *Domus Aurea* (fig. 8), the mirror from *Bulla Regia* cemetery in Tunisia (figs. 9, 10), and the reliefs from Gornji Grad in Slovenia (fig. 4), Oswaldgraben in western Styria (figs. 5, 6), and Budapest (fig. 7) do not represent the reunion of Menelaus and Helen after the end of the Trojan War, but rather the fatal meeting between Minos and Scylla.

Acknowledgments

In researching the article, I was greatly aided by numerous discussions with Stanko Kokole. The article was read and commented on initially by Irena Lazar and Marjeta Šašel Kos. Later, several close readings, as well as useful advice in preparing the final version, were given by Dragan Božič. The translation of the text from Slovenian was provided by Andreja Maver and the translation of the Latin quotations into Slovenian by Gregor Pobežin. The photos of the relief at Gornji Grad were provided by Bojan Djurić and Stanko Kokole. A photo of the stone relief kept in the National Museum in Budapest is published with the permission of that institution. I would like to sincerely thank everyone for their help.

Translation: Andreja Maver

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Redko upodobljeni mitološki prizor v Gornjem Gradu: zgodba o Skili in Minosu?

V majhnem lapidariju v pritličju zvonika cerkve sv. Mohorja in Fortunata v Gornjem Gradu (v. nem. objavah Oberburg) se nahaja reliefno okrašen spodnji del marmorne grobne edikule (sl. 1–4) z merami $1,82 \times 1,20 \times 0,36$ m neznane provenience.¹ Prvotno je verjetno pripadal grobni edikuli, podobni tistim v Šempetru v Savinjski dolini.² Razdeljen je na tri polja, vsako posebej obdaja profiliran okvir, nad katerim se pne noriško-panonska voluta. Na osrednjem, širšem polju (sl. 4), je na desni strani upodobljen stoječ moški, oblečen v hlamido. Desno dlan polaga na ročaj meča na svoji levi, z levico pa drži za hlamido. Za njim stoji še ena, slabše ohranjena figura, ki ima na glavi čelado s perjanico ter ob nogah ovalen ščit. Nasproti nji stoji napol gola ženska figura v himationu, ki ji zakriva le spodnji del nog. Za njo na valjastem podstavku stoji krilati deček, za katerega se zdi, kakor da bi jo z rokami, uprtimi v hrbet, potiskal naprej. Med obema glavnima likoma, bliže ženski in obrnjen proti moškemu, je viden obris ženske figure v do tal segajočem oblačilu. V levem in desnem stranskem polju je v razkoraku prikazana po ena frontalno stoječa ženska figura, ki z levico oziroma desnico drži za del draperije in ta se ji v obliki loka boči nad glavo. Obe stranski stranici sta obdani z rastlinskim okrasjem (sl. 3).

Relief v Gornjem Gradu je prvi objavil Josip Klemenc leta 1955. Osrednji prizor na njem je razložil kot *Parisovo sodbo*. Ženski figuri v stranskih poljih je pogojno interpretiral kot Afroditini spremljevalki Hariti, ni pa izključil možnosti, da bi figuri lahko bili tudi erota, Himer in Potos. Moški z mečem na desni strani naj bi bil Paris v hlamidi. Pred njim

naj bi stala napol gola Afrodita, ki bi mu z desnico ponujala venec. Za njo bi bil na podstavku Eros, za Parisom pa bi bila Atena s čelado z ogromno perjanico ter ovalnim ščitom, prislonjenim k nogam. Skorajda povsem izlizana figura med Afrodito in Parisom bi po analogijah z mitološko zgodbo Parisove sodbe lahko bila le Hera.³

Klemenčeva razlaga se je obdržala vse do študije Erne Diez iz let 1966–1967 *Nochmals: Helena und Menelaos*.⁴ V njej je prizor na gornjegrajskem reliefu na podlagi primerjav z reliefoma iz Oswaldgrabna v Voitsbergu (sl. 5, 6)⁵ in Akvinka (sl. 7)⁶ interpretirala kot *Snidenje Menelaja in Helene* po koncu trojanske vojne.⁷ Vsem reliefom je skupno, da je na levi strani v profilu prikazana stoječa ženska figura z deloma razgaljenim oprsjem, ki ji draperija ovija le noge od peta do zadnjice (Oswaldgrabna in Akvink) oziroma do malo nad kolena (Gornji Grad). Na reliefih iz Akvinka in Gornjega Grada je za njo na podstavku upodobljen krilati deček z rokami, uprtimi v njen hrbet, kot bi jo želel poriniti k moškemu.⁸ Nasproti ženske stoji na reliefu iz Akvinka prav tako moški z desno roko na ročaju meča, ki pa je za razliko od reliefa iz Gornjega Grada gol, le preko levega ramena ima vrženo hlamido. Relief iz Oswaldgrabna je žal slabše ohranjen, tako da so od figure v sredini vidne le noge in spodnji del draperije, ohranjena pa je oseba s čelado s perjanico, ovalnim ščitom ob levi nogi ter sulico v desnici na desni, ki motivno

³ Klemenc 1955, 57–58.

⁴ Diez 1966–1967. Te študije niti prejšnjih na isto temo ni poznal Jože Kastelic, ki je obdržal Klemenčev razlago (Kastelic 1998, 440 ss).

⁵ Relief je vzidan v obcestno kapelico (gl. Hebert 1993, 139–146).

⁶ Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, inv. št. 72.1857,3. O reliefih glej Diez 1952; Toynbee 1977, 364–365; Ghali-Kahil 1955, 246, št. 200, t. LXXV: 3; Kahil 1988, 539, št. 233; Kremer 2001, 239, št. 229.

⁷ Relief v Oswaldgrabnu je Diezova zlasti s pomočjo literarnih virov in primerjave z reliefom iz Akvinka že poprej interpretirala kot *Snidenje Menelaja in Helene* po koncu trojanske vojne (glej Diez 1952, 21 ss). Relief iz Akvinka je z nekoliko dvoma tako razložil že Julius Ziehen (Ziehen 1890, 65–66).

⁸ Eros je bil bržkone tudi na reliefu iz Oswaldgrabna. Namreč, glede na voluto manjka ves njegov levi rob, vidni pa so sledovi roke, ki se naslanja na hrbet ženske figure.

¹ Na območju Gornjega Grada ni nikakršnih ostankov iz rimske dobe (prim. Pahič 1975). Josip Klemenc je postavil domnevo, da bi del grobne edikule lahko izvirno prihajal s šempetrške nekropole (Klemenc 1955, 60). V Gornji Grad bi lahko prispel po volji ljubljanskega škofa Krištofa Ravbarja, ki je tedaj rezidiral v Gornjem Gradu. Ravbar je namreč leta 1517 cerkev in nekdanji samostan ogradil z obzidjem in stolpi, relief pa je bil do ustanovitve lapidarija leta 1955 vzidan v zunanjo steno t. i. jetnišnice, ki je bila vključena v obrambno obzidje (Kastelic 1998, 440–441; Kokole 2003, 194–197).

² Klemenc 1955, 57–60; Pahič 1975; Toynbee 1977, 365; Kahil 1988, 539, št. 234; Kremer 2001, 206, št. 108.

ustreza oni na skrajni desni strani osrednjega prizora reliefa v Gornjem Gradu. Zaradi očitnih podobnosti med vsemi tremi upodobitvami je Diezova razgaljeno žensko figuro v profilu interpretirala kot Heleno, nasproti njej stoječega moškega z roko na ročaju meča pa kot Menelaja. Oboroženi lik za njim bi bil eden od njegovih spremljevalcev, morda Agamemnon ali Odisej. Slabo ohranjena figura med obema protagonistoma na reliefu v Gornjem Gradu⁹ bi lahko bila le boginja Afrodita, ki je s svojim posegom preprečila Menelajeve zlobne namene ter mu vdahnila vnovično ljubezen do žene.¹⁰ Figuri v stranskih poljih reliefa bi lahko bili menadi, ki tudi sicer pogosto nastopata na noriških spomenikih.

Srečanje Menelaja in Helene po koncu trojanske vojne je opisano v dveh izgubljenih fragmentarno ohranjenih pesnitvah, in sicer v *Ilioupersis* in Mali Iliadi. Na prizorih, navdahnjenih po Mali Iliadi, Menelaj grozi Heleni, jo z mečem v roki zasleduje oziroma mu meč ob pogledu nanjo že pada iz rok. *Ilioupersis* sledi druga vrsta prizorov. Menelaj ženo že grabi oziroma bo kmalu zagrabil za njen himation, komolec ali zapestje. Pri obeh vrstah je Menelaj prikazan kot zrel, bradat moški. Ponekod je upodobljen v herojski goloti, večkrat pa je oblečen v dolg hiton in himation oziroma je upodobljen kot vojščak. V prizorih se lahko pojavita tudi Afrodita ali Eros kot njen atribut. Diezova se je pri razlagi reliefov naslonila na fragment Male Iliade (frg. 13), ki opisuje, kako je po koncu vojne razkačeni Menelaj z mečem grozil svoji nezvesti ženi, a ji je potem, poražen od lepote njenega golega oprsja, oprostil vse. Tako meč, ki naj bi ga moški nameraval vtakniti nazaj v nožnico kot tudi razgaljeno oprsje ženske figure se skladata z literarnim pričevanjem in sta glavni ikonografski posebnosti vseh zgoraj naštetih reliefnih upodobitev. Meč, ki ga Menelaj ob pogledu na Heleno povesti oziroma spusti, je ena glavnih ikonografskih značilnosti prizora tudi že v starejšem vaznem slikarstvu.¹¹

Leto dni po izidu svojega prvega članka o snidenju Menelaja in Helene je Erna Diez izpostavila slabo

ohranjeno fresko v Neronovi *Domus Aurea* v Rimu (sl. 8).¹² Na njej drug nasproti drugemu stojita v dolg hiton oblečena ženska ter gol, s hlaido ogrnjen moški. Med njima je ženska z vejico v levi roki, ob kateri je majhen gol krilat fantič, ki z levico drži kos tkanine, desnico pa izteza proti ženski na levi, kakor bi jo želel povleči k moškemu. V drugem planu za moško figuro prepoznamo še en slabše ohranjeni moški lik v do kolen segajočem hitonu. Zaradi slabe ohranjenosti freske ni bilo lahko interpretirati in prizor je dolgo časa ostal neprepoznan, dokler ga ni Fritz Weege v povezavi s kontekstom in domnevnim ikonografskim programom preostalih poslikav v *Domus Aurea* razložil kot prvo srečanje Helene in Parisa.¹³ Diezova je v svoji študiji *Zur Wiedersehensszene zwischen Helena und Menelaos: ein Nachtrag* opozorila na določene ikonografske pomanjkljivosti te interpretacije ter fresko povezala s srečanjem med Menelajem in Heleno. Osrednjo figuro z vejico je brez kanca dvoma označila za Afrodito.¹⁴ Na podlagi primerjav te freske z reliefom iz Oswaldgrabna (sl. 5, 6) je tudi razložila izlizan predmet v Helenini roki na reliefu iz Oswaldgrabna; Helena naj bi tako soprogu ponujala nekakšen trak oziroma kakšno drugo znamenje simbolnega pomena, ki bi ublažilo moževo jezo ali pokazalo, da je sama pod zaščito boginje.¹⁵

V sintetičnih pregledih upodobitev srečanja Menelaja in Helene po koncu trojanske vojne spregledano,¹⁶ a za razlago osrednjega prizora gornjegrajskega reliefa še kako pomembno je

¹² Diez 1953. O freski v *Domus Aurea* prim. Ghali-Kahil 1955, 246; ead. 1988, 523, št. 130; Bažant 1992, 571, št. 13; Canciani 1994, 793, št. 2.

¹³ Weege 1913, 223–225. Po Weegeju bi Helena v naprej iztegnjeni roki držala morda del draperije, trak ali rob oblačila, ženska v sredini bi bila Afrodita, ob njej pa bi bil Eros. Za Parisom bi stal Enej.

¹⁴ Diez 1953, 246; ead. 1966–1967, 106–108. Freska bi bila motivno pendant prizoru s slovesom Hektorja od Andromaha in bi tako vsebinsko poudarila nasprotja med obema zakonskima paroma; zvesto Andromaho in nezvesto Heleno.

¹⁵ Neodvisno od Diezove je fresko v *Domus Aurea* kot snidenje Menelaja in Helene razložila tudi Gisela Zahlhaas, saj je poznala le prvi članek Diezove o tem motivu (Zahlhaas 1975, 49–50).

¹⁶ Kot npr. *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* [herausgegeben von W. H. Roscher] (Stoll, Menelaos, II, 2, 1890–1897, 2776–2791); *Pauly's Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Schmidt, Menelaos 2, XV, 29, 1931, 808–829); Ghali-Kahil 1955; *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale* (Comotti, Elena, III, 1960, 293–297; Paribeni, Menelao, IV, 1961, 1018–1022), *LIMC* (Kahil, Hélène, IV 1, 1988, 498–563; ead., Menelaos, VIII 1, 1997, 834–841).

⁹ Kljub temu da je na reliefu iz Oswaldgrabna pred žensko figuro dovolj praznega prostora za še eno figuro, so raziskave pokazale, da je bil ta prostor dejansko prazen (Diez 1952, 24; ead. 1966–1967, 105–106).

¹⁰ Diez 1966–1967, 101–103. Afrodita oziroma njen oltar se v tem prizoru pojavi že v grškem vaznem slikarstvu (glej zlasti Ghali-Kahil 1955, 81–83, št. 53–57).

¹¹ Hedreen 1996, 165–166. Za tipologijo v vaznem slikarstvu prim. zlasti Ghali-Kahil 1955, 71–113; Kahil 1988, 537–552, 559–560. Za upodobitve Menelaja prim. Kahil 1997, 834 ss.

bronasto ogledalo, odkrito leta 1889 v sarkofagu na nekropoli *Bulla Regia* v severozahodni Tuniziji (sl. 9, 10).¹⁷ Prizor na zrcalu je bil ob odkritju natančno opisan, njegova vsebina pa je ostala nepojasnjena.¹⁸ Na podlagi stilnih značilnosti ter zlasti pričeske ženske figure, ki spominja na frizuro Cezarjeve soproge Kalpurnije, je Vercoutre ogledalo datiral na začetek prvega stoletja po Kr.¹⁹ Prvi se je vsebine mitološke zgodbe na njem lotil Salomon Reinach. Motiv je primerjal z motivom na reliefu iz Akvinka (sl. 7), ki ga je le malo prej objavil ter kot snidenje Menelaja in Helene po koncu trojanske vojne razložil Ziehen.²⁰ Reinach je to razlago sprejel, Auguste Vercoutre pa je nasprotno sklepal, da naj bi bil na zrcalu prikazan trenutek iz Odiseje, ko Odisej zapušča otok Fajakov in se poslavlja od Navzikaje.²¹ Reinachovo razlago je prevzela Gisela Zahlhaas in jo še podkrepila s primerjavo z reliefom iz Oswaldgrabna.²²

Relief iz Gornjega Grada, ki zelo očitno kaže več podobnosti z ogledalom kot oba reliefa iz Madžarske in Štajerske, Zahlhaasovi, kot kaže, ni bil znan. Tudi na ogledalu stoji skrajno levo na podstavku krilati deček, ki z rokami potiska razgaljeno žensko proti mlajšemu golobrademu moškemu. Ta moški ima natanko tako držo kot Menelaj na gornjegrajskem reliefu. Z levico drži za hlamido, desnico pa ima na prsih. Del na njegovem prsnem košu ni ohranjen, zaradi česar žal ni mogoče presoditi, ali grabi za meč. Za njim stoji vojščak v bojni opravi s čelado na glavi. Ob nogah mu počiva velik ovalen ščit, ki se ga dotika z levo roko. Med glavnima figurama, toda za spoznanje bližje mladenki, stoji v ozadju starejša ženska figura z vejico v roki.²³ Celotno dogajanje je postavljeno pred zid.

¹⁷ Ogledalo je bilo nekdanj v zbirki muzeja Alaoui, zdaj pa je shranjeno v Narodnem muzeju Bardo v Tuniziji (Musée National du Bardo). Glej Reinach 1890, 93–96; Vercoutre 1893; Zahlhaas 1975, 48–49, kat. št. 28, t. 26.

¹⁸ Carton 1890, 197–199.

¹⁹ Vercoutre 1893, 81.

²⁰ Prim. op. 7. Reinach 1890, 93–96.

²¹ Vercoutre 1893. Obzidje bi predstavljalo palačo, pred katero se odvija slovo, vejica pa drevo na vrtu ob njej. Levo od Odiseja bi stal starec Alkinoj, Navzikajin oče in Navzikaja pred njim, ki bi Odiseju podajala roko, proseč ga, naj je ne zapušča, a ta njeno ponudbo zavrne. Za njim naj bi se nahajala Palada Atena.

²² Zahlhaas 1975, 48–49, 77, kat. št. 28, t. 26.

²³ To figuro so sicer avtorji (Carton 1890, 197; Reinach 1890, 93; Vercoutre 1893, 82; Zahlhaas 1975, 48) razložili kot moškega, a jo tako oblačilo kakor tudi pričeska prej označujeta za starejšo žensko.

Kakor je dobro razvidno, je na bronastem zrcalu iz Tunizije in osrednjem prizoru reliefa iz Gornjega Grada zagotovo upodobljen isti motiv, pri čemer se nehote pojavi dvom o pravilnosti interpretacije prizora. Prva ovira nastopi pri figuri v sredini, ki po analogijah s figuro na zrcalu z izrazitimi potezami starejše osebe nikakor ne more biti več Afrodita, starejša ženska pa se v prizoru snidenja Menelaja in Helene ne pojavi. Dodatno negotovost vzbudi Menelaj, ki je tako v literarnih virih kot v likovnem izročilu izpričan kot starejši moški, čigar zrelost dodatno zaznamuje brada, medtem ko je na reliefih iz Gornjega Grada in Akvinka prikazan kot golobrad, na reliefu iz Akvinka pa so vidni celo mladostni, na vrat padajoči kodri. Nenazadnje tudi domnevna Helena pred možem, ki jo želi za nezvestobo in povzročeno vojno ubiti, stoji povsem mirno, medtem ko je na preostalih upodobitvah tega motiva na smrt prestrašena, prav tako nikjer drugje soprogo ne ponuja kakšnega predmeta.

Poleg reliefa v Gornjem Gradu (sl. 1–4) in ogledala iz *Bulla Regia* (sl. 9, 10) je ženska v sredini prikazana tudi na freski v *Domus Aurea* (sl. 8), ki jo je Carl Robert leta 1914 drugače kot Weege (1913) leto pred njim, Diezova leta 1953 in Zahlhaasova leta 1975 interpretiral kot redko upodobljen prizor Skile, kako v spremstvu stare dojilje Karme Minosu predaja očetove odrezane kodre las.²⁴ Njuno srečanje je natančno podano v Ovidijevih *Metamorfozah* (8.87–100) in zlasti v psevdo Vergilijevi pesnitvi *Ciris*. Po psevdo Vergiliju Minos na vojnem pohodu zoper Atene najprej napade mesto Megaro, ki mu vlada kralj Nizus z nepremagljivimi rdečimi kodri las in Minos mesto oblega zaman. Tedaj pa se mu nasmehne sreča, saj se vanj po posredovanju Erosa, s čimer jo kaznuje za pregrešek, ki ga je še kot dekle storila proti Junoni, zaljubi kraljeva hčerka Skila.²⁵ Ponoči očetu ob pomoči stare dojilje odreže čarobne kodre in jih v želji po ljubezni prinese Minosu, ta pa se, zgrožen nad Skilininim izdajstvom in posledičnim

²⁴ Robert namesto imena "Skila" uporabi ime "Ciris," ki pomeni vrsto čaplje, v katero se je zavoljo posrednega očetovega umora preobrazila Skila (Robert 1914, 158–159). Njegovo interpretacijo sta odbili tako Diezova (1966–1967, 107–108) kakor tudi Ghali-Kahilova (1955, 243).

²⁵ Ps. Verg. *Ciris* 158–162; s komentirano izdajo Lyne 1978, 164–165: "Muhast, še več, lahkomišeln je bog, ki v vsaki besedi / čuti krivico vsekdar in išče vračila vzrok, / vleče puščice iz toka, ki ves blešči se v zlatu / (strašen, zares, prestrašen prizor, Tirintija moja), / proži jih vse v nedolžno in nežno deklisko srce" [prevod: G. Pobežin].

očetomorum, njeni ljubezni odreče ter mladenko prekolne in po nekaterih virih celo ubije.²⁶ Skladnosti med literarnim virom in likovnimi upodobitvami v prvi vrsti nastopijo pri likih dojilje in Erosa, ki ima aktivno vlogo tudi na vseh obravnavanih reliefih iz Norika in Panonije,²⁷ ogledalu iz *Bulla Regia* in pa tudi freski iz *Domus Aurea*, saj žensko potiska proti moškemu. Vejica, ki jo drži ženska na freski v *Domus Aurea* in na ogledalu iz *Bulla Regia*, bi lahko predstavljala aspergil, prav tako omenjen pri psevd Vergiliju (*Ciris* 376).²⁸

Sam prizor je v likovni umetnosti pred cesarskim obdobjem povsem neznan, tudi kasneje se pojavi izjemno redko. Par je brez dvoma upodobljen na reliefu, opremljenim z napisom, na keltsko-rimskem terakotnem medaljonu iz sredine 1. st. po Kr. Original, ki je bil najden v Arlesu, je žal izgubljen, ohranjen pa je njegov odlitek (*sl.* 11, 12).²⁹ Kralj Minos stoji na levi, prikazan je gol, golobrad, le preko levega ramena mu pada hlamida. Z desno roko je že napol izvlekel meč iz nožnice,³⁰ kar močno spominja na reliefa iz Gornjega Grada in Akvinka. Njemu nasproti na desni stoji Skila z razgaljenim oprsem in mu v iztegnjeni desnici

ponuja šop las svojega očeta Nizusa. Kompozicija dveh nasproti si stoječih figur, moškega z roko na ročaju meča ter mirno stoječe napol gole ženske, ki mu v iztegnjeni roki ponuja neki predmet, je praktično identična z domnevnimi upodobitvami srečanja Menelaja in Helene iz Norika in Panonije. Neznani podolgovati predmet na njih pa bi bil zlahka stiliziran šop las.

Razen na tem terakotnem reliefu sta Minos in Skila prikazana še na slabo ohranjeni stenski sliki v *Casa dei Dioscuri* v Pompejih (VI, 9, 6–9), ohranjeni *in situ* ter datirani v flavijsko obdobje (*sl.* 13). Tu se prizor odvija znotraj palače, nakazane z zidom.³¹ Minos sedi na prestolu, pred njim stoji Skila, ki mu v iztegnjeni roki moli šop nepremagljivih las. Za Minosom stojijo njegovi služabniki, ob Skili pa zopet starejša ženska, ki proti njemu steguje desno dlan. Skila je prikazana še na z imenom označeni stenski sliki iz vile pri Tor Marancia v Rimu pri vratih San Sebastiano v seriji junakinj, pogubljenih zavoljo nesrečne ljubezni. Skila je oblečena v dolg himation, toda tudi tu v desnici drži pogubni šop las ter še najbolj spominja na levo stoječo žensko na freski v *Domus Aurea*.³²

Na ogledalu iz nekropole *Bulla Regia* v Tuniziji, na katerem sta tako Reinach kot Zahlhaasova prepoznala srečanje Menelaja in Helene po trojanski vojni, je nedvomno isti prizor kot na reliefu v Gornjem Gradu. Odpira pa se vprašanje, ali je bila dosedanja razlaga tega prizora pravilna, saj figura na sredini ne more biti Afrodita, temveč neka starejša ženska. Proti identifikaciji prizora s snidenjem Menelaja in Helene govori tudi mladostni videz golobradega moškega ter mirna, samozavestna drža polgole ženske figure, ki se pojavljata le na reliefih iz Norika in Panonije in na ogledalu iz *Bulla Regia*. Med domnevne upodobitve Menelaja in Helene sta Diezova in Zahlhaasova poleg reliefov iz Norika in Panonije uvrstili tudi fresko v *Domus Aurea*, ki pa jo je Carl Robert leta 1914 označil za Srečanje Minosa in Skile, najnatančneje izpričano v psevd Vergilijevi *Ciris*. Prizor je bil pred cesarskim obdobjem povsem neznan in tudi kasneje le redke, najpogostejše je nastopal v času vladavine flavijskih vladarjev. Skila je vselej prikazana s šopom las, ki jih v iztegnjeni roki ponuja golobrademu Minosu, ta pa, zgrožen nad njenim izdajstvom, roko že drži na ročaju meča. Ista gestikulacija nastopi tudi na obravnavanih reliefih iz Norika in Panonije, podol-

²⁶ Dojilja kot Skilina sozarotnica in pomočnica nastopi le v pesnitvi *Ciris* (206–385; s komentarjem Lyne 1978, 185–186). Lyne zanika, da bi se pojavila že v zgodnejših verzijah mita, pač pa naj bi šlo za kontaminacijo s Cininim izgubljenim epilijem *Zmyrna*. Knox v recenziji komentarja zavoljo besede *crevit*: (*Talia dicenti curarum maxima nutrix / nox intervenit, tenebrisque audacia crevit [...]*) “Te besede izreče, ko noč se spusti, ki vliva / strah ljudem v kosti, a njej prilije poguma”; *Met.* 8.81–82 [prevod: G. Pobežin]), ki se pri Ovidijevih pesnitvah običajno nanaša na konkretno osebo, ne izključi možnosti, da se je Ovidij dojiljo odločil opustiti zgolj zato, da bi bilo več poudarka na Skilinih notranjih moralnih občutjih. Potemtakem bi dojilja seveda morala nastopati tudi že v starejših, neohranjenih verzijah mita (Knox 1990).

²⁷ Prim. op. 8.

²⁸ Ps. Verg. *Ciris* 376 (*pergit Amyclaeo spargens altaria thallo [...]*) “z vejico mirte dišeče oltar zatem oškropi še” [prevod: G. Pobežin]). Beseda *thallus* je v latinščini izjemno redka ter težko prevedljiva. Po prvi izmed dveh glavnih razlag bi lahko pomenila hijacinto, ki raste na Amiklah, kjer je tudi Hijakintov grob, po drugi pa naj bi pomenila aspergil. Karme bi tako poškropila oltar s posvečeno vodo, *thallus* pa bi bil najverjetneje identificiran z lovrom (Cazzaniga 1959, 453 ss; Lyne 1978, 262).

²⁹ Odlitek hrani Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Musée d'Archéologie Nationale, inv. št. 31653. Willeumier, Audin 1952, 122, št. 208; Bažant 1992, 571, št. 14; Canciani 1994, 793, št. 5.

³⁰ Vidni so namreč ročaj, zgornji del rezila in zgornji del nožnice z dvema prečnima okovoma (opozorilo Dragana Božiča).

³¹ Bažant 1992, 571, št. 12; Canciani 1994, 793, št. 1; Hodske 2007, 260, št. 290, t. 178: 1,2.

³² Canciani 1994, 793, št. 4.

govat predmet, ki ga ženska figura moli predse, pa bi zlahka bil šop las. Skilina dojilja je kot starejša ženska upodobljena na freskah v *Casa dei Dioscuri* in *Domus Aurea* ter na ogledalu iz *Bulla Regia*, kot sozarotnica pa nastopa v epiliju *Ciris*. Isti vir omenja tudi Erosa, s čigar posredovanjem se je Skila zaljubila v sovražnika domovine, kar bi pojasnilo njegovo potiskanje ženske figure proti moškemu liku na reliefih iz Norika in Panonije, na freski v *Domus Aurea* in ogledalu iz *Bulla Regia*. Čeprav sta Diezova in Kahilova Robertovo razlago motiva na freski v *Domus Aurea* zavrnila (prim. op. 24), iz vsega zgoraj navedenega sledi, da tako literarno izročilo kakor tudi redke likovne upodobitve tega motiva govorijo v njen prid. Očitno tako na freski v *Domus Aurea* v Rimu (sl. 8) kot tudi na reliefih v Gornjem Gradu (sl. 4), Oswaldgrabnu na avstrijskem Štajerskem (sl. 5, 6) in Budimpešti (sl. 7) ter ogledalu z nekropole *Bulla Regia* v Tuniziji (sl. 9, 10) ni upodobljeno snidenja Menelaja in Helene po koncu trojanske vojne, temveč usodno srečanje Minosa in Skile.

Zahvale

Za pomoč pri nastanku članka bi se zahvalila Stanku Kokoletu, za branje in nasvete še Ireni Lazar in Marjeti Šašel Kos, za večkratno temeljito branje, opozorila in koristne napotke pri pripravi končnega besedila gre še zlasti zahvala Draganu Božiču. Nazadnje bi se rada še zahvalila Andreji Maver za prevod v angleščino in Gregorju Pobežinu za prevod latinskih citatov v slovenščino, Bojanu Djuriću in Stanku Kokoletu za fotografije reliefa v Gornjem Gradu ter Narodnemu muzeju v Budimpešti za dovoljenje za objavo fotografije reliefa v Akvinku.

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