

DIVINA SIMULACRA

cover: *Medici Venus*, catalogue entry 7

p. 41: Giulio Pignatta, *Sir Andrew Fountaine and Friends in the Tribune*, 1715, Norwich, Norfolk Museums - Norwich Castle, Private collection

p. 43: View of the Tribune made by Sir Roger Newdigate, Private collection

# DIVINA SIMULACRA

MASTERPIECES OF CLASSICAL SCULPTURE  
IN THE UFFIZI GALLERY

edited by Fabrizio Paolucci

ISBN 978-88-3340-421-9

© 2023 Ministero della Cultura

Le Gallerie degli Uffizi

© 2023 sillabe s.r.l.

Livorno

[www.sillabe.it](http://www.sillabe.it)

Printed by Grafiche G7, Ponte di Savignone (Genova)

Reprint

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Year

2023 2024 2025 2026 2027 2028 2029 2030 2031 2032

  
FIRENZE  
MUSEI

**sillabe**

 LE GALLERIE  
DEGLI UFFIZI

# DIVINA SIMULACRA

MASTERPIECES OF CLASSICAL SCULPTURE  
IN THE UFFIZI GALLERY

Florence, The Uffizi  
12 December 2023 – 30 June 2024



## Uffizi Galleries

### Director

Eike D. Schmidt

### Curatorial Division

Simona Pasquinucci, coordinator

### Technical Division

Chiara Laura Tettamanti, coordinator

### Administrative Division

Franca Berioli, coordinator

### Director's Office

Monica Alderotti,  
Alberica Barbolani di Montauto,  
Veruska Filipperi, Alejandra Micheli, Chiara Toti,  
Maria Zaffalon

### Exhibition Department

Alessandra Griffò, coordinator

### Education Department

Silvia Mascalchi, coordinator

### IT and Digital Strategies Department

Gianluca Ciccardi, coordinator

### Digital Strategies Area

Francesca Sborgi

### Social Media Management and Institutional Website

Andrea Biotti, Gabriella Brindani, Patrizia Naldini,  
Simone Rovida, Cristian Spadoni, Chiara Ulivi

### Cataloguing and Heritage Digitization Department and

### Photographic Department

Valentina Conticelli, coordinator

### Legal Department and Department of Valorization and

### Economic Strategy

Eike D. Schmidt

### Press Office

Tommaso Galligani

## Exhibition

### Curators

Fabrizio Paolucci

### Exhibition Design

Lian Pellicanò  
Deferrari+Modesti architetti  
Javier Deferrari and Lavinia Modesti

### Technical Collaboration

Lucia Lo Stimolo

### Exhibition Construction

Opera Laboratori  
Roberto Popovic

### Loans and Registrations

Patrizia Tarchi, Francesca Montanaro

### Condition Reports

Sabrina Biondi, Maurizio Michelozzi, Elena Prandi,  
Flavia Puoti

### Supervision of Logistics and Movement of Artworks

Michele Murrone, Demetrio Sorace

### Collaboration on Educational Resources and Text

### Revision

Ylenia Carbonari, Antonella Madalese

### Exhibition Graphic Design

Sillabe

### Translation of Exhibition Panels

Stephen Tobin

### Lenders

Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Museo dei Gladiatori

### Transports

Arteria

### Insurance

Willis Towers Watson

## Catalogue

### Edited by

Fabrizio Paolucci

### Authors of the Introductory Essays

Alessandro Muscillo  
Fabrizio Paolucci  
Martina Rodinò

### Authors of the Entries

Alessandro Muscillo  
Anna Maria Nardon  
Fabrizio Paolucci  
Martina Rodinò

## sillabe

### Editorial Management

Daniele Petrucci

### Editorial Supervision

Giulia Perni

### Merchandising Supervision

Barbara Galla

### Editing

Giulia Bastianelli  
with Francesca Bianchi

### Iconographic Research

Sabrina Braccini

### Image Technical Control

Saimon Toncelli

### Graphic Design and Cover

Susanna Coseschi

### English Translation

Susan Scott

### Photo Credits

Bibliothèque nationale de France  
Cod. Min. 32/1-3 HAN/Austrian National  
Library - Wien, Österreichische  
Nationalbibliothek  
Foto Cristian Ceccanti, Firenze  
Museo Nacional del Prado © Photo MNP /  
Scala, Firenze  
Norfolk Museums Service  
Santa Maria Capua Vetere (Napoli), Museo  
dei Gladiatori  
Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura  
Gabinetto Fotografico delle Gallerie degli  
Uffizi, Firenze (Susi Piovanelli)  
Soprintendenza Archeologia Belle Arti e  
Paesaggio per le province di Siena Grosseto  
ed Arezzo - Museo Statale di Casa Vasari,  
Arezzo  
Su concessione del Museo Archeologico  
Nazionale di Firenze (Direzione Regionale  
Musei della Toscana)

*The Publisher and the Authors are at the disposal of the  
copyright holders of images from unidentified sources.  
Reproduction by any means is prohibited.*



- 11** The *Medici Venus* is once again Queen of the Uffizi  
Eike D. Schmidt
- 12** THE GROUP OF THE INVITATION TO THE DANCE
- 14** Invitation to the Dance: a group-non group?  
Alessandro Muscillo  
Works
- 22** THE FLAYING OF MARSYAS GROUP
- 24** The Flaying of Marsyas  
Martina Rodinò  
Works
- 40** COSIMO III'S TRIBUNE
- 42** The large statuary in Cosimo III's Tribune  
Fabrizio Paolucci  
Works
- 62** THE GABINETTO DEGLI UOMINI ILLUSTRI
- 64** Luigi Lanzi, Giuseppe Bencivenni Pelli and the herms of the Gabinetto degli Uomini Illustri  
Alessandro Muscillo  
Works
- 117** References



## The *Medici Venus* is once again Queen of the Uffizi

Classical statuary and the Uffizi have always been inseparable. Without its ancient sculptures, the museum we know today would probably never have been created. It was the antique marbles, gathered together methodically and at great expense by Cosimo I, that were the very first works of art to be housed in the just-completed complex designed by Vasari. We owe to Cosimo's son Ferdinando the ingenious idea to make of the corridor on the eastern side of the second floor of the Uffizi a seraglio of sculptures. Those splendid marbles, up to then piled almost haphazardly in the Sala delle Nicchie in the Palazzo Pitti, thus found in the 1580s and 1590s a home worthy of their fame. The airy, light-soaked space of the corridor lent itself to the full enjoyment of the beauty of that army of marble, in a meditative focus favoured by the fact that the leaded window panes were made up of thousands of Venetian "rulli," which could be likened to modern-day glass bottle bottoms: strong but almost impossible to see through. The viewer's attention was thus not distracted by the views of the city outside, but fully concentrated on the works.

This was the "seed" from which the Uffizi Gallery grew. Without its classical sculpture, Beauty would never have crossed the threshold of Vasari's building, and for a long time still, the prevailing use of the complex was its original purpose to house the administrative offices (the "uffizi") of the Grand Ducal bureaucracy. This exhibition thus aims, first and foremost, to be a necessary and fitting tribute to this heritage from which the quintessential museum of the modern age was born.

But this duty comes along with others. In the first place, that of restoring to the full enjoyment of the public the symbol and pride of the Medici collections: the *Medici Venus*. To be sure, what was the object of desire of generations of visitors is today, just as for more than three centuries, the focal point of the Tribune and by virtue of this visible to all, but as everyone knows, the demands of conservation of the beautiful marble floor force everyone to admire this masterpiece from far away. Ever since the enormous attention aroused all over the world by the flood of 4 November 1966 and the arrival of mass tourism in the years immediately afterwards (with an exponential increase in visitors in the years from 1968 to 1972), access to that relatively small octagonal space was progressively limited and then forbidden altogether, for reasons of preservation of the artworks and of excessive crowding. The Tribune, from being the collection's focal point and "shrine," had become a passageway hardly suited to the contemplation of art. For this reason, the Tribune was closed off to foot traffic and – after the restorations done in 2009-2012 – can only be admired from its three doors, which have in essence become windows closed by glass. The paintings held to be significant were moved to other rooms and replaced with others thought less important, which nonetheless still contribute to creating the decorative effect evocative of its original splendour. The sculpted masterpieces were instead left in place, even if this condemned them to being viewed from far away, like a postcard.

Now, at least for a few months, visitors to our Gallery can once again experience the same emotion felt by eighteenth-century travellers on their Grand Tour and, like them, can walk around the *Venus* and her celebrated companions in the Tribune and understand finally the reasons for the universal fame enjoyed by these works for centuries.

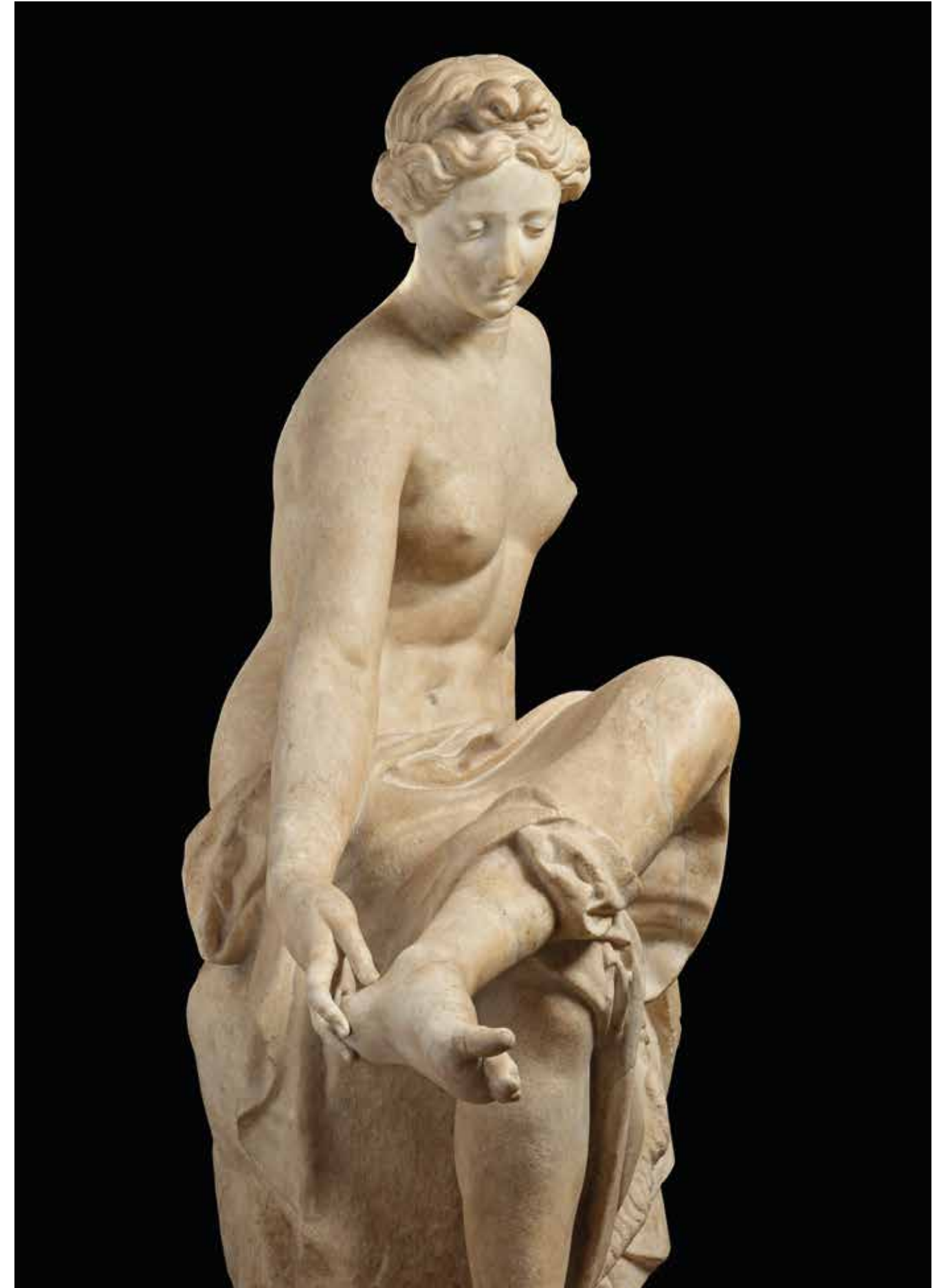
If to these considerations we add also the exceptional opportunity for scholarship offered by the possibility of recomposing antique sculpture groups with works in the Gallery which, as they were displayed in the past, stood in different parts of the museum, I believe there is no doubt that this show can be called not only necessary but also deeply innovative in the exhibition history of the Uffizi. For the statues – to which the fate of the Gallery has always been tied – return, once again, after the passage of centuries, to being the protagonists and, now, as was once the case, the *Medici Venus* returns to her role of undisputed Queen of the Gallery that another *Venus*, the one painted by Botticelli, had definitively supplanted in the collective imagination of the contemporary public.

**Eike D. Schmidt**  
Director of the Uffizi Galleries



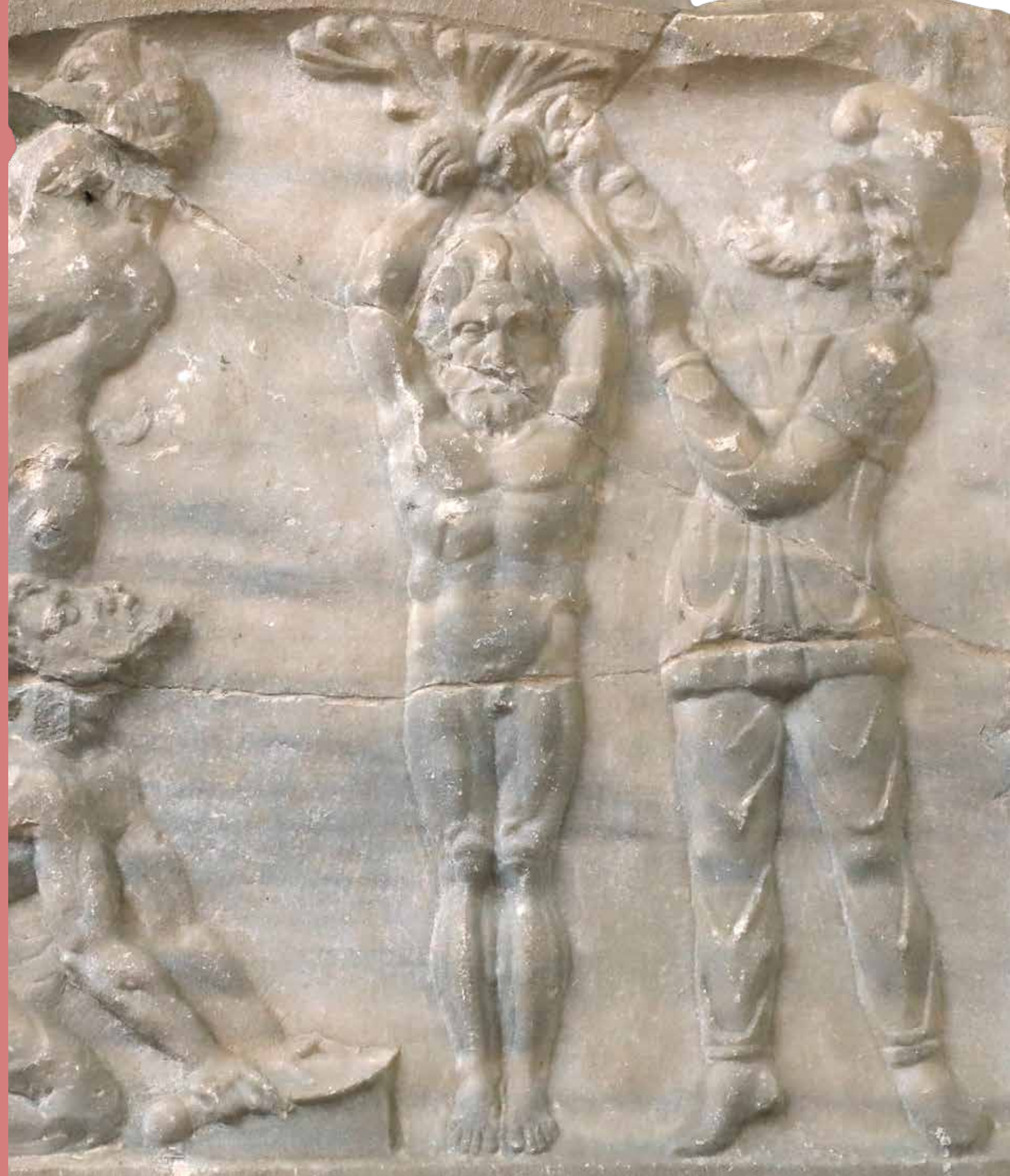
**The Group of the Invitation to the Dance**







**The Flaying of Marsyas Group**





3.

### Statue of the Scythian, known as Knife Grinder

Second century AD  
Docimian<sup>o</sup> marble; height 105 cm  
Florence, Le Gallerie degli Uffizi, Gli Uffizi, inv. 1914, no. 230

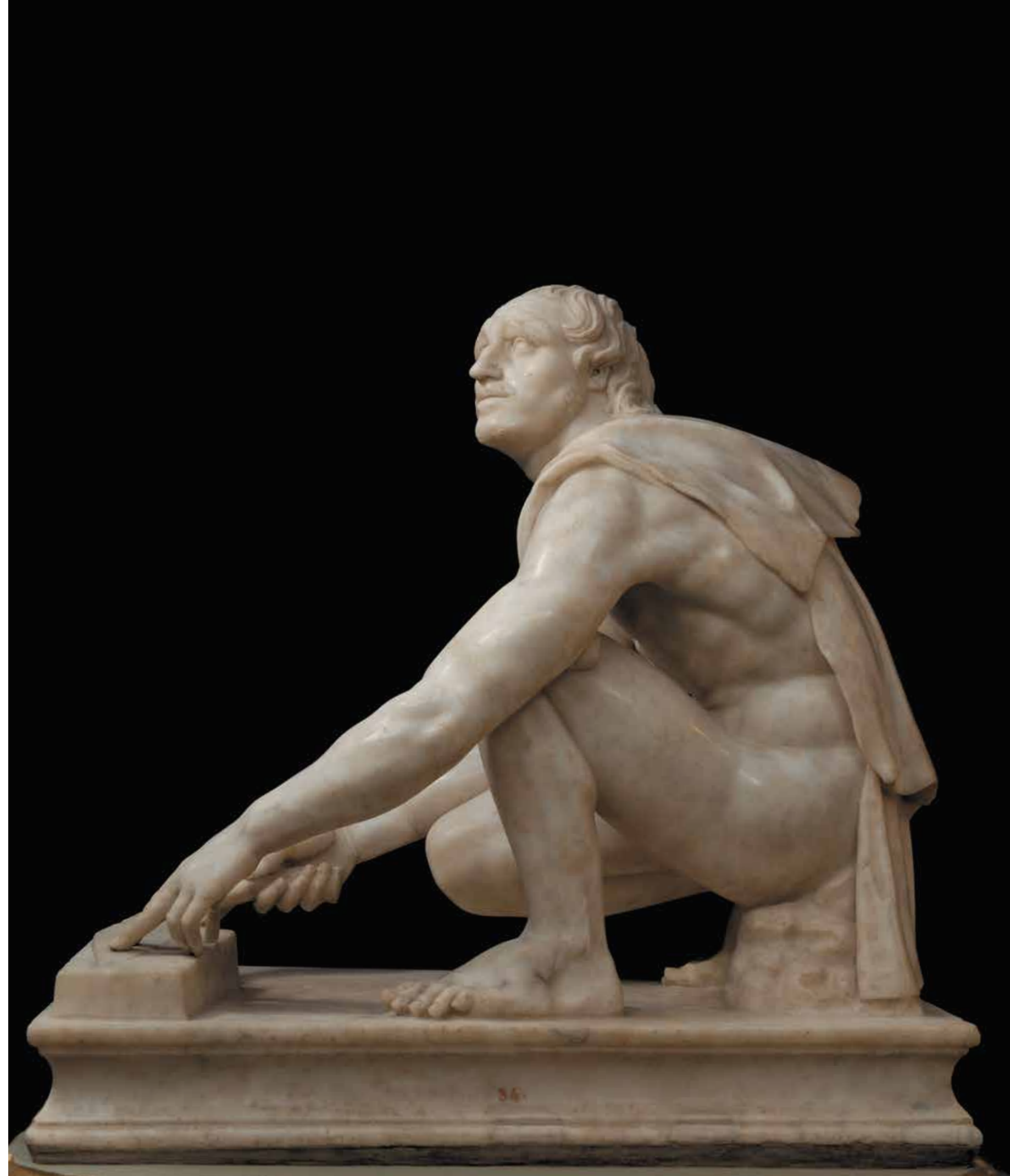
The work is almost completely antique. Modern restorations are responsible for the tip of the nose, right thumb and all the fingers of the left hand except the index finger, the right wrist, part of the blade, some folds of the drapery along the right side, and small parts of the edge of the base. The right eyebrow and the chin are chipped. The surface of the marble has been highly polished, but without compromising the modelling or details such as the tufts of hair of the beard and moustache and the tiny lines defining the eyebrows.

The sculpture presents a man crouching in front of a grindstone, sharpening the blade of a knife. He is nude except for a cloak of untanned leather tossed over his left shoulder and hanging down his back. The weight of his body is borne by his bent right foot, while the left foot rests solidly on the ground, lending stability to the figure. His arms are extended towards the grindstone; his right hand grasps the knife handle, while the fingers of his left hand press on the blade, holding it to the grindstone in the typical action of a knife grinder. The man, twisting his neck, turns his head upwards to the left towards Marsyas, by this point tied to a tree awaiting the divine punishment. The Scythian's muscles, accentuated by his contracted pose, are meticulously described by the knotty rendering of his back and the heightened tendons and veins in his arms and legs.

The head is angular in shape and the flattened forehead seems high because of his incipient baldness. The forehead, traversed by three deep furrows, is further wrinkled as he turns his head towards Marsyas; together with the sharply arched eyebrows, this lends pathos to his face. His high cheekbones and wide, fleshy mouth indicate his barbarian origins. His eyes are deepset, with the pupils slightly sunken. His lacrimal caruncle is precisely defined, slightly hollow and triangular in shape. The eyebrows, like the tufts of hair forming the moustache and beard, are rendered by means of short, shallow incised lines. His hair is long and unruly, with locks that cling to his skull and curl at the ends. The sculpted figure, supported under the left buttock, rests on a wide rectangular base with perimeter moulding.

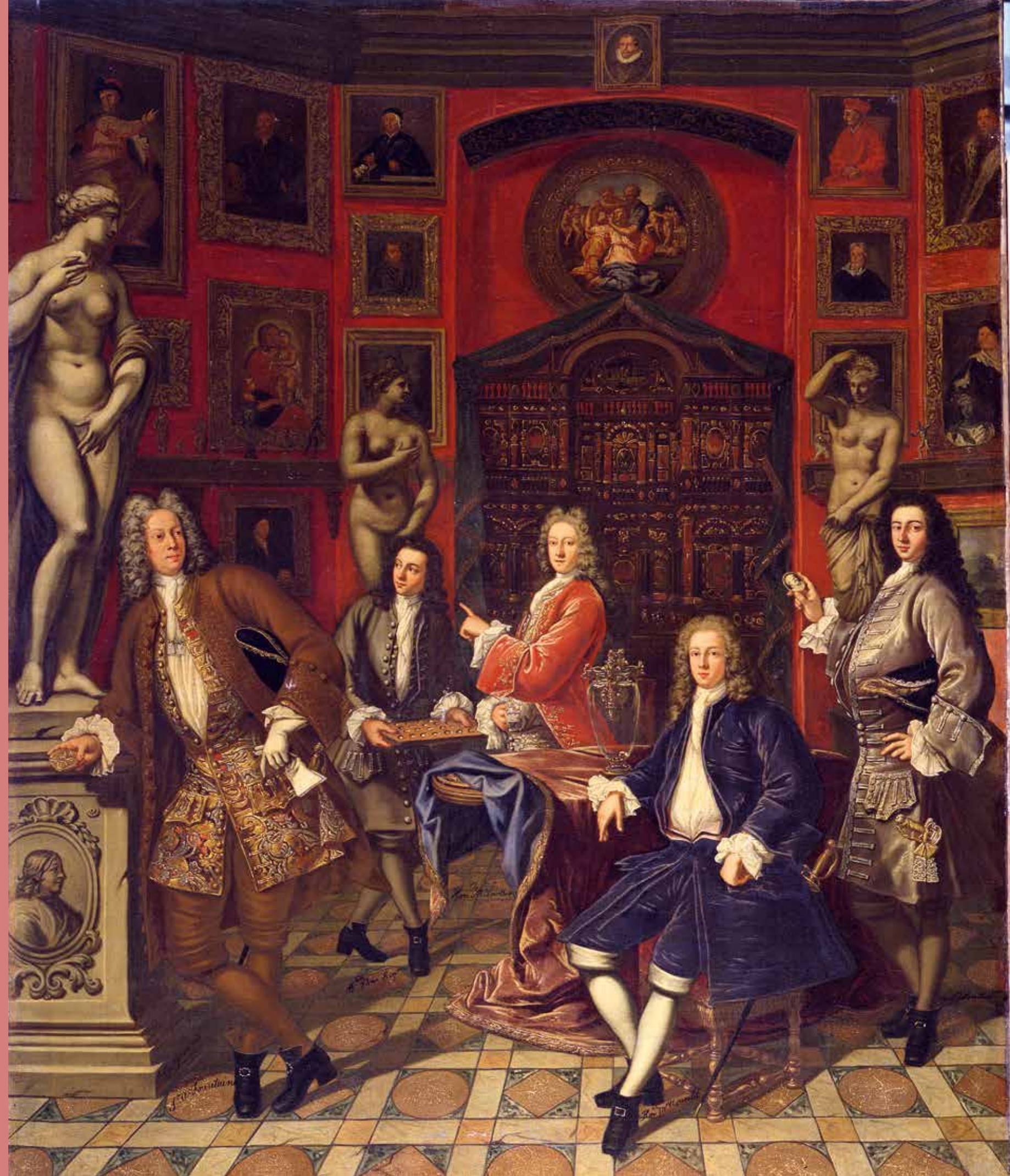
Even though the exact place where it was found is unknown, by now it is considered practically certain that the statue was made in Rome (Mansuelli 1958, p. 84). Bartoli says that it was found on the slopes of the Pincian Hill during excavations for the foundation of the Palazzo Mignanelli (Bartsch 1813, entry 206), but this information – perhaps because the sculpture was purchased by this noble family – should be considered mistaken because mention of the piece appears in earlier documents (Bartoli 1790, p. 102). In its collection history, the *Knife Grinder* appears for the first time in the inventory of the property of Agostino Chigi drawn up in 1520, where it is listed among the works decorating the Sale delle Prospettive, i.e., the main drawing room of the piano nobile of the Villa Farnesina (inv. Chigi 1520, fol. 18r; Bartolini 1992, p. 31; Barbieri 2023, pp. 111-140). Aldovrandi may have had this location in mind when he erroneously said that it belonged to Niccolò Guisa "where the Duke of Melfi now is" (Aldovrandi 1556, p. 114). Starting in 1561, it is registered among the property of Paolantonio Soderini (Riccomini 1995, p. 281). The work, which by this point had become famous, was ardently desired by Cosimo I, who through Vasari negotiated its price in vain in 1566. Ownership subsequently passed to the Mignanelli family (Bartoli 1790, p. 102), after which it was finally purchased by Francesco I or Ferdinando I de' Medici (Bencivenni Pelli 1779, II, pp. 49-50). The statue, placed in the "room towards the Popolo," i.e., Piazza del Popolo (GR, 779, 226), remained at the Villa Medici until 1677 when, together with the *Venus* and the *Wrestlers*, it was moved to Florence. This is when restoration work was done by Ercole Ferrata, who integrated the fingers and some folds of the cloak, which are missing in the drawing by Maarten Heemskerck (Bencivenni Pelli 1779, I, p. 291; Sandrart 1675-1679, II, p. 86). Starting in 1680, the work is recorded as being in the Uffizi (Bencivenni Pelli 1779, I, p. 291) and in 1688 it was already on display in Buontalenti's Tribune (Baldinucci 1668, II, p. 497; inv. Uffizi 1704, no. 2135), the room which held the most precious works in the Medici collection and was an obligatory stop on the Grand Tour. In 1784 it was restored once again, this time by Carradori, but it is not known how extensively (AG, F.XVII, 1784.a.38). Since it came into the Gallery, the *Knife Grinder* has always stood in the Tribune, except for a brief period between 1800 and 1803 when it was taken to Palermo to escape Napoleon's raids (AG, F.XXX, 1800-1801).

<sup>o</sup> Attanasio *et alii* 2015, pp. 74-89.





Cosimo III's Tribune





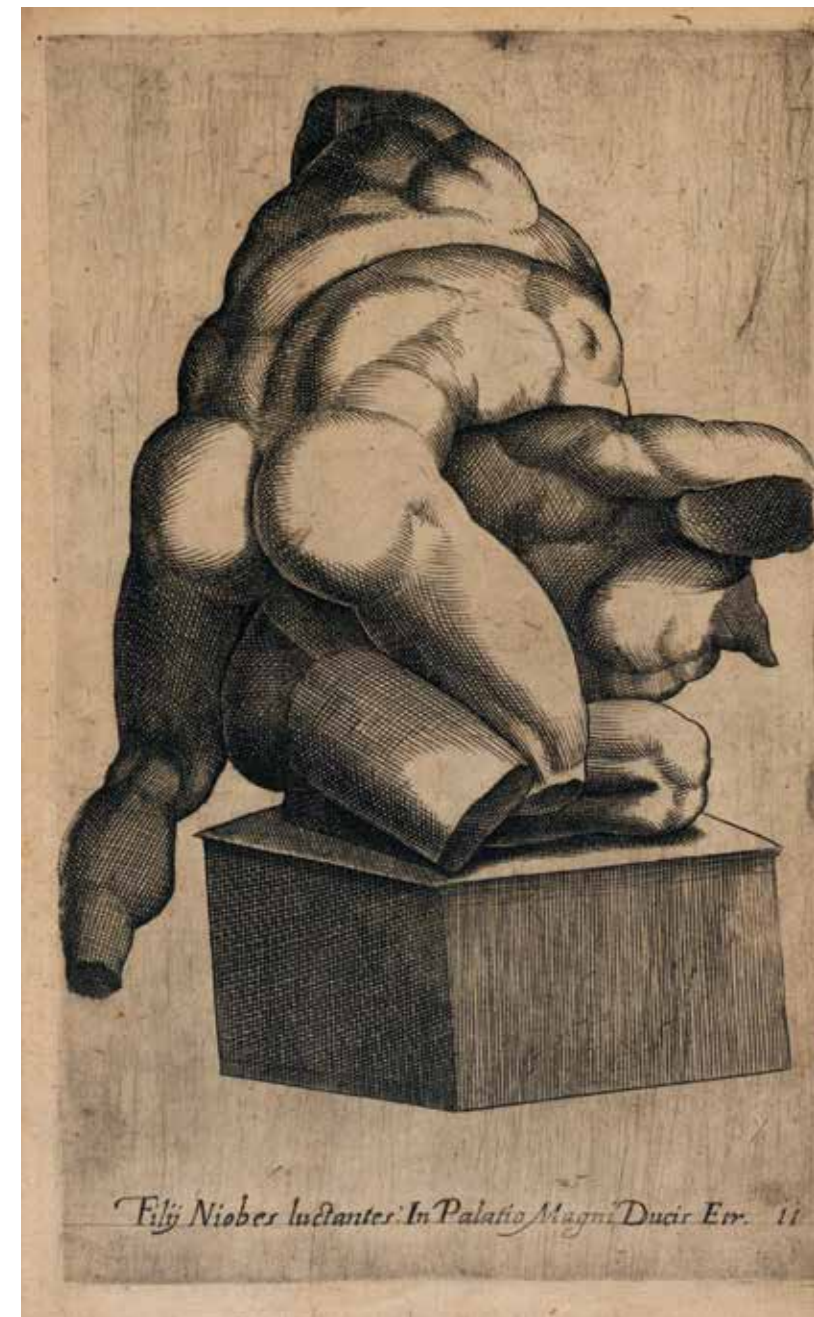


Fig. 1 - Giovanni Battista de' Cavalleriis, *Group of Wrestlers*, etching from *Antiquarum statuarum Urbis Romae, liber tertius et quartus*, Romae 1594, plate 11

The earliest known witness to the work complete with its reintegrations dates to 1638, when Perrier made the engraving showing the *Wrestlers* now completed with limbs and heads, and by this point acknowledged not to belong to the *Niobids*. After this, documentary sources report just two restoration events: one in 1677, when the *Wrestlers* were moved to Florence, carried out by Ercole Ferrata (Bencivelli Pelli 1779, p. 68), and another done a little more than a century later, in 1784, by Francesco Carradori (AG, XVII, 38).

In evaluating the reintegrations, scholars have expressed various opinions about the relative antiquity of the limbs and heads. Concerning the limbs, Gori does not accept a modern origin for them, but rather considers the entire group to be antique. Lanzi considers modern "an arm of the vanquished clutched by the hand of the vanquisher," while Zannoni thinks that the only modern part is the fist of the top wrestler. Dütschke holds a similar opinion concerning the left arm and probably also the left leg of the bottom athlete, while he considers to be the fruit of restoration the right foot, left leg, and both arms. Amelung holds that practically all of the upper limbs of the two figures are modern, as does Bulle. Mansuelli, on the other hand, considers modern only the right arm of the top wrestler.

Different positions have been taken by scholars also in evaluating the heads, characterised by a slightly elongated oval face and a thick, full head of hair. Fabroni thinks both are modern additions. Dütschke does not reject their antiquity, but underlines their stylistic similarity to the heads of the *Niobids*. Graef (1984, pp. 119-122) thinks along the same lines; convinced of the antiquity of the two elements, he assigns them however to the figures of the *Niobids* and thinks that the head of the *Niobid* on the rock (inv. 1914, no. 306) is the original head of the bottom wrestler. Zannoni considers to be antique and pertinent to its body only the head of the bottom wrestler. Amelung and Bulle are in agreement that both heads are ancient, but point out that they do not belong to the *Wrestlers*. Mansuelli, for his part, thinks that only the top wrestler's head is modern. A completely different opinion is held by Geominy, who says that the head of the bottom wrestler is ancient and belongs to the body, and that the head of the *Niobid* on the rock just mentioned descends from this. On the contrary, Gasparri judges the head of the bottom wrestler to be antique but says that this is a replica of the *Niobid*, while that of the top wrestler is a modern copy.





The damage, limited to the loss of two fingers, one toe, and a wing of one of the two cupids, was promptly repaired by the sculptor Stefano Ricci (AGU 1816 XL, no. 14, *Restauri occorsi alla Venere Medicea dopo essere tornata da Parigi*, 8 March 1816). For the entire nineteenth century, the *Venus* was not touched except for normal maintenance, and the following century, too, was not marked by any particular events; with the exception of its transfer to the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano in 1940 for safekeeping during World War II, the *Venus* left the Tribune only for an exhibition on the occasion of the Bicentennial of American Independence in Washington in late 1975 and early 1976.

On various occasions throughout the eighteenth century, travellers on the Grand Tour and antiquarians such as Alessandro Maffei (1704), Jonathan Richardson (1728), Baron Montesquieu (1728-1729), Johann Georg Keyssler (1740), and Johann Winckelmann (1764) mentioned the gilded hair of the *Medici Venus* (see Boschung 2007, p. 173). Curiously, this particular fact seems to be ignored by nineteenth-century visitors, perhaps due to the increasing difficulty of discerning a gold coating that seems to have definitively disappeared. Some clues could lead us to think of a voluntary, premeditated removal of what remained of the application of gold leaf, a “derestoration” which is hardly anomalous in the cultural climate of Neoclassicism (see Bourgeois, Jockey 2005, p. 264) and could have taken place during the above-mentioned intervention in 1816.

The systematic nature of this operation of removal of the applied gold is demonstrated by the fact that recent extensive autoptic inspections of the statue, such as that done by Christiane Vorster in 2000 (Vorster 2001, p. 405), had not yielded any signs of the earlier gilding. Only the occasion offered by the restoration of the sculpture in 2013-14 has enabled the recovery on the top of Venus’s head, thus the point hardest to reach by the restorer’s hands, significant traces of gilding and of the red bole preparation (Baraldi *et alii* 2012, pp. 249-255). At the current state of knowledge, the use of red bole preparation in Late Hellenistic statuary is attested in only one case, from Delos (Bourgeois, Jockey 2005, p. 294), a site where it seems a yellow preparation was preferred (Bourgeois, Jockey 2010, p. 230), which offered the undisputable advantage of not disturbing the chromatic unity of the statue in case the gold leaf flaked away.

The sculpture now in Florence can take its place with full rights among the statuary of the late Hellenistic and imperial eras, when the application of gold leaf (see Østergaard 2010, pp. 94-97) answered the need for imitation and realism, given that it reflects a specific attribute of the goddess assigned to her as early as the Archaic Age. As Ibycus of Rhegium reported towards the end of the sixth century BC in his praise of Polycrates (*P. Oxy.* 1790), Aphrodite is distinguished from the blonde (*xanthe*) Helen by her hair, which was in effect golden (*chrysoètheiran*). What is more, the connection between the goddess and this precious metal never waned in the centuries after that, to the point of being crystallised in the image of Aurea Venus destined to great success in Latin literature (see for example Virgil, *Aeneid* X, 16-17; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* X, 277). The gilding of her hair was accompanied by extensive polychromy covering the figure and the cupids riding the dolphin. The existence of the use of colour in finishing the statue is proved by infrared reflectography examination at 850 nm (VIL = Visible Induced Luminescence), which recovered clear traces of Egyptian blue in the wave underneath the dolphin. With the exception of some minimal residue of cinnabar inside the lips, nothing more can be identified of the *Venus*’s original polychromy. This result should be interpreted also as the consequence of a systematic process of smoothing and polishing the surface of the goddess’s body, which has resulted in the virtually total loss of the original epidermis. Only in the point where the calves of her legs are so close as almost to touch, in a limited area and by virtue of this fact inaccessible, can a minimal part of the original surface be identified, distinguished from the current surface by a discrepancy of almost a millimetre of marble. The undeniable similarities in the manner of rendering the hair, already noted by more than one scholar (Vorster 2001, p. 403; Schröder 2004, p. 271), between the *Venus* in Florence and the head of the so-called *Ariadne*, a head of Venus found among the cargo of the shipwreck of Mahdia and datable to the end of the second century BC (Prittwitz, Gaffron 1998, pp. 55-57, plates 19-20), enable the recognition with reasonable certainty of the famous marble in the Tribune as the work of a refined Neo-Attic workshop active towards the end of the Hellenistic period.

Fabrizio Paolucci

References: Mansuelli 1958, pp. 69-74, entry 45 (with earlier biography); Bieber 1961, p. 20, figs. 28, 30-31; Brinkerhoff 1978, pp. 30, 45; Vierendeel-Schlörb 1979, p. 335, p. 347, note 71; Haskell, Penny 1981, pp. 325-327, entry 88; Neumer, Pfau 1982, pp. 183-191; Delivorrias *et alii* 1984, p. 53, entry 419; Ridgway 1990, pp. 354-356; Smith 1991, p. 80, fig. 100; Moreno 1994, p. 733, entry 1167; Mitchell, Havlock 1995, p. 76; Cittadini 1997, pp. 56, 59, 68-77; Schreurs 2000, pp. 254-255, fig. 117, p. 477, entry 533; Stemmer 2001, pp. 109-111, entries G 3-G 5; Vorster 2001; Schröder 2004, pp. 271-273; Boschung 2007; Cecchi, Gasparri 2009, pp. 74-75, entry 64; Boschung 2011, pp. 232-237; Paolucci 2014a.



The Gabinetto degli Uomini Illustri







If during Roman times, helped along by the growing spread of Stoicism, reproductions of the philosopher's visage were particularly widespread – to the point of provoking sarcastic comments by Juvenal, who around the turn of the second century AD described as “full of plaster casts of Chrysippus” (*Sat.* II 4-5) the homes of ignorant, pretentious people who were hoping to appear cultured – the characteristic thrust forward of the head, easily seen in some of the exemplars known to us, suggests that this was originally part of a seated statue such as the one described by Cicero, who recalled “in Athens in the Kerameikos a statue of Chrysippus seated with his hand outstretched” (*De finibus*, I, 39); some thought this was the image of the philosopher “in the act of counting on his fingers” cited by Pliny as a work by the sculptor Eubilides (*Nat. Hist.* XXXIV, 88; on this, see Richter 1965, II, pp. 190-191). Long before the definitive identification of the face of Chrysippus, Carlo Fea, in his commentary on his Italian translation of Winckelmann's *History of the Art of Antiquity*, had grasped the analogy between Cicero's words and a statue of a seated man that belonged at the time to the Borghese family and is now in the Louvre (inv. Ma 80; Winckelmann 1784, p. 513, plate XXIII), which repeats an iconography already known from two other replicas, one in the Capitoline Museum and the other in the museum in Cyrene (inv. 1635 and inv. 2003 respectively); all three statues are missing the head. As early as 1890 Gercke connected what is today universally accepted as a portrait of Chrysippus with the exemplar in the Louvre, and the reconstructions of the archetype, obtained by assembling plaster casts and originals (see Richter 1965, II, p. 193 and Papini 2005, p. 128 and note 6) – and bringing in also the replica in France (Richter 1965, II, p. 193), evidenced the correspondences between the head and body in the handling of the wrinkled neck. The same limited portion of drapery belonging to some ancient replicas of the head – such as an inscribed headless bust from the southeastern slopes of the Acropolis in Athens, the exemplars in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples (inv. 6127) and the British Museum (inv. 1836), and finally, a small bronze bust found in the area of the *Templum Pacis* (Rome, Museo dei Fori Imperiali, inv. FN 5) – follows a line similar to that seen on the statue in the Louvre, with folds falling obliquely over the right shoulder and almost vertically on the other side, forming at the top a typical “forked” motif (Papini 2005, p. 128). The elderly philosopher would thus have been shown curving forward, sitting on a simple seat – the replica in the Capitoline Museum is an exception, as the figure sits on a chair with a curved back – and wrapped casually in a cloak from which his thin legs emerge, while his left arm, bent and held towards his abdomen, remains covered by the cloth; the right arm emerges to stretch out his hand in a gesture that could emphasise expounding on a topic, revealing his wrinkled, nude chest. The frailty of age expressed by the sculpture is evocatively echoed in the words of Diogenes Laertius: “[Chrysippus] had a small, weak body, as is readily evident from his statue in the Kerameikos, which is almost hidden by the equestrian one next to it” (*Diog. Laert.* VII, 182). In an expressive contrast with a physical weakness so explicitly displayed, the head, captured in a slight turn to the right with the right eyebrow arched to wrinkle his brow above deeply sunken eyes, betrays the energy with which the old man seems to want to explicate his thought as he addresses a hypothetical listener. The archetype is generally thought to have been made in the second half of the third century BC, shortly after the philosopher's death (see for example von den Hoff 1991, pp. 105-109 [dated circa 200 BC] and Zanker 1997, p. 114, caption for figures 59 and 60 [dated after 204 BC]), although there are also proposals for a later date, within the first half of the second century BC (see for example Schefold 1997, pp. 53, 254-255, 518). It has been observed that the known replicas of the portrait are dated between the late Augustan Age and the third century AD, with a particular concentration in the Julio-Claudian era and under the Flavian dynasty (Papini 2005, p. 125); the handling of the hair and beard defined with thin incisions of the chisel, as well as the masked use of a drill, enables us to place the Uffizi head hypothetically among the most ancient.

Alessandro Muscillo

References: Mansuelli 1961, pp. 29-30, entry 14, with earlier bibliography; Richter 1965, II, p. 192, entry 7; A. Romualdi, in *I Mai visti* 2001, pp. 30-31.





DIVINA SIMULACRA