



# Restaging Greek Artworks in Roman Times

edited by

Gianfranco Adornato, Irene Bald Romano, Gabriella Cirucci  
and Alessandro Poggio

with an Afterword by Christopher H. Hallett

# Archeologia e Arte antica

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*Scuola Normale Superiore*

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# INTRODUCTION

*Gianfranco Adornato* - Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa

*Irene Bald Romano* - University of Arizona, Tucson

*Gabriella Cirucci* - Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa

*Alessandro Poggio* - IMT School for Advanced Studies Lucca

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This volume offers a collection of essays dealing with the material and immaterial (metaphorical) reuse of Greek art in Roman times from different perspectives and with regard to a wide range of contexts and aspects<sup>1</sup>. The theme and the issues addressed stem from two research projects led by Gianfranco Adornato and hosted by the Laboratorio di Storia Archeologia Epigrafia e Tradizione dell'Antico (SAET) of the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa: “OltrePlinio / BeyondPliny” and “*Nobilis Opera?*”.

The project “OltrePlinio / BeyondPliny” started as a PRIN 2012 research project (PRIN-MIUR Fund, Research Project of National Interest, Italian Ministry of Education, Universities and Research)<sup>2</sup>; the aim of the project is to overcome the limitations of considering Pliny the Elder’s work as a mere list of *excerpta*, to view the *Naturalis Historia* in a wider historical, literary and cultural perspective, as well as to emphasize its role as a turning point in the reception and transmission of technical terminology and artistic canons between the Late Classical period and the modern era<sup>3</sup>. By including the widest possible range of sources – many of which, such as papyri, Byzantine lexica, and *scholia*, have been ignored and overlooked for a long time – the research combines different perspectives on Pliny’s chapters on the history of art, such as their analysis as a product of the Roman Imperial Age; critical discussion of previous literary sources according to the latest developments in different disciplines; the creation of an updated catalogue of artists, which considers the anecdotes about them, including in the perspective of later reception; and a new, more complete glossary of technical *lemmata*, both in Greek and Latin.

The project “*Nobilis Opera?* Displaying Reused Greek Sculpture in Roman Contexts: A Case Study towards a History of Restoration in Classical Antiquity”<sup>4</sup> developed along two major lines of interest: to collect the available archaeological and epigraphic evidence of Greek marble artworks of the 5th and 4th centuries BC reused in Roman contexts; and to explore their afterlives in Roman times and beyond. The research also aims to investigate the original provenance of the marbles by means of petrographic and isotopic analyses; to document and study the physical alterations of the objects, such as repair and reworking, as a step toward a more comprehensive understanding of restoration in antiquity; and to explore the relationship

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<sup>1</sup> For the definition of material and immaterial reuse, see Kinney 2011.

<sup>2</sup> “Beyond Pliny. Reception and Transmission of Art Theories, Artists’ Canons, Technical and Artistic Lexicon Between the Late Classical Period and the Roman Imperial Age: A Multidisciplinary Approach to the *Naturalis Historia* (books 33-36)”.

<sup>3</sup> Adornato *et al.* 2018. See also the project’s website at: <http://www.oltreplinio.it/>.

<sup>4</sup> Started in 2014 as an SNS Internal Research Fund Project.

between the original contexts and the Roman contexts of reuse as well as their transformations through time<sup>5</sup>.

Originating from the fruitful exchange and collaboration among the research teams hosted by the SAET Laboratory, and further encouraged by the lively atmosphere of the seminar of Classical Archaeology at the Scuola Normale, this book project was spurred by the productive discussion and positive feedback received during the relevant dissemination activities in national and international venues. The first part of this book developed out of the international conference *Athena Nike della Fondazione Sorgente Group: un originale greco a Roma*, held at the Scuola Normale in Pisa on 3 and 4 April 2014. The second part resulted from the session “*Nobilis opera? Re-staging Greek Artworks in Roman Contexts: New Approaches and Perspectives*” presented at the 25th Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, held in Leicester in March 2015. In both cases, other invited essays by specialists have been added.

The common thread of this volume is an exploration of the reuse of Greek artworks in Roman times from an object-oriented and cultural-historical perspective, taking into account the “history” or “biography” of the artworks as a whole. The metaphor of “restaging” intends to highlight our interest in the process of transformation of artworks and their contexts over time and space. Following these premises, this volume moves from a focus in Part I on the “lives” of the Fondazione Sorgente Group Athena Nike to the investigation of different forms of restaging Greek artworks in Roman times in Part II. The nature of the essays, which raise many issues and adopt different methodologies, offers the possibility of reading the volume through multiple paths, not necessarily following the order here proposed.

#### PART I: THE ATHENA NIKE OF THE FONDAZIONE SORGENTE GROUP

Eugenio La Rocca’s important essay in the Fondazione Sorgente Group’s handsome, bi-lingual (Italian-English) 2013 publication of its ancient Greek collection, along with the collection’s display in the Foundation’s exhibition space on the Via del Tritone in Rome, were the first public views of this remarkable statue of Athena and are the basis and stimuli for all subsequent research, including that presented here and during the international conference organized by Gianfranco Adornato at the Scuola Normale Superiore on April 3-4, 2014<sup>6</sup>.

The Athena was “rediscovered” in the Galleria Valerio Turchi, a well-known dealer’s gallery on the Via Margutta in Rome specializing in the sale of Greek and Roman sculpture. It was first identified by Antonio Giuliano, Professor *emeritus* at Tor Vergata University, as a Greek Athena statue, and brought to La Rocca’s attention<sup>7</sup>. The purchase of the statue by the Fondazione Sorgente Group required its certification by the Soprintendenza ai Beni Archeologici di Roma, and it remains today under the protection of the Italian Ministry of Culture<sup>8</sup>. The circumstances of the “rediscovery” of the Sorgente Athena are, however, problematic in that the provenance, the archaeological context (if known) and the history of ownership, has never been revealed in print. La Rocca is unequivocal that the statue was moved from Greece to Rome in antiquity and assumes that the statue has been in Rome since the Imperial period<sup>9</sup>, yet no specific evidence is presented to corroborate that. An attempt to recover more information from the dealer was unsuccessful. This lack of critical background is regrettable since the statue’s context, including its secondary or tertiary uses, would be extremely important in filling out the “biography” of this major Greek work of art. We have tried in these essays to fill this gap by presenting some possible scenarios for its original context and secondary

<sup>5</sup> Cirucci and Lazzarini 2015.

<sup>6</sup> La Rocca 2013.

<sup>7</sup> *Athena Nike* 2013, 6-7; La Rocca 2013, 64.

<sup>8</sup> *Athena Nike* 2013, 7.

<sup>9</sup> La Rocca 2013, 61-63.

uses, “reading” the evidence from the statue itself and its closest parallels, and examining some other cases of Greek works of art brought to Rome and repurposed.

In his 2013 essay, La Rocca presents a thorough visual analysis of the statue, pointing to some of the key stylistic and iconographic parallels including, most importantly, the Roman Athena-Minerva statue in the Glencairn Museum in Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania<sup>10</sup>. In this volume Irene Bald Romano reassesses the Glencairn statue in light of the rediscovery of the Sorgente statue and new archival information. It is the presence of large rectangular cuttings for the insertion of wings on the back of the Sorgente statue and their absence on the Glencairn statue that especially distinguish the two images from one another and open up interesting questions about the relationship of these two statues, whether Greek original and Roman copy or adaptation or variant of the same statue type<sup>11</sup>. La Rocca’s dating of the Sorgente statue has not been questioned: the Parian marble<sup>12</sup>, its style and workmanship, taken together, point to its origins in the 5th century BC, ca. 430 BC, not far from the time of the Parthenon sculptures.

One of the critical questions about this statue concerns who it represents. Athena seems clear from the presence of the aegis and gorgoneion. Yet, is it Athena in the guise of Nike or Athena in some other aspect? How do we interpret the forward motion of the figure? La Rocca clearly argues for a winged Athena Nike and presents a history of the winged (and *apteros*) deity and her cult, especially in Athens<sup>13</sup>, while other scholars in this volume present further possibilities. Arne Thomsen’s study focuses on the iconography of the winged Athena in Greek vase painting, while Eva Falaschi delves into the literary and epigraphical evidence for the winged and wingless Athena Nike in Athens. Kenneth Lapatin discusses the Nike on the hand of the Athena Parthenos. Alexandra A. Carpino invites us in a cultural comparison to look at the meaning of the addition of wings to Etruscan deities on bronze mirrors.

La Rocca argues that the Sorgente statue was conceived originally as a votive monument, set up on a tall column or pillar in a major Greek sanctuary in Greece, like the Nike of Paionios at Olympia, perhaps commemorating an Athenian victory in the Peloponnesian War<sup>14</sup>. It is a compelling conclusion, especially accompanied by beautiful 3-D reconstructions, both in print and in the Via del Tritone exhibition space<sup>15</sup>, yet there are nagging questions that allow for other possibilities, which we present in this volume. Olga Palagia, for example, argues here that the Sorgente Athena Nike was part of an Athenian pedimental group that looked back to a famous prototype.

## PART II: THE AFTERLIVES OF GREEK ARTWORKS

The second part of the book presents a selection of studies dealing with the afterlife of ancient Greek artworks in Roman times from different perspectives and with regard to a wide range of sources and methodologies. Moving from the still open questions concerning the afterlife of the Fondazione Sorgente Group Athena Nike, the section starts with a general overview by Gabriella Cirucci of the main issues related to the study of Greek sculptures of the Classical period found in Roman contexts of reuse, especially focusing on “anonymous” marble artworks discovered within the city of Rome.

The survey by Marina Caso of Greek votive reliefs reused in private residences in Roman Campania extends the investigation beyond the city of Rome, providing new infor-

<sup>10</sup> La Rocca 2013, 35-53.

<sup>11</sup> La Rocca 2013, 47.

<sup>12</sup> Bruno 2013, 18. Matthias Bruno, a noted authority on ancient Greek and Roman marbles and their quarries, identifies the marble of the statue as Parian *lychnites*; there is no reason to doubt this identification, though no scientific testing was conducted.

<sup>13</sup> La Rocca 2013, 50-63.

<sup>14</sup> La Rocca 2013, 61-63.

<sup>15</sup> La Rocca 2013, 62-63.

mation and a new interpretation of the sculptural decoration of the two best-documented examples in the region. The study of the reused artworks in context helps illuminate the multifaceted factors that could determine the choice of exhibiting old Greek artifacts in private urban and extra-urban spaces, against the background of the consolidated and ancient relationships between the Campanian cities and the Greek and Hellenized centers of the eastern Mediterranean.

Richard Neudecker's paper considers the religious meaning, or sacred connotation, that many, if not all, the artworks taken from Greece as war booty brought with them to Rome. However, this well-known and amply investigated topic is here approached with a reversal of perspective, by focusing on the restaging of old artworks in Greek sanctuaries under Roman rule. In this vein, the paper explores the transformation of the Greek spaces over time and addresses the relationship between the artworks moved to Rome as *spolia* and those which remained in Greece, sometimes recontextualized there.

The following two essays focus on the restaging of Greek artworks within the city of Rome. Eva Falaschi draws attention to the afterlife of the Ialysus by Protogenes, one of the most famous paintings in Antiquity, which was transferred to Rome and exhibited in the *Templum Pacis*. By identifying the restaging of this painting in Imperial Rome as a turning point in its fortune, the paper aims to convert the limits of knowing an artwork only through literary texts into an opportunity for reassessing the traditional art historical approach to written sources by contextualizing them within their cultural frame.

Alessandro Poggio's essay explores the interaction between the city of Rome, its inhabitants, and its *ornamenta* of Greek provenance. Through an examination of the Roman Saepta, he revises current museological approaches to Imperial Roman spaces through a balanced analysis of literary sources and a sensorial approach. The analysis encompasses the "biography" of the Saepta and its main architectural phases as well as its multiple functions over the centuries to investigate how such transformations impacted the relationship of the inhabitants with the artworks displayed there and consequently the meaning of these artworks.

The final section of the book, dealing with the immaterial (metaphorical) restaging of Greek artworks in Roman times, presents three studies that revise the current interpretation of male nude statues that are usually understood as derivative from Greek prototypes. Linda Pozzani focuses on the famous statue of the so-called Marcellus made by the Athenian Kleomenes, now in the Louvre Museum, discussing the scholarly tendency to interpret statues carved by native artists from Greece, but naturalized in Rome, as copies derived from Greek models. Combining a traditional stylistic approach to the statue with a paleographic and epigraphic analysis of the inscription carved on it, the essay sheds light on how a thorough study of the artist's signature is crucial for the comprehension of both the chronology and the wider social and cultural context of the Greek "originals" commissioned by Roman patrons between the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Imperial period.

Mariateresa Curcio extends the discussion to Roman male nude portraits that have been variously traced back to Polykleitos and his school, proposing a critical approach to the ongoing tendency to describe them only in terms of their relationship to types, or sub-types, of famous Greek masterpieces. By leaving aside similar concerns, the paper explores the significant case of two statues in Formia, providing a different interpretation of their formal differences based on the analysis of their function and meaning within their ancient context.

The last essay by Gianfranco Adornato questions the *communis opinio* that the Doryphoros represents the sculptural model of the Prima Porta Augustus. The thorough analyses of the stylistic and anatomical features of the two sculptures as well as of the sculptural type demonstrate that the cuirassed statue is unambiguously related to a different typology and tradition that have no link with Polykleitos and the naked Doryphoros, and that the portrait of Augustus has no significant common points with the classical forms of the 5th-century statue.

The afterword by Christopher H. Hallett offers a critical assessment of the book's contents, contextualizing it within current scholarly debate on the subject of the setting and reception of classical sculpture.

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We are also grateful to the Scuola Normale Superiore and the Laboratorio di Storia Archeologia Epigrafia e Tradizione dell'Antico (SAET) for their logistic and financial support; a special thanks to Prof. Andrea Giardina for his generous help and advice in this and other occasions.

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# A REEXAMINATION OF THE GLENCAIRN ATHENA/MINERVA AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE FONDAZIONE SORGENTE GROUP ATHENA NIKE

*Irene Bald Romano* - University of Arizona, Tucson

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[ireneromano@email.arizona.edu](mailto:ireneromano@email.arizona.edu)

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The statue that is variously called the Philadelphia Nike, the Pitcairn Nike, the Glencairn Athena Nike, or the Glencairn Minerva Victoria is the only sculptural image that closely compares to the Fondazione Sorgente Group Athena Nike<sup>1</sup> (*Figs. 1a and 1b*). Some 58 years ago in its first substantial publication, Rhys Carpenter argued that the Glencairn statue is a rare Roman copy of the Nike that stood on the outstretched right hand of the Pheidias Athena Parthenos<sup>2</sup>. This identification has been shown to be erroneous, for the statue is an Athena or her Roman counterpart and not a personification of Nike. When I undertook a study of the statue in the 1990s there was no other sculptural work that bore any close similarity to the Glencairn statue, thus I described it as an eclectic creation of the Roman period and called it a Minerva Victoria<sup>3</sup>. A reexamination of this statue is presented here in light of the discovery – or rediscovery – of the Sorgente Athena Nike.

The Athena statue is in the collection of the Glencairn Museum, a private museum that opened to the public in 1996 in the former home of Mildred Glenn Pitcairn (1886-1979) and Raymond Pitcairn (1885-1966) in the Philadelphia suburb of Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, the world headquarters of the Swedenborgian Church of the New Jerusalem (*Fig. 2*). Built between 1928 and 1939, this magnificent Romanesque-style castle was called “Glencairn” by the Pitcairns, combining their two surnames. Raymond Pitcairn was the son of the Scottish-born John Pitcairn (1841-1916) who emigrated with his family to America in 1846, working his way up from an office boy for the Pennsylvania Railroad to become a highly successful businessman. Trained as a lawyer, Raymond Pitcairn took over the management of the family’s businesses, including Pittsburg Plate Glass Company, and became a leader and patron of the

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<sup>1</sup> *Athena Nike* 2013.

<sup>2</sup> Carpenter 1958. The statue was on loan to the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Philadelphia from soon after Pitcairn purchased it in 1935 until 1986.


<sup>3</sup> Romano 1997; 1999; Romano and Romano 1999, 14-24, no. 21; Glencairn Museum 09.SP.1629.



small religious community in Bryn Athyn (*Fig. 3*). Pitcairn was much enamored with the medieval world. After preliminary sketches by Ralph Adams Cram, Pitcairn took over the architectural design and oversaw every detail of the construction of the Gothic-style cathedral in Bryn Athyn<sup>4</sup>. He began collecting art of the Middle Ages beginning around 1916, first on frequent trips to Europe, and then from 1922 through purchases from European and American dealers in the U.S. His collecting reached a peak in the 1920s and 1930s, and by the end of his life he had amassed one of the finest private medieval collections in America of some 1,000 works of architectural sculpture and stained glass, treasury arts, manuscripts, tapestries, and weaponry, with a focus on Romanesque sculpture, Early Gothic stained glass, and art with religious themes. The core collections of the Glencairn Museum are, therefore, those assembled by Raymond Pitcairn and objects that had been acquired through various donors and collectors by the Academy of the New Church, the parent institution of the museum today<sup>5</sup>. Pitcairn's purchases of classical antiquities pale in comparison to the number of medieval works he acquired, but, in addition to the Athena statue, they include a group of limestone Cypriote heads that may have served as inspiration for images of the Madonna or Biblical women carved for the Bryn Athyn Cathedral; a double-headed herm; two Roman male portrait heads; a Roman ideal female head; Roman glass; Greek and Roman jewelry; and two Venus images, in bronze and bone. The Athena, on display in a Classical World Gallery in the museum today, is certainly the most celebrated and outstanding object in the Glencairn Museum's classical collection, possibly of special interest to Pitcairn as an image of a recognizable ancient religious figure<sup>6</sup>.

## 2. ACQUISITION HISTORY

One of the most interesting – and, in some ways, most discouraging – new avenues of research on the Glencairn Athena relates to the provenance of the statue, both its ownership history and its original ancient context. New information is now available in archives and publications about the dealers in whose hands the statue was before Raymond Pitcairn purchased it. Pitcairn bought the statue for \$4000 in March-April of 1935 from the Paris and New York dealers Demotte, Inc.<sup>7</sup>, founded and operated by the Belgian-born Georges-Joseph Demotte (*Fig. 4*). When he was killed in 1923 in a strange accident by another Parisian art dealer, his 17-year old son Lucien Demotte took over the business until his premature death in 1934<sup>8</sup>. Lucie Demotte Marcus, Georges Demotte's widow, became president of the firm following Lucien's death<sup>9</sup>.

Raymond Pitcairn's deep interest in the arts of the Middle Ages brought him in contact with Georges-Joseph Demotte who built the company's reputation as the preeminent dealers in French medieval works of art. Pitcairn purchased five or six stained glass panels and sculptures from Georges Demotte from 1916 to 1923 and later over 20 medieval works from his son Lucien<sup>10</sup>. 

<sup>4</sup> Glenn 1971.

<sup>5</sup> Hayward and Cahn 1982, 33-47; Glenn 1990; Romano and Romano 1999, iv-xiii; Glencairn Museum, <http://www.glencairnmuseum.org> (accessed July 15, 2015).

<sup>6</sup> Romano and Romano 1999, x-xi.

<sup>7</sup> Lucie Demotte Marcus wrote to Pitcairn urging him to give his approval for the purchase of the statue because the Metropolitan Museum of Art was greatly interested (letter to Pitcairn, dated March 9, 1935); and a guarantee document for the statue was signed by Lucie Demotte Marcus on April 10, 1935, in the archives of the Glencairn Museum.

<sup>8</sup> Secrest 2004, 207-223.

<sup>9</sup> In a guarantee document for the statue, dated April 10, 1935, she identifies herself as the widow of G.-J. Demotte (archives of the Glencairn Museum).

<sup>10</sup> Hayward and Cahn 1982, 38, 40.

# A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE FONDAZIONE SORGENTE GROUP ATHENA NIKE AS PART OF AN ATHENIAN PEDIMENT

*Olga Palagia* - National and Kapodistrian University of Athens

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7359/832-2018-pala>

palagia@enternet.gr

The discovery of a new Classical original is always a small miracle, enriching our understanding of the most brilliant period of Greek sculpture. Eugenio La Rocca is to be congratulated on bringing a new Athena to our attention and for generating a fruitful discussion of the issues arising from its fragmentary state<sup>1</sup>. This paper will deal mainly with technical questions in an attempt to illuminate the implications of various cuttings found on the figure. The interpretation of technical issues may affect the identification, pose and function of the statue.

La Rocca has established that the Sorgente statue (*Fig. 1*) is of Parian marble and that its original height would have been about 1.45 m. He has convincingly dated it around 430 BC on grounds of style, and assumes that it was taken to Rome in antiquity<sup>2</sup>. This is very plausible considering the number of Classical Greek sculptures excavated in Rome. Two prominent examples of marble sculptures of the late 5th century removed from Greek temples to Rome in antiquity are the pedimental statue of a dying Niobid now in Copenhagen and a metope from the temple of Apollo at Bassai now in New York<sup>3</sup>.

The Sorgente statue's arms were carved separately and attached by means of dowels (*Figs. 2 and 3*). La Rocca rightly reconstructs the right arm as lowered, the left raised to the side<sup>4</sup>. The statue steps forward on the right foot (*Fig. 1*). She wears a girded peplos with overfold forming *kolpoi* on the sides, and an aegis covering most of her back and held with a gorgoneion serving as a clasp in front (*Figs. 1 and 4*). The aegis identifies the figure as Athena. La Rocca sees her as an Athena Nike on account of a dowel hole behind her left shoulder which may have held a wing (*Fig. 4*). This would place her squarely on the Athenian Acropolis where the cult of Athena Nike was located. La Rocca, however, suggests that the Athena was a free-standing dedication in an allied city commemorating one of the victories of Athens during the Peloponnesian War<sup>5</sup>. Regardless of the wings, at any rate, her affinity to Athenian Athena is demonstrated by comparison to her representations on Attic record reliefs of the 420s. A good

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Eugenio La Rocca and the Fondazione Sorgente Group for permission to study the statue and again to Eugenio La Rocca for kindly discussing it with me. Thanks are due to Gianfranco Adornato for inviting me to this conference, to Panos Valavanis for advice on palm branches and athletes and to Hans R. Goette for the photo of the Nike of Paionios (*Fig. 8*).

<sup>2</sup> La Rocca 2013.

<sup>3</sup> Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 472. Moltesen 1995, 46-47, no. 2; Hartswick 2004, 97-98, 102, fig. 3.8; Cima and Talamo 2008, 121, fig. 24; La Rocca *et al.* 2013, 249-250, VI.10.1. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1918.18.145.61. Palagia 2002.


<sup>4</sup> La Rocca 2013, 32. Cf. Lanciano 2013, 77.

<sup>5</sup> La Rocca 2013, 61.

parallel is offered by the relief on the decree of the Rheitoi bridge in Eleusis, dated to 422/1 BC (*Fig. 5*), where Athena holds a spear in the raised left hand, right hand lowered<sup>6</sup>. Athena on the honorary decree of Proxenides of Knidos from ca. 420 follows the same schema with left hand raised holding a spear and right extended forward<sup>7</sup>.

Her right shoulder is broken off (*Figs. 2 and 4*) but we can see the remains of the dowel hole that held the other wing. The size and shape of the hole indicate that the wing was in marble, not bronze. Bronze wings would have been attached with metal pins, not dowels. Let me point to two comparanda of marble statues with marble wings attached. Iris (N) in the west pediment of the Parthenon provides a parallel from the 430s (*Fig. 6*)<sup>8</sup>. The large size of the cuttings in her back suggests that Iris' wings were secured in place by means of tenons, not dowels. The shape and position of the dowel hole in the back of the Sorgente statue can more properly be compared to the cuttings at the back of a Roman Eros (*Fig. 7*) in the Sparta Museum and raises questions about the date of Athena's wings<sup>9</sup>. Was she designed from the start as a winged Athena? Her forward movement has been compared to the gliding effect of flying figures like the Nike of Paionios, who rushes forward on tiptoe (*Fig. 8*)<sup>10</sup>. However, if one compares the side view of the Sorgente statue (*Fig. 2*) with that of flying figures like the Nike of Paionios (*Fig. 8*) and an Aura akroterion from the Athena Agora<sup>11</sup>, it becomes clear that her gait and the flowing motion of her drapery are much more restrained and need not suggest flight.

A winged Athena of the High Classical period would be uncanonical as La Rocca himself was quick to admit<sup>12</sup>. The addition of wings raises issues about her function and attributes considering that she would be assimilated to Nike. La Rocca reconstructs her with a palm branch in the right hand and a wreath in the raised left, symbolizing victory and the coronation of the victor<sup>13</sup>. Whereas the wreath is a common attribute of Nike, as, for example, on a votive relief of the late 5th century from the Athenian Acropolis, where Nike crowns Herakles (*Fig. 9*)<sup>14</sup>, and we occasionally see Athena crowning honorands on record reliefs<sup>15</sup>, the palm branch as an attribute of victory more properly belongs to athletes and games officials awarding the prizes<sup>16</sup>. Pamphilos of Sikyon painted an athlete holding a palm branch in the late 5th or early 4th century BC<sup>17</sup>. We can see athletes and officials holding palms on Panathenaic amphoras of the 4th century BC<sup>18</sup>. A sculptured example of an athlete holding a palm branch comes from the Kerameikos cemetery and dates from the 2nd century AD (*Fig. 10*)<sup>19</sup>.

Before we proceed with the question of attributes, however, let us go back to the holes and cuttings that can be seen on the statue. In addition to the dowels supporting not only the wings but also the arms, the Sorgente Athena Nike has a number of cuttings that need to be reexamined. It has been suggested that after the Romans removed the statue from its original location, they erected it in a new setting which necessitated the addition of a support. Some of the cuttings could therefore have held dowels securing her to this support<sup>20</sup>. 

<sup>6</sup> Eleusis Museum 5093. Meyer 1989, 266, A 5; Mangold 1993, 9, pl. 2.1; Lawton 1995, 82-83, no. 3, pl. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Athens, Acropolis Museum 2996 (relief) + Epigraphical Museum 2634 + 2635 + 6854β + 6854γ + 6626 + Agora I 2806. Meyer 1989, 266-267, A 6, pl. 2; Mangold 1993, 20, pl. 2.2; Lawton 1995, 115-116, no. 68, pl. 36.

<sup>8</sup> London, British Museum. Palagia 1993, 48, fig. 106; Palagia 2006, 134, fig. 41.

<sup>9</sup> Sparta Museum 94. Palagia 2006, 252, fig. 84.

<sup>10</sup> Olympia Museum. Kreikenbom 2004, 198-199, fig. 125a; Palagia 2016.

<sup>11</sup> Athens, National Museum 1732. Kaltsas 2002, no. 163; Leventi 2014, 193-194.

<sup>12</sup> La Rocca 2013, 54-60.

<sup>13</sup> La Rocca 2013, 32. Cf. Lanciano 2013, 77.

<sup>14</sup> Athens, Acropolis Museum 1329. Palagia 2009, 36-37, fig. 10.

<sup>15</sup> E.g., Athens, National Museum 2360 + ex Epigraphical Museum 2790 from the early 4th century. Meyer 1989, 275, A 34, pl. 13.2; Lawton 1995, 124-125, no. 89, pl. 47. Athens, Acropolis Museum 3006, from the mid-4th century. Meyer 1989, 281, A 55, pl. 18.2; Lawton 1995, 141-142, no. 140, pl. 74.

<sup>16</sup> Kephaliadou 1996, 59.

<sup>17</sup> Plin. *NH* 35.75.

<sup>18</sup> London, British Museum B 603. Bentz 1998, 169, no. 4.014, pl. 106. Athens, National Museum 20047. Bentz 1998, 170, no. 4.027, pl. 110. Paris, Musée du Louvre MN 706. Bentz 1998, 175, no. 4.079, pl. 118.

<sup>19</sup> Unfinished funerary statue of a boy athlete, Athens, National Museum 1662. Kaltsas 2002, no. 743.

<sup>20</sup> La Rocca 2013, 63.

# ATHENA NIKE AND ATHENA'S NIKE

*Kenneth Lapatin* - The J. Paul Getty Museum

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klapatin@getty.edu

This paper addresses two statue types: that represented by both the marble torso identified as Athena Nike belonging to the Fondazione Sorgente Group and the closely related Pitcairn Minerva-Victoria; and another that has not been seen for more than a millennium and a half: the gold and ivory Nike held in the right hand of the monumental chryselephantine Athena created by Pheidias in the third quarter of the 5th century BC for the *naos* of the Parthenon on the Athenian Acropolis<sup>1</sup>. The replica of Pheidias' statue created by Alan LeQuire in 1990 for the Parthenon in Nashville, Tennessee (*Fig. 1*) gives a good impression of the lost Athena. Even if it is fashioned of gypsum cement and fiberglass, gilt and painted, rather than of gold, ivory, and other precious materials, it should be considered a rare *copy*, rather than a representation of that work, for it is full scale, standing some 13 meters tall and adorned with profuse subsidiary iconography. Of course, the value of LeQuire's statue as evidence for the detailed appearance of Pheidias' long lost ancient statue, rather than its overall affect, is minimal, but on the whole, it provides a good impression of Pheidias' lost work, better perhaps than most of the numerous much smaller ancient representations in marble, metal, ceramic, or precious stone<sup>2</sup>.

This is not the place to rehearse what we know and don't know about the so-called Athena Parthenos, its religious, political, and economic importance in 5th-century Athens, its rich iconography, its innovative technique, or its complex history and influence throughout classical antiquity. It is, however, worth noting that the Nike held by the goddess seems to have been particularly admired in antiquity, and in the 1950s Rhys Carpenter suggested that the Pitcairn Minerva-Victoria, addressed in these pages in detail by Irene Romano, was an ancient copy of it<sup>3</sup>. Carpenter's argument, which has been disputed by a number of scholars, including Romano and La Rocca, was based on the style of the figure and its similarity to Attic works of the late 5th century BC, its iconography, and its technique: not only the joining of the feet and other cuttings at the bottom, but also traces of what Carpenter identified as vermillion, thought to be evidence of ancient gilding. Thus he saw the Pitcairn statue as a composite replica of an earlier chryselephantine work. He did not know of the closely related Sorgente Athena Nike.

Pheidias' gold and ivory Nike, completed with the statue of Athena in 438 BC, was praised explicitly, if briefly, by the elder Pliny, who in book 36 of the *Naturalis Historia* (36.18) said it was *praecipue mirabili*, "especially to be admired". The Nike was also described by the 2nd-century AD traveler Pausanias (1.24.7), who tells us that it stood "about 4 cubits tall", that

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I am grateful to Gianfranco Adornato and Irene B. Romano for inviting me to contribute to this publication and their helpful comments and suggestions. The following essay is, for the most part, an annotated version of the paper I delivered at the colloquium in Pisa in May 2014, and I am grateful to Professor Adornato, Valentina Nicolucci, and all of the participants in that meeting for their generous hospitality and feedback.

<sup>1</sup> For the Sorgente/Pitcairn type see La Rocca *et al.* 2013 and other essays in this volume; for ancient representations of Pheidias' Athena see, e.g., Leipen 1972; Lapatin 1996; 2001; Nick 2002.


<sup>2</sup> For the Athena Parthenos and ancient representations of it see, e.g., Lange 1880; Leipen 1972; Prag 1984; Ridgway 1992; Lapatin 1996; 2001; Nick 2002.

<sup>3</sup> Carpenter 1958; 1959; cf. Leipen 1972, 34-36; Romano 1997, 18; La Rocca *et al.* 2013.

is to say about life-size, and that it was made of gold and ivory. The Nike is also mentioned briefly by Arrian (*Epict. diss.* 2.8.20). None of these authors (Overbeck, *SQ* §§ 649, 661, 662) provides greater detail, but I would note that these citations mentioning the Nike explicitly surpass surviving ancient literary references to *all* of the Parthenon's architectural sculptures – the pediments, metopes, and frieze so greatly celebrated today. We must remember, as a colleague once remarked to me, that the Parthenon and its architectural sculptures as we know them are just the fancy box and the empty wrappings, for we have lost all of the fine chocolates that were once housed within: the numerous precious votive offerings inventoried on stone and especially Pheidias' chryselephantine Athena <sup>4</sup>.

Ancient Athenian temple inventories also repeatedly mention the Nike of the Athena Parthenos, and the earliest of these records the weight of the gold *stephanos* that it wore on its head: στέφανος χρυσοῦς, ὃν ἡ Νίκη ἔχει ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ ἀγ<άλ>ματος τοῦ χρυσοῦ. Later inventories record some leaves that became detached from the wreath <sup>5</sup>.

In fashioning his replica in Nashville, LeQuire trusted the research conducted by Neda Leipen for her smaller reconstruction of the Athena Parthenos at the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, in the 1970s, which relied heavily on the Nike preserved in the hand of the marble version of the statue recovered near the Varvakeion gymnasium in Athens in 1880, one of the most complete representations we have of Pheidias' lost work, even if not the most attractive (*Fig. 2a-b*) <sup>6</sup>. This Nike wears a long sleeveless garment, apparently a peplos, with an overfold reaching to her upper thighs, not dissimilar from the garment worn by the Athena Parthenos herself, but with a thick himation wrapped around her waist and draped over her left forearm. Her left leg is straight and advanced, as she stands on her exposed toes; her trailing right foot is covered by swirling drapery. Both arms are bent, at different levels, and her hands preserve traces of a fillet, or the ribbons to tie an open wreath, now lost. But according to Konrad Lange, who published the Varvakeion statuette just after its discovery in 1880, fragments of a marble fillet that joined a break on the Nike's left leg were found with the statue <sup>7</sup>. The figure's wings, curved at the top (the right is broken) are lowered, neither completely folded nor widely extended. Her head, which the Athenian inventory inscriptions describing Pheidias' statue tell us was wreathed, sadly is lost. It is worth noting that the Nike in neither this very complete version of the Athena Parthenos nor any other I know of wears an aegis.

The Varvakeion statue dates to the early 3rd century AD, more than 600 years after Pheidias completed his Athena. Other representations of the Athena Parthenos depict the Nike somewhat differently, and it is difficult methodologically to determine which is more accurate. One of the earliest preserved ancient representations of the Athena Parthenos, and one closest to the statue geographically, appears on a terracotta sealing excavated in the Athenian Agora in 1994 (*Fig. 3*) <sup>8</sup>. It is dated to the late 5th century BC, but unfortunately lacks detail. In contrast, an Attic red-figure column krater attributed to the Hephaistos Painter exported to Gela in antiquity and now in Berlin, dated around 430 BC, shows Athena with Ajax and Achilles playing dice (*Fig. 4*) <sup>9</sup>. The composition can be traced back to Exekias a century earlier, but the image of the goddess is clearly derived from Pheidias' recently completed statue, and her Nike crowns the victor. Here Athena's Nike wears a sleeveless peplos decorated with dots and lozenges, but no himation. She extends both arms forward, the right in front of the left, holding what appears to be an open wreath; her stride is dynamic, as she treads along the goddess' forearm; and her wings are raised, extended behind her. 

<sup>4</sup> For the precious contents of the Parthenon see, e.g., Harris 1995.

<sup>5</sup> Harris 1995, V, 94-96; cf. V, 239, which references a krater held by the Nike.

<sup>6</sup> Athens, National Archaeological Museum 126: Kaltsas 2002, 104-105, no. 187; see also Eschbach 1986, pl. 4, nos. 1-2.

<sup>7</sup> Lange 1880, 376-377.

<sup>8</sup> Agora sealing: Camp 1996, 241-242; Lapatin 2001, fig. 158.

<sup>9</sup> Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung V.I.3199: ARV<sup>2</sup> 1114.9, *Paralipomena* 452; Lapatin 2001, pl. 156.

# ATHENA, NIKE, ATHENA NIKE

## Some Iconographic Considerations

Arne Thomsen - Universität des Saarlandes

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arne.thomsen@email.de

With the statue owned by the Fondazione Sorgente Group, according to Eugenio La Rocca's meticulous analysis, we have regained a Greek original of the 430s BC<sup>1</sup>. If her wings are original and not a later addition<sup>2</sup>, the iconography can leave no doubt of the identification as a representation of Athena Nike. The statue has Athena's attributes of the aegis and gorgoneion, and the wings are well established for Nike (amongst some other beings who need not be discussed in connection with Athena). Still, this iconography comes as a surprise with no immediate antecedents, and raises some questions<sup>3</sup>. The usual way to show the close link between Athena and Nike, i.e., success, particularly in Athens, is not by merging but by combining their representations, as in the telling manner of the Athena as, literally, *Nikephoros*, carrying Nike, in the Athena Parthenos and its followers<sup>4</sup>.

There is no fixed iconography of Athena Nike at all. Specifically, there is no distinct iconography of Athena Nike as a winged figure, and even less in the High Classical period to which the Sorgente statue belongs<sup>5</sup>. In his well-known reference (1.22.4), Pausanias identifies *Nike apteros*, the *wingless Nike*, as the alleged owner of the rich little temple next to the entrance of the Athenian Acropolis, and this is, in fact, the sanctuary of Athena Nike. The mention of its wingless cult image seems to hint at an alternative type of statue carrying wings. But in the statement of the ancient Periegetes is a misunderstanding that has, thus, created misunderstandings by modern scholars. What Pausanias did not understand correctly was that he was not dealing with a temple and an image of Nike<sup>6</sup> as a divine "personality" of her own,

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I am very grateful to Gianfranco Adornato and Eugenio La Rocca for inviting me to the colloquium on *Athena Nike di Fondazione Sorgente Group* at the SNS in Pisa. They, together with the other speakers, made these two days a delightful time of exchange. I also received helpful comments from other participants in the discussions, of whom I want to mention Annalisa Lo Monaco and Hans Rupprecht Goette. The English text has benefited a lot from copy-editing by Joan Honig and Irene Bald Romano. All remaining errors are of course mine.

<sup>1</sup> In addition to his contribution to this volume, see La Rocca's *editio princeps* of the Sorgente statue: La Rocca 2013, including a discussion of the iconography.

<sup>2</sup> See the discussion in several other contributions to this volume.

<sup>3</sup> Parts of this paper reexamine issues I previously discussed, without any relation to the Sorgente statue, in Thomsen 2011. Some arguments are developed more extensively there, some here.

<sup>4</sup> See *LIMC* II, s.v. Athena, p. 977; VI, s.v. Nike, no. 195.

<sup>5</sup> But the statement holds for all periods in antiquity. Since the Pitcairn Minerva Victoria (see I.B. Romano in this volume) as a copy of the Sorgente statue is no independent example, a winged Athena from an architectural context in Ostia (*LIMC* II, s.v. Athena/Minerva, no. 213) is the rare instance of a probable further representation of a winged Minerva Victoria / Athena Nike from Roman Imperial times, while a winged Athena in a late Hellenistic, "Neoattic" relief from the Athenian Acropolis (*LIMC* II, s.v. Athena, no. 66) may be conditioned by its archaism more than by a specific interpretation as Athena Nike.

<sup>6</sup> Pausanias' information on this sanctuary, in fact, is surprisingly incomplete and vague: In 1.22.4 in the Acropolis chapter, he is citing *Nike apteros* as the supposed name of the sanctuary (used again, to indicate the location, in 2.30.2), without any further indications, nor any mention of its correct title as the sanctuary of Athena

but of Athena Nike, a title Pausanias does not mention at all. That is, the image is a cult statue of Athena, in her potency of Athena Nike, an Athena with the *epiklese* of Nike, Athena as a goddess guaranteeing victory and success to the *polis* named after her. There was, and is, no wonder that an image of the goddess Athena was deprived of wings. We have to wonder much more about a *winged* Athena Nike. Pausanias' statement does not imply a distinction between this wingless Athena Nike and one of a different type with wings. Pausanias was not aware that he was talking about Athena Nike. He was assuming that she was Nike proper, and a wingless image of this supposed Nike, of course, was duly to be distinguished from the well-known winged representations of Nike.

To get an idea of the iconography of Athena Nike, the first option is to look at this sanctuary on the Athenian Acropolis<sup>7</sup>. Its probable Archaic cult statue must have been the “wingless” one, later inspiring the wrong name of the entire sanctuary as quoted by Pausanias. It is lost, of course, but in Harpocration's *Lexicon* we have the quote of the Hellenistic periegetes Heliodorus (*FGrHist* 373 F 2) with the further information that she was holding a pomegranate in her right and a helmet in her left. Beschi was the first to relate this information to representations on several votive reliefs from the Acropolis which might allow us a general idea of this statue<sup>8</sup>. Of extant images from the Athena Nike sanctuary, the parapet of the *temenos* has to be considered first<sup>9</sup>. It is probably correct to conclude that it has no single image of Athena Nike as such, but that the frieze as a whole illustrates the concept of the goddess, showing her equally distributed between her “components” of Athena and of Nike, each repeatedly depicted (*Fig. 1*). But if any of the figures have the potential to represent Athena Nike, even if standing on their own, these would be those we call Athena<sup>10</sup>, rather than the Nikai<sup>11</sup>. The Nikai are, in this regard, attributive figures meant to clarify Athena's particular designation as Athena Nike. Similar relations between Athena and Nike appear in representations in contemporary vase painting, discussed below. On the parapet there is another less conspicuous iconographic feature of its representations of Athena that leads to an important observation: in all four of her appearances on the parapet reliefs, Athena is sitting. Arguably, images of Athena sitting also exist in other contemporary works of art, most famously in the assembly of the gods on the Parthenon east frieze<sup>12</sup>, as well as in the same scene on the Athena Nike temple frieze itself<sup>13</sup>. But in the assembly of the gods, Athena is sitting, just as all the other gods are sitting. The typology is determined by the context of the scene. As an iconic figure, as on the parapet, Athena does not sit in Classical art, at least not in Athenian Classical art until this point. Classical Athena is an active goddess, standing ready like the Parthenos<sup>14</sup>, if not striding along and charging like the Promachos<sup>15</sup>.




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Nike. The statue itself, while evidently being the inspiration for this naming, receives attention only later in comparisons drawn at other places (3.15.7; 5.26.6). Of these, the one with the Spartan Enyalios “in fetters” (3.15.7) is particularly telling in that Pausanias is misled in thinking of the personification of victory as the owner of the sanctuary, instead of the city-goddess Athena in her potency of victory. While this error must be due to a vagueness in his contemporary Athenian sources themselves, we are assured about the real ownership of the sanctuary from primary epigraphic evidence, beginning with the dedication of a (later reused) Archaic altar:  $\tau\epsilon\varsigma \text{ Nike}\varsigma$  (*IG* P 596). Cf. Mark 1993, 32-34.

<sup>7</sup> See generally Mark 1993.

<sup>8</sup> Beschi 1967-68; see the resume in Thomsen 2011, 227-230.

<sup>9</sup> For the parapet in general, see Brouskari 1998; for an interpretation of its iconography, most valuable is Hölscher 1997.

<sup>10</sup> *LIMC* II, s.v. Athena, no. 240\*.

<sup>11</sup> *LIMC* VI, s.v. Nike, nos. 18\*, 154a\*, 160\*, 169\*, 186.

<sup>12</sup> *LIMC* II, s.v. Athena, no. 237\*; Brommer 1977, 260-261, pls. 163, 174, 177.

<sup>13</sup> *LIMC* II, s.v. Athena, no. 239.

<sup>14</sup> *LIMC* II, s.v. Athena, nos. 219 ff.

<sup>15</sup> *LIMC* II, s.v. Athena, no. 145; cf. nos. 118-173 and *passim*. Conversely, see *LIMC* II, s.v. Athena, nos. 15-25 for Athena enthroned: by far the most numerous examples, if not for contextual reasons sitting, from Archaic times. For images of Athena on the Acropolis, generally cf. Ridgway 1992, with pp. 127-131 on the Promachos type, pp. 131-135 on Athena Parthenos, and pp. 135-137 on Athena Nike. I do not share Ridgway's conclusions entirely, but her contribution is unsurpassed as a thorough overview.

# FROM ATHENA NIKE TO NIKE APTEROS

## Literary and Epigraphical Sources

*Eva Falaschi* - Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa

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[eva.falaschi@sns.it](mailto:eva.falaschi@sns.it)

### 1. WITH OR WITHOUT WINGS?

In the scholarship of the Fondazione Sorgente Group statue, the presence of wings is among the most important issues. The statue shows holes on the shoulder blades, unanimously identified as dowel holes for inserting the wings<sup>1</sup>. However, it is not possible to establish, based on the carving, whether these holes are contemporaneous with the original manufacture of the statue or later additions, perhaps related to its reuse in another context<sup>2</sup>. According to Eugenio La Rocca's analysis, the Fondazione Sorgente Group statue probably was a 5th-century BC representation of Athena Nike with wings, to be distinguished from the wingless Athena Nike of the Acropolis<sup>3</sup>. Therefore, the statue would have been dedicated on the occasion of a victory during the Peloponnesian war and located on a column or a pillar within an Attic or philo-Athenian sanctuary, otherwise in a Panhellenic sanctuary. In any case, La Rocca contends, the fact that it was a famous work would be attested by its transfer to Rome in antiquity<sup>4</sup>.

This paper discusses the possibility that Athena Nike might be represented with wings in Athens, during and after the 5th century BC, by offering a thorough investigation of the literary and epigraphical evidence for the Athenian Athena Nike as a supplement to the archaeological and art historical investigation.

### 2. ATHENA NIKE'S NAMES IN ATHENS

#### 2.1. *Athena Nike and Nike*

The epigraphical evidence shows that Athena's official cult name on the bastion of the Athenian Acropolis<sup>5</sup> was, since the Archaic period, Athena Nike. In fact, this name is attested in

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I am very grateful to Gianfranco Adornato for inviting me to write this contribution on the Sorgente Group statue. I would like to thank him, Gabriella Cirucci, Irene Bald Romano and Marion Meyer for their helpful comments.

<sup>1</sup> La Rocca 2013, 47; see the essays by O. Palagia and I.B. Romano in this volume.

<sup>2</sup> La Rocca (2013, 52-61) thinks that the wings date to the first phase of the statue; on the contrary, Romano shows some doubts on that ("either original to the statue or added later") and Palagia suggests a Roman dating for the addition of the wings.

<sup>3</sup> La Rocca 2013, 60-61: "The Sorgente statue was produced around 430 BC and most probably represented an Athena Nike but in an iconographic form differing from that of the cult statue on the Athenian acropolis. [...] The goddess displayed [...] wings to accentuate the visual image of her rapid appearance beside those she favored. Unlike the wingless Athena Nike, whose wings were removed so that she would remain as the immobile and eternal bulwark of a very well-defended walled city against attack, the winged Athena Nike accompanied the Athenian army far away from its native land and ensured its success with prompt dynamism".


<sup>4</sup> That it was transferred to Rome in antiquity is not certain, as the editors discuss in the "Introduction".

<sup>5</sup> On the Athena Nike Temple see, with further bibliography, Romano 1980, 59-63; Mark 1993; Giraud 1994; Schultz 2001 on the akroteria; Holtzmann 2003, 157-163; Hurwit 2004, 181-191; Scholl 2006, 36-41; Monaco 2010 (state of art); Santi 2010, 53-8; Meyer 2017, 23-28; Paga 2017, esp. 159-164.



the inscription, dated to 580-530 BC, on the altar made by Patrokles (ll. 1-3 τῆς Ἀθε[ναί]ας | τῆς Νίκης | βομός)<sup>6</sup>. The same name is attested in two inscriptions on the administration of the temple, dated to the 5th century BC<sup>7</sup>. Athena Nike is still used in official documents relating to the temple of the 4th<sup>8</sup> and 3rd<sup>9</sup> centuries BC, and later in the Imperial Age<sup>10</sup>. Among these, it appears of great interest for this study the inscription *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1, 444, dated to the 330s BC<sup>11</sup>, which attests to the restoration of the statue of Athena Nike (ll. 7-8 ἐπισκευὴν τοῦ ἀγάλ[μα]τος τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Νίκης) dedicated by the Athenians in 426/5 BC with the booty of various victories<sup>12</sup>.

Since the last decades of the 5th century BC, in addition to the name Athena Nike, the simple name Nike is attested. Myrrine's epitaph, dated to the last decades of the 5th century BC, celebrates the deceased as the first priestess of the temple of Nike (ll. 3-5 ἡ πρώτη | Νίκης ἀμφοπόλ|ευσε νεών), later on called Athena Nike (ll. 11-13 πρώτε Ἀθηναί|ας Νίκης ἔδος ἀμφοπόλ|ευσεν)<sup>13</sup>. If in the first case the reference is certainly to the temple (νεών), in the second one ἔδος<sup>14</sup> could refer in general to the place where the goddess is seated ("she was the first to serve the house of Athena Nike")<sup>15</sup> or to the statue of Athena Nike ("she was the first to serve the statue of Athena Nike")<sup>16</sup>.

The simple name Nike appears again in some official documents. A very fragmentary inscription, where some expenses for the temple of Nike (l. 36 ἐς τὸν νεὸν τῆς Νίκης ...) are mentioned, is connected with the Athena Nike temple<sup>17</sup>. Moreover, among the income of the treasury of the so-called Hecatompedon, the gold leaves of the akroteria of the temple of Nike (χρυσίον ἐπίτηκτον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων | τῶ νεὸ τῆς Νίκης) are registered for the year 368/7 BC<sup>18</sup>. The alternation of Athena Nike / Nike continues to be attested during the 4th century BC in an inscription which establishes the sacrifices for Athena Nike<sup>19</sup>. 

<sup>6</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 596. Mark 1993, 32-34; Scholl 2006, 36-41, with full bibliography; Santi 2010, 55; Thomsen 2011, 225; Meyer 2017, 23.

<sup>7</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 35, of uncertain dating, attests that the Ecclesia voted the election by lot of a priestess of Athena Nike (ll. 3-4 [τρεῖ] | [Ἀθηναί]αι τεῖ Νί|κει ἡέρεαν) and entrusted the building of a temple and an altar to Kallikrates. On this inscription see, Meyer 2017, 25 and n. 132, with wide bibliography and discussion about the dating. A later inscription (*IG* I<sup>3</sup> 36), dated to 424/3 BC, establishes a salary of 50 drachmae, already present in the previous inscription, for the priestess of Athena Nike (ll. 4-6 τεῖ ἡερέαι τῆς Ἀθενᾶς τῆς Νίκης; ll. 10-11 τῆ ἱερ[ε]αι τῆς Ἀ[[θη]ναί|ας τῆς Νί|κης)). On this inscription see, Meyer 2017, 27 and n. 141.

<sup>8</sup> *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1, 444 (= *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 403), see *infra*.

<sup>9</sup> *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1, 1034 (= *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 677). This inscription contains a decree, dated after 277 BC (ca. 250 BC), which prescribes to organize games for the Panathenaea and dedicate to Athena Nike (ll. 3-4 καὶ ἀνατ[ι]θησιν τῆ Ἀθηνᾶ τῆ [Νί|κη]) writings which celebrate the deeds against the barbarians.

<sup>10</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1006. This decree, dated to AD 122/1, prescribes a sacrifice for Athena Nike (l. 14 συντ[ε]λ|ουμένης δ[ε] καὶ τῆς θουσίας τῆ Ἀθηνᾶ τῆ Νί|κη).

<sup>11</sup> On this inscription: Lambert 2005, 135-136, no. 3; Lippman *et al.* 2006, 559-561; Lambert 2010, 228; Thomsen 2011, 231; Meyer 2017, 26 and n. 138, with full bibliography. On this statue, see *infra*.

<sup>12</sup> On the dating of these war events and the dedication of the statue see Mattingly 2000, 605 ("late summer and autumn 425 BC").

<sup>13</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 1330. On this inscription and its relation with *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 35 and 36 see, with wide bibliography, Rahn 1986; Lougovaya-Ast 2006.

<sup>14</sup> *LSJ* s.v. ἔδος.

<sup>15</sup> Rahn 1986, 203 ("seat or abode").

<sup>16</sup> Lougovaya-Ast 2006, 218: "It seems beyond doubt that τὸ ἔδος designates the cult statue or some complex of the statue and its base, but not the entire temple. In other words, τὸ ἔδος may perhaps designate the abode of a god (for he resides wherever his statue or other object of cult is), but does not necessarily entail the presence of any architectural construction".

<sup>17</sup> *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 64AB (= *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 88). *IG online* dates the inscription to 430-420 BC, while Mark (1993, 123) to 440-415 BC. The name of Nike is integrated also at ll. 21-22 ([... Νί|κης ἡος κάλλιστα]). This inscription contains the decree for a project for the Athena Nike temple, with reference to the vote on the part of the *demos* for choosing the building materials; to the call for tenders for presenting the project; to the phases of execution and supervision of the works, and review of the expenses. On this inscription, see Mark 1993, 108-111, 123-125; Mattingly 2000, 605; Thomsen 2011, 230-231; Meyer 2017, 23-24, with n. 117; see also *infra*.

<sup>18</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1425, ll. 101-102. The gilding of the akroteria of the Athena Nike temple occurs in the Hecatompedon inscriptions since 382/1 BC (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1412, ll. 27-28) up to 350/49 BC (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1436, ll. 66-67). *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1425 contains the most complete reference and includes the name of the temple. See Schultz 2001, 2-5.

<sup>19</sup> *IG* II<sup>3</sup> 1, 447 (= *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 334). This inscription, dated to 330s BC, prescribes sacrifices for Athena Polias, Athena Hygieia and Athena Nike on occasion of the Lesser Panathenaea.

# THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE WINGED MENRVA ON ETRUSCAN ENGRAVED BRONZE MIRRORS FROM THE 5TH TO EARLY 3RD CENTURIES BC

*Alexandra A. Carpino* - Northern Arizona University

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[alexandra.carpino@nau.edu](mailto:alexandra.carpino@nau.edu)

## 1. INTRODUCTION

For the Etruscans, whose civilization flourished in central Italy from the late 8th to the 1st century BC, the goddess Menrva was not only of the utmost importance but also the most popular female divinity from their pantheon to appear on works of art<sup>1</sup>. While her name may derive from the Italic (e.g., Minerva<sup>2</sup>) and she was amalgamated in the Etruscan visual repertoire with the appearance and many of the myths of Greek goddess Athena<sup>3</sup>, Menrva's origins can be traced back to a time when the deities in the Etruscan pantheon "were not originally conceived in human form, but rather as forces which manifested themselves through their effects"<sup>4</sup>. Even once she assumed an anthropomorphic form (most likely sometime during the 6th century BC) as well as the dress and attributes of Athena, Menrva never became a new deity – rather, she maintained her local characteristics, including her ability to hurl lightning/thunderbolts<sup>5</sup>, and significance as a *divinità-atto*, especially at southern Etruscan sanctuaries<sup>6</sup>, where worshippers appealed to her for help with the protection and healing of themselves and/or their children<sup>7</sup>, the defense of their communities<sup>8</sup>, the legitimacy of their rulership<sup>9</sup>, and questions regarding their destinies<sup>10</sup>. To the Etruscans, the gods were never very far away, there to provide divine

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I am very grateful to Irene Bald Romano for the kind invitation to contribute to these proceedings.

<sup>1</sup> In a recent study Shipley (2016, 237) points to a similar popularity of this goddess on the vases the Etruscans living in Vulci, Chiusi and Tarquinia imported from Athens between the late 7th and mid-5th centuries BC. She notes that images of Athena were not only the most popular among the repertoire of female subjects but they significantly outnumber representations of male figures with just one exception (e.g., scenes showing Herakles).

<sup>2</sup> Simon 2006, 59. Other scholars, however, believe that she was a local Etruscan deity who was later adopted by the Romans: see further de Grummond 2006, 71.

<sup>3</sup> Jannot 2005, 147-149; de Grummond 2006, 71-78.

<sup>4</sup> Krauskopf 2013, 519. See also Colonna 1984, 1050-1051, 1072-1074.

<sup>5</sup> According to the Romans, Menrva was one of nine divinities with this particular power – to throw a single bolt – while Tinia had the power to throw three different kinds. See further de Grummond 2016, 190.

<sup>6</sup> Simon 2006, 59.

<sup>7</sup> At Veii's well-known Portonaccio Sanctuary, where Menrva was one of main divinities, votive inscriptions suggest that the goddess had both "oracular and healing powers" (Haynes 2000, 205); see also Pfiffig 1975, 298; Turfa 2006, 98-99; Bizzarri and Soren 2016, 137-138.

<sup>8</sup> Carpino 2003, 63; Neil 2016, 21.

<sup>9</sup> Lulof 2016, 136.

<sup>10</sup> This association can also be seen on a mirror where the goddess appears with Lasa Vecu, a prophetess (see further Pacetti 2011, 65-69, no. 18). And, as a goddess of fate, Menrva appears on the far left side of the medallion depicting a scene where two goddesses, Thesan and Thethis, appeal to Tinia to spare the lives of their

support and reassurance, or, when the circumstances demanded otherwise, to mete out punishments to those who had defied or challenged them<sup>11</sup>.

Evoking her original status as a powerful celestial – particularly weather – divinity, a number of representations on the reverses of the engraved bronze mirrors manufactured by Etruscan artists between the 5th and early 3rd centuries BC depict Menrva with wings (*Fig. 1*<sup>12</sup>), a characteristic that demonstrates that despite the “superimposition of original Etruscan conceptions of gods by foreign, above all, Greek archetypes and myths, the nature of Etruscan beliefs remained essentially the same”<sup>13</sup>. The engravers’ images of the winged Menrva – a facet of her iconography missing in the visual repertoire of the Greeks and the Romans<sup>14</sup> – also serve as an important reminder that they and their customers were not unthinking recipients of foreign traditions – rather, as a culture, they exercised agency by not only picking, choosing, and gravitating toward stories that were pertinent to their lives but also by transforming them into purely local narratives<sup>15</sup>. With respect to wings, as Adrian Harrison has recently demonstrated, this was an interest that can be found in all facets of Etruscan art, given their appearance not only on monsters such as the Gorgon Medusa, Skylla and the Sirens but also on the lions who guard tomb entrances and the horses who pull a goddess’s chariot on the Ara della Regina temple at Tarquinia<sup>16</sup>. Harrison suggests that the addition of wings to non-winged creatures was meant “to improve their inherent properties. [And ...] to give these special animals properties of flight for specific metaphysical (psychopompic?) purposes”<sup>17</sup>. When it comes to anthropomorphic subjects, wings also appear to have a supernatural connotation, although not always with flight. For example, they could signify divinity, as on a mirror in the Vatican Museums, where Agamemnon’s seer Chalkas practices liver divination<sup>18</sup>, or movement between the earthly realm and the underworld or within the latter on spirits connected with the funerary sphere such as Vanth, Charun, and Tuchulcha<sup>19</sup>.

For divinities or mortals for whom flight was a key aspect of their essence or missions – such as Thesan<sup>20</sup>, goddess of the dawn, Usil (Helios)<sup>21</sup>, Turnu (Eros), Mean (goddess of victory), Turms (Hermes), or Perseus – the inclusion of wings represents a natural and understandable choice. But Etruscan mirror engravers also depicted a range of other characters – from Epiur (possibly Menrva’s son<sup>22</sup>), Atunis (the youthful lover of Turan) and the Tinas Cliniar<sup>23</sup> (the Dioskouroi) to Thethis, (mother of Achle and a goddess of the sea), Turan (Aphrodite), Athrpa (a goddess of fate and destiny) and numerous spirits (Lasa, Thanr, Ethausva, Alpan, to name only a few) – as winged<sup>24</sup>.




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respective sons (Memnun and Achle) during their future duel on the Trojan battlefield (de Grummond 2006, fig. IV.1; Krauskopf 2013, 518).

<sup>11</sup> See further Carpino 2016, 412.

<sup>12</sup> Zimmer, 34-35, no. 31.

<sup>13</sup> Krauskopf 2013, 518.

<sup>14</sup> See De Puma 2013, 23.

<sup>15</sup> One aspect of this that can be connected to Menrva is her association on a number of engraved mirrors with “romance” – see further de Grummond 2006, 75. For more on Etruscan agency, see Izzet 2012; Shipley 2016.

<sup>16</sup> Harrison 2013.

<sup>17</sup> Harrison 2013, 1101.

<sup>18</sup> See de Grummond 2006, 30-32 and fig. II.9.

<sup>19</sup> See de Grummond, 2006, 213-225.

<sup>20</sup> See, for example, the terracotta akroterion from Cerveteri, variously dated to the late 6th or early 5th centuries BC, now in Berlin, where the goddess runs to the left over a series of volutes as she cradles an acquiescent nude youth in her arms, and the engraved mirrors that depict her holding either her dead son Memnun or one of her youthful lovers (Carpino 2003, 17-21, with additional bibliography).

<sup>21</sup> An especially interesting Usil, shown as a standing full length winged figure dressed in a charioteer’s costume and holding a victor’s crown, appears on an early Classical mirror now in London with Uprius (Hyperion) (see Swaddling 2001, 32-34, no. 23).

<sup>22</sup> See de Grummond 2006, 61-63.

<sup>23</sup> See De Puma 1993, 48, no. 29, with additional bibliography.

<sup>24</sup> For images of many of the mirrors depicting these characters, see de Grummond 2006. A winged Turan also appears on a late 4th century BC mirror now in Budapest (see Szilágyi and Bouzek 1992, 26-30, no. 5). Two sculpted Lasas also appear on a carved bone mirror handle now in Columbia (Missouri): see further De Puma 1987, 31-32, no. 16.

# THE “GREEK ORIGINALS” IN ROME

## An Overview

Gabriella Cirucci - Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7359/832-2018-ciru>

[gabriella.cirucci@sns.it](mailto:gabriella.cirucci@sns.it)

### 1. THE “GREEK ORIGINALS” FROM ROME: A RATHER CONTROVERSIAL REDISCOVERY

The Fondazione Sorgente Group Athena Nike (*Fig. 1a-b*) exemplifies very well some of the most common issues that arise when dealing with Greek sculptures of the Classical period that – as far as we can assess basing on their finding place or collection history – were restaged in the city of Rome in antiquity. What was the original aspect or function of the statue? Where did it come from? How did it end up in Rome, and when? What happened to it in Rome? How many transitions did it undergo after its arrival in Rome? In addition, since the Athena now in the Glencairn Museum has been identified as a possible replica or variant, as discussed by Irene Bald Romano in this volume, what information can we gain based on the relationship between these two artworks?

Starting from Eugenio La Rocca’s publication of the Amazonomachia of the Temple of Apollo Sosianus in 1985<sup>1</sup>, the number of known examples of Greek marbles of the 5th and 4th centuries BC found reused in Rome has been constantly and significantly enriched, thanks to several important discoveries related to the study of the history of collecting, to research in museum and other institutions’ archives, and to the thorough investigation of old excavation reports<sup>2</sup>. Results of these studies have been also amply communicated through specific museographic choices, as in the Centrale Montemartini, so that both the general public and the scholarly community nowadays are confronted with marbles attesting to the pervasive reuse of Greek “originals” in the city of Rome<sup>3</sup>.

This resurgence of scientific interest also fostered the reevaluation of known sculptures and reliefs that had been previously discarded based on negative prejudices against peripheral and serial artistic production. The considerations made by Enrico Paribeni in a paper delivered in 1968 at the *Ottavo Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia* in Taranto, complaining about

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The following essay, based on a monograph in preparation by the author, stems from the research project: “*Nobilia Opera? Displaying Reused Greek Sculpture in Roman Contexts: A Case Study towards a History of Restoration in Classical Antiquity*”, developed at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa from 2015 to 2017. The opportunity to work on the project “Challenging the Canon of Nobilia Opera: Ancient Greek Sculpture in Roman Contexts” as a Visiting Scholar of the Getty Research Institute for the annual theme “Object-Value-Canon” (September 2014 to February 2015) has also provided an invaluable input to the research. I am also grateful for the precious feedback received when presenting preliminary or partial versions of this paper at the study day *Ornamenta Urbis: opere greche e pubblico romano*, hosted by the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) in Rome; the *25th Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference (TRAC)* in Leicester; and the workshop *Replicas in Roman Art: Redeeming the Copy?*, hosted by the Classical Art Research Centre in Oxford.

<sup>1</sup> La Rocca 1985; La Rocca 2013, 37-42, 66, n. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Cirucci 2010. See also Gasparri 2009a; Rocco 2010; Cima 2014.

<sup>3</sup> The quotation marks surrounding the word “original” indicate the slight inadequacy of this term. This is the one most commonly used by scholars to designate the antiquities imported from the Greek world, although it retains all the historical and cultural connotation of the label, suggesting a bias for creative invention, authenticity, and uniqueness as opposed to copy, fake, or replication.

the discrepancy between “the almost fabulous magniloquence of literary sources” and “the very modest balance of available evidence”, i.e., “some dozens of marbles, often of very modest appearance”, exemplify the categories and assumptions that underlay these judgments <sup>4</sup>.

Fifty years later, we can certainly highlight the divergence of these anonymous marbles from the lost masterpieces celebrated by ancient authors on different premises and for a different purpose. On the one hand, despite the loss of material evidence, written sources often provide a considerable amount of quite detailed information on those masterpieces, as shown by Eva Falaschi in this volume with regard to Protogenes’ Ialysus. In well-known cases like the Aphrodite Anadyomene of Apelles or the Apoxyomenos of Lysippos the available data include the names of their makers, their original context of display, the time and circumstances under which they were brought to Rome, the names of their Roman owners, the places where they were restaged, their reception and their afterlives in Rome <sup>5</sup>.

The extant classical Greek “originals” from Rome, on the other hand, belong to a quite different range of *spolia* than one would expect from literary accounts. They constitute a relatively small but significant corpus consisting largely of marble architectural sculptures (pedimental figures, acroteria, and metopes) as well as of reliefs that had a funerary or votive function in their first context of use <sup>6</sup>. Moreover, the absence of any textual evidence directly related to them and the fact that most of them come from badly documented excavations or have had a long post-antique history make it particularly difficult not only to attribute them to a specific origin – in terms of authorship, provenance, display setting – but also to assign them to a precise Roman social and cultural-historical context, pinpointing the time of their transfer, identifying their patrons, and reconstructing their reception. Equally controversial may be their origin, since as reused and uninscribed objects they can be only dated and authenticated by means of connoisseurship.

For all these reasons, these marbles appear to have entered the narratives on the role played by classical Greek works of art in Rome only as somewhat ancillary to the masterpieces recorded by written sources, with the exception of a handful of notable and much-discussed cases, such as the sculptures assigned to the pediment of the Temple of Apollo Sosianus by La Rocca. In addition, despite the numerous studies devoted to individual exemplars, types, and contexts of reuse, current reevaluation of the anonymous “originals” from Rome has not yet succeeded in stimulating a critical reflection on the methodological and hermeneutical challenges opened up by the peculiarity of this material.

Following the thread of the manifold and, in some cases, unsolved issues raised by the Sorgente Athena Nike provides therefore the ideal opportunity to revise the main trends in current scholarly response to the anonymity of these works and to reflect on what could be the most appropriate way to address the remaining problems in their interpretation.



<sup>4</sup> Paribeni 1969, 83: “Quest’ultima considerazione non è per sorprendere, in quanto è noto come la voce limpida, genuina e reticente di un’opera originale sembri fioca accanto alla sontuosità e agli splendori esteriori delle repliche meccaniche. Né è da sottovalutare il fatto che se le prime possono essere di qualità modesta, le repliche debbono pur contenere una scintilla di quei capolavori assoluti che con questo mezzo spiccio ed esteriore si è inteso ricordare e in certo senso consacrare”.

<sup>5</sup> Anadyomene of Apelles: Plin. *NH* 35.91; Strabo 14.2.19. For other literary sources on the Anadyomene, see Kansteiner *et al.* 2014, IV, 145-157, s.v. Apelles aus Ephesos. On the painting in Rome, with references to previous scholarship, see Bravi 2012, 100-103. On the “lives” of the painting, see Squire 2010, 148-152. Apoxyomenos of Lysippos: Plin. *NH* 34.62. On its reception in Rome, see Stewart 2003, 140-148, esp. 142; Bravi 2012, 137-139; Rutledge 2012, 113. On the possible identifications, see Weber 1996; Daehner and Lapatin 2015, 271-281; Mattusch 2015, 123.

<sup>6</sup> The corpus comprises around seventy exemplars. For architectural sculptures, see Cirucci 2010, 31-33. See also Rocco 2010 for a 5th-century BC acroterion reused in the Roman Theatre at Spoleto; O. Palagia in this volume for the arguments in favor of the interpretation of the Sorgente statue as a pedimental figure. For funerary and votive reliefs, see Cirucci 2010, 26-31. See also Palagia 2002; Gasparri 2009a; Cima 2014 on the reuse of funerary lions. On the topic, see also M. Caso in this volume.

# GREEK SCULPTURES IN ROMAN CONTEXTS

## The Case of Campania

*Marina Caso* - Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7359/832-2018-caso>

casomarina1@libero.it

The reuse of Greek artworks is a well-documented phenomenon in the city of Rome both in public and private buildings<sup>1</sup>. Conversely, its occurrence appears to decrease outside the *Urbs*, with the significant exception of Campania. Here, within an area extending from the Ager Falernus to the coastal belt around Surrentum, a consistent number of Classical and Hellenistic artworks originating from Greece, mostly reliefs, were found, mainly as part of the sculptural decoration of Roman private residences<sup>2</sup>.

This paper intends to explore the possible meanings and values that were ascribed to the restaging of Greek artworks in the specific socio-cultural environment of Roman Campania. The central focus of the essay is the reconstruction of the sculptural decoration of the two best-documented examples in the region: the villa of San Limato in the *suburbium* of ancient Sinuessa, and the residential complex of Santa Croce in the peri-urban area of Teanum, for which new data and a new interpretation are provided. The study of the reused artworks in context helps illuminate not only the multifaceted factors that could determine the choice of exhibiting old Greek artifacts in private urban and extra-urban spaces, but also, from a wider socio-cultural and economic perspective, the consolidated and ancient relationships between the Campanian cities and the Greek and Hellenized centres of the eastern Mediterranean.

### 1. THE ARTWORKS AND THEIR CONTEXTS

The residential buildings on the waterfront situated to the north of the Gulf of Pozzuoli along the coast to the Volturno river, as those found in the suburban areas of the most important internal city centres, left behind very scanty traces. Despite this data gap, important evidence for rich and elaborate sculptural displays, which included old Greek votive reliefs, comes from this area<sup>3</sup>. An Attic relief now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale of Naples (*Fig. 1*)<sup>4</sup> belongs to the sculptural decoration of the villa of San Limato, in the periphery of the ancient Sinuessa. In the same area, an Attic votive relief (*Fig. 2*) decorated a building situated inland, a

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<sup>1</sup> On the occurrences in Rome, Dentzer 1981; Häuber 1986, 193-194; Kuntz 1994; Bell 1998; Baumer 2001, 86-89; Cirucci 2010; Comella 2011, 11-19, 85-89; Bravi 2012.

<sup>2</sup> Regarding the reuse of ancient Greek artworks in Campania, Baumer 2001, 89-90; Comella and Stefani 2007; Comella 2008a; 2008b; Cirucci 2009; Comella 2011, 33-81, 92-99.


<sup>3</sup> Ruffo 2010, 23-118; De Caro 2012, 149-219.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of the sculptural decoration of the villa, see *infra*, § 1.1.

few dozen kilometres away from the peri-urban area of Sinuessa, in the locality of Santa Croce, outside the walls of Teanum Sidicinum<sup>5</sup>.

A votive relief with Helios on a quadriga (Fig. 3), preserved until 1930 in the Castello Giusso in Vico Equense and currently in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Fine Arts in Kansas City, can tentatively be assigned to a villa in Vico Equense, in the Penisola Sorrentina<sup>6</sup>. Probably the sculpture was discovered – along with other marbles then brought to the Giusso castle – in the Masseria Giusso at Marina di Equa, in the Punta Scutolo area, along a stretch of coast that included a series of maritime extra-urban residences<sup>7</sup>.

The reuse of Greek reliefs in private settings is attested not only for the decorative apparatus of sumptuous suburban villas, but also for the decoration of houses in the urban centres of Campania. Among the Greek reliefs found in Pompeii, one was set in the *perystilium* of the Casa degli Amorini Dorati (Fig. 4)<sup>8</sup>; a second was found in the Casa V 3.10 awaiting collocation (Fig. 5)<sup>9</sup>; and a third relief was found in the Bottega VII 4.47 (Fig. 6)<sup>10</sup>. The number of Greek reliefs from the Vesuvius area is enriched by the relief showing Charites and Nymphs from Herculaneum (Fig. 7), for which no information about the context is known<sup>11</sup>. Of doubtful Herculaneum provenance is a three-figure relief with a *dexiosis* scene located in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale of Naples (Fig. 8), for which there are incomplete and contradictory museum accession documents<sup>12</sup>. Completely unknown is the provenance of a relief depicting a homage scene to a Heros *equitans* in Berlin (Fig. 9), which is believed to come from Cuma<sup>13</sup>.

More complex and debated are the origins and the reuse in a public building of the Roman age of two sculptures, dating to the 4th century BC, showing Artemis with a deer (Fig. 10) and Selene sitting on a horse (Fig. 11). The two fragmentary artworks were found out of their original context, together with other marbles dating to the beginning of the imperial age, in a dump in the present centre of the city of Sorrento<sup>14</sup>. 

<sup>5</sup> The Greek relief is an integrating part of the statuary decoration of the complex, on which see *infra*, § 1.2.

<sup>6</sup> Inv. 45-32/7. Mingazzini and Pfister 1946, 188-190, pl. XXXVI, 127; Savarese 1963, 150-151; Frel and Kingsley 1970, 201, no. 5, pl. 11.2; Stähler 1978, 103; Comella 2008, 163-167, fig. 3; Comella 2011, 53-56, 97-98, no. 12, fig. 12 (product from Rhodian workshop inspired to an Attic production, around 400 BC).

<sup>7</sup> In Vico Equense (*Aequa*), at Marina di Seiano, Località Piezzolo, from the area of a Roman villa a marble group representing Eros and Psyche, no longer traceable, was found reused in the walls of a modern house (Maiuri 1925, 93-95; Mingazzini and Pfister 1946, 100-101, no. 20, 206; Savarese 1963, 148-150; Russo 1998, 40, 41, 84, fig. 8; Lafon 2001, 424, SUR2; Russo 2004, 104, 109, 163, no. 165).

<sup>8</sup> Relief with Aphrodite and Eros. Pompei, Antiquarium 20469. Sogliano 1907, 559, fig. 9; Froning 1981, 14-15; Seiler 1992, 120, 123-124, 131, no. 38, figs. 249, 269, 614; Vorster 1998, 279; Baumer 2001, 89; Comella and Stefani 2007, 33-34; Comella 2008a, 50-53, 57-58, figs. 1, 4; Comella 2008b, 185-186, 188-191, fig. 7; Cirucci 2009, 55-58, 60, fig. 7; Guidobaldi and Guzzo 2010, 258; Comella 2011, 33-40, 92-96, no. 8, fig. 8. On the Casa of Amorini Dorati, see also Anguissola 2012; Hughes 2014.

<sup>9</sup> Relief with scene of a female divinity. Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 126174. Ruesch 1911, no. 128; Scatozza 1989, 148, no. 259; van Straten 1995, 79, 291, R69; Edelmann 1999, 217, F35; Baumer 2001, 89; Böhm 2004, 18, fig. 7; Carrella 2008, 77-79, B13; Comella 2008b, 184, 187, 189, 191, fig. 8; Cirucci 2009, 58-60, fig. 10; Comella 2011, 44-50, 104, no. 9, fig. 9; Caso 2014, 63-64, no. IV 23.

<sup>10</sup> Rider relief. Città del Vaticano, Museo Profano della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 64092. Avellino 1850; Brunn 1851, 59-60; De Guidobaldi 1851; Conticello and Boyle 1987, 31-38, no. 1, pl. 2 (Conticello); Comella and Stefani 2007; Comella 2008a, 56, 58, fig. 3; Comella 2008b, 185, 187, 189, fig. 9; Franchi Vicerè 2008, 358, no. 112; Guidobaldi and Guzzo 2010, 258; Comella 2011, 44-50, no. 10, fig. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Relief with Charites and Nymphs. Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 6725. Ruesch 1911, no. 145; Harrison 1986, no. 41; Baumer 2001, 89, no. 24; Comella 2008b, 149-152, 185-186, fig. 1; Comella 2011, 50-52, no. 11, fig. 11; Caso 2014, 122-123, no. XI 90.

<sup>12</sup> Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 6737. Gerhard and Panofka 1828, 139, no. 524; Finati 1842, 258, no. 80; Michaelis 1872, 149-151, fig. 3; Fiorelli 1880, IV, 197, no. 19; Ruesch 1911, 38, no. 122; Diepolder 1926, 264-265, fig. 3; Baumer 2001, 89, no. 24; Comella 2008b, 152-163, 184, 186, fig. 2; Comella 2011, 72-81, no. 16, fig. 16.

<sup>13</sup> Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung 805. Rumpf 1923-24, 464-465, pl. 8; Diepolder 1926, 264, fig. 2; Blümel 1928, 76, K111, pl. 86; Bock 1943, c. 6; Blümel 1966, 100, no. 118, fig. 200; Cermanović - Kuzmanović 1992, 1065, no. 345; Edelmann 1999, 205, D38; Comella 2008b, 167-172, 184, 187, fig. 4; Comella 2011, 56-60, 98, no. 13, fig. 13.

<sup>14</sup> Sorrento, Museo Correale di Terranova 005 and 009; Levi 1924, 375-377; Mingazzini and Pfister 1946, 171-173, pls. 29-30; Picard 1961, 417-418; Russo 1999, 174; Megalhães 2006, 199-215; Carafa 2008, 70-73; Perrella 2011, 209-213 (hypothesis of reuse in a temple dedicated to Tiberius, at the *Forum* of Surrentum, 213).

# GREEK SANCTUARIES IN ROMAN TIMES

## Rearranging, Transporting, and Renaming Artworks

*Richard Neudecker*

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[rljneudecker@gmail.com](mailto:rljneudecker@gmail.com)

### 1. INTRODUCTION

As Sulla lay before Athens with hostile intent in 87 BC, he lacked the financial means to successfully proceed with his military action<sup>1</sup>. He dispatched a certain Kaphis, who had the task of forager, to Epidauros and Olympia. There he was to requisition *kallista kai polytelestata anathemata*, and to obtain treasures on loan from the Amphictyons in Delphi. Kaphis knew what this entailed and, as a Greek – as Plutarch stresses in his later retelling of the events<sup>2</sup> – he despaired about it in Delphi, cried even, and finally refused to have anything to do with such a scheme. Additionally, he writes to Sulla, he had heard the tones of a kithara in the temple’s *anaktoron*, indeed probably Apollo’s. It is glorious, replied Sulla, that the god rejoices so manifestly in being able to contribute something to our good cause. One may take Sulla’s response as a sarcastic contempt for religious feelings and sacral law, as Federico Santangelo does, or as an indication of a notably religious observance of the opinion of the god, like Arthur Keaveney<sup>3</sup>; in any case, between the violence of the conquerors and the feelings of the conquered, the dispute between Roman and Greek claims forms the core of the narrative.

In Delphi itself, foreign visitor and local people alike saw the illustration of, and commentary on, Sulla’s all-too-audacious enterprise figured in timeless mythological illustration in the pediment relief of the Siphnian treasury: Herakles in his violent attempt to bear away the golden tripod, and Apollo successfully defending his property. Sanctuaries, especially those of international significance, are intrinsically known for their wealth of art treasures and are thus plundered whenever convenient. It should be borne in mind, however, that the pecuniary value of disputed objects is always linked to their religious significance, and, as with the “tripod dispute”, this may be very substantial indeed, since on the tripod rested, ultimately, the very foundations of the cult and its offerings. In defending his tripod, Apollo was able to maintain his religious presence and, for the time being, ensure his rights were upheld.

This view of the depiction on the pediment appears anachronistic. But the image on the relief leads us out of the Late Archaic period to a general observation that reaches across historical episodes and forms the core of the following thesis: the transporting away of divine property impacted the deity materially and the cult substantively<sup>4</sup>; simply to modify the pedes-

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<sup>1</sup> Plut. *Sull.* 12; Sassù 2016.


<sup>2</sup> If Plutarch had the details from his friend Soklaros, who like Kaphis came from Tithorea, the story must have remained alive for a long time; on this see Santangelo 2007, 199, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Santangelo 2007, 199-213; Keaveney 1983, esp. 53; Guarducci 1937; Sassù 2016; Sulla later repaid his debt to Apollo, see Zoumbaki 2018, 369.

<sup>4</sup> This can be seen in Boeotian Alalkomenai, where Sulla confiscated the cult image of the goddess and the place was no longer frequented since the goddess no longer resided there. See Santangelo 2007, 201.



tals on their foundations suffices to encroach on the very foundation of religious activity at the sacred site. For all these objects – borne away, restituted, rededicated, or manipulated in whatever which way – are imbued with religious significance, and this quality does not leave them, or at least not fully when they are transported. It is thus not excessive sentiment, nor perfidious calculation, that moves Kaphis the Greek to tears. This inherent religious quality is a prerequisite for the objects to continue to have an impact from afar, even when alienated, on those newly responsible for them. For a long time the semi-stripped sanctuary, which still appealed so greatly to the Greeks, as commented on in an ironic manner by Cicero<sup>5</sup>, also retained the sacred ambience from which unholy kidnapers and art collectors drew inspiration and justifications for their own installation ideas. The works and their original contexts were put to use in Rome and in Roman villas. To give an inkling of the thoughts and emotions of Roman invaders as they gathered the Greek works in a “restaging” so extensive we may speak of “collecting”, it also helps to look at “harvested” sacred landscapes these people left behind<sup>6</sup>. The range of artworks available to Roman travellers, in their partly original, ever-more spoiled contexts, may help us speculate as to what potential they appreciated in the works and why they believed them to have an ongoing potency in Rome.

These sacred landscapes will form the content of this article. The individual acts proceed on the basis of a paradigm recognizable in many places and across diverse histories. It consists of the victor’s fundamental claim to ownership irrespective of all political quarrelling, and it does not recognize the humanitarian idea of cultural property<sup>7</sup>. In order to elaborate essential, recurrent, though by no means all, facets, the following paper mainly focuses on three locations: the sanctuary of Zeus in Olympia, the sanctuary of Hera on Samos, and the Athenian Acropolis. This selection spares us protracted descriptions and, at the same time, focusing on these centers corresponds well to the choice and resulting visions of ancient visitors, be they virtual ones like the readers of Pausanias, or those who followed an itinerary similar to that travelled by Aemilius Paullus in his “time off”, as it were<sup>8</sup>. Such scenes undoubtedly took place at many, presumably all, sacred sites, the consequences of which were in effect ascertainable at any time by means of the abandoned statue bases, altered arrangements, and rededications. These appearances documented, as well as document for us, three variations on a significant, calculated, deliberate act: (1) the intervention in the religious substance of the sanctuaries; (2) the power of transporting sacred works; and (3) the history-rewriting *metagraphe* at the Greek site. That operation, commonly known as art theft and seemingly already defined as such, is not intended here to be evaluated yet again, in line with our *Zeitgeist*, as an ethically abominable historical event<sup>9</sup>. Our concern is instead with a paradigmatic activity in which old and new contexts played a decisive role. 

<sup>5</sup> Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.124.

<sup>6</sup> See Lo Monaco 2007, esp. 27-32 on the “paesaggio idealizzato”; new insights by Fenn 2016, concentrating on buildings; on how the statues were perceived in Rome, see Edwards 2003.

<sup>7</sup> Tarpin 2013; the short motto *vae victis* is indisputable *ius gentium* and incorporates the *sacra*; Miles 2008, 255-256 employs the ancient sources in a prehistory of the current struggle over “cultural property”, without taking into account the paradigm shift as a consequence of post-colonial discourse; it is not possible to put our critical questions in the mouth of Cicero, since he would never ask “why do we ...?”, but rather indict the perpetrators.

<sup>8</sup> Polyb. 30.10.2; Livy 45.27.1-28.5, whose ironic formulation *nobilitata fama maiora auribus accepta sunt quam oculis noscuntur* is already that of a markedly different cultural world; Plut. *Aem.* 28.

<sup>9</sup> For a summary of the facts see Pape 1975; more easily accessed in Waurick 1975; Gruen 1993 on the background of the Republic; Galsterer 1994 including the private activities and the key case study of the ship from Mahdia; Hellenkemper Salies 1996 on the problems of the ship find; Miles 2008, 49-104 is exhaustively interpretative; Tarpin 2013 on the beginnings and legal terms; Varner 2015; Kousser 2015.

# “MORE THAN WORDS”: RESTAGING PROTOGENES’ IALYSUS

## The Many Lives of an Artwork between Greece and Rome

*Eva Falaschi* - Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7359/832-2018-fal2>

[eva.falaschi@sns.it](mailto:eva.falaschi@sns.it)

### 1. RECONSTRUCTING (THE “BIOGRAPHY” OF) A LOST MASTERPIECE: PROBLEMS AND METHODS

In book 35 of *Naturalis Historia* Pliny the Elder celebrates the Ialysus as Protogenes of Caunus’ best painting (*Palmam habet tabularum eius [scil. Protogenes’] Ialysus*) and, in general, as a masterpiece of Greek art<sup>1</sup>. Pliny’s praise is not isolated in ancient times, as many other authors also exalted the greatness of the Ialysus. Strabo, for example, considers it one of the votive offerings worth being seen in Rhodes, after the Colossus of Helios<sup>2</sup>, and Cicero mentions it aside other great works by Apelles, Polykleitos and Pheidias as one of the best examples of Greek art<sup>3</sup>. Plutarch, instead, describes Demetrios Poliorketes’ and Apelles’ admiration of this painting<sup>4</sup>.

Despite its great fame, the Ialysus went lost and the only information on it comes from literary sources. Unfortunately, we know almost nothing about the subject<sup>5</sup>. As its name in ancient sources suggests, it represented the Rhodian eponymous hero Ialysus, but no myth on him is transmitted<sup>6</sup>.

This lack of information makes more difficult to guess what situation the painting could represent. Thanks to Pliny the Elder, we learn about the presence of a panting dog (*anbelantis*): Protogenes was not satisfied with the depiction of the foam around its mouth and tried more than once to make it, until he threw a sponge against the canvas and got by chance the perfect result he could not reach with all his art<sup>7</sup>.

On these bases different reconstructions of the painting have been proposed: Ialysus as a hunter has been the major interpretation<sup>8</sup>, but other scholars have suggested Ialysus killed by

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<sup>1</sup> Plin. *NH* 35.102.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo 14.2.5 (C 652).

<sup>3</sup> Cic. *Orat.* 2.5 and 2.8; *Att.* 2.21.4; *Verr.* 2.4.135.

<sup>4</sup> Plut. *Demetr.* 22.4-7.

<sup>5</sup> Darab 2012, 79.

<sup>6</sup> On Ialysus see Stoll 1890-94; Weicker 1916; Machaira 1990; Darab 2012, 79. Machaira (1990) states that “Selon une légende rhodienne, il [scil. Ialysus] mourut déchiré par son chien enrage” and lists literary sources on Ialysus; Bravi (2009, 182) confirms that, according to a myth, Ialysus was killed by his dogs (“ucciso secondo un mito dai suoi cani durante la caccia”). However, I did not find any trace of this myth in ancient literary sources. To my knowledge, the only link between Ialysus and dogs is in Pliny’s description of Protogenes’ painting.

<sup>7</sup> Plin. *NH* 35.102.


<sup>8</sup> Brunn 1857-59, II, 238; Jex-Blake and Sellers 1896, 137; Pfuhl 1923, II, 767, ch. 840 (“Ialysos [...] war als Jäger dargestellt”); von Lorentz 1933; Croisille 1985, 214-215; Moreno 1987, 165; Corso *et al.* 1988, 403, n. 102, 1;

his furious dog<sup>9</sup>. It has also been hypothesized that the paintings of other two Rhodian local heroes made by Protogenes, Cydippe and Tlepolemus, should be linked to the Ialysus and constitute a cycle with it<sup>10</sup>.

Given this situation, Protogenes' Ialysus can be declared a masterpiece irremediably lost, because of not just the loss of the canvas, but also the impossibility of imagining even what it represented. Nonetheless, even though we do not have enough data to reconstruct the Ialysus, later literary sources are prodigal in giving information on this painting, its creation, its history and its vicissitude. These pieces of news, even if already carefully collected<sup>11</sup>, have not been considered in the right perspective – that of reception – so that their importance in transmitting information on this painting has been diminished when not completely neglected.

In other words, if it is impossible to reconstruct Protogenes' Ialysus, we still have the chance to reconstruct its “biography” through time and trace its long history at least from the 4th century BC to the Byzantine times, first in Greece and later in Rome. In so doing, we are also able to understand the values and meanings this painting assumed in different periods and places, and the impact it had on its viewers.

This result can be achieved by reading literary sources in a chronological perspective and analyzing them in the context they were conceived and transmitted, never neglecting the author who gives the piece of news. In an art historical perspective, the importance of this approach lies in the possibility of recovering much information – otherwise lost – on the reception of an artwork in later times, and tracing at the same time its history. In so doing, it is possible to shift from a conception where artworks are fixed masterpieces created by an artist in a precise year, to the idea that artworks are alive objects which can be moved from one place to another and change meaning, functions, values through time.

Knowing an artwork only through literary texts is, objectively, a limit. However, through the example of Protogenes' Ialysus, this paper aims to turn such a limit into the opportunity of reassessing the traditional art historical approach to sources. This goal will be fulfilled by contextualizing sources within their cultural frame. 

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Ehrhardt 2004; Meneghini *et al.* 2009, 196 and n. 43; Darab 2012, 80; Mielsch and Lehmann 2014, 218 (“Danach war der Heros als Jäger dargestellt, mit einem Hund neben sich, dessen Maul schaumbedeckt war. Das ist bei Hunden, die angestrengt gelaufen sind, ebenso normal”). Moreno (1987, 166) recognized Protogenes' painting on a cup by the Hesse Painter, where a young man seated with a hunting dog is depicted; *contra* Corso *et al.* 1988, 403, n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Weicker (1916, 629), following Maass (1908, 45), concluded that “Ialysos durch sein tollgewordenen Jagdhund ums Leben gekommen ist”. Recently this interpretation was shared by Machaira (1990): “on ne sait si ce tableau célèbre [...] représentait un moment de sa vie quotidienne, ou bien sa mort tragique, scène qui aurait pu s’inspirer de l’iconographie d’Actéon”, and Bravi (2009, 182): “era rappresentata con molta probabilità non una caccia vittoriosa, ma la morte dell’eroe”; see also Bravi (2012, 174): “Ialiso, eroe eponimo di Rodi, di ritorno dalla caccia”. Against this interpretation see Pfuhl (1923, II, 768, ch. 840): “Daraus zu schliessen, der Hund müsse toll und Ialysos als ein zweiter Aktaion im Sterben gewesen sein, ist gänzlich unkritisch – ganz abgesehen davon, dass auch gesunde Hunde geifern”.

<sup>10</sup> Brunn 1857-59, II, 238; Jex-Blake and Sellers 1896, 137; Pfuhl 1923, II, 767, ch. 840; Croisille 1985, 214-215; Moreno 1987, 165; Ehrhardt 2004; Darab 2012, 79-80; Mielsch and Lehmann 2014, 218. Against this hypothesis see Maass 1908, 46; Corso *et al.* 1988, 407, n. 2.

<sup>11</sup> See, e.g., Overbeck 1868, 360-361; Reinach 1921, 368-372; Pollitt 1990, 171-173; Mielsch and Lehmann 2014, 214-219.

# EXPERIENCING ART IN THE SAEPTA

## Greek Artworks in a Monumental Space of Ancient Rome

*Alessandro Poggio* - IMT School for Advanced Studies Lucca

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[poggio.alessandro@gmail.com](mailto:poggio.alessandro@gmail.com)

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Monumental complexes in ancient Rome were decorated with different sorts of artworks. Many of them were Greek artists' works transported to Rome and displayed in a new context. The arrival of Greek artworks started from the 3rd century BC, thus Greek artistic language and Greek imagery became increasingly important in the public spaces of the *Urbs*.

The use and function of Greek images and artworks in ancient Rome has raised many questions about their role in the *Urbs*, their interaction with its inhabitants, and the criteria for their choice and placement in architectural settings <sup>1</sup>.

Such an investigation requires assembling the widest range of sources and methodologies. On the one hand, the cityscape of Rome was continuously transformed because of the building activity of personalities such as generals and emperors or catastrophes such as fires. On the other, the functions of the urban spaces and the way in which people populated those spaces changed throughout the centuries. Consistently, in the last years archaeology has undergone a specific turn to "multi-sensorial, experiential modes of engaging with the world" <sup>2</sup> that impacted also the study of ancient Rome and other particularly well-documented cities such as Pompeii and Ostia. Taste, smell, sight, hearing, touch, as well as movement, constitute the new frontier for a well-rounded and comprehensive analysis of the ancient world <sup>3</sup>. It emerges that the complex relationship between the artworks displayed in ancient Rome, architectural settings and people imbued in the artworks themselves a mutable role and meaning.

This paper will take into consideration a precise case study, the Saepta Iulia or, simply, Saepta, a monumental complex in the central section of the Campus Martius. The original function of the Saepta was to host the voting assemblies (the *comitia centuriata* and later also the *comitia tributa*), but the purposes of this space enlarged and changed throughout the centuries.

The Saepta, formed by a huge square flanked by the Porticus Argonautarum on the West and the Porticus Meleagri on the East, was decorated by sculptures and paintings. Documented artworks include two marble sculptures of "Olympus and Pan" and "Chiron with Achilles" and the painting of the Argonauts in the Porticus Argonautarum. In addition, according to

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<sup>1</sup> See G. Cirucci's paper in this volume.

<sup>2</sup> Hamilakis 2013, 4.

<sup>3</sup> On urban spaces see Zanker 2002, ch. 11; Laurence 2007; Laurence and Newsome 2011; Muth 2014; Muth *et al.* 2016; Hartnett 2017. Among the most recent publications on senses, Butler and Purves 2013; Day 2013; Bradley 2015; Squire 2016; Betts 2017; Rudolph 2017.

a plausible hypothesis, the Porticus Meleagri owed its name to an artwork representing the mythical hunter of the Calydonian boar.

In this paper the category of “Greek artwork” is used in a broad sense. It is not possible to ascertain if sculptures and paintings decorating the Saepta were Greek artworks imported to Rome<sup>4</sup>. However, it is certain that, consistent with other monumental contexts in ancient Rome, they conveyed Greek imagery. Furthermore, other objects, reflecting the taste for *nobilis opera* by Greek masters, were temporary exhibited in the Saepta during the market activities.

In this paper the main focus will be the reflections on the complexity of people’s interaction with art in the urban environment of Imperial Rome through a balanced analysis of literary sources with a sensorial approach, a method that has not yet been adopted for the Saepta. Major topographical issues, including the recent debate on the location of the Saepta, will only be mentioned.

After a section devoted to Pliny the Elder’s considerations on the urban environment in Imperial times, my analysis will encompass, first, the biography of the Saepta and its main architectural phases; I will then consider its multiple functions over the centuries. Finally, I will focus on how such transformations impacted relationships between the inhabitants and the artworks displayed there and consequently the meaning of these artworks.

## 2. A DISTRACTING CITY

At Rome, indeed, the great number of works of art and again their consequent effacement from our memory, and, even more, the multitude of official functions and business activities distracts, after all, everyone from contemplation (*a contemplatione*), since the admiration (*admiratio*) involved is typical of relaxed people and deeply silent places.<sup>5</sup>

This passage of the book 36 of Pliny’s *Naturalis Historia* is one of the most famous ones devoted to the complex relationship between people and monuments in ancient Rome. According to Pliny the Elder, the possibility of looking carefully at artworks (*contemplatio*) is prevented for three main reasons: *quidem multitudo operum et iam obliteratio ac magis officiorum negotiorumque acervi*<sup>6</sup>.

The reason for distraction is at first attributed to an actual condition, the great number of artworks. Sculpture, in particular, indeed, dominated Imperial Rome: the cityscape of the *Urbs* was shaped by the arrival of numerous Greek artworks from the end of the 3rd century BC onwards, displayed alongside those locally produced. A good visualization of the imposing presence of artworks in Imperial Rome is depicted in one of the Haterii reliefs (*Fig. 1*), dating from the late 1st century AD, thus not much later than Pliny the Elder<sup>7</sup>. Scholars do not agree on the identification of the represented monuments, alternating between an exact cityscape of ancient Rome or a general catalogue of buildings<sup>8</sup>. However, it is clear that a series of urban landmarks is depicted here, and the visual impact of such a picture is telling: the architectural landscape is crammed with sculptures, which formed a *populus copiosissimus statuarum* (“a most plentiful population of statues”), as Cassiodorus wrote in the 6th century AD<sup>9</sup>.



<sup>4</sup> This hypothesis has been proposed for the sculptural groups (for instance, Celani 1998, 277-278; Liverani 2015, 72); for a possible Rhodian provenance, Gaio Plinio Secondo 1988, 567, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Plin. *NH* 36.27. Translation adapted from D.E. Eichholz (Pliny 1962).

<sup>6</sup> Editors propose different versions of the text (for instance, Plinio il Vecchio 1946, *ad loc.*). Here I follow the text of the Loeb Classical Library (Pliny 1962).

<sup>7</sup> Città del Vaticano, Museo Gregoriano Profano 9997.

<sup>8</sup> Sinn and Freyberger 1996, 63-76, no. 8 (F. Sinn), with bibliography; Leach 2006, 11.

<sup>9</sup> Cassiod. *Var.* 7.13.1. Translation after Stewart 2003, 119; see also his ch. 4.

# MADE BY THE ATHENIAN ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ

## The Work of a Greek Sculptor Displayed in Rome

Linda Pozzani - Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7359/832-2018-pozz>

[linda.pozzani@sns.it](mailto:linda.pozzani@sns.it)

### 1. A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON THE SO-CALLED MARCELLUS: TOWARDS A HOLISTIC APPROACH

The statue of the so-called Marcellus, now in the Louvre Museum in Paris (*Figs. 1a* and *1b*), is one of the most famous and well-preserved male portrait statues of Roman art<sup>1</sup>. It represents a young individual with a fully nude ideal body. The mantle on the left arm and the tortoise at the bottom of the statue are the only surviving attributes of this statuary type. These attributes, carved together as one unit, also play a functional role in supporting the marble sculpture.

A four-line inscription carved on the tortoiseshell located at the bottom of the portrait statue preserves the name of the Athenian *artifex* Kleomenes son of another Kleomenes (*Fig. 2*). According to Guido Mansuelli, Kleomenes was a member of a very well-known Greek family *atelier* operating in Rome during the 1st century BC<sup>2</sup>. Three generations of a single family of sculptors have been thus reconstructed, based on the Ἀθηναῖοι named Kleomenes attested by inscriptions carved on sculptures of the Roman period, according to the name-formulas<sup>3</sup>. In Mansuelli's opinion, the name-formulas become progressively less informative with the increas-

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<sup>1</sup> Paris, Musée du Louvre Ma 1207 (Département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines MR 315). H. 1.80 m. See De Kersauson 1986, I, 46-47, no. 18; Kansteiner *et al.* 2014, V, 471, no. 4081, with the previous bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> Mansuelli 1941, 151-162; Mansuelli 1955, 1-56; Mansuelli 1958a, 91-98; Mansuelli 1958b, 85-90; Mansuelli 1959, 315-327.

<sup>3</sup> In general terms, see Vollkommer 2001, I, 414-416 (author: C. Vorster). The inscriptions are: (1) ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΙΩΞΕΝ: carved on the front side of the base of the Medici Venus (Firenze, Uffizi, Sala della Tribuna 224). See Löwy 1885, 339-342, no. 513 (considered as a fake); *IG XIV* 143 (considered as a fake); Kansteiner *et al.* 2014, V, 139-140, no. 3733 (author: S. Kansteiner). It has been re-discussed still recently by Paolucci. See Vorster 2001b, 388-408; Stewart 2012, 335-342; Paolucci 2014, 179-189. (2) ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΙΟΙΗΣΕΝ: carved on the front side of the huge fragment of a colossal statue, on a fold of the drapery near the left knee (Piacenza, Museo Civico di Palazzo Farnese 210429). See *EDR* 135519 (author: C. Gabrielli); Kansteiner *et al.* 2014, V, 140-141, no. 3734 (author: S. Kansteiner). The Piacenza statue was excavated in connection with the building work of the Istituto Nazionale di Previdenza Sociale Fascista in 1930s in Piazza Cavalli. See Malnati and Manzelli 2015, 213, no. 7.5 (author: D. Locatelli). (3) ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΕΠΙΟΙΕΙ: carved on the lower fillet of a marble altar decorated with scenes of the sacrifice of Ifigenia (Firenze, Uffizi 612). See Löwy 1885, 265-266, no. 380; *IG XIV* 1248; Bevilacqua 2006, 27-46; Kansteiner *et al.* 2014, IV, 294-295, no. 3102 (authors: K. Hallof and S. Kansteiner). (4) ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΙΟΙΗΣΕΝ: carved on the front side of the statue of the Wounded Warrior, on a fold of the short tunic near the left knee (Firenze, Uffizi 232). See Kansteiner *et al.* 2014, V, 471, no. 4082. The authenticity of this inscription is questionable. Beschi has been the first to identify the inscription; a modern fake, in his opinion, carved on a statue of the 5th century BC. Susini has been the first to realize the apograph of the inscription. In his opinion, the engraver is an expert not only of the late Hellenistic prototypes, but also of the texts of the late 5th and 4th centuries BC. See Beschi 1991, 651-653; Beschi 1992, 40-41; Susini 1992, 53-54.

ing fame of the family *atelier* and its production. The creator of both a statue in Piacenza and a round decorated altar at the Uffizi would have been of the third generation of this family. He would have been not only the son of our Kleomenes, but also the one mentioned by Pliny the Elder as the sculptor of the Thespiades (statue of Muses) in the *monumenta Asinii Pollionis* <sup>4</sup>. However, as pointed out by Antonio Giuliano, such hypotheses are not well-grounded since it is possible to ascribe the Piacenza statue, supposedly made by Kleomenes III, to the beginning of the 1st century BC <sup>5</sup>, like the statue of the Medici Venus, which is interpreted as a work by Kleomenes I <sup>6</sup>.

The presence of the attribute “Athenian” recalls the “Neo-Attic” category. The modern term “Neo-Attic” is used with reference to those *artifices* that are characterized by the ethnic Ἀθηναῖος in the inscriptions on statues dating from the 1st century BC to the 2nd century AD <sup>7</sup>. In other words, a number of works quite different in chronology as well as in typology have been included within the “Neo-Attic” *milieu*. The Athenian Kleomenes and his Louvre statue, reelaborating a Classical prototype for a Roman customer, have been considered representative of a new aesthetic sensibility in the Augustan period. According to this reading, which highlights the originality of “Neo-Attic” production, the Classical style would be only one of the integral elements of the refined artworks created by this new generation of *artifices* <sup>8</sup>. The same applies to the other Ἀθηναῖοι named Kleomenes and their works.

The presence of the inscription of a Greek *artifex* on a Roman sculpture of the Imperial age allows us to address the restaging of Greek artworks in Roman times from an unconventional perspective. Instead of focusing mostly on the identification of the subject, or on the relationship between the sculpture and its Greek model, I intend to highlight the relevance of the inscription carved on the statue itself as a precious source of information about the identity of the Greek sculptor and the meaning of his artwork in Rome.

As an integral part of the whole monument, the inscription cannot be ignored or considered as a secondary element. Nonetheless, first and foremost, I will keep the analysis of the inscription separate from the study of the sculpture, in order to obtain as much information as possible from each body of evidence. As Virginia Goodlett states in her work on the Rhodian sculpture workshops: “One should regard the epigraphical record as a body of material parallel to the surviving sculpture and consider the two bodies of evidence as two parts of the story, each dependent on the other for information” <sup>9</sup>. I will, then, focus on the information that both the statue and its inscription considered as a whole can provide about the identity of the Greek *artifex* and his relationship with the Augustan elite, in order to achieve a deeper understanding of the historical-cultural context in which the Louvre statue was produced.



<sup>4</sup> Plin. *NH* 36.33. For the epigraphical record of a Kleomenes Ἀθηναῖος at Thespies see Plassart 1926, 456, nos. 100-101; see also Roesch 2007, 28, no. 459; Bevilacqua 2006, 36-37. Asinius Pollio's *monumenta* have been commonly related to the Atrium Libertatis located on the eastern slopes of the Capitoline hill and reconstructed by Asinius *ex manubiis* after the year 39 BC. On the contrary, La Rocca (2016, 208-211) points out that the *monumenta Pollionis* have to be identified rather with the private *Horti* of Asinius Pollio.

<sup>5</sup> Giuliano 1965, 57.

<sup>6</sup> Paolucci 2014, 179.

<sup>7</sup> Becatti 1987, 382-393; Cain and Dräger 1994, II, 815-817; Ridgway 2002, III, 264-266.

<sup>8</sup> See the considerations in La Rocca 2013, 191.

<sup>9</sup> Goodlett 1991, 671.

# BODY MODELS IN ROMAN NUDE PORTRAITS: RESTAGING POLYKLEITOS?

*Mariateresa Curcio* - Università degli Studi di Ferrara

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marberesa@yahoo.it

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This article addresses the restaging of Greek artworks in Roman times by focusing on the Roman nude portrait statues, a hybrid<sup>1</sup> combination of “realistic” heads with idealized bodies borrowed from images of Greek *nobilis opera*<sup>2</sup>. The synthesis between a portrait head, considered to be an original, typical Roman element, and a body close to classical Greek statues of athletes has traditionally led scholars to look at these statues as a “badly restaged” Roman version of classical Greek prototypes<sup>3</sup>. This essay proposes to revise current trends in the study of this category of Roman sculpture by focusing on statues that are commonly presented by scholars as restagings of Polykleitan works. In particular, I intend to examine the relationship between these artworks and the models to which they referred from a different perspective and with a new interpretative approach<sup>4</sup>.

Furthermore, I will question the way in which the existing scholarship on the subject has used its ancient sources to identify in the Doryphoros of Polykleitos the archetypal blueprint on which the body of later nudes would be based. Through a novel reading of relevant passages of Pliny’s *Naturalis Historia*, I will try to debunk a consensus that sees in every statue of a male nude a reelaboration or even a copy of the Doryphoros’ body, as if all virile representations contained a Polykleitan reference.

As we shall see, the Doryphoros was, to the Romans, certainly an eminent specimen of male nudity, but not a blueprint to reproduce uncritically. As recent research on Roman replication has shown, in fact, the formal similarities between Greek and Roman artworks are not necessarily the result of a conscious imitative intention<sup>5</sup>. What mattered to the Romans was

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<sup>1</sup> According to a post-colonial approach, “hybrid” means here the amalgamation, through interaction and negotiation of different cultural codices, of forms, practices, genes expressions, and symbols from distinct traditions into new traditions or expressions. See Deagan 2013, 261.

<sup>2</sup> The first archaeological record of this new type, which makes its appearance around the 2nd century BC, is commonly identified in the statue of the *negotiator* Ofellius Ferus, found in Delos (Archaeological Museum of Delos A 4340). The Greek inscription at the bottom of the statue reveals that it is an offering to Apollo. Ofellius wears a fringed cape on his left shoulder, with the rest of his body completely naked. Though the head of the statue has been lost, other findings suggest that the features of the face consisted of a mixture of realistic elements with the typical traits of Hellenistic portraits. As Hallett (2005, 104) has argued, the combination of these elements in a single image is something substantially different from the typical Greek portrait. See also Curcio 2014.

<sup>3</sup> See Hallett 2005; Curcio (forthcoming a and b).

<sup>4</sup> I am thinking especially of Barthes’ studies on the centrality of authorial prerogatives in literary analysis (Barthes 1977) as well as of Foucault’s analyses on the definition of authorship (Foucault 1971; 1998). See also Fullerton 2015, 214-215; Hölscher 2015; Fullerton 2016.

<sup>5</sup> See Fullerton 1997, 427-440; Fullerton 1998, 69-77. See also Saladino 1998, 980; Brilliant 2007.



not so much the abstract artistic value of an artwork, but, instead, its capacity of adaptation to the wider complex in which it would be placed<sup>6</sup>. It is precisely in this, I shall argue, that the prestige and interest of the Doryphoros reside.

The third part of the article focuses on the context in which two male nude statues were displayed in ancient Formiae in order to reconstruct the message they were intended to convey and the perspective of the spectator, rather than interpret them on the basis of a conventional model in reference to older Greek works. This kind of analysis will improve our understanding of the works and their dating, bringing to the fore the intentions behind their display as well as the way they affected the ancient spectator.

## 2. THE ROMAN NUDE: GENERALIZATIONS AND DISTINCTIONS

Following in the footsteps of Heinrich Brunn and Adolf Furtwängler, Roman ideal sculpture has been viewed for decades as mere imitation, useful only for understanding what the original Greek model might have looked like, according to the philological and formal concerns of the *Kopienkritik* approach<sup>7</sup>. After the second mid of the 20th century, however, crucial developments in the study of Roman art opened up the way for a different understanding not only of *Idealplastik*, but also of other sculptural types<sup>8</sup>. In particular, building on these premises, statues depicting male nudity should be seen not as a second-hand and corrupted source of an original model, but as expressions of the Roman society and cultural climate that produced them. Those elements previously perceived as contradictory, in fact, can be better interpreted in light of the specificity of Roman visual culture, as typical features of a hybrid art strongly linked to a specific productive context and to a specific society.

Drawing from recent reformulations of the concepts of “originality” and “imitation” in Roman art, we could say, in other words, that these sculptures represent an exemplary model of that break of artistic unity that characterizes most strikingly the most original traits of Roman visual culture<sup>9</sup>. Notwithstanding this, the juxtaposition of realistic forms and ideal representations appears to be still unsatisfactory to a modern aesthetics and seems to us to be an expression of Roman bad taste and of a naïve artistic choice<sup>10</sup>. The tendency to examine these statues by separating body and face, instead of approaching them as a unit, is therefore the result not only of the philological method, but also of the aesthetic prejudices through which scholars have approached these kinds of artworks. Thus decomposed, the statues not only lose their formal unity, but also, and most importantly, their historical and cultural meaning.

Against this trend, the systematic study of Roman nude portrait statues by Christopher H. Hallett has adopted a novel and holistic approach by examining these works in their context and developing a historical and cultural analysis of the concept of nudity from the Greeks to the Romans<sup>11</sup>. Going beyond the usual philological analysis, this work demonstrates the value of analyzing naked images as a whole, focusing on their social meanings and cultural consequences<sup>12</sup>.



<sup>6</sup> On the importance of appropriateness and *decorum*, see Gazda 2002; Perry 2005; Hölscher 2007; Marvin 2008. On Roman replication, with further references, see Pucci 2008; Barbanera 2011; Anguissola 2015; Settis 2015.

<sup>7</sup> On *Meisterforschung* and *Kopienkritik*, with further references, see Barbanera 2015.

<sup>8</sup> See Brendel 1979; Settis 1989, 827-878; Wallace-Hadrill 2008; Barbanera 2015; Hallett 2015.

<sup>9</sup> For the philosophical reassessment of the concepts of “originality”, “imitation”, and “copy”, see the fundamental work by the French philosopher Gilles Deleuze (Deleuze 1968). For the reformulation of such concepts as applied to ancient and modern History of Art, see Preciado 1989. On the topic, see also Cupperi 2014, 7-30. For further discussion and references on Roman replication, see the essay by Settis (2015, 66-72, esp. 68).

<sup>10</sup> On the difficult assimilation of allegorical portraits or “composite portraits”, see Wind 1937, 138-141. For the reception of Roman nude portraits in modern scholarship, see Hallett 2005, 1-5.

<sup>11</sup> Hallett 2005.

<sup>12</sup> In his review of the work, Tanner (2007, 336-338) claims that it will be difficult for new studies and new discoveries to substantially alter the picture painted by Hallett.

# THE DILEMMA OF THE PRIMA PORTA AUGUSTUS: POLYKLEITOS OR NOT POLYKLEITOS?

*Gianfranco Adornato* - Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa

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[gianfranco.adornato@sns.it](mailto:gianfranco.adornato@sns.it)

The main purpose of this paper is a careful and parallel investigation of two of the most well-known and celebrated sculptures of the Greek and Roman world: the Prima Porta Augustus and the Doryphoros by Polykleitos (Figs. 1 and 2)<sup>1</sup>. It is undoubtedly a *communis opinio* that the Doryphoros represents the sculptural model of the statue from Prima Porta<sup>2</sup>. Challenging this view, I shall focus on two main arguments: (1) the cuirassed portrait statue is unambiguously related to a different type, the *loricatus* statue type, which has no links with Polykleitos and the naked Doryphoros; and (2) the portrait of Augustus has nothing in common with the classical form of the 5th-century masterpiece.

The first part of this study is dedicated to the formal, stylistic, and anatomical analysis of the two sculptures. This will allow us to better single out and define specific and peculiar features, such as the ponderation, as well as to appreciate the possible artistic influence of the Doryphoros on the body and the portrait of Augustus. In the second section I discuss some Latin literary sources on the perception of Polykleitos' works in Roman culture, mainly Pliny and Quintilian<sup>3</sup>. Thirdly, I focus on how the idea of a strict correlation between these two sculptures may affect our understanding of the semantic and aesthetic value of the Prima Porta Augustus. In particular, I will show how the sculptural type of the Prima Porta Augustus, usually a neglected topic, is indeed rich in consequences for its correct understanding.

## 1. NACHEMPFINDUNG

The Prima Porta Augustus was found on April 20, 1863 at the villa of Livia Drusilla, the wife of Augustus. Just four days after the discovery, Wilhelm Henzen gave the first report and inter-

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The core of this article was conceived soon after the 2013-2014 exhibition *Augusto* (Roma, Scuderie del Quirinale) and delivered at Notre Dame University (2014), at the AIA Annual Meeting in New Orleans (2015), at University of California, Los Angeles, and Heidelberg University (2018). For comments and stimulating discussions, I would like to warmly thank Matteo Cadario, Robert Gurval, Christopher Hallett, Tonio Hölscher, Nathan Kish, Michael Koortbojian, Ingrid Laube, Caterina Maderna, Eugenio La Rocca, John Pollini, Andrew Stewart, and Paul Zanker. A special thanks to Irene Bald Romano, Nicola Barbagli and Gabriella Cirucci for the careful reading and editing of the text.

<sup>1</sup> Città del Vaticano, Musei Vaticani 2290; Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 6011, respectively.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., Holliday 2015, 204: "the shape of the head, its hair, and idealized features are comparable to those of the fifth-century BCE *Doryphoros* by Polykleitos [...] most markedly, the contrapposto of the pose replicates the *Doryphoros*".

<sup>3</sup> From a historiographic point of view, my paper intends to discuss some aspects of the semantic approach proposed 30 years ago by one of the most eminent German scholars, Tonio Hölscher.

pretation of the statue at the Palilia meeting in Rome<sup>4</sup>. Coincidentally, in the very same year Karl Friederichs recognized in a marble statue from Pompeii, housed then in the Real Museo Borbonico in Naples, the copy of the Doryphoros of Polykleitos<sup>5</sup>, inaugurating a stimulating season of research and methodological renewal, known as “Philological Archaeology”.

Regarding the Prima Porta Augustus, scholars first addressed their attention to the juxtaposition of heroic and realistic themes and features<sup>6</sup>, or to the “genre mixte” between Achillean motifs and the iconic statue<sup>7</sup>. It was Franz Wickhoff who first connected the proportions, the strong chest and the pose of the statue to the artistic production of the Classical period. In his words, translated:

[...] the proportions, the strong chest, the pose confident but light recall a more ancient art. As we turn from the statue in the Braccio Nuovo, it is sufficient a look at the Doryphoros of Polykleitos to prove that we are not deceived. This is not a copy (*Nachbildung*), but it was a creation influenced by it (*Nachempfindung*). The composition of the statue derives from an artist who was familiar with Polykleitos' works.<sup>8</sup>

Since Wickhoff's analysis onward, many scholars have mentioned the Doryphoros as *the* sculptural model or as the main source of influence on and inspiration for the Prima Porta Augustus, particularly concerning the ponderation, the attitude, and the portrait features. Other inflections and possibilities are also attested in this period: Wilhelm Klein, for instance, considered the statue inspired by a Hellenistic sculpture with a free connection to the principles of the Polykleitan ponderation<sup>9</sup>. To Eugen Petersen the statue was more similar to the Doryphoros than to the statue of Meleager; to Ernst Buschor there was an artistic intersection between Polykleitos' and Lysippos' works<sup>10</sup>.

Against this perspective, the analysis proposed by Josef Fink in the early 1960s represents the first attempt to undermine the “Polykleitan connection” of the Prima Porta statue in favor of a link with Lysippos' work<sup>11</sup>. According to this new interpretation, the *Vorbild* would be Achilles, as on the statue of Alexander with the spear, and the enlarged eyes of Augustus would derive from Alexander's portrait<sup>12</sup>. In the same direction goes the interpretation later proposed by John Pollini. He argued that, at an intellectual level, the image of Augustus challenges the heroic imagery of Alexander, especially since the sculpture symbolizes victory over a great Eastern enemy, the Parthians, who are seen as the successors of Alexander's Persians<sup>13</sup>. According to the concept of *aemulatio*, more than one prototype would be quoted in the statue, and the statue from Prima Porta would have to be interpreted as an *Alexandri imitatio*.



<sup>4</sup> Henzen 1863; very useful is Jucker 1977.

<sup>5</sup> Friederichs 1863.

<sup>6</sup> Koehler 1863.

<sup>7</sup> Martha 1884.

<sup>8</sup> Translated by the author. Hartel and Wickhoff 1895, 18: “[...] die Proportionen, die mächtige Brust, der sichere und doch leichte Stand gemahnen an ältere Kunst. Wenden wir uns von der Statue im Braccio Nuovo um, so genügt ein Blick auf den Doryphoros des Polyklet, um zu zeigen, dass wir uns nicht täuschen. Es ist nicht eine Nachbildung, sondern eine Nachempfindung. Der Aufbau der Statue rührt von einem Künstler her, dem sie Werke Polyklets geläufig waren”.

<sup>9</sup> Klein 1907.

<sup>10</sup> Petersen 1911; Buschor 1932.

<sup>11</sup> Fink 1962.

<sup>12</sup> Fink 1962.

<sup>13</sup> Pollini 1995, 274; Pollini 2013, 174-178.

# AFTERWORD: THE FUNCTION OF GREEK ARTWORKS WITHIN ROMAN VISUAL CULTURE

*Christopher H. Hallett* - University of California, Berkeley

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.7359/832-2018-hall>

[chrishallett@berkeley.edu](mailto:chrishallett@berkeley.edu)

## 1. OLD MASTERS AND “ANONYMOUS ANTIQUES”

When writers of the Roman period concern themselves with Greek artworks, it is generally with “old masters” (*opera nobilia*). Sometimes they merely record lists of “works worth seeing”; on other occasions they regale their readers with memorable anecdotes about celebrated masterpieces by well-known artists. The painting of Ialysus by Protogenes of Caunus – a painter of the early Hellenistic period – the subject of the essay by Eva Falaschi in part 2 of this volume, and a work mentioned by Pliny the Elder, Strabo, Cicero, and Plutarch, is a good example. The Ialysus appears to have enjoyed great fame in its own day, both locally in Rhodes and throughout the Hellenistic world. Other *opera nobilia* frequently mentioned by Roman authors, on the other hand, may have owed their high reputation (and widespread name-recognition) – at least in part – to their eventually having found their way to the imperial capital, where they were redisplayed, or “restaged”, in a new, sometimes spectacular setting. Protogenes’ painting even helps illustrate this second phenomenon too, for it ended up being exhibited alongside a whole series of other world-famous artistic masterpieces, such as the sculptor Myron’s bronze heifer, in Vespasian’s extraordinary Templum Pacis (“Precinct of Peace”) <sup>1</sup>.

The evidence of archaeology, on the other hand, presents a completely different set of Greek artworks discovered in Roman contexts: antique objects, imported and reused, that are wholly “anonymous” as far as we are concerned, since they have no contemporary inscriptions, and tend to go unremarked by the ancient literary sources. These are generally from a much more modest level of artistic production too, and include Greek marble votive panels, funerary reliefs, and pieces of architectural sculpture. They are mostly found in private houses and gardens. One of the most important questions posed by this volume is acutely formulated in the essay by Gabriella Cirucci: how does the evidence for the Roman appreciation of the Greek “old masters” – so conspicuous in the literary sources – relate to these “anonymous” archaeological finds?

The marble Fondazione Sorgente Group Athena Nike (in this volume, pp. 39-40, *Figs. 1-4*), the focus of part 1 of this volume, seems at first sight to belong to this second category of material. For it is plausibly suggested by Olga Palagia, on the basis of the extensive cuttings on the back of the figure, that it was probably created for the pediment of a Greek temple in the 5th century BC. If this were indeed the case, it is possible that its second use in Rome involved it being mounted once again in the gable of a new temple. Greek pedimental sculptures made in the 5th century BC are known to have been reused, for example, in the Augustan Temple

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<sup>1</sup> On the Templum Pacis see now Tucci 2017.

of Apollo Sosianus<sup>2</sup>. But equally the Athena/Minerva may have been included in a different kind of setting, as (presumably) were the three 5th-century BC Niobids found in the “Horti of Sallust” at Rome (in this volume, p. 116, *Fig. 3*).

Cirucci’s question is, in essence this: “Can both these sets of evidence, literary and archaeological, be set within a single interpretive frame, and be mutually illuminating?”. The present anthology of essays provides a good deal of food for thought on this subject. Accordingly, I would like to begin this “Afterword” by responding directly to this question; both in specific terms, in relation to the Fondazione Sorgente Group Athena Nike, and more generally as well.

## 2. THE FONDAZIONE SORGENTE GROUP ATHENA NIKE

First of all, if the *Athena* is a pedimental figure from a Classical Greek temple, as Palagia proposes, then I would suggest that – at the time the statue was first set up in Rome – it is quite possible it was ascribed to a famous Classical sculptor; or at least was known to come from a well-known ruined building. Two passages of Pliny the Elder lead me to this conclusion.

1. In a passage in book 36 Pliny tells us that on the temple of Apollo Palatinus in Rome Augustus set up *in fastigio* marble figures by the sculptors Bupalos and Athenis, the sons of Achermos of Chios (*NH* 36.11-13). Works by named Greek artists of the 6th century BC, then, were set in the pediment of a new Roman building<sup>3</sup>. Pliny adds in addition that Augustus placed works by these artists on “almost all his buildings” (*in fastigio et omnibus fere*), the implication being that a great many works by these sculptors were to be seen in Augustan Rome. We certainly cannot say for sure that *all* these figures will have been imported “originals”. They could also have been marble copies, specially made by Augustus’ sculptors (I will return to this point below). But a fragment of a genuine 6th-century marble figure of East Greek workmanship was found in the excavations of the Palatine, and it has been suggested that it may come from one of these pedimental statues ascribed to the two Chian sculptors<sup>4</sup>.
2. Pliny also tells us, quoting Varro, that after the old Roman temple of Ceres in the Circus Maximus burned in 31 BC, the terracotta pedimental figures, made by the two 5th-century BC Greek sculptors, Damophilos and Gorgasos, were taken down and dispersed (*NH* 35.154-155). It is not said where these figures ended up. Presumably Varro did not know. But the terracotta relief panels from the building, by the same sculptors, were taken down, set in new frames, and then redisplayed on the refurbished building, formally rededicated by Augustus in 15 BC. We could not ask for a better indication that architectural sculptures – both relief panels and pedimental figures, attributed to named 5th-century BC Greek sculptors – were “restaged” on important buildings in Augustan Rome<sup>5</sup>.

Now it is pure chance that we happen to know the names of the Greek sculptors who made these two sets of reused architectural figures. We are not so lucky, for example, with the Amazonomachy from the temple of Apollo Sosianus<sup>6</sup>. But in any case, we should hardly assume that – even in Roman times – the makers of antique sculptures reused on Roman buildings, or set up in Roman porticoes or gardens, were *always* known. On several occasions Pliny mentions important and famous monuments in Rome whose creators were disputed, or simply unknown.



<sup>2</sup> La Rocca 1985.

<sup>3</sup> It has now been proposed by Coarelli that these original works may have come from a temple on Delos: Coarelli 2016, 78-111 (cited by R. Neudecker in this volume, p. 154, n. 52).

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Zanker 1988, 242-243, fig. 188. See also Gasparri and Tomei 2014, 175, no. 16.

<sup>5</sup> On the terracotta reliefs from this temple, see now Hallett 2019.

<sup>6</sup> Though it has been suggested that the figures may have come from the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria: La Rocca 1985, 59-82; La Rocca 1988, 134-136.

# CREDITS

A Reexamination of the Glencairn Athena/Minerva and Its Relationship  
to the Fondazione Sorgente Group Athena Nike  
*Irene Bald Romano*

Figs. 1a, 6, 7, 9-18, 20. Photos: H.F. Schoch. Courtesy of Glencairn Museum.

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Fig. 8. Drawing: Carpenter 1958, fig. 4. Courtesy of Glencairn Museum Archives.

Fig. 19. Drawing: Martha Gyllenhaal. Courtesy of Glencairn Museum.

Fig. 21. Courtesy of Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.

A New Interpretation of the Fondazione Sorgente Group Athena Nike  
as Part of an Athenian Pediment  
*Olga Palagia*

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Fig. 7. Photo: Olga Palagia. Courtesy of Sparta Museum, Sparta.

Fig. 8. Photo: Hans R. Goette. Courtesy of Olympia Museum, Olympia.

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Figs. 10, 18. Photos: Olga Palagia. Courtesy of National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

Fig. 11. Photo: Olga Palagia. Courtesy of Hadrian's Library Museum, Athens.

Fig. 12. Photo: Olga Palagia. Courtesy of Musei Capitolini, Centrale Montemartini, Roma.

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Fig. 15. Drawing: Palagia 2005, fig. 81. © Olga Palagia.

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### Athena Nike and Athena's Nike *Kenneth Lapatin*

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- Fig. 2a. Photo: Kenneth Lapatin. Courtesy of National Archaeological Museum, Athens.
- Fig. 2b. Photo: Francesca Tronchin. Courtesy of National Archaeological Museum, Athens.
- Fig. 3. Courtesy of Agora Excavations, Athens.
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- Fig. 10. Prag 1984, pl. 12.1. Courtesy of Adana Archaeological Museum.
- Fig. 11. Bentz 1988, pl. 111, no. 4.016. Courtesy of National Archaeological Museum, Athens.
- Fig. 12. Furtwängler - Reichhold 1904-32, pl. 20. Courtesy of Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia, Roma.

### Athena, Nike, Athena Nike: Some Iconographic Considerations *Arne Thomsen*

- Fig. 1. Trianti 1998, fig. 402. Courtesy of Acropolis Museum, Athens.
- Fig. 2. Photo: Koppermann, Neg. D-DAI-Rom 1961.1196.
- Fig. 3. Photo: Frères Chuzeville. Courtesy of Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Figs. 4, 8, 9. Kulturstiftung des Hauses Hessen, Museum Schloss Fasanerie. Courtesy of Kulturstiftung des Hauses Hessen.
- Figs. 5, 6. Musée du Louvre, Documentation AGER. Courtesy of Musée du Louvre, Paris.
- Fig. 7. Photo: Travis Fullerton. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond. Arthur and Margaret Glasgow Fund. Courtesy of Virginia Museum of Fine Arts.

### From Athena Nike to Nike Apteros: Literary and Epigraphical Sources *Eva Falaschi*

- Fig. 1. @ American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations.

### The Iconography of the Winged Menrva on Etruscan Engraved Bronze Mirrors from the 5th to Early 3rd Centuries BC *Alexandra A. Carpino*

- Fig. 1. Drawing: Shawn R. Skabelund after Zimmer 1995, fig. 31a (original drawing by Ingrid Peckskamp). Courtesy of Gerhard Zimmer and Shawn R. Skabelund.
- Fig. 2. Klügmann and Körte 1897, pl. 6.
- Fig. 3. Drawing: Shawn R. Skabelund after Zimmer 1995, fig. 24a 31a (original drawing by Ingrid Peckskamp). Courtesy of Gerhard Zimmer and Shawn R. Skabelund.
- Fig. 4. Drawing: Shawn R. Skabelund after Frascarelli 1995, fig. 23a (p. 140). Courtesy of Alba Frascarelli and Shawn R. Skabelund.
- Fig. 5. Gerhard, *ES IV* (1867), pl. 286.2.
- Fig. 6. Gerhard, *ES IV* (1867), pl. 305.

## CREDITS

Fig. 7. Gerhard, *ES II* (1845), pl. 146.

Fig. 8. Gerhard, *ES II* (1845), pl. 134.

### The “Greek Originals” in Rome: An Overview *Gabriella Cirucci*

Figs. 1a-b. Photos: Luca Fazzolari. © Roma, Fondazione Sorgente Group. Courtesy of Fondazione Sorgente Group.

Figs. 2-4. Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Nazionale Romano e l’Area Archeologica di Roma.

### Greek Sculptures in Roman Contexts: The Case of Campania *Marina Caso*

Figs. 1, 5, 7, 12, 14. Photos: G. Albano. Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli.

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Fig. 4. Seiler 1992, fig. 614. Su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali – Parco Archeologico di Pompei.

Fig. 6. Conticello and Boyle 1987, pl. 2.

Fig. 9. Blümel 1966, fig. 200.

Fig. 10. Neg. D-DAI-ROM-40.645.

Fig. 11. Neg. D-DAI-ROM-40.643.

Figs. 17, 18. Photos: Francine Sarin and Jennifer Chiappardi. Courtesy of University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

### Greek Sanctuaries in Roman Times: Rearranging, Transporting, and Renaming Artworks *Richard Neudecker*

Fig. 1. Hölscher 2002, fig. 4, by kind permission of T. Hölscher.

Fig. 2. Dittenberger and Purgold 1896, 28.

Fig. 3. La Rocca 2001, 197, fig. 18. © Roma, Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali.

Fig. 4. K. Wernicke, “Olympische Beiträge, 2. Zur Geschichte des Heraion”. *JdI* 9 (1894): 111.

Fig. 5. H. Walter, *Das griechische Heiligtum dargestellt am Heraion von Samos*, Stuttgart 1990, 196, fig. 202.

Fig. 6. Krumeich 2010, figs. 18-19. Courtesy of Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens.

### Experiencing Art in the Saepta: Greek Artworks in a Monumental Space of Ancient Rome *Alessandro Poggio*

Fig. 1. Cologne Digital Archaeology Laboratory, <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/7147385>.

Fig. 2. Reproduced by kind permission of David Gilman Romano, <http://digitalaugustanrome.org> (modified by the author).

Fig. 3. After Gatti 1940, 73, fig. 7.

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The Work of a Greek Sculptor Displayed in Rome  
*Linda Pozzani*

Figs. 1a-1b. Photo: Hervé Lewandowski. © RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre).

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Fig. 4. Photo: H. Schwanke, Neg. D-DAI-ROM 82.2513.

Fig. 5. Fröhner 1874, 214.

Fig. 6. Löwy 1885, 244.

Body Models in Roman Nude Portraits: Restaging Polykleitos?  
*Mariateresa Curcio*

Fig. 1. Neg. D-DAI-ROM 66.1831.

Fig. 2. Photo: Koppermann, Neg. D-DAI-ROM 66.1832.

Fig. 3. Himmelmann 1989, fig. 48. Per gentile concessione del Polo Museale del Lazio - Formia (LT), Museo Archeologico Nazionale.

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The Dilemma of the Prima Porta Augustus:  
Polykleitos or not Polykleitos?  
*Gianfranco Adornato*

Figs. 1, 4, 7, 11a, 12c-d. Foto © Governatorato SCV – Direzione dei Musei.

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Figs. 5a-b. Pollini 1995, figs. 15.13a-b.

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Fig. 8. Archivio Fotografico del Parco Archeologico di Ostia Antica.

Fig. 13. D-DAI-ATH-NM-0410.

Fig. 14. © Hellenic Ministry of Culture & Sports – Bella Tumulus, Tomb 2, details from the wall painting on the façade (3rd cent. BC).

Fig. 15. Photo: Renate Kühling. © Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, München.

Fig. 16. Cadario 2004, 94, fig. 6.

Fig. 19. MiBAC – Polo Museale della Liguria.



*Fig. 12 – Glencairn Athena/Minerva, detail, upper back.*



*Fig. 13 – Glencairn Athena/Minerva, detail of Medusa head of aegis.*



*Fig. 14 – Glencairn Athena/Minerva, detail, left side of torso.*



*Fig. 15 – Glencairn Athena/Minerva, detail, front of torso.*



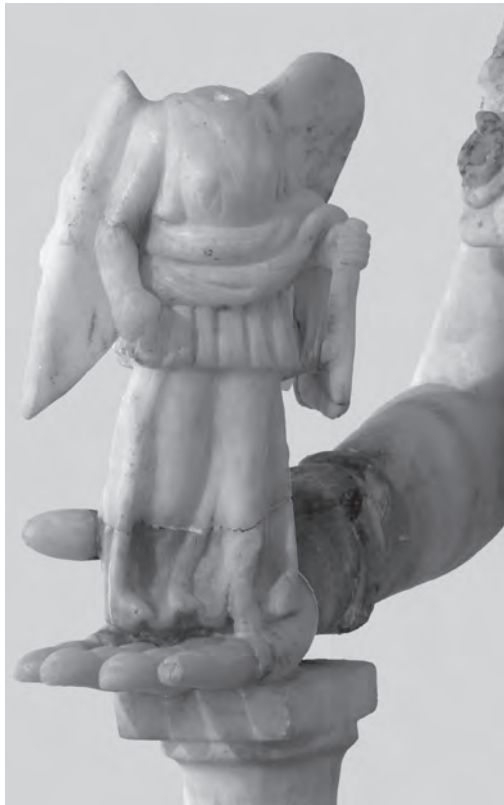
*Fig. 3 – Fondazione Sorgente Group Athena Nike, left profile.*



*Fig. 4 – Fondazione Sorgente Group Athena Nike, rear.*



*Fig. 1 – Athena Parthenos LeQuire. Nashville, Tennessee.*



*Fig. 2a-b – Varvakeion Athena. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 126.*

*Fig. 1 – Athena and Nike  
on the Nike Parapet. Athenian Acropolis.*



*Fig. 2 – Skyphos.  
Orvieto, Museo Civico Faina 150.*



*Fig. 3 – Neck amphora. Paris,  
Musée du Louvre F 380.*

Fig. 5 – Engraved bronze mirror with a winged Menrva preparing to dismember a giant, perhaps Akrathe, 4th century BC. Paris, Musée du Louvre 1740.



Fig. 6 – Engraved bronze mirror with a winged Menrva, Fufluns, Artumes and Esia, late 5th century BC. Bruxelles, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire R1260.



Fig. 7 – Engraved bronze mirror with a winged Menrva holding the wrist of a maiden, perhaps Athanasia or Hebe, early 5th century BC. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 1289.



Fig. 8 – Engraved bronze mirror with a winged Menrva assisting Herclé, second half of the 5th century BC, from Perugia. London, British Museum 544.

*Fig. 3 – Statue of a wounded maiden.  
Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano,  
Palazzo Massimo 72274.*



*Fig. 4 – Statue of a pedagogue.  
Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano,  
Palazzo Massimo 380382.*



*Fig. 3 – Votive relief with Helios on a quadriga from Vico Equense.  
Kansas City, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Fine Arts 45-32/7.*



*Fig. 4 – Relief with Aphrodite and Eros from Pompeii,  
Casa degli Amorini Dorati. Pompei, Antiquarium 20469.*



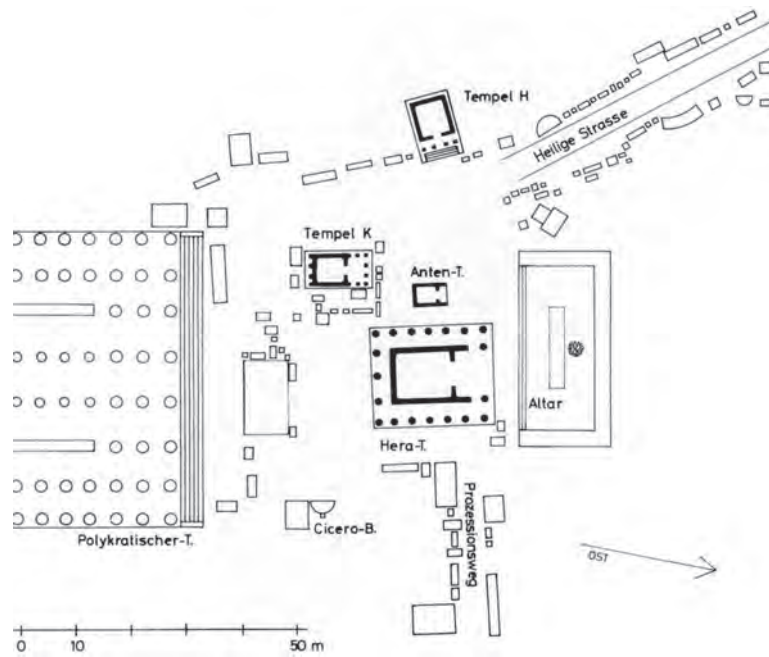


Fig. 5 – Plan of central area of the Sanctuary of Hera, Samos.

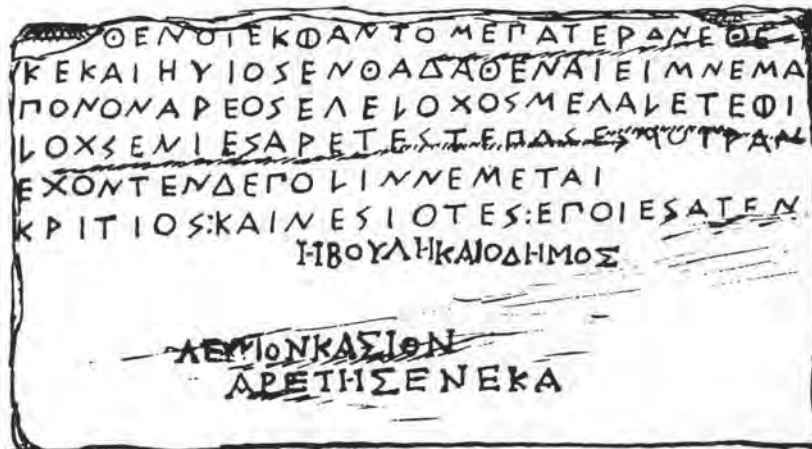
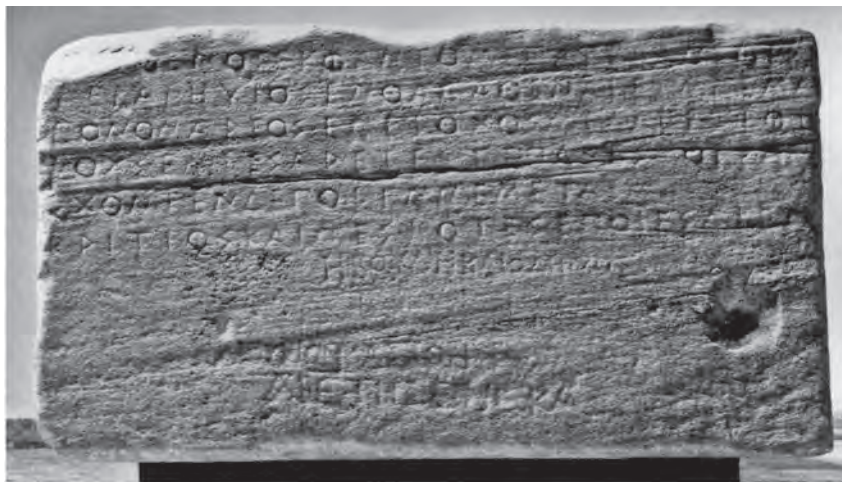


Fig. 6 – Photo and drawing of base IG P 850, from Athenian Acropolis. Athens, Acropolis 13206.



Fig. 1 – Relief from the Mausoleum of the Haterii. Città del Vaticano, Museo Gregoriano Profano 9997.

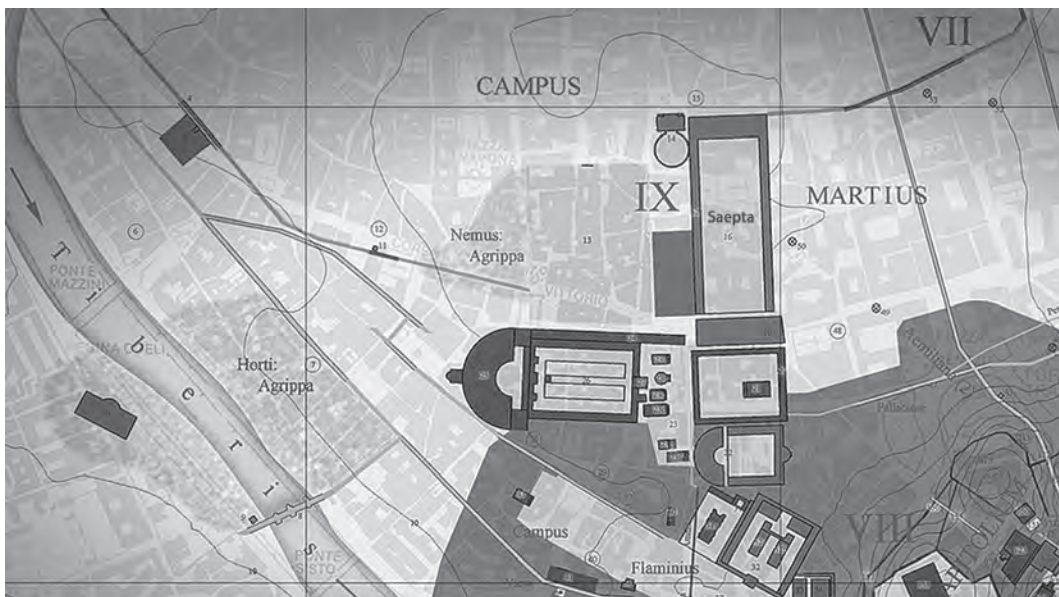
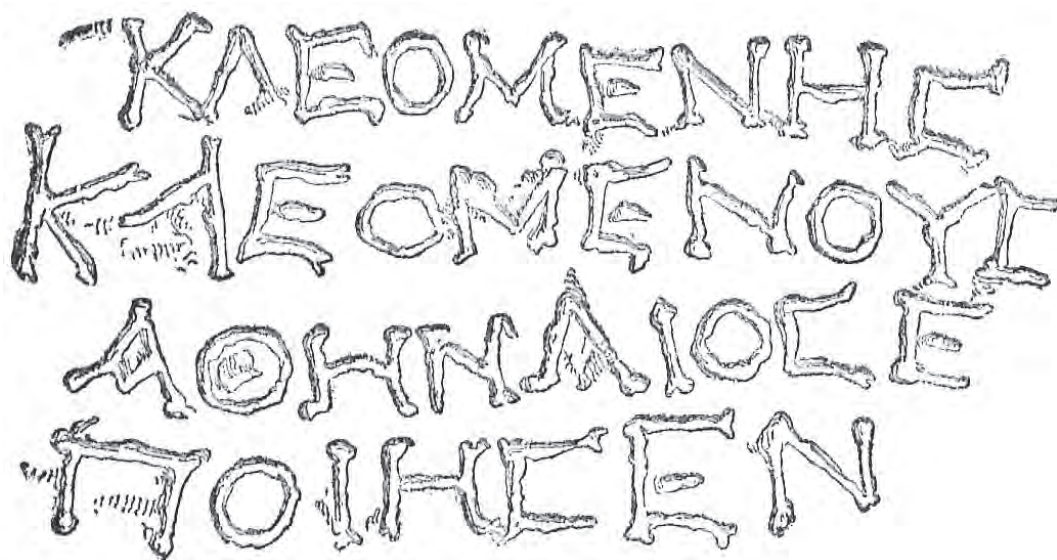
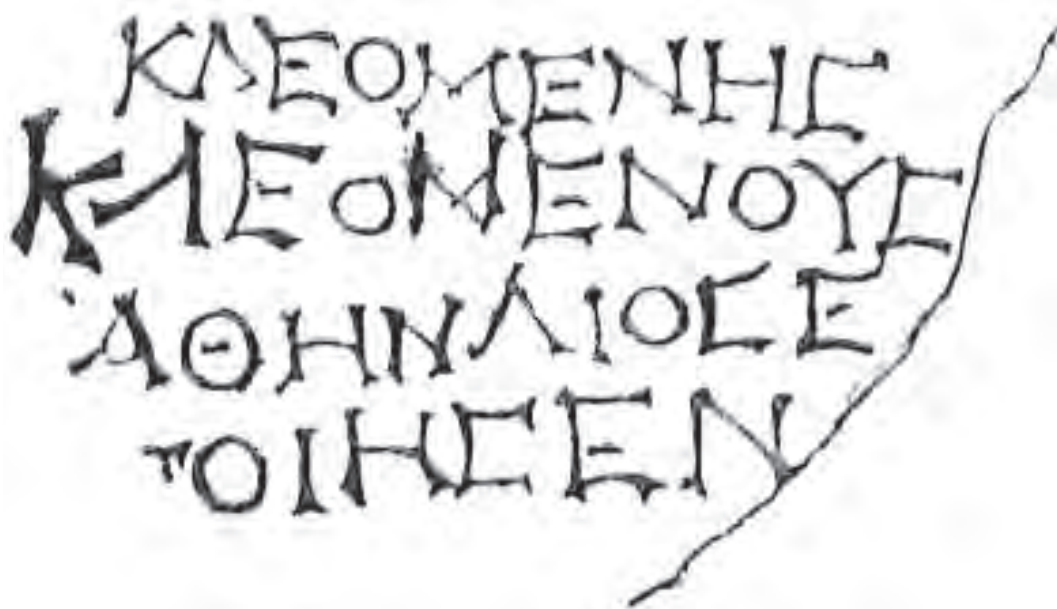


Fig. 2 – The Saepta and the surrounding area of the Campus Martius in Augustan times.



*Fig. 5 – The apograph made by Fröhner in 1874.*



*Fig. 6 – The apograph made by Löwy in 1885.*

*Fig. 3 – Statue of the so-called Cicero from Formiae.  
Formia, Antiquarium 15423.*



*Fig. 4 – Headless statue from Formiae.  
Formia, Antiquarium 15424.*



*Fig. 8 – Statue of C. Carilius Poplicola.  
Ostia, Parco Archeologico di Ostia Antica 121.*



*Fig. 9 – Denarius. (a) Victoria in profile; (b) Octavian holds the apblaston in the right hand and the scepter in the left one; the right feet stands on the globe. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France IMP 3613 21-1-14.*