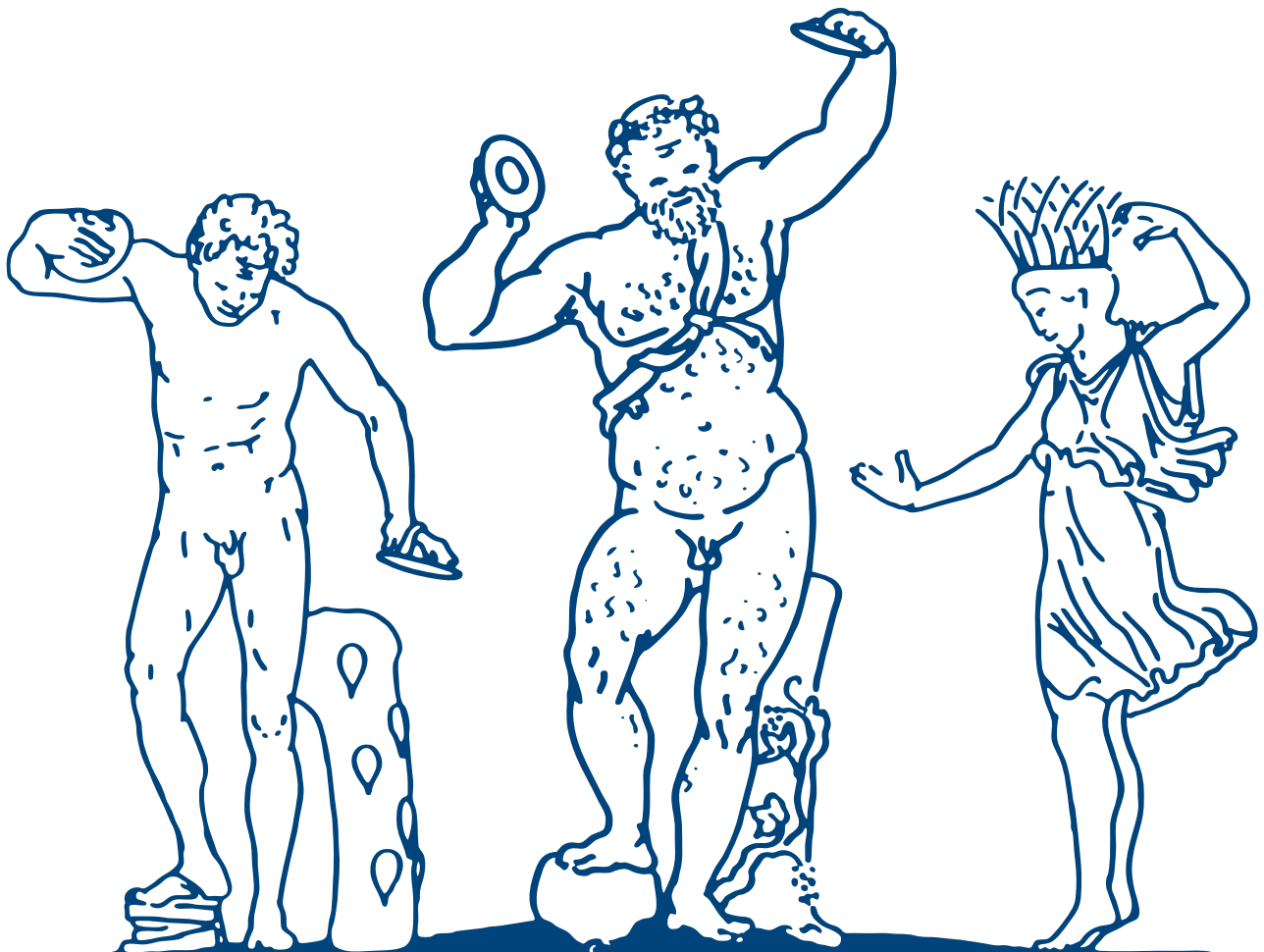


# Evading Greek models

Three studies on Roman visual culture

Julia Habetzeder



# Evading Greek models

## Three studies on Roman visual culture

**Julia Habetzeder**

Academic dissertation for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Classical Archaeology and Ancient History at Stockholm University to be publicly defended on Tuesday 16 October 2012 at 10:00 in hörsal 6, hus C, Universitetsvägen 10 C.

### Abstract

For a long time, Roman ideal sculptures have primarily been studied within the tradition of *Kopienkritik*. Owing to some of the theoretical assumptions tied to this practice, several important aspects of Roman visual culture have been neglected as the overall aim of such research has been to gain new knowledge regarding assumed Classical and Hellenistic models. This thesis is a collection of three studies on Roman ideal sculpture. The articles share three general aims: 1. To show that the practice of *Kopienkritik* has, so far, not produced convincing interpretations of the sculpture types and motifs discussed. 2. To show that aspects of the methodology tied to the practice of *Kopienkritik* (thorough examination and comparison of physical forms in sculptures) can, and should, be used to gain insights other than those concerning hypothetical Classical and Hellenistic model images. 3. To present new interpretations of the sculpture types and motifs studied, interpretations which emphasize their role and importance within Roman visual culture.

The first article shows that reputed, post-Antique restorations may have an unexpected—and unwanted—impact on the study of ancient sculptures. This is examined by tracing the impact that a restored motif ("Satyrs with cymbals") has had on the study of an ancient sculpture type: the satyr ascribed to the two-figure group "The invitation to the dance". The second article presents and interprets a sculpture type which had previously gone unnoticed—The satyrs of "The Palazzo Massimo-type". The type is interpreted as a variant of "The Marsyas in the forum", a motif that was well known within the Roman cultural context. The third article examines how, and why, two motifs known from Classical models were changed in an eclectic fashion once they had been incorporated into Roman visual culture. The motifs concerned are kalathiskos dancers, which were transformed into Victoriae, and pyrrhic dancers, which were also reinterpreted as mythological figures—the cures.

**Keywords:** *Kopienkritik*, *Copy criticism*, *Emulation*, *Classical reception studies*, *Roman visual culture*, *Roman ideal sculpture*, *Neo-Attic reliefs*.

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Cover illustration: the dancing satyr in the Uffizi (see article no. 1), the satyr of “The Palazzo Massimo-type” in Stockholm (see article no. 2) and a kalathiskos dancer (see article no. 3). Illustration by Julia Habetzeder.

# Abstract

For a long time, Roman ideal sculptures have primarily been studied within the tradition of *Kopienkritik*. Owing to some of the theoretical assumptions tied to this practice, several important aspects of Roman visual culture have been neglected as the overall aim of such research has been to gain new knowledge regarding assumed Classical and Hellenistic models. This thesis is a collection of three studies on Roman ideal sculpture. The articles share three general aims: 1. To show that the practice of *Kopienkritik* has, so far, not produced convincing interpretations of the sculpture types and motifs discussed. 2. To show that aspects of the methodology tied to the practice of *Kopienkritik* (thorough examination and comparison of physical forms in sculptures) can, and should, be used to gain insights other than those concerning hypothetical Classical and Hellenistic model images. 3. To present new interpretations of the sculpture types and motifs studied, interpretations which emphasize their role and importance within Roman visual culture.

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*Keywords:* Kopienkritik, Copy criticism, Emulation, Classical reception studies, Roman visual culture, Roman ideal sculpture, Neo-Attic reliefs.





## List of papers

1. J. Habetzeder, 'The impact of restoration. The example of the dancing satyr in the Uffizi', *Opuscula* 5, 2012 (forthcoming). During 2013 the full article will be made available at <http://ecsi.bokorder.se>. You can also order a copy of the printed journal at the same webpage.
2. J. Habetzeder, 'Marsyas in the garden? Small-scale sculptures referring to the Marsyas in the forum', *Opuscula* 3, 2010, 163–178. The full article is available at <http://ecsi.bokorder.se/ShowArticle.aspx?id=1789>. You can also order a copy of the printed journal at the same webpage.
3. J. Habetzeder, 'Dancing with decorum. The eclectic usage of kalathiskos dancers and pyrrhic dancers in Roman visual culture', *Opuscula* 5, 2012 (forthcoming). During 2013 the full article will be made available at <http://ecsi.bokorder.se>. You can also order a copy of the printed journal at the same webpage.



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I distinctly remember one particular summer day, back in 2007. I had just settled in at a new job, working as an archivist. After many years, I thought I had finally put my studies at the University to rest. Therefore, I was greatly surprised to receive a phone call from Anne-Marie Leander Touati, who was then a professor at Stockholm University. She called to remind me that I ought to apply for a PhD position at the newly established Research School of Aesthetics. Looking back, I am very grateful for this phone call: had it not been for Anne-Marie's kind encouragement, that application would never have been submitted and, most likely, this thesis would not have seen the light of day.

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Julia Habetzeder  
Stockholm, September 2012



# Evading Greek models

## Three studies on Roman visual culture

Let us begin with a completely hypothetical reflection: what if Roman sculpture had not been repetitive in any respect? Imagine that each Roman craftsman had begun each commissioned sculpture knowing he was expected to produce yet another unique rendering of, say, yet another satyr. If so, how would the countless fragmentary sculptures that survived the test of time have been analysed by scholars trying to piece together this puzzle 2000 years later? Reconstructing sculptures would mostly have been impossible. Perhaps some fragmentary marble torsos could have been identified as satyrs thanks to the remains of tails (*Figs. 1 & 2*) but, all in all, the details of this sculptural tradition would have been very difficult to grasp.

It may be difficult to imagine such a situation, as it is largely fictitious, but it does make one realize to what extent the study of Roman sculpture is, and always will be, dependent upon the fact that Roman visual culture was built mainly upon repetition. Nevertheless, there are exceptions, as some sculptures appear to have a unique form. Among these one could mention the Belvedere torso (*Fig. 3*). Owing to its fragmentary state of preservation and the lack of the same form in other sculptures, this notorious antique has proven very difficult to interpret. Despite the fact that it has been widely renowned since the Renaissance, the identity of this seated male remains a mystery.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, although the fragment does not have a preserved satyr's tail, the figure has been identified as such a mythological being because there is a dovetail hole at the back of the statue which may originally have been used to fasten a tail.<sup>2</sup>

Discussions of replication in Roman visual culture often centre on sculptures, in particular on ideal sculptures, i.e. sculptures depicting gods, mythological figures, personifications, and athletes. The genre of portrait sculpture is also intrinsically linked to this discussion. The most common

approach to the study of both ideal sculptures and sculpted portraits has—at least during the 20<sup>th</sup> century—been that of *Kopienkritik*.<sup>3</sup> It is, I believe, important to distinguish between the method used for *Kopienkritik* and the theoretical assumptions tied to this practice.<sup>4</sup> Previous discussions have seldom been specific about this division. This lack of specification has caused unnecessary confusion. The method of *Kopienkritik* involves the careful examination of the physical forms of sculptures. Groups of sculptures rendering the same general form (so called “sculpture types”) are compared in order to trace similarities and differences within the group. The interpretations made from these comparisons are then governed by a number of theoretical assumptions. Shared traits among the sculptures are, for instance, assumed to refer to a shared model image. Where ideal sculptures are concerned, this model image is generally assumed to be of Classical or Hellenistic date.<sup>5</sup>

In a sense, the theoretical assumptions of *Kopienkritik* presuppose passive reception on the part of the Roman craftsmen and the patrons of sculpture. It is, for instance, often assumed that in Roman times an exact copy of an earlier masterpiece was preferred over a sculpture that altered a given model. A growing number of scholars have criticized many of the theoretical assumptions of *Kopienkritik*; they have, for example, argued that Roman sculpture should primarily be studied as an expression of its contemporary

<sup>1</sup> Haskell & Penny 1981, cat. no. 80. For a recent suggestion on how to interpret the sculpture, see: Meyer 2007–2008.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, Meyer 2007–2008, 28; Säfslund 1976.

<sup>3</sup> Hallett 2005, 429. At times, the term *Stilforschung* is used as a synonym for *Kopienkritik*: Habetzeder 2010, 63–64; Moss 1988, 2.

<sup>4</sup> I will use the terms “theory” and “method” as defined in *Oxford Reference Online* 2010: theory (noun, *pl.* theories)—“a supposition or a system of ideas intended to explain something, especially one based on general principles independent of the thing to be explained” and method (noun)—“a particular procedure for accomplishing or approaching something, especially a systematic or established one”.

<sup>5</sup> Some examples where the practice is defined in this manner (albeit without distinguishing between aspects of theory and method) are Hallett 1995, 121; Junker & Stähli 2008, 2; Meyer 1995, 65. A definition which does differentiate between aspects of theory and method is: Trimble & Elsner 2006a, 203.

visual culture, and not as an indirect source of its preceding Classical or Hellenistic equivalents.<sup>6</sup>

Since the 1990s, the critique of the theoretical preconceptions of the practice of *Kopienkritik* has, at times, been quite fierce. An extreme example is offered by Jennifer Trimble and Jaś Elsner:

*The amazing thing about this enterprise [Kopienkritik] is how long it took for the sitting duck even to be shot at, let alone shot down—compelling testimony to how well the disciplinary structures of the field naturalized the assumptions and methods driving the enterprise. The recent slew of critiques has thus been invaluable in its illumination of these assumptions within the harsh light of a radically changed scholarly climate—a climate that currently gives priority to precisely those historical and contextual dimensions that Kopienkritik does not permit, and in whose light the old approach's assumptions can seem downright bizarre.*<sup>7</sup>

The general critique of the theoretical aspects of *Kopienkritik* has, as already noted by Christopher H. Hallett, been put into print repeatedly in recent years.<sup>8</sup> The fact that several scholars have offered the same critique has even caused others to speak of “a new orthodoxy on the subject of Roman copies”.<sup>9</sup>

## Roman ideal sculpture

This thesis is a collection of three articles that deal with Roman ideal sculpture. Each article has been—or is soon to be—published separately in the journal *Opuscula. Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome*.<sup>10</sup> Each article is a stand-alone piece, dealing with different materials and questions. This introductory chapter aims to situate the three articles within the current scholarly debate on how to interpret the repetitiveness of Roman ideal sculpture. In order to provide background for this discussion, the previous

research on such sculptures will be summarized. Following this, the method used in the articles will be discussed. These studies are all based upon comprehensive comparisons of the sculptures' physical forms. Thus, in a general sense, the articles use the method of *Kopienkritik*. It will be emphasized that this method also has much to offer to studies that do not aim to reconstruct assumed model images of Roman sculptures. That is to say that the method applied in *Kopienkritik* is not intrinsically linked to the theoretical preconceptions that are tied to the approach. This introductory chapter then aims to show that previous research, which was governed by the theoretical preconceptions of *Kopienkritik*, has not been able to provide convincing interpretations of the sculpture types and motifs discussed in the articles. Therefore, in the last section, this introduction will highlight how these articles reinterpret the sculpture types and motifs studied, focusing on their role within Roman visual culture. Initially, however, the concept of “ideal sculpture” will be discussed.

The articles cover different categories of ideal sculpture. Since the 1990s, the concept of “ideal sculpture” (*Idealplastik*) has generally been used to denote sculptures depicting certain motifs: gods, heroes, mythological characters, personifications, and—since secure identification is often impossible—athletes.<sup>11</sup> In earlier studies, such sculptures were generally referred to as “Roman copies” because they were believed to replicate earlier (preferably Classical or Hellenistic) masterpieces. The concept of “ideal sculpture” has come to be used as a less value-laden alternative to that of “Roman copies”. Yet, despite the shift in terminology, these sculptures are still inextricably tied to discussions on the repetitiveness of Roman visual culture and its relationship to earlier iconographic traditions.

Portraits and historical reliefs are often considered to be the major creative contribution that the Romans made to the history of art.<sup>12</sup> These two genres depict historical persons and events, i.e. they refer directly to “the real world”. In a sense, Roman ideal sculpture has come to be used as a counterpoint to these “realistic” genres. For ideal sculpture there is no such obvious connection between the subject matter depicted and “the real world”. Subsequently, where the “realistic” has been seen as the pinnacle of Roman creative achievements, the genre of ideal sculpture has been

<sup>6</sup> Gazda 1995a; Gazda 2002b, 4–8; Perry 2005, 78–110; Trimble & Elsner 2006a, 201–206.

<sup>7</sup> Trimble & Elsner 2006a, 204.

<sup>8</sup> Fullerton 2003, 102–112; Gazda 2002b, 4–8; Hallett 2005, 428; Marvin 2008, 121–150; Perry 2005, 1–17; Trimble & Elsner 2006a, 202–206.

<sup>9</sup> Hallett 2005, 419–420; Junker & Stähli 2008, 4; Stewart 2004, 234 (including the quotation given above); Stewart 2005, 336.

<sup>10</sup> Habetzeder 2010; Habetzeder 2012a; Habetzeder 2012b. Also, this introductory chapter has been written in accordance with *Opuscula*'s guidelines: *ECSI* 2012, Guides for contributors. As the articles no. 1 and 3 are not yet published in *Opuscula*, the lay-out and pagination of these texts will differ between the journal and this thesis. Therefore, where references are made to these two articles in the present text, the references will state under which headline and in which paragraph the discussed statements can be found.

<sup>11</sup> *Brill Online Reference Works* 2012, ‘Sculpture’—‘H. Genres of ancient sculpture’; Kousser 2008, 8; Marvin 1997, 9; Marvin 2008, 2 & 7; Perry 2005, 6. However, the term has also been defined differently; see for instance: Fuchs 1992, VI; Fullerton 1997, 430–432.

<sup>12</sup> Brendel 1979, 47–49; Hölscher 2006, 229.



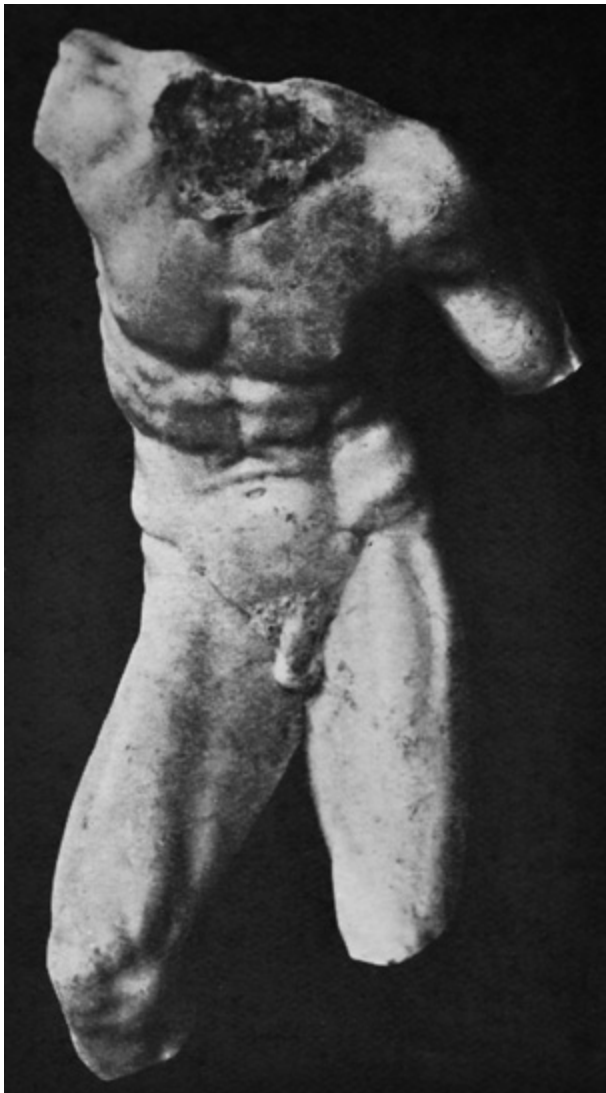


Fig. 1. A replica of the satyr ascribed to “The invitation to the dance”. This replica was described in the *Burlington Magazine* as belonging to a private collection in Alexandria. As far as I know, its current whereabouts are unknown. The replica has not been considered in previous articles on this sculpture type. Photo: Martin 1923, Fig. B.

interpreted as lacking in creativity in that it is a genre which mainly reproduces earlier masterpieces.

Two of the articles collected here deal with specific sculpture types (series of sculptures in the round that are so similar in form that they can be related to a shared model



Fig. 2. The satyr sculpture, which was once in Alexandria, can be identified as a satyr thanks to the figure’s small tail. But, judging solely from this preserved fragment, it would be impossible to conclude with any certainty that this satyr was originally beating a foot-clapper (see article no. 1). Photo: Martin 1923, Fig. B.

image). The first article centres on a sculpture type known primarily through a number of nearly life-size replicas: the satyr type ascribed to the two-figure group called “The invitation to the dance” (Figs. 1.1,<sup>13</sup> 1.3, 1.8 & 1.17). The second article also deals with a sculpture type representing a satyr: “The Palazzo Massimo-type”. In this case, however, the type is known only from small-scale replicas (Figs. 2.1–2.8).

In the third article, attention is instead given to motifs depicted in relief: females modelled on kalathiskos dancers and males modelled on pyrrhic dancers. In the Roman cultural context these figures are represented in a repertoire of decorative motifs which was referred to in earlier research as “Neo-Attic”. This label was chosen because some of the recurring motifs used within the repertoire can be related to

<sup>13</sup> When referring to figures in the articles, the references will include two numbers separated by a dot: the first gives the number of the article in the present thesis, the second the number of the figure in that article



Fig. 3. Owing to its fragmentary state, and the lack of further replicas, the Belvedere torso has proven very difficult to interpret. The sculpture is kept in the Museo Pio Clementino, Sala delle Muse, inv. 1192. The caption of this depiction reveals a suggested interpretation: Hercules. The depiction does not include the dovel hole at the figure's back, mentioned in the text. From D. Magnan, *Elegantiores statuæ antiquæ, in variis Romanorum palatiis asservatæ*, Rome 1776, pl. 2, scanned by Arachne 2012.

Classical and Hellenistic predecessors. Furthermore, a few marble items decorated in this manner are inscribed with the craftsman's name, followed by the epithet "the Athenian" (Ἀθηναῖος).<sup>14</sup> Thus, these reliefs are also tied to the discussion on how earlier iconographies were appropriated and replicated in Roman times. For reasons discussed in the

third article, I will use the terms "eclectic classicizing" to denote this repertoire of decorative motifs.<sup>15</sup>

In the present discussion the concept of "ideal sculpture" is taken to include not only sculptures in the round but also the motifs of the eclectic classicizing repertoire, with its figures generally rendered in relief. There is a two-fold reason for this: not only does this repertoire depict mainly the kinds of motifs that make up ideal sculpture, but it also displays the same kind of repetitiveness. The eclectic classicizing motifs are, however, represented on a broad array of material categories, including, for instance, terracotta plaques, engraved gems, and cuirass statues. It is, of course, not suggested that all of these material categories are to be defined as ideal sculptures *per se*, but this repertoire clearly shows that the repetitive traits visible in ideal sculpture characterize Roman visual culture in a more general sense. Thus, a contribution dealing with the eclectic classicizing repertoire is included in this thesis in order to provide a somewhat broader picture of repetition in Roman visual culture.

When discussing the eclectic classicizing repertoire there is rarely reason to speak of sculpture types in the same sense as one might of ideal sculptures in the round; rather, the corresponding term "figure type" is applicable. As for a sculpture type, a figure type is a single figure which is repeated, maintaining the same form. A good example of this is included in the first article where the following figure type is described: a satyr tosses his head backwards as he steps forward, clashing a pair of cymbals together in front of him (Fig. 1.9). As noted in the article, this figure type occurs in the relief decorations on at least 11 different objects.<sup>16</sup>

While the separate figures that constitute the eclectic classicizing repertoire are often repeated, they are generally included in compositions with various other figure types. This can be illustrated with an example taken from the third article: the two figure types representing pyrrhic dancers, as seen on a marble plaque in the Vatican (Fig. 3.18). These two figure types are also depicted on four (perhaps five) other objects, but, on these, the types are always included in different compositions (Figs. 3.20–23 & 3.25).<sup>17</sup>

The choices of sculpture types and motifs studied in this thesis can all be traced back to a sculpture representing a paunchy satyr in Gustav III's Museum of Antiquities

<sup>15</sup> Habetzeder 2012b, fifth paragraph of the section "Greek dancers in Roman visual culture". As mentioned in the article, this new terminology was first suggested by Dagmar Grassinger: Grassinger 1991, 140–141.

<sup>16</sup> Habetzeder 2012a, fifth paragraph of the section "Ancient satyr sculptures with cymbals".

<sup>17</sup> Habetzeder 2012b, the section "Pyrrhic dancers".

<sup>14</sup> Fittschen 2008, 326; Fuchs 1959, 1–2.

in Stockholm (*Figs. 2.7 & 2.8*).<sup>18</sup> In 2005 I was invited to study this satyr sculpture, a task which eventually resulted in the article ‘Marsyas in the garden?’. While studying this sculpture I noted that restorers of ancient sculpture seem to have had a predilection for supplying fragmentary ancient satyr sculptures with cymbals (*Fig. 1.11*). The interest in this phenomenon later resulted in an article: ‘The impact of restoration’. While trying to make sense of the fragmentary satyr sculpture in Stockholm, I pondered the original action of this paunchy figure, as he evidently stood in a well-articulated pose. Thus began my interest in the Roman iconography of dance. After many twists and turns this interest resulted in the article ‘Dancing with decorum’.

After these introductory notes on the material studied, let us move on to an outline of the previous research on Roman ideal sculpture.

## A history of research on Roman ideal sculpture

Johann Joachim Winckelmann is often described as one of the founders of the modern discipline of Art History. The influence of his *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (published in 1764) on western cultural history cannot be overestimated.<sup>19</sup> A crucial aspect of Winckelmann’s discussion of ancient art was his belief that art is inextricably connected to its contemporary culture.<sup>20</sup> As his argument goes, the best works of art were produced during the best periods in time. In ancient history, the period between the Persian Wars to the successors of Alexander (ca 500–300 BC) was deemed to be a cultural golden age which produced the most qualitative works of art.<sup>21</sup> The Roman period, by contrast, was described as one of imitators who primarily replicated earlier achievements.<sup>22</sup>

With Winckelmann’s historicism came some uneasy consequences: at the time, the vast majority of the most admired ancient sculptures had been found in Rome. They could hardly all have been made in Greece during the era to which Winckelmann ascribed the most qualitative works of art. As it would seem, many of these sculptures were products of the Roman era, that is the era of imitators. Yet, even if they had

been made in Italy during the Roman era, many such sculptures were considered to echo Greek masterpieces.<sup>23</sup>

## Meisterforschung and Kopienkritik

The notion that Roman sculpture copied Greek masterpieces came to dominate the study of ancient sculpture for a long time after this. Scholars set out to trace the achievements of the Greek master sculptors mentioned in the ancient literary sources through the preserved Roman copies of such masterpieces. As the aim was to trace the production of ancient master sculptors, the practice is generally referred to as *Meisterforschung*, but also as *Kopienkritik*.<sup>24</sup>

The second volume of the catalogue of the sculptures in the Museo Pio Clementino (published in 1784) is an early example of this. Its author, Ennio Quirino Visconti, tried to systematically attribute each sculpture to a well-known Greek sculptor.<sup>25</sup> Heinrich Brunn’s *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler* (published in 1857) is a prime example of *Meisterforschung*.<sup>26</sup> Adolf Furtwängler’s *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik* (published in 1893) is another seminal publication. It was followed, three years later, by an essay in which Furtwängler described his approach, which owes much to the practice of creating philological stemmata and to “Morellian” connoisseurship.<sup>27</sup>

It is the approach pioneered by Brunn and Furtwängler that has come to be known as *Kopienkritik*, or copy criticism. Hugo Meyer summarizes the practice of *Kopienkritik* in the following manner:

*This method assembles all the available evidence for a given type, analyzes each specimen individually, and compares all of them to each other in order to filter out the traits a multitude of them have in common. These are assumed to go back to the lost original. The picture thus created must then be put to the test against original artworks of the period it is to be dated to.*<sup>28</sup>

<sup>18</sup> My supervisor, Anne-Marie Leander Touati, heads a project which aims to publish the ancient sculptures in this collection. Leander Touati 1998.

<sup>19</sup> For a recent, and thorough, commented edition of the text, see: Borbein, Gaethgens, Irmscher *et al.* 2002–2008.

<sup>20</sup> Winckelmann 1764a, 19–30.

<sup>21</sup> Winckelmann 1764a, 127–140.

<sup>22</sup> Winckelmann 1764a, 291–302.

<sup>23</sup> Winckelmann 1764b, 430–431. See also Barbanera 2008, 44–45; Fullerton 2003, 96–100; Gazda 1995b, 125–126; Gazda 2002b, 4–5; Marvin 2008, 103–119; Stähli 2008, 16.

<sup>24</sup> Barbanera 2008, 51–52; Gazda 1995b, 126–127; Junker & Stähli 2008, 2; Marvin 2008, 127–150. Among the ancient sources, Pliny’s *Natural History*, books 34–37, and Pausanias’ *Description of Greece* were very frequently referred to.

<sup>25</sup> Visconti 1784. See also Barbanera 2008, 49–51; Marvin 2008, 127–133.

<sup>26</sup> Brunn 1857. See also Barbanera 2008, 51–52; Bianchi Bandinelli 1978, 49–51; Borbein 2005, 224; Fullerton 2003, 100–101; Perry 2005, 78–81.

<sup>27</sup> Furtwängler 1893; Furtwängler 1896. See also Barbanera 2008, 52–53; Bianchi Bandinelli 1978, 56–59 & 66–67; Borbein 2005, 224–225; Fullerton 2003, 102–105; Gazda 1995b, 126–127; Gazda 2002b, 5; Marvin 2008, 141–150; Perry 2005, 81–89.

<sup>28</sup> Meyer 1995, 65.

Meyer's definition of the approach is typical in that it does not separate matters of theory from those concerning method. The assumed connection to a lost original of an earlier date is, of course, a matter governed by theoretical assumptions.<sup>29</sup>

As the study of the Classical and Hellenistic sculptural tradition through Roman sculptures was refined it became increasingly evident that the Roman craftsmen did not always produce exact copies of earlier sculptures. This notion was central to the work of Georg Lippold. In *Kopien und Umbildungen griechischer Statuen* (published in 1923), Lippold formulated the means to separate true copies from variants.<sup>30</sup> The terms used by Lippold—*Original*, *Kopie*, *Umbildung* (original, copy, variant)—became a nearly self-evident aspect of studies of the Roman sculptures that were believed to replicate earlier models. Indeed, for many scholars they remain so to this day.<sup>31</sup> Yet, the aim of Lippold's study was still primarily to gain insights into the Classical and Hellenistic sculptural traditions.

The studies mentioned so far deal primarily with sculptures in the round. Let us now turn, briefly, to motifs depicted in relief. As early as in 1889, Friedrich Hauser had set out to study the Late Hellenistic and Roman decorative marble reliefs which he ascribed to a "Neo-Attic" workshop. One of Hauser's main objectives was to show that many of the figure types that were repeatedly depicted within this repertoire faithfully replicated Classical and Hellenistic masterpieces.<sup>32</sup> More than half a century later, Werner Fuchs wrote a second monograph on the "Neo-Attic" repertoire. In separate case-studies, Fuchs scrutinized different figure types through the use of *Kopienkritik*.<sup>33</sup> Special attention was, of course, given to the few figure types which could be related to preserved Classical models. One such example is the figure of Nike adjusting her sandal, a figure which is preserved on the balustrades of the Classical Temple of Nike on the Athenian Acropolis.<sup>34</sup> The pyrrhic dancers, discussed in the third article included here, are another example of a "Neo-Attic" motif which has been con-

nected to an extant Classical model found on the Athenian Acropolis (*Fig. 3.18*).<sup>35</sup>

In the monographs written by Hauser and Fuchs, the "Neo-Attic" repertoire was established as a category of motifs which could be studied through *Kopienkritik* (including both theory and method). They focused primarily on items made of marble. Nevertheless, as mentioned above, many of the eclectic classicizing figure types are also represented on other kinds of items: terracotta plaques, terra sigillata vessels, engraved gems, glass pastes, plaster reliefs, and even on the breast-plates of cuirass statues.<sup>36</sup> Presumably owing to the vastness of the material, later studies have focused on certain material categories, rather than trying to deal with the repertoire as a whole.<sup>37</sup> Some later studies set out to trace commonly recurring figure types and to relate these to Classical and Hellenistic models,<sup>38</sup> but it should be noted that these studies also discuss other aspects, such as the general characteristics of the chosen material category, and how it was used in Roman times (contextualization).

The 1970s saw an increased interest in sculpture (both in the round and in relief) as a testimony of the changing fashions of Roman visual culture.<sup>39</sup> In his study on Classicistic statues (published in 1974), Paul Zanker showed that Roman sculptures were, at times, executed in a classicizing style, without referring to specific Classical models.<sup>40</sup> The creative use of Archaistic, Classicistic, and Hellenistic styles in Roman visual culture was further scrutinized by Tonio Hölscher in 1987.<sup>41</sup> Although neither Zanker nor Hölscher dismissed the practice of *Kopienkritik*, they raised awareness of its limitations with regards to the interpretation of Roman sculptural aims.

The notion of a more creative Roman use of Classical and Hellenistic visual culture spurred a more cautious use of Roman sculptures as testimonies of their Greek equivalents.<sup>42</sup> A clear example of this increased cautiousness is Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway's volumes on Hellenistic

<sup>29</sup> As mentioned above, similar definitions of the term recur elsewhere. See, for instance: Hallett 1995, 121; Junker & Stähli 2008, 2. Jennifer Trimble and Jaś Elsner have provided a definition which does distinguish between aspects of theory and method: Trimble & Elsner 2006a, 203.

<sup>30</sup> Lippold 1923. See also Borbein 2005, 225–226; Fullerton 2003, 105–106; Gazda 2002b, 6–7; Junker & Stähli 2008, 2–3; Perry 2005, 89–90.

<sup>31</sup> Gazda 1995b, 136; Junker & Stähli 2008, 2–3.

<sup>32</sup> Hauser 1889. See also Fullerton 2003, 101.

<sup>33</sup> Fuchs 1959.

<sup>34</sup> Fuchs 1959, 6–10.

<sup>35</sup> Fuchs 1959, 41–44.

<sup>36</sup> Habetzeder 2012b, third paragraph of the section "Greek dancers in Roman visual culture".

<sup>37</sup> See, for instance: Borbein 1968; Cain 1985; Corswandt 1982; Dräger 1994; Golda 1997; Grassinger 1991; Mielsch 1975; Porten Palange 2004; Stemmer 1978.

<sup>38</sup> Adolf Heinrich Borbein, Hans Ulrich Cain, and Thomas Matthias Golda include thorough presentations of the iconography of different motifs or figure types, with an assessment of their suggested models: Borbein 1968; Cain 1985; Golda 1997. Dagmar Grassinger sorts her presentation of the motifs and figure types according to the date of their suggested originals: Grassinger 1991.

<sup>39</sup> Barbanera 2008, 55–56; Fullerton 2003, 108–110; Gazda 2002b, 7–8; Junker & Stähli 2008, 3.

<sup>40</sup> Zanker 1974.

<sup>41</sup> Hölscher 1987.

<sup>42</sup> Barbanera 2008, 55–56.

sculpture (published between 1990 and 2002). Throughout this series, sculptures made during the Hellenistic period (“originals”) and Roman sculptures believed to replicate Hellenistic originals (“copies”) are treated in separate sections.<sup>43</sup> A similar approach had already been used by Rhys Carpenter who, in 1960, published a brief history of Greek art which relied primarily on Greek originals and emphasized formal stylistic development rather than the influence of master sculptors.<sup>44</sup>

The growing unease concerning the notion of “the Roman copy” has, since the 1990s, also caused a more widespread use of the concept of “*Idealplastik*”, or “ideal sculpture”. As mentioned above, this category is understood to include many of the sculptures that were previously labelled as “Roman copies”. With the aim of being less theoretically laden, “ideal sculpture” is generally used to denote sculptures depicting certain motifs.<sup>45</sup>

During the last decades, many accounts have been written tracing the history of research on Roman ideal sculpture. Many of these accounts originate in the discontent regarding the theoretical preconceptions of *Kopienkritik*.<sup>46</sup> The most thorough treatment of the matter is Miranda Marvin’s monograph of 2008, which sets out to trace the establishment of the credo that Roman sculptures representing mythological figures and similar motifs are primarily to be seen as copies of Classical and Hellenistic model images. Like several other scholars before her, Marvin argues that these sculptures should rather be understood as products of Roman tastes and circumstances.<sup>47</sup>

## Emulation

Some of the fiercest critics of the practice of *Kopienkritik* are associated with the concept of “emulation”. In 1972, Raimund Wünsche used the term “*aemulatio*”, combined

with “*interpretatio*” and “*imitatio*”, in a study of Roman ideal sculpture.<sup>48</sup> This terminology, however, did not become popular at this point, but since the 1990s the concept of “emulation” has again been championed as being key to understanding the repetitiveness of Roman visual culture.

In the summer of 1994, a seminar was held at the American Academy in Rome, entitled ‘The Roman art of emulation’. It was organized by Miranda Marvin and Elaine K. Gazda, and its main aim was to “investigate problems of originality and tradition in relation to the copy in Roman art from multiple perspectives”.<sup>49</sup> Gazda’s reflections on the topic were published in the following year, in an issue of *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* that was devoted to the theme ‘Greece in Rome. Influence, integration, resistance’. In her article, Gazda highlights some of the problematic theoretical preconceptions associated with the practice of *Kopienkritik*, especially the notion that exact copies of Greek masterpieces were desired by the Romans, to the extent that they were preferred over freer versions of the well-known Classical prototypes.<sup>50</sup>

In this article, emulation is defined as the “desire or endeavour to equal or surpass others in some achievement or quality.” Repetition, according to Gazda, “is, or can be, a symptom of emulation or a means of mastering the model in order to emulate it.”<sup>51</sup> Gazda suggests that there was a Roman practice of emulating earlier models in a variety of socio-political contexts. She exemplifies this by highlighting some emulative practices traceable in both portraiture and ideal sculpture. Most of the examples brought up had, however, been noted in previous studies. For instance, one of the examples used is the well-known visual reference to Alexander the Great, which was made in portraits of Pompey the Great and Nero.<sup>52</sup>

Most of the contributions presented at the 1994 seminar were published in 2002, in the edited volume, *The ancient art of emulation*.<sup>53</sup> In the introduction, Gazda argues in favour of an approach that embraces active agency on the part of Roman artists and patrons. This approach is seen as

<sup>43</sup> Ridgway 1990–2002. Ridgway has written extensively on the topic of Roman copies of Greek sculpture, see: Ridgway 1984. She has also summarized the state of research on Classical sculpture several times, paying attention to the question of “originals and copies”. See, for instance: Ridgway 1982; Ridgway 1994.

<sup>44</sup> Carpenter 1960. See also Fullerton 2003, 108.

<sup>45</sup> *Brill Online Reference Works* 2012, ‘Sculpture’—‘H. Genres of ancient sculpture’; Gazda 1995b, 136–137; Kousser 2008, 4; Marvin 1997, 9; Marvin 2008, 2; Perry 2005, 6. As mentioned above, the term has also been defined differently; see, for instance: Fuchs 1992, VI; Fullerton 1997, 430–432.

<sup>46</sup> Barbanera 2008; Fullerton 2003; Gazda 1995a, 124–136; Gazda 2002b, 4–15; Marvin 2008; Perry 2005, 78–110; Trimble & Elsner 2006a, 202–206; Trimble 2011, 18–36. There are, however, summaries of previous research that do not focus on the flaws of *Kopienkritik* to the same extent: Borbein 2005, 223–228; Junker & Stähli 2008, 2–6; Stähli 2008, 15–18.

<sup>47</sup> Marvin 2008.

<sup>48</sup> Wünsche adapted the terms from Arno Reiff’s study on Roman literary “*imitatio*”: Reiff 1959; Wünsche 1972.

<sup>49</sup> Gazda 2002a, xi–xiii.

<sup>50</sup> Gazda 1995b, 130.

<sup>51</sup> Gazda 1995b, 123, n. 5.

<sup>52</sup> Gazda 1995b, 139–148. Gazda also expressed similar sentiments in a review, published in the same year. Yet, the discussion here does not explicitly centre on the concept of “emulation”: Gazda 1995a. Preceding Gazda’s article in the discussed volume of *HSCP* is an article written by Bettina Bergmann. This article presents similar thoughts on emulation, only here the Latin term “*aemulatio*” is used. This article primarily discusses Roman repetition within painting; Bergmann 1995, 97–98 & 102–107.

<sup>53</sup> Gazda 2002a.

preferable to one that presupposes passive reception, as does the theory behind *Kopienkritik*. This active agency comprises, for instance, selective appropriation and emulation.<sup>54</sup> Despite Gazda's introductory remarks and the book's title, the notion of "emulation" is only rarely a central feature of the articles collected in this volume. Creative Roman emulation of Greek models is suggested in some of the articles but other approaches are more frequently pursued, such as interpretation based on the Roman contexts of display, and technical aspects of sculptural production—two strands of research which will be discussed further below. All contributions do, however, embrace the thought that Roman ideal sculptures must primarily be understood as an expression of Roman visual culture, and not as an indirect source to its preceding Classical and Hellenistic equivalents.<sup>55</sup>

The situation is similar in a special issue of the journal *Art History* entitled 'Replication. Greece, Rome and beyond'. The issue publishes the contributions to a conference on replication in Roman visual culture. The conference was held in 2004 and was directed by Jennifer Trimble and Jás Elsner.<sup>56</sup> In the introduction, the two directors emphasize the concept of "emulation" among various ways to reconfigure the study of replication in Roman art.<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, the concept of "emulation" is not explicitly used as an element of a theoretical model in any of the contributions that follow.<sup>58</sup>

Ellen E. Perry extended her contribution to *The ancient art of emulation* into a monograph, which appeared in 2005. *The aesthetics of emulation in the visual arts of ancient Rome* is, to date, the most coherent study which uses the concept of "emulation" as the key to understanding Roman ideal sculpture. Through a close reading of ancient anecdotes regarding the appreciation of the visual arts and of ancient literary criticism, Perry extracts three concepts that she sees as crucial to the understanding of Roman Ideal sculpture, its choices of models, and the impetus to emulate: "decorum", "eclecticism" and "*phantasia*".<sup>59</sup>

Decorum was a Roman principle that applied to most realms of public life. It denotes that which is appropriate, as established by tradition. As Perry, and others before her,

point out, a decorative depiction should always be appropriate, i.e. it should follow decorum. According to Perry, a craftsman or patron could be sure to stay within the framework of propriety as long as he referred to well-known models, motifs, or styles. This was so because such traits had long since been deemed appropriate by social consensus.<sup>60</sup> Similarly, Perry suggests that by blending two or more well-known models, motifs, or styles, one could achieve propriety in novelties; hence the eclecticism characteristic of much Roman visual culture.<sup>61</sup> *Phantasia* is defined as the capacity of the best artists to capture something fundamentally and objectively true about the subjects they depict.<sup>62</sup> Perry arrives at the conclusion that, in Roman times, creative emulation was an ideal response to Classical and Hellenistic model images, while replication was not.<sup>63</sup>

To summarize the role of the concept "emulation" in recent research, I would like to emphasize that the term has not gained popularity as part of theoretical models or the like. The concept of "emulation" has had a large part to play in the critique of the theoretical assumptions that govern *Kopienkritik*, but it has not yet played a decisive role in studies of Roman visual culture. Even in Perry's monograph of 2005, this particular term has a remarkably small part to play. Rather, the theoretical framework that Perry launches builds on the concepts of "decorum", "eclecticism", and "*phantasia*". In my opinion, "emulation" has instead come to denote the line of research that sets out to study ideal sculptures created in Roman times as testimony to Roman culture. Rather than trying to pin down a Roman wish to somehow emulate Classical and Hellenistic models, scholars have set out to reinterpret Roman ideal sculptures by focusing on themes such as the contexts of sculptural display and the practicalities of sculptural production.

## Contextualization

An approach which focuses on how sculptures were displayed in Roman times has been widely practised, at least since the 1970s.<sup>64</sup> An early example of this is Dimitrios Pandermalis' study on the sculptural display in the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum.<sup>65</sup> Separate studies have since collected and discussed the sculptural finds from larger sites, such as the Villa Hadriana and the Horti Sallustiani.<sup>66</sup> Another ap-

<sup>54</sup> Gazda 2002b, 24.

<sup>55</sup> Gazda 2002a. The notion of emulation is emphasized in Gazda's introduction, as well as in the contributions written by Miranda Marvin and Elizabeth Bartman. It is partly applied by Michael Koortbojian. Jennifer Trimble's and Linda Jones Roccas' interpretations are based on the Roman contexts of the objects studied and Carol C. Mattusch and Mary B. Hollinshead focus on matters of technique.

<sup>56</sup> Trimble & Elsner 2006b.

<sup>57</sup> Trimble & Elsner 2006a, 205.

<sup>58</sup> Trimble & Elsner 2006b.

<sup>59</sup> Perry 2005.

<sup>60</sup> Perry 2005, 28–49.

<sup>61</sup> Perry 2005, 111–149.

<sup>62</sup> Perry 2005, 150–171.

<sup>63</sup> Perry 2005, 191.

<sup>64</sup> Barbanera 2008, 55; Gazda 2002b, 8.

<sup>65</sup> Pandermalis 1971.

<sup>66</sup> Hartswick 2004; Häuber 1991; Raeder 1985.



proach has also been taken which deals with different types of contexts, such as Roman villas, baths, and theatres.<sup>67</sup> Also, certain features of Roman sculptural display have been scrutinized, for instance the display of pendants.<sup>68</sup> Attempts have been made to trace the human responses to, and interaction with, various Roman sculptural displays.<sup>69</sup>

The general idea within this line of research is to examine the Roman use of sculpture in order to see which kinds of sculptures were displayed in which contexts. The tendency to interpret Roman sculpture through its original context of display has not caused much debate on how to theoretically approach repetition in Roman sculpture. On the other hand, this is not to be expected, as the contextual approach is generally not at odds with the practice of *Kopienkritik*. Sculptures that have been interpreted as copies of a particular Classical or Hellenistic model are usually also presented as such in these studies.

Nevertheless, the contextual approach can also result in a questioning of the theoretical preconceptions of *Kopienkritik*. Miranda Marvin has, for instance, argued that the subject matter depicted in various contexts was, in Roman times, more important than the style of a sculpture, or the appreciation of the original creator of a sculpture type. Thus, she argues, the notion of “the Greek original” may not have been relevant within Roman visual culture. It may have been more important that the sculptures represented the right motif, that is something suitable to the environment for which it was intended and that blended well with other ornaments and sculptures in that particular location.<sup>70</sup> In a response to Marvin’s article, Wilfred Geominy laments that the contextual approach, as that of *Meisterforschung* preceding it, had also been taken to its extremes.<sup>71</sup>

## The practicalities of Roman sculptural production

Another current approach to Roman visual culture centres on matters of sculpture production and reproduction. In an article published in 2008, Adrian Stähli attempts to meet the critique of the theoretical assumptions of *Kopienkritik*, as offered by scholars championing the notion of “emulation”. Considering, for instance, the abundant examples of eclectic combinations of what had previously been considered to be separate Greek originals (Fig. 4), he concludes that the quest for tracing original masterpieces should be



Fig. 4. This sculpture group combines variants of two sculpture types also replicated separately: “The Venus of Capua” and “The Ares Borghese”. Note the carefully carved struts supporting the spear. Today, this sculpture is kept in the Museo Capitolino in Rome, inv. 652. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom. Neg. D-DAI-ROM-64.1832A. All rights reserved.

set aside in favour of an approach that aims to clarify how sculptural copying was practised in Roman times. Nevertheless, Stähli emphasizes that the method of traditional *Kopienkritik* is the most suitable for the study of such matters.<sup>72</sup>

The notion of workshop models plays a central role in Stähli’s account,<sup>73</sup> and this notion is also brought up by others. After all, when the Roman craftsmen copied a particular design, it seems unlikely that they would have had its original manifestation at hand. The fragmentary ancient plaster casts found in Baia seem to confirm the idea that Roman sculptors did, at least at times, have access to full-scale casts of the models they were to copy. In her pub-

<sup>67</sup> Dwyer 1982; Fuchs 1987; Manderscheid 1981; Neudecker 1988.

<sup>68</sup> Bartman 1988; Koortbojian 2002, 194–204.

<sup>69</sup> Stewart 2004.

<sup>70</sup> Marvin 1989.

<sup>71</sup> Geominy 1999b, 38–41.

<sup>72</sup> Stähli 2008, 30–31.

<sup>73</sup> Stähli 2008, 26–28.



Fig. 5. This replica of “The Apollo sauroktonos” is kept in the Museo Pio Clementino, Galleria delle Statue, inv. 264. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom. Neg. D-DAI-ROM-97Vat410B. All rights reserved.



Fig. 6. This replica of “The pouring satyr” is kept in the Museo Archeologico Regionale Antonio Salinas in Palermo. The sculpture includes very conspicuous struts. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom. Neg. D-DAI-ROM-71.661. All rights reserved.



lication of these fragments, Christa Landwehr argues that they are casts taken directly from the original Greek or Hellenistic masterpieces.<sup>74</sup> I would agree with Stähli that this interpretation is, again, caused by the theoretical preconceptions of *Kopienkritik*. I find it difficult to exclude the possibility that the plaster casts could, at least at times, have been taken from Roman reproductions, or from originals first conceived in Roman times.<sup>75</sup> Peter Stewart points to the possibility of established images or set typologies as reference points for Roman sculptors. He traces lines of transformation from hypothetical workshop models to replicas, using “The sandal binder Venus” and “The Apollo sauroktonos” (Fig. 5) as examples. This approach aims to explain discrepancies among the replicas of these particular sculpture types.<sup>76</sup> Similar sentiments are expressed in Elizabeth Bartman’s monograph on *Ancient sculptural copies in miniature*.<sup>77</sup> Where the Roman use of workshop models is concerned, I suspect much could be gained by comparing Roman and post-Antique practices.<sup>78</sup>

The supports and struts represented in ancient marble sculptures have also been forwarded as aids in understanding Roman workshop practices. It has been argued that the conspicuousness of struts makes it difficult to dismiss them as unwanted compromises necessitated by the reproduction in marble of a sculpture type conceived in bronze (Figs. 4 & 6).<sup>79</sup> Geominy has suggested that the struts are to be interpreted as markers of the technical skill of the craftsmen in reproducing images in marble which are not actually suitable for this medium.<sup>80</sup> Mary B. Hollinshead emphasizes that the varying forms and placements of struts may hold clues as to when sculptures were produced and, perhaps, by which workshop.<sup>81</sup>

In dealing with ancient bronzes, Carol C. Mattusch has used an approach that emphasizes the technical aspects of the production of such sculptures. One important insight that this approach presents is the fact that copying, or reproducing with moulds, is a fundamental characteristic of this particular medium. Subsequently, the notion of “unique bronze originals” as the models of Roman marble replicas seems to be a modern construct. Yet, while the

same model could be reused to produce several sculptures, Mattusch emphasizes that the resulting sculptures do not need to be completely identical. Two bronzes based on the same preliminary model can display certain different traits, something which is clearly visible in “The Riace warriors”.<sup>82</sup>

To conclude this account of earlier research, we will turn to a monograph written by Jennifer Trimble (published in 2011), as this publication neatly brings together the main strands of research outlined above. For nearly 20 years Trimble has been among those who have criticized the practice of *Kopienkritik*. As a PhD student, she took part in the 1994 seminar “The Roman art of emulation”. Later, in 2004, she co-directed the conference on replication in Roman visual culture (as mentioned above).<sup>83</sup> Her monograph published in 2011 offers a thorough treatment of the sculpture type “The Large Herculaneum woman”, which is preserved in roughly 200 replicas (Fig. 7). As expected, Trimble does not set out to gain insights regarding the first manifestation of the type (generally believed to have been made in the late fourth century BC) but, instead, primarily discusses why this sculpture type became so widely replicated, especially during the second century AD.<sup>84</sup> In this discussion, the Roman contexts of display and the practicalities of Roman sculptural reproduction play central roles. The production of these sculptures is traced from the marble quarries to the final carving in destination workshops.<sup>85</sup> Following this, the cultural contexts for which these sculptures were made are scrutinized, considering for what purposes the sculptures were made, who they were displayed by and for the sake of whom.<sup>86</sup>

## The articles

Let us return to the three articles that make up the present thesis. Where are they to be placed in this matrix of earlier research? Firstly, we will look at the method applied in the articles.

## Method

In the three studies, the analysis is focused on objects, primarily on their formal qualities. The objects are selected for study based on certain specified visual similarities. Thus,

<sup>74</sup> Landwehr 1985, 181–188.

<sup>75</sup> Stähli 2008, 26.

<sup>76</sup> Stewart 2004, 236–247.

<sup>77</sup> Bartman 1992, 102–146.

<sup>78</sup> See, for instance, Leander Touati’s discussion of how the Swedish 18<sup>th</sup>-century sculptor Johan Tobias Sergel used preliminary models in various ways; models which often ultimately referred to ancient sculptures: Leander Touati 2003.

<sup>79</sup> Hollinshead 2002, 117–121.

<sup>80</sup> Geominy 1999b, 47–54.

<sup>81</sup> Hollinshead 2002, 138–140.

<sup>82</sup> Mattusch 1996, 141–190; Mattusch 2002. See also Fullerton 2003, 109–110.

<sup>83</sup> Trimble 2002; Trimble & Elsner 2006b.

<sup>84</sup> Trimble 2011.

<sup>85</sup> Trimble 2011, 64–149.

<sup>86</sup> Trimble 2011, 150–307.

methodologically the three are closely related—they all engage in comparative analyses of visual forms. Let us specify, briefly, how this works in each article.

The first article, ‘The impact of restoration’, scrutinizes both sculpture types and motifs. Here, the satyrs of the type ascribed to “The invitation to the dance” (Figs. 1.1, 1.8 & 1.17) are examined, as are post-Antique replications of the dancing satyr in the Uffizi (Figs. 1.1, 1.6, 1.7, 1.13, 1.15, 1.21)—a kind of “post-Antique sculpture type”. The article also traces the occurrence of the motif “Satyrs with cymbals” during both antiquity (Figs. 1.9 & 1.10) and the 17<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries (Fig. 1.11). This article differs from the other two in that it oscillates between two levels of visual coherence—between sculpture types and motifs.

Initially, the article ‘Marsyas in the garden?’ lists the replicas of a particular sculpture type: the satyrs of “The Palazzo Massimo-type” (Figs. 2.1–2.8). These replicas are subsequently compared—both within the sculpture type and to other depictions that show clear similarities in form, even if they do not correspond to such an extent as to be classified as replicas. The fountain figure from the Villa dei Quintili is an example of an object that is similar in form, yet not similar enough to be classified as a replica (Fig. 2.9).

In the article, ‘Dancing with decorum’, two motifs are taken as a point of departure: kalathiskos dancers and pyrrhic dancers (Fig. 3.1). As mentioned above, the motifs are defined by visual similarities, including shared attributes and intended identity. The motif “kalathiskos dancer” is, for instance, defined as depictions of females

*wearing short chitons, ending above the knees, and basket-shaped head-dresses. The movement of their dance is rendered by having the females stand on their toes or take a light step forward, and by having their dresses flutter out behind or around them. Furthermore, the dancers hold their arms in different, well articulated poses.*<sup>87</sup>

Again, the depictions that correspond to the traits defined are collected and compared. Depictions that do not quite match the definitions given, but which are still visually very similar, are also discussed in the comparative analysis. This, for instance, applies to the eclectic Victoriae, for which the basket-shaped head-dresses have been exchanged for wings (See, for instance, Fig. 3.7).

In all three studies, the method is quite reminiscent of that used for *Kopienkritik*. Let us compare the approaches outlined to Meyer’s brief description of *Kopienkritik*, as quoted previously. In the articles, as in *Kopienkritik*, all evidence for the types and motifs discussed is assembled.

Each specimen is analysed individually and compared to the others within the group. So far we have been dealing with aspects of method. Moving on to theoretical considerations, Meyer mentions that shared traits are assumed to go back to a shared model image, created during a different period in time. Assumed model images also have a part to play in the three studies collected here. However, in these cases, the model images are not explicitly assumed to be Classical or Hellenistic masterpieces. Furthermore, the Roman depictions are not “put to the test” against original artworks contemporary with an assumed model image. As far as ancient sculpture is concerned, all three articles focus on these sculptures as evidence of Roman visual culture. The previous discussions concerning suggested Classical or Hellenistic model images are, quite frankly, avoided.

In aiming to study ideal sculptures created in Roman times as testimony of Roman visual culture, these articles could all be said to belong to “the emulation-strand” of research. Nevertheless, the method used is closely reminiscent of that developed for *Kopienkritik*, excluding some of the theoretical preconceptions traditionally tied to this practice. In a sense, this corresponds to the suggestion made by Stähli that the method of *Kopienkritik* may well be used for other ends instead of just for reconstructing Classical and Hellenistic masterpieces. Stähli had Roman workshop practices in mind,<sup>88</sup> and Bartman has used a similar approach in the study of ancient sculptural copies in miniature.<sup>89</sup>

I would argue that within the study of Roman ideal sculpture, the concept of “*Kopienkritik*” (used in a general sense referring to matters of both theory and method) has become too firmly associated with the more general method comprising the comparative analysis of visual forms. Such a method may be used in various manners and to serve various aims. It is, by no means, intrinsic to a comparative analysis of visual forms to focus on a suggested origin of a repeated form. Because the notion of “*Kopienkritik*” is so intimately linked to these general aspects of method, studies of Roman ideal sculpture (perhaps of Roman visual culture in general) should preferably make clear in what manner, and to which aims, they apply such a comparative analysis. In the articles collected here, the method is used for different aims, which will be outlined below. Before turning to these aims, however, let us specify why these studies refrain from using many of the theoretical preconceptions that govern the practice of *Kopienkritik*.

<sup>87</sup> Habetzeder 2012b, fifth paragraph of the section “Kalathiskos dancers”.

<sup>88</sup> Stähli 2008, 30–31.

<sup>89</sup> Bartman 1992, 4–6.

### The stalemate of *Kopienkritik*

Previous research on the objects studied in the three articles has been firmly rooted in the tradition of *Kopienkritik*, including both its theory and method. Yet, in two cases, the material has proven problematic to interpret using this approach (Articles no. 1 & 3). In the third article, the lack of interest in the material can be said to be a result of the predominance of theoretical assumptions characteristic of *Kopienkritik* (Article no. 2). Therefore, all three articles collected here originate from a wish to have a fresh look at these sculpture types and groups of motifs, leaving behind some of the preconceptions of *Kopienkritik*. Below, I will outline why the theory of *Kopienkritik* did not seem a fruitful approach in these cases, and which theoretical preconceptions were avoided.

I specify “in these cases” because I do not believe that the theoretical assumptions of *Kopienkritik* are, per definition, wrong. I do not consider them to be “a sitting duck” which it has taken too long to shoot down.<sup>90</sup> In some cases, the traditional use of *Kopienkritik* can yield new information about ancient visual culture. But it is intrinsic to the approach that such studies aim to retrieve new information regarding the model images, rather than their replications. Thus, if this is the researcher’s aim, the theory and method of *Kopienkritik* may, naturally, be quite adequate. As an example, one could mention an impressive study by Klaus Fittschen, published in 1991. Aided by Roman replicas, Fittschen was able to present a probable reconstruction of a Hellenistic honorary portrait representing Menander. This portrait was, most likely, originally erected in the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens.<sup>91</sup>

Let us turn to the first article and the assumed sculpture group “The invitation to the dance” (Fig. 1.3). Previous scholarship has generally assumed that “The invitation to the dance” was a single Hellenistic creation, one which became highly regarded and frequently replicated in Roman times. The hypothesis that the presumed Hellenistic original was depicted on a Severan coin has been seen as an indication of the original group’s popularity in Roman times (Fig. 1.5).<sup>92</sup> Also, the large number of replicas of both satyr and nymph has been taken as an argument in favour of the existence of a reputed original.<sup>93</sup> Subsequently, earlier discussions of these sculptures have set out primarily to



Fig. 7. This replica of “The large Herculaneum woman” is kept in the National Museum in Athens, inv. 3622. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen. Neg. D-DAI-ATH-NM-5299. All rights reserved.

<sup>90</sup> Trimble & Elsner 2006a, 204.

<sup>91</sup> Fittschen 1991.

<sup>92</sup> Deonna 1951, 666; Klein 1909, 108; Luca 1975, 78.

<sup>93</sup> Deonna 1951, 666; Klein 1909, 101.



Fig. 8. "The resting satyr" is known from a large number of replicas. This replica is kept in the Museo Capitolino in Rome, inv. 739. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom. Neg. D-DAI-ROM-70.351. All rights reserved.

establish the precise appearance and date of this supposed Hellenistic masterpiece.<sup>94</sup>

The assumption that there was a renowned original pre-dating the Roman era is clearly governed by the theory of *Kopienkritik*. But it does not present us with the only possible interpretation of the given facts. The two figures on the Severan coin may, for instance, constitute a depiction of a composition first created in Roman times, perhaps as an eclectic combination of two sculpture types already established and previously copied separately. The two sculpture types "The Venus of Capua" and "The Ares Borghese" are known to have been combined in such an eclectic manner in Roman times (Fig. 4).<sup>95</sup> The suggestion that the satyr and the nymph ascribed to "The invitation to the dance" were first combined in Roman times is, of course, completely hypothetical. Yet, the fact that the pair has rarely (or never) been found together is indeed problematic if one wants to argue that these two figures were, throughout antiquity, known primarily as companions in a sculpture group.<sup>96</sup>

The second article presents and interprets a sculpture type that had previously gone unnoticed as a type: "The Palazzo Massimo-type" (Figs. 2.1–2.8). As discussed in the article, the main reason for this is, doubtlessly, the small scale of the replicas. Owing to the theoretical preconceptions of *Kopienkritik*, small-scale ideal sculptures are generally ascribed little value as evidence because they are believed to replicate their models less faithfully than their full-scale counterparts. Therefore, if the aim of research is to reconstruct hypothetical model images, small-scale sculptures seem to have little to offer.<sup>97</sup> The predominance of the theory of *Kopienkritik* in earlier scholarship thus explains the lack of interest in small-scale ideal sculptures, such as the replicas of "The Palazzo Massimo-type". Where attempts have been made to interpret individual replicas of this particular type, these have suggested that the sculptures constituted Roman adaptations of Classical masterpieces: "The Apollo lykeios" and "The pouring satyr" (Fig. 6).<sup>98</sup> Yet, when the replicas of "The Palazzo Massimo-type" are studied as a group, these interpretations are no longer convincing.<sup>99</sup>

The third article deals with two groups of motifs represented within the eclectic classicizing repertoire: females modelled on kalathiskos dancers and males modelled on

<sup>94</sup> Brinkerhoff 1965, 29–31; Geominy 1999a; Klein 1909; Luca 1975, 79–80; Prittwitz 2007, 260–262.

<sup>95</sup> Kousser 2008, 47–54.

<sup>96</sup> Ridgway 1990, 321–324; Stähli 1995; Stähli 1999, 416–419.

<sup>97</sup> Bartman 1992, 9–15; Moss 1988, 2–3.

<sup>98</sup> Amelung 1903, cat. no. 583; *Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma* 2012.

<sup>99</sup> Habetzeder 2010, 169–170.

pyrrhic dancers (Fig. 3.1). Among the figure types within this repertoire, those representing kalathiskos dancers and pyrrhic dancers have received much attention. This is because both motifs have been traced back to Classical works of art: the Laconian dancers by Kallimachos and the base of Xenokles found on the Athenian Acropolis (Fig. 3.18).<sup>100</sup> Thus, the focus on these assumed Classical models had left other aspects of these motifs largely unexplored, a scenario which is quite typical owing to the predominance of the preconceptions of *Kopienkritik*. Earlier scholars had noted that both of the motifs were subject to eclectic changes in Roman times but, owing to the focus on the supposed Classical model images, these changes had not been closely examined, nor had the motivation behind the changes been discussed.<sup>101</sup>

### The applied perspectives and their implications

The common theme which links the three studies collected here is, of course, that hinted to in this volume's title: in all three cases, I have aimed to reinterpret the sculpture types and motifs as constituents of Roman visual culture—thus evading the discussions regarding their assumed Classical or Hellenistic models. In reference to the outline of previous research presented above, it should be noted that neither contexts of display nor practicalities of reproduction figure as central features in these articles.

### The satyr ascribed to “The invitation to the dance”

The first article aims to show that reputed restorations may have an unexpected—and unwanted—impact on the study of ancient sculpture. The history of restorations of ancient sculptures is relatively understudied but, as mentioned in the article, the interest in the field has increased somewhat during the last few decades.<sup>102</sup>

As noted above, it has not been possible by means of *Kopienkritik* (comprising both theory and method) to prove beyond doubt that the satyr and nymph types ascribed to

“The invitation to the dance” were known primarily as parts of a sculpture group throughout antiquity (Fig. 1.3). Rather than trying to ascertain the existence, let alone the original appearance and date, of this assumed Hellenistic masterpiece, I instead chose to shift the focus away from the supposed group to one of the two sculpture types associated with this assumed Hellenistic masterpiece: the satyr (Figs. 1.1, 1.8 & 1.17).

In considering the satyr type, it soon became evident that the post-Antique fame of one particular replica had had an unexpected, and unfortunate, influence on the study of the ancient sculpture type (Fig. 1.1).<sup>103</sup> By means of a comparative study of visual forms, it was possible to show that three bronzes previously interpreted as ancient replicas are actually post-Antique (Figs. 1.6, 1.7 & 1.21); they are replicates of the renowned satyr sculpture in the Uffizi, including the post-Antique restorations added to this ancient fragment (Figs. 1.1 & 1.2). Now that these post-Antique sculptures can be excluded from the study of the ancient sculpture type, there is no ancient evidence to suggest that this particular satyr type was depicted holding cymbals during antiquity. I would further like to point out the fact that the interpretation of this satyr as snapping his fingers rests exclusively on comparisons with other ancient satyr sculptures, such as the seated drunken satyr from Herkulaneum (Fig. 1.20).<sup>104</sup>

Theoretical preconceptions typical of *Kopienkritik* have caused scholars to neglect what little evidence there is concerning what this satyr type was originally intended to be doing with his hands. Excluding the post-Antique bronzes, the sculpture found in the Kerameikos is the only replica which has a preserved satyr hand (Fig. 1.8). In this replica, the satyr places his left hand on top of the tree-shaped support, cushioned by a *nebris*. This has been taken to be a Roman alteration of the Hellenistic model image because the model is generally assumed to have been made of bronze, and consequently this original would not have required a support (Fig. 1.3).<sup>105</sup>

As noted in the article, I believe that the support may well have been an essential part in the conception of the model image. As a parallel, one can mention “The resting satyr”, a sculpture type much copied in Roman times (Fig. 8). This type consists of a standing satyr who rests his elbow against a support. Thus, in this case, the support is an essential part of the composition, one that must also have been

<sup>100</sup> Kalathiskos dancers: Borbein 1968, 188–189; Cain 1985, 135–136; Dragendorff & Watzinger 1948, 55–61 & 121; Fuchs 1959, 91–96; Hauser 1889, nos. 18–23 & 29–31; Rohden 1911, 10–12; Stemmer 1978, 159–160. Pyrrhic dancers: Fuchs 1959, 41–44; Grassinger 1991, 115–117; Hauser 1889, nos. 1 & 30–32.

<sup>101</sup> Kalathiskos dancers: Borbein 1968, 189; Cain 1985, 114 (Nike, libierend 2); Dragendorff & Watzinger 1948, 60–61 & 64–65; Golda 1997, 47 (Nike 1a & 1b). Pyrrhic dancers: Grassinger 1991, 115–118.

<sup>102</sup> Key publications are: Coltman 2009, especially 84–116; Grossman, Podany & True 2003; Haskell & Penny 1981; Howard 1990; Montagu 1989, especially 151–172. Seymore Howard, a pioneer in this field of study, has written a summary of previous research, with an extensive bibliography: Grossman, Podany & True 2003, 25–44.

<sup>103</sup> I have also discussed the fame of this particular sculpture elsewhere: Habetzeder 2011.

<sup>104</sup> Geominy 1999a, 141; Klein 1909, 104; Luca 1975, 75–76 & 78.

<sup>105</sup> Luca 1975, 75–76.

included in the model image.<sup>106</sup> In much the same manner, I believe that the support was an essential part of the satyr type ascribed to “The invitation to the dance”. The satyr may have held on to the support in order to keep his balance as he was energetically beating the foot-clapper (*Figs. 1.1, 1.8 & 1.17*). I am curious to know whether the upper parts of the supports—when preserved—will show signs of having been reworked. Perhaps fragmentary remains of original hands have been removed by post-Antique restorers. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to arrange an autopsy of these sculptures within the framework of the present project.

The attempts to interpret these particular satyr and nymph types using the theory and method of *Kopienkritik* have always been complicated by the fact that the replicas of both types seem to display many variations—it seems impossible to grasp the supposed Hellenistic original among the many assumed Roman alterations. Somewhat ironically, the shift of focus away from the presumed Hellenistic sculpture group to the preserved Roman replicas of the satyr alone resulted in what the practitioners of traditional *Kopienkritik* were looking for: a more unitary picture of the type’s form, at least as far as the satyr is concerned. As we can now rule out the theory that these ancient satyr sculptures sometimes, but not always, held cymbals, the corpus of replicas within the type has potentially become more coherent in form.

Although this is not the place for a re-examination of the complete sculpture type, I do believe that these ancient satyr sculptures correspond to such an extent that one can assume that they all quite faithfully replicate a single model sculpture. For, in this particular case, I believe that the published lists of replicas (focusing on the alleged sculpture group) have allowed too much variation among the sculptures included, even among the sculptures that are, evidently, ancient. As mentioned in the article, the lists of replicas needs to be re-evaluated, as several of the ancient sculptures included are not actually related to this particular sculpture type. This is, however, an issue which deserves an article of its own.

### The satyrs of “The Palazzo Massimo-type”

The second article identifies and interprets a previously unrecognized sculpture type, which is known only from small-scale replicas. Elizabeth Bartman has provided an excellent study of small-scale sculptures, which shows that such sculptures could also be reproduced with great care, in order to copy a model image as faithfully as possible. The three case-studies provided by Bartman all deal with scul-

ture types which are preserved in replicas of both small, life-size, and even monumental scale—“The resting satyr” (*Fig. 8*), “The Lateran Poseidon” (*Fig. 9*), and “The Herakles epitraperios”.<sup>107</sup> The present study of “The Palazzo Massimo-type” (*Figs. 2.1–2.8*) expresses my belief that small-scale sculptures deserve to be studied in their own right, even if the types do not include any full-scale or larger replicas.

Among the three articles collected here, ‘Marsyas in the garden?’ most clearly resembles a traditional exercise in *Kopienkritik*, as far as the layout of the study is concerned. The text begins with a comparative description of the replicas, emphasizing their shared traits. Afterwards it moves on to relate the replicas to a suggested model: “The Marsyas in the forum”. The difference lies, of course, in the theoretical approach. In the article, the replicas are not used as evidence contributing to our knowledge of this model. On the contrary, the model is used as a means to interpret “The Palazzo Massimo-type”. By connecting the small-scale replicas to “The Marsyas in the forum”, the study offers an interpretation of what “The Palazzo Massimo-type” signified to its Roman viewers. What is not explicitly stated in the article, however, is that these replicas would not be very well suited to provide detailed information regarding the precise appearance and date of “The Marsyas in the forum”.

“The Marsyas in the forum” would be a very unorthodox model for a study applying the theory of *Kopienkritik*.<sup>108</sup> The sculptures and depictions tied to this type—the bronze sculpture from Paestum (*Fig. 2.12*), the coins depicting the sculpture in Rome (*Fig. 2.10*), the Anaglypha Traiani (*Fig. 2.11*), as well as the provincial coins—all display different features. Unlike the depictions of sculptures representing “The Marsyas in the forum”, the bronze from Paestum does not seem to have carried a wine-skin.<sup>109</sup> Furthermore, while the sculpture in Rome is depicted on coins with its arm stretching straight up, the provincial coins render Marsyas with his raised hand held approximately at the height of the head.<sup>110</sup> Judging from such discrepancies, the sculptures representing Marsyas, which were placed on fora, do not seem to have precisely replicated one particular model image.

Yet, even so, the motif seems to have been recognizable, not only by the placement of the sculptures in fora, but also owing to a number of shared iconographic features. Such features included, for instance, the raised right arm, the beard, and the paunchy build of the satyr (*Figs. 2.10–2.12*).

<sup>107</sup> Bartman 1992.

<sup>108</sup> Jocelyn Penny Small has, nevertheless, speculated as to the nature of an assumed original: Small 1982, 83–85.

<sup>109</sup> Bianchi Bandinelli & Giuliano 1973, 412, no. 283; Wiseman 2004, 69.

<sup>110</sup> Small 1982, 71–74.

<sup>106</sup> Bartman 1992, 53; Geominy 1999b, 52.

Therefore, “The Marsyas in the forum” seems to constitute an established motif (an established mode of rendering a particular motif that need not refer back to one particular model image). Theoretically, this means that such a motif can be the point of reference for variants, but not for copies. Thus, the individual sculptures representing Marsyas placed on fora were variants of this particular established motif.

Bartman has suggested a similar use of an established motif as a model in the discussion of “The Lateran Poseidon” (Fig. 9). As mentioned above, this motif is represented in both monumental and small-scale sculptures. Bartman suggests that the replicas ascribed to this sculpture type do not replicate one particular original sculpture. Instead, she suggests that it refers to an established mode of rendering Poseidon. This established mode shows the god of the sea with thick, wavy hair and a full beard. He is standing with his weight placed on the left leg. The right leg is raised and the right lower arm rests on the right thigh. The mirror reversed pose also occurs. Yet, despite the shared features, the individual replicas vary to such an extent that adherence to one particular model seems unlikely.<sup>111</sup>

Returning to the satyrs of “The Palazzo Massimo-type”: these correspond to one another to such an extent that one may expect them to refer to the same model image (Figs. 2.1–2.8).<sup>112</sup> Nonetheless, as depictions of “The Marsyas in the forum” seem to have related to an established motif rather than one particular, highly regarded sculpture there is no, one sculpture that presents itself as the model of the satyrs of “The Palazzo Massimo-type”. As all four replicas of “The Palazzo Massimo-type” seem to have been unearthed in Rome or its surroundings, the sculpture of Marsyas that stood on the Forum Romanum would have been a probable candidate.<sup>113</sup> Nevertheless, as far as we know, in this version Marsyas carried a filled wine-skin on his left shoulder (Figs. 2.10 & 2.11).<sup>114</sup> Thus, it cannot have been the direct model image of the satyrs of “The Palazzo Massimo-type”.

Despite entering completely hypothetical ground, I would suggest that a sculpture workshop—presumably one situated in Rome—introduced a variant of “The Marsyas in the forum”. This particular variant was then reproduced by means of a workshop model. It is this hypothetical workshop model that is assumed to render the traits repeated, in detail, on the satyrs of “The Palazzo Massimo-type” (Figs. 2.1–2.8).

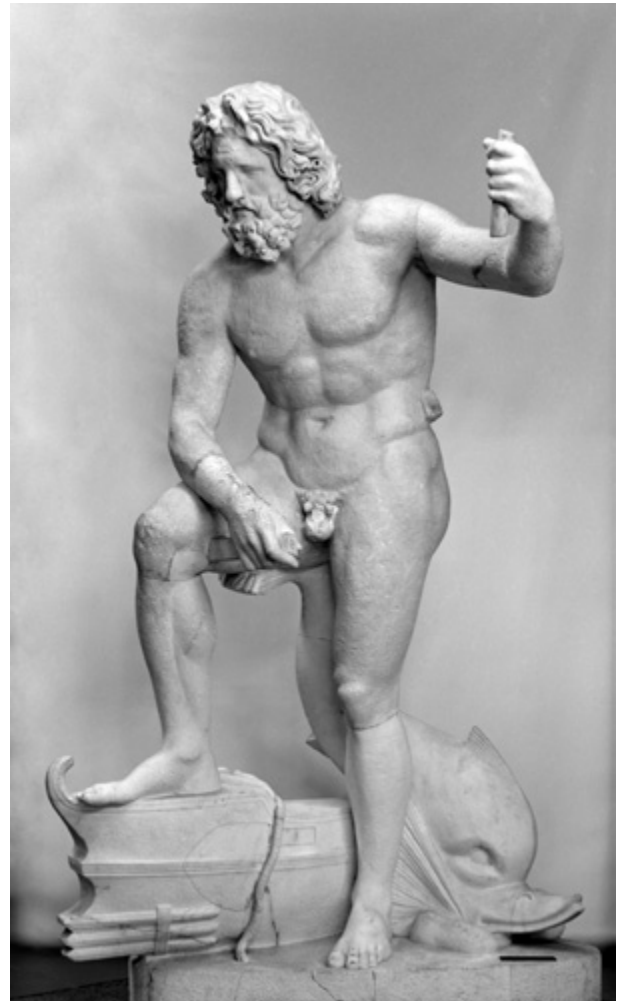


Fig. 9. The sculpture type “The Lateran Poseidon” has been named after this replica, which was previously kept in the Lateran Museums. The sculpture is today in the Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. 10315. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom. Neg. D-DAI-ROM-1980.732. All rights reserved.

#### The eclectic usage of kalathiskos dancers and pyrrhic dancers

According to the theory of *Kopienkritik*, the eclectic transformations of kalathiskos dancers and pyrrhic dancers are to be seen as Roman deviations, which do not contribute to our knowledge of their supposed Classical model images.<sup>115</sup>

I do, however, consider it relevant to ask how and why these eclectic changes were made. Parts of the theoretical framework presented by Perry in her monograph of 2005 seemed

<sup>111</sup> Bartman 1992, 102–146.

<sup>112</sup> Habetzeder 2010, 163–171.

<sup>113</sup> Amelung 1903, cat. no. 583; Gatti 1908, 284–287; Habetzeder 2010, 168–169; Hartswick 2004, 112–113 & 115; Kalveram 1995, cat. no. 140; Kjellberg 1920, 156; Vaglieri 1908, 347–350.

<sup>114</sup> Habetzeder 2010, 171–172.

<sup>115</sup> Kalathiskos dancers: Borbein 1968, 189; Cain 1985, 114 (Nike, libierend 2); Dragendorff & Watzinger 1948, 60–61 & 64–65; Golda 1997, 47 (Nike 1a & 1b). Pyrrhic dancers: Grassinger 1991, 115–118.

to offer probable answers to these questions. Thus, the third article presented here centres on the concepts of “decorum” and “eclecticism”, as defined by Perry.<sup>116</sup>

According to this line of reasoning, all decorative depictions should be appropriate to their Roman cultural context, i.e. they should follow decorum. Therefore, well-known motifs, long since established as appropriate by social consensus, were often repeated.<sup>117</sup> Yet, this did not exclude the possibility or the need to introduce novelties to the repertoire of established motifs. One way of introducing appropriate novelties was to combine two or more well-known models, motifs or styles into a new eclectic image.<sup>118</sup> As discussed in the article, traits from kalathiskos dancers were combined with traits from Victoriae, creating an eclectic mode of rendering the goddess of victory. Considering the great importance of Victoria within Roman iconography,<sup>119</sup> it should come as no surprise that a new way of rendering the goddess was called for at some point but, as the article shows, kalathiskos dancers also remained a popular motif in their own right, even after this eclectic novelty had been introduced.

The situation was quite different for the pyrrhic dancers. In this case, the motif does not seem to have appealed to Roman tastes, judging from the small number of preserved depictions of such dancers. This may well have been caused by the negative attitude among the Roman elite towards male dancing. It can even be suggested that, by turning the pyrrhic dancers into mythological figures—the cures—the Roman craftsmen and/or patrons tried to adjust this Classical motif in order to make it better suited to its new cultural context. Judging from the many depictions of dancing satyrs, images of mythological, dancing males were not frowned upon in the same manner as were depictions of non-mythological male dancers. Yet, even after the pyrrhic dancers had been transformed into mythological beings, these male dancers do not seem to have been very popular in a Roman context.

The motifs of kalathiskos dancers, pyrrhic dancers, and their eclectic variants exemplify the selective Roman appropriation of earlier motifs. The Roman attitudes towards dancing as an effeminate practice seem to have prohibited the establishment of pyrrhic dancers as an appropriate motif. Representations of female dancers were, on the other hand, easily incorporated into the Roman repertoire of suitable motifs. Contrary to what an advocate of the theory of *Kopienkritik* would traditionally presuppose, the establish-

ment of these motifs in the Roman cultural context does not seem to have been intrinsically linked to the notoriety of their Classical models. Instead, the subject matter depicted seems to have played a decisive role in determining whether these motifs could be established as appropriate or not.<sup>120</sup>

Throughout this text, the terms “eclectic” and “classicizing” are used to denote what was previously called the “Neo-Attic” repertoire. This shift in terminology was suggested during the 1990s and it aims to acknowledge the fact that the motifs and figure types within the repertoire are not exclusively, or even predominately, of Attic origin. They go back, in a more general sense, to the Hellenistic visual cultures which the Romans encountered during the Late Republican period—they are “classicizing”. The term “eclectic”, naturally, denotes the markedly eclectic use of these figure types within the Roman cultural context.<sup>121</sup>

This shift in terminology, from “Neo-Attic” to “eclectic classicizing”, can be understood to mirror the scholarly debate outlined initially. The scholar of Classical or Hellenistic sculpture may lament the loss of yet another indirect source of information but for those interested in Roman visual culture, the eclectic classicizing repertoire should be acknowledged as a treasure trove of information. Owing to its eclectic and classicizing characteristics, I am convinced that this repertoire can provide much more information regarding the active engagement with the visual culture that Rome appropriated from the East.

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<sup>116</sup> Perry 2005.

<sup>117</sup> Perry 2005, 28–49.

<sup>118</sup> Perry 2005, 111–149.

<sup>119</sup> Hölscher 1967; Vollkommer 1997.

<sup>120</sup> As mentioned above, the importance of the subject matter depicted has at times been emphasized in previous research, especially in: Marvin 1989.

<sup>121</sup> Grassinger 1991, 140–141.



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# Sammanfattning

Denna avhandling inkluderar tre fristående artiklar som länkas samman av tre övergripande syften:

- Att visa att kopiekritikens teoretiska antaganden hittills inte åstadkommit övertygande tolkningar av de studerade skulpturtyperna och motiven.
- Att visa att noggranna jämförelser av skulpturernas och motivens formella egenskaper (det vill säga delar av kopiekritikens metod) kan ge andra insikter än sådana som rör avbildningarnas förmodade klassiska och hellenistiska modeller.
- Att föra tolkningarna av de studerade skulpturtyperna och motiven vidare, med ett nytt fokus på deras roll i en romersk kulturell kontext.

Avhandlingen tar sitt avstamp i en aktuell debatt kring hur romersk idealskulptur bör tolkas. Genren "idealskulptur" definieras idag oftast utifrån de motiv som återges: skulpturer föreställande gudomar, mytologiska figurer och atleter. Debatten har blossat upp som en reaktion mot att kopiekritiken varit nästan allenarådande för studier som behandlar idealskulptur. Det kopiekritiska synsättet (efter tyskans *Kopienkritik*) etablerades under 1800-talets mitt. Synsättet tar fasta på den romerska skulpturkonstens repetitiva karaktär, i synnerhet det faktum att romersk skulptur ibland kopierar klassiska och hellenistiska original, och att dessa kopior (så kallade repliker) ofta finns bevarade i flera exemplar.

Den stora majoriteten av de bevarade antika skulpturer som föreställer gudomar, mytologiska figurer och atleter tillverkades under den romerska perioden. Men eftersom romerska skulpturer delvis kopierar klassiska och hellenistiska förlagor kan de romerska skulpturerna ibland användas för att återskapa förlorade klassiska och hellenistiska originalskulpturer. När kopiekritiken tillämpats i studier av idealskulptur har detta varit det huvudsakliga syftet. Genom att sammanställa alla repliker inom en viss skulpturtyp, och att noggrant jämföra dessa, har man sållat fram de drag som flest repliker har gemensamt. Dessa delade drag

antas spegla originalskulpturen: den hypotetiska skulptur som utgör en kopiekritisk studies självskrivna fokus.

En effekt av kopiekritikens dominerande roll inom den antika skulpturforskningen är att idealskulpturernas betydelse inom den romerska kultursfären hamnar i skymundan. En annan effekt är att de kreativa dragen i romerskt bildskapande inte tas i beaktande, då de flesta motiven tillskrivs ett klassiskt eller hellenistiskt ursprung. Romerska förändringar inom en skulpturtyp avfärdas som ointressanta avvikelser, eftersom studier av dessa inte kan föra oss närmare den förmodade klassiska eller hellenistiska originalskulpturen. Det är iakttagelser som dessa som under senare år har förts fram av forskare som kritiserar kopiekritikens sedan länge dominerande position. Dessa forskare anser att romersk idealskulptur i första hand bör studeras som ett uttryck för romersk visuell kultur, och inte som en indirekt källa till den klassiska och hellenistiska skulpturkonsten. Debatten har bitvis blivit hätsk, och vissa forskare argumenterar för att det kopiekritiska perspektivet bör förkastas helt och hållet.

De tre artiklarna som inkluderas i denna avhandling diskuterar idealskulpturer och motiv som tidigare främst studerats utifrån det kopiekritiska perspektivet. Skulpturerna har således relaterats till olika hypotetiska mästerverk skapade under klassisk och hellenistisk tid, men deras betydelse inom den romerska kultursfären har inte utforskats närmare. Denna avhandling syftar till att belysa varför kopiekritikens tolkningar av de studerade skulpturtyperna och motiven är problematiska. Men mitt huvudsakliga syfte är att presentera nya tolkningar av dessa avbildningar, tolkningar som betonar deras roll inom den romerska visuella kulturen.

Min vilja att lyfta fram skulpturtypernas och motivens roll i den romerska kultursfären återspeglar den generella kritik som riktats mot det kopiekritiska angreppssättets dominerande roll. Men kritiken skiljer dessvärre sällan mellan kopiekritikens metodologiska och dess teoretiska aspekter. Jag instämmer i kritiken mot många av de teoretiska antaganden som präglar kopiekritiken, till exempel

antagandet att en exakt kopia efter ett klassiskt eller hellenistiskt original alltid värderades högre i romersk tid, än en skulptur som skapats av en romersk hantverkare som tog sig större kreativa friheter. Trots detta vill jag betona att många aspekter av den metod som används i kopiekritiska studier kan tjäna andra syften än att rekonstruera hypotetiska klassiska och hellenistiska originalskulpturer. Metoden bygger på att noggrant jämföra skulpturers form, då skulpturer som uppvisar samma form på ett eller annat sätt har en inbördes relation. Tanken att de refererar till samma modell ligger ofta nära till hands, men modellen måste inte utgöras av ett klassiskt eller hellenistiskt original. De tre artiklarna exemplifierar således också tre olika sätt att använda den kopiekritiska metoden utan att tillämpa kopiekritikens teoretiska ramverk fullt ut.

## Artikel 1

### Den dansande satyren i Uffizierna

Den första artikeln ("The impact of restoration. The example of the dancing satyr in the Uffizi") diskuterar en skulpturtyp föreställande en satyr (*Fig. 1, 8 & 17*). I tidigare forskning har man utgått ifrån att denna satyr under antiken ingick i en skulpturgrupp som även inkluderade en sittande nymf (*Fig. 3 & 4*). Gruppen har fått benämningen "Uppmaning till dans". Anledningen till att denna satyr och nymf anses utgöra en grupp är att de två figurerna, av allt att döma, är återgivna tillsammans på ett bronsmynt från 200-talet e.Kr. (*Fig. 5*). Man har antagit att myntet avbildar ett erkänt mästerverk, skapat i hellenistisk tid, som stod uppställt i den stad där mynten präglades: den antika hamnstaden Kyzikos. Men antagandet att de två figurerna under antiken i första hand var kända som kompanjoner i en grupp försvagas av det faktum att repliker av de två ytterst sällan (kanske aldrig) hittats tillsammans.

I denna artikel riktas all uppmärksamhet mot en av de två skulpturtyperna som associeras med gruppen "Uppmaning till dans": satyren. Satyrtypen studeras genom att jämföra replikernas form sinsemellan, här tillämpas alltså den kopiekritiska metoden. Syftet är dock i detta fall inte primärt att nå nya kunskaper om den förmodade antika modellen, utan snarare att särskilja bland antika och postantika satyrskulpturer. På sätt och vis handlar det om att kartlägga en postantik "skulpturtyp". Artikeln visar nämligen att tre bronsskulpturer (*Fig. 6, 7 & 21*), som av tidigare forskare klassats som antika repliker, skapats i efterantik tid. De är i själva verket postantika reproduktioner av en av de antika replikerna: den berömda cymbalspelande satyren i Uffizierna i Florens (*Fig. 1*). Antika och postantika

varianter av detta satyrmotiv utgör idag en tät väv och det är med nöd och näppe som de postantika skulpturerna kan skiljas från de antika.

Artikelns resultat får konsekvenser för hur den antika skulpturtypen kan tolkas. På grund av att de postantika skulpturerna tagits för antika har tidigare forskare antagit att satyrtypen i romersk tid ibland, men inte alltid, avbildades med cymbaler i händerna (*Fig. 6 & 7*). Då dessa nu kan avskrivas finns det bara en känd antik replik som bevarar åtminstone en av satyrens ursprungliga händer (*Fig. 8*). Denna marmorsatyr placerar sin vänstra hand mot ett stöd. Detta har i tidigare studier, som anammar kopiekritikens teoretiska antaganden, avfärdats som en romersk förändring av den förmodade hellenistiska modellen, eftersom man utgått ifrån att modellen varit gjord av brons—för en bronsskulptur skulle stödet tekniskt sett vara överflödigt (*Fig. 3 & 13*). Här föreslås dock en alternativ tolkning; nämligen att denna satyrtyp alltid—oavsett när den första modellen skapades—var tänkt att ta greppa stödet på detta sätt. Posen förefaller vara naturlig, eftersom satyrtypen avbildas villt musicerande med en fotklappa, och därför kan tänkas ta tag i något för att hålla balansen (*Fig. 1, 8 & 17*).

## Artikel 2

### Satyrer av "Palazzo Massimo-typen"

Den andra artikeln ("Marsyas in the garden? Small-scale sculptures referring to the Marsyas in the forum") presenterar en skulpturtyp som inte identifierats tidigare; Satyrer av "Palazzo Massimo-typen" (*Fig. 1–8*). Att skulpturtypen hittills inte uppmärksamats kan förklaras av kopiekritikens dominerande ställning inom forskningsfältet. Om syftet med en jämförande analys av replikserier är att återskapa ett förmodat berömt original, tillskrivs de repliker som tydligast tycks återge modellen störst värde. Då det generellt antas att småskaliga skulpturer i större utsträckning avviker från de modeller de refererar till, brukar skulpturer i mindre format tillskrivas ett litet värde i kopiekritiska studier. Satyrerna av "Palazzo Massimo-typen" har således inte ådragit sig forskarnas intresse, eftersom typen bara är representerad i småskaliga repliker.

Satyrerna inom denna replikserie är alla fragmentariskt bevarade, två av dem har även restaurerats i efterantik tid (*Fig. 1–8*). Utifrån en noggrann jämförelse av replikernas form kan man dock skapa sig en relativt god bild av hur dessa satyrer ursprungligen sett ut. Satyrskulpturerna relateras i studien även till en hypotetisk modell, som i stort återger samma form: "Marsyas på forum" (*Fig. 9–12*). Men sambandet mellan modell och repliker används i detta fall



inte på det vis som är brukligt inom den kopiekritiska traditionen. Replikerna av "Palazzo Massimo-typen" används inte för att skapa en ökad förståelse för den tänkta modellen: "Marsyas på forum". Relationen blir här den omvända: satyrerna av "Palazzo Massimo-typen" tolkas genom referensen till motivet "Marsyas på forum".

Vi vet att skulpturer föreställande satyren Marsyas fanns uppställda på romerska *fora*, både på Forum Romanum och i rikets provinser (Fig. 11). Motivet var således välkänt som landmärke, och av skriftliga källor att döma tycks det ha varit kopplat till uppfattningar om frihet och till lantliga miljöer. I denna studie föreslår jag därför att satyrerna av "Palazzo Massimo-typen" refererar till detta, i romersk tid, välkända motiv, och att de utgör en variant på temat som kunde tjäna som utsmyckning, företrädesvis i romerska trädgårdar.

## Artikel 3

### Romerska eklektiska varianter av klassiska dansare

Den tredje artikeln ('Dancing with decorum. The eclectic usage of kalathiskos dancers and pyrrhic dancers in Roman visual culture') behandlar två grupper av motiv som återges i relief på en rad olika typer av föremål. Det rör sig om så kallade kalathiskosdanserskor, pyrrhiska dansare, och romerska eklektiska varianter av dessa motiv (Fig. 1, 7 & 21). Både kalathiskos danserskor och pyrrhiska dansare har fått relativt stor uppmärksamhet inom tidigare forskning, eftersom motiven kan relateras till klassiska modeller (Fig. 2, 3 & 18). Det har även noterats att man i romersk tid framställde varianter av motiven, men då dessa inte ger oss närmare kunskap om de förmodade klassiska originalen har de inte ägnats något djupare intresse.

I denna artikel relateras de romerska avbildningarna till sina förmodade förlagor genom en jämförande analys av motivens former, men det är i första hand de eklektiska, romerska varianterna av dessa dansare som står i fokus för studien: Varför förändrades motiven i romersk tid? Och vilket genomsnitt fick de förändrade motiven? För att besvara dessa frågor används två begrepp som förts fram i diskussionen kring den romerska skulpturkonstens repetitiva karaktär av Ellen E. Perry (2005): *decorum* och eklekticism. Hon betonar att romersk visuell kultur i hög grad styrdes av vilka motiv som ansågs passande i olika givna kontexter (*decorum*). Välkända motiv upprepades gärna, eftersom de sedan länge bedömts som passande genom social konsensus. Men detta uteslöt inte möjligheten, eller viljan, att skapa nya motiv och variationer. Ett sätt att skapa nya former som

ansågs passande var att kombinera drag från olika välkända förlagor (eklekticism), det vill säga från olika motiv som sedan länge varit etablerade som passande.

Kalathiskosdanserskor är relativt vanligt förekommande i romersk visuell kultur, och de avbildas på olika typer av föremål, så som marmorkandelabrar, terrakottaplattor, stuckreliefer och gemmer (Fig. 4–6). Av allt att döma kom dessa klassiska danserskor relativt smärtfritt att införlivas i den romerska repertoaren av passande motiv. Danserskorna kom även att avbildas utan huvudbonader. Istället försågs de med ett par vingar och på detta sätt skapade man i romersk tid en nymodighet: en ny ikonografi för den bevingade segergudinnan Viktoria (Fig. 7, 9–13). Denna gudinna var av central betydelse inom romersk bildvärld, och det är således föga förvånande att man vid något tillfälle ville skapa nya sätt att återge henne.

Situationen är helt annorlunda för de manliga dansarna. Sådana beväpnade dansare finns bara avbildade på sju kända romerska föremål (Fig. 18, 20–25). Anledningen till att dessa dansare är så sällsynta är troligen att dans uppfattades som en omanlig företeelse bland den romerska eliten. Att avbilda en manlig dansare var således knappast passande inom en romersk kulturell kontext. Denna uppfattning tycks dock inte ha gällt för mytologiska figurer, då dansande satyrer är vanligt förekommande i romersk bildvärld. Det finns exempel på att pyrrhiska dansare omtolkades i romersk tid. Genom att infoga de pyrrhiska dansarna i kompositioner tillsammans med Pan och nymfer omvandlades de till mytologiska väsen: de så kallade cureterna (Fig. 21). Troligen var detta ett försök att anpassa det klassiska motivet till en romersk kulturell kontext. Försöket kan dock inte ha fått någon större genklang, då sådana eklektiska cureter bara kan identifieras med säkerhet i en enda bevarad komposition.

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