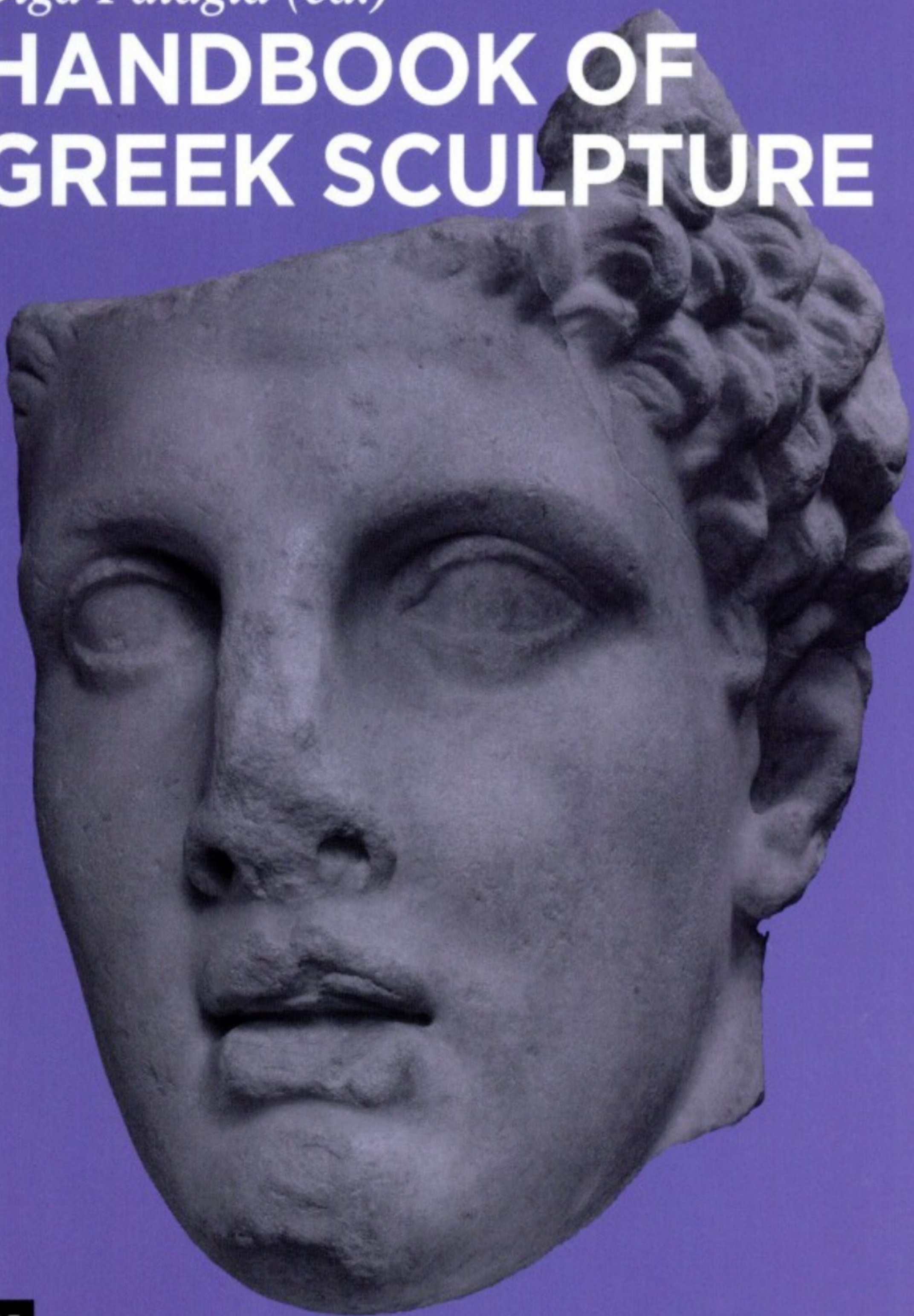


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*Olga Palagia (ed.)*

# HANDBOOK OF GREEK SCULPTURE



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Eugenio La Rocca

## 19 Greek Sculptors in Rome: An Art for the Romans

**Abstract:** In the second century B.C. the victorious generals of the Roman Republic invited sculptors from Greece to create cult statues for the temples they dedicated in Rome; these were often acrolithic and made in a traditional, classicizing style. In addition, Greek sculptors active in Rome, Delos and Athens in the first century B.C. produced copies of works of the great masters and new creations in an eclectic style for the decoration of the villas of the Roman elite.

**Keywords:** Apollo Sosianus, Timarchides, Polykles, Dionysios, Pasiteles, Palestrina, Sperlonga, candelabra, craters

### The background

After a series of victorious military campaigns carried out by the Romans on mainland Greece and in the Greek cities of Asia Minor, Greek art began to make its way into Rome for the first time without intermediaries.<sup>1</sup> Greek artists were brought to the city by their conquerors<sup>2</sup> and began to produce a large number of works for their new Roman patrons. During this period – which we may describe as a period of adjustment –, the Romans, in the process of discovering Greek art, began to acquire a certain familiarity with its different modes of expression, albeit initially in a rather haphazard way.

In a second phase<sup>3</sup> that developed in the final decades of the second century B.C., the Romans, fully accustomed to the new visual language, began to use it more freely, adapting it to their needs. Greek art became an enormous repertory of motifs and images that could be rearranged without regard to literary context, or used

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<sup>1</sup> For an overall picture of the Hellenization of Rome between the second and first centuries B.C.: Gruen 1984; Ferrary 1988; MacMullen 1991; Rawson 1991; Guldager Bilde, Nielsen, Nielsen 1993; Gruen 1993; Gabba 1994; Roman 1994; Wallace-Hadrill 2008; Roma 2010; Lo Monaco 2010. On problems of art: Klein 1907, 327–392 (still offering a wealth of pertinent critical observations); Zanker 1979; La Rocca 1990, especially 351–491; Hölscher 1990; Coarelli 1990; Hölscher 1994; La Rocca 1996; Saladino 1998; Corchia 2001, 79–104; Papini 2004, especially 347–358; Vorster 2007; Flashar 2007; Cain 2007; Parisi Presicce 2010; La Rocca 2010; Papini 2010; Sauron 2013. Only works published until 2013 are included in the bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> In any case, the sources do not speak of sculptors and/or painters, but of *artifices* (*technitai* in Greek) which, in the language of that period, meant “actors” rather than “artists” or “artisans”: Balty 1978, 683–684; Ferrary 1988, 518 ff. and n. 52.

<sup>3</sup> On the division into “phases,” albeit with a different slant: Coarelli 1990, 159–185; 631–670; Coarelli 1998.

indiscriminately to serve the function of a new, Roman artwork. The aim of such works would be to celebrate a triumph, communicate simple messages to the public through state monuments, transmit optimistic and illusory formulas during the tragic events of the civil wars, or simply to serve as decoration of luxurious homes, villas and gardens with an acute appreciation of nature and refined, intellectual references to the world of Classical Greece. In the late Republican period and for much of the Imperial era, Greek images formed a sort of visual vocabulary that reduced them to signs or symbols;<sup>4</sup> these served, however, as the basis for the invention of an authentic art for the Romans.<sup>5</sup>

Artistic trends are often the result of various influences and rarely depend on a particular cultural environment because artists tend to travel from place to place in search of lucrative commissions. The idea of an artist's workshop having its own well-defined style fails to take into account their cosmopolitan nature, with only some of their craftsmen hired locally. And it is equally erroneous to assume that the baroque style usually attributed to Greek artists in Asia Minor was banned from Athenian workshops, in which case it would be difficult to explain the Belvedere torso by Apollonios, the late Hellenistic drapery of the Piacenza statue by Kleomenes or the Young Man slaying a bull (perhaps erroneously recognized as Mithras) from Ostia by Kriton,<sup>6</sup> Athenians all. Phyromachos – probably one of the artists charged with creating some of the Pergamon dedications for the victories over the Gauls – was also an Athenian.<sup>7</sup> It is equally hard to define the neo-Attic trend of the late Republican and even more of the Imperial period as purely classicistic.<sup>8</sup> There is no consensus on what is meant by the modern terms “classical”, “neoclassical” and “classicistic”, nor on their chronological sequence.<sup>9</sup> If we confine the classical period between the end of the Persian Wars and the death of Alexander the Great, we may have difficulties in labeling every literary and artistic work of that period as equally “classical”.<sup>10</sup> Phidias' Lemnia is surely classical from our point of view, but so are the robust nudes from the west pediment of the Parthenon, which anticipate Pergamene works. And furthermore, such restrictions would prevent us from considering “classical” literary works like Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*, the epic verse of Homer or the poems of Alcaeus and Sappho.

<sup>4</sup> Brandi 1986, 61.

<sup>5</sup> Blanckenhagen 1942; Brendel 1979, 122–137; Hölscher 1987 (= Hölscher 2004); Settis 1989; Hölscher 1993; Hölscher 2006; Elsner 2006.

<sup>6</sup> On these sculptures, see nn. 105–107 below.

<sup>7</sup> Plin. *HN* 34, 84. Cf. *KdA* 2, 2004, 695–699, s.v. Phyromachos (II) (B. Andreae).

<sup>8</sup> Gelzer 1979; Zanker 1987, 275–278.

<sup>9</sup> A comprehensive picture in: Porter 2006a. Also: Schweitzer 1930; Bianchi Bandinelli 1959, 702–703; Frel 1968; Pollitt 1972; Zanker 1974; Flashar 1979; Stewart 1979, 34–64; Pöhlmann, Gauer 1994; Zinserling 1996; Galinsky 1999; Ridgway 2002, 142–215; Berlin 2002 (especially Borbein 2002 and Settis 2002); Settis 2004; Papini 2004, 354–356; Porter 2006 (on art, see Hölscher 2006 and Elsner 2006); Zimmer 2012. On the concept of classicism in literature: Citroni 2006; Porter 2006b.

<sup>10</sup> Hölscher 1989; Berlin 2002.

On the other hand, it is true that classicism, meant to embody classical values (sometimes comprising the archaic and Severe style art as well), although not defined as such, was one of the basic elements of Greek culture, not only at the time of Roman domination, but also – to offer just two examples – in fourth-century B.C. Athens (Kephisodotos' Eirene exhibits a certain retrospection) and in Ptolemaic Alexandria.

As a matter of fact, the Romans invented a versatile visual vocabulary that combined various trends, capable of expressing a great range of subjects. Cult statues placed in temples, because of their function, tended to adhere to classical norms – albeit with different emphasis in each case – in order to preserve the sacred tradition. Images of the gods placed in secular spaces, on the other hand, were more diversified, and made use of both archaic and Hellenistic elements, depending on their function.<sup>11</sup> This system perfectly accommodated Roman needs.<sup>12</sup> Individualistic impulses and modes of self-presentation tended to prevail over the concept of the *urbs* as a unity, characterized by a traditional style.

## An art for the Romans

The profusion of individual commissions had a decisive impact on the creation of new artistic modes of expression. What was largely lost was the religious dimension of art. In Greece, works by the foremost artists were votive offerings in temples and sanctuaries, or were intended to be displayed in civic spaces. While admiring them, citizens also drew lessons on how to prove themselves worthy heirs of such glory.

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<sup>11</sup> Interesting in this regard are the representations of gods on the seals of Tel Kedesh, dating from the second century B.C.: Herbert 2008, 257–272.

<sup>12</sup> Hölscher 1987; Hölscher 2006. For specifics of the Roman contribution to the transformation of the Greek artistic modes of expression: Zanker 1976 (on portraiture); Zanker 1997; Hölscher 1990. On the reception of the Greek visual language in the Augustan age: Borbein 1975; Gullini, Zanda 1978; Zanker 1979; Zanker 1987, especially 240–263; Zanker 1988b; Neudecker 1988; Galinsky 1996, 332–363; Landwehr 1998; Galinsky 1999; Haug 2001; Koortbojian 2002; La Rocca 2004; Hölscher 2006. The interpretation of *revixit ars* (Plin. *HN* 34.52) in an exclusively classicist light is too rigid. It is thought to depend on an Attic source, Apollodoros of Athens, a pupil of Diogenes of Babylonia, referring not only to bronze casting methods used for colossal statues, but also to all art from the second half of the second century B.C. on. It is clearly incompatible with a careful “reading” of many works attributed to Athenian artists active in Rome, like the Apollo of Timarchides or the Hercules of Polykles, which cannot strictly be considered either “classical” or “classicistic”. Moreover, this theory may have been just one of many in circulation in the Hellenistic period. For sources and different opinions on the subject: Kalkmann 1898, 14, 37; Schweitzer 1930; Schweitzer 1932, 32–46 (= Schweitzer 1963, 141–158; Schweitzer 1967, 292–308); Bianchi Bandinelli 1958; Mazzarino 1966, 496–506; Moreno 1973, 27–34; Gros 1978; Preissshofen 1979, especially 272–277; Stewart 1979, 46; Rouveret 1989, 454–460; Settis 1989, 844 n. 35; Settis 1995, 27–29; Coarelli 1996, 55–59, 522–526; Fuchs 1999, 83–85; Coarelli 2003, 189–203; Papini 2004, 353–354; Bejor 2007.

These forms of communication were not intended for private individuals, but for the entire community.<sup>13</sup> Only in the Hellenistic age did things begin to change, albeit in a limited way, through the efforts of a few civic benefactors.<sup>14</sup>

In Rome, however, commissions issued from a wider range of sources, consisting of hundreds of individuals who channeled their excessive wealth into forms of self-presentation, which in Greece would have been unthinkable outside the royal courts.<sup>15</sup> In this way, in the initial phase of contact with the Greek world, the groundwork was laid for the birth of not so much an authentically Roman art, as an art for the Romans, the new rulers of the Mediterranean; an art that was versatile enough to become, through them, the universal visual language of an empire.

One of the elements that contributed to the transformation of the concept of art under the Romans was the distinction – completely foreign to the Greek mentality – between *negotium* and *otium*.<sup>16</sup> The Roman elite kept public activities separate from interludes of relaxation, which took place in prestigious *domus* and sumptuous villas<sup>17</sup> that allowed them to be mentally transported to the most renowned sites of classical Greek culture (the Lyceum, the Academy) or myth (Cicero's *Amaltheion*<sup>18</sup>), evoked through works of art that had a mnemonic and, of course, decorative function.

Art thus gained a new potential, not only serving the auxiliary functions of ornamentation and the applied arts, but also depicting the non-urban environment and the world of flora and fauna, until then only partially explored by Greek art of the Hellenistic period. In Rome these themes were exploited by Latin poetry.

We can easily grasp this by observing the splendid objects that filled Roman villas, pervaded by an aura of sacredness: reliefs, basins, kraters, candelabra, marble *rhyta*.<sup>19</sup> They were produced by Greek craftsmen, often Athenians, decorated with superb vegetal scrolls and spiraling vines or an abundant figurative repertory which was inspired by archaic, classical and Hellenistic prototypes and incorporated into new schemes irrespective of their original forms – although the results could be exceptionally coherent. The decorative scheme could be suggestive of a complete immersion in nature, in some cases with a significant absence of the human figure. In the pure and serene environment of the villas – where in an intellectual *otium*, rich Romans constructed an alternative universe, artificially created by modifying the

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**13** Ma 2013, especially 243–307.

**14** Gauthier 1985; Wörrle 1995, 245.

**15** Geominy 1994, 934–935.

**16** André 1966; Dangel 1996; Dosi 2006; Rosada, Rodà de Llanza 2008. On the concept of *otium* in Cicero: Citroni Marchetti 2006; Hanchey 2012–2013.

**17** Drerup 1957, 5–15; Zanker 1979; Neudecker 1988; Förtsch 1993; *The Roman Villa* 1998; Romizzi 2001; Ravenna 2008; Tombrägel 2010; Tombrägel 2012. On luxury: Pucci 1985; Torelli 1985; La Rocca 1986; Asskamp 2007; Lapatin 2008; Papini 2010.

**18** Neudecker 1988, 10–11.

**19** Fuchs 1959; Cain 1978; Grassinger 1991; Cain, Dräger 1994.

landscape –, the illusory formula of the *felicitas* of the present moment took shape in images of limpid and abstract tranquility, instilling a sense of absolute peace.<sup>20</sup>

## The first wave of Athenian artists

Pliny the Elder discusses some of the sculptures by Greek artists still displayed in his day in the porticoes and sacred buildings of the Circus Flaminius, dedicated by some of the most celebrated military leaders following their victories in Greece and Asia Minor. His writings provide vital information allowing us to construct a fairly precise, albeit incomplete, image of the situation of the arts in Rome during the period running roughly from the assumption of the censorship by Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior (179 B.C.) to the end of the century.

The temples of Apollo Medicus, Jupiter Stator and Juno Regina housed works by sculptors from Athens (Timarchides, Polykles and Dionysios), Rhodes (Philiskos, Heliodoros and Polycharmos) and Asia Minor.<sup>21</sup> They were sculptures produced in workshops with varying cultural traditions – but were the differences perceptible to Roman eyes? A meticulous analysis of the surviving sculptures that can be at least somewhat reliably attributed to the artists cited by Pliny may help us to better understand the situation.

Timarchides and the brothers Polykles and Dionysios were Athenians, from the deme of Thorikos, members of a family of sculptors that left a substantial mark in Greece and Rome in the third and second centuries B.C.<sup>22</sup> The brothers Polykles, Timokles and Timarchides – sons of the elder Polykles – made various sculptures in Elateia, including a cult statue of Athena Krania, as attested by a few fragments. Polykles and Timokles are probably to be identified with the mint magistrates of the so-called New Style silver coins issued around 150 B.C. In addition, the portrait statue of the merchant *Ofellius Ferus* on Delos, the headless torso of which is still preserved in excellent condition,<sup>23</sup> was created by Timarchides the Younger and Dionysios (Chapter 3, Fig. 18).

A possible assessment of their style is based largely on the head of Hercules (Fig. 19.1) found on the slopes of the Capitoline, and believed to belong to the statue by Polykles that Cicero had seen on the hill, close to a statue of Scipio Aemilianus.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Hesberg 1986.

<sup>21</sup> Plin. *HN* 36. 34–35.

<sup>22</sup> On the tangled web of this family tree see, most recently: Martin 1987, 57–64; Despinois 1995, 339–372; Damaskos 1999, 14–17; *Kda* 2, 2004, 904–907, s.v. Timarchides (I) (C. Müller); 907, s.v. Timarchides (II) (C. Müller); 728–729, s.v. Polykles (II) (C. Müller); 729–731, s.v. Polykles (III) (C. Müller);

<sup>23</sup> Delos Museum A 4340. Queyrel 1991; Vorster 2007, 284–285, fig. 256. See also Chapter 3.

<sup>24</sup> Cic. *Att.* 6.1.17. Hercules head: Rome, Capitoline Museums 2381, Centrale Montemartini. See Giustozzi 2001; Despinois 2004, 268–271; Vorster 2007, 277, fig. 239; Roma 2010, 266 ff., I.24 (N. Giustozzi).



**Fig. 19.1:** Rome, Capitoline Museums 2381, Centrale Montemartini. Acrolithic head in marble from the Capitoline Hill, by Polykles the Athenian. Capitoline Museums Archive, photo: Zeno Colantoni.

Its dramatic expression does not conform to the traditional idea of an Athenian School more conservative than those of Eastern Mediterranean cities like Pergamon, Rhodes or Alexandria. Despite a certain loss of intensity due to the toning down of dramatic elements in order to achieve a more classical appearance, it seems to have been influenced by Asian models, and in some ways belongs to the same cultural environment that created the statue of a Muse attributed to Euboulides, son of Eucheir, from the Attic deme of Kropidai,<sup>25</sup> which may be of a slightly later date.

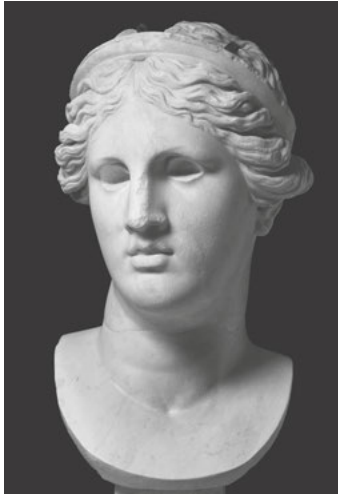
The Hercules head can be grouped with two other acrolithic heads from the Albani collection,<sup>26</sup> a female head marked by greater dramatic tension (Fig. 19.2), and a male head, slightly smaller and more restrained, with effeminate features and a sentimental tone (Fig. 19.3), although the formal elements of the two faces declare their affinity. They may have belonged to a cult group, perhaps a triad, the third component of which is missing. The different dimensions of the two heads and the intensity of the female indicate that an identification with Demeter/Ceres and Dionysos/Liber would be more appropriate than with Latona and Apollo. Because of their derivation from Hellenistic models somewhat enfeebled by the application of classical formulas, the Albani heads present a few stylistic incoherencies, which make them comparable to the “Beautiful Head” from Pergamon<sup>27</sup> or to the female acrolithic head from Kos.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Athens National Museum 233. Despinis 1995, 333–338, pls. 62–65; *KdA* 1, 2001, 219–220, s.v. Euboulides (II) (J. Linnemann); Roma 2010, 269, I.27 (N. Giustozzi).

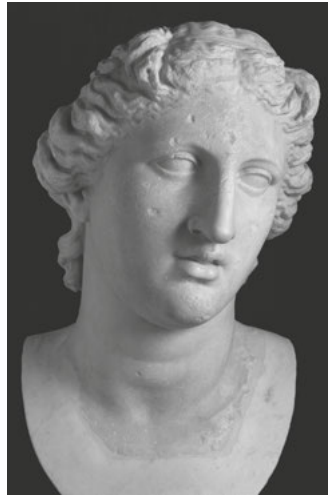
<sup>26</sup> Rome, Capitoline Museum 253 (female) and 292 (male). Martin 1987, 88–90, 209–210, pls. 6–7; Despinis 1995, 348, 36–366, pl. 78; Roma 2010, 257–259, I.16–17 (E. La Rocca).

<sup>27</sup> Berlin, Antikensammlung P 90. Kraemer, 249–50, fig. 29; Horn 1938, 83 ff., pl. 14, 1.

<sup>28</sup> Istanbul Archaeological Museum 1554; M 819. Kraemer, 250–251, fig. 30; Kabus-Preisshofen 1989, 296–298, no. 92, pl. 76, 1–2.



**Fig. 19.2:** Rome, Capitoline Museum 253. Female acrolithic head in marble (Ceres?), from the Albani collection. Capitoline Museums Archive. Photo: Zeno Colantoni.



**Fig. 19.3:** Rome, Capitoline Museum 292. Acrolithic head, probably male, in marble (Liber?), from the Albani collection. Capitoline Museums Archive. Photo: Zeno Colantoni.

Not far removed from this cultural climate is the statue of Apollo of Cyrene, known from Roman copies (one of the best is in Rome, Capitoline Museum 628, Fig. 19.4a) and Hellenistic variants.<sup>29</sup> It has long been identified as the Apollo *qui citharam tenet* by the Athenian Timarchides, which stood in the temple of Apollo Medicus, being presumably the cult statue. Even though this hypothesis has been challenged, it remains attractive. The image, dependent on the classical prototype of the Apollo Lykeios attributed to Praxiteles, showing a torsion with centrifugal tension, accentuated by the drapery falling over the legs, conforms perfectly to the figurative schemas of late Hellenism. Its stylistic affinity with the male figures in relief on the terracotta pediment of the temple of Luna in Luni (Fig. 19.4b) (founded in 177 B.C.)<sup>30</sup> reinforces an early date for the Cyrene type, before the middle of the second century B.C., perhaps in the 170s.

<sup>29</sup> Becatti 1935; Martin 1987, 64–86; Flashar 1992, 125–142; Schneider 1999, 168–174. For the copy, Capitoline Museum 628: Martin 1987, 72–74, fig. 14. For the still Hellenistic variant from Tralles: Özgan 1995, 50–54, TR. 20, pl. 10, 1–3. The feeble, languid style of the statue led Ramazan Özgan to date it to the second half of the second century B.C., although the concept of the type is much earlier.

<sup>30</sup> Florence, Archaeological Museum 71,224/5/6/7 and 72,747. Roma 2010, 246–247, I.1 (A. M. Durante, E. Paribeni). On the chronology and phases of the two Luni temples, built immediately after the foundation of the sanctuary: D'Andria 1973, 640–641 (Capitolium); Bonghi Jovino 1973, 690; Bonghi Jovino 1977, 452 (temple of Luna); Frova 1976, 32 ff.; Frova 1985, 56 ff. On the reconstruction of the high relief pediment: Strazzulla 1992; De Tommaso, Paribeni, Sorge 2011.





**Fig. 19.4a:** Rome, Capitoline Museum 628. Colossal Apollo in marble, with non-original head, of the Cyrene type, from the Albani collection. Photo: Capitoline Museums Archive.



**Fig. 19.4b:** Florence, Archaeological Museum 71,224–7, 72,747. Apollo with cithara. Detail of terracotta relief pediment from the temple of Luna in Luni. Photo: Archive of the Superintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana).

## Cult images in Rome

As the second century B.C. progresses, the remains of colossal cult statues (mostly acrolithic heads) found in or near Rome<sup>31</sup> show increasingly smooth surfaces, less full and more evenly arranged masses of hair, and greater uniformity of facial planes. This tendency conformed with an increasing emulation of classical models, mainly the *nobilis opera* of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., which around that time began

<sup>31</sup> For an overview of Roman cult statues, see Martin 1987; Ghisellini 2003-2004 (with catalogue and bibliography); Roma 2010, 95–114 (E. La Rocca). See also Flashar 2007, 356–369. On Hellenistic cult statues of the same period: Faulstich 1997; Damaskos 1999.



**Fig. 19.5:** Turin, Archaeological Museum 209. Female acrolithic head in marble, from Alba Pompeia. Photo: Superintendenza per i Beni Archeologici di Piedmont (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Piemonte).

to be more or less faithfully copied. We can easily understand the departure from earlier examples by comparing the female head Albani mentioned above with the head found at Alba Pompeia in Piedmont (Fig. 19.5).<sup>32</sup> A similar situation applies to the colossal acrolithic head of the *Fortuna huiusce diei*,<sup>33</sup> which stood in the homonymous temple dedicated by Quintus Lutatius Catulus after his victories over the Cimbri in 101 B.C. The surface of her face is broad and lacking any details that would suggest the underlying bone structure; it appears inert, as if made of porcelain, the outlines of the lips and eyes rigidly carved.<sup>34</sup>

In certain cases, the imitation of classical models – whether partial or total it is difficult to say, due to the fragmentary nature of the surviving works – is easily discernible. The features of another acrolithic head from the Albani Collection (Fig. 19.6),<sup>35</sup> as well as the hairstyle of a female head found on the slopes of the Capitoline Hill,<sup>36</sup> seem to be based on the Knidian Aphrodite by Praxiteles. These cult statues, created using mixed techniques and varied materials, were slightly larger-than-life, if not colossal: the theatrical effect of these images in narrow, dimly-lit spaces must have made quite a strong impact.

<sup>32</sup> Turin, Archaeological Museum 209. Martin 1987, 191–194, 238–239, pls. 36–37; Despini 2004, 266–271, figs. 15–16; Roma 2010, 271 f., I.30 (N. Giustozzi).

<sup>33</sup> Rome, Capitoline Museums 2779–82, Centrale Montemartini. Martin 1987, 103–111, 213–215, pls. 13–14; Damaskos 1999, 28–29; Ghisellini 2003–2004, 487–488.

<sup>34</sup> Similar is the Hygieia by Attalos at Pheneos: Faulstich 1997, 125–128, 193–194 n. 7; Damaskos 1999, 24–30; Despini 2004, 265; Lo Monaco, 2009, 167–171, 423–425, figs. 104–105. See also Chapter 3 with Fig. 19.

<sup>35</sup> Rome, Capitoline Museum S 252. Roma 2010, 264–265, I.22 (N. Giustozzi).

<sup>36</sup> Rome, Conservatori Museum 1589. Martin 1987, 123–131, 220–221, pls. 19–20.



**Fig. 19.6:** Rome, Capitoline Museum S 252. Female acrolithic head in marble, similar to the Knidian Aphrodite by Praxiteles, from the Albani collection. Capitoline Museums Archive. Photo: Zeno Colantoni.

And finally, the Romans as well as the Greeks were sufficiently interested in archaic forms drawn from the good old days, when, according to conservatives like Cato, statues appeared to be the embodiment of divinity.<sup>37</sup> Good examples are the images of Juno of Lanuvium<sup>38</sup> and Spes,<sup>39</sup> documented mainly by coins.

## The Rhodian sculptor Philiskos in the temple of Apollo Medicus (Sosianus)

The case of the Rhodian sculptor Philiskos, who created an Apollo, a Latona and the nine Muses for the temple of Apollo Medicus<sup>40</sup> is also interesting, as replicas and variations of his Muses<sup>41</sup> are attested in the Hellenistic age, both in the east and the west. We can thus deduce either that the artist had a large workshop on Rhodes, from which he sent out completed works, with few iconographic variations of his prototypes,

**37** Zanker 1987, 244–247; Zanker 1988a; Zagdoun 1989; Fullerton 1990; Hakländer 1996.

**38** Martin 1987, 112–120, 216–217.

**39** Beschi 1973; Fuchs 1999, 42–43.

**40** Pinkwart 1965; La Rocca 1984; Ridgway 1990, 256–268; Schneider 1999, especially 179–190; *KdA* 2, 2004, 240–243, s.v. Philiskos (II) (E. La Rocca); La Rocca 2006, 115–121.

**41** Assuming that we can recognize them in the types represented on the relief by Archelaos of Priene (London, British Museum 2191, Chapter 3, Fig. 15). Its date is controversial but in my view, it can be placed at the beginning of the second century B.C. On this topic: Pinkwart 1965, 19–90; Pinkwart 1965a; Schneider 1999, 183–187; Papini 2004, 350 n. 19; Prittwitz und Gaffron 2007, 257–258, fig. 224; especially Papini 2006, 39–41; Papini 2008a. See also Chapter 3.



**Fig. 19.7:** Palestrina, Archaeological Museum 52+36. Statuette of Muse. Photo: National Photographic Bureau (Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale), Rome.

along Mediterranean trade routes; or that his Muses were widely imitated and used as models by other workshops (Fig. 19.7).<sup>42</sup> In any case, excavations in the temple of Apollo Medicus have revealed a female head akin to the head of the Muse with the small cithara, and a splendid fragment of female draping, its style and date similar to that of various works from Rhodes.<sup>43</sup> The fact that two of the Muses represented on the relief of Archelaos of Priene have iconographic counterparts in the terracotta pediment from the Roman colony of Luni can help date the figures from the temple of Apollo Medicus to the first half of the second century B.C.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Prittwitz und Gaffron 2007, 258–260, figs. 225–227.

<sup>43</sup> Rome, Capitoline Museums, Centrale Montemartini 3279. Roma 2006, 241 n. 28; Roma 2010, 263–264, I.21 (S. Guglielmi). Of a different opinion: Schneider 1999, 188–189.

<sup>44</sup> La Rocca 2006, 120–121, figs. 16, 20.

## An original blend of styles

The so-called Juno Cesi (Figs. 19.8, 19.9a and Chapter 14, Fig. 9) was created in a different artistic milieu.<sup>45</sup> If it is not a cult statue, then it was perhaps one of many votive statues in a Roman temple, in all likelihood created for a Roman patron. A statuette more recently found at Solunto, perhaps intended for cultic use in a private chapel, demonstrates the diffusion of similar works throughout the Mediterranean basin.<sup>46</sup> The body – heavy but not without sophisticated asymmetries and contrasts of movement, which are reflected in the ample drapery – points to the style of Pergamon but imitated in a heavy-handed way. The head, however, too small in relation to the body, falls within the ambit of incipient classicism (Fig. 19.9a). It is, in fact, strikingly close to a head from Tralles (Fig. 19.9b).<sup>47</sup> Because of its delicate, blurred look, the Tralles head is often compared to the Kaufmann head, which is also from Tralles<sup>48</sup> and based on Praxiteles' Cnidia even though it is not a faithful copy. The Juno Cesi head is also similar to the head of the Aphrodite of Melos, with its sharp but less sensitive, modeling. The Aphrodite of Melos (Chapter 16, Fig. 4) is another work that combines different stylistic elements in a coherent manner.<sup>49</sup> In fact, the body torsion, characterized by instability and counter torsion, is not far removed from the modes informing the pose of the Cyrene Apollo, while the head seems to make more specific references to sculpture in the tradition of Praxiteles.

This sort of imbalance in works from the middle decades of the second century B.C. – blending different cultural traditions, contaminating styles or revisiting classical models with the juxtaposition of similar heads (Vienna head from Tralles; Juno Cesi head; Aphrodite of Melos head) placed on different types of bodies, or playing with the original schemas (Apollo Lykeios; Capua Aphrodite) by offering interpretations with sophisticated and sometimes affected poses (Cyrene Apollo; Aphrodite of Melos [Chapter 16, Fig. 4]) – appears to be a hallmark of this complex artistic phase. Any attempt to define personal styles developed in sculpture workshops of this period on the basis of extant works seems, at present, a dubious undertaking.

Greek artists working in Latium must have produced the lovely female statues found in the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina,<sup>50</sup> depicting prominent matrons of the local elite, perhaps priestesses. Similar in style to some sculptures

<sup>45</sup> Rome, Capitoline Museum 731. Roma 2010, 259–260, I.18 (M. Papini). See also Chapter 14.

<sup>46</sup> Solunto, Antiquarium. Berges 1997, 89–101, pls. 18, 1–2; 19, 1–3; 20, 2.

<sup>47</sup> Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum I 26. Özgan 1995, 57–59, TR. 22, pl. 13, 1–2.

<sup>48</sup> Paris, Louvre Ma 3518. Özgan 1995, 54–57, TR. 21, pl. 11, 1–3.

<sup>49</sup> Paris, Louvre Ma 399. Pasquier 1985; Prittwitz und Gaffron 2007, 251–252, fig. 218. See also Chapter 16.

<sup>50</sup> See, e.g., Palestrina, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 130, 135 and 137. Linfert 1976, 131–134, figs. 333–335, 336–338, 339–341, 351–352; La Rocca 1984, 639–640; Eule 2001, 19, 34, 57, 59, 194–196, nos. 82–86, figs. 46, 38, 52, 17, 87; Agnoli 2002, 40–52, 55–60, nos. I.2, I.3, I.4; I.6, I.7, I.8; Roma 2010, 277–278, II.6, II.7 (N. Agnoli).



**Fig. 19.8:** Rome, Capitoline Museum 731. Colossal statue of female divinity, so-called Juno Cesi. Capitoline Museums Archive. Photo: Zeno Colantoni.



**Fig. 19.9a:** Rome, Capitoline Museum 731. Head of so-called Juno Cesi. Capitoline Museums Archive. Photo: Zeno Colantoni.



**Fig. 19.9b:** Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum I 26. Female head in marble, from Tralles. Photo from a plaster cast in Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum. Forschungsarchiv für antike Plastik, Cologne. Photo: Gisela Geng.

from Thasos<sup>51</sup> – although a significant corresponding piece came from Thespiai in Boeotia<sup>52</sup> –, these statues reflect the vibrant Hellenistic tradition of Asia but lack its vitality and appear to nod in its direction rather than incorporate its formal language.

## Copies from *nobilis opera*

At the end of the second century there is a change of direction. Whereas the principal models of Greek architecture still had a limited reception, in the field of sculpture, Hellenization was total. This coincided with the development of an increasing demand for works of art to decorate the private residences of the Roman elite. The contemporary drive to canonize the old masters prompted the creation of lists of absolute masterpieces (*nobilis opera*). As a result, patrons desired to possess not only new works of art (which were largely decorative), but also works of the old masters, if not the originals then faithful replicas, chosen mainly on the basis of their subjects.<sup>53</sup> All these factors induced Greek workshops, which had customarily produced duplicates or variants since the archaic period,<sup>54</sup> to increase the serial production of works, either creating new and original artistic products, often knowingly emulating masterpieces of the past, or more or less faithfully copying those masterpieces, perhaps in smaller sizes.<sup>55</sup> Athenian workshops did not have a monopoly on this specific artistic genre, which – in the case of exact copies, which were certainly a minority – depended on the diffusion of plaster casts made from moulds of (usually bronze) masterpieces. Fragments of casts of *nobilis opera* came to light in the so-called Imperial Palace of Baia,<sup>56</sup> where an extremely competent copyist studio was active during the Julio-Claudian era.<sup>57</sup> While the Athenians dominated the market – as indicated by the names of first-rate copyists of the Imperial period like Sosikles,<sup>58</sup> the Augustan sculptor of the Capitoline Amazon copied from a bronze original by Polykleitos (or Kresilas), and Glykon,<sup>59</sup> who produced the colossal Farnese Herakles, a copy of a Lysippan original, in the

<sup>51</sup> Linfert 1976, 132.

<sup>52</sup> Thebes Museum 163. Leventi 2006; Aravantinos 2010, fig. on p. 309.

<sup>53</sup> Marvin 1989, 41–43.

<sup>54</sup> Strocka 1979; Niemeier 1985; Ridgway 1989; Geominy 1994; Cain 1998, 1226–1232.

<sup>55</sup> Herdejürgen 1972; Zanker 1974; Bieber 1977; Ridgway 1984; Marvin 1989; Bartman 1992; Zanker 1992; Gasparri 1994; Gazda 1995; Gazda 1995a; Cain 1998; Ridgway 2000, 268–301; Herdejürgen 2004; Perry 2005, 78–110; Marvin 2008, 121–176; Junker, Stähli, Kunze 2008 (with an important review by Papini 2008b); Barbanera 2011.

<sup>56</sup> Landwehr 1985.

<sup>57</sup> Gasparri 1995.

<sup>58</sup> *KdA* 2, 2004, 847, s.v. Sosikles (R. Vollkommer). Amazon: Rome, Capitoline Museum 651.

<sup>59</sup> *KdA* 1, 2001, 268–269, s.v. Glykon (I) (R. Vollkommer). Farnese Herakles: Naples, National Museum 6001.

Antonine period –, they were soon joined by artists and craftsmen from Roman and Asia Minor workshops, who employed local marbles: in the west, marble from Luni,<sup>60</sup> and in the east, Docimium or Synnada or Phrygian marble<sup>61</sup> – in its purplish-blotched variant known as “pavonazzetto” – and Aphrodisian marble.<sup>62</sup>

## *Phantasia and mimesis*

In the second century B.C. artists came to be appreciated not only for their skill in reproducing natural forms as realistically as possible,<sup>63</sup> but also for their ability to depict humans and gods according to the highest ethical principles.<sup>64</sup> But the prevalence of *phantasia* did not entail a waning of *mimesis*, which never fell out of fashion. The statues of gods created by Phidias (Chapter 12, Figs. 4-15 and 18-20) (and his pupil Alkamenes) and the male figures created by Polykleitos (Chapter 11, Fig. 16) according to the formulas devised in his celebrated “canon” were valued as supreme achievements in art; the first for a full expression of the divine (the *maiestas* and *auctoritas* of the gods), and the second for representing men as better than they were, as embodiments of authority, self-possession and noble dignity (*gravitas*, *sanctitas* and *decor supra verum*).<sup>65</sup> Sculptures produced by the great masters of the fourth century B.C. were equally admired; Praxiteles was valued for his ability to depict the grace of youth and the ideals of leisure, and Lysippos for the lithe and vibrant agility of his athletes.<sup>66</sup> Thus the path was cleared for the establishment of a different canon of artists who merited imitation not by reason of their particular technical skills, but for having followed a superior ethical and edifying vision of art.

According to this vision, the artist, in reproducing nature, emulates the work performed by God; therefore, the work of art contains a spark of the divine, even when it reproduces what would seem to be the less beautiful elements of nature.

Hellenistic art thus played its role in the new canon,<sup>67</sup> as it was capable of admirably reproducing the tragicomic sense of existence with its meticulous and realistic

<sup>60</sup> Pensabene 2013, 421–445

<sup>61</sup> Pensabene 2013, 360–387.

<sup>62</sup> Pensabene 2013, 348–358.

<sup>63</sup> Schweitzer 1932 (= Schweitzer 1963; Schweitzer 1967); Adorno 1966; Moreno 1973; Preisshofen 1979, 263–266; Settis 1993, 493–495; Sassi 1995, 329–330; Lombardo 2002, 137–138 and n. 9. Collection and analysis of sources: Jucker 1950; Becatti 1951; Moreno 1973; Pollitt 1974.

<sup>64</sup> Schweitzer 1925, 94–103, 111–118 (Schweitzer 1963, 71–78, 86–91); Schweitzer 1932, 32–46 (= Schweitzer 1963, 141–158; Schweitzer 1967, 292–308); Schweitzer 1934; Watson 1988; Camassa 1988, especially 40–43; Rouveret 1989, 381–460; La Rocca 1990, 431–433; Perry 2005, 150–171.

<sup>65</sup> Quint. *Inst.* 5, 12, 20–21; 12, 10, 7–9. See Preisshofen 1979, 273–277; Zanker 1979, 299–304.

<sup>66</sup> For the masters of the fourth century, see Chapter 13.

<sup>67</sup> Zagdoun 2000.



description of peasants and shepherds, satyrs and giants, and monstrous mythical creatures inhabiting artificial settings – grottoes, fountains, gardens – that became integral parts of the artistic composition. The stage was thus set for a new interest in landscape, a little-valued genre in Greek art,<sup>68</sup> but one that was widely reappraised in the age of Augustus.

## Between “imitation” and “emulation”

Greek literature at the time was perceived by the Romans (among others) as an enormous pool from which to draw for the production of new literary texts.<sup>69</sup> The attraction of certain models considered as prototypes on account of their beauty (for example, Homeric verse or the lyric poetry of Sappho) merged with a propensity to mix literary genres (tragedy and comedy, epic and idyll). Greek literature thus became the essential ingredient without which it would have been impossible to create anything new or even an alternative – an alternative that was, in any case, no longer Greek, but Roman.

The terms used to define the various degrees of reception of Greek texts were *interpretatio*, *imitatio* and *aemulatio*. Transposed to the field of art, the three terms can be aptly applied to what happened in Rome in the first century B.C. until the codification of the Augustan period.<sup>70</sup> The faithful copy, with its “philological” nature, was a sort of *interpretatio* of the original. The sphere of *imitatio* comprised works that largely followed the original, but with some variations aimed at rendering Greek artworks – including those from the archaic and Severe periods – more suitable to Roman taste, updating the style based on the artist’s *iudicium*. But it was with *aemulatio* that they could create truly innovative works, dependent on certain Greek models, but refashioned with the use of formal elements and/or figurative schemas gathered from a vast Greek repertory ranging from the archaic to the Hellenistic periods. Thus were created works which, at first glance, may even appear to be Greek originals, or accurate copies of Greek originals, but were in fact products influenced by changes in contemporary taste.

The anonymous author of the treatise *Ad C. Herennium de arte rhetorica* (4.6.9), in asserting the need to avoid slavish imitation of numerous models but draw inspiration instead from a single model without blending different schemas and formal languages, would seem to reject the above approach. Lysippos did not teach his pupil Chares to produce statues with heads based on prototypes by Myron, arms on

<sup>68</sup> Wegener 1985; Carroll-Spillecke 1985.

<sup>69</sup> Dihle 1977; Flashar 1979a; Conte 1984; Conte 1985 (= Conte 1986).

<sup>70</sup> Wünsche 1972; Trillmich 1973; Gazda 1995a; Gazda 2002; Koortbojian 2002; Perry 2005, 7–12, 90–98, 111–149; Kousser 2008, especially 4–16.

prototypes by Praxiteles and torsos on models by Polykleitos.<sup>71</sup> But precisely because he criticized it, the author of the treatise implicitly demonstrated the popularity of a theory of art which, far from being considered in a negative light, had become one of the many methods applied by Roman artists, who exploited the rich repertoire of Greek forms in order to devise new images, in which the fusion of dissonant formal motifs into a coherent, harmonious composition transcended mere imitation.

## Pasiteles and his School

This seems to have been the working method of Pasiteles and his School,<sup>72</sup> which included Stephanos<sup>73</sup> – creator of the so-called Athlete in the Villa Albani (906), who signed as Pasiteles' pupil – and his own pupil Markos Kossoutios Menelaos, author of the Ludovisi group which is commonly thought to depict Orestes and Electra.<sup>74</sup> Active during the lifetime of Pompey, Pasiteles, a master of marble and bronze statuary, metalwork and terracotta, was not Athenian (he may have been from Magna Grecia). He was, on the one hand, preoccupied with the reproduction of reality – he once endangered his life trying to draw wild beasts in a cage<sup>75</sup> – but on the other, he was theoretically dependent on the principle of *aemulatio*.<sup>76</sup> He was also interested in mixing schemas and genres, and so, drawing on masterpieces of Greek art, he created works of art that were in some ways innovative, but were intended to be reproduced or remodeled in different variations. This may have led to the use of clay models<sup>77</sup> that allowed for the creation of a superbly fashioned prototype to be copied or imitated.

This is exemplified by the so-called Stephanos Athlete,<sup>78</sup> a re-elaboration of a Severe Style prototype, with proportions updated to conform with late classical practices. It is possible that Stephanos himself did not create the prototype, which was reproduced several times, often with another figure leaning against it with an arm

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Preisshofen, Zanker 1970–71; Perry 2005, 111–149. On Myron, see also Chapter 11.

<sup>72</sup> Kekulé 1870; Borda 1953; Pollitt 1974, 78–79; La Rocca 1987, 41; Tomei 1992, 204–212; Rouveret 1989, 459–460; Moreno 1996; Fuchs 1999, 73–83; Settis 1999, 56–60; Ridgway 2002, 157–160; *KdA* 2, 2004, 192–196 (P. Moreno); Flashar 2007, 348–356; Papini 2008, especially 24–25.

<sup>73</sup> *KdA* 2, 2004, 856–858, s.v. Stephanos (I) (H. Weinstock). Stephanos Athlete: Flashar 2007, 350–354, figs. 348a–c. See also n. 78 below.

<sup>74</sup> *KdA* 1, 2001, 148, s.v. Cossutius Menelaos, Marcus (R. Vollkommer). Ludovisi group of Orestes and Electra: Rome, Palazzo Altemps 8604; Fuchs 1999, 83, pls. 46, 2 and 47.

<sup>75</sup> Plin. *HN* 36. 40.

<sup>76</sup> Plin. *HN* 36. 39.

<sup>77</sup> Pliny (*HN* 35.156) says that Pasiteles considered the art of modeling to be the mother of statuary, from monumental marble and bronze statues to gold and ivory figures and carved bowls; although accomplished in all of these fields, he never made anything without first producing a clay model.

<sup>78</sup> Zanker 1974, 49–54; Bol 1999, 332, 336–337; Fuchs 1999, 81; Flashar 2007, 350–355, figs. 348–350. See also n. 73 above.



**Fig. 19.10:** Naples, National Archaeological Museum 6006. Group known as Orestes and Electra, from Pozzuoli. Photo: Superintendence for Archaeological Assets of Naples (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici di Napoli).

around its shoulders. Examples are offered by a male figure in the Paris and Schloss Fasanerie groups, and a female one in the Pozzuoli group (Fig. 19.10), but with many iconographic elements in common, from the general design to the Severe Style head.<sup>79</sup> This probably means that a few particularly gifted artists produced prototypes which were copied in their workshops.

This new way of constructing works of art practiced by the school of Pasiteles was widely used for objects with decorative function, such as statues of youths holding torches or lamps (hence the name *lychnophoroi*).<sup>80</sup> Some of these derived from classical models like the Idolino of Florence, the lost original of the Magdalensberg Youth or the Via dell'Abbondanza Youth, while others echoed archaic models, like the statue from the House of Polybius in Pompeii (Fig. 19.11) or the Apollo of Piombino, possibly made by Rhodian artists.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Bol 1999, 331–341, pls. 94–96; Flashar 2007, 352 figs. 351–352.

<sup>80</sup> Wünsche 1972; Trillmich 1973; Zimmer 2012.

<sup>81</sup> Idolino, Florence, National Archaeological Museum 1637: Zanker 1974, 30–32, no. 28, pls. 33,2–3 and 34, 3–4; Daehner and Lapatin 2015, 298–299, no. 51 (M. Iozzo). Magdalensberg Youth, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum VI 1: Wünsche 1972; Walde-Psenner 1982. Pompeii, Via dell'Abbondanza Youth, from the House of the Ephebe, or of P. Cornelius Teges, Naples, National Archaeological



**Fig. 19.11:** Pompeii, Antiquarium 22,924. Statue of Lamp-bearer in bronze, from the House of C. Julius Polybius. Photo: Archive of the Special Superintendence for Archaeological Assets of Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabia (Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Pompei, Ercolano e Stabia).

Arkesilaos,<sup>82</sup> a contemporary of Pasiteles and following similar artistic practices, was renowned for his *proplasmata*, clay (or plaster) models that were particularly sought after by connoisseurs.<sup>83</sup> We now have a clearer idea of the quality of such terracotta works thanks to the fortuitous discovery on the Palatine Hill of fragments of terracotta statues, some being copies of *nobilia opera*, other variants of archaic and Severe Style types<sup>84</sup> like the Pisoni Kouros.<sup>85</sup> The remains of a (possible) pediment from the Via Latina<sup>86</sup> show the same taste for blending different formal languages into a unified whole.

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Museum 143,753; Ridgway 1970, 139, figs. 181–184. *Lychnophoros* from Pompeii, House of Polybius, Pompeii, Antiquarium 22,924; Roma 2010, 299–300, III.7 (C. Parisi Presicce); Daehner and Lapatin 2015, 292–293, no. 48 (K. Lapatin). Apollo of Piombino, Paris, Louvre 61: Fuchs 1999, 27–28, pls. 24–25. See also n. 113 below.

**82** *KdA* 1, 2001, 94–95, s.v. Arkesilaos (IV) (G. Bröker). In addition, see Fuchs 1999, 82, 87–88; Kunze 2002, 211 ff.; Vorster 2007, 304–306, figs. 295–296.

**83** Kekulé 1870, 18–19; Fuchs 1999, 73–75; Perry 2005, 11–12.

**84** Tomei 1992; Fuchs 1999, 69–72, 85–88, pls. 64–65; 66, 1–2; Papini 2008, 27–31, figs. 25–26; Roma 2010, 306–307, III.17 (L. Buccino).

**85** Naples, National Archaeological Museum 5608. Fuchs 1999, 25–26, pl. 26.

**86** Rome, Antiquario Comunale. Fuchs 1999, 71–72, 86–87, pl. 66, 3–6.

## Workshops on Delos and in Athens

This method of production became common practice in the first century B.C., transcending workshop differences, although the means of its diffusion are unknown. We can only affirm that in the late Republican era, diversification among artistic schools – abetted by the fact that artists and craftsmen moved from city to city, as the ethnics in their signatures indicate – was in reality less marked than one would expect.

At the free port of Delos, numerous Italian *negotiatores* were stationed to ensure shipments to Italy and other places around the Mediterranean of artworks produced on the island, both in marble<sup>87</sup> and bronze (Delian couches were renowned).<sup>88</sup> The great number of sculptures found on the island offers an accurate idea of modes of production in the local workshops between the late second century and the raids of Mithridates VI in 88 B.C. and of the pirates in 69 B.C. which struck the final blow to the island. Like its contemporary Athenian and Rhodian production, that of Delos remained tied to Hellenistic culture, although quite often toned down, with less dramatic tension and effects diluted by classicizing tendencies, and with extensive use of a pictorial style derived from Praxiteles, which was common at the time.

Valuable evidence in this regard is provided by the cargo of artworks, possibly destined for Italy, in the hold of a ship that sank off the island of Antikythera in the second quarter of the first century B.C.<sup>89</sup> The chronology of the shipwreck<sup>90</sup> and the style of the sculptures may suggest a possible provenance from Delos. The cargo contained items in bronze – including the decoration of beds for which Delos was renowned – and in Parian marble. The ship's cargo clearly reflected current trends in Roman commissions: original sculptures from the classical period (which perhaps escaped plunder by Mithridates),<sup>91</sup> new works showing varying degrees of influence

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**87** An important case is that of the *Cossutii* (Rawson 1975; Torelli 1980), who had long been involved in the marble quarrying business and probably owned sculpture workshops, as we can infer from the considerable number of contemporary artists who, based on their names, must have been their freedmen. Such was the case of Maarkos Kossoutios Kerdon, freedman (*apeleutheros*) of Maarkos, who, with some epigraphic variations, signed two statues of Pan, an earlier one in Parian marble, and another in Pentelic, found in the villa of Antoninus Pius at Lanuvium: Rubensohn 1935, 56–58, fig. 6; *KdA* 1, 2001, 147–148, s.v. Cossutius Cerdo, Marcus (R. Vollkommer). Analysis of the statuary type: Vorster 1993; Marquardt 1995, 136–164; Fuchs 1999, 64–69, pls. 54–59. M. Fuchs (Fuchs 1999, 68–69, 92) suggests that Kerdon may have been a simple copyist, working in Pasiteles' workshop along with M. Kossoutios Menelaos, the creator of the Ludovisi Orestes and Electra.

**88** Plin. *HN* 33. 144.

**89** Bol 1972; Athens 2012.

**90** Jakovidis 1990, 135–136, pl. 31, 3–5; Athens 2012, especially 152–226, 287–292.

**91** Athens 2012, 62–63, 80–87, figs. 23, 24–27.



**Fig. 19.12:** Rome, Roman National Museum, Palazzo Altemps 125,837. Statuette in marble of Silenus, from the villa of Fianello Sabino. Photo: Archive of the Special Superintendence for Archaeological Assets of Rome (Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma).

from not only classical, but also Hellenistic sources,<sup>92</sup> and replicas of various sizes and varying degree of fidelity or variants of celebrated works from the fourth century B.C. (Herakles Farnese, Hermes Richelieu and Andros-Farnese).<sup>93</sup>

A fortuitous find of sculptures at Fianello Sabino offers a more precise context regarding the decoration of a Roman villa at the turn of the second century B.C. The works in question, including also six splendid marble lamps, were very likely produced on Delos (Fig. 19.12),<sup>94</sup> as suggested by their style and the use of Parian marble.<sup>95</sup> The surfaces are blurred, as if modeled in wax. In the surviving faces, as in many works from Delos, the facial planes are soft and fluid. The group of Muses from

<sup>92</sup> Athens 2012, 66–69, 104–105, figs. 3–5, 50. The statues of Odysseus and similar types that heralded proto- and early-imperial period statuary groups from Sperlonga and Punta Epitaffio in Baia is significant: Vorster 2007, 318–319, figs. 323–325; Athens 2012, 106–107, figs. 51, 52.

<sup>93</sup> Athens 2012, 64–66, 102–104, figs. 1, 2, 48, 49.

<sup>94</sup> The most significant works are: Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 125,834 (Artemis), 125,835 (Herakles), 125,837 (Dancing Silenus: Fig. 19.12) 125,838 (Dancing Maenad), 125,839 (Female Dancer), 125,847 (Youth), 125,848 (Boy), 12,843–12,846, 12,849–12,850 (six marble lamps): Vorster 1998; Papini 2010, 125–136, especially 134.

<sup>95</sup> Rubensohn 1935, 49–69.

Agnano, now in Frankfurt, and a few other statuettes of Muses found in Palestrina<sup>96</sup> belong to the same cultural milieu.

In the melting pot of artists working on Delos, there were also sculptors who, following in the wake of Hellenistic tradition, produced grandiose and ponderous honorary portrait statues intended to celebrate the new patrons of the Mediterranean, the *negotiatores* themselves or, through their commissions, the chief magistrates of the *res publica*, thanks to whose custom Delos' art trade continued to prosper.

The sculptor Agasias, son of Menophilos, was from Ephesos.<sup>97</sup> According to an interesting hypothesis, he may have been the author of the Wounded Gaul in the Athens National Museum (247).<sup>98</sup> The kneeling warrior tries to defend himself from an adversary who seems to be overcoming him. The formula is based on classical and Hellenistic prototypes,<sup>99</sup> previously adopted with even greater dramatic intensity to celebrate the victories of Hellenistic rulers over their barbarian adversaries. Another Agasias from Ephesos was the son of Dositheos. He created the famous Borghese "Gladiator", a combatant with sword and shield in action against an enemy, found at the Anzio harbor and now in the Louvre (Ma 527).<sup>100</sup> There are certain analogies between these two sculptures and the statuary group of Odysseus and Polyphemus, which decorated the so-called Nymphaeum of Pollio in Ephesus.<sup>101</sup>

In the cosmopolitan ambience of Rome, Greek workshops originating from both the Eastern Mediterranean (Rhodes, Alexandria, Bithynia, Ephesus, perhaps Tralles) and Athens continued to flourish alongside works from Delos which were created by a motley crew of artists.

Particularly illuminating in this respect is another fortunate find of the cargo from a shipwreck off the coast of Mahdia in Tunis, dating from some time before the Antikythera shipwreck.<sup>102</sup> It offers a fairly comprehensive and detailed picture of Athenian artistic production during the first decades of the first century B.C. Even though the cargo comprised paraphernalia of bronze couches similar to Delian examples, its Athenian origin is confirmed by the use of Pentelic marble, as well as by items of which we have similar – although later by a few decades – exemplars signed by artists who declared themselves Athenian: Sosibios, who signed a marble crater now

<sup>96</sup> Frankfurt, Liebieghaus 159–163. Palestrina, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 52+36 (Fig. 19.7); 87,439; s.n. Agnoli 2002, 67–70, no. I.11; 72–76, nos. I.13, I.14.

<sup>97</sup> *KdA* 1, 2001, 7–8, s.v. Agasias (I) (E. Paul). See also Chapter 3 with Fig. 17.

<sup>98</sup> Marcadé, Queyrel 2003, 5–97; Vorster 2007, 310, fig. 305. However, there is no evidence for its association with a marble plinth with the artist's signature and a dedication, in Greek and Latin, to Gaius Marius following his victories over the Cimbri and Teutons.

<sup>99</sup> Marcadé, Queyrel 2003, 49–65.

<sup>100</sup> *KdA* 1, 2001, 8, s.v. Agasias (II) (E. Paul); Vorster 2007, 309–310, fig. 303.

<sup>101</sup> Marcadé, Queyrel 2003, 60–63.

<sup>102</sup> Tunis, Bardo Museum. Bonn 1994. The sculptures from the Antikythera shipwreck exhibit a further shift towards classical forms by comparison with those from Mahdia: Himmelmann 1999.

in the Louvre; Salpion, author of a Neapolitan crater; and Pontios, who signed the *rhyton* in the Capitoline Museums.<sup>103</sup>

Among the luxury goods in the Mahdia cargo, intended to impart a religious dimension to a Roman *domus*, were marble candelabras and craters similar to such works found in and near Rome. They document the level achieved by Athenian workshops of this sort of production, in which the classical repertory predominated. It was by then already employed in a casual mixture of archaic with late classical or Hellenistic schemas, with a great deal of artistic license.<sup>104</sup>

As mentioned above, it is usually taken for granted that Athenian workshops maintained a classicist approach in which imitation or emulation of classical Greek originals played a pivotal role. But, as in the case of Delian workshops, not all artworks attributed to Athenian artists fit into this pattern which does not take into account the complexity of classical art with all its nuances, from the serenity of the Erechtheion Korai to the dramatic tension of certain Parthenon nudes. It is clear that even in the classical period the mode of expression was dictated by the subject.

There are various Athenian sculptures that do not conform to the classicistic view, including the Belvedere torso, signed by Apollonios, son of Nestor<sup>105</sup> and the superb fragment of a statue from Piacenza (perhaps Aphrodite or, better, an Apollo of the Cyrene type), originally carved in two separate blocks and signed by the Athenian Kleomenes, whose Hellenistic style is evident in the unstable pose and the intense play of light and shade in the drapery (Fig. 19.13).<sup>106</sup> Of similar caliber are the Young Man slaying a bull by Kriton, with its baroque accents,<sup>107</sup> and the statue of a cuirassed general in Pentelic marble, found at Tusculum and now in the Munich Glyptothek (527), which demonstrates the flexibility of Athenian production methods prior to the age of Augustus.<sup>108</sup>

More complex is the problem of the five colossal statues depicting Apollo with the Muses, perhaps found near the church of S. Salvatore in Lauro<sup>109</sup> and believed to have been part of the stage of the Theater of Pompey, dedicated in 55 B.C. Although there are

**103** Paris, Louvre Ma 442. Naples, National Archaeological Museum 6673. Rome, Capitoline Museums 1101, Centrale Montemartini. Grassinger 1991, 175–177, no. 19, figs. 22–25; 183–185, no. 25, figs. 16–21.

**104** Cain 1985, 6–9, 23–26, 168, cat. no. 57; 192–194, cat. nos. 115–119, pls. 7; 9, 1–3; 14, 4; 15; 16, 3; 18, 1–2; 19; Grassinger 1991, 13–27, 181–183, no. 23; 185–186, no. 26; 213–215, nos. 53–57, figs. 1–15; 26–29.

**105** Vatican Museum 1192. München 1998; Despinis 2004a.

**106** Piacenza Archaeological Museum 210,429. Mansuelli 1941; Mansuelli 1958, 85 ff., figs. 41–42; Mansuelli 1961, 369, fig. 436; Verzár-Bass 1990; *KdA* 1, 2001, 415, s.v. Kleomenes (III) (Ch. Vorster); Flashar 2007, 339–340, fig. 343.

**107** Ostia Museum 149. Cain, Dräger 1994, 816, figs. 10–11; *KdA* 1, 2001, 431–432, s.v. Kriton (III) (R. Vollkommer); Nucci 2013, 159–160, n. 78.

**108** Cadario 2004, 217–221, pls. XXIX 3, XXX 1, fig. 10; Laube 2006, 108–110, 236, no. 75, pl. 45; Vorster 2007, 289, fig. 267.

**109** Paris, Louvre Ma 411 (Muse); Naples, National Archaeological Museum 5960 (Muse); Rome, Palazzo Borghese (Apollo and two Muses). Fuchs 1982, 69–80, pls. 21–28; Flashar 2007, 369, fig. 364; Cadario 2011, 17–23.





**Fig. 19.13:** Piacenza, Archaeological Museum 210,429. Fragment of female statue signed by Kleomenes the Athenian. Photo from Mansuelli 1941.

stylistic differences among them (and one of the Palazzo Borghese Muses is smaller than the others), they share similar features like heavy garments, simplified tubular folds, distinctive loops in the hems of their cloaks and press folds forming a grid-like pattern on their draperies, typical of garments that were folded and stored in chests (Fig. 19.14). The chisel work, which leaves marks similar to those in wood carvings, and the heavy bodies, rendered plastically, but oddly flat from a frontal perspective, are characteristic of many sculptures from the middle decades of the first century B.C.<sup>110</sup> Stylistically similar to the Muses are the fragments of two statues of *cistophoroi* from the inner entrance of the Lesser Propylaea of Eleusis (Fig. 19.15),<sup>111</sup> an important monument dedicated to Demeter and Kore by *Appius Claudius Pulcher* and *Rex Marcius* in the mid-first century B.C.<sup>112</sup> Despite the differences in types of garments, the dry, rather rigid folds on the upper bodies of the *cistophoroi* and the shapes of their heads compared to the head of the Muse at the Louvre, they all follow the same formal principles.

These similarities may indicate that the Apollo and the Muses were the products of an Athenian workshop geared to a Hellenistic formal language and not yet familiar with the classicist taste that was beginning to assert itself.

<sup>110</sup> Doubts regarding the chronology: Faedo 1999, 70–80.

<sup>111</sup> Eleusis Museum 5104 and Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.1.1865. Travlos 1988, 96 ff., s.v. Eleusis; Palagia 1997; Lippolis 2006, 242 ff.; Flashar 2007, 368–369, fig. 365.

<sup>112</sup> *ILLRP* 401 = *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>, 2, 775.



**Fig. 19.14:** Rome, Palazzo Borghese [without inventory number]. Colossal statue of a Muse, with non-original head, from San Salvatore in Lauro. Photo: Fabian Baroni.



**Fig. 19.15:** Eleusis, Museum 5104. Fragment of colossal *cistophorus* in marble, from the inner entrance of the Lesser Propylaea of Eleusis, dedicated by Appius Claudius Pulcher and Rex Marcius. Photo: Olga Palagia.

All of this confirms that, contrary to the widely held view, not all late Republican art can be labeled as classicistic. Even in the times of Caesar and later of Augustus we detect a current of baroque expressiveness alongside the classical trend, with which it sometimes blended, resulting in works of high quality.

## The *monumenta* of Asinius Pollio and the workshops of Rhodes

As for the School of Rhodes, judging from replicas of originals created in the same workshop, it appears that it was predisposed towards serial production. One of its guiding principles was fully in accord with the practices introduced by Pasiteles in Rome, which indicates not only communication among workshops but also their

dependence on the taste of Roman patrons. A good example of this tendency is the so-called Apollo of Piombino;<sup>113</sup> thanks to a fortunate discovery of a signed lead tablet inside the statue, it is attributed to two artists active on Rhodes (or Rome), Menodotos, perhaps a native of Tyre, who signed several statue bases in Lindos, and [–]phon of Rhodes.<sup>114</sup> They created a work that could easily be ascribed to the serial production of *lychnophoroi* by the Pasitelean School. Their choice of formula did not depend on the canon of Polykleitos but to archaic art (probably Kanachos' Apollo), like the *lychnophoros* from the house of Polybios in Pompeii (Fig. 19.11), which seems to be based on the same prototype. Plaster casts or *proplasmata* of this prototype may have been available to workshops in various locations.<sup>115</sup>

Pliny's description of the sculptures displayed in the *monumenta* of Asinius Pollio in Rome<sup>116</sup> can serve as an example of another trend.<sup>117</sup> It contained works in the style of the Pasitelean School, like the nymphs of the Appia fountain by Stephanos, and the centaurs and nymphs by Arkesilaos.<sup>118</sup> There were also sculptures that could be assigned to the Attic School, like those of Kleomenes, if we can identify this artist with either the creator of the Piacenza draped figure or, alternatively, of the magnificent Germanicus in the Louvre (Ma 1207).<sup>119</sup> And finally, it contained sculptures by the Rhodian School, created by Apollonios and Tauriskos of Tralles.<sup>120</sup>

An apparently heterogeneous artistic framework, then, which must have acquired a sort of homogeneity in the vast space of the *horti*, where the sculptural groups formed sumptuous backdrops rather like *tableaux vivants* in marble. Each group exhibited its own artistic idiom, yet all conformed to a uniform design. But no monument can offer a better idea of the fusion of discordant formal elements into a harmonious whole, a fusion typical of the late Republican period, than the Farnese Bull (Fig. 19.16).<sup>121</sup> I consider this group to be the original work by Apollonios and Tauriskos, as attested by the details of the surviving parts. The Bull blends elements of the idyllic-pastoral tradition (visible in the accurate representation of the landscape), of the baroque tradition

**113** Paris, Louvre 61. Fuchs 1999, 23–24, 27–28, 40, pls. 24–25; Ridgway 2002, 147–148, pl. 58 a-c; De Tommaso 2005, 219–227; Daehner and Lapatin 2015, 288–291, no 47 (S. Descamps-Lequime). See also n. 81 above.

**114** *KdA* 2, 2004, 505–506, s.v. Menodotos (III) (R. Vollkommer).

**115** Roma 2010, 299–300, III.7 (C. Parisi Presicce). See n. 81 above.

**116** Plin. *HN* 36. 34.

**117** Plin. *HN* 36. 23–24. La Rocca 1998, 229–239; La Rocca 2010. *Contra*: Tortorici 2012.

**118** Compare the flamboyant marine Centaur capturing a Nymph in the Vatican Museum (464), permeated with dynamic energy, but as elaborate and pretentious in its details as a giant piece of porcelain. Vorster 2007, 305–306, fig. 295.

**119** *KdA* 1, 2001, 415–416, s.v. Kleomenes (III) and (IV) (C. Vorster). See also n. 132 below.

**120** An overview, but with questionable opinions, mainly on chronology: *KdA* 1, 2001, 68–71, s.v. Apollonios (V) (B. Andreae); *KdA* 2, 2004, 870, s.v. Tauriskos (I) (B. Andreae).

**121** Naples, National Archaeological Museum 6002. La Rocca 1998, 239–273, figs. 35–51; La Rocca 2010a. The traditional view can be found in Schraudolph 2007, 237–239, fig. 196.



**Fig. 19.16:** Naples, National Archaeological Museum 6002. So-called Farnese Bull. Capitoline Museums Archive. Photo: Barbara Malter.



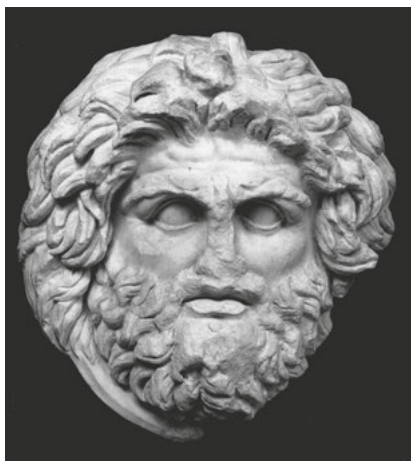
**Fig. 19.17:** Naples, National Archaeological Museum 6002. Antiope. Detail of so-called Farnese Bull group. Capitoline Museums Archive. Photo: Barbara Malter.

(evident in the dramatic, over-the-top composition of the three central figures with the bull) and the neo-classical, perhaps Pasitelean ambience, seen in the figure of Antiope (Fig. 19.17), whose body shows iconographic similarities to the Electra from the Orestes and Electra group from Pozzuoli (Fig. 19.10).<sup>122</sup> The Farnese Bull is conceived as an amalgamation of diverse modes of expression, intended to create a melodramatic composition to serve as an astonishing nymphaeum decoration.

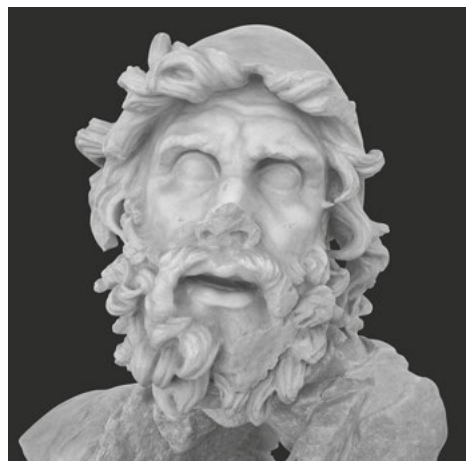
The development of Rhodian sculpture until the end of the age of Augustus does not conform with the now obsolete idea that art in the Roman period was exclusively based on classicistic foundations. In the Forum of Augustus, there must have been Rhodian craftsmen working near the creators of the Laocoon and the Sperlonga statuary groups, to judge by the tormented heads of Zeus Ammon decorating the tondi on the attic above the porticoes (Fig. 19.18).<sup>123</sup> We may ascribe to the same artistic milieu, in the field of portraiture, at least the head of the so-called Sulla in Munich (one of

<sup>122</sup> Naples, National Archaeological Museum 6006. Flashar 2007, 352, fig. 351.

<sup>123</sup> La Rocca 1995, 123; La Rocca 1995a, 83; Kunze 1996; La Rocca 1998, 225–228; Strocka 1999; Vorster 2007, 292–293.



**Fig. 19.18:** Rome, Imperial Fora Museum. Head of Zeus Ammon, from the decoration above the cornices in the attic of the porticoes of the Forum of Augustus. Capitoline Museums Archive. Photo: Barbara Malter.



**Fig. 19.19:** Sperlonga, Archaeological Museum 43. Head of Ulysses, from the marble group depicting the Blinding of Polyphemus. Photo: Superintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Lazio.

the *summi viri* from the forum?), on account of the extremely detailed rendering of every wrinkle and fold of skin lacking, however, an organic whole, akin to the head of Odysseus in the Polyphemus group from Sperlonga (Fig. 19.19).<sup>124</sup> We could also assert that the portrait from Osimo and similar types, with sagging skin not following the bone structure of the face, drew inspiration from Rhodian models.<sup>125</sup>

Hagesandros, Athanodoros and Polydoros, the Rhodian artists who created the Laocoon and at least the Scylla group from the Sperlonga grotto, certainly produced their works in Rome during a period which can be narrowed down to between the second half of the first century B.C. and the reign of Tiberius.<sup>126</sup> It seems to me that in terms of chronology, we should not underestimate the fact that the artists were active in the actual residences of Tiberius. The *horti* of Maecenas, where Tiberius withdrew between his return from Rhodes to Rome (A.D. 1) and his adoption by Augustus (A.D. 4), were

<sup>124</sup> “Sulla”: Munich Glyptothek 309. Wünsche 1982, 7 ff., 17 ff., figs. 2, 32, 39, 41, 43, 45; La Rocca 1995, 83; Kunze 1996, 216–221; Vorster 2007, 292, fig. 275. Odysseus from Sperlonga, Sperlonga Archaeological Museum 43: Vorster 2007, 324, fig. 333.

<sup>125</sup> Osimo, Museo Civico. Kunze 1996, 218, fig. 41; Roma 2010, 317–318, IV.6 (M. Papini).

<sup>126</sup> On the three artists: *KdA* 1, 2001, 102–103, s.v. Athanodoros (G. Bröker); 280–283, s.v. Hagesandros (B. Andreae); *KdA* 2, 2004, 707, s.v. Polydoros (B. Andreae). On the chronology of the Laocoon: Kunze 1996, 139–223; La Rocca 1998, 220–228; Strocka 1999, 307–322; Vorster 2007, 327–331, fig. 336. On the Sperlonga groups, in the Sperlonga Archaeological Museum: Vorster 2007, 319–327, figs. 326–333, 335. See also Chapter 4 n. 13.

the findspot of the Laocoon and a magnificent head of Silenus (a Marsyas?).<sup>127</sup> Livia's (and Tiberius') villa at Sperlonga were the findspot of the groups depicting the myth of Odysseus.<sup>128</sup> The same artists also worked in the villas on Capri.

Original artists or copyists? Everything leads us to believe that the three talented sculptors' work in Rome, Sperlonga and on Capri was in keeping with a trend that had already manifested itself for some time in villa and garden decorations, as indicated by the statues of Odysseus found in the Antikythera shipwreck.<sup>129</sup> It is likely that all of the Sperlonga sculptural groups were to some degree originals, not in terms of the invention of the figurative schema, which was perhaps already in widespread use in ways that we cannot establish with any degree of certainty (bronze or pictorial prototypes have been suggested, even small-scale decorative objects), but in their colossal scale, which certainly entailed significant revisions in composition and style.

## Towards a new classical style

Greek workshops continued their production well into the Augustan age. But at this point, what little still remained of individual styles began to settle into a new synthesis under the aegis of the imperial court, which imposed its own rules. The artistic language that emerged in this period is also defined, perhaps superficially, as classicistic<sup>130</sup> on the basis of a few of the *Princeps'* choices regarding both idealistic statuary, in which derivations from classical models tended to prevail as *aemulatio*, and portraiture, in which images once charged with dramatic expression even in the rendering of their hair, were turned to images of serenity, not lacking individualism but devoid, to various degrees, of any element of pathos. In fact, the art of Augustus sought to create a new classicism, based on experimentation and the acceptance of a pluralistic and, in some ways, globalized artistic language.<sup>131</sup> The statue known as the Germanicus in the Louvre (Ma 1207) is signed by an Athenian artist named

**127** Laocoon, Vatican Museum 1059+1604+1607: Vorster 2007, 327–331, figs. 336a-f. On the finding of the Laocoon in the *horti* of Maecenas: Volpe, Parisi 2009. Marsyas, Rome, Capitoline Museums 1137, Centrale Montemartini: La Rocca 1998, 212–219, figs. 12–15; Vorster 2007, 308–309, fig. 302; Roma 2013, 206, no. III.71 (E. Ghisellini).

**128** Sperlonga Archaeological Museum. Vorster 2007, 319–324, figs. 330–333.

**129** Athens, National Museum 5745. Vorster 2007, 318, figs. 323 and 325.

**130** For a better understanding of the phenomenon, albeit with different points of view: Zanker 1979; Hölscher 1987 (= Hölscher 2004); Zanker 1988a; Wallace-Hadrill 1989; Galinsky 1996, 332–363; Galinsky 1999; Hölscher 2000, 268–271; La Rocca 2002; La Rocca 2004; Hölscher 2006; Elsner 2006; Kousser 2008.

**131** La Rocca 2004. The concept of pluralistic art has recently been examined by Settis 1989, especially 833–841, and by Elsner 2006.

Kleomenes,<sup>132</sup> who had a different style from the Kleomenes who signed the Piacenza statue (Fig. 19.13). He used as a model what seems to have been an *opus nobile* from the mid-fifth century B.C., the Hermes Logios. The final product, however, with its polished surfaces reflecting the light, the drapery pendent from one side, forming folds with incredibly soft chiaroscuro effects, and the perfect match of a head with individualized features onto an idealized body, is decidedly an innovative reinterpretation of its prototype, recalling effects achieved in the late classical period by artists from the School of Praxiteles.

In the age of Augustus, the echo of the great Asiatic tradition neither completely disappeared nor was it rooted out. On the contrary, it was alive and spreading, like an underground current suddenly breaking through to the surface. It was perhaps less evident in state and court art, in which it was thought that the authority of Roman officials was better served by Greek figurative art of the fifth century B.C. And yet, the Asiatic tradition suddenly emerged again in the reliefs of the cenotaph of Gaius Caesar in Limyra (Lycia) which, with its seven layers of relief depth and striking play of light and shade, cannot be attributed to an urban workshop from Rome.<sup>133</sup> But Augustan sculpture has an unusual capacity to absorb elements from various trends, in keeping with the lesson already learned from Pasiteles, but with a further step forward that combined, in the Forum of Augustus, the exaggerated pathos of the heads of Zeus Ammon (Fig. 19.18) with the classical perfection of the Erechtheion Korai.<sup>134</sup> In the same way, the art of the *Ara Pacis* juxtaposed the bucolic tone of some of the reliefs with the vigorous naturalism of the spiral volutes, symbols of the generative force of nature under the guidance of a perfect ruler. And when we look at the end result, the artistic discord vanishes: the original meaning of classical models is not obliterated but rather goes through a sea change to convey a new message in keeping with the times.

However, it was in the observation of nature that Augustan art achieved the most exquisite results. In Greek art, such elements are rarely incorporated in the composition and when they do appear, as in the Farnese Bull, they serve a secondary function.<sup>135</sup> In Rome, under Augustus, unfettered nature sometimes dominated, owing to its capacity to communicate the advent of *felicitas* and a new golden age. This is the case with the panels carrying vegetal scrolls on the *Ara Pacis*, which occupy a pivotal position within the context of the figurative schema; nature may also be essential

**132** KdA 1, 2001, 415–416, s.v. Kleomenes (IV) (Ch. Vorster); Flashar 2007, 341, fig. 344; Roma 2013, 204, no. III.4 (M. Szewczyk). See also n. 119 above for the other Kleomenes.

**133** Antalya Museum. Borchhardt 2002, 108–112, cat. 1, pls. 9–26. On the style: Borchhardt 2002, 69–73.

**134** Zanker 1968, 12–13; Schmidt 1973, 7–19; Wesenberg 1984, 172–185; Schneider 1986, 103–108. For interpretations: Zanker 1968; La Rocca 1995a, 83; Spannagel 1999; La Rocca 2011, 997–1001.

**135** Wegener 1985; Carroll-Spillecke 1985. The Spada reliefs and a few other similar types are probably Augustan: Herdejürgen 2001.



**Fig. 19.20:** Palestrina, Archaeological Museum 77.1553. Relief depicting female wild boar suckling her babies, from an Augustan era nymphaeum probably dedicated to Verrius Flaccus. Photo: Superintendence for Archeological Assets of Latium (Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici del Lazio).

to the composition, as in the panels on the short sides. And while in the *Ara Pacis* nature is part of a whole in which the human figure plays a more significant role, in the Grimani reliefs it is the one and only subject, and the environment is lovingly depicted with such precision that it seems, at first sight, to antagonize the courtly world of imperial images (Fig. 19.20). But this is not true: they are two sides of the same coin. A single system of artistic expression, an original all-encompassing style binds Augustan figurative art into a unified whole.

Rome in that period was a melting pot of artistic schools and trends that studied, evaluated and challenged one another. Never before was there such an urgent need for a common artistic language for an empire that had set itself the objective of becoming universal. Despite everything, the visual culture of the period achieved a surprising equilibrium, in which we can recognize its own special kind of classicism, known as “Augustan.”



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