

ARCTOS

ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

VOL. XXVI

HELSINKI 1992 HELSINGFORS

INDEX

Neil Adkin: "Filthy Manichees"	5
Jaakko Aronen: Notes on Athenian Drama as Ritual Myth-Telling within the Cult of Dionysos	19
Kai Heikkilä: Sappho Fragment 2 L.-P.: Some Homeric Readings	39
Siegfried Jäkel: Die ästhetische Funktion der lyrischen und epischen Elemente in der griechischen Tragödie	55
Iiro Kajanto: A Rhetorical Analysis of Ezechiel Spanheim's <i>Panegyricus</i> of Queen Christina	63
Bengt Löfstedt: Lateinische Quellen einiger mexikanischer Predigtsammlungen	79
Sari Mattero: The gluttonous <i>genius</i> : yearning for vitality and fertility	85
Leena Pietilä-Castrén: A Copy of the Praxitelian <i>Anapauomenos</i> in Finland	97
Olli Salomies: Zur Namengebung der Konsuln in den handschriftlich überlieferten Konsulverzeichnissen für die Zeit 15-284 n.Chr.	105
Heikki Solin: <i>Analecta epigraphica</i> CXLV-CXLIX	117
Veikko Väänänen: <i>DE EBRIETATE</i> , Poèmes bachiques connus en Finlande au XVIIe siècle	129
G. Michael Woloch: Ammianus' Route to Cologne	137
<i>De novis libris iudicia</i>	141
<i>Index librorum in hoc volumine recensorum</i>	165

A Copy of the Praxitelian *Anapauomenos* in Finland

Leena Pietilä-Castrén

The Reposing Satyr, *Anapauomenos* by Praxiteles, probably dating from the mid fourth century BC,¹ was one of the most beloved statues of Greek and Roman antiquity, neither has its popularity diminished with the years. Its contemporary stature is demonstrated by the fact that a copy of it can be found in almost any European museum. Approximately eighty copies in full scale statues, torsos, heads, or statuettes are known to exist.²

We are fortunate enough to have one of the marble copies of the satyr in Finland. (fig. 1) This copy is in private ownership and it has only been exhibited semi-publicly, when, from the early forties up until 1980, it was on display in a banquet hall in Porvoo.³ As more information about the interesting peregrinations of this exact copy have now become available, it might be rewarding to surmise about the course of its fate once again.⁴

¹ Attribution by stylistic and iconographic comparison; See e.g. G. Lippold, *Die griechische Plastik, Handbuch der Archäologie III:1*, 1950, 240-241 and more recently P. Gercke, *Satyrn des Praxiteles*, 1968, 66-69.

² A thorough list of the Reposing Satyres is presented by Gercke, espec. 22-56. Outside Europe the extant copies are in Northern Africa: There is a statue in the Archaeological Museum of Tripoli which was originally discovered in Leptis Magna, as well as a torso and the statuette which was found in Sparta. Another statue is in Tunis, Bardo Museum, of unknown provenance.

³ The statue is owned by the AB Svenska Gården i Borgå, it having been bequeathed by the antique dealer Walter Sjöberg (1864-1937). There is a short note on the statue in *Finskt Museum* 1979, 111-112 by P. Korvenmaa. The height of the satyr is 1,69 m.

⁴ I am most grateful to Ms Lena Wikström, conservator, for turning my attention to this statue, as well as to Mr Magnus Björklund, (B.Econ.), from the Svenska Gården, for his kind permission to investigate the origins and destiny of the satyr. The Finnish Ministry of Education provided me with a scholarship for a trip to St.Petersburg. The staff of the Department of Ancient Art and Sculpture of the Hermitage in St.Petersburg and the Archangelskoe Museum in Moscow have kindly helped me by providing relevant information. I am most indebted to prof. Piero Alfredo Gianfrotta from the University of Viterbo, for helping me to trace the statue to Russia.

Praxitelian Satyrs in Greece and Rome

The original satyr by Praxiteles must have been some 1.7 m high and it was most probably made of bronze.⁵ The statue represents a male satyr cosily leaning on a tree trunk in an elegant contraposto, carrying a skin of panther around his shoulders, breast and neck, as indeed becomes an associate of Dionysus. The curly hair is restrained in some copies, either with a bandeau or a *corona pineata*, or else it is left unbound. The simultaneous use of both of them is encountered only rarely. In the case of the Finnish satyr the hair was originally held together only with a bandeau. At a later phase⁶ a crown with pine cones made of painted bronze was also added, most likely in order to conceal some damage caused by deterioration of the marble⁷. (fig. 3) The general appearance of the statue resembles that of the Olympian Hermes with the child Dionysus, also generally attributed to Praxiteles, and it bears an even stronger likeness to the Praxitelian Apollo Sauroktonos.⁸

Through ancient sources we know that statues representing satyrs and attributed to Praxiteles existed at least in Megara⁹ and Athens. The statue in Athens once stood at Tripodon Street which ran from the theatre of Dionysus¹⁰, passing the odeum of Pericles and the monument of Lysicrates, a route where the choregic monuments were usually situated. The available information does not, however, allow us to connect these statues to the lost prototype of the reclining satyr. Later, Roman connoisseurs, greedy generals and other collectors also imported original Praxitelian statues to Rome. According to written sources no less than

⁵ Gercke, 57, 63.

⁶ See pp. 103-104.

⁷ L. Wikström, in her report on the restoration, in print. The deterioration is especially strong in the hair, where some curls are missing and others have been treated with grinding. Additionally, some new curls made of gypsum have been added. The damage can be due to long exposure in the open when, for instance, rain had fallen strongly on the foremost part of the head.

⁸ Gercke, 66-67. See also the critique by H. v. Steuben in W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom II*, 1966 (4), 235.

⁹ In the temple of Apollo Patroos stood a statue of Parian marble, Paus. 1,43,5. Actually we now also attribute another satyr, the *einschenkend* type to Praxiteles. See Gercke, 1-21.

¹⁰ Paus, 1,20,1. Athenaeus probably discussed the same statue in 13,591 B. Gercke, 71-73.

fourteen of them had been imported by the end of the Hellenistic age,¹¹ this being considerably more than can be ascribed to any other Greek sculptor known to us. But neither of these is mentioned to have represented a satyr.

Yet, this satyr seems to have been one of the favourite subjects of Roman statuary during the imperial centuries which followed. The popularity of the satyrs is explained by their importance in the increasing enthusiasm for gardens. The Romans preferred to decorate them in accordance with the concept of nature mixed with certain amount of religious feeling, often inspired by the cult of Dionysus.¹² Satyrs as the deities of nature were thus actually an inevitable part of the real countryside. Particularly during the imperial period the gardens also became immensely important around those urban villas which had been fashioned into actual *horti*. The gardens which formed an integral part of the baths and gymnasia required extensive sculptural decoration and statues representing youthful, well formed bodies, such as that of the reposing satyr, were naturally suitable items.

Most of the known copies of *Anapauomenos* come from Italy, particularly from Rome or its immediate surroundings: five originate from Tivoli and eight are from the city itself.¹³ The beginning of the second century seems to be the crucial time during which the many copies of this precise satyr flourished, since, with one exception, all the datings presented for the copies point to the second century.¹⁴ That the explosive growth in the popularity of this satyr took place for the most part in the Roman context is further proved by the small number of copies of it discovered elsewhere or on actual Greek soil; we know of only five statuettes and one life size torso.¹⁵

¹¹ The list by J.J. Pollit in *Tapha* 108 (1978) 157, 170-172.

¹² P. Grimal, *I giardini di Roma antica*, (1984), 1990, 318-321.

¹³ Gercke, 58. Grimal, 322-323. We may take it for granted that the examples in various Italian museums come from actual Italian soil.

¹⁴ According to Gercke: St. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 17, 18. T. 1, 4, 6, 7, 10, 13, 15. K. 6. See also P. Zanker, 'Zur Funktion und Bedeutung griechischer Skulptur in der Römerzeit' in *Le Classicisme a Rome aux Iers siècles avant et apres J.-C.*, 1979, 294-295.

¹⁵ Gercke, 41-42, 44, 46.



Fig. 1

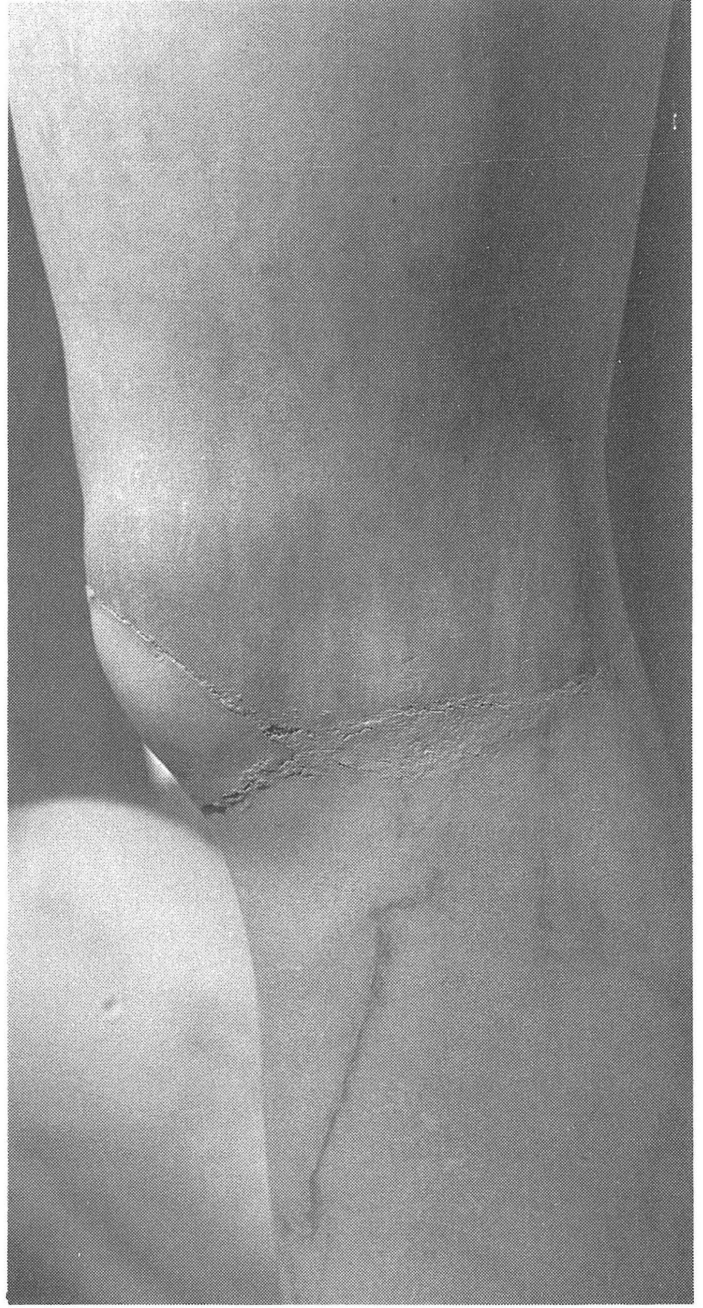


Fig. 2



Fig. 3

The Neo-classical revival

In the 1760s the enthusiasm for collecting ancient works of art climaxed, this development having been particularly noticeable in Rome as a consequence of the influence of J.J. Winckelmann and Cardinal Alessandro Albani. Archaeology was mostly understood as the history of ancient art, specifically the ancient statues, most of which had been either discovered by chance without systematic excavation or available since antiquity. The importance of antiquarian studies as an aesthetic value prevailed, although almost exclusively through Roman copies.

The Finnish satyr seems to be one of the many Roman copies which experienced their second vogue in this era during which many enthusiastic devotees were at large in Rome. It was apparently the Russian prince Nikolai Borisovich Yusupov (1750-1831),¹⁶ a well-known bibliophile and collector of paintings and sculpture, who purchased our reposing satyr. According to the traditional view this must have taken place some time during the 1780s.¹⁷ Prince Yusupov was accredited as the *ministre plénipotentiaire* to the court of Amedeo II in Turin from 1783 to 1788, and also to the Holy See from 1785 to 1788 when Pius VI was pope.¹⁸ In 1810 the statue must have already been in Russia for some time, as it was removed to Yusupov's new estate at Archangelskoe, near Moscow, where he created a model palace provided with a gallery for ancient sculpture.¹⁹

Information which has been handed down orally has it that the statue was unearthed in the area of Villa Albani in Rome.²⁰ It was cardinal Alessandro Albani who established the new villa at the Via Salaria outside the walls in 1743-63, in order to create, among other things, an accommodation for the family's immense collection of sculptures. During antiquity the extramural site of the villa had been occupied by tombs on

¹⁶ The Yusupovian family was of very old Tatar origin, rising with the name of Yussuf since the 16th century.

¹⁷ This is the view of Dr.V. A. Evdokimova from the Arkhangelskoe Museum, in Moscow. In Russia there are no documents extant concerning the purchase of the statue.

¹⁸ *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder* 3, 1965, 360, 364.

¹⁹ The modern *Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, 45 (1987) 92 and 2 (1976) 93.

²⁰ Obviously expressed by Walter Sjöberg himself, published in the Finland-Swedish newspaper *Borgåbladet* in 16.2.1935. He also was of the opinion that the statue "was some two thousand years old", G. Christiernin, *Alltid i farten - minnesbilder från 90 år*, 1978, 229-230.

either side of the Via Salaria. The villa seems to have been the centre of Rome's cultural life, Winckelmann also lived and worked there, and the cardinal not only collected antiquities, but also exerted an influence on and mediated for the local art trade until his death in 1779.²¹ In the collections of Villa Albani there are presently two copies of the reposing satyr: a full scale statue and a smaller statue with a pine wreath.²²

The Villa Albani was constructed on the vineyards of Accoramboni Ercolani ed Orsi, which, for their part, were situated not far from the ancient remains of *horti Sallustiani* in the northeastern corner of the city, although within the walls. The gardens of Sallustius, created by the historian towards the end of the first century B.C. with their own thermae, obelisk, hippodrome, nymphaeum, temples and piscinae actually constituted a small city. In the following centuries the gardens were in imperial ownership and many emperors preferred to stay there. It was not until 410 that Alaric caused such damage to the area that it was not reconstructed.²³ For Yusupov's purchase of the satyr I would like to suggest an earlier date, some time between 1772 and 1781 when he was travelling extensively in Europe extending the collections of the Russian ruler as well as his own²⁴. While in Italy from 1772 to 1774 he certainly made personal acquisitions, perhaps on the advice of Cardinal Albani. After becoming a senator back in Russia he is still known to have ordered at least some paintings from Paris and Rome,²⁵ though the political situation in the following decades must have created certain difficulties for cultural activities of this type.

The satyr of Yusupov seems to have started a real fashion for reposing satyrs in Russia. At their best there were seven different copies in St. Petersburg in various family collections. Three of them had been

²¹ I. Insolera, *Roma - Immagini e realtà dal X al XX secolo*, 1980, 297 + n. 12.

²² Gercke 28, St. 12 and p. 44, Stte 12. H. v. Steuben in Helbig IV, 257, nr. 3286.

²³ Grimal, 134-136.

²⁴ N.B. Yusupov, *O rode knyazei Yusupovykh*, 1866, 145, 149-151. I thank Ms Outi Karvonen, M.A., for helping me with the texts in Russian.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 152.

discovered in excavations on the Esquiline hill in 1822 or 1828,²⁶ once the site of the many gardens created in the beginning of the imperial era, basically on the initiative of Maecenas.²⁷ The newly discovered statues were sent off to Russia, either immediately or later in the 1850s. Seen against this background it is understandable that in 1837 the son of Nikolai Borishovich, Boris Nikolaevich, felt an urgent need to move his reposing satyr back to the family's palace at Moika, in St. Petersburg²⁸. Our satyr does not, however, go back to the same prototype as the others in St. Petersburg. It has a nearer parallel in the copy in the Glyptothek in Munich²⁹ and is one of the copies of good quality.

The Satyr in the twentieth century

At the beginning of this century the satyr was in St. Petersburg in the now state-owned palace at Moika 94, where it made up part of the exposition which was open between 1919 and 1924. It definitely remained in that city under the authority of the State Museum Fund until 1930.³⁰ In January of 1932 it was transferred as a donation into the ownership of the Finnish antique dealer Walter Sjöberg, according to a document of the Antiquariat, a Russian firm for export and import active in St. Petersburg.³¹ Walter Sjöberg had good relations of old to the Russian markets and was in this way rewarded for his decades of achievement. In

²⁶ The first copy in Gercke, 23, St. 3 is equal to nr. 119 in O.Waldhauer, *Die antiken Skulpturen der Ermitage II*, 1931, 23, Taf. XXIII, found in the Esquiline in 1828 and sent to Russia in 1851 by pope Pius IX. The second copy in Gercke, 34, T. 11 is equal to Waldhauer 22, nr. 116, Taf. XXII, of unknown origin. The third copy in Gercke, 42, Stte 5 is equal to Waldhauer 22, nr. 117, Taf. XXII, found in the Esquiline in 1822. The fourth copy in Gercke, 43, Stte 6 is equal to Waldhauer 23, nr. 118, Taf. XXIII of unknown origin. The fifth copy in Gercke 43, Stte 7, is equal to Waldhauer 23, nr. 120, Taf. XXIII, found in the Esquiline, not far from the S.Maria Maggiore; it is now on exhibition in Pavlovsk. I thank Ms Anna Trofimova, M.A., from the Ermitage for this information. The sixth copy in Gercke 30, St. 18, now in the Narodowe Museum in Warsaw, must be the one mentioned in the *Ermitage imperial, Musée de sculpture antique*, 1865 (2), 4, nr. 11; it was sent to Poland in the 1920s.

²⁷ Grimal, 148-150.

²⁸ This piece of information is given by dr. V.A. Evdokimova.

²⁹ Sk. 259.

³⁰ Information given by V.A. Evdokimova.

³¹ The document in form of a letter is in the Archive of the Borgå Teaterföreningen. It speaks about an Apollo in marble, but the chaotic art business of the thirties in Russia can easily have confused a serene youth with another ancient godlike figure. The uncertainty of the statue's identification by others is further shown by its even being called a Dionysus.

Finland it was first placed in his mansion in Molnby, near Porvoo, and from 1937 onwards it has been in the city itself, gracing the banquet hall of the Swedish club (Svenska Gården).

The satyr underwent a cleaning and conservation in 1983. The statue consists of several parts: the torso was a single component, the head was cut into the neck, the lower limbs from the knees and arms from the shoulders in many points. Some of the parts were joined together with the aid of iron clamps, known to be used for the first time by Gianlorenzo Bernini for instance in the Fontana di Trevi³² which was built between 1732 and 1762. After mineralogical and chemical analyses it became clear that the torso was made of Carrara marble, with the complementary parts, the legs, arms and tree trunk being of the same marble.³³ The darker veins of the different marble fragments show, however, that it cannot be a question of just broken limbs which were put together at some time, but rather these are totally new pieces of marble. (fig. 2) The resin used for the joints was colophony, the natural pine resin which was in general use in working with statuary from the 16th century up until the beginning of the present one.³⁴

It was pope Pius IV Medici who in between 1559 and 1565 started the tradition of covering the genitals of nude figures with a fig leaf.³⁵ Our statue had one, too, of gypsum until it was removed during the conservation. The statue must have stood some time in its former career in a niche, as there are two quadrangular holes in the left side of the back of the torso, clearly showing that it had once been attached to a wall.

As a starting point for dating the different parts and later conservation of the satyr I assume that the torso proper originates from the second century, when there seems to have been great demand for copies of precisely this type. It stood in a niche and was fixed to the wall by quadrangular bars in some of the gardens on the Quirinale hill, not far

³² Information given by the sculptor Peter Rockwell, Rome.

³³ L. Lazzarini, Università degli Studi di Roma, Dipartimento di Scienza della Terra, in the examination report in 1983. The analyses were conducted twice. First it looked like some fragments could have been of Thasian marble, the quarries of which were actively in use at least until the third century during the antiquity, A. Dworakowska, *Quarries in Ancient Greece*, 1975, 92. In this sense there was no further help available for the dating of the original parts of the statue.

³⁴ Information given by L. Lazzarini, in Wikström's manuscript.

³⁵ Daniele da Volterra, for instance, was called by his colleagues "Braghettone", because he painted breeches for the nude figures in Michelangelo's *Giudizio universale*.

from the later site of the Villa Albani. It was unearthed badly damaged and in parts some time after the 16th century, but naturally before its purchase to Russia in the 1770s. It was conserved in Rome using colophony, and the iron clamps, as well as the fig leaf and some curls above the forehead in gypsum were added. The idea of adding the pine crown could have been inspired by another copy carrying a pine wreath, such as the statuette in the Albani collection. There must have been plenty of ancient statues in circulation, and parts of them such as the head, limbs, and tree trunk could be exploited as needed. Alternatively, completely new ones were made. The exploitation of fragments of another ancient statue would, however, better explain certain anomalies in the satyr's limbs as well as the peculiar downwards bending of the head, not so often verified in other copies. It was thus completely conserved and ground when it was sold to the prince Yusupov and taken to Russia.

The original satyr by Praxiteles may well have been exhibited in the vicinity of a theatre, whether in Athens, Megara or elsewhere. The existing copies of the *Reposing Satyr* are now, for the most part located in the galleries of various museums. Our satyr in Finland seems to be lucky enough to end up again in the old banquet hall, which will be also used as a theatre. The circle closes in the career of at least one of the companions of Dionysus.