DIETRICH BOSCHUNG

ART AND EFFICACY

Case Studies from Classical Archaeology

Ancient artifacts such as statues, reliefs, and paintings gave tangible form to knowledge and abstract ideas, making them vivid, convincing, and lasting. At the same time, they emphasized, concretized, and combined only certain aspects of the ideas in question, while reducing or omitting others.

The book examines the emergence of artifacts as material manifestations of epistemic elements and the medial conditions of these shaping processes, as well as the effects of the resulting form. It combines case studies from Classical Archaeology with reflections on central aspects of material culture. With this approach, the book offers new perspectives on famous Greek and Roman works of art.

MORPHOMATA
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DIETRICH BOSCHUNG

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Case Studies from

Classical Archaeology

TRANSLATED BY ROSS BRENDLE

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INTRODUCTION

In the fourth century A. D., the rhetorician Himerios described the interplay between intellectual achievements and their material forms with the example of a statue: "Lysippos was admirable not only for his hand but also for his intellect... He included Kairos among the gods; and, by giving him form in a statue, he explained his nature with an image."[1] These words illustrate the sculptor's ability to give knowledge and ideas sensually-perceptible form, to give them significance through their design and to make them permanently present (ch. II.1.2).

This book examines the connection described by Himerios between intellectual achievements and the form and design of material objects. It explores the precursors that came before an artifact, the medial, technological, and social conditions of its formation, and finally its impact and the contingencies of its transmission. It follows an approach[2] developed by the Morphomata Center for Advanced Studies and used in many areas of the humanities, thanks to the funding of the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research since 2009. The aim is not a universal theory, but rather to offer a common perspective to different disciplines in the humanities, which they can use with their own research subjects, methods, and expertise.

The results obtained in the meantime provide an opportunity to extend the original approach and demonstrate in more detail the possibilities for its application. This volume addresses this goal from the point of view of Classical Archaeology. Part I, *Morphomatic Prolegomena*, uses the results of archaeological studies to clarify the common perspective. This

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1 Himerios, *Oratio* 13.1: "Δεινὸς δὲ ἦν ἄρα οὐ χεῖρα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γνώμην ὁ Λύσιππος. … ἐγγράφει τοῖς θεοῖς τὸν Καιρόν, καὶ μορφώσας ἀγάλματι τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ διὰ τῆς εἰκόνος ἐξηγήσατο."
2 Blamberger/Boschung 2011.– Blamberger, G.: Figuring Death, Figuring Creativity: On the Power of Aesthetic Ideas. Morphomata Lectures Cologne 5. Munich 2013.– Boschung 2013.

section addresses the initial questions of the volume (chapter I.1) and explains key terms (ch. I.2). This is possible through foundational studies and documentation of central objects of the field of Classical Archaeology. But this volume does not examine statues, paintings, ivory carvings, coins, and reliefs through an art historical perspective. Rather, they are approached as potent physical manifestations of intellectual processes. Ancient sources on the statue of Zeus at Olympia reveal the significance of the statue's execution upon the realization, revision, and transmission of religious ideas and the factors that contributed to this (ch. I.1 and ch. I.2.4). Accounts of the Greek sculptor Polykleitos exemplify how craft traditions and their purposeful development through the intellectual medium of the scholarly treatise can become influential beyond their own sphere, boost the artist's reputation, and guide the reception of his work over the centuries (ch. I.2.1). The influence and limitations of given formats upon the design and thus also upon the accentuation or expansion of the content of scenes are demonstrated through three examples. The metopes of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia and the Arch of Titus in Rome make clear how the initial choice of the form of the monument and the placement of figural scenes limited their possible forms from the start. Upon examination of images of Endymion, it is similarly clear that the format of various media—incised gems, wall paintings, sarcophagi—led to the consolidation or expansion of the scene, so that narrative elements of the myth were added or omitted (ch. I.2.3).

Attic vase-painting of the eighth century B.C. allows us to trace the motives behind the emergence of a new visual medium and the consequences of this new medium in a manageable scope from a historical distance (ch. I.2.3). The necessary technical skills and models were available for centuries, but were first used by innovative craftsmen to solidify the prestige of a social elite during a critical political situation. Its rapid expansion beyond its original clientele and functions and a later series of technical innovations made it one of the most important art forms of antiquity. The exploitation of an established medium by members of a social elite for a permanent declaration of their values and entitlements is clear in statues of the sixth century from Attica (ch. I.2.4). The mechanisms by which individual works of art can gain aesthetic authority and then lose it again are exemplified in the statue of Zeus at Olympia for antiquity and the Medici Venus for modern times (ch. I.2.4). The Nike of Paionios at Olympia and two imperial grave markers provide examples of how victory and funerary monuments control memory by choosing to name or avoid mention of certain events, thereby emphasizing certain as-

pects while disguising or suppressing others (ch. I.2.5). The next section, *Background: The "Material turn" since 1540* (I.3), underscores how Classical Archaeology, with its techniques and methods, taps into the material remains of antiquity as sources of cultural history and thus makes them available for morphomatic investigations.

Part II, *Archaeological Case Studies*, applies the morphomata approach to various objects from the field of Classical Archaeology, providing details and findings closely linked with Part I. The figural constellation of the four seasons is shown to be a potent physical formation of the conception of the cyclical passage of time (ch. II.1.1), and their precursors illuminate the capacity of the human intellect to make distinctions and connections (ch. I.2.2). The fourth-century statue of Kairos serves as a paradigm of the concept of Morphomata. In this case, we can grasp the preliminary stages of the conception of a unique favorable moment as well as its materialization in the medium of sculpture. We can also examine its legacy into modern times in the interplay of literary and visual translations (ch. II.1.2).

Three examples of the translation of systems of knowledge into sensually-perceivable artifacts are singled out. Concepts of supernatural power are examined in the corpus of Greek cult statues of the Classical period and their successors (ch. II.2.1). This is connected to general reflections on the importance of the material and format of artifacts for the definition of their content (ch. I.2.3), for the risk of fragmentation or destruction (ch. III.3.1), and for reinterpretations (ch. III.3.2) resulting from epistemic upheavals. Another type of religious knowledge is made visible in Mithraic cult reliefs (ch. II.2.1), whose fixed iconography was disseminated throughout the Roman Empire and followed strategies of normalization similar to images of the emperors (ch. II.3.1). Just as Classical Greek cult statues appear in response to the uncertainties raised by philosophical reflections on the nature of the gods (ch. II.2.1), representations of celestial divinities respond to astronomical observation and speculation (ch. II.2.2), thus their mythological explanations are stabile until Late Antiquity. Historical knowledge was recalled, modeled, and made permanent in statues and images (ch. II.2.3). This could be done not only with individual statues such as the Tyrannicides group in Athens, but also through a carefully planned complex as in the Forum of Augustus, which established the past to legitimize the present.

The influence and persuasive suggestion of scenes and figure types developed for a single setting becomes clear in their use to stabilize the political system of the Roman Empire. The unhesitating and continu-

ous assimilation throughout the empire of stimuli initialized in Rome resulted in a visual standardization that brought about shared values and political loyalty (ch. II.3.1). When the existential crisis of the Roman Empire at the end of the third century demanded a systemic solution, the traditional vocabulary of images was expanded significantly with new motifs (ch. II.3.2). Even beyond the disintegration of the Roman Empire, images like the consular diptychs of the sixth century A. D. conveyed the idea of political and cultural unity.

Reflections on the impact and interpretation of ancient remains in modern times (ch. II.4) are connected to case studies on the materialization of systems of knowledge (ch. II.2), as well as general remarks on the potency of artifacts (ch. I.2.4), their ability to shape memory (ch. I.2.5), and the contingencies of their transmission (ch. III.3.3). Fragments and ruins are interpreted within the frame of literary texts and regional traditions and taken as authentic witnesses to historical conceptions (ch. II.4.1). Lasting remains irritated and inspired reflection and research on antiquity, making them an inspiration and echo chamber through later periods. The collection of ancient artifacts, a regular practice from 16th century (ch. I.2.5) to today (ch. I.3), led to an extensive knowledge base that has been repeatedly and selectively systematized and standardized since the 18th century (ch. II.4.2).

The results of these experiments are found in *Morphomatic Findings* (Part III), and are also informative for fields other than archaeology. The role of autopsy, i. e. an unmediated view, proves ambivalent (ch. III.1). In the premodern period it is regarded as the most convincing form of attestation; for Classical Archaeology, it should assure unmediated access to the objects of its study. Monuments, images, and figures are indeed vivid but what they say is often ambiguous. The advent of a new medium soon necessitates new conventions of representation if complex messages are to be understandable (ch. III.2). Mythological images show how the need for visual legibility gradually leads to a fixed iconography, but this process does not cover all areas and figures simultaneously and evenly. The simultaneous reinterpretation of figural types and fixing of their iconography can also be retraced with the help of ancient statues (III.3.2). Against this background, it is clear that older elements are integrated into current political programs, and that, on the other hand, figures that were created specifically for communicating political content can be found in private contexts (ch. II.3.1).

The present English text has been revised and slightly shortened compared to the German. Some parts have previously appeared as essays,

which can be found in the notes. My reflections owe more to ongoing discussion with Fellows and with current and former members of the Morphomata Center at the University of Cologne than can be fully expressed. To all involved, my deep and heartfelt thanks. Especially I thank Ross Brendle for the translation of the text and Torsten Zimmer for providing the illustrations.

I MORPHOMATIC PROLEGOMENA

1. THE EXPERIMENTAL SETUP

1.1 BACKGROUND AND APPROACH

Products of craftmanship and art are not merely storehouses of epistemic elements, as the concept of "external symbolic storage" might suggest.[1] Rather, information, impressions, and concepts, ideas and knowledge are subject to irreversible changes through the process of taking shape in different media and materials. In a "double articulation," the "order of the mind" and the "order of material signs" are mutually dependent upon each other (Niklas 2013). The "interworking" of "idea and form" (Jäger 2014) has occupied the humanities from the very beginning, as when Johann Joachim Winckelmann saw Greek statues as an expression of social practices and political order that made supreme beauty possible for the first time.[2] There was no lack of effort to explain this interplay in a general, comprehensive way (Blamberger 2011, 17–18). Little consideration was given to the meaning of tangible artifacts: the material and medial conditions of the process of formation, the content implications of the established form, and its epistemic power through its sensory and often persistent presence.

The Morphomata Center deals with these issues in particular. It examines potent figurations with respect to three interrelated aspects: their emergence as shaping of intellectual achievements, the medial conditions of development processes, and the effects of the forms created. This sort of examination is called *morphomatic*, after the Greek word μόρφωμα.[3] An artifact that is to be examined as a sensually perceptible manifesta-

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1 Renfrew, C. / Scarre, Ch.: Cognition and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Symbolic Storage. Cambridge 1998.
2 Winckelmann 1764 and 1776. See ch. II.4.2.
3 Blamberger 2011.– Boschung 2011.– Boschung 2013.

tion of epistemic achievements, and thus as a morphomatic object, is called a *morphome* (ch. I.1.2).

A morphomatic analysis aims to explain how achievements of the intellect manifest themselves in design; that is to say, how they take shape as a concrete, sensually perceptible form in the various media of different periods and cultures. This places the focus on the media themselves, their emergence under certain historical and social conditions, their specific possibilities, and their unforeseeable developments (ch. I.2.3). The results of such embodiments are also examined (ch. I.2.4). This pertains particularly to the changes in knowledge or concepts through the process of materialization, such as the increases, reductions, or accentuations that result from design in a particular medium and in a particular material. The subject matter of these studies is also the meaning of the sensually-perceptible form created for the permanent stabilization of knowledge or concepts, both in the context of their own culture and beyond. What impact unfolds once artifacts have been created, and how do they in turn affect people's ideas? The concept of Morphomata provides a question with which the genesis, dynamics, and mediality of potent artifacts may be addressed in case studies. No general theory of culture could possibly do justice to all cultures and time periods. Rather, the approach of Morphomata emphasizes the intrinsic value of the morphome, which is analyzed both in its historic and medial conditionality and its individual characteristics. Attention is paid to the contingent or random elements of its genesis, to the randomness of its transmission and preservation, to upheavals of epistemic framing, and to the dynamics of medial transcriptions.

The epistemic formations that underlie a morphome can in turn be potent and significantly influence the perception of the environment. The relationships between intellectual achievements and artifacts such as works of art, literary texts, or craft products are complex and dynamic. Artifacts are subject to a multitude of defining conditions and emerge from the social, economic, religious, and political preconditions of their time. In dealing with the conditions of their media and material, they alter, complement, and accentuate thoughts and feelings.

According to ancient writers, the colossal statue of Zeus in Olympia[4] represented an idea of the power of the father of the gods, formulated in three lines from the Iliad, which is about 250 years earlier:

"He spoke, the son of Kronos, and nodded his head with the
    dark brows,
and the immortally anointed hair of the great god
swept from his divine head, and all Olympos was shaken."[5]

The idea of a powerful father god, incorporating just as much the direct experience of the forces of nature as traditional elements, finds an effective, aesthetically convincing, and memorable definition in this text. But even though the sculptor Pheidias may have been inspired by epic, other factors—the iconographic tradition of Zeus, the specifications of his commission, the technical demands of the chryselephantine statue and the surrounding architecture—also determined his work, probably even more strongly. The literary tradition suppresses these elements and seeks a singular source in the Iliad. In this way the statue appears to be the consistent realization of the ideas of Homer, while in fact, it was much more concrete in the determination of its content. While the epic mentions the color of his brow and suggests that his hair was long and flowing and anointed with ambrosia (*Iliad* XIV.170–172), the statue recreated his body, physiognomy, and hairstyle in great detail. His pose, garments, attributes, seat, and accompanying figures, of which there is no mention in the poem, are also elaborated in detail. Subsequently, the statue of Zeus at Olympia was seen as the valid and authoritative representation of the god (pl. 1).

A morphome can combine concepts and ideas in a way that gives them a new emphasis and a new dynamic, can help them to a new clarity through its exemplary form, and which strengthens but also changes them. It can hide certain aspects and emphasize others with a decided view. For example, the personification of military victory, created in Archaic Greece of the sixth century B.C. and used into modern times,

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4 For the extremely high esteem of the statue in antiquity and for further literature cf. ch. I.2.4. On the development of the iconography of Zeus: Barringer, J.: The Changing Image of Zeus in Olympia, AA 2015/1, 39–67.

5 Homer, *Iliad* I.528–530: "ἦ καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ᾽ ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων· / ἀμβρόσιαι δ᾽ ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος / κρατὸς ἀπ᾽ ἀθανάτοιο, μέγαν δ᾽ ἐλέλιξεν Ὄλυμπον." Richmond Lattimore trans.

1 Nike of the Messenians and Naupaktians, ca. 425 B.C., H. 2.90 m. Olympia, Archaeological Museum 46–48 (see fig. 46).

2 Statue of a dying Gaul, H. 93 cm. Rome, Musei Capitolini 747.

emphasizes the aesthetic qualities and the attractiveness of the event, but is silent regarding the bloody actions on the battlefield, which are inherently connected (fig. 1; ch. I.2.5, II.3.1).[6] Rather, they are deemphasized and shown, if at all, in the figure of the defeated and the tortured, dying opponent (fig. 2), in marked contrast to the victory morphome of the beautiful Nike.[7] In other ways, the tropaion, a victory monument set up on the battlefield (fig. 3),[8] focuses on the general notions embodied by Nike/Victoria.[9] It consists of an ensemble of captured weapons hung

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6 Moustaka, A. / Goulaki-Voutira, A. / Grote, U.: Nike. In: LIMC VI 1992, 850–904 pl. 557–606.– Vollkommer, R.: Victoria. In: LIMC VIII 1997, 237–269 pl. 167–194.– Vogt, S.: Staatliche Museen Kassel. Siegesgöttin in Kaisers Diensten. Die Victoria von Fossombrone. Kassel 2004, 33–64.

7 Queyrel, F.: La sculpture hellénistique. Formes, thèmes et fonctions. Paris 2016, 193–233.– Krierer, K. R.: Sieg und Niederlage. Untersuchungen physiognomischer und mimischer Phänomene in Kampfdarstellungen der römischen Plastik. Vienna 1995.

8 Kaeser, B.: Tropaion mit westgriechischer Rüstung, Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst 38, 1987, 232–234 figs. 9–10.

9 Rabe, B.: Tropaia. τροπή und σκῦλα. Entstehung, Funktion und Bedeutung des griechischen Tropaions. Rahden 2008.– See ch. I.2.5.

from a post or a tree trunk and directly related to the events of the battle. Its location denoted the place where the enemy had been turned to flight and made clear the opposing army had lost control on that spot. It marked the crucial turning point of the battle and inscribed it permanently at the scene of the action. The captured weapons hung there may have in many cases still shown battle damage and testified to the physical violence in overcoming or annihilating the enemy. They were sensually perceptible and thus credible witnesses to a specific, special battle. These three morphomes, *Nike, the defeated enemy*, and *the tropaion*, can all refer to a single event, but express different ideas and aspects of the occasion.

Every morphome realized in literature, art, or architecture follows from a contemporary cause and in a specific context. Ludwig Jäger's linguistic formulation in the connection with Kant's aesthetic hypotyposis can be applied to morphomata: "In aesthetic hypotyposis, the concept (or rather the idea) that is sensualized does not precede the aesthetic sensualization, but is first and foremost its product."[10] A morphome changes the situation that made it possible and in which it occcurs only through its materialization. These effects can be manifest and palpable. For example, the Pheidias' newly-erected statue of Zeus at Olympia (fig. 43) not only dominated the topography of the sanctuary, but also, in conjunction with its location and ritual use, influenced the perception of the sanctuary for almost a millennium. Beyond the specific occasion of their genesis, literary works and products of material culture can also develop an effect that was not originally intended. This is exemplified in the statue of Kairos by Lysippos, whose perception was dictated by a later epigram (ch. II.1.2). In addition to the desired and intended impact of an artifact often occurs an unintended and sometimes undesirable effect. Thus, in the view of the Middle Ages the remains of ancient statues appeared as clear proof of the Christian story of salvation.[11]

The shaping of morphomes takes place in different media and materials that enable or even require specific forms. It depends critically on them how aspects of content can be experienced, how they relate to one another and how they are thus systematized or rather arranged hierarchically. Likewise, it determines the forms of mediation and transmission. Morphomes acquire their effective power especially through transcrip-

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10 Jäger, Ludwig: Das schreibende Bewusstsein. Transkriptivität und Hypotypose in Kants "Andeutungen zur Sprache." In: Birk, Elisabeth / Schneider, Jan Georg (eds.): Philosophie der Schrift. Tübingen 2009, 97–121.
11 For more detail see Myrup Kristensen 2013. See ch. II.4.1.

3 Greek tropaion of the 4th century B.C.,
H. 2.40 m. Munich, Staatliche Antiken-
sammlungen Inv. 15032.

tion processes, i. e. by the transfer from one medium to another.[12] The statue of Zeus at Olympia offers a vivid example of this. Originating as a realization of a religious conception of the Homeric epics, it later became the model for visual representations and the object of literary descriptions, which in turn provided the basis for modern reconstructions (pl. 1).[13]

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[12] Jäger, L.: Transkriptivität. Zur medialen Logik der kulturellen Semantik. In: Jäger, L. / Stanitzek, G. (eds.): Transkripieren. Medien/Lektüre. Munich 2002, 19–41.– id.: Transkription. In: Bartz, Ch. et. al. (eds.): Handbuch der Mediologie. Signaturen des Medialen. Munich 2012, 306–315.

[13] Boschung 2013, 14–16.– Rügler 2003.– See above and ch. I.2.4.

1.2 THE SUBJECT OF INVESTIGATION: THE MORPHOME

In the following, the term *morphome* describes a potent artifact, that expresses intellectual achievements in a sensually perceptible form, and that represents the subject of morphomatic analysis (Blamberger 2011, 17). The term is based on the Greek word μόρφωμα (mórphôma), which designates form as a result—often unexpected and surprising—of a design process (Hammerstaedt 2011). For example, Euripides uses the word to describe the transformation of Zeus into a swan. In the Neoplatonic philosopher Proclus, "μόρφωμα ... denotes the visible result of creative drive and imagination." The derived term, *morphome*, is not just about the finished products, but also about the process of formation, the associated conditions, and their consequences.

Those who, for example, compiled geographical knowledge in the medium of Homeric verses, whether derived from their own view or drawn from the reports of others, had to unify and adapt it for formal reasons. Just as the set form of the hexameter fixed linguistic expression, it also fixed the knowledge contained therein. Moreover, the poet put information in an appointed order, which would later become meaningful again. The inclusion of the "catalog of ships" in the *Iliad* led to this text and the geographic information contained therein being handed down for centuries, even if some of the places listed could no longer be identified.[1] On the other hand, those who chose in the first century A. D. to portray the size of the Imperium Romanum on the portico of the Sebasteion of Aphrodisias through a relief cycle with personifications of conquered peoples, were limited by the architectural framing to a certain number of figures and to the predetermined format (fig. 4).[2] If one chose iconographically and formally similar representations for individual, named "ἔθνεα" (éthnea, "ethnic groups"), he thereby gave form to the idea of his contemporaries, but also of later generations of his fellow-citizens, of the extent and composition of the Roman Empire: The viewer learned that the incorporated peoples were very numerous;

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[1] Nünlist, R.: Homers Schiffkatalog. In: Boschung/Greub/Hammerstaedt 2013, 50–73.
[2] Smith, R. R. R.: The Marble Reliefs from the Julio-Claudian Sebasteion. Aphrodisias 6. Mainz 2013, 86–122.– Goldbeck, V.: Die Porticus ad Nationes des Augustus, RM 121, 2015, 199–226.

4 Reliefs depicting various peoples of the Roman Empire, from the northern porticus of the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias. Aphrodisias, Museum.

in size and costume, they appeared equal, but different from each other. Additionally, the combination of inscriptions and reliefs allowed for a secure identification. Frequently, making ideas concrete like this created for the first time a consolidated knowledge by combining previously isolated information in order to establish connections and spark the desire for completion and integration. This happened, for example, in Herodotus' *Histories*, when isolated geographic information was included in a narrative,[3] or when individual conquered locations were compiled in a map.[4] Allocations and distances then became immediately clear (fig. 5).

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3 Bichler, R.: Zur Veranschaulichung geographischen Wissens in Herodots Historien. In: Boschung/Greub/Hammerstaedt 2013, 74–89.
4 Geus, Klaus: Wie erstellt man eine Karte von der Welt? Die Lösung des Ptolemaios und ihre Probleme. In: Boschung/Greub/Hammerstaedt 2013, 119–136.– Grasshoff, G.: Ptolemy and Empirical Data. In: Neef/Sussman/Boschung 2014, 32–44.
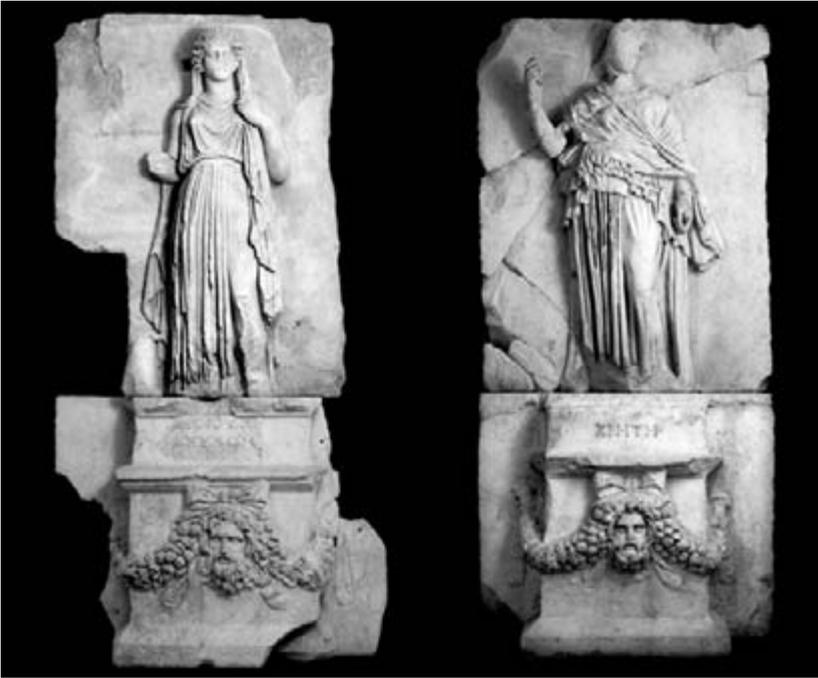
On the other hand, maps might suggest a certainty and accuracy that went beyond the sources drawn upon. By materialization in an artifact, epistemic elements—modified in the manner described—became optically, acoustically, or haptically perceived. This provides a convincing presence whose efficacy can be enhanced by aesthetic perfection or strategies of presentation.

The Greek word μόρφωμα corresponds to the Latin *figuratio* insofar as it can also designate "design" and "form."[5] The derivative *figuration* can mean not only natural formations[6] but also cultural arrangements. Sebastian Münster inscribed his view of the city of Geneva with the title "*Clarissimae civitatis Genevensis situs & figuratio*,"[7] thus distinguishing

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[5] Thesaurus Linguae Latinae (TLL) Online *s. v. figuratio.*– Hammerstaedt 2011, 96.

[6] Vitruvius VIII praefatio 1 discusses "*naturalis figuratio.*"

[7] Münster, S.: *Cosmographia universalis.* Basel 1550, 98–99.

5 Copy of a Late Antique street map (Tabula Peutingeriana). Detail with the city of Rome; opposite (below) Carthage and North Africa. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Vindobonensis 324.

between the given geographic location ("*situs*") and the developed form ("*figuratio*") of the city (fig. 6). Below, I use the word *figuration* as a synonym for the term *morphome*.

The designation of an artifact as a *morphome*, i. e. as the object of a morphomatic examination, depends on the perspective and the scientific interest of the respective study. So the aforementioned statue of Zeus by Pheidias in Olympia can be examined as a morphome of a religious idea, examined for its genesis, its conditioning by the chosen medium, and

6 Location and shape of the city of Geneva. Woodcut by Sebastian Münster: Cosmographia Universalis. Basel 1550, 98–99.

its agency (ch. I.1.1; I.2.4). Similarly, the verses of the Iliad that served as a starting point for the design of the Zeus statue can in turn be understood as a morphome and discussed accordingly. In the same way, the descriptions by Callimachus and Pausanias or the coinage of the city of Elis that derive from the statue (figs. 41–42), lend themselves to their own morphomatic research. Thus, a study of the statue of Zeus could focus on these coins from the Roman period and clarify their medial contingency, their relation to the colossal statue, and their contemporary political function.

The following studies consider distinct statues and texts (ch. II.1.2), recurrent constellations of figures (ch. II.1.1), and typologically-fixed scenes (ch. II.2.1: Mithras), individual genres of visual art (ch. I.2.4 and II.2.1: cult images), or the decorative program of elaborate architectural compexes (ch. II.2.3). The genesis of a medium (ch. I.2.3), political-visual communication systems (ch. II.3.1), and preoccupation with ancient artifacts (ch. II.4) are treated for their origin and potency. In many cases, the morphome must first be more accurately determined in its original form. Ancient statues such as the Zeus of Pheidias or the Kairos of Lysippos have not been preserved, so they must be reconstructed as reliably and in as much detail as possible from fragments, copies, reproductions, literary

descriptions, and archaeological finds, before they can be examined with regard to morphomata (ch. II.1.2). Texts may also be incomplete or different versions may exist. Their morphomatic investigation will in any case require specialized preparatory work that can only be carried out with the adequate methodological foundations from the relevant disciplines.

2. KEY TERMS

2.1 ARTIFACT

ETYMOLOGY OF THE TERM

According to its Latin root words, *ars* and *factum*, the term *artifact* denotes a product of human craftsmanship. Artifacts are *made* (*facta*), from natural materials as well as from processed or artificial materials such as clay, bronze, and glass. According to its etymology, the term refers not only to physical objects but to all products of individual or collective craftsmanship.

Artifacts are made to protect against weather and from enemies, to mark group membership and social rank, for the storage of goods and of information, for the acquisition and securing of property and power, and to appease supernatural powers. Based on their manifold purposes and requirements, different materials may be used, different forms and formats developed, and different amounts of time and resources spent in the production of artifacts. An artifact's meaning can go beyond its primary purpose, either by virtue of its function, its maker, commissioner, or user, or by peculiarities of its design. Artifacts facilitate, shape, and structure social events and everyday activities as well as religious and political processes. They make concepts and knowledge tangible in a sensually perceptible form, and in the process of giving them form change them and stabilize them in the form created.

Like the Greek word τέχνη (téchne), the Latin *ars* refers to different types of acquirable skills[1] that integrate proven methods, acquired

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[1] Cf. Robling, F.-H.: Ars. In: HWdR I, 1992, 1009–1030.– Görgemanns, H.: BNP s. v. Techne.

knowledge, and rules derived therefrom.[2] Admittedly, the ancient term for a product of craftsmanship is ἔργον (érgon) or *opus*. In Latin, there is also the word *artificium*, which can refer to both craftsmanship and its products. The term *artefactum*, on the other hand, seems to have appeared only in the 16th century. Even phrases such as "*(naves) arte factae*"[3] or "*(nummei) arte facti*"[4] are rarely found in ancient sources. The corresponding Greek word τεχνούργημα (technoúrgema) occurs only in Late Antiquity.[5] In his 1565 work on fossils, Conrad Gesner uses the phrase "*arte facta*" as a synonym for *artificiosa*, namely to differentiate craft products from products of nature like minerals and fossils.[6] Similarly, later collection indexes separate natural from artificial works. Johann Christian Kundmann differentiates between *res naturales* and *artificialia* in the title of his 1726 catalog. He divides his collection into *regnum animale*, *regnum vegetabile*, *regnum minerale*, and *arte facta*. The last category comprises not only ethnographic objects and snuff boxes, but also ancient urns, amulets, weapons, scientific instruments, and coins of all periods.[7] With this system, Kundmann also turned against the 18th-century conception of finds like stone axes and clay vessels as "*naturae lusu facta*" ("things created by a game of nature").[8]

Τέχνη (téchne) was a subject of reflection for Greek intellectuals since at least the fifth century B.C., especially the relationship between φύσις (phýsis, "nature"), τύχη (týche, "chance") and τέχνη.[9] Plato's *Laws* preserves the view that everything arises, has arisen, and will arise partly through physis, partly through techne, and partly through tyche. Through physis and tyche the greatest and most beautiful things can

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2 Vitruvius I.1.1: "*Ea (scientia* of architecture) *nascitur ex fabrica et ratiocinatione.*" "This (knowledge) is born from practice and theory." On Vitruvius I.1.15, see *infra* n. 28.

3 Florus, *Epitoma de Tito Livio* I.18.7. The same words are repeated by Iordanes, *De summa temporum uel origine actibusque gentis Romanorum* 164.

4 Marcus Cornelius Fronto, *De Orationibus* 13 (159.9–11 van den Hout).

5 The *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* cites Eusebius, Kyrill of Alexandria, and *Corpus Hermeticum* 3.4 as the earliest evidence found.

6 Gesner, C.: De omni rerum fossilium genere, gemmis, lapidibus, metallis, et huiusmodi, libri aliquot. Zurich 1565, 96–113.

7 Promptuarium rerum naturalium et artificialium Vratislaviense praecipue quas collegit D. Io. Christianus Kundmann medicus Vratislaviensis. Wroclaw 1726, 303–336.

8 Schnapp 1996, 142–148, 151–153, 266–228, 346–348.

9 Görgemanns, H.: BNP s. v. Techne.

come into being, such as the elements, heavenly bodies, living beings, and the seasons. Techne, on the other hand, can only produce lesser things. Techne is also said to have been created later and by mortals. It only produces illusory games like painting and music, which are εἴδωλα (eidola, "shadows" or "phantoms") and in no part truth. In the *Sophist*, Plato resolves the tension between physis and techne by ascribing to techne a divine (θεῖον) type and a human (ἀνθρώπινον) type, each then divided into inventive (αὐτοποιητικόν) and imitative (εἰδωλοποιικόν) types. Nature arises from divine techne (θεία τέχνη).[10] According to Aristotle, techne completes what nature itself cannot bring to an end. It emulates nature by copying the creatures of nature (*Physics* 2.8, 199a15).

Ars or τέχνη, i. e. craftsmanship, is found in many areas of practice. It is in the manual work of blacksmiths, bronze founders, potters, and sculptors, as well as that of painters and musicians; in the intellectual pursuits of physicians, architects, priests, and poets; and in the political and military practices of orators and generals.[11] *Artifact* thus denotes craft products as well as architecture, works of the visual arts, literature, rituals, music, and dramatic performances. The skills required for production or performance are applied and tested in everyday practice as well as further developed and perfected. In some fields, skills could be communicated and passed down through hands-on training and practice, sharing established artistic conventions and formal solutions. This took place not only in areas of craft production like ceramics workshops, but also in schools of philosophers and physicians.[12] In these cases, transmission could be regulated and directed. In the fifth century B.C., texts were developed for this purpose, to convert technical knowledge of individual fields into conceptual knowledge, compile it systematically, record it, and pass it on beyond a circle of immediate followers.[13] This occurred, for example, in the fields of medicine, sculpture, architecture,

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10 Plato, *Sophist* 234b–236c, 265a–268b, and esp. 265b–266a.

11 Bromand, J. / Kreis, G. (eds.): Was sich nicht sagen lässt. Das Nicht-begriffliche in Wissenschaft, Kunst und Religion. Berlin 2010.

12 On teacher/student relationships of sculptors: Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 34.50, 51, 55, 57, 60, 61, 66, 67, 72, 79, 83. On collaboration in ceramic workshops: Scheibler, I.: Griechische Töpferkunst. Herstellung, Handel und Gebrauch der antiken Tongefäße. Munich² 1995, 107–120.

13 Hare, R. M.: Philosophische Entdeckungen. In: Grewendorf, G. / Meggle, G. (eds.): Linguistik und Philosophie. Frankfurt 1974, 131–153.

weapons-making, agriculture, rhetoric, and military strategy.[14] Thus the treatise on legal argumentation by Antiphon of Rhamnous is called Τέχναι.[15] The observations, experiences, and rules of the ἰατρικὴ τέχνη, i. e. medicine, were also collected and passed down in written form going back to the fifth century B.C., in the form of the *Corpus Hippocraticum* and later in the works of Celsus and Galen. Architecture[16] and agriculture[17] are other *artes* whose rules were compiled and passed down. We also have works that deal with *Ars poetica* (Horace) and *Ars grammatica* (Aelius Donatus). A didactic poem on the art of cooking (Ἡδυπάθεια) by Archestratos of Gela from the fourth century B.C. provided Ennius with the template for a corresponding work in Latin. In the Augustan period, didactic poems about eccentric subjects must have been quite in fashion, because Ovid not only wrote an *Ars amatoria* himself, but also tells of his contemporaries writing guides on the art of playing dice, swimming, ball games, make-up, entertaining, and even on the best clay for production of ceramics (Ovid, *Tristia* II.471–490).

THE *ARS* AND ARTIFACTS OF POLYKLEITOS

The central role of τέχνη / *ars* in classical antiquity is made clear by the example of the sculptor Polykleitos. According to ancient sources, he was a student ("*discipulus*") of Ageladas of Argos,[18] likely meaning that as a young man he worked for a time in his workshop and learned the basics of his trade there. The equally-famous sculptor Myron is also said to have been a student of Ageladas.[19] Both Polykleitos and Myron learned the techniques of making bronze statues in his workshop. During Ageladas' career,[20] in the first half of the fifth century B.C., bronze cast-

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14 Sallmann, K.: BNP s. v. Technical Literature.– Fögen, Th.: Wissen, Kommunikation und Selbstdarstellung. Zur Struktur und Charakteristik römischer Fachtexte der frühen Kaiserzeit. Zetemata 134. Munich 2009.

15 Gagarin, M.: Antiphon the Athenian. Austin 2002, 101–102.

16 Vitruvius, *De architectura* I.1.1 calls it *scientia*, but also *disciplina* and *ars* (cf. I.1.11).

17 Varro, *De agricultura* I.3.

18 Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 34.55: DNO *s. v.* Polyklet der Ältere von Argos at no. 1205.

19 Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 34.57; DNO no. 720.

20 Bol, P. C.: Zur argivischen Kunst vor Polyklet. In: Bol 1990, 42–47.

7 Diskobolos by Myron (Roman copy), H. 1.55 m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 126371.

ing was refined and perfected to make possible the production of life-size, active figures, significantly expanding the expressive possibilities of Greek sculptors. Bronze statuary thus became an essential medium of ancient civilization. This required the proven mastery of several craft techniques (ch. I.2.3).

As Myron and Polykleitos learned these technical processes in the workshop of Ageladas and acquired the knowledge and skills for managing them, they used the acquired τέχνη in different ways. The two seem to have perfected the technical foundations of their art in different directions as they became famous for the use of different alloys of bronze.[21] They also used their skills for different goals. Myron created unique, bold depictions of complex movements, such as the crucial moment in the peak performance of a discus thrower (fig. 7) or the ecstatic leap of a satyr.[22] Even in modern times, the deceptive lifelikeness that characterizes his figures is famous.[23] Polykleitos put his craftsmanship toward the service of a fundamentally different ideal.[24] His statues, insofar as we know them, are characterized by a harmonious balance of movements, varying on the motif of the resting, standing figure. According to ancient writings on art, his sculptures were all based on a single model (fig. 8).[25] He was not interested in exploiting bronze's technical possibilities for spectacular, active figures, but rather the perfection of correct principles of design.

A great number of younger sculptors are said to be students of Polykleitos or students of his students.[26] He considered the rules of his τέχνη to be so important that he not only passed them down to his colleagues and students through his practice, but also produced his own treatise entitled Κανών (Canón; "canon", "standards", "guidelines"), which was read until at least the third century B.C. and was known

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21 Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 34.6: "*illo aere Myron usus est, hoc Polycletus, aequales atque condiscipuli; sic aemulatio et in materia fuit.*": "Myron used that bronze (the Aeginetan), Polykleitos this one (the Delian). They were contemporaries and studied together. Theirs was a great rivalry even in their use of materials." DNO no. 834.

22 Daltrop, G. / Bol, P. C.: Athena des Myron. Liebieghaus Monographie 8. Frankfurt 1983 esp. 29–49.– Vorster, Ch.: Römische Skulpturen des späten Hellenismus und der Kaiserzeit 1. Werke nach Vorlagen und Bildformeln des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Vatikanische Museen, Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense. Katalog der Skulpturen II 1. MAR 22. Mainz 1993, 21–25 Nr. 3–5 figs. 11–28.– For a summary see Bol, P. C.: Myron. In: Bol 2004, 25–29.

23 DNO Myron no. 751–816, especially Epigram no. 765–816.

24 Bol, P. C.: Polyklet. In: Bol 2004, 123–132.

25 Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 34.55: Statues by Polykleitos were, according to Varro "*paene ad unum exemplum.*"

26 Cf. Linfert, A.: Die Schule des Polyklet. In: Bol 1990, 240–297.

8 Doryphoros by Polykleitos, H. 2.00 m. Bronze reconstruction, University of Munich.

in excerpts in the late Roman Empire.[27] It is significant that his work interested not only writers on art but also weapons makers and physicians. Accordingly, Polykleitos' work was not only a source for the art of statuary, but also laid down basic features that could be applied to the τέχνη of other groups. This corresponds to Vitruvius' assessment that each *ars* consists of two parts: one practice-oriented ("*ex opere*"), which concerns only the respective field, and one intellectual or theoretical ("*ex ratiocinatione*"), which is also relevant to all other *artes*.[28]

In a text by Philo of Byzantium on weapons-manufacture from the third century B.C., Polykleitos is quoted, claiming "that success ('τὸ εὖ') comes about little by little through many factors."[29] According to Plutarch, Polykleitos is supposed to have said "that the work is most difficult when the clay is at the fingernail," or "that the work is most difficult when the clay comes to the fingernail."[30] A third passage in Plutarch returns to Polykleitos' work, saying that "in every work, beauty is, so to speak, the result of many quantities, which, owing to a certain symmetry and harmony, come together in a *kairos*, but ugliness comes about by accident, by a lack, or by bringing together details in the wrong way, and it comes about easily...."[31] The physician Galen reports (de placitis 5), "Beauty ... lies not in the correct proportion of the elements to each other, but rather in the parts [themselves], that is to say in one finger to the others and all the fingers to the palm and wrist and this to the forearm and forearm to the upper arm and so on, as is written in the *Canon* of Polykleitos. Polykleitos has instructed us in all proportions of the body in this book; and in his work he affirmed this lesson by creating a statue

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27 On the writing by Polykleitos: Philipp, H.: Zu Polyklets Schrift "Kanon," in: Bol 1990, 135–155.– On sculptor as author: Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 34.68: "*Artifices qui compositis voluminibus condidere.*"– 34.83: (Xenokrates) "*et de sua arte composuit volumina.*"

28 Vitruvius, *De Architectura* I.1.15: "*(…) ex duabus rebus singulas artes esse compositas, ex opere et eius ratiocinatione, ex his autem unum proprium esse eorum, qui singulis rebus sunt exercitati, id est operis effectus, alterum commune cum omnibus doctis, id est rationem (…)*": "Each of the *artes* is composed of two parts, one practical and one theoretical. One of these, namely the practice, is the concern of those specially trained in the field, while the other, theory, is common to all scholars ...."

29 Philo of Byzantium, *Belopoiiká* 50.5–9. DNO no. 1255.– Cf. Kaiser, N. in: Bol 1990, 50–51.

30 Plutarch, *De profectibus in virtute* 17, 86A; *Quaestiones convivales* II.3.2, 636C. DNO no. 1259. 1260.– Cf. Kaiser, N. in: Bol 1990, 64–65.

31 Plutarch, *De audiendo* 13, 45C–D. DNO no. 1661.

according to the rules in his treatise, calling the statue itself *Canon* as well as his text ('τὸ σύγγραμμα')."

The interpretation of these isolated and to some extent contradictory testimonies is controversial in many details.[32] It is clear, however, that Polykleitos wrote about both the general principles and the fine details of statue design. The exact consideration of the relationship of the parts of a statue even in the smallest details was a prerequisite for the achievement of beauty. His book spread the idea that the good ("τὸ εὖ" in Philo) and the beautiful ("τὸ κάλλος") were achievable through numbers and proportions.[33] At the same time, it contributed greatly to the fame of Polykleitos into modern times.[34] Aristotle, for example, may have become aware of Polykleitos through his theoretical pronouncements, and from there used him in his own work as an exemplary artist.[35] The title of Polykleitos' text became the title of any authoritative compilation of exemplary works,[36] and the idea of a harmonious relationship of parts was encountered even in Liliput by Lemuel Gulliver in the early 18th century.[37]

Galen's statement that Polykleitos' writing was exemplified by a certain statue is confirmed by other writers who also mention a figure by the artist called *Canon*.[38] Based on archaeological research it has been identified as the *Doryphoros* (Spear-bearer) (fig. 8).[39] It remains uncertain,

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32 For discussion see Philipp op. cit. (n. 27) 135–155.

33 This view is also found (without explicit reference to Polykleitos) in Plutarch, περὶ τύχης 4, 99B.

34 Zöllner, F.: Policretior manu – zum Polykletbild der frühen Neuzeit. In: Bol 1990, 450–472.

35 Aristotle, *Metaphysics* IV2.1013b.– Cf. Aristotle, *Nikomachian Ethics* VI.1141a: Polykleitos as an example of philosophical wisdom in the field of practical knowledge.

36 Cf. Montanari, F / Vogt-Spira, G.: BNP s. v. Canon.

37 Cf. Swift, J.: Gulliver's Travels into Several Remote Regions of the World, London 1877, 61: "Then they measured my right thumb, and desired no more; for by a mathematical computation, that twice round the thumb is once round the wrist, and so on to the neck and waist ...."

38 DNO no. 1234, 1239–1246 with archaeological commentary on the artwork.

39 DNO, archaeological commentary on no. 1242–1244.– Franciosi, V.: Il "Doriforo" di Policleto. Naples 2003.– Moon, W. (ed.): Polykleitos, the Doryphoros, and Tradition. Madison, WI. 1995.– Kreikenbom 1990, 59–94.– On its interpretation: Wesenberg, B.: Für eine situative Deutung des polykletischen Doryphoros, JdI 112, 1997, 59–75.– Gauer, W.: Achill oder Theseus oder Orest?

however, whether the statue was produced by Polykleitos as a reference piece for his theoretical writings or whether it was so conceived first by the art writers of the Hellenistic period and the Roman Empire. The statue, a representation of a Greek hero, was likely initially set up as a votive in a Greek sanctuary. Removed from this context and separated from its associated base, it lost its name but the knowledge of its creation by Polykleitos was preserved. Both pieces of information as well as an indication of the donor may have originally been part of an inscription, but now only the artistic attribution was of interest. At its new location, the statue was available as a template for copyists. It is one of the most frequently copied figures, with versions found not only in Greece and Italy, but also in Asia Minor, North Africa, and Syria.[40] Thus there was a double mediation of the τέχνη of Polykleitos. On the one hand, quotations from his writings were used in other texts on different subjects as an older authority. They justified and reinforced the fame of Polykleitos as an exemplary artist. On the other hand, the widespread copies of his statues made the capabilities of his techne directly observable. Lysippos, one of the most important Greek sculptors in his own right, is said to have identified the Polykleitan *Doryphoros* as his teacher.[41]

Zweierlei Heroenverehrung. Herodot, die Geschichte von Argos und die Deutung des polykletischen Doryphoros. In: Eirene. Studia Graeca et Latina 36, 2000, 166–189.

40 Reproduced in Kreikenbom 1990, 163–180.

41 Cicero, *Brutus* 296.

2.2 INTELLECT

In the view of the rhetorician Himerios, the statue of Kairos (ch. II.1.2) was the result of craftsmanship and intellectual efforts, which he designated with the word γνώμη (gnóme) (Introduction). This speaks to a whole spectrum of mental activities. *Gnóme* means not only "mind" but also "cognition," "opinion," "insight," and "reason." In the following, the term *intellect* is used in this broad sense to refer to the cognitive ability of humans to classify, correlate, and link sensory and epistemic data of any kind in order to draw further conclusions. The intellectual achievements of mankind include not only conceptual thinking and scientific knowledge, but also any kind of recording and processing of sensory input and information.[1] Each individual registers, collects, and correlates their unique impressions and observations, for example from natural processes and their effects or from spatial surroundings, as well as experienced events. In this way they structure human life, shape one's behavior, and determine the course of one's life. They can be articulated through different media such as gestures, speech, and images and are conceptualized in language. In this case they may be altered, as they must be expressed with a predetermined vocabulary, but they are also communicated as standardized information to others, who can confirm, supplement, comment upon, or controvert them. Unique observations and received accounts are linked and systematized so that regularities can be derived from them. This can lead to complex ideas regarding anthropological conditions, geographic and cosmological situations, temporal cycles, and social conditions, as well as the nature of supernatural powers and their effects. Ideas of this kind are expressed in narratives, rituals, buildings, and sculptures, but also in instruments and insignia. Precisely because of this, they can take stable form and persist over an extended period.

This is evident, for example, in how perceptions of celestial bodies and their movements were processed.[2] The course of the sun can be observed directly, and its effects experienced empirically through the

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1 Polanyi, M.: The Tacit Dimension. New York 1966.– Bromand, J. / Kreis, G. (eds.): Was sich nicht sagen lässt. Das Nicht-begriffliche in Wissenschaft, Kunst und Religion. Berlin 2010.
2 Cf. Hannah, R.: Time in Antiquity. Abington / New York 2009.

sequence of light and dark, warmth and cold. They set a rhythm to human life by alternately enabling and complicating activity and rest. Over a long period of time, the regularly recurring changes in the position of the sun, length of the days, temperature, the growth of vegetation, as well as their relationships can be established and combined with observations of the progression and recurrence of constellations of stars.[3] From this could be derived maxims for agricultural activities, which in turn could be combined with religious festivals. This created a rhythm of economic and religious activities determined by the stars. Thus, Hesiod recognizes the favorable time for sowing and plowing at the descent and rise of the Pleiades (Hesiod, *Erga* 383–387). This allows writers to name specific moments within a regular time period that must not be missed. Ideas like this later led to the development of the concept of *kairos* (ch. II.1.2).

Individual sections of the cycle may be conspicuously different through extremes in temperature and weather, as well as through empirically significant natural events like the ripening of fruits and crops or the freezing of water sources. They can be differentiated from one another by their names and refer to each other at the same time. The *Iliad* refers to spring (ἔαρ; éar) as the time of buds and flowers (II.89, VI.148) and rain showers (VIII.307). For the summer there are two names—a hot season with hailstorms (XXII.151) called θέρος (théros), and the late summer with the rising of Sirius (XXII.25–31), sowing (XXI.346), and heavy rains (XVI.385) called ὀπώρη (opóre). The winter (χειμών, cheimón) is characterized by heavy rains (III.4), unbearable cold (XVII.549), and raging torrents (XXI.283, XXIII.420). The *Odyssey* associates spring with the increasing length of days (XVIII.367, XX.301) and the song of the nightingale (XXII.301), and winter with cold and ice (XIV.472–488), storms (XIV.566), and snow (IV.566). It distinguishes θέρος and ὀπώρη, but calls them a pair belonging together (XI.192, XII.76, XXII.301). The names and classifications here are first recorded at the end of the eighth century B.C. but may actually be much older. They found their lasting forms through inclusion in the Homeric epics. According to Aischylos (*Prometheus* 454–458) it was Prometheus who taught humans to recog-

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3 Simmer, C.: Warum vier Jahreszeiten? Die klimatologische Perspektive. In: Greub 2013, 49–55.– Signs of the zodiac: Gundel, H. / Böker, R.: Zodiakos. Der Tierkreis in der Antike. In: RE XA. Munich 1972, 462–709.– The rise of Sirius in autumn: Homer, *Iliad* XXII.25–31.– Constellations (Pleiades, Hyades, Orion, Ursa Major) alongside the sun and moon on the shield of Achilles: Homer, *Iliad* XVIII.483–489.

nize the seasons from the rising and setting of the stars. Established terms like "summer" and "winter" stabilize the perception of the individual periods as well as their associated ideas and expectations. If these terms are understood as names, then the designated processes can be reproduced as human figures. Repeated depictions lead to the development of a set iconography that accentuates certain characteristics of the seasons (ch. II.1.1).

Changes in the shape and brightness of the moon can also be traced as a regular cycle that runs parallel but not synchronous with the sequence of the seasons and constellations.[4] The time periods from new moon to new moon can thus also be named and distinguished, resulting in 12 months in a year. The difference with the solar year can be compensated for by adding additional days.[5] Unlike the seasons, the months are further subdivided by a continuous or rhythmic count of the days they contain.[6] The days themselves are also structured according to the course of the sun,[7] creating a finely-woven pattern of time that is visible and active in clocks and calendars.

The seemingly powerful stars were perceived as supernatural powers that were worshiped as individual deities and integrated in a mythological system. They, too, received a set iconography that made representations of them recognizable and solidified conceptions of their power and individuality. Observation of the stars also led to their systematic collection in star catalogs and to both logically deduced and speculative assertions, which were developed and handed down over the centuries as astronomical knowledge or as perceptions of magic (ch. II.2.2).

Systematized knowledge can be gained in various ways. It was gained partly through the repeatedly confirmed experiences of everyday life, and partly built up from the corroborated accounts of others. Information on a particular subject—such as the planets, medicinal plants, or political

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4 Samuel, A. E.: Greek and Roman Chronology in Classical Antiquity. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaften 7. Munich 1972.– Cf. Homer, *Odyssey* XI.294–295 (changing of days and months as parallel to the changing of the seasons), XIV.162–163, XIX.307 (waxing and waning of the moon as an indication of time).
5 Hunger, H.: Kalender. In: Edzard, D. O. (ed.): Reallexikon der Assyriologie und der Vorderasiatischen Archäologie V. Berlin / New York 1976–1980, 297–303.– Rüpke, J. / Freydank, H.: BNP s. v. Calendar.
6 Cf. Samuel op. cit. 57–138 on calendars of Greek cities and territories.
7 Division of morning, midday, and evening: Homer, *Iliad* XXI.111.

9-10 Two silver cups from the Roman villa at Boscoreale, made as a pair. Skeletons inscribed with names of the philosophers Zenon and Epicurus (left) and the poets Menander and Archilochos (right), H. 10.4 cm each. Paris, Musée du Louvre Bj 1923 and 1924.

constitutions—can be specifically sought out and collected. The organization and hierarchy of information, by which common ideals are represented as analogies to previously established systems, is crucial. Thus, the fixed order of the letters of the alphabet, according to the collected concepts and artifacts discussed, can be an effective ordering criterion, since the order of the letters was determined from the beginning and maintained as much as possible.[8] Likewise, symbolically-charged numbers may account for a system of thought that set the number of seasons to four and the number of deadly sins, wonders of the world, and sacraments to seven.[9] An especially intensive and differentiated production of knowledge demands classification and a comprehensible structure, so that specific information can be found in context, but also so that outdated, uncertain, or unimportant information can be removed or qualified.[10] Areas of knowledge can be interconnected and complementary, but they

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8 Wachter, R.: Ein schwarzes Loch der Geschichte. Die Erfindung des griechischen Alphabets. In: Ernst, W. / Kittler, F. (eds.): Die Geburt des Vokalalphabets aus dem Geist der Poesie. Munich 2006, 34–35.– Wachter, R.: BNP s. v. Alphabet.

9 von Naredi-Rainer, P.: Die Zahl 4 in Kunst, Architektur und Weltvorstellung. In: Greub 2013, 17–48.– Breuer, I. / Goth, S. / Moll, B. / Roussel, M. (eds.): Die Sieben Todsünden. Morphomata 27. Paderborn 2015.

10 Cf. ch. II.4.2 for systematization of knowledge about antiquity.

can also exist unconnected to each other or even compete with each other for validity. One such discrepancy can be found, for example, in cosmological concepts in antiquity. While mythological accounts became manifest in literature and sculpture, mathematicians and astronomers developed explanations of astronomical phenomena through scientific observations (ch. II.2.2). A similar coexistence of contradictory ways of thinking characterized ancient religion, where rational, philosophical conceptions competed with contemporary mythological explanatory models (ch. II.2.1).

Areas of systematized knowledge include the fields of philosophy, medicine, religion, and magic; knowledge of history, geography, and the natural world; concepts of structures of power; as well as expertise in *artes* (ch. I.2.1). Once established, systems of knowledge can remain active for centuries or be reactivated after centuries, such as the *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum* of Varro or the medical writings of Galen. This also applies particularly to the *Naturalis historia* of Pliny the Elder and the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville from the early seventh century A. D.[11] The persistency of systems of knowledge is also clear, for example, in Montfaucon's ordering of antiquities, which ultimately dates back to Varro and remained in use during the 18th century (ch. II.4.2). On the other hand, scientifically-systematized knowledge can decline, becoming fragmented or simplified, as can be observed in the field of philosophy with the well-known "Sayings of the Seven Sages."[12] Along the same lines are the proverbs on two silver cups from Boscoreale, which are decorated with skeletons bearing the names of poets and philosophers (figs. 9–10). Under the skeleton of the poet Moschion is the inscription "σκηνὴ ὁ βίος" ("Life is a stage"); under Epicurus is the aphorism "τὸ τέλος ἡδονή" ("Pleasure is the goal").[13] Complex systems of academic philosophy are reduced to curt slogans. The study on Kairos also shows

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11 Berno, F. R. in BNP Suppl. I 5 s. v. Plinius the Elder (Gaius Plinius Caecilius Secundus maior), Naturalis historia.– Pabst, B.: Die Antike im Welt-Buch. Zum Umgang mit antiken Wissenssystemen und -inhalten im Bereich der mittelalterlichen Enzyklopädik. In: Boschung/Wittekind 2008, 33–63.

12 Althoff, J. / Zeller, D. (eds.): Die Worte der Sieben Weisen. Darmstadt 2006.– Lang 2012, 32–38.– Hammerstaedt, J.: Philosophie auf Stein. In: Blamberger/ Boschung 2011, esp. 244–246.

13 Dunbabin, K. M. D.: Sic erimus cuncti … The Skeleton in Graeco-Roman Art, JdI 101, 1986, 185–255. esp. 224–230, figs. 37–38.– Baratte, F.: Musée du Louvre. Le trésor d'orfèvrerie romaine de Boscoreale. Paris 1986, 65–67.

that complex statements can be progressively reduced to one random and even rather trivial aspect (ch. II.1.2). Such isolated parts may mean a simplification and thus a corruption of knowledge, but they are nevertheless easier to grasp and therefore particularly effective.

The role of artifacts is evident in these processes. Speech, writing, and works of art are efficient and enduring means for the fixing, mediation, ordering, and transmission of pieces of knowledge. At all levels of knowledge generation, medium plays a crucial role. Unique observations and experiences are changed when they are expressed in language or translated into an image. Thus, the concept of a powerful father-god was better defined after being formulated in Homeric hexameter, and it was changed again, decisively when the sculptor Pheidias made it concrete in a colossal statue (ch. I.1.1). Systematized knowledge can also be translated into monumental complexes and thus strikingly visualized (ch. I.1.2). Concepts of the past, based on the collection and ordering of historical accounts, can be made clear and evocative with the combination of newly-created statue galleries and carefully-edited texts (ch. II.2.3). Scientific knowledge can also be expressed in works of art and utilitarian objects, as can be demonstrated for cosmological knowledge in antiquity as well as for antiquarian scholarship of the modern age (ch. II.2.2 and II.4). The organization of artifacts within an assemblage is dynamically linked to the production, safeguarding, and transmission of knowledge. While this knowledge can be gained through the analysis and interpretation of objects, the organization and assembly of artifacts reflect further ideas about their meaning and their context and make them clear and effective.[14]

In images of various kinds and functions, in architecture, and in non-literary written sources, knowledge is only rarely presented in a methodically prepared and conceptually clarified form, but these sources can shed light upon aspects omitted from a systematization of literature. While there were local chronicles in the Greek world,[15] sometimes also published in official inscriptions, Roman literary historiography only captured local events when they were significant to imperial history. This is true even if lists of local officials were linked to historical events, as in

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14 Förster, L. (ed.): Transforming Knowledge Orders. Museums, Collections and Exhibitions. Morphomata 16. Paderborn 2014.

15 Jacoby, F.: Die Fragmente griechischer Historiker IIIB. Leiden 1954–1955, Nr. 297–607.– Meister, K.: Die griechische Geschichtsschreibung. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Hellenismus. Stuttgart 1990, 128–131.

the *Fasti Ostienses*.[16] The coherent history of a single city or section of the population was for the most part the subject of local traditions or had to be pieced together in antiquity from separate sources. A resident of Roman Cologne, for example, could access historical knowledge through direct participation in current events. As part of the urban public, he saw governors of the province of Germania Inferior come and go, and experienced troop movements, military revolts, and border skirmishes up close or from a distance. Some of these events might directly affect his personal safety or his economic and social circumstances. He learned of events in other places through word of mouth or written messages from travelers and business partners. Visits by the emperor or his relatives to the provincial capital were rare but spectacular events. During the *adventus*, the ceremonial arrival and welcome of the emperor into the city, the populace witnessed the power of the ruler and the mechanisms of his court embodied, and at the same time demonstrated their own loyalty and approval by their presence and acclamation. Details such as the name, title, and appearance of the emperor could already be known through inscriptions, coins, statues, and reliefs. Decrees and speeches of officials informed the public of their plans, deeds, and achievements.[17] Continuity and change of rule can be seen especially in public monuments (ch. II.3.1). Statues of the emperors in public squares, official buildings, and sanctuaries made clear the prominent position of the ruler and also made him a point of reference for his contemporaries in the provinces. If the form and context of monuments attested to the permanence, legitimacy, and stability of the empire, then the behavior of the populace, who moved among the monumental arches and other monuments, was an expression of subordination and loyalty (ch. II.3.1). The reading of inscriptions and viewing of artworks, such as on coins in circulation, could recall not only the current situation, but also events long past. Such information could be clear and unambiguous, but it initially stood isolated and depended upon the viewer and his prior knowledge to be connected, supplemented, and evaluated. Nevertheless, it shaped both individual and collective conceptions of the past of one's own family and community.

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16 Cf. Rüpke, J.: Geschichtsschreibung in Listenform: Beamtenlisten unter römischen Kalendern, Philologus 141, 1997, 65–85.
17 Eck, W.: Köln in römischer Zeit. Geschichte einer Stadt im Rahmen des Imperium Romanum. Cologne 2004.

2.3 MATERIALIZATION

MATERIALS AND SKILLS

The materials used to make an artifact can have their own specific meanings. The famous over-life-size cult statue of the goddess of revenge, Nemesis at Rhamnous, was made by Agorakritos, a student of Pheidias, around 420 B.C. (figs. 11–12). According to Greek tradition, the Persians had brought along a block of Parian marble during their invasion of Attica, from which they intended to make their victory monument. After their withdrawal, the block was left behind and eventually utilized by Agorakritos for his statue of Nemesis. Consequently, the cult statue was at the same time a monument to the Athenians' victory over the Persians.[1] It was a materialization of the hubris of the barbarians and their punishment, itself the work of the goddess of revenge. Of course, the added significance of the victory monument was not derived from the material itself, which an attentive observer could at best have identified as Parian marble, but rather though the rumored history of the block, that is, through its discursive framing. This could be determined assuredly with an appropriate inscription. For example, we have a Latin epigram on the monument of L. Aemilius Paullus at Delphi, which states that the Roman general took the pillar (fig. 13)[2] from the Macedonian king Perseus:

L(ucius) Aimilius L(uci) f(ilius) inperator de rege Perse / Macedonibusque cepet

"General Lucius Aemilius, son of Lucius, captured it from King Perseus and the Macedonians." Additionally, a comment attributed to Aemilius Paullus justifies the takeover of the monument, saying that the con-

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1 DNO no. 1141 (Pausanias I.33.2–3), 1148–1150 (*Anthologia Graeca* 16.222; 16.263; 16.221), 1151 (Ausonius, Epigram 22). On the statue: Despinins, G. I.: Συμβολὴ στη μελέτη του ἔργου του Αγορακρίτου. Athens 1971. Ehrhardt, W.: Versuch einer Deutung des Kultbildes der Nemesis von Rhamnus, Antike Kunst 40, 1997, 29–39.
2 Boschung, D.: Überlegungen zum Denkmal des Aemilius Paullus in Delphi. In: Evers, C. / Tsingarida, A.: Rome et ses provinces. Genèse et diffusion d'une image du pouvoir. Hommages à J.-Ch. Balty. Brussels 2001, 59–72.

11 Cult statue of Nemesis at Rhamnous; Work of Agorakritos around 420 B.C. Reconstruction Giorgos Despinis.

12 Roman copy of Nemesis, H. 1.93 m. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 2086.

quered must make room for the conquerors (Plutarch, *Aemilius Paullus* 28.4). Thus, the material of the pillar, as well as the inscription, reliefs, and statue became an overt testament to the Roman victory over the once powerful Macedonians.

According to Pliny, a colossal statue of Jupiter made from breast-plates, greaves, and helmets captured in the victory over the Samnites was set up on the Capitoline in the third century B.C. Given the size of the statue, which was visible from the Alban Hills some 20 miles away, thousands of Samnite weapons must have been collected, crushed, melted down, and reworked (Pliny, *Natural History* 34.43). The size of the statue gave an idea of the overwhelming quantity of spoils and thus the magnitude of the victory, and Pliny's account shows that that memory
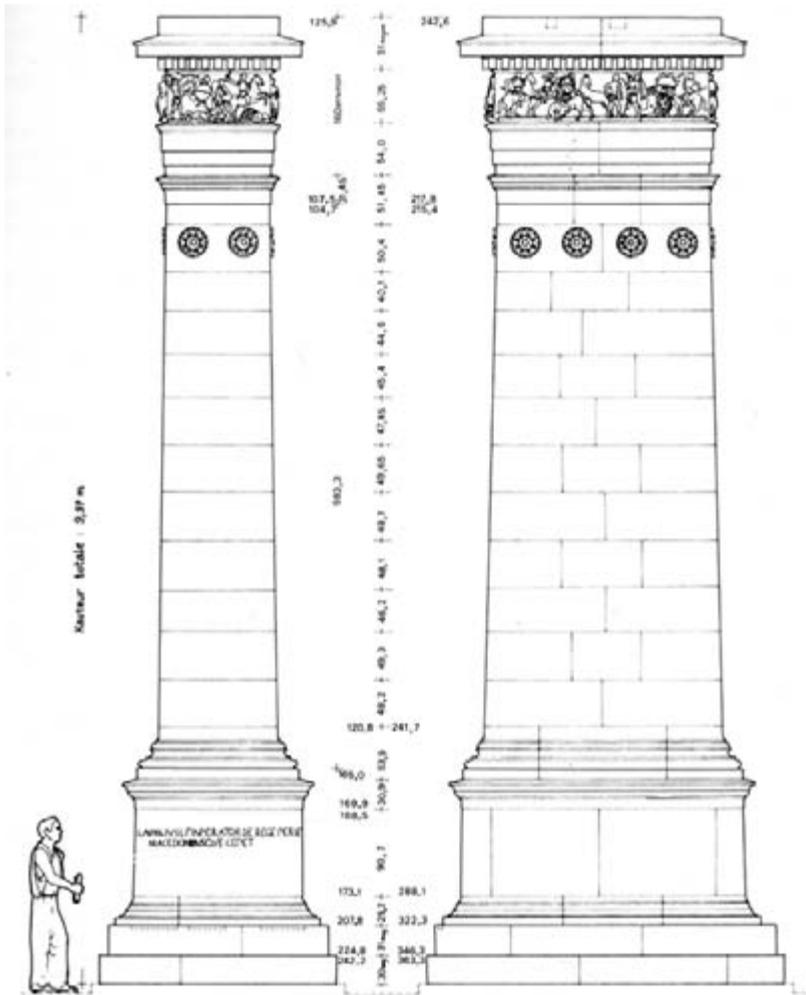
13 Delphi, Apollo sanctuary. Pillar monument of Aemilius Paullus, without the crowning equestrian statue. H. 9.97 m. Reconstruction Anne Jacquemin.

lasted for centuries. But even without such an attribution, a statue's material had its own, albeit more general, meaning. Parian marble was considered especially high quality and was prized accordingly.[3] The trans-

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3 Schilardi, D. U. / Katsonopoulou, D. (eds.): Paria lithos. Parian quarries, marble and workshops of sculpture. Athens 2000. Parian marble as identified by Pausanias: I.14.7 (Athens, Aphrodite Urania); I.33.2 (Rhamnous, Nemesis);

lucent surface lends figures a bright, luminous appearance that could be accentuated with polychromy. Late Antique and Medieval authors, who only knew Parian marble from ancient literature, also considered it the epitome of high quality.[4]

Other materials are also meaningful in terms of content. Bronze, as a material for statues, conveyed hardness and durability. Moreover, metal was considered more precious than marble.[5] Engraved gems were ascribed with magical potency based on their material and color. They were supposed to stop bleeding, help a suppliant before a king, and fend off hail, locusts, snakes, and scorpions.[6] They therefore have special, extraordinary powers, and can be considered *charismatic materials*, according to Max Weber's definition of charisma.[7] Ivory and gold, used to make elaborate cult statues, also possessed "extraordinary properties" (ch. II.2.1). Hard stones used in the production of statues, like dark basalt and porphyry, are likewise charismatic materials. Their color is immediately striking. The basalt from the quarry at Wadi Hammamat in the desert of eastern Egypt is reminiscent of patinated bronze when polished (pl. 2).[8] The dark red color of porphyry matches the purple hue associated with rulers since the Hellenistic period (pl. 3).[9] Both stones were rare.

II.2.8 (Corinth, Tyche); II.13.4 (Sikyon, Hera); II.29.1 (Epidauros, Asklepios and Epione); II.35.3 (Hermione, Tyche); IV.31.6 (Messene); VIII.25.4–6 (Onkeion); IX.20.4 (Tanagra, Dionysos).

4 Ausonius (*Ordo urbium nobilium* 19.14–17) praises a temple in Narbonne made of Parian marble. The medieval report of Magister Gregorius on statues in Rome describes the material several times as "Parian marble": Huygens 1970, 20 Z.286 (Venus); 24 Z.411 (Cleopatra); 30 Z.576 (sow) "ex Pario marmore."

5 Cain, H.-U.: Römische Marmorkandelaber. Mainz 1985, 9–12.

6 Zwierlein-Diehl, E.: Antike Gemmen und ihr Nachleben. Berlin/New York 2007, 212–213.

7 I owe this term to Stephanie Gänger, who conducted a workshop entitled "Charismatic Substances" in Cologne with Morphomata in May 2015.

8 Klemm, R. / Klemm, D. D.: Stones and Quarries in Ancient Egypt. London 2008, 297–311.– Schneider, R. M.: Bunte Barbaren. Orientalenstatuen aus farbigem Marmor in der römischen Repräsentationskunst. Worms 1986, 158 n. 1187.– Belli Pasqua, R.: Sculture di età romana in 'basalto.' Xenia antiqua monografie 2. Rome 1995, cat. 18–25, 37–39, 51. 54–56 pl. 21–33, 43–47, 53, 55–62.

9 Peacock, D. / Maxfield, V.: The Roman Imperial Quarries. Survey and Excavation at Mons Porphyrites 1994–1998. 2, The Excavations, London 2007, esp. 414–427.– Klemm / Klemm op. cit. 269–280.– Del Bufalo, D.: Red Imperial Porphyry. Power and Religion, Rome 2012.

Their quarrying required a high level of organization and significant resources, and specialized workshops were needed for their processing. The use of these unusual materials made sculptures striking and special. Although the figure and the head of the statue of Agrippina the Younger from the Caelian in Rome followed common types, the use of rare and precious materials made it a spectacular and unique piece (ch. III.3.1).

Some raw materials were readily available, while others were scarce—and thus more precious—due to controls on mining and trade. Some materials can be worked immediately while others require complicated processing first. Production processes themselves are of differing complexity. Some require intensive (and often controlled) training, while others are more easily learned. Different materials each allow specific methods of working, each suitable for particular functions, formats, and settings. With proper preparation, clay, glass, and metal can be pressed or poured into molds, allowing for the production of a series of largely similar artifacts. Stone, ivory, and wood require working in from the exterior surface, gradually removing excess material to reach the desired shape. Multicolored stones can be trimmed and arranged into patterns. Colored material can be ground, mixed with a binder and applied as paint. Wool or silk can be dyed, spun into thread, and woven into patterns or figure (pl. 4a–b).

Early examples show the significance of materials and the production techniques they require for ancient sculpture. The earliest known large-scale figures in Greek art, from the period around 700 B.C., are *sphyrelata*, i. e. they were made from bronze sheets hammered around a wooden core.[10] This technique made it possible to depict figures in motion, with arms separated from the body, spread out, or thrown forward. The use of marble in statuary, which starts toward the middle of the seventh century B.C., required a different working process, beginning in the quarry with the selection of the stone and working out the rough form.[11] This is seen in a colossal statue of Dionysos left unfinished in a

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[10] Sphyrelata from Dreros: Kaminski, G.: Dädalische Plastik. In: Bol 2002, 83–85, 299–300 fig. 157a–e.– Bumke, H.: Statuarische Gruppen in der frühen griechischen Kunst. Berlin 2004, 45–54.

[11] Boschung, D. / Pfanner, M.: Antike Bildhauertechnik. Vier Untersuchungen an Beispielen in der Münchner Glyptothek, Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst 39, 1988, 7–28.

14 Head of unfinished colossal statue of Dionysos, H. total 10.70 m. Naxos, quarry at Apollona.

marble quarry on Naxos (fig. 14).[12] Already in this phase of work, the size and shape of the statue were established. The most important body parts were roughed out with coarse tools: head with eye sockets, nose, and beard; shoulders, chest, arms, legs, hands, and feet. Several other statues left in quarries are testament to the same procedure. Once the partially worked piece was removed from the quarry, it could be worked further in the sculpture workshop or at sculpture's final location. A head of a sphinx in the Munich Glyptothek shows how surfaces were alternately smoothed out and divided again with a pointed chisel.[13] This way of working, in which three-dimensional volumes were gradually cut away from the stone, favored the production of closed figure types which preserved the volume of the figure. Thus, kouroi and korai—frontal, stand-

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12 Gruben, G.: Naxos und Delos. Studien zur archaischen Architektur der Kykladen, JdI 112, 1997, 294–300.
13 Boschung/Pfanner op. cit. 9–11.

ing figures of nude young men and clothed women with arms joined to the body—were the most important forms of expression in Greek sculpture for more than a century (ch. I.2.4). A new technology was developed in the late sixth century B.C. that came to be definitive of fifth-century sculpture—the casting of large statues in bronze. The stability of the material allowed the representation of freely moving figures, and the older figure types were soon abandoned.

The example of bronze casting makes it clear just how complicated and demanding manufacturing techniques could be.[14] For the indirect lost-wax technique, which Myron and Polykleitos used for their statues (ch. I.2.1), first a model is made, from which a negative mold consisting of several pieces is taken. From this a wax casting is made, stabilized with a clay core so that the negative mold can be removed. The wax layer corresponds to the final thickness of bronze, so its surface must be worked carefully. After this the model is enclosed in precisely fitting clay molds, and the wax is melted out and replaced with molten bronze. After it cools, the clay coating can be removed, and the bronze surface cleaned, smoothed, and chased. Individual parts are poured separately and joined or inlaid in different materials. These delicate procedures required an exact knowledge of the materials, their properties, and their reaction to heating and cooling. The raw materials of clay and wax had to be properly refined and processed, and the casting pit and smelting furnace expertly prepared. For the casting itself the bronze had to be smelted from carefully selected materials in the proper mixture and then poured into the prepared casting mold at precisely the right moment. Finishing work on the statue required special tools for joining the separate parts, fixing minor flaws in the casting, smoothing and applying patina to the surface, and finally inlaying different colored materials for the eyes, eyelashes, lips, teeth, and nipples. Only those individuals or workshops who had mastered all of these technical challenges could venture to take on the detailed planning and artistic design of figures.

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14 Zimmer, G. / Hackländer, N. (eds.): Der Betende Knabe. Original und Experiment. Frankfurt 1997.– Zimmer, G.: Griechische Bronzegusswerkstätten. Mainz 1990, esp. 34–74, 127–180.– Mattusch, C. C.: Greek Bronze Statuary. From the Beginnings through the fifth Century B.C. Ithaca/London 1988, esp. 12–30, 219–240.

FORMAT

The significance of format for the effect of archaeological monuments has been much studied.[15] The nature of their availability and perception depended first upon their size. Small-format images like engraved gems and bronze statuettes were easy to manage. They could be transported without major expense and presented or concealed as desired. Statues and architectural reliefs were set in stable contexts and thus how they were perceived was permanently fixed. Size and proportions also determined representational possibilities. Miniature figures on gems or silverware, even when executed with the greatest precision, could only reproduce limited details. Large-format scenes or forms figures could be elaborated to a much greater extent, and even occasionally integrated additional miniature images, like in embroidery on garments (pl. 4a-b), in jewelry, or in the decoration of furniture. For reliefs, the dimensions were often determined by the type of support or the setting. This in turn, influenced the composition of the image. The Arch of Titus in Rome provides a good example.

When the decision was made to build a monumental arch on the Via Sacra dedicated to the deified Titus, it was also decided to depict the triumph over the Judeans in A.D. 71 twice (figs. 15–16)—once in the large reliefs on the side walls of the passageway and a second time on the exterior frieze over the arch. The general framework of the images was determined and limited by both the architecture and their localization. The frieze is one and a half feet (45 cm) tall and runs about 37 meters in length around the arch (Pfanner 1983, 82–90). These dimensions are the result of the design and chosen architectural order which provided for certain proportions. The figures are carved in high relief and reach a height of 40 cm, at most a quarter life-size. On the other hand, the length of the frieze offered the opportunity to depict a great number of figures. On the preserved portion of about 8 meters are 38 loosely distributed togati, sacrificial attendants, and animals. The complete frieze would

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15 Stähler, K.: Zur Bedeutung des Formats. Eikon, Beiträge zur antiken Bildsprache 3. Münster 1996.– Himmelmann 1989, 69–83.– Differing scale in portraiture: Kreikenbom, D.: Griechische und römische Kolossalporträts bis zum späten ersten Jahrhundert n. Chr. Berlin 1992.– Dahmen, K.: Untersuchungen zu Form und Funktion kleinformatiger Porträts der römischen Kaiserzeit. Paderborn 2001.– Ruck, B.: Die Großen dieser Welt. Kolossalporträts im antiken Rom. Heidelberg 2007.– Lang 2012.
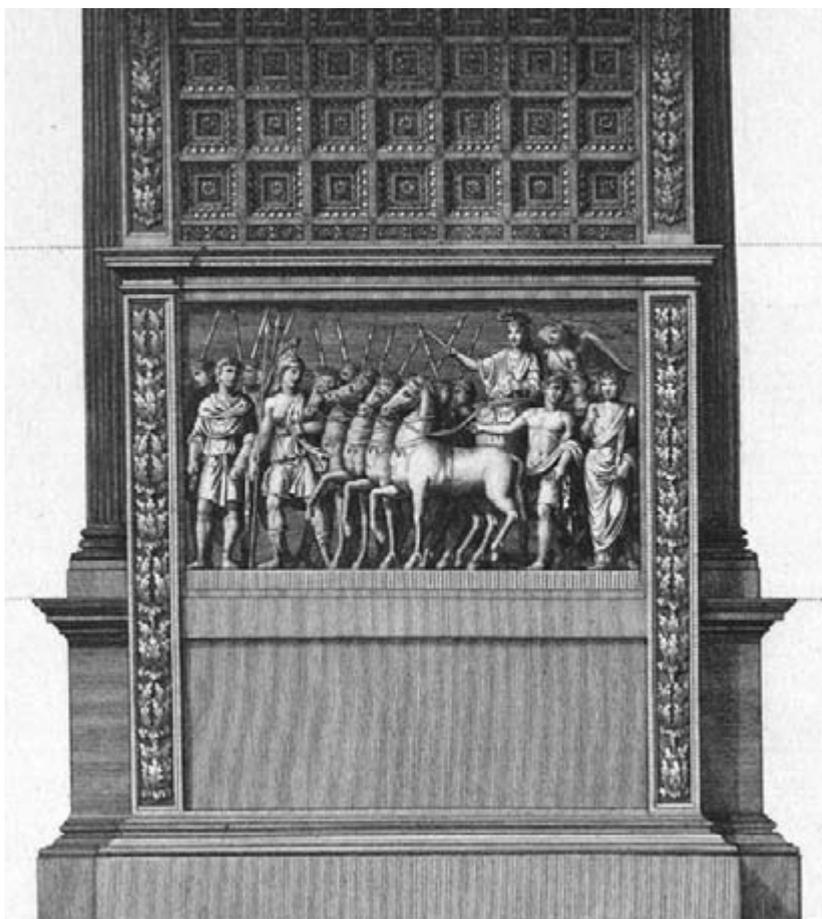
15a-b Rome, Arch of Titus; Locations of triumphal representations in architecture. **a** Small frieze on the front; **b** Passageway. From A. Desgodetz, Les édifices antiques de Rome 1682/1822 pl. 76–77.
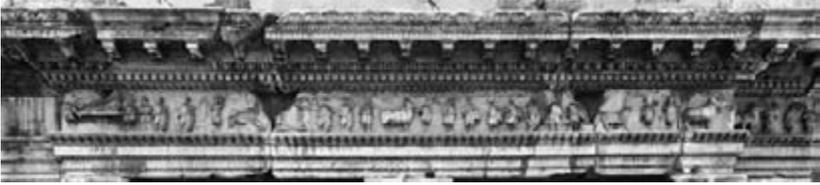
16a–b Rome, Arch of Titus; Triumph over Judaea. **a** Small Frieze, H. 45 cm.
b Passageway Relief, H. 2.00 m.

have included about 180 figures. Here, the triumphal procession is illustrated with all of its numerous, characteristic groups and participants.

The dimensions of the reliefs on either side of the passageway (Pfanner 1983, 44–76) were also determined by the architecture. The height was limited to the space between the impost moldings, on which the vault rests, and the bases of the pylons. The width was limited to the length between the engaged pilasters, or the depth of the arch. This resulted in a surface of 3.8 by 2 meters on each side of the passageway that could be used for the figural relief and allowed for much larger figures than on the frieze (Pfanner 1983, 44), but a more limited number. In this especially visible area were depicted in detail the two most important groups in the long procession—on one side Titus as *triumphator* with his attendants, and on the other the spoils from the temple in Jerusalem.

The role of an architectural setting in the formatting of images is even more apparent in the case of the Herakles metopes from the Temple

of Zeus at Olympia.[16] The later canonical "twelve labors" are collected here for the first time. The number of labors, as well as their representation in individual scenes of two or three figures, is directly related to where they were chosen to be displayed. The architectural order of the temple called for a Doric frieze of triglyphs and metopes at the narrow ends of the naos (the central structure of the temple). This marked the entrance to the pronaos and cella with the world-famous cult statue of Zeus on the east side, and on the west side to the rear opisthodomos. The width of the naos (16.39 m) required two columns to bridge the opening at each end, so that there were three intercolumniations with two metopes each. Their height of 1.6 m and width of approximately 1.5 m is the result of the prescribed rhythm of the frieze and the proportions of the building as a whole (fig. 17). Because the metopes were used for figural reliefs, they were made with especially prized Parian marble, while the triglyphs were made of limestone.[17] So, for the depiction of the labors of Herakles, there were six evenly spaced, approximately square panels on each side of the temple, large enough for nearly life-size figures. The theme continued on both sides of the temple, so a sequence of six scenes structured by the triglyph frieze was created for both the front of the naos in the east and the backside in the west. The series begins on the front, over the pronaos, with Herakles presenting the Erymanthian boar to a frightened Eurystheus, followed by the taming of the man-eating mares of Diomedes in Thrace, killing the triple-bodied Geryon on the western edge of the world, stealing the golden apples from the garden of the Hesperides (fig. 18), and abducting the hellhound Kerberos from the underworld. The series concludes with the cleaning of the stables of King Augeias of Elis, which Herakles accomplishes with the help of the goddess Athena (fig. 19). In this series of images, the hero begins his labors near Olympia on Mount Erymanthos, then performs four impressive labors on the edges of the globe before returning to the area vicinity of Olympia in Elis.

The first three metopes over the opisthodomos depict labors of Herakles in the eastern Peloponnese: the hero with the slain lion in Nemea, the killing of the Hydra in the swamps at Lerna, and Herakles

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16 Kyrieleis, H.: Pelops, Herakles, Theseus. Zur Interpretation der Skulpturen des Zeustempels von Olympia, JdI 127/128, 2012/2013, esp. 84–94 with older citations.

17 Curtius, E. / Adler, F. (eds.): Olympia. Die Ergebnisse der von dem Deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabungen I. Die Baudenkmäler. Berlin 1892, 9–10.
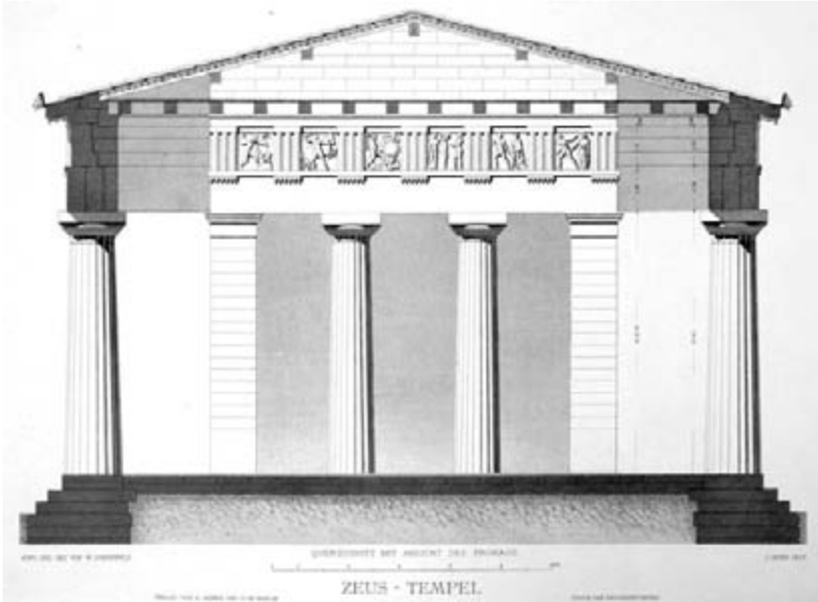
17 Temple of Zeus at Olympia; reconstructed section through the porch with the Doric frieze over the entrance to the pronaos.

18-19 Temple of Zeus at Olympia; two metopes from the Doric frieze over the entrance to the pronaos. **18** Herakles bearing the heavens while Atlas brings the apples of the Hesperides. **19** Herakles cleaning the Augeian stables with the help of the goddess Athena. H. each 1.60 m. Olympia, Archaeological Museum L 95 and L 97.

20 Roman sarcophagus depicting the canonical Labors of Herakles, H. 73 cm. Mantua, Palazzo Ducale.

with the downed birds from Lake Stymphalia. This is followed by the capture of the Cretan Bull and the Keryneian Hind, and finally the retrieval of the golden belt of the Amazon queen near the Black Sea.

Their installation on the temple divided the twelve labors into two sequences that were viewed separately. The compilation of a complete cycle was not intended. This happened only some time later, perhaps at the end of the fourth century B.C., or during the Hellenistic period at the latest. These same twelve labors, either in selections or as a whole, were repeated over and again in visual art and literature. Since the first century A.D. (Diod. IV.11.3–26.4), the series begins with the killing of the Nemean Lion, whose pelt the hero wears thereafter. The other Peloponnesian labors follow, then those in more remote locales. Stealing the apples of the Hesperides, as a symbol of immortality, or the abduction of Kerberos, understood as the overcoming of death, complete the cycle as the twelfth labor.[18] Thus the labors are depicted on a Roman sarcophagus from the second century A.D. as a biographical sequence of images, made evident with the increasing beard growth of the protagonist.[19] Starting with the lion's capture, ten labors are depicted on the front and the other two on the short sides (fig. 20). The choice of scenes obviously goes back to the metopes of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, but not their formal arrangement. Literary sources served as intermediaries. They passed down the collection of twelve stories, but did not fix their iconographic details, allowing for new visual configurations.

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18 Kaeser, B. in: Wünsche, R. (ed.): Herakles Hercules. Munich 2003, 56–68.
19 Jongste, P. F. B.: The Twelve Labours of Hercules on Roman Sarcophagi. Rome 1992.

Early frieze sarcophagi make it clear how influential the dimensions and proportions of images could be on the development of new visual vocabularies.[20] Their dimensions were determined by their function as a container for an outstretched human body. When, around A.D. 100, sculptors in Rome began regularly decorating low, elongated stone sarcophagi with ornamental and figural reliefs, they used models from various artistic genres, including images from earlier funerary altars and urns, individual freestanding sculptures, and motifs from wall paintings, engraved gems, and silver vessels.[21] In all cases, it was necessary to adapt the model to the format of the sarcophagus. Figures had to be enlarged or scaled down. Scenes were sometimes cropped or expanded. The garland decoration of funerary altars and urns was most easily adapted. The narrow side panels were decorated with one hanging garland, and the longer front side with an arrangement of two or three. Sarcophagus workshops used standing figures like erotes to hold the garlands, an arrangement previously found on funerary altars. Figures or groups of figures could be inserted in the semicircular areas above the garlands. It is not uncommon to find the same motifs used on funerary altars.[22] Sometimes images were chosen in accordance with a common theme. The four relief scenes of a garland sarcophagus show different moments in the myth of Aktaion, on the front Diana bathing and the death of Aktaion, and on the sides hunters feeding their hounds and the recovery of Aktaion's body.[23] Despite their unity in terms of content, the images are hybrids, since their iconographic models come from different genres and periods.[24] For example, the scene on the left-hand side (fig. 21), with

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20 For adults, this required a sarcophagus with external dimensions of at least 1.80 m long, 60 cm wide, and 35 cm high.

21 Herdejürgen, H.: Beobachtungen an den Lünettenreliefs hadrianischer Girlandensarkophage, Antike Kunst 32, 1989, 17–26.– Jäger, J.: Die mythologischen Lünettenreliefs stadtrömischer Girlandensarkophage. Eine motivgeschichtliche Untersuchung. Würzburg 2017.

22 Boschung, D.: Grabaltäre mit Girlanden und frühe Girlandensarkophage. Zur Genese der kaiserzeitlichen Sepulkralkunst. In: Koch, G. (ed.): Grabeskunst der römischen Kaiserzeit. Mainz 1993, 37–42.

23 Boschung 2015, 215–231.– Grassinger, D.: Die Konstruktion der Mythenbilder. In: Boschung/Jäger 2014, 321–340.– Jäger op. cit. 84–123.

24 Blome, P.: Begram und Rom. Zu den Vorbildern des Aktaionsarkophag im Louvre. In: Antike Kunst 20, 1977, 43–53.– Herdejürgen op. cit. (as n. 21) 23–24.– Grassinger, D.: Die mythologischen Sarkophage 1. ASR XII 1. Berlin 1999, 103–107.

21 Side of the Aktaion sarcophagus depicting hunters with their dogs. Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 459.

two hunters tending to their dogs in a rural sanctuary, initially had no direct connection to the myth of Aktaion. The formal model was the medallion of a silver bowl (fig. 22), of which two plaster casts were found in the Afghan town of Begram.[25] The scene is a non-specific, idealized hunt. It only became an episode of the myth when the sarcophagus workshop combined it with other scenes.

If the front of the sarcophagus was decorated with a continuous frieze, the way models were adapted became more important, because they provided at best groups with a limited number of figures. They had to be either enlarged with additional figures or combined with other scenes. This is made clear by the earliest sarcophagi depicting the visit of the moon goddess, Luna, to the sleeping youth Endymion. For reasons of space, on gems of the first century B.C. the motif is limited to the two main characters (fig. 23). Endymion lies stretched out on the ground with his torso bare, while Luna glides down from above. Her gown spreads fluttering over her head, which is crowned with a crescent moon. In one example, two erotes guide Luna.[26] About a century later, the myth of

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25 Menninger, M.: Untersuchungen zu den Gläsern und Gipsabgüssen aus dem Fund von Begram/Afghanistan. Würzburg 1996, 134, 186–188, 233 no. M33–M34.
26 Gabelmann, H.: Endymion. In: LIMC III, 1986, 726–742 no. 37–40 pl. 553–554.

22 Plaster cast of a silver medallion from Begram,
diameter 20.8 cm. Kabul, National Museum.

Endymion is a popular motif in Pompeian wall-painting (fig. 24).[27] The
images are mostly square, occasionally vertical rectangles, and focus on
the goddess and the sleeping shepherd. Rocks and trees clearly mark the
mountainside setting. Other characters may be added; erotes may escort
Luna and nymphs and shepherds sometimes watch the scene transpire.

 When marble workshops transferred the motif to sarcophagi in the
late Hadrianic period (fig. 25), the square or vertical compositions of gems
and paintings were of only limited use as direct models. The scheme of
the figures could be adapted, but the horizontal format required a differ-
ent composition.[28] Now Luna is always on the ground. Secondary figures
and details from wall-paintings—a dog, the tree under which Endymion
sleeps, Somnus supporting him, the erotes accompanying Luna—were
used to fill in the frieze. The predetermined width of the image area also
includes Luna's chariot, which occupies about the same amount of space
as the main scene. Sarcophagus workshops used the Endymion myth for
more than a century. The basic pattern was varied and supplemented by
the addition of shepherds and herds, or erotes and nymphs, or by com-

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27 Gabelmann op. cit. 729–731 no. 14–27 pl. 552.
28 Sichtermann, H.: Die mythologischen Sarkophage 2. ASR XII. Berlin 1992,
32–58.

23 Gem with Endymion and Luna; H. 1.75 cm. Hannover, Kestner Mus. K 489.

24 Wall painting from Herculaneum with Endymion and Luna, ca. A.D. 70, H. 57 cm. Naples, Mus. Arch. Naz. 9246.

25 Endymion sarcophagus, H. with lid 40.5 cm. Rome, Musei Capitolini 325.

26a–b Urn with Endymion scenes, H. 24.7 cm. Ostia, Antiquario 11.

bination with a second scene showing Luna's departure. But there was little change in the format, which maintained the long, rectangular shape despite any variation in dimensions.

There was a decisive change when the motif was reproduced on a round urn in the early third century (fig. 26a-b),[29] because the shape and dimensions of the image area demanded a different arrangement of figures than on sarcophagi. The symmetrical composition with the inscription panel at center juxtaposes two groups of figures.[30] To the left of the panel are Endymion, Somnus, and Luna, approaching with her fluttering robe. There is no space for the erotes and local personifications that appear in the more detailed sarcophagus scenes. On the other side of the inscription panel is a sleeping shepherd. Through its juxtaposed and symmetrical relationship to the Endymion group, the importance of this bucolic episode is considerably increased on this round urn. A marginal figure in the mythological scene has become an independent and coordinate image.

GENESIS AND DYNAMICS OF MEDIUM[31]

The role of medium in shaping knowledge and concepts into sensually perceivable artifacts can only be discussed here by way of example. For this purpose, a single medium, namely Greek vase-painting of the eighth century B.C., will be treated with regard to its genesis, formal conditions, and potency—according to the approach of Morphomata.

From the eleventh to the eighth centuries B.C.—about twelve generations—figural representation is extremely rare on Greek vases. Their decoration is limited to a few geometric designs, and thus this is known

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29 Boschung, D.: Reduced Myths. Roman ash chests with mythological scenes. In: Avramidou, A. / Demetriou, D. (eds.): Approaching the Ancient Artifact. Representation, Narrative, and Function. Berlin 2014, 185–196.

30 Sinn, F.: Stadtrömische Marmorurnen. Mainz 1987, 264 no. 707. Cf. http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/14240.

31 For more detail see: Boschung 2003, 17–49.– Boschung, D.: Function and Impact of Monumental Grave Vases in the Eighth Century B.C. In: Osborne, J. F. (ed.): Approaching Monumentality in Archaeology, IEMA Proceeding 3, Albany 2014, 257–271.– Haug, A.: Die Entdeckung des Körpers. Körper und Rollenbilder im Athen des 8. und 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Berlin/Boston 2012.– *id.*: Bild und Ornament im frühen Athen. Regensburg 2015.

as the "Geometric Period" of Greek art.[32] There were, however, figural images on imported pieces from the Near East, such as bronze reliefs from northern Syria, Phoenicia, and Cyprus, and Egyptianizing faience from Phoenicia. There was no lack of technical abilities or formal models for figural representations. And yet, they are found only rarely and sporadically (Boschung 2003, 18–20).

It is all the more astonishing that in the middle of the eighth century a new visual medium emerged in Athens within only a few years. For generations thereafter, graves were marked by vessels for collecting libation offerings to the dead. Their shape allowed the observer to identify the gender of the dead from a distance. Amphorae marked the graves of women while kraters marked the graves of men.[33] Around the year 750 B.C. the "Dipylon Painter" made striking, large funerary vases bearing narrative scenes rich with figural decoration. For these novel scenes on kraters and amphorae, the vase-painter focused primarily on two themes: funerary ritual and war.

It is striking that figural painting was developed around the same time as the Greek alphabet.[34] The simultaneous appearance of two new media—word and image—is hardly coincidental, as both speak to a similar need. With writing, the exact wording of poems, stories, treaties, and laws could be fixed and binding.[35] Images capture what has happened or what has been imagined and can make ephemeral events permanently present.

The capabilities of this new medium can be seen in the combat scenes on a krater in Paris (fig. 27). The schematic, silhouette painting style did not allow for the representation of facial expressions and physiognomy, and it certainly did not allow for the depiction of three-dimensional, vigorous bodies in action. Even so, the few possible combinations

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[32] Coldstream, J. N.: Greek Geometric Pottery. A Survey of Ten Local Styles and Their Chronology.[2] Exeter 2008.
[33] Kurtz, D. C. / Boardman, J.: Greek Burial Customs. London 1971, 58.– Walter-Karydi, E.: Die Athener und ihre Gräber (1000–300 v. Chr.). Berlin 2015, 19–48.
[34] Latacz, J.: Der Beginn von Schriftlichkeit und Literatur. In: Latacz, J. / Greub, Th. / Blome, P. / Wieczorek, A. (eds.): Homer. Der Mythos von Troia in Dichtung und Kunst. Munich 2008, 62–69 (= Latacz, J.: Homers Ilias. Kleine Schriften II. ed. by Greub, Th. / Greub-Frącz, K. / Schmitt, A. Berlin 2014, 117–134).– Boschung 2003 esp. 46–47.
[35] Merkelbach, R.: Welche Folgen hatte der Gebrauch der Schrift? Stuttgart 1986.

and compositions were used even more intensively to make complex scenes rich in detail (ch. III.2). The three figure groups in the upper frieze are similarly composed but show a different progression of the battle. In each group there is an archer at the left next to a warrior wearing rectangular armor. In the combat group on the right, the armored warrior is victorious. He grabs his enemy by the helmet and pulls him from a raised platform down onto another dead man. The toppled figure has been hit by at least two spears. One has pieced his calf and sticks out from his shin. There is a second projectile in his neck. This defeated warrior is singled out by his appearance; he is taller than all the other figures and is the only one the painter has given an eye. The battle scene is bordered on both sides by mounds of corpses. In some cases, their arms and legs are twisted or dislocated, and all their heads fall limp. Deadly projectiles are still lodged in two of the bodies.

Detailed combat scenes of this kind can be found on a number of vases of the period,[36] such as on fragments of a krater in Athens and Brussels (fig. 28).[37] On the upper frieze are warriors marching. The lower image shows a large ship with its crew of oarsmen. Dead bodies lie above the ship, and there was perhaps a battle scene to the right that has been cut off.[38] In addition to the repeated oarsmen and marching warriors, a lone figure stands out below the stern of the ship, reflecting the painter's effort to capture the battle scene with detail and precision.[39] He shows a man on his knees with his head and torso falling forward. His lower body is pierced by a spear, thrust through with great force and emerging from his front side. With his last bit of strength, the victim tries to pull the spear out of his body. He supports himself with one arm, but this arm slips forward and can no longer bear the weight of his body. The *Iliad* describes the death of a warrior similarly:

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36 For example, fragments of nine other warrior kraters come from the same find spot, see below n. 43.

37 Ahlberg, G.: Fighting on Land and Sea. Stockholm 1971, 89 fig. 89.– Grunwald, Ch., Frühe attische Kampfdarstellungen, Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica 15, 1983, 168 no. 19 fig. 21.– Ducrey, P.: Guerre et guerriers dans la Grèce antique. Paris 1985, 183 fig. 127.

38 Associated fragments with dead or injured: Grunwald op. cit. 167–170 no. 17, 18, 20, figs. 20, 21, 23.

39 For additional detail, see Ducrey op. cit. 183 fig. 127.

"This man Meriones pursued and overtaking him
struck in the right buttock, and the spearhead drove straight
on and passing under the bone went into the bladder.
He dropped, screaming, to his knees, and death was a mist about
    him."[40]

Such descriptions reveal a keen interest in detailed and dramatic battle scenes, which painters, in spite of their very limited options, depict with just as extreme moments.

Another theme that appeared frequently and often in connection with warrior scenes starting in the middle of the eighth century is funerary ritual, especially the laying out of the dead (*prothesis*).[41] One of the earliest and highest-quality examples is the detailed depiction on the "Dipylon Amphora" in the National Museum in Athens,[42] potted and painted around 760 B.C. (fig. 29a–b). In the center of the main picture between the handles, the deceased lies stretched out on a *kline*. To the left and right two figures hold a checkered cloth with one hand and place their other hands on their heads. Most of the remaining figures bring both hands to their heads. The gesture characterizes them as mourners and lamenters. At the far left, two mourners wear swords strapped to their hips, identifying them as warriors. A considerably smaller figure immediately to the right of the *kline* grabs the bed with one hand. Like the deceased, she wears a skirt, indicating she is a girl. Between the legs of the bed the painter has inserted four more figures. On the right two are sitting in simple chairs. On the left kneel two women in long skirts. On the other side of the vessel more mourners appear in the same zone, performing the lamentation gesture with both hands.

Representations of the prothesis, which are found on numerous funerary vessels, relate directly to the vases' function of marking the place of burial by recording a central portion of the funerary rites. These images show the deceased in the center of an elaborate funeral ritual, and at the same time the family that mourns the dead. The vase-paintings, set

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40 Homer, *Iliad* V.65–68 (trans. Richmond Lattimore).
41 See Ahlberg, G.: Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art. Göteborg 1971.– Huber, I.: Die Ikonographie der Trauer in der Griechischen Kunst. Mannheim/Möhnesee 2001, esp. 61–78.– Sheedy, K. A.: A Prothesis Scene from the Analatos Painter, AM 105, 1990, 117–151 pl. 14–21.
42 Ahlberg, G.: Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art. Göteborg 1971, 25 no. 2 fig. 2a–c.– Huber op. cit. 64–66, 216 no. 27 with older citations.

27 Geometric krater from Athens (drawing), H. 23.6 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre A 519.
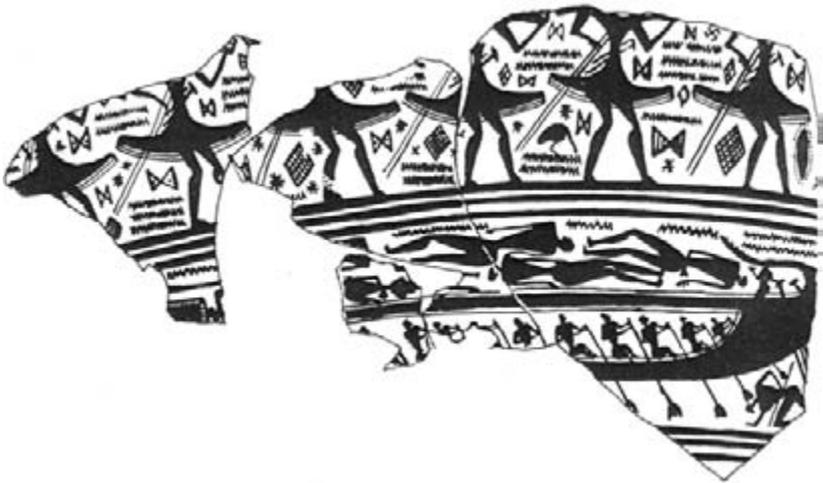

28 Fragments of a krater from Athens (drawing), H. 27.7 cm. Athens, National Museum and Brussels A1376.

up on the graves, kept the prothesis and lamentation in the present, beyond the duration of the ephemeral rituals. They make it lastingly clear that family and peers paid tribute to the deceased, that they paid the necessary costs, and that all relatives—men, women, children—mourned him. At the same time, the prothesis images carry representations of the family itself, presented in its size and unanimity. The situation is similar with the friezes showing marching or riding men. They demonstrate that the deceased was part of strong social groups, his family and his fellow

29a "Dipylon Amphora," H. 1.55 m. Athens, National Museum 804.
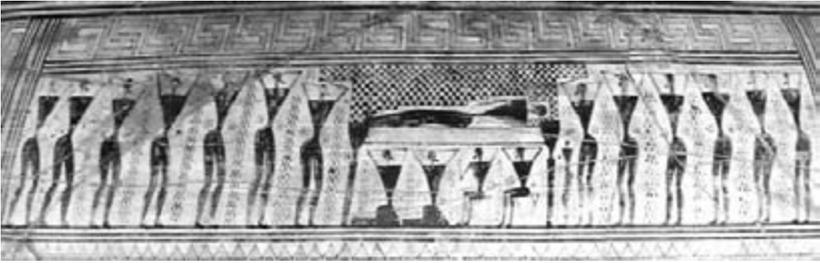
29b Detail of 29a with prothesis scene.

warriors. They mourn the deceased, but they are extensive and united, and they will continue without him. The pictures are therefore at the same time a self-assured presentation of the bereaved.

The battle scenes, set up on graves by distinguished Athenians, record dramatic scenes of bloody battles in which the deceased had proved his courage and strength. Such deeds had established his reputation and rank and should be recorded for perpetuity. Thus, the two main themes of the funerary vessels—funerary ritual and war—are closely related. Reputation in battle established the honorable position of the noble man and his closest relatives, and the participation of his peers and family members in the prothesis provided a spectacular expression of that honor.

These large vessels from the middle of the eighth century B.C., together with numerous similar funerary vases, all come from the same find spot in Athens (Boschung 2003, 32–37). The clustering at one site and their dedication over a short period of time is all the more striking, as the vessels also belong together stylistically and all come from the workshop of the "Dipylon Painter."[43] This suggests a close coordination between a demanding circle of customers and the high-quality workshop,[44] and possibly for the craftsmen belonging to the oikos of a noble family.

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43 Coldstream op. cit. 29–32 no. 1–4 ("by the Dipylon Master"); 8–13, 15, 17, 18 ("by the closer associates of the Dipylon Master"); 21, 23, 24.

44 Coldstream op. cit. 350.– Coulié, A.: Le céramique grecque aux époques géométrique et orientalisante. Paris 2013, 70–79.– Karl, St.: Die Dipylon-Werkstatt. Wer ist der Dipylonmeister? In: Eschbach, N. / Schmidt, St. (eds.): Töpfer, Maler, Werkstatt. Beihefte zum Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum VII. Munich 2016, 69–79.

Viewed at once next to one another, the battle scenes these kraters carry are remarkably.[45] The constant repetition of killing and death, of warships and mountains of corpses, visualized the shared ideals and obsessions of a generation of Attic aristocracy. With these large funerary vessels, elaborately decorated with figural scenes, the Athenian warrior elite tried to establish their social prominence by new means.[46] They used the skill of local potters and vase-painters proven over the previous centuries. The commissioners of vases now desired figural scenes, as detailed and realistic as possible, showing dramatic battles and elaborate funeral rites that established and made clear their social rank. Attic craftsmen rose to this new task. The "Dipylon Master" and his workshop created a new communicative system using older techniques, forms, and motifs (ch. III.2), that could make bloody battles and ostentatious funerary rites permanent in all their detail.

We do not know whether the Athenian aristocrats achieved their true goal with their elaborate and novel funerary images. In any case, they started a trend that they could not have foreseen. Their dense sequence and the scale of their production, the use of a limited repertoire of forms and themes, and probably also the social prominence of the clients led to the new medium rapidly gaining importance. With the elements of Geometric vase-painting any conceivable subject could be represented. The spectrum of subjects grows rapidly in the last quarter of the eighth century B.C. In addition to war and funerary ritual, there are scenes of shipwrecks, of dances and musicians, of hunters, animals and animal battles, and perhaps even the first mythological scenes.[47] This rapid expansion was only possible because the new image medium was detached from its original client base and from its original association with the sepulchral setting. In the late eighth century, but especially in the following Archaic Period, the manifold applications expanded the formal possibilities of vase-painters and brought about a rapid spread of figural painting beyond Attica to other parts of Greece.[48] Figures are

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45 Grunwald op. cit. 160–178 figs. 4–28.

46 For example, Kistler, E.: Kriegsbilder, Aristie und Überlegenheitsideologie im spätgeometrischen Athen. Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft 4, 2001, 159–185 esp. 178–179; http://www.gfa.d-r.de/4–01/kistler.pdf.

47 Rombos, Th.: The Iconography of Attic Late Geometric II Pottery. Partille 1988.

48 Boardman, J.: Early Greek Vase Painting. London 1998, 28–82.– Kourou, N.: Euboea and Naxos in the Late Geometric period: the Cesnola Style. In: Bats,

30 Plate fibula from the Idaean Cave, H. of image field 6 cm. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 11765.

31a-b Aryballos with Zeus throwing thunderbolts; ca. 680 B.C. The details are done with incision; H. 7.3 cm. Photography © 2007 Boston Museum of Fine Arts (95.12).

drawn in ever more detail and beginning in the seventh century they are often named with inscriptions. Additionally, iconographic attributes are gradually set (ch. III.2).

It was later that changes in production techniques in particular led to expanded representational possibilities. When vase-painters in Corinth adopted the metalworking technique of incision (fig. 30) in the early seventh century, they opened up new, far-reaching formal aspects for their craft (fig. 31a–b). The development of the red-figure technique by Athenian potters and painters about 150 years later was similarly momentous.[49] The necessary craftsmanship and skill, primarily perfected within the workshop and passed on to younger assistants, were central components of the τέχνη/*ars* (ch. I.2.1).

M. / d' Agostino, B. (eds.): Euboica. L' Eubea e la presenza euboica in Calcidica e in occidente. Naples 1998 esp. 167–177. (Influence on Euboean and Naxian workshops).
49 Scheibler, I.: Griechische Töpferkunst. Herstellung, Handel und Gebrauch der antiken Tongefäße. Munich ²1995, 86–91.– Coulié op. cit. 113–115.

2.4 POTENCY

IRRITATION AND ATTENTION: THE EXAMPLE OF STATUARY[1]

Prerequisite for the potency of artifacts—meaning their potential to influence human intellect—is the drawing and holding of attention.[2] Various factors can contribute to this attraction, which usually reinforce each other. In most cases this includes, for both lasting and ephemeral works, open and conspicuous display. Artifacts can be experienced directly, for example if they can be examined by autopsy (ch. III.1.1) or are encountered through ritual. Other strategies for improving focus include the use of a large format and striking materials, aesthetic perfection in the execution of artifacts, as well as the control of access and the directing of perception that results. In many cases, the prominence of the commissioner, creator, or owner lent to an increased interest. An artifact's potency can be in place from its time of creation and remain unchanged for ages, while in other cases, artifacts gain potency later, after they have acquired a new meaning.

The focusing of attention can result from the peculiarities of a particular medium, as seen in the example of ancient sculptures. Life-size, three-dimensional figures frequently gave the impression of being alive or being able to come alive. The German *Kaiserchronik* from the 12th century tells the story of the dangerous potency of a statue of a pagan god.[3] It compels Julian to renounce his Christian baptism and to allow the Roman people to offer prayers and sacrifices to the god Mercury. Only Mary, the Mother of God, can put a stop to these actions. She awakens

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1 For additional detail, see Boschung, D.: Unheimliche Statuen und ihre Bändigung. In: Boschung/Vorster 2015.
2 Crary, J.: Aufmerksamkeit. Wahrnehmung und moderne Kultur. Frankfurt 2002.– Neumann, O.: Aufmerksamkeit. In: Ritter, J. / Gründer, K. (eds.): Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie 1. Basel 1971, 635–645.
3 Schröder, E.: Die Kaiserchronik eines Regensburger Geistlichen. Monumenta Germaniae Historica Deutsche Chroniken 1,1. Hannover 1892, 276–286 V. 10635–11135.

32 Portrait of an emperor from the 4th century A. D. (Constantine the Great?), H. 1.85 m. Rome, Musei Capitolini 1072.

an earlier Christian martyr—whose name is also Mercurius—who kills Julian the Apostate (pl. 5).[4]

In the guide to Rome written by the English Magister Gregorius in the 13th century, the irresistible magical effect of ancient statues of Venus is described as a personal experience of the author:[5]

> "[...] This statue of Parian marble is made with such wonderful and inexplicable skill that it looks more like a living creature than a statue. Her cheeks are suffused with purple, as if she were blushing for her nudity. Looking at her up close, one would think blood is flowing through her snow-white face. Because of her wonderful beauty and some unknown magical persuasion, I was compelled to see her three times, even though she was two stadia away from my hostel."[6]

Not only does Gregorius experience the magical power of an ancient statue in his own body, but he also knows about it from his reading and from the accounts of others, of which he finds confirmation in the fragments of a colossal bronze statue that he saw at the Lateran (fig. 32). He describes it as "*imago Colosei*" and states that according to some sources it represents Sol, and according to others the city-goddess Roma.[7] The gilded statue supposedly shone even in the dark and rotated so that its face was always turned toward the sun. The remains, despite their imposing size, were of admirable beauty and craftsmanship, and those who watch the head closely said that it could speak and move.[8]

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4 A similar, earlier account is found in Iohannes Malalas 13.25. Thurn, J.: Ioannis Malalae Chronographia, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berolinensis 35. Berlin 2000, 257.– Tjea, R. / Acerbi, S.: Una nota sobre San Mercurio el Capadocio y la muerte de Juliano, AntTard 17, 2009, 185–190.

5 On Magister Gregorius see ch. II.4.1.

6 Magister Gregorius § 12 Z. 281–293 (Huygens 1970, 20). Wiegartz 2004, 33–34.– Ambrogi, A.: Sugli occultamenti antichi di statue, RM 117, 2011, 552–554.

7 Magister Gregorius § 6 Z. 164–207 (Huygens 1970, 16–18).– Wiegartz 2004 esp. 13–14, 61–70, 110, 154–158. On the statue Ensoli, S. in: Ensoli, S. / La Rocca, E. (eds.): Aurea Roma. Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana. Rome 2000, 66–90 figs. 14–20, 27, 28; 555–556 no. 209 a–c.

8 On speaking bronze heads in the Middle Ages and early modern times: La Grandeur, K.: Androids and Intelligent Networks in Early Modern Literature and Culture: Artificial Slaves, Routledge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture 22. New York 2013, 79–102.

33 Relief (detail) showing the emperor Constantine on the Rostra of the Roman Forum, H. 1.02 m. Rome, Arch of Constantine.

When medieval viewers like Magister Gregorius described statues as deceptively lifelike, they employ a topos of ancient art literature found in many variations in the poems of the *Anthologia Graeca* on the cow of Myron.[9] Similarly, the expectation that statues could speak and move like living beings corresponds to widespread ancient beliefs.[10] There are many accounts that statues turned themselves around to presage dramatic events (Cassius Dio 56.24.4). Similarly, statues could sweat (Cassius Dio 47.40.4), bleed (Cassius Dio 47.40.4), and change their facial expressions (Cassius Dio 51.17.5). Additional texts from all periods of antiquity imply that statues could see, hear, smell, and feel; speak, sigh, laugh, or cry; sweat, bleed, and move. They needed to be washed, anointed, adorned, and clothed,[11] and they could act on behalf of the figure they depict (Pausanias VI.11.6). These examples support the notion that statues can act as living beings as they choose or as circumstances require. This explains emotional reactions to statues like that of Julius Caesar.

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9 *Anthologia Graeca* 9, 713–742. Cf. ch. I.2.1.
10 Bremmer, J. N.: The Agency of Greek and Roman Statues from Homer to Constantine, Opuscula, Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome 6, 2013, 7–21.– Funke, H.: Götterbild, RAC XI, 1981, 723–727.– Boschung 2002, 168–171.
11 Funke op. cit. 716–720.

34 Relief with skene, Euripides seated, and statue of Dionysos, H. 60 cm. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 1242.

When, upon his arrival in Gades (modern Cadiz) in 62/61 B.C., he saw a statue of Alexander the Great, he sighed, "because he had done nothing memorable at an age when Alexander had already conquered the world," and he hurried back to Rome to seek opportunity for great deeds.[12] In brief, the adhortative effect becomes apparent here, as the statue recalls the successes and achievements of its subject, calls for a comparison with one's own life, and encourages the emulation of exemplary deeds.

At the same time, ancient observers knew that statues were artifacts, products of human craftsmanship. According to Lucilius, only small children believed that bronze statues were alive.[13] In scenes such as the *Oratio* relief of the Arch of Constantine, it is unmistakable which figures represent statues and which represent men (fig. 33).[14] For many statues, a viewer knew the sculptor and the occasion for its installation, and

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12 Suetonius, *Iulius* 7.
13 Christes, J. / Garbugino, G. (ed.): Lucilius, Satires. Darmstadt 2013, 176–179, 481–486 (Marx 484–489).– Cf. Freedberg, D.: The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response. Chicago/London 1989, 283–285.
14 L'Orange/von Gerkan 1939, 82–85 pl. 14, 15, 21.

sometimes even the cost, the exact date of installation, and the donors, because these details were often included in accompanying inscriptions.

The impression that statues could be alive has two obvious causes. The first is their three-dimensional presence. They are in most cases the same or at least approximately the same size as the human body, occupying the same volume and casting the same shadows. With this quality, and particularly through the stressing of potential for movement, they create spatial relationships like a human body, through their line of vision, pose, and gestures for example. The second reason is the stylized but at the same time naturalistic formal elements of ancient statues. Since the earliest life-size figures, ancient sculptors directed their efforts at the convincing rendering of the living, functioning body. These two factors—spatial presence and detailed, naturalistic design—cause confusion for the viewer, an instinctive uncertainty whether these artifacts might not be only objects but also actors.

There were various means of overcoming this confusion in antiquity. The first was to set up statues on elevated bases, to lift them out of the human realm and thus clearly differentiate them. Reliefs and images on vases and gems also use this method to distinguish statues from living actors (fig. 34).[15] This also resulted in the fixing or privileging of certain views that limited the autonomy of the statue. Another means was accompanying inscriptions. They reveal the object-nature of the sculptures and make it clear that they are man-made artifacts.

BODIES AND VALUES

Large-format statues are found in large numbers throughout the Greek world since the late seventh century B.C.[16] They embody moral concepts and ideals of behavior of central importance for the self-conception of Greek aristocrats of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.[17] This connection is illustrated by the over-life-size funerary statue of Kroisos

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15 Lang 2012, 178 R Eur 1 pl. 29 fig. 225.– Zanker 1995, 55 fig. 32.

16 Summary: Bol 2002.– Hölscher, T.: Die Entstehung der griechischen Polisgemeinschaft im Bild. Lebende, Vorfahren, Götter. In: Boschung/Vorster 2015, 13–53.– Cf. ch. I.2.3.

17 Himmelmann 1989, 69–83.– Steuernagel, D.: Der gute Staatsbürger. Zur Interpretation des Kuros, Hephaistos 10, 1991, 35–48.

35 Funerary kouros, ca. 600 B.C., H. 1.84 m. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 32.11.1.

36 Funerary statue of Kroisos, ca. 530 B.C., H. 1.94 m. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 3851.

37 Head of the statue in fig. 35.

38 Head of the statue in fig. 36.

(fig. 36).[18] It originally stood along a country road, on a three-step base on the grave mound of the dead. The chosen location ensured that the statue was visible from a long distance and attracted the attention of travelers on the adjacent road.[19] It fits the figural schema of the *kouros* that had been fixed about three generations earlier, depicting a young, nude man standing frontally in a relaxed posture. Kroisos ranks among a hardly well-defined group of similar figures of youths. Another marble statue found at the same site, now in New York, is about 70 years older and one of the earliest kouroi from Attica (fig. 35).[20] Other figures

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18 Bol 2002, 312 fig. 252a–d.– On their discovery: Philadelpheus, A.: The Anavysos Kouros, The Annual of the British School at Athens 36, 1935/36, 1–4 pl. 1–5.

19 Kissas, K.: Die attischen Statuen- und Stelenbasen archaischer Zeit. Bonn 2000, 54–55 Nr. 20.– On the findspot see Travlos, J.: Bildlexikon zur Topographie des antiken Attika. Tübingen 1988, 17 fig. 21.

20 Vorster, Ch. in: Bol 2002, 122–125, 304 fig. 190.– Niemeier, W.-D.: Der Kuros vom Heiligen Tor, Mainz 2002, 47–53, figs. 60–63.– On the findspot: Stevens, G. Ph. / Vanderpool, E. / Robinson, D. M.: An Inscribed Kouros Base. In: Commemorative Studies in Honor of Th. Leslie Shear, Hesperia Suppl. 8, 1949, 361–364.– D'Onofrio, A. M.: Aspetti e problemi del monumento funerario attico arcaico, Annali del Seminario di Studi del mondo classico. Sezione di archeologia e storia antica 10, 1988, 85–86.

of youths, like the statue of Aristodikos[21] in the National Museum in Athens, were erected along the same road, but at a considerable distance from the tumulus discussed above.

Like the kouros in New York, Kroisos has long hair, falling loosely on his shoulders, like that of the heroes of the Trojan War described by Homer. On both kouroi, strands of hair are held together with a band and stylized as vertical rows of uniform spheres. This type of hair style is found several times around the time of the New York kouros, 600 B.C. By the time the tomb of Kroisos was constructed around 530 B.C., the style was uncommon and must have appeared as a deliberate traditional element. The two sculptors used different design elements to show the intensity of the gaze and the life-like mobility of the face (figs. 37–38). The statues present an enduring strength developed through athletic exercise, and assure the viewer of the youthfulness, beauty, and self-control of the young men.

Thus, the statue of Kroisos expressed that the man represented was completely committed to the traditional standards of Attic noble families. The comparison with the older funerary kouros shows that these values remained unchanged over generations. Kroisos conformed to these values as his grandfathers and great-grandfathers did. The setting up of over-life-size marble statues, which dominated the countryside, manifested seemingly timeless aristocratic values and thus the claim to social and political primacy in perpetuity.

The inscription[22] on the statue base appeals directly to the traveler:

"Stay and mourn at the monument of dead Kroisos,
whom raging Ares struck down in the first ranks."

The name of the dead is given without further detail. The reader of the inscription was expected to be able to recognize him and relate to him. It is striking that he shares the same name with the famous Lydian king, and illustrates the international connections of the family as well as the

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21 Karusos, Ch.: Aristodikos. Zur Geschichte der spätarchaisch-attischen Plastik und der Grabstatue. Stuttgart 1961 esp. 3.
22 "στέθι καὶ οἴκιρον Κροίσο / παρὰ σέμα θανόντος / ὅν ποτ᾽ ἐνὶ προμάχοις ὄλεσε / θόρος Ἄρες." Cf. Martini, W.: Zu den Epigrammen von Kroisos aus Anavyssos und Phrasikleia aus Merenda. In: La Rocca, E. / Léon, P. / Parisi Presicce, C. (eds.): Le due patrie acquiste. Studi di archeologia dedicati a Walter Trillmich. Rome 2008, esp. 270–273.

39 Coin from the time of Caracalla with Aphrodite of Knidos. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

40 Aphrodite of Knidos; reconstruction in plaster, H. 2.05 m. Once Munich, Museum für Abgüsse.

claim to wealth and power of the bearer of that name (Herodotos VI.125). The second part of the inscription states that the dead man fell in the front line of battle. As with the funerary kraters of the eighth century, the enduring glory of the deceased lies here in his bravery in battle and in his death in the front lines (ch. I.2.3). His place was not in a phalanx of hoplites, where he could have triumphed only alongside equal comrades, but rather he was in the fore, where a distinguished lone warrior could have a decisive impact. Where he met his death and against which enemy he fell did not seem to be worth mentioning. No human opponent defeated him, rather, he was killed by the god of war himself like a hero of the mythical past.

Attic tombs used a large-format, three-dimensional medium that was initially developed for dedications in sanctuaries. Unlike votive

statues, funerary kouroi were not associated with any deity and were not incorporated into a sacred topography. On display in the open and visible from afar, they towered over the landscape and travel routes. The use of marble elevated them above their surroundings and drew attention to them, and its durability guaranteed the survival of the figures and the values they embody. As in the case of the Geometric kraters of the eighth century (ch. I.2.3), the occasion for this powerful demonstration was the death of a noble man. The traditions, norms, and entitlements that he had stood for in life were now embodied forever in the statue. The inscription of Kroisos testified to the international connections to the most powerful rulers of distant lands and claimed for the dead the status of a mythic hero, won through achievement in battle. The placement of similar figures, some in the immediate vicinity and some at greater distances, signaled the persistence of traditional aristocratic values and norms over generations and inscribed them permanently into the landscape of Attica. These statues claimed social prestige and political supremacy for the aristocratic families in the future as well. Later, in the fifth century, they came to be incompatible with the new democratic system based on the equality of citizens. Elaborate funerary statues, now considered provocative, were removed and buried and thus erased from public space. At the same time this protected them from weathering and destruction, so that they survived the millennia almost unscathed.

VISUAL AUTHORITY[23]

Individual artifacts can obtain a normative status through social, cultural, and political mechanisms, which places special attention upon them and makes them the standard by which similar objects are judged. Even so, they may later lose this status. The notion that there are works of extraordinary status that set binding aesthetic norms was already in place in antiquity. It is said that the sculptor Pasiteles, who lived in Rome during the first century B.C., wrote five books on *opera nobilia* ("noble

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23 For further detail see Boschung, D.: Das Meisterwerk als Autorität. Drei archäologische Bemerkungen. In: Boschung, D. / Dohe, S. (eds.): Das Meisterwerk als Autorität. Zur Wirkmacht kultureller Figurationen. Morphomata 10. Munich 2013, 13–18.

works of art") or *opera mirabilia* ("admirable works of art").[24] According to the title and the reference in Pliny, we can infer it was a catalog of works of gold and silverwork, bronze sculpture, statuary, and painting, to which the honorific title *nobilis* and thus a special, elite position were awarded. In Pliny's text itself, we often find passages in which individual works are singled out. Especially prominent works increased the standing of a sculptor and works by a sculptor considered important likewise received special attention. Pliny writes of the Aphrodite of Knidos by Praxiteles (figs. 39–40), on which he comments in significant detail, "It is not only superior to all other works of Praxiteles, but to all others in the world.... Through this statue Praxiteles made the city of Knidos famous."[25] As another example, Pliny mentions the Zeus of Pheidias in Olympia (pl. 1. figs. 41–43), "with which no one can compete."[26]

The statue of Zeus at Olympia was considered one of the Seven Wonders of the World in antiquity (Rügler 2003, 151–157). It does not survive, but we can reconstruct it in its main features with some confidence because it was described in detail by ancient authors. It was a colossal, seated figure on a richly decorated throne, so large that it almost touched the ceiling of the temple, about 12 meters high. If we ask what justified its status as a wonder of the world (as θέαμα [théama] or *opus mirabile*), it is

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24 Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 1, sources to book 34: "*Pasitele qui de mirabilis operibus scripsit;*" 36.39: "*Pasiteles qui et quinque volumina scripsit nobilium operum in toto orbe.*" Pliny names Pasiteles among the sources for his books 33–36.
25 Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 36.20–21: "*ante omnia est non solum Praxitelis verum in toto orbe terrarum Venus, quam ut viderent, multi navigaverunt Cnidum ... illo enim signo Praxiteles nobilitavit Cnidum.*"
26 Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 34.53: "*quem nemo aemulatur.*" Furthermore: Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 34.49: "*ante omnes tamen Phidias Atheniensis Iove Olympio facto ex ebore quidem et auro*": "The Athenian Pheidias stands above all others because of the fact that he created the Olympian Zeus out of ivory and gold." Cf. 36.18: "*Phidian clarissimum esse per omnes gentes quae Iovis Olympii famam intellegunt nemo dubitat*": "No one doubts that Pheidias is extremely famous among all the people who know the fame of Zeus at Olympia." For this cf. ch. I.1 and ch. II.2.1.; furthermore DNO no. 942–1020 with bibliography.– Lapatin, K. D. S.: Chryselephantine Statuary in the Ancient World. Oxford 2001 esp. 79–86.– Bäbler, B.: Der Zeus von Olympia. In: Dion von Prusa. Olympische Rede oder über die erste Erkenntnis Gottes, eingeleitet, übersetzt und interpretiert von H.-J. Klauck. Darmstadt 2000, 217–238.– Vlizos, St.: Das Vorbild des Zeus aus Olympia. In: Boschung/Schäfer 2015, 41–69, 41–69.– Burton, D.: The Iconography of Pheidias' Zeus: Cult and Context, JdI 2015, 75–115.

41-42 Bronze coins of the city of Elis with head and statue of Zeus at Olympia. Hadrianic (A. D. 117–138). **41** Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Münzkabinett; **42** Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale.
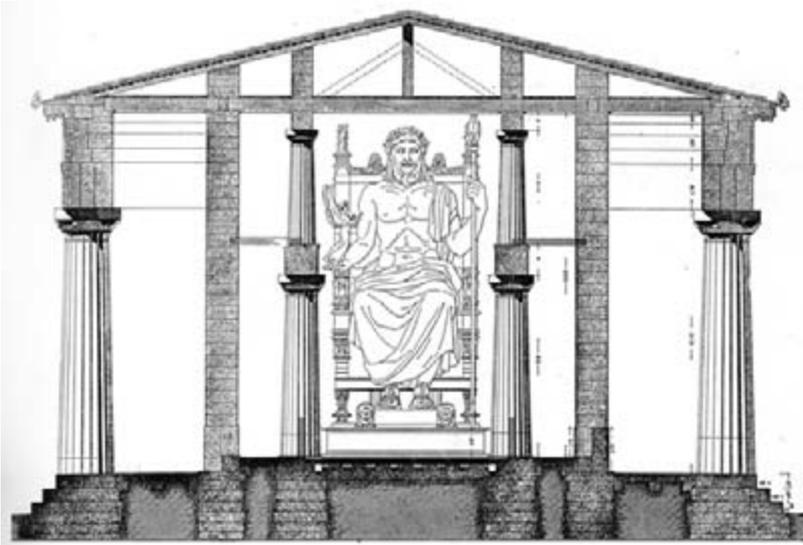
43 Setting of the statue by Pheidias in the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Reconstruction after Friedrich Adler (1891).

44 "Medici Venus," H. 1.53 m. Florence, Uffizi 224 (plaster cast, FU Berlin VII2180, Inv. 1/89).

45 Bronze copy of the "Medici Venus" by Massimiliano Soldani, H. with base 1.61 m. Blenheim Palace.

not difficult to enumerate elements that contributed to it. Its exceptional splendor and immense material worth, because it was made of gold and ivory, drew the attention of viewers of the statue. Added to this was its colossal size and impressive setting, which could not fail to have an effect upon even the most callous observer.[27] Its location in one of the Panhellenic sanctuaries, where Greeks from all over the world came together to celebrate the Olympic Games every four years, made it known in the visitors' home cities as well.

Once the status of a statue as an exemplary masterpiece was established, it could be reconfirmed and consolidated through additional accounts, as seen in the example of the statue of Zeus at Olympia. Hellenistic and Roman authors considered it the pictorial representation of the father-god described in the *Iliad*, claiming the undisputed authority of Homer for the statue.[28] A second strategy in antiquity supposedly proved the statue of Zeus as the valid and authoritative representation of the god. In Olympia, it was said that Zeus himself had approved the statue as his authentic image by sending a lightning bolt in response to the prayers of Pheidias. The location of the lightning strike was marked and was shown to visitors to Olympia (Pausanias V.11.9). The statue thus appeared to be an authorized rendering of the powerful father-god.

The varied history of the appreciation of ancient statues in modern times[29] also raises questions regarding the mechanisms that established the normative status of individual works. The history of the reception of the Medici Venus in Florence is revealing in this respect (fig. 44).[30] Since its discovery around 1550, it was known to be a Greek work based on the signature of the Athenian sculptor Kleomenes. This detail was

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27 Among them was the Roman general Aemilius Paullus, who visited Olympia after his victory over the Macedonian king Perseus in 167 B.C.: Livy 45.28.5.– Polybios 30.10.6.– Plutarch, *Aemilius Paullus* 28.2.– Pekáry, Th.: Phidias in Rom. Beiträge zum spätantiken Kunstverständnis. Wiesbaden 2007, 33–38.

28 Thus Strabo (VIII p. 353), Valerius Maximus (III.7 ext. 4), Dio Chrysostomos 12.25–26; and later Macrobius (*Saturn* V.13 p. 23). Cf. ch. I.1.

29 Haskell, F. / Penny, N.: Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500–1900, New Haven/London 1981.

30 On the statue: Mansuelli, G. A.: Galleria degli Uffizi. Le sculture I. Rome 1958, 69–74. no. 45 pl. 45a–e.– Vorster, Ch.: Kleomenes Apollodorou Athenaios. Spurensuche nach einem Phantom. In: Agalama, Festschrift G. Despinis. Thessaloniki 2001, 387–408.

ensured a prominent place in its first publication in 1638.[31] Subsequently, it was counted among the most treasured ancient sculptures, alongside the Apollo Belvedere (fig. 187), Farnese Herakles, and the Niobid group (fig. 188). The earliest mentions of the sculpture emphasized its extraordinary charm and until the 19th century it was unchallenged as the model of feminine beauty. The figure was copied many times in modernity in bronze (fig. 45), stone, and plaster, and also served as a model for painters.[32] When reasonable doubts later arose regarding the authenticity of the Greek inscription, they could do little to detract from the statue's fame. Rather, it opened the way to interpreting the highly esteemed statue as one of the masterpieces praised by Pliny and to see in it even the Aphrodite of Knidos of Praxiteles. The sculpture became even more famous after it was set up in the Tribuna of the Uffizi in Florence.[33] Then followed a series of long descriptions in catalogs and art guides that repeatedly reconfirmed the importance of the statue as the embodiment of ideal female beauty.

It can also be seen in this case how the ancient statue focused attention on itself and what constituted its fame in the 18th century. First, the Greek signature previously noted by Pirro Ligorio led to its inclusion in a small group of statues considered to be of particularly high quality. This permitted the detailed examination of the erotically charged motif[34] and enabled the associative connection with an ancient masterwork attested in literary sources. From this esteem resulted a prominent position in the Tribuna of the Uffizi, which allowed travelers from all over Europe to see the sculpture for themselves. Increased interest manifested in numerous

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31 Perrier, F.: Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum. Rome 1638, pl. 81–83. On the background of the discovery: Schreurs, A.: Antikenbild und Kunstanschauungen des neapolitanischen Malers, Architekten und Antiquars Pirro Ligorio, Cologne 2000, 254–255 with n. 188; 477 no. 533.

32 Haskell/Penny op. cit. 325–328 no. 88.– Boschung, D.: Die Rezeption antiker Statuen als Diskurs. Das Beispiel der Venus Medici. In: Schade, K. / Rößler, D. / Schäfer, A. (eds.), Zentren und Wirkungsräume der Antikenrezeption. Paderborn 2007, 165–175 supplement.

33 Belsey, H. in: Wilton, A. / Bignamini, I. (eds.): Grand Tour. The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century. Exhibition catalog. London 1996, 133–136.

34 Cf. lastly, Bussels, St.: Da' più scorreti abusata. The Venus de' Medici and its History of Sexual Responses. In: van Eck, C. / van Gastel, J. / van Kessel, E. (eds.): The Secret Lives of Artworks: Exploring the Boundaries between Art and Life. Leiden 2014, 38–55.

modern copies, illustrations, and descriptions of the statue, which further enhanced its fame.

After 1820, however, mention of the Medici Venus become rarer and more restrained. In the following decades she gradually lost her former status as a normative masterwork. Factors for this can also be named. The proposed identification with the *Knidia* of Praxiteles was clearly refuted by renowned scholars.[35] In addition, newly discovered works better met art connoisseurs' expectations of Greek originals. Since the years around 1800, the Parthenon sculptures have imparted a direct view of Greek art of the time of Pheidias. In this context, the unclear extent of the restorations and the dubious authenticity of the inscription of the Medici Venus were evaluated more critically. The Aphrodite of Melos in the Louvre,[36] which had received great attention due to its central location in Paris and being a Greek original without additions, became the epitome of the Greek goddess of love. The Medici Venus, once the standard for female beauty, was not able to meet the new aesthetic norms.

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35 Visconti, E. Q.: Il Museo Pio Clementino I. Rome 1782, 18–19 pl. 11.– Levezow, K.: Über die Frage, ob die mediceische Venus ein Bild der knidischen sei. Berlin 1808.

36 Conte de Clarac: Sur la statue antique de Vénus Victrix, découverte dans l'ile de Milo en 1820. Paris 1821.– Queyrel, F.: La sculpture hellénistique I. Formes, thèmes et fonctions. Paris 2016, 57–69.

2.5 MONUMENT

MONUMENTALITY: REMEMBERING AND FORGETTING

The potency of many artifacts lies in their ability to activate, shape, and transmit memory. They are thus monuments in the original sense of the word. Unlike the term *artifact*, *monument* can be traced back to a common ancient term. The Latin noun *monumentum* (from *moneo*, "to remember something") refers to an object that recalls something: a situation, an event, or a person. Thus, a *monument* can be a victory memorial, a tomb marker, or a small memento.[1] It is not, of course, a reservoir from which historical knowledge can be retrieved objectively and continuously. Rather, it creates remembrance, shapes, reinforces, and fixes it. Elements worth remembering are selected and accented, but problematic aspects are repressed. These efforts aim to control discourses surrounding events and persons of the past, which shape how the present is understood. The examples to be discussed later show, however, that the mechanisms used to excise and repress can be undermined by parallel traditions. Moreover, monuments do not always work in the sense intended by their creators. They can be reinterpreted in contradictory discourses, so that their meaning becomes the opposite.[2] On the other hand, monuments can also remain effective throughout their physical existence.

Shared memory shapes a society and can hold it together. The role of monuments in this process is obvious and has been discussed many times in recent years.[3] Artifacts can be intended monuments from their construction, meant to shape and solidify for the future a particular view of historical events or persons. They can legitimize, illustrate, and articulate ideas of the past and the political and social structures of the present with a particular view. On the other hand, found objects, be they

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1 Osborne, J. F.: Monuments and Monumentality, in: id. (ed.): Approaching Monumentality in Archaeology. Albany 2014, 1–19.– Stocker, M.: Monument, public. In: Turner, J. (ed.), The Dictionary of Art 22, New York 1996, 41–49.
2 Osborne op. cit.
3 Dally, O. / Hölscher, T. / Muth, S. / Schneider, R. M. (eds.): Medien der Geschichte. Antikes Griechenland und Rom. Berlin/Boston 2014.

artifacts[4] or natural formations such as landscapes,[5] can be bearers of memory used in a corresponding discursive framework, sometimes after a reconfiguration or in a specially developed, new context. In such cases, memories can evolve from existing artifacts and use them as evidence of their own validity, thus creating an "invented" tradition.[6]

Monumentality is therefore the specific quality that enables an object to be effective as a source of memory. Horst Bredekamp has examined the "concept of the monumental" and its use since the 19th century.[7] It became popular in the course of the 19th century, in particular through Gottfried Semper. The most important characteristic of monumentality for Semper was "the ability to transform temporary, material, and organic building material into something *permanent* and thereby fulfill the Latin sense of the word *memory*." For Jakob Burckhardt, the "monumental will" of the Middle Ages was expressed on "a grand scale and in the costliness of buildings and decoration." If the (rather rare) Latin adjective *monumentalis* generally means the quality of a monument, then the word derived from it "monumental" in common usage today designates something that evokes an impression of the "grand, severe, imposing, or elevated."[8]

Impressive size, striking presentation, and permanence have been qualities of monuments since antiquity. In a well-known verse, Horace

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4 For example, the "Cana Vases," said to be from the marriage at Cana: De Mély, F.: Vases de Cana. In: Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et mémoires 10, 1903, 145–170 pl. 14.– "Spear of Longinus," with which the side of Christ is said to have been pierced on Golgatha: Dörlamm-Schulze, M.: Die heilige Lanze in Wien. Die Frühgeschichte des karolingisch-ottonischen Herrschaftszeichens aus archäologischer Sicht, Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz 58, 2011, 707–744.
5 Cf. Förster, L.: Postkoloniale Erinnerungslandschaften. Wie Deutsche und Herero in Namibia des Kriegs von 1904 gedenken. Frankfurt/New York 2010.– Kolen, J. / Renes, H. / Hermans, R. (eds.): Landscape Biographies: Geographical, Historical and Archaeological Perspectives on the Production and Transmission of Landscapes. Amsterdam 2015.
6 Hobsbawm, E.: Introduction. Inventing Traditions. In: Howsbawm, E. / Ranger, T. (eds.): The Invention of Tradition. Cambridge 1983, 1–14.– Boschung, D. / Busch, A. / Versluys, M. J. (eds.): Reinventing "The invention of tradition"? Indigenous Pasts and the Roman Present. Morphomata 32. Paderborn 2015.
7 Bredekamp, H.: Wandlungen des Monumentalen. In: Haug, St. et al. (eds.): Arbeit am Bild. Ein Album für M. Diers. 2010, 36–55.
8 Bredekamp op. cit. 41–43.

describes his work as "*monumentum aere perennius*," a monument that would last longer than a bronze statue and be larger than the pyramids (*Carmina* 3.30.1). And Ovid states that monuments remain even when deeds have faded away.[9] Recently, James F. Osborne has questioned size and permanence as constitutive elements of monumentality.[10] Even small-scale works could be perceived and described as "monumental." Admittedly, it may be less the objects themselves that have made this impression than photographic reproductions that do not provide any scale.

If artifacts like funerary or victory monuments are to attempt to direct the memory of future generations, then their own interpretation of events and persons should be unchallenged and permanently secured. Sometimes it is helpful if the occasion to be remembered is only vaguely described, because this allows the possibility of an interpretation that could later be used for one's own glory. This is illustrated by a monument set up in the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia around 420 B.C. (figs. 1; 46).[11] A three-sided pillar, almost nine meters tall, carried an over-life-size marble statue of the victory goddess, Nike, flying through the air with flowing robes and outstretched wings, hovering above an eagle. Military victory appears as a beautiful female figure, floating to great heights effortlessly and unchallenged. The succinct inscription reports that the Messenians and the Naupaktians erected the monument to Olympian Zeus from a tithe of the spoils from their enemies[12] and that the sculptor Paionios of Mende created the statue. It remains unstated who the defeated opponents were and under what circumstances the victory was won. Nor does the statue allow the viewer to draw any conclusion about the location or the course of the battle. Only the size, the quality, and the prominent location of the sculpture suggest that it must have been a significant event. A connection with an exact historical event is not possible. Pausanias, who visited the sanctuary in the late second century A. D., learned of two different stories. It seemed probable to him that the monument was made from the spoils taken by the Messenians and

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9 "*Factum abiit, monumenta manent*" (Ovid, *Fasti* 4.709).

10 Osborne op. cit. (n. 1) 1–19.

11 Hölscher, T.: Die Nike der Messenier und Naupaktier in Olympia. Kunst und Geschichte im späten 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr., JdI 89, 1974, 70–111.– Bol 2004, 512 fig. 125a–b.

12 Dittenberger, W. / Purgold, K.: Die Inschriften von Olympia. Berlin 1896: 377–384 no. 259: "Μεσσάνιοι καὶ Ναυπάκτιοι ἀνέθεν Διὶ / Ὀλυμπίωι δεκάταν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ...."
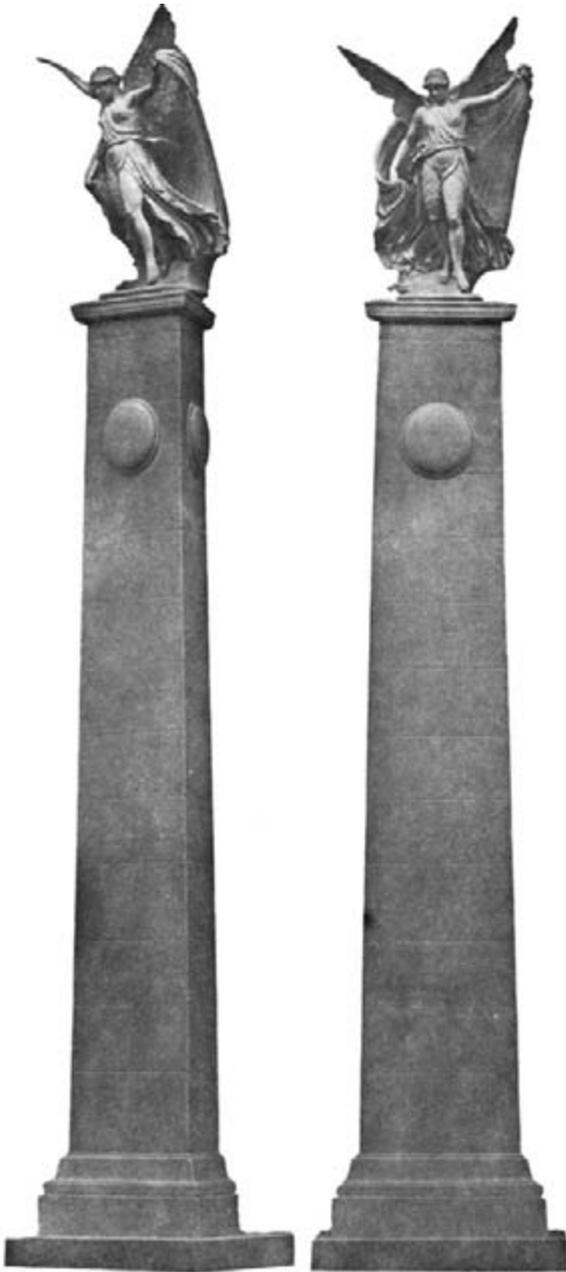
46 Two views of the victory monument of the Messenians and Naupaktians in the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia (see fig. 1); reconstruction, H. total ca. 12 m.

Naupaktians in a battle against Akarnania and Oiniadai around 450 B.C. The Messenians themselves claimed that the votive offering dated back to their victory over Sparta on Sphakteria, and that they did not name the enemy out of fear (Pausanias V.26.1).

Thucydides describes the hostilities on the island of Sphakteria in 425 B.C. in detail. The victory was won by the Athenians with the co-operation of the Messenians and Naupaktians (Thucydides IV.4–41). The Athenians set up two victory memorials for their achievements: a *tropaion* on the shore, using the shield of the Spartan leader Brasidas, for their blocking of a Spartan landing attempt; and a second on the island for the surrender of the Spartans.[13] The majority of the spoils from Sphakteria should have gone to the Athenians, who had provided the main contingent. But Thucydides mentions a raid undertaken by the Messenians of Naupaktos on Spartan territory after the victory (IV.41.2–3). Perhaps the statue of Nike was funded from the proceeds of this plundering, which must have primarily struck the defenseless civilian population. In this case the succinct formulation of the dedicatory inscription is understandable, because a more detailed account might recall the less glorious side effects of the attack. The chosen form of the monument does not commit it to a single event, but rather can apply equally to all the dedicators' victories. It does not indicate in what battle the victory was and whether it was won against battle-tested armies or against farmers, women, children, and the elderly of the Spartan rural population. The shaping of memory into a spectacular, elaborate, and aesthetically impressive monument also meant the effective repression of unpleasant elements, which were then actually forgotten. It was just this indeterminacy of reference that enabled the Messenians, in later times, to connect with an especially prestigious victory.

Efforts to permanently shape memory according to one's own intentions are not always successful. This is seen in the gravestones of the brothers Cn. Pompeius Magnus (ca. A.D. 26–46/47) and L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus (ca. A.D. 38–69) of the gens Licinia.[14] Their involvements in conflicts over political power are mentioned several times

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13 Thucydides IV.14.5 (cf. IV.12.1); IV.38.4.
14 Kragelund, P. / Moltesen, M. / Østergaard, J. St.: The Licinian Tomb: Fact of Fiction? Copenhagen 2003.– van Keuren, F./ Ghezzi, A./ Anderson, J. C.: Unpublished documents shed new light on the Licinian Tomb, discovered in 1884–1885 Rome, Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome 48, 2003, 53–140.– Boschung, D.: Überlegungen zum Liciniergrab, JdI 101, 1986, 257–287.

47 Funerary altar of Cn. Pompeius Magnus, H. 1.20 m. Rome, Museo Nazionale 78163.

48 Funerary altar of Piso Licinianus, H. 1.74 m. Rome, Museo Nazionale 78164.

by the Roman historians Suetonius, Tacitus, and Cassius Dio. Cn. Pompeius Magnus bore the same name as his great-grandfather, the triumvir Cn. Pompey (106–48 B.C.). The emperor Claudius married him to his daughter Antonia and supported him in many ways (Cassius Dio 60.5.8). One of the highlights of his short career was in A. D. 44 when, during the triumph of Claudius over Britain, he aided the emperor as he ascended the Capitol (Cassius Dio 60.23.1, 60.25.8). At the behest of his imperial father-in-law he was stabbed to death in 46/47. His parents were also killed. Suetonius reports that he was slain "*in concubitu dilecti adulescentuli,*" in the bed of a beloved youth (Suetonius, *Claudius* 27.2; 29.2).

His epitaph (fig. 47)[15] mentions, alongside the illustrious, ennobled name he shared with the triumvir, his prestigious priestly position as pontifex.[16] Especially important is the statement that the deceased was quaestor of his imperial father-in-law, Claudius, probably during the

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15 Kragelund/Moltesen/Østergaard op. cit. 24–25. 109 cat. 2 fig. 36.
16 CIL VI.31722: *Cn(aeus) Pomp[eius] / Crassi f(ilius) Men(enia tribu) / Magnus / pontif(ex) quaest(or) / Ti(berii) Claudi Caesaris Aug(usti) // Germanici / soceri sui.*

campaign in Britain. However, there is no mention of his participation in the triumph over Britain or the name of his wife, Antonia, much less any allusion to the discord with the imperial family and the dramatic circumstances of his death.

Even more restrained is the epitaph of L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus, who was interred in the same tomb. His shifting fortunes are told primarily in the histories of Tacitus,[17] who describes him as "*nobilis ... voltu habituque moris antiqui*," "of noble origin, of features and attitude a man of the old type." Banished by Nero, he was later adopted by Galba as his son and heir to the throne. The adoption took place during a severe storm and thus under unfavorable auspices (Tacitus, *Histories* I.18). Only five days later, Piso was murdered in public.[18] During a revolt of soldiers against Galba, he fled, injured, into the Temple of Vesta in the Forum Romanum. He was dragged out and killed in the entrance to the temple. His head was carried on a pike through the city. His wife, Verania, and brother Scribonianus arranged his burial.

The inscription (fig. 48) gives his name before his adoption: Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus. It also lists the priesthood he held, *quindecemvir sacris faciundis*, and the name of his wife Verania Gemina, the daughter of the consul Q. Veranius.[19] But it omits what makes his biography unique—both his elevation to the adopted son of the ruling emperor, the name of *Caesar* and the associated honors given at that time, as well as his own lineage and relationships and the dramatic circumstances of his death. The relief decoration of the funerary altar shows two griffins flanking a tripod in the pediment. This may be related to the oracle god Apollo, who was closely connected to the *quindecemviri sacris faciundis*, and thus understood as an allusion to the priesthood. The concealment of his adoption gives the impression that it did not take place at all or, as Piso's enemies had alleged, that it was invalid and rejected by the gods.

Even though these funerary altars were inside a private tomb and thus directed at their own family, anything that could have offended the public was avoided in the inscriptions and decor. Political expedi-

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17 Tacitus, *Histories* I.14–19, 21, 29, 30, 34, 39, 43, 44, 47, 48; III.68; IV.40, 42.– Suetonius, *Galba* 17.

18 Groag, E.: Calpurnius 100. In: RE III 1 (1897) 1399–1400. Tacitus, *Histories* I.14–44.

19 *CIL* VI.31723: *Dis Manibus / [L(uci)] Calpurni Pisonis / Frugi Liciniani / XV-vir(i) s(acris) f(aciundis) / et Veraniae / Q(uinti) Verani co(n)s(ulis) aug(uris) f(iliae) / Geminae / Pisonis Frugi.*

ence and aristocratic values required that biographical details be chosen carefully. Uncontroversial aspects such as family relationships and traditional priesthoods were emphasized and references to conflicts and political failure suppressed. This strategy was ultimately unsuccessful, since historians were interested in just those specific and characteristic events that the family concealed. The literary transmission of the opposing perspective made it impossible to conceal problematic events. Historians' dramatic accounts of the rise and fall of Piso Licinianus proved more effective compared to the monuments. They inspired, for example, Giovanni Battista Piranesi to identify an atmospheric tomb on the Via Appia as Piso's,[20] which stands in stark contrast to the simple design of his actual gravestone.

MONUMENT AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Michel Foucault, who transferred the term *archaeology* into the history of epistemology, used the word *monument* in contrast to *document*, which "was always treated as the language of a voice since reduced to silence, its fragile, but possibly decipherable trace." On the other hand, "silent monuments [are] inert traces, objects without context, and things left by the past ...."[21] He follows this dichotomy with a narrower definition from the 19th century, in which—deviating from the broader ancient meaning of the word—explicitly only inscriptions and works of art are understood as monuments, and not manuscripts or printed literature.[22]

In fact, *monument* is a frequently used, central concept in archaeology. The antiquarians of the early modern period initially used the word *monumentum* in the sense of their ancient predecessors. This is obvious when, in 1527, Andrea Fulvio spoke of the "*Scipionum monumentum*" in imitation of a phrase in Livy (38.56), meaning the tomb at the Porta

20 Jachmann, J. / Boschung, D. / Ketelsen, Th. / Mägele, S. (eds.): Piranesis Antike. Befund und Polemik. Exhibition catalog. Cologne 2014, esp. 26, 85: Veduta del Sepolcro di Pisone Liciniano.
21 Foucault, M.: L'archéologie du savoir. Paris 1969; cited here from the English translation: The Archaeology of Knowledge. Trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith. London and New York 2002, 7, 8.– Ebeling, K.: Wilde Archäologien 1. Theorien materieller Kultur von Kant bis Kittler. Berlin 2012, esp. 512–663.
22 Bredekamp op. cit. (n. 7) 40.

Capena in Rome.[23] Ulisse Aldroandi described the Arch of Septimius Severus with its depictions of military achievements and as well as sarcophagi ("*pile*") as *monumenti*.[24] The term is found again with the same meaning in the manuscripts of Pirro Ligorio.[25]

However, since the 16th century, *monumentum* has also been used in a broader sense, as a general term for the material evidence of the past, first for archaeological objects and soon after for all ancient remains. Pirro Ligorio's map of Rome from 1561 is entitled "*Anteiquae Urbis imago accuratissime ex veteribus monumenteis formata.*"[26] "Monuments" are no longer just tombs and victory memorials, but all buildings generally. The legend of Ligorio's panorama of the city of Rome provides more detail. It states that a true picture of the city derives from its time-honored monuments, and lists the various categories considered: ruins, coins, and monuments of bronze, lead, stone, and brick.[27] The material remains appear here as sources for the ancient history of the city, whose statements

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23 Fulvio, A.: Antiquitates Urbis. Rome 1527, herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert von C. Echinger-Maurach und G. Maurach, FONTES 62, 2011. http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2011/1500/ (accessed 24.07.2018): 12.
24 Aldroandi, U.: Tutte le statue antiche, che in Roma in diversi luoghi, e case particolari si veggono, raccolte e descritte per Ulisse Aldroandi 1562; cited here from Daly Davis, M., FONTES 29, 2009, http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2009/704/ (accessed 24.07.2018): 166 (= Daly Davies 51); on the sarcophagi 121 (= 19), 124 (= 21), 233–234 (= 99), 280 (= 131).
25 Schreurs, A.: Antikenbild und Kunstanschauung des neapolitanischen Malers, Architekten und Antiquars Pirro Ligorio (1513–1583). Cologne 2000, 468 no. 492; 486 no. 569.
26 Heenes, V.: Antike in Bildern. Illustrationen in antiquarischen Werken des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts. Stendal 2003, 59. 62 fig. 49.– Schreurs op. cit. 28.– Burns, H.: Pirro Ligorio's Reconstruction of Ancient Rome. In: Gaston, R. W. (ed.): Pirro Ligorio, Artist and Antiquarian. Milan 1988, 19–92.– Campell, I.: Pirro Ligorio and the Temples of Rome in Coins, ibid. 93–120. Cf. also ch. I.3.
27 In: Lafréri, A.: *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae, omnia fere quaecunq. in urbe monumenta extant* (between 1549 and 1582); View of the city of Rome with the legend: "*Antiquae Urbis Romae imago accuratiss(ima): ex vestustis monumentis, ex vestigiis videlicet aedificior(um), moenium / ruinis, fide numismatum, monumentis aeneis, plumbeis, saxeis, figlinisq(ue) collecta, veter(um) deniq(ue) auctorum fide confirmata, in hanc / tabulam redacta atq(ue) descripta a Pyrrho Ligorio romano per XIIII regiones in quas urbem divisit IMP. CAESAR AUGUSTUS.*" ("Most accurate image of the ancient city of Rome. From the ancient monuments, namely the remains of buildings and ruins of structures, the evidence of coins, monuments of bronze, lead, stone, and bricks; collected and confirmed by the testimony of

are confirmed by literary sources. The list shows that the whole range of material relics were used, not only precious and beautiful bronze and stone, but also modest and unsightly lead and brick. For the antiquarian, they were all equally important and worth studying.

Antoine Lafréri put the expression *monumenta* on the title page of his collection of engravings,[28] which reproduced obelisks, statues, reliefs, paintings, coins, gems, and inscriptions in addition to buildings (fig. 49). The related poem prompts the reader to recognize from the buried monuments how great the majesty of Rome once was.[29] Not only the memorials of the victories of the emperors and the tombs of the "*huomini illustri*" are considered monuments, but also all the material relics that remind of the former greatness of Rome.

As a result, the word *monuments* is used repeatedly as a collective term for ancient artifacts of all kinds and appears regularly, for example, in the titles of collection catalogs. Johann Joachim Winckelmann called his last work, which was a commentary on little-known ancient works, *Monumenti antichi inediti*. Among monuments he expressly counts statues, reliefs, gems, and paintings. He finds them interesting either because of their content or for the artistic quality of their representations.[30] When the Istituto di Correspondenza Archeologica in Rome, from which the German Archaeological Institute later emerged, established several publications immediately after its founding in 1829, one of them received the same title as Winckelmann's work. The *Monumenti inediti* presented illustrations of the previously-unknown archaeological objects discussed in the *Annali dell' Istituto*. The copper engraving on the title page of the first volume presents a wide range of archaeological finds: a statue; a painted panel; a grave relief; painted, relief, and

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ancient authors, recovered and described in this map by Pirro Ligorio, according to the 14 regions in which the Emperor Augustus divided the city.")

28 Lafréri, A.: *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae, omnia fere quaecunq(ue) in urbe monumenta extant, partim iuxta antiquam, partim iuxta hodiernam formam accuratiss(ime) delineata repraesentans. Accesserunt non paucae, tum antiquarum, tum modernarum rerum Urbis figurae nunquam antehac aeditae.–* Heenes op. cit. 79–81.

29 "*Roma tenet propriis monumenta sepulta ruinis / plurima, qua profert hic rediviva liber. / Hunc igitur lector scrutare benigni, docebit / Urbis maiestas pristina quanta fuit.*" ("Rome has very many monuments buried in its own ruins, which this book revives and makes known. So explore it, dear reader. It will teach you how great the majesty of the city once was.")

30 Winckelmann, G. (= J. J.): Monumenti antichi inediti. Rome 1767. I–II; esp. I. p. XVI.

49 Antoine Lafreri, Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae; title page.

50 Monumenti inediti I; published by the Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica; title page.

undecorated vases; bronze tools and weapons; an inscription; and coins (fig. 50). Today, numerous archaeological publication series use the term "*monumenta*," "*monumenti*," or "*monuments*" in their titles as a generic term for the material objects of their discipline. Johann Joachim Winckelmann used synonymously the German *Denkmal*, which was borrowed from Kant and Goethe and is also used in the field of archaeology to this day. Eduard Gerhard (1795–1867), who defined archaeology as "monumental philology,"[31] coined the programmatic mission statement of the discipline: "*Monumentorum artis, qui unum vidit, nullum vidit, qui milia vidit, unum vidit.*" "Whoever has seen a single work of art has not seen any. Whoever has seen a thousand has seen one."[32] In practice, this led to the systematic and continued collection and conservation of numerous classes of material.[33] The original meaning of *monumentum* as a sign of remembrance fell to the background, even though it was still fitting for funerary monuments and victory monuments.

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31 Rößler, D.: Eduard Gerhards "Monumentale Philologie." In: Wrede, H.: Dem Archäologen Eduard Gerhard 1795–1867 zu seinem 200. Geburtstag. Berlin 1997, 55–61.
32 Stark, C. B.: Systematik und Geschichte der Archäologie der Kunst. Leipzig 1880, 269.
33 See below ch. I.3.

3. BACKGROUND:
THE "MATERIAL TURN" SINCE 1540

As long as there has been an intellectual preoccupation with antiquity, its material legacy has been understood as the formation and expression of religious, social, and political concepts. Thus, idealized ancient statues that were known in the Middle Ages were considered the manifestation of pagan idolatry. Because of their lifelike design and three-dimensional presence, they provoked fears that they might be brought to life by demonic forces, jeopardizing the Christian religion and bringing about grave political and social consequences. In this perspective, the destruction of ancient statues and the display of their broken fragments marked the triumph of Christianity.[1] At the same time, ancient ruins and inscriptions throughout the territory of the former Roman Empire stimulated the development, clarification, and solidification of distinct ideas of local history.[2] For example, medieval clerics in Cologne read Late Antique funerary inscriptions as evidence for the martyrdom there of 11,000 virgins and their companions. The tombstone of a girl made around A. D. 500 (fig. 51) led to the leader of the martyrs being given the name Ursula after its discovery in the 10th century. The name of her groom, Aetherius, was also derived from a rediscovered inscription. Other virgins and their religious companions were identified through the prophetic supplementation of Roman epitaphs.[3] The Christian legend was thus attested by monuments that could be pointed back to, and was at the same time materialized and expanded by the discovery of new names.

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1 Here ch. I.2.4.– Myrup Kristensen 2013.
2 Schnapp 1996.
3 Galsterer, B. / Galsterer, H.: Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln, IKöln2. Mainz 2010, 509 no. 758; 513–514 no. 767.-. Schmitz, W.: Mittelalterliche Ausgrabungen auf dem *ager Ursulanus* in Köln. Antike Inschriften im Licht mittelalterlicher Märtyrerverehrung. In: Boschung/Wittekind 2008, 217–236.

51 Late Antique epitaph of an *innocis virgo* named Ursula, H. 15.5 cm. Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum 29.313.

Other sculptures were seen as depictions of powerful rulers, such as the equestrian statue in front of the Lateran[4] or the over-life-size warrior statue on the Capitol.[5] In Béziers, a Roman statue of a partially draped man, on display since at least the 14th century, was the subject of local legends under the changing names of *Peire Pesue*, *P. Pehuc*, *P. Pezuc*, and *Pépézuc*.[6] For antiquarians of the early modern period, ancient statues and busts embodied and illustrated the history of the Greeks and Romans recorded in historical accounts.[7]

If the material legacy of antiquity had been considered a testament to the history of Rome comparable to literary sources since Pirro Ligorio (ch. I.2.5), this aligns with the program of the Accademia Vitruviana, as Claudio Tolomei explains in a letter from 1542. It planned a translation and commentary of Vitruvius' text, as well as further exploration with glossaries and explanation through drawings. Studies on Vitruvius were said to be inextricably linked with the comprehensive exploration of ancient materials, such as ruins, sarcophagi, statues, reliefs, architectural ornament, tools, inscriptions, coins, paintings, and machinery.[8] Tolomei

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4 Boschung, D.: Fragmentierung und Persistenz: Antike Statuen im Mittelalter. In: Boschung/Wittekind 2008, 335–339.

5 Boschung 2014, 154–156.

6 Wiegartz 2004 esp. 132–134 with additional literature.– Rosso, E.: L'image de l'empereur en Gaule romaine. Paris 2006, 359–360 no. 129.

7 Fittschen, K.: Die zwölf suetonischen Kaiser in den Büstengalerien der Renaissance und des Barock. In: Boschung/Vorster 2014, 201–222.

8 Delle lettere di M. Claudio Tolomei libri sette. Venice 1547, 81–85 (reprint Naples 1829, 247–261). On the program and its results: Kulawik, B.: Wissenschaftliche

estimated a period of three years for the project, but in reality it lead to a research perspective that has remained fruitful to this day.

Less ambitious, but quite successful in individual questions, was the work of Philip Rubens. In the early 17th century he recommended, in addition to ancient authors, the study of "coins, inscriptions, and other ancient monuments" in order to gain a better understanding of antiquity. Thus, he solved a contentious question about the shape of the Roman toga, reproducing an ancient statue with the garment (fig. 52): "*ecce togae recentioris cum sinibus exemplum,*" "See an example of the later toga with *sinus.*"[9] A generation earlier, a reconstruction of ancient sacrificial rituals (fig. 53), outlined in 1580, was said to be verified by the fact that they had been traced back to ancient monuments (meaning, in particular, images on coins and reliefs): "*Antiquorum sacrificandi ritus, ex vetustis monumentis accurate expressus,*" "The sacrificial rites of antiquity, illustrated exactly from the ancient monuments."[10]

It may have been such findings that inspired Jacob Spon, in the second half of the 17th century, to develop a system of an "*Archaeologia sive Archaeographia.*"[11] This system was supposed to be devoted to the knowledge (*notitia*) and explanation (*declaratio*) of ancient monuments, with which the people of antiquity meant to advance religion, history, politics,

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Begriffsbildung im Kreis der Accademia della Virtù in Rom um 1550, Berichte zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte 38, 2015, 140–152 esp. 142 (on Pirro Ligorio and Onofrio Panvinio) and 147–149.

9 Rubens, Ph.: Electorum libri duo. Antwerp 1608, 20–21. Elsewhere he argues "*ex lapidibus.*" Herklotz, I.: Cassiano Dal Pozzo und die Archäologie des 17. Jahrhunderts. Munich 1999, 233.

10 Etching dated 1580, after drawings by Onofrio Panvinio (1530–1568). Posthumously published in Panvinius, O.: De ludis circensibus. De triumphis. Venice 1580.– Cf. Fless, F.: Opferdiener und Kultmusiker auf stadtrömischen historischen Reliefs. Untersuchungen zur Ikonographie, Funktion und Benennung. Mainz 1995, 13 pl. 1.– Herklotz op. cit. 222 fig. 61.

11 Spon, J.: Praefatio. In: Jacob Spon, Miscellanea eruditae antiquitatis: sive Supplementi Gruteriani Liber primus. In quo eruditiora & intellectu difficiliora marmora à Grutero omissa enodantur; statuis; gemmis; nummis & toreumatis illustrantur. Frankfurt/Venice 1679 = Daly Davis, M.: Jacob Spons 'Archaeologia': Eine Systematik für die Antikenforschung, FONTES 38, http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2009/790 (24. 07. 2018) p. 34–36.– See also Schade, K.: Antiquitates – Archaiologia – Archäologie. In: Broch, J. / Lang, J. (eds.): Literatur und Archäologie. Materialität und Rhetorik im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Morphomata 3. Munich 2012, 30–56 esp. 40–46.
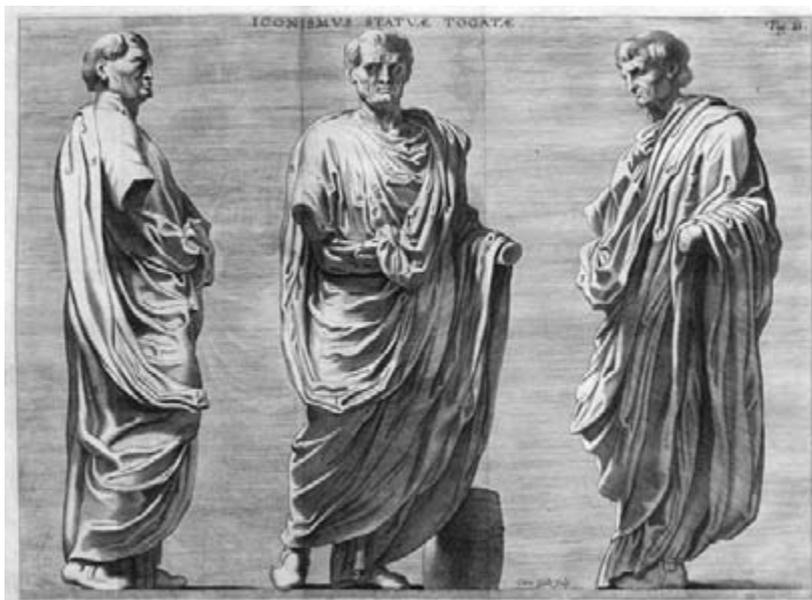
52 Philipp Rubens, Electorum libri duo. Antwerp 1608, 21. Illustration of a statue explaining the Roman toga.

science, and art in their time and pass it on to posterity. Spon envisaged a division into eight disciplines, each of which would examine a particular type of ancient monument: coins, inscriptions, architecture, *iconographia* (encompassing statuary, paintings, and mosaics), engraved gems, reliefs, manuscripts, and finally all kinds of instruments and tools.[12] This system largely accords with the research project sketched out by Claudio Tolomei, but at the same time represents the focuses of contemporary antiquarian interests.

Classical Archaeology is defined today as a historical and cultural field. For example, it participates in discourse analysis, social history and the history of mentalities, media studies, gender studies, and postcolonial

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12 Spon op. cit.: *numismatographia* (coins); *epigrammatographia* (inscriptions); a*rchitectonographia* (architecture); *iconographia* (sculpture, painting, mosaic); *glyptographia* (engraved gems); *toreumatographia* (reliefs); *bibliographia* (manuscripts); *angeiographia* (tools).

53 Onophrius Panvinius, De ludis circensibus. De triumphis. Venice 1580. Reconstruction of ancient sacrificial rituals from the monuments.

studies.[13] Its contribution to these and other areas of research in cultural studies is important for two reasons. First, antiquity, which it examines, is a closed era, well-attested by many different types of sources, which had a distinctive influence on later periods, not only in Europe, but also directly in north Africa and much of Asia, and indirectly in almost all other parts of the world. This makes it an important reference point for cultural studies. Second, archaeology, with its various specializations, is the academic discipline that makes material culture accessible as a historical source in the first place, and perhaps the only field that actually takes material culture seriously as a historical source. To make historical sources accessible means to collect them systematically, to inspect and order them critically, and to interrogate and interpret them methodically.

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13 Classical Archaeology as *Bildwissenschaft*/Image Studies: Altekamp, St.: Archäologie. In: Günzel, St. / Mersch, D. (eds.): Bild. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch. Weimar 2014, 373–378.– Lorenz, K.: Ancient Mythological Images and their Interpretation. An Introduction to Iconology, Semiotics, and Image Studies in Classical Art History. Cambridge 2016.

For this purpose, archaeology increasingly uses methods from the natural sciences, which can provide reliable data and can correct subjective assessments, such as in the identification of materials and in the determination of provenience.

COLLECTING AND ORDERING

When Classical Archaeology became established in German universities in the 19th century, it continued two older traditions, which stood in a certain tension with each other. First was the philhellenism and the love of sculpture of Johann Joachim Winckelmann, who regarded Greek art as the benchmark of all earlier and subsequent eras. Second was the older tradition of antiquarianism, which was strongly philological, arising primarily from ancient texts. Antiquarians of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries had identified and interpreted a great number of ancient objects, often with great acumen and erudition. Their collections of material, which had been collated and systematically constructed since the 16th century, and which had remained largely unpublished, now provided a valuable starting point for the comprehensive investigation of archaeological monuments. Their goal was systematic and complete collection, documentation, and standardization. The collection of different material groups into corpora was not merely for organizational purposes. It also reflects the insight that groups of monuments are subject to different conditions and are therefore open to different possibilities, that they react to different historical needs, and that they develop their own conventions, especially in serial production.

The development of the field was dramatically shaped in the 19th century by Eduard Gerhard, the leading German archaeologist of the period around 1830 (ch. I.2.5). He created, among other things, a corpus of Etruscan mirrors that was less concerned with the mirrors themselves than with the figural drawings on them. Other corpora were founded by his students and contemporaries, including corpora of Roman sarcophagus reliefs (Otto Jahn), of ancient sculptures (Conte de Clarac, Adolf Michaelis), of Attic grave reliefs (Alexander Conze), and of Latin and Greek inscriptions (Theodor Mommsen).[14] These collections of mate-

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14 Michaelis, A.: Ein Jahrhundert kunstarchäologischer Entdeckungen.[2] Leipzig 1908, 75–77 on corpus-organization at the time in the German Archaeological Institute.

rial were made possible by an international network to which Eduard Gerhard had made a significant contribution in organizing, for example by founding the Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica in Rome. Still today, the indexing of material through catalogs and corpus-like compilations is a central task of Classical Archaeology. With this material orientation of Classical Archaeology, it was and still is necessary to organize collected objects into types and typological groups and to put them into historical sequences.

DESCRIBING

"Knowledge of form requires description of form": With this aphorism Adolf Borbein described the necessity for scientific analysis of the linguistic recording of visual characteristics of artifacts.[15] Translation into language provides conceptual clarification, as long as it uses a set terminology. At the same time, it guides the examination of an artifact and its pictorial renderings. In fact, pictorial catalogs[16] and lists of works[17] without individual descriptions have also become important and even essential for archaeologists. But ultimately their findings—such as datings or artist attributions—also imply linguistic descriptions of forms, provided that they are substantiated. Such a translation from one medium to another always means selection and interpretation, inevitably involving subjective judgments. This is already evident in ancient descriptions of works of art. For example an epigram by Poseidippos that describes Lysippos' statue of Kairos in a selective and suggestive way simultaneously gives its own interpretation and becomes extremely potent (ch. II.1.2). Taking after ancient ekphrasis, the description of statues—such as those of Johann Joachim Winckelmann[18] and Wilhelm

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15 Borbein, A. H.: Formanalyse. In: Borbein, A. H. / Hölscher, T. / Zanker, P. (eds.): Klassische Archäologie. Eine Einführung. Berlin 2000, 116.
16 For example, Andreae, B., et al.: Bildkataloge der Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museum. Museo Chiaramonti 1–3. Berlin/New York 1995.
17 For example, Beazley, J. D.: Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters. Oxford 1956.– *id.*, Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters I–III. 2nd ed. Oxford 1963.
18 Zeller, H.: Winckelmanns Beschreibung des Apollo im Belvedere. Zurich 1955.

54 Torso of Myron's Diskobolos, reconstructed as a gladiator. Rome, Musei Capitolini 241. From G. G. Bottari, Museum Capitolinum III 1755 pl. 69.

55 Torso of Myron's Diskobolos, reconstructed as Diomedes. Drawing by Ch. Townley. London, British Museum.

Heinse[19]—became an art form in the 18th century that mediated between science and literature.[20]

Archaeological descriptions are always part of an overall argumentative strategy. They should make comparisons possible and plausible in order to justify interpretations, datings, attributions, and contexts. As texts, they operate rhetorically, partly through evidence like reference to excavation reports and illustrations, and partly based on professional authorities, with logical conclusions and suggestive claims.

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19 Kansteiner, S.: Heinses Umgang mit antiker Skulptur. In: Bernauer, M. / Miller, N. (eds.): Wilhelm Heinse. Der andere Klassizismus. Göttingen 2007, 208–231.
20 Broch/Lang op. cit. (n. 11).
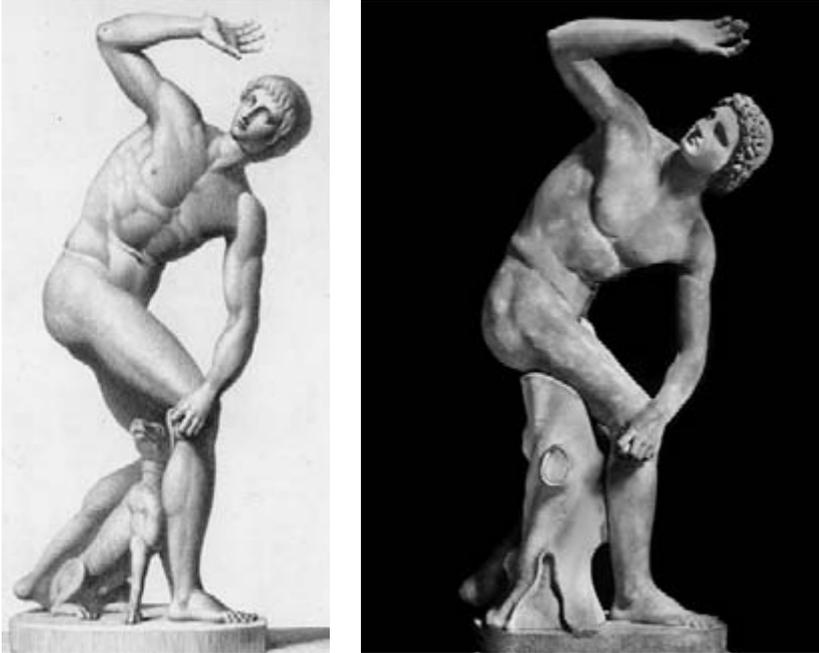
56a-b Torso of Myron's Diskobolos. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi 212. Reconstructed in the 17th century as Endymion, looking up to Luna; interpreted in the later 18th century as a son of Niobe and again restored. **a** after A. F. Gori, Museum Florentinum III 1734 pl. XXI, with the older additions.

COMPARISON

For a comprehensible classification and analysis of archaeological objects, comparison is a direct precondition for noting both difference and consistency. This is already a major consideration in questions relating to the reconstruction of and addition to individual artifacts. Only if comparison shows that a fragment is so closely matched with a completely preserved piece in the parts that have survived that both must go back to the same form (or to the same model), can lost parts of the fragment then be supplemented following the complete figure. This is exemplified by restorations of ancient male torsos, which were completed as a fallen warrior (fig. 54), Diomedes with the Palladion (fig. 55), Endymion (fig. 56a) and a son of Niobe (fig. 56b). The restorers tried to reconstruct the statues from what they could perceive of its complex movement, with

different results. When a complete example was found in 1781 (fig. 7), it showed that the restored torsos must come from the same model, which could be identified as the Diskobolos by Myron, attested in literary sources.[21] This now also made possible the certain interpretation and reconstruction of the torsos as a discus thrower. Similarly, Giorgos Despinis was able to show that fragments of the cult statue found in the 19th century at the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous matched a figure type that has survived in several Roman copies (figs. 11–12). This gives a reliable idea of the appearance of the Nemesis of Rhamnous, a celebrated work by the sculptor Agorakritos from the late fifth century B.C. (ch. I.2.3).

Systematic comparison is important for workshop attribution and for the clarification of provenience, function, and meaning,[22] but also to differentiate categories from one another, to constitute material corpora in order to form typological subgroups within categories, and to determine chronological sequences. This is not a problem when it comes to comparison of measurable quantities, materials, and technical features. So it is easy to distinguish coins from marble reliefs or from gems. The comparison of three-dimensional forms is more of a challenge. Here it is necessary to first state what should actually be compared. This is relatively simple when dealing with shapes that are rendered linearly, such as the inscribed details of a vase-painting or the system of garment motifs, facial wrinkles, or clearly articulated curls of hair in three-dimensional works. They can be transcribed graphically and thus clearly defined. It is more difficult to establish any secure basis for comparisons in three-dimensional forms without linear delimitation. This opens up a wide array of subjective assessments and suggestive formulations from which not infrequently similarity or dissimilarity are posited, which then form the starting point for further argumentation.

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21 Howard, S.: Antiquity Restored. Essays on the Afterlife of the Antique. Vienna 1990, 70–77. (originally published in: Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 25/3–4, 1962, 330–334).– Cf. also Kansteiner, S. (ed.): Ergänzungsprozesse. Transformation antiker Skulptur durch Restaurierung. Berlin 2013.– On the Diskobolos of Myron: Giuliani, L. / Catoni, M. L.: Myron und die Kunst des Diskuswerfens, RM 122, 2016, 13–43; see above ch. I.2.1.
22 Zimmermann, K.: Parallele, Analogie, Vergleich. Gewinn und Grenzen ihrer Anwendung in der Klassischen Archäologie. In: Irmscher, J. (ed.): Vergleich und Analogieschluss in den Altertumswissenschaften. Rostock 1988, 46–50.

Comparison between three-dimensional objects works best when they can be placed directly next to each other. Plaster casts provides a substitute for this that can faithfully reproduce sculptural forms. Since the 19th century, archaeological institutes in Germany have extended great costs to build up cast collections in which plaster copies can be assembled for comparison. Photographic methods remain the more widespread option, but differences in lighting and angle of view are often a hindrance. Digital methods of three-dimensional recording of objects and pattern recognition seem more reliable for supplementing and making objective existing language-based modes of comparison.[23]

23 Scheding, P. / Remmy, M.: Medium 3-D-Modell. Ein archäologisches Dokumentationsmedium der Zukunft? In: *id.* (eds.): Antike Plastik 5.0://, 50 Jahre Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik in Köln. Münster 2014, 212–221.

II ARCHAEOLOGICAL CASE STUDIES

1. CONCEPTIONS OF TIME

1.1 *TEMPORA ANNI*: TIME RECURRING

HORAI AND GENII: CHANGING SEASONS AND GENDERS

The conception and characteristics of the seasons did not materialize in a single, potent artifact, but rather in a constellation of figures, fundamentally stable but flexible in detail. This is the subject of the following morphomatic study, which treats the genealogy, medial imprint, and potency of this morphome.

The observation of a cyclical sequence of natural phenomena and stellar constellations over the course of a solar year led to the initial distinction and naming of the seasons.[1] In the *Iliad*, not only are they mentioned and named individually, but they also appear as a group of female figures under the name Ὧραι (Horai, "seasons"), without mention of their individual names and their number. Together, they guard the gates of Olympos, no doubt because of the echo of Ὧραι in the verb ὠρεύω (oreúo, "watch"). They also attend to the chariot of Hera.[2] These two notions, the Horai as seasons and the Horai as guards, stand side by side unconnected. In Hesiod they also watch over the actions of humans. In his *Theogony*, which depicts the gods as a powerful familial alliance and details their relationships, the Horai are the daughters of Zeus and Themis, while Homer leaves their genealogy open. Their number, names, and associated concepts are also different from those in the Homeric epics (ch. I.2.2). If there are four names for seasons,

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1 Additionally, ch. I.2.2.– Also Heckel, H.: (Seasons) In cultural history and literature. In: BNP, s. v. Seasons IIB.– Rudhardt, J.: Thémis et les Horai. Recherches sur les divinités grecques de la justice et de la paix. Genf 1999.
2 Homer, *Iliad* V.749–50; VIII.393–394, 433–434. Bremmer, J. N.: The Birth of the Seasons (Horai) in Archaic and Classical Greece. In: Greub 2013, 165–166.

57a-b Krater by Kleitias and Ergotimos, H. 66 cm. Florence, Museo Archeologico 4209. **b** Detail, procession of the gods with Dionysos and Horai.

Hesiod knows three Horai, named Εὐνομία (Eunomía, something like "legality"), Δίκη (Díke, "justice"), and Εἰρήνη (Eiréne, "peace") (*Theogony* 901–903).[3] According to their names, they are also responsible for proper, reliable social order, so that climatic and social law are inseparable in them.[4] This idea, unlike in Homer, is not derived from observing the seasons' effects on vegetation and weather, but from the genealogy of the Horai as daughters of Themis, that is, divinely appointed order. In Pindar, the three sisters bring wealth and ward off hubris.[5] In contrast, other poets follow the example of the Homeric epics.

In Athens, Pausanias reports that the cult there had only two Horai, whose names, Θαλλώ (Thalló, "blooming") and Καρπώ (Karpó, "fruitful"), refer to spring and autumn and evoke their effect on nature.[6] This does not emphasize climatic extremes, but rather transitions. The different number of seasons shows that the perception of the successive sections of the year is not a fact of nature, but is subject to cultural influences. However, their change as well as the resulting effects on weather

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3 Rudhardt op. cit. 97–160.

4 Machaira, V.: Horai. In: LIMC V 1990, 502–510.– Shapiro 2011, 199–220.– Bremmer op. cit. 161–178.– Boschung, D.: Tempora anni. Personifikationen der Jahreszeiten in der römischen Antike. In: Greub 2013, 179–200.

5 Pindar, *Olympian* 13.6–10.– Similarly in the first century A.D., L. Annaeus Cornutus, *Epidrome* 29.

6 Pausanias IX.35.1–3.– Bremmer op. cit. (n. 2) 176–177.

58 Relief with Dionysos and the Horai, H. 32 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 968.

and vegetation can be directly, sensually experienced.[7] But these experiences, above all because of geography, are perceived and systematized differently. The established four seasons, customary since the Hellenistic period, probably stem from efforts to synchronize with astronomical processes, where equinoxes and solstices mark four equally long segments of the year. The analogy with the corresponding number of cardinal points, elements, and bodily humors may have been influential as well, suggesting the number four as an expression of cosmic order.[8]

In art, the Horai appear starting in the early sixth century B.C. as a triad, without proper names and initially without significant attributes, often as companions of Dionysos (fig. 57a–b),[9] while in poetry they are connected to Aphrodite.[10] On the throne of the statue of Zeus in Olympia, on the uppermost section above the head of the god were three Horai

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7 Simmer, C.: Warum vier Jahreszeiten? Die klimatologische Perspektive. In: Greub 2013, 49–55.
8 Hübner, W.: Astronomical and calendrical season. In: BNP, s. v. Season II A.
9 Shapiro 2011, 202–207.
10 Bremmer op. cit. (n. 2) 167–168.

on one side and three Charites (Graces) on the other (Pausanias V.11.7).
Only in the Hellenistic period, perhaps first in the procession of Ptolemy
II, are individual Horai distinguished from one another by attributes and
thus each identified with a particular season.[11] They appear together with
Dionysos in a relief type known through copies from the Roman Impe-
rial period but whose design probably dates back to Hellenistic times
(fig. 58).[12] All the seasons are personified as young women, although the
grammatical gender of spring (τὸ ἔαρ) and summer (τὸ θέρος) is neuter,
and winter (ὁ χειμών) can be masculine. Representations of the four
Horai as female personifications of the seasons can be found on mosaics
and in many other genres into Late Antiquity.[13]

After the seasons had been embodied as female figures for six cen-
turies, male versions were introduced in the art of the Roman Empire.
This is related to the fact that the Greek word Ὧραι is grammatically
feminine, but the Latin equivalent *tempora anni* is neuter, allowing their
representation as boys or youths.[14] The linguistic transfer from Greek to
Latin thus led, as in the case of the translation from Καιρός to *Occasio*,
to a change of gender of the personifications (ch. II.1.2). While in the vast
majority of cases the Horai are fully clothed, the male seasons—some-
times with the exception of winter—appear nude. The earliest known
example is found on a round altar from Rome, made between about A. D.
20 and 50 (fig. 59a–d).[15] The altar comes from the imperial gardens out-
side the Porta Collina. Its relief decoration alludes to this idyllic setting.
Between balusters stand four boys, whose wings, hairstyles, and childish

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11 Cain, H.-U.: Werktage der Götter. In: Zimmer, G. (ed.): Neue Forschungen
zur hellenistischen Plastik. Kolloquium zum 70. Geburtstag von G. Daltrop.
Wolnzach 2003 esp. 64.– Bremmer op. cit. (n. 2) 177.

12 Zagdoun, M.-A.: La sculpture archaïsante dans l'art hellénistique et dans
l'art romain du Haut-empire. Paris 1989, 122–126 figs. 144–146.– Hackländer, N.:
Der archaistische Dionysos. Eine archäologische Untersuchung zur Bedeutung
archaistischer Kunst in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit. Frankfurt 1996,
122–126.– On early Hellenistic representations of the Horai and their reception
in the Roman Empire, see Cain op. cit. 63–70.

13 Abad Casal, L.: Horai/Horae. In: LIMC V 1990, 502–538.

14 For the translation of "καιρός" with "*tempus*" or "*occasio*" see ch. II.1.2.

15 Lorenz, Th.: Römischer Rundaltar mit einem Fries von Jahreszeitenputten.
In: Eckstein, F. (ed.): Antike Plastik 19. Berlin 1988, 49–58 with figs. 1–15 pl. 34–
43.– Dräger, O.: Religionem significare. Studien zu reich verzierten römischen
Altären und Basen aus Marmor. Mainz 1994, 141, 265 no. 116.– Maderna, C. in:
Bol 2010, 97, 314–315 fig. 147a–b.

59a-d Round altar with seasonal genii (above: winter and spring, below: summer and autumn) from the imperial gardens in Rome, H. 73 cm. Würzburg, Martin von Wagner Museum H 5056.

appearance recall erotes, but whose attributes reference the seasons. One of the winged boys holds a garland of flowers and a dish of first fruits, thus presenting the gifts of spring (fig. 59b). The next is equipped with a sickle, used for harvesting grain in the summer, and holds a large poppy pod (fig. 59c). The following figure leans on a basket of grapes, harvested in the autumn, and holds a throwing stick (*lagobolon*). Additionally, like companions of Dionysos, he wears a deer skin (*nebris*) (fig. 59d). And finally, the fourth boy is dressed in a warm garment (fig. 59a). He carries an amphora and holds a slaughtered duck, a reference to the winter as the season for hunting. The figures strike symmetrical poses with weight shifted to one leg and head turned in the same direction.

SEASONS AND RULER IDEOLOGY

Roman seasonal personifications were likely initially used in the sculptural decor of luxurious gardens, but from at least the early second century A. D. they are regularly found in Roman imperial art. The Arch of Septimius Severus in Rome, dated A. D. 203/204, depicts two victories above the main passageway on either side, each bringing tropaia from the emperor's victories over the Parthians. They are each assigned a seasonal genius (fig. 60).[16] The *tempora anni* appear as winged boys distinguished by their attributes. They are smaller than the victories and by their position are subordinate to them in the overall decorative program. As on the Würzburg altar, together they reproduce the cycle of the year, but are here divided into pairs. Winter and spring appear on one side and summer and autumn on the other. On coins of the Roman Empire from the time of Hadrian, images of the four seasons are elucidated with the legend *temporum felicitas*, "felicity of the times."[17] On the arch, this cycle is related to the victories. Just as the seasons follow one another in an established and recurrent manner, the emperor's victories repeat themselves regularly and rewardingly. The continued importance of this motif in the Roman imperial ideology is clear, because the combination of victories and seasons can be found on Roman state monuments for

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16 Brilliant, R.: The Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum. Rome 1967, 115–120 pl. 22, 38–40.
17 Hanfmann 1951, I.165, 168–169, 172; II.163–166 no. 318, 324–328 figs. 127, 128.– Abad Casal, L. in LIMC V 1990, 893 no. 11–19, cf. no. 49–55.

60 Relief with victories and seasonal genii of summer (left) and autumn (right). Rome, Arch of Septimius Severus, main passageway from the west.

over 200 years, from the Arch of Trajan in Benevento (A. D. 114)[18] to the Arch of Septimius Severus to the Arch of Constantine (A. D. 315).[19]

During the tetrarchy the four seasons gained a special significance in imperial ideology.[20] A depiction of the four rulers on the Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki[21] shows the imperial college surrounded by the gods, among whom the seasons appear as children of Gaia (fig. 61).[22] The seasons presented an obvious connection with the tetrarchy because of their coincident number. Like the four seasons, the college of four rulers expressed *temporum felicitas*.[23] No less important was the idea of cyclical

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18 Arch of Trajan in Benevento: Hanfmann 1951, 171.– Brilliant op. cit. 119 figs. 24, 25.– Fittschen, K.: Das Bildprogramm des Trajansbogens von Benevent, AA 1972, 784.– Rotili, M.: L'arco di Traiano a Benevento. Rome 1972, 76 pl. 49–52.
19 L'Orange/Gerkan 1939, 150–160 pl. 35.
20 Kolb 2001, 27–37.– Here ch. II.3.2.
21 Laubscher 1975, 69–78 pl. 58–60.– Kolb 2001, 158–162.– Boschung, D.: Die Tetrarchie als Botschaft der Bildmedien. Zur Visualisierung eines Herrschafts- systems. In: Boschung/Eck 2006, 363–366.
22 Laubscher 1975, 72.
23 Hanfmann 1951, I.156–157.– Cf. the speech in honor of Constantius Chlorus of A. D. 297, *Panegyrici Latini* VIII (V).4.2.

61 Relief with Gaia and the Four Seasons (bottom right), H. 1.18 m. Thessaloniki, Arch of Galerius, as in fig. 167.

renewal. Just as nature renews itself again and again in the cycle of the four seasons, so should the Roman Empire rejuvenate cyclically and regularly through the rule of the tetrarchs.

THE SEASONS AT THE GRAVE

From the early second century A. D., the seasons also appear in private sepulchral art, where they are frequently found in sequence.[24] On the "Crane Relief" from the tomb of the Haterii in Rome, dated around A. D. 120, three figural reliefs are placed on the front of a funerary temple next to the door, between the columns; a fourth is covered by the left corner column (fig. 62a–d).[25] Each relief shows a boy. The first holds a sickle and sheaf of grain, the second holds a bowl of fruit and carries a thyrsos, and the third is wrapped in a cloak. They are meant to be summer, autumn,

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[24] Horai in tombs of the first century A. D.: Hanfmann 1951, I.125–126; II.146 cat. no. 115, 116 figs. 83–85.– Abad Casal, L. in LIMC V 1990, 502–538, 515 no. 32, 33.
[25] Sinn, F. / Freyberger, K. S.: Die Ausstattung des Hateriergrabes. Vatikanische Museen, Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense. Katalog der Skulpturen. Die Grabdenkmäler 2. MAR 24. Mainz 1996, 51–59 cat. 6 pl. 11–12.– On the mounting and presentation of the relief: von Hesberg, H.: Il profumo del marmo. Cambiamenti nei riti di seppellimento e nei monumenti funerari nel I sec. d. C. In: Vaquerizio, D. (ed.): Espacio y usos funerarios en el Occidente Romano. Cordoba 2002, esp. 44–46 with fig. 12c.– Zanker/Ewald 2012, 193 fig. 176.

62a–d "Crane relief" from the Tomb of the Haterii, H. 1.32 m. Rome, Museo Gregoriano Profano 9998. Below, details of the seasons.

63 Garland sarcophagus with representations of the seasons, H. chest 55 cm, lid 22 cm. Once London market.

and winter. Presumably spring was represented on the hidden fourth relief. In attributes and pose, they correspond to the Würzburg altar, but these boys are not winged, are in motion, and are not shown frontally.

At about the same time the theme appears on marble sarcophagi in Rome. One example (fig. 63) from the years around A. D. 130[26] shows on the front four garlands carried by five boys on their shoulders. The first consists of flowers, the second of ears of grain, the third of vine leaves and fruits, and the fourth of olive branches and olives. Specific products of the season are selected for each garland and as a whole they trace the cycle of the year. Above each garland appears another, winged boy riding a wild animal with attributes particular to each season, reproducing the cycle of the seasons a second time in sync with the garlands. The lion rider holds a garland of flowers. The genius on the bull carries a sickle and a basket. The next, on a panther, presents a bunch of grapes. The last, riding a wild boar, is wrapped in a mantle and carries ducks hanging from a reed stalk.

A sarcophagus in New York, also from around A. D. 130 (fig. 64),[27] varies the motif. The garland bearers themselves are characterized as seasonal genii, because they wear wreaths made of characteristic seasonal products: the buds of spring, the grain of summer, the grapes of autumn, and finally the olive leaves of winter. The fourth genius wears

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26 Herdejürgen, H.: Stadtrömische und italische Girlandensarkophage 1. Die Sarkophage des ersten und zweiten Jahrhunderts. ASR VI.2.1. Berlin 1996, 106–107 cat. 44 pl. 17, 18.2.

27 Herdejürgen op. cit. 90–92 cat. 23 pl. 13.1; 15; 18.1.– Kranz, P.: Jahreszeiten-Sarkophage. ASR V.4. Berlin 1984, 24–25, 73, 89–91, 183 cat. 1 pl. 1.1; 2.

64 Garland sarcophagus with representations of the seasons, H. chest 52 cm; lid 27 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 90.12.

a cloak to go along with his wintry crown. As in the previous sarcophagus, the composition of the garlands changes according to the season. Flowers are replaced by ears of grain, then bunches of grapes, and finally olive leaves. The lid frieze again takes up the theme of the seasons.[28] Four winged boys drive chariots pulled by wild animals: bears, lions, bulls, and wild boars. The *metae* (turning posts) at the far ends of the frieze mark that the scene is a race in the circus. The plants growing in the background—flowers, ears of grain, vine leaves, and olive branches—indicate that the chariot drivers are seasons. Of the draft animals, the lions are significant for the summer and the boars for the winter. The scenes of the lid and the chest are clearly related to each other. Spring and winter travel above their corresponding garlands, and summer and autumn over their respective genii. The circus race relates to the cyclical return of the seasons more clearly than in both examples considered thus far: the chariots circle around the turning post, returning again and again in a predictable manner.[29]

The rendering of the seasons as frontal, standing genii returns about a generation later, around A. D. 160, on a sarcophagus in Zurich (fig. 65).[30] The front of the chest is divided into a central aedicula and adjoining arches, in which stand five figures, statue-like, facing front. In the middle

28 Kranz op. cit. 73, 244, cat. 316 pl. 90.– Schauenburg, K.: Die stadtrömischen Eroten-Sarkophage. Zirkusrennen und verwandte Darstellungen. ASR V.2.3. Berlin 1995, 29–30, 94 cat. 134 pl. 50.– Zanker/Ewald 2012, 163–166 fig. 153.
29 Later, Tertullian equates the four circus racing teams with the four seasons: Tertullian, *De spectaculis* 9.– cf. Hanfmann 1951, I.159–163.
30 Kranz op. cit. 27, 106–110, 191 cat. 26 pl. 4.2; 6.1; 7.

65 Seasons sarcophagus, H. chest 65 cm, lid 14.5 cm. Zurich, Realp cemetery.

aedicula is the deceased woman as Venus and beside her, the seasons. Unlike on the older round altar, all four can be viewed at once and compared directly. They now follow an iconography established in the intervening years. Spring, in the arcade on the left, holds a flower garland and a basket of flowers. Summer in the right adjoining arcade carries a sickle and ears of grain. Autumn, standing to the right of the aedicula, bears a grape-harvesting knife and a bunch of grapes. Winter, whose representation completes the frieze on the right, holds reeds and a duck. He is also dressed in trousers, a sleeved chiton, and a mantle covering his head. The associated lid shows two pairs of flying erotes spreading garlands.[31] Again, their composition reflects the sequence of the seasons. The left garland, spanning over spring and summer, consists of flowers and ears of grain, while the right, above autumn and winter, is made up of grapes and olive leaves. They accompany and repeat the sequence of the seasons, but divide them into two sections by combining spring and summer on one side, autumn and winter on the other.

The representation of frontal, standing seasonal genii as decoration on marble sarcophagi corresponds to their rendering on imperial monuments and the chronology shows that it was adopted from there into private funerary art (Hanfmann 1951, I.231). From now on they become very common (fig. 66a),[32] and their iconography remains stable but flexible until Late Antiquity. Thus, there is a set of specific attributes for the four seasonal genii, of which only one selection is used at a time.

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31 Kranz op. cit. 247 cat. 329 pl. 4.2; 7.

32 Kranz op. cit.– Koch, G. / Sichtermann, H.: Römische Sarkophage. Handbuch der Archäologie. Munich 1982, 217–223.– Zanker/Ewald 2012, 163–166.

THE SEASONAL GENIUS AS MORPHOME OF THE CONCEPTION OF TIME

The idea of a cyclical renewal of nature through the course of the year twice found a potent visual figuration in antiquity. This happened for the first time in the Hellenistic period through the personification of the seasons as four iconographically individualized female figures. It is first mentioned in connection with the Dionysian procession of Ptolemy II. This suggests that the spectacular ritual in Alexandria provided the impetus for the development of a differentiated iconography of the Horai in the visual arts. Almost three centuries later, in the early Roman Empire, this constellation of figures was reconceived as a group of seasonal genii. We can only roughly determine where and when it originated, apparently in Rome and at the latest in the second quarter of the first century A. D. It is striking that the earliest example comes from the imperial gardens.[33] Perhaps the figures were created for elaborate garden settings, where the change of the seasons could be experienced with pleasure. It is unclear whether the figures were originally conceived as a relief or whether it reflects a lost group of statues, as the frontal poses of the boys suggest.

Unlike in the case of Kairos (ch. II.1.2), there is no known literary source describing the appearance of the seasons and providing an authoritative interpretation. Rather, the dissemination and development took place almost exclusively in the visual arts, especially in reliefs and in mosaics. On the other hand, the seasons' responsibility of harnessing the quadriga of the gods, mentioned in Homer and recurring in later poets,[34] is conspicuously lacking in the visual arts. For this aspect of the myth, the tradition is exclusive to literature. But since the early Imperial era there was a fixed constellation of figures that were often repeated and varied over the following centuries, and this image left a lasting impression, alongside the traditional Greek iconography of the seasons as goddesses. When in the later Imperial period male seasonal personifications

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33 For the findspot see Talamo, Emilia: Gli Horti di Sallustio and Porta Collina. In: Cima, M. / La Rocca, E. (eds.): Horti Romani. Rome 1998, 113–169 esp. 133. – Hartswick, K. J.: The Gardens of Sallust. A Changing Landscape. Austin 2004 esp. 87, 180–181 n. 16.

34 Bremmer op. cit. (as n. 2), 168 with n. 21. For example, Ovid, *Metamorphoses* II.118 (Chariot of the Sun).– As in Ovid, two sarcophagi connect the Horai with the Phaeton myth, but here the four feminine seasonal personifications are inactive while the winds harness Sol's horses: Baratte, F.: Phaeton I. In: LIMC VII 1994, 351–352 no. 7, 19.

66a–e Seasons sarcophagus, H. 1.04 m. Rome, Musei Capitolini 1185; **b–e** Door reliefs with the seasons harvesting.

also appeared in the Greek east, they were given the Greek name Καιροί (Kairoí), apparently a translation of the Latin term *tempora (anni)*.[35]

The new mode of representing the seasons as a group of four, frontal genii was evidently hardly used in the first hundred years after its creation, i. e. throughout the first century A. D. After official monuments in honor of the emperors took up the motif in the early second century A. D., it quickly became popular. Roman funerary art first experiments with various possibilities. Alongside garland-bearing genii also appear running, riding, and chariot-driving figures, which embody the four seasons and at the same time express the fleetingness of time. At almost the same time, the garland decoration itself picks up the theme. A generation later, after the middle of the second century, influenced by public monuments, the representation of standing, frontal genii prevails and remains dominant until the fourth century.

The basic iconography is already defined in the earliest extant example (fig. 59a–d). The seasons appear as four winged boys. This choice was not self-evident, since the grammatical gender of the Latin names is different. *Ver* (spring) is neuter. *Aestas* (summer) and *hiems* (winter) are feminine. Only *autumnus* (autumn) is masculine. This difference is not transferred to the iconography, because clearly the collective term *tempora anni* provided a basis to emphasize the similarity of the figures.[36] The appearance of the seasons is reminiscent of Eros, evoking a world of beauty and enjoyment. The four boys are the same size and the same age. Each has the same amount of space and appears independent and clearly equal.[37] The figures are unconnected, but symmetrically related to one another through their stance, posture, and gaze.

The seasons are distinguished by their attributes. These are primarily products of nature from each season that benefit mankind: the flowers of spring, from which garlands are made for festivals; grain and

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35 Abad Casal, L. in: LIMC V 1990, 891–920 no. 62; no. 245–248.– Boschung 2011, 77.

36 For variations see Hanfmann 1951, I.214, including examples with the seasons represented as a couple, i. e. male and female.

37 Ovid (*Metamorphoses* II.26) presents the "*Horae*" (*Ver*, *Aestas*, *Autumnus*, and *Hiems*) standing at equal distances ("*positae spatiis aequalibus*") in the palace of Sol.

poppies; grapes; olives and game.[38] Attributes also include the sickle and grape-harvesting knife,[39] equipment needed to harvest the fruits. This evokes seasonal agricultural work. These are occasionally shown in individual scenes (fig. 66b–e), where the genii carry out the harvest effortlessly.[40] The different temperatures are indicated in many cases by the differing clothing of winter. Other aspects are not taken up by the representations, such as the changing length of the days or changes in the amount and form of precipitation.

KOSMOS AND CHRONOS

Besides seasonal personifications, and sometimes combined with them, sequences of images can reproduce a chronological cycle and accentuate it in a specific way. Occasionally, the year is represented with images of the twelve months.[41] For example, a mosaic from El Djem shows the four seasons as wingless, clothed figures, arranged vertically beginning with spring. After each season follow three scenes, each of which is labeled as a month (pl. 6).[42] The sequence starts at the top left with the month of March and then continues line by line. Thus, the period of the year is depicted in two parallel cycles, the cycle of the seasons as well as the twelve months. The representations of the months show mostly religious festivals and celebrations and activities corresponding to the seasons. Thus, the year is ordered by the seasons, but these are each divided into three months. This results in a more detailed structure to the year, with festivals following this rhythm.

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38 Hanfmann (1951, I.185–186) sees this as a reference to grave offerings deposited throughout the course of the year.

39 See also White, K. D.: Agricultural Implements of the Roman World. Cambridge 1967, 71–103.

40 In contrast, according to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (I.107–122), the establishment of the four seasons by Jupiter after the end of the Golden Age brings about bitter hardships and constraints upon mankind.

41 Parrish, D.: Menses, LIMC VI 1992, 479–500.

42 Parrish, D.: Season mosaics of Roman North Africa. Rome 1984, 156–160 no. 29 pl. 42–43.– Parrish, D. in: LIMC VI 1992, 489 no. 31.– Invernizzi, A.: Il Calendrio. Museo della civiltà Romana, Vita e costumi di Romani antichi 16. Rome 1994 figs. on pp. 19, 27, 37, 45, 55, 63, 77, 85, 95, 101, 105, 107.

67 Seasons sarcophagus with zodiac and portraits of married couple,
H. 1.09 cm. Washington, D. C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection BZ.1936.65.

Cycles of time are more commonly determined by sequence of stars. This applies, for example, to the numerous representations of the zodiac, which are occasionally associated with seasonal personifications, as in the case of a sarcophagus at Dumbarton Oaks (fig. 67) from the Constantinian period.[43] Agricultural work—goat milking, harvesting grapes and grain—is shown between the seasons. The edge of the central shield bearing the portraits of the deceased shows the twelve signs of the zodiac, following each other counterclockwise at regular intervals, according to the astronomical cycle of the year.[44] They are identified by the figures, animals, and objects recognized in their constellations after which they are named. Both cycles refer to the same period of time, but the zodiac does not describe the year as a succession of the blossoming, growing, maturing, and death of nature, but rather as a regular change in the stars.

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[43] Hanfmann 1951 esp. I.3–15; II pl. 1–14, 16.– Kranz op. cit. (n. 27) 193–194 cat. 34 pl. 39, 47.– Zanker/Ewald 2012, 256 fig. 228.– Mosaiken: Şahin, D.: The Zodiac in Ancient Mosaics. Representation of Concept of Time, Journal of Mosaic Research 3, 2009, 95–111.

[44] Gundel, H. G.: Zodiakos. Tierkreisbilder im Altertum. Kosmische Bezüge und Jenseitsvorstellungen im antiken Alltagsleben. Mainz 1992 esp. 223–224 no. 57.– Gury, F.: Zodiacus. In: LIMC VIII 1997, 490–497.– Seasons and zodiac on North African mosaics: Parrish, D.: The Mosaic of Aion and the Seasons of Haïdra (Tunisia): An Interpretation of Its Meaning and Importance, AntTard 3, 1995, 167–191.

Two relief bases from Rome link the sequence of the months with the change of the signs of the zodiac (figs. 68–69).[45] The sides are divided into columns, above each the symbol of a different zodiac sign and the name of the month. The sequence begins with the month of January and the beginning of the calendar year. Under this is a fixed scheme giving the number of days in the month and the day of the *nones*, then the length of the day and the night, the sign of the zodiac in which the sun is located and whose figure tops the column, the patron deity of the month, the necessary agricultural work, and finally the festivals and sacrifices in that month. Here too zodiac signs, calendars, religious festivals, and farm work follow the same rhythm. Social and religious cycles are intertwined with the divine order that operates the universe.

Sometimes representations link cycles of time of differing lengths. A mosaic in the Bardo Museum in Tunis shows the twelve signs of the zodiac in a circle clockwise, alternately set in round and octagonal medallions. In a smaller circle, running in the opposite direction, the planetary gods, Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, and—in the center of both circles—Saturn, appear in octagonal fields. The seven planets are also the deities of the days of the week (pl. 7).[46] Thus, two cycles of time are arranged within and against one another, denoting the great cycle of the solar year and the smaller cycle of the week, both connected to the stars. Similarly, a mosaic from Thysdrus in the Bardo Museum links medallions of the four Horai with busts of Sol and Luna. The alternation of day and night is combined with the cycle of the seasons.[47]

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45 *Menologium Rusticum Colotianum* and *Menologium Vallense*: Gundel op. cit. 98–99 with fig. 48; 210, 213 no. 24.– Dosi, A. / Schnell, F.: Spazio e tempo. Museo della Civiltà Romana, Vita e costumi di Romani antichi 14. Rome 1992, 61.– Invernizzi op. cit. (as n. 42) 18 fig. 9; 44 fig. 22; 76 fig. 36; 100 fig. 45.– Stenhouse, W.: Ancient Inscriptions. The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo. A catalogue raisonné. Series A, Antiquities and Architecture 7. London 2002, 192–200 no. 101–102 (*Menologium Rusticum Colotianum*).– Alberi Auber, P. in: Atti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia. Rendiconti 84, 2011–12, 503–507.
46 Dunbabin, K. M. D.: The Mosaics of Roman North Africa. Studies in Iconography and Patronage. Oxford 1978, 161 fig. 162.– Simon, E.: Planetae. In: LIMC VIII 1997, 1003–1009 esp. no. 28; cf. no. 22, 22a.– Parrish, D.: Imagery of the Gods of the Week in Roman Mosaics, AntTard 2, 1994, 192–204.-204.– On the advent of days of the week in analogy to the planets: Rüpke, J.: Kalender und Öffentlichkeit. Berlin/New York 1995, 456–460.
47 Dunbabin op. cit. 160, 259 El Djem 16a fig. 159.– Parrish, D.: Season Mosaics of Roman North Africa. Rome 1984, 168–171 no. 33 figs. 50–51.

68 Menologium Rusticum Coloti-
num, H. 66.5 cm. Naples, Museo
Archeologico Nazionale 2632
(January to March).

69 Codex Coburgensis; Drawing of
the Menologium Vallense, front side
with information on months May to
August.

In another way, sundials materialize ancient notions of time (fig. 70).
With few exceptions, they form a well-defined monument type in size,
material, and design.[48] They map the shadow cast on a network of lines
indicating the hour of the day, and in many cases the solstices and the
equinoxes. Thus, time is directly connected to the course of the sun, the

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48 Gibbs, Sh. L.: Greek and Roman Sundials. New Haven/London 1976 esp.
66–78.– Winter, E.: Zeitzeichen. Zur Entwicklung und Verwendung antiker
Zeitmesser. Berlin 2013, esp. 39–88.– Rinner, E. / Fritsch, B. / Graßhoff, G.:
Die unvollendete Sonnenuhr von der Agora der Italiker auf Delos. In: eTopoi.
Journal for Ancient Studies 2. Berlin 2012/2013, 111–130.– Hermann, K. / Sipsi,
M. / Schaldach, K.: Frühe Arachnen. Über die Anfänge der Zeitmessung in
Griechenland. AA 2015, 39–67.– On the sundial at Hever Castle: von Hesberg,
H. in: Dimas, St. / Reinsberg, C. / von Hesberg, H.: Die Antikensammlungen
von Hever Castle, Cliveden, Bignor Park und Knole. MAR 38. Wiesbaden 2013,
128–129 pl. 30.3–4, 31.1.

70a-b Roman sundial, H. 46 cm. Hever Castle.

time of day, as well as the seasons, which are reflected in the change of the position of the sun. As an invention of the Hellenistic period, the spherical sundial was found throughout the empire of Alexander and beyond to Ai Khanoum in present-day Afghanistan and Naqa and Basa in Sudan,[49] as well as in Latin, Oscan, Umbrian, Phoenician, Nabatean, Palmyrene, and Neo-Punic areas, as shown by examples with corresponding inscriptions.[50] Sundials of this kind stood not only in private residences, but also in public places, sanctuaries, gymnasia, and public baths.[51] This universal accessibility made the connection between the sun's orbit and the passage of time a generally accepted concept in the Hellenistic period and Roman Empire.

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49 On the Hellenistic gymnasium in Ai Khanoum: Winter op. cit. 253–254.– Basa: Gibbs op. cit. 307 no. 3089.– Naqa: Winter op. cit. 435–436.
50 Gibbs op. cit. 85–88.– Winter op. cit. 353–354 Dmeir; 368–369 Hegra (Nabatean); 410–411 Leptis Magna 1 (Neo-Punic); 426–427 Mevania (Umbrian); 458–459 Oum el Ahmed (Phoenician); 461–462 Palmyra 2 (Palmyrene-Greek bilingual); 483 Pompeii 1 (Umbrian).
51 Winter op. cit. 185–249.

1.2 KAIROS: THE OPPORTUNE MOMENT

In addition to the experience of cyclical processes like the passing and recurrence of days, phases of the moon, seasons, and the signs of the zodiac, there is the realization that there are unpredictable events that occur unexpectedly. These can be unanticipated dangers or threats of crises, the outcome of which is incalculable but of vital importance. Favorable opportunities can be anticipated and planned for under certain conditions, such as when to plow, sow, and harvest in each proper seasonal phase to produce a rich crop. In this case it was possible to recognize the opportune moment from the movements of the stars and then to pass down this knowledge in a didactic poem like Hesiod's "Works and Days."[1] But opportune moments can also arise unexpectedly and must then be taken advantage of immediately and resolutely for one's own benefit. Corresponding experiences found their materialization in the concept of *kairos*, first in the term, then in a mythological figure established in literature, and finally in a statue and its linguistic and pictorial re-creations.

DETERMINING THE MORPHOME

We do not know why Himerios exemplified the interplay of hand (χεῖρ) and mind (γνώμη) by means of the statue of Kairos (Introduction n. 1). But undoubtedly, the example was carefully chosen to illustrate how ideas can become vivid and momentous through artifacts. The sculptor Lysippos of Sikyon was—as far as we know—the first Greek artist to visualize the idea of the opportune moment when he created a statue of Kairos in the time of Alexander the Great (around 330 B.C.). Its original location, context of display, commissioner, and the occasion for its creation are unknown. According to a Byzantine source of the 12th century, Lysippos is said to have created the statue when Alexander had become angry about a missed opportunity.[2] The close connection between the

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1 Hesiod, *Erga* 383–387. See also ch. I.2.2.
2 DNO no. 2163, 2165–1266: Tzetzes, *Epistula* 70; *Chiliades* 8.416–434; 10.264–267.

sculptor and the Macedonian king was probably the basis of this late anecdote.

The statue of Kairos is not preserved, but its basic features can be established from various types of sources. The starting point is references and descriptions in ancient and Byzantine literature.[3] In 1747, these texts made it possible to link a relief in Turin (fig. 71) with the work by Lysippos.[4] It shows a winged youth, bending, facing to the left, balancing a scale on a razorblade in his outstretched hand. The identification was quickly forgotten, but after two additional reliefs showing the same figure emerged,[5] it was again proposed and has remained accepted until today.[6]

The reliefs in Trogir[7] (fig. 72), Athens,[8] and Turin are so closely related that they must go back to a common relief-like model. However, no versions in the round are yet known. Therefore, the relationship between the model as derived from the reliefs and the statue of Lysippos as attested in literary sources cannot be determined with certainty. It should be noted that the iconographic elements of the figure consistently fit its emergence in the fourth century B.C.

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3 The texts were already compiled, translated, and discussed in the 16th century: Boschung 2011, 52 n. 24.– Boschung 2013, 15 n. 24.– Mattiacci 2011, 127–154.– DNO no. 2160–2172.– Adornato, G.: Lysippus without the Kairos. A Greek Masterpiece between Art and Literature, JdI 130, 2015, 158–182.– Baert, Barbara: Kairos or Occasion as Paradigm in the Visual Medium. Nachleben, Iconography, Hermeneutics. Studies in Iconology 5. Leuven 2016.
4 Rivautella, A. / Ricolvi, G. P.: Taurinensia dissertationibus, et notis illustrata pars altera. Turin 1747, XXII.4–8.– Turin, Museo di Antichità inv. 317; H. 61.5 cm; good illustration in cleaned state is found in Andreae, B.: Skulptur des Hellenismus. Munich 2001, 12 fig. 1.
5 Curtius, E.: Archäologische Zeitung 33, 1875, 1–8 pl. 1, 2.1–4.– Abramić, M.: Ein neues Kairos-Relief, Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien 26, 1930, 1–8 pl. 1.
6 Boschung 2011, 52 with n. 30.– Boschung 2013, 16 with n. 30.– Mattiacci 2011, 133–134 figs. 1, 2.– DNO; Archaeological commentary on no. 2160–2172. Lastly Adornato op. cit. esp. 173–174, which traces the reliefs in Turin and Trogir to a late Hellenistic/early Imperial *inventio* based on Lysippos.
7 Trogir, Museum in the former Benedictine convent. H. 45 cm. Good illustration and further bibliography in Moreno, P.: Lisippo, L'arte e la fortuna. Exhibition catalog. Rome 1995, 192–193 no. 4.28.1.
8 Athens, Acropolis Museum inv. 2799. Preserved height 29 cm. Good illustration and further bibliography in Moreno op. cit. 193 no. 4.28.2.

GENESIS: SHAPING THE NOTION

The *Iliad*, the earliest work of Greek literature from the late eighth century B.C., gives the idea of the decisive moment a concise expression:

> "But this difficulty is very great that has come to the Achaians, since for all of us the decision now stands on the edge of a razor whether the Achaians shall have life or sorry destruction."[9]

The phrase "on the edge of a razor" ("ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἵσταται ἀκμῆς") describes a fragile situation in which the balance remains for a brief instant, but may be forever decided in the next moment. It is unclear who holds the blade and how the critical issue has come to its edge.

This idea is articulated in hexameters, which both makes it easy to remember with its rhythm and lends significance to the example through its aesthetic perfection. Later authors borrowed and modified the figure of speech as early as the sixth century B.C.[10] Today it is also found in modern standard languages—mediated through ancient, Byzantine, and Early Modern compendia of proverbs.

Admittedly, the epic does not include any conceptual designation for the critical moment. The word later used for this, ὁ καιρός, is attested from the early seventh century, but it may initially have had several different meanings.[11] The first mention in Hesiod[12] does not refer to time. Rather, it cautions against overloading ships and wagons. "Kairos" means here "appropriate," or "fitting." In fact, Hesiod does not use the word when discussing the proper timing of plowing and sowing (ch. I.2.2). To Pittakos, one of the Seven Sages of Antiquity, is ascribed the adage "καιρὸν γνῶθι," "know the right measure" (if used with the same meaning as Hesiod) or "know the opportune moment." Through the Latin translation into the proverbial "*tempus nosce*," which does take

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9 Homer, *Iliad* X.172–174: "ἀλλὰ μάλα μεγάλη χρειὼ βεβίηκεν Ἀχαιούς. / νῦν γὰρ δὴ πάντεσσιν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἵσταται ἀκμῆς / ἢ μάλα λυγρὸς ὄλεθρος Ἀχαιοῖς ἠὲ βιῶναι." Trans. Richmond Lattimore.

10 Benndorf, O.: Archäologische Zeitung 21, 1863, 85: Simonides; Herodotos VI.11; Theognis 557; Sophokles, *Antigone* 996; Euripides, *Hercules furens* 630; Theokritos 22.6.

11 Trédé-Boulmer 2015; on the etymology 16–17, 51–53.

12 Hesiod, *Erga* 694: "μέτρα φυλάσσεσθαι· καιρὸς δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος," "Be moderate. Kairos is the best in everything."

71 Relief depicting Kairos, H. 60 cm. Turin, Museo di Antichità Inv.-Nr. 610 (D317).

up the time aspect, the saying has remained influential into the modern age.[13]

From the fifth century, the word is used regularly to designate the moment in which a situation turns irreversibly good or bad. "Kairos" can describe danger, but above all it describes the opportunity of the moment (Trédé-Boulmer 2015, 47), as in the aphorisms of the *Corpus Hippocraticum*[14] and the famous phrase "Life is short, science is great,

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13 Diogenes Laertios I.79.– The Latin version as in the *Adagia* of Erasmus of Rotterdam: Rüdiger, H.: Göttin Gelegenheit. Gestaltwandel einer Allegorie, in: arcadia. Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft 1, 1966 no. 2, 131.

14 Hippocrates, *Aphorismoi* I.1: "ὁ βίος βραχύς, ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρή, ὁ δὲ καιρὸς ὀξύς;" Trédé-Boulmer 2015, 45, 48, 160. Kairos in the Hippokratic corpus: Eskin, C. R.: Hippocrates, Kairos and Writing in the Sciences. In: Sipiora, Ph. /

72 Relief, H. 45 cm. Trogir, Monastery of St. Niko-
laus. Plaster cast, FU Berlin ST 86.

kairos but ὀξύς" (oxús, which can mean "sharp," "cutting," "pointed,"
"sour," or "painful"). The adjective is reminiscent of the expression in
Homer ("ξυροῦ ἀκμή"), and it is found several times in connection with
kairos.[15] Pindar writes, "kairos has a short measure for man;"[16] and "in
all things kairos will bear the palm."[17] A speech in Thucydides discuss-
es kairos, the opportune moment, coming and being seized[18] or pass-

Baumlin, J. S. (eds.): Rhetoric and Kairos. Essays in History, Theory, and Praxis.
Albany 2002, 97–113.– Trédé-Boulmer 2015, 155–193.

15 Plato, *Politics* 307b: "ὀξύτερα … τοῦ καιροῦ."– Trédé-Boulmer 2015, 48.

16 Pindar, *Pythian* IV.286: "καιρὸς πρὸς ἀνθρώπων βραχὺ μέτρον ἔχει."

17 Pindar, *Pythian* IX.78: "ὁ δὲ καιρὸς ὁμοίως παντὸς ἔχει κορυφάν."

18 Thucydides II.34: "καὶ ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε."

ing by unused.[19] Lysias articulates a similar idea when he speaks of the "most beautiful opportunity" to be seized.[20] A quote from the sculptor Polykleitos describes the role of kairos in the success of a work of art.[21] These texts do not refer to a person, but to the right measure or the right moment. However brief and disjointed they are, they reveal some of the ideas associated with kairos. It is short (Pindar), sharp (Hippocrates), and beautiful (Lysias). It is necessary to recognize it (Pittakos). Kairos comes and, if not used, can be lost (Thucydides). And one can seize it (Lysias). Whoever uses Kairos can find success in many areas: he will be victorious in competitions (Pindar); he can properly treat disease (Hippocrates); he can create a perfect statue (Polykleitos); and he can deliver a successful speech.[22]

Thus different experiences and concepts are linked with καιρός in the fifth century B.C., which are expressed linguistically, but are not connected and systematized. This likely happened for the first time after 450 B.C., in a hymn by the poet Ion of Chios. The text is lost, but Pausanias reports that it describes Kairos as the youngest child of Zeus.[23] Thus, the idea of the right moment was not only personified, but also given a genealogy that emphasizes his youthfulness. It remains unknown whether the poem contained any indication of the appearance, behavior, or attributes of the youthful god. Over the course of the fourth century B.C., Kairos is the subject of detailed reflection, as the title of a lost work of Demetrios of Phaleron, "περὶ καιροῦ," shows (Diogenes Laertios V.81). According to Plato's *Laws*, god directs human affairs, along with Tyche and Kairos (Plato, *Nomoi* IV.709b).

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19 Thucydides IV.27: "μηδὲ διαμέλλειν καιρὸν παριέντας." Trédé-Boulmer 2015, 46–47.

20 Lysias 13.6: "νομίζοντες κάλλιστον καιρὸν εἰληφέναι."

21 Cf. above ch. I.2.1.– On the connection between *Kairos* and *Symmetria*: Trédé-Boulmer 2015, 66–71.

22 Trédé-Boulmer 2015, 149–309. Aristotle, *Nikomachian Ethics* 1096a.31–34, notes the significance of kairos for strategy, medicine, and sports.– On the role of kairos in Greek rhetoric: Kinneary, J. L. / Eskin, C. R.: Kairos. In: HWdR 4, 1998, 835–844.

23 Pausanias V.14.9: "γενεαλογεῖ δὲ ἐν τῷ ὕμνῳ νεώτατον παίδων Διὸς Καιρὸν εἶναι."– Page, D. L.: Poetae Melici Graeci. Oxford 1962, 384 no. 742.– See also Trédé-Boulmer 2015, 75.

MEDIALITY: WHAT THE STATUE ENABLES AND WHAT IT REQUIRES

Lysippos' statue was, as Himerios rightly points out, skillfully crafted. The sculptor exploited not only the technical possibilities of the medium but also the iconographic potential to create a surprising figure, unique in many ways. Some elements are conventional in the context of art of the fourth century B.C. This includes, for example, the youthful, muscular form, showing an athletic youth at the threshold between childhood and adulthood. According to the grammatical gender of the word, Καιρός is personified as male. His age matches that of Eros and thus corresponds to the hymn of Ion of Chios, who called him the youngest son of Zeus. At the same time, it is an illustration of the beauty of Kairos, of which Lysias speaks. The wings on his feet are also conventional. They indicate someone who moves with great speed, such as the messengers of the gods, Iris and Hermes. The shape of the wings on his back, with a strongly curled tip, is found on sitting or reposing sphinxes in the fourth century B.C., which do not spread their wings, since they are not using them to move through the air (fig. 73).[24] This detail shows that the god is not using his powerful wings at the moment, but that he could take flight at any time. Since Lysippos used for Kairos a form of wings otherwise associated with sphinxes, he avoided confusion with the likewise winged Eros.

The motion is unusual, with the outstretched right foot hovering above the ground and the elastically flexed left leg resting only on the tips of the toes. This prevents the figure from being able to come to rest in this position. Rather, it seems to tilt slightly backwards, which is corrected by bending the upper body forward and extending the right leg. This pose also has an analogy in the art of late Classical period, namely in the figure of an alighting Eros on an Apulian patera from the middle of the fourth century B.C. (fig. 74).[25] It is clear that at this moment, Kairos is coming down from high and touching down upon the earth. This shows a brief moment of transition, from flying at unreachable heights to running swiftly on the earth. Only in this single unexpected and fortunate moment, when he has stopped flying and not yet started running, is Kairos within reach of humans. The striking pose recalls the idea found

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24 Woysch-Méautis, D.: La représentation des animaux et des êtres fabuleux sur les monuments funéraires grecs. Lausanne 1982, 134–135 pl. 61–63 no. 362, 363, 367, 368, 372, 373, 379.
25 Hermary, A. et al.: Eros. In: LIMC III 1986, 899 no. 568 pl. 641.

73 Acroterion in the form of a sphinx; from an Attic grave stele of the 4th century B.C.; H. 41 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Sk 886.

in Thucydides that Kairos comes and passes by. The action corresponds to this transitory moment, as the youth carries a scale with two bowls on a rounded razorblade, which he then balances in the outstretched fingers of his right hand. The scale recalls that Kairos can designate not only the right time, but also the right measure (Trédé-Boulmer 2015, 56–66). It is unclear what is actually weighed here, because the bowls are empty. According to the texts of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., Kairos ultimately decides everything—whether a work of art or a medical cure is successful and even whether a victory in a competition or war can be won. So it is understandable that the image does not commit to a single area. Kairos blatantly influences the outcome of the decision-making process by placing his finger on one of the bowls of the scale. This distinguishes him from other gods, like Zeus, Aphrodite, and Eros, who weigh mortals against their fates.[26] They hold the scales without influencing the results and observe, without intervening, which way they tip.

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[26] On the iconographic tradition of weighing scenes: Siebert, G.: Hermes. In: LIMC V 1990, 338 no. 622–629 pl. 250.– Vollkommer, R.: Ker. In: LIMC VI 1992, 19–21 no. 57–68.– Delivorrias, A.: Aphrodite. In: LIMC II 1984 no. 156, 1246–1249.– Comstock, M. B. / Vermeule, C. C.: Sculpture in Stone. The Greek, Roman and Etruscan Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston. Boston 1976, 20–25 no. 30.

74 Apulian patera depicting Eros alighting; ca. 350 B.C. London, British Museum F 132.

The use of the razorblade is striking. Although Hippocrates calls Kairos "ὀξύς," which can also mean "cutting," this does not match the action shown, as the blade is not used to cut. Rather, the image refers to the Homeric expression, since the scale is actually "on the razor's edge." But the *Iliad* does not link the critical situation with the concept of kairos, and certainly not with a mythological figure of that name. The connection between the figure of speech and Kairos only happens in Lysippos' figure. Unlike in the verses of the *Iliad*, here it is clear who is controlling the blade and deciding the outcome of the crisis.

The hairstyle is equally unusual. The hair is broken up into long strands that fall in tufts on the forehead and on the sides, while the strands at the back of the head lie flat. This does not correspond to hairstyles of Greek children or ephebes, nor of Eros. The best parallels are portraits of Alexander, especially the Hermes Azara, which has also been associated with Lysippos with good cause (figs. 76, 77).[27] Similarly, the long and unevenly flowing strands fall behind the ear and at the temples, leaving the ear uncovered. While the hair falls loose in front and on the sides, it lies close to the head at the back. This ends the similarities. On

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27 Himmelmann 1989, 89 fig. 31 a–b; 94.– Stewart, A.: Faces of Power. Alexander's Image and Hellenistic Politics. Berkeley 1993, 165–171, 423 figs. 45, 46.– Jucker, I.: Ein Bildnis Alexanders des Großen. Munich 1993, 18–19.

75 Head of Kairos, detail of the Turin relief (fig. 71).

76 Alexander the Great; H. of head 25 cm. Paris, Louvre MA 436.

Kairos, long, tangled tufts of hair fall forward on the forehead. His hair is long on the neck and overlaps where the wing meets the body.

Thus it is established that Lysippos created the figure of Kairos in the late fourth century from both older and contemporary ideas of the opportune moment. These were expressed in language, but were disconnected and disparate. They are brought together and linked in the embodiment of the statue. At the same time, materialization in a statue meant areas that had not been addressed before had to be developed. First is the figure itself that embodies Kairos. The shape of the body indicates an age between a child and an ephebe, a biographical moment that marks the most beautiful flowering of youth, which cannot last long and must pass by.[28] This biographical Kairos is largely predictable. The boy's growth into adulthood can be foreseen. Secondly, the pose takes ideas about Kairos and translates them into a clear, concrete form. No text describes how Kairos moves, only that he comes briefly and passes by quickly. The sculptor had to commit to a certain pose, and he created an unconventional representation that corresponds to this singular aspect. The youthful god has come down from above, is present at this moment, but can immediately withdraw again. This describes the unpredictability of Kairos. It cannot be predicted when he will arrive, where

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28 Trédé-Boulmer 2015, 48–51 on the connection between *akme* and *kairos*.

he will land, and when and to where he will disappear again. Thirdly, the action characterizes Kairos. He weighs things against each other, holds the decision masterfully in the balance, but then brings about the resolution randomly. And fourthly, his attributes point to the nature of Kairos—the hairstyle that recalls the youthful, world-conquering Alexander, indicating the far-reaching power of Kairos; the swift wings, the decisive scales, and the sharp razor.

The elements described are heterogeneous and to some extent contradictory in their claims. In this way, the statue reflects different nuances of meaning of the word καιρός: the affinity for ἀκμή (akme, "peak," "blooming") through the chosen age; the interpretation as the right measure through the use of the scales; the notion that a single moment can irrevocably decide a distant fate, by evoking the expression in Homer. Lysippos not only borrowed and combined older and previously isolated ideas, but also altered them and more clearly defined them. In none of the surviving earlier texts is there mention of Kairos as winged, and a specific hairstyle is certainly not described. Before Lysippos, it is nowhere mentioned that Kairos puts critical issues on a knife's edge, makes his decisions with a scale, or affects them by manipulating the scales.

DYNAMICS: CHANGING VIEWS AND INTERPRETATIONS

Two generations after Lysippos (around 270 B.C.), the poet Poseidippos of Pella wrote an epigram interpreting the details of the statue. Already in antiquity, the poem was included in Greek anthologies and then in the *Anthologia Planudea*, completed around 1300 in Constantinople, with the first printed edition in 1494.[29]

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29 Beckby, H. (ed.): Anthologia Graeca I. Munich 1958, 68–113.– On the epigram by Poseidippos: *Anthologia Graeca* XVI.275.– Austin, C. / Bastianini, G.: Poseidippi Pellaei quae supersunt omnia. Milan 2002, 180–181 no. 142.– DNO no. 2160.– On the description of statues by Poseidippos: Seidensticker, B. / Stähli, A. / Wessels, A. (eds.): Der Neue Poseidipp. Darmstadt 2015, 247–281.– Strocka, V. M.: Poseidippos von Pella und die Anfänge der griechischen Kunstgeschichtsschreibung, Klio 89, 2007, 332–345.

"Where does the artist come from?" – "From Sikyon." – "What is
his name?"

"Lysippos." – "Who are you?" – "Kairos, the Subduer of All
(ὁ πανδαμάτωρ)."

"Why do you go tiptoe?" – "I am always running."

"Why do you have a pair of wings on your feet?" – "Because I fly
with the wind."

"Why do you hold a razor in your right hand?" – "To show men
that no edge cuts as sharp as I."

"And your hair, why does it fall on your face?" – "By Zeus, whoever
meets me should grab hold of me."

"Why are you bald in the back?" – "When I have flitted past on
winged foot, no one can catch me from behind, no matter how
much he wishes it."

"Why did the artist create you?" – "For you, stranger, and he set
me up in the portico for your instruction."

While the statue of Kairos was a vivid visualization of the idea of the op-
portune moment, the epigram represents a conceptual articulation with
lasting consequences.[30] The poem gives a description of the statue, but
also provides a one-sided and momentous interpretation and determines
the content of the figure. Although the sculpture has greater vividness,
an obvious spatial presence, and a holistic appearance, several of its mes-
sages are ambivalent. Some may be obvious, such as the figure's sex or
age. Other elements, such as the wings on his feet, follow an established
iconography and are thus also clearly legible. Still others, such as the
hairstyle, are rather vaguely reminiscent of an identified iconography
and can thus be interpreted associatively without clear commitment to
a particular interpretation. Although attributes like the razor and scales
were clearly identifiable to contemporary viewers as objects of everyday
life, they were unusual in this specific setting and required explana-
tion. Thus, although clearly defined by the sculptor in every detail as a
three-dimensional form, the figure opens up a broad range of different
attributions of meaning, which are determined by the discursive fram-
ing, for example, by the reception context as well as by expectations and
prior knowledge of the beholder.

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30 Niklas 2013, 29–30.

The epigram shows that the ambivalent and undetermined elements of the statue required definition regarding their content. The chosen form of dialogue gives its interpretation a special authority, because the figure itself gives its name, explains the unusual features of its appearance and action, and establishes its own genesis. In the process, most of the statue goes unmentioned. Neither the strange hairstyle nor the striking pose are described in detail. But just focusing on a few aspects enhances the effect of the interpretation. The details omitted in the description will later prove to be particularly productive.

The poem recalls earlier ideas of the fifth century B.C. When Poseidippos has Kairos say he cuts sharper than any edge ("ἀκμῆς πάσης ὀξύτερος"), it recalls the Hippokratic and Homeric expressions. The interpretation of the hairstyle is new and significant. The designation of Kairos as the All-Subduer (πανδαμάτωρ) may well be an interpretation based on the side curls reminiscent of Alexander the Great. But no older text speaks of having to grasp Kairos by the hair. They only advise to "recognize" and "seize" him, and that one should not miss him. Lysippos himself may not have intended such an interpretation. The relief in Trogir indicates hairs laying smooth on the back of the head, and long strands fall over where the wings attach to the back. Two generations after the creation of the statue, Poseidippos first interpreted the hairstyle on the neck as "bald." Lysippos' Kairos brings about the decision himself by holding the scale with two fingers in a particular position. He is the decisive actor, who randomly determines the success or failure of all actions. The viewer has no way of influencing this decision. Poseidippos, on the other hand, calls upon his audience to become active and to hold firmly onto winged Kairos. The scales play no part in this scenario, so it is understandable that Poseidippos does not mention them. Anyone who grabbed the Lysippan Kairos by the hair risked, of course, the scales falling and thus causing uncontrollable disaster. And what mortal could violently seize a son of Zeus against his will, without being guilty of hubris and, like Aktaion (Boschung 2015), suffer severe punishment? For the early Hellenistic poet, Kairos is obviously not a god and not the decisive actor, but an object to be overcome.

By taking up the Homeric expression, Lysippos himself seems to convey a rather ambivalent idea of Kairos. What stands "on knife's edge" can turn toward the good or the bad. Poseidippos, however, gives a unilateral interpretation of the figure as the opportune moment to be seized. In any case, his interpretation was highly influential. To this day, there is a common German expression, "die Gelegenheit am Schopf zu packen,"

"take the opportunity by the forelock." Also, by interpretating the pose as constant running, the poet seems to misunderstand the intention of the sculptor. The Turin relief at any rate does not show the figure running on tiptoe, but rather the moment when Kairos descends from high and touches down on the earth. In any case, the literary interpretation, precisely because of its one-sidedness, determined the interpretation of the statue in perpetuity. There may have been other interpretations, either older or competing, but they have been forever superseded by the epigram.

Lysippos' statue has subsequently experienced a varied reception, because the figure itself as well as Poseidippos' poem have been further developed. The literary tradition established by the epigram proved potent. The earliest extant literary response, from the first century A.D., is a Latin adaptation by Phaedrus.[31] The description and the moral message of the figure are reminiscent of the poem of Poseidippos and it is obvious that the Lysippan Kairos was in mind. But Phaedrus leaves out the figure's name and instead rewrites him as "*effigies temporis,*" also calling him the "*occasio.*"[32] This is because the Latin language has no exact equivalent of the Greek καιρός, and translates the term as either *occasio* (opportunity) or more generally as *tempus* (time). Phaedrus tries to escape this dilemma by using both words.

In the fourth century A.D., the poet Ausonius[33] mentions a figure named *Occasio* who has winged shoes and hair that falls in front of her face, but none on the back of her head. So far the description corresponds to the Kairos epigram by Poseidippos, but other details differ. Occasio stands on a wheel, she is a work of Pheidias, and next to her stands *Metanoia,* "repentance." The dependence on Poseidippos is clear both by the dialogue form of the poem and from its moral: Occasio is fleeting, and once she has passed, you cannot take hold of her. The right moment is no longer a youth but a "*dea rara et paucis nota,*" "a goddess rarely and

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31 Phaedrus, *Fabulae* V.8.– Moreno, P.: Lisippo I. Bari 1974, 174 no. 48.– Kansteiner 2007, 107.– Mattiacci 2011, 131–132.– DNO no. 2168.
32 Rivautella/Ricolvi op. cit. (n. 4) XXII.4–8 gives the name in the Latinized but unusual form of *Caerus.*– On the productive potential of translations see Schütrumpf, E.: The Earliest Translations of Aristotle's Politics and the Creation of Political Terminology. Morphomata Lectures Cologne 8. Paderborn 2014, esp. 17, 21–27.
33 Ausonius, *Epigrammata* 12.– Rüdiger op. cit. (n. 13) 128–129.– Kansteiner 2007, 108.– Mattiacci 2011, 137–146.– DNO no. 2169.

by only a few known."[34] The influence of Ausonius' poem in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period is seen, for example, in references in *Carmina Burana*[35] and its adaptation by Niccolò Macchiavelli.[36]

In contrast, Greek texts by Kallistratos[37] and Himerios,[38] both from the fourth century A. D., continue to refer to the figure as Καιρός and as the work of Lysippos. In Greek literature of the Byzantine Middle Ages, it is called Χρόνος (Chronos) in the 11th and 12th centuries, but it is described as the work of Lysippos, with long curls in the front and bare at the back.[39] Again, it is clear that the Lysippan Kairos is meant. Χρόνος corresponds to the interpretation by Phaedrus as "*effigies temporis*," so the Byzantine term is likely a retranslation from Latin.

Similar changes can be found in the pictorial tradition of Kairos. An engraved gem in London (fig. 77)[40] shows the same figure as the reliefs in Turin and Trogir. It matches their posture, and like them balances scales on an object in the outstretched left hand and holds down one of the two bowls of the scale with the index finger of the right hand. However, this figure is bearded. This is not meant to be the "youngest son of Zeus," but rather an older man. Thus, a central iconographic element of the Late Classical statue is abandoned. This is because the figure is not understood as Kairos, but as Tempus as described by Phaedrus. The globe on which the figure stands, representing the universe, is also an expansion in content; time is thus represented as the ruler of the world. Other gems

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34 Ausonius, *Ludus septem sapientum* 203–204 translates the saying of Pittakos "γίγνωσκε καιρόν" with "*tempus ut noris*," probably because the version "*tempus nosce*" had in turn already become proverbial.

35 *Carmina Burana* LXXVII.1.5–8; Moreno, P.: Lisippo I. Bari 1974, 255–256 no. 127.

36 Rüdiger op. cit. (n. 13) 132–133.– Moreno, P.: Lisippo I. Bari 1974, 277–278 no. 153.– Mattiacci 2011, 150.

37 Callistratus, *Statuarum descriptiones* VI.1–4.– Altekamp, St.: Zu den Statuenbeschreibungen des Kallistratos, Boreas 11, 1988, 138–148.– Bäbler, B. / Nesselrath, H.-G.: Ars et Verba. Die Kunstbeschreibungen des Kallistratos. Leipzig 2006, 67–78.– Kansteiner 2007, 103–105.– Mattiacci 2011, 129.– DNO no. 2161.

38 Himerios, *Oratio* XIII.1.– Moreno 1974, 229–230 no. 95.– Kansteiner 2007, 105–106.– Mattiacci 2011, 130.– DNO no. 2162.

39 Moreno, P.: Lisippo I. Bari 1974, 256–273, no. 129 (Kedrenos); no. 133, 135, 137–139 (Tzetzes). no. 145 (Nikephoros Blemmydes).– Mattiacci 2011, 130.– DNO no. 2163–2167 (Tzetzes), 2170 (Kedrenos), 2171 (Nikephoros Blemmydes).

40 Moreno, P.: Lisippo, L'arte e la fortuna. Rome 1995, 195 fig. 4.28.4 with additional bibliography.

77 Gem, H. 1.7 cm. London, British Museum 1772.

78a-b Roman engraved gem depicting Tempus holding a butterfly, H. 0.9 cm. **b** Drawing. London, British Museum 1771.

give the figure a butterfly instead of a razor in his hand (fig. 78), making a connection with Eros.[41]

Two reliefs, one in St. Petersburg (fig. 79)[42] and the other from the Medici collection (fig. 80),[43] depart from the Kairos of Lysippos in a similar way to the gem in London. The figure is comparable to the reliefs in Turin and Trogir, but is bearded. In the relief in St. Petersburg, the scales are not balanced on a razor, but on a sphere or disc, on which there is a crescent moon. This is probably meant to be the celestial globe, here again identifying Tempus as ruler of the world. Both reliefs differ, but again in agreement with each other, in other respects from the Turin Kairos. In both, the back of the head is indeed bald, and the hair over the forehead is similarly mussed, but not pulled forward. The long strands on the side of the head cover the ear and are pushed back in the same way. Additionally, the left leg is stretched farther forward than in the figure of Kairos. The movement is understood as a fast run. From the similarities of the reliefs from the Medici Collection and in St.

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41 Stewart, A. F.: Lysippan Studies 1. The Only Creator of Beauty, AJA 82, 1978, 165 fig. 1.– Ensoli, S. in: Moreno, P.: Lisippo, L'arte e la fortuna. Rome 1995, 397 fig. 6.16.1.

42 Moreno, P.: Kairos. In: LIMC V 1990, 922 no. 5.

43 Now lost: Ensoli op. cit. 396 fig. 1.– Paolozzi Strozzi, B. / Schwarzenberg, E.: Un Kairos Mediceo, Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz 35, 1991, 307–317; with (probably modern) signature of Agorakritos.

79 Relief, H. 60 cm. Tempus with scale and globe. St. Petersburg, Hermitage A 544.

80 Relief, once Florence, Palazzo Medici. Representation of Tempus, with razor in his left hand (lost).

Petersburg, it can be seen that they are based on a common model that varied from the relief version of the Lysippan Kairos as represented by the reliefs in Turin and Trogir.

Obviously, interpretations diverged since the early Roman Imperial period. While in the Greek east the term Kairos and his description as a beautiful youth continued into Late Antiquity, in the west the translation of Kairos as *Tempus* brought with it a reinterpretation. Now the figure denotes time in general and it is represented as the older and bearded Tempus. Thus, the wings may appear as a sign of the fleetingness of time, which cannot be held onto, but always continues on. Tempus runs quickly and steadily; time cannot be captured in any way. Some of the attributes, such as the blade and the scale, lost their original meanings when the figure was renamed. Because Tempus—time—is predictable, unlike Kairos, it can be anticipated and included in longer-term plans. It is therefore understandable that the razor is replaced in some examples.

Medieval and Early Modern representations are only in rare cases, and then only indirectly, dependent upon the formal repertoire of the Late Classical statue. This was usually the case when the figure was not recognized in its original significance and was instead identified as Tempus. A typical example is an engraving by Giulio Cesare Capaccio from 1592 (fig. 81), which can be traced back to the relief in the Palazzo Medici. It shows a winged, bearded man, running to the right, balancing a pair of scales on a wheel in his outstretched right hand while controling

Le monde.

Le monde va & ne reuient,
Auecq luy paſſer nous conuient,
Et ſi court d'une telle ſorte
Que tout auecques luy emporte.

81 *Effetti del tempo*; from: G. C. Capac-
cio, Delle imprese trattato; 1592.

82 Representation of *Le monde*; from
G. Corrozet: Hecatongraphie; 1540.

the position of the scales with two outstretched fingers of his left hand.[44]
In particular, the gesture of the left hand makes the dependency on the
ancient model, and ultimately also of the statue of Lysippos, unmistak-
able. Capaccio interprets the figure as a representation of the "effetti del
tempo," so does not make the connection with the Kairos statue known
from literary sources. This also explains why the engraving interprets the
object in the outstretched right hand as a wagonwheel. Without knowl-
edge of the literary sources, the semicircular object in the ancient relief
would not be recognized as a razor. Gilles Corrozet even used the figure
as an illustration of "le monde" (fig. 82) before describing it four years
later as "le temps".

   If in the Middle Ages or in the Early Modern period the figure rep-
resented was not Tempus, but Kairos or Occasio, it was based on literary
sources. The images borrow iconographic elements from the ancient text
and its translations, which in turn ultimately go back to the statue by
Lysippos. Since the artists refer back to different texts and transpose
their readings with varying precision, the representations thus created
vary considerably, not only in what is left out in the texts, but also in the

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44 Capaccio, G. C.: Delle imprese trattato. Naples 1592, I.4.– Additional exam-
ples: Paolozzi-Strozzi/Schwarzenberg op. cit. 307–316 with figs. 1, 4.– Corrozet,
G.: Hecatongraphie. Paris 1540, 1544 fig. Niib; also Henkel, A. / Schöne, A.:
Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts.
Stuttgart 1967, 1813.

83 Relief from the 11th century with Kairos and Metanoia. Torcello, Cathedral.

ordering and emphasis of the elements described. Sculptors, draftsmen, painters, and engravers use the lacunae of poetry to give their own ideas vivid form. Thus, a relief (probably from the 11th century) in Torcello (fig. 83)[45] shows a beardless Kairos with the attributes of Late Antique literary depictions: a scale as in Himerios, wheels as in Ausonius, and a blade. The blade is no longer a razor, but instead a long knife, and it is not used to balance the scales, but swung over his head. This corresponds to the description by the Byzantine author John Tzetzes, according to which Chronos holds a sword (or a large knife) behind his

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45 Moreno, P.: Lisippo, L'arte e la fortuna. Rome 1995, 195 no. 4.28.5.– See also Moreno, P.: Kairos. LIMC V 1990, 923 no. 15.– Bouras, Ch. H., Archaiologikon Deltion 21A, 1966, 26–34 pl. 14–19.– Mattiacci 2011, 146–147 fig. 5.

back.[46] A man grabs Chronos by the hair; another one has just missed him. A mourning woman to the right, behind the running figure, recalls the poem of Ausonius, in which Occasio is associated with repentance (Metanoia). The medieval sculptor of this relief did not use the Lysippan Kairos as a model; the iconographic tradition had obviously been broken. But he undoubtedly knew of Late Antique or Byzantine texts said to describe the statue.

Emblem books of the 16th century also followed literary texts for renderings of Occasio.[47] The *Emblematum liber* of Andrea Alciato of 1531 presents a Latin version of the Poseidippan Kairos epigram under the title "*In occasionem*."[48] Despite the title, the adaptation avoids naming the figure described and simply calls it "*capti temporis articulus*," i.e. a representation of a favorable opportunity seized. The image accompanying the poem shows a woman naked except for a loincloth. Her hairstyle matches that in the text, with long locks falling forward and bald back of the head. The figure diverges in that it stands on a sphere which is not mentioned in the text, and the mentioned wings are missing (fig. 84). Emblems of this kind could easily be transferred into other genres and incorporated into new contexts, whether in the architectural decoration of a Spanish palazzo or in poems of Martin Opitz or Heinrich Heine.[49] The concept of Kairos has thus remained active to the present day.

Thus it is clear when and in which works the concise concepts of the decisive moment received their recurrent form and in what ways they were each reconceived: in the period around 700 B.C. in the linguistic expression of epic poetry, in the time of Alexander the Great through the statue of Kairos by Lysippos, in the early Hellenistic period with the epigram of Poseidippos, and in the early Roman Empire through copies in relief and through reinterpretation in Latin adaptations. In this tableau,

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46 Tzetzes, *Chiliades* 8.428–434: "πρὸς τὸ κατόπιν μάχαιραν."– Kansteiner 2007, 106–107.– DNO no. 2165.

47 Henkel/Schöne op. cit. 1809–1811.

48 Alciato, A.: Emblematum liber. Augsburg 1531 A 8 Emblema CXXII.– Henkel/Schöne op. cit. 1809.

49 Architectural decoration: Zafra Molina, R.: Problemas en la recepción moderna del Emblematum Liber de Andrea Alciato en España. In: López Poza, S. (ed.): Florilegio de estudios emblemática. A florilegium of studies on emblematics. Proceedings of the 6th International Conference of the Society for Emblem Studies 2002. Valle Inclán 2004, 688–692 with figs. 19–22.– In modern literature: Rüdiger op. cit. (n. 13) esp. 131 (Opitz), 162–163 (Heine).

84 Representation of Occasio; from A. Alciato, Emblematum liber; 1531.

the statue of Lysippos proves to be a visible and tangible materialization and further development of widespread contemporary ideas, and thus the actual morphome. It integrates the nearly 400-year-old expression from the Iliad, which had long since become potent and recurrent as a proverb.

The statue had no response in its own medium. Unlike other works of Lysippos, there are no copies of it in the round. On the other hand, the translations in other media became efficacious: in relief and glyptic, but above all in literature, where the poem of Poseidippos shows a lasting effect still today. Subsequently, it was again the literary adaptations that achieved an unambiguous interpretation and thus made the morphome sustainabile to this day, admittedly only for a single element. The complex and initially ambivalent statements of Lysippos' statue were reduced to the challenge, first formulated by Poseidippos, to seize opportunity by the forelock.

KAIROS AND ANCIENT CONCEPTIONS OF TIME

Lysippos was not the only Greek artist to give sensually perceptible form to conceptions of time in the fourth century B.C. Around 330 B.C., an artist in Taranto painted a vase with a depiction of Ἐνιαυτός (Eniautos, "Year," fig. 85).[50] The vase shows Leda embracing Zeus as a swan and also references the Eleusinian mysteries. Eniautos stands next to the seated Eleusis, seemingly uninvolved in the central scene. He is shown as a youth, pulling his cloak behind his back with his lowered right hand, almost completely revealing his body. He is not only smaller, but also much younger than Eleusis, who personifies the location of the mysteries. She could be his mother based on their difference in size and age. Eniautos wears a wreath of ears of grain in his thick hair. With his raised left hand he holds a large, gleaming cornucopia out of which grow heavy stalks of grain.

Alan Shapiro has pointed out that Eniautos is mentioned as a companion of the seasons already in the early fifth century B.C. in Pindar, and described as παντελής (pantelés, "all-complete") (Shapiro 2011, 200–202). For the materialization of this concept in a personification, the painter based the iconography on Ploutos, the youthful god of Eleusis (fig. 86).[51] From the middle of the fourth century B.C., vase-painters in Athens depict him as a standing youth with a wreath made of ears of grain and a cornucopia from which grow more ears of grain. He wraps his mantle around his left arm, leaving his body naked. In this way he personifies the richness of the grain harvest that his mother, Demeter, bestows upon mankind. The Tarentine painter adopted the Attic iconography of Ploutos, but changed the identity of the figure with an inscription. While the form remained constant through this transfer from Athens to Taranto, the content was changed.[52] Characteristics and achievements of the local Eleusinian god Ploutos were thus claimed for the universally applicable personification of the year. The year is, as the painter shows, young and beautiful. With his wealth he brings abundance and prosperity. Most notably, the grain harvest is carried out over the year, the bounty of which he presents.

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50 Shapiro 2011.– Aellen, Ch: A la recherche de l'ordre cosmique. Forme et fonction des personnifications dans la céramique italiote. Kilchberg 1992, 150–153, 212 no. 85 pl. 101, 103.
51 Clinton, K.: Ploutos. In: LIMC VII 1994, 416–418 esp. no. 6–11.
52 Boschung/Jäger 2014.

85 Apulian red-figured lutrophoros; detail with Eniautos and Eleusis, ca. 330 B.C. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.680.

86 Attic pelike, 4th century B.C., detail with Demeter and Ploutos. St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum 1792.

Unlike the statue of Kairos, this contemporary representation of Eniautos has no apparent afterlife, although the figure is no less vivid. The few later depictions of Eniautos[53] or Annus[54] do not take up the same iconography. There are several reasons for this. The first lies in the choice of medium, as a figure in a vase-painting does not have the expansive and striking presence of a statue. The decisive factor was that his portrayal in vase-painting was not repeated, was not transferred into other media, and had no literary transcription. If the statue of Kairos received more attention, this was undoubtedly also connected with the fame of its creator, as Lysippos was considered one of the most important sculptors already in antiquity.[55] This in turn lent his works status as visual authorities (Boschung/Dohe 2013, esp. 13–18).

If the anonymous painter in Taranto and the famous sculptor Lysippos both strove at the same time to give concrete, sensually perceptible form to conceptions of time, then this may be connected with the fact that philosophers of the fourth century B.C. were also reflecting on

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53 Shapiro 2011, 217–219 (Eniautos in procession of Ptolemy II).
54 Parrish, D.: Annus. In: LIMC I (1981), 799–800.
55 Moreno, P.: Lysippos (I). In: Vollkommer, R. (ed.): Künstlerlexikon der Antike 2. Munich/Leipzig 2004.
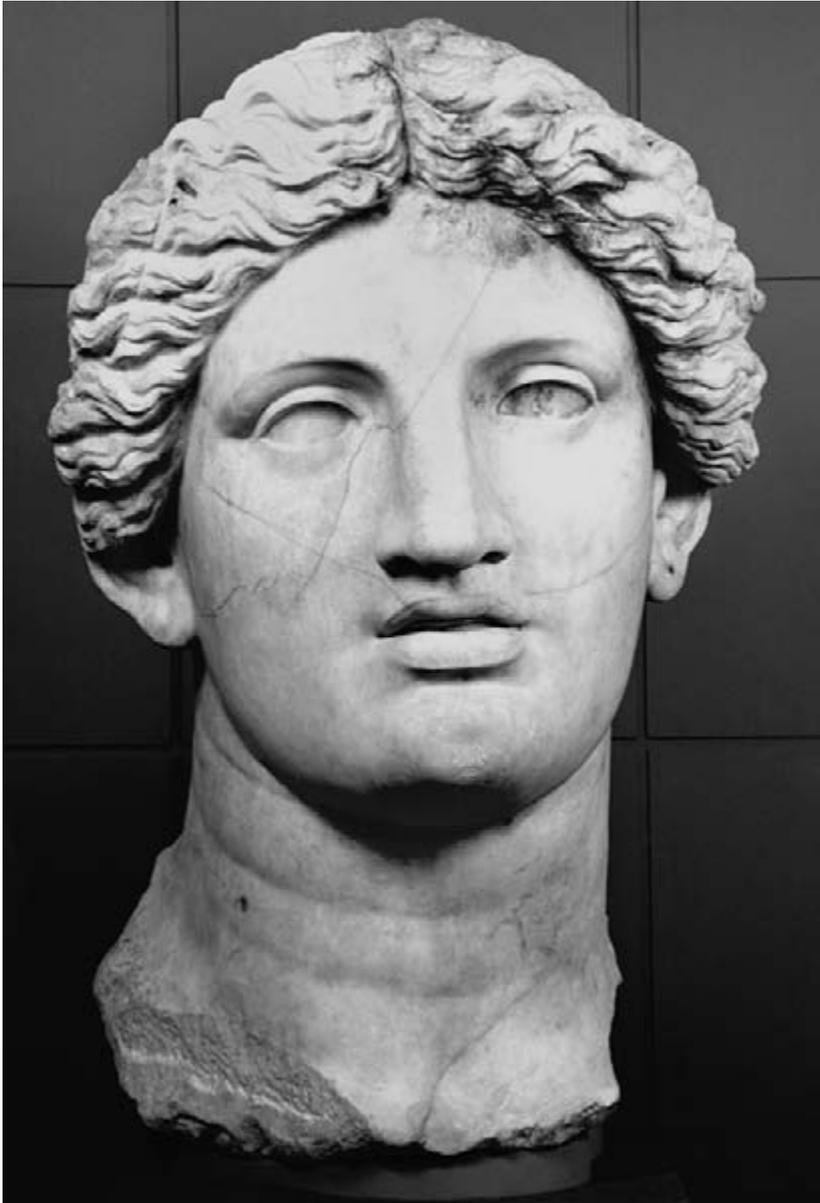
87 Colossal head of *Fortuna huiusce diei*; after 100 B.C., H. 1.46 m. Rome, Musei Capitolini 2780.

the nature of time. This suggests comparison of Lysippos' statue as a formulation of sophisticated conceptions of a particular aspect of time with corresponding passages in Aristotle's *Physics*.[56] The philosopher describes the connection of time with movement and change. He concerns himself with "τὸ νῦν" (to nûn, "the now"), separating it from things-past, which no longer exist, and things-yet-to-be, which do not yet exist. Ulrich Schädler saw the combination of the razorblade and scales corresponding to these statements of Aristotle. The knife would correspond with the "νῦν," and the two sides of the scales the "before" and "after," which are sharply separated from the νῦν. However, the depiction of the scales balanced lengthwise along the cutting edge, and thus not cutting but instead visualizing a precarious equilibrium, speaks against this.

Consistencies arise in two other points. Aristotle emphasizes the connection of time with movement and change. Time is not identical to them, but also not separate from them. Time is continuous and changes like a point moving along a line (*Physics* IV.218b–220b). The statue corresponds to these explanations in that the pose of Kairos is strikingly emphasized. Kairos' posture can only be—like the Aristotelian "νῦν"—a transition. The philosopher also correlates the temporal concepts "before" and "after" with the spatial "in front" and "behind" (*Physics* IV.219a). Again, there is a striking consistency with Lysippos' Kairos statue, in which the singular hairstyle—especially in the interpretation dating back to Poseidippos—takes up the parallel "forward/before" and "back/after." Lysippos' statue and Aristotle's treatise on time are both sources for the understanding of time in the late fourth century B.C., but they correspond to each other only to a small extent and they focus on different aspects.

OCCASIO AND FORTUNA

The Latin translation of the Greek καιρός as *occasio* emphasizes a single element of the original concept that had already come to dominate through Poseidippos: the interpretation as a decisive moment that should

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56 Aristotle, *Physics* IV.217b–223b.– Schädler, U.: Kairos, der unfruchtbare Moment. In: Bol, P. C. (ed.): Zum Verhältnis von Raum und Zeit in der griechischen Kunst, Symposion Frankfurt 2000 (2003), 171–182.– See also Most, G. W. / Kuhlmann, H. in: Rudolph, E. (ed.): Zeit, Bewegung, Handlung. Studien zur Zeitabhandlung des Aristoteles. Stuttgart 1988, 11–25, 63–96.

be exploited. In doing so, the viewer is assigned an active role. He must immediately recognize the fleeting and uniquely favorable opportunity and avail himself of it through resolute action. This implies an optimistic assessment of the possibilities of human affairs, supposing that man can use his attention, decision-making, and drive to shape his fate to his own advantage. Conceptions of the crucial moment from other times and cultures are more fatalistic. Even the Homeric expression of decision on knife's edge assigns the affected person a passive role. Prosperity and ruin are assigned to him by powers that are not named and that he cannot influence.

In the conception of the Hellenistic and Imperial periods, mankind appears to be at the mercy of a goddess of fortune (Tyche or Fortuna),[57] who decides the fate not only of individuals but also of entire cities at will. Although she can be tempted to be kind with offerings and temples, she always remains temperamental, indiscriminate, and unpredictable. The actions of Quintus Lutatius Catulus are indicative of this. As a general before the decisive battle against the Cimbri at Vercellae on July 30, 101 B.C., the learned poet and rhetorician vowed upon his victory to build a temple in Rome for *Fortuna huiusce diei*, "Fortuna for this day." The outcome of the battle depended, in his understanding, not only upon the general's superior strategy and the bravery of Roman legionaries, but first and foremost upon the gift of the goddess of fortune, which could be favorably influenced by his vow. Here, it was not a question of actively grabbing an opportunity by the forelock; instead, the favor of Fortuna would decide the people's fate. In the magnificent round temple Catulus erected in the Campus Martius in thanks, the goddess's colossal cult image embodied the donor's conception of the supernatural power that had granted him success (fig. 87).[58]

57 Villard, L. / Rausa, F.: Tyche. Tyche/Fortuna. In: LIMC VIII, 1997, 115–141.
58 Martin, H. G.: Römische Tempelkultbilder. Eine archäologische Untersuchung zur späten Republik. Rome 1987, 103–111, 213–215 no. 5 pl. 13–14.– Leach, E. W.: Fortune's Extremities: Q. Lutatius Catulus and Largo Argentina Temple B: A Roman Consular and His Monument. In: Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome 55, 2010, 111–134.– Albers, J.: Campus Martius. Die urbane Entwicklung des Marsfeldes von der Republik bis zur mittleren Kaiserzeit. Wiesbaden 2013, 58–60.

2. SYSTEMS OF KNOWLEDGE

2.1 LIKENESSES OF THE GODS:
THE POWER OF IMMORTALS

CULT STATUES AS MATERIALIZATIONS OF RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS

As the statue of Zeus at Olympia (ch. I.1) was cited as an example of the shaping of religious concepts by potent artifacts in outlining the approach of Morphomata, this can be a point of departure for the entire genre of cult statues in what follows. They have always been of special interest in Classical archeology,[1] as they were already widely commented upon in antiquity. There are few works of art from antiquity that have been described in such detail as the Zeus of Pheidias at Olympia[2] or the Athena Parthenos.[3] These were also central works of ancient art history, created by the most famous artists whose fame was in turn based on their work on the cult images (ch. I.2.4).

Around the middle of the fifth century B.C., the philosopher Protagoras questioned the possibility of perceiving the gods at all. He began his lost work on the gods with the famous phrase,

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1 Hölscher, F.: Kultbild. In: Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum IV. Los Angeles 2005, 52–65 with additional bibliography. For an ethnological perspective: Kohl, K.-H.: Die Macht der Dinge. Geschichte und Theorie sakraler Objekte. Munich 2003, 203–223.
2 Vlizos, St.: Der thronende Zeus. Eine Untersuchung zur statuarischen Ikonographie des Gottes in der spätklassischen und hellenistischen Kunst. Rahden 1999, 5–21.– Rügler 2003, 151–157. – Ch. I.2.4.
3 Leipen, N.: Athena Parthenos. A Reconstruction. Toronto 1971, 1–3.– Nick, G.: Die Athena Parthenos. Studien zum griechischen Kultbild und seiner Rezeption. Mainz 2002, 211–231, test. 65, 73, 77, 95.

"Concerning the gods, I have no way of knowing whether they exist or not, nor of what form they may be, because there is much that keeps me from knowing—both their imperceptibility and that man's life is short."[4]

This statement was certainly shocking, because when Protagoras publicly presented his book, he was—as his biographer reports—sent into exile, and copies of his work were collected by the state and publicly burned in the Agora (Diogenes Laertius IX.52). However, this did not prevent other ancient authors from remarking upon the nature of the gods. They interpreted the gods as natural phenomena or human invention, satirized them, and even competely denied their existence (Boschung 2007, 66–67). Later, in the first century B.C., Varro identified three ways of explaining the gods: the mythical explanation of poets, the scientific explanation of philosophers, and the civic explanation of the people.[5]

From the sixth century B.C. we find debate about the nature of the gods, which then continues until the end of antiquity. Cicero, for example, gives an overview of this in his *De natura deorum*, which compares and contrasts a wealth of older beliefs. Controversy surrounded not only whether there were divine beings at all, but also where they might live, what they look like, and whether they have the same form as humans. It was also debated whether they perceived people at all, if people could communicate with them and perhaps even influence and propitiate them through sacrifice and the right behavior. Cult statues provided clear and credible answers to such questions. Though they were not philosophical and logical, they were sensually perceptible and thus persuasive. Every detail of the statues contributed to its claims: location, size, material, pose, attributes, and finally the context and staging of the statue.

Location: Cult statues formed the focal points of sanctuaries. They stood central, in elaborate and ornate temples built specifically to house them. Temple buildings for their part dominated religious precincts in

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4 Diogenes Laertios IX.51.– Diels, H. / Kranz, W.: Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker II 6. Zurich 1951 no. 80.4: "περὶ μὲν θεῶν οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι οὔθ᾽ ὡς εἰσὶν οὔθ᾽ ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶν οὔθ᾽ ὁποιοί τινες ἰδέαν· πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ κωλύοντα εἰδέναι ἥ τ᾽ἀδηλότης καὶ βραχὺς ὢν ὁ βίος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου."

5 Recorded in Augustine, *De civitate Dei* VI.5: (Varro) "… *tria genera theologiae dicit esse, id est rationis quae de diis explicantur, eorumque unum mythicon appellari, alterum physicon, tertium civile … Deinde ait: 'Mythicon appellant, quo maxime utuntur poetae, physicon, quo philosophi, civile, quo populi.*"

88a-b Engraved gem with temple and cult statue of Zeus. H. 1.1 cm. Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung T223; **b** Impression.

size and elaboration, already from a distance outshining temenos walls, votives, treasuries, and altars. These buildings could be identified by their specific form as temples and thus as the location of cult images. Whoever saw a temple from afar and then approached and entered it expected to find there a centrally-located statue or group of statues. Many depictions emphasize this symbiosis of temple and statue (fig. 88; Boschung 2007, 68–69). The loss of a cult statue could result in the neglect of the sanctuary and the decay of the temple, as Pausanias describes in the sanctuary of Athena at Alalkomenai (Pausanias IX.33.5–7).

Temples were built to be permanent. The use of stone and their massive construction with solid foundations and ashlar masonry guaranteed the stability of the structure once completed. The coherence of temple buildings can also be seen in the consistent relation of all parts to one other. Since the Archaic period, they were built according to a particular scheme that could be varied and perfected, but ultimately remained constant (Boschung 2007, 70). No detail of their architecture was arbitrary. Every part had its exact place, its predetermined form, and its defined proportions. Each element stood in an indissoluble relationship to all others according to the rules of the architectural order. In this way, the temple formed a cosmos and was a representation of divine order. At its very core stood the statue of the deity, who established and guaranteed this order. Of course, temples could be destroyed by war, conflagration, or earthquake. But many stood from the Archaic and Classical periods to Late Antiquity and some are still extant in more or less altered forms today.
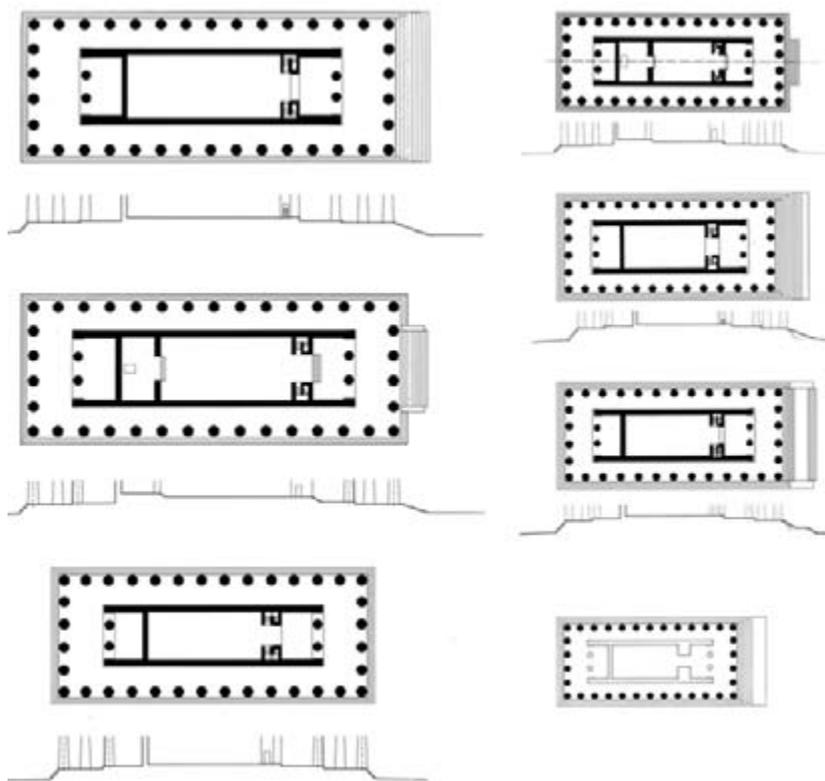
89 Floor plans of Greek temples. Left, from top to bottom: Agrigento, Temple A; Selinunte, Temple E; Himera, large temple. Right: Selinunte, Temple A; Agrigento, Temple D, F, and I. After Mertens, D.: Der Tempel von Segesta. 1984, suppl. 26.

Temples, which housed cult images, belonged to their own category of buildings. This is seen in the composition of their floor plans and elevations (figs. 89, 90).[6] It was clear even then that the gods to whom they belonged must be beings of their own order. Their houses differed from those of mortals. A single room sufficed for them to be present. But this one room had to be suitable for them—lofty and broad, often with a complex interior layout. In larger cities there were several temples,

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6 Mertens, D.: Der Tempel von Segesta und die dorische Tempelbaukunst des griechischen Westens in klassischer Zeit. Mainz 1984 suppl. 26–29.

sometimes in close proximity, as at Selinous and Paestum. So there had to be a large number of deities of equal rank.

Format and Material: Cult images could take different forms, but in most cases they were over-life-size, anthropomorphic statues. The colossal format, clearly surpassing the size of a person, let the beholder experience their power in a dramatic way. Before the giant, seated statue of Olympian Zeus, even a victorious general like Aemilius Paullus must have felt small.[7] The size of figures of the gods was often underscored by their architectural context, for example by being set up on a base, by contrast with a two-storey colonnade in the interior of the cella, or by their proportions. Pheidias made his Zeus at Olympia so that the head of the seated god almost touched the ceiling. If the father-god had stood up, he would have broken through the huge temple. This artifice was criticized by some, but its effect never failed (Strabo 8.3.30). Through the blatant discrepancy in scale between the harmonious architecture, uniformly proportioned down to its smallest details, and the space-disrupting statue, the viewer experienced the superhuman and incomparable power of the god.

Cult images were usually made of marble or, less frequently, bronze. Both were considered precious and particularly durable; images of the gods had to be permanent. When speaking of Parian or Pentelic marble, Pausanias often notes their outstanding quality.[8] Sometimes he mentions wood as a material, often stating that these are ancient statues and occasionally also noting the species of wood.[9] In other cases, the material was even more precious. Pausanias states that some cult statues were made of gold and ivory.[10] There were also examples that used gilded wood.[11] The most prominent cult images were chryselephantine statues

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7 Cf. ch. I.2.4.– On the significance of over-life-size format in terms of content: Himmelmann 1989, 79–80.– Liegle, J.: Der Zeus des Phidias. Berlin 1952, 201 esp. 214–218.
8 Parian marble: Pausanias I.14.7, 33.2; II.2.8, 13.4, 29.1, 35.3; IV.31.6; VIII.25.4–6; IX.20.4.– Pentelic marble: Pausanias VI.21.1; VII.25.9, 26.4, 26.7; VIII.28.1, 30.10, 47.1; IX.25.3; X.3.1, 33.4, 36.10.
9 Wood: Pausanias II.24.3, VII.5.9.– Ebony: I.35.3, II.22.5.– Juniper: III.15.20.– Cedar: IX.10.2.– Boxwood: V.19.6.– Chaste tree (*vitex agnus-castus*): III.14.7.
10 Pausanias I.18.6, 20.3, 24.5, 40.4; II.1.7–8, 7.5, 10.2, 17.4, 27.1; V.11.4, 20.10; VI.25.1, 26.3; VII.18.10, 19.2, 20.9, 27.2.– Also Lapatin, K. D. S.: Chryselephantine Statuary in the Ancient World. Oxford 2001.
11 Pausanias I.42.4 (Megara, Athena: gilded); VIII.22.7 (Stymphalos, Artemis).– Gilded wood and marble: Pausanias VI.24.6 (Elis, Charites); 25.4 (Elis, Tyche);

made of gold and ivory, including Zeus at Olympia, Athena Parthenos in Athens, Asklepios in Epidauros, Hera at Argos, and others. The use of these materials, like colossal scale, emphasized the incomparable status of the gods. Though they may have the same form as humans, they were beings of another kind. An appropriate representation of them required the most expensive and rare materials. Gold was particularly resistant to corrosion and its intense and unchanging shine symbolized the constancy of the immortals. Χρυσοκόμης (chrysokómes, "golden-haired") is a common epithet for gods such as Dionysos, Eros, Apollo, and Demeter.[12] Hesiod's account of the ages of the world associated gold with a happy, carefree, and effortless existence of lasting youth (Hesiod, *Erga* 106–126). Ivory, on the other hand, was not only exotic and expensive, its uniformly shimmering, bright color gave images of the gods an incomparable brilliance (Lapatin 2002, 85–86).

Form of Cult Images: Even their formal design can be understood as a statement on the nature of the gods. Cult images were three-dimensional forms and thus physically present in a tangible, objective sense. They made it palpable that the gods existed and that they had human form, or could at least appear in human form. They show figures standing frontally or sitting, facing individuals as they enter the temple, making divine beings easily recognized and accessible to humans. The gods were not committed to a single action. Their attributes and poses suggested that they could become active at any time, if they so chose.[13]

A set iconography for the representation of the gods had been gradually developed starting in the seventh century B.C., and the age, attributes, and dress of most figures was largely established (ch. III.2). They each had their own individual appearance that made them recognizable anywhere. In addition, there were isolated deities of local importance with their own iconography, such as the statue of Morpho with bound feet in Sparta or the representation of Eurynome as a fish-woman hybrid in Lykosoura.

Context: In most cases cult statues showed the gods inactive. What they were capable of and what they had accomplished could be reflected

VII.26.4 (Aigeira, Athena); IX.4.1 (Plataea; Athena Areia).– Wood and marble: VII.21.10 (Patras, Aphrodite); VIII.25.4–6 (Onkeion, Demeter sanctuary).– Gold and marble: IV.31.11 (Messene).

12 There are numerous sources for the connection between the gods and gold: Horn, H.-J.: Gold, RAC XI, 1981, 898–899.

13 For accounts of statues that speak, laugh, or move: ch. I.2.4.
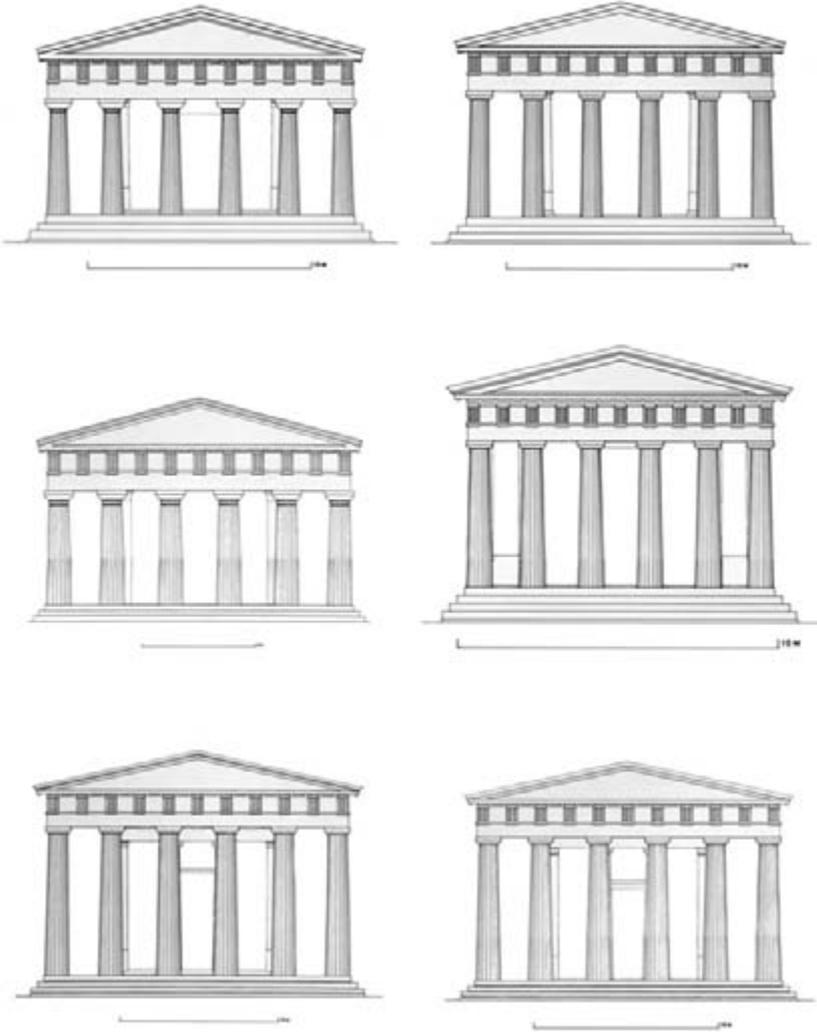
90 Front views of Greek temples. Left, from top to bottom: Aegina, Temple of Aphaia; Olympia, Temple of Zeus; Tegea, Temple of Athena. -Right: Athens, Hephaisteion; Delos, Temple of Apollo of the Athenians; Stratos, Temple of Zeus. After Mertens, D.: Der Tempel von Segesta. 1984, suppl. 29.

in other images in the sanctuary, such as the figural decoration of the temple in pediment sculpture, metopes, and narrative friezes; inside the cella on reliefs on the statue base; and finally in paintings and friezes decorating the garments, sandals, furniture, and weapons of the gods. Those who entered the Athenian Acropolis saw many depictions of the city-goddess after passing through the Propylaia: the huge bronze statue of Athena Promachos, which showed her armed and victorious in battle; Myron's Athena and Marsyas group, in which the goddess, the inventor of the aulos, stands across from the surprised and excited satyr; and the Athena Lemnia, the protector of Attic colonists. These statues each emphasized one particular aspect of the goddess.[14] On the Parthenon, one pediment depicts the miraculous birth of the goddess from the head of Zeus. On the other side, one could see how Athena became patroness of Attica by producing the olive tree, while her rival Poseidon offered a salt spring on the Acropolis. Both gifts, the olive tree and salt spring, could be seen near the Parthenon. Whoever took the time to examine the metopes of the temple saw in four sequences of images how divine order had been achieved through war since the beginning of time. Just as the gods themselves had overpowered the giants, so their devotees and descendants defeated the outrageous centaurs, Amazons, and Trojans. Again Athena is shown as a victorious warrior, now together with the other gods, and the certainty of the gods' victory is also bestowen upon their protégés.[15] The frieze above the entrance to the cella showed an assembly of the gods including Athena, as well as a long procession of gifts and offerings for her.

Even before entering the cella, a visitor had seen a wealth of images of Athena, reminding him of specific qualities of the goddess and her amazing deeds. He found similar representations inside the cella, but here unmistakably related to the temple statue. The frieze on the statue base showed the birth of Pandora in the presence of 20 deities, their revenge for the theft of fire by Prometheus. The inside of her shield depicted the gods' victory over the giants, the outside the fight between Athenians and

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[14] An impression can be gained from the overviews in Holtzmann, B.: L'acropole d'Athènes. Monuments, cultes et histoire du sanctuaire d'Athèna Polias. Paris 2003, 96–100, 176–179.– Hurwit, J. M.: The Athenian Acropolis. History, Mythology, and Archaeology from the Neolithic Era to the Present. Cambridge 1999, 148–153.

[15] Knell, H.: Mythos und Polis. Bildprogramme griechischer Bauskulptur. Darmstadt 1990, 95–126.

Amazons, and the edges of her sandals the Centauromachy—themes the visitor had already encountered on the temple's metopes. If these representations described the role of Athena within the world of the gods, the statue in the temple (fig. 91)[16] showed her in isolation, as an individual. She stood frontally, wearing her aegis over a peplos, with helmet and shield. In her right hand she held a winged Nike. A snake below the shield was thought to be a representation of Erichthonios. The statue thus demonstrated in an all-encompassing form the fighting power and surety in victory of the goddess, who had proved herself many times in the battles shown. The statue itself was 26 cubits high (Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 36.18), made by Pheidias in gold and ivory. The colossal scale and precious material signaled the superhuman power of the goddess, who would prevail with her weapons in all coming battles.

Staging: The architectural framework allowed many possibilities of staging. First of all, it isolated the statue from the rest of the sanctuary. In most cases, the altar was outside the cella, normally in front of the temple. Sacrifices did not take place immediately before the deity, but at some distance. The cult image could be shown or hidden by opening and closing the temple doors. This provided the ability to regulate sight and access. Some temples were only opened on certain days, others could only be accessed by certain groups of people. The statue of Zeus at Olympia could be blocked from view by a curtain donated by King Antiochos IV; its "Assyrian" weavings and purple color made it especially precious (Pausanias V.12.4). In many sanctuaries, barriers and lighting directed the viewing of cult images.[17]

Linked to staging was the discursive framing, in particular through stories told in the sanctuaries about the genesis or origin of figures. The most elaborate cult statues were just recent artifacts—as everyone knew—made by humans at some point. On the Athenian Acropolis one could read the accounts recording how expensive the Parthenos statue had been and which officials in which years were responsible for it.[18] Sometimes, however, an origin story could emphasize a particular role of

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16 On the interpretation of the Parthenos as a cult statue: Nick op. cit. (n. 3) 113–118.

17 Heilmeyer, W.-D. / Hoepfner, W. (eds.): Licht und Architektur. Tübingen 1990.

18 Donnay, G.: Les comptes de l'Athéna chryséléphantine du Parthénon, Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 91, 1967, 50–86.– Holtzmann op. cit. (n. 14) 109–110.

91 Athena Parthenos. Reconstruction after Camillo Praschniker.

the revered deity. Athena Areia was built in Plataia from Persian spoils, so in this case the role of the goddess as bringer of victory in the battle was certain (Pausanias IX.4.1). It was a different case with old, simple cult images, which are usually referred to as ξόανα (xoana, "carvings"). Some of them were said to have fallen from the sky, others had mysteriously washed up from the sea, and others had been donated long ago by heroes like Theseus, Odysseus, or Diomedes. The Athenians believed that the wooden statue of Artemis in Brauron was the figure that Iphigenia had brought with her from the land of the Taurians (Pausanias I.33.1, see fig. 92). Sure enough, the Spartans made the same claim for their Artemis Orthia with better cause, as did the Cappadocians, Lydians, and the inhabitants of Laodikea, all claiming the figure (Pausanias III.16.7–8). The agalma of Ares in Therapne was said to have been brought there from Colchis by the Dioscuri, and the Hera on Samos from Argos by the Argonauts.[19] In these cases, the numinous aura did not spawn from the colossal scale of the statue, nor even from precious materials and beautiful forms. On the contrary, it was precisely the simple materials and crude execution that attested to their origins in the heroic past and thus their unimaginably long cult tradition. In some sanctuaries, one could see both a simple, ancient xoanon and an elaborate and precious colossal statue.[20] Together they embodied complementary qualities of a deity: continuous veneration since the heroic age in one figure and overwhelming power and glory in the other.

Thus, cult images visualized a certain conception of the nature of the gods: the gods quite obviously exist and people could perceive them in a way. These gods had human form, or at least could take human form. On the other hand, the unbridgeable distance became clear through their format, through bases that raised images above the viewer and barriers that separated them, and often through the use of precious materials. Though the immortals were reachable, they were not exactly physically nearby. People could approach them, stand before them, speak to them,

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19 Pausanias III.19.7 (Therapne); VII.4.4 (Samos, Heraion; Argonauts bringing the cult image on the Argos).– Additional examples: II.19.3 (Argos, Apollo Lykios; donated by Danaos); 32.1 (Troizen, Hippolytos; donated by Diomedes); III.12.4 (Sparta, Athena temple; agalma said to have been donated by Odysseus); IV.35.8 (Mothone, Temple of Athena Anemotis; cult image said to have been donated by Diomedes); IX.11.4 (Thebes; Herakles; dedicated by Daidalos); X.38.5 (Amphissa, statue of Athena said to have been brought from Troy by Thoas).
20 Nick op. cit. (n. 3) 93–99.

92 Orestes Sarcophagus; left, Iphigenia with cult image of Artemis, H. 44 cm. Munich, Glyptothek Gl. 363.

and perhaps the deity would even answer; but even then the distance remained enormous. The gods were great and powerful far beyond human measure. Unlike humans, they did not change or age, but remained constant over centuries and millennia, simply immortal. They were sufficient and at ease by themselves, but they could act at any time. Their role as founders of the all-encompassing world order was evident in the disposition of their harmoniously designed temples.

Many cult images reflected these ideas in a similar manner, and since these cult images existed for centuries, they stabilized ancient conceptions of the gods.[21] This point is of particular importance given the uncertainty regarding the nature of the gods that philosophical texts reveal. One could even understand these impressive images of the gods as a reaction to the religious uncertainty of the philosophers.[22] In any case, it is a striking coincidence that the chryselephantine statues of Pheidias were made at about the same time as the shocking work of Protagoras.

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21 On the role of artists in shaping conceptions of the gods: Cicero, *De natura deorum* I.77, 81.
22 Boschung, D.: Astromorphomata. Kosmologische Vorstellungen in der Kunst der Antike. In: Neef/Sussman/Boschung 2014, 86–90.

Although cult images may be regarded as faithful representations of the gods, it was still always clear that they were not the gods themselves. A temple could burn down together with its cult image without jeopardizing the god's existence. And in Athens it was well known that the gold of the Athena Parthenos could be removed,[23] that the statue was an artful construct. Additionally, its shiny appearance was only the exterior. Acroliths required solid construction, usually with a wooden frame that held ivory tiles and gold sheets in place. Lucian relates that while the Olympian Zeus was made of gold and ivory on the outside, inside it was made of an ugly wooden frame infested with mice (Lucianus, *Gallus* 24). Christian opponents of pagan cults later happily seized upon this point. Chryselephantine statues, with their external gaudiness and internal filth, symbolized for them the mendacity of pagan religion. If the creation of cult statues and their constant presence over centuries had plainly demonstrated the existence of the gods, the destructions of cult statues and emptying of temples at the end of the fourth century A. D. showed that these gods did not exist.[24]

MITHRAS: A NEW IDOL[25]

In addition to statues of the gods from earlier times dating back to the fifth century B.C., new pictorial forms appear in the second century A. D. that indicate a change in the conception of divinities (Boschung / Schäfer 2015). A revealing example, well explored in previous scholarship, is found in the numerous representations of Mithras. This is not a single figure, but rather a scene with many defined iconographic details, which shaped the conception of this god with its innumerable repetitions throughout the Roman Empire.

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23 Nick op. cit. (n. 3) 162–163.
24 Myrup Kristensen 2013.
25 Additionally, Boschung, D.: Mithras. Konzeption und Verbreitung eines neuen Götterbildes. In: Boschung/Schäfer 2015, 217–234.– Dirven, L.: The Mithreum as tableau vivant. A Preliminary Study of Ritual Performance and Emotional Involvement in Ancient Mystery Cults, Religion in the Roman Empire 1, 2015, 51–70.

The representation of the main motif of the relief, with Mithas at center, is surprisingly consistent (figs. 93–96).[26] The central scene shows Mithras killing a bull, kneeling from the left on the back of the animal, so that his left foot disappears in the background. His face is smooth and youthful; his hair is fashioned in long curls that cover his ears. He wears a Phrygian cap and a double-belted, sleeved chiton, and over that a long mantle, pinned at the right shoulder and blown by the wind into an arc shape behind him. This forms a row of thick folds at the top while the fabric underneath lies flatter. On his right hip, the god wears a scabbard which can vary in size. His legs are clad in trousers, and he wears closed shoes. The god turns his head back over his right shoulder. In the reliefs in the Capitoline Museum (fig. 93) and in Verona (fig. 94) he simultaneously turns it upwards, but not on the other two reliefs. With his right foot Mithras pins the right hind leg of the bull to the ground; his left knee rests on the back of the animal. With the index and middle fingers of his left hand, the god grips the bull's snout or nostrils. He pulls its head up and thrusts his sword into the right shoulder of the animal. The bull lies on its stomach, its fore legs folded in. It is attacked by a snake and a dog that jump up to the puncture wound to catch the animal's blood. A scorpion crawling from the left, under the outstretched rear leg of the beast, attacks its testicles. The upturned tail of the bull ends in ears of grain, whose shape and size vary. The position of the snake can also differ, lying below the bull in some reliefs and in others moving diagonally up its torso. In addition to the sacrifice scene, there are two other youths in oriental dress with torches, Cautes and Cautopates. At the upper corners of the relief are busts representing Sol (left) and Luna with a crescent moon (right). In three reliefs a raven appears above Mithras' billowing cloak; in a fourth (fig. 95) the bird has moved out of the picture. Also in three reliefs there are rocks indicated above or next to Mithras, but in different ways in each.

The similarities described can hardly be coincidental, and must go back to a common model. Though the mandatory elements are partly related to content, they are also partly formal. So while the position of Sol and Luna is the same on all four reliefs, the physical form of their busts differs considerably. For these motifs, their placement in a specific loca-

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26 Vermaseren 1956, 177 no. 417; 266 no. 759; 240–241 no. 650.– Modonesi, D.: Museo Maffeiano. Iscrizioni e rilievi sacri latini. Rome 1995, 83–84 no. 90.– Merkelbach, R.: Mithras. Ein persisch-römischer Mysterienkult. Königstein 1984 figs. 47, 73.

93 Mithras relief from Rome, H. 56 cm. Rome, Musei Capitolini 1205.

94 Mithras relief from Antium, H. 50.5 cm. Verona, Museo Maffeiano 28705.

95 Mithras relief from Rome, H. 1.25 m. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori.

96 Mithras relief from Nersae, H. 81 cm. Rome, Museo Nazionale.

97 Mithras relief from Sidon, H. 44.5 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre AO 22255.

98 Mithras relief from Osterburken, H. 1.76 m. Karlsruhe,
Badisches Landesmuseum 118.

99 Mithras relief from Hermoupolis Magna, H. 91 cm. Cairo, Egyptian Museum J. E. 85747.

100 Mithras statue from Rome, H. 1.28 m. Rome, Vatican; Museo Gregoriano Profano 9933.

tion was obviously predetermined, but there was no established form. In contrast, the largely consistant design of the central group shows that in this area a common model must be reproduced faithfully in every detail.

Even outside Italy, the reliefs follow the described pictorial scheme with little deviation (figs. 97–99). One of these deviations is the lack of the scabbard in the example from Sidon (fig. 97).[27] In the relief in Cairo (fig. 99),[28] Mithras wears only one belt over his chiton, and the left front hoof of the bull is extended. The dog and snake are also shown in all of these examples, but the position of the snake varies. Sol and Luna appear at the top of all three reliefs, but in the one from Osterburken (fig. 98)[29] they are not depicted as busts but as charioteers. In the relief from Sidon their positions are reversed; Luna appears on the left, Sol on the right. In all of them, the raven is found to the left of Mithras, but outside the central image area in the Osterburken relief. In two of the images the torchbearers are shown, while they are missing in the example from Sidon.

The bull-slaying figure is reproduced not only in reliefs, but also in other media with the same dress and in the same pose: in freestanding sculptures in the Vatican (fig. 100)[30] and in Venice,[31] and in paintings from the Mithraeum in Santa Maria Capua Vetere.[32] These representations of Mithras and many others must ultimately go back to a common model that was in use throughout the Roman Empire until the decline

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27 Vermeule 1956, no. 75 fig. 26.– Merkelbach op. cit. fig. 18.– Gubel, É.: Musée du Louvre. Département des antiquités orientales. Art phénicienne. La sculpture de tradition phénicienne. Paris 2002, 88–89 no. 80.

28 Grimm, G.: Kunst der Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo. Mainz 1975, 23 no. 38 pl. 73.

29 Vermaseren 1970, 117–119 no. 1292.– Merkelbach op. cit. figs. 112–115.

30 Vermaseren 1956, 164 no. 370 fig. 107.– Xagorari-Gleißner, M. in: Sinn, F.: Vatikanische Museen. Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense, Katalog der Skulpturen III. Reliefgeschmückte Gattungen römischer Lebenskultur. Griechische Originalskulptur. Monumente orientalischer Kulte. MAR 33. Mainz 2006, 300–302 no. 178 pl. 99.

31 Venice, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 193; from Rome (H. 110 cm): Vermaseren 1956, 222 no. 584 fig. 161.

32 Vermaseren, M. J.: Mithriaca. The Mithraeum at S. Maria Capua Vetere. Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain 16.1. Leiden 1971, pl. 3–7, 9–10.– Merkelbach op. cit. fig. 15.

101 Aureus of *Augustus*; 19 B.C. Reverse: Victoria sacrificing a bull, with the inscription *Armenia capta.*

of the Mithras cult.[33] We may surmise that this unusually potent work originated in Rome, or was at least disseminated from Rome, otherwise it would be difficult to explain its distribution around the empire. This must have happened around A.D. 100 or soon thereafter. The exact circumstances remain unclear. We do not know the commissioner nor the artist of the original design nor its exact location. Undoubtedly, there was a central authority who ensured that the inalterable nature of the detailed image form was always respected. Since the early second century A.D., the iconography of the bull sacrifice group was a constant element of the Mithras cult, as were the form of cult sites and the internal organization of cult communities.

The theme of a deity killing a bull can be traced back to the Nike parapet on the Athenian Acropolis[34] from the late fifth century B.C. In the Augustan period, the motif was used on coins to represent a military success in Armenia and was thus politically charged (fig. 101).[35] Victoria, coming from the left, puts her knee on the bull's back, tears its head back by the snout and pushes her sword through its shoulder into its chest.

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33 Will, E.: Le relief cultuel gréco-romain. Contribution à l'histoire de l'art de l'empire romain. Paris 1955, 169–186.– Vollkommer, R.: Mithras Tauroctonus – Studien zu einer Typologie der Stieropferszene auf Mithrasbildwerken. In: Mélanges de l'École française de Rome 103. Rome 1991, 265–281.
34 Borbein, A. H.: Campana-Reliefs. Typologische und stilkritische Untersuchungen. RM 14. supplement. Heidelberg 1968, 43–115.– Faraone, Ch. A.: The Amuletic Design of the Mithraic Bull-Wounding Scene, JRS 103, 2013, 96–113.
35 Kent, J. P. C. / Overbeck, B. / Stylow, A. U.: Die römische Münze. Munich 1973 pl. 34 no. 138.

102 Frieze of the Basilica Ulpia with Victoria sacrificing; ca. A. D. 110, H. 68 cm. Munich, Glyptothek Gl. 348.

This corresponds to the later Mithras representations, but on the Augustan coins the bull rears up, Victoria does not look back, and she does not have the support of the dog, snake, and scorpion. The scene is taken up again around A. D. 100 in friezes from the imperial palace on the Palatine and the Basilica Ulpia (fig. 102) and appears almost simultaneously in sepulchral art.[36] It was probably the prominent use of the motif in imperial art that led to the formally similar representation of Mithras.

The iconographic elements of images of Mithras can be identified without too much difficulty. Mithras is, as his long, flowing locks and smooth cheeks show, a youthful god. His costume identifies him as coming from the east. Both features follow late Hellenistic depictions of Apollo-Mithras-Helios, as we know them from Commagene.[37] Mithras' turned head seems strange in comparison. This is often explained as looking to Sol, but Mithras does not always have his head turned toward the sun god. It is more likely that Mithras averts his gaze because he should not see or is not allowed to see what lies before him, just as Perseus must not look at Medusa as he beheads her (fig. 193b). Striking—and not found among the bull-sacrificing Nikes—is the positioning of Mithras' right foot, with which he steps on the bull's hoof. Unlike the Victories, who seem to effortlessly subdue their victims, Mithras has to

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36 Vollkommer, R.: Victoria. In: LIMC VIII 1997, 259 pl. 186–187 no. 275, 280.– Fuchs, M.: Glyptothek München. Katalog der Skulpturen VII. Römische Reliefwerke. Munich 2002, 142–145 no. 34; on contemporary funerary altars: Boschung 1987, 17, 87 no. 305–306.
37 Nemrut Dağ: Sanders, D. H. (ed.): Nemrud Dağı. The Hierotheseion of Antiochos I of Commagene. Winona Lake 1996, 437–440, 467–468.

forcefully knock the powerful animal to the ground. In his case, it is not a sacrificial animal that is willingly slaughtered but rather a dangerous opponent. Christopher Faraone has pointed out that the bull—unlike sacrificial animals—is not killed by cutting the carotid artery. Instead, piercing the chest of the animal—as on the Augustan coins (fig. 101)—aims for the heart. That the blood and semen of the bull are dangerous is evidenced by the fact that they are attacked by animals in a way similar to the evil eye, as seen in mosaics and reliefs.[38]

As with the Athena Parthenos, in some Mithras reliefs the primary image was supplemented by additional figures or scenes (figs. 95, 96, 98), where regional peculiarities could emerge.[39] Here and in similar cases, the central, typologically fixed group was framed by additional images in many eclectic ways. They illustrate the global, momentous significance of this deed of Mithras, or place it in a narrative context. Some of these scenes can be found on several Mithras reliefs and some were also made in freestanding sculpture, such as the god's birth from a rock. But it was obviously up to the commissioners of the reliefs whether and how they supplemented the central scene.

The iconographically standardized representations of Mithras unmistakably stand out from traditional cult statues. They are not colossal in scale and they are not made of particularly precious materials. They do not show the god frontally and statically. They are not laid out in three dimensions, but are instead spread out flat, and were intended for realization in relief or, rarely, in painting. Even the few examples in freestanding sculpture are presented for a single point of view. Here the power and proximity of the god is not manifested through the physical presence of a massive three-dimensional statue. Rather, images of Mithras consistently relate the one, clearly especially important act of the god: the killing of the powerful and dangerous bull. In doing so, they defy comparison with traditionally worshiped deities and emphasize the distinctiveness of the new god. The typologically fixed elements must have held special meaning, so that a hierarchy can be infered from the strictness with which they are reproduced. Accordingly, the Alexander-like hairstyle and the clothing of the god that refers to his eastern origin

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38 Faraone op. cit. 96–113.

39 Dorin Sicoe, G.: Lokalproduktion und Importe. Der Fall der mithraischen Reliefs aus Dakien. In: Martens, M. / de Boe, G. (eds.): Roman Mithraism. The Evidence of the Small Finds. Brussels 2004, 285–302 for examples from the Dacian and Moesian areas.

were of particular importance in terms of content. Equally important was the action of the scene itself—the tearing back of the bull's head and the stabbing into its heart, but also the turn of the god's head and the movement of his right foot, with which the animal is forced to the ground, and finally the transformation of the switch of the tail into ears of grain. The framing of the main events with Sol and Luna and Cautes and Cautopates was also supplied by the common model.

The Mithras reliefs demonstrate and attest with meaningful details a unique and inimitable achievement of vital importance to the cult community. They avoid the ambivalence of actionless figures, because the act of Mithras is not only evident, but also clearly understandable through its fixed iconography. The constant repetition of key elements of the event left no doubt as to the exact course of events. Statues could not meet this need; a new form of cult image had to be developed for it.

2.2 CONSTELLATIONS: MYTH AND COSMOLOGY

If conceptions of the nature of the gods developed in two antithetical directions during the fifth century B.C. (ch. II.2.1), the same can be said of ideas, conjectures, and knowledge regarding the stars and the universe. Incompatible concepts were expressed in various media and coexisted to the end of antiquity.

Observation of the stars and the empirical experience of their course and their effects (ch. I.2.2) was initally reflected in Greek mythology. The *Iliad* describes how Helios emerges from the ocean in the morning, speeds across the sky, and then sinks back into the ocean in the evening.[1] In Hesiod, Ouranos ("Heaven") and Gaia ("Earth") are the ancestors of all of the other gods. Helios ("Sun") and Selene ("Moon") are their grandchildren just as Zeus or Poseidon.[2] Since at least the sixth century B.C. in visual art there is the idea that Helios and Selene drive across the sky in chariots.[3] Thus, the sun god is shown emerging from the tides of Okeanos with a team of two winged horses on an Attic drinking vessel (fig. 103)[4] dating to 500 B.C.

In addition to the mythological cosmology, there was scientific study of the stars.[5] Already in the sixth century B.C. we hear about findings regarding the cosmos and the calculation of orbits of celestial bodies. Thales of Miletus predicted for the Ionians a solar eclipse in the year 585 B.C. (Herodotos I.74). Around the middle of the sixth century B.C., Anaximander of Miletus is said to have argued that the Moon reflects the light of the Sun, that the Sun is pure fire, and that the Earth floats at the center of a larger sphere that forms the cosmos. To illustrate his findings, he is said to have made a celestial globe (Diogenes Laertios

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1 Homer, *Iliad* VII.421–423; VIII.68, 485–486; XVIII.239–241.

2 Hesiod, *Theogony* esp. 116–138, 371–374, 453–458.

3 Yalouris, N.: Helios. In: LIMC V 1990, 1005–1034 pl. 631–648.– Gury, F.: Selene/Luna. In: LIMC VII, 1994, 706–715 pl. 524–529.

4 Yalouris op. cit. 1015 no. 98.

5 Lindberg, D. C.: The Beginnings of Western Science. The European Scientific Tradition in Philosophical, Religious, and Institutional Context.[2] Chicago 2007, 86–105.– Krafft, F., BNP s. v. Astronomy C. Greek astronomy.– Samuel, A. E.: Greek and Roman Chronology. Calendars and Years in Classical Antiquity. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaften 7. Munich 1972, 21–33.

103 Attic black-figure skyphos, ca. 500 B.C. Taranto, National Archaeological Museum 7029.

II.1.1–2). Around the middle of the fifth century, Anaxagoras of Klazomenai explained solar and lunar eclipses as the blocking of sunlight, and that the Moon is made of the same material as the Earth, but the Sun is a glowing rock. These assertions led to him being accused and tried in 431 B.C. for *asebeia*, the profaning and mockery of divine matters.[6] The trial may have had political motivations, but it is significant that cause was found in the conflict between religion and science.[7]

In the fourth century, Herakleides Pontikos, a student of Plato, realized that the Earth rotates on its own axis once a day.[8] The Hellenistic period brought a series of empirical and speculative insights. In the early third century B.C., Eratosthenes calculated the circumference of the Earth to be 252,000 stadia. This equals 37,422 km if we use Eratosthenic

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[6] Diogenes Laertios II.2.

[7] Dreßler, J.: Philosophie vs. Religion? Die Asebie-Verfahren gegen Anaxagoras, Protagoras und Sokrates im Athen des fünften Jahrhunderts v. Chr. Norderstedt 2010, 81–88, 142–146.

[8] Russo, L.: The Forgotten Revolution. How Science Was Born in 300 B.C. and Why It Had to Be Reborn. Berlin 2004, 83.– Noack, B.: Aristarch von Samos. Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Schrift Περὶ μεγεθῶν καὶ ἀποστημάτων ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης. Wiesbaden 1992, 5.
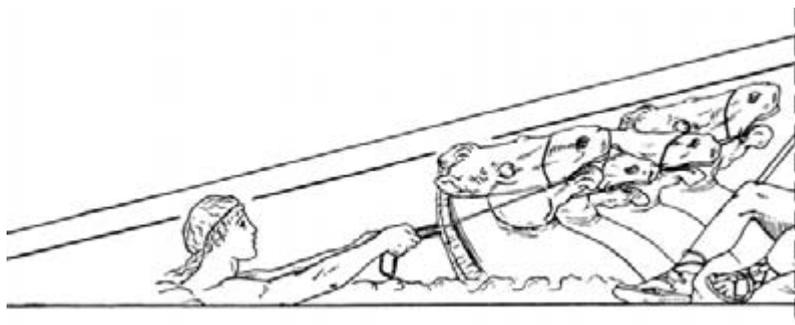
104 Athens, Parthenon, east pediment; ca. 435 B.C. Reconstruction of the pediment corners with Helios (left) and Selene (right).

stadia (148.5 m each).[9] At about the same time, Aristarchos of Samos developed a heliocentric system. He claimed that the Earth rotated on its axis over the course of a day, moving in a circular orbit around the Sun over the course of a year. The Moon, on the other hand, revolves around the Earth, receiving its light from the Sun. If Aristarchos established the heliocentric system only in theory, then the somewhat younger astronomer Seleukos of Babylon can be credited with its proof.[10] In the second century B.C. Hipparchos of Nikaia created an expanded and improved catalog of stars.[11]

So from the sixth century B.C. there was an intense preoccupation in the Greek world with the universe, heavenly bodies, and their movements. This research yielded a wealth of important and admirable findings. It is difficult to say whether anyone beyond a small circle of mathematicians and astronomers was aware of them; nevertheless, there is evidence that at least some were publicly discussed. The trial of Anaxagoras in Athens in 431 must have led to widespread discussion of his theories, since the

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9 Thomas, I.: Selections Illustrating the History of Greek Mathematics II. From Aristarchus to Pappus. Reprint of 1941 edition. London 1957, 266–273.– Prell, H.: Die Vorstellungen des Altertums von der Erdumfangslänge. Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig (Mathematisch-naturwissenschaftliche Klasse Bd. 46.1). Stuttgart 1959 esp. 7–12, 19, 24.– Russo op. cit. 273–277.

10 Plutarch, *Moralia* 1006C.– Noack op. cit. 4.– Russo op. cit. 273–277.

11 Grasshoff, G.: The History of Ptolemy's Star Catalogue. New York 1990, esp. 34–78.– *id.*: Ptolemy and Empirical Data. In: Neef/Sussman/Boschung 2014, 32–44.
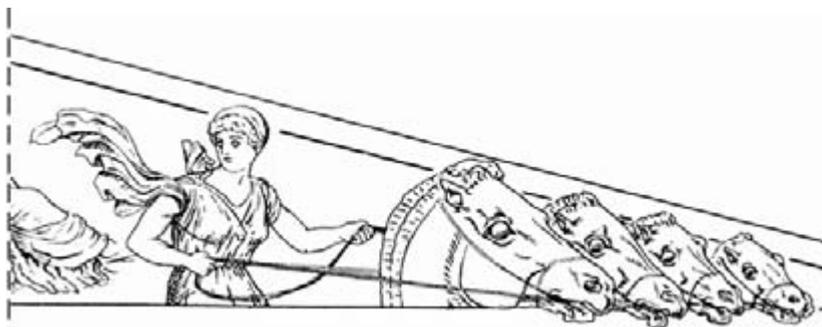
proceedings were public and took place before a court made up of 500 Attic citizens chosen by lot.[12] It is hard to imagine that the jurors would not have discussed the sensational and scandalous allegations against the defendant at home and in the evening at the symposion.

The second book of Pliny's *Naturalis historia*, in which he speaks about the cosmos, *mundus* (the universe), and *caelus* (the heavens), gives an impression of the spread of astronomical knowledge in the first century A. D. Pliny immediately objects to the idea that there could be many, perhaps even infinite, worlds, each with a Sun, Earth, and stars. He naturally begins with the spherical shape of the Earth and knows that it rotates around its axis once a day.[13] Pliny locates the Earth floating at the center of the universe and reports that there are Antipodes who live on the other hemisphere. In this context, he mentions a dispute between scholars and those of popular opinion, who do not understand how this should be possible (Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 2.161–162).

In addition to this scientific world view of antiquity there was still the mythological. In the same years when Anaxagoras was in Athens presenting his theory that the Sun was a glowing rock, the pediment

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12 On the nature of Athenian legal proceedings: Boegehold, A. L.: The Lawcourts at Athens. Sites, Buildings, Equipment, Procedure, and Testimonia. The Athenian Agora 28. Princeton 1995, esp. 23–30.

13 Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 2.3–6.– On the idea that there could be many worlds, cf. Diogenes Laertios IX.7.31 (Leukippos) and Cicero, *Academica* 2.55 (Demokritos).

105 Rome, Arch of Constantine; medallion of the east side with Sol; ca. A. D. 315, Dm. 2.19 m.

106 as fig. 105; medallion of the west side with the chariot of Luna, Dm 2.33 m.

sculptures of the Parthenon were created.[14] The construction of the Parthenon was a project of Pericles, the leading Attic politician of those years. He was a friend of Anaxagoras and is said to have defended him during his trial for *asebeia*.[15] The redesign of the Athenian Acropolis with the monumental Propylaia and the temple for Athena Parthenos, with its colossal statue of Athena in gold and ivory (fig. 91), was intended to illustrate the cultural and political primacy of Athens over all other Greek cities. The extremely rich figural decoration of the Parthenon also articulated Athens' understanding of itself. It was the Athenian citizenry who debated and decided upon the construction and its details in the popular assembly. They also supervised its execution through public commissions.[16]

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14 Ehrhardt, W.: Zu Darstellung und Deutung des Gestirngötterpaares am Parthenon, JdI 119, 2004, 1–39.

15 Dreßler op. cit. (n. 7) 72, 86–88.

16 Holtzmann, B.: L'acropole d'Athènes. Monuments, cultes et histoire du sanctuaire d'Athèna Polias. Paris 2003, 101–107.– Schneider, L. / Höcker, Ch.: Phidias. Reinbek 1993, 113–129.– Wittenburg, A.: Griechische Baukommissionen des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts. Diss. Munich 1978.– Himmelmann, N.: Zur Entlohnung künstlerischer Tätigkeit in klassischen Bauinschriften, JdI 94, 1979, 127–142.– *id.*: Phidias und die Parthenon-Skulpturen. In: Lippold, A. / Himmelmann, N. (eds.): Bonner Festgabe J. Straub. Bonn 1977, 67–90.

The eastern pediment of the Parthenon shows the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus. The scene is framed by celestial deities. In the left corner of the pediment Helios rises from the waves with a team of four horses, and on the right Selene descends in a four horse chariot (fig. 104).[17] In the context of the entire scene, Helios and Selene illustrate the global significance of the central action, from the rising of the stars to their setting.

The pediment therefore shows a completely different conception of the Sun and Moon from the explanation that Anaxagoras put forth at the same time in Athens. In the pediment, the Sun is not a fiery rock and the Moon is not a chunk of stone that does not produce its own light. Rather, the two youthful deities, despite all their differences, appear as equals and are associated with the supreme gods Zeus and Athena. They depart from Okeanos with their teams and sink back into the ocean waves at the end of the journey. This is a manifest and monumental alternative to the theories of Anaxagoras. The aesthetic perfection and the monumentality of the pediment figures especially ensured the persuasive power of the traditional concept here manifested. All the more striking is that both interpretations of the heavenly bodies, the scientific of Anaxagoras and the mythological of the Parthenon, come from the circle of Pericles.

How stable this traditional idea must have been is seen in the fact that the Sun (Helios/Sol) and the Moon (Selene/Luna) appear very similar almost 750 years later on the Arch of Constantine in Rome (figs. 105, 106). Reliefs of the arch show the historical events that led to Constantine's conquest of Rome, such as the Battle of the Milvian Bridge on October 28, 312. They celebrate his victories, his virtues, and his exemplary conduct, all of which made him an ideal ruler.[18] On the east side of the arch, Sol is shown as a charioteer emerging from the tides of Oceanus with his four horse chariot. The Morning Star accompanies him, flying ahead with a torch. Luna can be seen on the west side descending with her two horse chariot, plunging into Oceanus. She is also accompanied

17 Ehrhardt op. cit.– Queyrel, F.: Le fronton est du Parthénon. Système visuel et paysage. In: Colpo, I. / Favaretto, I. / Ghedini, F. (eds.): Iconografia 2005. Immagini e immaginari dall'Antichità classica al mondo moderno (Antenor Quaderni 5). Rome 2006, 217–234.
18 L'Orange/von Gerkan 1939.– Giuliano, A.: Arco di Costantino. Milan 1955.– Zanker, P.: Der Konstantinsbogen als Monument des Senates, Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia 25, 2012, 77–105.

107 Lakonian cup with Atlas (left) and Prometheus; ca. 560 B.C.,
Dm. 20 cm. Rome, Musei Vaticani 16592.

by a celestial deity with a torch, who flies down ahead of her.[19] Here, too,
heavenly bodies illustrate the global significance of historical events,
values, and political claims, which are reflected in other relief images on
the arch. Mythological ideas have obviously remained constant. Unlike
in the scientific worldview, no noteworthy development can be found.

Scientific astronomical findings occasionally find their way into the
visual arts, although only selectively. Representations of Atlas are telling.
According to Hesiod he is the son of the Titan Iapetos (and thus a cousin
of Helios and Selene). In the extreme west of the world, he holds up the
firmament as punishment for his part in the uprising of the Titans.[20] One
of the earliest depictions is on a Lakonian cup from around 560 B.C.
(fig. 107), from the time of Anaximander.[21] On the right Prometheus is
shown, bound, while an eagle eats his liver. Opposite him is Atlas. The
heavens, which he carries on his shoulders, are a large, shapeless mass,
which initially looks to be a boulder, but with three irregular concentric
lines and numerous white-painted stars. To the right, an arch extends
toward Prometheus, representing the firmament. Around the time of

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19 L'Orange/von Gerkan 1939, 162–165 pl. 38a–b.
20 Hesiod, *Theogony* 126–136, 507–520, 746–750.
21 Griño, B. de / Olmos, R.: Atlas. In: LIMC III 1986, 2–16, 4 no. 1 pl. 6.

108 Campanian red-figure amphora; 450–425 B.C. London, British Museum F 148.

109 Farnese Atlas. Drawing in Codex Coburgensis, ca. 1550.

Anaxagoras, between 450 and 425 B.C., a Campanian painter produced an image of Herakles, standing spraddled (fig. 108).[22] It was therefore also created at the same time as the figures of the Parthenon. While Atlas brings the apples of the Hesperides, Herakles holds up the sky. Here it is not a dome or a beam, but a spherical structure onto which a crescent moon and two stars are attached. The sphere thus represents the universe, which Anaximander had claimed to be spherical more than a hundred years earlier.

A statue from the late first century B.C. known as the "Farnese Atlas" (fig. 109a–b)[23] also shows the Titan as the bearer of a spherical universe. Lines on the globe indicate the divisions of the heavens, the celestial equator, the tropics, and the polar circles, as well as the equinoxes and

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22 Griño/Olmos op. cit. 6 no. 13 pl. 8.

23 Dekker, E.: Illustrating the Phaenomena. Celestial Cartography in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Oxford 2012, 84–115.– Wrede, H.: Der Antikengarten der del Bufalo bei der Fontana Trevi. 4. Trierer Winckelmannsprogramm. Mainz 1982, 13–15 pl. 8–9.– Korn, U.: Der Atlas Farnese. Eine archäologische Betrachtung. In: Schweikhart, G. (ed.): Antiquarische Gelehrsamkeit und bildende Kunst. Die Gegenwart der Antike in der Renaissance. Atlas, Bonner Beiträge zur Renaissance-Forschung 1, 1996, 25–44.

the summer and winter solstices. Diagonal to the celestial equator, corresponding to the ecliptic, runs the Zodiac with the astrological signs. The sculptor obviously wanted to depict the sky as astronomers had surveyed and described it. Admittedly however, in the 41 constellations illustrated, the celestial bodies that constitute them are missing. Scientific celestial globes, with which the sculpture is obviously connected, are only attested by literary sources. From these we learn that important Greek astronomers and mathematicians like Hipparchos and Archimedes made celestial globes documenting their scientific discoveries. A small globe in Mainz that shows 46 constellations and their most important stars is best able to give an idea of them.[24] But even such an ambitious record of scientific knowledge as the "Farnese Atlas" remains embedded in a mythological context. Here too, it is the mythical colossus Atlas that carries the celestial globe.

24 Dekker op. cit. 69–80.– Künzl, E.: Ein römischer Himmelsglobus der mittleren Kaiserzeit. Studien zur römischen Astralikonographie, Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz 47, 2000, 495–594.

2.3 CONCEPTIONS OF HISTORY: THE PRESENT PAST

THE PERSISTENCY OF THE PAST

In his reflections on time, Aristotle distinguishes between the past time, which is no more, and the future time, which is not yet; the two, he believes, are sharply separated by the "now."[1] In the world he lived in, Athens of the fourth century B.C., there were of course many examples of how the past extended into the present and future with persistent artifacts. The statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton (fig. 110) still stood in the Athenian Agora, bringing an event from a time long prior into the present.[2] The figural group, which Aristotle knew[3] like any of his contemporaries in Athens, showed a moment that can be set precisely in time and space. In 514 B.C. on the 28th day of the month of Hekatombaion, shortly before sunrise, two lovers, Harmodios and Aristogeiton, murdered the tyrant Hipparchos at Leochoreion and paid for their deed with their lives. Despite the objections of historians, the two tyrant slayers were considered by the Athenians to be exemplary champions of freedom.[4] The three-dimensional representation of the pair deviated significantly from historical accounts,[5] but it was precisely this that made it a morphome of Attic democracy that visualized and made lasting ideas of undying love of freedom.

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1 Cf. ch. II.1.2 with n. 56.– Similarly, Censorinus, *De die natali* 16.4.
2 Brunnsåker, St.: The Tyrant-Slayers of Kritios and Nesiotes. Stockholm 1971.– Fehr, B.: Die Tyrannentöter oder: Kann man der Demokratie ein Denkmal setzen? Frankfurt 1984.– Schuchhardt, W. H. / Landwehr, Ch.: Statuenkopien der Tyrannenmördergruppe, JdI 101, 1986, 85–126.– Taylor, M. W.: The Tyrant Slayers. New York 1991.– Schweitzer, B.: ... da den Tyrannen sie erschlugen, gleiches Recht den Athenern schufen. Archäologie eines Attentats. In: Fitzenreiter, M. (ed.): Das Ereignis. Zum Nexus von Struktur- und Ereignisgeschichte. London 2009, 239–263.– DNO no. 558–562.
3 Aristotle, *Athenaion Politeia* 18.1–6 on the murder of Hipparchos; on the statues in the Agora: Aristotle, *Rhetoric* 1368a38.
4 Herodotos V.55, 57; VI.109, 123.– Thucydides VI.54–59. Thucydides (I.20.1–2) cites the view that Harmodios and Aristogeiton freed Athens from the tyrants as an example of an uncritically spread tradition.
5 Taylor op. cit. 159–192 on literary accounts and reactions.

110 Tyrannicides group in Naples; after 480 B.C., H. 1.85 m (plaster cast; Museo dei Gessi, Rome).

The statues represent the decisive moment, the instant of the surprise attack. The act is idealized at the same time. Concrete references are avoided, such as through omission of the target of the attack. Also, Harmodios and Aristogeiton were probably dressed at the time, as they were participants in a procession. There is a deliberate stylization of details: the well-trained, athletic bodies of the two men are expressions of an aristocratic way of life that included regular exercise (ch. I.2.4). The emphasis on their age difference underscores the element of homoerotic love between the mature man and the youth, which also corresponds to an aristocratic model and was considered a particularly intense form of

connection. The open mouth of the Aristogeiton shows that the older partner gives the orders that his young companion carries out. Their calm, composed expressions contradict the literary account of Thucydides, who speaks of the extreme rage of the attackers (Thucydides VI.57). The statues, on the other hand, make it clear that they are not murdering in a blind frenzy, but proceed in a deliberate, planned, and carefully coordinated manner. Their strength and athletic ability, self-restraint, and pederastic bond made them champions of democracy and examples to be revered.

When the sculptors Kritios and Nesiotes created the two bronze statues shortly after 480 B.C., it had recently become necessary to replace the older statues, as they had been taken by the Persians during their sack of Athens. The act itself was more than a generation prior, but now, following the final expulsion of the tyrants and victory over the Persians, its significance had changed. Display of the statues in the Agora brought the historical events into the present close to the scene of those events, rendered them in an idealized form, and thus kept them present in everyday life for centuries. Even in the Roman Imperal period, many generations after Aristotle, the sculptures were still in their original place (Pausanias I.8.5).

In many other cases, statues did not record a historical event, but rather the appearance and habitus of persons long since passed. Poets like Homer and Pindar and philosophers like Socrates and Plato were still physically in the present in the time of Aristotle, beyond their death, in statues.[6] And even more importantly, official inscriptions, publicly displayed paintings, private funerary monuments, and buildings with sculptural decoration recorded for centuries the names, figures, and deeds of the distant or recent past.[7] Not only in Athens, but in many Greek cities of the late Imperial period, the past was present in this way and some monuments of earlier periods were intentionally staged.[8]

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[6] Scheibler, I.: Sokrates in der griechischen Bildkunst. Exhibition catalog. Munich 1995, 33–51.– Zanker 1995, 32–42.

[7] Hölscher, T.: Das Forum Romanum – Die monumentale Geschichte Roms. In: Stein-Hölkeskamp, E. / Hölkeskamp, K.-J. (eds.): Erinnerungsorte der Antike. Die römische Welt. Munich 2006, 100–122.– Hölscher, T.: Athen – Die Polis als Raum der Erinnerung. In: Stein-Hölkeskamp, E. / Hölkeskamp, K.-J. (eds.): Die griechische Welt. Erinnerungsorte der Antike. Munich 2019, 128–149.

[8] Boschung, D.: Die Präsentation von Geschichte im Stadtbild der Kaiserzeit. In: Cordovana, O. D. / Galli, M. (eds.): Arte e memoria culturale nell'età della

Visitors to sanctuaries were pointed to the ancient and recent, mythic and historic past through architectural decoration and votive offerings,[9] but also through aitiological narratives and inscriptions. For example, in Pergamon (fig. 111)[10] and in Ephesos[11] there were reliefs that illustrated the foundation myth or the life of the founder of the city. And on the altar enclosure of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos, images recalled the role of the Amazons in the early history of this world-famous sanctuary.[12] In some cities, a visitor would find in the center of the city the tomb and statues of the founder. Again in Ephesos, Pausanias saw the tomb monument and several statues of the κτίστης (ktistes, "founder"), Androklos (fig. 112).[13] Also highly visible were statues honoring those who had shaped or supported the city in earlier times by their works or their generosity. In public squares and in sanctuaries, victory monuments could also be admired, which referred to historical successes. These clear or cryptic references to the city's history were topographically scattered across large areas. They did not stem from a coherent chronicle. In many cases, historical references were first revealed to a visitor by a knowing intermediary.

During the Roman Imperial period, testimonies of imperial history could not be overlooked even in Greek cities with their own glorious pasts. These could be elaborate architectural monuments with extensive sculptural decoration, such as the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias[14] or the

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Seconda Sofistica. Catania 2007, 103–107.– Hertel, D.: Die Mauern von Troia. Mythos und Geschichte im antiken Ilion. Munich 2003, 185–309.

9 "Relics" of mythological heroes in sanctuaries: Hartmann, A.: Zwischen Relikt und Reliquie. Objektbezogene Erinnerungspraktiken in antiken Gesellschaften. Berlin 2008.

10 Dreyfus, R. / Schraudolph, E.: Pergamon. The Telephos Frieze from the Great Altar. San Francisco/Berlin 1996 esp. II.83–108.

11 Fleischer, R.: Der Fries des Hadrianstempels in Ephesos. In: Festschrift für F. Eichler. Vienna 1967, 23–71.– Brenk, B.: Die Datierung der Reliefs am Hadrianstempel in Ephesos und das Problem der tetrarchischen Skulptur des Ostens, Istanbuler Mitteilungen 18, 1968, 238–258.– On the dating cf. Bol, R.: Amazones volneratae. Mainz 1998, 132–133 n. 783.

12 Bol op. cit. 132–143.

13 Pausanias VII.2.9.– Cf. Thür, H.: Der ephesische Ktistes Androklos und (s)ein Heroon am Embolos, Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes 64, 1995, 63–103.

14 Smith, R. R. R.: The Imperial Reliefs from the Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, JRS 77, 1987, 88–138.– *id*.: Myth and Allegory in the Sebasteion. In: Roueché,

111 Frieze of the Great Altar in Pergamon with scenes from the life of the founder of the city, Telephos (detail); ca. 160 B.C., H. 1.58 m. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung.

"Parthian Monument" in Ephesos.[15] A particularly memorable and vivid image of the history of the Roman Empire is offered by the innumerable statues of emperors, with typologically defined portrait heads and standardized inscriptions, which were to be found at every major site (ch. II.3.1). For the inhabitants of Roman cities in the first century A.D., contemporary political upheavals in Rome were directly reflected in the fates of statue groups. A new statue of an emperor, prince, or empress indicated a change in political situation; the overthrow of a ruler or his relatives was publicly reenacted by eliminating their portraits and inscriptions.[16]

Monuments in honor of the imperial family arose from current political issues and undoubtedly all too often from political opportunism. But in many cases they still stood even long after political circumstances

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Ch. / Erim, K. T. (eds.): Aphrodisias Papers. Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl. Series 1, Ann Arbor 1990, 89–100, 89–100.– Boschung 2002, 135–147 esp. 143–145.

15 Liverani, P.: Il monumento antonino di Efeso, Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell'arte 3. serie 19–20, 1996–1997, 153–174 with additional bibliography.

16 Boschung, D.: Römische Kaiserporträts. Zeichen der Loyalität und Spuren der Revolte. In: Boschung, D. / Hellenkemper, H.: Kosmos der Zeichen. Schriftbild und Bildformel in Antike und Mittelalter. ZAKMIRA 5. Wiesbaden 2007, 255–268.– Varner 2004.

112 Ephesus, statue of Androklos; late 2nd century A. D., H. 1.96 m. İzmir, Archaeological Museum 45.

had changed. The collection of statues and related inscriptions in the public space of cities and sanctuaries was a concrete representation of historical periods through the Imperial era, because the donations of members of a particular dynasty often focused on individual buildings.[17] In this way, these ensembles were able to illustrate to later observers a long-ago era. History did not appear as a continuum, but rather was presented in separate sections that remained unconnected. The concept of the Roman Empire as a succession of self-contained dynasties is also found in the ancient historians.[18] Thus, in the early second century A. D., the Roman emperors up to Nero were seen as a coherent series, which was broken with the death of Nero (Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.16). This is most clearly expressed by the Late Antique author of the *Carus Vita* (*Historia Augusta, Carus* 3.1–5), who divides the history of Rome into sections from Augustus to Nero, from Vespasian to Domitian, and from Nerva to Commodus, and for each dynasty notes the merits of its founder as well as the depravity of its last member.

Thus, statue-cycles for the Julio-Claudian imperial family often remained unchanged and without further additions, as with the statues in the basilica in Veleia (Boschung 2002, 25–35). They gained stature by comparison with groups of later rulers like the Antonines, the Severans, and the soldier-emperors of the third century, who could be seen in the same city. The form of the toga and the habitus of the portrait heads clearly distinguished the Julians and Claudians from statues of emperors of later periods and made it clear at first glance that they must represent the distant past. But if the inhabitants of Veleia in the first century A. D. had been able to follow the crises of the imperial family in their time from the evolution of their statues in the basilica, this was no longer possible for their descendants in the second and third centuries. Had a reader of the *Annales* of Tacitus or the *Lives of the Caesars* of Suetonius walked through this portrait gallery, he would have found it did not completely meet his expectations. The statues did not correspond to the physical appearance of the emperors, as Suetonius describes them (Boschung 2002, 192), nor does the group intimate the dramatic changes or bitter disputes within the imperial family. Of the five Julio-Claudian emperors, two were no longer represented in the gallery. After A. D. 41, there was no reference to Caligula and only a statue of Nero as a child remained after

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17 Boschung 2002, 8–24 (Leptis Magna), 100–105 (Olympia).
18 Schwabl, H.: Weltalter. In: RE Suppl. XV 1978, 820.

his death. The group in its completed state was therefore not only the result of constant loyalty to the emperor, but at the same time a product of collective repression and a monument to selective memory.

Older monuments could be instrumentalized by a change in display context and in their discursive framing for an up-to-date view. It did not matter on what occasion and for what context the monuments were originally created. A clear example of this can be found in the correspondence between Pliny the Younger and the emperor Trajan.[19] Pliny was the owner of several statues of emperors ("*statuae principum*"), which had passed through various changes of ownership and had stood on remote estates. Later, he decided to transfer these ancient imperial portraits to a newly erected *templum* in the *municipium* Tifernum Tiberinum and to set them up there together with statues of Nerva and Trajan. These two emperors undoubtedly stood in the center, while the older imperial statues provided a frame. It is significant that Pliny mentions the older "*statuae principum*" only in summary, without naming them. This resulted in a sequence of ruler figures leading up to the current regents in the new *templum*. This embodiment of the continuity of the empire did not develop organically; it was deliberately constructed by Pliny. The new arrangement of existing figures gave Roman history an up-to-date perspective that marked the reigning emperor Trajan as the end result of past political events. The use of older statues lent this construct clear credibility.

The practice described by Pliny of reorganizing older statues of emperors to legitimize the reigning ruler can also be found archaeologically in Rome (fig. 113).[20] In 12 B.C., the *aeneatores* (trumpeters) erected a statue of Augustus in their guildhall. Between 8 B.C. and A.D. 4, a statue of Tiberius was set up beside it, and in the year 42, a statue of Claudius. When statues of Nero and his mother Agrippina the Younger were added in 55/56, the entire group was reinstalled on a shared base. Now the reigning emperor Nero stood at the center of a group of three emperors, between Augustus and Claudius. In the process, the text of the older inscriptions was retained, making available the date of installation of the related statues. This gave the impression that the place of honor at the center of this group of emperors had been kept free for Nero for

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19 Pliny, *Epistulae* X.8–9; A.D. 98/99.
20 Panella, C. (ed.): Meta sudans I. Un'area sacra in Palatio e la valle del Colosseo prima e dopo Nerone. Rome 1996, 38–51, 115–131, 201–216 (V. Morizio).– Boschung 2002, 118–119.

113 Rome, statues donated by the *aenatores*; early-Neronian state (possible reconstruction after Panella 1996).

decades. The fourth statue of Nero's mother Agrippina the Younger was placed to the left of Claudius. Unlike the other emperors, the statue of Tiberius remained isolated on its own base. This was because the statue was set up before his adoption by Augustus and before his accession to the throne, so its inscription does not designate the honoree as son of Augustus nor as emperor. Perhaps later it was no longer clear who the figure represented was. After the murder of Agrippina, her statue and its inscription were removed. The group remained in this state until the destruction of the city fire of the year 64.

The examples discussed above show how persistent monuments of earlier epochs made tangible the continuity and consistency of political entities. The graves of city founders and representations of foundation myths made evident the venerable age of the polis and the traditions of its institutions. Monuments like the Tyrannicides praised the deeds of exemplary citizens for the good of the community and called for others to follow suit. Representations of this kind are not authentic testimonies of historical events, but rather retrospective interpretations given potent form through their design, which shaped the view of political and social affairs for a long time. Groups of emperor statues showed the continuity of rule, proving their stability through all crises and demonstrating un-interrupted solidarity between local elites and world rulers. Older images could be used later to legitimize the current situation through purposeful

manipulation of their arrangement. In each case, monuments established the history of the polis *and* the empire as a unifying sphere of experiences that created a shared identity, raised expectations for individual action, and at the same time stabilized political institutions.

COINING HISTORY[21]

Historical persons and events could be claimed by individual political actors to increase their prestige and to clarify their own claims to power. Corresponding strategies played an important role in struggles for political primacy during the late Roman Republic and were articulated particularly often and vividly in coin designs of the time.[22]

State coinage was in the hands of a three-member college, and these mint magistrates were generally young men from senatorial families at the beginning of their political careers.[23] From the late third century B.C., their names appear on coins, mostly in abbreviated form. Over the course of the third and early second centuries, a largely stable repertoire of coin images developed. In the mid-second century B.C, the mint magistrates repeatedly coined denarii with the helmeted head of Roma on the front and on the back representations of the mounted Dioscuri (fig. 114) or Luna, and later also Victoria in a biga.[24]

In the year 126 B.C., mint magistrate T. Quinctius Flamininus had denarii minted that referenced the form of older coinages. The obverse repeats the head of the city goddess, but at the back of her head is pictured an *apex*, the leather cap with a long metal rod that marked *flamines* (priests of the state cults in Rome) and that alludes to his cognomen,

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21 Boschung, D.: Adlige Repräsentation in der Antike. In: Beck, H. / Scholz, P. / Walter, U. (eds.): Die Macht der Wenigen. Aristokratische Herrschaftspraxis, Kommunikation und 'edler' Lebensstil in Antike und Früher Neuzeit. Munich 2008, 189–196.

22 Crawford 1974; on the chronology 55–102 cf. Wolters, R.: Nummi signati. Untersuchungen zur römischen Münzprägung und Geldwirtschaft. Munich 1999, 10–11 n. 4.

23 Schaefer, H.: vigintiviri I A5. tresviri monetales. In: RE VIIIA, 1958, 2574–2578.– Crawford 1974, 598–604, 708–711 (later careers of mint magistrates).– Lahusen, G.: Die Bildnismünzen der römischen Republik. Munich 1989, 13–17.– Hollstein, W.: Die stadtrömische Münzprägung der Jahre 78–50 v. Chr. zwischen politischer Aktualität und Familienthematik. Munich 1993, 382–386.

24 Crawford 1974, 720–725.– Wolters op. cit. 25–30.

114 Denarius of the early 2nd century B.C. Front: Head of Roma. Reverse: Dioscuri riding.

115 Denarius of Flamininus; 126 B.C. Roma and *apex*; Dioscuri above Macedonian shield.

Flamininus (fig. 115).[25] The reverse shows the Dioscuri galloping to the right, as on denarii of the late third century. Below them is a round shield, which is decorated along the edge with outwardly turned semi-circles, thus identifying it as Macedonian. This is a concrete reference to the Macedonian Wars, in which the namesake of the mint magistrate T. Quinctius Flamininus[26] had achieved particular success. With the support of his brother Quintus, he defeated the Macedonian king Philip V in 197 B.C., and dedicated silver shields to the Dioscuri at Delphi in thanks for their support (Plutarch, *Flamininus* 12.6). The young magistrate refers to a great achievement of his ancestors, to whom Rome owed the decisive victory over the Macedonians. The martial sons of Zeus on the coin, designated by the shield of the defeated party as victors over Macedon, could be interpreted as a mythological reflection of the victorious Flamininus brothers. The ambitious moneyer used not only his state office and the precious metal provided by the state, but also seized upon motifs that had been used for decades as symbols of Rome and gave them a specific meaning that referred to the outstanding achievements of his ancestors and would thus increase its own prestige.

The denarius of T. Quinctius Flamininus responded to an earlier issue of coinage. In 127, M. Caecilius Metellus Q. f. stamped his denarii with a wreath and Macedonian shield with an elephant's head (fig. 116), recalling the victory of his father, Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus in 148, over the usurper Andriskos (Philip VI), which led to the establish-

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25 Crawford 1974, 291 no. 267/1.– Berger 1989, 344–345, no. 2401, 2402.– Välimaa, J. in: Steinby, E. M. (eds.): Lacus Iuturnae 1. Rome 1989, 114 no. 2.4.– Liampi, K.: Der makedonische Schild. Bonn 1998, 160 M134 pl. 30.– On the apex: Schäfer, Th.: Zur Ikonographie der Salier, JdI 95, 1980 esp. 349–361.
26 Günther, L.-M.: T. Q(uinctius) Flamininus. In: BNP s. v. Quinctius [I 14].

116 Denarius of M. Caecilius Metellus Q(uinti) f(ilius); 127 B.C. Front: Roma. Reverse: Macedonian shield with elephant head.

117 Denarius of A. Postumius Albinus, 96 B.C. Front: Head of Apollo. Reverse: Dioscuri watering their horses at a basin.

ment of the province of Macedonia.[27] The reaction of Flamininus a year later was to clarify which Roman family had the greater share in the success over the Macedonian kings. But the claiming of the Dioscuri by Flamininus did not go without opposition. In 96 B.C., A. Postumius Albinus struck a denarius that also incorporated the motif of the Dioscuri (fig. 117),[28] although in a different way. The Dioscuri stand leaning on their spears while their horses drink from a spring. This image refers to the legend that the Dioscuri intervened on the side of the Romans in 496 B.C. in the Battle of Lake Regillus and then had watered their horses in Rome at the Spring of Juturna. The Roman commander at Lake Regillus was Aulus Postumius, who is said to have built a temple by the Spring of Juturna in thanks to the Dioscuri. The image on the denarius of 96 made it clear that the Postumii were responsible for the bond with the Dioscuri, and at the same time recalled their role in the consolidation of the republic.

Another example of competition between moneyers over the primacy of their *gentes* (families) and, above all, the appropriation of particular subjects is the evocation of Roman kings. In the year 97, the mint magistrate L. Pomponius Molo coined denarii depicting on the reverse the Roman king Numa Pompilius performing a sacrifice (fig. 118). The leg-

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27 Liampi op. cit. 158–159 no. M129–M133.– Crawford 1974, 288 no. 263.– Hopp, J.: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der letzten Attaliden. Munich 1977, 93–95.
28 Crawford 1974, 333–336 no. 335/10.– Berger 1989, 376–377 no. 2677, 2678.– Välimaa op. cit. 120–121 no. 2.9.– Krumme 1995, 71–72, 169, 250 no. 12/1a–b figs. 33–35.– Böhm, St.: Die Münzen der römischen Republik und ihre Bildquellen. Mainz 1997, 75–76 pl. 29.4.

118 Denarius of L. Pomponius Molo;
97 B.C. Front: Head of Apollo.
Reverse: *Numa Pompil(ius)* sacrific-
ing at a round altar.

end names him specifically.[29] The Pomponii traced their ancestry back to
Numa Pompilius (Plutarch, *Numa* 21), the second king of Rome, who is
said to have founded a large number of the city's religious institutions.
That may have prompted the program of L. Titurius Sabinus in the
year 89. On the obverse of his denarii appeared the Sabine king Titus
Tatius, on the reverse the killing of Tarpeia (fig. 119) and the rape of the
Sabine women (fig. 120).[30] The meaning is clear: the young magistrate
Sabinus saw himself in the tradition of the legendary Sabines and their
king Tatius, who had helped shape Rome's foundational period. Just
one year later (88 B.C.), the moneyer C. Marcius Censorinus had two
kings appear on the front of his denarii: the forefather Ancus Marcius,
and his grandfather, Numa Pompilius (fig. 121).[31] Thus, the claim of the
Pomponii was surpassed. Ancus Marcius was not only the grandson of
Numa Pompilius, he also completed Numa's work. In the year 70, an-
other moneyer with the cognomen Sabinus, Vettius Sabinus, again put
the head of the Sabine king Titus Tatius on the obverse of his coins,[32]
while in 56 B.C., L. Marcius Philippus again referenced the king Ancus
Marcius.[33] The obverse shows his head and the inscription *Ancus*; the

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29 Crawford 1974, no. 334/1.– Berger 1989, 372 no. 2643–2644.– Krumme 1995,
69–71, 167, 249–250 no. 11/1 figs. 30–32.
30 Crawford 1974, 352 no. 344/1, 2.– Berger 1989, 418–419 no. 3001–3010.–
Krumme 1995, 73, 79–80, 92, 250 f. no. 13/1, 2 figs. 36–53.
31 Crawford 1974, 357–360 no. 346/1.– Berger 1989, 422–423 no. 3034–3035.–
Krumme 1995, 82, 252 no. 14/1 figs. 57–60.
32 Crawford 1974, 414 no. 404/1.– Hollstein op. cit. (n. 23) 133–139.– Krumme
1995, 84–85, 174, 253 no. 16/1 figs. 71, 72.
33 Crawford 1974, 448–449 no. 425/1.– Krumme 1995, 85, 253–254, no. 17/1,
figs. 73–78.

119-120 Denarii of L. Titurius Sabinus, 89 B.C. Front of each: Head of the Sabine king Titus Tatius. Reverses: **119** Killing of Tarpeia; **120** Rape of the Sabine women.

reverse an aqueduct and the legend *Aqua Marc(ia)* (fig. 122). This aqueduct was said to have been built by Ancus Marcius. In any case, its repair by Q. Marcius Rex in the year 144 is historical. The magistrate mixes references to fictitive and historical forbears in order to authenticate the legendary accomplishments of his ancestors through the demonstrable and tangible achievements of his *gens*.

The coin designs discussed above could not only recommend these up-and-coming officials for future duties, but at the same time trump the claims of their peers. Thus, we can observe a series of competing statements that contradict rivals' self-praise and attempt to prove their claims baseless. Formally, the images are different, but the strategies they follow are often similar. The same arguments and references are presented in ever new variations: the great age of one's own *gens* and their achievements for the state. These rivalries were carried out with state resources and were tolerated by state institutions. These young senatorial officials would have to stand for election over and over throughout their careers, therefore it was important that their names and their positions were known.[34] Coin images were widely disseminated and remained in circulation for a long time. Pictures and their messages could be reactivated even after decades. As part of a public discourse, their effect unfolds in conjunction with other elements, such as funeral orations for deceased family members or victory monuments of older relatives.

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34 See also Hölkeskamp, K.-J.: Konsens und Konkurrenz. Die politische Kultur der römischen Republik in neuer Sicht, Klio 88, 2006, 360–396.

121 Denarius of C. Marcius Censorinus, 88 B.C. Ancus Marcius and Numa Pompilius; Circus rider.

122 Denarius of L. Marcius Philip, 56 B.C. *Ancus (Marcius)*; *aqua Mar(cia)* and equestrian statue.

REMAKING HISTORY

As mint magistrates of the Late Republic had portrayed historic successes of the Roman state as the achievements of their own families, Augustus undertook the ambitious project of systematically reproducing an overall picture of Roman history from its beginnings to the present. The Forum of Augustus (fig. 123) offers the most comprehensive example of this, even though there is no reliable complete reconstruction and interpretation.[35] Based on the sources, it is clear that statues of Aeneas and Romulus stood at the centers of the forum's two exedrae (ch. III.3.2). Also in the exedrae were galleries with statues of the kings of Latium,[36] the ancestors of Augustus from the *gens Iulia*[37] and leading men ("*summi viri*")[38] of the Roman Republic. Falling back upon traditional forms of

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35 Sage, M. M.: The *Elogia* of the Augustean Forum and the *De viris illustribus*. Historia, Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte 28, 1979, 192–210.– Kockel, V.: Forum Augustum. In: Steinby, E. M. (ed.): Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae II. Rome 1995, 289–295 fig. 115–122.– Zanker, P.: Forum Augustum. Das Bildprogramm. Tübingen 1968.– Spannagel, M.: Exemplaria Principis. Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Ausstattung der Augustusforums. Heidelberg 1999, 86–258.– Geiger, J.: The First Hall of Fame. A Study of the Statues in the Forum Augustum. Leiden/Boston 2008.

36 According to Spannagel (op. cit. 267–287), the entire succession of Latin kings from Aeneas to Romulus was located in the upper row of niches in the Aeneas exedra.

37 According to Spannagel (op. cit. 288–299) in the lower row of niches in the Aeneas exedra and in the adjacent portico. Below members of the *gens Iulia* since the Early Republic, relatives of Augustus and his grandfather M. Atius Balbus were also represented.

38 Sage op. cit. 193.– Spannagel op. cit. 317–344.

representation, a new image of Roman history was monumentally staged in line with Augustus' political aims. Historical personalities were honored with statues and inscriptions and thereby systematically included in a unified overall picture.

The architectural design, in particular through the established arrangement of the niches, determined the number, distribution, presentation, and format of the statues. They appeared frontally to the viewer, all the same size, isolated from each other by their architectural framing, but at the same time related to each other. The number of statues set up in niches can be counted as approximately 100, about 50 on each side.[39]

The statue groups in the exedrae could be viewed all from one perspective. In contrast, the longer rows in the porticoes could not be seen together in their entirety, but instead had to be experienced in sections. The uniform format and composition of the inscriptions[40] resulted in texts of approximately the same length and of similar structure, so that their contents could easily be compared. Even bitter enemies like Marius and Sulla were included with their respective achievements for the state. This collection into a unified general image provided an overwhelming contrast to the highlighting of individual historical personalities that had been practiced by ambitious members of old families in the Late Republic to emphasize their own claims.[41] All the more striking was the presentation of isolated individual figures. Romulus and Aeneas were each placed in the center of one of the two exedrae and, unlike all the other figures, are shown in action. The colossal statue of *Divus Iulius* also stood in its own preciously appointed room and thus escaped comparison with the historical figures. Altogether, the presentation of history in the Forum of Augustus established a wealth of references, associations, and comparisons that ultimately aimed to prove that Augustus, whose quadriga stood in the middle of the square,[42] was inimitable and without peer.

It is unclear who made the selection of historical figures, who determined the details of their representations and their grouping, and who composed the text of the inscriptions. According to the will of Augus-

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39 Spannagel op. cit. 256–257, 328.

40 Sage op. cit. 195.

41 Hölkeskamp, K.-J.: Im Gewebe der Geschichte(n). Memoria, Monumente und ihre mythhistorische Vernetzung, Klio 94, 2012, 380–414.

42 Strocka, V. M.: Die Quadriga auf dem Augustusforum in Rom, RM 115, 2009, 21–55.
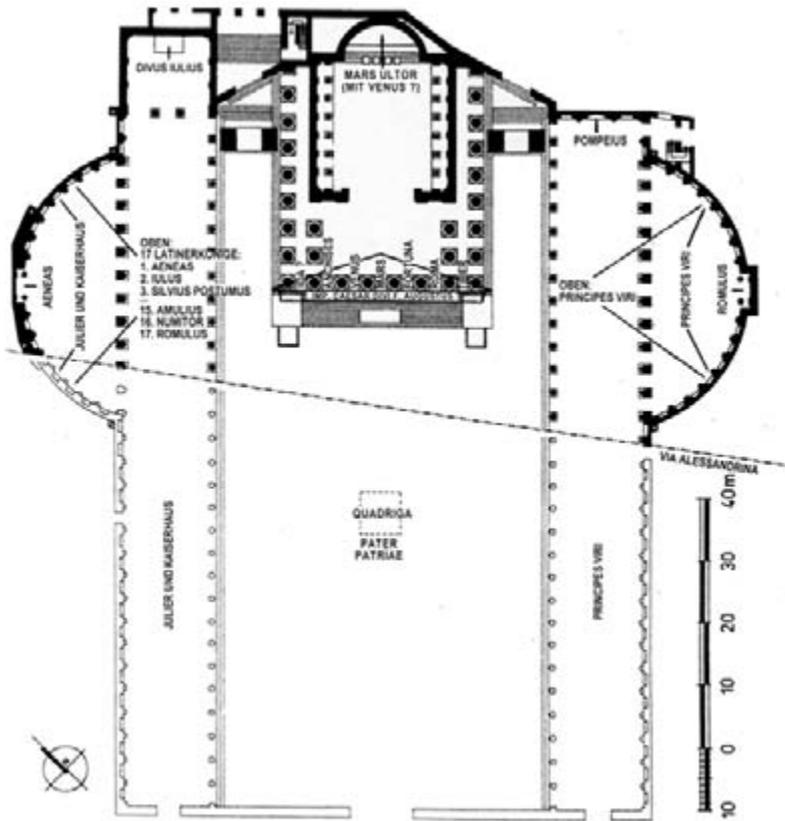
123 Plan of the Forum of Augustus after Spannagel; distribution of statues.

tus, those leaders ("*duces*") should be honored here, "*qui imperium populi Romani ex minimo maximum reddidissent*," "who had brought the Roman Empire from its smallest beginnings to its greatest power." They would set the standard by which Augustus himself and his followers should be judged (Suetonius, *Augustus* 31.5). The work of contemporary historians such as Livy or Dionysios of Halikarnassos offered rich source material, and it can be assumed that Augustus had relied upon the historical and philological knowledge of his freedman C. Julius Hyginus, who had written a work entitled *De viris illustribus*.[43] But exactly because no author is

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[43] Spannagel op. cit. 330.
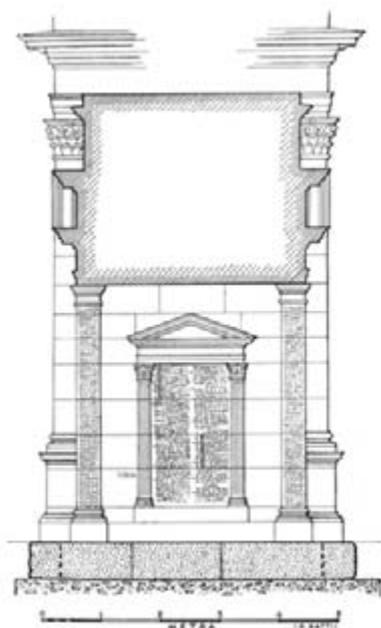
124 Rome; installation of the consular and triumphal fasti after Degrassi.

named for the program, the statues, or the texts, the overall picture gains a coherence and a transpersonal aura, which set it apart from any historical controversy. The conception of the past presented by the Forum of Augustus was influential, as shown by its numerous emulations in public spaces, such as the repetition of the *Elogia* in Arezzo[44] or the decoration of the "Marble Forum" of Mérida.[45] Naturally, the entire program could never be repeated, only at most a section (ch. III.3.2).

Although the Forum of Augustus was self-contained and delimited from the outside, it nevertheless referenced information provided by other buildings in the city. Another Augustan structure, built in the

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[44] Spannagel op. cit. 319.
[45] de la Barrera, J. L.: La decoración arquitectónica de los foros de Augusta Emerita. Rome 2000, 158–162.– de la Barrera, J. L. / Trillmich, W.: Eine Wiederholung der Aeneas-Gruppe vom Forum Augustum samt ihrer Inschrift in Mérida (Spanien), RM 103, 1996, 119–138.– Nogales Basarrate, T.: Rómulo en el Augusteum del foro colonial emeritense. In: La Rocca, E. / León, P. / Parisi Presicce, C. (eds.): Le due patrie aquiste. Studi di archeologia dedicati a W. Trillmich. Rome 2008, 301–312.

Roman Forum at approximately at the same time as the Forum of Augustus, contained the *fasti*, the list of triumphators since Romulus and the Roman consuls (fig. 124). The great men of Roman history appear in a different systematization, with the semblance of completeness and in chronological order.[46] But here, too, a unified editing ensured that all achievements and successes, though claimed by competing families, were merged into a common history of the Roman people. The end and the point aimed at by these lists was the present—the Augustan era. This resulted in an undoubtedly intentional addition and reinforcement of the historical picture of the Forum of Augustus. The Augustan reliefs in the Basilica Aemilia also show decisive moments in the history of Rome, but here in richly-detailed scenes.[47] Although much remains uncertain due to their fragmentary condition, it is clear that dramatic scenes such as the exposure of Romulus and Remus, the punishment of Tarpeia (fig. 125), and the rape of the Sabine women (fig. 126) were depicted, as well as battles, the founding of the city, construction work, and probably also a triumphal procession. Much of what was portrayed here had taken place not far from the site of the Basilica Aemilia. The punishment of Tarpeia took place on the Capitol, and the battle between Romans and Sabines, following the abduction of their women, on the Lacus Curtius. The triumphal procession must have also gone through the Forum. Again, it becomes clear that the great accomplishments of individuals were integrated into the predestined success story of Rome, which Augustus promised to fulfill. As the young mint magistrate L. Titurius Sabinus had used the deeds of Titus Tatius to increase his own prestige in 89 B.C. (fig. 119, 120), so here they were part of the common history of all Romans. These images make the Forum Romanum and the Capitol into memorial sites

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46 Freyberger, K. St.: Das Forum Romanum. Spiegel der Stadtgeschichte des antiken Rom. Mainz 2009, 64–67.– Degrassi, A.: L'edificio dei fasti capitolini, Rendiconti. Atti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia 21, 1945/46, 57–104. On the installation of the *fasti* on the Parthian Arch of Augustus: Nedergaard, E.: Facts and Fiction about the Fasti Capitolini, Analecta Romana Instituti Danici 27, 2001, 107–127.– Dies.: Restructuring the Fasti Capitolini, Analecta Romana Instituti Danici 30, 2004, 83–99.

47 Kränzle, P.: Der Fries der Basilica Aemilia. In: Antike Plastik 23, 1994, 93–130.– On the dating: Freyberger, K. St. et al.: Neue Forschungen zur Basilica Aemilia auf dem Forum Romanum. Ein Vorbericht, RM 2007, 502–508.– Ertel, Ch. / Freyberger, K. St.: Nuove indagini sulla basilica Aemilia nel Foro Romano, Archeologia Classica 58, 2007, 118–129.

125 Relief from the Basilica Aemilia. Detail with killing of Tarpeia, H. 72.5 cm. Rome, Museo Nazionale (once Antiquario Forense 3177).

and interpret them as the scenes of heroic events. The Forum of Augustus does not take up this kind of presentation of history, but confines itself to the dignified rendering of deserving men and the recording of their names, offices, achievements, and honors. Only the isolated figures of Aeneas and Romulus include a narrative element.

The three separate sites from the Augustan period (Forum of Augustus, *fasti*, Basilica Aemilia) systematized and illustrated the history of Rome each in its own way and each with its own focus. Similar to contemporary histories, they combined a variety of information into a coherent overall picture. A resident of Rome in the Augustan age knew the persons and events evoked here from different experiences of his everyday life—as motifs of coins; as *exempla* in speeches in the Forum; as masks in the house of his patronus or through actors embodying them in the funeral processions of prominent contemporaries;[48] or from the inscriptions and statues of public victory and honorific monuments in the cityscape.[49] Information he could gain in this way was of course disparate and even with careful study remained incomplete and often contradictory. Their integration into a literary master narrative or into

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48 Hölkeskamp, K.-J.: Exempla und mos maiorum. Überlegungen zum "Kollektiven Gedächtnis" der Nobilität. In: Hölkeskamp, K.-J.: Senatus populusque Romanus. Die politische Kultur der Republik. Dimensionen und Deutungen. Stuttgart 2004, 169–198.
49 Hölkeskamp, K.-J.: Im Gewebe der Geschichte(n). Memoria, Monumente und ihre mythhistorische Vernetzung, Klio 94, 2012, 380–414.

126 Relief from the Basilica Aemilia. Detail with rape of the Sabine women, H. 74 cm. Antiquario Forense 3175 and 3176.

a decorative program first opened historical connections to the viewer or reader and thus also the meaning of individually perceived details or images. This allowed image programs to reinforce and interpret certain aspects of literary history accessible in public libraries. Although the sites discussed above were spatially separate, they complemented each other and could relate to each other. Whoever read the name of Romulus in the triumphal *fasti* in the Roman Forum could associate this with his statue carrying the *spolia opima* in the Forum Augusti as well as with the reliefs in the neighboring Basilica Aemilia and the scenes from his life.

3. THE AESTHETICS OF RULING

3.1 STANDARDIZED IMAGES AND POLITICAL UNITY

SHARED VALUES, SHARED IMAGES

The form of government of the Principate founded by Augustus, in which the powers of the victorious general were legalized by the Senate and approved by the *consensus omnium* ("consent of all"), found its visual expression in an enduring, shared imagery. This was not a self-evident consequence, as the dominion of the Roman emperors encompassed areas with very different cultural influences. Italy was already disparate in this respect, being a conglomeration of Greek, Etruscan, Adriatic, Celtic, and indigenous Italian elements, among which, of course, Roman influence had become increasingly significant. The eastern part of the empire was predominantly Hellenistic Greek, but had at the same time many regional and local traditions. The west was Celtic or Germanic, north Africa Punic, and Egypt was influenced by its pharaonic past. In some places, these different traditions remained discernible into Late Antiquity.

   In the provinces conquered by Rome in the Republican period, there were at first hardly any elements of visual culture coming from the capital. This changed at the beginning of the Imperial period. Now a unified world of images emerged across the empire that lasted for centuries. It ultimately resulted from a consistent organization of the provinces, in areas such as administration and commerce, in transport and urban infrastructure, and not least from the presence of the Roman military. Out of this grew a material and visual culture that expressed shared values and social practices. It employed many older iconographic elements, often taken from Greek art, which were further developed and recombined. Visual artifacts that had emerged at different times as sensually perceptible materializations of religious, social, and political ideas, of geograph-

ical and cosmological knowledge, of conceptions of time, perceptions of value, and experiences of success, were now systematically related to one another. This empire-wide communication system used the vivid affect of figures and scenes, which were interpreted and connected through linguistic messages like image captions, donor inscriptions, and speeches.

The shared imagery is the result of complementary processes and practices that are interdependent and reinforce each other's effects. On the one hand, Rome mediated the products of Greek art into the Celtic, Germanic, and Punic west of the empire. Obvious examples are copies of Greek statues from the fifth century B.C. in imperial buildings of the western provinces, for example, an Amazon from the Barbara Baths in Trier (fig. 127),[1] the Hadrianic replicas of Polykleitan statues from the baths at Leptis Magna (fig. 128),[2] or a copy of Athena Parthenos from Cologne (fig. 129).[3] Their models were created in Greece in specific historical situations as materializations of contemporary ideas. In the early Imperial period, half a millennium after their design, they set seemingly timeless aesthetic norms as visual authorities. The transfer of figures types from Greek centers to the Roman provinces was only possible thanks to the economic and political infrastructure of the empire. At the same time, however, it was an expression of shared values and cultural assimilation.

On the other hand, Rome also provided its own models that could be copied and modified in the provinces. They were sometimes created with the intention of being distributed across the empire. In other cases, they were created for contexts within the city of Rome, but served as models for copies outside the capital because of their themes or appealing forms.

INSTRUMENTS OF IMAGE DISTRIBUTION

Coins: By the end of the first century B.C., coins, with their images and inscriptions, were a long-established medium of political agitation with a centuries-long tradition of production techniques. In the late Roman

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1 Bol, R.: Amazones vulneratae. Untersuchungen zu den ephesischen Amazonenstatuen. Mainz 1988, 209–210 cat. III5 pl. 114–116, 139a.
2 Kreikenbom 1990, 164 no. III6 pl. 122 (Doryphoros); 189 no. V4 pl. 258–260 (Diadumenos).
3 Naumann-Steckner, F.: Skulpturen nach der Athena Parthenos in den Provinzen. In: Boschung/Schäfer 2015, 13–39.

127 Torso of an Amazon of the Mattei type from Trier, H. 75 cm. Trier, Rhein. Landesmus. G 41.

129 Head of a copy of Athena Parthenos from Cologne; H. 26 cm. Cologne, RGM 626.

128 Statue of Doryphoros from Leptis Magna, H. 1.40 m. Tripoli, Archaeological Museum 30.

Republic, they were routinely used to disseminate values, reports of successes, and claims to power derived from them (ch. II.2.3). The political reorganization of the principate also led to a more consistent use in this area. The regular use of the emperor's portrait and his titulary on the front is characteristic. The reverses of imperial coinages show motifs selected by the ruler or someone within his circle that visualize the objectives, claims, achievements, and norms of the emperor and further clarify them through inscriptions. Sometimes they responded to current events or situations, but unlike during the Roman Republic, they could be repeated over long periods of time. Although there were several mints in different locations, images were conceived in coordination with the imperial court. Coins were serial, struck in large quantities, intended for wide circulation, and they could circulate over a long period. They are small-format but self-contained and carefully crafted works. Their images are usually explained by legends that name the emperor and the motifs depicted. The inscriptions sometimes use rather unusual abbreviations, which in turn needed their own explanation. Potential for further comment arose through the distribution of coins, for example in soldiers' pay or in the gifts of money to the population of Rome.

Their careful execution of pictorial motifs made the representations on imperial coins convenient templates for local mintage (Boschung 2002, 165–167) as well as for other small-scale reliefs. They could be transferred unchanged or adapted on gems or lamps, thus the mobility of coins allowed a wide spatial and temporal distribution.

Emperor Portraits: Models for three-dimensional portraits of the emperors and their relatives defined the posture, physiognomy, and hairstyle down to the smallest detail.[4] From the outset, they were intended for widespread distribution and designed to be combined with any type of statue desired. They could also be included in all kinds of scenic representations, in processions as well as in battle scenes. The typologically fixed portrait head ensured the identification of the emperor in every context. Sculptors in the entire *Imperium Romanum* were guided by these common models, whether in Italy (fig. 130), Asia Minor (fig. 131), Greece (fig. 132), Egypt (fig. 133), Gaul, Spain (fig. 134), or North Africa. Although

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4 Boschung, D.: Die Bildnisse des Augustus. Das römische Herrscherbild I 2. Berlin 1993, esp. 4–10, 92–93.– Fittschen, K.: The portraits of Roman Emperors and their Families: Controversial Positions and Unsolved Problems. In: Ewald, B. Ch. / Noreña, C. F. (eds.): The Emperor and Rome. Space, Representation, and Ritual. Cambridge 2010, 221–246.

examples from these regions reveal different traditions, qualities, and intensions, they nevertheless show a multiplicity of common typological elements. Thus, a standardized appearance of the emperor was sought and largely achieved.

In addition to the supply and distribution of models, there was a second opportunity for the princeps to influence the design of his portrait statues. Many cities in the provinces informed the emperor through embassies of what honors they had chosen for him and asked for his consent. The emperor could gratefully accept, decline, or modify such honors in his reply. For the most part he chose what seemed appropriate from the honors offered and rejected costly statues, thus expressing his reserve. Reports of such embassies were recorded and published in the cities that had sent them.[5] In this way, it soon came to be known even in distant provinces what was considered appropriate at the imperial court, that is to say, which statue types, materials, groupings, and locations were desirable from the emperor's point of view. This too led to a standardization of imperial statues throughout the empire.

Thus the emperor had the opportunity to control his appearance and to determine its main features at his discretion. His portraits showed him with the same turn of the head, the same hairstyle, and the same age throughout the empire; good copies could even have the same individual physiognomic features. Since portraits on coins took up the same models, the portrait types received official status. The result was an expression of the political unity of the empire. In all cities stood statues of the same ruler, who was immediately recognizable through his fixed physiognomy and hairstyle, similarly presented and explained by nearly identical inscriptions. They were in most cases somewhat larger than life and also emphasized the importance of the figure honored by their format. The potential of statues to make the figure depicted appear present in a three-dimensional way and alive through a lifelike formal vocabulary made them the preferred medium for the simultaneous visualization of a ruler in as many public spaces as possible. Through their elevated placement, they were raised above the actions of everyday life, not only in public squares, but also in market halls and theaters, on monumental arches and city gates over the streets, in traditional sanctuaries, and in

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5 Rose, C. B.: The Imperial Image in the Eastern Mediterranean. In: Alcock, S. E. (ed.): The Early Roman Empire in the East. Oxford 1997, 110–111.– Pekáry, Th.: Das römische Kaiserbild in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft. Das römische Herrscherbild III 5. Berlin 1985, 23, 61–62.
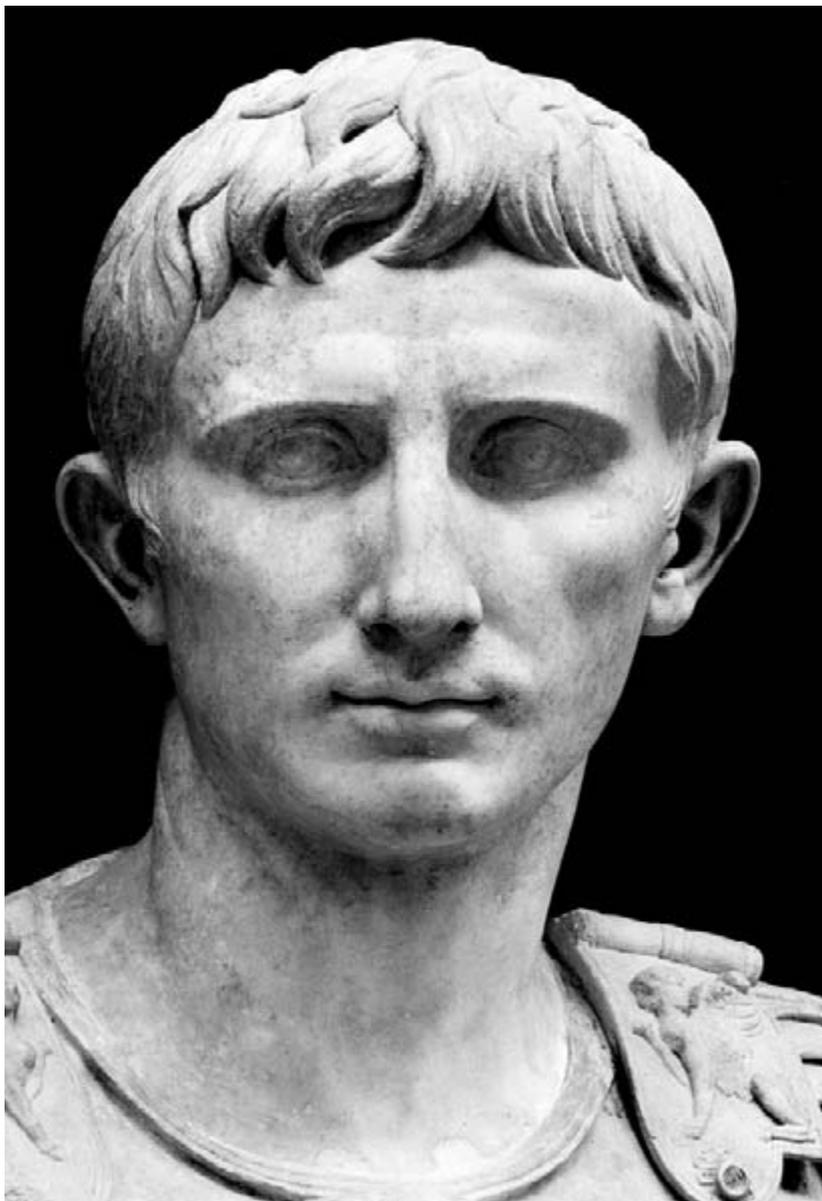
130 Head of the statue of Augustus from Primaporta. Rome, Vatican Museums 2290.
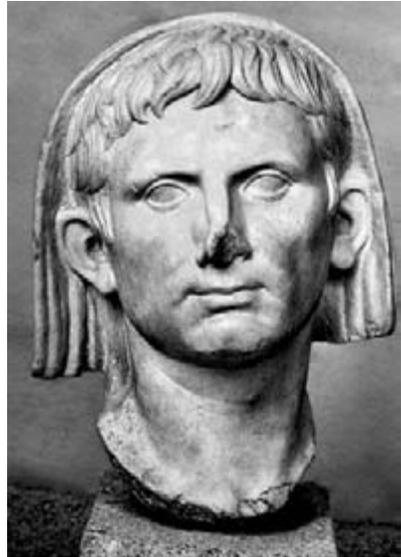
131-134 Augustus portraits of the Primaporta type: **131** from Pergamon (Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 2165). **132** from Samos (lost). **133** from Arsinoë (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 610). **134** from Mérida (Mérida, Museo Nacional de Arte Romano).

specially constructed temples.[6] Of Augustus alone there must have been thousands of life-size marble and bronze statues. Although the person of the emperor was far away, inhabitants of the empire in many places could assure themselves of his appearance and his habitus.

Statues of the emperor in marble or gilded bronze were also striking and lasting signs of the gratitude, loyalty, and constancy of the inhabitants of the empire. Some were donated by private individuals, others by groups of people or political units. The significance of a statue of the emperor as a declaration of loyalty was particularly clear when it was set up together with statues of his designated successors.[7] Images of Augustus could often be found together with his adopted sons, Gaius and Lucius (figs. 135, 136). Portraits of the two young men so closely match the physiognomy and hairstyle of the emperor that they seem to be rejuvenated versions of Augustus himself. The inscriptions also illustrate their familial connection, as they call Gaius and Lucius *Augusti filii* ("sons of Augustus"). Thus, it is obvious that even in the next generation, young Julians would be ready to continue the work of Augustus. Whoever set up such a statue group made it clear that his loyalty was not only to the reigning emperor, but to the next generation of successors appointed by him.

The role of portraits as an expression of loyalty was also shown in the opposite manner upon the fall of a ruler. The removal of the imperial busts from military standards was an expression of open mutiny of soldiers, as the events surrounding the murder of Galba in A.D. 69 show. When a standard bearer of his bodyguard broke off and threw to the ground the portrait (*imago*) of the emperor from his standard in the Forum Romanum, it was the signal to the other soldiers that initiated the assassination of Galba in the open street (Tacitus, *Histories* I.41). After the fall of an emperor or one of his relatives, their statues were regularly removed and their names were erased from inscriptions.[8]

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6 Pfanner, M.: Über das Herstellen von Porträts. Ein Beitrag zu Rationalisierungsmaßnahmen und Produktionsmechanismen von Massenware im späten Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit, JdI 104, 1989, 178–179.

7 Hölscher, T.: patrem similem ... aetatis salva differentia. Synchronismen und Dynastiebildung in den Bildnissen der Familie des Augustus. In: Dobrowolski, W. (ed.): Et in Arcadia ego. Studia memoriae professoris Th. Mikocki dicata. Warsaw 2013, 165–181.

8 Varner 2004.– Cf. ch. III.3.1 with n. 14.
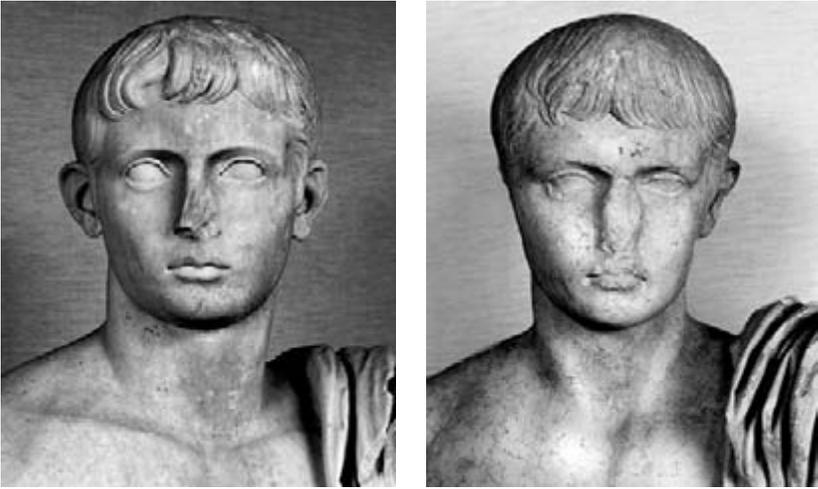
135-136 Portraits of Gaius Caesar and Lucius Caesar. Corinth, Museum S 1065 and S 1080.

ADMONITION AND THE ROLE MODEL: THE INFLUENCE OF THE EMPEROR ON PRIVATE PORTRAITS

The Roman emperor, as the central point of reference in the political system, shaped the appearance of his contemporaries—sometimes purposefully and sometimes rather unintentionally. Augustus urged his fellow Romans to appear at least at official occasions in the Roman toga, and he himself also frequently appeared as a togatus (fig. 137).[9] The poet Vergil made the connection between the toga, Roman values, and world domination in a concise formula when he described his fellow citizens as "Romans, masters of the world and people of the toga":

"*Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam*" (*Aeneid* I.282)

Augustus himself made sure that this verse became a common dictum by quoting it publicly at every appropriate opportunity (Zanker 1988, 162–165). It was only logical then, that the garment took on a new, significant form in the Augustan period. This was a deliberate reconception,

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9 Suetonius, *Augustus* 40.5, 44.2.– Zanker 1988, 162–165.

137 Toga statue of Augustus, H. 2.17 m. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme 56230.

138 Togatus statue of Iddibal
Caphada Aemilius, H. 2.20 m. Tripoli,
Archaeological Museum.

139 Togatus statue from the tomb
of L. Poblicius, H. 1.97 m. Cologne,
RGM Inv. 73,244.

which undoubtedly went back to the inner circle of the emperor.[10] While
the traditional Republican toga was only distinguishable from a Greek
mantle upon close inspection, it was now unmistakably set apart from
all other garments with its new and unique draping. This now made it
unambiguously clear even from afar who was a Roman citizen.

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10 Wrede, H., Gnomon 67, 1995, 541–550 esp. 546.

In this case, Augustus provided many stimuli: his own model, the reconception of the costume, subtle pressure on his fellow Roman citizens, and reinforcement through the poetic quotation. This interplay had precisely the desired result. Throughout the empire, numerous togatus statues were erected with the new form, both of the emperor and of other individuals (figs. 138, 139), attesting to their privileged status as Roman citizens.[11] And this success continued after the death of Augustus. The Augustan toga form remained dominant until the third century.

Representations of private individuals also often alluded to the examples of emperor portraits. Portraits of men, women, and children in all of the provinces and from all social strata match the hairstyle, physiognomy, facial expressions, and postures of representations of the emperor and his family.[12] Features of the emperor's face were integrated into private portraits, so that ruler and subject merged physiognomically. The standardization of private portraits across the empire that arose in this way came about differently than the implementation of the toga costume, without the intervention of the emperor. Rather, it resulted from the fact that the conceptual guidelines and aesthetic standards set by imperial portraits that spread throughout the empire were accepted and adopted. The assimilation of portraits of residents of the empire demonstrated their acceptance of and loyalty to the emperor down to a corporeal level.

EXEMPLARY STATUES OF DEITIES

Some figures of deities donated by Augustus found long-lasting distribution across the empire. They had been either intentionally selected or newly created for prominent locations and ideologically important contexts in Rome in order to persuasively illustrate central concerns of the princeps. The emperor used the prestige of traditional cult statues as a visual authority (ch. I.2.4) and their proven efficacy as a materialization of religious concepts.

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11 Goette, H. R.: Studien zu römischen Togadarstellungen. Mainz 1990.– Wrede op. cit.– Havé-Nikolaus, F.: Untersuchungen zu den kaiserzeitlichen Togastatuen griechischer Provenienz. Mainz 1998.
12 Zanker, P.: Herrscherbild und Zeitgesicht. In: Römisches Porträt. Wege zur Erforschung eines gesellschaftlichen Phänomens. Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin 2/3, 1982, 307–312.

140 Coin of Augustus; Reverse depicting the Victoria in the Senate Curia.

141a-b Bronze statuette in the type of the Victoria in the Senate Curia, H. 9.7 cm. Xanten, Archäologisches Museum X6135.

In 29 B.C., Octavian had a statue of Nike transferred from Taranto to the capital and set up in the Curia, the meeting place of the Roman Senate. Its form is preserved in depictions on coins and in small bronzes (figs. 140, 141a–b).[13] The goddess alights, wings spread, upon a globe, with her right foot slightly in front, while only the toes of her left foot

13 Hölscher, T.: Victoria Romana. Mainz 1967, 6–10.– Boschung 2000, 123–125.

touch down. Her garment is a Greek peplos, like those worn by statues of women from the mid-fifth century B.C. In her outstretched right hand the victory goddess holds a wreath, and in her lowered left hand a palm branch.

The statue, now called Victoria, was set up in the Senate house as a monument for the victory at Actium (31 B.C.) and the subsequent conquest of Egypt (30 B.C.). According to Cassius Dio (51.22.1) she was decorated with corresponding trophies. Thus, Octavian imparted a new meaning to the older, appropriated figure. At its original place of installation and at the time of its creation the Nike had manifested a Tarantine military success of regional scope, presumably a victory over neighboring peoples, which would have been of local interest at best. The new display context made it the physical incarnation of a decisive historical event. Now she embodied a recent event whose historic significance was known to every observer and whose impact existentially affected every living individual. Unlike the Nike of the Messenians and Naupaktians in Olympia (ch. I.2.5), it was clear which event the statue referred to because of the attached trophies. But here, too, there was no hint of the real events, the killing and dying of soldiers, the death throes of the oarsmen on the burning ships, the mutilated, and the drowned (Cassius Dio 50.34.1–35.6). The victory at Actium is embodied in an attractive woman whose drapery and hairstyle are not disturbed in her flight.

Octavian's choice of a figure in the style of the mid-fifth century B.C. is consistent with his aesthetic appreciation of Classical Greek sculpture (Zanker 1988, 239–263). At the same time it claimed the highest qualities for his own victory, which could not be compared to the successes by random fortune of Late Republican generals (see ch. II.1.2). The Victoria in the Curia lands upon a globe representing the cosmos (ch. II.2.2): this victory concerns the whole universe. The wreath in the goddess's outstretched hand is intended for the victor, whose head also appears on the front of coins. In the Roman Curia, the gesture of the victory goddess made it clear that she does not come along by chance. On the contrary, Victoria comes down because the achievements of the *divi filius* demand reward.

This Victoria is reproduced repeatedly on coins even after the Augustan period, in the Year of the Four Emperors and the early Flavian period, and again in the second and third centuries A.D.[14] Already in

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14 Hölscher op. cit. 11, 17–21.

the early Imperial period, the depiction appeared as an expression of the world-dominating power of the emperor. She either crowns the emperor or the emperor may hold a matching statuette in his hand.[15] Even as an individual figure, the goddess of victory is found from the Augustan period in the minor arts such as engraved gems.[16] Numerous bronze statuettes found in private household shrines (fig. 141a–b) correspond to this type. In contrast, in the third century A. D. they are often connected with the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus. In this new context, the figure now represented the victory of an eastern god venerated by soldiers (Boschung 2000, 125).

Unlike the Victoria in the Curia, the cult statue of Mars Ultor in the temple of the Forum of Augustus was a contemporary work whose iconography defined the war god by recent issues (ch. III.2). It too was copied many times outside the city of Rome and in the provinces, in marble figures, bronze statuettes, gems, and reliefs (ch. III.3.2).

The Imperial-period iconography of the Lares also goes back to models from the city of Rome. In the year 7 B.C., Augustus reorganized the traditional cult of the Lares, the protective deities of the crossroads, in Rome. Each of the 265 *vici* ("neighborhoods") of the city received its own shrine and its own college of *vicomagistri*. This was aimed at the political control of cult associations and thus also of the urban population. At the same time, Augustus linked the cult of the Lares with his person. The *Lares Augusti* were now worshiped along with the *Genius Augusti*.[17] The princeps himself presented the cult statuettes to the *vicomagistri* (fig. 142):

"*Imp(erator) Caesar Augustus ... Lares Aug(ustos) mag(istris) vici dedit*;"

"Emperor Augustus gave the (statuettes of) Lares to the Vicomagistri."[18] We know of many monuments from Rome itself related to the cult reorganized by Augustus, including small temples and especially a series

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15 Hölscher op. cit. 9–10, 22–30.
16 Zwierlein-Diehl, E.: Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien II. Munich 1979, 209–211 pl. 150 no. 1517–1523 with additional evidence.
17 Tran tam Tinh: Lar, Lares. In: LIMC VI 1992, 205–212.– Zanker 1988, 129–132.– On the *Genius Augusti* in connection with Lares cult in Rome: Kunckel, H.: Der römische Genius. Heidelberg 1974, 22–26.
18 From the *fasti magistrorum vici*: Rüpke, J.: Kalender und Öffentlichkeit. Berlin 1995, 61.

of altars with a variety of relief decoration. But even though Augustus' intervention at first only concerned Rome and meant to eliminate potential sources of political conflict there, it had consequences that went much further.

The Augustan Lares are represented in Rome as a pair of dancing youths (fig. 143a–b), and several variants can be distinguished according to clothing, attributes, and poses. The *Genius Augusti*, integrated into the cult of the Lares, was, notably and differing from the iconography of other *genii*, depicted in the toga with his head covered, that is, in the garment recommended by the emperor and in the habitus of the devout sacrificer (figs. 152b, 168b). Corresponding bronze statuettes of the Lares have been found in large numbers outside of Rome (figs. 144, 145), both in Italy and in the provinces.[19] Of course, the reforms of Augustus did not apply to cults outside of Rome.[20] Nevertheless, the iconography of the Roman figures, which had been distributed by the emperor himself, was also adopted for Lares statuettes in the provinces. Here, too, measures taken by the emperor in Rome and aimed at concerns in the capital radiated into the provinces.

The figure types of Mars Ultor, the Victoria from the Senate house, and the Lares statuettes thus spread through the Roman Empire by numerous small bronzes, a striking concentration of which is emerging in the west of the empire, according to current research. In some cases they are much smaller than their Roman models. While the Lares statuettes presented by Augustus in Rome are estimated, based on illustrations, to have been about 45 cm tall including the pedestal,[21] and the Victoria in

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19 Kaufmann-Heinimann, A.: Götter und Lararien aus Augusta Raurica. Herstellung, Fundzusammenhänge und sakrale Funktion figürlicher Bronzen in einer römischen Stadt, Forschungen in Augst 26. Augst 1998, 182–318.

20 Stek, T. D.: A Roman Cult in the Italian Countryside? The Compitalia and the Shrines of the Lares Compitales, BABESCH Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology 83, 2008, 111–132.

21 Cf. an altar in the Vatican (Fless, F. in: Fless, F. et al.: Museo Gregoriano Profano. Katalog der Skulpturen IV. Historische Reliefs. MAR 40. Wiesbaden 2018, no. 7).– The "Smaller Cancelleria"/Vicomagistri Reliefs (Liverani, P. in: Fless et al. no. 1).– The Lares with their bases are about twice the height of the heads of the people carrying them. They are somewhat larger on the Valle-Medici Relief (Koeppel, G. M.: Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit 1. Stadtrömische Denkmäler unbekannter Bauzugehörigkeit aus augusteischer und julisch-claudischer Zeit, Bonner Jahrbücher 183, 1983, 106–107 fig. 20 cat. 15).

142 Lares altar; Augustus gives Lares statuettes to the *vicomagistri*, H. 95 cm. Rome, Vatican Museums, Museo Gregoriano Profano 1115.

the Senate house should be about half life-size,[22] the Mars Ultor statue must have been considerably larger, at least double life-size.[23] Most of the small bronzes of these figure types range from just under 10 cm to just

22 A sesterce of Commodus shows the emperor about twice the size of Victoria and the globe: Hölscher op. cit. (n. 13) 21 pl. 1.11.

23 The large, freestanding copy (Rome, Capitoline Museum inv. 58) measures 3.60 m with restored lower legs; cf. Arata, F. P.: Statua acquistata dalla famiglia Massimo. Statua del Pirro, Bullettino della Commissione Archeologico Comunale di Roma 99, 1998, 199–203 esp. 199 fig. 59.

143a–b Altar; side panels depicting the Lares between two laurel trees,
h. 98 cm. Rome, Vatican Museums, Museo Gregoriano Profano 9964.

over 20 cm high, so that the differences between the types and formats
of the models used disappear. In the private sanctuaries of villas and
townhouses they could—despite different models—stand side by side in
the same dimensions.[24]

The incidence of very accurate copies suggests that small-format
examples of these figure types disseminated from Rome. This is also
supported by the fact that a few of the Lares from the cities destroyed by
Vesuvius almost reach the dimensions of cult statuettes in Rome.[25] They
may have come from the same workshops that furnished cult associa-
tions in Rome with Lares. The figures were easy to transport, so they
could be copied and further developed as desired by local workshops
in the provinces. In doing so, references to the politics of Augustus
soon faded away. Someone who set up a statuette of Mars following the
Augustan model in his house in Gaul probably had little thought of Au-

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24 Zelle, M.: Colonia Ulpia Traiana. Götter und Kulte. Cologne 200, 79–83.
25 Kaufmann-Heinimann op. cit. 220–224 GFV27 (Lares with base 37 cm),
GFV44 (Lares with base 38 or 40 cm).

144-145 Lares statuettes from Pompeii house VIII 5.37 (Casa delle Pareti Rosse), H. with base 21.1 cm and 21.9 cm. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 113262 and 113261.

gustus' Mars the Avenger, of the Battle of Philippi, or of the standards from Carrhae; but rather likely thought of one of the many local war gods, all of whom had been given the name Mars (ch. III.3.2). Likewise, Victoria standing upon the globe lost its programmatic connection with the military success of Augustus. In new contexts, she embodied a more general conception of victory. Neither Gallic villa owners nor the worshipers of Dolichenus in the third century would have thought of the Battle of Actium or the historical person of Octavian.

THE EMPEROR'S MONUMENTS:
THE DECOR OF THE FORUM OF AUGUSTUS

When Tiberius had a temple built in Rome for the deified Augustus, some of the most important motifs from the Forum of Augustus were used in its decoration (fig. 146).[26] The corner acroteria of the temple showed Romulus and Aeneas, and Mars Ultor stood in the middle of the pediment. All three figures were copies of statues of the Forum Augusti (ch. II.2.3), integrated here into the architectural context and the ideological concept of the complex as a whole, but originally spread over three locations, standing in the temple cella and the apses.[27] The Tiberian image program of the Temple of Divus Augustus took over figures and isolated them from Augustan contexts in order to combine them in a single view and to reclarify their relationships within the program.

Elements of the Forum of Augustus were also copied many times outside the capital and in many genres. Repetitions of the Aeneas group were found both as freestanding sculptures as well as in relief and in the minor arts (ch. III.3.2). Copies stood in public areas as in Mérida and in a building on the forum of Pompeii. The group can also be found throughout the first century A. D. in private areas, as a terracotta figure in Pompeii, on oil lamps, and on ring stones. Sometimes it appears as a complement to Romulus, so that the connection with the Augustan program is evident, but more often it is displayed as an individual motif. The Augustan Aeneas group is regularly repeated in the later second century and the third century A. D., but these examples now come from the sepulchral realm. Formally, these sepulchral figures follow the Augustan design of almost 200 year prior. But it can be ruled out that they allude to the complex program of the Forum of Augustus and the divine ancestry of Augustus. Instead, a more general interpretation can be assumed, as Aeneas, who risked his own life to save his elderly father from a fiery death, was considered an exemplum of *pietas*. It is in this

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26 Goldbeck, V.: Fora augusta. Rezeption des Augustusforums oder imitatio Urbis? Das Augustusforum und seine Rezeption im Westen des Imperium Romanum. Regensburg 2015. On the Forum of Augustus and its furnishings, see ch. II.2.3.

27 Boschung, D.: Die Bildnisse des Caligula. Das römische Herrscherbild I 4. Berlin 1989, 93–94.– Spannagel, M.: Exemplaria Principis. Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Ausstattung der Augustusforums. Heidelberg 1999, 367–368 A 7.

146a–b Sesterce of Caligula. Front: Pietas seated. Reverse: Emperor sacrificing in front of the Temple of *divus Aug(ustus)*.

sense that the motif may have been understood on tombs of the second and third centuries.

Even the architectural decoration of the Forum Augusti was adopted in various ways, as seen in the Ammon head motif. Ornately decorated shields with frontal heads of Ammon were part of the decoration of the attic area of the Forum of Augustus (fig. 147).[28] In the first century A. D., the motif is also often found in the architectural decoration of temples, public squares, and porticoes in the western provinces. The reference to the Forum of Augustus is obvious in Mérida, because the Ammon heads are combined with other elements from the complex in Rome, including parts of the statuary and the caryatids of the attic.[29] Isolated Ammon clipei are found in numerous other cities in the western part of the empire, such as in Tarragona, Aventicum, Aquileia, and Zadar.[30] It may have been related, as in Mérida, to sites linked to the imperial cult. Since the middle of the first century A. D., Ammon heads also appeared in private funerary art, namely as garland bearers on urns and grave altars (fig. 148).[31] Here they replace the bucrania that were traditionally

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[28] Casari, P.: Sui clipei del Foro di Augusto, Archeologia Classica 50, 1998, 319–407.

[29] Goldbeck op. cit. 69–80.

[30] Casari, P.: Iuppiter Ammon e Medusa nell'Adritico nordorientale. Simbologia imperiale nella decorazione forense. Rome 2004.– Goldbeck op. cit. 88–93, 100–105, 117–123, 135–139.

[31] Alföldi, A.: Die zwei Lorbeerbäume des Augustus. Bonn 1973.– Boschung, D.: Grabaltäre mit Girlanden und frühe Girlandensarkophage. Zur Genese der
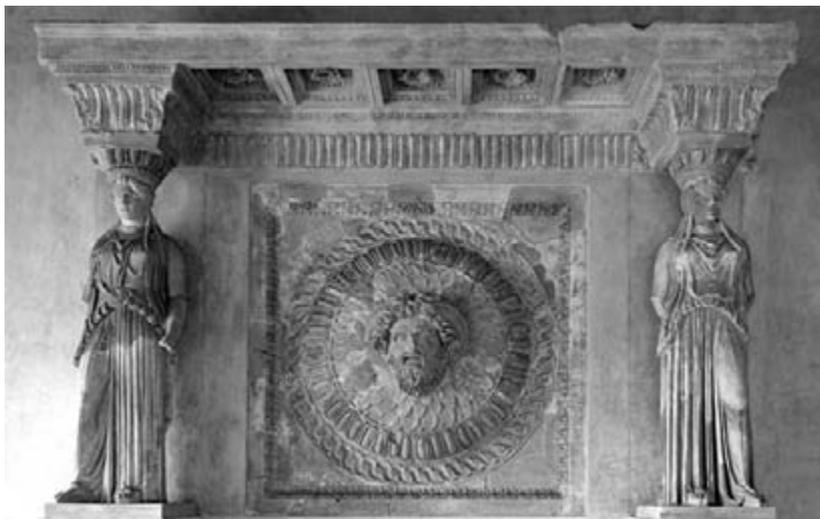
147 Forum of Augustus, reconstructed attic zone of the porticoes; clipeus with head of Ammon. Rome, Casa dei Cavalieri di Rodi.

combined with garlands. In this case, the adoption of the motif was not related to its content and not related to Augustus' self-image, but was rather the result of a an interest in decorative applications. The sculptors of these gravestones separated the head of Ammon, took it as an isolated motif, and inserted it into a new decorative system.

SINGULAR HONORS AND THEIR TRANSMISSION

The same spread of motifs occured with elements used in the emperor's self-representation, in particular with oak wreaths and laurel trees. The Roman Senate adorned the house of Augustus with these symbols of honor in 27 B.C. in the conjunction with the reorganization of the state and granting to the *princeps* the title of *Augustus*. The emperor himself mentioned this in his posthumously published account of his accomplishments which was reproduced at the entrance to his mausoleum.[32]

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kaiserzeitlichen Sepulkralkunst. In: Koch, G. (ed.): Grabeskunst der römischen Kaiserzeit. Mainz 1993, 37–42.

32 von Hesberg, H. / Panciera, S.: Das Mausoleum des Augustus. Der Bau und seine Inschriften. Munich 1994, 14, 58 fig. 16 pl. 6e Vu 12.

148 Funerary altar of Iunia Procula with Ammon heads. H. 94 cm.
Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi 950.

These symbols often appear on his coins with the new and singular
title of *Augustus* (fig. 149), so that they gradually became insignia of the
emperor himself. Altars for the *Lares Augusti* associated with the impe-
rial cult also often show them (fig. 143a–b). From at least the time of
Tiberius, laurels and oak wreaths also served as decoration of private

149 Denarius of Augustus. Front: Portrait with oak wreath. Reverse: Shield with inscription *cl(ipeus) v(irtutis)*, two laurel trees and name of *Augustus*.

grave monuments. Laurel trees appear in pairs on the short sides of the Caffarelli Sarcophagus (fig. 150), where they each flank an incense stand. Here they are part of an image program that picks up on the *pietas* theme by combining sacrificial implements and ritual decorations modeled after Augustan state monuments.[33] In other cases, the original reference to Augustus has largely faded away. Laurel trees are either depicted individually (one on each side) or they are assembled with general symbols of piety. For example, the Claudian funerary altar of Amemptus (fig. 151) shows garlands, animal skulls, and burning torches next to laurel trees, as well as a table with sacrificial implements.

These motifs of imperial self-representation were taken over with some delay in private funerary art, with ambivalent and ambiguous motifs being preferred. They are indeed reminiscent of official monuments and adopt details from their formal models. In isolation, they can also be considered more generally, for instance as attributes of the gods or as general symbols of honor. Laurel trees can be seen as an attribute of Apollo with the addition of a quiver (Boschung 1987, 50). Only the separation from any clear references to the person of the emperor made them usable for private funerary art. The transmission took place in several steps. First, from imperial self-representation, on coins for instance, symbols were transferred to Lares altars, where their relation to the person of Augustus was preserved. From there, in a second step, they were transferred to funerary altars in Rome and finally to the provinces (fig. 152a–b).[34]

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33 Rodenwaldt, G.: Der Sarkophag Caffarelli. Berlin 1925.
34 Naumann-Steckner, F.: Weihaltäre im römischen Köln. In: Busch, A. W. / Schäfer, A. (eds.): Römische Weihealtäre im Kontext. Friedberg 2014, 140–141 n. 32 with other examples.

150 Sarcophagus, ca. A. D. 20; side panels with candelabra and laurel trees, H. 1.10 m. Berlin, Antikensammlung Sk 843a.

151 Funerary altar of Amemptus, ca. A. D. 50; reverse with sacrificial instruments and laurel trees, H. 98 cm. Paris, Louvre MA 488.

152a–b Altar for *Dea Vagdavercustis* with laurel tree on the short side, H. 1.17 m. Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum 670.

CULTURAL PERSISTENCIES

The examples above show that the emperor influenced art production in the provinces by various means, but rarely directly and intentionally. Directed, central control is clear in the case of imperial portraits. From the time of Augustus, emperors ensured that their portraits were produced uniformly throughout the empire and according to their wishes. This is on account of the political significance of statues of the emperors as expressions of power relations and loyalties. New stimuli in this area came out of Rome. After each change of ruler, after each marriage, and for every adolescent son of an emperor, new portraits were designed in Rome and made available to sculptors throughout the empire. Not directed by the emperor but no less consequential were trends in private portraits. Since they took after the emperor's portrait in most cases, conceptual breaks and formal developments in portraits of emperors throughout the empire were also reflected in the portraits of his contemporaries. The Classicizing conception of Augustus' portrait, the fringed hairstyle of Trajan, the beards of Hadrian and the Antonines, and the fierce expressions of the soldier emperors were taken up throughout the empire and each served the self-representation of whole generations of inhabitants of the empire. Equally emphatic and equally successful were Augustus' efforts to impose the toga as a national costume. But this was a unique process that found no identifiable parallels in the actions of later emperors.

There were other cases where individuals throughout the empire were inspired to follow the emperor's example. In particular, monuments erected by the emperor provided a wealth of models that could be repeated for centuries in various genres. For example, the Aeneas group from the Forum of Augustus proved to be an appealing design for the motif, and it remained the authoritative version for generations to come. Although later examples retained the typological form of the Augustan group, they interpreted it differently. Reinterpretations of Mars Ultor and the Victoria from the Senate house show that this was not an isolated case. The iconographic impact of the figures continued even when the original meaning had been lost or changed. Thus, on an ivory relief of the sixth century A.D., the Augustan goddess of victory comes down over the celestial globe (pl. 12) to crown the Christian emperor.

Later, individual motifs from state monuments were included in private funerary art. Monuments in honor of the emperor from the second century A.D. imparted the motif of seasonal genii to sarcophagi

from Rome. They are soon one of the most popular motifs represented on sarcophagi and recur in many combinations and variants until the fourth century (ch. II.1.1). At about the same time, the motif of Victoria sacrificing a bull is transferred from public buildings to funerary altars (ch. II.2.1 with n. 36). This also influenced the cult image of Mithras sacrificing a bull, with its many defined iconographic features (ch. II.2.1), which spread rapidly throughout the empire from the early second century A. D. Even when there were not decisive political causes behind this, the broad consistency of Mithras cult reliefs was in any case an unmistakable expression of the unity of the empire.

Augustan figure types were repeated and varied through the centuries. In this way, they remained a lively and essential part of the culture of the empire until the third century. However, the regional scope of the reception processes described above was different. Only a few types actually spread throughout the empire, namely copies of Greek sculptures of the gods and mythological figures, portraits of the emperors, assimilated private portraits, and togatus figures. The inclusion of elements from the Forum of Augustus and the use of Roman statue types for small bronzes, however, was limited to the west of the empire with few exceptions, at least according to the current state of research. The use of the Aeneas group in sepulchral contexts in the late second century A. D. had an even more limited distribution. It was only a regional phenomenon of the Rhineland. These sculptures thus trace the political unity of the empire, but at the same time also the cultural differences between the west and the Greek-influenced east. This becomes particularly clear in imperial Egypt, where ideas of authority, death, and the afterlife continued to be reproduced in their own traditional forms of expression in language and image. Thus, the emperors were portrayed not only according to Roman models, but in the iconography of Egyptian pharaohs as well.[35] Another sign of visual bilingualism is the combination of the Egyptian motif of the mummification of Osiris with the Greek scene of the rape of Persephone in the frescoes of a tomb in Alexandria.[36]

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35 Hölbl, G.: Altägypten im römischen Reich. Der römische Pharao und seine Tempel I. Mainz 2000 figs. 11, 13, 15, 50, 51, 56, 95.– II. Mainz 2004, figs. 12, 103–108, 110, 111, 115–118, 173, 175, 176, 178, 179, 181, 182, 184, 185, 201, 206, 212, 213.– III. Mainz 2005, fig. 113.
36 Labrique, F.: Quelques documents iconographiques mixtes d'Égypte hellénistique et romaine. In: Boschung, D. / Riehl, C. (eds.): Historische Mehrsprachigkeit. Aachen 2011 esp. 11–13 fig. 11.

When the political unity of the Roman Empire finally fell apart with the emergence of de facto independent German territories in the early fifth century A. D., cultural commonalities persisted in many areas. They outlasted the collapse of the political order that had produced them and that they had exemplified and stabilized for a long period of time.[37]

LATE ANTIQUE CONSULAR DIPTYCHS: IN THE SPLENDOR OF SHARED HISTORY[38]

Consular diptychs from the period between 406 and 541 provide an example of this cultural persistency.[39] They were created as gifts from the incoming consuls and distributed when they took office on January 1st.[40] The surviving examples appear surprisingly uniform. Individual consuls are distinguished only through monograms and inscriptions. Their biographical background and their specific achievements—in the military for example—are not included in the picture and can at best be deduced by their titles and offices listed.

The ordinary consulate, like no other institution, symbolized Rome's glorious, centuries-long history, and it was particularly prestigious, as the years were named after the *consules ordinarii* until A. D. 537. They also embodied the unity of the empire during the Late Antique period, since one consul normally took office in Rome and the other in Constantinople. The authority once held by the consuls of the Republic had long since vanished, but the office was still regarded as "*summum bonum primumque in mundo decus,*" "the highest good and foremost honor in the world," by Jordanes around the middle of the sixth century A. D.

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37 Boschung, D. / Danner, M. / Radtki, Ch. (eds.): Politische Fragmentierung und kulturelle Kohärenz in der Spätantike. Morphomata 26. Paderborn 2015.
38 Boschung, D.: Adlige Repräsentation in der Antike. In: Beck, H. / Scholz, P. / Walter, U. (eds.): Die Macht der Wenigen. Aristokratische Herrschaftspraxis, Kommunikation und "edler" Lebensstil in Antike und Früher Neuzeit. Historische Zeitschrift, Beiheft 47. Munich 2008, 199–204.
39 Delbrueck, R.: Die Consular-Diptychen und verwandte Denkmäler. Berlin/Leipzig 1929.– Volbach, W. F.: Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters. 3rd ed. Mainz 1976, 28–56.– Cameron, A.: The Origin, Context, and Function of Consular Diptychs, JRS 103, 2013, 174–207.
40 Delbrueck op. cit. 3–22, 66–73.

(*de origine actibusque Getarum* 289). That the emperors took the office again and again until the time of Justinian contributed to its prestige.[41]

The main figure represented is the consul. The ivory diptych of Boethius, who began his consulate in Rome in 487 under the regime of the Gothic king Odoacer, shows him standing on the obverse, and on the back seated on a *sella curulis* (fig. 153a–b).[42] On both sides he appears in front of an architectural façade with a pediment on which hangs a wreath with his monogram, and an architrave on which his names and titles are inscribed. A frontal figure at the center of temple-like architecture had once distinguished pagan idols (ch. II.2.1). After they were eliminated, the emperors were represented in this manner during the Theodosian period,[43] and from the early fifth century high officials were also. Confusing of a consul with the emperor himself was unlikely, since he would lack the insignia, diadem, and elaborate fibulae that unmistakably designate a ruler from the late Constantinian period on. The consul wears the same costume in both depictions: a richly embroidered toga, a likewise embroidered dalmatic, and the senatorial *calcei*, with an eagle scepter in his left hand. This matches the Roman triumphal regalia, with only the laurel wreath omitted.[44] This costume was said to have been introduced by the kings of Rome, as was the *sella curulis* on which Boethius sits. These were distinctive honors of officials in the High Republic.[45]

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41 Näf, B.: Senatorisches Standesbewusstsein in spätrömischer Zeit. Freiburg 1995.– Demandt, A.: Die Spätantike. Römische Geschichte von Diocletian bis Justinian. Munich 1989, 276–288.– On the inauguration of consuls, cf. Meslin, M.: La fête des kalendes de janvier dans l'empire romain. Études d'un rituel de Nouvel An. Brussels 1970, 53–70.– Delbrueck op. cit. 66–80.

42 Delbrueck op. cit. 103–106 no. 7 pl. 7.– Volbach op. cit. 32 no. 6 pl. 3.– Olovsdotter, C.: Representing consulship. On the concept and meaning of the consular diptychs, Opuscula. Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome 4, 2011, 102–107 fig. 5.

43 Missorium of Theodosius I: Arce, J.: Teodosio I sigue siendo Teodosio I, Archivio español de arqueología 71, 1998, 169–179.– Obelisk of Theodosius: Effenberger, A. in: Brenk, B. (ed.): Innovation in der Spätantike, Kolloquium Basel 1994. Wiesbaden 1996, 207–271 with earlier bibliography, pl. 1–9.– Constantinople, Column of Arcadius: Jordan-Ruwe, M.: Das Säulenmonument. Zur Geschichte der erhöhten Aufstellung antiker Porträtstatuen. Bonn 1995, 146 fig. 36.– Becatti, G.: La colonna coclide istoriata. Rome 1960, 237 pl. 76c.

44 Alföldi, A.: Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreich. Darmstadt 1970, 143–148.– Pfanner 1983, 65.

45 Schäfer, Th.: Imperii Insignia. Sella curulis und fasces. Mainz 1989 esp. 50-69.

153 Consular diptych of Boëthius, A. D. 487, H. 35 cm. Brescia, Museo Civico Romano.

The triumphal regalia had also been worn by officials who sponsored games in the Late Republic, and in fact Boethius is presented as the conductor of games at the circus. He is shown with the *mappa*, a folded cloth, in his right hand, and with symbols and prizes of victory—wreaths, palm leaves, and sacks of money—at his feet. The opening and conduction of
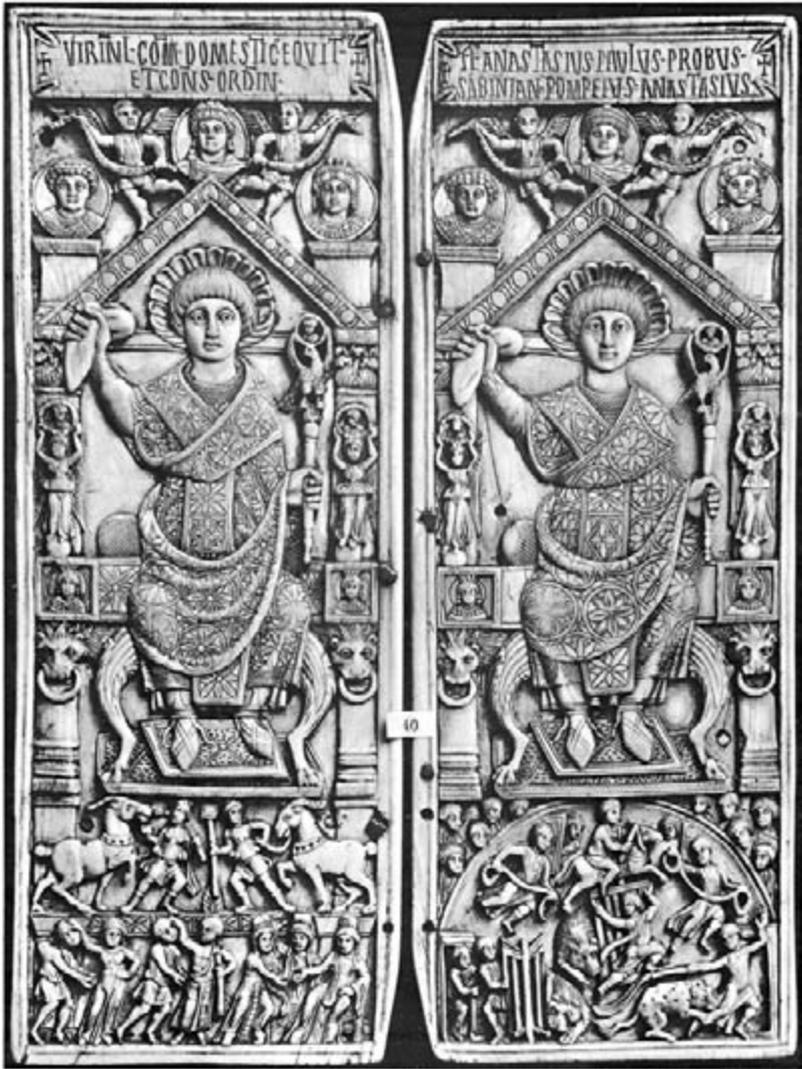
154 Consular diptych of Flavius Anastasius, A. D. 517, H. 36 cm. Paris, Biblio-
thèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles 55 n° 296 bis.

public games were among the most important and representative duties
of the consul in Late Antiquity. Throwing the *mappa*, held up by the
seated Boethius, opens the games in the circus. The ivory diptych thus
captures that instant when the consul receives undivided attention, the
moment when spectators in the Circus Maximus would look to him in

anticipation of the starting sign. It is the time when everyone must see the magnificent architectural frame and the time-honored, prestigious clothing and attributes that set him apart from everyone else.

Later diptychs follow the same pattern, but enrich the secondary details.[46] The architectural frame, the *sella curulis*, and the triumphal regalia of the consul are preserved. The relationship to public games is reinforced in most cases with scenes and figures from the circus, such as racehorses, actors, and acrobats, added in the lower section. References to the valuable prizes for the games can also appear here. The upper section makes it clear that the consul is not a sovereign ruler. Included here are portrait medallions of the rulers by whom he was appointed and to whom he owed his office. In the case of the consul Anastasius (fig. 154a–b), these are his great-uncle of the same name—the emperor Anastasius—and the empress Ariadne (already deceased in 515), both of whom are marked as rulers by pearl diadems. Next to them, on the left, the Gothic king Theodoric appears as regent of Italy. The consul still presents himself as the embodiment of the unity of the empire and as the representative of a tradition at least a thousand years old, in garments and with insignia that go back to the early history of Rome.

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[46] Diptych of Anastasius (from the Eastern Empire, 517: Delbrueck op. cit. 123–134 N18–N21 pl. 18–21.– Volbach op. cit. 35–37 no. 17–22 pl. 8, 9) and the Diptych of Orestes (Western Empire, 530: Delbrueck op. cit. 148–150 N32 pl. 32.– Volbach op. cit. 40–41 no. 31 pl. 16).– Olovsdotter op. cit. 112–114 fig. 9.

3.2 DIOCLETIAN'S TETRARCHY: FUTILE IMAGE POLITICS[1]

NEW IMAGES FOR TROUBLED TIMES

In the course of the third century A. D., military defeats, civil wars, invasions, and the secession of parts of the empire caused a decade-long existential crisis in the governmental system that had been in place since the time of Augustus, which could not be overcome by any proven means. To secure the empire, Diocletian developed a novel form of government after taking power in A. D. 284.[2] It involved increasing the number of legitimate emperors, first from one to two, and later from two to four. This was intended to divide and carefully balance power, and above all, to ensure a systematic order of succession through the regular adoption of successors and the elimination of natural offspring. While Diocletian himself ruled the eastern half of the empire from Serbia to Syria, Maximian, whom he installed as *Augustus*, governed the western part of the empire. From 293, both had a *Caesar* subordinate to them—in the west Constantius Chlorus, who was responsible for Gaul, Germania, and Britain; in the east Galerius. In 305, Diocletian and Maximian resigned as *senior Augusti*. The two former Caesars now took over the highest governmental power as *Augusti* and each adopted a new Caesar as co-regent and future successor. Following this pattern, the transition of power was supposed to take place regularly in the future, and political and military stability of the empire seemed assured for the long run. For its success it

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1 Boschung, D.: Die Tetrarchie als Botschaft der Bildmedien. Zur Visualisierung eines Herrschaftssystems. In: Boschung/Eck 2006, 349–380.– Boschung, D.: Das politische System der Tetrarchie und seine Darstellung in den spätantiken Bildmedien. In: Eck, W. / Puliati, S. (eds.): Diocleziano: la frontiera giuridica dell'impero. Pavia 2018, 267–281.
2 La Tétrarchie (293–312). Histoire et archéologie, AntTard 2–3, 1994–1995.– Ensoli, S. / La Rocca, E. (eds.): Aurea Roma. Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana. Exhibition catalog. Rome 2000.– Kolb 2001.– Mayer, E.: Rom ist dort, wo der Kaiser ist. Untersuchungen zu den Staatsdenkmälern des dezentralisierten Reiches von Diocletian bis zu Theodosius II. Bonn 2002.– Demandt, A. (ed.): Diokletian und die Tetrarchie. Aspekte einer Zeitenwende. Berlin 2004.

was crucial that this new arrangement was accepted not only within the college of rulers, but also by the population and especially by the army.

The peculiarities and advantages of the tetrarchy were intensively propagandized in various media.[3] The traditional motifs of earlier emperors no longer seemed sufficient, so they had to be supplemented by additional iconographic elements. The new and striking pictorial formulas emphasize the central aspects of the system of government—the unity (*concordia*) and similitude (*similitudo*) of the rulers, as well as their supreme religious rank and the hierarchy within the imperial college.

THE LOYALTY OF SOLDIERS

Soldiers played a key role in the functioning of the tetrarchic system of governance and in the success of the intended succession plan. It was therefore necessary to maintain and strengthen their loyalty not only to the local regent, but to the whole imperial college. For this purpose, portraits of all four rulers were coined in all mints. Soldiers' pay was distributed throughout the empire with coins of all of the tetrarchs.[4] Likewise, building inscriptions at forts named the whole imperial college, so that all four emperors were present in the camps.[5]

Emperors' portraits on military standards were visible signs of the loyalty of soldiers to emperors and dynasties going back to the early Imperial era.[6] Three reliefs from Romuliana, one of the residences of

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3 Boschung/Eck 2006.

4 Weiser, W.: Die Tetrarchie. Ein neues Regierungssystem und seine mediale Präsentation auf Münzen und Medaillons. In: Boschung/Eck 2006, 205–227.– Of course, *donativa* could be made in the name of a single emperor: Maresch, K.: Die Präsentation der Kaiser in den Papyri der Tetrarchenzeit. In Boschung/ Eck 2006 esp. 73–75.

5 Vitudurum: CIL XIII.5249.– Dessau, Hermann: Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae. Berlin 1892–1916, no. 640.– Tasgetium: Lieb, H. in: Höneisen, M.: Frühgeschichte der Region Stein am Rhein. Basel 1993, 160–162 no. 4.– Palmyra: Reddé, M., AntTard 3, 1995, 122 fig. 50.

6 Boschung, D.: Römische Glasphalerae mit Porträtbüsten, Bonner Jahrbücher 187, 1987, 223–258.– Töpfer, K. M.: Signa Militaria. Die römischen Feldzeichen in der Republik und im Prinzipat. Mainz 2011, 26–28, 45–51.– Kavanagh, E.: Estandartes militares en la Roma antigua. Tipos, simbología y función. Madrid 2015, 81–140.

Galerius, give an idea of the standards of the tetrarchic period.[7] The first standard[8] shows two busts side by side in two medallions (fig. 155). The second *signum* has three medallions, each bearing a pair of frontal busts (fig. 156). In the top and middle busts the emperors wear the *paludamentum*, while below they wear civilian mantles. This represents the situation after the resignations of Diocletian and Maximian. It shows the *seniores Augusti* in civilian dress in addition to the incumbent Augusti and Caesars. The third standard showed at least two pairs of figures, one of whom is crowned by Victoria (fig. 157a–b).[9] Thus, the military standards pictured signal the soldiers' belief in the triumph of the tetrarchs as well as their loyalty to the system of government through the change of rulers. Even after the resignations of Diocletian and Maximian and the reformation of the imperial college in the "Second Tetrarchy," the armies remain loyal.

Furnishings from the military camp at Luxor also show how intensively the concept of the tetrarchy was conveyed visually, especially in the military sphere.[10] A monument with four statue-topped columns marked a crossroads in the north of the camp. According to the preserved inscription, it was built in A. D. 300 in honor of the tetrarchs.[11] A second monument of this type was erected in 308/9 by Aurelius Maximinus, *dux Aegypti et Thebaidos utrarumque Libyarum*. Its preserved inscriptions name Galerius and Licinius as Augusti and Constantine and Maximinus Daia as Caesars.[12] The composition of the imperial college reflects the agreements of the "Council of Carnuntum," which were meant to stabilize the tetrarchical system after the usurpations of Constantine and Maxentius and after the death of Severus (the "Fourth Tetrarchy").[13] The elaborate and ambitious staging of the military camp at Luxor is all the

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7 Srejovic, D.: The Representations of Tetrarchs in Romuliana, AntTard 2, 1994, 143–152.– Laubscher, H. P.: Beobachtungen zu tetrarchischen Kaiserbildnissen aus Porphyr, JdI 114, 1999, 247–248 figs. 26–28.– Kolb 2001, 163–167 M6 with fig. 12–14.

8 Srejovic op. cit. 145.

9 Laubscher op. cit. 247.

10 Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, I.: The Imperial Chamber at Luxor, Dumbarton Oaks Papers 29, 1975, 225–251.– Reddé op. cit. 99–100 fig. 14a.– Deckers, J. G.: Die Wandmalerei im Kaiserkultraum von Luxor, JdI 100, 1979, 600–652.

11 Deckers op. cit. 604–605 n. 16 B–D fig. 1.

12 Deckers op. cit. 604–607 n. 16 I–L figs. 1, 2a–b.

13 On the phases of the tetrarchic period, Bleckmann, B.: Diocletian's Tetrarchy. In: BNP s. v. Tetrarches, Tetrachia IV.– Demandt op. cit. 64–65.
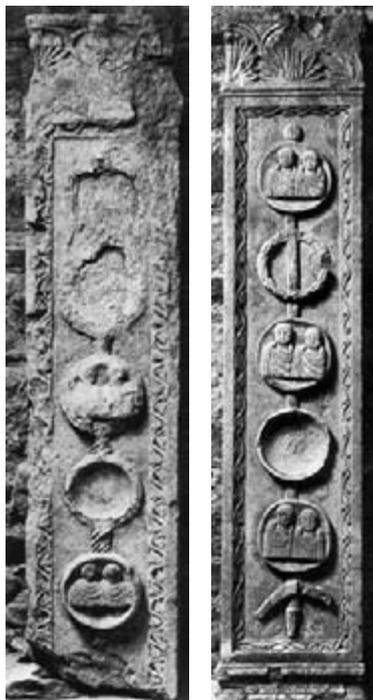
155–156 Two pilasters with repre-
sentations of military standards.
Gamzigrad.

157a-b Fragment of a pilaster depict-
ing military standards and recon-
struction. Gamzigrad.

more striking, since the distribution of power settled upon at Carnuntum
was never actually realized. Nevertheless, after the announcement of the
decisions the *dux Aegypti* had erected a tetrastylon, which was obviously
designed in the style of the monument in honor of the First Tetrarchy.
It expressed the expectation that the new college would work together in
the same way that Diocletian and his co-emperors had ten years earlier.
The inscriptions were not directed to the local population of Egypt, but
to the soldiers, because they are written in Latin, the language of the
military.[14]

In the interior of the camp, an apsidal room (the "imperial cult
chamber") was decorated with frescoes that have been preserved only

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14 Deckers op. cit. 604 n. 16.

158 Luxor, military camp. Mural in the apse of
the imperial chamber with representation of the
tetrarchs. Reconstruction after Johannes Deckers.

in fragments.[15] In the apse opposite the entrance (fig. 158) the paintings
show four frontal, standing men. They wear purple mantles. One holds
a globe and a lance or a scepter. Each of their heads is surrounded by a
nimbus that denotes the charismatic radiance of the figures.[16] Above, an
eagle, the animal of Jupiter, holds a bejeweled wreath. Again, this is a
representation of the tetrarchs, with the two Augusti in the center, one
of whom was later scratched out. It remains unclear which phase of the
tetrarchy is meant, but here too the depiction emphasized the concordia
of the emperors as well as their hierarchy.

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15 Deckers op. cit. 608–652.– La Rocca, E. in: Ensoli/La Rocca op. cit. (n. 2) 19
fig. 15.– Kolb 2001, 175–186 M9 figs. 16–22.
16 R.-Alföldi, M.: Bild und Bildersprache der römischen Kaiser. Mainz 1999, 49.

THE SELF-IMAGING OF THE TETRARCHS

Portraits of rulers had been an important form of imperial self-representation since the time of Augustus.[17] The tetrarchs continued the portrait style of their immediate predecessors in some respects;[18] like them they wear stubbly beards and short-cropped hair (figs. 159, 160), carrying on the soldier hairstyles of the later third century. New and striking, however, are the intense facial expressions, with the combination of labored contraction of the forehead, puckered brows, wide-open eyes, and emphasized nasolabial folds that run into the nostrils. These are traditional formulas for energy, effort, and willpower, but here they are heightened and emphasized as strongly as they had previously been in portraits of Caracalla.[19]

   The porphyry groups in Venice (figs. 161, 162) and in Rome (figs. 163, 164), in which the emperors are shown in pairs embracing, are especially regarded as expressions of the self-representation of the tetrarchs.[20] Since the quarries of the Mons Porphyrites were an imperial possession,[21] they were likely manufactured and distributed under the direction of the em-

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17 Cf. ch. II.3.1.– On portraits of the tetrarchs: Laubscher op. cit. (n. 7) 207–252.– Bergmann, M.: Bildnisse der Tetrarchenzeit. In: Demandt, A. / Engemann, J. (eds.): Imperator Flavius Constantinus. Konstantin der Große. Exhibition catalog. Trier 2007, 58–70.

18 Fittschen, K. in: Fittschen, K. / Zanker, P.: Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und in den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom I. Mainz 1985, 140, who emphasizes the similarity between the coin portraits of Probus and Diocletian.– Bergmann, M.: Zum römischen Porträt des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. In: Spätantike und frühes Christentum. Exhibition catalog. Frankfurt 1983/84, 49–59.

19 Fittschen, K. in: Fittschen/ Zanker op. cit. 105–109 no. 91–93 pl. 110–114.

20 Delbrück, R.: Antike Porphyrwerke. Berlin/Leipzig 1932, 84–95.– Laubscher op. cit. (as n. 7) 207–252.– R.-Alföldi op. cit. 146–149.– La Rocca, E. in: Ensoli/ La Rocca op. cit. (n. 2) 20–21 figs. 16–18; Faedo, L. ibid. 61–65. figs. 1. 2. 4.– Kolb 2001, 146–153.– Mayer op. cit. (n. 2) 167 fig. 63.– Şare Ağtürk, T.: A New Tetrarchic Relief from Nicomedia: Embracing Emperors, AJA 122, 2018, 411–426.

21 Peacock, D. P. / Maxfield, V. A.: The Roman Imperial Quarries. Survey and Excavation at Mons Porphyrites 1994–1998. 2, The Excavations, London 2007, esp. 414–427.– Klemm, R. / Klemm, D. D.: Stones and Quarries in Ancient Egypt, London 2008, 269–280.
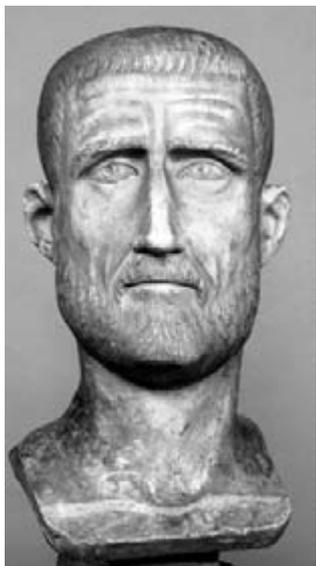
159 Portrait of Probus,
H. 46 cm. Rome, Musei Cap-
itolini 493.

160 Porphyry bust of a tetrarchic emperor,
H. 57.5 cm. Cairo, Egyptian Museum C. G.
7257.

perors.[22] What is common to these porphyry sculptures of the tetrarchs
is the gesture of embrace, the decorative trim of their armor, and the
chlamys. The Vatican figures are enhanced by wearing laurel wreaths and
carrying globes, identifying themselves as world rulers.

An allusion to the status of the figures represented lay in the choice
of the material itself, because it possessed charismatic, extraordinary
qualities. Porphyry is rare and precious, and especially hard and durable
(ch. I.2.3). Its color is reminiscent of the purple that marked individuals
as rulers.[23] With their paired arrangement, the uniformity of costume
and regalia of the tetrarchs becomes particularly striking. Compared to
earlier images of the emperors, they noticeably differ in some crucial
points. New introductions to the iconography of the emperor first rec-
ognized here include the soldier's cap, long-sleeved tunica, and richly

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22 Laubscher op. cit. (n. 7) 207–239: The figures on the Vatican columns rep-
resent the members of the first tetrarchy, and those on the Venetian columns
members of later imperial colleges.– Cf. Bleckmann op. cit. (n. 13).
23 Blum, H.: Purpur als Statussymbol in der griechischen Welt. Bonn 1998,
191–267.

161–162 Porphyry figures of the tetrarchs, H. 1.59 cm. Venice, Piazza San Marco.

163-164 Porphyry figures of the tetrarchs, H. 56 cm. Rome, Vatican Museums, Library.

jeweled embellishments. Their shoes, belts, scabbards, and the shoulders and bottom edges of their armor are trimmed with rectangular, round, and oval medallions that indicate applied gems, pearls, or metal discs. Similarly rich decoration of clothing is occasionally mentioned in literary sources for earlier emperors,[24] but in the first and second centuries A.D. it was considered an expression of barbarian luxury and a hallmark of eastern despots.[25] Now, their richly jeweled decorations spectacularly distinguished the tetrarchs from the traditional dress of public officials or senior officers and demonstrated their superior rank.

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24 Suetonius, *Gaius* 52.– Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 37.17.– Cf. also Boschung D.: Die Bildnisse des Caligula. Das römische Herrscherbild I 4. Berlin 1989, 74–75, SQ 10, 14; p. 77–78.– Winterling, A.: Caligula. Eine Biographie. Munich 2003, 143–144.– Bejeweled belt of Dionysos: Cain, H.-U. (ed.): Dionysos. "Die Locken lang, ein halbes Weib." Exhibition catalog. Munich 1997, 29, 137 pl. 2.
25 Luxurious clothing as a topos of tyrants: Alföldi, A.: Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreich. Darmstadt 1977, 8–25 (= RM 49, 1934, 8–25); 183–184 (= RM 50, 1935, 65–66).– For an introduction to Late Antique imperial regalia: Kolb 2001, 171–175 with compilation and evaluation of sources.

165 Terracotta, H. 11.6 cm. Cologne, RGM 35,135.

166 Mosaic as pl. 6; detail with illustration of the month of January.

Each pair of figures in the group are joined in an embrace. This places one of the tetrarchs in each pair farther in the foreground. This gesture is not found in representations of earlier emperors. Rather, older examples come from the private sphere, where the gesture expresses heartfelt love between relatives (fig. 165).[26] On a North African mosaic of the third century (fig. 166, pl. 6),[27] the image for the month of January shows two men embracing with New Year's gifts on a table in front of them. The unusual gesture of the emperors—like the rich regalia—must be understood as a deliberate innovation. It emphasizes the close emotional bond of the rulers, which exceeds all previous and is more intense than all earlier emperors.[28] The porphyry sculptures show a new picture of imperial rule, which differs in many respects from the iconography of earlier emperors and works to establish a new visual program. It underscores the unassailable position of the tetrarchs with the splendid ornamentation of precious stones and their incomparable *concordia* with the

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26 Boschung, D.: Die Tetrarchie als Botschaft der Bildmedien. Zur Visualisierung eines Herrschaftssystems. In: Boschung/Eck 2006, 358 with n. 33.
27 Parrish, D.: Season Mosaics of Roman North Africa. Rome 1984, 156–160 no. 29 pl. 42–43.
28 Laubscher op. cit. (as n. 7) 213–217.– Şare Ağtürk op. cit. (n. 20).

gesture of embrace. In the Venetian group, the soldier's caps and their grip on their swords also underscore their increased military prowess.

A look at the heads of the porphyry groups and at coin portraits[29] shows that active facial expressions were not a peculiarity of a single emperor, but rather distinguished the whole collective of emperors. The heads are only slightly differentiated. Hair, physiognomy, and facial expressions differ only in nuances, which primarily mark different age groups. The individual emperors are no longer clearly identifiable by their portrait, but only by the context. Unlike in the early and middle Imperial period, it was no longer the case that a certain emperor was recognizable throughout the empire as an individual through his portrait. The similarity of the four portraits (*similitudo*) was more important.[30] These figures were not supposed to embody distinctive individuals, but rather active members of a harmonious college of rulers.

The reliefs of the monumental arch in Thessaloniki, another official residence of Galerius, must have corresponded with the tetrarch's self-image.[31] Their theme is Galerius' military victory against the Sassanids in the years around A. D. 297/8. Some of the reliefs specifically refer to events of the campaign, for example, the capture of the royal harem.[32] While most of the images in the arch celebrate Galerius as victorious general, an unusual and much discussed relief represents the workings of the imperial college (fig. 167 above).[33] Harmonious and at the same time hierarchical, the tetrarchs rule the entire Earth. The enthroned Au-

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29 Compiled in Bergmann, M.: Studien zum römischen Porträt des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. Bonn 1977, coin pl. 4.– Smith, R. R. R.: The Public Image of Licinius I: Portrait Sculpture and Imperial Ideology in the Early Fourth Century, JRS 87, 1997, 180.

30 Baratte, F.: Observations sur le portrait romain à l'époque tétrarchique, Ant-Tard 3, 1995, 65–76.– Only the portraits of Constantius Chlorus in Berlin and Copenhagen and of Maxentius in Dresden and Stockholm are considered securely identified.– On the portrait of Licinius I: Smith op. cit. 170–202.

31 Laubscher 1975.– Kolb, F.: Diocletian und die Erste Tetrarchie. Improvisation oder Experiment in der Organisation monarchischer Herrschaft? Berlin, 1987, 159–176.– Mayer op. cit. (n. 2) 47–65.

32 Laubscher 1975, 28–30 pl. 10, 11.1, 12.2–4.

33 Laubscher 1975, 69–78 pl. 45.1, 51, 58–60.1.– Kolb 2001, 158–162 M5 with earlier bibliography.– Raeck, W.: Tu fortiter, ille sapienter. Augusti und Caesares im Reliefschmuck des Galeriusbogens von Thessaloniki. In: Beiträge zur Ikonographie und Hermeneutik. Festschrift für Nikolaus Himmelmann. Mainz 1989, 453–457.

167 Above: Representation of the tetrarchic emperor collective, H. 1.18 m. Below: Nikes/Victorias with statuettes of the planetary gods, H. 1.20 m. Thessaloniki, Arch of Galerius. Frieze B II 21 and 22.

gusti supervise and direct the activities of the Caesars, who raise up a kneeling personification of a province. Their permanent military success is illustrated by victories bestowing their attributes. The Dioscuri, Virtus ("bravery"), and Mars (or Honos?, "honor") support the emperor's undertakings. The gods of the East (Isis and Sarapis) and the gods of the West (Jupiter and Fortuna) stand beside the rulers. The Sea and the Earth are present as witnesses as well. Gaia and the four seasons illustrate the idea of cyclical renewal through the tetrarchy, which was meant to rejuvenate the Roman Empire in regular cycles (ch. II.1.1).

The image program of the arch shows the viewer that he lives in an ideal world. The tetrarchy, with the help of the gods, guarantees stability and victory, which in turn bring material prosperity. This fortunate state will endure forever because, like the seasons, it renews itself cyclically. This aspect is taken up in another frieze (fig. 167 below).[34] It shows seven Nikes, each standing in a niche, again embodying the victories of the em-

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34 Frieze B II 22: Laubscher 1975, 79–80 pl. 45.1, 58, 60.2.– Cf. ch. II.1.1.

168a Base of the tetrarchic Five-column Monument, front; A.D. 303, H. 1.78 m. Rome, Forum Romanum.

168b Reverse of fig. 168a with sacrifice of Galerius.

perors. Their number corresponds to the days of the week and they also hold statuettes of the planetary deities after which the days were named. Thus, every day of the week has an associated goddess of victory. Just as the days of the week follow each other cyclically, so the successes of the tetrarchs are said to repeat regularly. Honorary monuments had used the connection of seasonal genii and Victorias to suggest the promise of a constant renewal of imperial victory since about A. D. 100 (ch. II.1.1). For the tetrarchs, this conventional formula seemed weak, so they developed an expanded and unprecedented pictorial motif. Diocletian and his colleagues promised not only seasonally recurring military successes like their predecessors, but daily victories.

MISINTERPRETATIONS AT ROME

In the year 303, on the occasion of the celebrations of 20 years of rule by the Augusti (*Vicennalia*) and the 10-year reign of the Caesars (*Decennalia*), the Five-column Monument was erected in Rome in the Forum Romanum.[35] It is shown on a relief of the Arch of Constantine (fig. 33), and a preserved column base bears the inscription *Caesarum decennalia feliciter* (fig. 168a). The front of the Decennalia base shows tropaia, captives, and in the middle two Victorias with a shield, on which one of the victory goddesses inscribes the text. The reverse shows one of the tetrarchic Caesars (probably Galerius) as a sacrificing togatus (fig. 168b). He is assisted by a sacrificial attendant, a musician, and a priest with traditional priest's cap. The relief shows Galerius as Augustus and his successors had been shown 300 years earlier—in the Augustan toga, *capite velato*, conducting a *suovetaurilia* sacrifice according to the ancient Roman rite (ch. II.3.1). On the right is Roma, with the zodiac (ch. II.1.1) and Sol appearing in her billowing cloak. Behind the emperor, who is crowned by Victoria, stands the *genius* of the Senate. The scene suggests a close connection between the emperor depicted and the city of Rome and the Senate. In reality, the Caesars Constantius Chlorus and Galerius stayed away from the capital throughout their reign, even during their

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35 Kähler, H.: Das Fünfsäulenmonument für die Tetrarchen auf dem Forum Romanum. MAR 3. Berlin 1964.– Mayer op. cit. (n. 2) 176–180.– Bauer, F. A.: Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike. Mainz 1996, 21–24.

decennials.[36] The reliefs do not depict what the relationship between the tetrarchs and the Senate and the city of Rome really was, but what the donors thought it should have been. They demonstrate the incomprehension of the urban Roman elites regarding the new form of government and are a sign of their nostalgic view of the situation.

FAILURE?

Despite intensive proclamations with evocative images, the tetrarchs failed to stabilize the system of coordinated and cyclically renewed power-sharing well enough that it could function without Diocletian. Rather, the traditional dynastic vision quickly reasserted itself. Although the colleges of the "Second" and the "Fourth Tetrarchy" were promoted with elaborate sculptures in the military camps,[37] soldiers' actions proved that they could not be convinced of the benefits of planned succession according to the Diocletian model. This was perhaps even more true for other sections of the population who in any case did not take up the new pictorial forms.[38] Already during the reign of Diocletian, the new form of the empire met with incomprehension, perhaps even rejection in some places. Unlike under Augustus, when a new form of government similarly had to be legitimized, no echoes of imperial self-representation can be found in the private sphere. The traditional understanding of the empire, which should have been overcome by the tetrarchy, is articulated in monuments erected in Rome by the Senate on the occasion of the jubilees of Diocletian and his colleagues. The usurpation by Maxentius and his reactivation of old conceptions of the empire completely exposed the flaws in Diocletian's vision.[39]

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36 Bauer, F. A.: Stadt ohne Kaiser. Rom im Zeitalter der Dyarchie und Tetrarchie (285–306 n. Chr.). In: Fuhrer, Th. (ed.): Rom und Mailand in der Spätantike. Repräsentationen städtischer Räume in Literatur, Architektur und Kunst. TOPOI 4. Berlin 2012, 3–85.

37 supra n. 7–9 figs. 155–157 on the military standards relief from Romuliana and the monuments in Luxor.

38 Sporn, K.: Kaiserliche Selbstdarstellung ohne Resonanz? Zur Rezeption tetrarchischer Bildsprache in der zeitgenössischen Privatkunst. In: Boschung/Eck 2006, 381–399

39 Leppin, H. / Ziemssen, H.: Maxentius. Der letzte Kaiser in Rom. Mainz 2007.– Ziemssen, H.: Roma Auctrix Augusti. Die Veränderungen des römischen

On the other hand, it is undisputed that the development of new pictorial forms decisively shaped the conceptions of those times. The relief of the tetrarchs from the Arch of Galerius and the porphyry sculptures at San Marco probably contributed more than the sparse literary sources to the perception of the time of Diocletian as a distinctive era.

Stadtbilds unter Kaiser Maxentius (306–312 n. Chr.). In: Burkhardt, N. / Stichel, R. H. W.: Die antike Stadt im Umbruch. Wiesbaden 2010, 16–27.

4. FASCINATING FLOTSAM

4.1 NEW INTERPRETATIONS OF ANCIENT REMAINS

FRAGMENTATION AND PERSISTENCY: ANCIENT STATUES IN THE MIDDLE AGES[1]

Statues, monuments, and other artifacts could become testimony to traditions reaching far back in time already in antiquity (ch. II.2.3). Relics that survived and remained visible beyond the end of antiquity were subject to an even greater change of meaning. In most cases, they had lost their original contexts and appeared as the debris of a lost era, even if they had retained all or most of their form. Created as materializations of knowledge, ideas, or social constellations of their time, they lost their meaning after the end of their original discursive framework.[2] Some ancient remains became much admired sights in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period. Their unfamiliar appearance bewildered viewers and demanded interpretation. Artifacts found often became evidence for historical accounts, which were confirmed and sometimes even inspired by their presence.

The account of the English Magister Gregorius about his visit to Rome around 1200, in which he describes conspicuous ancient remains, is informative of this.[3] Two perspectives determine his view of Roman antiquities. The first is a Christian point of view and becomes evident when he interprets an ancient statue of a river deity as "Salomon," iden-

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1 Boschung, D.: Fragmentierung und Persistenz. Antike Statuen im Mittelalter. In: Boschung/Wittekind 2008, 319–348.
2 Jäger 2014, 198–203.– See ch. III.3.2 on the statue of Mars Ultor in the Capitoline Museum.
3 The following text is quoted from Huygens 1970.

tifying it with a figure of the Old Testament.[4] Fragments of statues and remains of walls become testimonies of the Christian story of salvation. So Gregorius found in the ruins of Rome that place where the demonic marvels of the *salvacio civium,* with its mobile statues, collapsed when Christ was born.[5] Broken statues of gods proved to him that the power of pagan idols had been forever conquered by Christianity. Occasionally, the former significance of statues for pagan idol worship is more precisely described. A torso of an armed Pallas originated from a cult statue, before which Christians were once forced into idolatry. Because St. Hippolytus and his family refused to worship, he was torn to pieces by horses.[6] This fragmentary statue received special significance over numerous other ruins, as it attested to the legend of the death of the martyr Hippolytus, as reported by Prudentius in the fourth century A. D.[7] Magister Gregorius saw the surmounting of paganism confirmed by a colossal bronze head (fig. 32).[8] The gilded statue to which the head belonged was surely once humbly revered by every visitor to the city. Pope Gregory finally destroyed the idol, and one hand and the head were placed on two columns in front of the Lateran Palace.[9]

His reading of ancient and post-antique authors provides a second perspective. Gregorius interprets the pose of a statue of Venus with the help of a citation from Ovid,[10] and a statue of a sow with a verse from Vergil.[11] When he describes the marble of some statues as "Parian," this

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4 Magister Gregorius § 13 Z. 298–303. Wiegartz 2004, 81–86.– On the statues, Klementa, S.: Gelagerte Flußgötter. Cologne 1993, 16–17 no. A8 pl. 3.5, 4.7, 5.9–10, 138 no. U2 pl. 3.6, 4.8, 6.12.
5 Magister Gregorius § 8 Z. 214–249. Cf. Gramaccini 1996, 161–163 with earlier bibliography.
6 Magister Gregorius § 16 Z. 327–331. Cf. also Wiegartz 2004, 237–238.
7 Prudentius, *Liber Peristephanon* XI.
8 Magister Gregorius § 6 Z. 164–207.– Wiegartz 2004, esp. 13–14, 61–70, 110, 154–158.– On the statue, Ensoli, S.: I colossi di bronzi a Roma in età tardoantica: dal Colosso di Nerone al Colosso di Costantino. A proposito dei tre frammenti bronzei dei Musei Capitolini. In: Ensoli, S. / La Rocca, E. (eds.): Aurea Roma. Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana. Exhibition catalog. Rome 2000, 71–90 figs. 14–20, 27, 28, 555–556 no. 209a–c (Constantine).
9 Magister Gregorius § 6 Z. 187–192.
10 Magister Gregorius § 12 Z. 281–293. This verse is Ovid, *Ars amatoria* I.247–248. See also Wiegartz 2004, 33–34.– Cf. ch. I.2.4.
11 Magister Gregorius § 31 Z. 569–578.

knowledge must ultimately go back to Pliny's *Naturalis historia.*[12] However, a book on the Seven Wonders of the World[13] attributed to the Venerable Bede had an especially strong impact on his expectations. With its help he interprets the head of the aforementioned colossal bronze statue. He also inserts into his account passages about the wonders of the world, describing monuments that were never seen in Rome. For some Roman antiquities there were competing interpretations, as Gregorius himself states. Thus he knows of four different identifications for the equestrian statue at the Lateran (fig. 169), as Theodoric, Constantine, Marcus, or Quintus Quirinus.[14] A look at the description of bronzes at the Lateran Palace by Benjamin ben Jonah, a Jewish traveler from Tudela who was present in Rome at almost the same time as Gregorius, shows how much the interpretation of individual monuments was determined by the expectations of the viewer. He names the rider as King Constantine, the founder of Constantinople; the colossal head as Samson; and the Boy with Thorn—whom Gregorius calls Priapos—as Absalom, son of David. While the first identification is conventional and shared by many of his contemporaries, the other two are unusual. Obviously, the traveler wished to find representations of characters of the Old Testament. When he recognized Absalom in the Boy with Thorn (fig. 170), it was certainly because of the long, beautiful hair that plays an important role in the biblical story.[15] The interpretation of the bronze head as Samson is based on the indication of the pupils with a depression, which was understood to indicate his blinding.[16] This fit the significantly over-life-size format as an expression of the colossal strength of the hero. In the discursive framing of the Biblical texts, isolated iconographic details acquired a distinctive meaning not originally intended.

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12 Magister Gregorius § 12 Z. 286 on the Venus statue; § 31 Z. 576 on the statue of the sow with 30 piglets. Knowledge of Parian marble was perhaps passed down in the encyclopedia of Isidore of Seville (*Etymologiae* XVI.5.8).– Cf. ch. I.2.3.
13 *De septem miraculis mundi*; reproduced in Huygens 1970, 41–42.– DNO no. 1003.
14 Magister Gregorius § 4–5 Z. 56–163. On the statue: Fittschen, K. / Zanker, P.: Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und in den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom I. Mainz 1985, 72–74 no. 67 pl. 76–77.– Melucco Vaccaro, A. et al. (eds.): Marco Aurelio. Storia di un monumento e del suo restauro. Milano 1989.– Gramaccini 1996, 145–158; Wiegartz 2004, 109–121.
15 Borchardt, P.: The Sculpture in Front of the Lateran as Described by Benjamin of Tudela and Magister Gregorius, JRS 26, 1936, 68–70.– Wiegartz 2004, 154–158.
16 Borchardt op. cit. 69.

169 Equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, H. 4.24 m. Rome, Musei Capitolini.

170 Bronze statuette of the boy with thorn, H. 73 cm. Rome, Mus. Cap. 1186.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE AUTHENTIC

In the Early Modern period, the idea of the ancient Roman past was based primarily on literary accounts. Ancient texts, many of which appeared in print starting in the late 15th century, offered a coherent narrative. On this basis, the often mutilated and disparately preserved ancient monuments could be interpreted historically. Some of these interpretations and identifications remained contentious, ephemeral, or local, so they may have had little impact. Others were more successful and shaped the conception of the past for the centuries. This applies to a portrait type that was undoubted since the early 16th century as a representation of the Roman emperor Aulus Vitellius. The most famous example is a bust in Venice (fig. 171a–b) from the collection of Domenico Grimani (the "Vitellius Grimani").[17] Johann Jakob Bernoulli had already doubted that the numerous other copies were ancient works (Bernoulli 1891, 12–20). Recent research has shown that only the bust in Venice is ancient. It is also not the effigy of the emperor Vitellius, but a private portrait of the Hadrianic period.[18] We do not know who first made the identification as Vitellius, but we can recognize the reasons behind it. On the one hand, the fleshy facial features, the short-cropped hair, and the angle of the head can be compared with coin portraits securely identified by inscription (fig. 172). Equally important, the bust met the expectations brought forth by Suetonius' description of the emperor.[19]

A bronze statuette from the 16th century in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, in which the conception that had been transmitted through literature was materialized, shows how influential this account was (pl. 8).[20] The head is modeled on the bust in Venice. Unlike the

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17 Traversari, G.: Museo archeologico di Venezia. I ritratti. Rome 1968, 63–64 no. 43 fig. 44a–c.

18 Fittschen, K.: Die Bildnisgalerie in Schloss Herrenhausen bei Hannover. Zur Rezeptions- und Sammlungsgeschichte antiker Porträts. Göttingen 2006, 186–234.

19 Suetonius, *Vitellius* 17.2: "*erat enim in eo enormis proceritas, facies rubida plerumque ex vinulentia, venter obesus, alterum femur subdebile...;*" "he was in fact abnormally tall, with his face usually flushed from hard drinking, a huge belly, and one crippled leg."

20 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. 5528. 17.3 cm: Fittschen op. cit. 227–228 F4.– Leithe-Jasper, M.: Renaissance Master Bronzes from the Collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna. Washington 1986, 143–145 no. 32 with figures.

171a-b "Vitellius Grimani," H. 48 cm. Venice, Archaeological Museum 20.

172 Dupondius of the emperor Vitellius.

model but as in coin portraits, he is associated with a laurel wreath, symbolizing his imperial dignity. The bulging stomach and fleshy upper arms, chest, and thighs follow Suetonius' description of the "*venter obesus*." The statuette looks ancient, especially because of the head type, the laurel crown, and the nudity. But it stands in stark contrast to authentic emperors' statues. These never depict their somatic peculiarities. Rather, the bodies of the statuesque emperors are strictly standardized. They provide no information about the actual height, strength, size of their bodies, nor deformations acquired in their lifetimes, but instead are stereotyped manifestations of values such as *auctoritas*, *dignitas*, *virtus*, and *pietas*.[21] Only by violating the conventions of ancient portrait sculpture

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21 Zanker, P.: Prinzipat und Herrscherbild, Gymnasium 86, 1979, 353–368.

173 Roman statue, restored as Cicero, H. 2.17 m.
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. R. Chandler,
Marmora Oxoniensia 1767 pl. 21.

was the later artist able to create a figure corresponding to Suetonius'
description.

The identification of the Grimani bust as Vitellius was initially an
isolated incident. But it seemed right enough in the Early Modern period
that the bust was accepted as an authentic rendering of the emperor for
400 years without question and without any alternative suggestion. This
Hadrianic portrait of a man shaped the conception of the character of
Vitellius throughout Europe. In the process, for some sculptures, the
knowledge that they were modern copies was lost, sometimes after a
change of ownership. Thus, seemingly ancient specimens emerged that
seemed to further guarantee the authenticity of the representation.

The galleries of ancient portraits included not only Roman emperors, but also leading figures of the Roman Republic. They also represented exemplary virtues, frequently for extraordinary military victories, political successes, or dramatic failures. One difficulty was that there were no coin portraits for the vast majority of these individuals. Thus remained only the evidence of literary sources, which are, of course, not very fruitful. For example, while Plutarch reports that M. Porcius Cato had green eyes and red hair (Plutarch, *Cato maior* 1), this did not help in identifying his portraits. This is also true for Cassius Dio's account that Cicero had unsightly legs that he covered with a long-draped toga (Cassius Dio 46.18). These difficulties did not hinder the assembly of entire galleries of portraits of heroes of the Roman Republic. Some conspicuous features were considered individual and significant, even though they were not really. Heads with a wart on the cheek were regarded as portraits of M. Tullius Cicero, whose cognomen is derived from the word *cicer* ("chickpea") (Bernoulli 1882, 134). A statue that has been called "Cicero" since the 17th century (fig. 173) has a wart under the right eye,[22] but the head is a modern addition. Either the name was determined arbitrarily based only on the addition, or the statue was already thought to be Cicero and was completed with the choice of a suitable and consistent head type. The fabric of the statue's toga is actually more voluminous than usual. A learned observer of the early 17th century could have combined this fact with the account of Cassius Dio (46.18) and proposed the interpretation as Cicero, which would then have been taken into account when supplementing the head.

Scholars of the 17th and 18th centuries identified a portrait of Scipio Africanus from a scar on its bald head. Here, too, there is a particularly prominent piece, namely a head of green basalt from the Palazzo Rospigliosi (fig. 174), which was known since the late 16th century.[23] The designation was defended in detail by the prominent archaeologist Ennio Quirino Visconti.[24] The most important argument in favor of this was provided by a bust in the Capitoline Museums with the inscription *P(ublius) Cor(nelius) Scipio Afr(icanus)* (fig. 175). For Visconti, this proved it to be an authentic portrait of Scipio. Since then it has become clear that the bust was reworked from a grave relief in the modern era, and

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22 Vickers, M.: The Arundel and Pomfret Marbles in Oxford. Ashmolean Handbooks. Oxford 2006, 14–15 (figure is reversed).
23 Fittschen op. cit. (n. 18) 100–135.
24 Visconti, E. Q.: Iconographie romaine I. Paris 1817, 28–38.

that the inscription cannot be ancient. Rather, it was written on the bust only in the 18th century. Obviously, the label was meant to secure an already existing identification.[25]

A second argument was the supposed origin of the "Scipio Rospigliosi" from Liternum in Campania. The elder Scipio Africanus had spent his last years there and was buried there. A statue of him stood by his grave, as Livy (38.56.3) reports. The earliest mention of the bust is admittedly vague. Although Johannes Faber mentions the provenance of Liternum in 1606, he distanced himself from it at the same time:[26] "I would not dare say that the portrait belongs to that statue (in Liternum), but also not to the other at the Porta Capena, which Livy also mentions." According to Faber, the head was not Scipio because it came from Liternum; rather it may have come from Liternum because it is Scipio. The interpretation as a portrait of Scipio is already certain for Faber, while the provenance from the tomb of Scipio is considered as a possibility. Later authors such as Visconti consider it already proven, referencing Faber. The conspicuous scar on the scalp came as a further additional argument. Servius reports that the young Scipio received 27 wounds in the Battle of Ticinum (Servius in Vergil, *Aeneid* X.800). Visconti, like others before him, connected the scar on the head with this account. It was probably this combination that originally gave rise to the identification as Scipio. This identification prevailed, though it conflicted with other accounts: Livy writes that Scipio had long hair (Livy 28.35.6).

The identification as Scipio thus came about through the use of one literary text and at the same time disregarding other historical accounts. It was so plausible that it led to the assumption that the head was from the tomb of Scipio in Liternum. The provenance was later taken for granted and as an argument for the identification. This certainty is manifested in the modern labeling of the bust in the Capitoline Museum, which Visconti in turn regarded as proof of the identification as Scipio. Thus, an interpretation—problematic from the beginning—reinforced itself for at least 200 years.

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25 Bernoulli 1882, 49–51.– Fittschen, K. / Zanker, P. / Cain, P.: Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom II. Die männlichen Privatporträts. Berlin/New York 2010, 91–92 no. 85 pl. 102–103.

26 Faber, J.: Illustrium imagines. Antwerp 1606, 29: "*Non tamen confirmare ausim, quod haec ipsa effigies in statua illa fuerit; sicut nec in illa altera, cuius idem Livius meminit.*" See also Bernoulli 1882, 49.
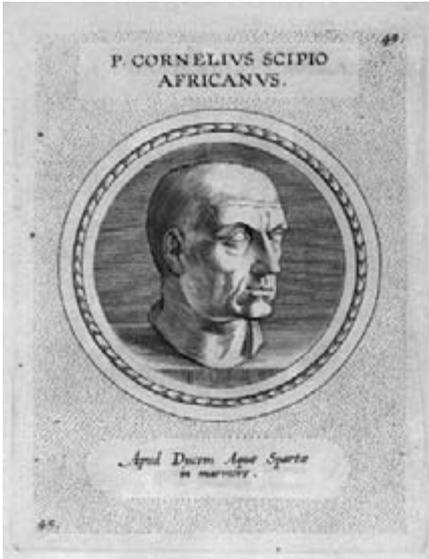
174 Portrait of a man in basalt, so-called "Scipio." Faber, Johannes: Illustrium imagines 1606 pl. 49.

175 Bust, so-called "Scipio," H. 78 cm. Rome, Musei Capitolini 562.

176 Restored head of a colossal statue, pl. 9.

177 Posthumous coin portrait of Cn. Pompeius Magnus.

Prominent statues shaped the conception of some figures of Roman history in modern times. An over-life-size statue in the Palazzo Spada (pl. 9), found around the mid-16th century, was said to be a monument to Cn. Pompeius Magnus. It was certain that the statue was found at the Theater of Pompey and that it was this statue of Pompey that Caesar had been murdered in front of.[27] Flaminio Vacca reported that the sculpture had been found intact, with that the head initially detached from the body, but they were reunited at the pope's direction. For three centuries, this statue shaped the conception of the great general and antagonist of Caesar. Modern copies of the head type are likewise common; there are three examples in the Munich Antiquarium alone.[28] In the meantime, the head was shown to be a 16th-century addition following a type representing the comic playwright Menander.[29] Its identification as Pompey in the 16th century is likely based on a vague similarity to his coin portraits (figs. 176, 177).[30] The identification of the head type is therefore independent of the statue in the Palazzo Spada and probably even predates its discovery. There were a number of reasons for interpreting the newly found torso as Pompey—its larger-than-life size, the heroic habitus, but above all the alleged find spot. Since the torso was identified as part of a statue of Pompey, it was natural to supplement it with a head already considered a portrait of Pompey.

There were three methodological approaches to identifying portraits. The first consisted of comparing them with coin portraits identified by inscriptions, and was particularly productive for portraits of emperors, but could also—as in the cases of Vitellius and Pompeius—lead down the wrong path. The second way fell back upon ancient texts to gain clues about the appearance and demeanor of famous personalities. This always

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27 Sapelli, M.: Restauro della Statua di "Pompeo," Bollettino di Archeologia 5–6, 1990, 180–185.

28 Weski, E. / Frosien-Leinz, H.: Das Antiquarium der Münchner Residenz. Katalog der Skulpturen. Munich 1987, 422–424 cat. 326–328 pl. 355–357; also the ancient copy 199–200 cat. 77 pl. 117.

29 Fittschen, K.: Zur Rekonstruktion griechischer Dichterstatuen 1. Die Statue des Menander, AM 106, 1991, 243–279.

30 Vollenweider, M.-L.: Die Porträtgemmen der römischen Republik. Mainz 1972 II 45–46 pl. 72–73.– Fittschen, K.: Caesar und Augustus. Zur Kaisergalerie im Augsburger Rathaus. In: Cain, H.-U. / Gabelmann, H. / Salzmann, D. (eds.): Beiträge zur Ikonographie und Hermeneutik. Festschrift für Nikolaus Himmelmann. Mainz 1989, 507–509.

happened selectively and rather arbitrarily, as the examples of Scipio and Cicero have shown. But the authority of the texts was enough to establish the identifications permanently. In the third method, the reasoning came from their presumed find spots (Pompey, Scipio). In many cases, the results seemed plausible and therefore endured for centuries. Once such identification were established, they shaped the conception of the persons supposedly depicted for generations.

CONTEMPORARY ANTIQUITY

The interpretation of a Late Antique silver bowl[31] (fig. 178, pl. 10) as the shield of Scipio by Jacques Spon in 1673 makes particularly clear the process of historical interpretation of ancient remains and its premises.[32] It shows, as Spon points out with reference to Polybius and Livy, "the memorable act of Scipio Africanus, when he returned untouched and without ransom, a beautiful maiden who had been captured in the conquest of Carthago Nova, who had been betrothed to the Celtiberian chief Allucius," (Boschung 2010, 291–302). In a later publication, Spon gives a more detailed interpretation of the picture: the seated young man is Scipio in his grand audience hall. The weapons in the foreground are some of the spoils of Carthago Nova; the bearded men next to Scipio are the father and relatives of the young woman, the youths with helmets Roman officers. On the left, Allucius holds his fiancée in his arms. Scipio himself supposedly had the votive shield made and lost it while crossing the Rhône.

Although Spon cites ancient sources for his interpretation, he is even more strongly influenced by the premises and conventions of his time. It is assumed—as the first premise—that contemporary events in the Middle Roman Republic would have immediately become motifs of the visual arts, which in reality happened very rarely. The *Continentia Scipionis*

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31 Aghion, I. / Esposito, A.: Plat d'argents dits "bouclier de Scipion" et "bouclier d' Hannibal." In: Schnapp, A. (ed.): Histoires d'Archéologie. De l'objet à l'étude. Paris 2009, 43–49.– Baratte, F.: Silver plate in Late Antiquity. In: Hunter, F. / Painter, K. (eds.): Late Roman Silver. The Traprain Treasure in Context. Edinburgh 2013, 57–73 esp. 66, 68 fig. 6.14.

32 Spon, J.: Recherche des antiquités et des curiosités de la ville de Lyon. Lyon 1673, pl. p. 185 (reproduced in Aghion / Esposito op. cit. 46).– Spon, J.: Recherches curieuses d'antiquités. Lyon 1683, 1–26.

was a subject of art only in the modern era, from the 16th century.[33] The illustrations were inspired by Valerius Maximus' use of the event as an example of *continentia*. In a painting of the story by Nicolas Poussin, dating from 1640 (pl. 11),[34] most elements of Spon's later interpretation are anticipated: Scipio sitting on a raised dais in front of architecture, the youthful Allucius with fur boots and in civilian attire but with a sword hanging at his side, his veiled fiancée led forward, the Roman soldiers, and the father of the young woman. Poussin painted all these details in his *Continentia Scipionis* even before Spon found them on an ancient silver bowl 30 years later. Spon thus interprets the ancient relief according to the iconographic conventions of his own time and makes a second assumption by equating ancient and contemporary viewing habits. This premise was reinforced by the fact that with some modern pieces, such as engraved gems,[35] knowledge of their recent origins had been lost and, as supposedly ancient works, they seemed to authenticate the continuity of motifs and pictorial schemata since antiquity (figs. 179a–b, 180).[36]

From today's perspective, Spon's findings may appear mistaken, but his interpretation was in no way arbitrary. He determined the function

A third premise of Spon and his contemporaries was the assumption of a uniform transmission of texts and monuments. Ancient works of art, so the axiom goes, reproduce what ancient texts pass down. It therefore stood to reason to start from the (allegedly) more complete and coherent ancient literary tradition and to subsequently group and interpret the disparately preserved statues and reliefs. This approach is understandable insofar as the ancient texts were much more accessible and available than ancient monuments were thanks to printed editions.

From today's perspective, Spon's findings may appear mistaken, but his interpretation was in no way arbitrary. He determined the function

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33 Lepper-Mainzer, G.: Die Darstellung des Feldherrn Scipio Africanus. Bochum 1982.– Tresidder, W.: A Borrowing from the Antique in Giovanni Bellini's Continence of Scipio. In: Burlington Magazine 134, 1992, 660–662.– Baskins, C. L.: (In)famous Men: The Continence of Scipio and Formations of Masculinity in Fifteenth-Century Tuscan Domestic Painting. In: Studies in Iconography 23, 2002, 109–136.

34 Rosenberg, P. / Prat, L.-A.: Nicolas Poussin 1594–1665. Paris 1994, 290–291 no. 96.

35 Dalton, O. M.: Catalogue of the engraved Gems of the Post-Classical Periods in the British Museum. London 1915, 124–125 no. 852: Sard with *Continentia Scipionis*; inscribed "*Cast(i) cont(inentia) Scipi(onis),*" work by Giovanni Bernardi di Castelbolognese (1496–1553).

36 Montfaucon, B. de: L'Antiquité expliquée. Suppl. IV. Paris 1724, 46–47 pl. 24, considers the gems to be Augustan.

178 Silver bowl (pl. 10), interpreted as *clipeus votivus* of Scipio Africanus. After Sponius, I.: Miscellanea eruditae antiquitatis. Lyon 1685, 152.

of the object as a votive shield by analogy with images on ancient coins, and he developed the interpretation of the scene from ancient historical texts. This methodological approach required a high degree of familiarity with ancient monuments and texts, and also gave Spon's claims a high level of credibility and secured the acceptance of his interpretation for almost a hundred years.

179a–b Gem with Continentia of Scipio; 4.8 cm. London, BrMus 1890,0901.77. **b** Impression.

180 Reproduction of the gem in fig. 179 by Montfaucon as an antique work, see note 36.

As far as we know today, the *Continentia Scipionis* was not depicted in ancient visual art, neither during Scipio's lifetime nor later. Artists of the Early Modern period who depicted the motif had no direct ancient template for it. Rather, it was ancient texts that inspired the representations of gem engravers and painters from the 16th century. The use of antiquarian details brought the images closer to ancient works. Thus they materialize conceptions of history in a convincing and potent way. This enabled Spon and his successors to see in the ancient silver bowl the representation of an ancient event that had never been depicted in antiquity.

4.2 KNOWLEDGE OF ANTIQUITY: ORGANIZATION AND DISCOURSE[1]

Antiquarians of the Early Modern period had developed ancient remains as a source of knowledge and had produced impressive results since the 16th century (ch. I.2.5). Cassiano Dal Pozzo (1588–1657) collected over 2,300 drawings of ancient works of art in Rome, doing the preparatory work for a comprehensive corpus of antiquities.[2] But the more intensive the preoccupation with antiquity became, the more confusing the picture it offered. This led to attempts to compile and make accessible numerous individual studies. Around 1700, two Dutch scholars produced extensive collections of material. Jacob Gronovius published a *Thesaurus antiquitatum Graecarum* in 12 volumes, and Johann Georg Graevius published the likewise 12-part *Thesaurus antiquitatum Romanarum.* These were soon followed by numerous supplements.[3] These corpora combined and reissued older antiquarian writings, arranging thematically more than 400 texts from the 16th and 17th centuries.

In 1719, *L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* by the Benedictine monk Bernard de Montfaucon (1655–1741)[4] was published in five volumes, which together contain around 2050 pages and 1120 plates (fig. 181a–b). Five supplements followed. Montfaucon wanted to allow the reader to come to know the entire ancient world thoroughly, straightforwardly, and

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1 First published in: Fischer, Th. (ed.): Bilder von der Vergangenheit. Zur Geschichte der archäologischen Fächer. ZAKMIRA 2. Wiesbaden 2005, 105–144.
2 Claridge, A. (ed.): The Paper Museum of Cassiano Dal Pozzo: A Catalogue raisonné. Series A: Antiquities and Architecture. London, from 1996.– Herklotz, I.: Cassiano Dal Pozzo und die Archäologie des 17. Jahrhunderts. Munich 1999.– Solinas, F. (ed.): I segreti di un collezionista. Le straordinarie raccolte di Cassiano Dal Pozzo 1588–1657. Exhibition Catalog. Rome 2000.
3 Gronovius, J.: Thesaurus antiquitatum Graecarum I–XII. Leiden 1697–1702.– Graevius, J. G.: Thesaurus antiquitatum Romanarum I–XII. Utrecht 1694–1699.– Polenus, J.: Utriusque thesauri antiquitatum Romanarum Graecarumque nova supplementa I–V. Venice 1737.– de Sallengre, A. H.: Novus Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum I–III. The Hague 1716–1719; 2nd ed. 1735.
4 Schnapp 1996, 235–237.– Lang, J.: Montfaucon, Bernard de. In: Brill's New Pauly Supplements I 6: History of classical Scholarship – A Biographical Dictionary, with additional bibliography.

promptly.[5] For this reason he confines himself to the discussion of secure findings. There are no bibliography or notes. Montfaucon was particularly proud of the large number of illustrations.[6] Most of the engravings are taken from older works; he only occasionally used unpublished drawings. Montfaucon's main interest was ancient religion and institutions; ancient works of art were only of marginal interest to him. He devoted a total of four and a half lines to the "Apollo Belvedere," one of the most famous statues at that time.[7] The way in which he presents to his readers the Niobid group (fig. 182) is also indicative: they are described after an engraving by François Perrier from 1638.[8]

The Englishman Joseph Spence (1699–1768, fig. 183) used and criticized Montfaucon's work. He believed his diligence was laudable, but the work was too broadly collected and unsystematic.[9] His major work, *Polymetis*, appeared in 1747 (fig. 184). It is framed as a narrative in dialogue form, with which Spence aims to both inform and entertain. He did not expect from his audience the pedantic erudition of antiquarians.[10] Unlike Montfaucon, he is concerned with the immediate connection between poetry and visual art. The chosen form of dialogue is reminiscent of ancient philosophical texts, like the dialogues of Plato or Cicero; and as in Cicero, the setting here is a villa.

The numerous sculptures that the fictional host, Polymetis, presents to his friends stand in Classicizing buildings on his grounds. They are not ancient originals. Rather, as the collector explains to his visitors, they are modern works, partly copies of famous masterpieces in Rome and Florence, and partly based on figures from coins and reliefs. Nevertheless, he discusses in detail statues such as the "Medici Venus"[11] and the "Apollo Belvedere."[12] He describes the Niobids—as Montfaucon did— after the engraving by Perrier. However, he apologizes for this; he had no other illustration at hand. Spence attempts—unlike Montfaucon—his

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5 Montfaucon op. cit. I Préface I–XIV.
6 Montfaucon op. cit. I Préface VI–VII, X–XII.
7 Montfaucon op. cit. I 101 on pl. 49.2.
8 Montfaucon op. cit. I 107 on pl. 55.
9 Spence, J.: Polymetis: or, An Enquiry concerning the Agreement Between the Works of the Roman Poets, And the Remains of the Antient Artists. Being an Attempt to illustrate them mutually from one another. London 1747, 4.
10 Spence op. cit. IV.
11 Spence op. cit. 65–68 pl. 5.– Here ch. I.2.4.
12 Spence op. cit. 83–84, 87–88 pl. 11.

181a–b Montfaucon, Bernard de: L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures I, 1719; title page and beginning of the first chapter.

own interpretation of some figures and criticizes the installation of the group in the garden of the Villa Medici.[13]

Spence wrote for the political and cultural elite of England. Many of his distinguished readers had themselves thoroughly inspected the statues discussed here in their travels.[14] Some of them even possessed ancient or Classicizing sculptures. Spence's conversational setting was also familiar to his audience. The vast parks of 18th-century country estates in England often incorporated Classicizing buildings that could be used as showrooms. Not a few of these were called "Pantheon" and took the form of a rotunda. Buildings modeled after the octagonal "Tower of the Winds" in Athens were also not uncommon.[15]

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13 Spence op. cit. 96–99.

14 Wilton, A. / Bignamini, I. (eds.): Grand Tour. The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century. Exhibition catalog. London 1996.

15 Raeder, J.: The Experience of the Past. Zur Vergegenwärtigung der Antike im englischen Landsitz des 18. Jhs. als historischem Erfahrungsraum. In: Boschung, D. / von Hesberg, H. (eds.): Antikensammlungen des europäischen Adels im 18. Jahrhundert. MAR 27. Mainz 2000, 99–109.

182 Montfaucon, Bernard de: L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures I, 1719, pl. 55: Niobid group.

The emphasis on dialogue by Spence recalls that in the 18th century, antiquarian knowledge was not compiled and disseminated only through scholarly writings. Themes from ancient literature and ancient history are also popular motifs in the art and craft of modern times. They can be found in paintings and sculptures as well as in plays and operas,[16] in murals, in porcelain, artificial ruins, collections of gems, and cork architectural models.[17] All of these representations illustrated knowledge of antiquity, giving it a concise form and keeping it present in this way. They stimulated discussion about antiquity, so that they activated and

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[16] Cf. also Steinbeck, W.: "In armonia favellare." Antikenrezeption und Oper um 1600. In: Boschung, D. / Kleinschmidt, E. (eds.): Lesbarkeiten. Antikerezeption zwischen Barock und Aufklärung. Würzburg 2010, 197–206.

[17] See also the contributions of Valentin Kockel, Anne-Marie Leander Touati, Dagmar Grassinger, Daniel Graepler, Jörn Lang, und Xenia Ressos in: Boschung, D. (ed.): Archäologie als Kunst. Archäologische Objekte und Verfahren in der bildenden Kunst des 18. Jahrhunderts und der Gegenwart. Morphomata 30. Paderborn 2015.

183 Spence, Joseph: Polymetis, 1747. Frontispiece; portrait of the author.

184 as 183; title page of the second edition of 1755.

mediated knowledge of ancient mythology and history. The exchange made it possible to demonstrate education and erudition, thus establishing or strengthening social status. Quotations from ancient poets as well as writings of modern antiquarians were invoked when one's own opinion needed to be asserted and justified argumentatively against others.

For Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1786),[18] his focus centered on the visual arts of antiquity and of the Greeks especially (fig. 185). The first part of his major work, *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*[19] (fig. 186), discusses the art of the Egyptians, the Phoenician and the Persians, the Etruscans and the neighboring peoples, the Greeks, and lastly, the

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18 Winckelmann-Museum Stendal. Ausstellung zur Biographie J. J. Winckelmanns. Mainz 1996.– Kunze, M.: Winckelmann, Johann Joachim. In: Brill's New Pauly Supplements I 6: History of classical Scholarship – A Biographical Dictionary, with additional bibliography.

19 Winckelmann 1764 and 1776.– On the publication history: Borbein, A. H. et al. (eds.): J. J. Winckelmann, Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums. Mainz 2002, VII–XI.

185 Angelika Kauffmann, Portrait of Johann Joachim Winckelmann, 1764. Zurich, Kunsthaus.

186 Winckelmann, Johann Joachim: Geschichte der Kunst der Altertums, 1764, title page.

Romans. The chapter on Greek art is especially extensive, as is the second, historical part of the book. It is supposed to address "the history of art ... and the origin, growth, change, and decline of the same." Something similar had already been undertaken before him by Franciscus Junius, who tried "... *picturae initium, progressum, consummationem exsequi,*" "to represent the beginning, advancement, and consummation of painting."[20] Actually, many things that seem new and original in Winckelmann have their roots in the 17th century. But unlike his predecessors, Winckelmann insisted on autopsy, which seemed to be the transfer of the empiricism of philosophy and natural science to the study of art and beauty.[21]

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20 Iunius, F.: De pictura veterum libri tres. Amsterdam 1637, 3.– Kunze, M.: Franciscus Junius bei Winckelmann. In: Schade, K. / Rößler, D. / Schäfer, A. (eds.), Zentren und Wirkungsräume der Antikenrezeption. Münster 2007, 145–150.

21 On Winckelmann's affinity for natural history: Lepenies, W.: Johann Joachim Winckelmann. Kunst und Naturgeschichte im 18. Jahrhundert. In: Gaehtgens, Th. W. (ed.): Johann Joachim Winckelmann 1717–1768. Hamburg 1986, 221–237.

It was Winckelmann's firm conviction that the Greeks achieved the pinnacle of art. The only path for later generations was to follow them and become great through imitation. This idea was not new, but Winckelmann undertook to give scientific justification that the ancient Greeks had been particularly beautiful and developed a particularly distinctive sense of beauty. The extremely favorable climate,[22] the Greeks' love of freedom, and the peculiarities of their institutions led almost as if by law to the emergence of a perfect art. Its "highest aim" and "focus" was beauty. This is "one of the great secrets of nature," the effect of which can be seen, but whose essence is difficult to grasp.[23] Artists can express this in proportions and forms, and Greek artists did so well. For Winckelmann, statues such as the Apollo Belvedere (fig. 187), the Laocoon group, and the Niobid group (fig. 188) were embodiments of this supernatural, ideal beauty.

Winckelmann's strength was his erudition and his immense knowledge of monuments. His book has over 1450 notes, some of which grow into small essays. He quotes Spence in his bibliography and responds to him several times to show, for example, that he has been deceived in the meaning of statues by modern additions, that he has misinterpreted the Apollo Belvedere, or incorrectly dated a book illumination. Montfaucon is cited—not least because of his illustrations—16 times, but more often than not severely chided.

Montfaucon and Spence, like antiquarians before them, were primarily interested in philology. For them, the concrete form of an artwork did not matter. A copy or engraving sufficed for their assessment and interpretation. Winckelmann was philologically trained, but also a close friend to many artists. He therefore saw works of art as painters and sculptors had always seen them, with a special interest in concrete forms. In Rome, Winckelmann tried persistently and intensively to gain an unmediated view of ancient monuments.[24] Again and again he emphasizes the role of his own autopsy, and points out that drawings and engravings can be deceptive. But Winckelmann also found a new way of interpreting the works of art. The key to their understanding lay not in Roman history, but rather in Greek myth. Thus it was not difficult for him to find the correct interpretation—still accepted to this day—of the

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22 On the climate theory: Lepenies op. cit. 229–231.
23 Winckelmann 1764, 142.
24 Winckelmann, J. J.: Ville e palazzi di Roma. Text and commentary, ed. by Kansteiner, S. / Kuhn-Forte, B. / Kunze, M. Mainz 2003.

187 Apollo Belvedere, H. 2.24 m. Rome, Musei Vaticani 1015.

188 Niobe and her youngest daughter, H. 2.28 m. Florence, Uffizi 294.

so-called Shield of Scipio (ch. II.4.1. pl. 10). The silver plate shows the return of Briseis to Achilles, which is mentioned in book 19 of the *Iliad*.

If Winckelmann had wanted to write a textbook, he was completely unsuccessful. Scholars of antiquity, like Christian Gottlob Heyne, were especially critical: the historical part was filled with mistakes.[25] However, Winckelmann's real significance lay in other areas. His critical, scientific approach and his historical conception of art, which saw sculptures and paintings in the context of historical constellations and the institutions of Greece and Rome, were pioneering for scholarly engagement with antiquity. His emphasis on his own autopsy brought about a reassessment of monuments as cultural-historical sources. And his hermeneutics cleared the way for a new interpretation of many monuments.

Each of the three scholars of antiquity presented takes a special path into the ancient world. Although Montfaucon's *Antiquité expliquée* was published in 1719, it was still embedded in the previous century in many respects, shaped by Baroque ways of seeing and ordering antiquities. Its merit is that it condensed antiquarian research of the 17th century and passed it on to the 18th and 19th centuries. Spence is a generation younger than Montfaucon, and uses and criticizes his work. Antiquarians, with their voluminous and weighty *thesauri*, are old-fashioned to him, too exhausting, confused, and boring. It makes no sense for him to want to know the whole of antiquity; the art and poetry are the interesting parts. This change was a result of the intensely debated *Querelle des anciens et des modernes*.[26] Hardly anyone doubted that the scientific and technological achievements of the modern era exceeded those of antiquity. But at the same time, most accepted that the art of antiquity—especially sculpture and poetry—retained its exemplary status. Montfaucon ignored this discussion. Although he is disappointed by the confusing antiquarian anthologies of the 16th and 17th centuries, he orders the ancient world according to the antiquarian approach without comment. On the other hand, Spence's narrowed subject matter is a reaction to the changed assessment of antiquity. Although he does not expressly refer to the *Querelle*, his approach to antiquity matches the results of the controversy. He omits everything that he thought had been surmounted

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25 Heyne, Ch. G.: Über die Künstlerepochen beym Plinius. In: Sammlung antiquarischer Aufsätze I. Leipzig 1778, 165–166.

26 Perrault, Ch.: Parallèle des anciens et des modernes en ce qui regarde les arts et les sciences I–IV. Paris 1688–1697.– For a summary of the controversy, Schmitt, A. in: BNP, s. v. Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes.

and thus had become uninteresting, and he confines himself to the part that the antagonisms of the "moderns" could not touch: sculpture and literature. Winckelmann was almost two decades younger than Spence. Charles Perrault, the instigator of the *Querelle*, is for him only "ein sehr wenig erleuchteter Scribent", a "hardly enlightened scribbler" because he had misjudged the drapery of ancient statues. But Winckelmann's point of view is determined by the outcomes of the *Querelle*. His attempt to scientifically justify the primacy of Greek art over all other periods reads like a belated contribution to the controversy over the significance of antiquity. He compensated for the marginalization that antiquity had suffered in almost all areas through emphasizing the significance of Greek art.

III MORPHOMATIC FINDINGS

1. EVIDENCE

1.1 AUTOPSY AND EVIDENCE

Material artifacts (ch. I.2.1) are *evident* as sensually perceptible objects in the literal sense of the word[1]—immediately comprehensible *ex videre*, by the process of vision (but also by touch). Individual, immediate sensations are hardly ever questioned by the beholder in everyday life, and are instead regarded as reliable sources. For the Ionian philosophers Thales and Herakleitos, the eyes were more reliable witnesses than the ears. According to Thales, a lie is as far from the truth as the ears are from the eyes.[2] In Herodotos' account of Gyges, too, the primacy of what is seen is explicitly formulated before what is heard (Herodotos I.8.2). What someone sees or has seen with his own eyes, he will find particularly believable. Facts that are *ante oculos*[3] are proven instinctively and without doubt. In the *Odyssey*, Eumaios reports that he saw the arrival of a ship with his own eyes (Homer, *Odyssey* XVI.470). About 700 years later, Petronius' Trimalchio relies upon his own view to add authority to his account of the Sibyl of Cumae.[4] For ancient historians, personally witnessing and experiencing events is an important source of knowledge and is cited wherever possible to lend credibility to reports.[5] Thus,

1 Kemmann, A.: Evidentia, Evidenz. In: HWdR 3, 1996, 33–47.– Jäger, L. Semantische Evidenz. Evidenzverfahren in der kulturellen Semantik. In: Lethen, H. / Jäger, L. / Koschorke, A. (eds.): Auf die Wirklichkeit zeigen. Zum Problem der Evidenz in den Kulturwissenschaften. Frankfurt/New York 2015, 39–62.
2 Marincola, J.: Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography. Cambridge 1997, 64–65.
3 *Rhetorica ad Herennium* IV.55 (68–69).– Cf. Cicero, *Academicorum liber* 2.17.
4 Petronius, *Satyricon* 48.
5 Marincola op. cit. 63–86.– Morgan, L.: The Autopsy of C. Asinius Pollio, JRS 90, 2000, 51–69.

Vergil adds weight to his account of the fall of Troy by speaking through the eyewitness Aeneas and emphasizing his own perceptions.[6] For the sophist Antiphon of Rhamnous, seeing (ἡ ὄψις, he ópsis) is a means of gaining knowledge.[7]

In his account of Egypt, Herodotos distinguishes between those areas where he himself has traveled as an αὐτόπτης (autóptes, "eyewitness") and those he only knows from the accounts of others (Herodotos, *Histories* II.29). He gives a different degree of credibility and different weight to each type of account. At the same time, he exculpates himself from the potential charge of falsification by assigning part of the responsibility for faithful reporting to his informants. Six centuries later, Lukian's account of the Syrian goddess makes the same distinction between his sources: his account is also based partly on his own inspection (αὐτοψίη) as well as on the stories of local priests (Lukian, *De Syria Dea* 1.4). Demons and deities can be conjured through magical practices, so that they can be perceived with one's own eyes, "εἰς αὐτοψίαν" (eis autopsían), as was reported about the daimon of the philosopher Plotinus (Porphyry, *Life of Plotinus* 10). Here, too, unmediated sensory perception is the guarantee of its existence and the basis for judgment. In the Christian authors of Late Antiquity, αὐτοψία (autopsía) means witnessed by the apostles, which, for example, makes the resurrection of Christ unquestionable.[8]

Since the first century A.D., αὐτοψία, "seeing with your own eyes," has appeared in the writings of empirically-oriented physicians as an important source of knowledge.[9] The word had already been used once half a millennium earlier as the name of a female figure on a hydria from South Italy (fig. 189).[10] The term was conveyed to the doctors of the Early Modern period primarily through the writings of Galen. For them, autopsy was a strategy to review established authorities, not least of all

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6 Vergil, *Aeneid* II.347, 499, 501, 561 ("*vidi*").– See also Morgan: op. cit. 55 with n. 21.

7 Gagarin, M.: Antiphon the Athenian. Austin 2002, 80–84.

8 Eusebius, *Commentarius in Isaiam* 1.41.

9 According to the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* first in Pedanios Dioskourides (1st century A.D.) and Soranos (around A.D. 100); later frequently in Galen (late 2nd century A.D.).

10 Metzler, D.: Autopsia. In: Antike und Universalgeschichte. Festschrift H. E. Stier. Münster 1972, 113–121. Against Metzler's interpretation as a personification of divine epiphany on the occasion of celebration of the mysteries: Schmidt, M.: Autopsia. In: LIMC III 1986, 65–66.

189 Hydria by the Pisticci Painter with Autopsia (center), ca. 430 B.C. London, British Museum E 223.

Galen's own teachings.[11] Thus, in 1660 Paul Ammann, in his *Oratio de Autopsia medica*, opposed the unrestrained veneration of ancient teachers like Hippocrates and Galen. Rather, it was *autopsia* that would ensure the progress of medicine. Of course, this should be distinguished from visions or dreams, which can certainly deceive. Reliable perception is confirmed through the sense of touch: *visus* and *tactus*, the senses of vision and touch, are what provide certainty.[12] In Early Modern scholarly discourse, in which "sensory evidence is elevated to a criterion of knowledge," autopsy has a special significance.[13]

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[11] De Angelis, S.: Sehen mit dem physischen und dem geistigen Auge. Formen des Wissens, Vertrauens und Zeigens in Texten der frühneuzeitlichen Medizin. In: Jaumann, H. (ed.): Diskurse der Gelehrtenkultur in der frühen Neuzeit. Ein Handbuch. Berlin 2011, 211–253.

[12] Ammann, P.: Oratio de Autopsia medica. Leipzig 1660 (no page numbers).

[13] Leinkauf, Th.: Überlegungen zur Transformation des antik scholastischen Methoden- und Wissensbegriff in der Frühen Neuzeit: Autopsie, Experiment, Induktion. In: Toepfer, G. / Boehme, H. (eds.): Transformationen antiker Wissenschaften. Transformationen der Antike 15. Berlin 2010, 216–241, esp. 224.

1.2 AUTOPSY AND THE LOSS OF DISTANCE

Even before Rilke's poem *Archaischer Torso Apollos* (ch. III.3.1), the encounter with ancient sculpture was described as an existential and shocking experience. "I remained silent, deaf and senseless, as I beheld it," writes Johann Joachim Winckelmann in 1764 about the "head of a Pallas ... of such a high beauty that it surpasses everything of feminine beauties, indeed even Niobe" (fig. 190).[1] Classical archeology of the 20th century also understood the unmediated beholding of objects as the basis of its research. This is emphasized in a key text by Ernst Buschor (included in two prominent publications), *Begriff und Methode der Archäologie*, on the concepts and methods of archaeology.[2] Although he avoids the term autopsy, he emphasizes beholding the object as the immovable starting point of archaeology, which then leads to comparison. In this act of seeing Buschor distinguishes the physiological process of vision from the recognition of forms by the art lover and in the scientific field of archaeology.[3] Although the scientific field is determed by methods, the charisma of the object, which can only be experienced by the sight of it, sometimes forces a change in procedure. Thus, an unconditional primacy over other approaches is attributed to beholding. In his pioneering works on Archaic sculpture, Buschor suggests that sculptures

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1 Winckelmann, J. J.: Briefe III, ed. by Rehm, W. Berlin 1956, 54–55 no. 672 (from August 18, 1764, to Francke). Boschung, D.: Winckelmanns "höchste Schönheit." Zu einer Athenabüste in Newby Hall. In: Studi di archeologia in onore di G. Traversari. Rome 2004, 141–148.
2 Buschor, E.: Begriff und Methode der Archäologie. In: Otto, W. (ed.), Handbuch der Archäologie. Munich 1939, 3–10. Written 1932; reprinted without changes in: Hausmann, U. (ed.), Allgemeine Grundlagen der Archäologie. Handbuch der Archäologie. Munich 1969, 3–10.– On Buschor's biography and work: Hofter, M.: Ernst Buschor (1886–1961). In: Brands, G. / Maischberger, M. (eds.): Lebensbilder – Klassische Archäologen und Nationalsozialismus. Menschen – Kulturen – Traditionen. Studien aus den Forschungsclustern des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts 2.1. Rahden/Westfalen 2012, 129–140.
3 Erwin Panofsky similarly defined three stages in the scientific analysis of art: Elsner, J. / Lorenz, K.: The Genesis of Iconology. In: Critical Inquiry 38.3. Spring 2012, 483–512.
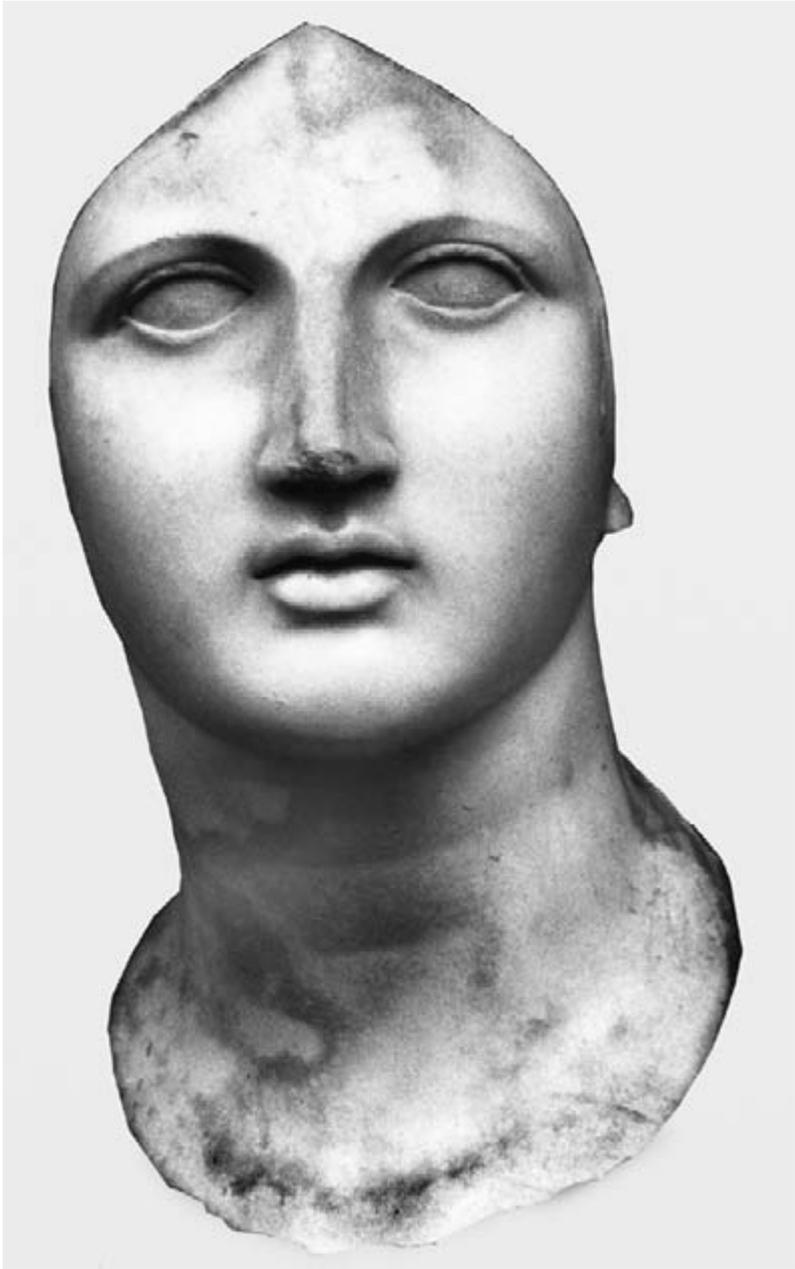
190 Winckelmann's "höchste Schönheit" ("supreme beauty"): Head of Athena; without modern additions, H. 31.5 cm. Newby Hall. Photomontage by Gisela Geng.

speak directly, explain themselves unequivocally,[4] and even let the viewer "recover" through their speech.[5] Unmediated beholding removes any historical distance.

Even for Buschor, beholding does not come without its own presuppositions:[6] it takes place "with the intensive collaboration of emotion and imagination," and "it depends on having the right sensations and ideas regarding cultivating a healthy and clear world of emotions and fantasy." Buschor ignores the obvious question of what this "cultivation" could be. By his own example he recommended the greatest possible familiarity with the art, language, and literature of the ancient Hellenes, but also with the way of life of contemporary Greeks. After this "cultivation," which establishes the right epistemic framework, the works of antiquity speak to him unadulterated and unmediated, so that he can pass on their message in essays and lectures to others who lack the "right sensations and perceptions." This allows him to interpret ancient art as a timeless message that "resounds to us over the millennia," to bring it to life as a "deeper world of spiritual being," and to "look into the depths of Greek existence."[7] The same idea can be found in a poem written by Hans Carossa for the archaeologist Ludwig Curtius. Here it is a prophet-like seer, who, immediately before archaeological objects, "in (his) glowing speech," adds "broken forms" to "clear scenes of light-filled existence" with "magic words."[8]

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4 Buschor, E.: Die Wendung des Blaubarts, AM 47, 1922, 106–109: "… (er) ordnet sich nicht der Erzählung unter, er erzählt sich selbst dem Betrachter…: 'Seht, hier bin ich, so sehe ich aus, ein Meergreis voll Kraft und Güte.'" ("[He] does not submit to the narrative; he himself tells the beholder…: 'Look, here I am, this is how I look, an old man of the sea full of strength and kindness.'")
5 Buschor, E.: Frühgriechische Jünglinge. Munich 1950, 5.
6 Critical to the idea of the "innocent eye," see Goodman, N.: Sprachen der Kunst. Entwurf einer Symboltheorie. Frankfurt 1995, 18–30, 102–112.
7 Greifenhagen, A., AA 1963, 740–748, esp. 741–742.– On Buschor's "method of beholding" and his role as "intermediary who unsealed (the originals)": Sedlmayr, H.: Die Botschaft Ernst Buschors, Hefte des Kunsthistorischen Seminars der Universität München 1962, 1–6.
8 Carossa, H.: Ergänzungen. Ein Dank an Ludwig Curtius. In: Bulle, H. (ed.): Corolla. L. Curtius zum sechzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht. Stuttgart 1937, 1–2.– Boschung, D.: Hans Carossas Ergänzungen: Die Sicht des Archäologen und die Vision des Dichters. In: Kocziszky, E. / Lang, J. (eds.): Tiefenwärts. Archäologische Imaginationen von Dichtern. Mainz 2013, 19–23.

Buschor comments in greater detail on another difficulty, namely the disfigurement of objects by damage, addition, and reworking. Among this, he also counts reproductions, so again, an unmediated beholding appears to be the most reliable source of knowledge. Discussion of the corruption of artifacts by improper illustrations has occupied archaeology at least since Johann Joachim Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (ch. II.4.2). Any rendering of an archaeological object is indeed a transfer to another medium that accentuates and alters content through its particular conditions. Through reproductions, the "charisma of the object" is inevitably lost. Buschor's skepticism is reminiscent, perhaps not accidentally, of Walter Benjamin's discussion of the loss of the *aura* of the work of art as a result of its technical reproduction.[9]

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9 Benjamin, W.: Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit (French original 1936). Frankfurt 2007.

1.3 EVIDENT FORMS, AMBIVALENT MEANINGS

Three-dimensional and life-size figures, statues, and large-scale reliefs in particular make themselves *evident*. They are immediately visible and tangible and their corporeal, expansive presence and often natural formal vocabulary are impressive and striking (ch. I.2.4). From a distance, they are integrated into large spatial contexts through the sense of vision. Close up they can be experienced in their physical presence through the sense of touch. Viewers of all periods have instinctively conceived of them as potentially living beings.[1] What they represent seems immediately and indisputably, physically present in the current moment. At the same time it is suggested that what is shown actually exists in visible form. Thus statues of gods act like a permanent epiphany[2] of the deities themselves (ch. II.2.1). They not only make their existence manifest, they also testify to the presence, strength, and particular powers of the gods through their physical form. This also applies to personifications of abstract concepts. Viewers of the virtues and achievements of the emperor—*Virtus* ("bravery"), *Victoria* ("victory"), *Honos* ("honor")—personified with their ideal bodies on the Arch of Titus could not doubt their reality, and the attention to detail of other objects shown in the same relief, such as wreaths, scepters, robes, and chariot, especially assured the reliability of their depiction (ch. I.2.3 with fig. 16b). In many cases, the context of display in conjunction with sculpture, inscriptions, ritual, and architecture demonstrated the particular significance of the subject. All in all, the multifarious artifacts created an environment that could be seen and experienced physically day by day, reconfirming itself again and again.

But even though artifacts like large-format statues were striking and manifest, they were by no means immediately clear in their meaning. Rather, meaning resulted from the interplay of three components: the visual symbol system of iconography (ch. III.2), the information of the discursive framing, and the intermedial network of relationships within the display context (ch. III.3.2). These three sources of meaning are initially

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1 See also ch. II.4.1.– Boschung, D.: Unheimliche Statuen und ihre Bändigung. In: Boschung/Vorster, 2015, 281–305.
2 Pax, E.: Epiphanie, RAC V, 1962, 832–909. Thus, for example, Ovid, *Ars amatoria* I.247–248 describes the epiphany of Venus before the shepherd Paris in the pose of a statue type known from many examples.

191 Armored statue from Veleia with a reworked portrait head, H. 2.04 m. Parma, Archaeological Museum 1870 no. 146.

independent of each other: they could reinforce and confirm, but also alter and contradict each other. For example, a statue of an armored figure from the basilica of the city of Veleia, with its statue type, corresponds to depictions of senior officers (fig. 191). The sculptural decoration with two

Victories bringing an offering of incense, in a symmetrical composition, is an expression of the victories of the emperor. The goddesses are placed in a position subordinate to him, as they relate to Zeus and Athena in Greek art. By the portrait head, this successful commander could be recognized as the emperor Nero, as it corresponded to a portrait type from the last years of the emperor's reign.[3] An inscription accompanying the statue indicated the names and honorary titles of the subject. Clearly determined by the iconography of the portrait head and in the context of the associated inscription, it could thus be recognized as a representation of the reigning emperor, who had rightful claim to every form of honor and loyalty. But when the news arrived that the person portrayed was dead and had been declared an enemy of the state by the Senate, he was—in a fundamentally changed discursive context—immediately considered a non-person, the memory of whom had to be eradicated.

Material artifacts are therefore *evident* and conspicuous, but because they are not limited by linguistic terms, they are also ambivalent. Günter Blamberger has used the concept of "enharmonic equivalence" for such an ambiguity in which a figure can be understood either "as a diminution of a higher (metaphysical) meaning or as an exaggeration of an occurrence" by the same observer in the same situation. It is a compositional practice of reinterpreting tones that, while maintaining their pitch, change their name and meaning. One can understand the aforementioned Nero statue from Veleia as this sort of reversible figure, which can seamlessly change from one established meaning to another depending on the view. Its meaning is reversed from one day to the next as if changing a plus sign to negative. Fundamentally, figures, statues, and images are susceptible to different attributions of meaning during the changing of networks of relationships. Their meaning can not only shift back and forth, but even oscillate between several interpretations, which replace but also complement or overlay each other (ch. III.3.2). Thus, a Greek figure of Nike, which initially represented a victory of the Tarentines, could later embody the victory of Augustus at Actium, and in the third century symbolize the victorious Jupiter Dolichenus (ch. II.3.1).

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3 Boschung 2002, 26 no. 2.12, pl. 21.– Bergmann, M. / Zanker, P.: Damnatio memoriae. Umgearbeitete Nero- und Domitiansporträts, JdI 96, 1981, 394–399 no. 36.– Varner 2004, 251 no. 2.50; 263–264 no. 5.13.

2. ICONOGRAPHY

In the 17th century, when Jacques Spon called the area of archaeology that dealt with statues, busts, paintings, and mosaics *Iconographia* (ch. I.3), the word subsequently took on several different meanings. The underlying Greek word εἰκών (eikón) could already have various senses: first, a work of art like a statue, a painting, or an embroidery; a likeness in the sense of a portrait; but also a pictorial phantom like an image in a mirror. Since the 16th century, *iconography* had been understood as the study of portraits from antiquity. The most influential works of the 19th century on ancient portraiture included this concept in their titles.[1] In a more general sense, iconography is the methodological approach to pictorial representations by means of which figures and motifs can be identified. And lastly, it means a system of visual conventions that makes individuals, groups, objects, and concepts recognizable by a particular visual appearance. The following is exclusively about this last meaning.

When, shortly before the middle of the eighth century B.C., Athenian vase producers established narrative imagery as a new medium (ch. I.2.3), they built their scenes from a small stock of elements, some of which—lines, circles, triangles—were also used as basic forms of non-figural ornamentation. Like the letters of the alphabet, the components of pictures only gained meaning through certain combinations with other elements. The painting technique allowed no differentiation of individual forms, which precluded indication of age or physiognomy. On the other hand, the representations followed established conventions

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1 Visconti, E. Q.: Iconographie grecque I–III. Paris 1811.– Visconti, E. Q. / Mongez, A.: Iconographie romaine I–IV. Paris 1817–1829.– Clarac, Comte de: Musée de sculpture antique et moderne VI. Iconographie égyptienne, grecque et romaine. Paris 1853.– Bernoulli 1882–1894.– Bernoulli, J. J.: Griechische Ikonographie I–II. Munich 1901.

192 Geometric battle group,
H. 11.3 cm. New York, Metropolitan
Museum of Art 17.190.2072.

that had been conditioned by notions of corporeality and life processes.[2] Initially the individual figures are similarly undefined, but they could be determined in content (figs. 27–29). The first possibility is the addition of attributes associated with a certain activity or trait. Thus a sword, a bow, a helmet, or a shield designates a warrior; a skirt a woman; and an instrument a musician. Also, proportions can have meaning, as a conspicuously reduced size identifies a figure as a child. Thirdly, gestures and actions can be used to establish content: the gesture of grief, with the hands raised to the head indicates mourners; the swinging of a sword an attacker. And finally, pose is significant: the buckling of a figure and the falling back of the head mark the dead and dying.

However, only social roles are described: warrior, mourning woman, musician, child. It remains unclear whether a figure represents a general or a particular situation, or even a specific person. A figure with a kithara may be a mythological figure like Apollo or Orpheus, a specific contemporary musician or poet, or just an undefined musician. The same ambiguity exists, despite the wealth of detail, for dramatic battle scenes (Boschung 2003 esp. 26–27). The representation of contemporary battles seems to have been quite possible in the eighth century B.C., as Homer

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2 Himmelmann-Wildschütz, N.: Bemerkungen zur geometrischen Plastik. Berlin 1964 esp. 14–17.

describes how Helen depicted in her weaving the ongoing war the Greeks and Trojans fought over her (Homer, *Iliad* III.125–128). The product may have looked similar to the battle scenes on Geometric kraters. It is striking that writing—already known at the time—was not used to identify figures and scenes or to define content. Interpretation was thus situational, through oral explanation, which may have stabilized for a certain period of time.

A set iconography for individual figures developed only gradually over the following centuries. The difficulty can be illustrated by a small-scale bronze group from the eighth century B.C. (fig. 192). It depicts a man and a hybrid figure of a man with a horse's body, facing each other with outstretched arms, holding each other by the shoulder. From the spearhead in the left flank of the horse-man, this is meant to be a combat scene.[3] Both wear conical helmets, which identify them as warriors. The tapering to a point of the lower face may indicate a beard. The composite creature matches the representation of centaurs, as established in the seventh century.[4] However, it is uncertain whether this iconographic definition was already in place in the middle of the eighth century or if other monsters were also depicted in this way at the time. Starting from its findspot in the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia, Ernst Buschor interpreted the male figure as Zeus and his opponent as his mythic foe Typhon.[5] But even if the hybrid figure was meant to represent a centaur as in later centuries, it remains unclear whether a particular situation of myth known from literature is intended, such as the centauromachy of Herakles or Theseus. In a representation of the early seventh century (fig. 31a–b) the opponent of the horse-man can clearly be named. He brandishes a lightning bolt, which is only used by Zeus, who already possesses this terrible weapon in the *Iliad*.[6] It remains his familiar attribute in the following centuries, clearly referring to the father of the gods.

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3 Himmelmann-Wildschütz op. cit. 12 with fig. 18, figs. 39, 40.– Hiller, F.: Beobachtungen zur Form der geometrischen Plastik, JdI 94, 1979, 27–28 fig. 3a–b.
4 Sengelin, Th. et al.: Kentauroi et Kentaurides. In: LIMC VIII 1997, 671–721, esp. 671.– Fittschen, K: Zum Beginn der Sagendarstellung bei den Griechen. Berlin 1969, 88–126, esp. 111–112 SB 1; 124–125 with discussion of the interpretation.
5 Buschor, E.: Kentauren, AJA 38, 1934, 128–132.
6 Tiberios, M. in: LIMC VIII 1997, 317 pl. 219 Zeus 16.– Cf. Homer, *Iliad* I.580, VIII.133, IX.236, X.6, XI.184.

193a–b Cycladic amphora from Thebes, H. 1.30 m. **b** Detail with killing of the Gorgon Medusa; H. 23 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre CA 795.

In other cases, iconographic determinations are made gradually, and sometimes considerably later, as can be seen in the example of representations of the Gorgons. The two earliest images of the Perseus myth, created around 670 B.C., give them different form. The relief decoration of a Cycladic amphora shows a composite creature of a woman with a nude torso and the body of a horse, a female counterpart to the hybrid horse-men (fig. 193a–b). Her frontal, circular face, turned toward the viewer, reveals two rows of bared teeth. Between the eyes furry hair is indicated growing down to the root of the nose.[7] This monster can only be identified through the narrative context, because the attitude and equipment of the man who beheads her matches the literary versions of the Perseus myth. At about the same time, an Attic vase-painter formulated a different image of the Gorgons (fig. 194a–b).[8] They appear as two running women pursuing the fleeing Perseus. Their heads are in the form of large bronze dinoi, that is, mixing vessels[9] whose name (δεῖνος; deînos) sounds like the word δεινός (deinós), meaning "terrible." Heads

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7 Topper, K.: Maidens, Fillies and the Death of Medusa on a Seventh-Century Pithos, Journal of Hellenistic Studies 139, 2010, 109–119.– Krauskopf, I. in: LIMC IV 1988, 312 pl. 183 no. 290.

8 Krauskopf op. cit. 313 pl. 184 no. 312.

9 On the type: Hermann, H.-V.: Die Kessel der orientalisierenden Zeit I. Olympische Forschung 6. Berlin 1966.– II. Olympische Forschungen 11. Berlin 1979.

194a–b Amphora by the Polyphemos Painter, H. 1.42 m. **b** Detail with head of a Gorgon. Eleusis, Archaeological Museum 2630.

of snakes and lions sprout from the shoulders of the Gorgons, just as they grow from the sides of these elaborate bronze vessels. An open mouth with pointed teeth takes up the whole width of the heads. Their huge eyes are pushed to the edges of the faces as with the heads of serpents. A triangular area of fur grows from the top of the head down to the mouth. An erect comb crowns the two grotesque faces. Again, the context ensures the identification, because on the back of the vase lies the beheaded Gorgon, Medusa. Both craftsmen transformed the mythological event into images and created new forms for the monsters independently of each other according to their own imaginations, which are characterized as horrible and deadly by the use of heterogeneous elements. In the second half of the seventh century, a certain iconographic convention prevailed: the head of the Gorgon Medusa shown frontally. The round face is characterized by a wide-open mouth with sharp, predator-like teeth, tongue hanging out, and a broad, wrinkled nose with large nostrils. Snakes often grow out of her hair, and sometimes Medusa is bearded. In this form, a single head is clearly identified as the Gorgon.

From the seventh century, name inscriptions are increasingly used to designate characters without ambiguity. The judgement of Paris is defined in this way on a Protocorinthian oinochoe from around 630 B.C.
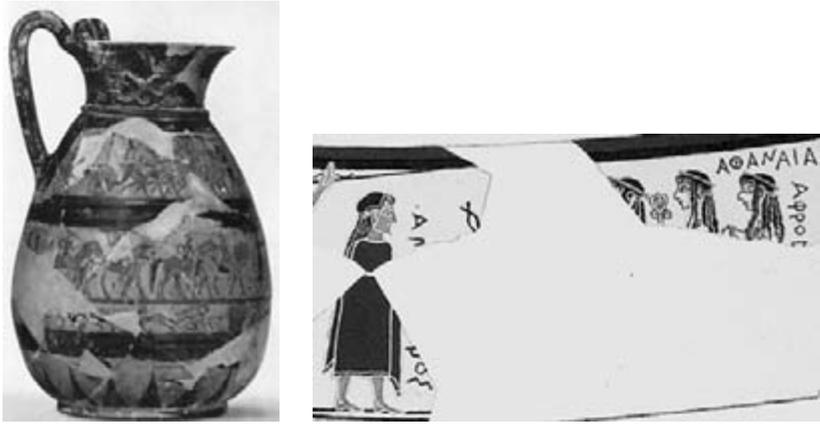
195a-b Protocorinthian oinochoe from Veii, ca. 630 B.C., H. 26 cm. **b** Detail with judgment of Paris. Rome, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia 22679.

(fig. 195a–b). Paris ("ΑΛ[ΕΧΑΝΔ]ΡΟΣ"), Athena ("ΑΘΑΝΑΙΑ"), and Aphrodite ("ΑΦΡΟΔ[ΙΤΕ]") are named; the names of Hera and Hermes are lost in a damaged part of the vase. Nevertheless, both deities can be identified with certainty. The preserved end of a caduceus (kerykeion), which distinguishes the messengers of the gods, indicates the presence of Hermes. In later periods, the kerykeion is, in addition to the traveler's hat (petasos) and winged shoes, a significant attribute of Hermes. The judgment of Paris, which can be deduced from the combination of named figures, requires the participation of Hera, for whom the additional preserved female head can be claimed. Aphrodite and Athena both wear wreaths and have the same hairstyle and facial features.[10] The fundamentally different goddesses have not yet been visually differentiated.

Around 580 B.C., in a procession of gods painted by the Attic vase-painter Sophilos, groups of goddesses are shown, labeled with inscriptions "M(o)irai," "Ny(m)phai," "Mo(u)sai," and "Charites," but they are not differentiated iconographically. Another group of three women,

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10 Giuliani, L.: Bild und Mythos. Geschichte der Bilderzählung in der griechischen Kunst. Munich 2003, 119–121.– D'Acunto, M.: Il mondo del vaso Chigi. Pittura, guerra e società a Corinto alla metà del VII secolo a. C. Berlin/Boston 2013, 113–127, 132 pl. 5.10.2; 13.4.

196a–b Cup by Oltos with assembly of the gods, ca. 510 B.C., Dm. 52 cm. Tarquinia, Museo Nazionale RC 6848.

whose name is lost, is likely the Horai.[11] On the slightly later krater by the painter Kleitias, the Horai (fig. 57a–b) and the Moirai are also named as groups, while the names of the Muses are listed individually.[12]

By the end of the sixth century there was a regular assignment of attributes for individual deities: the lightning bolt for Zeus, trident for Poseidon, helmet and aegis with the gorgoneion for Athena, caduceus for Hermes and Iris, lion skin and club for Herakles, and wings for Nike and Eros. This did not happen at the same time and in the same way

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11 Williams, D.: Sophilos in the British Museum, Occasional Papers on Antiquity 1. Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum. Malibu 1983, 9–34.

12 Cristofani, M.: Le iscrizioni. In: Maetzke, G. et al.: Materiali per servire alla storia del Vaso François. Bollettino d'arte 62 Serie speciale 1. Rome 1977, 175–195.– Giuliani op. cit. 150–151 with evidence that the names specified are related to the list of Muses in Hesiod.

197 Statue of Dionysos; "Bacchus Richelieu," H. 1.94 m. Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 87.

198 "Hope Dionysos," H. 2.09 m. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1990.247.

for all deities and heroes as the previous examples have shown. On a cup by the painter Oltos (fig. 196a–b), the seated gods are identified not only by inscriptions but also by their significant attributes: Zeus by the lightning bolt, Athena by aegis and helmet, Hermes by winged shoes and traveler's hat, Aphrodite by a dove, and Ares by weapons. Attributes can be narrative and refer to the events of a specific myth. Herakles won his lion skin by slaying the Nemean lion; Athena's gorgoneion was obtained by Perseus after decapitating the Gorgon Medusa. Others express unique abilities and characteristics, such as Hermes' winged feet, and yet others, such as lightning bolts, bows, or spears express the power of the figure represented. In any case, they are not simply name tags, but open up additional areas of association. Like the epithets of the gods,[13] their attri-

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[13] García Ramón, J. L.: Götterbilder, religiöse Vorstellungen und epitheta deorum. In: Boschung/Schäfer 2015, 109–137.

199 Dionysus statue of the "Sardanapalus" type, H. 1.95 m. Rome, Musei Capitolini 3035.

butes also reflect ideas of their unique characteristics and achievements. Sometimes the development of an established iconography of a deity is obviously the result of a long process. In some cases, as with the Hellenistic Horai (ch. II.1.1), it seems to go back to a certain event. Occasionally it is—as for Kairos (ch. II.1.2)—the work of a single artist, or is created for a political context—as with Mars Ultor. The model for the Mithras reliefs, which established not only costume, pose, and attributes but also a number of other elements, was the result of a unique design made in Rome around A. D. 100 (ch. II.2.1). An iconographically stable manifestation can ensure the identity of a deity, even if representations—as with Mars Ultor—are distinguished by different epithets (Boschung 2014). On the other hand, a name may be intertwined with different iconographies. Dionysos may appear youthful, nude, and with a feminine hairstyle, but also with a short chiton and deerskin, or wrapped in a mantle as a mature man with a full beard (figs. 197–199).[14]

Using the example of the Augustan Mars Ultor, iconography may be analyzed as an expression of religious concepts (fig. 224, Boschung 2014), whereby the statue proves to be a heterogeneous construct combining contemporary and ideal formal elements. The form of the relief-decorated muscle cuirass[15] is contemporary, while the round shield, the draping of the mantle, and the three sculpted figures on the Corinthian helmet are reminiscent of Classical Greek models.[16] With these references, the Augustan Mars Ultor follows Classical Greek images of the gods, which were, according to ancient understanding, the most important statues of all. The emblematic motif that adorns the muscle cuirass shows two winged, horned griffins flanking a candelabrum (fig. 200). They were considered companions of Apollo—who was worshiped by Augustus as his patron deity—but also of the goddess of revenge, Nemesis. Thus they recall the role of Mars as avenger and at the same time illustrate the divine aid Augustus had received for all of his accomplishments. The powerful and dangerous hybrid creatures who, according to ancient

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14 Cain, H.-U.: Dionysos. "Die Locken lang, ein halbes Weib?...." Exhibition catalog. Munich 1997.

15 Fischer, Th.: Army of the Roman Emperors. Archaeology and History. Oxford 2019, 126.

16 Leipen, N.: Athena Parthenos, a Reconstruction. Toronto 1971, 32–33.– Nick, G.: Die Athena Parthenos. Studien zum griechischen Kultbild und seiner Rezeption. Mainz 2002, 173 pl. 19.1–2; 22.

200 Statue of Mars Ultor fig. 224; breastplate. Rome, Musei Capitolini 58.

conceptions, live on the outer edge of the *oikumene*,[17] are subordinate to Mars and are commanded by him. The candelabrum in the center serves as a thymiaterion for the burning of smoke offerings,[18] as shown by the flame burning in the metal bowl topping the stand. The motif evokes the sacred aura surrounding the god, protected by powerful guardians. The griffins also stand on symmetrical, spreading vines, which is a common symbol of *aurea aetas*, the golden age brought about by Augustus (Zanker 1988, 179–183). Unlike the traditional iconography, which depicts Mars

17 Leventopoulou, M.: Gryps. In: LIMC VIII 1997, 609–611, 609–611 with additional literature and references.
18 Krauskopf, I.: Thymiaterien. In: Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum V. Los Angeles 2004–2005, 212–223.

201 Cancelleria Relief A, H. 2.06 m. Detail with Genius of the Senate (left) and Genius populi Romani. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano 13389–13391.

202 Sesterce of Galba, reverse with Honos (left) as long-haired youth, mantle draped around waist, and cornucopia; Virtus in Amazonian costume with sword and spear.

as youthful with smooth cheeks like the Greek god of war, Ares, the Augustan Mars Ultor has a thick, full beard, which matches father-deities like Jupiter and Neptune. This evokes the war god's role as father of the city's founders, Romulus and Remus, which other Augustan monuments also highlight.

In addition to attributes, significant somatic and physiognomic forms as well as peculiarities of costume and pose could be used to make figures recognizable. Few of these visual attributes are individual in the sense that they could identify an individual on their own. Rather, a double ambivalence arises. An attribute such as the bow can be added to different deities or personifications, Apollo, Artemis, Eros, and others; and the caduceus is characteristic of both Hermes and Iris as messengers of the gods. The powerful physiognomy of Zeus with thick curls and full beard can also be used for representations of Poseidon, Asklepios, or Sarapis; from the fourth century B.C., Dionysos and Apollo are both found with soft, adolescent bodies. A clear identification results only from combination with other attributes, with dress, gender, and age, and furthermore—as in the judgement of Paris—by belonging to a specific constellation of figures. Thus, the *genius populi Romani* as personification of the Roman people (fig. 201) and *Honos* as personification of honor

203 Base of the Column of Antoninus Pius, H. 2.47 m. Detail with Dea Roma. Rome, Musei Vaticani 5115.

(fig. 202) are shown the same age, with the same dress and hairstyle, and with the same attributes: as beardless youths with full curls and ideal, nude torsos, both with their mantle draped around their waist and holding a cornucopia in their lowered left hand. They can only be identified and distinguished from one another by their context: while *Honos* is reliably associated with *Virtus* ("bravery") (Pfanner 1983, 81–82, 98–99), the *genius* of the Roman people appears together with *genius* of the Senate. These identically formed figures carry very different meanings. In one case, the collective of all Roman citizens is embodied in one person, and in the other case, the honor that exceptional personalities gain through extraordinary achievements in the service of the state. *Virtus*, on the other hand, is iconographically distinguished from *Dea Roma*, the embodiment of the city of Rome (fig. 203), only by their different poses, as both were portrayed as armed and helmeted women in short chitons with bare chests; in both cases, older representations of Amazon serve as a point of reference. While *Dea Roma* appears enthroned, with various partners (even sitting next to the emperor), *Virtus* is presented standing. If such ambivalences were to be avoided, iconographic differentiations had to be made. Lysippos took this into account in the design of his statue of Kairos by distinguishing it from the figure of Eros, who was depicted

as the same age, by a specific hairstyle and by differently shaped wings (ch. II.1.2). On the other hand, deities or personifications of the same name may have different attributes in different representations, as can be seen with the seasons (ch. II.1.1).

As with the mourners of the Geometric prothesis scenes (ch. I.2.3), in later periods, gestures and signs may indicate the meaning of a figure.[19] Of course, "body language elements" (Wulf Raeck) defy a single definition.[20] Although they often seem self-explanatory, they are vague and ambiguous. Even a seemingly unambiguous gesture, such as the handshake of two people (δεξίωσις, *dextrarum iunctio*) as an expression of their bond, can be construed or defined in different ways: as a welcome or farewell; as a symbol of marriage or adoption; or in the political realm as *concordia* (harmony) or *fides* (faithfulness [to an agreement]), and more specifically as *pietas August(i)*, *fides exercit(us)*, *pax Augusti*, *amor* or *caritas mutua Aug(ustorum)*.[21]

The meaning of a gesture can remain stable for centuries. One will find the grieving women's gesture of mourning of the eighth century already in Mycenaean images and also much later.[22] On a Roman sarcophagus of the second century A. D., the hysterical tearing of the hair is an expression of unrestrained grief (fig. 204).[23] But at this time hands raised to the head and outspread hair can also characterize Aphrodite Anadyomene (fig. 205) emerging from the sea.[24] Here the gesture does

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19 Hurschmann, R.: BNP s. v. Gestures III. Greece and Rome.

20 Raeck, W.: Die "Oinomaos-Pose." Zur Interpretation körpersprachlicher Elemente in der antiken Kunst. In: Müller, R. / Rau, A. / Scheel, J. (eds.): Theologisches Wissen und die Kunst. Festschrift für Martin Büchsel. Neue Frankfurter Forschungen zur Kunst 16. Berlin 2015, 81–95.

21 Hölscher, T.: Geschichtsauffassung in der römischen Repräsentationskunst, JdI 95, 1980 esp. 301–303.– Davies, G.: The significance of the handshake motif in classical funerary art, AJA 89, 1985, 627–640.

22 Boschung 2003, 32.– Mycenaean images of mourning: Kramer-Hajos, M.: Mourning on the Larnakes at Tanagra. Gender and Agency in the Late Bronze Age Greece, Hesperia 84, 2015, 627–667.

23 Koch, G.: Die mythologischen Sarkophage. Meleager. ASR XII 6. Berlin 1975, 120–121 no. 116 pl. 103, 106, 108.– Baratte, F.: Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des sarcophages en pierre d'époques romaine et paléochrétienne. Paris 1985, 97–100 no. 37.

24 Stemmer, K. (ed.): In den Gärten der Aphrodite. Exhibition catalog. Berlin 2001, 29–30 cat. B 2.– Delivorrias, A. et al.: Aphrodite. In: LIMC II. 1984, 54–56 no. 423–454 pl. 40–43; 76–77 no. 667–687 pl. 66–68.– Jentel, M.-O.: Aphrodite

204 Meleager sarcophagus with laying out and mourning for the dead,
H. 74 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 539.

not indicate an emotional outburst, but rather refers to a singular bio-
graphical moment of the goddess, who was neither begotten nor born,
but came into being from the severed genitals of the sky god Ouranos,
and emerges from the sea in radiant beauty (Hesiod, *Theogonia* 188–200).
The development of possibilities of representation also led to a differ-
entiation of meaning, which is determined by the context in each case.

There is just as little possibility of a precise lexical classification
of individual gestures and signs with definite content as there is with
physiognomic elements and with most other attributes. Nevertheless,
the interaction of a multitude of visual references produced a semantic
system that allowed a reliable understanding of the representations in
connection with prior knowledge, in particular also through contexts and
discursive frameworks, against the background of personal experiences
and social norms. This system is flexible; it allows for the reinforcing
of references with additional elements or the nuancing of meaning by

(in peripheria orientali), ibid. 156–158 no. 40–89 pl. 158–163.– Schmidt, E.: Ve-
nus. In: LIMC VIII. 1997, 202 no. 78–87 pl. 137–138; 206 no. 133–144 pl. 142.

205 Statue of Aphrodite Anadyomene, H. 62.5 cm.
Bilthoven, private collection (once Pringsheim
Collection, Munich).

changing them. Likewise, through unconventional iconography and limited use of attributes, scenes can remain open or be obscured enough to make them understandable only with additional comment. This explains why the interpretations of prominent archaeological objects such as the Portland Vase[25] and the Tazza Farnese[26] are still contentious despite centuries of effort. In other cases—as with the Kairos of Lysippos—a later literary text offered a new perspective and subsequently determined the interpretation of the figure (ch. II.1.2).

25 Cf. the collection of proposed interpretations in Journal of Glass Studies 32, 1990, 172–176.

26 Dwyer, E. J. / Pollini, J.: The Tazza Farnese Reconsidered, AJA 96, 1992, 249–300.– Vollmer, C.: Die Tazza Farnese. Versuch einer neuen Datierung und Gesamtinterpretation, Numismatica e Antichità Classiche 41, 2012, 151–178.

3. PERSISTENCY

3.1 LOSS OF FORM: FRAGMENT, RUIN, PALIMPSEST

Artifacts come into being through a process of shaping, but once their
form exists, it is often endangered. Human hands can not only create
grave monuments of stone, but can also destroy them, as the poet Simo-
nides of Keos recognized in the decades around 500 B.C.[1] Even dura-
ble, permanent works like statues are, Cicero noted, exposed to storms,
violence, and deterioration.[2] Archaeological objects are, in most cases,
changed considerably after their formation: through degradation of the
materials, cracks and breaks, discoloration, wear and tear, weathering, as
well as through deliberate damage. The objects of Classical Archaeology
are almost always fragments and ruins, the broken and disfigured relics
of lost epochs. Because of the "Belvedere Torso,"[3] and especially after
Rilke's poem on a Late Archaic torso (fig. 206),[4] *fragments* and *ruins* are
highly regarded and frequently discussed concepts in cultural studies.[5]

Fragments are the debris of artifacts broken violently; *fragmentum*
(from *frangere*: to break, shatter, smash) denotes the result of a violent
destruction. The impacting force can be exerted unintentionally and ac-
cidentally as when, for example, the cupbearer of P. Vedius Pollio broke
a precious crystal vessel by negligence (Cassius Dio 43.32.2), when

1 Page, D. L. (ed.): Poetae Melici Graeci. Oxford 1962, Simonides 581.
2 Cicero, *Philippica* 9.14: "*sed statuae intereunt tempestate, vi, vetustate ....*"
3 Wünsche, R. (ed.): Der Torso. Ruhm und Rätsel. Exhibition catalog. Munich
1998.
4 Hausmann, U.: Die Apollosonette Rilkes und ihre plastischen Urbilder. Berlin
1947.
5 Barbanera, M.: La forza delle rovine. Rome/Milan 2015.– Koczisky, E.: Das
fremde Land der Vergangenheit. Archäologische Dichtung der Moderne. Co-
logne/Weimar/Vienna 2015, 11–19 with additional literature.

206 Torso of a man from Miletus, ca. 500 B.C., H. 1.32 m. Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 2792.

207 Relief depicting an earthquake, H. 16.5 cm. Pompeii, House of L. Caecilius Iucundus.

an earthquake affected statues in the Forum of Pompeii (fig. 207),[6] or when a rockfall buried a group of bronze statues in Delphi in the year 373 B.C.[7] The fire in Rome of A.D. 64 damaged a group of imperial statues, which were subsequently removed (ch. II.2.3). When the Duke of Richmond's house at Privy Garden burned down in 1791, a Venus torso, much admired and coveted by collectors throughout Europe, was also destroyed. Although it could be recomposed, its reputation was lost forever (fig. 208).[8]

Frequently, the destruction was done intentionally to make objects unusable, as, for example, during the removal and ritual deposition of older votive offerings in sanctuaries, so that objects offered to the gods would be protected against profane use.[9] However, as in the case of the Portland Vase,[10] violence can also be directed against the artifact itself. A volute krater in Florence of the sixth century B.C. (fig. 57a) fared even worse still: originally found in fragments, it was restored only to be violently destroyed by a museum guard in 1900, and again badly damaged by a flood in 1966.[11] More often, aggression is directed against the content

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6 Kraus, Th. / von Matt, L.: Lebendiges Pompeji. Cologne 1973, 19 fig. 9.– Dubbini, R. in: Barbanera, op. cit., 158 with fig.10.

7 Chamoux, F.: L'aurige. In: Guide de Délphes. Le musée. Paris 1991, 181–186.

8 Boschung, D. in: Boschung, D. / von Hesberg, H.: Die antiken Skulpturen in Newby Hall sowie in anderen Sammlungen in Yorkshire. MAR 35. Wiesbaden 2007, 113–114.

9 In Aventicum, a cult statue of Minerva was desposited inside a walled enclosure: Bossert, M.: Die Rundskulpturen von Aventicum. Bern 1983, 22–27 no. 9 pl. 9.2.

10 Zwierlein-Diehl, E.: Antike Gemmen und ihr Nachleben. Berlin/New York 2007, 248, 467 fig. 189.

11 Maetzke, G. et al.: Materiali per servire alla storia del Vaso François. Bollettino d'arte 62 Serie speciale 1. Rome 1977 esp. 85–100.

208 Torso of Venus, H. 76 cm. London, British Museum 1583.

209 Mutilated head of the emperor Domitian, H. 12 cm. Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum 2002.2.

of a representation or against the person depicted.[12] This occurred in the removal of victory monuments set up by enemies or otherwise undesirable parties,[13] in the obliteration of portraits of fallen rulers (fig. 209),[14] and in the elimination of pagan cult images in Christian Late Antiquity.[15] In such cases, it was not only about the destruction of a disliked object, but about the elimination of the form as carrier of a message or as representation of a person.

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12 Bredekamp, H.: Kunst als Medium sozialer Konflikte. Bilderkämpfe von der Spätantike bis zur Hussitenrevolution. Frankfurt 1975.
13 Reusser, Ch.: Tropaea Marii. In: Steinby, E. M.: Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae V. Rome 1999, 91.
14 Fleckner, U.: Damnatio memoriae. In: Fleckner, U. / Warnke, M. / Ziegler, H.: Handbuch der politischen Ikonographie I. Munich 2011, 208–215.– Varner 2004.– Boschung, D: Römische Kaiserporträts. Zeichen der Loyalität und Spuren der Revolte. In: Boschung, D. / Hellenkemper, H. (eds.): Kosmos der Zeichen. Schriftbild und Bildformel in Antike und Mittelalter. ZAKMIRA 5. Wiesbaden 2007, 255–268.
15 Gramaccini 1996, 28–47.– Funke, H.: Götterbild. In: RAC XI (1981) 659–827, esp. 808–815.– Myrup Kristensen 2013.

210 Rome, Arch of Constantine. Section of a large Trajanic battle frieze; the head of the emperor reworked as Constantine, H. 3.00 m.

Sometimes only individual components had to be eliminated. It was often sufficient to rededicate an imperial monument, changing the inscription and significant elements of the portrait head. A relief scene or portrait statue itself could be reused for a successor, because statue bodies were not perceived as individualized, but as the embodiment of general values. Thus, two panels from a long frieze with many figures celebrating Trajan's victories over the Dacians and the conquest of the province, through reworking the emperor's head and adding a new dedication, became the representation of the emancipation of Rome from the tyranny of Maxentius by Constantine (fig. 210).[16]

Fragments of artifacts can also be integrated into new contexts. In Olympia in the seventh century B.C., old Near Eastern bronze vessels were cut into pieces to use their figural friezes as robe decoration on three statues of women made from hammered sheet metal. For this they

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[16] Leander-Touati, A.-M.: The Great Trajanic Frieze. The Study of a Monument and of the Mechanisms of Message Transmission in Roman Art. Stockholm 1987 esp. 21–22 pl. 3, 11, 41.1–3.

211a Ancient head made of hammered gold; reused in the reliquary of Saint Foy, H. 14 cm. Conques, Treasury of the Abbey of St. Foy.

211b Reliquary of Saint Foy, H. 85 cm; with the ancient head in fig. 211a. Conques, Treasury of the Abbey of St. Foy.

were riveted together with newly created faces, hands, and garments.[17] In their new context, the original function of the fragmented parts was no longer recognizable and it would have escaped most viewers that the figures were assembled from pieces of different origins and time periods. Similarly, the ninth century A. D. statue of Saint Foy in Conques incor-

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17 Borell, B. / Rittig, D.: Orientalische und griechische Bronzereliefs aus Olympia. Der Fundkomplex aus Brunnen 17. Olympische Forschungen 26. Berlin / New York 1998.– Schweizer, B.: Fremde Bilder – andere Inhalte und Formen des Wissens. Olympia in der "orientalisierenden" Epoche des 8. und 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. In: Kienlin, T. (ed.): Die Dinge als Zeichen: Kulturelles Wissen und materielle Kultur. Bonn 2005, 369–372.

porates an ancient gold-plated head,[18] probably part of a Gallo-Roman depiction of Apollo (figs. 211a–b).[19] The Apollo head, which was initially part of a complete ancient figure of the god, was taken over unchanged as an isolated element and became the face of the saint. In other cases it was important that the integrated fragments clearly stand out from their context. When the Athenians renovated the Acropolis after the Persian Wars, they built into the north wall in a spot visible from a great distance the column-drums of an unfinished temple destroyed by the Persians, in memory of the barbarians' sacrilege as well as for their own defense.[20] Parts of ancient artifacts could also be deliberately staged as fragments in Medieval uses of spolia.[21]

It was particularly devastating when entire groups or genres of artifacts became obsolete because of changes in political or cultural conditions. Often the fragmentation of artifacts was only a precursor to complete elimination or annihilation. The crushing of silver plate[22] or statues[23] enabled the further processing of the stone or metal as raw materials. Ancient gravestones as well as debris from statues could be used as building material when the sculptures[24] had lost their meaning, had become unwanted, or were considered objectionable. In the construction

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18 Taralon, J. / Taralon-Carlin, D.: La majesté d'or de sainte Foy de Conques, Bulletin monumental 155.1, 1997, 1–73 esp. figs. 9–17.– Fricke, B.: Ecce Fides. Die Statue von Conques, Götzendienst und Bildkultur im Westen. Munich 2007 esp. 46–48 figs. 62–63.– de Pury-Gysel, A.: Die Goldbüste des Septimius Severus. Gold- und Silberbüsten römischer Kaiser. Basel/Frankfurt 2017, 126–135: Valentinian I?

19 Baratte, F.: Trésors d'orfevrerie gallo-romains. Paris 1989, 98–100 no. 28, 29 (from Notre Dame d'Allençon, 3rd century A. D.).

20 Wrede, H.: Waffen gegen die Perser, AA 1996, 37–41.

21 Altekamp, St. / Marcks-Jacobs, C. / Seiler, P. (eds.): Perspektiven der Spolienforschung 1. Spoliierung und Transposition. Topoi Berlin Studies of the Ancient World. Berlin 2013.

22 Grünhagen, W.: Der Schatzfund von Groß-Bodungen. Berlin 1954.

23 Boschung, D.: Torso einer Aphrodite-Statue. In: Knoll, K. / Vorster, Ch. / Woelk, M.: Skulpturensammlung Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden. Katalog der antiken Bildwerke II. Idealplastik der römischen Kaiserzeit 1. Munich 2011, 223–225.

24 Marble Venus statue, used in a street repair in Cologne in the late 4th century: Naumann-Steckner, F.: Die Aphrodite von der hohen Straße zu Köln. In: Von Anfang an. Archäologie in Nordrhein-Westfalen. Exhibition catalog. Cologne 2005, 400–403.

212 Neumagen, Constantinian fort, with blocks from Roman tombs of the early Imperial era.

of defensive fortifications, which were often carried out under great time pressure, older structures were regularly removed and their parts used as building materials.[25]

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25 Late Antique fortifications in Gaul and Germania: Hiernard, J.: Des remplois singuliers: les spolia inclus dans les enceintes tardives des Trois Gaules. In: Ballet, P. / Cordier, P. / Dieudonné-Glad, N. (eds.): La ville et ses déchets dans le monde romain: Rebuts et recyclages. Montagnac 2003, 259–270.– Clemens, L.: Zum Umgang mit Grabbauten der frühen und mittleren Kaiserzeit während der Spätantike und des Mittelalters nördlich der Alpen. In: Boschung, D. (ed.): Grabbauten des 2. und 3. Jahrhunderts in den gallischen und germanischen Provinzen. ZAKMIRA 7. Wiesbaden 2009, 313–328.– The "Gotenmauer" in Miletus: von Gerkan, A.: Milet. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und

213 Rome, SS. Marcellino e Pietro. Foundation built with grave stelae of the *equites singulares.*

This affected above all massive, elaborate graves. Numerous monumental tomb structures along the main thoroughfares of Trier were demolished in the time of Constantine and built into the foundations of the fort at Neumagen (fig. 212).[26] Also in the time of Constantine, the tombstones of the *equites singulares Augusti* in Rome were cleared and used for the foundations of the basilica of SS. Marcellino e Pietro (figs. 213–215).[27] This elite imperial troop had its own cemetery plot outside Rome, on Via Casilina, where deceased members were buried. For centuries, the grave stelae had preserved the memory of deceased horseguards and emphasized their membership in the troop, indicating each individual's name, rank, age, and place of origin in standardized inscriptions and depicting him in similarly standardized reliefs. After Constantine had defeated the guard, fighting in the service of his opponent Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge in A.D. 312, he not only dissolved their unit, but also eliminated their cemetery. The plot was designated for the construction of an im-

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Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899 II 3. Die Stadtmauern. Berlin/Leipzig 1935, 83; also Blümel, C.: Die archaischen Skulpturen der staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Berlin 1935, 52–54 no. 49–53 figs. 135–147; 55 no. 55–56 figs. 152–155.

26 von Massow, W.: Die Grabmäler von Neumagen. Berlin/Leipzig 1932.

27 Busch, A.: Militär in Rom. Militärische und paramilitärische Einheiten im kaiserzeitlichen Stadtbild. Palilia 20. Wiesbaden 2011, 127–137.

214-215 Tombstones of *equites singulares* from the Constantinian foundations of SS. Marcellino e Pietro. **214** H. 1.05 m; Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano 34227. **215** H. 1.17 m; Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Lapidaria 7025.

perial mausoleum and a Christian basilica; the gravestones were used as building materials for the church. The memory of all individual, former members of the troop was also intended to be effaced.

Numerous statues were removed, smashed, and built into foundations in Rome in the course of Late Antiquity.[28] This was the case, for example, with an over-life-size portrait statue of Agrippina Minor, made of a hard, dark stone (pl. 2).[29] The occasion and exact circumstances of

[28] Coates-Stephens, R.: *Muri dei bassi secoli* in Rome: Observations on the Reuse of Statuary in Walls Found on the Esquiline and Caelian after 1870, Journal of Roman Archaeology 14, 2001, 216–238 esp. 228–230.

[29] Moltesen, M. / Nielsen, A. M. (eds.): Agrippina minor. Life and afterlife. Copenhagen 2007.– Boschung, D.: Die Statue der Agrippina aus "Basalt." In: Trier, M. / Naumann-Steckner, F. (eds.): Agrippina. Kaiserin aus Köln. Cologne 2015, 46–50.

these actions are as unknown as the purpose of the building for which the Agrippina served as material. In the destruction the head and face remained undamaged, so the aggression was not directed against the person depicted, otherwise—as observed in other examples—the eyes, mouth, and nose would have been deliberately destroyed. It is also striking that the exotic material of the statue was not used for inlays or *opus sectile* works. Apparently, the removal was directly related to the construction work. In any case, the statue was not only removed, but at the same time it has been put to further beneficial use. Nevertheless, as in many similar cases,[30] pieces of debris retained parts of their ancient surface and thus of their original form, so that the statue can largely be restored from 41 fragments. They had remained invisible, but also undisturbed and without further damage, for about 1500 years until they were uncovered, collected, and assembled in 1885. A more radical destruction took place when statues of bronze and precious metals were broken up and melted down, or when marble sculptures were burned for lime.[31] Even in antiquity, suitable artifacts were used to a great extent for the extraction of raw materials. In his *Res gestae*, Augustus reports that he had 80 silver statues that had been erected for him melted down and used the proceeds for offerings in the sanctuary of Apollo (Augustus, *Res gestae* 24). In such cases, the form of the artifacts as designed is completely and irretrievably lost, unless fragments are left over by chance.[32]

Even literary and scientific texts from antiquity share with material legacy the fate of fragmentation. The endangerment of unpublished manuscripts is a frequent motif in 19th-century literature.[33] Naturally, losses were even greater in the period before the invention of print-

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[30] Pavolini, C.: L'"Agrippina-Orante" di Villa Casali e la politica religiosa degli imperatori sul Celio. In: Leone, A. / Palombi, D. / Walker, S.: Res bene gestae. Ricerche di storia urbana su Roma antica in onore di E. M. Steinby. Rome 2007, 309–334.

[31] Boschung 2002, 2.– Munro, B.: Sculptural Deposition and Lime Kilns at Roman Villas in Italy and the Western Provinces in Late Antiquity. In: Kristensen, T. M. / Stirling, L. (eds.): The Afterlife of Greek and Roman Sculpture. Late Antique Responses and Practices. Ann Arbor 2016, 47–67.

[32] Gebrochener Glanz. Römische Großbronzen am UNESCO-Welterbe Limes. Exhibition catalog. Bonn/Aalen/Nijmegen 2014/2015 with numerous examples.

[33] For example, in E. T. A. Hoffmann, *Lebensansichten des Katers Murr* (1819) or Jean Paul, *Leben Fibels* (1811).

ing. Whole libraries burned[34] or were otherwise destroyed;[35] papyri and parchments were erased and re-inscribed as palimpsests. A large part of ancient literature is known only by title. Many works are preserved in incomplete manuscripts; others are known only from fragmentary papyri; yet others—such as the book of Polykleitos (ch. I.2.1)—only through isolated quotations in later texts. In these cases the quotation is to the lost text as the fragment is to the statue or vase: it can provide an idea of the whole, but the majority of it remains uncertain. Like spolia, it finds its place in a new context, but, recognizably out of place, it at the same time refers to an older, fragmented work.[36]

In Egypt, papyri of all kinds, regardless of their possible literary or historical significance, were used as raw materials for mummy cartonnage. Their quality as a smoothed, portable writing medium is not used; rather, they are glued together in layers, pressed into the new desired shape, the surface sanded, covered with plaster, and painted.[37] In this way old obsolete material from private or public archives and libraries could be usefully employed again, for example—as in the case of a papyrus with epigrams of Poseidippos—for the pectoral of a mummified body.[38] The scrolls were torn up, but the individual shreds retained the structure of their composition and their inscriptions. By breaking up the mummy cartonnage, assembling the parts, reading the letters and supplementing

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34 The extensive library of the physician Galen was destroyed by a fire in Rome in A. D. 192, along with other libraries and archives in the city: Galen, *Avoiding Distress* (περὶ ἀλυπίας) esp. 4–36.

35 Blanck, H.: Das Buch in der Antike. Munich 1992, 129–132.– Sider, D.: The Library of the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum. Los Angeles 2005.

36 Roussel, M.: Kreativität des Findens, Figurationen des Zitats. Morphomata 2. Munich 2012, 7–11.

37 Grimm, G.: Die römischen Mumienmasken aus Ägypten. Wiesbaden 1974, 14–21 esp. 20.– Janis, K.: Die Bearbeitung eines ptolemäischen Mumienpektorals im Interessenkonflikt zwischen Papyrologe und Restaurator. In: Zeitschrift für Kunsttechnologie und Konservierung 13, 1999, 19–39.– Krutzsch, M.: Geheimnisse in Mumienmasken. Methoden zur Auflösung von Papyruskartonage. In: Graf, J. / Krutzsch, M.: Ägypten lesbar machen – die klassische Konservierung/ Restaurierung von Papyri und neuere Verfahren, Berlin 2008, 99–105.– Salmenkivi, E.: A Method of Extracting Cartonnages and Some Observations on their Texts, ibid. 106–112.

38 Seidensticker, B. / Stähli, A. / Wessels, A.: Der Neue Poseidipp. Text – Übersetzung – Kommentar. Darmstadt 2015, 11.– Bastianini, G. / Galazzi, C. (eds.): Posidippo di Pella, Epigrammi. Milan 2001, 7–10 figs. 1–7.

216 Papyrus of the 3rd century B.C. with Sappho's poem on age, H. 17 cm. Cologne, Institut für Altertumskunde, Papyrus collection 21351+21376r.

them for coherence, the texts can be recovered more or less reliably, often decades after their discovery (fig. 216). The price for this is the destruction of mummies, and in many cases also the looting and annihilation of ancient grave contexts.

Fragments frequently emerge in isolation, in unexpected places, and their preservation is often random. In many cases the find spot is not documented, so the original context cannot be determined. One of the first duties of archaeology is recognizing fragments and identifying them as remnants of artifacts that can be distinguished from natural products (ch. I.2.1). Thereafter, related pieces can be collected and matched, and through this process—as in the case of the Agrippina statue—the artifact is partially recovered. Comparison with better-preserved pieces can aid in the reconstruction of missing parts (ch. I.3). On this basis, typologi-

cal and chronological classifications can be carried out, which allow for historical and cultural interpretation.

The term *ruin*[39] also evokes ideas of destruction and annihilation. The Latin word *ruina* means—among other things—collapse, devastation, decay, and destruction. But while the term *fragment* is reminiscent of a sudden and violent breakdown, *ruin* conveys above all a picture of a gradual decline over the years and the devastating effects of time. Ancient poets like Ovid are familiar with the idea of "consuming time."[40] François Perrier took up this idea on the title page of his 1638 publication of statues (fig. 217). It contains, as the legend indicates, "*SEGMENTA nobilium signorum e(t) statuaru(m) / quae temporis dentem invidium evasere / Urbis aeternae ruinis erepta,*" a selection of exquisite sculptures and statues that have escaped the jealous ravages of time and have been rescued from the ruins of the Eternal City. The engraving shows in the foreground time personified (Tempus or Chronos) as a winged and bearded old man sinking his teeth into the stump of the arm of the Belvedere torso. He leans on a scythe, a tool of the harvest and an attribute of death in medieval iconography related to the Biblical book of Job (5:26). Nevertheless, the art of antiquity triumphs over impermanence, as the complete statues in the background and the coiled serpent, a symbol of eternity, show. In fact, statues can be subject not only to sudden fragmentation but also to continuous weathering, as seen in the state of the "Pasquino" group (fig. 218). It is a fragment and a ruin at the same time: a fragment because large parts of it have been lost through the individual instances of violence; a ruin because its surface has been weathered and worn down over the centuries.

A ruin implies neglect or abandonment, for example as a result of economic decline, the effects of war, or after the loss of the original function of a building. But not only weathering and decay over time can cause an artifact to become a ruin: often a partial destruction triggers or accelerates relevant processes, such as when ancient buildings were used as quarries or for the extraction of metals used in them.[41] In some cases, ancient buildings were at least partially preserved because they were

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39 Schnapp, A.: Was ist eine Ruine? Göttingen 2014.

40 Ovid, *Metamorphoses* XV.234–236: "*tempus edax rerum, tuque, invidiosa vetustas, / omnia destruitis vitiataque dentibus aevi / paulatim lenta consumitis omnia morte!*"

41 Lanciani, R.: The Destruction of Ancient Rome. London/New York 1901, 181–213, 238–252.

217 François Perrier, title page of *Segmenta nobilium signorum*, 1638.

218 Torso from a statue group, H. 1.92 m. Rome, Piazza Pasquino.

219 Trier, Church of St. Simeon with Porta Nigra. Oil painting after original from the second half of the 18th century. Trier, Stadtmuseum.

later used for another function.[42] The memory of its original significance could be preserved or lost. The restoration of an ancient building usually means the removal of elements added later, which themselves capture a historical condition. For example, to uncover the Porta Nigra in Trier, the church of Simeon that had been built into it (fig. 219) was largely removed, so that only small remnants of it remain visible.[43] The salvage of the Roman structure removed intact architecture and created a Roman ruin that is not the product of decay but of archaeology. It also resulted in the embedded church itself becoming a ruin, making a palimpsest of ruins from an organically developed building.

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42 Mausoleum of Augustus: Betti, F. et al.: Mausoleo di Augusto. Demolizioni e scavi. Fotografia 1928/1941. Rome 2011.– Senate Curia: Bartoli, A.: Curia Senatus. Lo scavo e il restauro. Rome 1963.
43 Zahn, E.: Die Porta Nigra in nachrömischer Zeit. In: Gose, E. (ed.): Die Porta Nigra in Trier. Berlin 1969, 107–151.
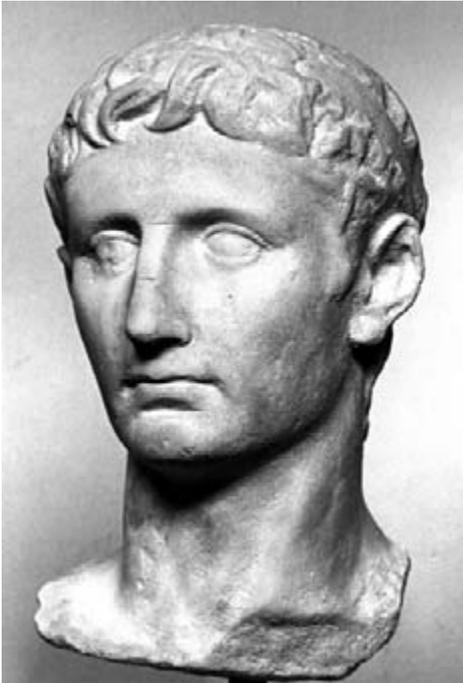
220 Portrait of a Ptolemaic king, reworked as a portrait of Augustus, H. 31 cm. Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseum 4 (plaster cast, Museum für Abgüsse antiker Bildwerke, Munich).

Hans Jucker used the term *palimpsest* in an influential essay on reworked portraits of emperors (fig. 220),[44] taking over an already ancient term used in the history of the book that describes the erasure of a text and the re-inscription of a papyrus or parchment (fig. 221).[45] The function of the object as a writing medium is retained while the content is replaced. In this process, vestiges of the first text may remain recognizable to the attentive viewer and be made readable again with the right

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[44] Jucker, H.: Iulisch-claudische Kaiser- und Prinzenporträts als "Palimpseste," JdI 96, 1981, 236–316. On the Ptolemy/Augustus in Stuttgart: Kovacs, M.: Umarbeiten als "kulturelles Schicksal." Zu Sinn und Funktion von Umarbeitungen und Umwidmungen ptolemäischer Herrscherporträts. In: von den Hoff, R. / Queyrel, F. / Perrin-Saminadayar, É.: Eikones, portraits en contextes. Recherches nouvelles sur les portraits grecs du Ve au Ier s. av. J.-C. Venosa 2016, 205–230, esp. 211–212 figs. 1–3.

[45] Hurschmann, R.: BNP s. v. Palimpsest.
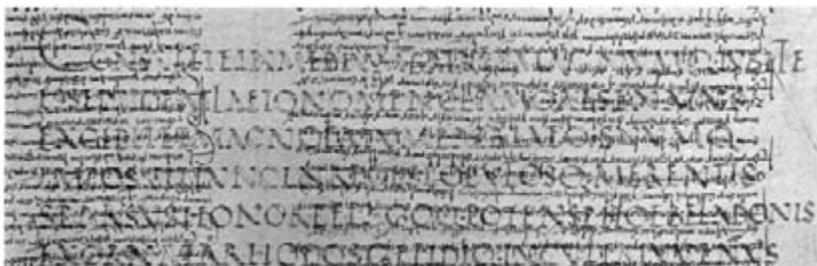
221 Palimpsest (Codex rescriptus). Text of Lucan from the 4th/5th century; overwritten in the 8th century with the *Ars Grammatica* of Charisius. Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale CLA III 392.

technical procedures. Of course, the transfer of the term to reworked objects is only in part correct. While with a reused papyrus or parchment the second inscription could be any desired text written in any desired form, the reworking of a sculpture was determined to a much greater extent by the first version. While a head may receive new facial features, numerous details, such as the dimensions and proportions, had already been set. The position of the eye sockets, ears, and nostrils was also prescribed for the sculptor doing the reworking and could at best be cautiously changed. In many cases, the original form was not completely eliminated. Often, parts of the first version were left in places that were difficult to see in the neck and on the top of the head, and were integrated as much as possible into the new representation.[46] Unlike palimpsest texts, the successive versions are not superimposed; rather, elements of both versions stand side by side and complement each other. This procedure is more akin to *rasura* in inscriptions, where key elements of the text such as names and titles of unpopular persons are replaced, but much of the original message remains intact.

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46 Fittschen, K: Über das Umarbeiten von Porträts, Journal of Roman Archaeology 25, 2012, 637–643.

3.2 CONSISTENT FORMS, CHANGING MEANINGS[1]

Individual deities, heroes, and personifications had a significant and stable iconography (ch. III.2), nevertheless, their representations could acquire a different meaning through a change in context, even if they remained the same formally (Boschung/Jäger 2014). This is demonstrated by the example of the Aeneas group (fig. 222) and the statue of Mars Ultor (fig. 224) from the Forum of Augustus in Rome (Boschung 2014). They were reconceived iconographically with the intentional use of older forms for installation in the Augustan building complex, in order to make clear the political values and claims of the princeps.[2] The significance of these sculptures, as with other artifacts, arose from the interplay of iconography, discursive framing, and display context (ch. II.2.3).

The discursive framing of the sculptures in the Forum of Augustus included the collective experience of decades-long civil wars and their effects on the organization of the state as well as on individual fates. The counterpart was the reorganization of authority negotiated between the ruler and the Senate after the end of the civil wars, which included traditional forms of religion and politics, promising stability and economic prosperity. Another element of the framing was the loyalty to and emotional bond with the emperor, which had been built up over decades and which found visible expression in an excess of manifestations of faithfulness and in forms of religious worship. And finally, it included the conception of the past developed in the Augustan period, which influentially summarized and updated mythological and historical accounts that, on the one hand, gave rise to a collective identity and, on the other hand, made Augustus appear as the consequent perfection of Roman greatness.[3] The framed field was shaped by impulses initiated by Augustus himself, but above all by the reactions of various institutions, groups, and individuals in all available media, whereby the emperor in turn had instruments of control at his disposal (Zanker 1988 – here ch. II.3.1).

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1 For further detail see Boschung 2014.
2 On the iconography of Mars Ultor: ch. III.2 with fig. 200.
3 Zanker 1988.– von den Hoff, R. / Stroh, W. / Zimmermann, M.: Divus Augustus. Der erste Kaiser und seine Welt. Munich 2014.

222 Statue of Aeneas with Anchises and Ascanius from Cologne, H. 88 cm. Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum 8731.

223 Ceramic lamp depicting Aeneas with Anchises and Ascanius, Dm. 9.5 cm. Barcelona, Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya.

The site and furnishings of the Forum of Augustus made up a deliberate and powerful demonstration, in which the ruler made his interpretation of Roman history visible and permanent in elaborate form, created spaces for religious and political ritual, and thus also expressed his own role in a way that allowed many interpretations (ch. II.2.3). Aeneas, whom Augustus claimed as his ancestor, took a prominent place within the contexts' architectural and ideological framing, and thereby organized other meaningful elements. The temple and cult image of Mars Ultor made it clear that the civil wars had been necessary to avenge a tremendous injustice, and at the same time they signaled that the wars had been victorious and ended with rich spoils.

Crafted of expensive materials using tested techniques, the sculptures of Mars Ultor and Aeneas in the Forum of Augustus were unique artifacts, expansive in their three-dimensional physical presence, unshakeable by their weight and their anchoring, overwhelming in size and staging: it was precisely in this way that they shaped viewers' conceptions as dematerialized mental images (Boschung 2007).

The material content of the statues was lost when, for example, they were transferred by drawing into a two-dimensional line system that captured pose and attributes but abstracted size, material, and spatial relationships. Such reductions could be re-materialized in any desired for-

mat and context, in the two-dimensional images of coins, votive plaques, lamps, lead medallions, ceramics, engraved gems, marble reliefs, and murals; and in three-dimensional statues and statuettes made of marble, bronze, and clay.

If figure types lost their original context through repetition in other locations, their "statue identity" could be endangered (Jäger 2014). This can also be seen in accompanying inscriptions. In Pompeii and Mérida not only was the Aeneas group copied from the Forum of Augustus, but also the associated elogium with name and *cursus honorum*, the identity thus unmistakably fixed in the new context. On *Tabulae Iliacae* and lamps (fig. 223), Anchises and Ascanius are named in addition to the main character, Aeneas. Secure identity is extended to capture the narrative context. Similarly, a coin image from the time of Antoninus Pius depicts the figure of Mars Ultor together with its name. More common, however, are examples in which the figure type, although associated with the name of Mars, is reinterpreted with another epithet. Votive plaques from Barkway in England call him Mars Alator (fig. 225), and a marble statuette from Gubbio is inscribed as Mars Cyprius (fig. 226). These examples make it clear that the statue type had been emancipated from the original Augustan program. Removed from the architectural and programmatic references of the Forum of Augustus, it could represent any variant of the god of war as a single figure. In the case of the statue from Pompeii (fig. 227) the original meaning is clearly denied by the inscription with the designation as M. Holconius Rufus; at the same time, attributes that could have contradicted the new interpretation have been replaced.

The question of a statue's identity arises in other ways for small-scale copies of the statue of Mars Ultor (fig. 228), in which not all attributes are adopted. The numerous small bronzes after this figure[4] show several levels of proximity to the cult image in Rome. Most copied only the pose and weaponry of the model. In many of these figures of the god the characteristic mantle is also adopted, in some the relief decoration of the armor with griffins is also reproduced (Boschung 2000, 127). There is obviously a hierarchy to the elements here, in which alongside the standing pose and arm position, the beard, helmet, armor, shield, and spear are regarded as the core constituents of the character type, while the armor decoration and mantle could be omitted. Engraved gems ren-

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4 Siebler, M.: Studien zum augusteischen Mars Ultor. Munich 1988, 198–202.– Boschung 2000, 125–128.

224 Roman Copie of the statue of Mars Ultor, H. 3.60 m. Rome, Musei Capitolini 58.

225 Silver plaque with Mars Alator; H. of the figure approx. 4.5 cm. London, British Museum 1817,0308.3.

der Mars in reverse, because it was not the ringstone that was regarded as the actual image, but rather the seal impression, in which the figure then appears right again (fig. 229).

Even if a statue of the Augustan Mars Ultor type lost its discursive framing after the end of antiquity, some of the central elements communicated by the iconography nevertheless remained intact. Even in later periods, the full beard could always be understood as a sign that the person depicted is an adult man. Likewise, the outmoded form of the armor and weapons proved that the figure is a well-equipped and battle-proven warrior from times past. On the other hand, other pictorial elements such as armor decoration are understandable as isolated pictorial motifs, such as the heads of humans, rams, and elephants, but have lost their meaning. In a new cultural framing, they can undergo a reinterpretation, thus the unchanged, inherited form is recharged with new content, as the statue of Mars Ultor in the Capitoline Museum shows (fig. 230). After

226 Statuette of Mars Cyprius, H. with base 70 cm. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 13806.

227 Statue of M. Holconius Rufus, H. 2.15 m. Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 6233.

its discovery in the 16th century, it was interpreted for two centuries without question as a portrait of the Hellenistic king Pyrrhus of Epirus.[5] The connection was made with the elephant heads on the armor, which were associated with the historically-attested battle elephants of Pyrrhus. The framing for this, as in many similar cases, came about through the culture of learned antiquarians, who organized the material relics of an-

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5 Rockwell, P.: The Creative Reuse of Antiquity. In: Grossman, J.B./Podany, J./True, M. (eds.): History of Restoration of Ancient Stone Sculptures. Los Angeles 2003, 77–78.– Müller, U.: Pyrrhos – Zwei Ergänzungen und ein Nachspiel. Zur Statue des Mars Ultor im Kapitolinischen Museum, Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma 87, 1980/1981, 137.– See also Bottari, G. G.: Museum Capitolinum III. Rome 1755, 116–117 pl. 48 ("Pirro re d'Epiro"). Against this attribution: Winckelmann 1764, 355–356 (Mars) and 1776, 721–722 (Agamemnon).– Visconti, E. Q.: Iconographie grecque II. Paris 1808, 238.

228 Bronze statuette of Mars, H. 8.5 cm. Xanten, Museum.

229 Engraved gem with Mars Ultor, H. 1.2 cm. Private collection.

tiquity according to models from the written tradition (here ch. II.4.1). As Paolo Liverani was able to show,[6] this resulted in numerous historical interpretations of ancient sculptures, which appeared consistent and coherent according to the aims of antiquarians.[7] The new meaning of the Mars statue as a representation of the powerful Roman enemy Pyrrhus was materialized in the modern restoration of the statue. It received the addition of the lost lower legs with fur boots, after the model of representations of Roman emperors and generals. This created a potent monument of Roman history, which, spread in numerous illustrations, shaped for centuries the conception of an important aspect of Roman history.

The iconographic repertoire developed over the centuries (ch. III.2) offered a rich pool of pictorial motifs that could be combined in new contexts, unchanged or with minor variations. Thus, new pictorial themes could be created at any time through the selection and combination of

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6 Liverani, P.: Historisierung idealer Figuren. In: Boschung/Jäger 2014, 163–185.
7 Liverani op. cit.– Daehner, J. M.: Faustinas Liebhaber: Vom Mythenbild zur historischen Fiktion. In: Boschung/Jäger 2014, 295–320.– Boschung 2010.– Here ch. II.4.1.

230 Mars Ultor statue (fig. 224) as portrait of King Pyrrhus; after A. Lafreri, Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae (see fig. 49) 1562.

231a-b Endymion sarcophagus; ca. A.D. 160, H. 49 cm. Below, detail with Luna and Endymion. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 24.97.13.

suitable individual figures, whereby individual forms or groups are formally the same, but have been adopted with different content. To this end, they were—as in the case of the Mars Ultor and the Aeneas group—separated from their original contexts, losing their identity through their isolation, and they could be given a new name and a new meaning in another context. This can be observed, for example, in Roman sarcophagi, where heterogeneous statuary types with figural motifs from metal-working and glyptic were combined into new mythological scenes and narrative sequences.[8] Similarly, narrative scenes that had been developed to portray the military achievements of Roman emperors, such as im-

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[8] Grassinger, D.: Die Konstruktion der Mythenbilder. In: Boschung/Jäger 2014, 321–340.– Cf. ch. I.2.3.

232a–c Early Christian sarcophagus; ca. A. D. 280, H. 59 cm. Below, details with representation of Jonas (**b**) and the baptism in the Jordan (**c**). Rome, Santa Maria Antiqua.

ages of triumph or subjugation, were transferred into the mythological realm, making visible the power of the gods.[9] Informative material for a corresponding use of an older figural repertoire in Late Antique relief ceramics of North Africa has been compiled by Sophie zu Löwenstein. There, the feminine, robed figure type could represent either Christ at the tomb of Lazarus or a personification of Winter in different scenes.[10] After replacing the head and attributes depending on the context, the figure of a Ptolemaic queen created in the third century B.C. could be put into new contexts seven centuries later as an apostle or personification of the province of Africa.[11]

When, with the arrival of Christianity in Rome in the late third century A.D., biblical themes came to be used for the decoration of tombs and sarcophagi, sculptors and painters fell back upon existing figure types, recontextualized and their content recharged. For the figures and events of the Old and the New Testament, there was initially no established iconography, but the pictorial repertoire of Hellenistic and Roman Imperial art offered numerous suitable models. The figure of sleeping Endymion (fig. 231a–b) was removed from its narrative context and used as a model for the prophet Jonah (fig. 232a–b).[12] The sleeping youth's pose and nude body were important to the content of the mythological scene: they reveal the beauty of the Carian shepherd, which made the moon goddess fall in love with him and forced her to interrupt her journey across the night sky to come down to Earth. It is obvious that the depictions of Endymion express these very aspects by showing the sleeping figure as youthful, naked, and in an alluring pose, while also focusing on the visit from the goddess. The biblical text mentions neither the youthfulness nor the beauty of the prophet, but these traits are claimed for him by the unchanged transfer of the figure type. By isolating the individual figure, the spectacular encounter and the emphasis on the relationship as a couple has disappeared. On the other hand, the addition of a sea monster (κέτος, kétos) and a gourd plant (κολόκυνθα,

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9 Catania, A.: The Transformation of Imperial Triumphal Imaginary on Dionysian Sarcophagi. In: Boschung/Jäger 2014, 209–227.

10 zu Löwenstein, S.: Mythologische Darstellungen auf Gebrauchsgegenständen der Spätantike, Kölner Jahrbuch 48, 2015, 397–823, esp. 790 cat. no. V18.

11 zu Löwenstein op. cit. 659–660, 790–791 cat. no. VS19; cf. Burr Thompson, D.: Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience. Oxford 1973, 23–34.

12 Sichtermann, H.: Der Jonaszyklus. In: Spätantike und frühes Christentum. Ausstellung im Liebieghaus Museum alter Plastik. Frankfurt 1983, 241–248.

233a–b Early Christian sarcophagus of Adelphia (**b** Detail), ca. A. D. 330, Syracuse, Museo Archeologico 864.

234 Rome, Forum Romanum. Column monument, dedicated in A. D. 608 in honor of the emperor Phocas.

235 Colossal statue of an emperor, 5th century A. D., H. 4.50 m. Barletta, San Sepolcro.

236 G. B. Piranesi, Vedute di Roma. Pantheon in Rome as Christian church.

kolókyntha) references the biblical text, which names both in the course of the story (Jonah 2:1, 2:10, 4:6–7, 4:10). This eclectically constructed scene was a great success: the Jonah representation is one of the most popular images of Early Christian art.

Other biblical events were also mediated through eclectic compilations of older figure types. The figure of a pagan philosopher could be used for Christ himself or for the apostles;[13] by adding a rooster or a dove, he is identified as Peter or John the Baptist (fig. 232c). Mary with the baby Jesus could be represented on her knees after the model of the goddess Isis with Horus, and the three Magi from the east modeled after tribute-bringing barbarians (fig. 233a–b).[14] These also appear in imperial iconography in Late Antiquity to illustrate the world-dominating power of the Roman emperor. The "Barberini Ivory" from the sixth century A. D. shows in its lower frieze Persians and Indians, led forth by Victoria, bringing wreaths, money, ivory, and exotic animals to the mounted emperor (pl. 12).[15] Only the context of the complete scene ensures the identification of the individual figures as either tribute-bringing barbarians or as gift-giving Magi. In the figural embroidery on the garment of the empress Theodora it remains unclear for whom the gifts are intended (pl. 4b).[16] In many cases, however, the repetition of figures and scenes in their new contexts resulted in a fixed, and now Christian influenced, iconography within a short time.

Two cases of the reuse of monuments in Rome in the early seventh century exemplify the end of the tradition of antiquity and the transition to the Christian Middle Ages. On August 1st, A. D. 608, Smaragdus, Exarch of Italy, dedicated a column monument for the Byzantine Emperor Phocas in the Forum Romanum, using older structures and building components (fig. 234). It was, as the inscription indicates, crowned with

13 Zanker 1995, 289–307.– Brenk, B.: Kleider machen Leute. Zur Bekleidung der christlichen Heroen. In: Boschung/Jäger 2014, 253–265.

14 Engemann, J.: Die imperialen Grundlagen der frühchristlichen Kunst. In: Spätantike und frühes Christentum. Exhibition catalog. Frankfurt 1983, 260–266.

15 Cutler, A.: Barberiniana. Notes on the Making, Content, and Provenance of Louvre, OA. 9063. In: Tesserae, Festschrift für Josef Engemann. Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum Ergänzungsband 18. Münster 1991, 329–339 pl. 51–59.

16 Deichmann, F. W.: Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna. Baden-Baden 1958, figs. 358, 360–367.– *id.*: Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes II. Kommentar 2. Teil. Wiesbaden 1976, 180–187.

a gilded statue of Phocas, which was probably also reused.[17] An idea of the effigy can be gained from the Late Antique bronze statue in Barletta (fig. 235).[18] The erection of the likeness of the emperor on a monumental column matched a monument type that had been used in Rome for centuries and followed, for example, the dedication of the Five-column Monument by the tetrarchs (ch. II.3.2). The Column of Phocas, assembled from found artifacts of various kinds, is the last known monument to a ruler from antiquity. In return, and in the same year, Phocas gave Pope Boniface IV the Pantheon, which he consecrated on May 3rd, A. D. 609 as the Christian church of *Sancta Maria ad Martyres* (fig. 236). The largely intact ancient monumental building remained preserved in its substance, but took over a new function, which it has maintained throughout the Middle Ages into the modern era.[19]

17 Jordan-Ruwe, M.: Das Säulenmonument. Zur Geschichte der erhöhten Aufstellung antiker Porträtstatuen. Bonn 1995, 112–114, 189.– Kalas, G.: The Restoration of the Roman Forum in Late Antiquity. Austin 2015, 96–99.

18 Kiilerich, B.: The Barletta Colossos Revisited, Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia 28 (N. S. 14), 2015, 55–72.– Jordan-Ruwe op. cit. 167 believes the statue belonged to a column monument of the fifth century from Constantinople.

19 Graßhoff, G. / Heinzelmann, M. / Wäfler, M. (eds.): The Pantheon in Rome. Bern 2009.– Marder, T. A. / Wilson Jones, M. (eds.): The Pantheon from Antiquity to the Present. New York 2015.

3.3 THE CONTINGENCY OF TRANSMISSION

The origin, survival, and effect of morphomes often come about by chance. While artifacts of daily use are produced continuously and subject to foreseeable wear and tear, this is not so for unusual and therefore particularly potent works. This is true in many cases first for their emergence. It is unclear what prompted Lysippos or his commissioner to depict the opportune moment in a statue (ch. II.1.2). Even if the commissioner and time and place of creation are known, the motivation for a particular form of the design can still remain obscure. It can only be speculated why Ptolemy II had his procession in Alexandria in 275/4 B.C. conducted in the form reported to us, and what prompted him to include the Seasons.[1] At any rate, the chosen form of depicting the Seasons as four women in seasonal dress with seasonal fruits was the basis of an iconographic tradition for the Horai that lasted for centuries (ch. II.1.1).

The history of the effect of artifacts was often the result of aleatory and contingent processes. Indeed it can occasionally be determined from which factors the potency of an artifact results (ch. I.2.4). For the seasonal geniuses it can be shown that their inclusion in the figural repertoire of imperial honorary monuments ensured the stabilization of the iconography and the transmission into sepulchral art, by which the morphome gained potency (ch. II.1.1). But we can only surmise that it was the unusual iconography of Kairos that caught the attention of the poet Poseidippos, and that it was the evocative dialogue structure of his epigram that led to its inclusion in the *Anthologia Graeca* and to adaptations and pictorial translations.

In particular, the physical continuity of artifacts after their creation seems to be contingent in many cases. The spatial organization of the ancient world, in which cities and old transportation routes provided the foundational pattern for settlement activities, trade, and travel even after the fall of the Roman Empire, were the most likely to survive. In the cities themselves, the ancient streets, defensive walls, and monumental buildings provided a topographical structure that was borrowed and adapted to new needs by repurposing buildings and abandoning or

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1 Hanfman 1951 I, 112.

building over certain areas.[2] Other genres were much more endangered because of their perishable materials: ancient works of literature; treasures made of precious materials;[3] textiles, paintings, and sculptures.

The term *persistency* refers to the continuity of artifacts and structures beyond the collapse of the social and political order in which they were created.[4] These artifacts lost their discursive framing and their context along with their original meaning. But due to the quality of their formal design, isolated traditional relics remained intriguing and were reinterpreted.[5] Thus, an ancient cameo showing a Ptolemaic royal couple (pl. 13), was reconceived in the Middle Ages as a representation of the three biblical Magi.[6] It was said to have first come into imperial possession in Rome from the Ptolemaic royal court in Alexandria, later transferred to Constantinople, and after the sack of Constantinople in 1204 arriving in medieval Cologne with Emperor Otto IV. The biblical interpretation was based on the perception of the dark Jupiter Ammon head on the helmet as *caput Aethiopis* ("head of an Ethiopian"), which is found in the description by Albertus Magnus, and thus as a representation of the third king Balthasar. It cannot be said how far back this interpretation goes, but it was a determining factor in the stone being chosen and displayed in a prominent place among the jewels on the *Dreikönigenschrein* (Shrine of the Three Kings) in Cologne.[7] From a morphome of a Hellenistic ideology of power, in the new discursive framing and the resulting new context it became a morphome of the Christian story of salvation.

An important prerequisite for persistency is the durability of the material. Artifacts made of hard, heat-resistant, and corrosion-resistant raw materials naturally had a greater chance of remaining unchanged over a long period of time. However, high quality materials could also endanger

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2 von Hesberg, H.: Antike Architektur im mittelalterlichen Stadtkontext. In: Boschung/Wittekind 2008, 137–159.– Ristow, S.: Wiederaufbau, Wandel, Weiterverwendung. Zur Nutzung antiker Bausubstanz durch christliche Kultgebäude im Frühmittelalter. In: Boschung/Wittekind 2008, 189–214.

3 Wittekind, S.: Die mittelalterliche Verwendung spätantiker Elfenbeine. In: Boschung/Wittekind 2008, 285–317.

4 Boschung/Wittekind 2008 esp. 7–8.

5 See also ch. III.2 on Mars Ultor/Pyrrhus.

6 Zwierlein-Diehl, E.: Die Gemmen und Kameen des Dreikönigsschreines. Cologne 1998, 50–59, 92–94.

7 Zwierlein-Diehl op. cit. 59–61.

artifacts. Although metals such as gold, silver, and bronze are especially resistant to corrosion, they can easily be melted down and reused for new purposes. In many cases the use of ancient artifacts as raw materials made new works possible in the first place. This was especially true for materials like colored stone and ivory, which were no longer available after the end of antiquity or could only be obtained with great difficulty. Even ancient buildings could be used as easily accessible quarries, and some were completely or partially removed.[8]

It could not be predicted what objects would be lost through catastrophes, weathering, or random destruction and which would persist or resurface after a long period of time. In some cases, ancient artifacts have been preserved because catastrophes in antiquity made them inaccessible. The eruption of Vesuvius in the year A.D. 79 saved murals and furnishings of Roman houses and suburban villas that are nowhere else preserved to this extent. The scrolls from the library of the *Villa dei Papiri* in Herculaneum were heavily damaged but at the same time conserved.[9] Other texts have come down to us because the papyri on which they are inscribed were used for mummy cases, from which today's restorers can remove them again (ch. III.3.1). Numerous ancient bronze statues were lost in antiquity in shipwrecks or landslides and therefore escaped being melted down. Sometimes destruction in war led to broken artifacts being secured in the ground: sculptures from the Athenian Acropolis damaged in 480/479 B.C. ended up in the terrace layers of the sanctuary and remained there until the excavations of the 19th century.[10] Even statues that were smashed and built into walls are preserved, thanks to this process, until the present day (ch. III.3.1). Thus Constantine involuntarily ensured that the names of the *equites singulares* he detested are still known today. By having their tombstones removed and built into walls to erase any memory of them, he protected the marble stelae from corrosion and destruction in lime kilns, which probably would have obliterated them over the course of the centuries (figs. 214–215).

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8 Reuse of bronze from the roof of the Pantheon by Pope Urban VIII: Heinzelmann, D. / Heinzelmann, M. / Lorenz, W.: "decora inutile". Das antike Bronzedach der Vorhalle des Pantheons in Rom, RM 124, 2018, 47–83.

9 Sider, D.: The Library of the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum. Los Angeles 2005.

10 Lindenlauf, A.: Der Perserschutt der Athener Akropolis. In: Hoepfner, W. (ed.): Kult und Kultbauten auf der Akropolis. Berlin 1997, 46–115.

ABBREVIATIONS

AA Archäologischer Anzeiger

AJA American Journal of Archaeology

AM Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung

AntTard Antiquité Tardive. Revue internationale d' histoire et d' archéologie (IVᵉ–VIIIᵉ s.)

ASR Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs

Berger 1989 Berger, F.: Die Münzen der römischen Republik im Kestner-Museum Hannover. Hannover 1989

Bernoulli 1882. 1886. 1891. 1894 Bernoulli, J. J.: Römische Ikonographie I. Die Bildnisse berühmter Römer mit Ausschluss der Kaiser und ihrer Angehörigen. Stuttgart 1882.– II. Die Bildnisse der römischen Kaiser und ihrer Angehörigen 1. Das julisch-claudische Kaiserhaus. Berlin/Stuttgart 1886.– 2. Von Galba bis Commodus. Stuttgart/Berlin/Leipzig 1891.– 3. Von Pertinax bis Theodosius. Stuttgart/Berlin/Leipzig 1894

Blamberger 2011 Blamberger, G.: Gestaltgebungen und ästhetische Idee. Morphomatische Skizzen zu Figurationen des Schöpferischen und des Todes. In: Blamberger/Boschung 2011, 11–46

Blamberger/Boschung 2011 Blamberger, G. / Boschung, D. (eds.): Morphomata. Kulturelle Figurationen: Genese, Dynamik und Medialität. Morphomata 1. Munich 2011

BNP Brill's New Pauly online: referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/brill-s-new-pauly

Bol 1990 Bol, P. C. (ed.): Polyklet. Der Bildhauer der griechischen Klassik. Frankfurt a.M. 1990

Bol 2002. 2004. 2010 Bol, P. C. (ed.): Die Geschichte der antiken Bildhauerkunst. I: Frühgriechische Plastik. Mainz 2002.– II: Klassische Plastik. Mainz 2004.– IV: Plastik der römischen Kaiserzeit bis zum Tode Kaiser Hadrians. Mainz 2010

Boschung 1987 Boschung, D.: Antike Grabaltäre aus den Nekropolen Roms. Bern 1987

Boschung 2000 Boschung, D.: Figürliche Kleinbronzen in Xanten. Eine konventionelle Bilderwelt und ihre Quellen, Kölner Jahrbuch 33, 2000, 121–129

Boschung 2002 Boschung, D.: Gens Augusta. Untersuchungen zu Aufstellung, Wirkung und Bedeutung der Statuengruppen des julisch-claudischen Kaiserhauses. MAR 32. Mainz 2002

Boschung 2003 Boschung, D.: Wie das Bild entstand. Kunstfertigkeit, Ruhmsucht und die Entwicklung der attischen Vasenmalerei im 8. Jahrhundert v. Chr. In: von Hesberg, H. (ed.): Medien in der Antike. Kommunikative Qualität und normative Wirkung. ZAKMIRA 1. Cologne 2003, 17–49

Boschung 2007 Boschung, D.: Kultbilder als Vermittler religiöser Vorstellungen. In: Frevel, Ch. / von Hesberg, H. (eds.): Kult und Kommunikation. Medien in Heiligtümern der Antike. ZAKMIRA 4. Wiesbaden 2007, 63–87

Boschung 2010 Boschung, D.: Römische Geschichte in Bildern. Antike Denkmäler und ihre historische Interpretation. In: Boschung, D. / Kleinschmidt, E. (eds.): Lesbarkeiten. Antikerezeption zwischen Barock und Aufklärung. Würzburg 2010, 291–302

Boschung 2011 Boschung, D.: Kairos als Morphom der Zeit. In: Blamberger/ Boschung 2011, 47–90

Boschung 2013 Boschung, D.: Kairos as a Figuration of Time. A Case Study. Morphomata Lectures Cologne 6. Munich 2013

Boschung 2014 Boschung, D.: Kontextwechsel und Neuinterpretation. Das Beispiel der Skulpturen vom Augustusforum. In: Boschung/Jäger 2014, 127–161

Boschung 2015 Boschung, D.: Hybris. Die eine Todsünde und ihre Ahndung. In: Breuer, I. / Goth, S. / Moll, B. / Roussel, M. (eds.): Die Sieben Todsünden. Morphomata 27. Paderborn 2015, 215–231

Boschung/Eck 2006 Boschung, D. / Eck, W. (eds.): Die Tetrarchie. Ein neues Regierungssystem und seine mediale Präsentation. ZAKMIRA 3. Wiesbaden 2006

Boschung/Greub/Hammerstaedt 2013 Boschung, D. / Greub, Th. / Hammerstaedt, J. (eds.): Geographische Kenntnisse und ihre konkreten Ausformungen. Morphomata 5. Munich 2013

Boschung/Jäger 2014 Boschung, D. / Jäger, L. (eds.): Formkonstanz und Bedeutungswandel. Morphomata 19. Munich 2014

Boschung/Schäfer 2015 Boschung, D. / Schäfer, A. (eds.): Römische Götterbilder der mittleren und späten Kaiserzeit. Morphomata 22. Paderborn 2015

Boschung/Vorster 2015 Boschung, D. / Vorster, Chr. (eds.): Leibhafte Kunst. Statuen und kulturelle Identität. Morphomata 24. Munich 2015

Boschung/Wittekind 2008 Boschung, D. / Wittekind, S. (eds.): Persistenz und Rezeption. Weiterverwendung, Wiederverwendung und Neuinterpretation antiker Werke im Mittelalter. ZAKMIRA 6. Wiesbaden 2008

CIL Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum

Crawford 1974 Crawford, M.: Roman Republic Coinage. Cambridge 1974

DNO Kansteiner, Sascha / Hallof, Klaus / Lehmann, Lauri / Seidensticker, Bernd / Stemmer, Klaus (eds.): Der Neue Overbeck. Berlin/Boston 2014

Gramaccini 1996 Gramaccini, N.: Mirabilia. Das Nachleben antiker Statuen vor der Renaissance. Mainz 1996

Greub 2013 Greub, Th. (ed.): Das Bild der Jahreszeiten im Wandel der Kulturen und Zeiten. Morphomata 7. Munich 2013

Hammerstaedt 2011 Hammerstaedt, J.: Die antike Verwendung des Begriffs *mórphoma*. In: Blamberger/Boschung 2011, 91–109

Hanfmann 1951 Hanfmann, G. M. A.: The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks. Cambridge, Massachusetts 1951

Himmelmann 1989 Himmelmann, N.: Herrscher und Athlet. Ausstellungskat. Bonn 1989

Huygens 1970 Huygens, R. B. C. (ed.): Magister Gregorius, Narracio de mirabilibus urbis Romae. Leiden 1970

HWdR Ueding, Gert (ed.): Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik 1–11. Tübingen 1992–2014

Jäger 2014 Jäger, L.: ‚Statuen-Identität‘. Einige zeichentheoretische Überlegungen am Beispiel der Mars Ultor-Statue: In: Boschung/Jäger 2014, 187–205

JdI Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

JRS Journal of Roman Studies

Kansteiner 2007 Kansteiner, S. u. a. (eds.): Text und Skulptur. Berühmte Bildhauer und Bronzegießer der Antike in Wort und Bild. Berlin 2007

Kolb 2001 Kolb, F.: Herrscherideologie in der Spätantike. Berlin 2001

Kreikenbom 1990 Kreikenbom, D.: Bildwerke nach Polyklet. Kopienkritische Untersuchungen zu den männlichen statuarischen Typen nach Polyklet. Berlin 1990

Krumme 1995 Krumme, M.: Römische Sagen in der antiken Münzprägung. Marburg 1995

Lang 2012 Lang, J.: Mit Wissen geschmückt? Zur bildlichen Rezeption griechischer Dichter und Denker in der römischen Lebenswelt. MAR 39. Wiesbaden 2012

Laubscher 1975 Laubscher, H. P.: Der Reliefschmuck des Galeriusbogens in Thessaloniki. Berlin 1975

LIMC Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae I–VIII. Zurich/Munich 1981–1997

L' Orange/von Gerkan 1939 L' Orange, H. P. / von Gerkan, A.: Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogens. Berlin 1939

MAR Monumenta Artis Romanae. Herausgegeben vom Forschungsarchiv für antike Plastk am Archäologischen Institut der Universität zu Köln

Mattiacci 2011 Mattiacci, S.: Da Kairos a Occasio. Un percorso tra letteratura e iconografia. In: Cristante, L. / Ravalico, S. (eds.): Il calamo della memoria. Riuso di testi e mestiere letterario nella tarda antichità IV. Polymnia, Studi di Filologia classica 13, 2011, 127–154

Myrup Kristensen 2013 Myrup Kristensen, T.: Making and Breaking the Gods. Christian Responses to Pagan Sculpture in Late Antiquity. Aarhus 2013

Neef/Sussman/Boschung 2014 Neef, S. A. J. / Sussman, H. / Boschung, D. (eds): Astroculture. Figurations of Cosmology in Media and Art. Morphomata 17. Munich 2014

Niklas 2013 Niklas, St.: Einleitung: Ein etwas rabiater Versuch, den Begriff der Artikulation zu artikulieren. In: Niklas, St. / Roussel, M. (eds.): Formen der Artikulation. Philosophische Beiträge zu einem kulturwissenschaftlichen Grundbegriff. Morphomata 11. Munich 2013, 5–34

Pfanner 1983 Pfanner, M.: Der Titusbogen. Mainz 1983

RAC Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum

RE Wissowa, Georg u. a. (eds.): Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung 1893–1980

RM Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung

Rügler 2003 Rügler, A.: Die Zeusstatue in Olympia. In: Kunze, Max (ed.): Die Sieben Weltwunder der Antike. Wege der Wiedergewinnung aus sechs Jahrhunderten. Mainz 2003, 151–157

Schnapp 1996 Schnapp, A.: The Discovery of the Past. The Origins of Archaeology. London 1996

Shapiro 2011 Shapiro, A.: Eniautos. Time, Seasons, and the Cycle of Life in the Ancient Greek World. In: Blamberger/Boschung 2011, 199–220

Trédé-Boulmer 2015 Trédé-Boulmer, M.: Kairos. L' à-propos et l' occasion; Le mot et la notion, d' Homère à la fin du IVe siècle avant J.-C.; Édition revue et completée. Paris 2015

Varner 2004 Varner, E. R.: Mutilation and Transformation. Damnatio memoriae and Roman Imperial Portraiture. Leiden/Boston 2004

Vermaseren 1956. 1970 Vermaseren, M. J.: Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis mithriacae. The Hague I 1956. II 1970

Wiegartz 2004 Wiegartz, V.: Antike Bildwerke im Urteil mittelalterlicher Zeitgenossen. Weimar 2004

Winckelmann 1764. 1776 Winckelmann, J. J.: Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums. 1. edition Dresden 1764; 2. edition Vienna 1776

ZAKMIRA Schriften des Lehr- und Forschungszentrum für die antiken Kulturen des Mittelmeerraums (ZAKMIRA) der Universität zu Köln

Zanker 1988 Zanker, P.: The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus. Ann Arbor 1988

Zanker 1995 Zanker, P.: The Mask of Socrates. The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity. Berkeley 1995

Zanker/Ewald 2004 Zanker, P. / Ewald, B. Ch.: Living with Myths. The Imaginary of Roman Sarcophagi. Oxford 2012

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Spon, Jacob: Miscellanea eruditae antiquitatis: sive Supplementi Gruteriani liber primus. In quo eruditiora & intellectu difficiliora marmora à Grutero omissa enodantur; statuis; gemmis; nummis & toreumatis illustrantur. Frankfurt/Venice 1679 **107-108** n. 11–12

Desgodetz, Antoine: Les édifices antiques de Rome. Paris 1682/1822 **56** fig. 15a–b

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Sponius, Iacobus: Miscellanea eruditae antiquitatis. Lyon 1685 **283** fig. 178

Perrault, Charles: Parallèle des anciens et des modernes en ce qui regarde les arts et les sciences I–IV. Paris 1688–1697 **294** n. 26

Graevius, Johann Georg: Thesaurus antiquitatum Romanarum I–XII. Utrecht 1694–1699 **285** n. 3

Gronovius, Jacob: Thesaurus antiquitatum Graecarum I–XII. Leiden 1697–1702 **285** n. 3

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Promptuarium rerum naturalium et artificalium ... quas collegit Io. Chr. Kundmann. Wroclaw 1726 **32** n. 7

Gori, Antonio Francisco: Museum Florentinum exhibens insigniora vetustatis monumenta quae Florentiae sunt III. Statuae antiquae deorum. Florence 1734. **113** fig. 56a

Polenus, Johannes: Utriusque thesauri antiquitatum Romanarum Graecarumque nova supplementa I–V. Venice 1737 **285** n. 3

Rivautella, Antonio / Ricolvi, Giovanni Paolo: Taurinensia dissertationibus, et notis illustrata pars altera. Turin 1747 **140** n. 4; **152** n. 32

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Bottari, Giovanni Gaetano: Museum Capitolinum III. Rome 1755 **112** fig. 42; **351** n. 5

Chandler, R.: Marmora Oxoniensia. Oxford 1763 **276** fig. 173

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Winckelmann, Giovanni (= Johann Joachim): Monumenti antichi inediti. Rome 1767. I–II **101** n. 30

Heyne, Christian Gottlob: Über die Künstlerepochen beym Plinius. In: Sammlung antiquarischer Aufsätze I. Leipzig 1778 **294** n. 25

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Levezow, Konrad: Über die Frage, ob die Mediceische Venus ein Bild der knidischen sei. Berlin 1808 **91** n. 35

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43 Anja Bettenworth, Dietrich Boschung, Marco Formisano (Eds.), For Example. Martyrdom and Imitation in Early Christian Texts and Art, 2020. ISBN 978-3-7705-6526-9.

PLATES
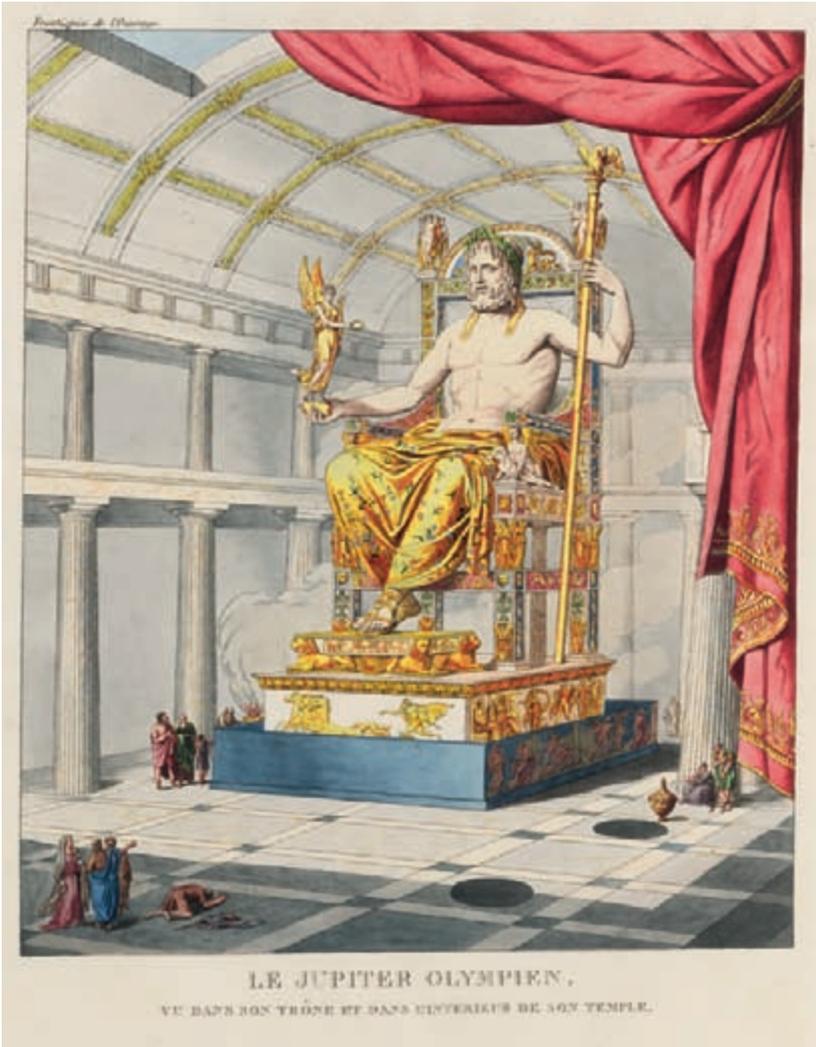
1 Reconstruction of Pheidias' statue of Zeus in Olympia. After Quatremère de Quincy, Antoine Chrysostome: Le Jupiter olympien ou l'Art de la sculpture antique considéré sous un nouveau point de vue. Paris 1815, frontispice.

2 Basalt statue of Agrippina minor, H. 1.80 m.
Rome, Musei Capitolini 1882 (statue) and Copen-
hagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek I.N. 753 (head).

3 Porphyry statue of an emperor, H. 2.45 m. Caesarea Maritima (Israel).

4a Empress Theodora with retinue, A.D. 546–548. Ravenna, San Vitale.

4b Detail: Embroidered drapery.

5 Lalibela (Ethiopia), Church of Saint Mercurius. The martyr Mercurius kills the emperor Julianus.

6 Mosaic depicting the seasons and the months. El Djem, Museum.

7 Mosaic depicting the planets, symbolizing the days of the week and the signs of the zodiac. Tunis, Bardo National Museum Inv. Tun. 447.

8 Bronze statuette of Vitellius from the 16th century, H. 17.3 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 5528.

9 Over-life-size statue, later called Pompey and completed accordingly; H. 3 m. Rome, Palazzo Spada.

10 Late Antique silver bowl, so-called "Shield of Scipio," Dm. 71 cm. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 2875.

11 Nicolas Poussin, *Continentia* of Scipio, 1640. Moscow, Puschkin Museum.
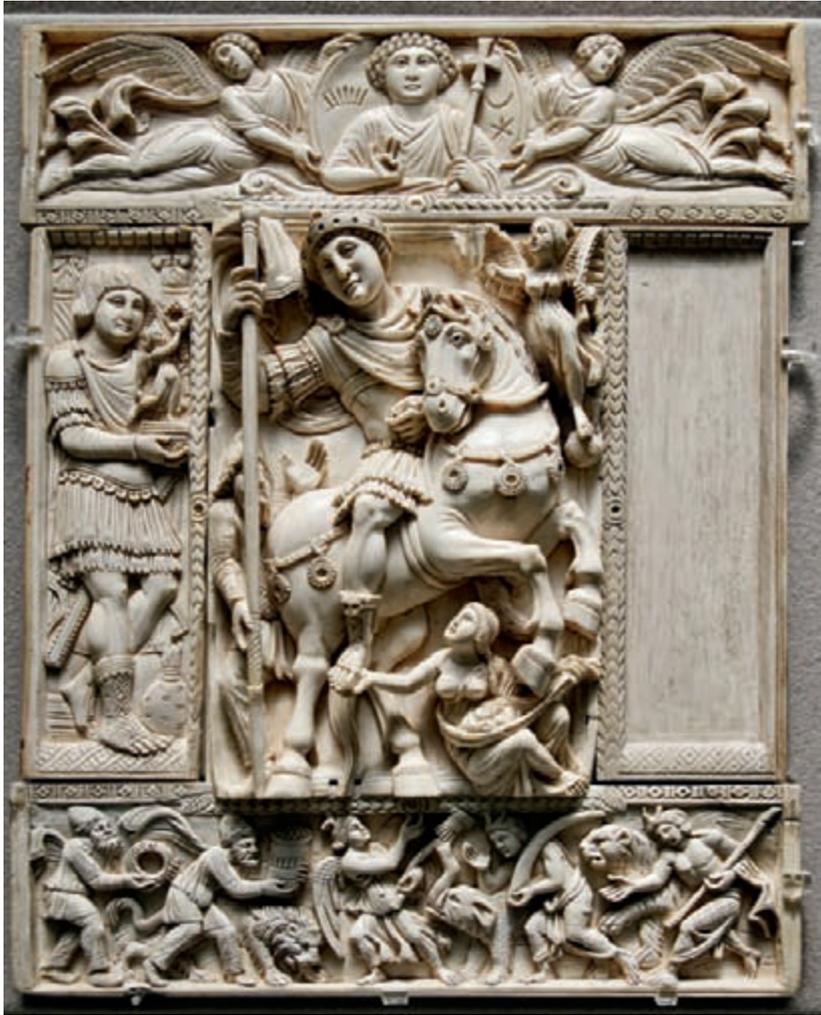
12 "Barberini Ivory." Ivory, ca. A.D. 550, H. 34.2 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre OA 9603.

13 Hellenistic cameo with portraits of a ruling couple, H. 11.5 cm. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum IX A 81; once Cologne Shrine of the Three Kings.

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