

Roman Copies, Collecting, and Culture in the Bay of Naples
and Beyond



ARCHAEOPRESS ROMAN ARCHAEOLOGY 143

Roman Copies, Collecting, and Culture in the Bay of Naples and Beyond

Papers in Honor of Eugene J. Dwyer

Editors

Sinclair W. Bell and Brad Hostetler

ARCHAEOPRESS ARCHAEOLOGY



ARCHAEOPRESS PUBLISHING LTD
13-14 Market Square
Bicester
Oxfordshire OX26 6AD
United Kingdom
www.archaeopress.com

ISBN 978-1-80583-374-1
ISBN 978-1-80583-375-8 (e-Pdf)

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Cover: Luigi Spina, *Sing Sing, Pompeii's Body (Il corpo di Pompei)*, New York: Five Continents Editions, 2020. Courtesy of Luigi Spina.



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Eugene J. Dwyer as a graduate student in Pompeii, June 1971.
Photograph by Johannes Felbermeyer; supplied by Sharon Herson.

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Eric M. Moormann

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Preface

Sinclair W. Bell and Brad Hostetler

More than twenty years ago, I (SWB) was working on a research project about a Roman relief sculpture that was said to have been found during the early excavations of Herculaneum. By chance, I stumbled upon a website that compiled archival information related to the Real Museo Borbonico. I wrote to the website's creator, who responded not only promptly but also generously: indeed, he opened up a whole new world of archival information to me, an act of generosity that at once made my study a much more complex undertaking but also ultimately a much richer and more rigorous one. And our correspondence has continued to flow regularly from that first day, during which I have been the fortunate beneficiary of his seemingly limitless knowledge about and infectious enthusiasm for the antiquities and afterlife of the ancient cities around the Bay of Naples. That researcher was, of course, Eugene Dwyer (or Gene as his friends affectionally call him). And my own experience of his knowledge, generosity, and kindness is but one of many similar stories that we have heard in the process of putting together this volume in his honor.

My (BH) first encounter with Gene was also one of generosity. I stepped onto Kenyon's campus in the fall semester of 2017, beginning a one-year appointment. Gene had coincidentally announced that he would retire at the end of that same academic year. This period of overlap turned out to be magical: he invited me to his classes, shared his syllabi, and read an article that I was developing. He even gifted me precious books from his library, including an original set of Gibbon once owned by the Kenyon Classicist Barker Newhall. I was fortunate enough to turn that one year into two, then into a permanent position, and finally into tenure, where I strive to fill the very big shoes left by Gene in his 45 years at Kenyon. Alumni repeatedly speak with me about how much they miss Professor Dwyer's lectures on Greek and Roman art and architecture, and his seminar on collecting. As one who sat in his classes, I count myself among this group! He left lasting impressions on his students, the department, and the college.

The volume could not have become a reality were it not for the support, cooperation, and patience of the nine contributors to this volume, most of whom are longtime friends of Gene's and who share their recollections of him in their individual chapters. This reminiscence by Carol Mattusch, which is not in her chapter but which she kindly shared with us, is indicative of Gene's wide learning and her and others' high esteem of him: "I have always asked Gene questions about Pompeii and Herculaneum for which I couldn't find answers. Once he gave me his extensive hand-written lists of bronzes, which included catalogue numbers of Bayardi and of the *Antichità di Ercolano*, as well as the references in Ruggiero, Comparetti and de Petra, museum numbers by Finati, the Real Museo Borbonico, Ruesch, up to the current inventory numbers, along with Alinari and other photographers' numbers. Not long after that, I mentioned to Gene the similar but not so thorough catalogue by Pagano and Prisciandaro, and he replied, a little surprised, "Oh I don't have that!" It was almost gratifying to have found a book that Gene didn't have."

We are also grateful to Kenyon College, the Department of Art History, and especially the Office of the Provost, for their support of the publication of this volume through a Faculty Research Grant: it was important to us that most of the works discussed in this volume should be published in color, and it is thanks to the support of the College that we have been able to realize that goal. The Visual Resources Center and Chalmers Library Special Collections & Archives each provided assistance and permissions to reproduce images in this volume.

We would also like to thank Gene himself and his wife Ellen Mankoff, who kindly assisted us in procuring photographs of him from over the years.

Finally, we are grateful to the staff at Archaeopress, who produced the volume so efficiently and to such a high standard.

Abstracts

Triumph over Death: Italic Funerary Furniture in the Getty Museum

Claire Lyons and Jessica Arista, The J. Paul Getty Museum

Over 350 carved bone appliqués in the J. Paul Getty Museum represent the remains of two funerary couches dating to the second and first centuries BC. On one couch, fulcra with ivy tendrils and the heads of lynxes and maenads allude to the cult of Bacchus. Reliefs of Greek warriors, a bound Gallic captive, trophies, shields, and generals embellished a second couch. This scene may represent a biographical narrative of martial prowess or an illustration of the sacrifice of the Trojan prisoners in Homer's *Iliad*. Delicate friezes of putti carrying garlands probably decorated a wood casket (*kibotos*) that held cosmetics and toilette implements.

Between the Middle Republic and the early Empire, upper class patrons in Italy commissioned richly decorated biers in the form of a couch (*lectus funebris*), which was carried in funeral processions and either deposited in burial chambers or cremated. Intersecting around the ideology of triumph, the iconography of military victory and the cult of Dionysos has precedents in Macedonian chryselephantine *klinai*. The Getty appliqués were allegedly found in Cerveteri. Bone-veneered couches are scarce in Etruria but are prevalent in the central Apennine and Adriatic regions from Abruzzo to Marche, whence they spread to northern Italy and Transalpine Gaul.

Analysis utilizing portable X-ray fluorescence spectrometry, visible-induced luminescence imaging, and digital microscopy revealed the once opulent polychromy. Pliant and durable, the bone was sliced into plaques that were glued together and carved. The fragments preserve toolmarks and traces of pink, yellow, and red pigment, as well as possible gilding; the eyes of the larger lynx heads probably held glass inserts. Peptide mass fingerprinting confirmed the use of cow bone for most appliqués and elephant ivory for a single male head. Bioarchaeological analysis identified human skeletal remains.

'Fitter for the Wash-Tub': The Old Fisherman/Seneca in the Louvre

A.A. Donohue, Bryn Mawr College

The dark-marble statue in the Louvre (Ma 1354; MR 314; N 706) of an old man, famous since its discovery in Rome near the end of the sixteenth century, continues to raise questions. Its early identification as the 'dying Seneca' persisted until the eighteenth century, when, demoted to its current status of 'Old Fisherman,' it joined the Graeco-Roman sculptural repertoire of elderly, unattractive workers and possible destitutes. Scholarly emphasis on tracing the origins of such 'genre' representations and determining the originals behind the putative Roman copies led to the conclusion that the Louvre figure goes back to a Greek model of the third century BC. It seems increasingly clear, however, that such 'genre' figures are essentially Roman, and the Louvre statue differs significantly from the fishermen with which it is regularly compared.

Review of the extensive early restorations and additions suggests that the figure was originally shown in a stepping motion. The basin into which it was set was not added simply to conform to the story of Seneca's suicide, but rather because the lower legs were completely lacking. That the statue was deliberately partial and intended to be displayed as if partially submerged has not been questioned, although none of the comparable fishermen shares this rendering. The notable features of the statue are most closely paralleled in representations in relief and painting of *fullones* (fullers) at work. This proposal is not inconsistent with the findspot of the Louvre statue in the area of the great parks on the Esquiline, possibly the *horti Maecenatis*, as it has become clear that the decorative programs of Roman gardens and villas were not exclusively mythological or pastoral, but could include aspects of the productive world and its mundane activities, offering settings for large-scale three-dimensional representations of non-bucolic workers.

The Archaistic Athenas in Naples and Athens: Some Second Thoughts

Mark D. Fullerton, *The Ohio State University*

Among the most intriguing of the many statues from the Villa of the Papyri is a striding Athena of a type documented also by several fragments from the Akropolis of Athens. This type's mixture of stylistically distinct features suggested to most that the type was an archaizing creation of the late Roman Republic or early Empire, with all extant versions created in Athens.

Recently, I have revisited the origins of archaism in Greek sculpture by 1) re-examining the best-documented works of archaizing statuary and painting from the fifth and fourth centuries BC; 2) exploring the increasing stylistic diversity among the evolving sculptural styles of the Classical era; and, especially, 3) re-considering the historical contexts within which this retrospective style developed.

I now propose that the Herculaneum Athena type, and similar archaistic works such as Alkamenēs' Hekate and Hermes, were created during the second half of the Peloponnesian War, either inspired by or inspiring the contemporaneous change from an Archaic to an archaistic Athena form on Panathenaic amphoras (c. 430–400 BC).

The marble fragments from the Akropolis should then preserve the Classical original of the Herculaneum type, as Maria Bruskari argued some 40 years ago. The original location of the statue preserved in these fragments is unknown, but thematically the type shares much with the sculptural program of the Athena Nike complex, rebuilt at the time of the Archidamian War (431–421 BC) and filled with visual references to Athens' ancient victories and divine favor. Moreover, the inherent apotropaism of the Herculaneum statue's form, and its liminal location in the villa, separating and connecting atrium and tablinum, wielding both spear (attack on those besieging the citadel) and aegis (defense of Athens and its institutions), mirrors that of the Athena Nike bastion, which both preserves and glorifies the defensive rampart of Athens' ancient citadel.

Wearing Antiquity: The Use of Sealing Stones on Finger Rings in Byzantium

Brad Hostetler, *Kenyon College*

Signet rings of the Roman imperial period were traditionally equipped with sealing stones, but by the ninth and tenth centuries, the medieval Romans (i.e. the Byzantines) had largely moved away from this practice. There are, however, a few Byzantine rings that break from this trend and continue (or revive) the ancient practice. This chapter examines why wearers made use of sealing stones for their signet rings at a time when this format had largely fallen out of favor?

I argue for three reasons that might explain this Byzantine interest in sealing stones in the ninth and tenth centuries. The first is an appreciation for the antique. Whether they were fitted with reused ancient gems or newly carved stones in the medieval era, I argue that the rings attempted to revive an ancient style, a practice consistent with the broader trends of this period. The second explanation is the growing association between gems and the representations of emperors, beginning with Constantine and culminating in the transformation of imperial dress in the ninth century. I argue that wearing rings with gems was one way in which the Byzantine elite could show their connection to the imperial office. The third explanation for the use of sealing stones is the continued belief in their magical and medicinal efficacy. Just as ideas about the special powers of stones were documented in Hellenistic and Roman sources, so too did Byzantine intellectuals preserve these practices into the medieval era. This study shows the long and continued engagement that the Byzantines had with their Roman imperial past — whether it was expressed through the material and style of a signet ring or by the beliefs that these stones held for their owners.

The First Bourbon Publication of the Finds from Herculaneum and the Biography of a Long-lost Marble Satyr

Carol C. Mattusch, *George Mason University*

In 1740, a marble satyr (MANN 6348) was found at Herculaneum, its location not thoroughly recorded. A copper engraving illustrating the figure appeared in the *Disegni intagliati in rame di pitture antiche ritrovate nelle scavazioni*

di Resina, 1746, the first official Bourbon publication of finds from Herculaneum. Evidently only three copies of that lavish leather-bound folio (H 48 cm) were bound. Ottavio Antonio Bayardi included the satyr in his list of 350 bronzes and marbles that were known by the time he published – without illustrations – his *Catalogo degli antichi monumenti dissotterrati dalla discoperta città di Ercolano*, 1754/55. In 1773, nearly twenty years later, Thomas Martyn and John Lettice published a translation of Bayardi's *Catalogo*, *The Antiquities of Herculaneum*, with illustrations of some of the 738 paintings that Bayardi had listed, using illustrations that had been published in 1757, in volume 1 of the *Antichità di Ercolano*. They did not include sculptures. In 1792, an engraving of the statue was produced by Nicola Fiorillo (*Rami inediti* no. 113), but it was never published. And that was nearly the end of the marble satyr's publication history, until 2018, when it appeared in an exhibition: *Ercolano e Pompei: Visioni di una scoperta*. A number of questions arise about this sculpture: can we locate where it was found? Was the figure from a private garden? Were the pieces all found at about the same time? How can we explain the restoration? From these enquiries, a larger question emerges: why was a volume of the *Antichità di Ercolano* about the marbles never published?

English Country House Collections of Classical Sculpture and Roman Collecting Habits: A Methodological Comparison

Jane Fejfer, University of Copenhagen

On January 2nd 1787 Henry Blundell wrote to his friend, fellow collector and fellow Catholic Charles Townley: 'I am not pleased at yr saying I am now become fairly a collector; What I have done was only, as it were, ye sport of a day, as I w.d not be thought to be Idle while abroad' (*British Museum Townley Archive TY7/1316*). In this paper I present a short introduction to the history of the Ince Blundell collection of Classical sculpture and then ask the following three questions: *Firstly*, why did Henry Blundell protest against being called a collector? I approach the question with outset in Sarah Macdonald's broad definition of collecting as a 'self-aware process of creating a set of objects conceived to be meaningful as a group'. *Secondly*, how does Blundell's amassment of about 600 classical marble sculptures, the largest collection ever formed in private hands in Britain, accommodate itself into 18th century British and European collecting habits? *Lastly*, how may Blundell's sculpture collection and English country house sculpture collections more generally inform on Roman period sculpture collecting habits? Sometimes considered (archaeologically) worthless refashioned relics, I argue that these Roman sculptures form a unique and overlooked repository for understanding what Roman sculptural art 'is' and what may have motivated ancient Romans into forming collections of sculpture.

From Kitsch to the Sublime: The Many Lives of Mt. Vesuvius

Nancy H. Ramage, Ithaca College

Only one small wall painting showing Mt. Vesuvius survives from antiquity, but an awakened interest in depicting the volcanic mountain near Naples begins in the 17th century, when it was believed by the deeply religious population that the local Saint Januarius could restrain the lava simply by gesturing for it to stop flowing. In the 18th and early 19th centuries, under the influence of the Age of Enlightenment, celebrated artists such as Pierre-Jacques Volaire and Joseph Wright of Derby made huge paintings of Mt. Vesuvius in eruption for their well-heeled clients. The style of these paintings, often showing the eruptions amid violent storms, or under the moon, has been referred to as 'the Sublime.' This study compares such grandiose works with the modest and portable paintings made for ordinary travelers seeking mementos of their own tours of the region. Most of these latter paintings were made by artists whose names are not known to us, but who were skilled at capturing the famous places that their clients wished to remember. Also in the 18th century, painters were influenced by the contemporary scientific studies of Mt. Vesuvius by Sir William Hamilton, British envoy to the court of Naples, sent as letters to the Royal Society of London, and illustrated by beautiful hand-colored engravings after paintings by Hamilton's artist, Pietro Fabris. A change in taste, and the publication of historical novels like *The Last Days of Pompeii*, encouraged artists like John Martin to paint the mountain and the destroyed cities as he imagined them during the cataclysmic event in Roman times. The drama of such earlier studies of the volcanic mountain is finally compared to 19th and 20th century interpretations, culminating in a spectacular painting by Andy Warhol, which is reduced to kitsch by its popularity within the tourist industry.

Death and Resurrection in Pompeii. Gypsum Casts from Pompeii Eternized in Poetry from Campbell to Komunyakaa

Eric M. Moormann, Radboud Universiteit

Starting from Eugene Dwyer's study on the gypsum casts of Pompeii victims, made from the 1860s onwards and known thanks to many illustrations and evocations in novels and films, this paper focuses on the very rare poems which expand on this motif. Two of them, the late 19th-century 'Out of Pompeii' by Wilfred Campbell and 'Body of a Woman' by Yusef Komunyakaa published in 2000 have the same cast of a woman as their topic. The cast was well known and stirred the romantic idea of a young inhabitant, full of vigor and love. Modern studies, however, have made clear that the victim was male. Komunyakaa also wrote a poem about the cast of a dog. The three poems illustrate the eternal engagement with Pompeii as a sepulcher of innocent people who are intermediates between modern visitors and old inhabitants.

Giacomo Boni e il mausoleo da Tor di Quinto a Villa Blanc: Questioni di metodo

Pier Giovanni Guzzo, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei

Il mausoleo circolare che si trova a Roma sulla via Nomentana davanti a Villa Blanc è il risultato di una ricostruzione dovuta a Giacomo Boni tra il 1895 e il 1897. Boni riadoperò materiali dallo scavo effettuato a Tor di Quinto di un mausoleo a doppia torre su basamento comune in calcestruzzo. Si discute delle questioni di metodo relative alla realizzazione di una sola torre con materiali probabilmente in origine pertinenti a due torri, all'interno delle teorie di John Ruskin.

The circular mausoleum located in Rome on the Via Nomentana in front of the Villa Blanc is the result of a reconstruction carried out by Giacomo Boni between 1895 and 1897. Boni reused materials from the excavation carried out in Tor di Quinto of a mausoleum with a double tower on a common base in concrete. The methodological issues relating to the construction of a single tower with materials probably originally pertaining to two towers are discussed against the background of the theories of John Ruskin.

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Jane Fejfer is an Associate Professor at the SAXO Institute at the University of Copenhagen. Her research is centered on the visual culture in the Roman world and on the role and function of mythological sculpture in the Roman East. She is also looking into the challenges and potentials of introducing collecting as a phenomenon useful for investigating assemblages of art works in the Roman world.

Mark Fullerton is Professor of History of Art and Classics and Chair of Classics at The Ohio State University. His research and teaching encompass a wide range of topics in the Art and Archaeology of the ancient Greek and Roman worlds. His special areas of expertise are Greek and Roman Sculpture, the art of the Hellenistic era, and the relationship between style and the conveyance of meaning in Classical art.

Pier Giovanni Guzzo spent his entire career, after specializing at the Italian Archaeological School in Athens, in the State Archaeological Superintendency. He directed the excavations at Sibari and the Museo Nazionale Romano alle Terme di Diocleziano. He has been Superintendent in Taranto, Bologna, Pompeii, Reggio Calabria, Naples, and Caserta. He is currently a National Member of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei and a member of the board of directors of the Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte.

Brad Hostetler is Associate Professor of Art History at Kenyon College (Gambier, Ohio). He specializes in the art and material culture of Late Antiquity and Byzantium, with a particular focus on text and image relationships.

Claire Lyons is curator of antiquities at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles. A specialist in pre-Roman Italy, she has organized numerous exhibitions, most recently, *The Kingdom of Pylos: Warrior-Princes of Mycenaean Greece* (2025–2026). Among her publications is the forthcoming catalogue *Etruscan and Italic Art in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, and co-edited volumes on *Antiquity & Photography: Early Views of Ancient Mediterranean Sites* (2005), and *The Archaeology of Colonialism* (2002). Claire has excavated at Poggio Civitate, Corinth, Metaponto, and Morgantina.

Carol C. Mattusch, Mathy Professor emerita at George Mason University, chairs the Board of the International Bronze Congresses and is on the Board of the American Friends of Herculaneum; she is a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and a corresponding member of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Her books include *Bronze Sculpture in the Classical World: Text, Context, Technology* (2026); *Enduring Bronze* (2014); *J.J. Winckelmann, Letter and Report on the Discoveries at Herculaneum* (2011); *The Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum: Life and Afterlife of a Sculpture Collection* (2005); *Classical Bronzes: The Art and Craft of Greek and Roman Statuary* (1996). She curated *Pompeii and the Roman Villa* (2008), and *The Fire of Hephaistos* (1996).

Eric M. Moormann is emeritus professor of classical archaeology in Radboud University (Nijmegen, The Netherlands). His research includes the topography and art of Rome, especially under the emperors Nero and

Domitian, and the cities buried by Vesuvius. Reception history of antiquity is another theme he is working on. Over the last decade, he has been involved in the research project 'Mapping the Via Appia,' studying the fifth mile of this ancient road in all its archaeological aspects.

Nancy H. Ramage, an art historian, has written widely on Greek, Etruscan, and Roman antiquity, as well as on the archaeological finds in ancient Sardis. The book she wrote on Roman art with her husband, Andrew Ramage, became a standard text for university students. She is fascinated by the history of the restoration of ancient sculpture, and the history of collecting, whether by the connoisseurs of the 18th century, especially Sir William Hamilton, or the modern collections of the Cone sisters of Baltimore. She is Charles A. Dana Professor of the Humanities and Arts Emerita at Ithaca College and a life member of Clare Hall, University of Cambridge.

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