ISTITUTO UNIVERSITARIO ORIENTALE

ANNALI

SEZIONE DI

ARCHEOLOGIA E STORIA ANTICA

DIPARTIMENTO DI STUDI DEL MONDO CLASSICO
E DEL MEDITERRANEO ANTICO

XIII

Napoli 1991

UNIVERSITARIO ORIENTALE
Biblioteca
Dipartimento di
Studi del Mondo
Classico e del
Mediterraneo
Antico
ISTITUTO

Comitato di Redazione

Giancarlo Bailo Modesti, Ida Baldassarre, Irene Bragantini, Luciano Camilli, Anna Maria D'Onofrio, Bruno d'Agostino, Luigi Gallo, Patrizia Gastaldi, Emanuele Greco, Giulia Sacco

Segretaria di redazione: Gabriella Prisco

Direttore responsabile: Bruno d'Agostino

NORME REDAZIONALI DI *AIONArchStAnt*

I contributi vanno redatti in due copie, in cartelle di 30 righi, ciascuno di 65 battute. Di essi va inoltre redatto un breve riassunto (max 1 cartella).

Documentazione fotografica: le fotografie, in bianco e nero, devono possibilmente derivare da riprese di originali, e non di altre pubblicazioni; non si accettano fotografie a colori e diapositive. Unitamente alle foto deve pervenire una garanzia di autorizzazione alla pubblicazione, firmata dall'autore sotto la propria responsabilità.

Documentazione grafica: la giustezza delle tavole della rivista è max cm 14.5x21.5; pertanto l'impaginato va organizzato su multipli di queste misure, curando che le eventuali indicazioni in lettere e numeri e il tratto del disegno siano tali da poter sostenere la riduzione. Il materiale per le tavole deve essere completo di didascalie.

Le documentazioni fornite dagli autori saranno loro restituite dopo l'uso.

Gli autori riceveranno n. 50 estratti del proprio contributo.

Gli estratti eccedenti tale numero sono a pagamento.

Gli autori dovranno sottoscrivere una dichiarazione di rinuncia ai diritti di autore a favore dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale.

Le abbreviazioni bibliografiche utilizzate sono quelle dell'*American Journal of Archaeology*, integrate da quelle dell'*Année Philologique*.

Degli autori si cita la sola iniziale puntata del nome proprio e il cognome, con la sola iniziale maiuscola; nel caso di più autori per un medesimo testo i loro nomi vanno separati mediante trattini. Nel caso del curatore di un'opera, al cognome seguirà: (a cura di). Tra il cognome dell'autore e il titolo dell'opera va sempre posta una virgola.

I titoli delle riviste, dei libri, degli atti dei convegni, vanno in corsivo (sottolineati nel dattiloscritto).

I titoli di articoli contenuti nelle opere sopra citate vanno indicati tra virgolette singole, come pure la locuzione 'Atti...', quella 'catalogo della mostra...' e le voci di lessici, enciclopedie, ecc.; vanno poi seguiti da: in. I titoli di appendici o articoli a più mani sono seguiti da: *apud*.

Nel caso in cui un volume faccia parte di una collana, il titolo di quest'ultima va indicato tra parentesi.

Al titolo del volume segue una virgola e poi l'indicazione del luogo — in lingua originale — e dell'anno di edizione.

Al titolo della rivista seguono il numero dell'annata — sempre in numeri arabi — e l'anno, separati da una virgola; nel caso la rivista abbia più serie, quest'indicazione va posta tra parentesi dopo quella del numero dell'annata.

Eventuali annotazioni sull'edizione o su traduzioni del testo vanno dopo tutta la citazione, tra parentesi tonde.

Se la stessa citazione compare nel testo più di una volta, si utilizza un'abbreviazione costituita dal cognome dell'autore seguito dalla data di edizione dell'opera, salvo che per i testi altrimenti abbreviati, secondo l'uso corrente nella letteratura archeologica (p. es., per il Trendall, *LCS*, *RVAP* ecc.).

L'elenco delle abbreviazioni supplementari va dattiloscritto a parte.

Le parole straniere, salvo i nomi dei vasi, vanno in corsivo.

Abbreviazioni:

Altezza: h.; ad esempio: ad es.; bibliografia: bibl.; catalogo: cat.; centimetri: cm.; circa: ca.; citato: cit.; colonna/e: col./coll.; confronta o vedi: cfr.; dottore/dottoressa: dott.; eccetera: ecc.; edizione: ed.; *et alii*: *et al.*; fascicolo: fasc.; figura/e: fig./figg.; frammento/i: fr./frr.; inventario: inv.; larghezza: largh.; lunghezza: lungh.; metri: m.; numero/i: n./nn.; pagina/e: p./pp.; professore/professoressa: prof.; ristampa: rist.; secolo: sec.; seguente/i: s./ss.; serie: S.; sotto voce/i: s.v./s.vv.; supplemento: suppl.; tavola/e: tav./tavv.; tomba: t.; traduzione italiana: trad. it.

Non si abbreviano: *idem, eadem, ibidem*; in corso di stampa; nord, sud, est, ovest; nota/e; *non vidi*.

INDICE

M. Rendeli, Sulla nascita delle comunità urbane in Etruria meridionale p. 9

M. Cuozzo - A. D'Andrea, Proposta di periodizzazione del repertorio locale di Pontecagnano tra la fine del VII e la metà del V sec. a.C. alla luce della stratigrafia delle necropoli » 47

A. Rastrelli, Su alcuni acroteri fittili di età arcaica da Chiusi » 115

B. d'Agostino, Noterelle iconografiche. A proposito di Eracle nell'Etruria arcaica » 125

E. Paribeni, Di Artemide danzatrice » 129

M. Denti, Il Marsia di Paestum » 133

M. Mazzei, La 'tomba delle coppe di vetro' di Ascoli Satriano. Nuovi elementi per lo studio della società e del commercio nella Daunia del II secolo a.C. » 189

J. Bažant, Roman Deathmasks once again » 209

I. Bragantini, Cena novendialis? » 219

E. Miranda, *Neapolis*: due epigrafi dal territorio » 223

E. Savino, La datazione del cap. 168 del *De mirabilibus auscultationibus* e la più antica citazione dei Germani nella letteratura classica » 231

P. Rosafio, Dalla locazione al colonato: per un tentativo di ricostruzione » 237

Recensioni e rassegne

G. Prisco: Christina Riebesell, *Die Sammlung des Kardinal Alessandro Farnese. Ein « studio » für Künstler und Gelehrte*, Weinheim 1989 » 283

Riassunti degli articoli » 293

TABELLA GENERALE DEI RILIEVI ANTROPOMETRICI

Mandibola Inumato C

69(1)	Altezza corpo mandibola (ds)	31,90
	Altezza corpo mandibola (sn)	30,75
69(3)	Spessore min. corpo mand. (ds)	9,10
	Spessore min. corpo mand. (sn)	9,00
	69(3)/69(1) (ds)	29,27
	69(3)/69(1) (sn)	28,53

Radio Inumato C

1	Lunghezza massima (sn)	235,00
2	Lunghezza fisiologica (sn)	226,00
3	Circonferenza minima (sn)	45,00
4	Diametro trasv. diaf. (sn)	16,85
5	Diametro sag. diaf. (sn)	11,00
	5/4 (sn)	65,28
	3/2 (sn)	19,91

Ulna Inumato C

11	Diametro dorso-vol. diaf. (sn)	17,30
12	Diametro trasv. diaf. (sn)	17,20
13	Diametro trasv. super. (sn)	20,35
14	Diametro antero-post. sup. (sn)	22,80
	11/12 (sn)	100,58
	13/14 (sn)	89,25

Femore Inumato B

6	Diametro sagittale (ds)	27,00
	Diametro sagittale (sn)	27,60
7	Diametro trasversale (ds)	26,90
	Diametro trasversale (sn)	27,10
9	Diametro trasv. sup. (ds)	33,50
	Diametro trasv. sup. (sn)	32,25
10	Diametro sag. super. (ds)	24,40
	Diametro sag. super. (sn)	25,35
	6/7 (ds)	100,37
	6/7 (sn)	101,84
	10/9 (ds)	72,83
	10/9 (sn)	78,60

ROMAN DEATHMASKS ONCE AGAIN

JAN BAŽANT

What distinguishes the portrait from all other genres is the fact that independently of it there exists a technique of making casts of human faces. This method of the mechanical duplication of a human face is attested to in many cultures all over the world. It is motivated by the desire to prevent the physical decay of a dead person by the immortalisation of the most characteristic feature of his appearance.

Since this desire is universal, and the procedure very simple, we may presume that this automatic copying of human faces was much more widespread than we might judge from the fragmentary state of our archaeological knowledge. In any case we know that this practice also existed in cultures which did not produce or which even did not know monumental figural art [1].

We recall these facts in order to stress that the mechanical copy of a human face and the art of the portraiture are two phenomena which should be kept apart. There are cultures in which either the former or the latter exist, and there are also cultures in which both these phenomena exist independently of one another.

For someone who believes that the sole function and essence of a portrait is the duplication of a person's face, it is of course difficult to distinguish between the act of copying human faces and that of creating a portrait. The apparent infiltration of reality into this particular artistic genre of course gained considerably in convincingness from the time people have been living surrounded by photographic portraits, in which there is apparently no clear boundary between the mechanical copying on film in a camera and the creative act of the photographer.

Be that as it may, in the studies on Roman portraits the equation " portrait = model " appears time after time. Either in the physiognomic approach, implying that what the portrait portrays pertains also to the sitter, or in the ethnologic approach implying the identification of portrait and deathmask. These

[1] Cfr. Drerup 1980, 119.

approaches are complementary and both are firmly rooted in the classicist theory of mimesis.

The important role of deathmasks of ancestors in the religious practice of the ancient Romans has been acknowledged since the 16th century [2]. That is why Visconti, in his turn, derived from these deathmasks the characteristic form of Roman portraits — the bust — which has, according to the than prevalent opinion, no analogy in Greek art [3]. The habit of deriving the realism of Roman portraits from their alleged descent from deathmasks is, however, of a later date. It was inspired by the discovery of a wax mask in a grave at Cumae made in 1852 [4].

The finding aroused great excitement and was extensively covered in archaeological writings of that time. But a finding that was very important for the future of studies on Roman portraits was the identification of the portrait of ancestor with his deathmask, made much later, in 1878 [5]. However, once proposed the thesis that the Roman portrait originated in wax deathmasks was immediately accepted as an incontestable fact [6].

Otto Jahn was the first to suggest that in the Cumae grave the deceased Roman's likeness was preserved in wax in order to make sure that his existence would continue after death [7]. In Jahn's time his interest in magic and the irrational was exceptional and was probably closely connecetd with his tragic personal experiences, in any case his thesis passed unnoticed in works on Roman portraits.

Around 1900, however, the atmosphere changed entirely. Illogical attitudes and the dark side of the human psyche started to attract an ever-growing circle of scholars. In the history of art one of the pioneers of this approach was Aby Warburg, who, like Jahn before him, was obsessed with his ill health and much interested in death, obscurities and magic [8]. But soon it became a general trend in art historical research. So, when in 1910-11 Julius von Schlosser [1866-

[2] The most famous of these early discussions is no doubt Lessing 1769.

[3] Cfr. E.Q. Visconti, *Il Museo Pio Clementino VI*, 1792, X; cfr. also J.J. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie*, 1882, 5. On this problem cfr. now G. Winter, *Zwischen Individualität und Idealität. Die Bildnisbüste-Studien zu Thema, Medium, Form und Entwicklungsgeschichte*, 1985.

[4] Cfr. Drerup 1980, 93-94.

[5] Cfr. O. Benndorf, *Antike Gesichtshelme und Sepulcralmasken*, 1878. On sociological and legal background of the *imagines maiorum*, cfr. the dissertation of H.C.A. Eichstaedt, *De imaginibus Romanorum*, 1866.

[6] Kaschnitz 1926, 187-188: « Der Erfolg dieser Annahme war so allgemein, dass es heute in der Tat überflüssig ist, die Argumente dieser Behauptung zu Wiederholen ».

[7] O. Jahn, in *AZ* 25, 1867, 85 ff.

[8] Warburg also worked on renaissance wax portraits and their magical meaning. It is interesting to note that in this work he distinguished the survival of pagan traditions in Florence from the conscious revivals of the Roman cult of ancestors at the court of the emperor Maxmillian, cfr. A. Warburg, *Bildniskunst und florentinisches Bürgertum*, 1902, 31.

1938] revived Jahn's interpretation of Roman deathmasks it was an absolute success [9]. In this work Schlosser argued that the gallery of portraits of ancestors in Roman houses was a secondary feature, for the Roman conception of the portrait was centred on the images of the deceased. Its role was firstly magical: to preserve the personality of the deceased Roman even after he ceased to exist physically. That is why it was absolutely essential that the facial features were rendered as faithfully as possible, Schlosser argued.

Schlosser was of course aware that the faithfulness of an image is a subjective notion. A gold Mycenaean mask was a highly stylised portrait, Schlosser maintains, nevertheless it was also perceived as a true likeness of the deceased. He sees the evolution of the portrait genre in classical antiquity as proceeding from the highly stylised type to the representation of an individual painstakingly registering all his specific features. In other words proceeding from the most subjective visual form based on the viewer's impression to the most objective one based on the portrait's appearance. But even though the measure of participation of the viewer's imagination and the sculptor's technical ability varied, the function of the portrait remained the same. From the beginning to the end of antiquity it was a vehicle of magical conception, Schlosser concludes. This conception implied a denial of the aesthetic value of ancient portraiture which was wholly in keeping with Winckelmannian classicist aesthetics [10].

The re-evaluation of the role of ritual and magic in ancient potraiture was inspired by the 19th century studies on these aspects of European culture. In Germany W. Mannhardt started publishing works on European folk rituals in 1865, in England at the same time E.B. Taylor's works on primitive cultures laid the foundations for the so-called Cambridge school. Its members, J.E. Harrison, J.G. Frazer and W.R. Smith, published their influential books in 1889-1890 [11].

What they had in common was the convinction that in " primitive societies " symbolical life centred on rituals, and they conceived this symbolical life as a consequence of a double misunderstanding. Misunderstood causality of the natural phenomena gave birth to magic rituals and from misunderstood rituals myths were born.

What was productive in this approach and what makes it topical even today are not these pseudo-historical explanations, but the discovery that myths and

[9] J. von Schlosser, ' Geschichte der Porträtbildnerei in Wachs ', in *JKSW* 29, 1910-1911, 171 ff.

[10] Schlosser hailed Winckelmann as « den Vater der Geschichte der Kunst in ihrem bis heute dauernden und zur Vollendung gebrachten modernen Sinne »: J. von Schlosser, *Die Kunstliteratur*, 1924, 458.

[11] Cfr. W. Burkert, ' Griechische Mythologie und die Geistesgeschichte der Moderne ', in *Les études classiques au 19e et 20e siècles: leur place dans l'histoire des idées*, ed. by W. den Boer (Fondation Hardt, Entretiens 26), 1980, 172-182. On the history of research on portrait and magic cfr. W. Brückner, *Bildnis und Brauch*, 1966, 15-26.

rituals are both devices of social communication, which, moreover, run parallel to each other. Interpreted as sign systems myths and rituals may be compared, the former may contribute to the better understanding of the latter, and vice versa. This opened the way to adding other communicative devices to these two: the sign systems of the visual arts, political rhetoric, social hierarchy etc. But historians took this path much later, at the end of the 20th century.

The main reason, however, for the spectacular success of Jahn's old and long unnoticed thesis in the study of the Roman portrait was that it enabled the interpretation of these portraits — via deathmasks — as a product of the Roman magic imagination. For around 1900 the conviction that every cultural phenomenon could be explained by its genesis was modified, in certain scholarly circles at least, in the sense that everything is, in fact, but a late phase of the evolutionary chain, the first link of which is firmly embedded in the human subconscious. It was above all Wilhelm Dilthey [1833-1911] who included the irrational among elements a historian must count with [12]. And Nietszche radically re-evaluated Greek civilization by declaring that what previous generations admired — the late classical and Hellenistic culture — was not, as a matter of fact, Greece at all [13]. In its place he tried to promote the early Greek culture, which alone was proclaimed as the genuine Greece. No wonder that he scorned everything Roman.

This is a typical example of the new attitude, the classicist slogan " the more sophisticated the better " was replaced by the slogan " the more primitive the better ", which to a great degree prevails until our present time. Cultural primitivism is still regarded as a guarantee of the pristine state of the human mind [14].

" A thing has little charm for me unless it has on it the patina of age. Great things in literature, Greek plays for example, I most enjoy when behind their bright splendours I see moving darker and older shapes ", wrote J. E. Harrison [15]. This tendency to interpret even the greatest heights of human creativity and intellectual capacity from the irrational substance of human existence found its extreme formulation in the work of Sigmund Freud.

The pansexual theories of psychoanalysis in science, as well as the pointed subjectivity of expressionism in art were characteristic of the intellectual climate in Germany between the two World Wars, in both these spiritual orientations

[12] W. Dilthey, *Einleitung in die Geisteswissenschaften: Versuch einer Grundlegung für das Studium der Gesellschaft und der Geschichte*, 1863.

[13] Cfr. p. 53 nota 11.

[14] On anthropology and classics in general cfr. S. C. Humphreys, *Anthropology and the Greeks*, 1978.

[15] J. Harrison, *Reminiscences of a Student's Life*, 1925, 86 ff. On Harrison cfr. R. Schlesier, ' Jane Ellen Harrison ', in W. W. Briggs, Calder III, W. D. eds., *Classical Scholarship. A Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1990, 127-141.

the stress was laid on the primitive in civilization, and the primordial in human outlook. Under the influence of the expressionist art theory in the 20th century Guido Kaschnitz von Weinberg propagated the term " magical realism " which he believed to be the key to the origin and essence of Roman portraits [16].

E. Bickermann explains the ceremony of consecration in the Roman apotheosis as a magical ritual in which portraits played the central role [17]. E. Bethe wrote in a similar vein, saying that the cult of images of ancestors in private houses of ancient Romans stems from the old custom of burying their dead inside the houses [18]. The belief that the origin of Roman portraiture is directly connected with magic has supporters even today, among the best connoisseurs of these artefacts [19].

Criticism of this approach came from Holland, from Annie Nicolette Zadoks-Josephus Jitta [20]. The Romans did not believe in life after death, she argued, and even if portraits of ancestors had some magical meaning, they had already lost it in the 3rd century B. C. In the 2nd century B. C., when the distinctive tradition of the Roman portrait began, their meaning was purely ethical. It was only at this stage, Zadoks-Josephus Jitta proceeds, that the plaster deathmasks appeared in Rome where they served as a basis for the creation of sculptural portraits. The hypothesis constructed around the " ius imaginum "

[16] Cfr. Kaschnitz 1926, 187 ff.; *idem* 1930; *idem*, *' Marcus Antonius. Domitian. Christus '*, (Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft 14, 2) 1938, 5. The term Kaschnitz took over from F. Roh, *Nachexpressionism-magischer Realismus*, 1925, who used it for an artistic orientation called also « neue Sachlichkeit », the most famous representative being Otto Dix, but only at one period of is career, cfr. Drerup 1980, 83. According to Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1932, 85, Kaschnitz considered Kaschnitz 1930 a bad translation distorting his views. Later on he adopted a view incompatible with his earlier conception of « magical realism » (cfr. G. Kaschnitz von Weinberg, *Zwischen Republik und Kaiserzeit*, Römische Kunst II, hrsg. von H. von Heintze 1961, 108 f.), and explicitly renounced it, cfr. *idem, Mittelmeerische Kunst. Eine Darstellung ihrer Strukturen*, hrsg. P. von Blanckenhagen, H. von Heintze (Ausgewählte Schriften III), 1965, 409 f., note 21.

[17] Cfr. E. Bickermann, ' Die römische Kaiserapotheose ', in *ARW* 27, 1929, 1-34.

[18] Cfr. E. Bethe, *Ahnenbild und Familiengeschichte bei Römern und Griechen*, 1935, 27. This view was later taken over by B. Schweitzer, *Die Bildniskunst der römischen Republik*, 1948, 23.

[19] H. von Heintze, *Römische Kunst*, 1969, 168: « Das Porträt als Abbild einer einmaligen physischen Existenz ist eine Schöpfung des römischen Geistes, die im Magischen wurzelt ». From more recent time cfr. Jackson 1987, he derives stylistic features of the Roman Republican portrait directly from deathmasks.

[20] Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1932, cfr. also *idem, Het Romeinse Keisersportret. Vorm en functie*, 1956. Her opinions were soon criticized, cfr. F. Bömer, *Ahnenkult und Ahnenglaube im alten Rom*, 1943, 122 ff. For her bibliography cfr. *Festoen, Opgedragen aan A. N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta bij gelegenheid van haar zeventigste verjaardag* (Scripta Archeologica Groningana 6), Groningen-Bossum 1975, 687-697 (1932-1975) and *Mededelingenblad van de Vereiniging van Vrienden van het Allard Pierson Museum* 49, 1991, 46-47 (1975-1988).

according to which portraits were a privilege of the Roman elite, Zadoks-Josephus Jitta argues, is also entirely false [21].

But this radical criticism of magical or political interpretation of deathmasks apart, Zadoks-Josephus Jitta is firmly convinced that it is from them that any art historical analysis of Roman portraits must proceed. She sees the development of Roman potraiture as a gradual process of transformation of a mechanical copy — the deathmask — into che portrait conceived as a work of art. Hence she postulated a law according to which the less the Roman portrait of the 1st century B. C. departs from its alleged prototype in the form of a deathmask, the older it is [22].

In research on Roman portraits the next step was that not only was the magical meaning of Roman deathmasks refused, but even their very existence was thrown into doubts. This opinion was expressed for the first time in 1942 [23]. In subsequent writings on Roman portraits it seems to be more and more frequent, and recently some scholars have even proclaimed Roman deathmasks to be yet another archaeological myth [24]. But, as we said above, deathmasks may exist in any civilization and there is enough evidence that they really did exist in ancient Rome.

In 1980 the problem was revived by Heinrich Drerup [25]. He wrote his study to prove that in the Roman burial custom deathmasks modified in such a way as to give the impression that they represented a living person were used. But his in itself very interesting catalogue of casts of faces of dead Romans discovered till then raises disturbing questions.

There are more differences than common points between deathmasks known from Roman literary sources and examples actually found. The sepulchral ritual with deathmasks is dated to the 3rd-2nd century B. C., while the oldest preserved specimens come from the early imperial time and the majority from the 2nd-3rd century A. D. In the ritual attested to in literature the deathmasks were of wax, they represented ancestors, according to Roman usage exclusively men [and prevailingly old ones], and these likenesses were made for the aristocracy of the city of Rome to be placed in private houses. The examples collected by Drerup are made of plaster [the wax is attested to only once, in the above

[21] Cfr. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1932, 32 ff., 97 ff. Lessing 1769 already pointed out that no authority can forbid the non-aristocrats to exhibit *in their private houses* the portraits of their ancestors.

[22] Cfr. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1932, 65 ff.

[23] Cfr. A. Boethius, 'On the Ancestral Masks of the Romans', in *ActaArch* 13, 1942, 226-235.

[24] Cfr. F. Brommer, 'Zu den römischen Ahnenbildern', in *RM* 60-61, 1953-1954, 164 ff. and the literature cited in Drerup 1980, 84-85, note 19. Other recent literature on Roman deathmasks: J. H. Jonkees, 'Primitive Imagines Maiorum on Coins of the Roman Republic', in *ActaArch* 36, 1965, 232-239; Jackson 1987.

[25] Cfr. Drerup 1980.

mentioned find from Cumae], they were taken of persons of both sexes and of every age [so, definitely not ancestors], and were made for middle class Romans, mostly from provincial towns, to be placed in graves [26].

Drerup's reconstruction of the ritual described by Polybius might be correct [27]. It is more probable, he indicates, that what Polybius took for actors with masks of the deceased were actually life-size figurines with wax faces in the fabrication of which a deathmask of the deceased was used. The custom could be very old, the fact that Pliny [Nat. hist. 35, 153] writes that wax masks were produced from c. 300 B. C. on, does not exclude the existence of older masks made from plaster or terracotta.

But in his interpretation of Polybius's information on deathmasks Drerup commits the same mistake as all who wrote before him on the relationship of deathmasks and portraits. For he implicitly assumes that in the thinking of the ancient Romans an imitation was identified with the imitated reality, that for them a portrait *was* the person the features of whom it represented [28].

What the ancient Romans actually felt when confronted with lifelike images of the deceased we shall never know. We may only presume that their experience was much more intensive than that of modern men accustomed to photographs and films, but we may also reasonably presume that they did not experience the same feelings as when confronted with living people. Fidelity, the lifelike appearance of these images is irrelevant to the alleged identification of likeness with its original, for the more realistic the image is, the more apparent is its unreality, the impossibility of an image being its model [29].

What is created as an imitation is always essentially different from its model, it can never be regarded as its duplication. Sculpture is always above all static, cold and hard, which is not to say that it cannot be perceived as being somehow alive. But, and this is very important, its life is a different life than that of its model. A duplication cannot be identical with what it duplicates, it is always intrinsically dissimilar to it, once created it lives its own independent life. This new life of the duplicate, and not the duplication itself, was the real source of the magical function of all imitations of human appearance [30].

[26] Cfr. *ibidem*, 99-101.

[27] Pol. 7, 5.

[28] Drerup 1980, 115.

[29] Drerup's arguments in favour of the interchangeability of an image and its model in ancient Roman thinking can be, in fact, used as proof that the Romans never took the former for the later. In Drerup's reasoning the central position is occupied by passages from Plautus' Amphitrion (Drerup 1980, 115-117), but the source of their comicality was and still is the fact that Mercury looks exactly like Sosia, yet everybody in the auditorium knows that it is not Sosia.

[30] Cfr. J.-P. Vernant, 'Figuration de l'invisible et catégorie psychologique du double: le colossos', in J. P. Vernant, *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs*, 1965, 251-264; *idem*, 'De la

We do not know how the Romans perceived duplications in art, but we happen to know that in Roman thinking there existed side by side two incompatible conceptions of the relationship between the face and its duplication in a mirror [31]. Either this reflection was conceived as something extraneous, something which he is not. Or this same reflection is conceived as something which was separated from him, as something which somehow emanated from its model and existed afterwards independently, as a materialised selfhood. In both cases the identification with the mirror image presupposed a distance between the face and its reflection, for to identify the same with the same is nonsense.

So, the relation of a face reflected in the mirror was conceived in terms either of a correspondence or an opposition. It would however, be completely wrong if we understood the separation of the image from its model as its projection in the external world.

" Projection " is a modern word which has no counterpart either in Greek or in Latin. In both these cultures the mirroring was understood rather in a spiritual way, as a revelation, not as a mechanical reflection. In the same way visual art in general was not so much an imitation of physical shapes as an exposition of their inner structure, and the portrait in particular not so much a copy of the idiosyncratic physiognomical traits as a display of a personality, a type of personality, to be exact.

In the approach in which the beholder identified himself with his image reflected in the mirror be was in a way drawn into his own reflection and eventually dissolved in it. This mystical union had positive effects, but only when it built a two-way bridge between the self and the not self. The identification, however, can also turn out to be a one-way journey from which there is no return. In this case the identification with one's image is in fact an entrapment and the beholder is forever imprisoned in his own image.

The beholder can be detained in that with which he identifies himself, for in certain circumstances the mirror may lock up not only the image it reflects but also what is reflected. The mirror may become a labyrinth from which there is no way out, therefore it can be used for the neutralization of such evil forces as the spirits of the dead.

In the alternative way of interpreting mirror images the beholder does not identify himself with his image but confronts it as if it was his antagonist. In this case the encounter may be destructive. The objectified self may turn out to be stronger than the beholder and he can thus be annihilated by his own image, this extreme case being exemplified in Narcissus' or Actaeon's fate. But this attribute of the mirror image conceived as an objectified self can also be

présentification de l'invisible à l'imitation de l'apparence ', in *Image et signification*, ' Rencontres de l'Ecole du Louvre, février 1983 ', 25-37.

[31] W. McCarty, ' The Shape of the Mirror: Metaphorical Catoptrics in Classical Literature ', in *Arethusa* 22, 1989, 161-195.

used for apotropaic purposes. The evil influence can thus be reflected back to its source, in the same way as Perseus neutralized the power of Medusa's deadly face by looking at her image on his shield which he used as a mirror.

Both these lines of thought could be included in the idea behind Greek kouroi and korai being erected on graves, or behind Roman deathmasks being placed in graves. The image of the dead can either imprison the soul of the deceased, or it can send it back to the realm of the dead. In any case a prerequisite of the magical power of portraits of the dead is that the portrait and its model, however the relationship of the former to the physiognomy of the later may be conceived, are envisaged as distinct entities, existing independently of each other.

In conclusion we must return to a widespread habit of attributing changes in artistic development exclusively from changes in society, religion etc. According to Drerup wax deathmasks and sculptural portraits existed side by side in aristocratic society of early Rome but latter were in no way affected by the naturalistic appearance of the former. The earliest Roman sculptural portraits were wholly in the Greek idealizing tradition, and deathmasks, belonging exclusively to the realm of magical rites, exerted no influence on contemporary art [32].

It was only in the late Republic, Drerup contends, in connection with the coming of the Roman freedmen and provincial bourgeoisie, that a new portrait tradition started to form. In these lower social circles the wax portraits were replaced by plaster ones and in the sculptural portrait the Hellenistic typifying style was replaced by the Roman verism [33]. From then on the ritual images and the sculptural portraits merged and concerted their differences — in order to attain the new common aim, absolute verism, " blunt " wax masks were replaced by sharply delineating plaster ones [34].

All such attempts to derive the Roman portrait tradition from deathmasks and their magical function are based on a wrong conception of quotations in the visual arts. These quotations from previous artistic epochs, other genres or from real life, as for instance quotations of deathmasks, are a normal phenomenon which can be observed in all plastic cultures in all epochs. It is a mistake, however, to seek automatically in the source of these quotations the reason why the stylistic trend to which they belong came into being. This reason cannot be postulated a priori, it has to be discovered.

If Roman portraitists quoted from deathmasks they may have done so in order to stress that their creations were to be apprehended as something closely related to deathmasks. But their motive might just well have had no relation to sepulchral symbolism, it might just as well be sought in art itself, in its social,

[32] Cfr. Drerup 1980, 119.
[33] *Ibidem*, 124.
[34] *Ibidem*, 125.

political, and religious ambitions and requirements necessitated by the logic of stylistic development.

Deathmasks played perhaps very important role in Roman sepulchral rituals, but it is misleading to derive automatically from them the style of the Roman sculptural portrait. Behind this way of reasoning looms the charming old idea according to which portraiture was born at the moment when a Corinthian girl impulsively traced with a piece of charcoal the border of the shadow which her lover cast on the wall.

Abbreviazioni supplementari:

Drerup 1980 = H. Drerup, 'Totenmaske und Ahnenbild bei den Römern', in *RM* 87, 1980, 81-129.

Jackson 1987 = D. Jackson, 'Verism and the Ancestral Portrait', in *GaR* 34, 1987, 32-47.

Kaschnitz 1926 = G. Kaschnitz von Weinberg, 'Studien zur etruskischen- und frührömischen Porträtkunst' in *RM* 41, 1926, 133-211.

Kaschnitz 1930 = G. Kaschnitz von Weinberg, 'Du réalisme magique de la république romaine à l'art de Constantin le Grand', in *Formes*, october 1930, 6 ff.

Lessing 1769 = G.E. Lessing, *Ueber die Ahnenbilder der Roemer*, 1769.

Zadoks-Josephus Jitta 1932 = A.N. Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, *Ancestral Portraiture in Rome and the Art of the Last Century of the Republic*, 1932.

CENA NOVENDIALIS?

Irene Bragantini

Resti archeologici e fonti letterarie ci informano su alcune caratteristiche del culto dei morti a Roma, ma si tratta di testimonianze che riguardano ambiti sociali e cronologici almeno in parte differenziati.

Le fonti letterarie pongono infatti l'accento con particolare interesse sullo svolgimento dei funerali della *nobilitas*, che costituiscono un rito essenzialmente pubblico e politico, attraverso il quale — mettendo in scena i propri membri sia vivi che defunti — la famiglia colpita riafferma il proprio valore e la propria nobiltà [1].

La documentazione archeologica ed epigrafica ci informa invece soprattutto sugli atteggiamenti di una classe media, che tra la tarda età repubblicana e la prima età imperiale prende coscienza di sè, del proprio valore e della propria funzione, lasciando influenzare il proprio comportamento a livello figurativo dal comportamento delle classi dominanti. È questo il periodo in cui prendono forma e si sviluppano i colombarii e il connesso fenomeno dei *collegia funeraticia*, che sono stati meccanicisticamente spiegati con l'aumentato costo del terreno a Roma e connessi alla chiusura della necropoli dell'Esquilino [2], ma al quale contribuirono certamente anche fenomeni di altra natura e più generali mutamenti di mentalità [3].

Ringrazio Leopoldo Gamberale per i chiarimenti che mi ha gentilmente fornito, senza naturalmente volerlo coinvolgere nell'interpretazione qui proposta.

[1] Il rimando 'classico' è evidentemente Pol. VI, 53-54.

[2] Cfr. *RE* IV, 1, cc. 593-594, s.v. *columbarium* (Samter); A.D. Nock, "Cremation and Burial in the Roman Empire', in *HThR* 25, 1932, p. 322 = Z. Stewart (a cura di), *A.D. Nock Essays on Religion and the Ancient World*, Oxford 1972, voll. I, p. 278.

[3] Cfr. F. Boemer, 'Untersuchungen ueber die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom, I', in *AbhMainz*, 1957, 7, pp. 461 ss., 554 ss.; B. Gladigow, "Naturae deus humanae mortalis. Zur sozialen Konstruktion des Todes in roemischer Zeit", in G. Stephenson (a cura di), *Leben und Tod in den Religionen. Symbol und Wirklichkeit*, Darmstadt 1980, p. 131. Il 'riscontro' di tale mentalità, a livello figurativo, è offerto dalla classe di rilievi sepolcrali di liberti, che nascono nello stesso periodo come fenomeno prettamente urbano: cfr. P. Zanker, 'Grabreliefs roemischer Freigelassener', in *JdI* 90, 1975, pp. 267-315.

representing winged female figures (max. h. in present state 24 cm.), rather roughly executed, that reflect a Daedalean cultural background. They are datable to 580 BC ca., and are thus the most ancient remains of templar coroplastic found in Chiusi to date. The closest parallels can be sought in the " Daedalean " female heads of the lateral sime in the portico of the Archaic " Meeting Hall " of the Murlo residence, and also with winged female figures represented on bucchero vases with stamp decoration produced in Chiusi. One specimen was found in the *il Monte* area, where other fragments of templar decoration have been collected on the surface. These fragments indicate the existence of a sacred building of a later period, which is confirmed by unpublished archive sources. The presence of an Orientalizing necropolis in the same area and the possible chthonian significance of the winged female figure suggest that the acroteria may originally have belonged to a funerary sanctuary.

B. D'Agostino, Noterelle iconografiche a proposito di Eracle nell'Etruria arcaica.

On the basis of small iconographical details, the A. suggests a different interpretation of two Etruscan monuments. In the second pyxis of the Pania, in lieu of Gerion, he proposes Cacos. In the hydria of the Micali Painter with Herakles' apotheosis, the author supposes the existence of a figurative program including in Herakles' apotheosis the hero's struggle against the Sileni in defense of Hera, and opposing both the ephebes' cosmos and the world of the gods to the Sileni's *sauvagerie*.

E. Paribeni, Di Artemide danzatrice.

On the basis of a new copy from Perge, the Author demonstrates that the statue type is to be identified as Artemis the Dancer. From this type, similar in style to the head of the Giustiniani Pourtalis Apollon, derive two well-known cult statues: Fortuna Primigenia from Palestrina and the one supposedly from the Temple of Fortuna in the Forum Boarium.

M. Denti, Il Marsia di Paestum.

This study deals with a statue of the Silen Marsyas found in 1931 in the forum of Paestum. Stylistic and iconographic analysis has led the author to place the piece amongst the highest Greek artistic achievements of the IV cent. B. C., bringing to light its strong conceptual and iconographic links with the figurative patrimony and culture of the cities of Magna Graecia and Sicily, especially the Lucanian region.

A preliminary examination of the complex problem of the significance of the work in the period when it was actually made brings to light the strenght of the political meaning which this image already assumed within the culture of Classical Greece. It would seem that Marsyas was regarded as a personification of the slave, relegated to the margins of society. Several of the attributes of this figure are thus found to be charged with meaning. These same features,

together with the older mythological and semantic connotations referring to Asia Minor, were taken up by the political " imagery " of the ascendant plebeian élites in Rome in the second half of the IV century B. C.

This statue of Marsyas from Paestum helps to shed light on the extraordinary phenomenon of exchange of political, philosophical, religious and artistic experiences among the large city centers of Southern Italy in this crucial period of their history. Lucania seems to have been a vital cultural crossroads in this exchange and, like Rome, was bent on becoming a part of this cultural universe by assuming its ideological and figurative models.

This bronze, an expression of Greek artistic culture at its best, is of relevance to the debate on the problem of art in the Western Greek *poleis*.

M. Mazzei, La ' tomba delle coppe di vetro ' di Ascoli Satriano. Nuovi elementi per lo studio della società e del commercio nella Daunia del II secolo a.C.

The article deals with a " grotticella " tomb found at Ascoli Satriano during excavations for the water system on the slopes of the Serpente hill, on the outskirts of the town. The funerary structure, dug in the natural rock, consists of a rectangular cell with a NE/SW orientation, a door in unbaked clay, and a *dromos* with stairs.

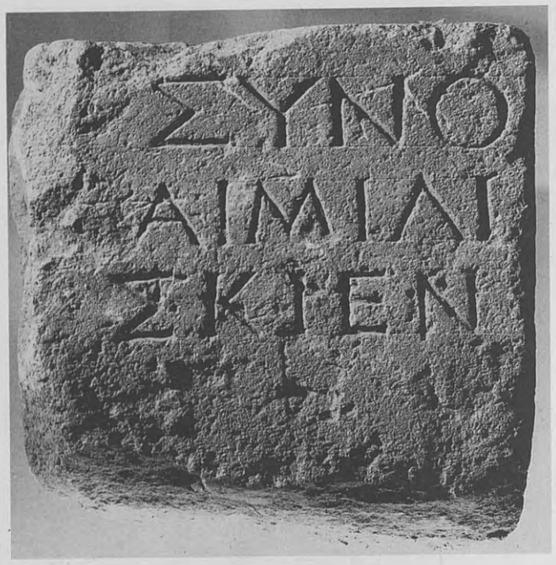
The body was laid supine along the bottom wall of the cell. It was accompanied by two glass cups, two freight amphorae (one Rhodian, the other Brindisian), a couple of iron strigils with suspension ring, a bone tool, and some lumps of cosmetic substances.

Special attention is given to the glass cups, which belong to a class the attribution of which is still controversial, both as regards their center of production, and as to their exact chronology. The comparison with other similar objects from other Daunian centers (Salapia, Arpi, Canosa) show them to belong to a rich stream of typologically diversified importations.

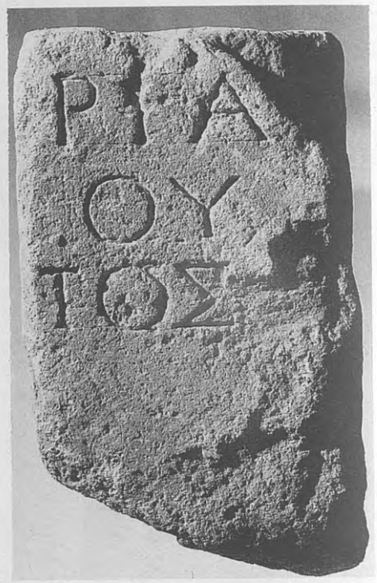
The types of amphorae present in the tomb and their stamps (the same association is attested in the famous " Princess " tomb, discovered on the same site) can be attributed to the second half of the II cent. B. C., providing a date for the glass cups as well. The glass cup tomb thus reveals, at Ascoli as in other Daunian centers, a remarkable economic vitality in the course of that century, and the existence of wealthy social groups, confirming recently formulated hypotheses on the economy and social organization of Daunia after the Hannibalic wars.

S. Bažant, Roman Deathmasks once again.

The idea to derive the realism of Roman portraits from deathmasks was inspired by the late 19th century concern with the human subconscious. But the mechanical copy of a human face and the art of portraiture are two phenomena which should be kept apart. Deathmasks played perhaps a very important role in Roman sepulcral rituals, bu it is misleading to derive from them the style of the Roman sculptural portrait.



1



2

4

3

5

1-3. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli. Cippo. 4-5. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli. Base di candelabro.

FINITO DI STAMPARE NEL MESE DI OTTOBRE MCMXCII
NELLO STABILIMENTO «ARTE TIPOGRAFICA» S.A.S.
S. BIAGIO DEI LIBRAI - NAPOLI

ESTUDIO