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A COMPANION TO ROMAN ART

EDITED BY BARBARA E. BORG

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Barbara E. Borg is Professor of Classical Archaeology at the University of Exeter. She has published widely on Greek and Roman art and archaeology. Her books include *Mumienporträts: Chronologie und Kontext* (1999), *Der Logos des Mythos – Allegorien und Personifikationen in der frühen griechischen Kunst* (2002), *Crisis and Ambition: Tombs and Burial Customs in Third-Century CE Rome* (2013), and the edited volume *Paideia: The World of the Second Sophistic* (2004). She is the recipient of a number of awards and prizes, including a Getty Research Fellowship, a Senior Onassis Fellowship, the Hugh Last Fellowship at the British School at Rome, and a Leverhulme Major Research Fellowship to write a micro-history of a small part of the Roman *suburbium* from the first century BCE to the fourth century CE.

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Maureen Carroll is Professor of Roman Archaeology at the University of Sheffield. She has excavated widely at major Roman sites in Italy, North Africa, Cyprus, and Britain, and was Senior Field Archaeologist with the State Archaeological Service in Cologne, Germany, until 1998. Her main fields of research are Roman death and commemoration, Roman funerary epigraphy, and Roman gardens and landscape design, her work attracting support from the European Union, the Leverhulme Trust, and the British Academy. Key publications include *Spirits of the Dead: Roman Funerary Commemoration in Western Europe* (2006), *Earthly Paradises: Ancient Gardens in History and Archaeology* (2003), and *Romans, Celts and Germans: The German Provinces of Rome* (2001). She is a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

Francesco de Angelis is Associate Professor of Classical Art and Archaeology at Columbia University, New York. He has researched and published widely on various aspects of ancient art and architecture—from the use of Greek mythology in Etruscan and Roman art to the role of monuments in the transmission of cultural memory, and from the architecture of justice in the Roman world to the history of classical scholarship. He is the author of a monograph on the Etruscan cinerary urns from Chiusi. He is the co-director of the Advanced Program of Ancient History and Art (APAHA), which conducts archaeological fieldwork at Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli and at Villa San Marco in Stabiae. He has been the recipient of numerous awards and scholarships, including a Getty Research Institute Fellowship, a Humboldt Fellowship, and the Lenfest Distinguished Faculty Award. His current projects include the reception of Roman state art in antiquity, notions of the body in Etruscan art, and ancient antiquarianism.

Simon Ellis was educated at Weymouth College of Education, Lincoln College Oxford, and the University of Newcastle. He has held research positions at Oxford and Dumbarton Oaks, as well as honorary lectureships at St Andrews and Reading. From 1976 to 1988 he directed British, Canadian, and US excavations at Carthage. From 2001 to 2012 he worked as a team leader at UNESCO, producing the 2009 Framework for Cultural Statistics as well as international standards for education, literacy, and ICTs. He has published some 14 books on a range of subjects including *Roman Housing* (2000), and a large number of studies on housing of the Roman to the Byzantine periods and beyond. He is currently working as a freelance contractor on culture and heritage issues.

Jane Fejfer is Professor of Classical Archaeology at University of Copenhagen. Her research centers on Roman art and the classical tradition in the eighteenth century as reflected in collecting. She also works on the archaeology of Roman Cyprus, where she co-directed a field project—*Ancient Akamas: Settlement and Environment*. Her book *Roman Portraits in Context* appeared in 2008, and she is currently working on a book about *Art Collecting in the Roman World: From Theory to Practice*.

Francisca Feraudi-Gruénais is Head Researcher at the "Epigraphic Database Heidelberg" (Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities/University of Heidelberg). She is author of *Ubi diutius nobis habitandum est* (2001), *Inschriften und "Selbstdarstellung" in stadtrömischen Grabbauten* (2003), and various articles, as well as editor of *Latin on Stone: Epigraphic Research and*

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Klaus Fittschen held the Chair in Classical Archaeology at the University of Göttingen from 1976–89 before becoming Director of the German Archeological Institute (DAI) in Athens until his retirement in 2001. He has published widely on aspects of ancient sculpture, and especially on Roman portraiture, and has co-authored the multivolume *Katalog der römischen Porträts in den Capitolinischen Museen und den anderen kommunalen Sammlungen der Stadt Rom.*

Christopher H. Hallett teaches Roman material culture in the Departments of History of Art and Classics at University of California at Berkeley. He is best known as a specialist in Roman sculpture, having published a number of studies on Roman portraiture, including a book-length treatment of nude portraiture—*The Roman Nude: Heroic Portrait Statuary 200 BC–AD 300* (2005). He is the recipient of a Rome Prize from the American Academy in Rome (1995–96) and a Humboldt Fellowship (1997–98). He is a practicing field archaeologist, and has participated in archaeological fieldwork in Israel, Turkey, and Egypt. Since 1991 he has worked at New York University's excavations at Aphrodisias in southwestern Turkey. He is co-author (with R.R.R. Smith, Sheila Dillon, Julia Lenaghan, and Julie van Voorhis) of *Roman Portrait Sculpture of Aphrodisias* (2006), and he is currently preparing for publication the sculpture from the city's Bouleuterion (Council House).

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Natalie Kampen was the inaugural occupant of the Barbara Novak Chair in Art History and Women's Studies at Barnard as well as member of the graduate faculty in art history at Columbia, and Visiting Professor at the Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World at Brown University. Her honors include a research fellowship at Oxford University in 2000, receipt of the Felix Neubergh Medal at the University of Gothenburg in 2004, and a visiting professorship of Art History at Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi in 2010. She was the author of numerous books and articles on Roman art and on gender theory including *Image and Status: Roman Working Women in Ostia* (1981) and *Family Fictions in Roman Art* (2009), editor of *Sexuality in Ancient Art* (1996). She passed away in August 2012.

Michael Koortbojian is the Moses Taylor Pyne Professor of Roman Art and Chair of

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Rachel Kousser is Professor of Art History at Brooklyn College and the Graduate Center, City University of New York. She has received fellowships from the Getty Research Institute, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Mellon Foundation. Her first book, *Hellenistic and Roman Ideal Sculpture: The Allure of the Classical*, was published in 2008. Her current research project concerns violence toward images in classical and Hellenistic Greece. Her second book, *The afterlives of monumental sculptures in Classical and Hellenistic Greece: Interaction, transformation, destruction*, is forthcoming from Cambridge University Press.

Kenneth Lapatin is a curator in the department of antiquities at the J. Paul Getty Museum. A graduate of the University of California, Berkeley and the University of Oxford, he was a professor at Boston University before joining the Getty in 2002. Lapatin is the author of *Chryselephantine Statuary in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (2001), *Mysteries of the Snake Goddess: Art, Desire, and the Forging of History* (2002), *Ancient Greece: Art, Architecture, and History* (2004), *Guide to the Getty Villa* (2005), *The Last Days of Pompeii: Decadence, Apocalypse, Resurrection* (2012), *The Berthouville Silver Treasure and Roman Luxury* (2014), *Power and Pathos: Bronze Sculpture of the Hellenistic World* (2015), *Luxus: The Sumptuous Arts of Greece and Rome* (2015) and numerous articles and reviews. He has curated exhibitions on special techniques of Athenian vase painting, polychrome statuary, the lasting allure of ancient gems, Pompeii and its modern reception, and Roman silver. His research interests include ancient luxury arts, materials and techniques, historiography, and forgery.

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Michael Squire studied in Britain (Cambridge), the United States (Harvard), and Germany (Humboldt-University at Berlin and Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich). He is Reader in Classical Art at King's College, London. His books include *Panorama of the Classical World* (with Nigel Spivey, 2nd edn, 2009), *Image and Text in Graeco-Roman Antiquity* (2009), *The Art of the Body: Antiquity and its Legacy* (2011), *The Art of Art History in Graeco-Roman Antiquity* (co-edited with Verity Platt, 2010), and *The Iliad in a*

Nutshell: Visualizing Epic on the Tabulae Iliacae (2011).

Edmund Thomas studied Classics at Oxford and has taught at the universities of Oxford, National University of Ireland Galway, Exeter, and Durham, where he has been since 2005. His *Monumentality of the Roman Empire: Architecture in the Antonine Age* was published in 2007. He has published articles on various subjects including the Pantheon in Rome, Roman inscriptions, the aesthetics of architecture, Roman architecture in the Eastern provinces, and Roman sarcophagi. He co-edited *Cities and Gods: Religious Space in Transition* (2013) and is co-editing a volume on *The Materiality of Text*. He is working at present on a study of spirally fluted and spiral columns in antiquity, as well as on two monographs, on inscriptions in architecture, and on keystones, which both take into account architecture since classical antiquity as well as Greek and Roman buildings.

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Norbert Zimmermann has studied Christian Archaeology, Art History, and Italian Philology at Bonn, Rome, and Munich. Since 1998 he has held positions at the Institute for the Study of Ancient Culture, Austrian Academy of Sciences, and is member of the Austrian excavation team at Ephesus. In 2014, he took up the position as Second Director at the German Archaeological Institute, Rome. His main field of interest is the cultural changes between antiquity and the Middle Ages. His research focuses on residential architecture of the imperial and late antique periods, as well as on the sepulchral sphere and wall painting of late antiquity, on which he has published, among other works, the monograph *Werkstattgruppen römischer Katakombenmalerei* (2002).

List of Abbreviations

ANRW	Temporini, H. (ed.) (1972–) *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*. De Gruyter, Berlin.
CIG	*Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum*
CIL	*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*
EAA	*Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale*
FGrHist	Jacoby, F. (1923–) *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Brill, Leiden.
ICUR	*Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*, vols. 1–. Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, Vatican City 1857–.
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
IGUR	Moretti, L. (ed.) (1968–1990) *Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae*, vols. 1–4. Bardi, Rome.
LIMC	Ackermann, H.C. and Gisler, J.R. *Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae*, vols. 1–8 and suppl. Artemis, Zürich (1981–2009).
LTUR	Steinby, M. (ed.) (1993–96) *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, vols. 1–6. Edizione Quasar, Rome.
LTUR Suburbium	La Regina, A. (ed.) (2001–08) *Lexikon Topographicum Urbis Romae, Suburbium*, vols. 1–5. Edizione Quasar, Rome.
OLD	Glare, P.G.H. (ed.) (2012) *The Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 2 vols. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
PPM	Baldassare, I., Lanzillotta, T., and Salomi, S. (eds.) (1990–2003) *Pompei: Pitture e Mosaici*, 11 vols. Istituto della enciclopedia italiana, Rome.
RIB	Haverfield, F. (ed.) *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*. Clarendon Press and Oxbow Books, Oxford.

List of Illustrations

Introduction

Barbara E. Borg

A Companion to Roman Art: this sounds like a pretty straightforward title—but is it? We all know what Roman "art" is—after all, the Augustus statue from Prima Porta (Figure 10.7) and the Column of Trajan (Figure 2.1) are widely known far beyond the academic realm. Or do we? We all have immediate associations with the notion of "Roman" art (as opposed, for instance, to "Greek" art). But are we sure what exactly is Roman about it? And while "companions" are springing up like mushrooms around us; and there will be few people who have never read or consulted one; and we surely have certain expectations when we read the word in a book title—is there an agreement on what they are, or should be like? At a second glance, none of these terms is as obvious as it may initially appear.

Roman?

The difficulty in determining what "Roman" may mean, arguably a definition that shifts with time, has long been discussed. That the city of Rome plays a key part is obvious, but almost everything beyond this point is disputed. Conventionally the term is used for phenomena pertaining to the imperial period, and within the borders of the Roman Empire – that is, primarily in chronological terms, even if a spatial notion comes into play, as the chronological usage would not make sense when speaking about second-century CE China, for instance. However, clearly not everything that pertains to this period and the regions of Roman influence is shaped by the cultural tradition of Rome, and even when it is, it is likely to merge metropolitan inspiration with the local. On the other hand, from its very beginnings Rome itself had been shaped by the various cultures with which it came into contact, and from the late republic onwards it was a multicultural melting pot with people from all parts of the empire and beyond settling in the city.

This raises the question of what it really is that makes certain features Roman, and whether it is the same for us as it was for the ancients. We may identify certain hairstyles or building types as Roman, but how do we know that they did not merely express a *habitus* or lifestyle that had been adopted across the Empire without necessarily being an emphatic marker of Romanness? Do Europeans always think of the United States when they drink Coca-Cola?

A Companion to Roman Art, First Edition. Edited by Barbara E. Borg.

Evidence suggests that at least the local elites and aspiring parts of the citizenry of the Roman Empire adhered to a remarkable extent to a common system of shared values, aspirations, and lifestyles; and that these also shaped the material and visual culture across the Empire. Yet disregarding whether the individuals concerned considered these as specifically Roman—as opposed to local—the degree and level of detail to which they shared in such habits and their material expressions varied widely. For example, the Roman timocratic system demanded a considerable degree of self-promotion, and the use of honorific statue monuments, either in public or in more private contexts such as houses, villas, and tombs, was one means of achieving that aim. Nevertheless, the extent to which this habit was adopted, and the precise details of what locals regarded as worth depicting in these monuments, as well as the degree to which the monuments conveyed an explicitly Roman image, varied greatly across the Empire.

There is a chronological dimension linked to the geographical one as well. For the archaic period, the era of the kings, "Roman" would probably largely refer to the art and culture of the emerging city of Rome—although one might question how "Roman" Roman art was at a time when Greek and Etruscan art loomed large in the city. Most would extend the term step by step to include also the art of those regions that came under Roman dominion and finally formed the Roman Empire. But at what point, then, should we start calling Roman the art from, say, Campania? At the other end of the chronological spectrum, it is quite strange, and somewhat arbitrary, that the periods from Constantine onwards are very rarely included in what is generally called Roman culture. To be sure, Rome and its Empire experienced major changes at the time, but there was no cultural caesura, and even Christianity not only drew on Roman tradition in all sorts of ways, but also took quite some time fully to dominate and shape the culture of the Roman Empire and its successors.

I am not claiming to have resolved any of these issues with the present volume, and any attempt at trying to do so would probably be doomed to fail. I have therefore adopted an approach whereby the core of the volume focuses, in a rather traditional way and probably along the lines of most readers' expectations, on the imperial period before Constantine, and to some degree on the city of Rome and Italy, but in doing so a conscious attempt was made to blur any boundaries that this traditional focus might create. I have thus included dedicated chapters on the Republican period (Chapter 5, by Massimiliano Papini, but see also Rachel Kousser in Chapter 6 and Peter J. Holliday in Chapter 10); on the assimilation of Greek art within the Roman empire (Chapter 6, by Rachel Kousser, but see also Christopher H. Hallett in Chapter 1); and on late antiquity (Chapter 7, by Alessandra Bravi; Chapter 21, by Susanne Muth; and Chapter 23, by Norbert Zimmermann), as well as on Roman art in the provinces (Chapter 24 on the Greek East, by Roland R.R. Smith; and Chapter 25 on the Latin West, by Roger J.A. Wilson), with many other authors including the provinces in their discussions.

Art?

The term "art" is at least as contested and elusive. Conventionally, and at least when we disregard modern art, it is applied to everything that is nice to look at and required some advanced skills to be produced. Yet what exactly does it take to deny an object the title of "art"? How much skill is needed to make an object acceptable as "art"? How beautiful does it need to be? And according to whose judgment? The term also carries the baggage of the modern concept of "art as such," of art as the product of the genius artist who creates a piece of art out of his (rarely her) own mind and spirit, merely for contemplation, and without regard for the object's purpose or function. If we subscribe to this definition, hardly anything from the classical world can be regarded as art, since the idea of art as a category of its own that is detached from aspects of usefulness and function is a modern one (Abrams 1981 and 1985). In Greco-Roman