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INSTITUTUM ATHENIENSE ATQUE INSTITUTUM ROMANUM REGNI SUECIAE

Opuscula

Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome

5
2012

STOCKHOLM

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Published with the aid and of a grant from the Swedish Research Council
The English text was revised by Ms Catherine Parnell, Athens, and Dr Carole Gillis, Lund

Contributions to *Opuscula* should be sent to the Secretary of the Editorial Committee (address above) before November 1 every year. Contributors are requested to include an abstract summarizing the main points and principal conclusions of their article.

For style of references to be adopted, see www.ecsi.se/guide-contributors. All articles are sent to referees for peer review. Books for review should be sent to the Secretary of the Editorial Committee (address above).

ISSN 2000-0898

ISBN 978-91-977798-4-5

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Production and graphic design by eddy.se ab, Visby 2012

Printed by Elanders Sverige AB, Mölnlycke 2012

The impact of restoration

The example of the dancing satyr in the Uffizi

Abstract*

The aim of this article is to show that reputed restorations may have an unexpected impact on the study of ancient sculpture. During the 17th–19th centuries, a number of restored antiques were held in exceptionally high regard. One of the consequences of their renown was the production of copies and adaptations in different scales and media. Such reproductions did not distinguish between the ancient and the restored parts of the work. Today these reproductions are centuries old, and in many cases their provenance has long since been forgotten. Therefore, such post-Antique sculptures are easily misinterpreted as ancient. Subsequently, they are at times used as evidence of ancient sculptural production. Needless to say, this may cause flawed notions of Classical sculpture. The complexity of this relationship, between the ancient and the restored, is here exemplified by tracing the impact that a restored motif—“Satyrs with cymbals”—has had on the study of an ancient sculpture type: the satyr attributed to “The invitation to the dance”.

Introduction

In the Uffizi in Florence, there is a fragmentary ancient sculpture representing a satyr playing a foot clapper. Of the ancient sculpture the plinth, the lower and upper part of the support and the figure’s feet are preserved, as well as the satyr’s torso and his legs down to the knees. Thus, the figure’s head, arms and parts of the legs are restored, as is a section of the support (*Figs. 1 & 2*).

This ancient sculptural fragment has been restored as a satyr holding cymbals. During antiquity the sculpture is believed to have represented quite a different motif. Modern scholarship has ascribed it to an ancient sculpture group entitled “The invitation to the dance”.¹ Believed to have been

composed of two figures, a satyr and a nymph, the assumed appearance of the group is best illustrated by a reconstruction (*Fig. 3*).²

The first reconstruction of “The invitation to the dance”, which largely corresponds to that depicted in the present article, was made by Wilhelm Klein in 1909. The reason why this particular satyr (*Fig. 1*) and nymph (*Fig. 4*) were juxtaposed in this manner was that a coin image seems to render the pair together on its reverse (*Fig. 5*).³ By means of stylistic comparison, Klein came to the conclusion that the Roman replicas of this satyr and nymph referred to an original sculpture group made during the Hellenistic era.⁴ Although the precise date of this presumed original masterpiece has been a matter for discussion, “The invitation to the dance” has become a textbook example of Hellenistic sculpture.⁵ Since the 1950s, the group has also been the subject of a number of articles.⁶

During the 1990s Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway and Adrian Stähli questioned whether the two figures were originally conceived as parts of a sculpture group.⁷ Thus, the existence of an ancient sculpture group, called today “The invitation to the dance”, is currently a matter of debate. Nevertheless, this article is concerned with the post-Antique reception of the

² Morricone 1981, 27–28.

³ Klein 1909. The correlation between the figures on the coin and the sculpture types had been noted earlier: Imhoof-Blumer 1888, 296–297; Wolters 1893, 174–175. The coin was minted during the reign of Septimius Severus (AD 193–211) in the harbour city of Kyzikos, situated on the southern shores of the Marmara Sea.

⁴ Klein 1909, 105 & 108; Klein 1921, 45–48.

⁵ Some examples of textbooks on Hellenistic sculpture or art that include “The invitation to the dance”: Alscher 1957, 209, n. 125a; Andrae 2001, 47–48 & cat. nos. 176 & 177; Bieber 1961, 139; Charbonneaux *et al.* 1970, 315–316; Lippold 1950, 320; Moreno 1994, 224–226; Pollitt 1986, 131; Richter 2007, 260–262 & 296; Ridgway 1990, 321–324; Smith 1991, 130; Vermeule 1980, 67–68.

⁶ Balil 1981; Brinkerhoff 1965; Deonna 1951; Geominy 1999a; Hill 1974; Luca 1975; Stähli 1995; Stähli 1999, 416–421.

⁷ Ridgway 1990, 321–324; Stähli 1995; Stähli 1999, 416–418.

* My two supervisors, Prof. Anne-Marie Leander Touati and Dr Henrik Boman, have shown a never failing enthusiasm for my work, and have always provided guidance along the way. For this, I am very grateful.

¹ Mansuelli 1958, cat. no. 220.

satyr in the Uffizi, and not with this presumed ancient sculpture group. Where observations are made concerning ancient sculptures, these will relate to satyrs of the type ascribed to “The invitation to the dance”.

This article hopes to raise an awareness of how complex the interplay between restored and ancient motifs can be. To this end we will trace the impact of the motif “Satyrs with cymbals”, as represented among restored ancient sculptures, on the study of the ancient sculpture group “The invitation to the dance” during the 20th and 21st centuries. During this period in time, the aim of such research has been primarily to gain new knowledge on the exact appearance and places of display of sculptures during antiquity. But it will be argued here that renowned reconstructions—such as the satyr in the Uffizi playing cymbals (*Fig. 1*)—can at times influence research so greatly that there is a risk of flawed results. The studies may not in fact present us with a deeper understanding of antiquity, but may rather be a testimony to how firmly a



Fig. 1. The famous dancing satyr in the Uffizi (inv. 220). Photo: Kop-permann. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom. Neg. D-DAI-Rom 65.2134. All rights reserved.

restored image has been accepted as a visualization of ancient iconography in post-Antique times.

First, this article will argue that, as far as the sculptural arts are concerned, the motif “Satyrs with cymbals” is better attested for post-Antique times than for Classical antiquity. The motif is, however, intimately tied to ancient sculpture, because there are numerous such sculptures that were *restored* in post-Antique times holding cymbals. Next it will be argued that the motif “Satyrs with cymbals” seen in restored antiques stemmed primarily from the satyr sculpture in the Uffizi (*Fig. 1*). From there, we will move on to trace the impact of this restored motif on the study of the ancient sculpture group “The invitation to the dance” (*Fig. 3*), to which the satyr in the Uffizi is ascribed.

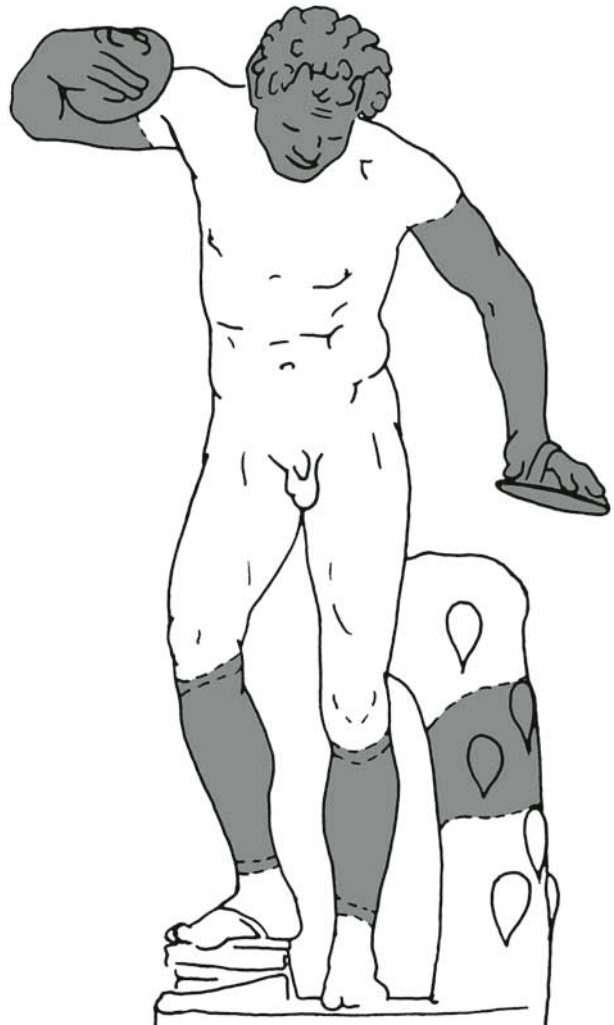


Fig. 2. The satyr in the Uffizi (inv. 220) is restored. The head, arms and parts of the legs and the support are additions made by a restorer. In this illustration the restorations are marked in grey. Illustration: J. Habetzeder.



Fig. 3. "The invitation to the dance"—a reconstruction of an assumed ancient motif, made of plaster casts of ancient fragments and some post-Antique additions. This reconstruction belongs to the University in Rome, La Sapienza. Photo: Koppermann. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom. Neg. D-DAI-Rom 60.1206. All rights reserved.

The interest in the history of restorations of ancient sculpture has increased during the last decades. The life and works of individual restorers, how restorations have altered selected sculptures, and the market for restored antiques—topics such as these have been discussed in a number of publications.⁸ The complexity of the relationship between the restored and the ancient has been noted time and again, but I have not come across any study that deals with the kind of interplay between ancient and post-Antique motifs that will be outlined below.

Any scholar of Classical sculpture is constantly reminded of the necessity to distinguish between what has been restored and what is ancient, and to be concerned about not misinterpreting an ancient fragment due to its restorations.⁹ The focus is generally placed on distinguishing between restored and ancient parts for each individual sculpture. In the following it will, however, be argued that at times a more holistic approach is necessary, if one wishes to untangle the tight web of ancient and post-Antique iconographies. The example brought forth here applies such a perspective: instead of dealing with each ancient fragment as a single entity, we will trace a particular motif through the ages: “Satyrs with cymbals”.

“Satyrs with cymbals” as a post-Antique motif

Why, then, is the motif “Satyrs with cymbals” categorized here as one primarily tied to post-Antique times? To answer this question we will initially turn to ancient iconography, in search of “Satyrs with cymbals”.

ANCIENT SATYR SCULPTURES WITH CYMBALS

Are there ancient sculptures that render this motif? This question is difficult to answer, because so few ancient sculptures in the round are preserved with their hands intact. To exemplify the situation, we will have a look at the satyr sculptures discussed as replicas of “The invitation to the dance” (Fig. 3). As we will see below, some scholars have suggested that satyr sculptures belonging to this particular sculpture type were

Fig. 5 (right). A coin minted in Kyzikos during the reign of Septimius Severus seems to depict the discussed satyr and nymph together, as a sculpture group. Only two examples of this coin are known—this one belongs to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris. Photo: © Bibliothèque Nationale de France. Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques. FG 444.

⁸ Key publications are: Coltman 2009, especially 84–116; Grossman *et al.* 2003; Haskell & Penny 1981; Howard 1990; Montagu 1989, especially 151–172. A pioneer in this field of study, Seymore Howard, has written a summary of previous research, with an extensive bibliography: Grossman *et al.* 2003, 25–44.

⁹ Grossman *et al.* 2003, 1–5.



Fig. 4. A replica of the nymph attributed to “The invitation to the dance”, kept in the Museo Tuscolano in Frascati, Italy. Photo: Hutzler. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom. Neg. D-DAI-Rom 73.147. All rights reserved.





Fig. 6. This bronze statuette, formerly in the Altertums-Museum in Wiesbaden, was published by August von Cohausen in 1888. The sculpture is lost today. Photo from Cohausen 1888b, pl. 1.

depicted holding cymbals during antiquity. In Appendix 1, I have listed the 29 satyr sculptures ascribed to “The invitation to the dance”. These sculptures have here been examined, in order to see how many of them preserve the satyr’s original hands. The next step was, of course, to see whether the satyrs whose original hands are preserved were holding cymbals.

Among the sculptures listed in Appendix 1, there are only two satyrs with both hands intact: the bronze statuettes once kept in Wiesbaden, Germany, and Bucharest, Romania (Appendix 1, nos. 27, 28, *Figs. 6, 7*). As one can see from the photographs, these small statuettes do render the satyr with



Fig. 7. A bronze statuette, formerly kept at the Muzeul National de Antichitati in Bucharest, is known from this photograph, published in Parvan 1923, fig. 93.

cymbals in his hands.¹⁰ There is also a replica found in the Kerameikos in Athens that preserves one of the satyr’s original hands: from the remains, we can see that this ancient replica rests the palm of his left hand on the support, cushioned

¹⁰ Cohausen 1888b; Parvan 1923, 195, fig. 93.

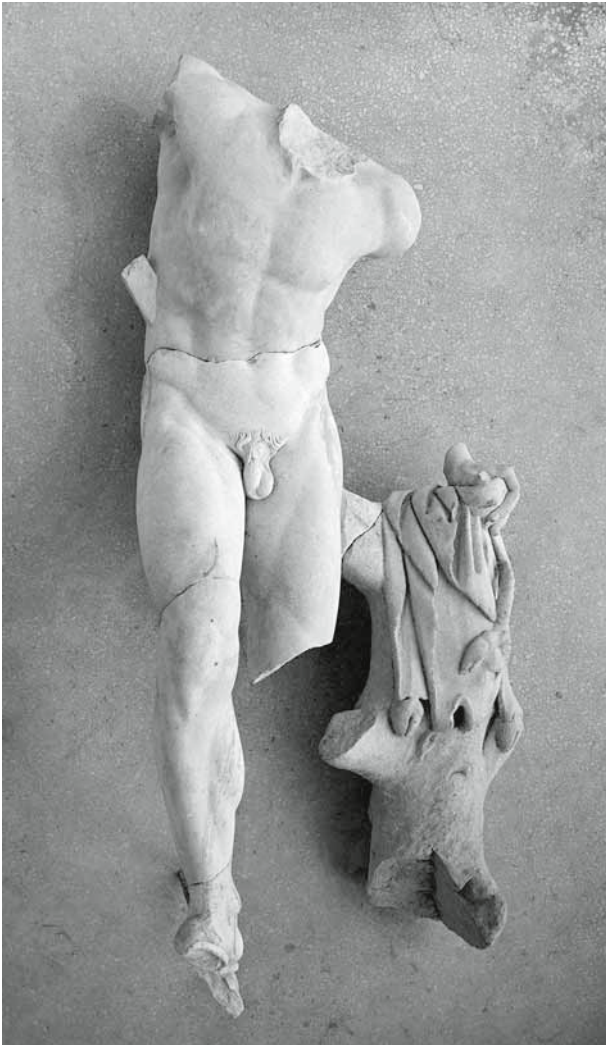


Fig. 8. The marble sculpture found in the Kerameikos in Athens preserves the satyr's left hand, which is held against the nebris on the support. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen. Neg. D-DAI-ATH-Kerameikos 8071. All rights reserved.

by a *nebris* (Appendix 1, no. 10, Fig. 8).¹¹ Turning to the coin minted in Kyzikos, this assumed depiction of the sculpture group does not seem to represent the satyr with cymbals. Furthermore, no support is depicted and the satyr's left arm does not seem to rest on anything (Fig. 5).¹² Thus, these four instances do not present us with any coherent idea of what this ancient satyr type was intended to be doing with his hands. As we have seen, of the 29 satyr sculptures attributed to "The invitation to the dance" only three preserve at least one of the satyr's hands. The situation is similar among other sculpture

types—the hands are only rarely preserved on figures sculpted in the round. Therefore, such sculptures do not seem to be very well suited as the point of departure for a study aiming at tracing the occurrence of "Satyrs with cymbals" in Roman visual culture. Remaining within the realm of sculpture, one can instead turn to material categories that render Bacchic figures in relief: marble kraters, candelabra, sarcophagi and the like. In such representations, the limbs of the figures are preserved to a greater extent. For the sake of argument, it is assumed here that these reliefs give us an idea of how satyrs were generally depicted in Roman visual culture.

Most of these material categories have been thoroughly catalogued since the 1960s.¹³ The sarcophagi displaying Bacchic motifs were extensively treated already in the 1960s by Friedrich Matz the younger.¹⁴ Elaborate monographs have been written on altars/bases, candelabra, kraters and puteals (well-heads), respectively.¹⁵ Marble *oscilla* and plaques with Bacchic motifs have not been treated in such publications, but there are articles and dissertations devoted to these material categories.¹⁶

I have gone through the publications mentioned above, in search of ancient depictions of "Satyrs with cymbals". The items that carry such a depiction are listed in Appendix 2. When scrutinizing these studies, one does come across one recurring figure type that renders a satyr playing cymbals. The type shows a slender satyr taking a step forward, with his head tossed backwards as he clashes a pair of cymbals together. This figure type recurs on various marble items: an *oscillum*, a well-head, two kraters (Fig. 9), five sarcophagi and two reliefs where the material category is unknown.¹⁷ The survey could also trace a satyr with cymbals depicted in a different pose, but this figure type is attested only once, on a sarcophagus (Fig. 10).¹⁸

Despite its brevity, two conclusions are drawn from this survey: first, the motif "Satyrs with cymbals" is attested within the Roman sculptural repertoire. Second, although present, the motif does not seem to have been very common. This survey could trace only twelve instances where satyrs were depicted playing cymbals. Furthermore, in all but one instance, the motif is rendered as a recurring figure type.

¹³ Some important publications were published before 1960, but these dealt with what they called "the neo-Attic reliefs", which included several of the material categories mentioned above. Fuchs 1959; Hauser 1889.

¹⁴ Matz 1968a; Matz 1968b; Matz 1969.

¹⁵ Cain 1985; Dräger 1994; Golda 1997; Grassinger 1991.

¹⁶ Cain 1988; Corswandt 1982; Hundsatz 1987.

¹⁷ Appendix 2, nos. 1 & 3–12. The type is also represented on Terra Sigillata vessels. Porten Palange 2004, cat. nos. S re 10a, S re 11a, S re 11c.

¹⁸ Appendix 2, no. 2.

¹¹ Muthmann 1931; Ohly 1963, 16.

¹² Imhoof-Blumer 1888, 296–297, no. V.3.



Fig. 9. There is a recurring ancient figure type which represents a satyr with cymbals. Such a satyr is displayed on a marble krater in the Galleria dei Candelabri of the Vatican Museums (inv. 2618). Photo: Faraglia. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom. Neg. D-DAI-Rom 4021. All rights reserved.



Fig. 10. On this sarcophagus in Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire, a satyr (the sixth figure on the left) is depicted clashing a pair of cymbals together above his head. Photo: University of Cologne. Cologne Digital Archaeology Laboratory. Neg. FA1132-15, <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de>. All rights reserved.

ANCIENT SCULPTURES RESTORED TO REPRESENT “SATYRS WITH CYMBALS”

Leaving Roman visual culture behind, let us turn to later periods in time. The satyr sculpture in the Uffizi can again serve as our point of departure. As described above, the core of this sculpture is a fragmentary ancient figure, which has been restored. It is, in this case, the restorer who turned the ancient fragment into a rendering of a satyr playing cymbals (Appendix 1, no. 11 and *Figs. 1, 2*). Are there other such examples, where restorers have supplied fragmentary ancient satyr sculptures with cymbals?

To answer this question, I have undertaken another brief investigation. In this case, I turned to two series of publications that offer a good overview of the ancient sculptures included in the collections that were considered the most prominent during the 19th and early 20th centuries. The first series, entitled *Musée de sculpture antique et moderne*, includes six volumes, published in 1826–1853. The publisher was the French count Charles Othon Frédéric Jean-Baptiste de Clarac. The compilation includes the sculptures at the Musée du Louvre, ancient and modern. But Clarac also included ancient sculptures from other collections. His aim was to present all important examples of ancient sculpture.¹⁹

This quest was continued, about half a century later, by the French archaeologist Salomon Reinach. Reinach also published six volumes, although the first of these was a new issue of the plates published by Clarac. This series bears the title *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, and it was published between the years 1897–1930.²⁰ Until this day, these volumes constitute one of the most extensive general

presentations of ancient sculpture printed, at least as far as the number of included sculptures is concerned.²¹

In these two series of publications, the sculptures are depicted as they looked when they were drawn, including restorations. Therefore, these volumes have been scrutinized here, in order to establish the number of ancient sculptures that are interpreted as satyrs and depicted holding cymbals. The result of this survey is presented in Appendix 3, and in *Fig. 11*. The drawings published by Clarac and Reinach have served primarily as my point of departure. Where later—or earlier and more detailed—descriptions of the sculptures are available, these have served as my main sources of information. These are thus the sources I have turned to, in order to find out whether the hands and the cymbals are restored or not.

Clarac's and Reinach's collections include no less than 20 ancient sculptures representing “Satyrs with cymbals.” Even though sharing the trait specified, these sculptures display a lively variety (*Fig. 11*). For 16 of the sculptures the hands are known to be restored.²² The whereabouts of three of the remaining sculptures is no longer known, and there are no descriptions available that specify which parts of the sculptures are ancient and which are not.²³ Thus, for these examples we cannot be certain that the hands with the cymbals were restored, although this does seem likely.

The bronze statuette once kept in Wiesbaden and mentioned above is included among the drawings published by Reinach (*Figs. 6, 11*, no. 15). It constitutes an exception

¹⁹ Clarac 1826–1853.

²⁰ Reinach 1897–1930.

²¹ *Arachne* 2012, <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/drupal/node/148>. The database Arachne can be said to be a continuation of Clarac's and Reinach's quest, now with the advantages of the digital media.

²² Appendix 3, nos. 1–14, 16, 18; *Fig. 11*.

²³ Appendix 3, nos. 17, 19, 20; *Fig. 11*.



Fig. 11. The 20 "Satyrs with cymbals" depicted by Clarac and Reinach display a lively variety. The numbers beneath each figure are those given in Appendix 3. Illustration: Julia Habetzeder, after Clarac and Reinach.



Fig. 12. Johann Zoffany's painting of the Tribuna in the Uffizi renders the dancing satyr among the many other reputed works of art in this room. The painting was made during the years 1772–1777 and now belongs to The Royal Collection in London (inv. RCIN 406983). Photo: Supplied by Royal Collection Trust © HM Queen Elizabeth II 2012.

among the sculptures listed in Appendix 3: the current whereabouts and condition of this small bronze are unknown, but when published in 1888 the figure did preserve the satyr's hands, holding cymbals.²⁴

Let us return to the ancient sculptures *restored* to represent "Satyrs with cymbals". Even though the publications of Clarac and Reinach include thousands of sculptures, the number of sculptures restored as "Satyrs with cymbals" strikes me as quite impressive. And I have also come across further examples of ancient sculptures restored as satyrs holding cymbals: sculptures in the round can be found in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg (two sculptures), in the Musée National

du Château de Versailles, as well as in the Museo Torlonia and the Villa Albani in Rome. Yet another example can be found in the Galleria dei Candelabri in the Vatican Museums.²⁵ A satyr playing cymbals has even been added to an ancient fragmentary marble krater in the British Museum in London.²⁶ And in the Villa Albani there is also a forged marble plaque, where the post-Antique craftsman chose a satyr with cymbals

²⁵ France, Versailles, Musée National du Château de Versailles, inv. MV 7959: Hoog 1993, cat. no. 604. Italy, Rome, Museo Torlonia: <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/26787>. Italy, Rome, Villa Albani, inv. 219: Bol 1992, cat. no. 350. Russia, St. Petersburg, Hermitage: Waldhauer 1931, cat. nos. 157 & 160. Vatican, Galleria dei Candelabri, inv. 2686: Lippold 1956, 301–302, no. 37.

²⁶ Great Britain, London, British Museum, inv. 2501: Grassinger 1991, cat. no. 14.

²⁴ Appendix 1, no. 27 and Appendix 3, no. 15.

as his motif.²⁷ This leaves us with a total of at least 24 (possibly 27) post-Antique renderings of the motif “Satyrs with cymbals”. Doubtlessly, there are further examples of ancient sculptures restored to represent this motif, examples which remain unknown to me.

To sum up, the motif “Satyrs with cymbals” is better attested among ancient sculptures *restored* to represent this motif, than within ancient sculpture *per se*. I argue therefore that as far as we can tell, the motif has been renowned primarily in post-Antique times, during the centuries when these sculptures were restored.

The impact of the satyr in the Uffizi

As hinted above, I will take this argument one step further, to suggest that in post-Antique times, the prototype for the motif “Satyrs with cymbals” was the satyr sculpture in the Uffizi (Fig. 1), a motif which then spread widely. In order to trace the importance of this particular sculpture, let us look more closely at its post-Antique history. This history has already been accounted for by Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, and the present summary relies heavily on their work.²⁸ However, some additions that are crucial to the present argument are made.

We do not know who restored the satyr in the Uffizi, but we do know that the restorations were made early on. Already during the first decade of the 17th century the restored sculpture must have served as the source of inspiration for the sculptor Adriaen de Vries, as he made a small bronze statuette clearly resembling the restored Uffizi satyr.²⁹ Half a century later, in 1665, the satyr in the Uffizi was depicted in print: somewhat paradoxically this naked satyr was discussed in a book on Roman costume. The restorations are included here as well. From the description of the sculpture in this book, we learn that the statue already belonged to the Medici family.³⁰

Members of the Medici family had been eager collectors of antiquities since the 15th century. As the family gained power in Tuscany, their collection of ancient sculptures grew steadily larger. For a long time the most treasured ancient sculptures they acquired were kept in the family residence in Rome: the Villa Medici on the Pincian Hill. But in 1677 Pope Innocent XI granted Cosimo III permission to export one of the family’s most renowned ancient sculptures, the Venus de’ Medici. The Venus was accompanied on her trip

from Rome to Florence by two other ancient sculptures held in high regard: the Arrotino and the Wrestlers. Their removal caused much outrage and distress in Rome.³¹

Once in Florence, the sculptures were installed in the Tribuna, an octagonal room connected to the sculpture galleries above the city offices, the Uffizi (Fig. 12). On the surrounding walls were paintings by praised artists such as Titian, Raphael and Rubens. As the setting of so many treasured pieces of art, the Tribuna soon acquired great fame.³² And at least from 1688 and on, the satyr playing cymbals is attested among these masterpieces—where it still remains. Thus, from the 17th century and on, the sculpture’s placement alone has been enough to ensure it international acclaim.³³

Once the satyr had found its place in the Tribuna, its repute grew steadily. But its illustriousness was a product not only of its place of display but also of its aesthetically pleasing character. The admiration felt for this sculpture is attested in written accounts. For instance, its restorations were praised as being so becoming, that they could only have been made by the famous Renaissance artist Michelangelo Buonarroti. Naturally, a rumour such as this added to the allure of this particular sculpture.³⁴ In 1695, the sculptor Massimiliano Soldani wrote in a letter that “the faun is the most beautiful sculpture to be seen”.³⁵ Also Johann Wolfgang von Goethe is to be counted among its admirers.³⁶ He has left us a description of his first encounter with the motif of the satyr musician:

*“In meiner frühesten Jugend ward ich nichts Plastisches in meiner Vaterstadt gewahr; in Leipzig machte zuerst der gleichsam tanzend auftretende, die Zimbeln schlagende Faun einen tiefen Eindruck, so daß ich mir den Abguß noch jetzt in seiner Individualität und Umgebung denken kann. Nach einer langen Pause ward ich auf einmal in das volle Meer gestürzt, als ich mich von der Mannheimer Sammlung in dem von oben wohlbeleuchteten Saale plötzlich umgeben sah.”*³⁷

Thus, the satyr in the Uffizi was held in high esteem from the 17th century at least, and on. One of the consequences of its illustriousness was the spread of casts and copies, while at the same time this diffusion of the motif continuously fuelled the fame of the original. A marble copy of the satyr had been

²⁷ Italy, Rome, Villa Albani, inv. 987: Bol 1989, cat. no. 99.

²⁸ Haskell & Penny 1981.

²⁹ Scholten 1999, cat. no. 32. Haskell and Penny did not know of this statuette.

³⁰ Haskell & Penny 1981, cat. no. 34; Rubens 1665, 187.

³¹ Haskell & Penny 1981, 56–58.

³² Haskell & Penny 1981, 53–59.

³³ Haskell & Penny 1981, 57–60 & cat. no. 34.

³⁴ Haskell & Penny 1981, cat. no. 34; Masson 1953, 1335.

³⁵ Haskell & Penny 1981, cat. no. 34; Lankheit 1962, 329, no. 645: “Il fauno è la più bella statua che si trovi”.

³⁶ Haskell & Penny 1981, cat. no. 34.

³⁷ Goethe 1786 [1997], Bericht April.

commissioned for the royal palace in Versailles already in 1684. Other early examples of copies are two full-scale casts in bronze, the first of which was made around a decade later. The two bronzes were cast by the sculptor Soldani, whose sentiments on the satyr we came across above (Figs. 13, 14).³⁸ But Soldani also produced small-scale bronzes—31.5 cm high—modelled on this satyr. These were made in larger quantities and in 1958 Klaus Lankheit could refer to seven miniature copies of the satyr in the Uffizi (Fig. 15). Furthermore, the moulds of the satyr used by Soldani's workshop found a secondary use after the sculptor's death: they came to be used for production of statuettes made of porcelain.³⁹

However, the motif of the satyr in the Uffizi was spread through Europe primarily as plaster casts. Thus, the young Goethe encountered the satyr musician in two collections of such casts. Within the many collections of plaster casts, artists could find models for their studies, a practice mirrored in paintings depicting such collections of casts. And as these collections often included a cast of this particular sculpture, the motif is represented also in this context.⁴⁰

But the motif is also included in other kinds of painted scenes. When Johann Zoffany was commissioned to paint the Tribuna, work carried out during the years 1772–1777, the satyr was of course included in the room, crowded by cherished works of art and admiring viewers (Fig. 12).⁴¹ And when Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema painted his vision of the home of a Roman art lover, the satyr was given pride of place in the scene (Fig. 16).⁴²

³⁸ Haskell & Penny 1981, 60 & cat. no. 34; Lankheit 1958, 190. France, Versailles, Musée National du Château, inv. MV 7977 (marble copy): Hoog 1993, cat. no. 605; *Réunion des musées nationaux* 2012, search by collection (Château de Versailles et de Trianon) and inv. no. Great Britain, Woodstock, Blenheim Palace (one of Soldani's two full scale bronzes): Scholl *et al.* 1995, 18 and fig. 2; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/reproduktion/3314576>.

³⁹ This is not mentioned by Haskell and Penny, see Lankheit 1958, 197.

⁴⁰ Another aspect that was not taken up by Haskell and Penny. Two examples of paintings including plaster casts of the satyr in the Uffizi: Johann Zoffany, *The Antique School of the Royal Academy at New Somerset House*, 1780–1783, Great Britain, London, Royal Academy of Arts; Hans Ditlev Christian Martens, *The Antiquities Gallery at Charlottenborg*, 1824. Denmark, Copenhagen, Thorwaldsens Museum, B 259. Marvin 2008, figs. 3.6, 3.9.

⁴¹ Johann Zoffany, *The Tribuna of the Uffizi*, 1772–1777, Great Britain, London, The Royal Collection, inv. RCIN 406983. Haskell & Penny 1981, 57, fig. 30; Shawe-Taylor 2009, cat. no. 25.

⁴² Not mentioned by Haskell and Penny. Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema, *The Art Lover*, 1868. USA, New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, inv. 1965.25. Barrow 2001, 39–40. Perhaps the small bronze representing a dancing satyr found by an *impluvium* in the House of the Faun in Pompeii served as inspiration—this would explain the placement of the Uffizi satyr by the *impluvium* in Alma-Tadema's painting.

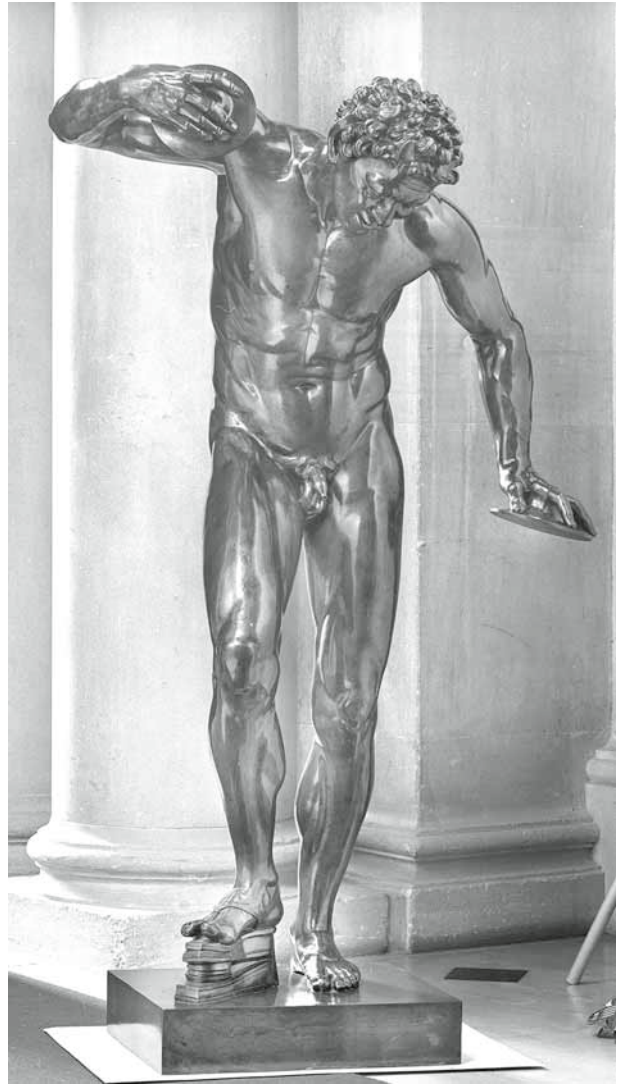


Fig. 13. A full-scale bronze cast of the satyr in the Uffizi is kept today in Blenheim Palace, Woodstock. This cast was made by the sculptor Massimiliano Soldani in the 1690s. Photo: University of Cologne. Cologne Digital Archaeology Laboratory. Neg. FA2061-10_3314576, <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de>. All rights reserved.

There is no denying that the satyr playing cymbals in the Uffizi (Fig. 1) was held in high regard during the 17th–19th centuries, when casts and copies spread the motif throughout Europe. Therefore, it seems reasonable to suggest that restorers are likely to have had this particular sculpture in mind when they added cymbals to the fragmentary ancient satyr sculptures that passed through their hands. At times the reference is quite explicit, as the restorer has also added the



Fig. 14. The face of Massimiliano Soldani's full-scale bronze cast in Blenheim Palace. Photo: University of Cologne. Cologne Digital Archaeology Laboratory. Neg. FA2156-69_3314576, <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de>. All rights reserved.

foot clapper, found in the original fragment of the satyr in the Uffizi, to the restored sculpture.⁴³

One should also note that several ancient replicas of the satyr in the Uffizi—that is, satyrs which are today ascribed to the ancient sculpture group “The invitation to the dance” (Fig. 3)—have been restored holding cymbals. In other words, when fragmentary ancient sculptures were found representing the same motif as the satyr in the Uffizi, these were at times restored in a manner recalling this famous model (Fig. 17). Therefore, four restored sculptures are included here in both Appendix 1 and Appendix 3.⁴⁴

⁴³ Appendix 3, nos. 1, 4, 5, 16, no. 5 being the satyr in the Uffizi.

⁴⁴ Appendix 1. Satyr sculptures ascribed to “The invitation to the dance”, nos. 3, 5, 11, 13, 14 (only one cymbal?), 15, no. 11 being the satyr in the Uffizi. Nos. 5 and 14 are not depicted by Clarac and Reinach and consequently they are not included in Appendix 3; Appendix 3. Satyrs with cymbals depicted by Clarac and Reinach, nos. 1, 5, 7, 11, no. 5 being the satyr in the Uffizi.

But, admittedly, the restorers may also have had practical considerations in mind when they restored satyrs as holding cymbals—hands holding cymbals must be comparably easy to render in marble. In this respect, I would like to draw attention to how the satyrs restored with cymbals generally hold their instruments. In most cases the instruments are held in the palm of each hand. The satyrs in the Uffizi and the Palazzo Corsini (Figs. 1, 17) are examples of this, along with 19 other sculptures included in Appendices 1 and 3.⁴⁵ This does

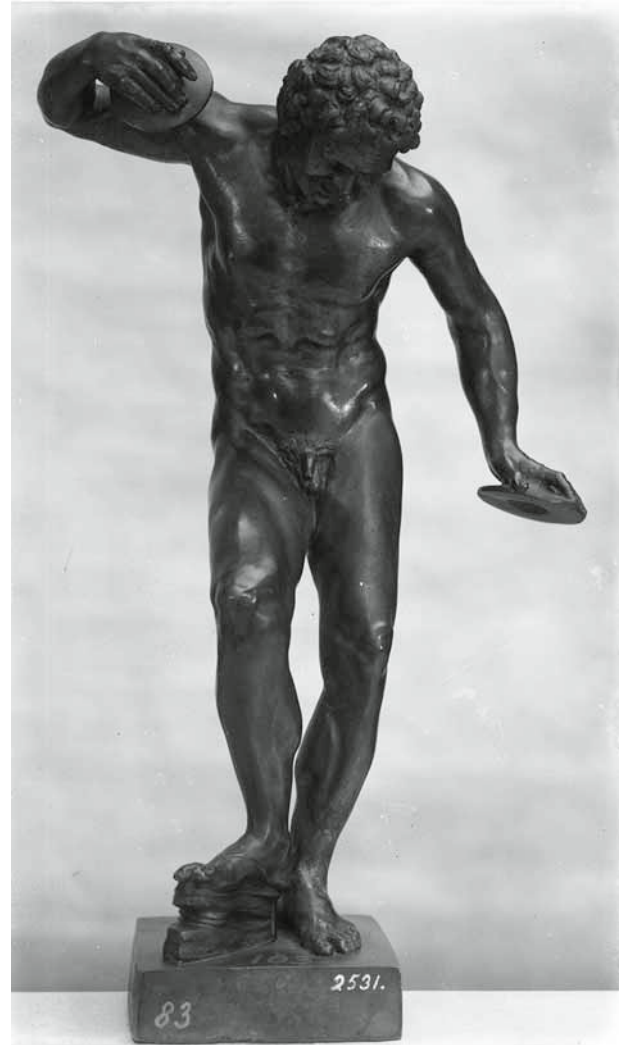


Fig. 15. One of Massimiliano Soldani's small-scale bronzes modelled on the satyr in the Uffizi. This copy is kept at the Bargello in Florence. Photo: © Polo Museale Fiorentino. Gabinetto Fotografico.

⁴⁵ Appendix 1. Satyr sculptures ascribed to “The invitation to the dance”, nos. 3, 5, 11, 13–15, no. 11 being the satyr in the Uffizi; Appendix 3. Satyrs with cymbals depicted by Clarac and Reinach, nos. 1, 2, 4–12, 14, 15–20, no. 5 being the satyr in the Uffizi.



Fig. 16. *The dancing satyr in the Uffizi* is included in Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema's vision of the home of a Roman art lover, painted in 1868. Today the painting can be seen at the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven CT (inv. 1965.25). Photo: © Yale University Art Gallery. Mary Gertrude Abbey Fund.

facilitate carving the hands in stone, but if one clashes cymbals held in this manner, this creates a very muffled sound. In order to produce a clear sound, one needs to hold the cymbals by straps attached to them. Among the sculptures included in Appendices 1 and 3, there is only one instance where the restorer has rendered the satyr's hands in this musically more correct manner.⁴⁶ Thus, it is possible that the musically incorrect way the satyrs most often hold their instruments is a result of the restorers using a mode of representation that facilitates the carving of the figure's hands.

Furthermore, satyrs were depicted as lively characters during antiquity, often caught in movement. Thus, for later restorers of ancient sculptures, the act of playing cymbals is likely to have offered a possible explanation for the movement expressed by the ancient fragments at hand (Fig. 11).

I believe, however, that there was also a wish to enhance the value of a sculpture by relating it visually to a famous

counterpart. This practice is known from other examples. For instance, Charles Townley is known to actively have tried to enhance the importance of the sculptures in his collections.⁴⁷ One example of this practice is the manner in which a seated marble satyr in Townley's collection was put in relation to a reputed bronze satyr found in Herculaneum. This reference is made explicit in a painting entitled "Charles Townley's Library" (Fig. 19). Painted in 1781–1798 by Zoffany, the canvas depicts many of Townley's most cherished ancient sculptures, one of them the seated satyr mentioned above.

Originally part of an ancient rendering of "The Dresden Symplegma", the fragment had been restored to represent a seated drunken satyr. Next to this sculpture Zoffany has painted, in meticulous detail, a copy of *Le Antichità di Ercolano esposte*, vol. 6. The volume is depicted open, with plate no. 42 visible. This particular plate shows the bronze sculpture, representing a seated drunken satyr, found in Herculaneum

⁴⁶ Appendix 3, no. 3.

⁴⁷ Coltman 2006.

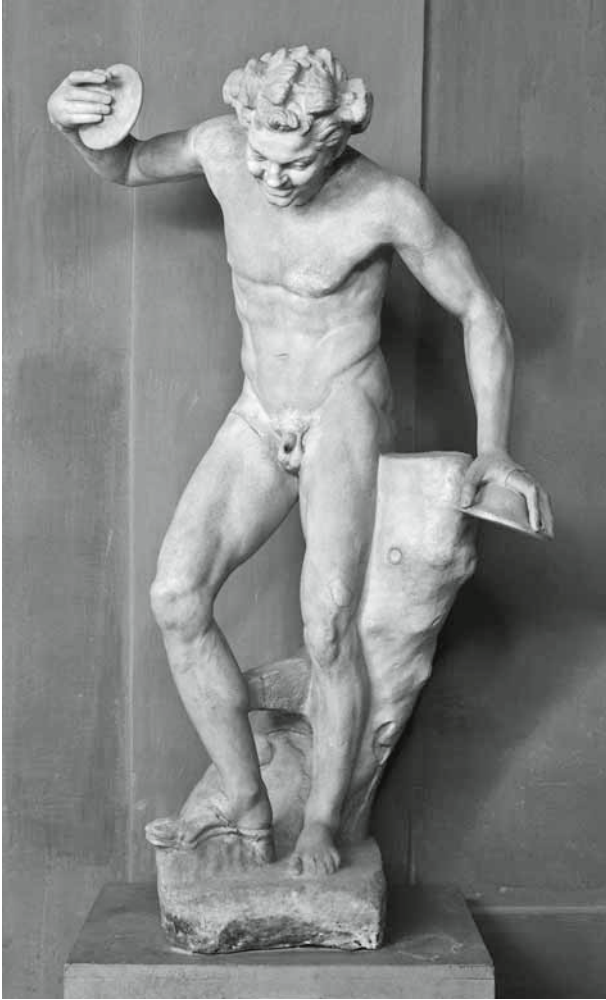


Fig. 17. The replica of the satyr ascribed to “The invitation to the dance” kept in the Palazzo Corsini in Rome (inv. 710). The sculpture has been restored to resemble the renowned satyr in the Uffizi. Photo: Rossa. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom. Neg. D-DAl-Rom 74.717. All rights reserved.

(Fig. 20). In this manner the supposed connection between Townley’s restored marble sculpture and the famous bronze from Herculaneum was made explicit.⁴⁸ Along the same line of reasoning, restorers, sellers and buyers of ancient sculptures wanted to enhance the value of the ancient sculpture fragments that passed through their hands, by restoring them to the likes of more reputed antiques, such as the praised marble satyr in the Uffizi (Figs. 1, 11, 17).

The sculpture group of Apollo and nine muses, bought by the Swedish King Gustav III in 1784, is another clear example

of this practice. The sculptures in this group, now in Stockholm, were not found together. They were assembled and restored from pieces available on the art market in Rome during the 1770s and 1780s. The group was gathered explicitly to resemble the statues from one particular, and spectacular, archaeological find: the group of Apollo and eight muses discovered in the so-called Villa di Cassio in Tivoli. Unearthed together in 1774, the nine statues found in Tivoli were thus displayed together during antiquity. Soon after their discovery, the sculptures were brought to the Vatican Museums, where King Gustav III saw them. Thanks to the efforts of several art dealers, the Swedish king was able to acquire a similar group of statues a decade after the group in the Vatican had been found.⁴⁹

To sum up, in this section I have aimed to show that from the 17th century and on, the satyr in the Uffizi was held in very high esteem. The sculpture was praised as being exceptionally beautiful. As a consequence, it became widely copied, and in this manner, the motif spread throughout Europe. I therefore argue that the repute of this particular sculpture, at



Fig. 18. Although reattached, the sculpture in the Palazzo Corsini (inv. 710) preserves the ancient head of the satyr. Photo: Rossa. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rom. Neg. D-DAl-Rom 74.719. All rights reserved.

⁴⁸ Coltman 2006, 313–318; Reale Accademia Ercolanese di Archeologia 1771, pl. 42. Concerning “The Dresden Symplegma”, see Stähli 1999, 309–340.

⁴⁹ Leander Touati 1998, 111–117.



Fig. 19. Johann Zoffany's painting of Charles Townley's library, made during the years 1781–1798. On the lower left, one can see Townley's seated satyr, and next to it a copy of *Le Antichità di Ercolano esposte*, with a depiction of a more renowned sculpture displaying the same motif. Photo: © Towneley Hall Art Gallery and Museum, Burnley, Lancashire. www.bridgemanart.com



Fig. 20. Plate no. 42 from *Le Antichità di Ercolano esposte*, vol. 6, depicting a reputed bronze sculpture representing a seated drunken satyr. The book has been scanned by the library of the Ruprecht-Karls-Universität in Heidelberg: www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de

least partly, explains the spread of the motif “Satyrs with cymbals” among restored ancient sculptures.

As the painting “Charles Townley’s Library” (Fig. 19) exemplifies, an ancient sculpture gained value by representing a motif already known from one of the most well-known antiques. In the painting it was therefore important to show that Townley’s sculpture represented the same motif as the famous bronze from Herculaneum: a seated, drunken satyr (Fig. 20). Much in the same sense, I believe that fragmentary satyr sculptures acquired added value when they were restored holding cymbals (Figs. 11, 17), because this tied them to the renowned satyr in the Uffizi (Fig. 1). This practice would partly explain the large number of sculptures restored to represent “Satyrs with cymbals”.

“Satyrs with cymbals” and “The invitation to the dance”

At first glance it may seem farfetched to suggest that the motif “Satyrs with cymbals”, renowned mainly during the 17th–19th centuries, may have had an impact on the study of the ancient sculpture group known as “The invitation to the dance”—a supposedly ancient motif first reconstructed in 1909. But the motif has had a role to play in the discussions of this ancient sculpture type. Its impact is best exemplified through the interpretations of the small bronze statuettes

once kept in Wiesbaden and Bucharest (Appendix 1, nos. 27, 28 and Figs. 6, 7). Unfortunately, both of these bronzes are lost today.⁵⁰

The bronze statuette once in Wiesbaden was published by August von Cohausen in 1888. The statuette had been acquired from the art market for the Altertums-Museum in Wiesbaden. Cohausen suggests that the figure may have been found somewhere along the Rhine River. He assumes that this bronze statuette is ancient, and notes the close correspondence between this satyr (Fig. 6) and the restored marble sculpture in the Uffizi (Fig. 1). Like other 17th–19th century scholars, Cohausen was convinced that Michelangelo had restored the marble sculpture. Due to the close correspondence between the bronze statuette—which preserves the whole figure intact—and the restored marble sculpture, Cohausen came to the conclusion that Michelangelo not only reattached the original head of the marble sculpture, but also that he must have seen—but nevertheless chosen not to reattach—the original hands holding cymbals.⁵¹ Today the head of the satyr in the Uffizi is known to be an addition made by a restorer, along with the arms and hands holding cymbals (Fig. 2). It should also be noted that there is no evidence that Michelangelo restored the sculpture.⁵²

After Cohausen’s brief discussion of the bronze once in Wiesbaden, this statuette is not brought up in discussions of the ancient satyr type, soon afterwards ascribed to the sculpture group “The invitation to the dance”. Instead, attention was turned to the seemingly nearly identical bronze statuette which once belonged to the Muzeul National de Antichitati in Bucharest.⁵³ Today it is known through a photograph published in 1923 (Fig. 7). According to the figure caption, the statuette was found in Constanța, the ancient Tomis. It is further noted that the statuette skilfully replicates “the famous dancing satyr”—which doubtlessly refers to the sculpture in the Uffizi (Fig. 1).⁵⁴

Among the scholars writing on “The invitation to the dance”, Dericksen M. Brinkerhoff, in his article of 1965, is the first to mention this bronze statuette. Brinkerhoff lists the statuette among the ancient replicas of the satyr from “The invitation to the dance”. He does not discuss it further, however.⁵⁵ Gioia de Luca, writing ten years later, discusses the Bu-

⁵⁰ I thank Dr Bernd Blisch, at the Stadtmuseum in Wiesbaden, for confirming that the bronze statuette is no longer included among the Sammlung Nassauischer Altertümer. Regarding the statuette once in Bucharest, see Luca 1975, 74, n. 20.

⁵¹ Cohausen 1888b.

⁵² Haskell & Penny 1981, cat. no. 34; Mansuelli 1958, cat. no. 51.

⁵³ Appendix 1, no. 27.

⁵⁴ Parvan 1923, 195, fig. 93; “... caelaltă o copie bună a unei foarte frumoase statui antice, vestite, de satyr care dansează.”

⁵⁵ Brinkerhoff 1965, 33, no. 16.

charest bronze more thoroughly. She notes the contributions a completely preserved bronze statuette could make to the study of the ancient sculpture type. The bronze is seen as an aid in reconstructing the way in which the ancient sculpture type held its head, as the head is intact.⁵⁶ Furthermore, Luca uses this bronze as an illustration of how much the addition of the support changes the Roman marble replicas if they are compared to an assumed Hellenistic bronze original.⁵⁷ Like most scholars, Luca considers Klein's reconstruction of the satyr's hands—where the satyr is seen to be snapping his fingers—the most likely. But due to the Bucharest bronze, she is unwilling to discard the notion of the cymbals completely. Rather, she suggests that the bronze satyr's cymbals constitute a Roman adaptation of the Hellenistic sculpture group:

Scheint die ebenfalls kaiserzeitliche Bronzestatue des beckenhaltenden Satyrn in Bukarest die Ergänzung mit Becken der Satyrn Florenz, Corsini, Paris und Leningrad zu befürworten (allerdings müßten an der Mehrzahl der Repliken die Becken kleiner sein), so bleibt doch die geniale Rekonstruktion Kleins des schnippchenschlagenden Satyrn (die sich überdies auf Analogien hellenistischer Kunstwerke stützt), die dem Wesen der Gruppe natürlichste. Nur bei ihr schwingt der rhythmisch sich spannende Körper völlig mühelos aus, stellt sich der unkomplizierte Bezug zum Gegenüber des sandalenlösenden Mädchens mit aller Deutlichkeit heraus.

*Man gewinnt den Eindruck, daß sowohl die Redaktion mit Cymbeln, als auch jene mit dem Pedum ein späteres Moment in der Entwicklung des Motivs darstellen, und zwar ein Moment, in dem bereits die Loslösung aus der Gruppe und isolierte Kopierung erfolgt ist. Die Bereicherung durch Attribute—in gewissem Sinne eine Adaption—würde für die Vereinzelung der Statue sprechen, die, aus dem ursprünglichen sinnvollen Zusammenhang gerissen, einiges ihrer Ausdruckskraft eingebüßt hat.*⁵⁸

In his discussion of “The invitation to the dance,” published in 1995, Adrian Stähli emphasizes that the satyr connected to the group may originally have been snapping his fingers *or* held a pair of cymbals. Stähli does not specifically mention the Bucharest bronze, however.⁵⁹ Other scholars simply omit this bronze statuette in their discussion of “The invitation to the dance,” even though most of them do refer to Brinkerhoff's list of replicas.⁶⁰ No doubt, the scarce information available makes the bronze problematic as evidence.

Considering the discussion above, placing “Satyrs with cymbals” as a motif primarily tied to the post-Antique era, there seems to be reason to have a closer look at the two allegedly ancient bronze statuettes previously in Wiesbaden and Bucharest (Figs. 6, 7): Let us compare them to the restored ancient marble sculpture in the Uffizi (Figs. 1, 2) and the small-scale bronze copy of this sculpture made by Soldani in the 18th century (Fig. 15). As far as one can tell from these photographs, the four sculptures are remarkably similar, also concerning small details. I would like to point to the rendering of the satyr's hair, the foot clapper, and the way he holds the cymbals: even a feature such as the slightly lifted index finger of the left hand is similar in all four sculptures.

We know that the head and arms of the marble sculpture in the Uffizi are restored (Figs. 1, 2), and that Soldani's small-scale bronze (Fig. 15) is a copy of this restored ancient sculpture. With this in mind, I would find it quite remarkable if the two bronzes (Figs. 6, 7) were, in fact, ancient. As we saw above, the motif of satyrs playing cymbals does not seem to have been very common within ancient sculpture. It is represented, but primarily through one recurring figure type which renders the satyr in a quite different pose (Fig. 9). We have also noted that the marble sculpture in the Uffizi was copied in various materials and sizes, and that these copies were distributed throughout Europe.

With this in mind, the similarity between the four sculptures presented above can best be explained by suggesting that the two bronze statuettes previously in Wiesbaden and Bucharest (Figs. 6, 7) are post-Antique copies of the marble satyr in the Uffizi (Fig. 1). Both of them seem to have found their way into collections of antiquities under false premises. The fact that the marble sculpture's support has not been included in these bronze copies adheres to the general practice when post-Antique bronze copies or adaptations were made. For instance, neither de Vries' small-scale adaptation, nor Soldani's copies (Figs. 13, 15) include a support.⁶¹

After Cohausen's publication, the bronze statuette in Wiesbaden seems to have fallen into oblivion. I came across it thanks only to my survey of “Satyrs with cymbals” depicted in the publications of Clarac and Reinach. But unlike its forgotten counterpart, the Bucharest bronze does exemplify how a reputed restoration has clouded the research on the ancient satyr sculptures ascribed to “The invitation to the dance.” As described above, the fame of the marble sculpture in the Uffizi resulted in the replication of this sculpture. The small-scale copy once in the museum in Bucharest appears to have been misinterpreted as ancient early on. Meanwhile, the spread—before the 20th century—of the motif “Satyrs

⁵⁶ Luca 1975, 74.

⁵⁷ Luca 1975, 76.

⁵⁸ Luca 1975, 78.

⁵⁹ Stähli 1995, 420–421.

⁶⁰ Balil 1981, 231, n. 6; Brinkerhoff 1965, 32–36; Hill 1974, 107, n. 1. Geominy's article proves the exception, as he does not explicitly refer to Brinkerhoff's list: Geominy 1999a.

⁶¹ Lankheit 1958, 198, no. 2 and pl. 62, no. 3; Scholl *et al.* 1995, 18 & fig. 2; Scholten 1999, cat. no. 32.

with cymbals” among restored ancient sculptures later made scholars, such as Luca, receptive to the notion of the motif as ancient. In the quote given above, Luca points to the fact that several replicas of the satyr are restored with cymbals.⁶² I suppose her line of reasoning here is that in the same way that sculpted heads were—when at hand—often reattached to their original body, one or several of the restorers who dealt with the discussed satyrs may have been inspired by fragments of the original hands when creating the image of a satyr playing cymbals.

As we have seen, this kind of reasoning made Cohausen assume that the restorer of the marble satyr in the Uffizi was familiar with the ancient sculpture’s original head and hands. He came to this conclusion because the bronze in Wiesbaden (Fig. 6), which preserved both head and arms of the satyr, corresponded so closely to the satyr in the Uffizi (Fig. 1). An alternative explanation—the one suggested here—would be that the Wiesbaden bronze is a post-Antique copy of the restored marble satyr in the Uffizi. It is interesting to note that the Wiesbaden bronze was 31.5 cm high, which corresponds exactly to the height of the small-scale copies of the Uffizi satyr cast by Soldani (Fig. 15).⁶³ Perhaps the bronze once in Wiesbaden is also to be ascribed to Soldani’s workshop?

If the two bronzes previously in Wiesbaden and Bucharest (Figs. 6, 7) are both to be interpreted as post-Antique copies of the renowned satyr in the Uffizi (Fig. 1), there is really no evidence suggesting that this satyr type was depicted holding cymbals during antiquity. If we turn to the remaining replicas of the satyr ascribed to “The invitation to the dance”, only one still has a hand preserved: the marble replica from the Kera-meikos, which renders the satyr’s left hand, placed on the top of the support, cushioned by a *nebris* (Fig. 8). This replica has not had a prominent place in the discussion on how to reconstruct the satyr’s hands. This is, most likely, because the ancient original is generally presumed to have been a Hellenistic bronze. As a bronze sculpture would not require a support, it has been assumed that the placement of the satyr’s left hand on top of the support must have been a Roman variation, diverging from the presumed Hellenistic masterpiece.⁶⁴

There is, however, no reason to assume that the support cannot have been included in the model image. The sculpture type “The resting satyr” is ample proof that this could, indeed,

be the case. This type renders a satyr leaning his elbow against the support. Hence, for this often replicated sculpture type, the support must have been included in the model image as well.⁶⁵ Considering this parallel, I find it reasonable to suggest that the support was also an essential part of the model image of the satyrs ascribed to “The invitation to the dance”. This satyr type would then have been depicted placing his left hand on top of the support, in order to keep his balance, as he was beating the foot clapper (Figs. 1, 8, 17). It would be interesting to see whether the replicas that preserve the upper part of the support show signs of having been reworked—perhaps fragmentary remains of the original hands were removed by post-Antique restorers. This would, however, require a careful examination of the sculptures considered, something which cannot be done within the frame of the present study.

Returning to the discussion of the renowned satyr in the Uffizi (Fig. 1), and its influence on the study of “The invitation to the dance”, one should also mention a bronze head, kept in the Museo de Valladolid in Spain (Appendix 1, no. 18, Fig. 21). The fact that this sculpture has been interpreted as an ancient replica of the satyr from “The invitation to the dance” also exemplifies the complexity of the relationship between the restored and the ancient. This bronze sculpture was added to the museum’s collections in 1940, but its original provenance is unknown. Alberto Balil drew attention to it in his article of 1981, where he describes it as “... easily linked to ‘The invitation to the dance.’”⁶⁶

Let us compare this bronze head with an ancient marble replica of the satyr from “The invitation to the dance”. Only five ancient replicas of this satyr preserve both the figure’s head and a larger part of the body. In all these instances, the head is either detached or it has been reattached to the torso.⁶⁷ On the statue in the Palazzo Corsini, the ancient head has been reattached by a restorer. Nevertheless, the facial features of the satyr are here comparatively well preserved: only the tip of the nose and a small section of the right cheek are restored (Appendix 1, no. 15 and Figs. 17, 18). This particular satyr wears a wreath, but other replicas show the satyr without one. Thus, this seems to have been a feature that could be varied during antiquity.

To some extent, the bronze head in Valladolid is similar to this marble equivalent: both depict a youthful satyr, with a smile that renders the teeth visible. But if one turns to other

⁶² Appendix 1, nos. 3, 5, 11, 13, 14, no. 11 being the satyr in the Uffizi. The statue in St. Petersburg (Leningrad) mentioned in the quote is that kept in the Hermitage, inv. A 225; Waldhauer 1931, cat. no. 160. This sculpture is listed as an adaptation in Brinkerhoff 1965, 35, no. 45. This is the reason why it has not been included in Appendix 1.

⁶³ Cohausen 1888b, 1; Lankheit 1958, 198, no. 2.

⁶⁴ Geominy 1999a, 141; Klein 1909, 104; Luca 1975, 76–78; Richter 2007, 260–261; Stähli 1995, 420.

⁶⁵ Bartman 1992, 51–101; Geominy 1999b, 52.

⁶⁶ “Se trata de un tipo de cabeza de fauno fácilmente vinculable al grupo de la llamada ‘Invitación a la danza.’” Balil 1981, 230. Balil’s interpretation is repeated in a more recent catalogue of the Museo de Valladolid: Delibes de Castro *et al.* 1997, 126.

⁶⁷ Appendix 1, nos. 3, 5, 12, 14, 15. Judging from a plaster cast of no. 28 in the same table, this statue also preserved the satyr’s original head. It is not known, however, whether the head had been reattached or not.



Fig. 21. This bronze head in the Museo de Valladolid, Spain, has been interpreted as an ancient replica of the satyr from “The invitation to the dance”. Photo: © Museo de Valladolid.

features, the correspondence is not as great. The hair of the satyr in Valladolid forms small round curls which frame the figure’s face (Fig. 21). The hair rendered on the marble sculpture in the Palazzo Corsini has quite a different character: above the satyr’s forehead, there is a large lock of hair, the tip of which falls forward and somewhat to the left. On the sides, thick, straight strands of hair flow away from the face (Fig. 18). Also, the rendering of the satyr’s horns differs between the head in Valladolid and that of the statue in the Palazzo Corsini: the bronze’s horns are quite broad and they cut through the satyr’s hairline (Fig. 21). By contrast, the marble replica has smaller, round horns placed at the hairline (Fig. 18).

Considering these differences, why did Balil see such a clear connection between this bronze head and the satyr of “The invitation to the dance”? Did the motif of a youthful, smiling satyr suffice for him to attribute the bronze to this particular ancient sculpture type?

I believe there was another factor that made the attribution seem accurate to Balil: the restored marble satyr in the Uffizi (Fig. 1). The repute of this particular sculpture has made it the satyr *par excellence* of “The invitation to the dance” (Fig. 3). Let us take a closer look at the restored head of this sculpture.

Unfortunately, I have not been able to acquire photographs of the face of the actual marble statue in the Uffizi: instead, I have had to rely on a photograph of the full-scale bronze cast of the satyr in the Uffizi, made by Soldani (Fig. 14).

When comparing these two photographs, one can conclude that there is a remarkable resemblance between the famous satyr in the Uffizi and the bronze head in Valladolid—especially where the rendering of the hair and the horns is concerned (Figs. 14, 21). Let us scrutinize the locks of hair between the horns on these two sculptures. Both have similar small, round curls above the forehead. Even the position of each lock corresponds fairly well. Further up, on the crown of the head on both sculptures, one can trace the outline of two smaller locks next to the satyr’s right horn, followed by a thicker lock of hair on their left. Perhaps unconsciously, Balil recognized the close similarity between the sculpture in Valladolid and that in the Uffizi. This may have led him to relate the bronze in Valladolid to “The invitation to the dance”, despite the fact that the head of the satyr in the Uffizi is restored.

As we have seen, there is a close resemblance between the restored head of the sculpture in the Uffizi and the bronze head in Valladolid, even where the rendering of individual locks are concerned. Such a close resemblance does suggest that just like the statuettes once in Wiesbaden and Bucharest (Figs. 6, 7), the bronze in Valladolid (Fig. 21) is a post-Antique copy, or perhaps an adaptation, of the renowned satyr in the Uffizi. The most likely scenario is, I believe, that the head in Valladolid is a forgery. Here one could point to the uneven edges of the bronze at the satyr’s neck (Fig. 21): if the head is post-Antique, these edges would indicate that the head was made to look ancient and fragmentary. One can also note that the satyr head in Valladolid shows no traces of having had inlaid eyes, eyebrows or lips, features which are otherwise common in ancient bronze sculpture.⁶⁸ However, if the head was cast using the restored head of the marble satyr in the Uffizi as its model, the bronze would, like the marble original, show no traces of such inlaid details.

Whether the head was made as a conscious forgery or not, it is quite clear that the bronze head in Valladolid replicates a post-Antique restoration. Thus, this satyr head cannot bring us closer to a better understanding of the place of “The invitation to the dance” in ancient visual culture.

As far as I can see, the bronzes discussed above, one previously in Wiesbaden, another once kept in Bucharest and a third in Valladolid (Appendix 1, nos. 18, 27, 28; Figs. 6, 7, 21),

⁶⁸ Mattusch 1996, 24–25. This publication also includes a study that can constitute a parallel to the present discussion. It concerns two nearly identical bronze heads. One was found in the Villa dei Papiri in 1755, the other was purchased in Izmir in 1922. Mattusch convincingly argues that the latter is a cast taken from the former. See pp. 102–121.

clearly show the importance of taking the entire post-Antique history of a motif into account, even in studies which primarily deal with ancient iconography. As exemplified above, the long post-Antique history of many ancient sculptures may pose unexpected challenges to the scholar interested in Classical antiquity. Special care is needed when dealing with sculptures or motifs which have been renowned in post-Antique times, as these have been copied and adapted in various ways for many centuries. As a result, such renowned motifs are represented in post-Antique copies which may be centuries old, and whose provenance may long since have been

forgotten. As such, these reproductions are easily mistaken as being ancient sculptures, especially when they render a motif believed to be connected to ancient iconography.

However, by taking the post-Antique history of the motif studied into account, and by clearly distinguishing between ancient and restored parts of Classical sculptures, this tight web of ancient and later iconographies can at times be untangled. The starting point is, of course, to acknowledge the impact of such famous reconstructions on the study of ancient sculpture. This article has aimed to show that this is, indeed, a crucial task for the scholar of ancient sculpture.

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Appendices

The appendices are composed of three tables listing sculptures: the first collects the satyr sculptures ascribed to “The invitation to the dance”, the second lists ancient marble reliefs depicting satyrs holding cymbals and the third presents the satyrs with cymbals that are depicted in the publications of Clarac and Reinach.

Each row deals with one sculpture. The first five columns are the same in all three tables: The first gives a number for each object, numbers that are used for cross references in the text. Next is a column specifying the whereabouts of each

sculpture, in alphabetical order by country—the lists are arranged and numbered according to the information in this column. The third column specifies the state of preservation of each figure, as this is central to the discussion in the text. The column “Main publication” presents the most up-to-date and/or comprehensive reference(s) to each object known to me. The fifth column, “Online resources”, lists reliable sources of information concerning each sculpture—available over the Internet. If the databases provide stable url-addresses, these are given in full. This is the case for Arachne 2012. Otherwise a reference to the main address of the webpage/database is given, together with suggested data to search for. Unless stated otherwise, the online entries include photographs of the sculptures.

Appendix I: Satyr sculptures ascribed to “The invitation to the dance”⁶⁹

No.	Whereabouts	Preserved	Main publication	Online resources	Concordances
1	Denmark, Copenhagen, Nationalmuseum, inv. ABb 10	Head	Copenhagen National Museum 1950, 82, no. 1		Brinkerhoff 1965, 33, no. 18
2	France, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. MA 383	The head is ancient, but unrelated. Torso, the right upper arm and the left arm, excluding both hands. Legs excluding the feet.	Fröhner 1878, cat. no. 266	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/14648 (no photograph) & <i>Réunion des musées nationaux</i> 2012, search by museum and inv. no.	Brinkerhoff 1965, 33, no. 14
3	France, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. MA 395	Head, torso and thighs. The head has been re-attached.	Fröhner 1878, cat. no. 265	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/14647 (no photograph) & <i>Réunion des musées nationaux</i> 2012, search by museum and inv. no.	Brinkerhoff 1965, 32, no. 13
4	France, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. MA 528	Head and fragments of neck and shoulders	Fröhner 1878, cat. no. 276	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/130566 (no photograph) & <i>Réunion des musées nationaux</i> 2012, search by museum and inv. no.	Brinkerhoff 1965, 33, no. 17
5	France, Versailles, Château de Versailles et de Trianon, inv. MV 7959	Head, torso and the upper part of left thigh (judging from the photograph in the online database)	Haskell & Penny 1981, 205, 208, n. 12; Hoog 1993, cat. no. 604	<i>Réunion des musées nationaux</i> 2012, search by museum and inv. no.	

⁶⁹ Where the nymph ascribed to “The invitation to the dance” is concerned, two updated lists of replicas have been published: Raeder 2000, 79–80, n. 10; Stähli 1999, 419–420. As far as I know, no such updated list of the corresponding satyr type has been published. Therefore such a list is included here. Among the lists of replicas published earlier, Brinkerhoff’s includes the largest number of sculptures: Brinkerhoff 1965, 32–33. The present list is based primarily on Brinkerhoff’s, but it also includes additions and corrections made in the following publications: Geominy 1999a; Hill 1974; Luca 1975. Nos. 5, 17, 18, 23, 25, 26 are not included in the above-mentioned lists and corrections, but they have been published as replicas of the discussed satyr type. The column “Concordances” clarifies which of the above-mentioned scholars added each sculpture to the lists of known replicas. No. 19 in Brinkerhoff’s list is not included in the table, as it cannot be traced—see Luca 1975, 74, n. 21. Balil has listed 13 satyr heads similar to the bronze head in Valladolid, Spain. He does not, however, list them as replicas of the satyr from “The invitation to the dance”, but rather as adaptations. Therefore these satyr heads have not been included either in the present list: Balil 1981, 231. It should be noted that I personally do *not* consider all of these sculptures to be replicas of the discussed satyr type. The list needs to be re-evaluated, but this does not fall within the framework of the present article.

6	Germany, Dresden, Albertinum, inv. Hm 166	Head	Richter 2011, cat. no. 213	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/5362 (no photograph) & <i>Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden</i> 2012, search by inv. no.	Brinkerhoff 1965, 32, no. 9; Luca 1975, 74, n. 21
7	Germany, Dresden, Albertinum, inv. Hm 264	Torso	Richter 2011, cat. no. 225	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/5211 & <i>Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden</i> 2012, search by inv. no.	Brinkerhoff 1965, 32, no. 5; Luca 1975, 74, n. 21
8	Great Britain, London, Sir John Soane's Museum, inv. 20MC	Shoulders and the left side of the chest	Brinkerhoff 1965, no. 23 & fig. 14	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/51325 (no photograph)	Brinkerhoff 1965, 33, no. 23
9	Great Britain, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. 1947.269	Torso	Strong 1908, cat. no. 9	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/24208	Brinkerhoff 1965, 33, no. 21
10	Greece, Athens, Kerameikos Museum, inv. 8071	Torso, left hand and support. The right foot and leg, the left leg above the knee.	Muthmann 1931; Ohly 1963, 16	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/1327	Brinkerhoff 1965, 33, no. 22; Luca 1975, 74, n. 21
11	Italy, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, inv. 220	Torso and both legs above the knees. Plinth, foot clapper, feet and parts of the support.	Mansuelli 1958, cat. no. 220	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/5891	Brinkerhoff 1965, 32, no. 1
12	Italy, Ostia, Museo Ostiense, inv. 97 & 1109	Head and torso. The head has broken off and has not been reattached.	Cicerchia & Marinucci 1992, cat. nos. A 9, A 15	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/14092 (no photograph)	Geominy 1999a, 153, n. 20
13	Italy, Rome, Galleria Borghese, inv. 45	The torso and the upper part of the thighs	Moreno & Viacava 2003, cat. no. 87	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/15726 (no photograph) & <i>Alinari</i> 2012, search by photograph ID: ADA-F-004559-0000	Brinkerhoff 1965, 33, no. 26
14	Italy, Rome, Museo Torlonia, inv. 21	Head, torso and the right arm, excluding the hand. Parts of the support and the left leg. The head has been reattached.	Gasparri 1980, 158, no. 21; Luca 1975, 77, n. 31	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/131392	Brinkerhoff 1965, 32, no. 3
15	Italy, Rome, Palazzo Corsini, inv. 710	Head, torso, left leg and foot. Support and plinth, with parts of the right foot. The head has been reattached.	Luca 1976, cat. no. 15	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/28969	Brinkerhoff 1965, 33, no. 15; Luca 1975, 74
16	Italy, Venice, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 39	Head	Traversari 1986, cat. no. 23	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/22253	Brinkerhoff 1965, 32, no. 7
17	Italy, Venice, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 233	Head	Traversari 1986, cat. no. 24	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/22243	
18	Spain, Valladolid, Museo de Valladolid	Head	Balil 1981; Delibes de Castro <i>et al.</i> 1997, 126		
19	Turkey, Antakya, Archaeological Museum, inv. 1220	Head	Brinkerhoff 1965, 25–26	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/408	Brinkerhoff 1965, 32, no. 11
20	Turkey, Selçuk, Efes Müzesi, inv. 2357	Torso	Aurenhammer 1990, cat. no. 153		Geominy 1999a, 153, n. 20

21	USA, Kansas City MO, Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, inv. 34–135	Torso	Vermeule 1981, cat. no. 125	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/51457 (no photograph)	Brinkerhoff 1965, 33, no. 20; Hill 1974, 107, n. 1. Hill does not realize that this replica was already included in Brinkerhoff's list.
22	USA, Minneapolis MN, Minneapolis Institute of Arts, inv. 70.39	Torso	Minneapolis Institute of Arts 1970, 82	<i>Minneapolis Institute of Arts</i> 2012, search for "Dancing Faun"	Hill 1974, 107, n. 1
23	USA, Princeton, Princeton Art Museum, inv. y1985-41	Head	Ridgway 1994, cat. no. 26		
24	Vatican, Musei Vaticani, Depository	Both legs below the knees, the foot clapper, the lower part of the support and the plinth.	Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1936, cat. no. 186	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/20800 (no photograph)	Brinkerhoff 1965, 33, no. 24
25	Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. 10303	Head	Vorster 2004, cat. no. 137		
26	Whereabouts unknown, previously in Egypt, Alexandria, private collection	The torso, the left upper arm and both thighs	Martin 1923		
27	Whereabouts unknown, previously in Germany, Wiesbaden, Altertums-Museum	The complete figure, cast in bronze	Cohausen 1888a, 238, Raum IV, no. 91; Cohausen 1888b		
28	Whereabouts unknown, previously in Romania, Bucharest, Muzeul National de Antichitati	The complete figure, cast in bronze	Parvan 1923, 195, fig. 93	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/131317 (no photograph)	Brinkerhoff 1965, 33, no. 16; Luca 1975, 74, n. 20
29	Whereabouts unknown, previously in Russia, St. Petersburg, Eremitage	State of preservation unknown	Bauer <i>et al.</i> 2000, cat. no. 1	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/131315 (no photograph)	Brinkerhoff 1965, 33, no. 25

Appendix 2:

Ancient marble reliefs depicting satyrs holding cymbals⁷⁰

No.	Whereabouts	Preserved	Main publication	Online resources	Material category
1	Austria, Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum	Complete figure	Corswandt 1982, cat. no. K 137		<i>Oscillum</i>
2	Great Britain, Bedfordshire, Woburn Abbey	The satyr stands behind other figures and is visible from the chest up	Matz 1968b, cat. no. 80	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/31926	Sarcophagus
3	Greece, Athens, Hephaisteion	Complete figure	Fuchs 1959, 155, n. 42; Matz 1968a, cat. no. 5	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/156035	Sarcophagus
4	Greece, Athens, National Museum, inv. 1151	The satyr's feet and hands are not preserved, but the figure's pose corresponds to nos. 1, 3, 5–12	Fuchs 1959, 155, n. 42; Matz 1968a, cat. no. 4	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/1312	Sarcophagus
5	Italy, Assisi, Museo Romano, inv. 7	?	Golda 1997, 54, n. 352		?
6	Italy, Florence, Museo Bardini, inv. 53C34, 8C.35	Complete figure, except for the satyr's right foot	Matz 1968b, cat. no. 72	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/214170	Sarcophagus
7	Italy, Palestrina, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 87	From the waist and up, including the hands and the cymbals	Fuchs 1959, 155, n. 42; Matz 1968a, cat. no. 6	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/14581	Sarcophagus
8	Italy, Rome, Villa Albani	?	Hauser 1889, 51–52, no. 68; Zoega 1808, pl. 6		Plaque?
9	Italy, Verona, Museo Maffeiano, Sala 2, inv. 28766	Complete figure	Fuchs 1959, 155, n. 42; Golda 1997, cat. no. 55; Hauser 1889, 21–22, no. 29	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/55791	Well-head
10	Turkey, Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, inv. 366	Complete figure	Fuchs 1959, 155, n. 42; Matz 1968a, cat. no. 3	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/7930	Sarcophagus
11	Vatican, Galleria dei Candelabri, inv. 2618	Complete figure	Grassinger 1991, cat. no. 46; Hauser 1889, 92–93	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/20036	Krater
12	Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Profano, inv. 10394	The satyr's feet are missing	Fuchs 1959, 155, n. 42; Grassinger 1991, cat. no. 50	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/21761	Krater

⁷⁰ Please note that in this table, the column “Preserved” describes the state of preservation of the satyr figures in question—it does not describe the entire objects. The sixth column specifies the material category of each object.

Appendix 3:

Satyrs with cymbals depicted by Clarac and Reinach⁷¹

No.	Whereabouts	Preserved	Main publication	Online resources	Clarac/Reinach
1	France, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. MA 395	Head, torso and thighs. The head has been reattached.	Fröhner 1878, cat. no. 265	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/14647 (no photograph) & <i>Réunion des musées nationaux</i> 2012, search by museum and inv. no.	Clarac 1836–1837, pl. 297, cat. no. 1710
2	Germany, Dresden, Albertinum, inv. Hm 166 & 237	Torso and thighs from one ancient sculpture, and a head from another. Today the two fragments are displayed individually: the restorations have been removed.	Richter 2011, cat. nos. 211 & 213	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/5210 (body); http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/5362 (head, no photograph) & <i>Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden</i> 2012, search by inv. nos.	Clarac 1836–1837, pl. 718, cat. no. 1719
3	Great Britain, London, British Museum, inv. 1988, 1208.1	Torso and the right thigh	Montagu 1989, 161–162; Smith 1904, cat. no. 1655	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/10648 & <i>British Museum</i> 2012, search by inv. no.	Clarac 1836–1837, pl. 714, cat. no. 1703
4	Great Britain, Norfolk, Holkham Hall	Head, torso and legs down to the knees	Angelicoussis 2001, cat. no. 16	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/7433	Clarac 1836–1837, pl. 714, cat. no. 1701
5	Italy, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, inv. 220	Torso and both legs above the knees. Plinth, footclapper, feet and parts of the support.	Mansuelli 1958, cat. no. 220	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/5891	Clarac 1836–1837, pl. 715, cat. no. 1709
6	Italy, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 6022	The legs of the child and the torso and legs of the satyr. The support and plinth.	Pozzi <i>et al.</i> 1989, 156–157, no. 19; Ruesch 1908, cat. no. 253	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/13424 (no photograph) & <i>Alinari</i> 2012, search by photograph ID: PDC-F-001032-0000 & BGA-F-005102-0000	Clarac 1836–1837, pl. 704b, cat. no. 1628a
7	Italy, Rome, Galleria Borghese, inv. 45	Torso and the upper parts of the thighs	Moreno & Viacava 2003, cat. no. 87	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/15726 (no photograph) & <i>Alinari</i> 2012, search by photograph ID: ADA-F-004559-0000	Clarac 1836–1837, pl. 717, cat. no. 1715
8	Italy, Rome, Galleria Borghese, inv. 225	Head, torso, legs and parts of the plinth	Moreno & Viacava 2003, cat. no. 254	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/15716 & <i>Alinari</i> 2012, search by photograph ID: CAL-F-004228-0000 & ADA-F-001926-0000	Reinach 1908, 50, no. 8
9	Italy, Rome, Museo Torlonia, inv. 315	Torso and thighs. Perhaps parts of the feet and the support?	Gasparri 1980, 193, no. 315	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/26758	Reinach 1909, 429, no. 3

⁷¹ The column “Clarac/Reinach” gives the reference to each sculpture in the series published by Clarac and Reinach. Perhaps yet another sculpture should have been included: Reinach 1909, 429, no. 2. I have not been able to trace this sculpture, which depicts a boy with unspecified oval items (?) in his hands. The figure is listed under the title “Eros et enfants”: thus, it does not seem to be restored to represent a satyr, and therefore I have chosen not to include it in the present table.

10	Italy, Rome, Galleria Colonna, inv. 97	Head of one ancient sculpture, torso and thighs from another	Carinci <i>et al.</i> 1990, cat. no. 124	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/28919	Reinach 1920, 37, no. 7
11	Italy, Rome, Palazzo Corsini, inv. 710	Head, torso, left leg and foot. Support and plinth, with parts of the right foot. The head has been reattached.	Luca 1976, cat. no. 15	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/28969	Clarac 1836–1837, pl. 709, cat. no. 1693b
12	Sweden, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, inv. NM Sk 23	Head, torso and the left thigh. The head has been reattached.	Habetzeder 2010	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/30762	Clarac 1836–1837, pl. 738, cat. no. 1777
13	Vatican, Museo Pio Clementino, Galleria dei Candelabri, inv. 2686	Torso, parts of the upper arms and the legs	Lippold 1956, 304–305, no. 40	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/19859 (no photograph) & <i>Alinari</i> 2012, search by photograph ID: ADA-F-023692-0000	Clarac 1836–1837, pl. 716, cat. no. 1713
14	Whereabouts unknown, previously in France, Paris, collection of Arthur Sambon	Head, torso, upper arms, legs, support and plinth	Hirsch <i>et al.</i> 1914, cat. no. 28		Reinach 1924, 51, no. 3
15	Whereabouts unknown, previously in Germany, Wiesbaden, Altertums-Museum	The complete figure, cast in bronze	Cohausen 1888a, 238, Raum IV, no. 91; Cohausen 1888b		Reinach 1908, 140, no. 10
16	Whereabouts unknown, previously in Great Britain, Deepdene, collection of the Hope family	Head from one ancient sculpture, torso, and parts of the thighs and the support of another	Waywell 1986, cat. no. 25	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/50024 (no photograph)	Clarac 1836–1837, pl. 709, cat. no. 1671c
17	Whereabouts unknown, previously in Italy, Rome, collection of the Giustiniani family	Unknown	Fusconi 2001, 554–555, 628, no. I 132	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/rezeption/302038 (no photograph)	Clarac 1836–1837, pl. 716, cat. no. 1712
18	Whereabouts unknown, previously in Italy, Rome, collection of the Marconi family	Head from one ancient sculpture and torso from another		http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/rezeption/302059 (no photograph)	Clarac 1836–1837, pl. 718, cat. no. 1717
19	Whereabouts unknown, previously in Italy, Rome, collection of the Mattei family	Unknown	Venuti & Amaduzzi 1776, pl. 39	http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/rezeption/301986 (no photograph)	Clarac 1836–1837, pl. 704d, cat. no. 1683d
20	Whereabouts unknown, previously in Italy, Venice, collection of the Nani family	Unknown	Nani 1815, no. 186		Reinach 1908, 141, no. 8

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