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The Invitation to the Dance

An intertextual reassessment

Abstract

With its original manifestation generally dated to *c.* 150 BC, the Invitation to the Dance is a textbook example of Hellenistic sculpture. But despite much scholarly attention there is still no consensus as to what motif the sculpture group depicts. Inspired by intertextual theory, this study catalogues and re-examines 35 sculptures of the female figure and 34 sculptures of the satyr. The article focuses on preserved sculptures, rather than a reconstructed model image. Variations of the repeated forms are highlighted as significant for the interpretation of the types. The reading of the Invitation to the Dance thus put forward suggests that the group composition displays the moment after the satyr has pulled the female's garment down from her upper body. It is furthermore emphasized that both satyr and female figure were at times—perhaps even predominately—displayed as solitary figures. The satyr's foot-clapper is suggested to have been included primarily in instances where the satyr was displayed on his own. Sculptures of the female figure fending off—though not touching—an intrusive companion could have been paired with other Dionysian figures as well, a practice that might be reflected in sculptures that show this female type in other group compositions.*

Keywords: The Invitation to the Dance, sculpture, Hellenistic, Roman, maenad, nymph, hermaphrodite, satyr, Pan, intertextuality, formalism

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Introduction

A coin minted in Cyzicus, on the southern shores of the Marmara Sea, displays on its reverse a standing male and a seated female (*Fig. 1*). 19th-century scholars had pointed out that these two figures seemed also to be represented as Graeco-Roman sculptures in the round.¹ In 1909 Wilhelm Klein became the first to present a reconstruction of the sculpture group seemingly depicted on the coin. This he did by assembling plaster casts from various Graeco-Roman sculptures, and adding the parts missing from all examples known to him (*Fig. 2*).² The reconstructed group, named the Invitation to the Dance—*die Aufforderung zum Tanz*—has since become a textbook example of Hellenistic sculpture.³ The sculpture group has been the subject of a number of articles, and these generally introduce one or several sculptures to the discussion of the type.⁴ Klaus Kell and Wilfred Geominy have discussed the composition of the sculpture group.⁵ Hans-Christoph von Mosh has noted that the two protagonists are also depicted on coins minted in the Thracian city of Pautalia (*Fig. 3*; for the location of Cyzicus and Pautalia, see *Figs. 4, 5*).⁶

¹ Imhoof-Blumer 1888, 296–297; Wolters 1893, 174–175.

² Klein 1909. Later, with Klein's reconstruction as his model, Giulio E. Rizzo made a second plaster reconstruction, this time leaving out the support seen in the satyr sculptures and placing both figures on one plinth. This reconstruction, in the Museo dei gessi dell'Università di Roma, is that most often reproduced in discussions of the sculpture group. Morricone 1981, 26–27.

³ The following is a sample of textbooks on Hellenistic art that mention the Invitation to the Dance: Lippold 1950, 320; Alscher 1957, 209, n. 125a; Bieber 1961, 139; Charbonneaux *et al.* 1970, 315–316; Vermeule 1980, 67–68; Pollitt 1986, 131; Smith 1991, 130; Moreno 1994, 224–226; Andreae 2001, 47–48, cat. nos. 176, 177; von Prittwitz und Gaffron 2007, 260–262.

⁴ Deonna 1951; Brinkerhoff 1965; Hill 1974; de Luca 1975; Balil 1981; Ghisellini 2017.

⁵ Kell 1988, 14–20; Geominy 1999a.

⁶ von Mosch 2007.



Fig. 1. Coin minted in Cyzicus during the reign of Septimius Severus (AD 193–211). Photograph: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Monnaies, Médailles et Antiques, FG 444.



Fig. 2. Wilhelm Klein's plaster reconstruction of the Invitation to the Dance, published in Klein 1909, fig. 10.



Fig. 3. Coin minted in Pautalia during the reign of Septimius Severus. German private collection. Photograph: Courtesy Dr Hans-Christoph von Mosch, see von Mosch 2007, 98–100, "Revers-Stempel I" fig. 6, no. 5.

Despite all scholarly attention, some basic aspects regarding this composition are still not fully resolved. As is often the case for Graeco-Roman ideal sculptures,⁷ the date of the original manifestation of the Invitation to the Dance has been a matter of dispute. In the 1960s Dericksen Brinkerhoff placed the original in the late 3rd century BC, partly because the group's seated female resembles the Tyche of Antioch, known to have been made by Eutychides of Sikyon around 300 BC.⁸ More recent estimates suggest a date of *c.* 150 BC, citing the Great Pergamene Altar and the Telephos Frieze, dated to 180–160 BC, as stylistic comparisons.⁹ The motif depicted—a playful rendering of a satyr and a female—has also been used as evidence for placing the group's original manifestation in the Late Hellenistic period.¹⁰ The same can be said of the group's composition; it has been categorized as a "group in space" and therefore somewhat earlier than more "one-sided"

sculpture groups displaying similar motifs, such as the Slipper Slapper Group from Delos of *c.* 100 BC.¹¹ Again things are, however, not clear-cut: Margarete Bieber described the Invitation to the Dance as a "one-sided" group.¹² Furthermore, Adrian Stähli and Christiane Vorster have, I believe rightly, criticized using the criterion of "one-sidedness" to arrive at quite precise dates for Hellenistic sculptural compositions.¹³

In all, there is now for the most part a consensus that the first manifestation of the Invitation to the Dance was created around 150 BC. But the evidence regarding this matter is tentative enough to allow two established scholars, Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway and Adrian Stähli, to question whether the two figures—satyr and female—were originally conceived as parts of a sculpture group. Their doubts are based not only on the fact that sculptures representing these two protagonists have never undisputedly been found together, but also on the notion that both figures are, as far as their composition is concerned, seemingly just as aptly suited to serve as solitary pieces.¹⁴ Furthermore it is frustrating that, despite the large number of preserved sculptures, the evidence regarding what both satyr and female actually did with their hands is so scant

⁷ In the present article "ideal sculptures" are defined as Graeco-Roman freestanding sculptures representing gods, heroes, mythological characters, personifications, and athletes. Similar definitions are presented in Gazda 1995, 136–137; Marvin 1997, 9; Kousser 2008, 8. The concept has also been defined differently, see for instance Fuchs 1992, VI; Fullerton 1997, 429–432.

⁸ Brinkerhoff 1965, 30. Regarding the Tyche of Antioch, see von den Hoff & Känel 2007, 17–19; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/457>.

⁹ von Pritwitz und Gaffron 2007, 260–262; Schraudolph 2007, 208–209. Regarding the Great Pergamene Altar and the Telephos Frieze, see Schraudolph 2007, 197–209; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/34644> (Great Altar); <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/gruppen/402512> (Telephos Frieze).

¹⁰ Klein 1921, 5, 45–47; Kunze 2008.

¹¹ Regarding the suggested chronological development from "groups in space" to "one-sided groups", see Kraemer 1923; 1927; Hiller 1979; Kell 1988; Stähli 1999, 50–58. Kell discusses the Invitation to the Dance in particular at pp. 14–20. Regarding the Slipper Slapper Group, see Kaltsas 2002, cat. no. 617; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/gruppen/400199>.

¹² Bieber 1961, 139.

¹³ Stähli 1999, 51–52 n. 59; Vorster 2007, 299.

¹⁴ Ridgway 1990, 321–324; Stähli 1995; 1999, 416–418.

that earlier interpretations can all be called into question, as noted, for instance, by Geominy.¹⁵

The present article aims to re-examine all sculptures ascribed to the Invitation to the Dance, in order to determine what they reveal regarding the use of these motifs. To review the matter from a fresh angle, aspects of intertextual theory are applied.

An intertextual approach

Earlier studies on the Invitation to the Dance have been firmly rooted in the practice of copy criticism.¹⁶ Due to the above-mentioned uncertainties that surround the original manifestations of the sculpture types discussed here, female and satyr, it seems wise to avoid focusing on a hypothetical original masterpiece. Instead the present study is inspired by intertextual theory. The basic principle of intertextuality is the notion that texts—literary and non-literary—lack independent meaning; they are intertextual. In the words of Graham Allen:

The act of reading, theorists claim, plunges us into a network of textual relations. To interpret a text, to discover its meaning, or meanings, is to trace those relations. Reading thus becomes a process of moving between texts. Meaning becomes something which exists between a text and all the other texts to which it refers and relates, moving out from the independent text into a network of textual relations.¹⁷

According to this line of reasoning the meaning of a text is not dependent on the intentions of the author; Roland Barthes' famous proclamation of "the death of the author"—"*La mort de l'auteur*"—is arguably the best known catchphrase of intertextual theory.¹⁸

The approach to Graeco-Roman ideal sculpture presented here uses one particular sculpture as its point of departure.

The sculpture chosen as the centre point of a study should, preferably, be well preserved; we need to know which forms we are tracing. Thus, in studying the female figure ascribed to the Invitation to the Dance, the example in Geneva serves as a good starting-point, because it is the most substantially published sculpture among only three that preserve both the figure's head and body. Among the sculptures depicting the Invitation Satyr, that in the Palazzo Corsini in Rome is a comparably well-preserved and thoroughly published example; it will be the focus in the present study of this sculpture type.

The key feature of this intertextual analysis of Graeco-Roman ideal sculpture consists of tracing repetitions and variations among sculptural forms. The repeated traits define and limit the network of sculptures studied; they establish which sculptures are to be considered examples of the sculpture type under scrutiny. The group of sculptures thus defined is then, to a great extent, interpreted by an assessment of the formalistic variations represented among these sculptures. If one assumes that the repeated traits refer back to an original manifestation—the traditional focus in studies adhering to copy criticism—then the variations can be seen as key to the subsequent use and (re-)interpretations of the sculptural form; aspects that are placed in the limelight in the present study. I have chosen to let repeated renderings of anatomical forms define each sculpture type, a choice inspired by Geominy's observation that:

*Seltsamerweise werden nämlich die Kopisten immer dort zu eigenen Taten animiert, wo es sich um tote Gegenstände handelt, um Attribute etwa, die nicht durch die Lebendigkeit des Körpers eine individuelle Ausprägung erhalten. Es ist die Sandale oder der Reifim Haar, das Schwertband, der Baumstamm oder das, was die Hand hält. Der Körper jedoch und die Bekleidung, die durch den Körper eine bestimmte unverwechselbare Ausprägung erhält, sind weitgehend Tabu. Es ist dabei nicht grundsätzlich jede vom Erfinder geprägte Form sakrosankt.*¹⁹

A consequence of this tendency is that the lists of sculptures presented here do, with a few exceptions (see concordances in *Appendices 1, 2*), correspond to the lists assembled by other scholars adhering to the practice of copy criticism. The sculptures are catalogued in *Appendix 1* (devoted to the Invitation Female, numbers given with ♀ as prefix) and *Appendix 2* (dealing with the Invitation Satyr, with ♂ as prefix). When tracing sculptures repeating the anatomical forms studied, I treat repetitions of its body and of its head separately. Hence, each anatomical form studied is taken to represent a body type and a head type. This approach is motivated by an aspect of Roman ideal sculpture often acknowledged in previous stud-

¹⁵ Geominy 1999a, 141–142.

¹⁶ Hugo Meyer has produced a useful summary of the concept: "This method [copy criticism] assembles all the available evidence for a given type [i.e. all sculptures/depictions that repeat the studied form closely], analyses each specimen individually, and compares all of them to each other in order to filter out the traits a multitude of them have in common. These are assumed to go back to the lost original. The picture thus created must then be put to the test against original artworks of the period it [the lost original] is to be dated to." Meyer 1995, 65.

¹⁷ Allen 2011, 1. Other useful introductions to intertextual theory, besides Allen's contribution, are Orr 2003; Juvan 2008. The use of the concept within classical philology is summarized in Edmunds 1995; Fowler 1997; Schmitz 2007, 75–85; Baraz & van den Berg 2013. The use of intertextuality within the study of Graeco-Roman visual culture is, to the best of my knowledge, limited to Roller 2013; Dorka Moreno 2016. See also Fullerton 1997.

¹⁸ Barthes 1968; 1996.

¹⁹ Geominy 1999b, 52.

ies; that body and head types were at times treated as separate entities.²⁰ There is, for instance, the rather well-known Roman practice of combining body types from the repertoire of ideal sculpture with portrait heads.²¹

Given the circumstance outlined in Geominy's remark cited above, there seems to be a certain semantics that governs formalistic repetition and variation among Graeco-Roman ideal sculptures. The approach presented here, inspired by some basic tenets of intertextual theory, sets out to map how this particular aspect of the Graeco-Roman "visual narrative" works, exemplified in the two sculpture types studied here. The intertextual analysis sets out to highlight the formalistic variations that can be traced between the examples of the sculpture type under study and to offer interpretations of these variations. Discernible formalistic modes of reference to other established sculptural forms are also highlighted. The fact that the two sculpture types studied here were in some instances evidently combined to form the sculpture group today known as the Invitation to the Dance opens up further areas of inquiry: were the sculptures of these two interrelated types repeated and varied in similar ways? How is the Invitation to the Dance to be interpreted in the light of the two intertextual analyses?

As is clear from the description outlined above, this study of Graeco-Roman sculpture is formalist in the sense that its focus is placed on the forms that the studied sculptures represent, rather than the sculptures' original context, or why a certain motif was popular at a certain time or place, etc. Such a formalist stance is not unusual in intertextual studies. Within literary studies, intertextual readings generally set out to trace relations between texts; to map networks of interrelated texts. Such undertakings are prone to formalism, in the sense that the parameters mapped are often the text's form and technique, leaving out notions of authorship, content, and societal influence.²² When studying ancient sculpture, scholars do naturally make the most of any external evidence at hand; be it an ancient literary description of the form studied, or the archaeological context within which it was found. The problem, however, is that for Graeco-Roman ideal sculpture this kind of evidence is often lacking.²³ Faced with the task of pub-

lishing a fragmentary sculpture of unknown provenance, the search for other sculptures repeating the same form lies close at hand. This formalistic endeavour is generally accomplished by means of copy criticism, but this article argues that other formalist approaches, highlighting other kinds of formalistic relationships, should also be pursued.²⁴

Provenances and dates of catalogued sculptures

The sculptures rendering the female and satyr ascribed to the Invitation to the Dance are no exceptions when it comes to the problems outlined in the previous paragraph; there are no known references to the sculpture group in the preserved written sources, and only rarely has the original provenance of a sculpture been securely recorded.

Although no fewer than 35 sculptures represent the female sculpture type, only four have a known provenance (*Fig. 4*). One of these was excavated in 1933 in the caldarium of the Terme Taurine in the ancient city of Centumcellae, present-day Civitavecchia (♀14).²⁵ Another sculpture was found in a seaside villa—*villa maritima*—in Minturno (♀16).²⁶ The third has been tied to the fountain of C. Laecanius Bassus in Ephesos (♀26), where it is suggested to have been displayed together with satyr ♂24. The fourth was excavated near the east gate of the Agora at the ancient city of Side in 1949 (♀27).

Three sculptures, all fairly well preserved, are tied to the Bay of Naples: one was allegedly found in Cumae (♀13), another presumably in Pompeii (♀17), and a third was purchased by Ludwig Pollack in Naples in 1909 (♀23). Two sculptures were allegedly found in North African cities: one in Thysdrus (♀24) and another in Leptis Minor (♀3). Apart from the above-mentioned example excavated in Side, the sculptures found in the ancient cities of Antioch (♀25) and Kameiros (♀12) attest the sculpture type's use in the eastern Mediterranean. The sculpture in Rome's Museo Torlonia was allegedly found in the area of the Villa dei Quintilii near Rome in the early 19th century (♀20), during the same excavation campaign that unearthed the Invitation Satyr ♂15.²⁷

Even though their provenances are unknown, it seems worth noting that another twelve Invitation Females were

²⁰ Fink 1964; Marvin 1997, 14–19.

²¹ See for instance Stewart 2004, 47–59; Fejfer 2008, 201–205, 335–345; Trimble 2011, 150–157. As noted by Prof. Schneider there is also the possibility that head and body were made by different craftspeople.

²² Fowler 1997, 17–18.

²³ Geominy 1999b, 43–44. Another aspect of the sculptures that is today difficult to assess is their original colours. Although traces of colour are recorded, for instance on ♂3, a detailed first-hand examination of all sculptures would be necessary before drawing any general conclusions—something that would constitute an extensive article in its own right. On the polychromy of ancient sculpture in general, see for instance Brinkmann *et al.* 2008.

²⁴ Earlier attempts at similar approaches include Landwehr 1998.

²⁵ Unfortunately, the fragmentary sculpture, a head, is not sufficiently published. The Terme Taurine are believed to have been built during the reign of Hadrian, over the remains of an earlier bath complex. Manderscheid 1981, cat. no. 43.

²⁶ Ghisellini 2017, 74, no. 10, with references.

²⁷ It has also been suggested that the sculptures were found in the Villa dei Sette Bassi, see Gasparri & Settis 2020, 192, with references.

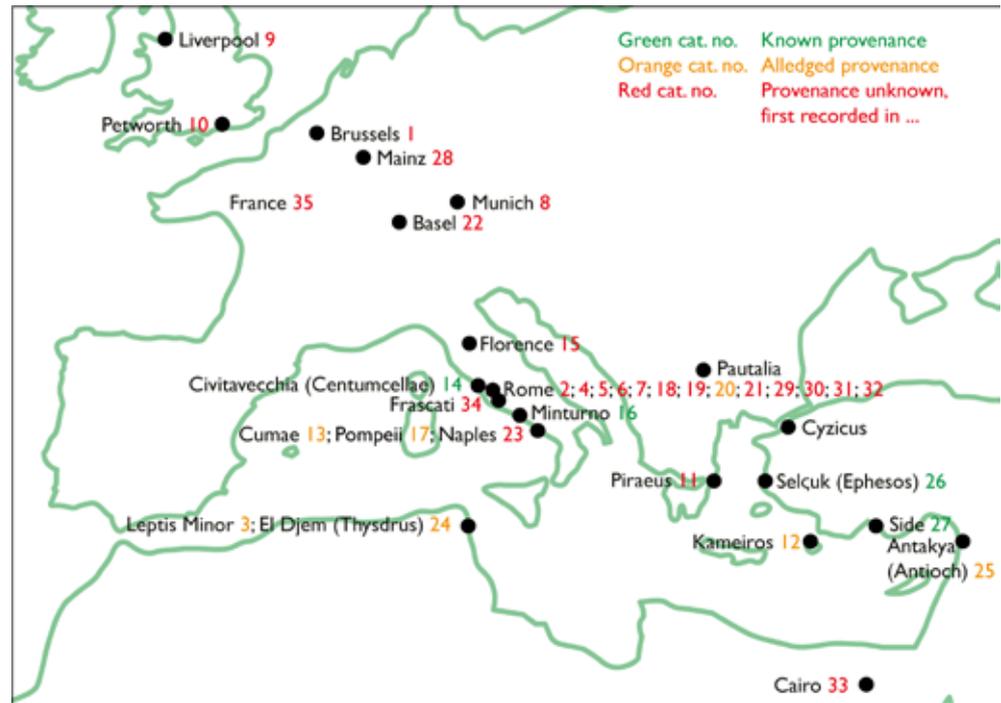


Fig. 4. Map illustrating the provenances of sculptures representing the Invitation Female, as well as the location of Cyzicus and Pautalia. Illustration: Julia Habetzeder.

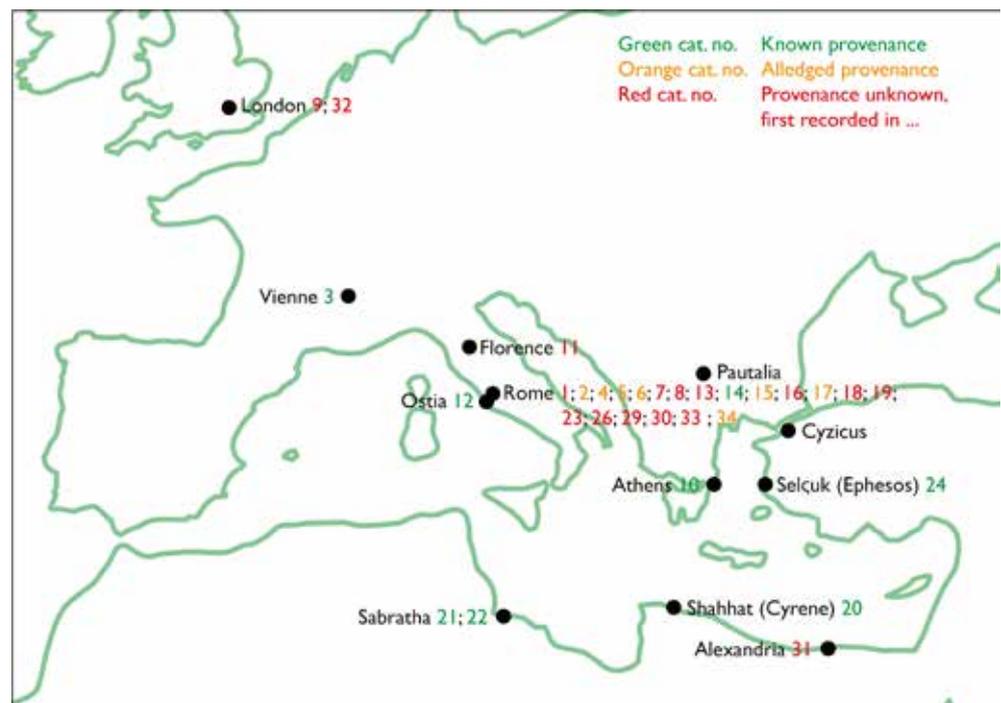


Fig. 5. Map illustrating the provenances of sculptures representing the Invitation Satyr, as well as the location of Cyzicus and Pautalia. Cat. nos. ♂25, ♂27, ♂28 were, to the best of my knowledge, first recorded in the US and are therefore not marked on this map. Illustration: Julia Habetzeder.

first recorded in Rome (♀2, ♀4, ♀5, ♀6, ♀7, ♀18[?], ♀19, ♀21, ♀29, ♀30, ♀31, ♀32). The fact that the sculpture in Piraeus was earlier used as a decoration of a building façade in the port city might be taken to signal that it was unearthed in this area (♀11). But in other instances (♀1, ♀8, ♀9, ♀10, ♀15, ♀22, ♀28, ♀33, ♀34, ♀35) the first recorded location

of the sculptures need not have any connection to its original place of display.

The catalogue in *Appendix 2* includes 34 sculptures of the Invitation Satyr. As illustrated in *Fig. 5*, eight of these have a known provenance. Fragments of a sculpture were found in the remains of a lavishly decorated Roman building in Vienne



Figs. 6a–b. *The Invitation Female in Geneva (Q23)*. Photographs: © Musée d'art et d'histoire, Ville de Genève. Achat, 1949.

in 1820 (♂3). Unfortunately, it is not known what kind of building this was. The head of a satyr was found at Via Varese, Rome, in 1940 (♂14). The torso and head of another example were found in Ostia in 1927 (♂12).²⁸ Fragments of a third sculpture were found during two different excavation campaigns on the Kerameikos in Athens: in 1929 and 1961 (♂10). In both instances the fragments lay close to the Roman imperial Pompeion; hence it has been suggested that this was where the sculpture was once put on display.²⁹ A torso was exposed after rainfall in Ephesos in 1961 (♂24). It was discovered close to the fountain erected by C. Laecanius Bassus around AD 80, and therefore it has been suggested that this was its original place of display, possibly together with the *Invitation Female* ♀26. A head of the discussed type has been attached to another ancient sculpture, both found in the ancient city of Cyrene (♂20). Also on the North African coast, a satyr head (♂21) was found in the southern part of the forum of Sabratha. From the same Roman city comes an ancient mould made of plaster which yields casts of the head of the discussed type (♂22).

Seven sculptures were allegedly found in or near Rome (♂2, ♂4, ♂5, ♂6, ♂15, ♂17, ♂34). Both the satyr in the Museo Torlonia (♂15) and that in the Palazzo Corsini (♂17)

²⁸ Though discovered in the Terme del Foro, this need not have been their original place of display, as they were found with other sculptures later collected there to be burnt for lime production. See Cicerchia & Marinucci 1992, 145.

²⁹ Ohly 1963, 16.

were probably found in the area of the Villa dei Quintilii. As mentioned above, the Torlonia satyr and female (♂15, ♀20) were found during the same excavations. Adding the twelve satyr sculptures that are first recorded in this city (♂1, ♂7, ♂8, ♂13, ♂16, ♂18, ♂19, ♂23, ♂26, ♂29, ♂30, ♂33), there is again a clear concentration to the Roman capital, although, naturally, it should not be taken for granted that all sculptures were displayed there during antiquity. Apart from these there are the sculptures of unknown provenance which were first recorded in London (♂9, ♂32), Florence (♂11), and Alexandria (♂31). Another three sculptures were, to the best of my knowledge, first recorded in the US; hence they are not included in *Fig. 5* (♂25, ♂27, ♂28).

The distribution of the sculptures hint that the two types were represented throughout the Roman Empire, except, perhaps, its westernmost areas. Where scholars have ventured to suggest dates for the production of the sculptures, these are generally set to the imperial Roman era, as can be seen in the catalogue below.

The Invitation Female

The concordance of earlier lists of replicas, included in *Appendix 1*, begins with Klein's seminal article of 1909. Next is a list published in 1950, which adds five sculptures, but excludes some of those mentioned by Klein. This is followed by the list published by Brinkerhoff in 1965 and the catalogue numbers from Schneider's extensive, but unpublished, treat-



Figs. 6c–d. *The Invitation Female in Geneva* (Q23). Photographs: © Musée d'art et d'histoire, Ville de Genève. Achat, 1949.

ment of the type in 1991. Two lists were published in 1999 and 2000 respectively, and lastly there is the thorough study by Elena Ghisellini published in 2017. The great interest in the reconstructed Invitation to the Dance has, I believe, at times led scholars to misattribute sculptures to the discussed sculpture type. Where sculptures included in previous lists do not repeat the anatomical forms seen in the sculpture in Geneva (Q23) they have been excluded from the catalogue in *Appendix 1*. In such instances the reasons behind the sculpture's exclusion are given in the concordance. Thirty-five sculptures of the Invitation Female are catalogued in *Appendix 1*.

Unfortunately, there are a few sculptures regarding which the information is so sparse that I have not included them in the discussion below: Q16, Q18, Q34, Q35. Given that the sculptures do, most likely, repeat the anatomical forms studied, I have nevertheless included them in the catalogue; one can only hope that more information will become available in the future. Amongst these sculptures, that once recorded in Frascati is important in that it does seem to preserve both the head and body type (Q34). However, the sculpture is only known through two photographs belonging to the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI).³⁰ As it is unpublished, it is impossible to know for sure which parts are restored. The situation is similar for the sculpture group put up for sale at Sotheby's, New York, in 2005 (Q35). The sales catalogue provides a photograph, but the sparse text does not distinguish between ancient and restored

sections. Judging from the photographs available, my guess is that a post-antique restorer has here combined an ancient figure of Pan, from the Pan and Daphnis Group,³¹ with a likewise-ancient female figure of the type discussed here. The shape of the plinth in particular seems to speak in favour of such an interpretation.³² Without a close examination or a proper publication of the piece this issue must remain unresolved. I have not been able to access depictions of the sculpture in Minturno (Q16).³³ As far as I know the sculpture in the Antiquario al Celio in Rome remains unpublished (Q18).

Regarding the 31 sculptures that will be discussed, it is worth noting that there are no mirror-reversed versions of the sculpture type. We can therefore safely speak of the type's right- and left-hand sides.

THE INVITATION FEMALE IN GENEVA

Based on a sloping plinth the female in Geneva (Q23) is seated on a schematically rendered rock, a little elevated on one corner to support her lowered left hand (Figs. 6a–d). She sits with her legs crossed, the lower part of her left calf touching the upper part of her right knee, while the foot of the retract-

³⁰ <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/6773>.

³¹ On the sculpture type in general, see Leibundgut 1999.

³² On Pan's side the support is shaped as a continuation of the rock on which he sits, while on the female's side it appears to have a flat edge. The plinth preserved in Q32 has a similar straight edge running on approximately the same angle in relation to the female's right foot.

³³ But see references in Ghisellini 2017, 74, no. 10.

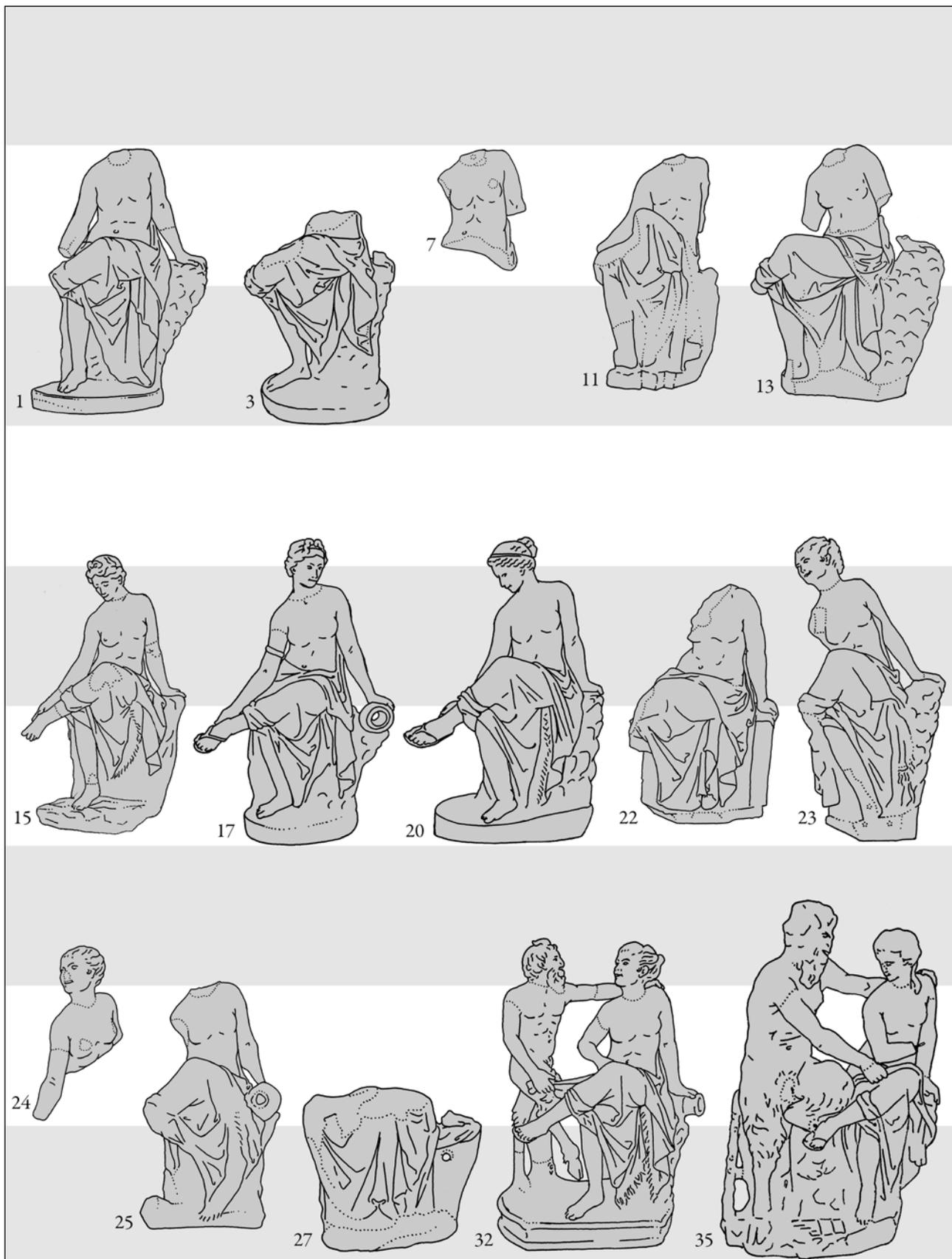


Fig. 7a. Catalogued sculptures preserving the body type of the Invitation Female drawn approximately at 1:20 scale. Each grey or white horizontal field represents a height of 0.5 m. The dimensions of cat. nos. ♀16, ♀18, ♀26, ♀34 are unknown, hence these sculptures are not included. To distinguish between preserved and restored parts, see description in catalogue. Illustration by Julia Habetzeder.

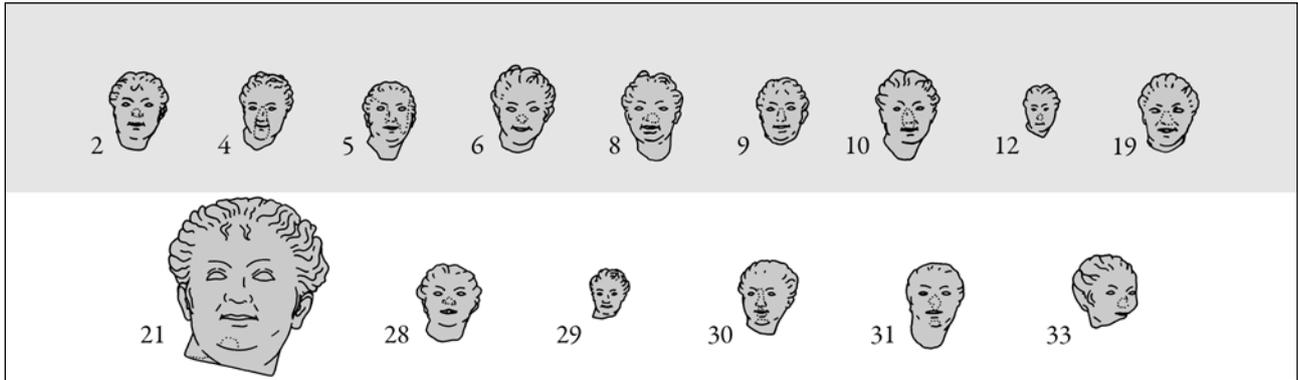


Fig. 7b. Catalogued sculptures preserving the head type of the Invitation Female drawn approximately at 1:20 scale. Each grey or white horizontal field represents a height of 0.5 m. The dimensions of cat. no. ♀14 are unknown, hence this sculpture is not included. To distinguish between preserved and restored parts, see description in catalogue. Illustration by Julia Habetzeder.

ed right leg rests firmly on the plinth. Placing the palm of her left hand against the rock, she bends her torso forward and to the right. Naked above the waist, she has a large piece of cloth—presumably a garment—draped over her lower body. The head has been reattached, but the fitting support at the back of the neck shows that the position of the ancient and belonging head must correspond quite well with the sculpture's original appearance. We can also tell from the tilt of the neck that the female turned her head somewhat to the right. She has a round face, with a small chin, which makes her look quite young. The lips are slightly parted in a smile, leaving the teeth clearly visible. Her hair, rendered in thick wavy locks, is drawn back from the face, forming a simple overhand knot quite high up at the back of her head. In the front the hair is parted slightly to the right of the central axis of the face.

Both of the figure's feet (except the right heel) and part of the plinth have broken off. The right arm was during antiquity made of a separate piece of marble and this piece is also missing. The sculpture had been broken into four large pieces which have been reassembled: the head, the torso, the left lower arm, and the lower part of the body, including the rock and the plinth.

THE HEAD TYPE

With no fewer than 16 fragments repeating the head type of the female in Geneva, we can suggest that it was used quite frequently (♀2, ♀4, ♀5, ♀6, ♀8, ♀9, ♀10, ♀12, ♀14, ♀19, ♀21, ♀28, ♀29, ♀30, ♀31, ♀33). For line drawings of all sculptures with documented dimensions, allowing comparison of scale, see Figs. 7a–b). However, reservations are necessary in some instances, where only one or two photographs of the sculptures are available (♀12, ♀14, ♀31, ♀33).

The sculpture in Geneva (♀23) is one of only three sculptures that preserve a substantial part of both the body type

and the sculpture's original head. For the fragmentary sculpture in Tunis (♀24, Fig. 8) the right-wards tilt of the head, the facial features, and the rendering of the hair all correspond well with those seen on the sculpture in Geneva (♀23), with no variations added—though, admittedly, not much of the figure's body remains. The third example is a sculpture group in the Vatican; here the female is depicted together with Pan (♀32, Fig. 9). Though the composition is substantially altered, the rendering of the female's anatomical forms corresponds to what can be seen in the sculpture in Geneva. Thus, in the three instances where a rendering of the body type preserves its original head, the head type is the same.

As the locks of hair are not precisely replicated among the sculptures, the most conspicuous aspect of the head type is the unusual overhand knot used to gather the hair at the back of the female's head; a feature which is only clearly visible when the head is seen from behind (see, for instance, ♀28 in Figs. 10a–d). It is, however, significant that the unruly locks of hair are not secured at the back by a pin or a ribbon. The unconventional hairstyle surely signifies the female's connection to the wild, untamed realms of nature; it clearly sets the figure apart from Graeco-Roman portraits. Also the female's smile, with the teeth clearly visible, makes it clear that this is not a rendering of a historical person or a goddess, but rather a maenad or a nymph.³⁴

One can note that of the two locks hanging down in front of each ear, the one on the right-hand side is generally markedly longer than that on the left-hand side (I know this to be the case for ♀2, ♀4, ♀5, ♀6, ♀9, ♀10, ♀19, ♀23, ♀24, ♀28, ♀30). If the primary view was the female's right side three-quarter pro-

³⁴ On smiling Dionysian figures, see Schneider 2009, 556–572; Stähli 1999, 275–280; both use the protagonists of the Invitation to the Dance as examples.



Fig. 8. *The Invitation Female in Tunis* (Q24). Photograph: H. Koppermann, German Archaeological Institute – Rome, D-DAI-ROM-61.573.

file, then the smaller lock of hair would have been that most prominently displayed; perhaps the lock on the left-hand side was made larger in order to be readily visible. The head in Venice is an exception in this regard; here both locks are of the same approximate length (Q21). The back of this head ends in a flat surface; thus the unusual overhand knot is not represented in this sculpture. It would seem that this sculpture has been adjusted to be displayed in a full-frontal view.

A variation of the head type's function, rather than its form, is represented in the head in Baltimore (Q28, *Figs. 10a–d*). Here a drill-hole tells us that this particular sculpture was intentionally made to be used as a fountain-figure, with water spurting out of the female's mouth.

In one instance something is added to the discussed head type: the head in Boston preserves a part of a left hand, held against the back of the head, right below the overhand knot (Q29, *Figs. 11a–b*). The hand's position assures us that it must have belonged to another figure; the head must have been included in a sculpture group comprising at least two protagon-

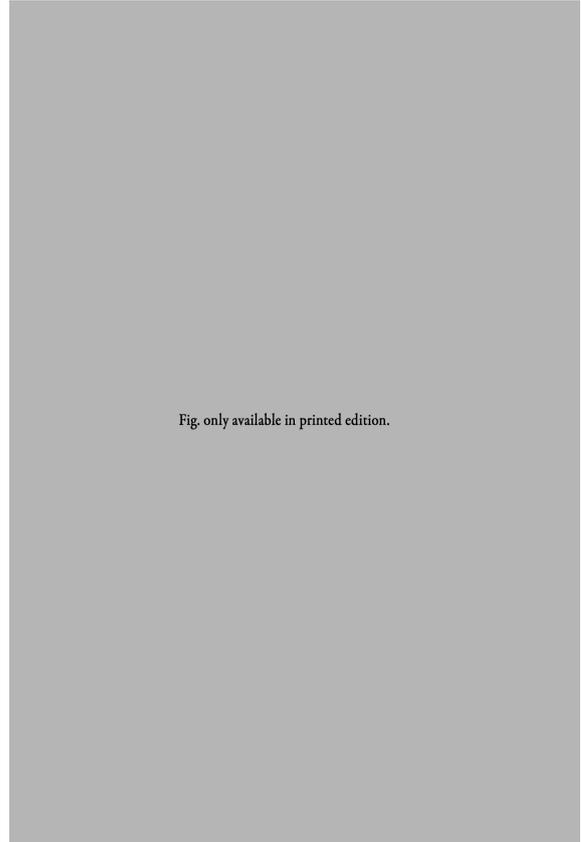


Fig. only available in printed edition.

Fig. 9. *The sculpture group in the repository of the Vatican Museums* (Q32), combining traits from the *Invitation to the Dance* and the *Pan and Daphnis Group*. From Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1936, cat. no. 180. Published with permission. Photograph © Vatican Museums. All rights reserved.

nists. Unfortunately, we can only guess how this sculpture group looked. Perhaps this example should rather be termed a variant of the *Invitation Female*, but its close affinity to the discussed type remains undisputed.³⁵

In concluding this discussion of the head type I should point out the fact that—as far as preserved—no sculpture introduces further attributes such as wreaths or jewellery.

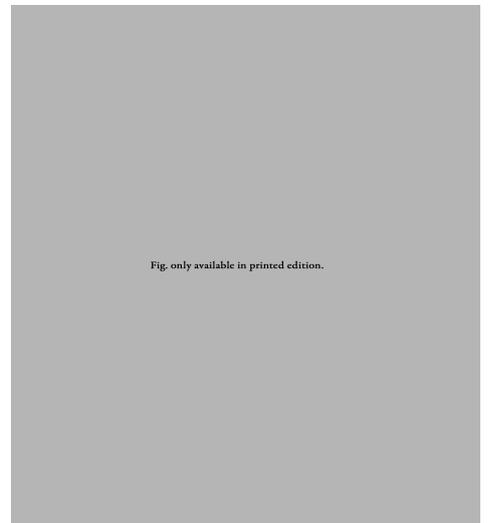
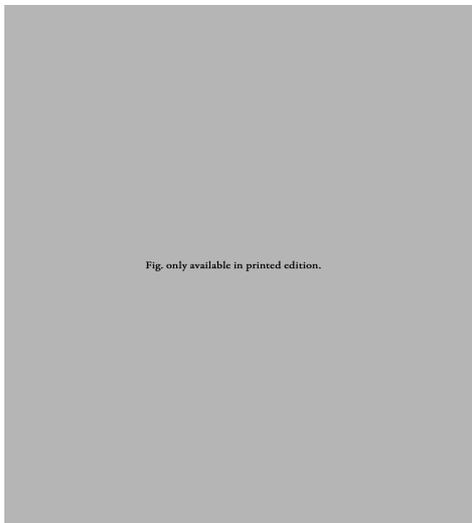
THE BODY TYPE

Fourteen sculptures preserve parts of the body type seen in the female in Geneva (Q23, *Figs. 6a–d, 7a*). Three sculptures only preserve the female's torso and parts of her arms, and as

³⁵ As Prof. Schneider rightly points out: "I am not sure if the Boston head is strictly speaking a copy as the hair style is fuller, the individual locks are more pronounced and the front locks more voluminous, the lips less parted and the mimic differently expressed." Pers. comm.



Figs. 10a–d. Female head in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Maryland (Q28). Here the unusual hairstyle can be clearly seen: the hair is collected in a simple overhand knot at the back of the female's head, a feature repeated among the replicas. The general arrangement of individual locks of hair is, however, not repeated faithfully between the sculptures. The drill-hole through the mouth shows that this sculpture could be used as a fountain figure. Photograph: The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.



Figs. 11a–b. Female head in Boston, Massachusetts, with hand of another figure (Q29). Photograph © 2021 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. 12. *The Invitation Female in Naples* (Q17). Photograph: H. Koppermann, German Archaeological Institute – Rome, D-DAI-ROM-66.1824.

far as one can tell, these repeat the traits seen in the sculpture in Geneva without any variations (Q7, Q24, Q26). Then there are two examples that only preserve the lower part of the body; again without notable exceptions (Q3, Q27). Ten sculptures, including the Geneva example, preserve the larger part of the female body (Q1, Q11, Q13, Q15, Q17, Q20, Q22, Q23, Q25, Q32).

Regarding the garment covering the female's lower body, the overall pattern of folds is repeated quite faithfully. It is sometimes rendered with fringes (Q15, Q23, Q25, Q32 Fig. 9) and sometimes without (Q1, Q3, Q11, Q13, Q17 Fig. 12, Q22, Q27). An aspect that is consistently repeated is that the cloth is held up between the female's waist and her left arm (Q1, Q3, Q7, Q11, Q13, Q15, Q17, Q20, Q22, Q23, Q25, Q32).

As far as attributes are concerned, there is one instance where the female is adorned with an armlet around her right upper arm (Q17 Fig. 12). This might be seen as an attribute of female beauty, and such armlets are commonly included, for instance, in depictions of Aphrodite.³⁶ However, examples

³⁶ See for instance the "Venus Barberini", an example of the Venus Medici type in Great Britain, Yorkshire, Newby Hall. <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/23411>.

of the hermaphrodite belonging to the Berlin-Torlonia Symplegma also wear such an armlet.³⁷

Where the torso is concerned, the sculpture in Basel stands out in the sense that the female is here rendered as slightly more thick-set than in the other examples (Q22).

As noted in the introduction, the figure's pose remains enigmatic in the case of all the sculptures listed in the catalogue. Like the piece in Geneva (Q23), all sculptures that repeat the body type are missing the right hand and the left foot. This is frustrating, as the figure's pose suggests that these parts revealed what the figure was actually depicted doing. The most common interpretation is that the original model image rendered the female removing her sandal from her left foot with her right hand.³⁸ It has, however, also been suggested that she was instead putting on her sandal, in order to accept the satyr's invitation to the dance.³⁹ The latter interpretation has since been refuted by others—it must admittedly be difficult to tie a sandal using only one hand.⁴⁰ In examples that preserve the right arm—which the sculpture in Geneva does not—the figure appears to have stretched her right hand down towards the left foot (Q1, Q11, Q13, Q15, Q17 Fig. 12, Q20, Q24). The sculpture group in the Vatican (Q32 Fig. 9), however, constitutes an exception: only here the female bends her right arm, presumably in order to hold on to her garment as Pan tugs at it.

When used in group compositions the Invitation Female's companion was—in the documented examples—placed at her proper right side, as attested in the coin images (Figs. 1, 3), the Vatican group (Q32 Fig. 9), and the Boston head (Q29 Figs. 11a–b). The interpretation of the female as connected to the Dionysian sphere is, of course, strengthened by her inclusion in group compositions with a satyr and Pan. As has long been acknowledged, the well-preserved group in the Vatican refers not only to the Invitation to the Dance, but also to another erotic sculptural composition: the above-mentioned Pan and Daphnis Group.⁴¹ In this group the sexually aroused Pan sits next to the young Daphnis, who is holding a set of panpipes—*syrinx*.⁴² Eclectic compositions are often met with unease in studies applying copy criticism, and the Vatican Group is no exception to this rule.⁴³ But if variations are seen as key to understanding the

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/23411>.

³⁷ See for instance the two sculptures in Italy, Rome, Museo Torlonia, inv. nos. 151, 157; Stähli 1999, cat. nos. 4.8, 4.9; Gasparri & Settis 2020, 117–118; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/26797>; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/26799>.

³⁸ Ridgway 1994, 324; Stähli 1995, 420.

³⁹ Klein 1909, 102.

⁴⁰ Ridgway 1990, 324.

⁴¹ Stähli 1999, 395.

⁴² As noted above, the sculpture type is presented in Leibundgut 1999.

⁴³ "Das wiederliche Pasticcio des Vatikanischen Museums ..." Klein 1909, 102.

continuous use and (re-)interpretation of a motif, this well-preserved sculpture group proves a treasure trove.

The sculpture group shows that during the Roman era, the Invitation Female type was seen not only as an example of the group today titled the Invitation to the Dance, but also as related to other sculpture groups depicting similar motifs; groups that are in modern scholarship called symplegma groups.⁴⁴ I would argue that the composition in the Vatican not only refers to the Invitation to the Dance and the Pan and Daphnis Group, but also to the above-mentioned Berlin-Torlonia Symplegma.⁴⁵ Here a satyr approaches a seated hermaphrodite. The satyr is depicted on a smaller scale than the hermaphrodite, roughly corresponding to the difference in scale of the protagonists of the Vatican group (♀32 *Fig. 9*). If the Invitation Female was—at least at times—interpreted in relation to well-known symplegma compositions, this might even allow for a reinterpretation of the figure's sexual identity: given the fact that the pubic area of the Invitation Female is hidden below the garment, a viewer would be free to interpret the figure as a hermaphrodite just as readily as a female.⁴⁶ Of interest in this context is the fact that the excavation campaigns in the area of the Villa dei Quintilii that unearthed the Torlonia examples of the Invitation Female and Satyr (♀20, ♂15) also brought to light two well-preserved examples of the Berlin-Torlonia Symplegma—it is possible that these sculptures were displayed together during antiquity.⁴⁷ In the recently published catalogue of the Torlonia Marbles Stefania Tuccinardi notes that “The [Invitation] nymph holds in her palm a sort of disc which she rests on her seat, bending her fingers over the edge of it; it seems significant that the way she holds it reproduces the gesture with which Hermaphrodite, who reappears in the two symplegmata, leans a tambourine on a rocky bank (...) the association between these sculptures, joined by their shared provenience, could moreover provide new contributions for a rereading of the *Invitation to Dance*, within a wider context of relationships.”⁴⁸ One such reading, which is however my own, would be to recognize the possibility that some ancient viewers interpreted the Invitation Female as a hermaphrodite.

⁴⁴ Even though the term is misleading, see Stähli 1999, 58–68.

⁴⁵ Stähli 1999, 372–383. Hermaphrodite: <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/274>. Satyr: <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/766>.

⁴⁶ The use of the ♀ symbol as catalogue prefix in the present study might thus be misleading, but it has been retained for clarity. Another sculptural composition that combines a satyr and a hermaphrodite is the Dresden Symplegma, for which see Stähli 1999, 309–340. Hermaphrodite: <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/759>. Satyr: <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/760>.

⁴⁷ Gerhard 1830, 75–77; Gasparri & Settis 2020, 117–118. Italy, Rome, Museo Torlonia no. 151: Stähli 1999, 377, cat. no. 4.8 with references; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/gruppen/401650>. Italy, Rome, Museo Torlonia no. 157: Stähli 1999, 378, cat. no. 4.9 with references; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/gruppen/400719>.

⁴⁸ Gasparri & Settis 2020, cat. no. 34.

PLINTH AND SUPPORT

Plinth and support are at least partly preserved in twelve sculptures (*Fig. 7a*). On the sculpture in Geneva (♀23) the plinth has largely broken off; its original shape can, unfortunately, no longer be discerned. The situation is the same for most other sculptures (♀11, ♀13, ♀15, ♀22, ♀25, ♀27). The plinth of the Torlonia sculpture seems to have been cut and reduced (♀20) while that of the female in Florence is reworked (♀15).⁴⁹ In three instances the plinth has a round or slightly oval shape, without a profiled edge (♀1, ♀3, ♀17 *Fig. 12*). The sculpture group in the Vatican, on the other hand, has a rectangular plinth with rounded short sides, and a profiled edge (♀32 *Fig. 8*).⁵⁰

Like the example in Geneva, most sculptures show the female seated on a schematically rendered rock (♀1, ♀3, ♀13, ♀15, ♀17, ♀20, ♀23, ♀25, ♀27, ♀32). The rendering of the rock differs: its surface can be almost smooth (♀17 *Fig. 12*, ♀27), or have a surface covered with small protrusions or indentations (for instance ♀1, ♀13, ♀23 *Figs. 6a–d*). The exception to the rule is the sculpture in Basel, where the female sits on a rectangular item, possibly a schematically rendered stool (♀22). As was noted above, this sculpture is also set apart from other examples in the sense that the female figure is here depicted as heavier-set. These two variations suggest that the motif had been somehow reinterpreted in the Basel sculpture, but in its present condition no further conclusions can be drawn.

The only other addition to the figure type is a vessel which can be seen in three sculptures (♀17, ♀25, ♀32, *Figs. 7a, 9, 12*). In these instances the vessel is placed on the rock, with the female resting the palm of her left hand on it. For two sculptures drill holes show that they could have been used as fountain figures, with water spurting out of the vessel's mouth (♀17, ♀32). Also the sculpture in Side (♀27) has such a drill hole below the figure's left hand, even though no vessel seems to be included in this composition; perhaps the water was intended to spurt out from the rock. As noted above the female head in Baltimore (♀28 *Figs. 10a–d*) was part of a fountain sculpture, in this case with water coming out of the female's mouth. In all, five sculptures of the Invitation Female preserve some kind of connection to water. It is, most likely, this connection that has prompted most scholars to interpret the female as a nymph rather than a maenad.

All things considered, the iconography—the hair, the smile, the rock, as well as the occasional Dionysian companions and connections to water—clearly shows that this is a mythological figure tied to the uncivilized realm of nature and

⁴⁹ Mansuelli 1958, cat. no. 52; Gasparri & Settis 2020, cat. no. 34.

⁵⁰ The profiled edge is generally considered to be a feature characteristic of sculptures made during the 2nd century AD. Muthmann 1951, 120.



Fig. 13a. *The Invitation Satyr in the Palazzo Corsini (♂17)*. Photograph: C. Rossa, German Archaeological Institute – Rome. D-DAI-ROM-74.717.

the Dionysian sphere. But as argued above, the figure could possibly be interpreted as a hermaphrodite as well as a nymph or maenad. Perhaps the fact that the sculpture type was open to different interpretations held an appeal for Graeco-Roman viewers.

The Invitation Satyr

The earliest list of replicas for the Invitation Satyr included in the concordance in *Appendix 2* is that found in Klein's seminal article of 1909. Next is the list published in 1950, the first to include the satyr in the Palazzo Corsini in Rome (♂17 Figs. 13a–e). This is followed by Brinkerhoff's list, which does, however, include some unfortunate misunder-

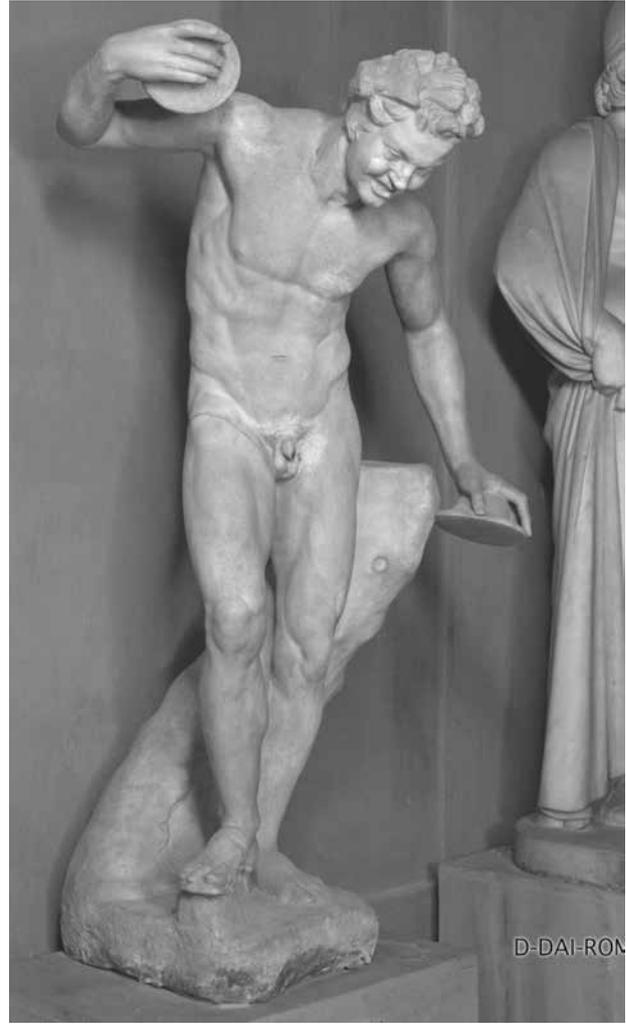


Fig. 13b. *The Invitation Satyr in the Palazzo Corsini (♂17)*. Photograph: C. Rossa, German Archaeological Institute – Rome. D-DAI-ROM-74.718.

standings.⁵¹ Next is Schneider's extensive, but unpublished, treatment of the type in 1991. A list of sculptures ascribed to the type was published by the present author in 2012, and lastly there is the substantial article by Ghisellini of 2017.

It was stated above that the great importance that modern scholars have assigned the Invitation to the Dance has at times prompted researchers to ascribe female figures to this group too readily. The situation is no different when it comes to the satyr taken to be her consort. Where the satyr is concerned, the high esteem of the Invitation Satyr in the Uffizi in Florence (♂11) has also caused erroneous interpretations of sculptures belonging to this type, a circumstance which has

⁵¹ Brinkerhoff 1965. These misunderstandings were sorted out in de Luca 1975, 74–75, n. 21.



Fig. 13c. *The Invitation Satyr in the Palazzo Corsini (♂17)*. Photograph: C. Rossa, German Archaeological Institute – Rome. D-DAI-ROM-74.719.



Fig. 13d. *The Invitation Satyr in the Palazzo Corsini (♂17)*. Photograph: C. Rossa, German Archaeological Institute – Rome. D-DAI-ROM-74.721



Fig. 13e. *The Invitation Satyr in the Palazzo Corsini (♂17)*. Photograph: C. Rossa, German Archaeological Institute – Rome. D-DAI-ROM-74.720.

been discussed at length elsewhere.⁵² Sculptures previously ascribed to the type which do not repeat the anatomical forms seen in the sculpture in the Palazzo Corsini (♂17) have been excluded from the present study, as have post-antique copies of the satyr in the Uffizi. These matters are discussed in the concordance in *Appendix 2*. Thirty-four examples of the Invitation Satyr are catalogued in *Appendix 2*.

One sculpture constitutes a special case: it is only preserved through 18th-century plaster casts of an ancient sculpture that can no longer be traced (♂34). Unfortunately, there are no accounts that reveal which parts of the marble sculpture were ancient and which were restored at the time the casts were made.⁵³ Given these circumstances the details of this sculpture will not be discussed below. I have, nevertheless, chosen to include the sculpture in the catalogue: one can always hope that the actual sculpture will “resurface” sometime in the future. I have not been able to access photographs of the satyr head ♂32.⁵⁴ Hence, the discussion below is limited to the remaining 32 examples.

No mirror-reversed versions of the sculpture type have come to my attention, which enables us to refer to the type’s right- and left-hand sides without causing confusion.

THE INVITATION SATYR IN THE PALAZZO CORSINI

As depicted today, the head of the satyr in the Palazzo Corsini is bent forward, with the satyr facing the ground (♂17 Figs. 13a–e). The torso is also somewhat bent forward, and slightly to the left, and it displays the satyr’s muscles and sinews with an exaggerated clarity. The right upper arm was held out from the torso at a nearly horizontal angle, while the left upper arm was directed more downwards. The satyr stands with his weight placed on his left leg with the left foot depicted bare. From the part of the right thigh that remains, and the preserved right foot, it is clear that the knee was bent. The right foot is turned towards the right. This foot is placed 7 cm above the plinth’s surface, resting on a shapeless protrusion. It is shown wearing a sole similar to that of a sandal, with simple straps running over the foot. The sculpture’s support, shaped like a tree stump, is attached to the plinth behind the satyr; it then runs diagonally upwards to connect to both the back of the satyr’s left calf and the left side of his left thigh, ending slightly below his hip. As for the head, the tip of the satyr’s nose is restored, as is a small part of the right cheek. The smooth skin and the round shapes of the face make the satyr look youthful. The full lips are parted in a smile that leaves the teeth clearly visible. He has a high forehead, and just at his hairline two small horns, round and thin, protrude. The tips of the pointed ears stand out from the head enough to make them clearly visible. The hair is rendered in thick, wavy strands. Between the horns, above the forehead, a large lock of hair stretches upwards and then falls to the left. At the sides, the face is framed by thick locks drawn away from the face, except for two small locks, one in front of each ear. The satyr wears a wreath made of pine needles.

⁵² Habetzeder 2012.

⁵³ Bauer *et al.* 2000, cat. no. 1.

⁵⁴ But see references in Ghisellini 2017, 73, no. XXVI.

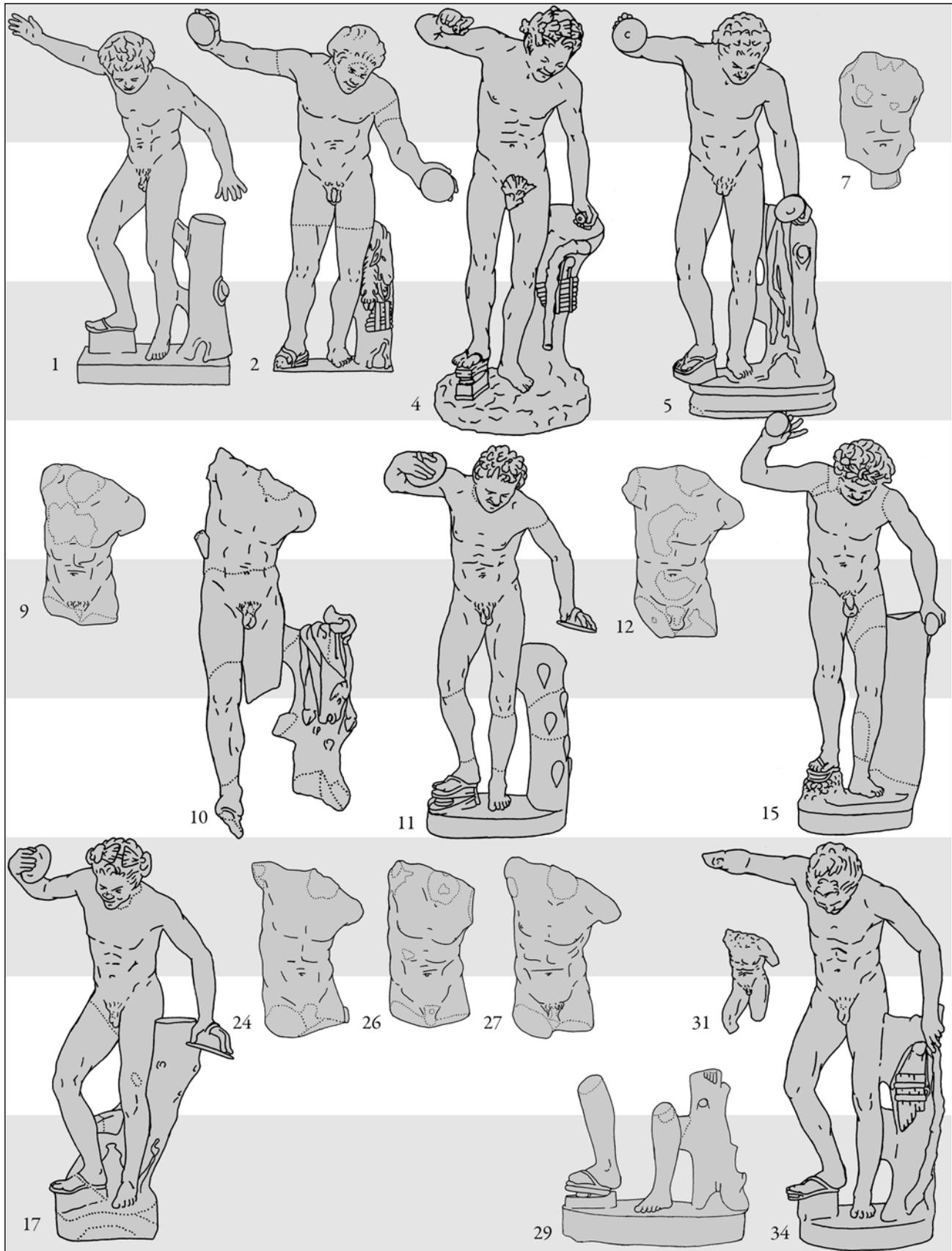


Fig. 14a. Catalogued sculptures preserving the body type of the Invitation Satyr drawn approximately at 1:20 scale. Each grey or white horizontal field represents a height of 0.5 m. The head of ♂12 is depicted in Fig. 14b, as it has not been reattached to the torso. To distinguish between preserved and restored parts, see description in catalogue. Illustration by Julia Habetzeder.

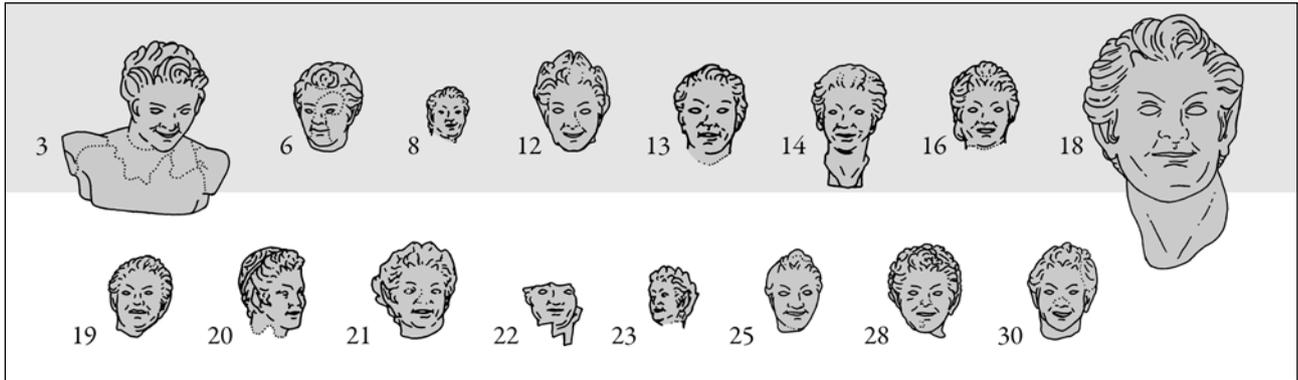


Fig. 14b. Catalogued sculptures preserving the head type of the Invitation Satyr drawn approximately at 1:20 scale. Each grey or white horizontal field represents a height of 0.5 m. The dimensions of cat. nos. ♂32, ♂33 are unknown, hence these sculptures are not included. The torso of ♂12 is depicted in Fig. 14a. Cat. no. ♂22 is drawn after a cast made from the ancient mould. To distinguish between preserved and restored parts, see description in catalogue. Illustration by Julia Habetzeder.

The ancient sculpture preserves its original head, albeit reattached. Both arms are restored, as is the right leg, although a section of the right foot is preserved. Half of the additional support that runs between the satyr's right calf and the tree stump has been restored. On the sculpture's left side a part of the plinth and the stump has also been added.⁵⁵ Unfortunately, we cannot know whether the placement of the head, as seen today, corresponds exactly to the sculpture's original appearance.

THE HEAD TYPE

There are 15 fragments of sculptures that preserve only the Invitation Satyr's head (♂6, ♂8, ♂13, ♂14, ♂16, ♂18, ♂19, ♂20, ♂21, ♂22, ♂23, ♂25, ♂28, ♂30, ♂33).⁵⁶ Again, reservations are necessary in instances where I have only had access to one or two photographs of the sculptures (♂13, ♂14, ♂16, ♂20, ♂21, ♂22, ♂23). The sculpture in the Palazzo Corsini is one of seven sculptures which preserve both parts of the body type and the ancient head (♂2, ♂3, ♂4, ♂5, ♂12, ♂15, ♂17, for line drawings of the sculptures with recorded dimensions, allowing comparison of scale, see Figs. 14a–b).⁵⁷ The seven sculptures that preserve both head and body type all combine the same types as the satyr in the Palazzo Corsini

(♂17 Figs. 13a–e). In six instances the ancient head has been reattached. This may very well also be the case for the sculpture now in Warsaw (♂4).⁵⁸ In one case only the figure's shoulders, neck, and head are preserved (♂3 Fig. 15), and these have been assembled from several fragments. A sculpture found in Ostia preserves the satyr's head and torso as separate fragments (♂12); three others preserve his head, torso, and parts of the thighs (♂2, ♂4, ♂5). The best-preserved sculpture among the seven, save for the satyr in the Palazzo Corsini (♂17), is that in the Museo Torlonia (♂15) which preserves the figure's head, torso, right arm (excluding the hand), the left leg, and parts of the support as well as the plinth. As far as the body type is concerned, these sculptures repeat the traits seen in the satyr in the Palazzo Corsini.

The figures' identity is clearly shown, not only through the pointed ears and the small horns, but also through the wide smile leaving the teeth clearly visible; features seen in all sculptures.⁵⁹ There is a notable consistent feature among the sculptures: among these fragments even the general schema of hair locks is repeated carefully—in contrast to the examples of the Invitation Female.

The one aspect that is varied is the ornament around the satyr's head: nine satyrs wear wreaths, seven of which are made of pine needles (♂4, ♂5, ♂12, ♂15, ♂17, ♂21, ♂23 Figs. 13a–e), one of ivy (♂28 Figs. 16a–d), and one of unidentified foliage, perhaps ivy (♂2). Six satyrs wear fillets around their head instead (♂3, ♂6, ♂13, ♂16, ♂19, ♂25). One satyr wears neither wreath nor fillet (♂18), while for the remaining five I cannot discern whether or not they wear a fillet (♂8,

⁵⁵ de Luca 1975, 75.

⁵⁶ It should be noted that Hans-Hoyer von Prittwitz und Gaffron suggests that the Invitation Satyr is depicted on one of the marble tondi from the Mahdia shipwreck. However, due to the damaged surface of this sculpture we cannot know for sure. von Prittwitz und Gaffron 1994, 322–325.

⁵⁷ In addition, the sculpture once in Saint Petersburg (♂34) seems to have preserved the original head, but we cannot know for sure. See Bauer *et al.* 2000, cat. no. 1.

⁵⁸ Ghisellini 2017, 72, no. XV does not specify this, but includes references.

⁵⁹ On the teeth-baring smile of Dionysian figures, see Stähli 1999, 275–280; Schneider 2000, 368–372; 2009, 560–572, esp. 568–570.



Fig. 15. *The Invitation Satyr from Vienne* (♁3). Photograph: © RMN – Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / Hervé Lewandowski.

♁14, ♁20, ♁30, ♁33). The resulting general picture is that, as far as sculpted features are concerned, the inclusion of different types of wreaths or a fillet varied freely within the sculpture type.

THE BODY TYPE

Including the sculpture in the Palazzo Corsini (♁17), I know of 17 sculptures that, as far as one can tell, repeat the satyr's body type (♁1, ♁2, ♁3, ♁4, ♁5, ♁7, ♁9, ♁10, ♁11, ♁12, ♁15, ♁17, ♁24, ♁26, ♁27, ♁29, ♁31, Fig. 14a). For the sculpture from Vienne (♁3 Fig. 15) only the head and fragments of the neck and shoulders remain, as mentioned above. Several traits make the rendering of the torso of the body type quite distinctive and easily recognizable: it bends forward; it has marked muscles and sinews; the right shoulder is placed higher than the left; the manner in which the buttocks reflect the position of the legs; and the inclusion of a satyr's tail at the centre of the lumbar curve.⁶⁰ Thus, the five sculptures that only preserve the satyr's torso can still be ascribed to the type with confidence (♁7, ♁9, ♁24, ♁26, ♁27). Another four repetitions of the body type (♁1, ♁2, ♁5, ♁31) preserve the satyr's torso and parts of his legs and/or arms, without adding variations to the motif as represented in the satyr in the Palazzo Corsini.

⁶⁰ On "satyr traits" in Hellenistic sculpture in general, see Schneider 2000, esp. 353–354.

This leaves us with five sculptures that preserve parts of the satyr's right foot, the plinth and/or the support (♁10, ♁11, ♁15, ♁17, ♁29). The body type renders the satyr standing, with his right foot slightly lifted. Two sculptures carefully render a set of foot-clappers—*kroupezion/scabellum*⁶¹—under the right foot. One is the renowned sculpture in the Uffizi (♁11); the other is a fragment in the repository of the Vatican museums (♁29) which preserves the plinth, the lower part of the support, as well as the satyr's feet and lower legs. The sculpture in the Kerameikos displays the same kind of straps over the satyr's foot, and one can just make out the same kind of sole beneath the foot (♁10 Fig. 17). Unfortunately, however, next to nothing of the area below the foot is preserved. The satyr in the Palazzo Corsini (♁17 Figs. 13a–b) preserves a thin sole, with straps running over the foot. But where one would expect the actual clappers to be depicted there is a space of 7 cm between the foot and the plinth which looks today like a shapeless protrusion of rock. In order to resolve this peculiarity, de Luca has suggested that the clappers may partly have been painted onto the stone.⁶² The situation is similar for the satyr in the Museo Torlonia (♁15); even though the upper part of the foot-clapper is restored, the instrument is still placed on what seems to be an unusually shaped protrusion of rock (or a bunch of grapes?).

Only one Invitation Satyr preserves a hand; it is the left hand of the satyr in the Kerameikos (♁10 Fig. 17), which grasps the goatskin—*nebris*—draped over the support at his left side—a reasonable precaution if one wants to hold one's balance while energetically playing the foot-clapper. As only one hand of one example is preserved, however, it is not certain that all sculptures were depicted holding on to a support the same way.

PLINTH AND SUPPORT

As far as I know, the plinth is only preserved in four sculptures. The sculpture in the Palazzo Corsini (♁17 Figs. 13a–b) has a rectangular plinth. In the other three examples the plinth is, however, oval in shape (♁11, ♁15, ♁29, Fig. 14a). The surfaces and edges of the plinths are flat; there are no preserved examples with profiled edges.⁶³ The plinth of the Torlonia satyr has been re-lined, that is a section has been added below the plinth to make it thicker.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Bélis 1988; Mathiesen 1999, 166–169.

⁶² de Luca 1975, 77 n. 32.

⁶³ The plinth of ♁5 is restored, as is possibly that of ♁4—here I have not had access to sufficient publications on the sculpture, but see Ghisellini 2017, 72, no. XV, with references.

⁶⁴ Gasparri & Settis 2020, cat. no. 35.



Figs. 16a–d. Head of the Invitation Satyr in the Princeton University Art Museum (♁28). This sculpture clearly shows the satyr’s hair, a feature that is faithfully copied within the type. The adornment around the head—in this case an ivy wreath—is however varied among the replicas. Princeton University Art Museum. Bequest of Michael H. Strater, Class of 1951.

In cases where the support is preserved, or parts thereof, it always takes the shape of a tree-stump placed behind and/or at the satyr’s left side. These tree-stumps are, however, always rendered in varying ways. Our protagonist, the satyr in the Palazzo Corsini (♁17), is supported by a fairly schematically rendered tree-stump, its surface covered with many small knots. This support is unusual in that it runs diagonally, from behind the satyr and upward to attach at the left side of his left thigh. The stump is markedly thicker at the bottom.⁶⁵ In all other instances the tree-stump is straight, vertical, and placed to the satyr’s left (♁10, ♁11, ♁15, ♁29). The sculpture in the Uffizi (♁11) has a rather slender stump with large knots. In

the sculptures in the Uffizi and the Palazzo Corsini no further attributes are added to the supports. The tree-trunk acting as a support for the satyr in the Museo Torlonia (♁15) is very simply rendered, with a rough surface. Care has, nevertheless, been taken to render a shepherd’s staff—*pedum*—as if hanging on the support’s upper left edge. In its present state, the satyr grabs the staff with his left hand. However, the hand and the uppermost part of the staff are later restorations.⁶⁶ The fragment in the Vatican (♁29) also preserves the plinth and the lower part of the support. On the tree-stump one can still see the remains of a set of panpipes hanging against the support’s upper left edge. Panpipes are also rendered on the sup-

⁶⁵ The unusual shape of this support is discussed in Anguissola 2018, 29–32.

⁶⁶ de Luca 1975, 77 n. 31; Gasparri & Settis 2020, cat. no. 35.

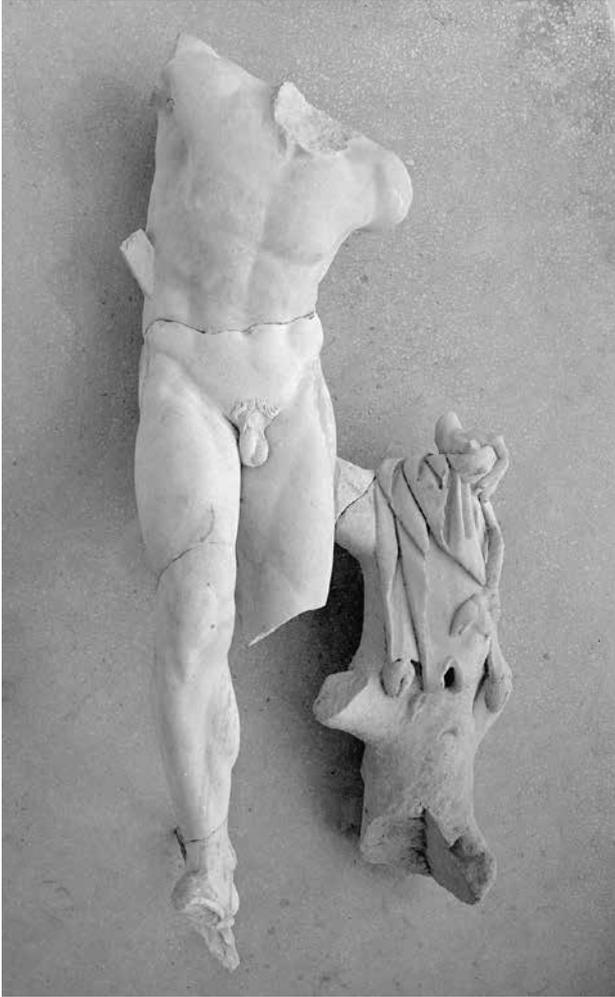


Fig. 17. *The Invitation Satyr* from Kerameikos, Athens (♂10). Photograph: Eva-Maria Czákó, German Archaeological Institute – Athens, D-DAI-ATH-Kerameikos 8071.

port of the sculpture found at the Kerameikos in Athens (♂10 Fig. 17); this time they hang on the back of the support.⁶⁷ In the sculpture in the Kerameikos yet another Bacchic attribute is included, a goatskin that hangs over the uppermost part of the support. As mentioned above, this sculpture is important in that it is the only rendering of this body type which preserves one of the satyr's hands: the left hand, which grasps the support, cushioned by the goatskin. The skin is carefully rendered, with two hoofs shown, as well as the goat's head, including its long horns. The careful rendering of the goatskin was called for: a drill-hole running through the support shows that the piece was designed as a fountain figure, where water could spurt out through the goat's mouth. This is the only

⁶⁷ Also this example is brought up in Anguissola 2018, 29–32.

known repetition of the Invitation Satyr which shows traces of having been used as a fountain figure.

To sum up, all added attributes attested among the preserved sculptures—wreath, shepherd's staff, panpipes, goatskin—further emphasize the sculpture type's connection to the Dionysian sphere.

The motifs depicted—a reassessment

LINKS BETWEEN THE TWO SCULPTURE TYPES

There is no denying that the two sculpture types discussed here were during antiquity at times displayed together as a sculpture group. Among the many arguments brought forth to tie our two protagonists together, I consider three circumstances accurate and ample proof of the group constellation's existence, at least during the Roman period.

First one must bring forth the two coins from Cyzicus and Pautalia which both seem to depict the female and satyr together (Figs. 1, 3). Representations of the sculpture group were, during the reign of Septimius Severus, circulated—at least—in the cities of Cyzicus, on the southern shores of the Marmara Sea, and Pautalia, in what is today western Bulgaria (Figs. 4, 5).

Second, one should consider the sculptures' scale (Figs. 7a–b, 14a–b).⁶⁸ The height of the seated female, as fully preserved, would generally be just above 1 m, that of the standing satyr c. 1.4 m; this means that the two types are generally depicted at roughly the same scale. It should, however, be noted that two female heads are markedly smaller (♀12, ♀29). Among the satyrs three conform to this smaller size (♂8, ♂23, ♂31), while the satyr head from Vienne is depicted on a larger, approximately life-size, scale (♂3). More importantly, it can be no coincidence that of both sculpture types there is only one rendering made to colossal scale, and that these two sculptures can be traced back to the same 18th-century collection in Rome (♀21, ♂18). Between them, the scale of these two heads match. Even though their exact provenance is unknown, I see no reason to doubt that these two sculpted heads were displayed together during antiquity.

Third, there is one instance, mentioned above, where examples of both types are recorded to have been found during the same excavations: in a brief account of 1830, Eduard Gerhard mentions that the female and the satyr in the Museo Torlonia (♀20, ♂15) were both found during excavations in the

⁶⁸ The dimensions of the head excavated in Civitavecchia (♀14) are unknown to me. For the Invitation Satyr the dimensions of the head previously attested in Rome are unknown (♂33).

area of the Villa dei Quintilii.⁶⁹ The size of the area excavated is however not specified, hence we do not know the exact location of, and relation between, the two Invitation protagonists when found. It has also been claimed that the two sculptures from Ephesos were displayed together in the fountain erected by C. Laecanius Bassus around AD 80 (Q26, O24).⁷⁰

Scholars wishing to emphasize the importance of the Invitation to the Dance have also noted that torsos of both female and satyr were included in a Baroque group made up of seven ancient fragments (among them the two torsos Q7, O7, *Figs. 7a, 14a*) and post-antique additions. The argument would be that if the Baroque workshop had fragments of both the female and the satyr at hand, these may have been found together and thus stem from the same sculpture group.⁷¹ This does, however, strike me as rather far-fetched: both torsos are represented in the scale most commonly used for the two sculpture types, and the fact that the marble of the female torso is described as white and fine-grained, while that of the satyr is characterized as darker and coarse-grained does not speak in favour of interpreting the two as originally intended for the same sculpture group.⁷² Brinkerhoff has argued that two heads included in a cache of roughly a dozen sculptures found in Antioch constitute Late Antique versions of this female and satyr respectively, and that these were displayed as a pair.⁷³ I have, however, excluded them from the discussion above as they cannot be said to replicate the anatomical forms seen in the female in Geneva (Q23) and the satyr in the Palazzo Corsini (O17).⁷⁴

Scholars have also emphasized formal and compositional elements that tie the two figures together, such as the way the female looks up at the satyr, while he looks down towards the area around her right hand, or the way both turn their torsos towards each other in a similar manner, etc.⁷⁵

THE USE OF THE TWO SCULPTURE TYPES

The formalistic analysis presented above suggests that the Invitation Satyr was generally replicated more faithfully than the Invitation Female. While individual locks of hair were copied carefully for the satyr, this was not the case for the female.⁷⁶ Furthermore there is evidence that the female type was also used for group compositions other than the Invitation to the Dance; the corresponding use of the satyr is not attested. Differences such as these could indicate that the two protagonists were often reproduced separately, at least during the Roman era.

There is ample proof that sculptural types were used both separately and as parts of well-established group compositions during the Roman era. The Flaying of Marsyas Group is a clear case in point. The group composition with Marsyas and knife-grinder is known from depictions on sarcophagi, and in other media.⁷⁷ But while the figure of Marsyas is known from c. 60 examples sculpted in the round, there is but one such knife-grinder.⁷⁸ It seems clear that—among sculptures in the round—the figure of Marsyas was reproduced more often than the knife-grinder, and hence also displayed as a single figure, or included in other compositions. Judging from their poses, the two protagonists of the Athena and Marsyas Group, attributed to the sculptor Myron, could also have been displayed on their own.⁷⁹ Though twelve examples of the Athena are known,⁸⁰ and six of the satyr,⁸¹ there is no recorded instance where both figures, sculpted in the round, have been found together.⁸² Therefore it has been suggested that Myron's Athena and Marsyas were, in the Roman cultural context, at times—possibly even predominately—displayed separately.⁸³ This “relaxed” Graeco-Roman attitude towards the use of

⁶⁹ Gerhard 1830, 75–76. As already noted, these excavations also yielded two examples of the Berlin-Torlonia Symplegma.

⁷⁰ Rathmayr 2011, 137–138, 145.

⁷¹ Richter 2011, cat. no. 225.

⁷² Richter 2011, cat. nos. 224, 225.

⁷³ Brinkerhoff 1965, 25–27; 1970, 39–41.

⁷⁴ For the female: US, Princeton New Jersey, Art Museum, Y 1992-49; Ridgway 1994, cat. no. 27; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/33544>. For the satyr: Turkey, Antakya, Archaeological Museum, 1220; Meischner 2003, cat. no. 13; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/408>. The female head found in Antioch has her hair collected in a more traditional bun at the top of her head and not in the overhand knot characteristic of the type discussed here. Neither are the patterns of locks seen in the satyr type repeated in the satyr head from Antioch, something that is clearly visible when viewing the sculpture's profiles. Therefore I do not consider it possible to prove that these two heads originally belonged to the discussed types. Furthermore, given the number of sculptures found in this cache, it is far from certain that these two heads were displayed as parts of a sculpture group. Brinkerhoff 1970.

⁷⁵ Schneider 1991, 562–564; Andreae 2001, 184–185.

⁷⁶ Here I wish to bring forth Prof. Schneider's insightful comment on this matter: “I would argue that the satyrs' coiffeur is following a complex and precisely defined pattern including a ‘Polycleitan’ cowlick (order) placed by intention asymmetrically (disorder) above the left ear. It is a rather artificial imbrutement which characterises the contradictory nature of the satyr. Complementarily the female hair is more simplified with long dynamic wisps of hair tied to a loose knot perhaps emphasising her close relation to a nymphs' nature.” Pers. comm.

⁷⁷ Weis 1992, 219–221.

⁷⁸ Weis 1992, 141–218; Schraudolph 2007, 235–237.

⁷⁹ Myron was active in Attica c. 480–440 BC. The Classical original of the discussed group is believed to have stood on the Athenian Acropolis.

⁸⁰ Daltrop & Bol 1983, 74–75; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/585>.

⁸¹ Daltrop & Bol 1983, 75–76; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/586>.

⁸² Vorster 1993, 22. As is the case for the Invitation to the Dance, the connection between the two sculpted figures has been traced through their depiction in other media, for instance on Roman imperial coins struck in Athens during the reign of Hadrian and Gordian III, but also on the so-called “Finley Krater” (Greece, Athens, Archaeological Museum, inv. 127; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/34660>). Daltrop & Bol 1983, 14–15 & 18–19.

⁸³ Vorster 1993, cat. no. 3.

sculptural figure types known from established group compositions in all likelihood brought with it reinterpretations of the motifs extracted from, or included in, group compositions. I would suggest that the uncertainties in previous research regarding the original appearance of the Invitation to the Dance are partly caused by the fact that the depictions of the figure types were adjusted to both solitary and group displays.

INTERPRETATION OF THE MOTIF SEEN IN THE GROUP COMPOSITION

Klein's early 20th-century interpretation of the group as depicting a musician-satyr inviting a seated maenad to the dance cannot be said to have stood the test of time.⁸⁴ The coin from Pautalia (*Fig. 3*) opens up the possibility of another interpretation. The motif depicted here differs slightly from that seen on the coins minted in Cyzicus (*Fig. 1*): while the coins from Cyzicus—known already in Klein's day—show no direct contact between the two protagonists, the coins from Pautalia seem to render them touching each other. This is the reason why von Mosch suggests that the model image should be reconstructed with the pair holding hands; the satyr taking hold of the female's outstretched right hand with his lowered left. In this manner von Mosch wants to confirm Klein's original interpretation of the sculpture group; by taking the female's hand, the satyr is also physically inviting her to the dance.⁸⁵

On the contrary, I do not believe that the coins show the two figures holding hands (*Fig. 3*). For this to be true, the coin-image must render the pair with disproportionately large and deformed hands. I would rather suggest that what we see is the male tugging at the cloth covering the female's lower body with his left hand, while she stretches out her right hand in an attempt to either hold the cloth in place or fend off the satyr. If this is the interaction depicted on the coins from Pautalia, then the sculpture group in the Vatican (♀32 *Fig. 9*) merely repeats a theme set also in sculptural compositions that depicted the female together with the satyr: in the Vatican group Pan grasps the female's garment, which she, in turn, tries to hold in place. The group in the Vatican is, however, different in that the female bends her right arm. As was noted above, in the six other sculptures that preserve parts of the female's right arm (♀1, ♀11, ♀13, ♀15, ♀17, ♀24, *Figs. 7a, 8, 12*) it seems to have been stretched out and down, towards her left foot. In this context one should point out a recurring aspect of the depiction of the female sculpture type, an aspect that has not been highlighted in previous studies: a fold of the cloth that covers the female's lower body is held up between her left upper arm and her waist. This can be seen in all sculptures that

preserve this part of the figure (♀1, ♀3, ♀7, ♀11, ♀13, ♀15, ♀17, ♀20, ♀22, ♀23, ♀25, ♀26, ♀32, *Figs. 6a–d, 7a, 9, 12*), as well as in the coins from Cyzicus (*Fig. 1*).

The scenario could thus have been the following: the satyr has caught the female off guard, and has managed to pull her garment down from her upper body. She half-heartedly—judging from her smile—resists the satyr's advances by at least pressing her left arm toward her waist and thereby holding the cloth up, while stretching out her right hand in order either to fend off the satyr or to put her garment back in place.

If this interpretation of the scenario is correct, the coins depict two slightly different phases of the action; on the Pautalia coin (*Fig. 3*) the satyr holds on to the female's garment, while on the Cyzicus coin (*Fig. 1*) the satyr has let go of it. Since among the sculpted examples only the variation of the motif in the Vatican (♀32 *Fig. 9*) evidently shows a section of the female's cloth being lifted, the Invitation to the Dance must have represented the scene as seen on the Cyzicus coins. Where the interaction of the characters is concerned, this sculpture group would have been similar to the Athena and Marsyas Group in that the scene depicts the moment after an action has taken place, showing the protagonists' reactions rather than the actual event. In the case of the Invitation to the Dance, the female stretches out her right arm to fend off the satyr. The satyr, on the other hand, is depicted in vigorous movement; his left hand and upper torso (probably also his head) is still bent towards the female, while the position of the right leg and arm hint that he is turning towards the right; perhaps to get away from the female (temporarily at least).

As noted initially, the intertextual approach practised here allows variations of established forms to be seen as key to the subsequent use and (re-)interpretation of sculptural forms: the Vatican group (♀32) is here suggested to reflect—albeit in altered form—the action rendered in the group composition as seen on the coins from Cyzicus and Pautalia.

INTERPRETATION OF THE INVITATION FEMALE AS SOLITARY FIGURE—AND AS PART OF GROUP COMPOSITIONS

As noted above, the female figure could well be depicted on her own, perhaps while removing her sandal from her left foot with her right hand.⁸⁶ I would agree with earlier scholars that a scenario that has her tying a sandal using only one hand can be ruled out.⁸⁷ It should be noted, however, that the right foot is never depicted wearing a sandal, nor are there preserved traces of sandals on the support or on the plinth next to the figure.

⁸⁴ Geominy 1999a, 141–142; Schneider 2000, 384 n. 48.

⁸⁵ von Mosch 2007, 101–104.

⁸⁶ Ridgway 1990, 322–323; Stähli 1995, 420. For a general discussion of earlier interpretations, see Geominy 1999a, 141–142.

⁸⁷ Ridgway 1990, 324.



Fig. 18. Sarcophagus in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, with a depiction of the figure type "Aulistrios D" playing foot-clappers (photograph cropped). Photograph: C. Faraglia, German Archaeological Institute – Rome, D-DAI-ROM-33.425.



Fig. 19. Campana plaque in the Galleria Colonna, with a depiction of the figure type "Aulistrios D" without foot-clappers (left). Photograph: Mrs B. Malter, Universität zu Köln, Archäologisches Institut, Forschungsarchiv für Antike Plastik. <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/708607>.

Given that the iconography does, as emphasized in the formalistic analysis above, time and again underscore the female's wild and uncivilized traits, I find a scenario that has her wearing sandals not impossible, but highly unlikely. If the interpretation of the group composition suggested above is correct, the female figure could easily have been placed in various combinations in which she fends off—but does not touch—any other companion. She could be placed next to sculptures already at hand—perhaps other suitable male Dionysian revellers—creating compositions that had her fending off intruders other than the Invitation Satyr. Such compositions could also have shown physical contact between the female figure and her companion, as seen in the Vatican group (♀32 Fig. 9) and hinted at in the head in Boston (♀29 Figs. 11a–b). That said, it should naturally be emphasized that the female figure could well have been depicted on her own. A smiling, half-naked nymph/maenad/hermaphrodite seated on a rock would readily find its place in, for instance, Roman villa gardens and baths.⁸⁸

INTERPRETATION OF THE INVITATION SATYR AS SOLITARY FIGURE—AND AS PART OF THE INVITATION TO THE DANCE

To my mind, the satyr's foot-clappers represent a conundrum; if this was a central feature—as one would expect—why are the clappers not clearly shown in the coin images (Figs. 1, 3)? And why are the clappers only clearly rendered

in two sculptures (♂11, ♂29)? The depiction of the clappers on the two other sculptures that preserve this feature seems confused. The sculpture in the Palazzo Corsini (♂17 Figs. 13a–b) shows one thin sole—such as that of a sandal—placed on a protrusion of rock. The actual clappers are not rendered. The Torlonia satyr (♂15) hints at two soles seemingly pressed together. The upper part of the clappers is however said to be restored, and I cannot discern exactly how much of the ancient instrument remains.⁸⁹ But the clappers are also here placed on a thin outcrop of rock. It would make little sense to place a foot-clapper on such unstable ground—making sure that the clappers stay put while playing, and at the same time holding your balance, would be very difficult indeed. On top of this, the Invitation Satyr's right arm seems to be rendered in vigorous movement.

Depictions of satyrs playing foot-clappers carved in relief offer interesting parallels. A recurring figure-type, called by Friedrich Matz "Kroupezias",⁹⁰ shows the satyr both with and without foot-clappers.⁹¹ The situation is the same for the figure-type called "Aulistrios D" (Figs. 18, 19).⁹² On sarcophagi

⁸⁹ Gasparri & Settis 2020, cat. no. 35.

⁹⁰ Matz 1968a, 45, no. 65.

⁹¹ Example with foot-clappers: France, Paris, Musée du Louvre, MA 3402 (sarcophagus): Matz 1968b, 203–204, cat. no. 87; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/15193>. Example without foot-clappers: Vatican, Musei Vaticani, Cortile Ottagonale (sarcophagus): Matz 1968b, 201–202, cat. no. 84A.

⁹² Matz 1968a, 42, no. 56. Example with foot-clappers: Italy, Rome, Musei Capitolini, Sala dei Fasti Moderni, 1378 (sarcophagus): Matz 1968b, 293–294, cat. no. 152; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/16597>.

⁸⁸ Manderscheid 1981, 31–32; Neudecker 1988, 47–54.

the last mentioned type is depicted in Dionysian processions, and Matz notes that “*Weil in dem Zuge ein Kroupezion keinen Sinn hat, ist die Verbindung nicht ursprünglich*.”⁹³ As it would seem, then, foot-clappers were at times added to established satyr figure-types used in the production of decorative reliefs.

With this in mind I suggest that the Invitation Satyr could be depicted without the foot-clapper, primarily when displayed in the group composition with the Invitation Female. The satyr would then—in the group composition—be depicted in the moment after having tugged at the female’s garment, as he turns to take a step away from her, his right foot in mid-air. When rendered in stone, the raised foot would require a support, similar to those seen in other marble sculptures, for instance in the Lansdowne Sandal Binder.⁹⁴ On the other hand, the version that had the satyr playing foot-clappers would create a composition suitable for display as a solitary figure. Rather than having grabbed the female figure’s garment, the satyr could in these instances hold on to the support at his left-hand side, as seen in the only sculpture that preserves the figure’s left hand (♂10 *Fig. 17*). Indeed, holding on to something while playing the foot-clappers and gesticulating with your right arm does seem sensible.

Following this line of reasoning, the sculptures in the Palazzo Corsini (♂17 *Figs. 13a–e*) and the Museo Torlonia (♂15) can be interpreted as examples that blend these two versions of the motif; both include the foot-clapper as well as the small support beneath the clappers, despite the fact that placing a foot-clapper on a small outcrop of rock does not make much sense. But if the Torlonia Female and Satyr (♀20, ♂15), found during the same early 19th-century excavations, were indeed displayed as a pair in antiquity, a schematic rendering of the foot-clappers would still have been included. This can serve as a reminder that distinctions among the different versions of the motifs suggested here (single satyr playing foot-clapper vs. group comprising satyr without foot-clapper interacting with nymph/maenad/hermaphrodite) were not clear cut, at least not during the Roman era.

Closing remarks

A composition, sculpted in the round, which has a satyr playing foot-clappers for a seated female stands out as unusual within Graeco-Roman visual culture. In terms of sculptural style the Invitation to the Dance is closely related to group compositions depicting sexually charged encounters between

satyrs and nymphs/maenads/hermaphrodites. Therefore the original manifestations of all these compositions have—just as that of the Invitation to the Dance—been placed in the Late Hellenistic period.⁹⁵ The Invitation to the Dance has stood out in this group due to the perceived indirect, and unusual, interaction between satyr and female figure. Regardless of when the group composition was first conceived—in Late Hellenistic or Roman times—the interpretation suggested here, wherein the satyr tugs at the female’s garments, relates the Invitation to the Dance more clearly to these so-called symplegma groups. But it also places the composition firmly within the tradition of sculptures depicting sexually charged encounters between Dionysian figures, a visual tradition that had already been established in Attic vase-painting of the 5th century BC.⁹⁶

Even though the intertextual approach consciously avoids highlighting original masterpieces and the intentions of their makers, it still aims to offer interpretations firmly anchored in the Graeco-Roman visual narrative. In the present study, formalistic variations between sculptures have been called to attention—such as the instances where the nymph has been placed in other group positions, or the different modes of rendering the satyr’s foot-clappers. Rather than dismissing them as deviating from the hypothetical masterpiece, these variations have here been instrumental in formulating new readings of the two sculpture types, readings that explicitly deal with different modes of use: as parts of group compositions and as solitary figures. Hopefully this approach can bring us closer to understanding the multifaceted Graeco-Roman use of repeated images, even in cases where time has left us nearly no contextual evidence other than the physical forms of the sculptures.

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Examples without foot-clappers: Italy, Rome, Palazzo Colonna, 11b & d, 36d (Campana plaques): Carinci *et al.* 1990, 74 cat. no. 11, 92 cat. no. 36; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/37789>.

⁹³ Matz 1968a, 42, no. 56.

⁹⁴ İnan 1993; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/416>.

⁹⁵ For a full discussion of all these types, see Stähli 1999. The Dresden Symplegma: tightly intertwined satyr (<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/760>) and Hermaphrodite (<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/760>). The Ludovisi Symplegma: seated satyr (<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/763>) holding on to standing female (<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/762>). The Townley Symplegma: seated satyr (<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/764>) holding on to crouching female (<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/765>). The Berlin-Torlonia Symplegma: a standing satyr (<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/766>) approaching a seated hermaphrodite (<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/typus/274>).

⁹⁶ Stähli 1999, 161–206.

Appendices

Abbreviations used in the catalogues: CA = Current appearance; D = Dimensions; DOS = Date of sculpture; H = Height; M = Material; P = Provenance; PH = Preserved height; R = Restorations; U = Unknown.

APPENDIX I. THE INVITATION FEMALE

Concordance of earlier lists of replicas

Present whereabouts	Klein 1909	Lippold 1950, 320 n. 5	Brinkerhoff 1965, 32–36	Schneider 1991, 558–580	Stähli 1999, 419–421	Raeder 2000, 79–80	Ghisellini 2017, 73–77	Cat. no.	Comments
Belgium, Brussels, Musées d'Art et d'Histoire, Musée du Cinquantenaire, A 1142	p. 101, n. 3, no. 1	“Brüssel”	39	XV 6	C	7	4	♀1	See catalogue entry below.
Denmark, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1744	p. 102, n. 1	“EA 3878/3879”	32	XV 13	j	f	24	♀2	See catalogue entry below.
Denmark, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 2686	-	-	44	XV 14	G	10	5	♀3	See catalogue entry below.
Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, Sk 195	p. 102, n. 1	-	-	XV 4	c	b	18	♀4	See catalogue entry below.
Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, Sk 571	p. 102, n. 1	-	38	XV 5	b	c	19	♀5	See catalogue entry below.
Germany, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Albertinum, Hm 165	p. 102, n. 1	“Alb. 165”	9/10 & 34	XV 8	g	e	25	♀6	Brinkerhoff has exchanged the inv. nos. for the satyr and nymph listed as nos. 9 & 10. He also lists the female head twice (as noted in de Luca 1975, 74 n. 21). See catalogue entry below.
Germany, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Albertinum, Hm 184	-	“Alb. [...] 184”	6	XV 9	D	8	6	♀7	Brinkerhoff has misunderstood the abbreviations used in Lippold's list when he states that the sculpture is kept in the Villa Albani (as noted in de Luca 1975, 74 n. 21). See catalogue entry below.
Germany, Munich, Glyptothek, 551	-	-	-	XV 18	-	i	28	♀8	I wish to thank Mr Marcel Danner at Antike am Königsplatz for providing photographs of the sculpture. See catalogue entry below.
Great Britain, Liverpool, National Museums Liverpool, World Museum, 1959.148.194	-	“Ince”	30	XV 15	i	g	26	♀9	See catalogue entry below. I thank Dr Chrissy Partheni at the National Museums Liverpool for letting me examine the sculpture.
Great Britain, West Sussex, Petworth House, North Gallery no. 32	p. 102, n. 1	“Petworth”	31	XV 20	l	j	29	♀10	See catalogue entry below.
Greece, Piraeus, Archaeological Museum, E 86	p. 101, n. 3, no. 4	-	41	XV 21	l	13	12	♀11	See catalogue entry below.
Greece, Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, E 323	-	-	-	-	n	(ß)	37	♀12	Raeder lists the sculpture as an adaptation, hence the brackets. See catalogue entry below.
Italy, Baia, Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei, 231464	-	-	-	-	-	12	2	♀13	See catalogue entry below.

Present whereabouts	Klein 1909	Lippold 1950, 320 n. 5	Brinkerhoff 1965, 32–36	Schneider 1991, 558–580	Stähli 1999, 419–421	Raeder 2000, 79–80	Ghisellini 2017, 73–77	Cat. no.	Comments
Italy, Civitavecchia, Museum, inv. no unknown	-	-	35	XV 7	f	d	23	Q14	See catalogue entry below.
Italy, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, 190	p. 101, n. 3, no. 2	“Uff. A. [...] D. 153”	2	XV 10	E	9	7	Q15	See catalogue entry below.
Italy, Minturno, Museum	-	-	-	XV 17	-	-	10	Q16	I thank Prof. Schneider for bringing this sculpture to my attention. See catalogue entry below.
Italy, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 5076	p. 103, n. 2	-	(48)	-	-	-	-	-	Brinkerhoff lists the sculpture as an adaptation, hence the brackets. The features of the female satyr depicted on this double herm from Pompeii do not comply with the head type discussed in this study. In particular the hairstyle deviates, with long locks cascading down over the female’s shoulders. For general information on the sculpture, see Pozzi <i>et al.</i> 1989, cat. no. 237.
Italy, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 6365	p. 101, n. 3, no. 5	“Neapel 1844”	28	XV 19	H & k	11	11	Q17	Stähli gives an incorrect inv. no. (?). See catalogue entry below.
Italy, Rome, Antiquario al Celio	-	-	-	XV 22	-	-	-	Q18	I thank Prof. Schneider for bringing this sculpture to my attention. See catalogue entry below.
Italy, Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 65.191	-	-	-	XV 23	o	-	30	Q19	See catalogue entry below.
Italy, Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. 8005	-	-	-	-	-	-	38	-	The female in this Ludovisi Symplegma wears her hair in what looks like a more traditional ponytail. The sculpture is discussed in relation to the Invitation Female in Stähli 1999, 354–356. The sculpture is also included in Stähli’s catalogue, as no. 2.10, 347–348.
Italy, Rome, Museo Torlonia, 162	p. 101, n. 3, no. 3	“Mus. Torlonia (...) 162”	4	XV 24	J	14	12	Q20	See catalogue entry below.
Italy, Venice, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 63	p. 103, n. 1	“EA 2599/2600”	8	-	t	n	31	Q21	See catalogue entry below.
Switzerland, Basel, Antikenmuseum, KÄ 233	-	-	-	XV 3	B	6	3	Q22	See catalogue entry below.
Switzerland, Geneva, Musée d’Art et d’Histoire, 019026	p. 104, n. 2	-	27	XV 12	F & h	2	9	Q23	See catalogue entry below.
Tunisia, Tunis, Musée National du Bardo, C 16	p. 101, n. 3, no. 7	“Mus. Alaoui”	29	XV 26	s	3	16	Q24	I wish to thank Mrs Janina Rücker at the Abguss-Sammlung Antiker Skulptur in Berlin for providing additional photographs of a plaster cast of the sculpture in Tunis. See catalogue entry below.
Turkey, Antakya, Archaeological Museum, 10588	-	-	40	XV 1	A	5	1	Q25	See catalogue entry below.
Turkey, Selçuk, Ephesos Museum	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	Q26	See catalogue entry below.
Turkey, Side, Museum, 76	-	-	-	XV 25	-	15	15	Q27	See catalogue entry below.
US, Baltimore, Maryland, the Walters Art Museum, 23.288	-	-	-	XV 2	a	a	17	Q28	I wish to thank Mrs Ruth Bowler at the Walters Art Museum for providing photographs of the sculpture. See catalogue entry below.

Present whereabouts	Klein 1909	Lippold 1950, 320 n. 5	Brinkerhoff 1965, 32–36	Schneider 1991, 558–580	Stähli 1999, 419–421	Raeder 2000, 79–80	Ghisellini 2017, 73–77	Cat. no.	Comments
US, Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts, 03.758	p. 102, n. 1	-	(53)	-	d	-	34	Q29	Brinkerhoff lists the sculpture as an adaptation, hence the brackets. Raeder states that the sculpture is neither a replica nor an adaptation. See catalogue entry below.
US, Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts, 68.766	-	-	-	-	e	-	35	-	This female head does not seem to be worked at the back of the head. This, and the fact that the wreath that the female wears hides the hair from view, makes it impossible to determine whether this piece replicates the anatomical forms seen in Q23. For general information on the sculpture, see Comstock & Vermeule 1976, cat. no. 195.
US, Princeton, New Jersey, Art Museum, Y 1992-49	-	-	12	-	m	(α)	36	-	Raeder lists the sculpture as an adaptation, hence the brackets. As this female head shows a completely different rendering of the hair this sculpture has not been included in the present study. Here the hair has been collected in a more traditional bun at the top of the head. For general information on the sculpture, see Brinkerhoff 1970, 39–40; Ridgway 1994, cat. no. 27.
Vatican, Museo Gregoriano, Magazzino ex Ponteggi, 10282	-	“EA [...] 2153”	33	XV 29	p	l	21	Q30	See catalogue entry below.
Vatican, Musei Vaticani, Repository, 178 (?)	-	-	36 (?)	-	-	-	-	-	Perhaps Brinkerhoff has written the wrong cat. no. in Kaschnitz-Weinberg, no. 170 (an unrelated satyr head) instead of 178? Kaschnitz-Weinberg notes that the latter is similar to the female from the Invitation to the Dance. This female turns her head towards her left while all other examples pertaining to the head type studied turn their heads towards their right. Also, the hair is rendered as more voluminous than the examples of the head type studied. Therefore this piece has been excluded from the present study. For general information on the sculpture, see Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1936, cat. no. 178.
Vatican, Musei Vaticani, Repository, 179	-	“Vat. Mag. K. 179.”	37	XV 28	q	m	22	Q31	See catalogue entry below.
Vatican, Musei Vaticani, Repository, 180	p. 101, n. 3, no. 6	(“Vat. Mag. K. [...] 180.”)	(49)	XV 27	K & r	4	32	Q32	Lippold and Brinkerhoff list the sculpture as an adaptation, hence the brackets. See catalogue entry below.
Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, 2117	-	-	-	-	-	k	20	-	It is difficult to assess this sculpture. The rendering of the hair seems to differ from the head type studied here. The hair is collected in a more voluminous bun. The upper part of the bun is restored, but even with the excellent photographs available at http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/33542 I cannot tell which parts of the hair are restored and which are ancient. For general information on the sculpture, see Amelung 1903, cat. no. 331. The sculpture has not been included in the present study.

Present whereabouts	Klein 1909	Lippold 1950, 320 n. 5	Brinkerhoff 1965, 32–36	Schneider 1991, 558–580	Stähli 1999, 419–421	Raeder 2000, 79–80	Ghisellini 2017, 73–77	Cat. no.	Comments
Whereabouts unknown, previously in Great Britain, London, Sotheby's sale on 4 May 1931	-	-	-	XV 16	-	h	27	♀33	So far as I know only one photograph of this female head has been published, in a three-quarter right-hand profile. It seems to conform to the type studied here. See catalogue entry below.
Whereabouts unknown, previously in Italy, Frascati, Villa Borghese-Parisi	-	-	-	XV 11	-	1	8	♀34	See catalogue entry below.
Whereabouts unknown, previously in Italy, Rome, Arts Market (before 1950)	-	"Rom, Antiqu."	42	-	M	-	-	-	This sculpture, supposedly a torso, is first listed by Lippold. As no references are given, the sculpture cannot be traced. It has therefore not been included in the present study.
Whereabouts unknown, previously in Italy, Vicenza, Musei Civici, Museo Naturalistico Archeologico	-	-	43	-	L	-	-	-	According to the available 19th-century publications the sculpture showed a seated female with a mantle covering her left shoulder, arm, and back. In this sense the figure does not seem to correspond to the body type studied here. This sculpture is mentioned in Heydemann 1879, 11, no. 7; Dütschke 1882, 13, no. 42. It is, however, not included in Galliazzo 1976. I thank Mr Armando Bernardelli at the Museo Naturalistico Archeologico for confirming that the sculpture is no longer part of the museum's collections.
Whereabouts unknown, previously in US, New York, Sotheby's sale on 7 December 2005	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	♀35	See catalogue entry below.

Catalogue

♀1 Belgium, Brussels, Musées d'Art et d'Histoire, Musée du Cinquantenaire, A 1142 (*Fig. 7a*)

Reinach 1909, 281, no. 2; Cumont 1913, cat. no. 17; Balty *et al.* 1988, 108; Stähli 1995, cat. no. D 15.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/33531>

M: Marble (Parian; Cumont). **D:** PH 0.96 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Brussels; in the Somzée Collection, assembled by Leon de Somzée (1837–1901), primarily in Italy. Purchased by the museum in 1904 (Cumont 1913, IX). **CA:** A female seated on a rock. Round, flat plinth. **R:** Reassembled from several ancient fragments: the lower half up to the female's waist, the upper part, and the left lower arm. Earlier restorations (the head, the right hand and a part of the lower arm, the left foot and part of the ankle) have been removed. Also a piece of the right shoulder, with the shoulder blade, was restored in 1913; I do not know whether this restoration has since been removed. **DOS:** Roman (Balty *et al.*).

♀2 Denmark, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1744 (*Fig. 7b*)

Arndt & Lippold 1932, nos. 3878–3879; Poulsen 1951, cat. no. 126; Nielsen 2002, cat. no. 89.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/9126>

M: Marble. **D:** PH 0.21 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Rome; purchased for the museum in 1900. **CA:** Female head. **DOS:** Roman (Nielsen).

♀3 Denmark, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 2686 (*Fig. 7a*)

Poulsen 1951, cat. no. 126a; Nielsen 2002, cat. no. 90.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/8563>

M: Marble. **D:** PH 0.77 m. **P:** Allegedly from the ancient city of Leptis Minor, near modern-day Monastir, Libya. Purchased in Copenhagen in 1921, via a Captain A.O. Hauch. **CA:** Female seated on a rock. Round, flat plinth. Lower part of the sculpture preserved, up to the waist, including the left hand, placed on the rock. No traces of the right arm and hand, nor the left foot. **R:** None. **DOS:** Roman (Nielsen).

♀4 Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, Sk. 195 (*Fig. 7b*)

de Clarac 1850, 264, pl. 671, no. 1736; Conze & Kekulé von Stradonitz 1891, cat. no. 195; Stähli 1999, cat. no. 4.2; Fendt 2012, cat. no. 63.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/gruppen/402409>

M: Marble. **D:** PH 0.21 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Rome; purchased for the museum in 1826. The sculpture had allegedly previously belonged to the Aldobrandini family. **CA:** Female head which has, in post-antique times, been added to the body of a hermaphrodite; an example of the Berlin-Torlonia Symplegma. **R:** Nose, mouth, and chin. **DOS:** None suggested.

♀5 Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, Sk. 571 (*Fig. 7b*)

Conze & Kekulé von Stradonitz 1891, cat. no. 571; Hüneke 2009, cat. no. 106.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/33535>

M: Marble. **D:** H 0.42 m; H of ancient fragment 0.21 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Rome, collection of Melchior de Polignac (1661–1741). Collection assembled in Rome and nearby areas, but transferred to Paris in the 1730s (see <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/sammlungen/1000448>). Sculpture purchased by the King of Prussia, Frederick the Great (1712–1786) in 1742, transferred to the museum in 1830. **CA:** Female head which has, in post-antique times, been attached to a bust. **R:** The bust from the neck and down. The scalp and nearly half of the face: its forehead and its left side. The nose is also restored. The surface at the back of the head is badly battered. It has been reworked and a yellowish-brown patina added. **DOS:** AD 1–50 (Hüneke).

♀6 Germany, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Albertinum, Hm 165 (*Fig. 7b*)

de Clarac 1850, 224–225, pl. 699, no. 1649; Herrmann 1925, cat. no. 165; Richter 2011, cat. no. 223.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/33540>

M: Marble (Parian: Richter). **D:** PH 0.23 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Rome; collection of Alessandro Albani (1692–1779). Added to the collection in 1728. **CA:** Female head. **R:** Lips and ears. The once-restored tip of the nose has been removed. Post-antique restorers had also attached the head to an ancient, draped female body. **DOS:** c. AD 150 (Richter).

♀7 Germany, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Albertinum, Hm 184 (*Fig. 7a*)

de Clarac 1850, 272, pl. 726, no. 1743; Herrmann 1925, cat. no. 184; Richter 2011, cat. no. 224.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/5331>

M: Marble. **D:** PH 0.44 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Rome; collection of Fabrizio Naro (†1697). Added to the collection together with ♂7 in 1728. These ancient fragments had been

assembled into a baroque group depicting Pan and a nymph. The group was disassembled in 1894, but put back together again in 2009. **CA:** Sculpture group with Pan and a female seated on a rock. Of the Invitation Female the torso and left arm above the elbow are preserved. **R:** The female figure in this post-antique sculpture group includes parts of two ancient sculptures: the legs of a seated figure and the female torso discussed. Apart from these ancient fragments the female's head, right arm and hand, left lower arm and hand, and parts of the knees are restored. For the plinth and the figure of Pan, see ♂7. **DOS:** AD 1–200 (Richter).

♀8 Germany, Munich, Antike am Königsplatz, Glyptothek, 551 (*Fig. 7b*)

Wünsche 1989, 237–238.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/33538>

M: Marble. **D:** PH 0.24 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Munich. **CA:** Female head. **R:** None. **DOS:** Imperial Roman (Wünsche).

♀9 Great Britain, Liverpool, National Museums Liverpool, World Museum, 1959.148.194 (*Fig. 7b*)

Michaelis 1882, 371, no. 194; Ashmole 1929, cat. no. 194.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/51232>

M: Marble (Parian: Ashmole). **D:** H with base 0.415 m. H of the ancient head 0.16 m. **P:** U. First recorded in the Ince Blundell collection, near Liverpool. **CA:** Female head which has, in post-antique times, been attached to a bust. **R:** The bust and the nose restored. The surface has been reworked. **DOS:** “The present copy is of uncertain date” (Ashmole).

♀10 Great Britain, West Sussex, Petworth House, North Gallery 32 (*Fig. 7b*)

Michaelis 1882, 611, no. 32; Raeder 2000, cat. no. 18.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/25200>

M: Marble. **D:** H 0.50 m; H of head from scalp to chin 0.18 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Petworth. The larger part of the Petworth collection was acquired in Rome during the mid-18th century (see <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/sammlungen/1000072>). **CA:** Female head which has, in post-antique times, been attached to a bust. **R:** The bust, the nose, and the upper lip. The restorations of the face may be ancient. **DOS:** “*Spättrajanische Kopie*” (Raeder).

♀11 Greece, Piraeus, Archaeological Museum, E 86 (*Fig. 7a*)

Despinis 1965, no. 1; Steinhauer 2001, 368.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/15393>

M: Marble. **D:** PH 0.86 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Piraeus; where it adorned a building façade. Transferred to the museum by 1965. **CA:** Seated female. Preserved: torso, right arm down to the wrist, the right leg and the larger part of its foot, the left thigh and the knee. The surface of the plinth and the support are badly battered. It is difficult to tell whether the support was

originally shaped as a rock. **R:** None (?). The right ankle and foot have broken off. **DOS:** 2nd century AD (Steinhauer).

♀12 Greece, Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, E 323 (Fig. 7b) Gualandi 1976, cat. no. 7.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/33545>

M: Marble. **D:** PH 0.14 m. **P:** Allegedly from the ancient city of Kameiros, near present-day Kalavarda, on the island's north-west coast. **CA:** Female head. The sculpture's surface is badly worn. **R:** None. **DOS:** None suggested.

♀13 Italy, Baia, Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei, 231464 (Fig. 7a)

Amalfitano *et al.* 1990, fig. 305.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/33533>

M: Marble. **D:** PH 0.93 m; width 0.50 m. **P:** Allegedly from the ancient city of Cumae. **CA:** Female seated on a rock, placed on a flat plinth. Preserved: torso, both upper arms, left hand, both legs, part of the right foot, the rock. **R:** The sculpture appears to have been reassembled from at least two large parts, with a break at the female's waist and her arms. **DOS:** End of 1st century BC or early 1st century AD (Amalfitano *et al.*).

♀14 Italy, Civitavecchia, Museo Nazionale Archeologico Bastianelli 1933, 408–409, fig. 6; Brendel 1934, 432–433; Bastianelli 1954, 77, pl. 13; Manderscheid 1981, cat. no. 43.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/33537>

M: Marble. **D:** U. **P:** Excavated in 1933, in the *caldarium* of the Terme Taurine in the ancient city of Centumcellae, modern-day Civitavecchia. **CA:** Female head. **R:** None (?). **DOS:** Hadrianic? (Manderscheid).

♀15 Italy, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, 190 (Fig. 7a)

de Clarac 1850, 97, pl. 609, no. 1351; Amelung 1897, cat. no. 84; Mansuelli 1958, cat. no. 52.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/5893>

M: Marble (Pentelic; Mansuelli). **D:** H 1.01 m, without the restored head 0.79 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Florence. **CA:** Female seated on a rock, placed on a flat plinth. **R:** The head, neck, the right hand and the fingers of the left hand, both feet, and the front part of the plinth. **DOS:** Imperial Roman (Arachne).

♀16 Italy, Minturno, Antiquarium

Schneider 1991, cat. no. XV 17; Ghisellini 2017, 74, no. 10, with references. I have not had access to photographs of the sculpture.

M: Marble (Thasian?: Ghisellini). **D:** PH 0.58 m. **P:** Minturno, seaside villa—*villa maritima*. **CA:** Hips, parts of the legs, and the rock. **R:** None. **DOS:** 1st century BC (Ghisellini).

♀17 Italy, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 6365 (Figs. 7a, 12)

de Clarac 1850, 87, pl. 603, no. 1328; Overbeck & Mau 1884, 549, fig. 284b; Ruesch 1908, cat. no. 1844; Kapossy 1969, 17. <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/13295>

M: Marble (Parian; Ruesch). **D:** H 1.11 m. **P:** Allegedly from the ancient city of Pompeii. **CA:** Female seated on a rock, placed on a flat round plinth. The female rests her left hand on a vessel, out of which water could flow. **R:** The head, the right wrist and hand, the left foot and ankle. However, Ghisellini suggests that the left foot might be ancient (Ghisellini 2017, 64). **DOS:** before AD 79 (if indeed found in Pompeii).

♀18 Italy, Rome, Antiquario al Celio

Schneider 1991, no. XV 22. Schneider mentions photograph negative nos. “H.R. Goette 80/24.12–80/24.16.”

M: Marble. **D:** U. **P:** U. First recorded in Rome (?) **CA:** Female lower body and plinth. **R:** None. **DOS:** U.

♀19 Italy, Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 65.191 (Fig. 7b)

Marconi 1926, 10 n. 3, 13, 15; Schneider 1991, no. XV 23; Ghisellini 2017.

M: Marble. **D:** PH 0.21 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Rome (?). **CA:** Female head. **R:** None. **DOS:** Early Augustan (Ghisellini).

♀20 Italy, Rome, Museo Torlonia, 162 (Fig. 7a)

Visconti 1885, cat. no. 162; Gasparri 1980, 175, no. 162; Gasparri & Settis 2020, cat. no. 34.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/26884>

M: Marble (Carrara; Gasparri; Thasian; Gasparri & Settis). **D:** H 1.12 m. **P:** Allegedly excavated in the early 19th century, in the area of the Villa dei Quintilii near Rome. ♂15 found during the same excavations. **CA:** Female seated on a rock, placed on a flat plinth. **R:** Head, the right hand and the left foot, section of the left shoulder. Plinth most likely cut and reduced at front and sides. **DOS:** Around 100 AD (Gasparri & Settis).

♀21 Italy, Venice, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 63 (Fig. 7b)

Dütschke 1882, cat. no. 363; Lippold *et al.* 1920, nos. 2641–2642; Traversari 1986, cat. no. 22.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/22313>

M: Marble (Greek; Traversari). **D:** PH 0.46 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Rome; donated to the Museum in Venice in 1795 by Cardinal Girolamo Zulian (1730–1795), who assembled his collection in Rome (see <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/sammlungen/1000589>). Zulian's collection also included ♂18. **CA:** Colossal female head. The back of the head is flat. **R:** None. **DOS:** 2nd century AD (Traversari).

Q22 Switzerland, Basel, Antikenmuseum, KÄ 233 (*Fig. 7a*)
Blome 1999, 34–35.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/33532>

M: Marble. **D:** PH 0.87 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Basel (?).
CA: Female seated on a rectangular block. The female's torso, left arm and hand, and both thighs are preserved. **R:** None?
DOS: Roman (Blome).

Q23 Switzerland, Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, 019026
(*Figs. 6a–d, 7a*)

Rácz 1965, cat. no. 107; Chamay & Maier 1990, cat. no. 34.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/33530>

M: Marble. **D:** H 1.10 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Naples where it was purchased by Ludwig Pollak (1868–1943) in 1909. Deposited in the museum for safe-keeping during the Second World War; later purchased by the museum. **CA:** Female seated on a rock. The sculpture has been reassembled from four large fragments; the head, the torso, the left lower arm, and the lower part of the body including the rock and the plinth. The head has been cleaned with acid. **R:** Mainly sections at the joints between preserved parts. **DOS:** Early 2nd century AD (Chamay & Maier).

Q24 Tunisia, Tunis, Musée National du Bardo, C 16 (*Figs. 7a, 8*)
Coudray la Blanchère & Gauckler 1897, cat. no. C 16; Reinach 1920, 119, no. 6; Yacoub 1982, 65; Stähli 1995, cat. no. D 16.
<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/19148>

M: Marble. **D:** H 0.40 m. **P:** Allegedly from the Roman city of Thysdrus, present-day El Djem, Tunisia. **CA:** The head, shoulders, breasts, right arm, and left upper arm of a female. **R:** None (?). Judging from photographs the preserved fragment has been reassembled from three large fragments: the head, the torso and upper arms, and the right lower arm. **DOS:** Imperial Roman (Arachne).

Q25 Turkey, Antakya, Archaeological Museum, 10588 (*Fig. 7a*)
Brinkerhoff 1965, 27, pl. 6.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/393>

M: Marble (Proconnesian: Brinkerhoff). **D:** PH 0.90 m. **P:** Allegedly found in the vicinity of the ancient city of Antioch, present-day Antakya in Turkey. **CA:** Female seated on a rock, with her left hand placed on a vessel. Parts of a, seemingly, very thin, flat plinth. Preserved: torso, left arm, the larger part of the left leg. **R:** None (?). **DOS:** Imperial Roman (Arachne).

Q26 Turkey, Selçuk, Efes Müzesi
Rathmayr 2011, 137–138, 145.

M: Marble. **D:** U. **P:** Ephesos, allegedly from the fountain—*Hydrekdochion*—of C. Laecanius Bassus erected around AD 80, where Q24 is also believed to have been displayed. **CA:** Female torso. **R:** None. **DOS:** Flavian (Rathmayr).

Q27 Turkey, Side, Museum, 76 (*Fig. 7a*)

İnan 1975, cat. no. 61.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/33534>

M: Marble. **D:** H 0.60 m, width 0.65 m, depth 0.43 m. **P:** The ancient city of Side, near present-day Manavgat in Turkey. Found in 1949 during the excavations of the east gate of the agora. **CA:** The lower part of a female, seated on a rock. Preserved: thighs, a part of the right lower leg, the left hand. Drill-hole through the rock, below the female's left hand. Due to its coarseness, which contrasts with the general finish of the sculpture, the hole has been interpreted as a later addition. **R:** None. **DOS:** Beginning of the Antonine period (İnan).

Q28 US, Baltimore, Maryland, the Walters Art Museum, 23.288 (*Figs. 7b, 10a–d*)

Walters Art Gallery 1971, 8; Hill 1974.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/33539>

M: Marble (Parian: Hill). **D:** H 0.21 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Mainz, Germany, in the collection of Erdmuthe Hafner. Purchased for the museum in 1971. **CA:** Female head with a drill-hole running through the mouth. **R:** None. **DOS:** Imperial Roman (Arachne).

Q29 US, Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts, 03.758 (*Figs. 7b, 11a–b*)

Paton 1904, 382; Caskey 1925, cat. no. 92; Vermeule 1969, 61–62; Comstock & Vermeule 1976, cat. no. 194.

M: Marble. **D:** PH 0.14 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Rome; where it was purchased by a previous owner. Donated to the museum in 1900. **CA:** Female head with the hand of a second figure at the back. **R:** None. **DOS:** Graeco-Roman (Comstock & Vermeule).

Q30 Vatican, Musei Vaticani, Magazzino ex Ponteggi, 10282
(*Fig. 7b*)

Benndorf & Schöne 1867, cat. no. 276; Arndt & Amelung 1914, no. 2153; Vorster 2004, cat. no. 133.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/22057>

M: Marble (yellowish-white, fine-grained, transparent: Vorster). **D:** H 0.32 m; H of ancient fragment 0.20; H of face 0.15. **P:** U. First recorded in Rome (the Vatican). Kept in the Lateran Museum until 1963 (room 10, no. 531). **CA:** Female bust. **R:** The bust, the nose, the chin, a part of the lower lip. The surface is much worn. **DOS:** 1st century BC (Vorster).

Q31 Vatican, Musei Vaticani, repository, 179 (*Fig. 7b*)

Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1936, cat. no. 179.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/33543>

M: Marble (Greek, coarse-grained: Kaschnitz-Weinberg). **D:** PH 0.23 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Rome (the Vatican). **CA:** Female head. **R:** None. **DOS:** Antonine (Kaschnitz-Weinberg).

♀32 Vatican, Musei Vaticani, repository, 180 (*Figs. 7a, 9*)
de Clarac 1850, 269–270, pl. 725, no. 1739; Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1936, cat. no. 180; Kapossy 1969, 37; Marquardt 1995, cat. no. V.7.2; Stähli 1999, cat. no. 13.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/gruppen/401428>

M: Marble. **D:** H 1.13 m; H of female's head 0.18 m; H of plinth: at the front *c.* 0.09 m, at the back 0.15 m. Width of the base 0.69 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Rome; belonged to Thomas Jenkins (1722–1798), then purchased by Pope Clemens XIV (1705–1774). **CA:** A female seated on a rock is approached by Pan, who stands to her right. She has her left hand placed on a vessel lying on the rock. With her right hand she holds the cloth covering her lower body. Her head and right upper arm have been reattached. Pan, rendered in a smaller scale than the female, has his left arm placed around the female's shoulders. With his right hand he tugs at her garment. He takes a step towards his companion with his goat-shaped legs. Pan's head has been re-attached. **R:** Female: the tip of her nose, her right hand, with a part of the cloth, the index finger of the left hand, both her feet, her right lower leg, a small part of the vessel. Pan: the tip of his nose and his lower lip, both goat horns, the right arm, the left hand (including a small section of the female's shoulder), the right lower leg and hoof, a part of the left leg. Also a section of the tree-shaped support behind Pan has been restored. **DOS:** Antonine (Kaschnitz-Weinberg).

♀33 Whereabouts unknown, previously in Great Britain, London, Sotheby's, 4 May 1931 (*Fig. 7b*)
Sotheby's London 1931, cat. no. 88, pl. 2.
<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/33541>

M: Marble (Rosso antico: Sotheby's). **D:** PH 0.20 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Cairo, Egypt: in the collection of Madame M. Charles K. Sursock. Put up for sale at Sotheby's London on 4 May 1931. **CA:** Female head; the chin and right cheek are missing. **R:** None. **DOS:** Early 2nd century AD (Sotheby's).

♀34 Whereabouts unknown, previously in Italy, Frascati, Villa Borghese-Parisi
Schneider 1991, cat. no. XV 11.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/6773>

M: Marble. **D:** U. **P:** U. First recorded in Frascati (?). Purchased by an art dealer on the Via della Fontanella Borghese in Rome in 1976 (*"laut brieflicher Mitteilung von H. Sichtermann [DAI Rom, 12.11.1980, Tgb.-Nr. 1265] an R. Horn in Göttingen"* as recorded by Schneider). **CA:** Judging from the available photographs, the sculpture preserves the larger part of the seated female's body and her head. The female is seated on a rock, placed on a flat round plinth. **R:** U. **DOS:** Imperial Roman (Arachne).

♀35 Whereabouts unknown, previously in US, New York, Sotheby's, 7 December 2005
Sotheby's New York 2005.

M: Marble. **D:** H 1.30 m. **P:** U. First recorded in a French private collection (?). **CA:** Pan and a female seated on a rock. Pan holds his left arm around the female's shoulders and tugs at the cloth covering her lower body. **R:** U. Possibly a post-antique composition combining a sculpture of Pan from the Pan and Daphnis Group with an example of the Invitation Female. **DOS:** Imperial Roman (Sotheby's).

APPENDIX 2. THE INVITATION SATYR

Concordance of earlier lists of replicas

Present whereabouts	Klein 1909	Lippold 1950, 320, n. 5	Brinkerhoff 1965, 32–36	Schneider 1991, 531–557	Habetzeder 2012, 154–156	Ghisellini 2017, 70–73	Cat. no.	Comments
Denmark, Copenhagen, Nationalmuseum, ABb 10	-	-	18	-	1	XXV	-	This satyr head does not repeat the anatomical forms seen in the sculpture in the Palazzo Corsini (♂17), as is evident foremost from the rendering of the hair, which is less voluminous and does not repeat the same pattern of locks. For general information on the sculpture, see Copenhagen National Museum 1950, 82, no. 1. I thank Mr John Lund at the Nationalmuseum for confirming that this is the sculpture to which Brinkerhoff refers, and which is included in the catalogue of 1950.
France, Paris, Musée du Louvre, MA 383	p. 101, n. 1, no. 3	-	14	XIV 14	2	XIII	♂1	See catalogue entry below.

Present whereabouts	Klein 1909	Lippold 1950, 320, n. 5	Brinkerhoff 1965, 32–36	Schneider 1991, 531–557	Habetzeder 2012, 154–156	Ghisellini 2017, 70–73	Cat. no.	Comments
France, Paris, Musée du Louvre, MA 395	p. 101, n. 1, no. 2	-	13	XIV 15	3	XIV	♂2	See catalogue entry below.
France, Paris, Musée du Louvre, MA 528	p. 102, n. 2	“Louv. 528”	17	XIV 16	4	XXVIII	♂3	See catalogue entry below.
France, Paris, Musée du Louvre, MA 4876 (on long-term loan to Poland, Warsaw, National Museum, inv. 143398)	-	-	-	-	-	XV	♂4	See catalogue entry below.
France, Versailles, Château de Versailles et de Trianon, MV 7959	-	-	-	XIV 31	5	XIX	♂5	See catalogue entry below.
Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, Sk 268	-	-	-	XIV 2	-	XXII	♂6	See catalogue entry below.
Germany, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Albertinum, Hm 166	-	-	9/10	-	6	-	-	Brinkerhoff has exchanged the inv. nos. for the satyr and nymph listed as nos. 9 & 10. As he speaks of a head and a torso, he probably also includes Hm 237, a satyr torso to which the head Hm 166 was previously attached. Neither of these two fragments repeats the anatomical forms represented by the satyr in the Palazzo Corsini (♂17). For general information on the sculptures, see Richter 2011, cat. nos. 211, 213.
Germany, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Albertinum, Hm 264	p. 101, n. 1, no. 7	“Alb. 264”	5	XIV 3	7	V	♂7	Brinkerhoff has misunderstood the abbreviations used in Lippold’s list when he states that the sculpture is kept in the Villa Albani (as noted in de Luca 1975, 74 n. 21). See catalogue entry below.
Great Britain, London, British Museum, 1647	-	-	-	XIV 9	-	-	♂8	I thank Prof. Schneider for bringing this sculpture to my attention. See catalogue entry below.
Great Britain, London, Sir John Soane’s Museum, 20MC	-	-	23	-	8	IX	-	Of this sculpture only the shoulders and the left chest are preserved. Due to the bad state of preservation I have chosen to exclude this sculpture from the present study. Requests to view the sculpture at the museum have been denied. For general information on the sculpture, see Michaelis 1882, 475, no. 6; Vermeule & von Bothmer 1959, 331, no. 6.
Great Britain, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1947.269	p. 101, n. 1, no. 6	“Cook”	21	XIV 13	9	XII	♂9	See catalogue entry below.
Greece, Athens, Kerameikos Museum, 8071	-	“Athen”	22	XIV 1	10	II	♂10	See catalogue entry below.
Italy, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, 220	p. 101, n. 1, no. 1	“Uff. A. 65”	1	XIV 4	11	VI	♂11	See catalogue entry below.
Italy, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 5076	p. 103, n. 2	-	(48)	-	-	-	-	Brinkerhoff lists the sculpture as an adaptation, hence the brackets. The features of the satyr depicted on this double herm from Pompeii do not comply with the head type discussed in this study. The locks of hair framing the head differ. For general information on the sculpture, see Pozzi <i>et al.</i> 1989, cat. no. 237.
Italy, Ostia, Museo Ostiense, 97 & 1109	-	-	-	XIV 12	12	XI & XXXVII	♂12	See catalogue entry below.

Present whereabouts	Klein 1909	Lippold 1950, 320, n. 5	Brinkerhoff 1965, 32–36	Schneider 1991, 531–557	Habetzeder 2012, 154–156	Ghisellini 2017, 70–73	Cat. no.	Comments
Italy, Rome, Galleria Borghese, IF 1883, VL	-	-	26	-	13	-	-	This satyr torso does not repeat the pose seen in the sculpture in the Palazzo Corsini (♂17). The first mentioned torso is not bent forward, as is the latter. For general information on the sculpture, see Moreno & Viacava 2003, cat. no. 87.
Italy, Rome, Museo Capitolino, 246	-	-	-	XIV 18	-	-	♂13	I thank Prof. Schneider for bringing this sculpture to my attention. See catalogue entry below.
Italy, Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 121315	-	-	-	XIV 22	-	-	♂14	I thank Prof. Schneider for bringing this sculpture to my attention. See catalogue entry below.
Italy, Rome, Museo Torlonia, 21	p. 101, n. 1, no. 4	“Mus. Torlonia 21”	3	XIV 23	14	XVI	♂15	See catalogue entry below.
Italy, Rome, Museo Torlonia, inv. no unknown	-	-	19	-	-	-	-	This torso, referred to by Brinkerhoff, cannot be traced (as noted in de Luca 1975, 74 n. 21).
Italy, Rome, Palazzo Colonna, 126	-	-	-	XIV 19	-	XXX	♂16	I thank Prof. Schneider for bringing this sculpture to my attention. See catalogue entry below.
Italy, Rome, Palazzo Corsini, 710	-	“Pal. Torlonia”	15	XIV 20	15	XVII	♂17	Brinkerhoff wrongly states that the sculpture is kept in the Palazzo Torlonia in Rome. See catalogue entry below.
Italy, Venice, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 39	p. 103, n. 1	-	7	XIV 29	16	XXXI	♂18	See catalogue entry below.
Italy, Venice, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 223	-	-	-	XIV 30	17	-	♂19	See catalogue entry below.
Libya, Cyrene, Archaeological Museum, 14.248	-	-	-	XIV 7	-	-	♂20	I thank Prof. Schneider for bringing this sculpture to my attention. See catalogue entry below.
Libya, Sabratha, Museum (sculpture)	-	-	-	XIV 24	-	-	♂21	I thank Prof. Schneider for bringing this sculpture to my attention. See catalogue entry below.
Libya, Sabratha, Museum (mould)	-	-	-	XIV 25	-	-	♂22	I thank Prof. Schneider for bringing this mould to my attention. See catalogue entry below.
Russia, Saint Petersburg, Hermitage, A. 152	-	-	-	XIV 8	-	-	♂23	I thank Prof. Schneider for bringing this sculpture to my attention. See catalogue entry below.
Spain, Valladolid, Museo de Valladolid, 9817	-	-	-	-	18	-	-	This bronze satyr head repeats the traits of the restored head attached to the satyr in the Uffizi (♂11). It is therefore most likely a modern forgery, see Habetzeder 2012, 151–152; for general information on the sculpture, see Delibes de Castro <i>et al.</i> 1997, 126.
Turkey, Antakya, Archaeological Museum, 1220	-	-	11	-	19	XXI	-	The rendering of the hair on this fragmentary marble satyr head does not repeat that seen on the sculpture in the Palazzo Corsini (♂17). On the piece in Antakya the locks all run away from the face in nearly parallel curved lines. For general information on the sculpture, see Brinkerhoff 1970, 39–40; Meischner 2003, cat. no. 13.
Turkey, Selçuk, Ephesos Museum, 2357	-	-	-	XIV 26	20	XVIII	♂24	See catalogue entry below.
US, Barnstable, Massachusetts, Private collection	-	-	-	-	-	XXIV	♂25	See catalogue entry below.
US, Kansas City, Montana, Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, 34-135	p. 101, n. 1, no. 5	-	20	XIV 6	21	VIII	♂26	See catalogue entry below.
US, Minneapolis, Minnesota, Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 70.39	-	-	-	XIV 11	22	X	♂27	See catalogue entry below.
US, Princeton, New Jersey, Art Museum, Y 1985-41	-	-	-	XIV 17	23	XXIX	♂28	See catalogue entry below.

Present whereabouts	Klein 1909	Lippold 1950, 320, n. 5	Brinkerhoff 1965, 32–36	Schneider 1991, 531–557	Habetzeder 2012, 154–156	Ghisellini 2017, 70–73	Cat. no.	Comments
Vatican, Musei Vaticani, Repository, 186	-	“Vat. Mag.”	24	XIV 27	24	IV	♂29	See catalogue entry below.
Vatican, Musei Vaticani, Magazzino Corazze, 10303	-	-	-	XIV 28	25	XXIII	♂30	See catalogue entry below.
Whereabouts unknown, previously in Egypt, Alexandria, Private collection	-	-	-	XIV 10	26	I	♂31	See catalogue entry below.
Whereabouts unknown, previously in Germany, Wiesbaden, Altertumsmuseum	-	-	(54)	-	27	XX	-	Brinkerhoff lists the sculpture as a forgery, hence the brackets. The sculpture is most likely post-antique. Habetzeder 2012, 149–151.
Whereabouts unknown, previously in Great Britain, London, Arts market	-	-	-	-	-	XXXVI	♂32	See catalogue entry below.
Whereabouts unknown, previously in Italy, Rome, Arts market	-	-	-	XIV 21	-	-	♂33	See catalogue entry below.
Whereabouts unknown, previously in Romania, Bucharest, Muzeul National de Antichitati	-	-	16	-	28	III	-	The sculpture is most likely post-antique. Habetzeder 2012, 149–151.
Whereabouts unknown, previously in Russia, Saint Petersburg, collection of Empress Catherine II	p. 101, n. 1, no. 8	-	25	XIV 5a–b	29	VII	♂34	See catalogue entry below.

Catalogue

♂1 France, Paris, Musée du Louvre, MA 383 (*Fig. 14a*) de Clarac 1850, 252–253, pl. 297, no. 1711; Fröhner 1878, cat. no. 266; Villefosse & Michon 1922, 21, cat. no. 383; Kalveram 1995, cat. no. 83.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/14648>

M: Marble (Parian: Fröhner). **D:** H 1.35 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Rome; in the collection of Cardinal Scipione Borghese (1567–1633). **CA:** A standing young man. The sole of a foot-clapper below the right foot. A support, shaped like a tree-trunk, to the left. Flat rectangular plinth. **R:** The right forearm, both hands, the right foot with the foot-clapper, a part of the left leg and foot. I assume that also the support (connected to the partly restored left leg) and parts of the plinth are modern, although this is not specified in the catalogue entries. The head is ancient but does not belong. Restored by Guillaume Berthelot (1580–1648), as Narcissus admiring his own reflection. **DOS:** None suggested.

♂2 France, Paris, Musée du Louvre, MA 395 (*Fig. 14a*) de Clarac 1850, 252–253, pl. 297, no. 1710; Fröhner 1878, cat. no. 265; Villefosse & Michon 1922, 21, cat. no. 395; Charbonneaux 1963, 70.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/14647>

M: Marble (Parian: Fröhner). **D:** H 1.32 m. **P:** Allegedly excavated in Rome during the 1630s, together with ♂5 (Haskell & Penny 1981, 205). Previously in the collection of Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–1661) in Paris. **CA:** A standing satyr, wearing a wreath with leaves (ivy?), and holding a set of cymbals in his hands. He steps on a foot-clapper with his right foot. A support shaped like a tree-trunk stands to the figure's left, on which hang a fawn-skin and a set of panpipes. Rectangular plinth. **R:** Contrary to what Fröhner states, the reattached head does most likely belong to the ancient statue. Fröhner is also wrong in stating that the right arm is ancient but reattached: both arms are restored. Furthermore, both legs are restored, from the thighs and down. I assume that also the support and the plinth are restored. **DOS:** None suggested.

♂3 France, Paris, Musée du Louvre, MA 528 (*Figs. 14b, 15*) de Clarac 1850, 188, pl. 1082, no. 2763A; Fröhner 1878, cat. no. 276; Villefosse & Michon 1922, 30, cat. no. 528; Charbonneaux 1963, 70.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/130566>

M: Marble (Greek: Fröhner). **D:** H 0.46 m. **P:** Found in Vienne, France, in 1820, in the remains of a lavishly decorated room of Roman date. Offered as a gift to King Louis XVIII

(1755–1824) in the same year. Fröhner mentions rumours that further fragments of the sculpture were found and sold. **CA:** A bust of a satyr. Red paint preserved in the hair. The satyr wears a thin fillet around his head. **R:** Several small fragments of the original sculpture's neck and shoulders have been reassembled in a post-antique bust. Older photographs often show a restored right ear and tip of the left ear; restorations that have now been removed. **DOS:** None suggested.

♂4 France, Paris, Musée du Louvre, MA 4876 (on long-term loan to Poland, Warsaw, National Museum, inv. 143398) (*Fig. 14a*) Ghisellini 2017, 72 no. XV (with further references).

M: Marble. **D:** H 1.55 m, H of head 0.25 m. **P:** Allegedly found in the area of the SS. Quattro Coronati on the Caelian Hill in Rome. Previously in the collection of Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–1661) in Paris (?). **CA:** Standing satyr wearing a wreath of pine needles and holding small knobs (onto which, presumably, cymbals could be attached) in his hands. Foot-clapper below the right foot. Support shaped as a tree-trunk at left side. Oval plinth shaped as rock. **R:** Right leg, part of left leg, both arms. Presumably also pine branch covering genitals, and perhaps plinth and part of support? **DOS:** Hadrianic (Ghisellini).

♂5 France, Versailles, Château de Versailles et de Trianon, MV 7959 (*Fig. 14a*)

Haskell & Penny 1981, cat. no. 34 n. 12; Hoog 1993, cat. no. 604; Ghisellini 2017, 72, no. XIX with references

M: Marble. **D:** H 1.48 m, width 0.81 m, depth 0.73 m. **P:** Allegedly excavated in Rome during the 1630s, together with ♂2 (Haskell & Penny 1981, 205). Previously in the collection of Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–1661) in Paris. **CA:** Standing satyr wearing a wreath of pine needles and holding cymbals in his hands. Foot-clapper below the right foot. Support shaped as a tree-trunk at left side. Flat oval plinth. **R:** Unspecified. I make the following assessment, based on the photographs available at <http://www.photo.rmn.fr/archive/12-583074-2C6NU02ZSAG3.html> and <http://www.photo.rmn.fr/archive/00-026044-2C6NU0VPLEPX.html>: head reattached, both arms post-antique, legs reassembled from several pieces—making the assessment difficult—the right heel, toes and the block of stone beneath the right foot are most likely restorations. The left leg below the thigh seems to be restored, along with the support and the plinth. **DOS:** None suggested.

♂6 Germany, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung, Sk 268 (*Fig. 14b*)

Conze & Kekulé von Stradonitz 1891, cat. no. 268; Hüneke 2009, 371, cat. no. 233.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/105800>

M: Marble (Greek: Conze & Kekulé von Stradonitz; Hüneke). **D:** H 0.60 m, H of ancient head 0.24 m. **P:** Allegedly from

Rome, where it is believed to have been purchased by Carl-Heinrich von Gleichen in the 1750s. Later owned by Countess Wilhelmine von Beyreuth (1709–1758). Donated to the museum in 1830. **CA:** A bust of a young satyr wearing a fillet around his head. **R:** Only the head is ancient, with restored details: the lock of hair falling down over the forehead, a section of the forehead, the larger part of the left eye and the nose, the mouth and the chin. **DOS:** 100–50 BC (Hüneke).

♂7 Germany, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Albertinum, Hm 264 (*Fig. 14a*)

de Clarac 1850, 272, pl. 726, no. 1743; Herrmann 1925, cat. no. 264; Richter 2011, cat. no. 225.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/5211>

M: Marble. **D:** H of torso (excluding fitting at its lower end) 0.46 m, from the pit of the neck to the navel 0.27 m, width at the armpits 0.24 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Rome; in the collection of Fabrizio Naro (†1697). Purchased for its current collection together with ♀7 in 1728; see catalogue entry above. **CA:** Sculpture group with Pan and a female seated on a rock. Of the ancient Invitation Satyr the torso is preserved. **R:** Small plaster repair at the chest. **DOS:** 1st–2nd century AD (Richter).

♂8 Great Britain, London, British Museum, 1805,0703.30 (*Fig. 14b*)

Smith 1904, cat. no. 1647; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1805-0703-30

M: Marble (Parian [?]: Smith). **D:** H 1.09 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Rome, in Palazzo Maccarani, later owned by Charles Townley. **CA:** Standing satyr holding panpipes in the left hand and a shepherd's staff in the right. Does not wear wreath, possibly a fillet? **R:** Head of Invitation satyr added to another ancient satyr sculpture. On the head, the nose is restored. Restored by Alessandro Algardi (1592–1654). **DOS:** 1st–early 2nd century AD (Museum Online catalogue).

♂9 Great Britain, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1947.269 (*Fig. 14a*)

Michaelis 1882, 632, no. 42; Strong 1908, cat. no. 9.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/24208>

M: Marble (Greek: Strong). **D:** H 0.59 m. **P:** U. First recorded in London, the collection of Francis Cook (1817–1901) in Doughty House, Richmond. **CA:** Torso of a satyr. **R:** None. There are clear marks of chisel-work on a large damaged part on the right side of the satyr's chest. **DOS:** None suggested.

♂10 Greece, Athens, Kerameikos Museum, 8071 (*Figs. 14a, 17*) Muthmann 1931; 1951, 72; Ohly 1963, 16; Kapossy 1969, 36; Geominy 1999a, pls. 37:3, 38:1, 38:3, 39:3.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/1327>

M: Marble. **D:** H torso's upper section 0.42 m on right side; 0.27 m in the middle. H of support, including satyr's hand

0.75 m. H of plinth 0.09 m. **P:** Parts of the sculpture were found during two excavation campaigns at the Kerameikos, Athens. Found in 1929: upper part of the torso, half of the left upper arm, support with the satyr's left hand, and a section of the plinth. These pieces lay in a channel south of the Dipylon gate, 7 m from the south-east corner of the Old Pompeion. Found in 1961: the lower part of the torso, the satyr's legs, a part of his right foot. These parts were unearthed in a drainage channel next to a large Late Antique foundation, again close to the Old Pompeion. **CA:** Standing satyr, playing a foot-clapper (?) and placing his left hand on the tree-shaped support at his left. On the support hangs a fawn-skin and a set of panpipes. Fountain figure with water channel through the fawn-skin's open mouth. **R:** None. **DOS:** AD 150–200 (Muthmann).

♂11 Italy, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, 220 (*Fig. 14a*)
de Clarac 1850, 252–253, pl. 715, no. 1709; Heydemann 1879, 76, no. 546; Amelung 1897, cat. no. 65; Mansuelli 1958, cat. no. 51; Haskell & Penny 1981, cat. no. 34.
<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/5891>

M: Marble (Parian: Mansuelli). **D:** H 1.43 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Florence. The sculpture may have been in Rome during the 16th century, but it is first securely recorded in 1665 as being in the collection of the Medici family in Florence. Since 1688 it is known to have been in the Tribuna of the Uffizi—apart from having been sent to Palermo for safe-keeping during the years 1800–1803. **CA:** A standing satyr with cymbals in his hands and a foot-clapper under the right foot. A support, shaped like a tree-trunk, to the left. Flat, oval plinth. **R:** Head with neck, arms, toes and heel of the right foot, toes of the left. A break runs through the legs, below the knees, and the support, where restorations have been inserted. **DOS:** 250 BC (Amelung). This early date has, however, been rejected by Mansuelli.

♂12 Italy, Ostia, Museo Ostiense, 97 & 1109 (*Figs. 14a–b*)
Calza & Squarciapino 1962, 38, no. 14 (head); Helbig *et al.* 1972, cat. no. 3040 (head); Cicerchia & Marinucci 1992, cat. nos. A9 (head), A15 (torso).
<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/14092> (head)

M: Marble (probably Greek: Cicerchia & Marinucci). **D:** H of head 0.27 m; H of torso 0.63 m. **P:** Two fragments excavated in 1927, in the Terme del Foro at Ostia. They were found in a service corridor linking the furnaces with a suite of rooms. At some point the bath's furnaces were instead used as lime-kilns, which is probably why several fragmentary sculptures were found in the corridor, see Cicerchia & Marinucci 1992, 145. **CA:** The head and torso of a satyr wearing a wreath made of pine needles. They are listed as separate sculptures by Cicerchia & Marinucci, but as they correspond as far as marble type, size, and find-spot are concerned, it seems very likely

that they are parts of the same sculpture, as already suggested in Geominy 1999a, 153 n. 20. **R:** None. **DOS:** 2nd century AD (Cicerchia & Marinucci).

♂13 Italy, Rome, Museo Capitolino, 246 (*Fig. 14b*)
Stuart Jones 1912, 128, no. 54a; Schneider 1991, no. XIV 18.
<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/15974>

M: Marble. **D:** H 0.27 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Rome. Previously in Villa Albani. **CA:** Bust of satyr. No wreath, possibly ribbon. **R:** Bust, some locks of hair, both horns, small part above the left temple, part of left eyebrow, part of right ear, tip of the nose, part of the left cheek, lower lip, and chin. Surface cleaned and overworked. **DOS:** None suggested?

♂14 Italy, Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, 121315 (*Fig. 14b*)
Schneider 1991, no. XIV 22.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/17045>
Schneider gives the reference “*Giuliano, Mus.Naz.Rom. I 1, 154 f. Nr. 106 mit Abb. (O. Vasori)*” and refers to photograph negatives “*Gab.Fot.Naz. E 24372; E 24373. Inst.Neg. Rom 76.1968. Mus.Fot. 47672*” which I could not consult on short notice. The DAI photograph (Inst.Neg.Rom) is however available at Arachne: <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilderbestand/3237704>.

M: Marble. **D:** H with neck 0.33 m. **P:** Found in Rome, Via Varese in 1940. **CA:** Head of satyr. **R:** None. **DOS:** None suggested?

♂15 Italy, Rome, Museo Torlonia, 21 (*Fig. 14a*)
Gerhard 1830, 76; Visconti 1885, cat. no. 21; de Luca 1975, 77 n. 31; Gasparri 1980, 158, no. 21; Gasparri & Settis 2020, cat. no. 35.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/131392>
M: Marble (Greek: Gasparri; Microasiatic: Gasparri & Settis). **D:** H 1.55 m; H of plinth 0.12 m; H of support at its front 0.71 m, the right foot is raised 0.06 m above the plinth. **P:** Allegedly excavated in the early 19th century, in the area of the Villa dei Quintilii near Rome; ♀20 was found during the same excavations. **CA:** Standing satyr wearing a pine wreath, holding a cymbal in the right hand and grasping the tree-shaped support with his left; foot-clapper beneath right foot. The head has been reattached. **R:** nose, left cheek, chin, both arms and hands, right leg with foot and the upper part of the foot-clapper, left foot up to above the ankle. The plinth has been made thicker by adding a section below the ancient remains. The entire surface of the sculpture is damaged due to post-antique cleaning. **DOS:** Second half of 1st century AD (Gasparri & Settis).

♂16 Italy, Rome, Palazzo Colonna (*Fig. 14b*)
Carinci *et al.* 1990, cat. no. 73.
<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilderbestand/3392161>
<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilderbestand/3392162>

M: Marble. **D:** H 0.54 m; H of head 0.24 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Rome. Possibly previously in the collection of the Salviati family in Rome. **CA:** Bust of satyr. **R:** Neck and bust, parts of the hair over the forehead and the right ear, tip of the right horn, tip of the nose. **DOS:** None suggested?

♂17 Italy, Rome, Palazzo Corsini, 710 (*Figs. 13a–e, 14a*)
de Clarac 1850, 247, pl. 709, no. 163B; Matz & von Duhn 1881, cat. no. 416; de Luca 1975; 1976, cat. no. 15.
<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/28969>

M: Marble (white with yellowish surface: de Luca). **D:** H 1.46 m; H without plinth 1.35 m; H of face 0.16 m; H of support above the plinth 0.72 m. **P:** Allegedly from the area of the Villa dei Quintilii near Rome. **CA:** Standing satyr, wearing a wreath made of pine needles, and holding cymbals, a sole (but no clappers) beneath the right foot, support shaped as tree-stump. **R:** The tip of the nose, a section of the right cheek, the neck (the original head has been reattached), both arms and hands with the cymbals, the right leg and parts of the right foot, a section of the additional support that runs between the satyr's right calf and the tree-trunk, toes of the left foot, sections at the left side of the support and the plinth. Small repairs on the left side of the satyr's chest and on his left leg. **DOS:** Antonine (de Luca).

♂18 Italy, Venice, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 39 (*Fig. 14b*)
Dütschke 1882, cat. no. 314; Lippold *et al.* 1920, nos. 2599–2600; Traversari 1986, cat. no. 23.
<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/22253>

M: Marble. **D:** H 0.67 m; H chin to hairline above forehead 0.33 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Rome; collection of Cardinal Girolamo Zulian (1730–1795); see ♀21. **CA:** Colossal head of a satyr. **R:** The tip of the nose, a part of the right ear. Damage on the right cheek and the neck. The sculpture is said to have been restored by Antonio Canova (1757–1822). **DOS:** 2nd century AD (Traversari).

♂19 Italy, Venice, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 223 (*Fig. 14b*)
Dütschke 1882, cat. no. 107; Traversari 1986, cat. no. 24.
<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/22243>

M: Marble (Greek: Traversari). **D:** H 0.22 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Rome, where it belonged to the Venetian Grimani family, who are known to have excavated antiquities on their land on the Quirinal Hill. The sculpture was donated to the collection in Venice after the death of Giovanni Grimani (1506–1593) (see <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/sammlungen/1000399>). **CA:** Head of a satyr wearing a thin fillet around his head. **R:** The nose and parts of the eyebrows. There are small areas of damage at the chin, the cheeks, and the lips. **DOS:** 2nd century AD (Traversari).

♂20 Libya, Cyrene, Archaeological Museum, 14.248 (*Fig. 14b*)
Paribeni 1959, cat. no. 335; Schneider 1991, no. XIV 7.
<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/gruppen/400220>

M: Marble (Pentelic: Paribeni). **D:** H 1.53 m. **P:** Satyr head and sculpture group with satyr and baby Dionysos both found in Cyrene. **CA:** Standing satyr holding baby Dionysos on his left arm. **R:** Head of Invitation Satyr added to another ancient fragment. No restorations on the head. **DOS:** None suggested for head? Body: Antonine (Paribeni).

♂21 Libya, Sabratha, Museum (sculpture) (*Fig. 14b*)
Caputo 1950, 25–26; Barone 1980, 60–61; Schneider 1991, no. XIV 24.

M: Marble. **D:** H with neck 0.26 m. **P:** Found in the southern part of the Forum of Sabratha, 1940–1942. **CA:** Head of satyr with pine wreath. **R:** None. **DOS:** None suggested?

♂22 Libya, Sabratha, Museum (mould) (*Fig. 14b*)
Barone 1980, 59–61; Landwehr 1985, 12–13 n. 88; Schneider 1991, no. XIV 25.

M: Mould made of plaster. **D:** H 0.17 m. **P:** Sabratha. **CA:** Fragment of satyr head. **R:** None. **DOS:** None suggested?

♂23 Russia, Saint Petersburg, Hermitage, A 152 (*Fig. 14b*)
Waldhauer 1931, cat. no. 155; Schneider 1991, no. XIV 8.

M: Marble (Italian, fine-grained: Waldhauer). **D:** H 1.28 m. **P:** Body found in Rome, on the Esquiline, in 1823. Previously in the collection of the Demidoff family. Provenance of head unknown, possibly also Rome? It seems likely that the sculpture was restored in Rome, thus this would be where the satyr head was first recorded. **CA:** Standing (dancing) satyr with shepherd's staff in right hand, left arm raised. Wears pine wreath. **R:** Head of Invitation Satyr added to another ancient fragment. On the head the tip of the nose is restored. **DOS:** None suggested (for head)?

♂24 Turkey, Selçuk, Efes Müzesi, 2357 (*Fig. 14a*)
Eichler 1962, 48; Aurenhammer 1990, cat. no. 153; Rathmayr 2011, 137–138, 145.

M: Marble. **D:** H 0.64 m. **P:** Found in 1961 in Ephesos. It had been exposed after rainfall, at the Street of Domitian, by the fountain—*Hydrekdochion*—of C. Laecanius Bassus erected around AD 80. Female torso ♀26 also ascribed to this complex. **CA:** Male torso. The genitals have been chiselled off, possibly during Late Antiquity. This is most likely also the case for the satyr's tail. At the left hip there is a small protrusion, most likely a part of the support. **R:** None. **DOS:** Flavian (Aurenhammer; Rathmayr).

♂25 US, Barnstable, Massachusetts, Private collection (*Fig. 14b*)
von Mosch 2007, 118–120.

M: Marble. **D:** PH 0.25 m; H of head 0.22 m; depth 0.20 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Barnstable. **CA:** Head of a satyr, with a thin fillet around his head. There is a small hole at the back of the head. **R:** The nose and the lock of hair above the forehead. The surface is badly worn. **DOS:** 2nd century AD (von Mosch).

♂26 US, Kansas City, Montana, Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, 34-135 (*Fig. 14a*)

Michaelis 1882, 510, no. 22; Vermeule 1955, 142; 1981, cat. no. 125; Ridgway 1990, pl. 159a-d.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/51457>

M: Marble (Italian: Michaelis and later authors). **D:** H 0.61; width 0.30; depth 0.20. **P:** U. First recorded in Rome; it belonged to the Smith Barry family, whose collection is said to have been assembled in Rome during the 1770s. The collection was kept in Marbury Hall, in Cheshire, Great Britain. The sculpture was purchased by Joseph Brummer at Sotheby's, London, on 27 July 1933. It was purchased for the museum in 1934 through the William Rockhill Nelson Trust. **CA:** Torso of a satyr. **R:** None. **DOS:** Roman (Arachne).

♂27 US, Minneapolis, Minnesota, Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 70.39 (*Fig. 14a*)

Minneapolis Institute of Arts 1970, 82.

M: Marble. **D:** H 0.66; width 0.39 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Minneapolis, Minnesota (?). The sculpture was acquired for the museum in 1970, through the Putnam Dana McMillan Fund. **CA:** Torso of a satyr. **R:** None (?). **DOS:** 1st century AD (Minneapolis Institute of Arts).

♂28 US, Princeton, New Jersey, Art Museum, Y1985-41 (*Figs. 14b, 16a-d*)

Ridgway 1994, cat. no. 26.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/25588> (?)

M: Marble. **D:** H 0.25 m; width 0.20 m; depth 0.20 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Princeton, New Jersey (?). Bequest of Michael H. Strater. **CA:** Head of a satyr, wearing an ivy wreath. **R:** None. The head is slightly chipped in some places. **DOS:** AD 50–90 (Ridgway).

♂29 Vatican, Musei Vaticani, repository, 186 (*Fig. 14a*)

Kaschnitz-Weinberg 1936, cat. no. 186.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/20800>

M: Marble. **D:** H 0.65 m; H of plinth 0.10 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Rome (the Vatican). **CA:** The feet and calves of a figure playing a foot-clapper with his right foot. The left calf is attached to a support, shaped like a tree-trunk. On the support hangs a set of panpipes. Flat, oval plinth. **R:** None. Slightly chipped at several places, toes of the right foot missing. **DOS:** Hadrianic (Kaschnitz-Weinberg).

♂30 Vatican, Musei Vaticani, Magazzino Corazze, 10303 (*Fig. 14b*)

Benndorf & Schöne 1867, 48, cat. no. 75; Vorster 2004, cat. no. 137.

M: Marble. **D:** H 0.38 m; H of ancient fragment 0.26 m; H of head 0.21 m; H of face 0.16 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Rome (the Vatican). **CA:** Bust of a satyr. The publications and photograph available do not state/show whether the satyr wears a fillet around his head or not; it is clear, however, that no wreath is rendered. **R:** The bust, the satyr's nose, the larger part of the upper lip, part of the left cheek, and the locks of hair above the left ear. Some other smaller areas of damage have been repaired with plaster. **DOS:** 1st century AD (Vorster).

♂31 Whereabouts unknown, previously in Egypt, Alexandria, Private collection (*Fig. 14a*)

Martin 1923; Reinach 1924, 477, no. 2; Schneider 1991, cat. no. XIV 10.

M: Marble (yellowish-white alabaster: Martin). **D:** H c. 0.38 m. **P:** U. First recorded in Alexandria, Egypt. Sold at Sotheby's, London, in 1928. Schneider gives the following reference which I have not been able to look up on short notice: "*Auktionskatalog Sotheby London (12.6.1928) 8 Nr. 20 Taf. 12.*" **CA:** A standing satyr; the torso, the upper left arm, the right leg down to the calf, and the left thigh seem to be preserved. **R:** None (?). **DOS:** None suggested.

♂32 Whereabouts unknown, previously in Great Britain, London, Arts market

Ghisellini 2017, 73 no. XXVI, with references.

M: Marble (rosso antico: Ghisellini). **D:** H 0.31 m. **P:** Unknown. First recorded in London, arts market? **CA:** Head of a satyr. **R:** U. **DOS:** Hadrianic (Ghisellini).

♂33 Whereabouts unknown, previously in Italy, Rome, Arts market

Schneider 1991, cat. no. XIV 21. Otherwise unpublished? See photographs available through Arachne: <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilderbestand/815096>.

M: Marble? **D:** U. **P:** U. First recorded in Rome, in the arts market (1934?). **CA:** Head of a satyr. The photographs available do not show whether the satyr wears a fillet around his head or not; it is clear, however, that no wreath is rendered. **R:** None (?). **DOS:** None suggested.

♂34 Whereabouts unknown, previously in Russia, Saint Petersburg, the collection of Empress Catherine II (*Fig. 14a*)

Wieseler 1859, 24–25, no. 14; Stähli 1995, 420, cat. no. D17; Bauer *et al.* 2000, cat. no. 1.

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/objekt/131315>

<http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/reproduktion/3304906>

The sculpture is today known through plaster casts in Bonn, Göttingen, and Gotha, Germany. **M:** Marble. **D:** H roughly 1.48 m (= H of the cast in Bonn). **P:** Allegedly from Rome; said to have been excavated on the Viminal Hill in 1784. Purchased by Empress Catherine II of Russia (1729–1796). Plaster casts were made in Rome, before the sculpture was sent to Russia. **CA:** U. The plaster cast shows a standing satyr; the right hand seems not to have held anything, while the left holds a shepherd's staff, attached to the support, which is shaped as a tree-stump. A set of panpipes hangs on the support. Oval plinth. **R:** Unfortunately, there are no records as to which parts of the sculpture were restored when the plaster casts were made. **DOS:** None suggested.

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