

CHANGING CONTEXT OF OLYMPIC VICTOR STATUES  
IN GREECE AND ROME

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## **ABSTRACT**

### CHANGING CONTEXT OF OLYMPIC VICTOR STATUES IN GREECE AND ROME

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The aim of the thesis is to investigate the standing of Olympic victor statues in Greece and Rome. The major focus is on how the meaning and the perception of the statues become transformed in different contexts. Throughout the study the reception alongside the location and meaning of athletic sculpture are primary points of concern. The standing of the patron and the viewer with respect to transformed models and their perception in relation to context constitute a significant part while formal details of artistic creativity and workmanship are dealt with only as necessary. It is known that Roman victor sculptures go back to Greek models; however remarkable change is revealed in the context and meaning of display – such as the emergence of statues for the decoration of private villas or public baths – rather than major stylistic changes in the statues themselves. So, the goal of the study is to understand how the Romans looked to the past and to Greeks in particular. An attempt is made to understand how Romans used their own values to appropriate and transform earlier Greek models, by focusing especially on the display and context.

Keywords: Olympic victor statues, public context, private context, Greece, Rome.

## ÖZ

### YUNAN VE ROMA'DA OLİMPİK GALİP YONTULARININ DEĞİŞEN BAĞLAMI

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Bu tezin amacı Roma ve Yunanda Olimpik galip yontularının bağlama yönelik değerlendirmesini yapmaktır. Değişen bağlamın yontuların algısını nasıl değiştirdiği araştırılmaktadır. Atlet heykellerinin konumlandırılmaları ve anlamlarının yanında izleyiciye nasıl sunuldukları ele alınacak önemli noktalardır. Sanatsal yaratıcılık ve işçilik gerekli görüldüğü yerlerde incelenirken, haminin ve izleyicinin, dönüştürülmüş modellerin bağlam içindeki algısı üzerindeki etkisi tezin önemli bir kısmını oluşturmaktadır. Roma galip yontularının Yunan modellere dayandığı akademik çevrelerce kabul edilmektedir. Ancak yontulardaki biçimsel farklılıkların ötesinde, bağlam ve sergileme açısından – örneğin, bahsi geçen yontuların kişiye özel ve kamusal alanlarda sergilenmesi gibi – belirgin farklılıklar ortaya çıkmaktadır. Tezin temeldeki amacı Romalıların geçmişe, özellikle Yunana, nasıl baktığını ve yorumladığını anlamaktır. Romalıların Yunan modellerini dönüştürmek için kendi öz değerlerini nasıl kullandıkları sergileme ve bağlam üzerinden anlaşılmaya çalışılmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Olimpik galip yontuları, kamusal bağlam, kişiye özel bağlam, Yunan, Roma.

To my family  
and  
my lifelong inspiration '68 generation

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## **CHAPTER 1**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1. Aim of the Study**

In ancient societies, one of the most powerful motives that influenced major manifestations of culture, religion, art, and literature was sport. Especially in Greece where the importance given to athletics and the efforts to attain "perfection" blended with the "Greek competitive spirit", the emergence of spectacular works of art with such a focus is not surprising. Emphasizing both beauty of the body and the honour of victory, statues of Olympic victors were among the most significant artistic creations that represented the talent of Greek sculptors. While sculptural development underwent stylistic changes in due time, the penchant for representing a "perfect" human figure remained. Especially in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C., unique in-motion masterpieces were added to this repertoire of standing figures. However, a great number of these sculptures have not been preserved in their original. The ones usually displayed in museums today are mostly Roman copies of Greek originals. While giving information about lost Greek evidence, this type of artistic production also constitutes a challenging topic for current investigation. Although the matter of adaption or emulation in Roman sculpture has been discussed by some recent scholars of Roman art, what was original in the Roman approach to Greek art has not been sufficiently treated. Until recently art historians considered these artworks more simply as mechanical replicas of Greek masterpieces.

The aim of this thesis is to analyze the transformation of Olympic victor statues from Greece to Rome while discussing Roman sculpture and its relation to Greek art with respect to the public and private spatial

context. Recent approaches in describing Roman sculptural evidence as “emulative yet creative Roman originals”<sup>1</sup> constitutes the starting point.

In this respect, the focus of the study will be the reception alongside the location and meaning of athletic sculpture. The standing of the patron and the viewer with respect to transformed models and their perception in relation to context will constitute a significant part of the study while formal details of artistic creativity and workmanship will be dealt with only as necessary. There is no question that Roman victor sculptures go back to Greek models; however remarkable change is revealed in the context and meaning of display – such as the emergence of statues for the decoration of private villas or public baths – rather than major stylistic changes in the statues themselves. As such, the goal of the study is to understand how the Romans looked to the past and to Greeks in particular. An attempt will be made to understand how Romans used their own values to appropriate and transform earlier Greek models, by focusing especially on the display and context.

## **1.2. Ancient Ideal Sculpture: Imitation or Emulation?**

From Spain in the west to Syria in the east, a person present anywhere within the borders of the Roman Empire saw and experienced images of mortal and immortal beings represented in various contexts. Greek inspired models were among these either in the form of figural statues or miscellaneous paintings. For the Roman viewer of the time, these models were not underrated in terms of being identical copies; on the contrary they were esteemed as Roman interpretations of Greek artistic production.<sup>2</sup> In fact, generating interpretations out of a Greek centred perspective alone may lead to a major misunderstanding of Roman

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<sup>1</sup> Kousser, Rachel Meredith. *Hellenistic and Roman Ideal Sculpture*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. 3

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, 1

cultural outputs. Experiencing Roman artistic productions merely as mechanical reproductions of lost Greek originals, instead of searching for a Roman identity in them - in terms of both meaning and function - hinders the true interpretation of Roman art.<sup>3</sup>

Competition encourages first of all a tendency to imitate and secondly a tendency to modify in order to produce something that may be thought of as better.<sup>4</sup>

This point of view, which also determines the approach of this study, has paved the way for further research which aims to understand better the Roman way of looking to the past, the preceding Greek era in particular. Currently, scholars are conducting studies in parallel with this Roman retrospective approach; they are questioning their predecessors. Earlier art historians, who may be denoted as the "old school", had usually classified the Roman evidence as mechanical copies of Greek originals.<sup>5</sup> Olympic victor statues constituting the focus of this study, occupy a significant place in the aforementioned Roman retrospective approach in terms of being the source of a great variety of re-interpretations all over Rome and the Empire. Indeed, in most cases, it remains a fact that, without the Roman evidence, the only source of knowledge would have been the ancient literary evidence and extremely limited remains belonging to Olympic victor statues, which are hardly sufficient to provide

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<sup>3</sup> Gazda, Elaine K. «Roman Sculpture and the Ethos of Emulation: Reconsidering Repetition.» *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. 97, *Greece in Rome: Influence, Integration, Resistance*, 1995. 121-156

<sup>4</sup> Onians, John. *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greek and Rome*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999. 59

<sup>5</sup> The idea goes back to Winckelmann whose writings are a key to understand the modern European discovery of ancient Greece. Winckelmann gave the Greek taste of pure perfection an exclusive place. According to him, every artwork produced in the Hellenistic period and following periods represented decadent forms of Classical Greek art. He even disapproved the existence of "Roman art" and believed Romans had no original artistic artefact as a manifestation of their own cultural merit.

sustainable information about the whole. Earlier researches on Roman sculpture concentrated on a range of different aspects. Concentration on a specific period or style: Pergamene baroque<sup>6</sup> or directly addressing specific contexts: baths, villas, theatres, temples etc. received particular attention. Taking another stand, this study aims to analyse Roman adaptation and evolution within different architectural contexts while focusing on a specific group of statues and their altered locations of display.

In the course of Art History, the matter of "imitation or emulation" has been subjected to miscellaneous interpretations in different periods<sup>7</sup>. Among the literary evidence are a number of ancient literary texts describing Roman ideal sculpture. Early evidence reveals three related approaches which are *interpretatio* (literal translation of a particular work), *imitatio* (free rendering of the same) and *aemulatio* (a new creation inspired by multiple prototypes).<sup>8</sup> However, these approaches manifesting the Roman way of looking past to Greece, have been challenged by later scholars who tend to veil exact copying while aggrandizing the notion of "Roman creative originals".<sup>9</sup> Yet it should be accepted that every literary evidence of every era has its own value judgements distinct from other eras; hence it is legitimate to claim that these texts provide relatively accurate information about the reception of the statues, perception of the viewer and the role of the patron of the

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<sup>6</sup> For "Pergamene baroque" style see Marvin, "The Ludovisi Barbarians: The Grand Manner." in *The Ancient Art of Emulation: Studies in Artistic Originality and Tradition from the Present to Classical Antiquity* edited by Elaine Gazda, 205-23 2002.

<sup>7</sup> For further information see Minor, Vernon Hyde. *Art History's History*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1994.

<sup>8</sup> Adopted also in Ridgway, *Roman Copies of Greek Sculpture: The Problem of the Originals* 1984. Kousser mentions that the approach was initially investigated by Raimund Wünsche.

<sup>9</sup> Kousser, Rachel Meredith. *Hellenistic and Roman Ideal Sculpture*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. 8-9.

time - as well as the quality of workmanship which also comprise the themes that this study focuses on.<sup>10</sup>

Romans grew up translating, paraphrasing and learning celebrated literary passages of Greeks by heart, beginning from childhood. This was an essential part of their education. Inspired by the past, during the continuing phases of his education, each Roman youth also developed his own manner and brought orations of analogous subjects into being in his own "original" way. While doing this, Romans did not aim to reiterate the subject but instead tried to make adjustments for "improvement". In fact, this approach became a challenge for the writers of later generations.

It does no harm, if you read something so closely that you retain the argument of it, to write as it were an emulation of it, and to compare the two, and to consider sedulously what is more appropriate in yours and his.<sup>11</sup>

In some cases, certain Greek words and phrases were even repeated exactly as the same in Latin prose. It is known that Ovid took credit for referring to Virgil in one of his phrases, "not to steal it, but to borrow openly with the intention of being recognized".<sup>12</sup> Considering the general Roman attitude towards Greek literary evidence, it is not surprising to see a similar approach in other branches of art, like sculpture.

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<sup>10</sup> Minor in *Art History's History* examines approaches to Art History in different periods by focusing on various theories. This source interprets different "value judgements" of different periods in different cultures in a specific manner.

<sup>11</sup> Plin., Ep. 7.9. mentioned in Clark, Donald Lemen. "Imitation: Theory and Practice in Roman Rhetoric." *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 37, 1951: 11-22.  
*...Nihil offuerit quae legis hactenus, ut rem argumentum teneas, quasi aemulum scribere lectishue conferre, ac sedulo pensitrare, quid tu quid ille commodious...*

<sup>12</sup> Elder Seneca translated by Richard Hinds are cited in Kousser 2008, 45.  
*...[N]on subripiendi causa, sed palam mutuandi, hoc animo ut vellet agnosci...*



In this sense, imitation was a way of learning. Sometimes it worked as the basic step of learning that began with the alphabet, which later evolved into oration. Elite Romans were thus “conditioned to evaluate an individual work of art against the background of a broader tradition, to appreciate it as a more or less successful negotiation of the demands of the genre as well as of the particular circumstances of its creation.”<sup>13</sup>

In order to trace such dynamics of re-creating Greek sculpture, this study first provides the factual background of Olympic victor statues in Greece. This is followed by Roman creations and their context several centuries later. In this major part of the thesis, after providing a general background of actual sports activities in the Roman world, the utility of memory and identity formation as well as collecting Greek art works are examined. Finally, a differentiation between public and private spheres and their respective viewer delineated to pave the way for the concluding remarks and observations.

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<sup>13</sup> Kousser, Reachel Meredith. *Hellenistic and Roman Ideal Sculpture*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. 11

## CHAPTER 2

### EMERGENCE OF OLYMPIC VICTOR STATUES IN GREECE

#### 2.1. Meaning of Athletics for Greeks

It would not be wrong to state that when the subject matter is ancient athletics, ancient Greek history particularly comes to mind, since the narrative of ancient athletics is deeply embedded in Greek history. In antiquity the Greeks were by far the people who practiced athletics most systematically and professionally. And, of course, it was the competitive characteristics of Greek society in tandem with the quest for perfection that fostered athletics giving it an exclusive position in history.

The love of play is universal in all young things...But play is not athletics...The child plays till he is tired then leaves off... The competitor in a race goes on after he is tired, goes on to the point of absolute exhaustion.<sup>14</sup>

The objective of athletics was to come first and the athlete competed to win; however, in Greece the motive behind the ambitious and tenacious character of the athlete was not to win a prize with a material worth and acquire possessions, but to become a dignified and respectable citizen of the *polis*.<sup>15</sup> The true prize was proclaiming his honourable victory to the

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<sup>14</sup> Poliakoff, M. B. *Combat Sports in Ancient World: Competition, Violence and Culture*. New Heaven & London: Yale University Press, 1987. 78

<sup>15</sup> For further information see Godley, A. D. *Herodotus, The Histories*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920. VIII, 8, 26

...[2] When the Arcadians told them that the Greeks were holding the Olympic festival and viewing sports and horse races, the Persian asked what the prize offered was, for which they contended. They told him of the crown of olive that was given to the victor. Then Tigranes son of Artabanus uttered a most noble saying (but the king deemed him a coward for it); [3] when he heard that the prize was not money but a crown, he could not hold his peace, but cried, "Good heavens, Mardonius, what kind of men are these that you

public with a glorious olive-wreath on his head at the end of the competition (Fig.1). His avidity to become superior in this manner propelled him for the competition.

Gardiner mentions that the optimum conditions in which athletic spirit can grow should normally not provide extreme comfort or gratification for the athlete. These should also not absorb his power and make him weary through extended tough conditions, coming either by nature or by human force.

It is found only in physically vigorous and virile nations that put a high value on physical excellence: it arises naturally in those societies where the power is in the hands of an aristocracy which depends on military skill and physical strength to maintain itself.<sup>16</sup>

This view posits that the Greek behaviour and style of living –including the geography of Greece – in many aspects, facilitated the rise of athletics. Firstly, the strong desire to reach perfection by becoming a victor and secondly the conditions that encouraged the respect for struggle, which led to fighting scenes, gave the start for athletics in the fields of boxing, wrestling, *pankration* etc. (Figs. 2,3,4) Considering the conditions of the period, it is not surprising to see that the notion of war was a significant determinant which gave the Greek citizen a motive to nurture his physical condition. Homer mentions that in an age of widespread military activities, the most protective armour that a warrior could wear was being faithful to exercise and keeping his bodily strength.<sup>17</sup> As a matter of fact, the influence of the notion of war in the social formation of Greeks had considerable effects not only in athletics

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have pitted us against? It is not for money they contend but for glory of achievement!" Such was Tigranes' saying...

<sup>16</sup> Gardiner, E. Norman. *Athletics of the Ancient World*. London: Oxford University Press, 1955. 2

<sup>17</sup> For further information see Homer, *Il.* I, 4.

but also in Greek culture, art and architecture. The evolving relationship between competition, war and the desire to become superior had reflections on the Greek mentality in many fields. For instance, beside local games, regional competitions emerged and in time they intensified the Greek affection for athletics. Accordingly, participating in a regional competition and representing the city increased the responsibility of the citizen, because now it was not just the individual victory he was fighting for. Any victory he won would increase the prestige of his city, as well as his personal public prestige. This idea solidified the citizen-city bond and also propelled competition, which will be examined in detail in the section “standing of athletics for the *polis*”.

This competitive and to some degree agonistic spirit of Greeks was one of the most deterministic qualities which shaped the general mind-set of the citizens besides instigating their athletic passion. The Greek concept of competition (*agôn*) featured itself not only in sports activities but also in the fine arts, music, drama and various components of social life. The idea of achievement was in the core of public daily life as well as athletics. In parallel with this, the search for perfection consistently fed the advance of the competitive spirit. However, the athletic field was the stage where the strong emphasis on competition was perceived most vividly. Homer’s testimony is particularly significant to observe the meaning of sports for the Greeks. He repeatedly mentions the Greek desire to become superior, and the ardent workout for the sake of reaching perfection. This testimony also provides invaluable information about the status of Greeks among other nations and their influence on the later stages of Greek culture.<sup>18</sup>

## **2.2. Greek Athletic Ideal**

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<sup>18</sup> For further information see Homer, *Il.*, I, 4.

An attempt to describe the notion of *arête* brings to mind concepts such as "ingenuity", "courage", "virtue", "perfection", "dignity", "pride" etc. Yet none of these completely corresponds to the concept of *arête* even when considered singly or in groups.

*Arête* existed to some degree, in every ancient Greek and was at the same time, a goal to be sought and reached for by every Greek.<sup>19</sup>

The Greek search for attaining *arête* in every aspect of life, gave ancient athletics an exclusive identity which was totally free from material values and made athletics a component of the ongoing aim for perfection. Hence, it is not surprising that the physical perfection of athletes was a great inspiration for Greek artists of the time. Thus, there arose an athletic art which in turn refined athletics and assisted the emergence of the athletic ideal.

As mentioned previously, the pride taken from sustained effort and the passion for competition were significant values that shaped the character of Greek citizens. It was this competitive character that triggered the rise of athletic festivals. Due to increasing rivalry among the city-states and the corresponding increase of contests in number, Greece became a region of athletes in the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C., also known as the age of strength. On this account, the most significant athletes of the age were the boxer and the wrestler, renowned for their strength.<sup>20</sup> Theagenes of Thasos, Milo of Croton, Glaucus of Carystus and more wrestlers and boxers who became well known, were from the end of 6<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries. This was an age of health so bodily weakness had to be kept in minimum among the athletes who

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<sup>19</sup> Miller, Stephen G. *Arete : Greek Sports From Ancient Sources*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004. ix

<sup>20</sup> Gardiner, E. Norman. *Athletics of the Ancient World*. London: Oxford University Press, 1955. 53-58

obsessively nurtured their strength and participated in many Olympiads. On the other hand, athletic workout supported their mission for the military service, thus many of them excelled in the Persian Wars and were remembered for their success on the battleground. In fact, knowing that the Greek city might face various attacks at any moment increased the citizens' responsibility to supply the physical and military demands of the city state when necessary. Thus the possibility of recurring danger led every citizen to maintain his strength and be ready to play his role again.<sup>21</sup>

Indeed, the Pan-Hellenic need of sticking together, reinforced by the fight against Persia, was also one of the most prominent reasons that influenced the spread of the athletic ideal between the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries. The desire to protect the land paved the path for the rise of athletics implicitly and unavoidably – because maintaining physical strength was the key to both war and athletics. In fact, it was the athletic ideal that kept peace and serenity until the Peloponnesian War, which ended the short term unity of Greece. The famous Greek poet Pindar's enthusiasm for the "Greek athletic ideal" was based on the idea that it was the responsibility of a Greek citizen to advance his physical beauty and strength to the limits of his body. It was a part of his duty as a citizen to keep himself in good condition, ready to serve his state at a moment's notice.

Another point to mention here is that, to understand the importance of the "athletic ideal" in the life of the Greeks, it is essential to look at the

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<sup>21</sup> Though a strong advocate of practical physical training for war, Plato was opposed to the vain spirit of competition in the athletics of his day. He complained that professional athletes paid excessive attention to diet, slept their lives away, and were in danger of becoming brutalized. The last attack on professional athletics was made in the second century A. D. by Galen, in his Exhortation to the Arts. In this essay the eminent physician contended that the athlete was a benefit neither to himself nor to the state. For further information see Hyde, Walter Woodburn. *Olympic Victor Statues and Greek Athletic Art*. Washington: Gibson Brothers, Inc., 1921.

educational grounds of the Greek *poleis*. The act of living up to one's full potential on the basis of the notion of excellence, *arête*, was the most crucial constituent of the Greek education. In this sense, while making a great effort to keep his body in shape, the Greek citizen also perpetuated his mental development for the sake of *arête*. In the Greek way of thinking, a Greek youth should start athletics, in his early ages and keep exercising indefatigably throughout his life.

When gymnastic training was developed into a regular institution, subject to well formulated rules, a slightly more athletic elaborate athletic plant became necessary. A simple building, called *palaestra*, seems to have been added to the exercise grounds' *gymnasium* and equipped for exercise used in training boxers and wrestlers.<sup>22</sup>

The *palaestra* (Fig.5) one of the two significant grounds for Greek training; was basically the school of wrestling, usually located within the city. A few independent *palaestrae* including the one in Olympia served as public institutions; however a greater number of them were run by private individuals. *Gymnasium*, on the other hand, was a sports-ground "mostly located outside the city centre"<sup>23</sup>, welcoming all the citizens. Unlike most of the independent *palaestrae*, it was a public institution. The most prominent characteristic of the *gymnasium*, differentiating it from the other kinds of institutions, was that other institutions – specifically *palaestra* – were involved within a large complex. While men belonging to a wide range of ages trained themselves with the proper exercises, professional athletes performed their regular routines getting ready for public games within the boundaries of the *gymnasium*. Being a ground of sports activities in essence, the *gymnasium* also served as an academic

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<sup>22</sup> Mechikoff, Robert A., ve Steven G. Estes. *A History and Philosophy of Sport and Physical Education*. New York: McGraw Hill Companies, Inc., 2006. 61

<sup>23</sup> Gardiner states that existence of shade and water were the necessary elements for the comfort of the trainees, so the location of the *gymnasia* were determined considering the surroundings, mostly a grove beside some stream around the outskirts of the city. Ridgway also states that suburban *gymnasia* were rich in vegetation and, water was an important element of *gymnasia* similar to other athletic fields.

venue for philosophical training with the libraries and lecture halls that it contained.<sup>24</sup> In time, the *gymnasium* evolved into a type of school with classrooms, libraries and lecture halls during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It served as the Greek citizen's society of entertainment where he spent most of his time interacting with his fellows.

What makes the *palaestrae* and *gymnasia* remarkable in terms of this study is that they were the venues which brought Greek art and athletics together. While setting the stage for the reception and creating the context, they offered, at the same time, the right atmosphere for the training of athletes, which was, in turn, a great contribution for the development of sculpture. Hence the *gymnasium* functioned as a kind of studio for the enthusiastic Greek sculptor. This space gave the sculptor the opportunity to observe *in situ* men of various ages performing different physical acts which equipped him with the anatomical information concerning the elegance of the naked human body. Statues of famous athletes and mythological figures, mostly Heracles and Hermes, embellished the *palaestrae*. This was a crucial matter for the development of the athletic ideal because glorious statues representing physical perfection and the honour of victory constituted powerful motives for the people training within the *palaestrae* and *gymnasia*. The statues stood as concrete images of the "ideal" which every Greek citizen desired to attain. In harmony with these specialized architectural environments, the reception of the publicly displayed artwork became an inspirational model for the Greek citizen. The right context completed the ascribed meaning of the statues.

### **2.3. The Standing of Athletics for the *Polis***

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<sup>24</sup> It is known that Plato associated himself with the Academy in Athens while Aristotle was dedicated to the Lyceum.



The *polis* was a culturally homogeneous entity, closely united by common cults, customs and dialect. The *polis* placed a high premium on individual and familial status. Each member of a *polis* had a clearly prescribed role and was expecting to strive to fulfil that role to the best of his or her ability. Thus the *polis* fostered ambition and competition and to varying degrees presented the appearance of a meritocracy."<sup>25</sup>

The emergence of regional festivals, following the rise of athletics, brought a new perspective to the citizen's perception of competition in Greece. When the opportunity of representing themselves was provided to various *poles*, athletic training rose up, becoming a national duty besides being a stage of individual achievement. Correspondingly, to become known as a victor and to honour his city with this title became the primary ambition of the athlete. Because of this state of mind, in time, the Greek city state system itself provided the major motive for the athletic festivals.

Yet, the early origins of these festivals give no clue about the athletic function; in the beginning, they were basically religious festivals. Considering the conditions of the period, as mentioned above, this is not unexpected because during the 12<sup>th</sup> -9<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C., the Greeks were not living in organized settlements. This was disadvantageous for organized activities, according to Homer. After being exposed to countless wars, migrations and various deranging events and pushing the limits of the Peloponnese with the growing population, Greeks – mostly Dorians and Ionians – chose the Aegean islands and Asia Minor as their new destination to settle and spread their language and civilization. This period, corresponding to the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C., gave opportunity to young Mediterranean Greek cities to develop together, while they were at the same time rivals living with a competitive spirit.

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<sup>25</sup> Fullerton, Mark D. *Greek Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. 35

Greek males of different classes participated in the athletic contests. However, when the strong competitive consciousness of the Greek people is considered, it becomes clear that the aim was not merely participation. The aim was to win. Yet, the goal that would satisfy the athlete at the end of the game was not the tangible reward he would receive; as stated already, it was the honour and dignity of victory.

When the close relationship between athletics, religion and the prestige of a victor in the Olympiads is considered, the resentment of the city states becomes quite understandable upon athletes returning home empty-handed. Pindar speaks of defeated competitors slinking home in shame from the great festivals and of athletes thinking evil thoughts against their opponents as they sought to win virtually at any cost.<sup>26</sup>

To come in second in a contest was to lose in a society where usually only the first place counted for the athlete and the city from which he came<sup>27</sup>.

Throughout history, the Greek athletes of antiquity have been admired for their great effort to win a humble crown of olive-wreath. They were even held up as "pagans of the purest amateurism in sport."<sup>28</sup> However, this overly positive view is not much supported with the facts. On the contrary, the victor of a contest in the great festivals was on the edge of considerable winnings. The rewards which his *polis* would bestow upon him for the honour, included substantial and material entities.

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<sup>26</sup> For further information see Pindar. *Pindar's Poetry, Patrons, and Festivals : From Archaic Greece to the Roman Empire*. Oxford , New York : Oxford University Press, 2007. 83-141

<sup>27</sup> Crowther, Nigel B. *Sport in Ancient Times*. USA: Praeger Publishing, 2007. 58

<sup>28</sup> Harris, H. A. *Greek Athletes and Athletics*. London: Hutchinson & Co Publishers, 1964. 37

Often the home-coming of a victor at one of the national games was the occasion for a public celebration. Sometimes the whole city turned out to meet the hero. The victory was recorded on pillars, and poets composed songs in its honour which were sung by choruses of girls and boys.<sup>29</sup>

Even their statues or other commemorative monuments were erected in the agora or on the Acropolis as a demonstration of the glory given to Olympic victors. Obviously, this represented the mutual relationship between the *polis* and the citizen. The athlete won the victory to honour the city and the city honoured him in return – also herself and the gods – by commissioning a monument of the athlete for the commemoration of the victory.<sup>30</sup>

The Greek *polis* was a fragmentary construct dependent for its very existence on the willingness of each participant to strive for a level of excellence even perfection in fulfilling his/her role.<sup>31</sup>

In parallel with the rise of the “search for excellence” in diverse fields, the competitive spirit of the Greeks was manifested openly. As a natural outcome, the rivalry between the *poleis* was revealed, alongside the rivalry among the citizens. Elaborate artworks of various scales – including statues, temples and other kinds of buildings – were designed to gain admiration from other *poleis*. It has always been a fact that art has social, political and economic sides, which is also valid for ancient civilizations, including Greeks. For Greeks, artistic production had an intimate relationship with status, and artwork worked for the power that

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<sup>29</sup> Hyde, Walter Woodburn. *Olympic Victor Statues and Greek Athletic Art*. Washington: Gibson Brothers, Inc., 1921. 34

<sup>30</sup> The *polis* often erected monuments designed to honour herself generally on significant vicinities within its borders. The Parthenon and other buildings on the acropolis are prominent examples of this veneration. A similar incentive operated in the instalment of Olympic victor statues in their original contexts.

<sup>31</sup> Fullerton, Mark D. *Greek Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. 59

brought it into being. That is to say, either the status of the individual as a social dynamic within the *polis* or the status of the *polis* among other *poleis* might be the objective of creation. In this regard, besides the motives for the creation of the artwork, its reception and the context in which it was located also gain specific importance which will be discussed in the following sections.

#### **2.4. Greek Artistic Ideal**

According to Furtwängler, athletics are fundamental to comprehend Greek art.<sup>32</sup> The supreme talent of Greek artists in creating the images of the naked bodies was intimately related to the custom of being nude in the course of athletic training.<sup>33</sup> Thucydides mentions that this custom was common in the *palaestrae* of the 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C., as conceived from the evidence of the black-figured vases. (Fig. 6) Athletes, exercising naked including *epheboi*, gave the sculptor an opportunity to examine the human body in various positions. Naked athletes certainly stood as prominent models for the Greeks by upholding physical fitness and staying in a good shape. With the strong desire in his mind to reach *arête*, the Greek citizen considered bodily weakness displeasing, and similarly, regarded inadequate mental development as shameful. Accordingly, a Greek youth who could not complete his education was an individual to despise, for his friends and others in society. Therefore, all

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<sup>32</sup> For further information see Furtwängler, Adolf. *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*. London: Richard Clay and Sons Limited, 1895 and Furtwängler, Adolf, and Ulrichs, Heinrich Ludwig. *Greek and Roman Sculpture*. London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1914.

<sup>33</sup> "The nudity of athletes and the civic nudity of the hoplites would mark the new image of the Greeks who were now free of the barbarians for whom nudity was unthinkable. Nudity would mean the new beginning of an age for Greeks; it would reflect their new identity. Nudity continued as a ritual in athletics and had no negative connotation for the Greeks. They considered public nudity as a way to show their superiority over other people." For more detailed information see Durugönül, Serra. "Nudity of Male Statues in Ancient Greek Art." In *Two Eminent Contributors to Archaeometry in Turkey. To Honour of Prof.Dr. Ay Melek Özer and Prof.Dr. Şahinde Demirci*, by Ali Akin Akyol and Kameray Özdemir, 155-161. İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2012.

Greeks cultivated the awareness to be proud of their physical fitness and beauty. Without doubt, this awareness was efficaciously and conspicuously embedded into Greek sculpture which found its highest expression in the sculpture of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. When the concern for beauty became integrated with the notion of competition under the roof of sports, a considerable artistic production followed in the fields of painting, literature, and specifically sculpture. Sculptures, vases, other miscellaneous artefacts and buildings inscribed by scenes of sports events constitute firm evidence of the games in their own time, beyond being unique samples of art. In fact, it would not be an overstatement to say that they constitute the most significant and reliable visual sources for our current knowledge about ancient athletics.

As mentioned before, the span between the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. was exactly the period during which the importance of physical fitness reached an all time peak in Greece. Correspondingly, the works of art produced by talented and diligent Greek artists highlighted perfection. Even though the main themes expressing physical perfection, strength, and beauty were similar, the end products were miscellaneous, depending on the style of the artists and variety of athletes belonging to different branches. The idea ruling over the so-called Greek artistic ideal was nourished by the inseparable notions of strength and beauty which also were the underlying components of the athletic ideal. This clearly means that the Greek athletic ideal and the Greek artistic ideal fed each other forming a mutual bond. Hence, the emergence of a demand for athletic statues in the 6<sup>th</sup> century was not surprising. In parallel with this, a significant number of artworks, produced during the period were athletic statues either in repose or in action. Examples illustrating the unique moment of stability and motion were prominent and significant, reflecting the anatomical understanding of Greek sculptors of the time who aimed to convey the

sense of harmony. Exaggeration was expressly avoided. Everything was so appropriately conceived that neither over-purity nor over-brawniness was embedded within the images. The early artists endeavoured to express trained strength by careful treatment of the muscles of the body, especially those of the chest and abdomen.

It is obvious here that the "Greek legacy left to all future civilizations included important aesthetic ideals among which the idea of a harmonized balance of mind and body, of body symmetry and bodily beauty in repose and in action existed<sup>34</sup>.

Even though the best known early Greek sculptures date back to 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C., there is evidence demonstrating that there were figurines mostly used for religious purposes before this date.<sup>35</sup> These figurines – mostly rough-lined human figures – lacked the artistic techniques and aesthetic subtlety of the Greek sculptures of later periods. The 6<sup>th</sup> century was the span that Greek sculpture went through an evolution; however a stylistic but characteristically still "archaic" line was dominant during the early 5<sup>th</sup> century. (Fig. 7) This archaic quality was basically based on the use of set schematic forms in place of the disordered and coloured images of the real world. The characteristics of the sculpture of this period reveal that the sculptors were not yet adept in handling the diverse qualities that the substantial object embodied such as torsions, tensions, and cavities. The body was restrained within the borders of a simple standard appearance and a defined point of view. In other words, the primary elements of the schema of the period were geometric simplicity and monotonous repetition. Eventually, archaic period sculpture acquired an ornamental exuberance of abstract linear forms occupying

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<sup>34</sup> Dalen, Deobold van, and Bruce L. Bennet. *A World History of Physical Education*. Eaglewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1971. 47

<sup>35</sup> For further information see Carpenter, Rhys. *The Aesthetic Basis of the Greek Art of the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959.

the surfaces of sculptures. This transitional stage covered an almost fifty year span corresponding to the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. The succeeding period saw sculptors such as Polycleitus and Phidias when “the sculptured human body was put together from a series of parts each of which had a more or less intellectualised form or structure, and each of which had a consequent bias toward geometric formalism and geometric simplification.”<sup>36</sup>

When Greek sculpture finally embarked upon its original path, increasing interest in bodily exercises and athletic festivals created venues for sculptures which enabled them to observe the anatomy of men and various physical postures.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, rewarding the winners of the contests enhanced the appeal for the artworks. According to Onians, when two fields coincide with each other, the duplicated effect of competition reveals itself more powerfully. Hence when victory in athletic competition was associated with the making of a commemorative statue, which may be a miniature sculpture or a great temple, the pressures on the artist, who was already in a competitive situation, were doubled. A competitive sculptor working for a competitive event made an extraordinarily powerful combination. For example, the vast majority of victories that resulted in artistic commemoration were in the field of either the athletic preparation for war or war itself which strongly influenced art. The statues of victors at Olympia and elsewhere were the most notable works of free standing sculpture<sup>38</sup>. In parallel with this, an

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<sup>36</sup> Carpenter, Rhys. *The Aesthetic Basis of the Greek Art of the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959. 134

<sup>37</sup> The Greek interest in anatomy and the effort to create an image of the living deeply influenced their understanding of art. Orders had a considerable significance for the Greek *polis* and it had specific reflections in the development of geometric art. After all in a culture full of competitive spirit, it was essential to be attached to the rules in effect and venerate the customs, in order to maintain social stability. For further information see Miller 2004.

<sup>38</sup> Onians, John. *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greek and Rome.* New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999. 54

influential development in the representation of form both in terms of dealing with the details and in technical skills was achieved.

#### **2.4.1. Olympic Victor Statues as a Representation of Glory**

In ancient societies like Classical Greece, perceiving visual evidence was more effective than perceiving literary evidence. This was why Greeks spent much effort to write their history in the form of images. Therefore the positioning and arrangement of this primarily visual evidence gained particular importance because all the potential of the evidence became revealed in relation to its carefully chosen location, which was decided in order to be readily recognized by both the citizens and visitors.<sup>39</sup> Narrative pedimental sculptures on temples that were placed within the sacred grounds of the *polis*, for instance, were elements to be noticed and read by the onlookers since they belonged to a shining part of the Greek history. Considering this, representing the statues of athletes was also appropriate, in terms of representing the characteristic attitude of the athletic events throughout Greek history.

Along similar lines, given the prominence of athletics among Greeks, it is legitimate to state that the contextual representation of the splendid athletic sculpture, similar to the temple sculptures, also had a significance and this contextual representation granted the statues a symbolic meaning that vivified their existence. For an athlete, to have a statue of himself erected before the immortals in a sacred area and being displayed as a forever standing figure was a great honour.<sup>40</sup> In due time,

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<sup>39</sup> See, Miller, Stephen G. *Arete : Greek Sports from Ancient Sources*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004. Chapter I: Art and the *Polis*.

<sup>40</sup> Carpenter defines the 5<sup>th</sup> century sculptor as a man constructing on the basis of natural appearances a series of surfaces, shapes and lines. Thereby, the viewer could perceive the image delightedly as a perfectly developed human kind. "The natural appearances of objects must be followed as a corrective for all extreme departures and as a starting point for schematic or formal deductions; but there was no thorough going insistence that concrete individual objects must be reproduced just as they looked and were. The statues of victors in the games did not and could not resemble those victors themselves. Later



this attitude also became a motive for gaining victories. As the custom of making votive offerings, as commemorations of victories became more popular – in order to honour the athlete, the city and the god together – aiming at flawless perfection in artistic productions became more explicit. According to Hyde, a change was slowly wrought in the course of centuries, by which the original votive offering became a means of self-glorification.<sup>41</sup>

Without doubt, when the effulgence of victory was considered, the crown of olive wreath was just a temporary celebration. Hence, the concession of erecting a statue was bestowed to the victor, in order to immortalize the glory of the event. A statue of a Greek victor was the concretized image of the aspired perfection; in this regard, it should rise conspicuously and meant to be an inspiration for the citizens. It was a complementary part of the *polis*. It also was a reason to be lauded and respected by other *poleis*.

...the notion of a *polis* allowed to appear as a surface woven by the activity of its inhabitants: the sequential building of sanctuaries over a period of time, which at times stretched over decades...<sup>42</sup>

In a relevant passage, Pausanias states that all the objects displayed on the Acropolis were votive offerings while some of the athlete statues at Olympia were solely rewards of victory. In Greece, on the grounds of the religious roots of the festivals, the tradition of dedicating the statue of

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ages struck by the absence of portrait like qualities in these dedications, invented such idle explanations as the story, which Pliny gives us, that only an athlete who had won a victory for the third time could dedicate a statue with his actual form and features." Carpenter, Rhys. *The Aesthetic Basis of the Greek Art of the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959.

<sup>41</sup> Hyde, Walter Woodburn. *Olympic Victor Statues and Greek Athletic Art*. Washington: Gibson Brothers, Inc., 1921. 40

<sup>42</sup> McEwen, Indra Kagis. *Socrates' Ancestor: An Essay on Architectural Beginnings*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1993. 81

the Olympic victor to the gods<sup>43</sup> was a common practice. Small scale statues of athletes as horsemen, warriors, and charioteers made of bronze, clay, rarely marble, have been excavated in various parts of Olympia. Even though some of the earlier findings were aesthetically crude, stylistic developments of Greek sculpture in a relatively short time paved the way for the creation of more elaborate and large scale statues in honour of the victor. However, in ancient periods, almost all of these statues were either transported somewhere else, were seriously damaged or demolished. Current knowledge on the originals, in their almost complete absence, derives from various sources including literary and archaeological evidence. The former includes epigrams in Greek anthologies. Indeed, some of the inscriptions on the statue bases are agreed to be approximately the same with the specific statements of the classical writers and scholiasts of the time. Also, the observations of Pausanias in *Periagesis*, during his visit to the Altis in the reign of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and Pliny the Elder's writings on the History of Art constitute literary evidence that provides information about the originals and their reception.

The statue bases of Greek bronzes discovered in Olympia during the German excavations are among the latter group. The inscriptions on the bases contain information about the "names of the victor and his home city, the manner of his victory, and frequently his former athletic successes in prose and verse"<sup>44</sup>. This material evidence demonstrates the reliability of the information provided by Pausanias. Before the discovery

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<sup>43</sup> Gardiner states that athletic events were an integral part of festivals of specific gods. He further suggests that the Olympic festival was from the first festival of Olympian Zeus and was a cessation from war so athletic events were quite convenient for the occasion. As sports were placed under the patronage of the gods, the victor had the sense of pleasing the gods and felt that he owed his triumph to them. It was also religion that Greek athletics and Greek athletic festivals owed their vitality. See Gardiner, E. Norman. *Athletics of the Ancient World*. London: Oxford University Press, 1955.

<sup>44</sup> Furtwängler, Adolf, and Heinrich Ludwig Ulrichs. *Greek and Roman Sculpture*. London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1914. 118

of Altis in Olympia, the *Perigesis* was one of the most prominent sources providing information about the location of the statues as mentioned before. On the other hand, Roman marble replicas of the lost bronze originals constitute other sources, which were utilized to decorate the villas of the elite, public buildings and other open places by the Roman patrons of art. The statues were mostly located in the public spaces where the games were held, the *palaestra* of the home city of the athlete or other open places such as the vicinity of the temples. In this manner, the manifestation of the victory could be viewed by greater crowds. It is known that a number of classical Greek sculptors working with bronze created victorious athlete statues. However, the majority of the masters of the victor statues in Olympia remain little known or completely unknown. Among these, Pausanias mentions such renowned names as Hagelaidas, Pythagoras, Kalamis, Myron, Polycleitus, Lysippos, and possibly Phidias. Certain other great names, however, are absent from his lists, e.g., Euphranor, Kresilas, Praxiteles, and Skopas. Even though the current knowledge about the schools or the principal masters is not sufficient, manners of the sculptors are embedded within the works they produced. Seen in this light, the variety of types preserved may be divided into two groups: the athlete in action, which represents the victor in movement and the athlete at rest, which represents him as standing or seated before or after the competition. The instances belonging to the latter were greater in number. The *Apoxyomenos* of the Lysippus school cleaning his body off the dirt after he won the victory (Fig.8), the oil-pourer oiling his body before the wrestling bout (Fig.9), the *Diadoumenos* (Fig.10) binding a victor's filet around his head after a successful encounter and *Doryphoros* (Fig.11) were among the most popular ones representing athletes in pose. Sculptors mostly aimed to create standing figures based on specific mathematical proportions. In statues, it was the quiet pose and the reserved appearance that allured the viewer. Thus,

the daily athletic events of Greek life which had intimate relations with the pervading Hellenistic culture, were praised and promoted through art.

...to the Polykleitan age the individual forms of line and surface were not memory-images, but the inherited alphabet of the sculptor's art. Although Nature was always the check and the corrective, the sculptor was not aiming at reproducing his chance individual appearances. He did not imitate. His statues were not intended for replicas of unusually beautiful persons in unusually attractive attitudes. He did not make men as they appeared, but, in the deepest philosophical sense which his race could attach to the words, men as they were in their essence...<sup>45</sup>

Particularly renowned examples representing the athlete in motion, on the other hand, were two bronze wrestlers in Naples (Fig.12) watching for a grip in a bending position or the artistically interlaced group of *pancratists* in Florence demonstrating various poses in action or the *Discobolos* of Myron (Fig.13) with a dynamic stance and a lively expression. Myron whose superior skill was easily visible in his works was regarded as a master representing the motion and figures in rhythmic action.<sup>46</sup>

What is of paramount importance here is that whether in motion or in repose "presented in complete nudity they are not faithful portraits from life, but motives and models from the *palaestra* transformed and exalted to the highest ideal of physical beauty and strength."<sup>47</sup>

To summarize, even though archaic art was mostly about schematic forms with nature as the ultimate inspiration, the 5<sup>th</sup> century had its own

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<sup>45</sup> Carpenter, Rhys. *The Aesthetic Basis of the Greek Art of the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959. 145-146

<sup>46</sup> For Myron and his works see Furtwängler, Adolf. *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture.* London: Richard Clay and Sons Limited, 1895 and Furtwängler, Adolf, and Ulrichs, Heinrich Ludwig. *Greek and Roman Sculpture.* London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1914.

<sup>47</sup> Furtwängler, Adolf, and Heinrich Ludwig Ulrichs. *Greek and Roman Sculpture.* London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1914. 119

original characteristics which set the background for all artistic production. These characteristics including notions of strength, purity, beauty, which lead the way to idealism within classical norms were revealed in the athletic sculpture of the time. The effort of creating a concrete form out of these abstract entities for the sake of reaching perfection increased the Greek enthusiasm for athletic sculpture, especially victorious statues by appealing to the senses. However the end product did not always represent man exactly as he was in nature by the artist.<sup>48</sup> Ultimately the sculptures were perfected images and they were what people wanted to see. They possessed the grandeur of the gods and the dignity of *polis*.

## **2.5. Sculpture and Space: Olympic Victor Statues in Context in Greece**

Although many highly developed specimens of Greek sculpture are known to have been produced, a great number of these sculptures have not been preserved in their original. The ones that are currently displayed in museums worldwide are mostly Roman copies of Greek originals. Indeed, the issue of "emulation - imitation" arising from this type of archaeological evidence has led to art-historical debates as mentioned at the outset of the study. What will be discussed in this section is how the Greeks installed the free-standing sculpture in context and what the contribution of the setting was, to the perception of the meaning. As mentioned before, Greek originals are rarely discovered, and the ones discovered may not correlate with their original setting, because of the absence of definitive information on the placement and context in excavation records.<sup>49</sup> Due to the mobility of the statues, they could easily

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<sup>48</sup> Carpenter, Rhys. *The Aesthetic Basis of the Greek Art of the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959. 144-147

<sup>49</sup> Ridgway, Brunilde Sismondo. "The Setting of Greek Sculpture." *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Vol. 40, No. 3, 1971: 336-356.

be moved to some other location when desired, so orientational evidence belonging to the Classical period is scarce and unreliable. It is appropriate to underline once again that most of our specific knowledge on free-standing sculptures of Greek athletes is through Roman reproductions and literary evidence.

It was mentioned in the previous section that the early examples of Greek sculpture were rough-lined and rather plain human figures utilized for religious purposes, mostly as votive offerings. It would not be wrong to say that the motive behind the larger-scale Greek sculpture was also similar. Huge marble statues of "girls and youths"<sup>50</sup> (Figs.14,15) were erected within and around public sacred spaces in order to please the gods either singly or in groups. In general, however, archaic period statues were not seen to perform complex arrangements so they were mostly single statues standing side by side.<sup>51</sup> Because the primary concern of this research is the context and the setting of Olympic victor statues, the case of votive ones mostly from the archaic period will not be covered. Yet, it should not be forgotten that the organization and placement of statues in the Classical owed a certain legacy to archaic practice.

During the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. the Greeks had shown a significant artistic development and the sculptural works started to gain an aesthetic and ornamental identity besides the functional one. Especially during the Hellenistic period, as a result of the increase in private patronage during

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<sup>50</sup> For further information see Richter, *Korai: Archaic Greek Maidens; A study of the Development of the Kore Type in Greek Sculpture* 1968 and Richter, *Kouroi, Archaic Greek Youths; A Study of the Development of the Kouros Type in Greek Sculpture* 1960.

<sup>51</sup> As mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, it was not possible to define the exact spot where the sculptures stood because they were mostly found out of context. However, Ridgway mentions that their location was probably altered in relation to the size of the object. For example, small scaled works of votive art were usually installed within the colonnades or on the frontal steps of the sanctuaries while large-scaled ones were placed in the open air within the boundaries of the sacred area.

the transformation of the Eastern provinces, a great number of tastefully embellished statues emerged. When the Greek *ethos* is examined, a strong "human" element becomes noticeable which is also observed in the more humane representations of gods. Humanity was always a precious aspect in Greek culture; Greeks respected the human body and strove to develop the concrete entity of the physical body by always taking humanly conditions into account. Hence the reason behind the installation of a sculpture within a sacred space was not solely the desire to be appreciated by the divine but also to be appreciated by mortals. Having an appealing stance for the citizens of the *polis* or foreigners from other *poleis* had almost the same prominence as dignifying the immortals. In order to be perceived better the figure was usually displayed on a spot belonging to an "important setting"<sup>52</sup> or on a raised level by the contribution of a "different element"<sup>53</sup> or any possible place within the sacred area without the consideration for a deliberate connection with the context, on the basis of spiritual requirements.

In correlation with the placement of the sacred buildings within the city, Greeks aimed to tell a narrative through the components of a temple such as the pediments or *metopes*. This made progress in the late archaic period and the scenes within the narratives were revealed within the boundaries of the sacred area in the form of free standing figures beyond architectural sculptures. At Olympia, the statues of athletic victors were similarly located in order to visualize the scene of the game where the victory was won. The main concern in the placement of statues was not their relation with the environment or the compositional arrangement;

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<sup>52</sup> Mentioned important setting was mostly the sacred road or any significant spot within the intimate environment of the temple. For further information see Ridgway, *The Setting of Greek Sculpture* 1971 and Hyde 1921.

<sup>53</sup> Different elements were most of the time columns or steps in front of the temple. For further information see Ridgway, Brunilde Sismondo. «The Setting of Greek Sculpture.» *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, Vol.40, 1971: 336-356.

but rather it was their perceptibility by the people.<sup>54</sup> Statues of the archaic-classical period were not located within a planned setting or meant to be in interaction with the surrounding architectural environment. To the contrary, they were located on haphazard spots most of the time, thus in case of a replacement or relocation, the nonexistence of a single statue would not cause a major discrepancy in perceiving the whole.

The spaces hosting public gatherings and social unions such as the theatre and *agora* were also venues for artistic display. Statues of poets, playwrights and philosophical figures enriched the ambience of the theatre for educational intentions which started to be implemented by the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B. C. which influenced the Hellenistic approach.<sup>55</sup> The agora on the other hand, was generally embellished with figures of gods, mythological heroes and athletic images. However it is known that Athens was somewhat an exception in terms of displaying the statues of generals, political figures and benefactors, while the other *poleis* generally exhibited athletic images. Indeed, the principle of setting was similar; the statues were mostly presented in front of the buildings in order to attract the citizens.

The Greek *gymnasium* and *palaestra* stand out among the public spaces which were adorned with a great number of athletic monuments. In terms of being among the most popular places of lively social activity, these buildings and their constituents set the appropriate ground for the visibility of the athletic monuments. Indeed, the Greek males training in *gymnasia* were the foremost inspiration for these statues representing bodily beauty so it is not surprising to see them in their original

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<sup>54</sup> Pausanias. *Pausanias's Description of Greece, Vol IV*. London: McMillan and Co., 1898. III, 40-44

<sup>55</sup> For further information see Bieber, Margarete. *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1961. 57-61



environment. In fact it is possible to think about a reverse inspiration. The reason behind locating these monuments in spaces of physical exercise might be to arouse the Greek youth's appetite for "victory" and "dignity" by making them encounter the concrete images of perfection. On the other hand, considering the population joining the training sessions or other activities in *palaestrae* and *gymnasia*, the latter were among the most appropriate places in order to be seen by a wide range of citizens, which was a primary concern for Greeks.

To recapitulate, the Greek *polis* was a "homogenous entity"<sup>56</sup> with all the dynamics that constituted it, from the citizens to the buildings and works of art. Hence, the aim of the Greek citizen was to praise his city in as many ways as possible. Winning glory in contests or expressing this glory tangibly were outstanding manifestations of the splendour of the *polis*, besides being ways of proving personal skills. Accordingly, the superior artistic productions of the Greek world – in this case Olympic victor statues – were installed in order to announce and propagate the triumph, attract public attention and inspire the citizens for future glories.

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<sup>56</sup> Fullerton, Mark D. *Greek Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge university Press, 2000. 34

## CHAPTER 3

### ROMAN SCULPTURAL CREATIONS AND ROMAN CONTEXT

#### 3.1. Greek Athletics in the Roman World

*mens sana in corpore sano*

*a sound mind in a sound body*

Juvenal's popularly known words above are among the most commonly utilized expressions used to highlight the significance given to a healthy body and physical fitness in Rome, similar to Greece. Besides appreciating Greek achievements in different fields and despite their belief in Roman supremacy over other worlds, what Romans did was to "experiment with ideas borrowed from Greece and if they served a useful purpose, adopting them"<sup>57</sup>. Although Romans identified sports as public entertainment, they also utilized it as a vehicle to communicate with the crowds, similar to Greeks and Etruscans. Since surviving literary Etruscan evidence is rare, most of the information obtained comes from images in tombs and burial grounds. Evidence based on the depictions on mural paintings discovered in excavations show that different from Greeks, Etruscans favoured chariot races more than athletics.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Harris, Harold Arthur. *Sport in Greece and Rome*. Ithaca & New York: Cornell University Press, 1972. 50

<sup>58</sup> Mechikoff and Estes even draw a parallel between the popularity of horse races in the modern and ancient worlds with regard to the Etruscans' superior skills in taming horses. Mechikoff, Robert A., ve Steven G. Estes. *A History and Philosophy of Sport and Physical Education*. New York: McGraw Hill Companies, Inc., 2006. 77

Depictions of boxing and wrestling activities have also been discovered in excavations. However discussions on whether Etruscans genuinely cared for these sports or whether these depictions were merely entertaining spectacles still continue.<sup>59</sup> Festivals were a significant component of entertainments for the Etruscans, as for the Greeks. A variety of athletic competitions were performed during these festivals; however combat games and gladiatorial shows attracted the audience mostly because of the excitement and entertainment they offered.<sup>60</sup> In that sense, it is legitimate to state that the Etruscan style of "spectacular" games was closer to the Roman taste than the contests of Greeks in search of athletic ideals. In 509 B.C. Romans overpowered Etruscans. After this victory, interaction between the two worlds led the Romans to internalize the cultural behaviour and perform the traditions of their predecessors. Gladiatorial combats and performances accompanied with wild beasts turned into the greatest recreational activities of the Roman world.

The Etruscans had considerable influence on the Romans...In sport, the combat event of boxing from Greek athletics, chariot racing, forms of blood sport, and spectacular nature of their sports all anticipated, or influenced, the Romans.<sup>61</sup>

On the other hand, with the fall of Greece in 146 B.C., Romans had the opportunity to learn from the achievements of the Greek world. Later however Greek influence on Rome became transformed, leading Romans to develop a great expertise in public entertainment. Hence after practicing Greek athletics for a while, chariot racing became more

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<sup>59</sup> Gardiner, E. Norman. *Athletics of the Ancient World*. London: Oxford University Press, 1955. 120

<sup>60</sup> Another similarity here is that the accompaniment of music in festivals was common in both of the Greek and the Etruscan worlds. According to Aristotle, flute music was popular among Etruscans (as it was in Greece) and would often accompany ritual ceremonies such as boxing matches, hunting expeditions, dancing, and the beating of slaves. Mechikoff, Robert A., and Steven G. Estes. *A History and Philosophy of Sport and Physical Education*. New York: McGraw Hill Companies, Inc., 2006. 77

<sup>61</sup> Crowther, Nigel B. *Sport in Ancient Times*. USA: Praeger Publishing, 2007. 82

established as one of the prominent sport activities in Rome. Yet it should be underlined that athletics remained in the background of the Roman social scene when compared to the gladiatorial combats and the wild beast shows.<sup>62</sup>

By the support of Fluvius the politician who appreciated Greek games, the first athletic games were performed in Rome in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. The aim of Fluvius in bringing the games to Rome was to strengthen his position in the political arena. After all, many of the Roman sports grounds were the most significant venues for political propaganda in their time. Since spectacular events had an exclusive place in the Roman understanding of entertainment, Fluvius did not neglect to insert wild beast shows to the games in order to allure the viewers. Afterwards, many promoters including general Sulla and even Pompey the Great, attempted to popularize the Greek games among the Romans in order to take advantage of the venue, yet none could last long. Indeed, Greek games appealed mostly to the elite of the Roman world and never had the social spirit to entertain enthusiastic crowds in Rome.

Nero, for instance, was among the Roman emperors who had an extreme affection for Greeks. His admiration for Greeks was greater than his affection for Roman citizens. Nero's interest in various branches of art, including music, theatre, poetry and literature, induced him to promote a festival including equestrian events besides musical and gymnastic activities. Yet planned to be performed at night by torchlight as a spectacle, this festival was also hardly in keeping with the Greek attitude to athletics. A prominent exception was the organization of the Capitoline Games promoted by Domitian, in order to honour Jupiter. Because of this, Rome was the first city to come to mind in athletics, till 3<sup>rd</sup> century

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<sup>62</sup> As a matter of fact, it is not precise whether chariot racing was taken from the Etruscans or the Greeks. See Harris, Harold Arthur. *Sport in Greece and Rome*. Ithaca & New York: Cornell University Press, 1972. 50

A.D. However as mentioned previously, unlike the Greeks, Romans had no tradition of athletics, mythological heroes with sporting prowess, nor an educational program that incorporated these. Underlying political motives led Roman promoters to present their games as spectacles accompanied with athletes, coming from Greece, in order to please the crowds. Thus, the ascendancy of gladiatorial shows and other spectacular events could not be challenged by Greek athletics.

Beneath their mass of flesh and blood their souls are stifled as in a sea of mud...Neglecting the old rule of health which prescribes moderation in all things they spend their lives in over exercising, in overheating, and oversleeping like pigs...They have not health nor have they beauty. Even those who are naturally well proportioned become fat and bloated.<sup>63</sup>

Throughout their long history, Romans transformed both the political and social arena in various ways; expectedly, this transformation had reflections on sports too. This is why attitudes towards the field of sports differ from the Republic to the Empire. While the Empire bestowed much attention to spectacles of entertainment, physical training and athletic events were enjoyed by the citizens of the Republic. Without doubt, the Romans hardly chased after an ideal of absolute perfection which the Greeks aimed to reach in every field of life. However, men exercising alone or in groups during their daily ritual utilizing baths or *thermae* for different practices was a common scene in Rome.<sup>64</sup>

### **3.2. Exhilarating the Crowds: Spectacular Games as Sports in Rome**

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<sup>63</sup> Galen was quoted in Robinson, Rachel Sargent. *Sources for the History of Greek Athletics*. Cincinnati, 1955. 180

<sup>64</sup> Ball games were quite popular among the early Romans, so it was very likely to see man catching and throwing balls during the time for bath. See Yegül, Fikret. *Bathing in the Roman World*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, Chapter: 3, Bathing Rituals and Activities.

Hours before the games people placed bets while the poor eagerly waited to see if the sponsor of the games would have presents thrown among the audience. Everyone gradually found a seat, the emperor, magistrate and Vestal Virgins occupying special places. With much ceremony the sponsor of the game and a procession of men proceed to an altar to make sacrifice, paid their respects before the imperial box, and then the games commenced.<sup>65</sup>

As mentioned in the previous section, the Roman stance towards athletic sports evolved in parallel with the changing social and political conditions from the Republic to the Empire. Rather than being participants, they preferred becoming spectators watching the combats or competing athletes. The focus was entertaining the crowds and this was achieved by putting on spectacular gladiatorial shows in the Flavian Amphitheatre, chariot races and equestrian events in the Circus Maximus.

On the other hand, due to ongoing military activities, similar to Greece, Roman males had to be trained as warriors with discipline. So it was a necessity for the Romans to have their own system of physical training which was another difference between them and the Greeks. The conditions that determined Roman character and manners made them develop team spirit and provided unity. According to Romans, the over-individualistic and mild athletics of Greeks lacked this notion. War was a means of prestige for the Romans, and it necessitated brutal methods for training the body. For a healthy body, both exercise and recreation were essential; however spending all the time needed for achieving bodily strength for sports was not suitable for the Roman taste. According to Romans, individually performed Greek athletic contests were not the perfect way of getting men ready for war.

To the Greeks, athletic competitions were great events in which every man aspired to compete; they were contests between citizens to

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<sup>65</sup> Dalen, Deobold van, ve Bruce L. Bennet. *A World History of Physical Education*. Eaglewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1971. 81

demonstrate their physical strength. The Romans, however, redefined sport as spectator entertainment, with emphasis on brutality.<sup>66</sup>

Through both the Empire and the Republican era, the affluent people of Rome and the politicians attached great importance to gladiatorial combats and chariot racing. The former used this for personal prestige while the latter saw it as a medium to gain votes. Although the emperors closely allied themselves with sports for political purposes, the state itself presumably never had a total and absolute control of racing.<sup>67</sup> Seemingly, the state was the authority in organizing and performing the races on the ground of providing funding. According to the historian Ammianus Marcellinus, for the large mass of unemployed Romans, the Circus Maximus was a temple, a home, a community centre and the fulfilment of their hopes, because the circus was popular and the seats were free. Emperors also attended the games. Since spectacles allowed all classes of society to share something in common, many of the emperors considered that it was a wise strategy to patronize the games.<sup>68</sup>

Whether the gladiatorial combats of the Romans should be considered as sport or not has been quite a debate among the historians. Some scholars still consider these as instances of Roman ferocity. Scholars opposing this support the view that spectacular games accomplish the necessary criteria of a spectator sport, which includes prizes, skilled fighting rules, and referees. In any case, it is a fact that gladiatorial combats were among the leading recreational activities, awaking

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<sup>66</sup> Mechikoff, Robert A., ve Steven G. Estes. *A History and Philosophy of Sport and Physical Education*. New York: McGraw Hill Companies, Inc., 2006. 86

<sup>67</sup> Crowther, Nigel B. *Sport in Ancient Times*. USA: Praeger Publishing, 2007. 124

<sup>68</sup> Kleiner states that the roman use of art, especially portraits and historical relief sculptures, to manipulate public opinion is similar to the contemporary practice of employing carefully crafted imagery in political campaigns. See, Kleiner, Fred S. *A History of Roman Art*. Boston: Cengage Learning, 2010. xxi

enthusiasm in Romans of all classes. As the Roman cities appealed to great numbers of enthusiastic people and welcomed them, the emperor found the solution of providing seats in sufficient number by taking the newcomers into the service of constructing permanent amphitheatres made of stone. Romans had a fondness for size and spectacle in every sense; so they did not refrain from concretizing their passion also in the fields of arts and architecture.

The difference between the artistic understandings of the Greek and the Roman worlds revealed itself in the creation of the images and the roles taken by the latter in different social occasions. Each culture and period has its own value judgements, manifestations of which also vary in relation to the values, forces and realities of the society. The visual artistic expressions are, indeed, the most effective forms of these manifestations.<sup>69</sup> In cognizance of this, by looking at the priorities and preferences of the Greeks and the Romans, the artistic and stylistic differences of the two worlds become comprehensible and distinct. Just as the importance given to various types of games differs from culture to culture, reflections of these choices on arts also differ. This is why, while the athlete was at the centre of the Greek games, and even given the honour of having a statue of himself erected, the promoter got all the credit in Rome.

### **3.3. Roman Art: In the Pursuit of Memory**

In Greek and Roman antiquity, the symbolic transformation of military victories into political power, external as well as internal, was achieved on the one hand by significant actions, such as rituals and celebrations, and on the other hand by visual signs, above all by powerful monuments.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Zanker, Paul. *Roman Art*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010. viii

<sup>70</sup> Dillon, Sheila, and Katherine E. Welch. *Representations of War in Ancient Rome*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. 27



When the subject is Roman art, the dynamics and processes that influenced its characteristics and development need to be examined, in order to comprehend how the artistic productions act in their embedded environment. So the time span when Roman armies extended their reach into southern Italy and the Greek East, and the process of Hellenization – which was an expected consequence of the victories won against the culturally superior Greek cities and kingdoms – are important in terms of grasping the main transformations in the political and social structures, lifestyles, values, and the self-image of Rome and her allies.

Indeed, the rise of the city of Rome goes back to 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C. By the turn of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C., her destined and irrepressible growth started with the Republican model of governance and paved the path for the revelation of an imperial centre.<sup>71</sup> Initial Greek – Roman encounters began in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C near south Italy and Sicily where the Greeks had numbers of colonies for a long time. As the Hellenistic powers which were perpetually at war with each other, similar to the classical Greek *poleis*, began to ask Romans for military support, Roman appreciation for Greeks was tempered by irritation in a short period.<sup>72</sup> Without doubt, Romans were more organized in the military arena than Greeks and more accomplished politically. In time, when their toleration for constantly struggling Greeks was over, Romans started to overpower Hellenistic kingdoms. The fall of Egypt took relatively long but was managed by Augustus in 31 B.C. Meanwhile, defeating his enemies one by one,

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<sup>71</sup> It should be noted at this point that by the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. war had become so central to Roman society and because success in war was the best way to achieve election to high office, the artistic manifestations of this political competition had almost invariably to do with war. See Dillon, Sheila, and Katherine E. Welch. *Representations of War in Ancient Rome*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. 3

<sup>72</sup> Woodford, Susan. *The Art of Greece and Rome*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1982. 83

Augustus emerged as the sole power and the Roman Republic became the Roman Empire in 27 B.C.

Along with their political and military dominance on Greece, Romans were strongly influenced by Greek art and culture. As a matter of fact, the Roman response to spreading Greek art was clearly expressed in the words of the Roman poet Horace:

Captive Greece took captive the savage conqueror and brought the arts into rustic Latium."<sup>73</sup>

Throughout the Imperial evolution, what allured Romans was not only the art of Greece; they also embraced and adopted Greek philosophy, poetry and rhetoric eagerly. Indeed, Greek artisans and intellectuals were known to take advantage of this and worked for the fascinated Romans.<sup>74</sup> Between 31 B.C. and A.D 330, a great number of sculptures were created in Rome and Greek reproductions, which will be examined in the following section, were among these creations.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, for the Romans, art and politics were closely linked. This is seen in the early Roman artistic

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<sup>73</sup> Quoted in Stewart, Peter. *The Social History of Roman Art*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. 12

<sup>74</sup> Indeed these circumstance led numbers of skilled sculptors practice their craft throughout the Empire. They were familiar with the materials and knew how to use them properly. However Stewart argues that this does not provide sufficient knowledge about the identity of the artists. Even though historical sources point out artists with Greek names it would be wrong to jump to a general statement about the identity of Roman art and its creators. "Greek names belie the more complex backgrounds of craftsmen in Roman society. Freedmen artists were not all of Greek extraction. Greek ancestry may indeed imply possession of an inherited craft tradition. Yet, it is visible how the extensive use of slave labour and the method of training reduced the degree to which the continuation of Hellenic artistic traditions under Roman rule can simply be associated with the heritage of the Empire's Greek population." For further information on the argument see Stewart, Peter. *The Social History of Roman Art*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. 10-19

productions, the majority of which were monuments erected for public awareness and buildings serving to meet public necessities. In the course of both the Republican and Imperial periods, Roman rulers were aware that art had a great power to promote their existence in the political arena.

Romans were uniquely aware of the importance of visual materials as instruments of communication and control.<sup>75</sup>

According to the famous Greek historian Polybius, the outstanding component of Roman life was the political system. Seen in this light, the profound effects of politics on art were unavoidable. By erecting statues, installing commemorative reliefs in public areas or patronizing new buildings and restoring damaged ones, both the members of the Senate and the Roman emperors aimed to reveal the potential of works of art in promoting themselves. Correspondingly, financial support by the patrons was, most of the time, noted with an inscription as a favour. Beginning with Sulla and then Pompey, around 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C., self promotion started to be utilized as a tool for political propaganda more explicitly.<sup>76</sup> Emperors followed along similar lines.<sup>77</sup> In cognizance of this, it should be noted that when a Roman artwork is taken into consideration – a sculpture, painting or architectural relief – the conditions that affected its creation, such as the purpose of the sponsor and the underlying intended

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<sup>75</sup> Onians, John. *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greece and Rome*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999. 169

<sup>76</sup> Ramage, Nancy H., and Andrew Ramage. *Roman Art*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1991. 17

<sup>77</sup>Generals such as Sulla, Pompey, and Julius Caesar achieved the greatest power under the Republic. When the Empire was established by Augustus, it took its name and nature from the title of the head of the armed forces, the *imperator* or the 'commander'. The extent to which military experience influenced artistic activity is indicated by the way the same generals, Sulla, Pompey, Caesar, Augustus, became the greatest builders and patrons of the art. Onians, John. *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greek and Rome*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999. 161-163

meaning should also be thought of. Even though there were some common characteristics seen in both Greek and Roman art, the idea behind the creation of the artworks and underlying meanings was generally different, depending on the patron. In this case, it was obviously not the inventive artists that directed the artistic development of Rome. Whether a private citizen or an official of the imperial government, it was the patron, who shaped the process throughout.<sup>78</sup>

As the evidence reveals, Romans had considerable interest in narrating actual events in sculpture. Similar to their Greek counterparts, they placed historical reliefs on public structures such as temples and other monuments. (Fig.16) The subject of the narrative, either mythical or historical, was blurred in some instances. However, most of the time, a combination of the two displaying divine figures together with ordinary people existed. What differentiates Roman works from those of Greeks' was the representation a style of historical events in a directly reporting manner while the Greeks preferred to narrate through mythical analogies.

When the Greeks sought for beginnings and for an order in the cosmos they turned to a divine mythology like that contained in the *Theogony* of Hesiod, in which primeval forces – chaos, earth, heaven and night – shaped a universe which was ever after dominated by divine personalities. The roman Pantheon, by contrast, had almost no mythology behind it. The deities of the early Romans sought for beginnings and for an order in the cosmos they turned not to the gods, but to mortal men – Aeneas and Latinus, founders of the race; Romulus, founder of the city; Numa the giver of the laws and so on.<sup>79</sup>

Installing sculptural reliefs on the walls of public structures was very common during the Imperial era. (Fig.17) Depictions on these reliefs

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<sup>78</sup> Stewart, Peter. *The Social History of Roman Art*. New York : Cambridge University Press, 2008. 32

<sup>79</sup> Pollitt, Jerome Jordan. *The Art of Rome*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1996. xi

included figures of specific emperors and their family members speaking to the army or helping the poor. It was common to see the repetition of these same representations in different contexts since repetition was a highly convenient tool to expedite public perception. The scene of the emperor delivering a discourse to a group, for instance, was a common theme in Roman art. In these images (*adlocutio*), the emperor was always distinguishable among others due to his exclusive stance, usually standing on a higher level than other figures or addressing a group by standing in front of them. Other than reliefs, scenes with similar themes were also represented on coins in order to both raise and disseminate awareness about the service of the imperial office.

The reason for using the representations of real events derived from the Roman interest in putting an emphasis on the "moment". The breastplate of Augustus depicted on Augustus of Prima Porta (Fig.18) was a significant example of this pursuit: it had the depiction of "a Roman soldier who really represents the whole Roman army or the Roman people, receiving a military standard from a man from Parthia in Mesopotamia, also representing the whole nation."<sup>80</sup> The intended message was easily understandable because the Roman was dressed in a familiar military suit while the other figure wore floppy pants. Indeed, this was a proverbial event.

Obviously, narrative imagery allowed the leaders to deliver lucid messages to the public. Self-promotion in Rome was, indeed, not limited to commemorative monuments or historical reliefs; coinage was also an efficient part of this in terms of generating a cycle of currency throughout the Empire. Without doubt, the depictions of success and power, with the support of Roman rulers, had a significant share in the spread of the

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<sup>80</sup> Ramage, Nancy H., ve Andrew Ramage. *Roman Art*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1991. 17

political and military developments through Roman cities in various geographies. Besides, a great number of tombs and coins, carrying more information than their Greek predecessors, also served the same purpose. It is legitimate to state that when preserving the memory of the persons who erected them is considered, villas, temples and other kind of structures were regarded as monuments in Rome.

The Romans evidently found it much easier to see words and images as parallel phenomena, with both being used to 'communicate' rather than 'represent'. This is apparent in those rhetorical texts that match words with mnemonic images. It is also well illustrated by the parallelism between text and image on many Roman commemorative artefacts.<sup>81</sup>

Together with all the artistic components, including sculptures and paintings, most Roman buildings were sponsored by individuals who intended to consolidate their power and social status. Hence, one of the main concerns from design to construction was creating an impression on the consciousness and memory of the viewer. This is why a strong emphasis was put on the rhetorical memory system.

The parallel between the function of the rhetorical memory system and the public *monumenta* suggests the possibility of direct links between them. Memory systems relied on placing images in a series of architectural places so that they would stick in the memory of the speaker. The purpose of the public sculpture of ancient Rome, sculpture that was almost always installed in the architectural environment, was to impress itself on the memory of the viewer.<sup>82</sup>

The information taken from Polybius, Pliny and other historians also indicates that Romans had a sensitive prediction for the visual. So in

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<sup>81</sup> As mentioned previously, two of the most typical were coins and tombs. With their elaborate inscriptions and complex but compressed imagery they were strikingly different from their Greek predecessors. See, Onians, John. *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greece and Rome*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999. 177-179

<sup>82</sup> Onians, John. *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greece and Rome*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999. 187-188

order to get to the heart of Roman art, “the historical context and the ‘message’ of the images to which in turn created the ‘style’ of the form of art”<sup>83</sup> should be the starting point to probe. In Rome, art was not simply an independent artistic endeavour; it was a sophisticated way of social communication.

### **3.4. Roman Responses to Greek Sculpture: Constructing Identity**

Republican Rome (507-27 B.C.) candidly and openly welcomed Greek culture despite its un-Stoic and un-Roman luxurious state of being.<sup>84</sup> Republican Romans were, in general, hard-working agrarians and constant warriors.<sup>85</sup> It can be said that avariciousness was not a characteristic of Republican people. As a result of this, collecting artefacts of the captured lands and cultures was considered as a waste of effort and resources. The governors, expectedly, desired to display a number of significant artworks in their private estates as demonstrations of their prestige while the subjects had no interest in foreign goods. However this approach, also approved by conservative circles of the Republic, was efficaciously supplanted by the incursion of the booties brought to Rome by the capture of Syracuse and Corinth.

The gentle but also powerful and confident image of Greeks, explicitly represented in the visual arts, was severely damaged by the Roman triumph. The military breakdown of Greeks started in Sicily in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. and was completed in mainland Greece towards the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. This turn of events annihilated the traditional need both for “science as an instrument of control and for bodily awareness as

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<sup>83</sup>Zanker, Paul. *Roman Art*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010. ix

<sup>84</sup> Barr, Sandra M. *Making Something out of Next to Nothing: Bartolomeo Cavaceppi and the Major Restorations of Myron's Discobolus*. 2008. 39

<sup>85</sup> For detailed information on agrarian character of Republican Romans see Stephenson 1981.

an instrument of education".<sup>86</sup> From the capture of Syracuse in 211 B.C. by Marcellus to Mummius' sack of Corinth in 146 B.C., a great number of Greek sculptures and paintings were transported to the city of Rome. That is to say the early Roman encounter with Greek art was, conceivably, in the form of plunder. Displaying war booties through the city after military victories was an ancient tradition in Rome. In fact, these organized events had a ceremonial character, which further emphasized the political and religious significance of the victory. After successive Roman victories over Greece during the Hellenistic period, a wide range of artistic production including paintings, sculptures, ornamental metal works and jewellery was collected in Rome. Some of these Greek works of art were displayed within sacred precincts and public spaces while others were kept in private collections. Thus, in the long run the influence of Greek art on Roman taste and trends became unavoidable and more noticed.

Plutarch in his *Parallel Lives* states that "[Marcellus and others]... intended to make a visual impression of this triumph and also an ornament for the city"<sup>87</sup> while bringing in his booty.<sup>88</sup> The Roman urban scene went through a re-shaping activity by these newly introduced visual elements, with the dispersion of the artworks either in public spaces or in private collections, which in time created a specific cultural aura in Roman culture. High quality masterpieces of Greek art were among the plundered artworks transported to Rome after military

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<sup>86</sup> Onians, John. *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greece and Rome*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999. 59

<sup>87</sup> Marcellus is quoted in Pollitt, Jerome Jordan. «The Impact of Greek Art on Rome.» *Transactions of the American Philological Association* (1974), Vol.108, 1978. 155

<sup>88</sup> Barr states that "the taking and displaying of war objects, booty as it were, was and would remain a long-standing Mediterranean tradition. Verres (120-43 B.C.) was notorious for art theft in Sicily, and both Sulla (138-78 B.C.) and Nero (37-68 A.D.) ignited public outrage by their various appropriations of art from Delphi. During his time period, however, Marcellus was apparently the first general to display these *ornamenta urbis* to the unrestrained extent that he did." (Barr 2008, 41-42)



victories. Accordingly, Romans questioned their own artistic intellect which led them to appreciate their own values besides perceiving the differences between Roman and Greek art in due course.

With the artworks on public display all over the city, Rome looked like a museum of Greek art.<sup>89</sup> And Romans admired what they experienced. In the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. the Capitoline was adorned with the artistic creations of famous Greek sculptors such as Myron, Lysippos, Euphranor, Chares, and Praxiteles. A similar scene was also seen on the Palatine. Obviously, the Roman urban scene was fed by a wide range of highly refined Greek works of art and any citizen looking at the environment could feel the Classical essence. Romans spent a great effort on internalizing the Greek sense of art and figuring out their own connections to Greek understanding. Through an extended process of criticising, appreciating, interpreting, and searching for the right function and position, Romans eagerly learned how to utilize and transform the meaning of Greek art for their own purposes.

First the generals of the late Republic and later the emperors of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D. created a world in which not only they themselves and those who benefitted most directly from the new wealth and power, but a whole population shared the experience of a transformation in man's relation to his environment.<sup>90</sup>

Seen in this light, what a contemporary artist could do in order to retain the prevailing ambience was to create either one to one copies and free-hand variants or new works in the Classical style.<sup>91</sup> In parallel with this, a considerable growth occurred in the copying industry during the 1<sup>st</sup> and

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<sup>89</sup> Pollitt, Jerome Jordan. «The Impact of Greek Art on Rome.» *Transactions of the American Philological Association* (1974 -), Vol.108, 1978. 155-174

<sup>90</sup> Onians, John. *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greece and Rome*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999. 217.

<sup>91</sup> Pollitt, Jerome Jordan. *Art in the Hellenistic Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. 159-16

2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C. because the original Greek masterpieces were insufficient in number to satisfy the demand of enthusiastic Roman connoisseurs. It was not possible for every *gymnasium* to display a Doryphoros of Polycleitus but a copy of the original was easy to obtain, such as the replica found in Pompeii. In due course, the copies of the finest Greek masterpieces could be found in the private collections of Roman *villas* besides the public spaces such as baths and *gymnasia*. Greek taste and aesthetic notions, in time, deeply affected Romans' own artistic understanding and stylistic productions through the effort of Greek sculptors working for Roman patrons.

It is known that for a long time Roman art was regarded as "Greek art in a new context" in its simplest sense; nevertheless there can be no doubt that context was among the most significant components which influenced the "reception" and "perception" of an artwork. What is of paramount importance here is the fact that the Greek works of art, which were replicated and installed in various contexts by Romans, had multiple lives to experience and neither the early existence of the artworks nor the later ones could be disregarded.<sup>92</sup> This means that after the first life of the "original" in the Greek world, the artwork began to live a new alternative life with Romans, which is an aspect that is overlooked due to the unknown components such as context, location and appearance. This second life, either of the restored original booty or a replica, usually became the subject for misinterpretations and productions were judged to be spiritless imitations of excellent originals. However, as this thesis aims to emphasize, these replicas or restorations were installed in their *novus* Roman, meticulously chosen context with contemporary intentions and different semantic attributions. Greek art had the potential to evolve

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<sup>92</sup> Bergmann, Bettina. «Greek Masterpieces and Roman Recreative Fictions.» *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol.97, *Greece in Rome: Influence, Integration, Resistance*, 1995. 79-120

into something rather different in the context of Roman society.<sup>93</sup> In disseminating the imperial image, Romans had their specific missions to accomplish such as representing public images to the viewers, which was actually an implementation of the premises promoted by literary evidence. Vitruvius in his *Ten Books on Architecture* addresses Augustus and states:

...when I saw that you were giving your attention not only to the welfare of society in general and to the establishment of public order, but also to the providing of public buildings intended for utilitarian purposes, so that not only should the state have been enriched with provinces by your means, but that the greatness of power might likewise be attended with distinguished authority in its public buildings, I thought that I ought to take the first opportunity to lay before you my writings on this theme.<sup>94</sup>

As previously mentioned, Roman language had borrowings from Greek syntax and vocabulary as an essential part of the Roman educational system. Observing a similar approach in the Roman language of imagery is not surprising.<sup>95</sup> In this regard, it would not be wrong to state that in some aspects Romans owed to Greek sculpture because Greek sculpture had a significant role in the evolution of a Roman style hinging on Roman values and concerns. Indeed, the stylistic forms of Polycleitus were regarded as a statement of the *virtus* of athletes along with other values such as *gravitas* and *sanctitas*.<sup>96</sup> This was not a way of reviving the *arête* of classical Greece. On the contrary, alterations of Greek sculpture represented the components of a highly Roman value system grounded

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<sup>93</sup> Stewart, Peter. *The Social History of Roman Art*. New York : Cambridge University Press, 2008. 140-146

<sup>94</sup> Vitruvius. *Ten Books on Architecture translated by Morris Hicky Morgan*. Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1914. 3

<sup>95</sup> Hölscher, Tonio. *Language of the Images in Roman Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. 11

<sup>96</sup> Quint. *Inst.*5, 12, 20.

on Roman ideals. In a similar vein, in order to serve as models of masculinity, these components were utilized in Roman artistic presentation of mortals as well as divine figures and mythical heroes.<sup>97</sup> At this point it is legitimate to state that the artistic understanding of the Augustan period differed from the Republican period because most of the artworks created or restored in Augustan Rome had the undisguised agenda of fleshing out new imperial objectives. They were, in a way, elements announcing the downfall of an age together with the rise of another. Augustus of Prima Porta was a fine example of this Roman imperial understanding. The stylistic forms of this statue, despite being a Roman cultural production, did not directly correlate with the Republican antecedents. It went back to the social and cultural context of the classical Greek *polis*.<sup>98</sup> Its material resemblance with the Doryphoros of Polykleitos in form was the indicator of this appropriation. As a matter of fact, in the eastern Mediterranean, production of Greek art continued especially between the Late Republic and Early Empire. However, artistic and architectural works of the Greek cities of the period were inevitable outcomes of growing Roman patronage or adaptation of Greek populaces to Rome, in other words to the Emperor as the new authority.

In this light, it can be said that artworks introduced to viewers in either public or private Roman contexts, served to propagate the supreme prosperous characteristics of the new social, political and cultural aura of the Augustan period in different parts of the Empire as well as Rome. Looking back to the Greeks and deploying Greek elements for this imperial image had a utilitarian agenda. Again, then, the reception of historical motifs broke away from the Greek identity and transformed into

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<sup>97</sup> Hölscher, Tonio. «Greek Styles and Greek Art in Augustan Rome: Issues of the Present versus the Records of the Past.» In *The Classical Traditions of Greece and Rome*, James I. Porter, 237-269. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006. 242 – 243

<sup>98</sup> Ibid, 244

a timeless, ideal factor in contemporary “state architecture” – in the concrete as well as the metaphorical sense.<sup>99</sup> While treating Greek art as public property in the service of the state, what Augustus aimed to achieve was obviously reviving what was considered a virtue of the heroes of the past.

To sum up, especially in the Augustan period, great numbers of Greek artworks of various periods were adapted, transformed and developed by Romans. Roman visual culture, based on memorial concepts, was substantially fed by Greek elements as a part of the new cultural, social and political formation of Rome. However, this was not an attempt to revive the past; it was, on the contrary, a way to utilize adapted forms – either in the form of reinterpretations or as mechanical reproductions – in order to lay emphasis on specific contemporary concepts. Reception of these productions in different settings enabled the representation of Roman values through Greek models which were freed from their past.

### **3.4.1. Olympic Victor Statues in Rome: Capturing Towards Collecting**

Romans took things from the territories they conquered and did with them what they wanted.<sup>100</sup>

Art historical taxonomy has traditionally grouped Roman sculpture under five categories these are portraiture, historical reliefs, funerary reliefs, sarcophagi and copies. The category of copies consists of reproductions of Greek masterpieces. This is why Romans have been criticised for lacking creativity by some scholars. J.J. Winckelmann, for instance,

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<sup>99</sup> Hölscher, Tonio. «Greek Styles and Greek Art in Augustan Rome: Issues of the Present versus the Records of the Past.» In *The Classical Traditions of Greece and Rome*, writer James I. Porter, 237-269. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006.

<sup>100</sup> Onians, John. *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greece and Rome*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999. 156

whose studies are a fundamental introduction for understanding the modern European discovery of ancient Greece, gave the Greek taste of “pure” perfection an indispensable place. According to him, art produced in the Hellenistic period and afterwards represented decadent forms of Classical Greek art. By asserting that Romans had no original artistic artefacts blended with their original cultural merits, Winckelmann disapproved even the existence of Roman art.<sup>101</sup> It is also worth mentioning that some scholars of Hellenistic art put the masterpieces sculpted by Romans into the heart of Classical Greek art.<sup>102</sup> Yet, it should be noted that in the absence of the Roman replicas, the only evidence for many of the renowned Greek masterpieces would have been only ancient literary evidence.

Even though the Greek understanding of sports was not exactly in line with Roman taste, it is obvious that Greek art was highly valued and appreciated by Romans, because in terms of symbolizing the high ethos of *arête/virtus*, the stylistic forms of the Classical Greek period were usable in the construction of the new identity and regime of the Empire. However, based on the evidence outlined so far, it might be asserted that both the representation and reception of the images, specifically Olympic victor statues in this case, were definitely different due to the new cultural, social, and political conditions in the background. The Roman Empire represented an aggregation of different communities. The works acquired from captured lands in various ways were a visual manifestation of Roman power on the subjects. With the integration of physical allure

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<sup>101</sup> Hölscher, Tonio. *Language of the Images in Roman Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. 6

<sup>102</sup> See Marvin, Miranda. *The Language of the Muses: The Dialogue Between Greek and Roman Sculpture*. Los Angeles: Paul Getty Museum, 2008; Gazda, Elaine K. “Roman Sculpture and the Ethos of Emulation: Reconsidering Repetition.” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. 97, *Greece in Rome: Influence, Integration, Resistance*, 1995: 121-156 and Ridgway, Brunilde Sismondo. *Roman Copies of Greek Sculpture: The Problem of the Originals*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1984.

and emblematic themes they served pragmatic purposes. In the end, the Roman and Greek worlds were of a considerably different nature.

While the Greeks enjoyed abstraction and generalization in thought and art, the Romans, down-to-earth and practical as they were, preferred the specific and the factual. Greek portraits were almost exclusively of famous men and women: people who had won their reputation as athletes, poets, philosophers, rulers and orators. Something typical always clung to their representations to help define in what category they had won their fame. Roman portraits could be anybody who had the means, family connections or distinction to commission them.<sup>103</sup>

What the Romans expected from a portrait was the accurate image of a particular person. Indeed, in the light of a new idealism, accurate representations of the Republican statesman in the form of portraiture kept its dominance during the Empire too. However, in taking the Doryphoros of Polycleitus as an ideal image of masculine strength and beauty in the time of the classical Greek *polis*, the emperor had a new concept and considerations looking back to the merits of the Classical Greek period. When the significance of the Doryphoros as a model figure for a classical theory of art grounded in the highest ideal of physical and ethical qualities of the citizen of the classical *polis* is considered, the strategy of Imperial Rome seems quite reasonable. As previously mentioned, with the rapid adoption and adaptation of Greek visual arts by the Romans in the Augustan period, Olympic victor statues, with other various mythological and worldly images, started to be displayed in public plazas and major public buildings as well as large private collections. This paved the path for the development of a systematic art connoisseurship. The collections of artworks, often including one or more Greek athletic images – such as the Doryphoros and Discobolos – representing *virtus/arête*, turned into museums. In these novel contexts viewers

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<sup>103</sup> Woodford, Susan. *The Art of Greece and Rome*. Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1982. 84

pleased themselves with the artworks which were seen as a part of an aesthetic education. Thus, it is reasonable to state that Olympic victor statues, in terms of being the demonstrations of the perfect human body and concretized images of dignity and honour, were a part of this aesthetic education. "Accordingly, a specific taste for particular periods of Greek art has been attributed to the protagonists of art collecting, to which they are supposed to have oriented themselves in their ethical *habitus*."<sup>104</sup>

In his letters to Atticus in 67 and 66 B.C., Cicero refers to this art of connoisseurship clearly when he strongly desires to embellish his villa at Tusculum with different varieties of old sculptures:

And I pray you send them (Pentelic marble herms with heads of bronze) as soon as possible and also as many other statues and objects as seem to you appropriate to that place, and to my interests, and to your good taste – above all anything which seems to you suitable for a gymnasium or a running track? I implore you...to ship them (statues and herms) ..., and also anything else which seems to you suitable for this place... especially for a wrestling court gymnasium...the place itself informs me of what it needs. In addition I commission you to procure some reliefs which I could insert into the wall of my atrium and also two well-heads ornamented with figures.

Naturally I would like you, in accordance with what you have written, to decorate this place with as many works of art as possible <sup>105</sup>

Cicero's demands would determine the decorative programmes of Roman imperial buildings, from shady tree-lined porticoes to the stage-buildings of theatres or the large and small myriad niches in vast bathing establishments, atriums. In fact public as well as private edifices were the

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<sup>104</sup> Elsner, Jas. «Classicism in Roman Art.» in *The Classical Traditions of Greece and Rome*, writer James I. Porter, 270-297. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2006. 249

<sup>105</sup> Pollitt was quoted in Vermeule, Cornelius. «Graeco-Roman Statues: Purpose and Setting - II: Literary and Archaeological Evidence for the Display and Grouping of Graeco-Roman Sculpture.» *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol.110, No.788, 1968. 607-613



most common places where artworks - either plundered or purchased - were positioned. Porticoes in the Roman *fora* became full of these once alien, now re-contextualized objects from 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. Numerous artworks with new meanings were positioned in various Roman settings including colonnades, temples, baths, private villas as well as *fora*. By the turn of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D., the approximate number of statues in Rome was over a half million while the human population was about 1.5 million.<sup>106</sup>

The transfer and recreation of a great number of objects – military and cultural artefacts as well as stylistic statues – revealed fractions seeing Greek culture from two different frameworks. In the first group were the Catoists – following the Censor Cato – who thought that Greek art was ethically decadent in content and also material which was not appropriate for the Roman line of thought. They were close to being culturally isolated.<sup>107</sup> On the other hand, the second group stood up for the exaltation of Greek art with regard to the high-level aesthetic and material quality of the Greek productions. They supported the private display of Greek works besides large public displays because to them Greek art could be a source to refine Roman taste; individuals should take advantage of this both in their private collections and in public grounds. Indeed, through the end of the Republic, the influence of the culturally introvert Catoist group diminished and the second group of connoisseurs exerted dominance which led to the emergence of a full

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<sup>106</sup> Gross, Hans. *Rome in the Age of Enlightenment*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1990. 55-86

Even though the statues displayed in various locations were high in number, they could have reached even greater numbers because it is known that rulers such as Sulla had some bronze objects melted in order to be reused as coins. It is legitimate to state that the statues that could exist were satisfactory both in quantity and quality to control the Roman public scene till the centre of authority was moved to Constantinople from Rome.

<sup>107</sup> Augustus in his *Res Gestae* expressed that over-intimacy with foreign artistic products could lead to a moral deterioration among Romans so he endorsed public display of the objects. This was probably a precaution in order to make a presentation in controlled venues. For further information see Brunt and Moore 1967. 20-28

scale art market and Olympic victor statues. These Olympic statues with their material and thematic perfection were among the leading products of this social, cultural and economical interaction.

### **3.5. Sculpture and Space: Olympic Victor Statues in Context in Rome**

As mentioned in the introduction, the artistic qualities and craftsmanship of Classical Greek sculptures and their “Roman copies” have been subject to various discussions within art historical circles for a long time. The dominant view at the beginning was that Roman artworks were literally dependent on the Greek Classical and Hellenistic styles. In time, Roman sculptures began to be regarded on their own merit, as the “original” products of a different cultural, social and political milieu with its own time and geography. Hence, in this study, rather than describing how the copies were sculpted, it is deemed important to elucidate why the copies were sculpted and how they were located, with a focus on Olympic victor statues.

Without doubt, seen from the framework of this thesis when the exhibition of an object is in question, the perception of the viewer comes into prominence besides the context of representation. Individual perception contributes to the meaning of the object because what is seen is filtered by various personal frameworks.

Viewing is one activity in which people confront the world. They themselves may change under the influence of what they see, or what see may cease to be a neutral object and become something interpreted by them according to prejudices and associations present in their minds.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Elsner, Jas. *Art and the Roman Viewer*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995. 4

The dynamics that affect the relationship between people and the artworks change due to times and contexts; in parallel with this, the Roman way of seeing the world was similar to how they saw the arts. Like many other cultures, Romans also looked to the past and were influenced by the artistic customs of preceding civilizations. So, this Roman way of retrospective thinking, in the long term, served both the characterization and perception of Roman art. That is to say, Greek sculptures originally created to be displayed in their own specific contexts were reinterpreted in Rome to serve the needs and aspirations of new patrons and new purposes. The "deed of adaptation" in itself, indeed, was the fundamental factor differentiating the artistic object from its original. So, "the act of classifying an object as a copy incorporates a fundamental denial of the validity of that object as a unique expression of its time and culture".<sup>109</sup> Classifying these artworks simply as "copies" by looking only at the artistic and stylistic characteristics ignores their identity as Roman cultural creations. Making interpretations primarily out of a Greek centred perspective, led to a major mistreatment of Roman productions until recently. Understanding the essence of Roman artistic practice concretized by the artists and the patrons of the period was largely overlooked thus reducing Roman art to one with aesthetic poverty.

Repetition is a tool; a means of achieving the end, which is to emulate a model or *exemplum*. The act of repeating in itself implies the continuing significance of the *exemplum* and its revalidation in the new image and context. The act of repeating can take the form of a straightforward replication, or quotation, of a model or more subtle forms of allusion that invoke one model or several but do not copy them wholly or exactly.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Gazda, Elaine K. «Roman Sculpture and the Ethos of Emulation: Reconsidering Repetition.» *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. 97, *Greece in Rome: Influence, Integration, Resistance*, 1995: 121-156. 124

<sup>110</sup> Ibid. 144

It was mentioned earlier that the tradition of bringing trophies from the defeated cities was common both in the Republican and Imperial periods. This practice was of primary importance because Roman interest in the Greek taste of art increased tremendously through plunder. The statues collected in Rome were distributed to different parts of the city and exhibited in various settings. However, besides the contexts of display, the functions of the specimens selected – either transferred originals or replications – were also transformed depending on the values and needs of Rome. Unlike their Classical predecessors displayed in specific public spaces of the *polis* as dedications of honour and concretized images of *arête*, Roman statues of Olympic victors had various public and private settings of exhibition; including baths, *fora* and villas besides *gymnasia* and temples.

To understand the role of these statues in the Roman culture, policies of the Imperial period should be kept in mind because these works often had the purpose of disseminating messages. As such, the images announced the validity of the new imperial formation through military triumph. By this time, their artists were well versed in the visual language of imperial art; intended messages were conveyed to a broad audience via clear, easy intelligible forms.<sup>111</sup> Without doubt, delivering imperial messages via visual means had a significant role in the peaceful assimilation of distant provinces. The Roman appraisal of Greek art involved an implementation of this strategy. Considering the nature of Olympic victor statues and the merits that they represent, such as dignity, honour and victory, it is not surprising to see a great number of “copies” in different settings all over the Empire. As common as in Rome, “copies” were also produced in western Asia Minor at Smyrna, Ephesus, and Aphrodisias; in Greece at Athens and possibly Corinth too. A Myronian *Discobolus* and various other works have been discovered in

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<sup>111</sup> Kousser, Rachel Meredith. *Hellenistic and Roman Ideal Sculpture*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. 47

Ephesus. Indeed, Roman cities fiercely competed with each other in wealth through the number of statues set about baths, theatres and within the arcaded niches of amphitheatres such as the Colosseum. (Figs.19,20) The mausoleum of Hadrian across the Tiber was famed for its multitude of Greek statues in Parian Marble. Also parts of a Myronian *Discobolus* copy have been discovered with various other Roman replicas among the ruins, where the statue had no doubt been hurled during the siege of Rome by Vitiges in 537 A.D.<sup>112</sup>

As can be understood from Cicero's letters to Atticus<sup>113</sup>, even in the late Republic, the elites of Rome were eager to purchase sculptures for their villas which would be the suitable *ornamenta* for the desired ambience. Cicero, for example, writing about the gymnasium of his villa in Tusculum, only asks that Atticus find him sculptures that are *gymnasiode*.<sup>114</sup> It should be noted that placement in delightful environments did not change the demure functional characteristics of the artworks. Art had an active role in demonstrating the intellectual and cultural background of the owner. Artistic installations reflected the sophistication of the patron. That is why Roman villas had galleries adorned with the famous figures of Greek history, among which were Olympic sculptures.<sup>115</sup> The archaeological evidence indicates the

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<sup>112</sup> Vermeule, Cornelius. *Greek Sculpture and Roman Taste*. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1977. 8-9

<sup>113</sup> Cicero is quoted in Vermeule, Cornelius. «Graeco-Roman Statues: Purpose and Setting - II: Literary and Archaeological Evidence for the Display and Grouping of Graeco-Roman Sculpture.» *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol.110, No.788, 1968. 607-613, p.608.

<sup>114</sup> Indeed, Gazda argues that the sculpture's allusions to diverse texts and images from the Greek past, as well as the new imperial present, complicated the selective reading intended by the sculptor and patron, for the viewers. See Gazda, Elaine K. «Roman Sculpture and the Ethos of Emulation: Reconsidering Repetition.» *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol.97, *Greece in Rome: Influence, Integration, Resistance*, 1995. 121-156

<sup>115</sup> Again, Gazda asserts that the source image(s) should be regarded as part of the iconographic history and layered meaning of the copy or repetition and as a sign of the artist's or patron's historical awareness. Gazda, Elaine K. "Roman Sculpture and the Ethos

commonness of these statues and portraiture in the houses and villas of the elite. However, it should also be underlined that to regard these images only as outward manifestations of a wealthy and sophisticated style of living would be an understatement because literary evidence indicates that these images had "positive influences on people's lives, reminding a house's cultivated residents of their moral bearings."<sup>116</sup>

Replicas produced during the first few centuries of the Imperial Era varied in scale which means that it was possible to come across a monumental and/or miniature version of the same sculpture. Most probably statuettes were used to adorn the banquet table of the Roman elite while larger statues were on display in exteriors. In palaces, *gymnasia*, and baths they were probably not out of scale with their surroundings, since those settings did not become universally grand until the Antonine period, after A.D. 140.<sup>117</sup> In fact the influence of Hellenism and Classicism on sculpture, in time, led to an evolution which added sculpture as a significant component of the architectural environment both in interiors and exteriors. "Economics explain the existence of multiples; another demand for the duplication of a certain statue was its intended role, often as one of a series, within an architectural fabric."<sup>118</sup> Seen in this light, what is of paramount importance is the fact that from public spaces to wealthy villas and modest houses, Greek athletic images signified an aura of sophistication. Quintilian specifically states that the Doryphoros was an

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of Emulation: Reconsidering Repetition." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. 97, *Greece in Rome: Influence, Integration, Resistance*, 1995: 121-156.

<sup>116</sup> Stewart, Peter. *The Social History of Roman Art*. New York : Cambridge University Press, 2008. 45

<sup>117</sup> Vermeule, Cornelius. *Greek Sculpture and Roman Taste*. Ann Arbor: Michigan University Press, 1977. 9-12

<sup>118</sup> Hölscher, Tonio. *Language of the Images in Roman Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. 10-21.

essential component of the Greek *gymnasium*; it was enthusiastically adapted by Romans on account of its cultural aura.<sup>119</sup>

...from shady, tree-lined porticoes to the stage buildings of theatres or the myriad niches large and small in vast bathing establishments such as those of Caracalla and Diocletian in Rome.<sup>120</sup>

As seen in Cicero's request – giving clues about the characteristics of Roman imperial building decoration – the ornamentation of porticoes with masterpieces either as background images or in more central spots as the focal points, became highly popular. Considering the nature of Olympic victor statues, it is not surprising to see them as focal elements because they were representations of perfection; they were ideal images endowed with dignity and honour. So it was a tactical choice to accentuate them further through setting in order to convey an imperial message, in order to communicate. Iconographic significance was thus a major reason which made Olympic victor statues popular for display in imperial baths, theatres, nymphaea, and imperial halls around the Empire.<sup>121</sup> It is significant that making an impression on the mind of the observer was more important for Romans than any of preceding cultures. This, presumably, both influenced and shaped the Roman taste on arts and architecture and they intended to apply a "system of recollection" to the material world which revealed itself in the employment of the sculpture on Roman architecture of various scales, especially monuments.

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<sup>119</sup> Bergmann, Bettina. «Greek Masterpieces and Roman Recreative Fictions.» *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol.97, *Greece in Rome: Influence, Integration, Resistance*, 1995. 79-120

<sup>120</sup> Pollitt is quoted in Vermeule, Cornelius. «Graeco-Roman Statues: Purpose and Setting - II: Literary and Archaeological Evidence for the Display and Grouping of Graeco-Roman Sculpture.» *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol.110, No.788, 1968: 607-613.

<sup>121</sup> Gazda, Elaine K. «Roman Sculpture and the Ethos of Emulation: Reconsidering Repetition.» *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Vol. 97, *Greece in Rome: Influence, Integration, Resistance*, 1995: 121-156. 131

The Romans evidently found it much easier to see words and images as parallel phenomena, with both being used to 'communicate' rather than 'represent'.<sup>122</sup>

### 3.5.1. Private Sphere and the Elite Viewer

To surround one's personal estate with the external trappings of power and wealth – and statues and paintings, whether they had been obtained by plunder or by huge amounts of money, were part of such trappings – was one of the symptoms of an ambitious strongman.<sup>123</sup>

The houses and the *villas* created the environment that Romans took the pleasure of exhibiting their possessions; however the *villa* – rather than townhouses – was usually the setting where Greek artworks and other visual productions were on display because of its background in Roman culture. In order to understand the reception of Olympic victor statues in the private context of the *villa* better, first it should be known that *villa* was a place that the *elite* of Rome used as an aristocratic country estate. From the late Republic to the Imperial Era, possessing a house in the countryside gave the Roman aristocrats the opportunity to own spaces away from the clutter of the city and amuse themselves with Greek culture, which they profoundly admired. Correspondingly, the differentiation of lives in public and private zones became more explicit in Roman culture. Zanker states that the discrepancy between *mos maiorum* and the tendency to embrace Greek culture sometimes instigated political tensions which could be avoided by retreating to the countryside. In parallel with this, for the first time two key concepts arose: *otium* (relaxation, private life) and *negotium* (duty, political life in

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<sup>122</sup> Onians, John. *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greek and Rome*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999. 179

<sup>123</sup> Pollitt, Jerome Jordan. «The Impact of Greek Art on Rome.» *Transactions of the American Philological Association* (1974 -), Vol.108, 1978. 155-174



Rome), creating the powerful ideology of the Roman sense of duty.<sup>124</sup> Different from their counterparts in public spaces of the empire, *villa* sculptures invited Romans to an isolated and alluring environment, freed from political contracts. In other words, the world of *otium* was not an appropriate place for *negotium*.<sup>125</sup>

In time, *villas* were ornamented with luxurious items and became venues of attraction. (Figs.21,22) Following the diminution of senatorial authority in the Roman world, the private individual realm of luxury grew, and the passion for flaunt reached a climax especially in the time of Lucullus, Pompey, and Caesar. However, it should be noted here that starting with the age of Augustus, the popularity of displaying Greek images in private settings decreased because Augustus promoted the public display of artworks, including Olympic statues, instead of installing them merely in private settings, in line with his Imperial strategy. Addressing larger crowds instead of a particular group of *elite* is understandable, in the process of making Imperial dispatch accessible all over Rome. More will follow on this in the next section.

In any case, having one's own land for rest and pleasure; sharing opinions with congenial friends in an intellectual environment and displaying affluence was a vehicle for self-glorification and promotion. It is known that booties taken from Greece were already utilized to commemorate the triumph so they were located in the properties of the Roman generals and their "manubial temples".<sup>126</sup> At the beginning, these booties were major elements to remind of the achievements in the

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<sup>124</sup> Zanker, Paul. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1988. 25

<sup>125</sup> However, it was with Augustus that political imagery penetrated the private sphere, and only under the Empire that portraits of Roman rulers, living and dead, appeared in every house. See Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* 1988.

<sup>126</sup> Dillon, Sheila, ve Katherine E. Welch. *Representations of War in Ancient Rome*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. 102-105

military field within a competitive environment of artworks. Considering the symbolized victorious identity that had already been ascribed to Olympic victor statues, it is legitimate to state that their location, among others, in the competitive social environment of Roman *villas* would have been both recognizable and conspicuous because they were not endowed with honour and dignity only by Romans; the spirit was already embedded in them during their "first" Greek lives and this was a feature worth emphasising for Romans too. Another notable aspect concerning the Roman *villa* was that its different spaces were sometimes given famous Greek names – either the names of architectural structures or cities – depending on the activities that took place in that specific space. For instance, gardens or colonnaded courtyards were named *gymnasium* or *palaestra*. Greek style lives in Greek style environments were lived in these set-up "stages" by Romans. In order to create the appropriate ambiance, the statues or busts of Olympic victors, herms or figures of Heracles and Athena stood in the "*gymnasium*" while philosophers, poets or scientists were displayed in the library. This means most of these statues, located in superficially organized spots, either singly or in groups, were devoid of their intended original function and context.

Considering the U-shaped sculptural organization in the Roman villa such as the Villa dei Papyri, most probably the most noticeable spot – the centre of the exedra – was reserved for the victorious general or a significant statesman of the Empire (Figs.23,24).<sup>127</sup> So statues of Olympic victors were arranged on the sides. Vermeule asserts that decorators in Rome enjoyed locating more than one "copy" of Greek original work

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<sup>127</sup> Especially in the case of the Villa dei Papyri the display of sculpture was carefully planned along didactic lines; identification of specific figures can be significant for the interpretation of the whole. In fact the youths can be identified with certainty as runners at the start of a race and this identification is a key element in the reinterpretation of the villa's sculptural programme. The statues seem to have been adapted to their setting, which we would now call site specific sculpture. Warden, Gregory, and Romano, David Gilman. «The Course of Glory: Greek art in a Roman Context at the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum.» *Art History Vol.17*, 1994: 228-254.

facing each other in a semicircular series niches or standing at opposite ends of a tree-lined vista. It is known that in some cases more than one copy of the Discobolos was found in the same space, so it is quite possible to see these types of arranged settings for Olympic victor statues.<sup>128</sup> Needless to say, victory is a notion to be proud of for nearly all the civilizations in social history. Hence it is understandable to place images symbolizing perfection and victory in easily recognizable spots. Such an image was an object to feel proud; it was a subject of intellectual talks.

Did you notice he said, upon coming into the courtyard the beautiful statue standing there, a work of Demetrios of Anthropolos?

Surely you don't mean the one throwing the discus? I said...

No that one' he said, 'since that is one of the works of Myron, the Discobolos, of which you speak. Nor do I mean the one next to it, the one binding his head with a fillet, a beautiful statue, for this is a work of Polycleitus...Perhaps you saw a certain figure which was beside the running water, the one with a potbelly, a bald head,...his veins showing clearly, just like the man himself...reputed to be Pellichos the Corinthian general<sup>129</sup>

In time, in parallel with the increase in the building of luxury *villas* in the countryside, the Roman demand for Greek-style art works expectedly increased also. While the *elites* of Rome once freely levied the limited reservoir of the Greek artworks, they started to order and pay for them in order to embellish their dwellings. When the stock of looted pieces also started to diminish, contemporary artists were strongly needed to satisfy the demand with new products of retrospective sculpture which were

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<sup>128</sup> Villa dei Papyri was unique in many aspects. Therefore, Warden asserts that peristyle of the villa was intended to resemble a racetrack, so athletic figures were located on both sides in a veridical organization. "Metaphorically, the runners were running a gauntlet watched over by the balanced forces of history and learning. The programme of the villa was so academic, so deeply layered and complex to read, in a way enhanced its very message the effort necessary to decipher the message of the sculpture becomes a kind of competition: through exercise of the mind the viewer could understand the visual and philosophical ambiguities." Ibid, 240

<sup>129</sup> Pollitt, Jerome Jordan. *The Art of Rome*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1996. 135

mostly “copies”. According to Plutarch, when brute Romans evolved and discovered pursuits other than fighting and farming, they gained a taste for intellectual exchange on the arts and artists so much so that they began to spend a long part of the day on this kind of activities.

Roman houses and their decorations are presented as reflecting, facilitating, and shaping the public *persona* of the master of the household, the *dominus*, as a figure who necessarily engaged in public life of some kind or other.<sup>130</sup>

On the other hand, in Roman literature, Roman country houses, known to be the centres of leisure and luxury, were regarded as spaces of business and ideology and served for fulfilling the necessities for the latter in the name of *negotium*.<sup>131</sup> In other words, besides the character, the social and political tendencies of the *dominus* were represented by embellishment and other features of the house. In fact, they did not merely represent, they also determined the *persona* of the owner as an image that depicted himself in his life. Private collections reflecting private taste had the potential of changing due to the changes in the owner’s taste. Seen in this light it might be stated that collections of this kind were of more limited general or public impact.

What is of paramount importance here is that even though Romans ascribed new meanings – moulded with their own cultural values – to Greek art in new contexts, to some extent, especially athletic statues were simply regarded as installations imposed on existing spheres of Rome. Because they were devoid of their original context and meaning which were directly related to the Greek understanding of sports and that was considerably distant to Roman taste. During their Greek lives,

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<sup>130</sup> Stewart, Peter. *The Social History of Roman Art*. New York : Cambridge University Press, 2008. 45

<sup>131</sup> Ibid. 45

Olympic victor statues were designed to be located in specific architectural environments, this means Greeks had an intended context before they came up with an end product. "Replicas" did not possess this profound meaning, which would make them an inseparable part of the Roman scenery. "Second" lives were highly different from the "first" ones in terms of both nature and underlying purpose of display. So it is not surprising to see the installations in various scales, mediums and styles since they were taken out from their original context of display.

Having been plundered from all manner of buildings and spaces in the Greek world, they were grouped together anew in a uniquely Roman context – the triumphal procession – after which a portion of them would be set aside for domestic display.<sup>132</sup>

In order to avoid misunderstandings and in justice to Roman productions, it should be highlighted that Romans embedded their own cultural language in these reproductions which was totally different from the original Greek intentions.

The ambitious but naive Rome treated Greek culture as if it were some package deal.<sup>133</sup>

Greek images installed in Roman environments – garden sculptures, busts, herms, statuettes and others – were the most peculiar and also attainable evidence of Greeks that Roman viewers encountered and eagerly embraced. Considering the differences in reception, it is meaningful to see that public and private statues had functional differences besides contextual ones. Kousser asserts that the private reception of Greek art differs from the public reception in at least two

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<sup>132</sup> The diverse nature of Roman statuary displays wealth and power and suggests that it was linked with the tradition of plunder. Dillon, Sheila, and Welch, Katherine E. *Representations of War in Ancient Rome*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. 127

<sup>133</sup> Zanker, Paul. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1988. 25

fundamental aspects. First is the *continuity* in practice revealing the existence of villas from the Republican to the Imperial era. Second, is the *choice*, highlighting the owner's application of decorative ideas due to his personal taste and preferences.<sup>134</sup> Here it is significant that private collections addressed the elites of the Empire while public display targeted to reach a greater number composed of the subjects, even provincial ones.

The archaeological evidence in Pompeii and Herculaneum, which remained more or less intact after the eruption of Vesuvius, may be considered among the important examples demonstrating these aspects. Although evidence becomes more ample from the Augustan era onwards, recent studies have shown that Greek sculpture permeated into the Roman domestic environment from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. onwards. For example, Villa dei Papyri in Herculaneum provides a rich collection of well-preserved artworks which remained pretty much un-damaged after the eruption of Vesuvius.<sup>135</sup> Most of the artworks in this collection were Greek style productions however a few Roman busts, most probably of the owners, were also included. The most remarkable pieces were the portraits of Classical Greek intellectuals, Early Hellenistic rulers, mythological images and glorious athletes among which there was a "copy" of the Doryphoros of Polycleitus signed by Apollonios of Athens.<sup>136</sup> Without doubt, statues of athletes were among the most commonly found Greek types in Rome. Presumably, one of the reasons behind this popularity was that among the divinity of gods and mythical figures, they

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<sup>134</sup> Kousser, Reachel Meredith. *Hellenistic and Roman Ideal Sculpture*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. 76-77

<sup>135</sup> Vermeule, Cornelius. «Graeco-Roman Statues: Purpose and Setting - I.» *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol.110, No.787, 1968. 545-559

<sup>136</sup> Actually, either the sculpture was a "copy" or an "original" was not a subject for the owners because every single Greek style artwork was a component of the intended Greek spirit.

were the symbols of mortal and humanly victory. In any case, they indicated the revival of a pleasurable and sophisticated lifestyle in the Roman private aura. This trend kept spreading throughout the Empire afterwards. In Hadrian's villa in Tivoli there was a collection of sculptures which included a number of athlete statues including more than two *Discoboloi* (Figs.25,26,27)<sup>137</sup>

For Cicero art is evocative decoration intended at once to enhance the character of an environment, to reflect the preference of its owner and to illustrate the taste of his agent. Art is a passive index of someone's attributes rather than an active instrument for their development. Cicero does have a physical rapport with his sculptures. It is a desire to possess them as objects.<sup>138</sup>

Another striking aspect about Olympic victor statues was the iconographic, functional and semantic evolution of the Greek figure in the Roman world. Probably stemming from the first life of the type signalling beauty and honour, Olympic victor statues became the right tools to legitimize the victories of Roman generals in their second lives too. Romans were very successful in adapting Greek images to serve for the needs of the Empire. Either the *princeps* displaying artworks in their private realm, or Augustus promoting public display in order to address crowds, consistently utilized Greek art in line with requirements for Imperial scenarios. Olympic victor statues in Rome conveniently represented the Roman imperial aims by accentuating recent Roman victories while looking back to the Greek past and induced the appreciation of Greek references by Roman viewers. Considering the widely applied Roman system of memory and its relation to architecture,

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<sup>137</sup> Vermeule, Cornelius. «Graeco-Roman Statues: Purpose and Setting - I.» *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol.110, No.787, 1968. 545-559

<sup>138</sup> Onians, John. *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greece and Rome*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999. 156

it is not surprising to see images of Olympic victors in Roman private architectural environments prevalently.

### **3.5.2. Public Sphere and the Ordinary Viewer**

...the Romans on the present occasion, after transferring all these objects to Rome, used such as came from private houses to embellish their own living spaces, and those that were state property for their public buildings.<sup>139</sup>

As can be seen clearly, the visual exhibition of retrospective sculpture was not limited to aristocratic country estates; it was also among the significant components of the public scene of Roman cities. While the collections in the private sphere addressed intellectual circles, the public display of commemorative images in various points of the city attracted the attention of ordinary crowds.

On the other hand, as mentioned in previous chapters, repetition was a significant tool in Roman visual communication in terms of representing images with emblematic meanings. It was a common application in didactic practice, certain aesthetic applications, and propagandistic or rhetorical speeches. In the light of all these, it is hardly unusual to see numerous stylistic figures of Greek art in various contexts and combinations all over the Roman Empire. According to Hölscher, the "language of images" which had links to the different periods of Greek history in terms of style, models or artists were appropriated in certain contexts. Besides being substantial components of these contexts, honorific images were deployed to carry various moral connotations. Through the end of the Republican period the iconographic and stylistic language of Greek art started to be utilized in the service of the new

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<sup>139</sup> Polybius was quoted in Dillon, Sheila, ve Katherine E. Welch. *Representations of War in Ancient Rome*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. 103



ideology.<sup>140</sup> For instance, while implementing his political agenda, Augustus extensively utilized 5<sup>th</sup> century Classical Greek style which was believed to possess desirable merits such as *dignitas*, *auctoritas*, *gravitas* and *sanctitas* etc., since the art of the Classical period was an enunciation of the 'ideal understanding' of the ancient Greek people. In time, the artists and patrons of the Empire started to utilize sculptural art in line with this "language" referring to Classical Greek art instinctively and inevitably.

One must use many places [*loci*] which are prominent, spread out, with moderate intervals between them; while the images [*imagines*] should be active, sharp, distinctive, such as will readily suggest themselves and impress themselves on the mind.<sup>141</sup>

In Rome, political activities and citizenry business generally took place in significant public spaces, which were also regarded as centres of political identity. Within the borders of these spaces there were various artworks including monumental ones<sup>142</sup>, which carried depictions of significant events from Roman history besides freestanding statues for keeping the memory of people alive.<sup>143</sup> The she-wolf with Remus and Romulus (Fig.28) which symbolized the epic beginnings of Rome stood with full majesty in the Roman *fora*. Similarly, Marsyas (Fig.29) as a symbol of the citizen's liberty or familiar figures from the past who were known to

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<sup>140</sup> Stewart, Peter. *The Social History of Roman Art*. New York : Cambridge University Press, 2008. 148

<sup>141</sup> Cicero. *De Oratore*, II, 87, 358.

<sup>142</sup> "The parallel between the function of the rhetorical memory system and the public *monumenta* suggests the possibility of direct links between them. Memory systems relied on placing images in a series of architectural places so that they would stick in the memory of the speaker. The purpose of the public sculpture of ancient Rome, sculpture that was almost always installed in an architectural environment, was to impress itself on the memory of the viewer. See Onians, John. *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greece and Rome*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999. 187

<sup>143</sup> Onians, John. *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greece and Rome* . New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999. 187

possess Roman virtues – such as *virtus, pietas, dignitas, fides* and so on – also decorated the Roman public aura. In his way, public images witnessed political meetings on politics or matters of citizenry which took place in public zones and became models or benchmarks for these activities. That is to say the presence of the past within “retrospective sculpture” was a way to set a link between the contemporary social and political practices and that of the past. After all, Rome was a culture of memory and the framework of “looking past” was directly related to the context.

As a strong component of Roman social life, baths were very appropriate settings to promulgate the political and programmatic agenda of the Empire. Being one of the major events of daily life, the activity of going to the baths shaped the Roman urban lifestyle during the most glorious and prosperous days of the Empire.<sup>144</sup> Besides their bathing and cleaning purposes, baths were institutions enabling sports activities and entertainment. As a centre hosting various social activities, even business meetings took place in the baths of Rome. In relation to this, Augustus determined the decorative programmes of Roman imperial buildings and promoted the building of baths both in Italy and Asia Minor. So the embellishments of the baths within the overall decorative programme of Roman imperial buildings became an important venue for the messages conveyed by visual language.

Kousser asserts that the wealthy aristocrats of the Empire who had a deep appreciation for Classical Greek culture, also funded the construction and decoration of bath-gymnasium complexes especially in Asia Minor and showed their attachment to Greek culture as well as their high status and civic munificence.<sup>145</sup> In fact, the display of Classical Greek

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<sup>144</sup> Yegül, Fikret. *Antik Çağ'da Hamamlar ve Yıkanma*. İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2006. 20

<sup>145</sup> Kousser, Rachel Meredith. *Hellenistic and Roman Ideal Sculpture*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. 101

images in these baths was an appropriate venue to demonstrate how Greek forms were adopted and appropriated by Roman artists. Besides, this context was very appropriate for the cultivation of *paideia*<sup>146</sup> which was among the leading intellectual pursuits of the period.

The fashionable monumental baths in Asia Minor were often in the form of a bath-gymnasium complex, which was a new architectural type integrating the Roman bath and Greek *gymnasium*.<sup>147</sup> What is significant about the baths of Asia Minor regarding sculptural display was that, they had a special semi-open space known as *kaisersaal*<sup>148</sup>, different from their mainland counterparts. This conspicuous space was a richly decorated room of marble, which included multi-storey colonnades with dedications to various emperors as well as the patron deities of the city. (Figs.30,31) Mostly opening to the *palaestra*, the *kaisersaal* was a small rectangular room with a central apsis and a centre of focus within the complex with its elaborate decoration.<sup>149</sup> The east baths at Ephesus, the Vedius bath-gymnasium complex and the imperial bath-gymnasium complex in Sardis were known to include such impressive halls adorned with numerous Classical sculptures as well as portraits. Vermeule mentions that "copies" of the Doryphoros, Discobolos and other types of Classical sculpture were produced in the Hellenistic cities of Asia Minor such as Ephesus, Pergamon, Smyrna and others. The number of statues in baths, *fora* and other public spaces and the abundance of artistic production was a measure of wealth among rivalling cities of Asia Minor. So it is highly likely that the *kaisersaal* of Ephesus was also the setting of

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<sup>146</sup> Kousser defines *paideia* as learned engagement with the past.

<sup>147</sup> Yegül, Fikret. *Antik Çağ'da Hamamlar ve Yıkanma*. İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2006. 216

<sup>148</sup> *Kaisersaal* was also named as "marble court" or "Imperial court" although this designation is not always upheld.

<sup>149</sup> Yegül, Fikret. *Antik Çağ'da Hamamlar ve Yıkanma*. İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2006. 284-285

Olympic victor statues as well as other Classical sculptures. Yegül asserts that the roots of these splendid halls go back to the *ephebeion* of the Hellenistic period. If so the space was originally no more than a room where students or athletes came together for educational purposes; it then turned into a spectacular scene bearing a meaning for the whole city and representing the power of Roman Empire.<sup>150</sup>

As a result of the collaboration of the Roman imperial building strategy and the Roman system of memory, the facades of public monuments came into prominence whereby elaborated facades resembling theatrical back-drops came into being. Sculptures became an indispensable part of this process and ornamented Roman facades as well as porticoes of the Roman complexes.<sup>151</sup> Although the *Kaisersaal* was quite a simple structure in plan, it had a rich decoration on the tiered facades. Seen in this light, it is legitimate to state that the sculptures on these facades including Olympic victor statues also served the already mentioned Imperial purposes. It is known that apse of the *kaisersaal* of the Vedius bath-gymnasium complex in Ephesus was the setting for the display of a statue of the patron Publius Vedius Antonius. Obviously, the most prestigious place was reserved for the promoter.

The complexes offered a visual panorama of Hellenistic heritage, with references to, for instance, Classical and Hellenistic art, and to the agnostic and cultural traditions of the *gymnasium*. In so doing, they appealed to local patrons and viewers eager to highlight their own connections to the Greek past. At the same time their evocation of Greek cultural traditions proved attractive to Roman.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Ibid, 285

<sup>151</sup> Marvin, Miranda. «Roman Sculptural Reproductions or Polykleitos: The Sequel.» in *Sculpture and Its Reproductions*, writer Erich Ranfft Anthony Hughes, 7-29. London: Reaktion Books, 1997. 24

<sup>152</sup> Kousser, Rachel Meredith. *Hellenistic and Roman Ideal Sculpture*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. 101

The tradition of possessing statues of athletes in baths was not peculiar to the complexes in Asia Minor, the *thermae* in central Italy were also known to possess Olympic victor statues. Marvin mentions that a number of unlocated parts of both the Discobolos and Doryphoros were excavated in the ruins of the Baths of Caracalla.<sup>153</sup> For instance among the most significant findings was a torso of Doryphoros, which was found fallen from one of the eleven niches facing the *cryptoporticus* in the northwest wall.<sup>154</sup> (Figs.32,33,34) Marvin again states that if these fairly inconspicuous niches were filled with statues, the fact augurs well for the architect's having been able to fill the other spaces designed for statuary. Indeed Marvin also states that the principles of bath decoration in Italy were quite similar to the logic of *kaisersaal* decorations in Asia Minor. Glamorous luxury in decoration was a significant element of these *thermae*, and it was a way to manifest the generosity of the Emperor, besides making the subjects feel that they were important.<sup>155</sup>

Another copy of the Doryphoros of Polycleitus was also found in the Samnite *palaestra* in Pompeii, standing in a sort of exercise ground as an athletic figure. In this case too, the context of the *gymnasium* was indeed a suitable decision for the representation of Doryphoros in terms of understanding its meaning for Greeks and somehow reminding the Greek past, because as an athletic and educational institution the *gymnasium* was among the most significant places where Greek culture was shaped. While the *gymnasium* was also looking back architecturally, the

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<sup>153</sup> Marvin, Miranda. «Freestanding Sculptures from the Baths of Caracalla.» *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol.87, No.3, 1983: 347-384.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid, 353

<sup>155</sup> Even though Romans regarded themselves superior to others, they sincerely admired and internalized Greek art and culture. What Romans appreciated was not only material beauty but also symbolic meanings of Greek artworks. Abundance of the copies and their existence in significant spaces of daily life might be considered an indicator of this appraisal.

retrospective sculptural instalments in it solidified the memory centred effect that the Romans aimed to promote.

Other than the athletic grounds of the Empire, important settings for Olympic victor statues were the *fora* of Roman cities, which were the stages of political formation. In this respect, the Forum Augustum was the showplace of the Empire manifesting its supreme presence. (Fig.35) So it was reasonable to see images symbolizing perfection and dignity in a space charged with such an important mission. The artworks in display in Forum Augustum covered a large span of Roman history. Sculptures belonging to the beginnings of Roman history like Romulus and Aeneas and images of Augustus himself were visible simultaneously. Indeed, it might have been interesting to see Greek images in a ground surrounded with Roman spirit. There is clearly a two-sided way of thinking in this duality. Besides revealing Rome's appraisal of Greek culture by putting masterpieces of Greek art on display in the Forum Augustum, Augustus aimed to dignify himself, his new political formation and his superiority over Greece.

Augustus' eclectic and sophisticated emulation of the past was rivalrous rather than reverential; the aim was to draw on the best of Greek culture to Roman princeps.<sup>156</sup>

While comparing the display of statues in the Altis – the sacred precinct of Olympian Zeus in Olympia – and Forum Augustum, Geiger discusses the positioning of the statues in their settings of display. To him, there was a specific venue serving the display of statues of the images of success in mythical, military, political or sports arena. In both examples, even though there were differences such as centrality and sacredness of the venue chosen, the basic idea was similar. As mentioned in the

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<sup>156</sup> Kousser, Rachel Meredith. *Hellenistic and Roman Ideal Sculpture*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. 102

previous chapters, Olympic victor statues in Olympia were not positioned according to rules; they were interspersed. Dedicatory statues of other intellectual images were also around such as Aristotle, the historian Anaximenes, some Spartan kings, as well as Philip and Alexander of Macedon, and later some Hellenistic leaders. Despite the dissimilarity of statues exhibited, there was a similar approach in the Forum Augustum. Augustus too assembled and put on display a variety of images from Republican Rome to the Imperial Age as well as Classical images, which assisted in narrating Roman history. Indeed, Forum Augustum itself, together with all the artworks displayed, provided publicized instruction to Roman history. Geiger emphasizes that the influences on the plan of the Forum Augustum, and specifically on its decoration, were Greek as well as Republican:

May one assume that the classicising Augustan Age hinted here at a connexion with pre-Praxitelean Greece, a revival not only of the Republic, but also a reference to the best period of Greek history, and perhaps an evocation of the series of Olympic victors for those who had been fortunate enough to have visited Olympia?<sup>157</sup>

The Olympic victors were an exclusive group of people who gained supreme achievements in a significant component of Greek culture. For the rest of the society, they were ideal images and models to be emulated and their images (statues) were exalting victories rather than victors.<sup>158</sup> Considering the impact of visual statements on the consciousness of Romans, it might be asserted that Romans granted Olympic victor statues for their own victory over Greeks. Moreover, besides being a period of reconstruction, renaissance and reform, the

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<sup>157</sup> Geiger, Joseph. *The First Hall of Fame: A Study of the Statues in the Forum Augustum*. Leiden: Brill Publishing, 2008.17

<sup>158</sup> It is known that there are some other evidence indicating Olympic victor statues were displayed at other venues of Pan-Hellenic games such as the Pythia, Isthmia and Nemea however the evidence from these site is very limited, but these sites are left out of consideration by Geiger.

Augustan Age was also an age of looking back and learning from the accomplishments and limitations of the past. So by exhibiting Classical images as a part of the Roman past in public environments and instigating Roman subjects learn a designed Roman history, Augustus, in a way, made an investment for the future. Because "without being aware of the past it was possible neither to recognise the great achievements of the present nor to realise that in the future there could be no returning to the mistakes of that past."<sup>159</sup>

We cannot be so elegant; **let us be more forceful.**

They win in terms of refinement; **let us excel in weight.**

Their sense propriety is more sure; **let us surpass them in our consciousness.**

Even the lesser talents of the **we are usually driven by larger sails;**  
Greeks have their harbours; **so let be filled by a stronger wind.**<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> Geiger, Joseph. *The First Hall of Fame: A Study of the Statues in the Forum Augustum*. Leiden: Brill Publishing, 2008.17

<sup>160</sup> *Institutio Oratoria*, XII, 2, 36 cited by Onians.



## CHAPTER 4

### CONCLUSION

Statues of Olympic victors went through functional and contextual transformations throughout their lives, beginning in homeland Greece later spreading to Imperial Rome and the Roman provinces. Even though Roman productions were initially regarded as “mechanical reproductions of Greek originals” among old school art historians, contemporary approaches now favour the view of “emulative yet creative Roman originals”<sup>161</sup> giving more credit to originality. Following the latter view, the thesis reveals why and how context is important in this more balanced assessment of Olympic victor statues. As such, context influenced and shaped both the “reception” and “perception” of the artwork and provided visual interaction between the object and the viewer.

Seeing comes before words...Our vision is continually active, continually moving, continually holding things in a circle around itself, constituting what is present to us we are.<sup>162</sup>

In this respect, the prevalence of these statues in both Greece and Rome constitutes an extraordinary case study to trace changes of meaning while the demand for the same type continued. Intertwined meanings and purposes despite transformations perpetuated the display of these statues for several centuries.

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<sup>161</sup> Kousser, Rachel Meredith. *Hellenistic and Roman Ideal Sculpture*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008. 3

<sup>162</sup> Berger, John. *Ways of Seeing*. London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1972. 1-4

Athletic events, which had religious roots back in dedicational ceremonies, were practiced in a systematic and professional manner by ancient Greeks who valued athletics and took it more seriously than perhaps any other ancient culture. For the Greeks grown up with a philosophical background of *arête*, reaching perfection in all fields of life, including sports, and becoming a dignified victor had profound meanings. This fact is a significant determinant of the demand to display Olympic victor statues in different contexts, which is in the core of this study.

Due to frequent military engagements, the Greek citizen needed constant preparation in order to defend his land in case of a sudden attack. The compulsive effect of war to constantly keep bodily strength and the Greek sense of competitive thinking widened the Olympic frame; besides local games, regional competitions started to be arranged. Competing for the victory of the *polis* as well as individual victory increased the responsibility of the athlete who would simultaneously augment the prestige of the *polis* and his own while gaining a victory. Through the strengthening of the bond between the *polis* and citizen, the victor was given the honour of having a statue of himself erected in return for the glorious dignity that he gained for his *polis*. The crucial point here is that the athlete and the *polis* constituted a strong mutual bond and correspondingly the appeal for the production of statues, in order to reward athletic victors, enhanced. Furthermore Greek artists had the opportunity to observe men of various ages performing physical exercises and got equipped with the anatomical information on the perfect human body in *palaestrae* and *gymnasia*. Masterpieces of Greek art were created as a result of this interaction. As the study reveals, the desire behind the display of Olympic victor statues in sports grounds was to make them inspirational models for the Greek citizens for future glories. That is to say, the representational context of Olympic victor statues in Greece was in accordance with their motive of creation, exalting the victory through

physical perfection. Moreover, in parallel with the religious and philosophical nature of the Olympics, athletes were regarded as physical manifestations of the philosophy of humanism. The “Human” element was a significant component of the Greek *ethos*. Therefore, providing interaction with viewers through victorious human figures became a consistent way of manifesting Greek values.

What is of paramount importance here is that, whether around the temples, athletic grounds or other public spaces, victorious statues were standing to honour the *polis*, which was a tightly-knit entity brought together with its dynamic constituents – citizens, gods, buildings, artworks etc. Victory was not individual. Olympic victors stood over statue bases, elaborated with informative inscriptions; however it would be misleading to regard them as representations of solely one individual. “They were universal expressions of the best man could be.”<sup>163</sup> They were a reflection of the *polis*. Apparently, Greeks attached importance to the emblematic meaning of the image – so the main concern of the public display became the perceptibility of the image and “the idea” by all the viewers. Another significant point that emerged in the study, in terms of the range of beholders, is that the targeted viewers for the Greeks were not only the citizens or the visitors of the *poleis*. Olympic victors were also standing before the gods in their setting of display in sacred environments. They were a means of communication with the divine, a dedication of victory.

On the other hand, even though the pervasive Greek understanding of sports was not inherent in Roman taste, Olympic victor statues, as well as other types of Classical sculpture, were widely appropriated, reproduced and displayed in various Roman settings.

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<sup>163</sup> Barr, Sandra M. *Making Something out of Next to Nothing: Bartolomeo Cavaceppi and the Major Restorations of Myron's Discobolus*. 2008. 40

Even though some Roman Emperors made the effort to popularize the Olympics in Rome, gladiatorial shows and other spectacular events always overrode. However, similar to Greece, Rome was a land of frequent military activities and Romans also needed to be ready for war which was a means of prestige. According to Romans, war necessitated brutal methods for training the body but the over-individualistic and mild athletics of Greeks lacked this. This is significant because different approaches in the social life of cultures, also give clues about the different artistic understandings. From this perspective, Romans had their own contributions to the Classical sculpture with their own value judgements, manifestations of which also varied in relation to the values, forces and realities of the society.

Many scholars concur that Romans were more accomplished in the military and political arena. Therefore, they became dominant over Greeks but they also accepted Greek superiority in arts and culture as well as rhetoric poetry and philosophy. This created an opportunity for Greek artists because, the Roman demand for Greek artworks rapidly increased. After their supremacy over Greece, Romans brought Greek artworks to Rome as war booties and displayed them in various public and private environments. When the Greek supply of artistic objects became insufficient for Roman demand, they re-produced Greek artwork, which in time led to the development of an art market. Accordingly, the rapid augmentation of Greek artworks in Roman contexts, made a part of the Roman visual language. In this respect, by considering the changing cultural backgrounds and intellectual environments that affected the creation of Olympic victor statues, this study also clarified the underlying reasons for the demand for a specific type of artwork, symbolizing physical perfection and victory, in public and private spheres.

Existence of the masterpieces of Greek art in the private sphere, within the *villas* of the wealthy Romans was very common. Due to their strong

admiration of Greek culture, élites of Rome even named some parts of their *villas* as “*gymnasium*” and located Olympic victor statues in these settings. However, “*gymnasium*” in the public sphere of Roman houses was an imposition from another culture, while it was a significant component of Greek social formation. Within this framework, it is deduced in the study that Olympic victors gained a prideful expression in the Roman public context in the eyes of the elite viewer. Villas were private estates served for the rest and pleasure of the owner and hosted intellectual gatherings; displaying affluence in such an environment was a kind of self-glorification for the elite owner. For the visitors, they were most probably intellectual objects to be viewed, admired and emulated.

The artistic understanding of Romans was quite different from Greeks'. Defined as a culture of memory by Onians, Romans had a compulsive interest in narrating historical events. Their retrospective approach in the arts and architecture inspired the instalment of historical narratives on buildings and the erection of monuments serving the same purpose. Like many other cultures, Romans also looked to the past and were influenced by the artistic customs of preceding civilizations. Moreover, they used repetition as a significant tool in visual communication. In this respect, this Roman way of retrospective thinking, in the long term, served for the characterization of Roman art. In parallel with Roman tastes and inclinations, Greek sculptures were reinterpreted all over Rome to serve for new purposes. In line with this, besides the private sphere of the elites, Olympic victor statues commonly appeared in the public scene of Rome. Under the new political regime of Augustus, the iconographic and stylistic language of Greek art was served for the promotion of the new age. As images of ideal beauty and perfection, Olympic victor statues were used in line with the visual language of the Empire and exhibited in the public centres of political identity. Being in the core of Roman social life, baths and *fora* and sports grounds were the primary venues of

display. Rome's appreciation of Greek culture in many respects is emphasised many times throughout the study. However another significant fact is that Romans gained supremacy over Greeks. Accordingly, both the act and choice of displaying Olympic victor statues in new Roman contexts may be constructed as the declaration of victory over Greece, because they were once among the strongest images representing the victory of a Greek *polis*, besides "ideal beauty". Now, in their new context, they were representing another victory belonging to another culture. So, it might be asserted that Olympic victor statues became a component of Roman history and also a visual expression of it. They became expressions of a Roman way of looking to the past. From this perspective, the study also reveals that the meaning of a specific type of artwork not only changes from one culture to another; in a narrower framework, it also changes among the viewers belonging to one specific culture. That is to say the demand for the victorious image of athlete sculptures remained at the centre, while other components of communication, such as context and viewers, went through a transformation which in the end changed the meaning.

Yet, based on the study, it may be underscored that even though Romans initially had a somewhat rivalrous relationships with Greeks, while putting Greek images on display, they did not aim to despise Greeks. On the contrary, whether in public or in private contexts, Olympic victor statues stood close to the Imperial figures, which were very important in the time, due to the exaltation of the new regime. In the baths they were displayed in *kaisersaal* known as the Imperial court with the images of gods Imperial patrons. They were also located in Roman *fora*, where the Imperial spirit was strongly felt. Even in the *villas*, they were located on two sides of the garden, close to the *exedra*, in order to be perceived easily by the viewer.

This study, through a major sculptural group – Olympic victor statues – shows that besides artistic creativity and workmanship, “reception” and “perception” of an artwork, integrated with the context of display, has a crucial place in understanding the meaning of the object. Even though the Greek and Roman sculptural specimens shared nearly identical physical forms, the different contexts and different social and cultural backgrounds of the viewers, ascribed the sculptures different identities. Seen in this light, artistic creativity and workmanship should not be the only consideration while examining an artwork. By taking other dynamics of the culture into account – in this case viewers and contexts – images should be interpreted as a means of communication.

A culture can only be meaningfully described as a system of all the elements belonging to it.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Hölscher, Tonio. *Language of the Images in Roman Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004, p.7.

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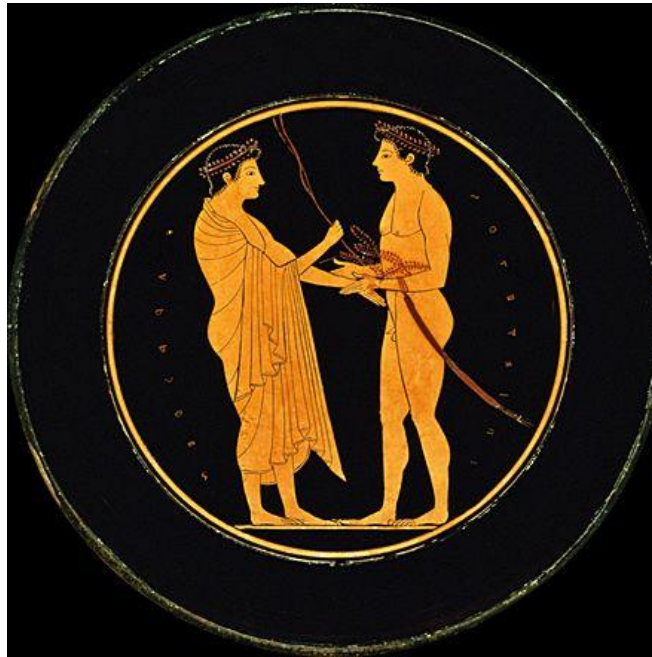
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## APPENDIX A: FIGURES

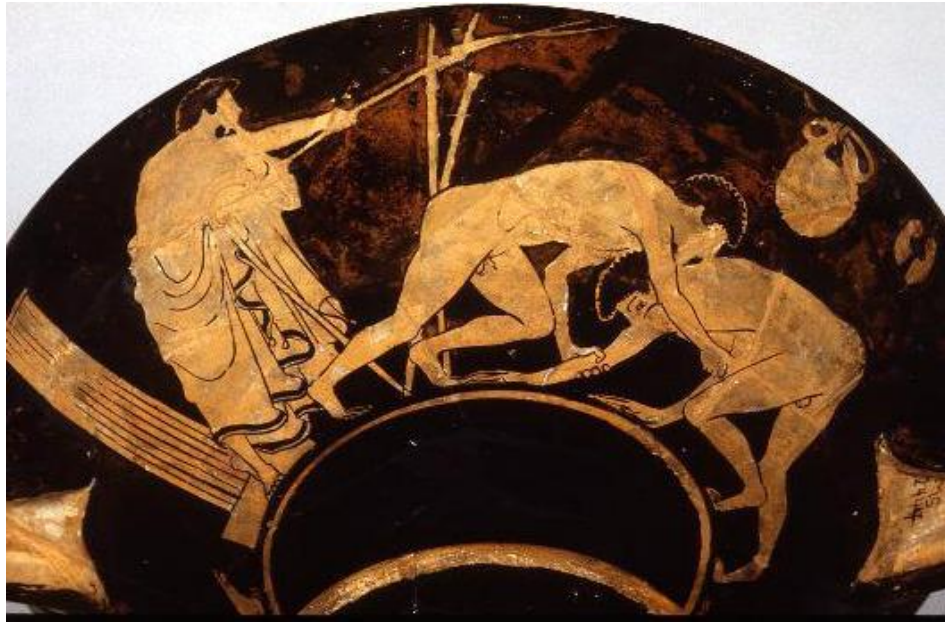


**Figure 1:** Greek plate with an athlete wearing olive-wreath  
Source: <http://www.britishmuseum.org/> [Last accessed August 26, 2012]



**Figure 2:** Detail of Greek amphora, boxing athletes  
Source: <http://www.britishmuseum.org/> [Last accessed August 26, 2012]



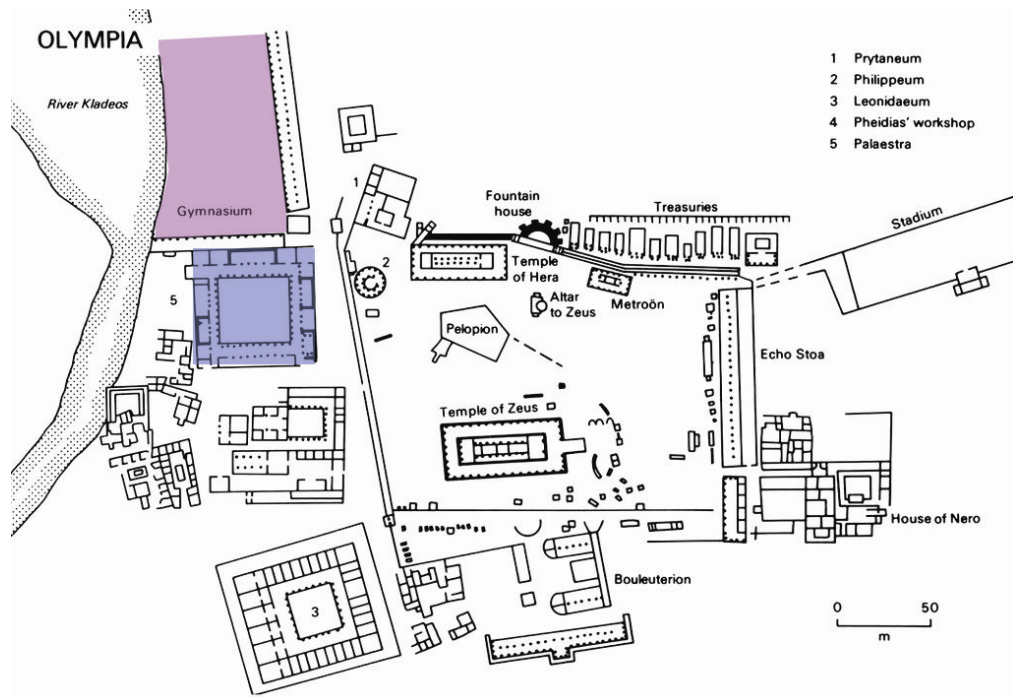


**Figure 3:** Detail of Greek vase, wrestling athletes  
Source: <http://www.britishmuseum.org/> [Last accessed August 26, 2012]



**Figure 4:** Detail of Greek amphora, *pankration*  
Source: <http://www.britishmuseum.org/> [Last accessed August 26, 2012]

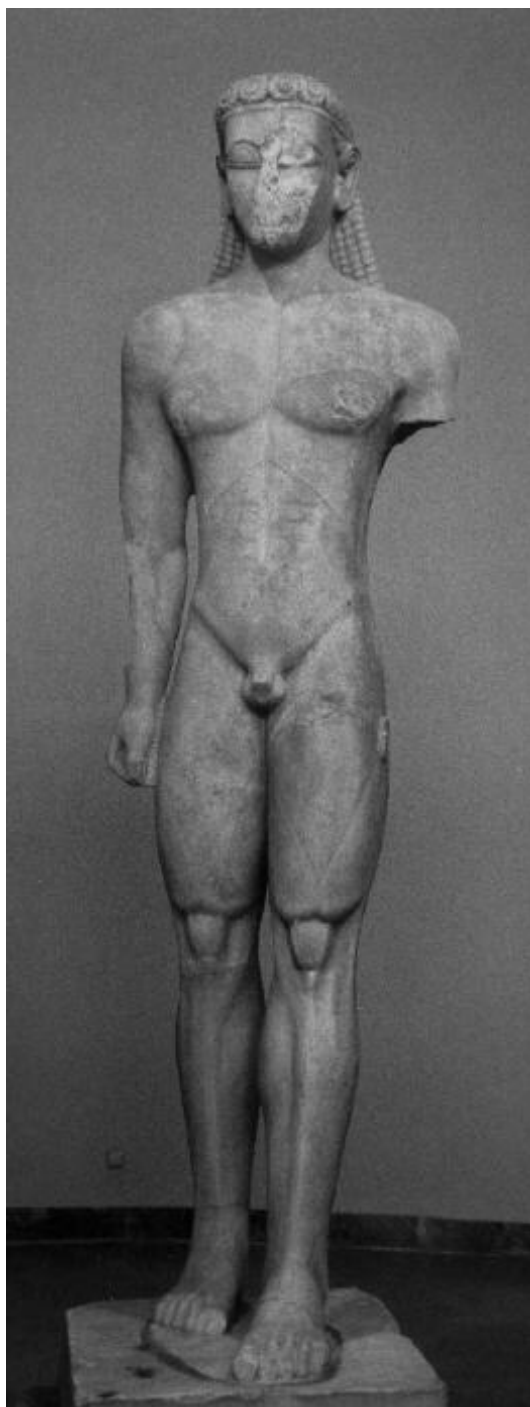




**Figure 5:** *Gymnasium and palaestra at Olympia*  
 Source: <http://www.aeria.phil.uni-erlangen.de> [Last accessed August 26, 2012]



**Figure 6:** Black figured Greek vases  
 Source: Onians, John. *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greek and Rome*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999. 62-63



**Figure 7:** Kouros 600-590 B.C., National Museum Athens  
Source: Fullerton, Mark D. *Greek Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. 6



**Figure 8:** Apoxyomenos of Lysippus  
Source: <http://www.aeria.phil.uni-erlangen.de> [Last accessed August 26, 2012]



**Figure 9:** Oil-pourer  
Source: <http://www.aeria.phil.uni-erlangen.de> [Last accessed August 26, 2012]



**Figure 10:** Diadoumenos  
Source: <http://www.aeria.phil.uni-erlangen.de> [Last accessed August 26, 2012]



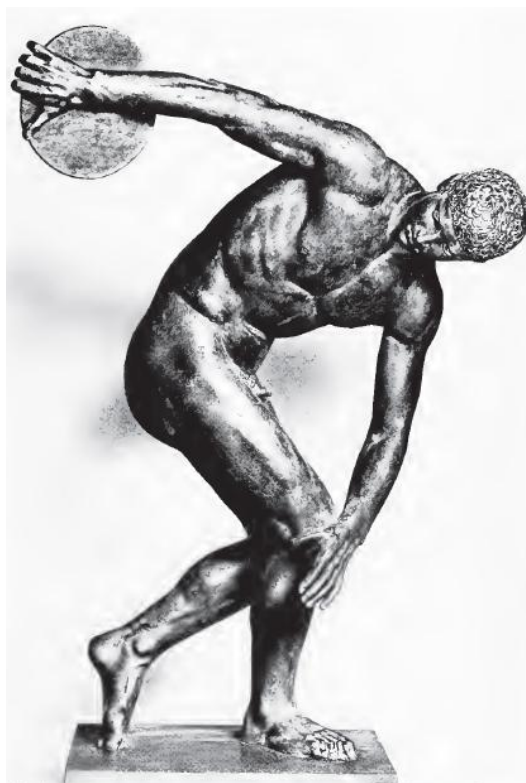


**Figure 11:** Doryphoros of Polykleitos  
Source: Fullerton, Mark D. *Greek Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. 18



**Figure 12:** Two bronze wrestlers

Source: <http://www.aeria.phil.uni-erlangen.de> [Last accessed August 26, 2012]



**Figure 13:** Discobolos of Myron

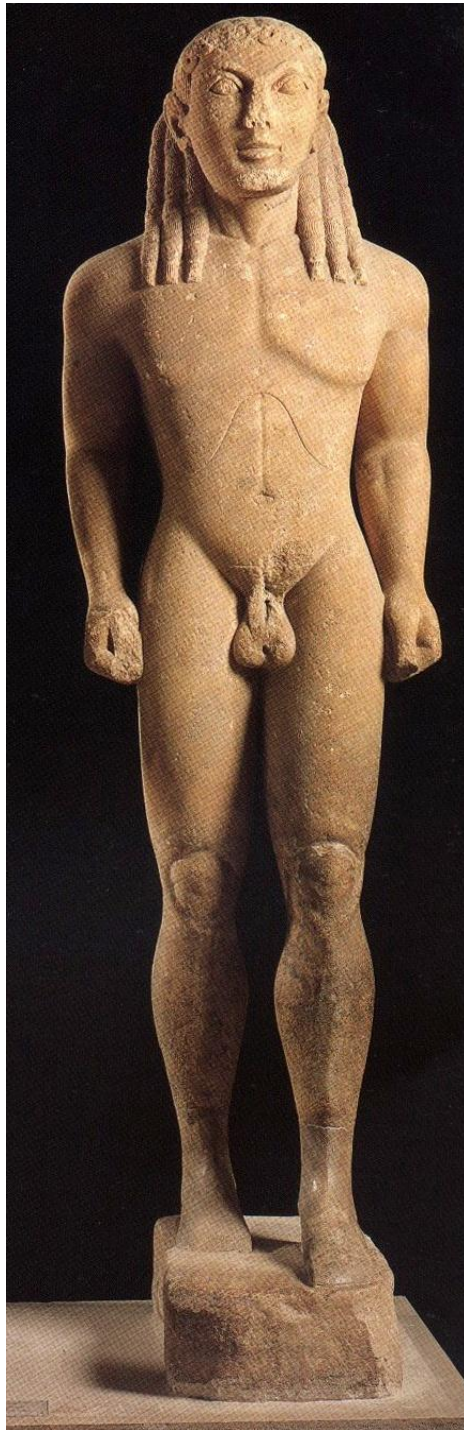
Source: Furtwängler, Adolf, and Heinrich Ludwig Ulrichs. *Greek and Roman Sculpture*. London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1914. 118



**Figure 14:** Greek Kore figure

Source: Richter, Marie Augusta Gisela. *Korai: Archaic Greek Maidens; A study of the Development of the Kore Type in Greek Sculpture*. London: Phaidon Press, 1968. cover





**Figure 15:** Greek *Kouros* figure  
Source: Fullerton, Mark D. *Greek Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. 44



**Figure 16:** Detail of the Column of Trajan  
Source: Onians, John. *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greek and Rome*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999.

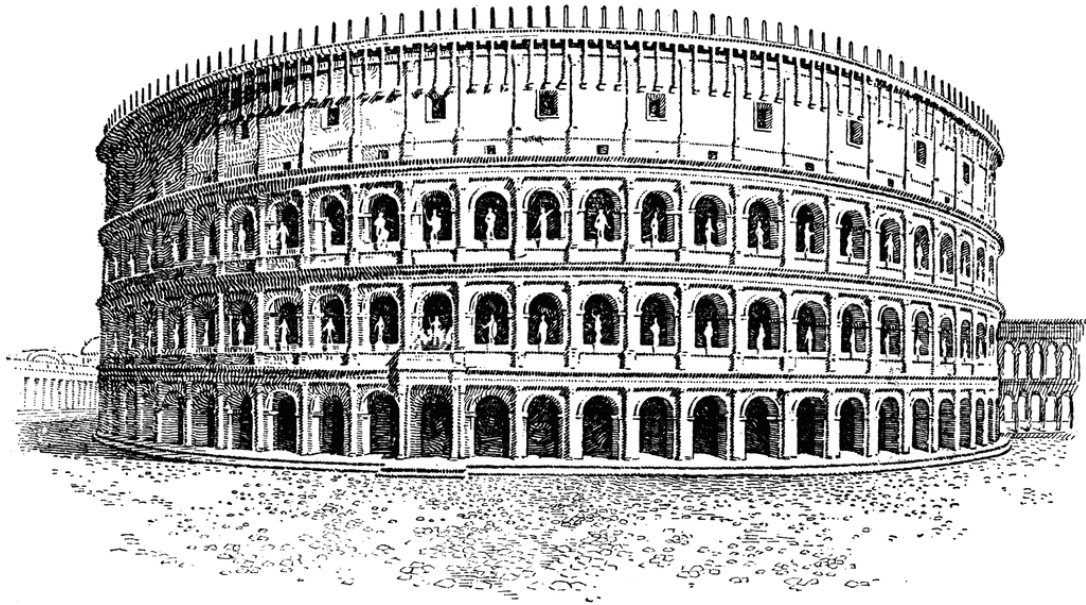


**Figure 17:** Ara Pacis Augustae  
Source: Ramage, Nancy H., ve Andrew Ramage. *Roman Art*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1991. 116



**Figure 18:** Augustus of Prima Porta  
Source: Ramage, Nancy H., and Andrew Ramage. *Roman Art*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1991. 112





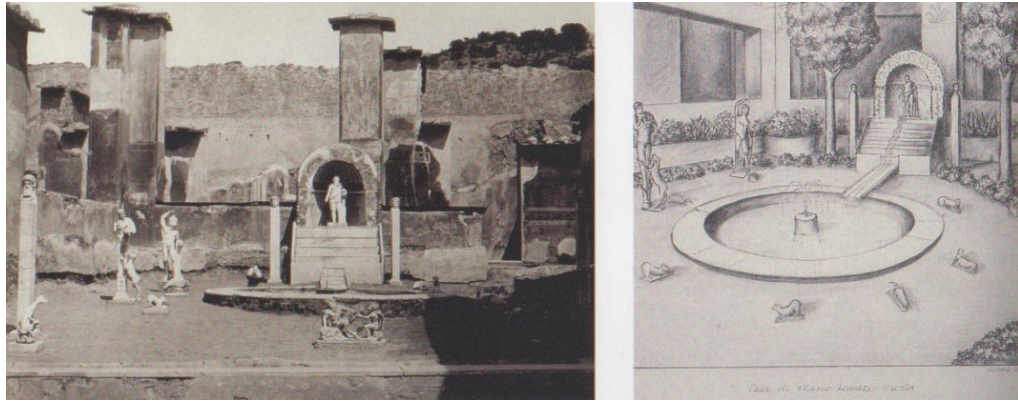
**Figure 19:** Drawing of Colosseum

Source: Robinson, James Harvey. *Outline of European History Part I*. Boston. Boston, Ginn & Company. 294

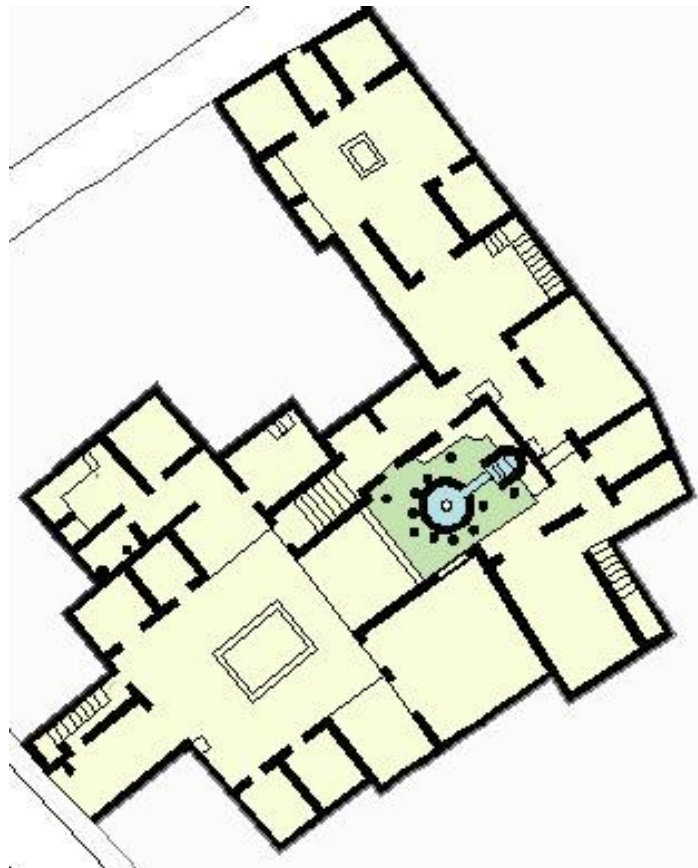


**Figure 20:** Colosseum

Source: <http://www.aeria.phil.uni-erlangen.de> [Last accessed August 26, 2012]



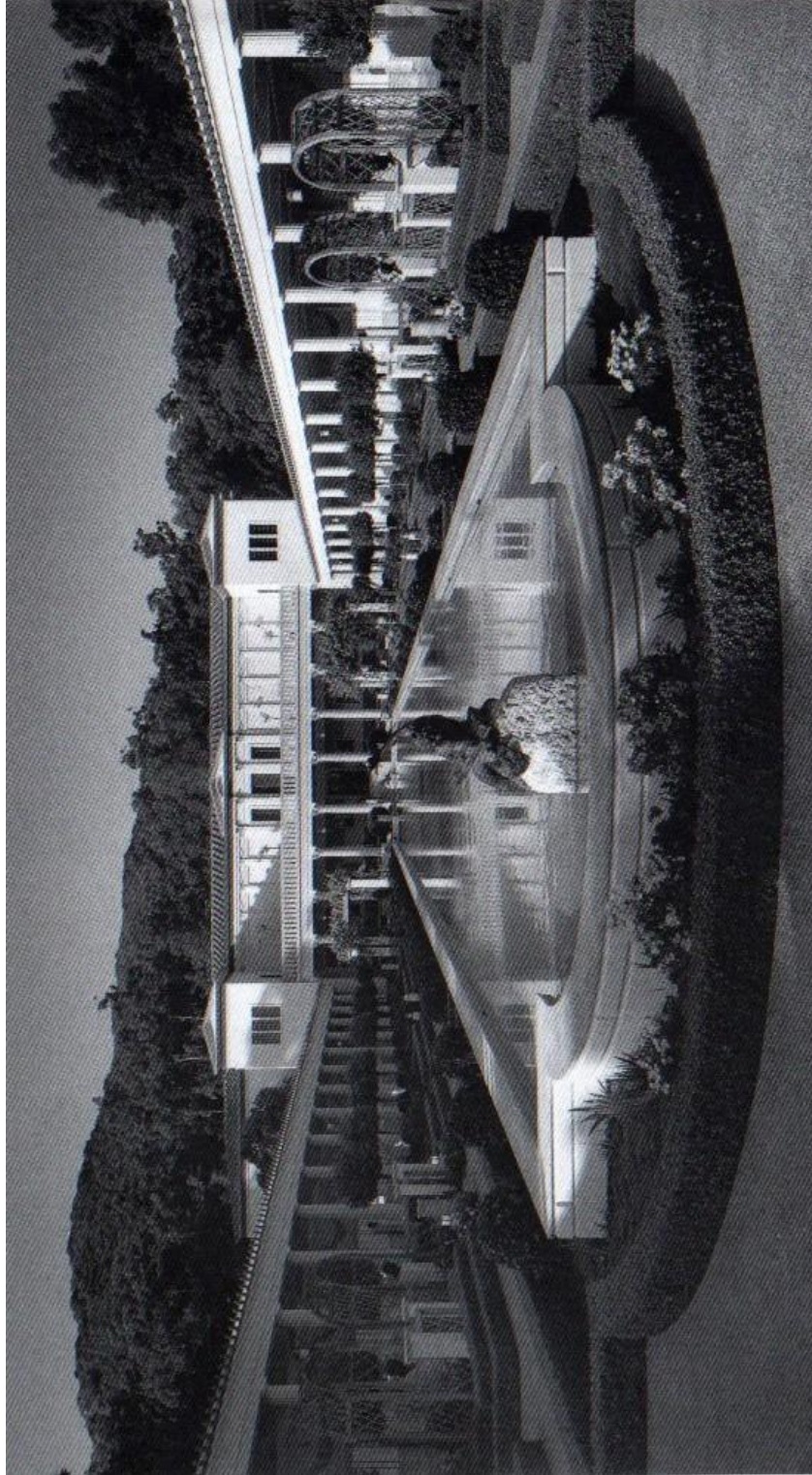
**Figure 21:** Partial view of the elevated garden of Villa of Marcus Lucretius, Pompeii and its reconstruction drawing.  
Source: Mattusch, Carol C. *Pompeii and the Roman Villa*. New York: Thames & Hudson Inc., 2008.



**Figure 22:** Plan of the Villa of Marcus Lucretius, Pompeii  
Source: <http://www.aeria.phil.uni-erlangen.de> [Last accessed August 26, 2012]

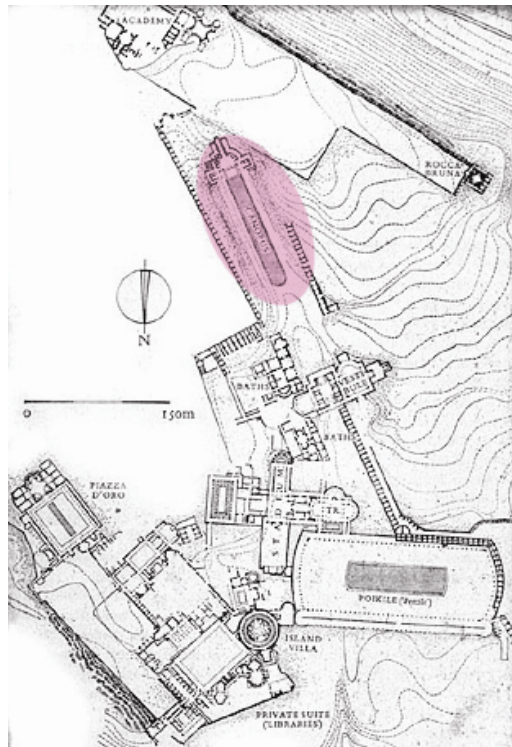




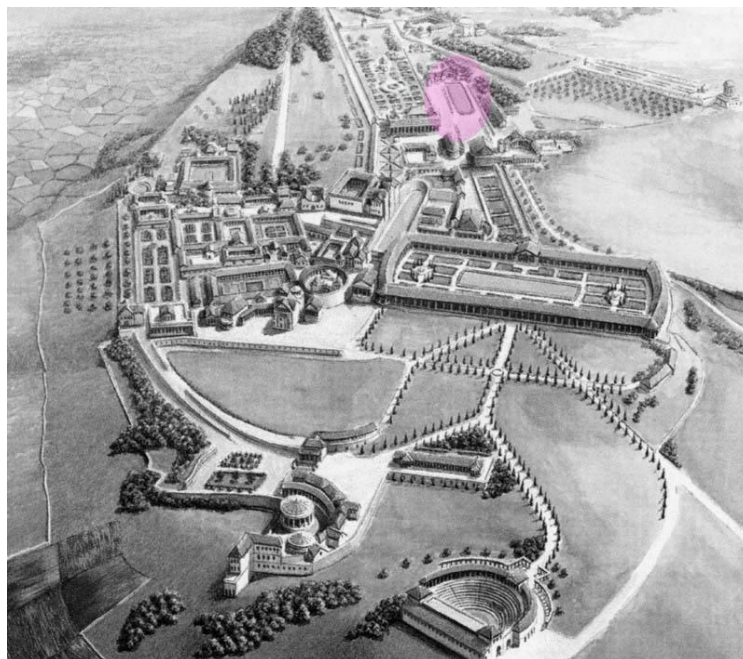


**Figure 24:** Main peristyle and garden of the Getty villa, which has the same plan organization with Villa dei Papyri. Source: Ramage, Nancy H., and Andrew Ramage. *Roman Art*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1991. 43



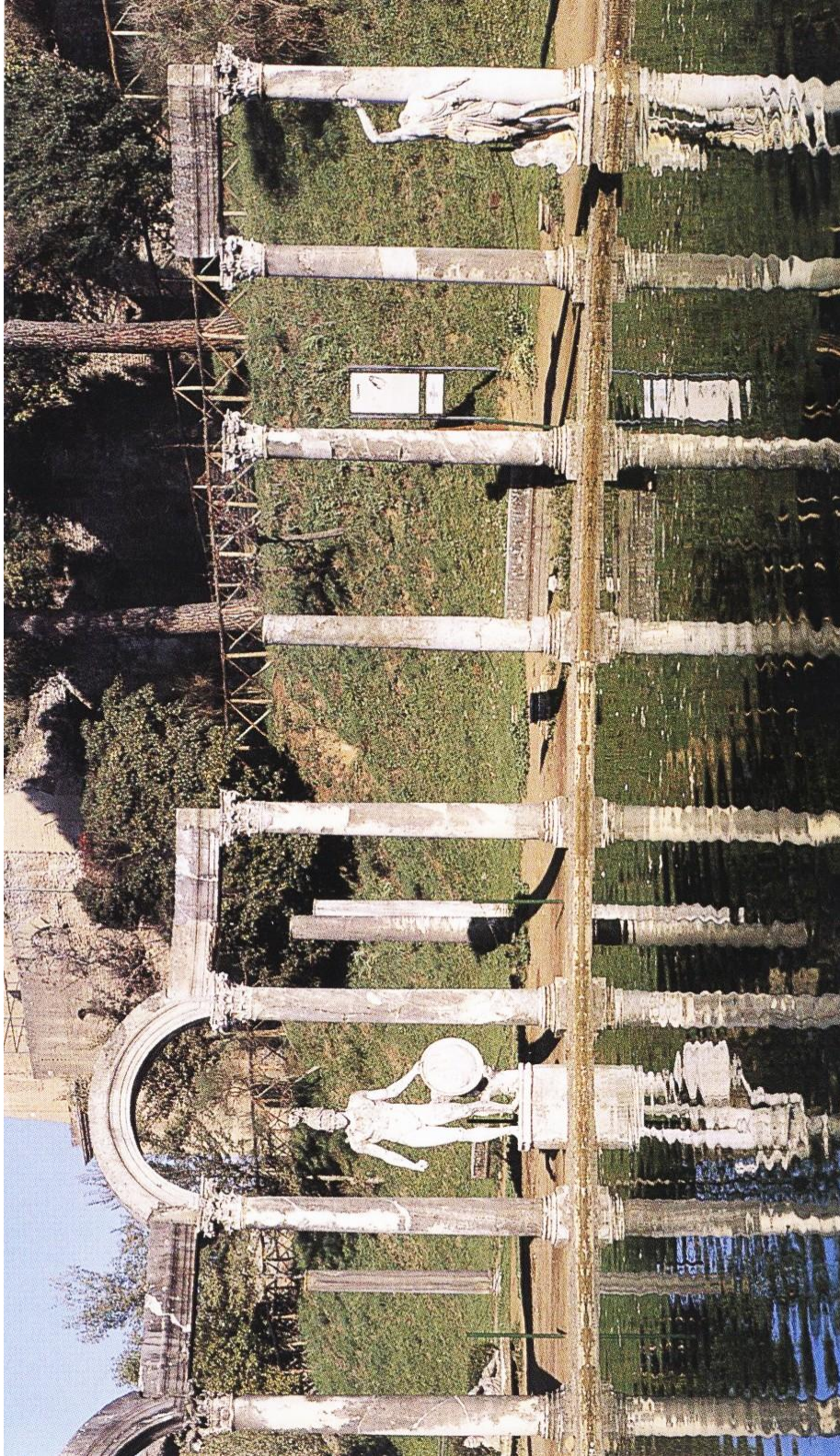


**Figure 25:** Plan of Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli.  
Source: <http://www.aeria.phil.uni-erlangen.de> [Last accessed September 23, 2012]



**Figure 26:** Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli.  
Source: <http://www.aeria.phil.uni-erlangen.de> [Last accessed September 23, 2012]



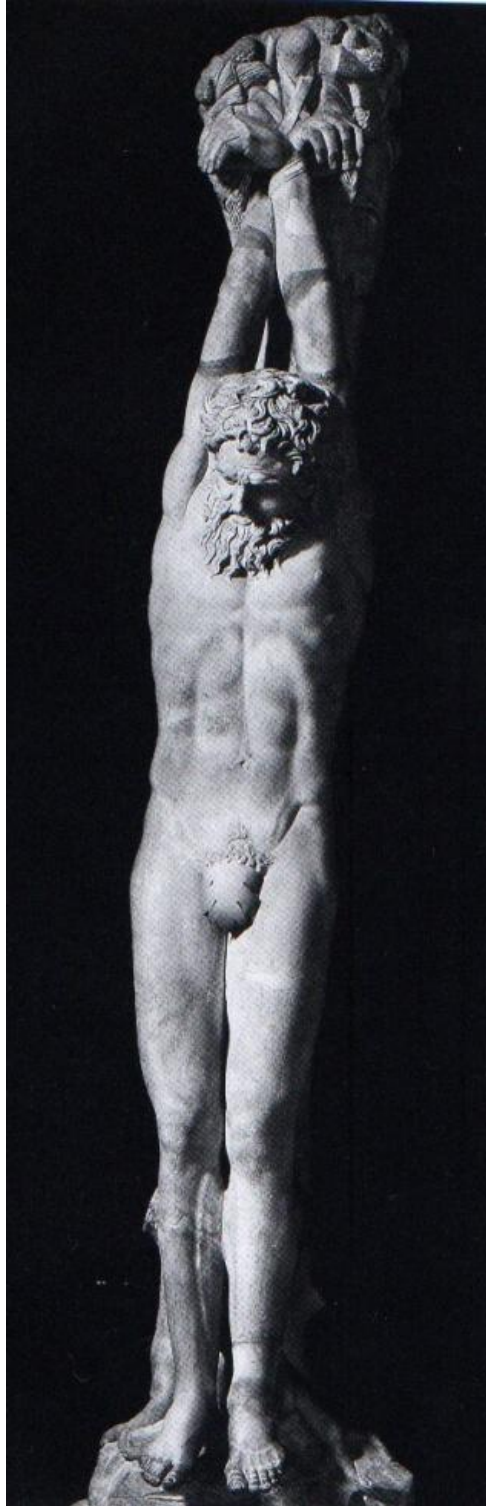


**Figure 27:** Garden of Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli.  
Source: Fullerton, Mark D. *Greek Art*. Cambridge: Cambridge university Press, 2000. 13



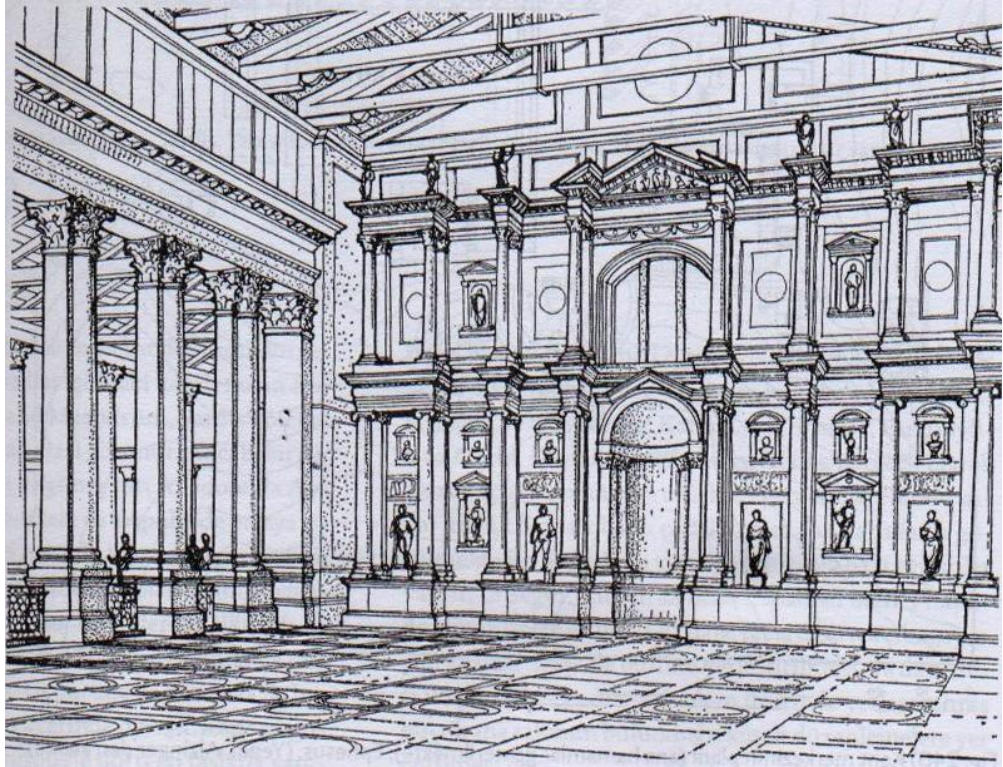


**Figure 28:** She-wolf with Remus and Romulus.  
Source: Ramage, Nancy H., and Andrew Ramage. *Roman Art*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1991.  
43

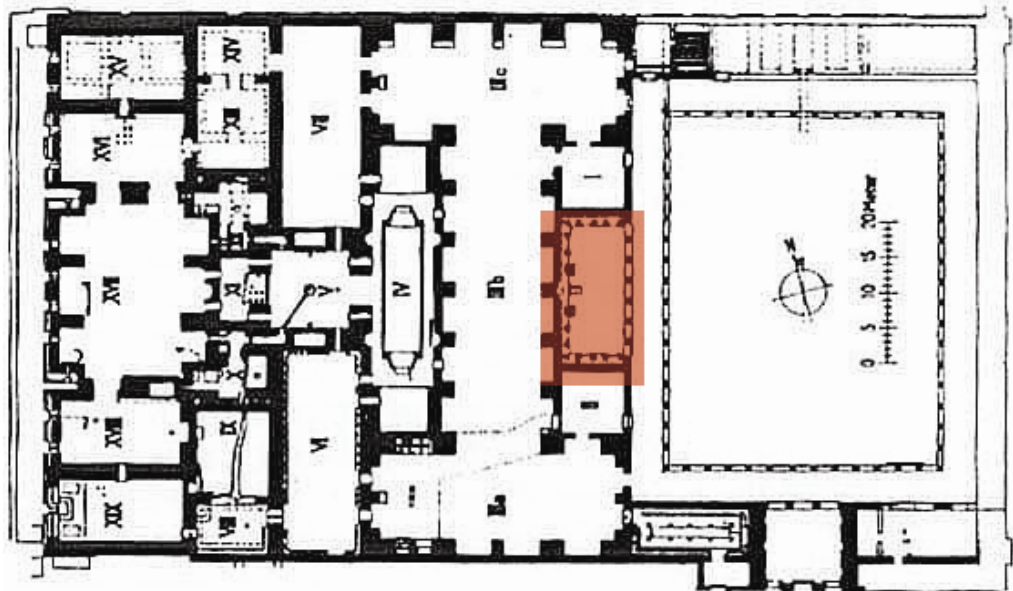


**Figure 29:** Marsyas

Source: Onians, John. *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greece and Rome*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999. 136

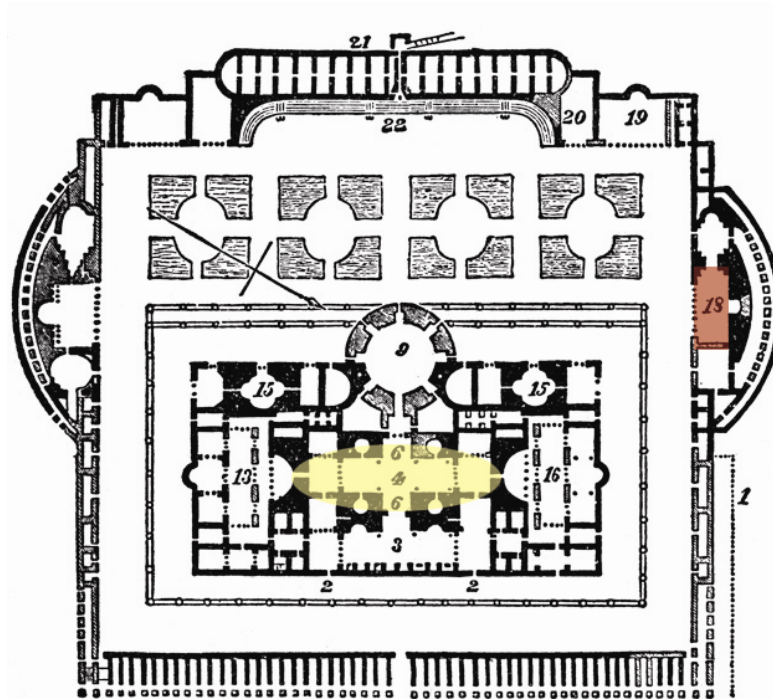


**Figure 30:** Kaisersaal of the Vedius bath-gymnasium complex  
Source: Yegül, Fikret. *Antik Çağ'da Hamamlar ve Yıkanma*. İstanbul: Homer Kitabevi, 2006. 284

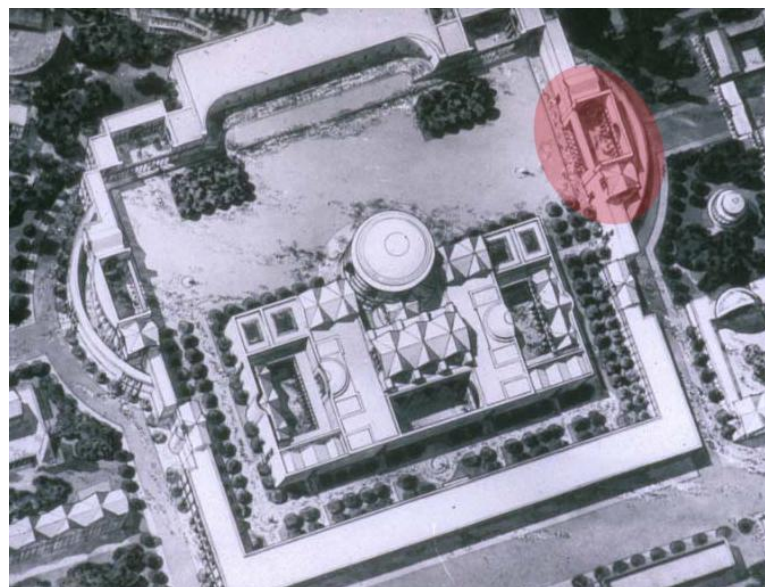


**Figure 31:** Plan of Vedius bath-gymnasium complex  
Source: <http://intranet.arc.miami.edu> [Last accessed September 23, 2012]





**Figure 32:** Plan of Baths of Caracalla, *cryptoporticus* section in red, main hall in yellow.  
 Source: *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11<sup>th</sup> edition, vol.3). New York: Encyclopaedia Britannica Company, 1916. 510

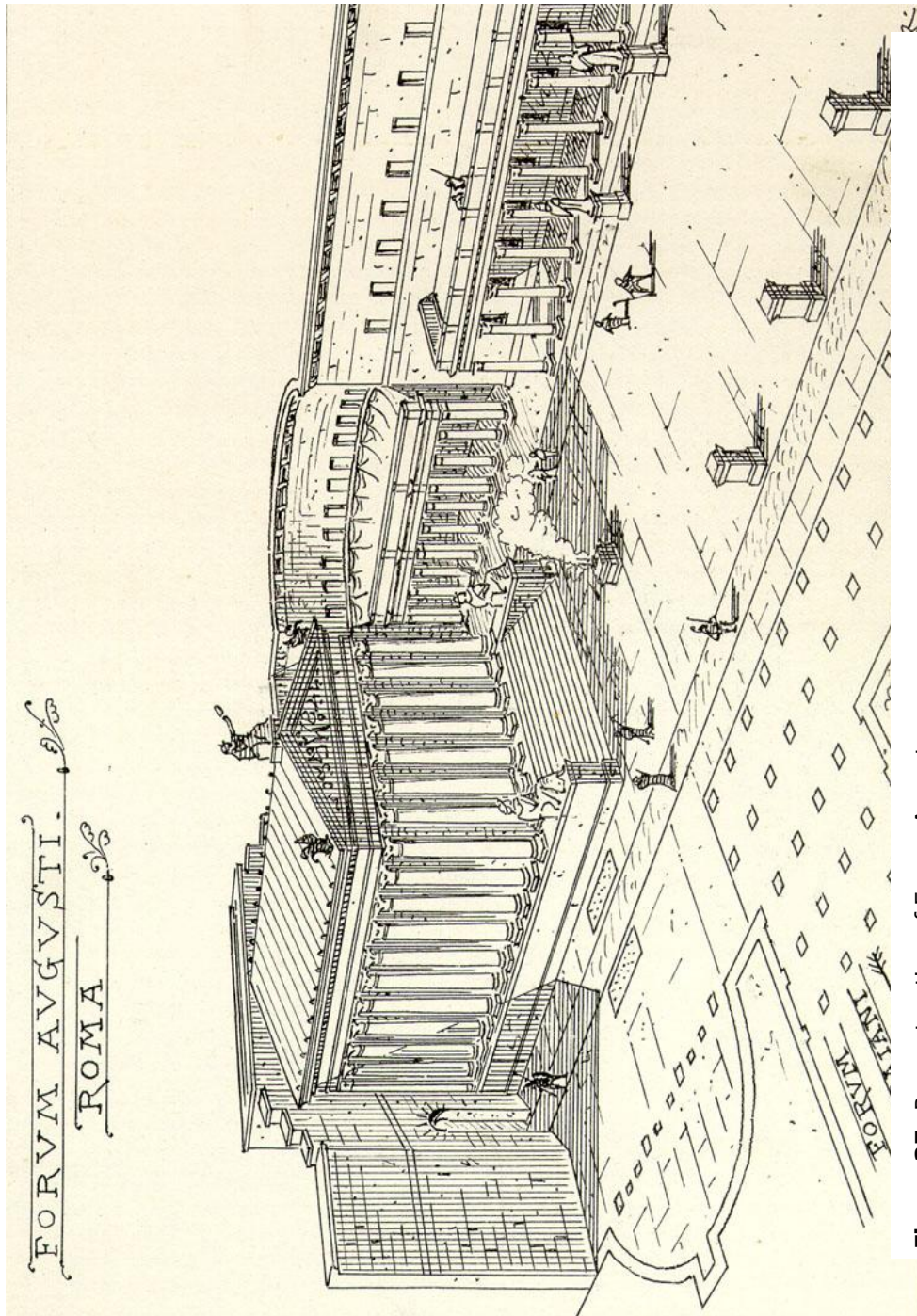


**Figure 33:** Aerial View of Model of Baths of Caracalla, *cryptoporticus* section  
 Source: <http://intranet.arc.miami.edu/rjohn/Fall%201999/Fall1999slides/Aerial%20View%20of%20model%20Baths%20of%20Caracalla.jpg> [Last accessed September 23, 2012]



**Figure 34:** Baths of Caracalla, main hall.  
Source: [www.humanitiesresource.com/lecture/hum10test1/Baths of Caracalla\).jpg](http://www.humanitiesresource.com/lecture/hum10test1/Baths%20of%20Caracalla.jpg) [Last accessed September 23, 2012]





**Figure 35:** Reconstruction of Forum Augustum  
Source: <http://www.aeria.phil.uni-erlangen.de> [Last accessed August 26, 2012]

## APPENDIX B:TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

### ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

Enformatik Enstitüsü

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

### YAZARIN

Soyadı :

Adı :

Bölümü :

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) :

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans  Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: