

DAAD Summer School
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THE ARTEMIS OF POMPEII
WINCKELMANN’S DISCOVERY OF POLYCHROME ART

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ABSTRACT

Johann Joachim Winckelmann first mentions a polychrome Artemis from Pompeii in a letter from 25 July 1760 dedicated to his friend Philipp von Stosch. Over the following years this sculpture of Artemis, which is now in the National Museum of Archaeology in Naples (inv.no. 6008), became his most important archaeological evidence for the attestation of ancient Greek polychromy. However, his opinion of Greek polychromy changed over the course of time as he studied ancient statuary. This change is revealed by his comments on the Artemis. In his notes from his travels to Naples (1762) as well as in his *Sendschreiben von den Herculanischen Entdeckungen* (1762) Winckelmann classifies the style of the Artemis as Etruscan. In 1764, Winckelmann explains his assumption in his famous first edition of *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*. Winckelmann didn't consider her to be Etruscan because he was an advocate of the aesthetic superiority of unpainted white marble over marble painted with colors, but because of her smile. After he published his first edition a process of rethinking started, which expresses itself in a new revised version of the chapter of the most noteworthy marble sculptures of Etruscan art in his second edition (1776), where he admits that these sculptures – among those he counts the Artemis – belong to the earlier period of Greek art. He still finds her smile inadequate. Finally in two corrector notes from page 16 of his first edition of the *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (1764), Winckelmann recognizes the smile of Artemis as a feature of the archaic period and therefore commits the ancient Greek polychromy. The attribute Etruscan has finally disappeared.

Keywords: Polychromy, Winckelmann, Artemis, Pompeii

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

The author, Vanessa Wilson, born on 11 May 1994, studied Classical Archaeology, Prehistoric Archaeology and Christian Archaeology at the Friedrich-Alexander-University of Erlangen-Nürnberg. Besides Greek and Roman architecture, her research interests include ancient polychromy, as well as the reception of classical art in the modern age. Her Bachelor thesis entered into the question whether the flesh color of Egyptian alabaster figurines was painted on or interpreted by the material itself.

The Artemis of Pompeii: Winkelmann's discovery of polychrome art



Figure 1. Artemis of Pompeii, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (inv. no. 6008)

1. THE ARTEMIS OF POMPEII

WINCKELMANN'S DISCOVERY OF POLYCHROME ART¹

“Dem Auge Winckelmann's konnte es bei der Musterung des zu seiner Zeit bestehenden Sculpturenschatzes nicht entgehen, dass sich an einigen Statuen, z.B. an einem Apollo im Museo Capitolino, und bei der Pallas von Portici wohl erkennbare Spuren der Vergoldung in den Haaren zeigen, und dass sich bei manchen Köpfen sowohl von Marmor als von Erz eingesetzte Augen finden; ja bei der Betrachtung der Diana von Herculaneum, an welcher das Haar und das Diadem vergoldet, der Saum der Gewänder, der Riemen des Köchers und die Sandalen röthlich bemalt sind, verbunden mit einer Stelle Plato's welcher von Leuten, welche Bildsäulen bemalen, als einer ganz bekannten Sache spricht, kam er wirklich auf die Idee, diese Bemalung als einen bei den Griechen üblichen Gebrauch zu betrachten.“²

In the nineteenth century, Christian Walz concedes in *Abhandlung über die Polychromie der antiken Sculptur* (1853), that Johann Joachim Winckelmann, the founder of Classical Archaeology, is an advocate of Greek polychromy.³ In contrary, in the twentieth century, Winckelmann was blamed to deny this fact.⁴ Especially Patrik Reuterswärd, an art historian from Sweden, accused him in his groundbreaking monograph on polychrome sculptures in *Greece and Rome* (1969) for the assumption, that the polychromy of marble sculptures is an expression of bad taste, which only Romans and Barbarians practiced⁵. Therefore, he quoted a paragraph of the posthumous second edition of Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (1776), the chapter where Winckelmann describes painted sculptures⁶:

“That I may omit nothing relative to the painting of the ancients, I remind the reader of a certain Diana in the Herculanaen museum – described in the third chapter, - which is wrought in the most ancient style, and of which not only the hem of the skirt but also other parts of the garments are painted. Although it is more probable that the Artemis statue is an Etruscan, and not a Greek work, yet from a passage in Plato it might seem as if the same practice existed also among the Greeks. Plato's words, which I quote, are to be taken as a simile: ὡςπερ οὖν ἂν εἰ ἡμᾶς ἀνδριάντα γράφοντα προσελθὼν τις ἔψεγε λέγων ὅτι οὐ τοῖς καλλίστοις τοῦ ζώου τὰ κάλλιστα φάρμακα προστιθεμεν—οἱ γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ κάλλιστον ὄν οὐκ ὀστρεῖω ἐναλημιμένοι εἶεν ἀλλὰ μέλανι—μετρίως ἂν ἐδοκοῦμεν That means: “Just as if someone who should find us coloring a statue [andrias] should censure us because we are failing to put the most beautiful colors upon the most beautiful parts of the figure; since we would have coated the eyes, though being the most beautiful, not with purple, but with black, etc.“ I translate these words in the sense in which I understand them; and they are susceptible to no other interpretation until it can be shown that the word andrias, which generally signifies a statue, can be understood to mean also a picture, - a point which I leave to the decision of those whose reading is more extensive than mine.”

Indeed, in the example Reuterswärd cited, Winckelmann expresses the assumption that a polychrome statue of Artemis from Pompeii has probably not Greek origin, but Etruscan – and is therefore of barbarian origin.⁷ But Winckelmann didn't gainsay the fact of ancient Greek polychromy, quite the

¹ This essay is based on a paper from Primavesi 2010, 24-77.

² Walz 1853, 3f.

³ Walz 1853, 3f.

⁴ Primavesi 2010, 24.

⁵ Reuterswärd 1960, 28: „Weil die ersten Nachrichten über erhaltene Farbreste sich auf in Italien gefundene Werke bezogen, scheint man sich anfangs einig gewesen zu sein, die Polychromie von der griechischen Klassik fernzuhalten, indem man sie als eine römische oder barbarische Unsitte bezeichnete.“ This note refers to Winckelmann 1776, 587f. (Borbein et al. 2002, 553). But he also admits (1960, 9f.) that a passage from Plato (Plat. rep. IV, 420 c-d) which Winckelmann also cites, can be understood as a confession of Greek polychromy.

⁶ Reuterswärd 1960, 28, note 22 refers to Winckelmann 1776, 587f. (Borbein et al. 2002, 553), a paragraph which he designates as book VII.4 § 15 (Meyer – Schulze 1812, 200f.); for the English translation see Lodge 1880, III.

⁷ Primavesi 2010, 24.

contrary: he was one of the first scholars who admitted it⁸. Besides his quoted philological proof, a passage from Plato's *Politeia*⁹, his most important archaeological evidence is the Artemis of Pompeii, even though he first thought she was Etruscan. However, his estimation of the Artemis underlaid a striking development and changed over the course of time as he studied ancient statuary. But before we look closely how his opinion vicissitudes, it's necessary to gain an insight of the statue itself.

1.1 The Artemis of Pompeii

The Artemis of Pompeii is a half life-size marble statue of the Greek goddess Artemis with rich traces of color¹⁰, located in the National Archaeological Museum, Naples (inventory number 6008). The statue was carved out of Pentelic marble¹¹, a fine-grained calcitic marble which is white with a golden tinge¹² and has a total height of 1,08m.¹³ She was found in July 1760 by the Bourbons of Naples under the direction of Karl Weber.¹⁴ Fortunately, the statue of Artemis is near-complete. According to the excavation diary, the fingers of both hands were missing, but found during the excavation. Besides the broken fingers, Studniczka mentions that the attribute she supposed to hold in her left hand, as well as small pieces of her diadem and a part of her quiver were missing¹⁵. Furthermore, Studnickza describes the surface of her skin as evened, while the surfaces of her clothes are left rougher, still showing relics of the use of rasps.¹⁶

The statue depicts Artemis walking with her left leg forward, and her left foot back. Her right arm is along her side while her left arm is bent at the elbow and held away from her body. The goddess wears sandals and is dressed in a blouse and a skirt with a coat on top¹⁷. In her right hand, she

⁸ For further information about the research history on polychromy see J. Stubbe Østergaard, *The Polychromy of Antique Sculpture: A Challenge to Western Ideals?*, in: Brinkmann – O. Primavesi – M. Hollein (Hrsg.), *Circumlitio. The polychromy of antique and mediaeval sculpture*, Schriftenreihe der Liebieghaus-Skulpturensammlung, Frankfurt am Main (München 2010), 78-107.

⁹ Plat. rep. IV, 420 c-d.

¹⁰ For further information on the traces of color see the Spanish excavation diary in Fiorelli 1860, part I, 114. and the descriptions of C. Paderni in Pannuti 2000, 6. as well as Quatremère 1814, 35; Raoul-Rochette 1836, 414f., pl. VII; Studniczka 1888, 290f.; Newer research on the statues polychromy were undertaken in 2011: V. Brinkmann, U. Koch-Brinkmann, H. Piening, *Alte Gewänder in Neuem Look, Beobachtungen zu den Farben der pompejanischen Artemis*, in: Brinkmann 2011, 69-86.

¹¹ Ward-Perkins – Claridge 1976, 92, 94; Finati (1819, commentary on pl. 8) mistakes the marble as luna marble.

¹² King's College London, 2013. Material: Pentelic Marble - Art of Making. [online] Available at: <<http://www.artofmaking.ac.uk/explore/materials/8/Pentelic-Marble>> [Accessed 30 October 2016]

¹³ Ward-Perkins – Claridge 1976, 92, 94.

¹⁴ Primavesi 2010, 25; 40.

¹⁵ The excavation diary (Fiorelli 1860, part I, 114) mentions in this context: „y le faltan los dedos de las dos manos, los que se han encontrado“. Studniczka (1888, 278f.) in contrast, describes the conservation as follows: “Abgesehen von dem Attribut der Linken und einigen Splittern des Diadems fehlt gegenwärtig der obere und untere Abschluss des Köchers. [...] Ergänzt ist nur ein Stück der vorspringenden Falte, die von der rechten Brust abwärts geht, und Weniges an den Fingern, welche grössten Teile aus mitgefundenen Bruchstücken zusammengesetzt werden konnten. Die [...] ungefähr oval abgeschnittene Plinthe ist mit Gips zu ihrer jetzigen rechteckigen Form erweitert.“

¹⁶ Studniczka 1888, 290: „Die nackten Teile sind nur geglättet, während das Gewand meist die Rasselstiche erkennen lässt.“

¹⁷ Brinkmann 2011, 79.

would presumably have held a bow in wood or bronze, and another object in her left hand while a marble quiver hangs from her shoulder.¹⁸ Her vestments form rich drapery from which her clearly delineated left leg emerges. She has slightly pronounced cheekbones and a small chin. Her thick curly locks of hair frame her face, surmounted by a diadem of rosettes, while long thin plaits fall down her back.

The Artemis of Pompeii is an archaistic Roman copy from the 1st century A. D. of a lost Greek original of the time of the Greco-Persian wars¹⁹. The archetype of the Artemis can be traced back to an Aeginetan context.²⁰

1.2 Winckelmann's discovery of polychrome art

The Bourbons of Naples led excavations between 1759 and 1761 on the manor of the family Irace, who owned at this time the biggest parts of the regions VII and VIII.²¹ On 15 July 1760 the excavators found the Artemis in a garden²². According to the excavation diary, the surface painting was immediately visible at the recovery since the lack of air and moisture beneath the volcanic ash offered an ideal condition for the preservation of color²³. They also recorded that the Artemis stood on a shrine, built out of different colored types of marble that corresponded with the polychromy of the Artemis²⁴.

As the Artemis of Pompeii was discovered the chief restorer in the court of Charles II (1716-1788) and later also the keeper of the Museum of Herculaneum, Camillo Paderni, began to produce a detailed drawing of the Artemis and a plan of the shrine with the location of the statue as well as a related key and comment.²⁵ Winckelmann met Paderni the first time in 1758 on his Grand Tour.²⁶

¹⁸ Ward-Perkins – Claridge 1976, 92, 94.

¹⁹ Braun (1854, 35) thought she was archaic. Studniczka (1888, 279) already noticed her archaistic features and concludes, that the Artemis of Pompeii is a roman copy of a Greek original of the Greco-Persian wars. Zagdoun (1989, 195) holds the thesis that the Artemis was created at 150 BC. Also an Athenian workshop at the turn of the first century BC/AD, or slightly after was submitted by Clardige and Ward-Perkins. Zanker (1987, 244f.) dates her in the times of the emperor Augustus.

²⁰ Brinkmann 2011, 78f.

²¹ Primavesi 2010, 31.

²² The excavation diary (Fiorelli 1860, part I, 114) tells us the discovery of the Artemis under the date of 19 July 1760. Paderni (Pannuti 2000, tavola XII) in contrary dates the transportation of the statue to the 19 July, he reports that the discovery took place four days before, on 15 July 1760. Winckelmann

²³ Primavesi 2010, 32; The excavators documented (Fiorelli 1860, part I, 114) red color attached to the hair, red stripes, a hair band with white flowers, red color on both the straps of the quiver and of the sandals, and even traces of flesh color.

²⁴ Fiorelli 1860, part I, 114; see for further information on the shrine Primavesi 2010, 31-49; Pannuti 2000, 6.

²⁵ Pannuti 2000, 6.

²⁶ Primavesi 2010, 149f.

Paderni probably notified Winckelmann²⁷ that a polychrome Artemis was unearthed, since Winckelmann wrote a letter to Stosch on the 25 July 1760, mentioning the finding²⁸.

On 30 January 1762, Winckelmann met with Paderni again to visit the site where the statue was found in 1760.²⁹ However, after the Bourbons finished their excavations, they reburied the site.³⁰ In his notes, which he wrote on his travels in 1762, he uses the past tense to describe the shrine.³¹ The most obvious reason seems to be, that the shrine wasn't visible to Winckelmann anymore. The suspicion arises since Winckelmann didn't waste any words on the polychromy of the shrine.³²

During his journey to Naples he also visited the Museum of Herculaneum in the Royal Palace of Portici and saw the Artemis in the seventh room.³³ In his notes he mentions three features no scholar ever described before: The Etruscan style of the statue, her smile and her loosely together bound hair:³⁴

“The Etruscan Diana is half life-sized, the corners of her mouth are turned upwards, her hair is tied together at a distance from the head.”

The second note describes the polychromy of the statue:³⁵

“The hair of the Etruscan Diana statue was colored yellow, the eyeballs, too, were painted. The quiver strap is red. The small outer hem of the clothing is yellow and narrow; on the broad red stripe, white flowers are painted. On the tiara around her head, ten roses are set in relief, painted red. Her arms above her wrist were supported by a rectangular marble bar which is more than one inch in width.”

In this second note Winckelmann qualifies her hair as yellow, while later in his *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (1764) as fair.³⁶ In contrary, he also counts the Artemis in a chapter on the coloring of hair in female statues in his *Geschichte* among the statues with red-colored hair.³⁷ This inconsistency is also noticeable with the cited ten red roses on the tiara. In his *Geschichte* he will recognize only eight.³⁸ Winckelmann then makes a far-reaching mistake: He fails to distinguish here between the

²⁷ For further information of Winckelmann's references to Paderni's reports see Rehm 1952-1957, vol. II, 124, 392; Rehm 1952-1957, vol. II, 229f.; Rehm 1952-1957, vol. II, 325, 567.

²⁸ Rehm 1952-1957, Vol. II, 96, 370: “Zu Pompeji hat man in einem völlig erhaltenen Grabmale ein ganz bemahlte Diana von Marmor gefunden über 4 Palmen hoch. Künftig ein mehres.”

²⁹ Primavesi 2010, 49f.

³⁰ Primavesi 2010, 43.

³¹ Borbein – Kunze 2001, 80, 7-15: “The Etruscan Diana stood in a small temple belonging to a villa. The temple stood in a quadrangular courtyard which was surrounded by a small water channel. The temple has a low platform and it was supported by four small columns made of brickwork plastered with gypsum; one of these columns has been taken to the courtyard of the museum. Between the two columns of the one intercolumniation which was wider than the others, there were three steps, inwardly curved; and in the centre of the temple, the statue stood on a base which was covered with breccia marble. But in front of the temple, laterally, that is, towards the right corner, there stood a round altar; and on the other side, there was a well. Opposite this temple, there was a cistern, and in its inwardly curved corners were four wells.” for the English translation see Primavesi 2010, 51.

³² Borbein – Kunze 2001, 80, 7-15; Winckelmann is mistaken on more than one detail see Primavesi 2010, 57f.

³³ Winckelmann 1762, 92 (Bruer – Kunze 1997, 129).

³⁴ Borbein – Kunze 2001, 87, 24-25; for the English translation see Primavesi 2010, 52.

³⁵ Borbein – Kunze 2001, 91, 25-30; for the English translation see Primavesi 2010, 55.

³⁶ Winckelmann 1764, 16 (Borbein et al. 2002, 28); for the English translation see Potts – Mallgrave 2006, 116;

³⁷ Winckelmann 1764, 207 (Borbein et al. 2002, 404).

³⁸ Winckelmann 1764, 96 (Borbein et al. 2002, 154; 156); Studniczka(1888, 290f.) also mentions yellow roses. As Brinkmann (2011, 73) found out, the diadem has a Fond in Egyptian blue, while roses in yellow, pink and red are alternating.

mantle and the skirt, which is why he will mix-up the colored borders in his *Geschichte*.³⁹ However, Winckelmann observes correctly that her eyes were painted too⁴⁰.

In 1762, Winckelmann also published his *Sendschreiben von den Herculanischen Entdeckungen*. Out of all excavated buildings in Pompeii, he chose to specify the shrine of the Artemis.⁴¹ Again he considers the style of the Artemis as Etruscan.⁴²

“Within this small temple, there stood a Diana in the Etruscan style on a base likewise decked with marble.”

Two years later, in 1764, Winckelmann gives an explanation to this dating in his famous first edition of *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*: He considers the Artemis to a work of the Etruscans – not because he wanted to keep the polychromy away from the classical time – because of her smile.⁴³ But his interpretation of the smile changes even in the book itself. On page 16, where he describes the habit of painting on clothing, he holds that the smiling face of Artemis is a feature of an individual portraiture:⁴⁴

“Occasionally, marble statues were dressed in real fabrics, as was a Demeter at Bura in Achaia. A very ancient Asclepius at Sicyon likewise had a gown. Later this gave rise to the practice of painting clothing on marble figures as can be seen in an Artemis discovered in Herculaneum in 1760. This work is 4 palmi and 2 ½ oncie high, with a head that does not represent an ideal type but instead portrays a specific person. Her hair is fair, and white is the color of both the mantle and the skirt which have three stripes lining both their lower borders:

- the lowest stripe is thin and gold-colored;
- the next, in a lacquer color, is wider, with white flowers and scrolls painted on it;
- the third stripe is of the same (lacquer) color.

The statue that Virgil has Corydon promise to Artemis was supposed to have been of marble but with red buskins.”

However, in the chapter on Etruscan art, he contradicts himself and reclassifies her smile as an ideal but imperfect depiction of beauty:⁴⁵

“The sixth of the announced Etruscan marble statues, Diana depicted running, is half life-size or almost five palmi high, clothed, and painted. The corners of her mouth are turned upwards, and the chin is rather small; yet we see very clearly that this was not intended to be a portrait of any specific person but is instead an imperfect configuration of beauty. Her hair hangs over the forehead in small ringlets, and on the sides it hangs down in long skeins onto her shoulders; at the back, it is tied loosely together at a distance from the head. Around the hair, there is a tiara, like a ring, on which eight red roses are set in relief. Her clothing is painted white. The shirt, or undergarment, has wide sleeves, which are set into crimped or ruffled folds, and the vest, or short mantle, has pleated, parallel folds, as does the skirt. The outermost edge of the mantle’s hem is bordered at the outer edge with a small gold stripe, and directly above is a broad, lacquer-colored stripe with flowers, indicating embroidery. Above this is a third stripe, also lacquer-colored. The hem of the skirt is painted in the same way. The quiver strap over the shoulder is red, as are the straps of the sandals. This statue was also mentioned in the first chapter. It once stood in a small temple or chapel that belonged to a villa in the ancient buried city of Pompeii.”

³⁹ Primavesi 2010, 55; Winckelmann 1764, 16 (Borbein et al. 2002, 28); Winckelmann 1764, 96 (Borbein et al. 2002, 154).

⁴⁰ Studniczka 1888, 290f. identifies her iris as auburn and the pupils, eyelashes and eyebrows as black.

⁴¹ Winckelmann 1762, 28f. (Bruer – Kunze 1997, 84f.).

⁴² Winckelmann 1762, 29 (Bruer – Kunze 1997, 85); for the English translation see Primavesi 2010, 57.

⁴³ Winckelmann 1764, 96 (Borbein et al. 2002, 154).

⁴⁴ Winckelmann 1764, 16 (Borbein et al. 2002, 28); for the English translation see Potts – Mallgrave 2006, 116; Winckelmann writes mistakenly that the Artemis was found in Herculaneum. In the chapter on Etruscan art he corrects his error.

⁴⁵ Winckelmann 1764, 96 (Borbein et al. 2002, 154); for the English translation see Potts – Mallgrave 2006, 165f.



Figure 2. Smile of the Artemis

He also states in a passage in his first edition⁴⁶, that a beautiful body will appear all the more beautiful and all the larger, the whiter it is. He demonstrates this by a physical explanation: white is the color that reflects the largest number of rays of light and therefore he deduces that the contours of white bodies are most distinctly defined:⁴⁷

„Color contributes to beauty, but it is not beauty itself, though it generally enhances beauty and its forms. Since white is the color that reflects the most rays of light, and thus is most easily perceived, a beautiful body will be all the more beautiful the whiter it is, and nude it will thereby appear larger than it actually is, just as all newly formed gypsum figures seem larger than the statues from which they were cast.”

Winckelmann opines color to be at most a highlight of the beauty of the existing form, it is the form that beauty depends on. Taken out of context, this might convey the impression that Winckelmann is denying the fact of ancient Greek polychromy, because he is an advocate of the aesthetic superiority of unpainted white marble over marble painted with colors.⁴⁸

An exceptional process of rethinking and revising after the publication of his first edition of the *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (1764), led Winckelmann to a change of his assessment on the Artemis.⁴⁹ After his death in 1768, the second (unfinished) edition of the *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* was printed in 1776. Winckelmann planned to add a new paragraph with the heading *Von bemalten Statuen* into the central fourth chapter of the first part.⁵⁰ This passage, which Reuterswärd cited in 1960, shows his reconsideration on Greek polychromy: He demonstrates that there is no impediment to the classification of the Artemis as Greek by quoting a passage from Plato's *Politeía*. In addition, Winckelmann presents a new, revised version of the chapter of the most noteworthy marble sculptures of Etruscan art, where he admits that these sculptures belong to the earlier period of Greek art:⁵¹

„It is not easy to pass a decided opinion upon the marble statues of Etruscan appearance, because they may possibly belong to the earlier period of Greek art; and the probability always inclines more in favour of Greek provenance than of Etruscan. Hence an Apollo of this kind in the Capitoline museum, and another statue of the same deity in the Conti palace, which was discovered in a small temple at the foot of the polychromy of Circaeum, may, with more certainty, be regarded as very ancient Greek productions than as Etruscan. Neither will I undertake to assert that a figure, wrongly called a Vestal, in the Giustiani palace, which probably is among the very oldest statues in Rome, or a Diana in the Herculaneum museum which has every mark of the Etruscan style, was executed by artists of this nation rather than by Greeks. [...] The corners of her mouth are turned upwards, and the chin is rather small; yet we see very clearly that this was not intended to be a portrait of any specific person but is instead an imperfect vision of beauty; nevertheless, the feet are uncommonly elegant, and none of more beauty are found on undoubtedly Greek figures.”

He describes a feature that shows irrefutable her Greek origin, the elegance of her tender feet. But still he regards her smile as inadequate.

⁴⁶ Winckelmann 1764, 147 (Borbein et al. 2002, 248).

⁴⁷ Winckelmann 1764, 147 (Borbein et al. 2002, 248); for the English translation see Potts – Mallgrave 2006, 195.

⁴⁸ Primavesi 2010, 29.

⁴⁹ Primavesi 2010, 25.

⁵⁰ Winckelmann 1776, 587f. (Borbein et al. 2002, 553); for the English translation see Lodge 1880, III.

⁵¹ Winckelmann 1776, 157ff. (Borbein et al. 2002, 153ff.).



Figure 3. Left foot of the statue

The final step in the evolution of Winckelmann's thought on the matter is visible in two manuscript notes⁵² which show his planned revise for page 16 of the first edition of the *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (1764).

First draft:⁵³

„Ad p. 16. I had been of the opinion that the colored marble statue of Diana embodying the archaic style of Greek art is not meant to represent – by her facial expression – an ideal type, but a specific person. Since then, however, I have compared the features of her face with those of other archaic Greek sculptures, and I cannot find any difference. Therefore, I would now call it an ideal type of head of the archaic style.”

Second draft:⁵⁴

“The statue of Diana made of painted marble and now in the Herculanean Museum of Portici is, probably even more ancient than the three statues mentioned above. I have come to this opinion since I have been able to convince myself, by the way of repeated inspection, of the face being an ideal type quite similar to that of the Albani Athena. This makes me think that the statue is one of the most ancient ones among those which represent the archaic style of Greek art, since the head is exactly identical to the heads from the archaic Syracusan coins and to the heads on the supposedly Etruscan relief of Leucothea in the Villa Albani.”

Johann Joachim Winckelmann finally classifies the polychrome Artemis from Pompeii as a work of the most ancient style of Greek art; the attribute Etruscan has finally disappeared.

⁵² The notes must have been written after 1767, since Winckelmann assumes in his printed version of his *Anmerkungen über die Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (1767) that a funeral relief from the Villa Albani is Etruscan, in the second draft instead this attribute disappeared.

⁵³ Borbein – Kunze 2008, 159, 11-17; for the English translation see Primavesi 2010, 66.

⁵⁴ Borbein – Kunze 2008, 159, 21-27; for the English translation see Primavesi 2010, 66.

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Vanessa Wilson

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J. J. Winckelmann, Sendschreiben von den Herculianischen Entdeckungen. an den Hochgebohrnen Herrn, Herrn Heinrich Reichsgrafen von Bruehl Starosten von Bolynow, Ritter des hierosolymitanischen Ordens von Maltha Sr. Königl. Majest. In Pohlen und Churfürstl. Durchl. zu Sachsen hochbestallten Cammerherrn etc. etc. (Dresden 1762)

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THE ARTEMIS OF POMPEII: WINCKELMANN'S DISCOVERY OF POLYCHROME ART

DAAD SUMMER SCHOOL *Dialogue on Cultural Heritage in Times of Crisis*

SEPTEMBER 19-30, 2016, NAPLES

VANESSA WILSON



JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN

The best Etruscan marble statues, in my view, are the so-called vestal in the Palazzo Giustiniani; a presumed priest in the Villa Albani; a statue that portrays a woman in late pregnancy in the Villa Mattei; two statues of Apollo, one on the Campidoglio, the other in the Palazzo Conti; and an Etruscan Diana in the Herculanean museo at Portici.

[...]

The sixth marble statue, Diana depicted running, is half-size or five palmi high, clothed, and painted. The corners of her mouth are turned up, and the chin is small; we see very clearly, however, that this was not intended to be a portrait or any specific person but is instead an imperfect vision of beauty. Her hair hangs over the forehead in small locks, and on the sides it hangs in long strips down below the shoulders; in the back, it is bound back at a distance from the head. Around the hair is a diadem, like a ring, on which eight red roses are set in relief. Her clothing is painted white. The shirt, or tunic, has wide sleeves, which are set into crimped or pinched folds, and the vest, or short cloak, has flattened, parallel folds, as does the robe. The outer edge of the robe's hem is bordered with a small gold stripe, and directly above is a broad, lacquer-colored stripe with white flowers, indicating embroidery. Above this is a third stripe, also lacquer-colored; the hem of the robe is painted in the same color. The quiver strap over the shoulder is red, like the straps of the sandals. This statue was also mentioned in the first chapter. It once stood in a small temple, or chapel, that belonged to a Villa in the ancient buried city of Pompeii.

26.09.2016



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ARTEMIS OF POMPEII

1,16m, Pentelic marble,
Museo Archeologico Nazionale di
Napoli (inv.no. 6008)

Yellow ochre in the hair, red-brown ochre in the iris, black iron oxide in the pupils and brows

Madder pink at the diadem

Mixture of red ferric oxide and madder red at the blouse, gold ochre and Egyptian blue at the sleeve



Madder pink at the diadem

Orpiment at a sandal

Madder pink and gold ochre at the hem of the coat



Fluorescence of Egyptian blue at the support and at the diadem in infrared light

EXCAVATION DIARY

19 July [1760] – The statue of white marble has been unearthed which – I have already reported this – was found on Irace's darm, and [which] is 4 palmos and 2 ½ onzas in height, which is meant to be Diana dressed in a robe fastened with a small button on top of her shoulder, and her arms skin-colored, with the hair well arranged, red in color, and with a fillet foing aroung and holding the hair together, with some flowers in relief made from the same marble, and some stripes painted red 'with white flowers', and a sah or strap serving as a bandolier, painted red, too, and on her back she wears, attached to the aforementioned bandolier, a receptacle wherein she carries the arrows. And the right foot of the aforementioned statue is positioned rearwards, and the left foot ahead, and with her hand, she makes or so it seems a gesture as if she were shooting an arrow, and she lacks the fingers of the two hands, which [fingers] have been found; and she wears her sandals attached to her feet with red straps. The pedestal consisted of brickwork covered with marble: at the front, there was a small plaque of verd antique, sorrounded by white striped, another black stripe and yet another white stripe, and cornices made from white and red antique marble, and on either side of the pedestal, there was a decoration of Cipollaccio marble: both the statue belonging to the pedestal and the decorations of the latter have been brought away and committed to the Royal Museum, and as well as one column covered with stucco from the building where the statue was found; at the request of D. Camillo Paderni, this column has been brought away; and it is 6 palmos and 6 onzas in height, and 9 onzas in diameter.

CAMILLO PADERNI

Heading: Date of discovery July 15, 1760

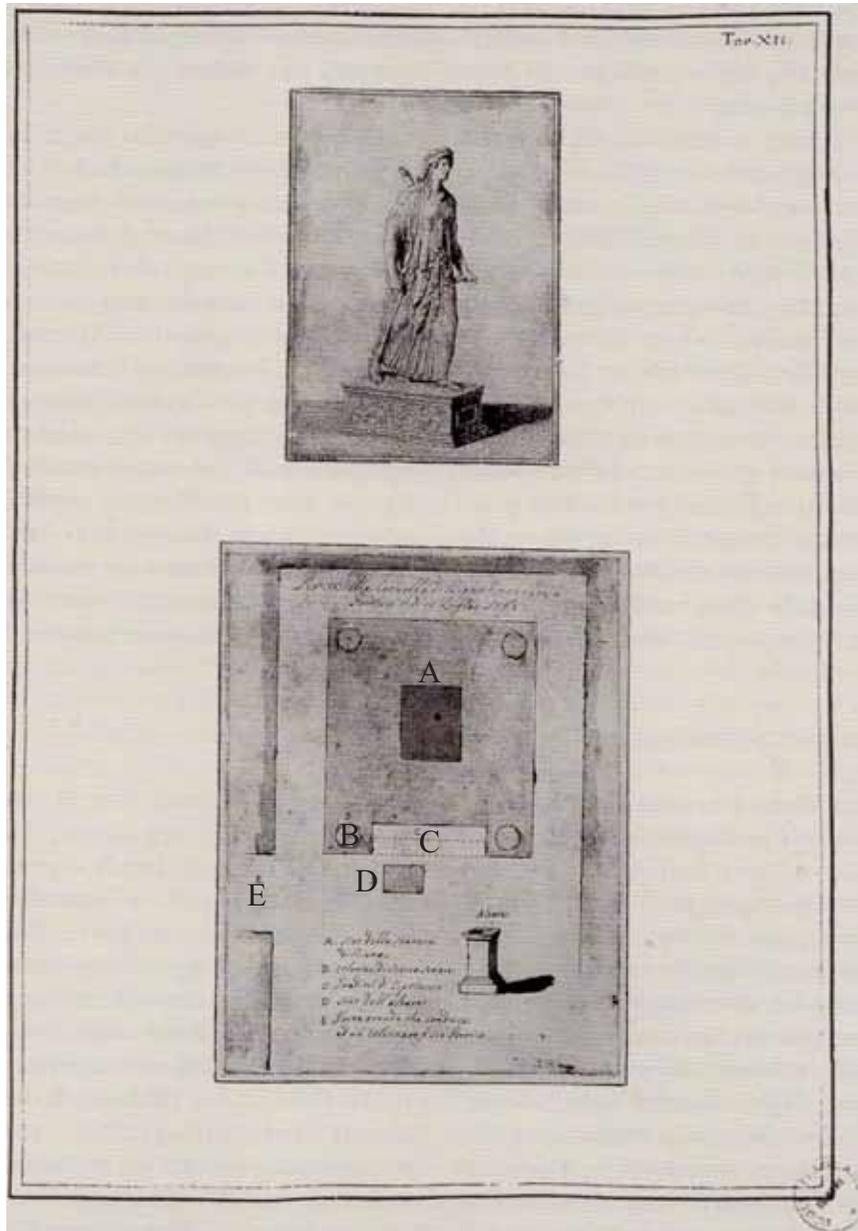
A quadratic shrine

B stuccoed columns in each corner

C three steps, paved with Cippolaccio marble

D rectangular altar

E opening in the enclosing wall of the shrine



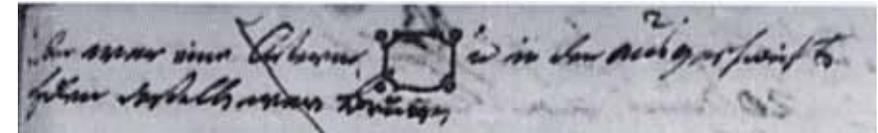
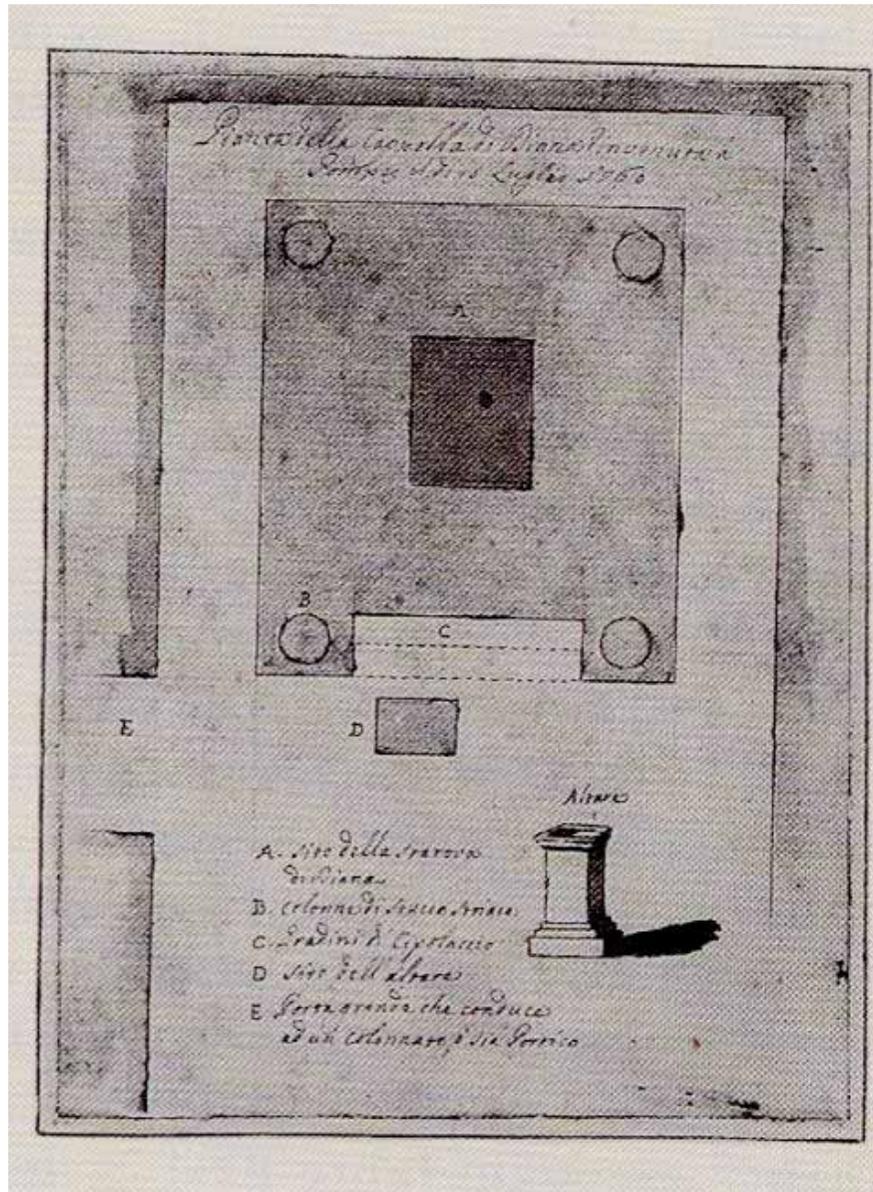
Camillo Paderni, Tavola XII: drawing of an Artemis statue from Pompeii and groundplan of her shrine

26.09.2016

JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN

The Etruscan Diana stood in a small temple belonging to a villa. The temple stood in a quadrangular courtyard which was surrounded by a small water channel. The temple has a low platform and it was supported by four small columns made of brickwork plastered with gypsum; one of these columns has been taken to the courtyard of the museum. Between the two columns of the one intercolumniation which was wider than the others, there were three steps, inwardly curved; and in the centre of the temple, the statue stood on a base which was covered with breccia marble. But in front of the temple, laterally, that is, towards the right corner, there stood a round altar; and on the other side, there was a well. Opposite this temple, there was a cistern, and in its inwardly curved corners were four wells

WINCKELMANN 1762, notes from his travels



J. J. Winckelmann, notes (1762), sketch of the cistern

Camillo Paderni, Tavola XII: drawing of an Artemis statue from Pompeii and ground plan of her shrine

20.09.2016

JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN

First note:

The Etruscan Diana is half life-sized, the corners of her mouth are turned upwards, her hair is tied together at a distance from the head.

Second note:

The hair of the Etruscan Diana statue was colored yellow, the eyeballs, too, were painted. The quiver strap is red. The small outer hem of the clothing is yellow and narrow; on the broad red stripe, white flowers are painted. On the tiara around her head, ten roses are set in relief, painted red. Her arms above her wrist were supported by a rectangular marble bar which is more than one inch in width.

WINCKELMANN 1762, notes from his travels

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JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN

Color contributes to beauty, but it is not beauty itself, though it generally enhances beauty and its forms. Since white is the color that reflects the most rays of light, and thus is most easily perceived, a beautiful body will be all the more beautiful the whiter it is, and nude it will thereby appear larger than it actually is, just as all newly formed gypsum figures seem larger than the statues from which they were cast.

WINCKELMANN 1764, The History of Art of Antiquity, Part 1, Chapter 4.

JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN

The best Etruscan marble statues, in my view, are the so-called vestal in the Palazzo Giustiniani; a presumed priest in the Villa Albani; a statue that portrays a woman in late pregnancy in the Villa Mattei; two statues of Apollo, one on the Campidoglio, the other in the Palazzo Conti; and an Etruscan Diana in the Herculanean museo at Portici.

[...]

The sixth marble statue, Diana depicted running, is half-size or five palmi high, clothed, and painted. The corners of her mouth are turned up, and the chin is small; we see very clearly, however, that this was not intended to be a portrait or any specific person but is instead an imperfect vision of beauty. Her hair hangs over the forehead in small locks, and on the sides it hangs in long strips down below the shoulders; in the back, it is bound back at a distance from the head. Around the hair is a diadem, like a ring, on which eight red roses are set in relief. Her clothing is painted white. The shirt, or tunic, has wide sleeves, which are set into crimped or pinched folds, and the vest, or short cloak, has flattened, parallel folds, as does the robe. The outer edge of the robe's hem is bordered with a small gold stripe, and directly above is a broad, lacquer-colored stripe with white flowers, indicating embroidery. Above this is a third stripe, also lacquer-colored; the hem of the robe is painted in the same color. The quiver strap over the shoulder is red, like the straps of the sandals. This statue was also mentioned in the first chapter. It once stood in a small temple, or chapel, that belonged to a Villa in the ancient buried city of Pompeii.

JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN

Among the stationary discoveries of the city of Pompeii, I would like to limit myself to a small quadrangular temple or chapel excavated in the year 1761. It belonged to a large house or villa, and the pediment which was painted with various kinds of leaves rested on four columns. The columns were made of brickwork and covered with gypsum, ca 1 ½ palmi in diameter and 7 palmi and 7 oncie in height, with incisions indicating their fluting. One of the columns has been taken to the courtyard of the Herculanean museum. The temple was elevated two steps. Within, between the two columns of the central intercolumniation which was much wider than the others, three further steps, inwardly curved, led to the floor of the temple. Accordingly, the floor was situated three steps higher than the level on which the columns stood. These steps were decked with slabs of poor-quality Cipollino marble. Within this small temple, there stood a Diana in the Etruscan style on a base likewise decked with marble. In front of the temple, towards the right there stood a round altar, on the other side, there was a well; opposite the temple was a cistern, and in its inwardly curved corners were four wells, or opening for the purpose of drawing water from the cistern more conveniently. In the same area, there has been found the only building of all houses excavated in Pompeii which features two storeys. This building will not be reburied and therefore will remain visible. When I visited this building with the custodian of the museum in February 1762, the workers were busy clearing out a painted room and bringing to light a kind of sideboard with a marble table-top, and on that very spot a sun-dial was found.

26.09.2016



Head of the Artemis of Pompeii, front view

PRIMAVESI 2010

JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN

That I may omit nothing relative to the painting of the ancients, I remind the reader of a certain Diana in the Herculanaen museum – described in the third chapter, - which is wrought in the most ancient style, and of which not only the hem of the skirt but also other parts of the garments are painted. Although it is more probable that the Artemis statue is an Etruscan, and not a Greek work, yet from a passage in Plato it might seem as if the same practice existed also among the Greeks. Plato's words, which I quote, are to be taken as a simile: ὡςπερ οὖν ἂν εἰ ἡμᾶς ἀνδριάντα γράφοντας προσελθὼν τις ἔψεγε λέγων ὅτι οὐ τοῖς καλλίστοις τοῦ ζώου τὰ κάλλιστα φάρμακα προστίθεμεν—οἱ γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ κάλλιστον ὄν οὐκ ὀστρεῖω ἐναληθιμμένοι εἶεν ἀλλὰ μέλανι—μετρίως ἂν ἐδοκοῦμεν

That means: “Just as if someone who should find us coloring a statue [andrias] should censure us because we are failing to put the most beautiful colors upon the most beautiful parts of the figure; since we would have coated the eyes, though being the most beautiful, not with purple, but with black, etc.” I translate these words in the sense in which I understand them; and they are susceptible to no other interpretation until it can be shown that the word andrias, which generally signifies a statue, can be understood to mean also a picture, - a point which I leave to the decision of those whose reading is more extensive than mine.

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It is not easy to pass a decided opinion upon the marble statues of Etruscan appearance, because they may possibly belong to the earlier period of Greek art; and the probability always inclines more in favour of Greek provenance than of Etruscan. Hence an Apollo of this kind in the Capitoline museum, and another statue of the same deity in the Conti palace, which was discovered in a small temple at the foot of the polychromy of Circaeum, may, with more certainty, be regarded as very ancient Greek productions than as Etruscan. Neither will I undertake to assert that a figure, wrongly called a Vestal, in the Giustiani palace, which probably is among the very oldest statues in Rome, or a Diana in the Herculaneum museum which has every mark of the Etruscan style, was executed by artists of this nation rather than by Greeks.

WINCKELMANN 1776, The History of Art of Antiquity, Second Thoughts on the Art of Etruscans

JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN

First draft:

Ad p. 16. I had been of the opinion that the colored marble statue of Diana embodying the archaic style of Greek art is not meant to represent – by her facial expression – an ideal type, but a specific person. Since then, however, I have compared the features of her face with those of other archaic Greek sculptures, and I cannot find any difference. Therefore, I would now call it an ideal type of head of the archaic style.

Second draft:

The statue of Diana made of painted marble and now in the Herculanean Museum of Portici is, probably even more ancient than the three statues mentioned above. I have come to this opinion since I have been able to convince myself, by the way of repeated inspection, of the face being an ideal type quite similar to that of the Albani Athena. This makes me think that the statue is one of the most ancient ones among those which represent the archaic style of Greek art. 'since the head is exactly identical to the heads from the archaic Syracusan coins and to the heads on the supposedly Etruscan relief of Leucothea in the Villa Albani.

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*Saetosi caput hoc apri tibi, Delia, parvus
et ramosa Micon vivacis cornua cervi.
si proprium hoc fuerit, levi de marmore tota
puniceo stabis suras evincta coturno.*

Verg. ecl. 7, 29-32

