

# The Spirit Captured in Graeco-Roman Bronzes

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The inlaid eyes of a Dancer. From the Villa dei Papiri, Herculaneum. Roman, late Republican or early Imperial period, late first century BC or early first century AD. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli. <https://www.michaelsvetbird.com>



Previously, I have examined the subtle elegance of bronze miniatures primarily from the Graeco-Roman period. It seemed logical to continue the theme of artistic work in bronze by looking at larger-size masterpieces that are well-preserved today. In the present article, the focus, therefore, is on near-life-size, life-size, and over-life-size statues from the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods (fifth century BC–second century AD), a relatively small category of artistic bronze works which are at the peak of artistic development.

Naturally, preparing this article required special emphasis on certain technical aspects, and entailed some research in museums in Greece and Italy. However, not all examples considered iconic or canonical are presented, such as those from Delphi and other parts of Greece, but they provide the basis of a future article.

One of the key points I have always sought to understand is why conceptually similar artworks representing humans, heroes, and gods, do differ radically in material embodiment, principally bronze and marble. Disregarding purely artistic, aesthetic, and philosophical ideology, was there any practical motivation beyond a sculptor's artistic ambition, to cast statues in bronze? Not least since the medium is technically more complex, sophisticated, and expensive compared to carving in marble, which was normally painted, although specialists suggest that the original surface textures were still visible.

I think that there are three main reasons, apart from the accessibility of the raw material, that may have influenced the choices of patrons and sculptors. First, conceptual or philosophical, which emerged during the Renaissance. This is twofold and widely accepted,

applying to marble and bronze respectively. The 'theory of liberation', whereby the marble sculptor 'liberates' or frees a pre-existing form from its material container by carving a work; and the 'theory of transformation' when a sculptor 'transforms' or creates a new form from different elements by casting them. In short, carving versus casting, or the liberation of a form versus its creation from scratch.

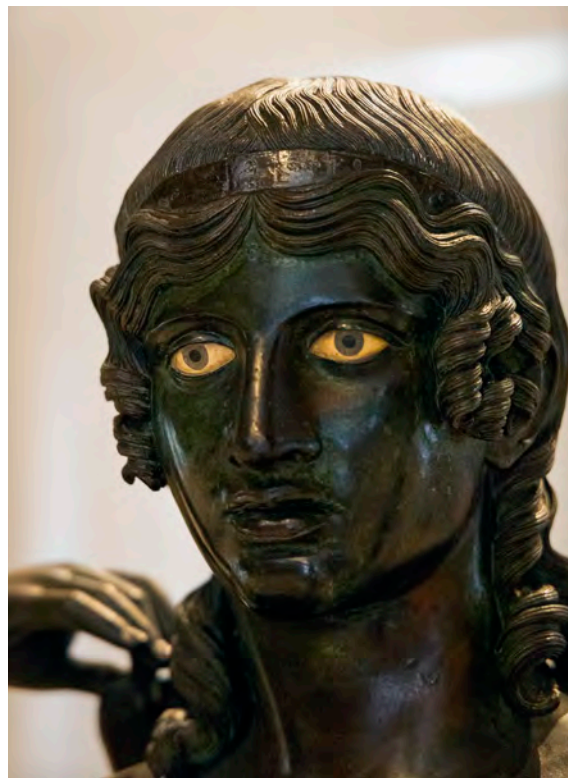
In my opinion, marble sculptures seem a little more dynamic while bronze works appear a more static, capturing the immediate moment. For example, it is difficult to imagine the Roman sculptural group the Laocoön and His Sons in the Musei Vaticani, produced in c. 40–30 BC, cast in bronze, although it is worth noting that many original works were later copied from marble originals into bronze and vice versa. However, it is important to stress that the perception of the terms 'motion', 'plasticity', 'development', and 'static' are not universal and can be considered as subjective and depend on the point of view of the researcher, the individual work, period, and region under consideration. For instance, the late Sir John Boardman (1927–2024), Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway (1929–2024), and others, considered bronze statues as less static than marble sculptures, based largely on technical aspects and, correspondingly, the limitations of working with marble.

The second factor that would have certainly influenced the choices of patrons and sculptors is designation and purpose. Bronze, of course, is significantly more durable than marble, and ancient statues are sometimes discovered largely intact, while marble statues we observe in museums are often

heavily restored later and sometimes present assembled 'hybrids' comprising fragments of different statues.

Bronze, as an alloy, combines copper and tin in varying proportions (typically of 9:1), with variable trace elements, a composition which provides excellent durability and strength. The patina we observe today, the greenish inclusions, if not entire layers, naturally develop in time and protects the bronze surface from oxidation. Bronze statues, therefore, were obviously ideal for outdoor or semi-outdoor peristyle gardens, placements in private and public spaces, where they depicted high-ranking officials, imperial personalities, mythological figures, and other popular subjects.

Commercial aspects were a third factor that obviously impacted on the choices of patrons and sculptors. From a technical point of view, working bronze is more labour-intensive than marble, and its cost was considerably higher. According to the eminent statesman Cicero (106–43 BC), for instance, a bronze statue was valued at 40,000 *sesterces*, while a marble Eros carved by the great master Praxiteles (395–330 BC)



This page: two Dancers. From the Villa dei Papiri, Herculaneum, Campania. Roman, late Republican or early Imperial period, copies of Greek prototypes, late first century BC or early first century AD. Bronze. Life-size. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli. <https://www.michaelsvetbird.com>

was worth 1600 *sesterces* (*In Verrem* 2.4.13). This discrepancy implies the extraction of copper and tin, its importation, smelting, and the technological work on the sculpture per se; whereas marble was quarried, transported, and worked, although this entailed considerable expenditure. Marble was certainly expensive, as indicated by the fact that portraits were frequently re-cut throughout the Roman period, but not to the extent of bronze works and the processes involved in their manufacture.

It is also worth considering the cost of decorative additions, inserted or applied elements that were intended to embellish and make bronze statues more realistic: primarily eyes (page 5 and above), as well as individual anatomical details, such as copper lips, nipples, and details of clothing or weapons. Materials could also include bone, glass, gold, ivory, marble, semi-precious stones, and silver, and, according to estimates by specialists, may in some cases be comparable, if not exceed, the cost of the bronze itself. Accordingly, bronze works tended to be commissioned by elites and imperial patrons.

A well-documented example of an elite commission is the Dancers (or Danaids), excavated at the Villa dei Papiri in Herculaneum (1754–1756), which is thought to have belonged to Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, the father-in-law of Julius Caesar. These splendid works are now housed in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (page 5; this page; and page 13).

Bronze statues of this type are dynamic and resonate with me far more than the official, pompous, and static representations of significant historical figures, which are intended to immortalise their power (page 15, right; page 16). Even in static poses, such figures, when enhanced by the play of light and their inherent colours, acquire a magical and otherworldly quality. Of course, these representations are idealised by their anatomical details and proportions, which play a significant role in our visual perception, as if bringing the statues closer to the beholder with an accentuated realism.

Naturally, the development of technology and styles of bronze statues came from Greece, and the most distinguished sculptors, such as Myron (c. 485–440 BC), Polykleitos (480–420 BC), Lysippos (390–300 BC), and Praxiteles (c. 370–c. 330 BC), worked primarily in bronze. A well-known example, which expresses the transition from the Archaic to the Classical style (Severe style), is the over-life-size statue of Zeus or Poseidon, cast in Attica by an unknown sculptor (c. 460 BC), also known as the Artemision Bronze (below).

This statue was found in the sea off Cape Artemision, northern Euboea, Greece, by a fisherman

in 1926, recovered two years later, and housed in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Another excellent example cast in this style is the Charioteer of Delphi (c. 470 BC), which will feature in a future article.

The Severe style continues until around 470 BC, when Polykleitos, Phidias, and others established the ‘High Classical’ canon. Curiously, the expression ‘everything flows’ (πάντα ῥεῖ), a philosophical concept attributed to Heraclitus of Ephesus (c. 535–475 BC), coincided precisely with the period of this transformation from the Archaic to the Classical period. The transition of vase-painting styles occurred roughly at this time, when Red-figure painting replaced the Black-figure technique in Athens from around 530 BC.

Other remarkable discoveries have been made elsewhere in the Greek world, not least in Magna Graecia (‘Great Greece’), the coastal areas of southern Italy. In August 1972, Stefano Mariottini, a chemist from Rome, was snorkelling near Riace Village Marina on the east coast of Calabria, when he saw an arm protruding from the seabed in shallow water. Two bronze statues, a little over life-size, the so-called Riace Warriors or Riace Bronzes, were



Zeus or Poseidon. Found off Cape Artemision, north Euboea, Greece. Greek, Classical period, c. 460 BC. Bronze. Over-life-size. National Archaeological Museum of Athens, inv. X 15161. <https://www.michaelsvetbird.com>

recovered a few days later (below). Initially, they were transported to the Museo Nazionale in Reggio Calabria, where restoration work began, and this continued in 1975 at the Laboratorio della Soprintendenza Archeologica in Florence. The Bronzes were exhibited in December 1980 at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, and then, in 1981, at the Palazzo del Quirinale, Rome, before returning to the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Reggio Calabria.

These statues were originally produced in Argos or Athens during the Classical period (c. 460–450 BC) in the same era as the Zeus/Poseidon bronze at Athens and in the Severe style. Like this work, they are now considered canonical due to their grandeur, pose – which is contrapposto (‘counterpoised’) – superb detail, and state of preservation. They are conventionally called ‘Statue A’ and ‘Statue B’, or the ‘Young man’ and the ‘Old man’. ‘A’ is darker and more

greenish in colour, perhaps due to differences in the proportions of alloy used to cast them. It has been suggested that they underwent restoration in Rome during the Imperial period, and it is certainly the case that the right arm and left forearm of ‘B’ were replaced.

What remains a mystery is how the statues ended up underwater off the coast of Calabria. It is logical that they were the cargo of a Roman shipwreck, but no remains of a ship have been found. Another explanation is that the statues were simply thrown overboard during a storm to lighten the load of an overburdened vessel. Whatever the scenario, Magna Graecia was a crucial trading hub in the Mediterranean world, not only for sculpture but pottery and other commodities, and a melting pot of broader cultural influences.

Without doubt, the skills and styles of Greek sculptors determined the future development of Roman sculpture, since many later works in bronze and marble were essentially canonical copies of Classical

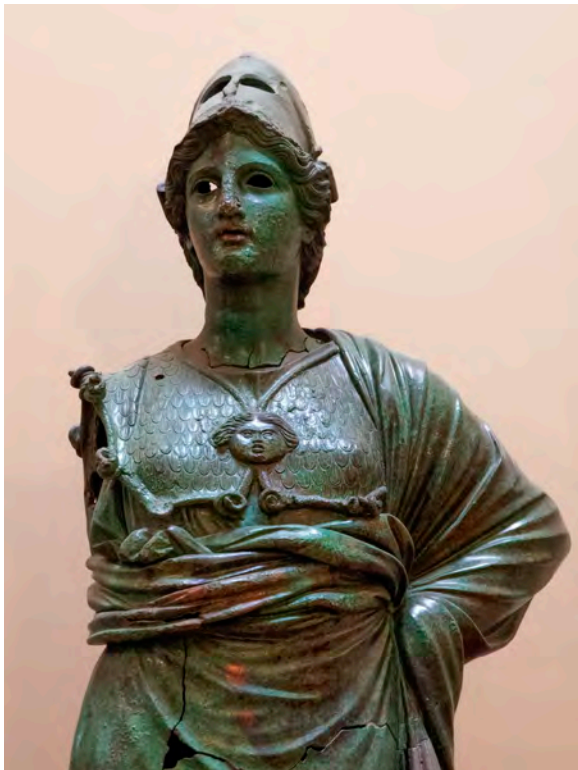


The Riace Bronzes, ‘Statue A and B’. Found near Riace Village Marina, east coast of Calabria, south-eastern Italy. Greek, Classical period, fifth century BC. Bronze. Over-life-size.

Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Reggio Calabria, inv. 12801 and 12802. <https://www.michaelsvetbird.com>

and Hellenistic works. Bronzes are remarkable for their anatomical details, especially in the meticulous attention to proportions, musculature, hair, facial features, and even visible subcutaneous veins. Yet, despite this almost medical precision, the figures remain profoundly idealised.

The counterpoise of the Riace Bronzes is incredible to experience, the principle of weight distribution in which one ‘engaged’ leg bears the weight of the figure while the other remains relaxed. This was widely adopted in the Roman period, as in the Augustus of Prima Porta, the famous statue of the emperor housed in the Musei Vaticani (early first century AD), and a well-known Renaissance revival of this technique is Michelangelo’s David in the Galleria dell’Accademia, Florence (1501–1504). Contrapposto produces a powerful sense of perceptual realism in sculpture, and, in the case of the Riace Bronzes, their collective form and style present an excellent bridge towards Roman sculpture.



Before looking at this era, I would like to take pause in Magna Graecia in the Hellenistic period and look at the so-called ‘Minerva of Arezzo’ (this page). This life-sized statue, housed in the Museo Archeologico di Firenze, is considered to have been cast in southern Italy, despite its discovery at Arezzo in Tuscany, in the heart of ancient Etruria (in 1541), and it has, therefore, often been classified as an example of Etruscan art. The statue dates to the Hellenistic period (c. 300–270 BC), and its modern appearance is particularly significant in that, despite its near-complete preservation and excellent condition, it allows a close examination of its structure, casting layers, and internal elements. However, considerable elements of this work are largely the result of later restorations carried out in 1758 and 2008.

The sculpture is a variant of the Vescovali type of Athena, based on a Greek original of the fourth century BC, often attributed to Praxiteles, and widely copied in the Roman Imperial era. The ‘Minerva of Arezzo’ is characterised by a refined depiction of the goddess, heightened attention to drapery and armour, and an overall sense of realism, while conceptually preserving the established image and pose of the Classical prototype. Such transformations, reinterpretations, borrowings, and combinations of styles and details, when applied to ‘reinvented’ artistic objects, are regarded as ‘pastiche’ in academic circles.

In many cases, it is difficult to determine where a particular statue was made. Statues of deities, for instance, often attributed to Magna Graecia or to the

This page: the ‘Minerva of Arezzo’. From Arezzo, Tuscany, perhaps manufactured in southern Italy. Hellenistic period, c. 300–275 BC.

Bronze. Life-size. Museo Archeologico di Firenze, inv. 3.

<https://www.michaelsvetbird.com>

Roman world, were in fact produced in mainland Greece, and most frequently reproduce, either directly or through reinterpretation, Greek gods and goddesses, or Greek mythological subjects.

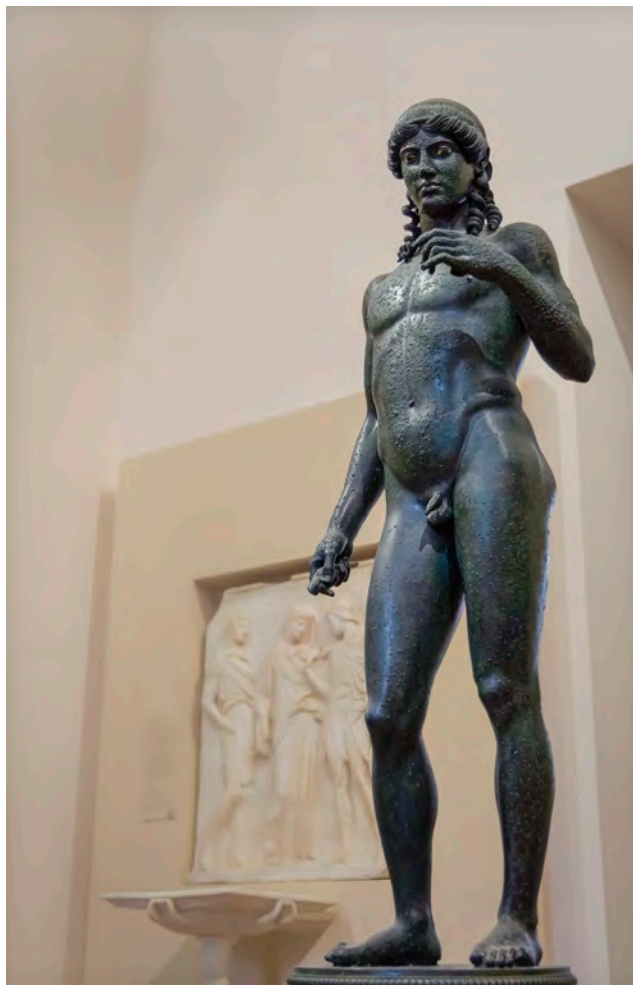
Consider, for example, the life-size statue of Dionysus, in the Musei Capitolini, Rome, generally regarded as a work of the Hadrianic period (117–138), which is not referenced as Bacchus, his Roman counterpart, simply because it closely follows a Greek canonical model (below).

In short, Roman sculptures tend to follow the characteristics of Greek models from the Classical through the Hellenistic period onwards, particularly in the deliberate balance between realism and the idealisation of the figure, including the use of contrapposto. And this work, it should be emphasised, is some 600 years later.



Dionysus. From Rome. Roman Imperial period copy of a Greek prototype, Hadrianic, AD 117–138. Bronze. Life-size. Musei Capitolini, Rome, inv. 1060. <https://www.michaelsvetbird.com>

Apollo Citharoedus. From the House of the Citharist, Pompeii, Campania. Roman, late Republican period, copy of a Greek prototype, c. 50 BC. Bronze. Under-life-size. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 5630. <https://www.michaelsvetbird.com>



One such example is the statue of Apollo Citharoedus ('the Citharist'), a remarkable near-life-size work. I was drawn to it by its patina and 'pimple-like' surface features that developed over time. These interesting irregularities are thought to be the result of ancient Greek or Roman restorations, intended to eliminate casting defects, possibly caused by gaps or air bubbles inherent in the production process. In such instances, patches of bronze were applied after the statue had been cast and assembled. This statue, housed in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (c. 50 BC), was discovered in the 'House of the Citharist' at Pompeii in 1853, and is considered to be either a Roman interpretation of the Greek Severe style model, or a direct Roman copy of a Hellenistic original of the same period (above).

In contrast to the Apollo statue, it is interesting to consider the sculpture of the Drunken Satyr in the same institution. This is a Roman work, thought to date to the first century BC or first century AD, and is based

on a Hellenistic model. It was discovered in the Grand Peristyle area of the Villa dei Papiri in 1754. Unlike the other statues discussed in this article, however, it is conceptually and stylistically distinct, with a more dynamic sense of movement and has a horizontal orientation. In this case, it is difficult to speak of idealisation in the usual sense, which is explained by its context as a drunken figure. Nevertheless, the anatomical details and proportions express remarkable realism.

The facial expression perfectly conveys the scene – a kind of sarcastic, half-mad Papposilenus (elderly Silenus). Unfortunately, this statue was considerably embellished in the late eighteenth century, as revealed by X-ray analysis, showing differences in the composition of the alloy. Even so, the pose, movement, form, and realism of the Satyr are masterful (below).

A later example of bronze sculpture based on Greek models is the celebrated over-life-size ‘Winged Victory of Brescia’ discovered in 1826 (page 12). Curiously, despite its scale, the statue does not feel overwhelmingly large and is comparable to the Riace Warriors, appearing as an organic part of an external setting. It was originally erected in the Capitolium of ancient Brixia (modern-day Brescia), Lombardy, northern Italy, in the second half of the first century AD, possibly in the reign of Vespasian (69–79). According to the

Parco Archeologico di Brixia Romana, where it is now housed, the statue was designed, cast, and assembled locally. Today the sculpture is a symbol of the city. It is believed to have been based on a Hellenistic work of Aphrodite of the fourth century BC. Recent research has established that the openings on the back for the attachment of the wings were created in the original wax model, and, although they have been incorrectly modified in the modern era, they are of ancient origin. These details are of particular importance because they prove that the wings are an original feature and were not added later as it is often claimed.

It appears to have been partly dismantled and carefully hidden in the western cavity of the Capitolium, between the Forum and Cidneo Hill, along with other bronze pieces. This may have been a practical decision to prevent barbarian invaders from melting it down to produce weapons in late antiquity, which may explain its excellent state of preservation.

Two sculptural groups that simply amaze are the life-size statues known as the Dancers and the near-life-size Runners (or Athletes) found near the Ornamental Pond in the Grand Peristyle area of the Villa dei Papiri in 1754–1756 and housed in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli. These splendid works are notable for the beauty of their



Satyr. From the Villa dei Papiri, Herculaneum, Campania. Roman Republican or early Imperial period copy of a Greek prototype, late first century BC or early first century AD. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 5628. <https://www.michaelsvetbird.com>



'Winged Victory of Brescia'.  
From Brescia, Lombardia,  
northern Italy.  
Roman Imperial period,  
copy of a Greek prototype,  
perhaps Vespasianic, c. AD 69–79.  
Bronze. Over-life-size.  
Brixia Archaeological Park,  
the reconstructed Capitolium,  
Brescia, inv. MR369.  
<https://www.michaelsvetbird.com>

execution, realism, detail, and preservation (pages 5–6; pages 13–14; page 15, left).

It is intriguing to picture their now lost Greek models which are thought to be associated with the Classical Severe style mentioned above, while the Runners are inspired by works of the Hellenistic period (fourth to early third century BC), perhaps of Lysippos. Placed together these two groups perfectly illustrate the development and sequence of these artistic periods. Observing them in proximity was a stroke of luck, since they are often separated for various reasons.

As for their stylistic differences, the Dancers derive from an early form of contrapposto while the Runners are more emotionally charged and dynamic, captured in a 'frozen moment'. Their slightly elongated bodies exemplify the tendencies of the Hellenistic period, emphasising movement, drama, and heightened expression. The American scholar Carol C. Mattusch believes that each group was commissioned or acquired separately as the villa's decorative programme was

developed and sourced from local workshops in Campania. Their dark, almost black hue, is explained by the specific oxidation and patina formation in this location.

They were all found buried in the layers of volcanic mud and ash from the cataclysmic eruption of Mount Vesuvius in August AD 79. Originally they would have appeared much brighter, with a yellowish metallic sheen. However, after nearly 2000 years, I find their current appearance magical, as I noted above. While the Runners are a little taller than the Dancers, they appear slightly smaller due to their near horizontal orientation.

The original excavations were part of a broader programme to explore and research the ancient towns of Herculaneum and Stabiae, which shared a similar fate to Pompeii. However, being smaller, these sites tend to be overshadowed by Pompeii. The work was conducted by a team of engineers from the Bourbon Kingdom of Naples, led by Karl Jakob Weber (1712–1764), a Swiss-born archaeologist and military engineer. Given

the relatively small number of these magnificent bronze works, their art-historical significance is extraordinary.

Beyond analysing techniques and materials, they allow us to trace the conceptual and stylistic development of Graeco-Roman sculpture more generally, assess the influence of the original prototypes on Roman master sculptors and their elite patrons, and, above all, simply derive aesthetic pleasure from observing these magical statues.

Unfortunately, we do not know who these bronze groups represent. The Runners were initially identified as wrestlers when they were discovered. Scholars have suggested that their Greek prototypes were probably votive and derived from stadiums where games were held, and sanctuaries dedicated to victory and human spirit,

such as Olympia (the Olympic Stadium or Temple of Zeus) or Delphi (where other bronzes were discovered).

In this sense, they may be compared to other dynamic and competitive statues attributed to the school of Lysippos. For instance, the life-size statue of Apoxyomenos ('the Scrapper'), of which the most complete bronze example, the Croatian Apoxyomenos (second to first century BC), was found in the sea near the Croatian island of Lošinj in 1996. It is now housed in the Muzej Apoksiomena at Mali Lošinj.

As for the Dancers, the initial identification derives from Weber and the German archaeologist Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768), in the eighteenth century. From the late nineteenth century onwards, scholars have interpreted them as the 'Danais', five



The Dancers.

From the Villa dei Papiri,  
Herculaneum, Campania.

Roman late Republican  
or early Imperial period,  
copies of Greek prototypes,  
late first century BC or  
early first century AD.

Bronze. Life-size.

Museo Archeologico  
Nazionale di Napoli.

<https://www.michaelsvetbird.com>



The Runners (and page 15, left).  
 From the Villa dei Papiri,  
 Herculaneum, Campania.  
 Roman, late Republican or early Imperial  
 period, copies of Greek prototypes,  
 late first century BC or early  
 first century AD. Bronze. Near-life-size.  
 Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli,  
 inv. 5626 and 5627.  
<https://www.michaelsvetbird.com>

of the fifty daughters of King Danaus from Greek mythology, who killed their husbands and were condemned to the underworld to carry water in leaking jugs, as ‘Hydrophorai’ (‘water-bearers’). This interpretation makes sense considering their placement near the Ornamental Pool. Each statue is clad in a Doric peplos fastened at the shoulders, typical for depictions of water-nymphs and other female figures associated with water.

From mythological representations I now turn to over-life-size historical figures, whose significance and greatness were deemed worthy of immortalisation in bronze, illustrating the typical style of late Republican and early Imperial sculpture in public spaces. They often appear more static, although they are usually

counterpoised, and remain so through late antiquity, as in the case of the Colossus of Barletta, perhaps of the emperor Leo I (r. 457–474) in Apulia, south-eastern Italy. These statues are not my favourite works, but they are certainly interesting from a technical, cultural, ideological, and historical perspective, and the life-size statue of an Orator is a good example (page 15, right). Its style is somewhat formalised, which bears out its commemorative and historical context.

The Orator was discovered near Lake Trasimeno, some 14km from Perugia, Etruria in 1566 and is housed in the Museo Archeologico di Firenze. The statue is thought to have been cast in the late Republican period (c. 100 BC). An Etruscan inscription along the lower hem of the toga states that the figure is ‘Aule Meteli, son

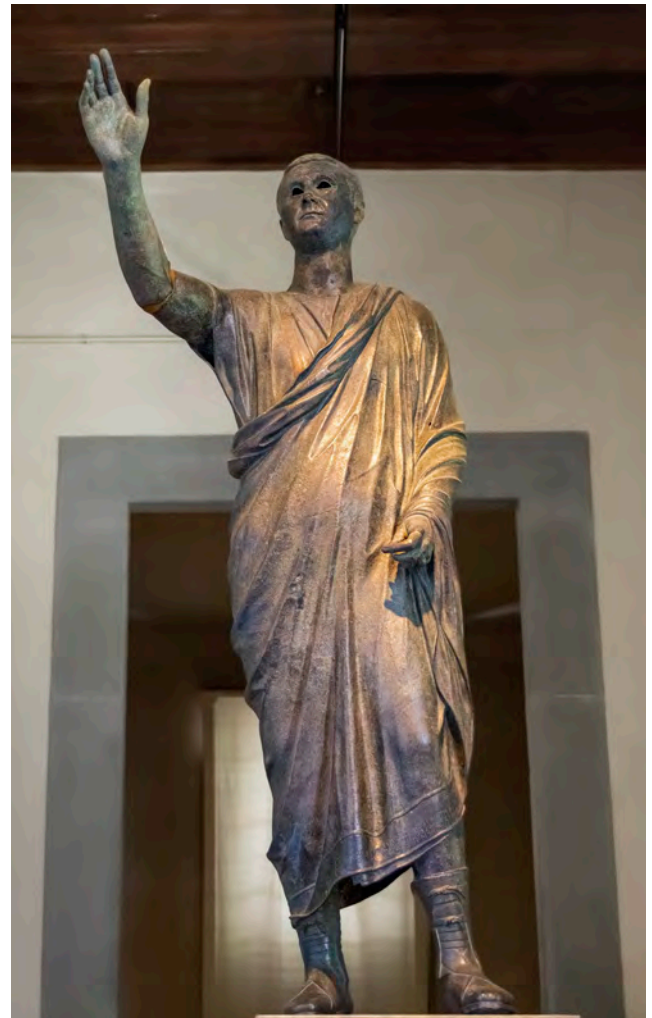


of Vel and of one Vesi’, and the statue is ‘sacred to the god Tece Sans, offered by the community of Chisuli’. Aule Meteli (Latin: Aulus Metellus), is believed to have come from the area of Perugia and was, therefore, a Roman aristocrat of Etruscan lineage, and a good example of a citizen who became Romanised during a period of intensive political expansion.

The remaining two statues presented in this article are representative of early imperial over-life-size commissions of the first century AD: a statue of the emperor Augustus (r. 27 BC–AD 14); and Agrippina the Younger (AD 15–59), Roman empress, wife of Claudius (r. 41–54), and mother of Nero (r. 54–68). Both statues are part of a larger imperial ensemble, discovered together in 1741 at the Theatre of Herculaneum, and are housed in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (page 16, left and right). They were designed for this public setting, and their role was unambiguous and one of propaganda. Both works are firmly based on Greek prototypes and characterised by realism, although their portraiture is idealised to some degree, presenting Augustus as a Greek hero, bearing his muscular torso and standing contrapposto in imitation of the Doryphoros (‘Spear-bearer’), a lost bronze work by the Argolid master sculptor Polykleitos, thought to have been cast in the second half of the fifth century (c. 440 BC). Agrippina, on the other hand, is draped in a long palla (cloak), emphasising her imperial authority as both a priestess and a goddess.

It is interesting to compare these two works with the Dancers and the Runners to draw a distinction between, on the one hand, an official municipal commission intended for public display, and, on the other hand, a private commission tailored for aesthetic pleasure. These are indeed impressive, monumental, and technically masterful statues, but lack the spiritual or abstract resonance that so captivates me in other works.

It is appropriate to briefly describe the main technical aspects of bronze statue production over the 600 years or so covered above. From the Classical period through the first two centuries of the Roman Imperial era, the fundamental production technique was traditional hollow lost-wax casting, with larger statues often cast in separate elements that were subsequently assembled. In essence, the process began with the initial design which was modelled in clay and wax. In the early Classical period, the wax model was encased in clay to create a mould, and then melted out, leaving a cavity for



The Orator. From Perugia-Arezzo, Umbria, central Italy. Roman Republican period, c. 100 BC. Bronze. Life-size. Museo Archeologico di Firenze, inv. 2. <https://www.michaelsvetbird.com>

the bronze (the direct method). From the later Classical period through the Hellenistic and Roman eras, artisans often created a negative mould from a primary master model, allowing multiple wax copies to be produced (the indirect method), which became standard in Roman workshops due to its efficiency. Casting was either hollow, where the statue's core was held in place with metal supports, or sectional, whereby large statues were cast in separate parts and joined together afterwards. Once cooled, the clay mould was removed, and the bronze surface refined. Additional decorative details were crafted separately and attached or inlaid.

The finished products in bronze, whether near-life-size, life-size, or over-life-size, represent some of the most exquisite representations in the round produced in the long durée of art history. These have been replicated, in part or in whole, since their inception, from the Classical Greek period to the Roman Imperial period, and from the Renaissance to Rodin in the modern era.

### Further Reading

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Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway. *Hellenistic Sculpture. I, The Styles of ca. 331–200 B.C.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990.

Carol C. Mattusch. *Classical Bronzes: The Art and Craft of Greek and Roman Statuary*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Carol C. Mattusch. *The Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum: Life and Afterlife of a Sculpture Collection*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005.



Augustus. From the Theatre at Herculaneum, Campania. Roman Imperial period, early–mid-first century AD. Bronze. Over-life-size. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 5595. <https://www.michaelsvetbird.com>



Agrippina the Younger. From the Theatre at Herculaneum, Campania. Roman Imperial period, early–mid-first century AD. Bronze. Over-life-size. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. 5612. <https://www.michaelsvetbird.com>