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## Arvid Andrén (1902-1999) Scholar, teacher, humanist and poet

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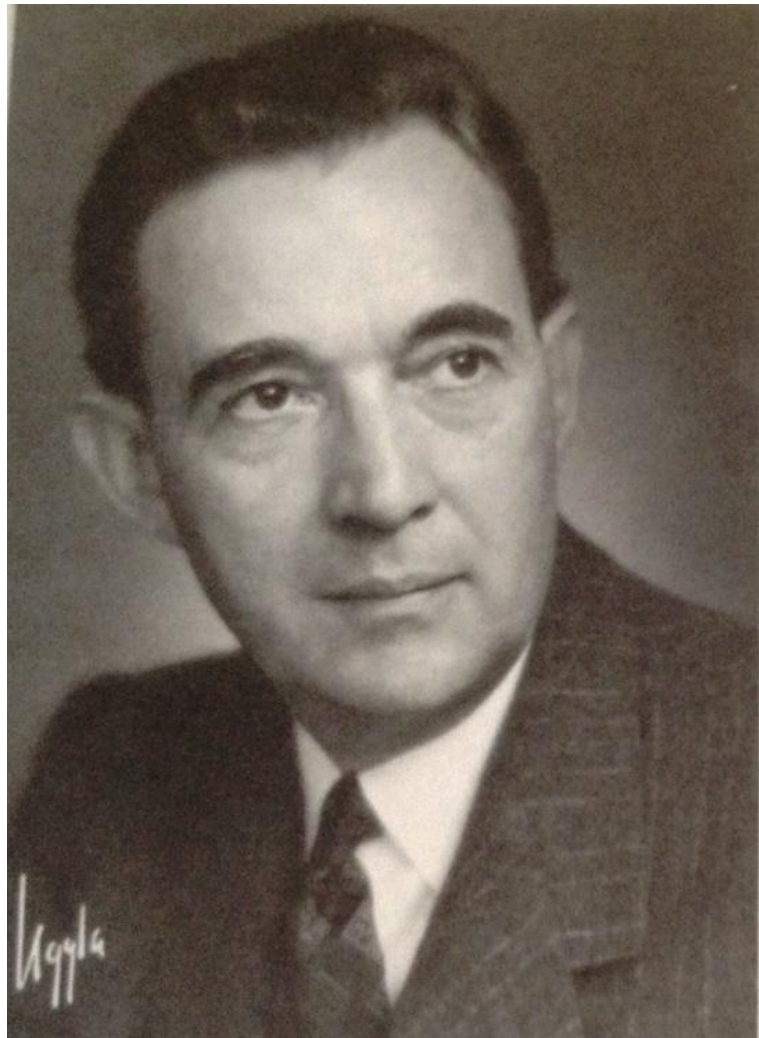
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*Abstract. Arvid Andrén (1902-1999) was a Swedish archaeologist whose magnum opus, Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples, published in 1940, is still a main resource in the field of Classical archaeology. In addition to his important scholarship, he shared his love of Rome and ancient Italy with students and colleagues as Director of the Swedish Institute in Rome. His collection of Etruscan and Roman antiquities is now in the Museum of Cultural History in Oslo, and is in the process of publication.*

When the first international conference on Central Italic architectural terracottas, *Deliciae Fictiles*, was held at the Swedish Institute in Rome in December 1990, Arvid Andrén participated through a recording with greetings from his home in Lund, Sweden (Fig. 1). That occasion marked the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of his doctoral dissertation, *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples* (Lund and Leipzig 1940), a work still used as a reference tool by scholars and students all over the world.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In preparing this essay I have received invaluable help and encouragement from Per Axel Andrén, who generously supplied the photographs included here as Figs. 1 and 2. Thanks to Taissia Goriounova I was able to consult the collection of letters from Arvid Andrén to Axel Boëthius at the Gothenburg University Library. Eva Nilsson Nylander kindly facilitated my access to the Arvid Andrén archive at the Lund University Library. I am also grateful to Frederick Whiting for sharing his insights into the history of the Swedish Institute in Rome and to Eva Rönnmark Fredriksson for invaluable help in identifying names of individuals connected with archaeological activities. Nancy A. Winter kindly read the text and as always made helpful comments.



*Fig. 1 Arvid Andrén,  
Stockholm, cirka 1950.  
Foto: Ateljé Uggla.*

I first met Arvid Andrén when he served as the outside examiner ('censor') at my high-school examinations in Latin at Statens normalskola in Stockholm in May 1961. My recollection of his role as examiner is that he asked fair questions, and did his best to make the students feel at ease. Four years later, in the Spring of 1965, I was privileged to attend the archaeological course at the Swedish Institute in Rome, where Arvid Andrén was the Director. In addition to exploring Rome, ancient Etruria, parts of southern Italy and Sicily under his learned guidance, I was inspired by his quiet passion for his research, in particular the study of architectural terracottas, and was fortunate to be able to pursue similar interests in my own research. Through the years I continued to follow Arvid Andrén's work and am honored to have had him as my mentor and source of inspiration.

### Biographical data

Knut Emil Arvid Andrén was born in Trelleborg in southern Sweden on February 10, 1902.<sup>2</sup> He grew up in Landskrona and surrounding area and received his high school diploma in 1924 at Landskrona läroverk in helklassiska linjen (including both Greek and Latin). He studied Greek, Latin, and klassisk fornknuskap (Classical archaeology and ancient history) at the University of Lund, where he received his fil. kand. degree in 1928, fil. mag. degree in 1929, fil. lic. in 1935, and fil. dr. in 1940. He was a småstipendiat (junior fellow) at the Swedish Institute in Rome in the Spring of 1931 and storstipendiat (senior fellow) in 1934-1935 and stipendiat and assistant in 1939-1942. Later he served as Director in 1948-1952 and 1964-1966. He was appointed Docent (Assistant Professor) at the University of Lund in 1940 and at the University of Stockholm in 1952. In Stockholm he taught at the Högre allmänna läroverket för flickor på Södermalm 1953-1958 and at Högre allmänna läroverket på Östermalm 1958-1968. In 1964 he was awarded the title of Professor.

Andrén's memberships and affiliations form an impressive list: Svenska Rominstitutets Vänner, Member (1938); Life Member (1952); Archäologisches Institut des deutschen Reiches, Corresponding Member (1943); Member (1953); Amici dei musei di Roma, Member (1949); Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Corresponding member (1951); Honorary member (1976); Istituto di Studi Etruschi ed Italici, Corresponding member (1953); Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Foreign member (1979); Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo, Member (1973); Kungliga Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, Member (1976); Associazione Internazionale di Archeologia Classica (AIAC), Honorary member (1994).

In 1937, Arvid Andrén married Karen Blom Gulbranson, whom he had first met when she attended the archaeological course at the Swedish Institute in Rome in the Spring of 1934. Their son, Per Axel, was born in 1945. They lived in Italy (Rome, Capri) and in Sweden (Lund, Stocksund). Karen Andrén died in February 1999 and Arvid Andrén in June 1999.

### The legacy of Arvid Andrén

As an indication of how the field of archaeology, including the specialized study of terracotta roof decoration in ancient Italy, has grown even in the last two decades, subsequent conferences have carried Arvid Andrén's work forward in ways that he could not have predicted.<sup>3</sup> In addition to the tradition of meticulous recording and judicious analysis of small and large terracotta elements that he perfected, there is now a wealth of new material and studies of clay analysis have allowed for an expanded understanding of

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<sup>2</sup> Accounts of his life include Andrén 1991b, Edlund-Berry 1999, Åström 2000 and entries in *Vem är det* 1979 and other editions.

<sup>3</sup> To date, the first conference of *Deliciae Fictiles* has been followed by three others, held in Rome 1996, 2002, and 2009. The papers have been published in four volumes: Rystedt et al. 1993; Lulof and Moormann 1997; Edlund-Berry et al. 2006; and Lulof and Rescigno 2011.



*Fig. 2 Arvid Andrén,  
Stocksund, cirka 1961.  
Foto: Per Axel Andrén.*

architectural terracottas.<sup>4</sup> The starting point for Andrén's lifelong interest in and important contribution to ancient art and archaeology is, however, well reflected in his collection of antiquities (*Fig. 2*), now on display in the Museum of Cultural History in Oslo.<sup>5</sup> The collection represents a lifetime of study and interest in both the beauty and the use of architectural terracottas and small bronzes.<sup>6</sup> In both media it is the skillful handling of the material combined with the artistic designs that determines the function and quality of the objects.

Unlike large marble statues or reliefs, the softness of the clay and the casting of the bronze allow for subtle details that enhance their placement, either as terracotta decoration of buildings or as metal adornments on clothing. Likewise, vases of different shapes suggest uses in daily life, or as funerary gifts, all indicating Andrén's appreciation of seemingly modest objects as evidence of the richness of the ancient societies in which they belonged. With the eye of an artist as well as a scholar, he began collecting already as a student and continued during his professional career, always aware of the delicate balance

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, the volumes of *Deliciae Fictiles* (above, n. 3), and Winter 2009, and Winter et al. 2009.

<sup>5</sup> A selection of Arvid Andrén's collection was donated to the museum by Per Axel Andrén in 2001. In addition to a brief note on the museum web page, the objects are listed in a small catalogue, *Antikkens Verden*. It is a great pleasure to know that the collection will be fully published in *CLARA*.

<sup>6</sup> See the online publication of the catalogue, in progress.

between an archaeologist's concern with find contexts and the collector's interest in the study of individual objects.<sup>7</sup>

### Scholar

Arvid Andrén's first archaeological experience was in Italy as a student at the Swedish Institute in Rome in 1931 and this is where he came to discover what was to be the focus and passion of a long career.<sup>8</sup> Professor Axel Boëthius, Director of the Institute, was at the time excavating at the small town of Ardea in Lazio, ancient Latium, and was eager to involve the students in both field work and study of the architecture and small finds.<sup>9</sup>

According to the ancient historical sources, Ardea's history was long and glorious, and the town played a major role in the events that ultimately led to the foundation of Rome in 753 B.C. Inspired by the many ancient references to temples and art work, the team of excavators had great hopes for splendid discoveries, but these were likely to be covered by the modern buildings that occupied the acropolis of the ancient town.

In his report for the 1930 season at Ardea, Boëthius outlines his own discoveries but also reports on the remains of a major temple excavated by his colleague Professor Enrico Stefani.<sup>10</sup> In addition to building blocks that made it possible to restore the ground plan of the temple, there was also a great amount of pieces of the terracotta roof and its decoration, over 2,000 fragments. It is not clear why Axel Boëthius decided that among the students at the Swedish Institute, Arvid Andrén would best match the project, but, as a result, he was faced with the daunting task of studying, cataloguing, and interpreting this mass of fragments that to the novice may have seemed small and insignificant.

The study was carried out during the Spring of 1931, and the results were stunning. Thanks to a meticulous examination of all the fragments, Andrén was able to establish both a typology and a chronology that allowed him to propose three different phases of the roofing of the temple, ranging from the Archaic period in the sixth century B.C. to the end of the Roman Republic. The study was published in a long article with drawings and photographs in 1932 in a volume of the publications of the Swedish Institute in Rome, dedicated to the Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf.<sup>11</sup>

It was this challenging project, particularly daunting at the time, since it was a pioneering effort for which no convenient reference materials existed, that inspired Andrén to continue studying architectural terracottas and expand his scope to include Etruscan, Faliscan, and Latial sites. That he was well aware of the massive undertaking is

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<sup>7</sup> See his insightful account of collections, forgeries, and the art market in Andrén 1983; English translation: *Deeds and misdeeds in Classical art and antiquities* (Göteborg 1986).

<sup>8</sup> For an overview of Arvid Andrén's education and academic achievements, see above, Biographical data. For an account of his participation in the Swedish excavations in Vasilikó in Messenia, see the chapter 'Ack, i Messenien', in Andrén 1991b).

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, Boëthius 1930; Boëthius 1931; Boëthius 1932; Boëthius 1936.

<sup>10</sup> Boëthius 1930.

<sup>11</sup> Andrén 1932a, 98-117. In addition to this study, the material was also described in a short note (Andrén 1931). The terracottas from the Casalinnaccio temple were first published in Andrén 1932b; and Andrén 1934.

indicated in a letter to his mentor, Axel Boëthius, in which he refers to the “wild plans” of producing a corpus of all known architectural terracottas from central Italy.<sup>12</sup> Continued discussions with Boëthius and Martin P. Nilsson, Professor of Antikens kultur och samhällsliv at the University of Lund, confirmed Andrén’s vision of his project in which he emphasized not only the importance of completeness but also of visual representations of each object.<sup>13</sup> In this approach he was decades before his time, and his ability to assemble and analyze so much material without the aid of databases and today’s electronic tools is remarkable.

After several years of travel and study, Andrén published the corpus as his doctoral dissertation in 1940, and it included a text of over 500 pages and over 160 black&white plates. By combining an eye for detail with acute observations and well-documented interpretations, he had successfully fulfilled his “wild plans” and once and for all confirmed the importance of the study of architectural terracottas.

Soon a recognized scholar specializing in the study of architectural terracottas, Andrén continued to explore the many exciting problems in this growing field, while at the same time using his skills of presenting and interpreting other kinds of material, some already known for a long time and others recently excavated. Thus he studied and published both individual objects, in particular Greek and Roman statues, including the depictions of Athena, and Marsyas and the Belvedere torso, and collections of statuary in Italy (Villa San Michele) and in Sweden.<sup>14</sup> Thanks to his experience at the excavations at Ardea in 1931, Arvid Andrén was well qualified to be a member of the excavation team at Vasilikó in Messenia in Greece. Natan Valmin from the University of Lund had been exploring this area since the 1920s, but extensive field work took place first in 1933. As shown in the excavation report, Andrén participated as artist and draftsman and documented the finds in elegant drawings of small objects and a colorful mosaic floor.<sup>15</sup> In his essay ‘Ack, i Messenien’, he describes the hardships of the excavation in terms of lodging and relentless heat, but is characteristically also appreciative of the stunning scenery and the caring individuals he met there.<sup>16</sup>

While Arvid Andrén continued to be involved with the publication of the excavations in Messenia, he was also very keen on pursuing the many questions that still remained from the excavations at Ardea. The contrast between the Ardea of ancient times with a glorious history and the run-down modern town was very obvious, and Andrén was able to reconcile the memories of the past and challenges of the present in his essay ‘Arkeologi i Ardea’.<sup>17</sup> The excavations carried out on the acropolis of Ardea in 1952 and 1953 confirmed the long and varied history of the town, and the results were published in two articles in *Opuscula Romana*.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Letter dated 30 March, 1932 (Professor Axel Boëthius paper, H 80:3, Gothenburg University Library).

<sup>13</sup> See letter from Martin P. Nilsson to Arvid Andrén (Arvid Andrén archive 2:0382 Lund University Library).

<sup>14</sup> See below, Museum collections.

<sup>15</sup> Valmin 1938.

<sup>16</sup> See, ‘Ack i Messenien’, in Andrén 1991b, 9-14.

<sup>17</sup> Published in Andrén 1991b, 15-28.

<sup>18</sup> See below, *Excavations*, and Edlund-Berry 2014.

In his dissertation Andrén had proposed that architectural terracottas could be invaluable in reconstructing the plan and elevation of the temples to which they had belonged. While his thesis about the general importance of such terracottas is still valid, the increasing amount of recent finds has made it very clear that such terracottas were by no means exclusive to temples. As shown in the conference proceedings *Deliciae Fictiles*<sup>19</sup> and in Nancy Winter's recent monumental work on early architectural terracottas, buildings of all kinds were decorated with more or less elaborate roof elements.<sup>20</sup> Also, places of terracotta production have preserved not only kilns but also fired pieces and the actual moulds from which they were made. And, it was the discovery of such a mould for a silen-head antefix at the site of Selvasecca near Blera in southern Etruria that encouraged Andrén and his colleague Eric Berggren at the Swedish Institute in Rome to undertake a small excavation in the hope of finding an Etruscan temple.<sup>21</sup> As Andrén describes in his essay on Selvasecca in *Minnen från min forntid*, the disappointment of not finding a temple or sacred building was countered by the very important discoveries of architectural terracottas and remains of a Roman villa.<sup>22</sup>

### Teacher

Arvid Andrén had a long career as a teacher of Greek and Latin at high schools in Stockholm and also held the position as Docent at the Universities of Lund and Stockholm.<sup>23</sup> He was of a generation equally well trained in the ancient languages and in ancient history and Classical archaeology, and could at times experience frustration with younger students who had other priorities. His serious approach to learning could probably be intimidating, but his respect for knowledge was so genuine that his quiet enthusiasm would carry the message across even to reluctant listeners. His teaching style was definitely low-key and down to earth, but an attentive student could easily detect the many hours of preparation that resulted in a well-informed presentation on almost any topic of the ancient world.<sup>24</sup> Like so many scholars he may have been unaware that the intensity of his passion for his subject matter was expressed very subtly, and that it took some effort on the part of the audience to realize its force.

### Humanist

As a humanist, Arvid Andrén took an interest in many aspects of Italian life but especially those that involved archaeological discoveries of all periods. Although much of his scholarship focuses on objects, ranging from statuary to roof decoration, he had a keen sense of topography and landscape and saw the archaeological sites as expressions of all

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<sup>19</sup> Above, n. 3.

<sup>20</sup> Winter 2009.

<sup>21</sup> See Andrén collection, no. 23 (Inv. C41891). For the excavation report, see below, *Excavations*. An update and re-evaluation of the site has been published by Allan Klynne (Klynne 2006-07).

<sup>22</sup> See Andrén 1991b, 39-44.

<sup>23</sup> See above, Biographical data.

<sup>24</sup> See the appreciative comments by Paul Åström (Åström 2000, esp. page 31).

aspects of Etruscan or Roman culture. His monograph on Orvieto is a good example of this, and is still a useful introduction to the city and its history.<sup>25</sup>

The town of Ardea continued to be dear to his heart because of his initial work there in 1931 and later in 1952-1953. His long connection with Capri, both because he lived there and because of his connection with Villa San Michele and Axel Munthe's collection of antiquities, resulted in a history of the island, published in both Swedish and English.<sup>26</sup> It is perhaps not surprising that Arvid Andrén saw himself foremost as a European scholar, with roots in Sweden and in Italy. The research for his dissertation required extensive travels to European museums, and his interest in the history of the British Isles was documented in a monograph on *Det romerska London* published in 1963.<sup>27</sup> As already noted in the preface to the introduction of *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples*, he was not able to study material in the museums in the United States, and it was not until 1970 that he traveled to New York to experience the city and its many famous museum collections. The newspaper articles describing his visit present an appreciation of the art museums, but reveal a mistrust of big cities, predicting issues of pollution and water shortage, issues that today are of concern also globally.<sup>28</sup> His own life style was best suited to Rome or Lund, but he continued to be amazed at the interest in Etruscan archaeology by American scholars and students who became very familiar with his magnum opus as well as his other writings.

Like many scholars in Classical archaeology and other areas of the Humanities, Arvid Andrén published many articles in the Swedish newspapers (in particular *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*) on new discoveries or thoughts on life in Italy. Very often such articles contained the first notice for Swedish readers on important archaeological finds, of the kind that today would be disseminated through Facebook or Twitter, with the important difference that the newspaper articles always reflected true scholarship. A good example is an article published in *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* in 1966,<sup>29</sup> where Andrén describes a visit to Volterra in northern Tuscany for the sole purpose of examining a marble head, previously unknown outside the local community. Recognizing the importance of this head, Andrén followed up his research on finds of Etruscan marble statuary, remarkable by the very fact that the Etruscans definitely seem to have preferred terracotta as a means for sculptures of all sizes and kinds.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Andrén 1984. Unfortunately, this useful study was not translated into English. When I suggested this possibility to Arvid Andrén, he lamented the fact that he was not able to update the text for a revised edition in English because of his age and limitations of travel. He would no doubt have been excited and intrigued by the recent discoveries at Campo della Fiera where finds of architectural terracottas in the 19<sup>th</sup> century have led to ongoing excavations of a major Etruscan sanctuary, for which see, Stopponi 2011.

<sup>26</sup> See, 'Möte med Axel Munthe', in Andrén 1991b, 77-92, Andrén 1965c, and Andrén 1975; English translation: *Capri. From the Stone Age to the Tourist Age* (Göteborg 1980).

<sup>27</sup> Andrén 1963.

<sup>28</sup> Andrén 1970b.

<sup>29</sup> Andrén 1966.

<sup>30</sup> The study of Etruscan marble sculptures, 'Marmora Etruriae', was published in Andrén 1967.



## Poet

“*Exaudi, regina tui pulcherrima mundi....Roma....*”

[Listen to me, Rome, you the most beautiful queen of your empire]

(*De reditu suo* 1.47)

As much as Arvid Andrén interpreted the monuments of the past executed in stone or terracotta, he was also a scholar of words. It was characteristic of him to quote the ancient authors who described the beauty of Italy, and we owe to his poetic ear the only translation in Swedish of the poem *De reditu suo* by the late Roman poet Rutilius Claudius Namatianus.<sup>31</sup> His favorite Roman poet was Horace, whose learned and sometimes witty poems require both a scholar’s knowledge and a poet’s sensitivity, documented in Andrén’s translations of the *Odes*, *Satires*, *Epistles*, and the *Ars poetica*.<sup>32</sup> In *Romerska bilder* he renders the poems by the 19<sup>th</sup> century Roman poet Giuseppe Gioachino Belli, whose sonnets in Romanesco, the local dialect of Rome, display an insightful view of the city and her inhabitants, for better or for worse.<sup>33</sup> The full extent of the breadth of Andrén’s literary knowledge is documented in the anthology *Italiensk mosaik* which includes texts by a wide variety of authors and time periods describing peoples and places from all over Italy.<sup>34</sup>

In Arvid Andrén’s generation there was a strong tradition to present scholarship in the writer’s native language, be it Swedish or Norwegian. The format varied from newspaper articles to short monographs (such as the publications by Svenska Humanistiska Förbundet or Paul Åströms förlag). As a result, readers of Swedish have a more complete overview of Andrén’s publications, even though some of the monographs were also translated to English (for example, *Deeds and Misdeeds* and *Capri*).

Arvid Andrén contributed greatly to the knowledge and appreciation of the culture and art in ancient Italy. Modest in his demeanor, he exemplified the kind of scholar who delights in searching for the truth even if it involves many hours of tedious recordkeeping, measuring, and interpreting objects and contexts. The comment was made about his dissertation that it contained more pages than any other ever defended in the field of Classical archaeology and ancient history at the University of Lund,<sup>35</sup> but more importantly, the contents were of such quality that even with new discoveries his original presentation has continued to be used and valued. In later years he seemed surprised that it took so many of us to continue the work that he carried out singlehandedly, and it is symptomatic that the one volume that in effect provides a new and updated version of his original study covers a shorter time period and more restricted geographical area.<sup>36</sup> As the author of this book, Nancy Winter, points out, she was inspired by Andrén’s thoroughness and insight in presenting the material, scattered as it is in museums and at sites all across Italy and in other countries, the clarity of his organization, and the introduction which,

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<sup>31</sup> Andrén 1994.

<sup>32</sup> Andrén 1980b; Andrén 1988a; Andrén 1988b; Andrén 1992.

<sup>33</sup> Andrén 1991a.

<sup>34</sup> Andrén 1970a.

<sup>35</sup> See the evaluation by Natan Valmin, University Examiner, of the dissertation defended at the University of Lund on January 27, 1940 (Arvid Andrén archive 2:0382 Lund University Library).

<sup>36</sup> See Winter 2009.

although in the format of a chapter, really serves as a summary of Greek, Etruscan, and Roman architectural traditions based on the historical and archaeological evidence of the time.<sup>37</sup>

Whether we have encountered Arvid Andrén's work through his writings on architectural terracottas or translations of Latin poetry, we are now fortunate to be reminded of his intellectual passion for the past in viewing the objects of the Andrén collection at the Museum of Cultural History in Oslo, a worthy tribute to his long and dedicated career.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Personal communication, July 2012.

<sup>38</sup> It seems appropriate that Arvid Andrén's last book, *Tuscanica*, published in 1995 (Andrén 1995), summarizes his life-long love and fascination with the Etruscans by emphasizing their expressiveness in creating masterpieces of terracotta sculpture and roof decoration.

### Selected publications by Arvid André<sup>39</sup>

For a list of Arvid André's publications, see the bibliography by Sylvia Törnkvist, published in Rystedt et al. 1993, 307-310.

#### *Architectural terracottas*

- 1931 'Note on the terracottas found on the Acropolis of Ardea during the excavation of 1930,' *Associazione internazionale Studi Mediterranei, Bollettino* 2:2 (June-July): 17-18.
- 1932a 'Terrecotte di Ardea', in *Corolla Archaeologica principi hereditario regni Sueciae Gustavo Adolpho dedicata*: 98-117.
- 1932b 'Nuovi scavi in Ardea (primavera 1932): le terrecotte architettoniche', *Associazione internazionale Studi Mediterranei, Bollettino* 3:3 (August-September): 8-16.
- 1934 'Terrecotte decorative e figurate di Ardea', *Associazione internazionale Studi Mediterranei, Bollettino* 5:1-2 (January-April): 22-31.
- 1939 'Una testa fittile etrusca del V secolo a.C.', in *Dragma Martino P. Nilsson dedicatum*, Lund: 1-19.
- 1940 *Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic temples*, Lund and Leipzig.
- 1941 'An archaic terracotta antefix', *Opuscula Archaeologica* 2: 159-163.
- 1952a 'Fragments of Etrusco-Italic terracotta revetments in the National Museum in Stockholm', *Opuscula Archaeologica* 7: 46-49.
- 1952b 'Om figurdekoren i etrusko-italisk tempelarkitektur', in *Arkeologiska forskningar och fynd. Studier utgivna med anledning av H. M. Konung Gustaf VI Adolfs sjuttioårsdag 11.11.1952*, Stockholm: 118-127.
- 1956 'Una matrice fittile etrusca', *Studi Etruschi* 24: 207-219.
- 1965a 'Due frammenti di statue fittili votive di Ardea', in *Studi in onore di Luisa Banti*, Rome: 15-21.
- 1971 'Osservazioni sulle terrecotte architettoniche etrusco-italiche', *Opuscula Romana* 8: 1-16.
- 1977 'In quest of Vulca', *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia* 49: 63-83.
- 1980a 'Un gruppo di antefisse fittili etrusco-laziali e la questione dell'esistenza di un abitato ostiense anteriore alla colonia romana', *Studi Etruschi* 48: 93-99.

#### *Ancient sculpture*

- 1944 'Der lateranische Silen und die Gruppe von Athena und Marsyas', *Opuscula Archaeologica* 3: 1-36.

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<sup>39</sup> The list of André's selected publications does not follow the CLARA guidelines for bibliographies, since all publications are by the same author.

1952c 'Il Torso del Belvedere', *Opuscula Archaeologica* 7: 1-45.

1967 'Marmora Etruriae', *Antike Plastik* 7:7-42.

### *Excavations*

#### **Ardea**

1954 'Scavo sull'acropoli di Ardea: rapporto preliminare', *Opuscula Romana* 1: 1-20.

1961 'Scavi e scoperte sull'acropoli di Ardea', *Opuscula Romana* 3: 1-68.

#### **Selvasecca**

1959 with Eric Berggren, 'Blera (Località Selvasecca): villa rustica etrusco-romana con manifattura di terrecotte architettoniche', *Notizie degli Scavi* 8:23: 51-71.

#### **Italian sites**

1975 *Capri. Från stenåldern till turiståldern*, Lund; English translation: *Capri. From the Stone Age to the Tourist Age* (Göteborg 1980).

1984 *Orvieto*, Göteborg.

### *Museum collections*

1948 'Classical Antiquities in the Zorn Collection', *Opuscula Archaeologica* 5: 1-90.

1960 'Greek and Roman heads in the Malmström Collection', *Opuscula Romana* 2: 7-29.

1964 *Antik skulptur i svenska samlingar*, Stockholm.

1965b 'Greek and Roman Marbles in the Carl Milles Collection', *Opuscula Romana* 5: 75-117.

1965c 'Classical Antiquities of the Villa San Michele', *Opuscula Romana* 5: 119-141.

### *Translations of poetry*

1980b *Vår vän Horatius*, Göteborg.

1988a Horatius, *Satirer och epistlar*, Göteborg.

1988b *Latinska dikter om kärlek, lidande och död*, Jonsered.

1991a Giacomo Gioachino Belli, *Romerska bilder*, Jonsered.

1992 Horatius, *Diktkonsten (Ars poetica)*, Jonsered.

1994 Rutilius Claudius Namatianus, *Hemfärden; De reditu suo*, Jonsered.

*Other*

- 1963 *Det romerska London*, Stockholm.
- 1966 'Sensation i Volterra', *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, 6 March.
- 1970a *Italienske mosaik* [Italian mosaic] [anthology], Stockholm.
- 1970b 'Blick på New York', 1-4, *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, 1 November-1 December.
- 1983 *Arkeologins marodörer*, Göteborg; English translation: *Deeds and misdeeds in Classical art and antiquities* (Göteborg 1986).
- 1991b *Minnen från min forntid* [Memories from times past], Göteborg.
- 1995 *Tuscanica. An Etruscan picture-book*, Göteborg.

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