

Fashion in the grave: a study of the motifs used to  
decorate the grave altars, ash chests and sarcophagi  
made in Rome in the early Empire (to the mid second  
century A.D.).

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## Summary

The purpose of this study is to explain why cremation was replaced by inhumation and cinerary monuments by sarcophagi in Rome during the second century A.D. by looking at the decoration of the monuments from Tiberius to the mid second century. Part one examines briefly the treatment of Roman funerary symbolism by previous scholars, the literary and epigraphic evidence for Roman eschatological belief in the period, and the nature of the contemporary decorative repertoire used in non-funerary contexts. These studies suggest that Roman eschatological ideas were somewhat vague, and that most of the motifs used on the funerary monuments were in common use in other decorative arts: one should not, therefore, expect the decoration of the funerary monuments to contain allusions to a deep or coherent eschatology. The final chapter of Part one deals with the evidence for the chronology of the monuments. Part two looks at the decoration of the cinerary monuments motif by motif, considering in particular their possible symbolic interpretations. The conclusion is that there is little evidence to suggest that this decoration was designed to convey complex or deeply held eschatological beliefs, but only the vaguest ideas about heroisation and survival after death. Part three deals with the decoration of the garland sarcophagi. The decorative repertoire, though reduced, is not radically different from that used on the cinerary monuments, the predominance of mythological (mainly non-bacchic) scenes being its major feature. These, however, do not seem to express any coherent philosophical or religious concept of death and the afterlife which might explain the change in burial rite. The conclusion is that a group of educated, probably noble, families were responsible for introducing sarcophagi to Roman society, but that this does not reflect a radical change in eschatological ideas, only a change in fashion.

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**Part I: The Religious and Artistic Background.**

Part I: The Religions and Artistic Background.

Chapter 1. The Nature of Roman Funerary Symbolism.

It is perhaps natural that the religious scepticism of the twentieth century should create a lively interest in the eschatological beliefs of imperial Rome, for they sometimes seem to display a complexity unparalleled in modern thought and yet sometimes seem as sceptical as our own. It is also inevitable that each generation's and each person's interpretation of Roman funerary symbolism should reflect their religious prejudices: it is a subject on which it is difficult to be totally objective. Nevertheless, the twentieth century, because of its scepticism, has produced attempts both to define the criteria by which the symbols are interpreted, and to reconsider the basis for old evaluations. Research in recent years has produced rigorous and exhaustive examinations of some of the funerary motifs, a certain amount of iconoclasm directed against hitherto well-established interpretations, and a few new speculative ideas. However, such work centres around the richly decorated sarcophagi of the third and fourth centuries A.D.: the decoration of the earlier monuments - the ash chests and altars associated with cremation and the earliest sarcophagi - has attracted less attention. Walter Altmann's monograph, Die "romischen Grabaltare der Kaiserzeit", published in 1905, remains today the only general study devoted to the cinerary monuments (1).

Altmann's work was designed to draw attention to a type of monument which, although found in most eighteenth and nineteenth century collections of antiquities, had always been relegated to

the ranks of lesser sculpture in the various catalogues (2). His approach was mainly typological, his aim to describe and catalogue the major and most representative pieces: his book remains today an adequate introduction to the monuments, although many have since been discovered, moved, or lost. Altmann's efforts did inspire one study of the symbolism of the monuments - Vittorio Macchioro's Il simbolismo nelle figurazioni sepolcrali romane (3). Macchioro attempted a comparison of the motifs used on a variety of Roman funerary monuments, especially cinerary monuments, with parallels drawn mainly from the vases of Magna Graecia, coinage and terracotta plaques. Although such a work might seem to anticipate much of the subject of the present thesis, it is inadequate in its analysis, and, as will be seen, I can agree with very few of Macchioro's conclusions, methods or premises. Nonetheless, this book remains the only examination of this group of monuments as a whole with a view to elucidating the symbolism of their decoration - more recent studies have been concerned with cinerary monuments only in passing. Franz Cumont's seminal work on funerary symbolism (4), for example, deals specifically with a few pieces, but on the whole he is concerned with monuments made at a later date and in more distant parts of the Empire than these altars. Other studies have dealt with stylistic aspects of the monuments, problems of dating, or individual motifs, but not with the whole range of decoration and its symbolic content as a whole. This is all the more surprising in that these monuments belong at the beginning of a sequence, to the period of the birth of Roman funerary symbolism when motifs might but did not always have a symbolic meaning, and were often ambiguous. One

of my aims is to consider whether the sculptors and their patrons intended the decoration of the funerary monuments of the early Empire to have a hidden meaning and cohesive symbolism. In this first chapter, therefore, I propose a critical examination of the ideas which have already been expressed by scholars on the nature of Roman funerary symbolism.

A question which must be answered before all others is whether we are justified in assuming that the motifs used on the monuments were designed to express specifically eschatological ideas. Macchiuro believed (and others have implied a similar belief) that the funerary use of a motif caused it to become symbolic of death and the afterlife even if the same motif was in common decorative use in non-funerary contexts. This is not an assumption to be made lightly. It appears to be based on the hypothesis that as the motifs used in Roman funerary art formed the basis of early Christian symbolism the religious and funerary art of the early Empire can be treated as if it were simply a pagan, pre-Christian, equivalent of Christian symbolism: thus each individual motif would have a specific symbolic meaning as the anchor, fish or good shepherd did in early Christian iconography. This kind of interpretation has been succinctly expressed by Jocelyn Toynbee, who suggests that in the funerary art of the Romans there was a 'pictorial language', which has a vocabulary and a grammar, and for which a dictionary could be compiled. Thus, once the key is known, grave altars could be read like books, and 'all sarcophagus-designs are, in fact, allegories, symbols, or personifications within the orbit of sepulchral imagery' (5). She suggests that garlands represent the tomb offerings, cupids are the souls of the dead (and if vintaging

allude to the bliss of paradise), protomes of ravening lions represent death's destructiveness, vigilant griffins guarding the tomb allude to the inviolability of the dead, marriage scenes to unending love and harmony, rape scenes (as of Proserpina) to the 'rape' of the soul from the body at death, and Oceanus, Tritons and Nereids to the journey to the Isles of the Blessed. Scenes of the dead going about their work are said to symbolise 'the trials of life', and hunting and chariot scenes the 'victory over death and evil'.

The hypothesis that the decoration of a funerary monument might be capable of an explicitly eschatological explanation is a reasonable one, but I have found the approach used by Miss Toynbee, which assumes that symbol x necessarily has a meaning y, to be unrewarding in several ways. Not least of these is that when an attempt is made to unravel the meaning of the decoration of a grave altar by using a code of this type all that is gained is a jumble of vague and sometimes contradictory concepts which do not form a coherent or even plausible whole and which do little to enrich one's understanding of Roman eschatological beliefs.

On the other hand, two silver cups found at Boscoreale (6) suggest that the Roman mind was capable of using a 'pictorial language' in precisely this way. They show a series of skeletons, many of which are labelled with the names of Greek philosophers and dramatists, while another smaller skeleton is identified as 'pleasure'. Some of the skeletons hold bags, labelled as 'envy', 'opinion' and 'wisdom', and a series of aphorisms is also inscribed - 'play while you have life - tomorrow is unknown', 'life is a stage', 'enjoy yourself while alive', and 'enjoyment is the supreme good'.

Other objects are also labelled - a butterfly as 'a little soul', a torch as 'life', and a skull as 'man'; a satyric mask is 'satiric drama', and a snake is labelled 'viper'. All these inscriptions are in Greek. On the one hand the labels are all simple and obvious, so the cups might suggest an audience that was not used to such pictorial representation of abstract ideas; on the other hand, this type of representation is used to convey a moral, even if the moral is a light-hearted one. The decoration could even be a parody of the kind of thinking that went on in more sombre funerary spheres: the symbolism used here may be facile and heavy-handed, but it might also be an indication of the more subtle way of thinking in funerary contexts. Thus, although I am not convinced by Miss Toynbee's 'pictorial language' the cups suggest that it was a plausible concept in imperial Rome.

But what happens if the motif has no obvious and clear-cut meaning? It is dangerous to use guess-work, equally dangerous to accept one interpretation at the expense of another - yet often there is very little evidence to suggest why a motif was used in its particular context. This difficulty was recognised by Miss Toynbee herself when dealing with the meaning behind animal scenes on funerary monuments. She deals with one of the anomalies produced by her method in the following way:

The belief that the lizard sleeps all through the winter to wake up with the return of spring may explain its presence, along with a butterfly, beside the figures of sleeping Cupids, where it could symbolize death and resurrection... but in other cases, as when it is attacked by two small birds or captured by a heron, it can hardly be a resurrection symbol, but would seem to form part of one of those natural history idylls that in sepulchral contexts are allegories of life in general. (7)

In other words, we are ignorant of any single meaning which could apply to the motif in all its variations. Nevertheless, it may have had associations and connotations for the Roman viewer of which, it is hoped, we can get some idea by looking at the way the lizard was used in various artistic milieux. It is such an investigation of the motifs that I propose in later chapters.

There should always be a good reason, rather than mere plausible hypothesis, for assigning a particular meaning to a motif. Many motifs have acquired an interpretation which is widely accepted, but whose origins can only be traced with difficulty, if at all. An example of this is the Tritons and Nereids who are frequently said to represent 'the journey to the Isles of the Blessed'. This interpretation has only recently been challenged, and still has many supporters (8). Mrs. Strong was particularly prone to suggesting interpretations for motifs without any adequate evidence. She suggests, for example, that 'the frieze represents love-gods engaged in hunting-scenes and chariot-races to symbolise the conflict between the powers of darkness and of light' (Miss Toynbee interprets such scenes as 'victory over death and evil') (9); griffins refer to Apollo as the god of light at the same time as being 'fantastic animals which bear away the soul to the Emyrean' (compare Miss Toynbee's interpretation of griffins as 'the inviolability of the dead') (10). I hope to show that not only are some of these views contradictory, but also that evidence for them is often very slight indeed, and that many of the common interpret-

ations have been precipitated by preconceived ideas of the nature of Roman funerary art (11).

Almost the opposite of the 'pictorial language' idea is that of 'unconscious symbolism'. Macchiuro concerned himself at length with the use of 'simbolismo inconscio' on the cinerary monuments (12) : by this he seems to mean that the classical artists used a motif for psychological reasons or because of deep-rooted traditions they did not any longer understand. He is therefore often content to label motifs as 'erotic', 'chthonian', 'aphrodisiac' or 'apotropaic', None of these labels is particularly helpful in explaining why the artist or commissioner of the monument chose that particular motif or combination of motifs, even if it does throw interesting light on much earlier beliefs and customs. For the present study it is the conscious symbolism, if any, which we need to understand; that is, what it was that the artist intended to convey to his audience when he put a motif or a collection of motifs on a funerary monument.

Franz Cumont has beyond question done the most in this field by formulating and employing a method for the study of afterlife belief and funerary symbolism. In the Introduction to his major work, Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des romains, Paris 1942, he dismisses the unfounded theories of nineteenth and earlier twentieth century writers as 'châteaux aériens qui s'évanouiront au souffle de la critique' (13), and suggests that:

la seule méthode sûre est de rechercher ce que les anciens eux-mêmes ont pu dire des emblèmes religieux et des scènes mythologiques qu'ils figuraient sur leurs tombeaux. (14)



He defines his aims in the Preface of the same work as:

montrer, avec plus de précision qu'on ne l'avait fait jusqu'ici, par quels symboles les artistes romains avaient exprimé les croyances de leurs contemporains à une survie de l'âme dans un autre monde. (15)

For Cumont, therefore an understanding of contemporary religious views must come first, and much of his published work has been concerned with defining the religious climate of the Roman Empire - in particular, describing the impact of various philosophical views and oriental religions on eschatological beliefs. In Recherches, however, he concentrates specifically on the way certain ideas, especially that of celestial immortality, could be represented by relief sculpture. The majority of the monuments he uses as examples are of a period later than those considered here, and many of them were made in areas of the Empire very far from Rome. Nevertheless, these ideas and methods can be applied to certain individual pieces of an earlier date: Cumont himself considers an altar in Urbino in detail in the Appendix, as well as a few others in the text (16). I shall be considering the details of these analyses in later chapters, but I hope to show that these monuments are, on the whole, atypical, and do not belong to the main stream of development. The rather complicated eschatological interpretations which form the basis of Recherches can apply only to a small proportion of the monuments of the first 150 years A.D.

Cumont's study of Roman funerary symbolism is marked by certain characteristics which have been somewhat magnified and mistreated by some of his disciples. These are the tendency to use literary sources rather removed from the cultural setting of

the funerary monuments, to study unusual pieces and then apply the conclusions to more ordinary pieces, and to see obscure mystery philosophies lurking behind quite commonplace motifs. The most exaggerated example of misapplication of Cumont's approach is probably a study of the ash altar of Ianuaria in the Lateran Collection of the Vatican Museums (17). The monument in question is decorated with a scene showing Mercury watching a goat eating the leaves of a tree: subsidiary decoration consists of two boys holding grapes standing on globes, eagles, laurel trees and a wreath. According to M. B. Combet Farnoux, the dead woman on the evidence of this decoration was an initiate of a neo-pythagorean sect under orphic influence which gave an important place to Dionysus as a saviour god.

In one (uncommon) version of the childhood of Dionysus, the infant god was turned into a goat to escape Hera's notice, and, according to Combet Farnoux, Ianuaria by choosing this scene is asserting her hope that she, too, will be assimilated into the essence of divinity. This interpretation of the scene relies not only on an unusual version of the myth, but also on an obscure orphic inscription which was found in Thurii and had been written more than four centuries earlier. The rest of the decoration, it is claimed, is also expressive of a hope of immortality, as the two boys are the Dioscuri, the wreath a symbol of immortality, the eagles symbols of the apotheosis which belongs to the initiated after death, and the laurel trees are tentatively identified as a reference to the Tree of Life. (18)

A. D. Nock, in a review of Recherches (19), had already warned against such excesses! he perhaps overstates the case for moderation and care, but his objections have, on the whole, been ignored. He

suggests that the funerary monuments were decorated with the same decorative motifs as those used in the secular arts because they were basically decorative rather than symbolic of eschatological beliefs (20), that funerary decoration looks back to the dead man's life more often than forward to his destiny in the Hereafter (21), and that the lack of interest in the afterlife of the mystery religions in epitaphs should not be ignored, as it is reflected in the decoration of the monuments (22). He pleads for a less dogmatic, all-or-nothing, approach - 'Where Cumont says 'croyance', I should say climate of opinion or Pathosformel: verbal or visible symbol suggesting emotional association without necessarily corresponding to concepts specifically held' (23).

No more recent study has approached the breadth of scope of Cumont's work: recent studies have been devoted to individual monuments, or to particular motifs or themes, with emphasis rather on the meticulous cataloguing of material and stylistic considerations than on a broad general picture of the symbolic content (24). Nevertheless, it seems clear from these that certain assumptions have become general, and the chief of these is the assumption that funerary motifs are usually eschatological symbols expressing a belief in the immortality of the soul. Certain interpretations of common motifs are often cited without question, although the evidence that they necessarily had these meanings for the sculptors or commissioners of the monuments is very slight indeed (25).

The assumption that a funerary motif must be symbolic of eschatological beliefs - the more esoteric and obscure the better - is not one that I am prepared to make without good evidence. The aim

of this thesis is to reconsider the motifs used on the funerary monuments of the early Empire (up to c. A.D. 150) without making such assumptions, using the internal evidence of the monuments, their inscriptions, and such external evidence as is relevant to the time and place in which they were made. The result may not be a tidy dictionary of 'pictorial language', but it might perhaps give a more accurate picture of what the average Roman thought his funerary monument was all about.

Notes to Chapter 1.

- 1). = Altmann. For abbreviations and details of standard works see bibliography.  
The terms used by Altmann for the various monuments are, 'Grabaltare', 'Aschenaltäre', 'Grabara', 'Aschenkiste', and 'Larenaltare'. I have used English versions of these - grave altar, ash altar and ash chest - but I have excluded the non-funerary monuments (such as Lar altars) except where they are useful for comparative purposes. I use the term cinerary monument as a generic term for the whole group. It is not always possible to use these terms with strict accuracy. A grave altar is a large monument which is totally commemorative: it was not designed to contain the ashes of the dead. An ash chest is a small monument which always has a space for the ashes. An ash altar is something in between: it is a medium sized monument which has something of the grandeur of a grave altar, but was also an ash container. Although the term implies that it was used as an altar, this is not so for the majority of ash altars, or, if it comes to that, for some of the grave altars. Nevertheless, it is simpler to stick to the terms which have become accepted for these monuments, even if they are not an accurate reflection of their function.
- 2). The monuments were collected together in a few works, but were not analysed as a group: Bouillon, Musée des Antiquités, III - Cippes Choisis (1821); Matz-Duhn, Antike Bildwerke in Rom, III (Leipzig 1882).
- 3). V. Macchioro, Il simbolismo nelle figurazioni sepolcrali romane, (Naples 1909) - abstract from Memor. Accad. di Napoli, I 1908.
- 4). Franz Cumont, Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains, (Paris 1942) (= Cumont, Recherches).
- 5). J. M. C. Toynbee, 'Picture-Language in Roman Art and Coinage' in Essays in Roman Coinage presented to Harold Mattingly, (Oxford 1956), p. 225. (= Toynbee, 'Picture-Language').
- 6). H. de Villefosse, 'Le trésor de Boscoreale', Monuments Piot V 1899, no. 7, pp. 58-63, pl. VIII,1,2; no. 8, pp. 64-68, pl. VII,1,2.
- 7). J. M. C. Toynbee, Animals in Roman Life and Art, (London 1973). pp. 220-221.  
The possibilities in the case of the lizard are:
  - a) the lizard does mean 'resurrection', but we have failed to see how this fits in with the birds.
  - b) the lizard means something else - Macchioro suggests that like the butterfly it represents 'the soul', but it is just as difficult to fit this in with the bird scenes.
  - c) we are, for some reason, quite ignorant of the meaning of the motif, but if we knew it, its presence in the various scenes would make sense.
  - d) the lizard means different things in different contexts - this is in fact what Miss Toynbee is saying, but this makes nonsense of her 'pictorial language' theory unless we are to think of 'lizard' and 'lizard attacked by a bird' as two quite separate motifs. This would make application of the code very difficult indeed.

- e) the lizard may have had to the Roman mind certain connotations but no hard and fast 'meaning' - thus there would be no single explanation for the motif, and Macchioro's and Miss Toynbee's suggestions could be equally valid.
- f) the lizard has no meaning at all, but is just decorative.
- 8). For the arguments for and against this identification, see Section II, Chapter 7, 'Nereids and Tritons'.
- 9). Mrs. E. Strong, Apotheosis and Afterlife, (London 1915), p. 186; J. M. C. Toynbee, 'Picture-Language', p. 210.
- 10). Mrs. Strong, op. cit., pp. 209-210. Toynbee, op. cit. p. 225.
- 11). cf. Mrs. Strong, op. cit., pp. 112-113:  
'If I read aright, I believe that Roman tombstones reveal a spiritual conception of death and the fate of the soul which is far in advance of anything taught by any religious system before the establishment of Christianity'.
- 12). Macchioro, op. cit., pp. 25-27 (17-19).  
E. R. Goodenough in Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, vols. 7 & 8, 'Pagan Symbols in Judaism' (New York 1958) employs a rather more sophisticated version of the same approach.
- 13). Cumont, Recherches, pp. 15-16.
- 14). Cumont, Recherches, p. 16.
- 15). Cumont, Recherches, p. II.
- 16). Cumont, in Recherches, refers to the following altars:  
Altar in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme without an inscription with a rape of Proserpina scene (cf. Mythological Scenes no. 7), p. 95, fig. 14.  
Ash altar of Ti. Claudius Victor, Cabinet des Medailles, Paris, (cf. Portraits no. 44), p. 162, pl. XI.  
Altar of Iulia Victorina, Louvre (cf. Portraits no. 46), pp. 243-244, pl. XXI-XXII.  
Altar of a doctor, Asclepiades, Museo Chiaramonti, Vatican Museums, pp. 277-280, fig. 64.  
Altar of Terpollia Procilla, present whereabouts unknown, (cf. Reclining figures no. 2) pp. 401-402.  
Altar of C. Caecilius Ferox, Villa Albani, (cf. Mythological Scenes no. 31), pp. 411-412, fig. 83.  
Altar of a freedman of Claudius, Ti. Claudius V(italis), (cf. Door motif no. 57), Vatican Museums, pp. 412-413, fig. 84.  
Altar of T. Flavius Abascantus, Urbino, (cf. Reclining figures no. 8), Appendix, pl. XLV.
- 17). Mythological scenes no. 29, animals no. 50.  
B. Combet Farnoux, 'L'inspiration pythagoricienne et Dionysiaque dans un autel funéraire du Musée du Latran', Mélanges 72 1960 pp. 147-165.

- 18). The desire to tidy up all the odd ends of a symbolic interpretation is understandable, but it can lead to over-emphasis of minor and unimportant motifs. Thus Lehmann-Hartleben and Olsen in Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore (New York 1942) interpreted this group of monuments as evidence that the Calpurnii Pisones as a family belonged to a cult group worshipping Dionysus-Sabazios. Each detail of each piece, even the earliest which are quite commonplace in their decoration has been ingeniously fitted into place in this elaborate construction.
- 19). A. D. Nock, 'Sarcophagi and Symbolism', A.J.A. L 1946, pp. 140-170.
- 20). Nock, op. cit., p. 148.
- 21). Nock, op. cit., p. 157.
- 22). Nock, op. cit., p. 159.
- 23). Nock, op. cit., p. 169.
- 24). Individual pieces: F. Matz, Ein romisches Meisterwerk, (Berlin 1958); B. Andreae, Studien zur römischen Grabkunst (Heidelberg 1963).  
 Bacchic themes: R. Turcan, Les sarcophages romains à représentations dionysiaques, (Paris 1966); F. Matz, Die Dionysischen Sarcophage, (Berlin - parts 1 and 2, 1968, part 3, 1969, part 4, 1975, = A.S.R. vol. V).  
 Wolf and twins motif: K. Schauenberg, 'Die Lupa Romana als sepulkrales Motiv', JdI LXXXI 1966, pp. 261-309.  
 Nereids and Tritons: H. Brandenburg, 'Meerwesensarkophage und Clipeusmotiv', JdI LXXXII 1967 pp. 195-245; H. Sichtermann, 'Deutung und Interpretation der Meerwesensarkophage', JdI LXXXV 1970 pp. 224-238.
- 25). cf. Britt Haarlov, The Half-Open Door - A Common Symbolic Motif within Roman Sepulchral Sculpture, Odense University Classical Studies, vol. 10, Odense University Press, 1977: 'The Door Motif in its Contextual Relationships' for a fairly uncritical summary of popular interpretations of Roman funerary motifs.

Chapter 2: Afterlife Beliefs: the evidence of literature and the inscriptions.

Unfortunately, the Romans living in the early Empire tended to be somewhat reticent about the decoration of their funerary monuments: the notable exception is Trimalchio, the man who, obsessed by his own mortality, considered the design of his tomb to be a suitable subject for dinner-time conversation, and his own mock funeral a pleasing post-prandial entertainment for his guests. Sadly for the study of funerary symbolism, Trimalchio is an exception: others speak of death, but not of their tombs. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to expect the ideas of death that the Romans expressed in their literature to be reflected in their funerary monuments: this is a sound hypothesis if certain warnings are borne in mind. The literature of the early Empire reflects only what the educated classes believed, and we cannot be certain how far down Roman society the more esoteric philosophical ideas spread; nor can we tell how influential, especially among the foreign slaves and freedmen, the oriental mystery religions were from the brief allusions to them in first century literature. The difficulty is not so much in ascertaining which beliefs were current in the Empire, but in estimating how widespread the various beliefs were in different periods, and in particular, what most people were thinking. Inscriptions, which might be expected to express the views of a wider cross-



section of the population, are, on the whole, remarkably uninformative on the subject of afterlife beliefs (1).

The major systems of belief about the afterlife in the early Empire have been very clearly summarised by Cumont in the 'Historical Introduction' to his Afterlife in Roman Paganism. It is clear from this that there was a high proportion of uncertainty about, disbelief in, and indifference to the immortality of the soul, as well as the mystic beliefs of the neo-Pythagoreans and the oriental mystery religions which form Cumont's main interest. In his later works, Lux Perpetua and Recherches, however, he is more concerned with afterlife beliefs and the allegories used to express them, and hence he pays less attention to the systems of 'non-belief' existent at the same time. For the present study it is more important to have some idea of how widespread uncertainty, disbelief and indifference were, especially in the first century A.D., since, if they were quite widespread, to insist on highly significant eschatological meanings for the motifs on the monuments might be misleading. Those who had no particularly strong views on the fate of the soul would still require decorated monuments, but the motifs would not be significant for them of astral immortality, rebirth, or any other existence after death. If such people were in the majority, those who wished to express complicated eschatological ideas would have to commission a monument to their own specifications: this, I believe, explains certain unusual pieces which have already attracted some interest. The stock of the average monumental mason would express a much more generalised series of ideas - commemoration of the dead, sorrow at losing a dear one, parting at the tomb, and so on, along with some of the more popular purely decorative motifs.

Some of the latter might have rudimentary associations with death (such as the garlands and candelabra) and others a long traditional use on funerary monuments (such as medusa heads and sphinxes).

Cumont in Afterlife gives a clear account of the major philosophical and religious attitudes towards survival after death. It is worthwhile reiterating these briefly here.

According to the Epicureans, the soul, being composed of atoms, was disintegrated at the moment of death, and so was destroyed forever. Death is therefore a painless annihilation. A popularised version of these beliefs spread throughout society and Cumont quotes many epitaphs giving a frank avowal of disbelief in an afterlife survival.

The views of the Stoics were less consistent, but they never allow more than a very restricted form of immortality. Many Roman stoics, including Marcus Aurelius, believed that souls were disintegrated and returned to the elemental mass from which they had been formed. Cumont defines the true Stoic doctrine as 'souls, when they leave the corpse, subsist in the atmosphere and especially in its highest part which touches the circle of the moon. But after a longer or less interval of time they, like the flesh and bones, are decomposed and dissolve into the elements which formed them' (2). Cumont again quotes a few epitaphs which indicate that a popularised version - that death was a disappearance into the depths of divine nature - spread quite widely. However, these epitaphs are not nearly as numerous as those quoted for the Epicurean view.

The Sceptics expressed a mocking disbelief, especially in the traditional pictures of Hades, but also in other concepts of immortality. This meant a denial of any conscious survival, or at

least an agnostic view. Thus Cumont quotes a number of epitaphs which begin 'if', and the tentative remarks made by Tacitus at the end of the Agricola on the subject of immortality. Similarly, Earthly Immortality can hardly be counted as an afterlife belief at all - it is the view that one's immortality consists only in not being forgotten, in the fame built up during life and remembrance after death. Cumont suggests that the continuation of the funeral cult at a time when the majority no longer believed that the shades existed was an attempt by survivors to give the dead at least so much immortality via remembrance. The idea of earthly immortality is found widely in the literature, and also in the epitaphs of the cinerary monuments.

The Neo-Pythagoreans formed 'a church rather than a school' (3), an eclectically mystic movement incorporating orphic and dionysiac elements and 'scientific religiosity' (4). In outline, the neo-Pythagorean view was that the soul was immortal and at death escaped from the prison of the body to remain in the shape of the body and near it for a number of days, after which it was free to rise in the atmosphere. The atmosphere, as the lowest zone, was the 'Inferi' of fable, and it was here that the soul would be purified and lifted to the sphere of the moon which was the residence of immortal souls. Souls weighed down with the earthly side of life would not be sufficiently purified to rise to the moon and would be reincarnated. Thus the Pythagoreans used an elaborate system of allegory by which old concepts such as Hades and the Isles of the Blessed could be reinterpreted to express their own ideas. In view of Cumont's interpretation of many of the motifs used in Roman funerary art as an expression of such an

allegorical outlook, it is important to ascertain how widespread the cult and its ideas were. Cicero and Cato were attracted by the certainty and dogmatism of neo-Pythagorean ideas when in need of consolation, and we know of the aristocratic vogue for the cult led by Nigidius Figulus. The cult was still flourishing in the mid first century A.D. when the magnificent underground basilica at the Porta Maggiore was built, but this, if it was indeed anything to do with the cult, could accommodate only a small number and was only in use for a short space of time (5). There is no evidence to suggest that at this period the cult had any more than a small membership limited to the aristocracy. Certain ideas, especially the allegorical interpretation of myths, could be detached from the practice of the cult, but the epitaphs and literature of the early Empire do not suggest a widespread adoption in Rome of such ideas. Nevertheless, it does seem that there did exist a limited popularised version of the concept of astral immortality (6).

The oriental mystery religions again offered certainty and salvation by participation in rites. The bacchic cults of Dionysus and Sabazios taught that the shade went into the bowels of the earth, and, if worthy, took part in an eternal banquet, for which there was a foretaste in the feasts of the mysteries. Cybele and Attis offered rebirth like that of Attis, and the cults of Isis and Serapis promised that the shade went into the earth where the man became another Serapis and the woman another Isis. In the cult of Mithras, which was spreading towards the west in the first century, the soul rises towards the sky and enjoys divine bliss among the stars. Although reference to these religions in

the literature is sporadic, it is clear from legislation passed (7) and the funerary monuments of priests and priestesses of the cults that they were a growing interest, especially among freedmen and their descendants.

All the above views are alluded to, to some extent, in the literature of the early Empire. However, from the literature it seems that the major feature of afterlife belief throughout the first century and into the second was a strong current of agnosticism and disbelief in the various forms of afterlife survival. This is largely because serious writing on the subject tended to be part of philosophical passages and therefore reflected the ideas of one of the philosophical schools, whether Stoic, Epicurean or Sceptic. Otherwise, the most widespread sentiment expressed is the desire for 'earthly immortality', and the need to leave behind a long-lasting reputation. The traditional fables and concepts do not seem, on the whole, to have been accepted any longer, but they had not yet been widely replaced by ideas of salvation or a mystic view of the soul - the evidence for such ideas becomes much stronger after the mid second century. This is not a state of affairs which applied only to the educated circle who produced the literature, as the inscriptions and epitaphs on the cinerary monuments reflect a similar general uncertainty or indifference to the fate of the soul, or even its existence.

Of late Republican writers, Cicero has perhaps the most to say on the subject of death and immortality. His earlier tendency towards scepticism on this subject was annulled by the death of his daughter Tullia in 45B.C., an event by which he was deeply affected. He was at this time drawn to the ideas of the neo-Pythagoreans in

an attempt to find some assurance of Tullia's continued existence. In the first book of the Tusculan Disputations, dedicated to a discussion of the various ideas on the survival of the soul, he comes down rather tentatively on the side of immortality, but considers rival philosophical viewpoints carefully - such an approach is demanded by the structure of the book. In the 'Dream of Scipio', however, he was able to give fuller expression to ideas of astral immortality because the scene is meant to be fictitious and the concepts do not have to be justified philosophically. It is clear from Cicero's writing that he was attracted to the Pythagorean view, but elsewhere (8) he shows that he was repelled by the tendency of the Pythagoreans to accept without question all that 'the master' said. Tullia's famum was never finished: was this merely because money ran short, or because Cicero began to doubt the survival of her soul once the impact of his grief had abated?

After Cicero literary evidence for the continuity of Pythagorean beliefs fades away for a time. The Stoic Seneca was more concerned with conduct in this world and the problem of facing death fearlessly than with any survival into the next: such concepts of death as he does express are those of the Stoics as mentioned above. Pliny the elder in a short but apt passage in the Natural History (9) pours scorn on the idea that there could be any conscious survival after death, and comments on the folly to which such ideas lead men - 'puerilium ista deliramentorum avidaeque numquam desinere mortalitatis commenta sunt'. Death, he asserts, is on the contrary nature's chief blessing: we are in the same state when dead as we were before we were born - non-existent. Nevertheless, the ideas which Pliny rejects as folly are significant as they must reflect

the beliefs which were circulating round contemporary Rome - but how commonly were they held? Pliny makes it quite clear that some of his contemporaries did feel a need for a belief in some kind of life after death. This, he says, caused them to bestow immortality on the soul and sensation to those below, to believe in transfiguration, worship ghosts and deify the dead.

The ideas expressed by Trimalchio in the Satyricon are particularly valuable, since they reflect, even if satirically, the ideas of a rich and successful man of freedman origins. It is clear from the epitaphs that a very high proportion of the men and women who bought the cinerary monuments were from families with slavery in their recent history, and their ideas might be similar to those of Trimalchio. Trimalchio is clearly superstitious and thinks a lot about death, which is mentioned on four separate occasions during the banquet (10). In the first instance, a silver skeleton is brought in and Trimalchio recites a verse to the same effect as those on the Boscoreale skeleton cups - enjoy life while it is here. Later, Trimalchio describes the funeral he attended earlier in the day; the trappings of the ceremony seem to concern him more than eschatological speculation. In the third instance he talks about the tomb he is building for himself and his wife. Finally, the narrator escapes from the banquet in the middle of Trimalchio's maudlin mock-funeral for himself.

On the one hand, Trimalchio's obsession with and preparation for his death show the concern of a successful man who, in enjoying life, is worried by the prospect of death; but on the other hand, what Trimalchio says does not suggest any belief, or desire to believe, in immortality. He wants his tomb to be an imposing memorial to suit

his own conception of his importance, with, above all, his statue with his dog at his feet. He does say that his tomb is to be as beautiful as the house he lives in during his life because he will have to live in it so much longer (11), but it is not clear how far Trimalchio really believed that his shade would inhabit the tomb - perhaps not at all in a literal sense, although his epitaph is to begin 'C. Prompeius Trimalchio Maecenatianus hic requiescit'. Trimalchio certainly does not suggest any other form of afterlife existence: the ideas satirised in the 'Cena Trimalchionis' are noticeably materialistic - they are not those of the mystic religions or esoteric philosophies which one might have thought so much more rewarding for a satirist.

Among Martial's poems is a group of epitaphs composed on the deaths of Erotion, his young slave girl, Urbicus, a child mourned by Bassus, Pantagathus, a child slave, and Scorpus the charioteer (12). On the whole these reflect the mood of the inscriptions on the cinerary monuments rather than the literary sources: praise for the achievements of the dead, the grief of the mourners, the cruelty of death in snatching away the young, and a desire for the earth to lie lightly on the body (a concept on which Martial plays in two of the epitaphs). In the two poems commemorating Erotion, he suggests further ideas of death - Erotion now rests in gloom, her ghost needs, or at least benefits from, the rites performed at her grave, and Martial asks his parents' shades to look after her and protect her from her horror at seeing the dark shades and Cerberus' jaws. The concepts he plays with therefore are limited to the traditional ones of life in Hades and the ghost in the tomb; Martial seems, in the poems at least, to believe in them, but this could merely be the



use of poetic convention. The few inscriptions on the cinerary monuments with metrical epitaphs reflect a similar, rather traditional and formal, view of the afterlife.

Thus the literary evidence that we have for the first century A.D. suggests a variety of philosophical rather than religious beliefs with a strong tendency towards agnosticism and disbelief in any afterlife at all. Otherwise the beliefs expressed are in the traditional ideas of the shades dwelling in Hades and the pale ghosts haunting the tomb. Death is treated as an ever-present fact, and thoughts of separation, mourning and the eternal reputation of the dead concern all minds. The desire to escape the idea of death altogether by belief in salvation and the immortality of the soul does not yet seem to be widespread. This situation continues on the whole in the next generation - Pliny the younger implies in his letters similar beliefs to those of his uncle. He is constantly telling his friends to create a work of literature as an eternal memorial, and in many letters expresses regret at the death of friends and colleagues; in no letter does he express a belief in any form of immortality other than the fame the dead man leaves behind him. The only other concerns he expresses in the face of death are that mourning should not be excessive, and that the will should be executed properly (13).

Tacitus, however, at the end of the Agricola, admits the possibility of an afterlife:

si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur magnae animae, placide quiescas. (14)

The sentiment is tentative. Tacitus is as much, if not more concerned that Agricola's fame and glory should be spread, and that the family should not mourn excessively, but honour and remember him.

Other ideas expressed by him are more ambiguous. In the phrase 'forma mentis aeterna', Tacitus presumably uses 'mentis' rather than 'animae' or 'animi' because he means something closer to reputation than to the soul. This is confirmed by the final sentence of the work: 'Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit'. Thus Tacitus admits the possibility of some form of survival, but the only certain immortality for him, as for Pliny, is fame.

We have no record similar to the 'Cena Trimalchionis' to suggest the attitude to death lower down society in the late first and early second centuries A.D. Beliefs in the eastern part of the Empire, however, are suggested by the works of Plutarch, which give a slightly different picture from that obtained from Pliny and Tacitus. Plutarch wrote two letters of consolation, one a rather impersonal letter to Apollonius, the other a much more personal letter to his wife. The letter to Apollonius suggests a number of consoling views of death - that it is natural, a release from servitude and from pain and anxiety through the dissolution of the body, a kind of sleep, a journey, an opportunity to see the truth about things. He does not express a positive belief in any one belief in particular: they are possible ideas which may give comfort, assuming a basic attitude of uncertainty. The letter of consolation to his wife on the death of an infant daughter is more positive and certain. In the early part of the letter he deals with the poignancy of such a death, urges his wife nevertheless not to mourn excessively, and stresses that the child no longer feels pain - standard words of consolation found in the more formal letter to Apollonius. However, towards the end of the letter Plutarch reminds his wife of the revelation of the dionysiac mysteries which teach

that the soul is indestructible, and on death set free, as a bird from a cage: therefore, the less time it spends in the body the better, as this lessens the chance of further reincarnation. 'It is easier to believe this than to disbelieve it' is perhaps significant of the attitude of the age.

Apuleius' The Golden Ass shows that in the second century there was a growing belief in the saving power of the mystery cults - at least in the eastern part of the Empire if not in Rome itself. However, the works of Marcus Aurelius and Lucian suggest that in more aristocratic circles of Roman society Stoicism and Scepticism were still important forces in the later second century. It is difficult to say how far they were fighting a rearguard action against widespread belief in salvation and immortality. As Paul Turner has rightly said:

Lucian spends so much of his time making fun of philosophy and religion, that one wonders what precisely he was up against. Was it merely a personal obsession, or did philosophy and religion really play so large a part in the second-century climate of opinion? (15)

The literary evidence only gives one side of the picture, but it does suggest that mystic beliefs about the salvation of the soul and its destiny after the death of the body did not become widespread until the second half of the second century: the inscriptions on the cinerary monuments themselves also suggest there was no widespread interest in the eschatological theories of the mystic sects during the early part of the Empire in Rome. Only about 5% of the inscriptions on the cinerary monuments mention any sentiment outside the usual formula giving the name(s) of those

commemorated, with details of their age, career, and worth, the names of those dedicating the monument, and their relationship with the dead. In the few cases where additional material is given, it usually deals with the sentiments of the relatives rather than their afterlife beliefs, and such ideas on the condition of the dead as they do express are vague and uncertain.

In a few cases we know the religious stand of the deceased. One inscription (C.I.L. VI 3784) recalls that the dead man, Ti. Claudius Alexander, was a Stoic philosopher, and there are references to Isis in the inscriptions or decoration of several monuments. A small ash chest in the Capitoline Museums (cult objects no. 6; plate 16) is decorated with a sistrum and a jug with a snake handle, and has a broken inscription which ends with an Isiac curse. Another inscription, on the ash chest of C. Pontulenus (C.I.L. VI 24760), ends with the formula H ARAM SQCHII - si quis caeserit habeat Isidem iratam. There is nothing in the rest of the inscription or decoration to suggest a connection with the cult of Isis: the monument is of mediocre workmanship and was probably bought from stock. A few monuments (those of L. Valerius Fyrmus, Cantinea Procla and Babullia Verilla, portraits nos. 2-4) have representations of the deceased as a priest or priestess of Isis, but the inscriptions do not refer specifically to an Isiac concept of the afterlife. It is possible, therefore, that a believer might not refer to his beliefs either in the inscription or in the decoration. The proportion of monuments with explicit reference to the oriental mystery cults is very small indeed.

Apart from the ubiquitous 'Dis Manibus' formula, the traditional afterlife in Hades was not often mentioned in the inscriptions.

The Inferi are mentioned in two inscriptions: in the first a curse is laid on anyone who tampers with the altar set up by C. Iulius Hesper (Appendix no. 1) - for anyone who does so it is hoped that 'inferi eum non recipiant'. The second is on the altar of M. Romanus Iovinus, now in the cloisters of the Basilica S. Paolo, Rome (Appendix no. 2). Iovinus was a learned Latin orator who is now with the shadow below - 'Manibus infernis'. However, the epitaph also refers to the dead man's earthly immortality, concluding 'si vita est gloria vitae vivit et hic nobis ut Cato vel Cicero'. A few other monuments suggest a similar attitude by using the formula 'memoriae' instead of, or as well as, 'Dis Manibus'.

Several inscriptions express wishes for the undisturbed repose of the physical remains of the body, especially in the formula 'may the earth lie lightly upon you'. The grave altar of Iulia Heuresis in the Terme museum has an inscription expressing the hope that 'hic super ossa cineresque tuos bene dicta quiescis' (Appendix no. 3). The tomb, moreover, was still, in poetic tradition at least, thought of as the eternal home of the dead. This, it seems, applied as much to a small ash chest as to a large tomb. Soterichus set up a tombstone to a M. Iunius Rufus (Appendix no. 4) in the hope that it might serve as 'parvae tuae meaeq(ue) sedes', for 'haec certa est domus, haec colenda nobis, haec est quem mihi suscitavi vivus'. This has much in common with Trimalchio's attitude to his tomb, and may suggest the sentiment behind the inscriptions which mention the dimensions of the tomb and provide for its care. The feeling that the funerary monument was the 'home' of the shade might also be behind the vehement curse inscribed on the altar set up to C. Iulius Hesper (Appendix no. 1), The curse is against those who defaced or damaged

his altar which was set up, he says, 'sibi, ubi ossa sua coiciantur quae, si quis violaverit aut inde emeverit opto ei cum dolore corporis longo tempore vivat et cum mortuus everit inferi eum non recipiant'. But what is the exact significance of such a curse? Is Hesper afraid that damage to his altar will cause his shade to suffer, or is he afraid that with the destruction of the monument which commemorates him his earthly immortality will crumble? Even the meanest ash chests seem to have been considered as shrines to the dead, and thus it was sacrilege to damage them: the two monuments with Isiac curses mentioned above are both called 'ara' in their inscriptions, although they are in reality quite small ash chests. This religious function of the cinerary monuments is reflected in certain of the decorative motifs, particularly garlands, bucrania, jugs, paterae and candelabra, which are among the most popular motifs. Indeed, the monument dedicated to L. Sempronius Firmus (Appendix no. 5) has an inscription beginning 'animae sanctae colendae' - positive evidence, it seems, for the worship of the dead, although it is difficult to ascertain the dividing line between assiduous commemoration and heroisation, between affectionate duty and cult. Firmus' wife also, in this inscription, asks the Manes to look after her husband and to let her see him in the hours of darkness; she also begs to be allowed to die soon without pain so that she can quickly be reunited with him.

Rather more ambiguous is the inscription from the funerary banquet statue of Flavius Agricola (Appendix no. 6)(16). Agricola addresses the visitor in a cheerful tone - the statue, he says, shows himself having a good time with plenty of wine to hand, as he did all the years that Fate allowed him. He then talks of his wife, a chaste worshipper of Isis, and her son, Aurelius Primitivus.

It is the next three lines which pose problems:

solaciumque sui generis Aurelius Primitivum  
tradidit, qui pietate sua coleret fastigia nostra,  
hospitiumque mihi secreta servavit in aevum.

What are the fastigia he refers to, and what is the nature of the hospitium? The translation suggested by Toynbee/Ward-Perkins of these lines is:

She left me the fruit of her body, Aurelius Primitivus, to tend my house (or tomb?) with dutiful affection; and so, herself released from care, she has kept a dwelling-place for me for aye. (17)

Presumably, whether fastigia refers to the house or the tomb, the idea is that Aurelius Primitivus is going to continue both their family and funerary cult. It also seems that Agricola's wife believed in some form of afterlife, although it is much less certain that Agricola himself did so. In the concluding lines of the epitaph he tells his friends to drink deep and have a good time with the girls while they can, for after death fire and earth destroy everything else.

If ideas about man's condition after death are vague, views on the action of death, especially where young wives or children are concerned, are more decided. The inscription and decoration of the monument to T. Statilius Aper (Appendix no. 7; cf. Portraits no. 5, Animals no. 56), a young man who died aged twenty-two, plays with an elaborate pun on his name. Below a picture of a youth with a dead boar at his feet the inscription says that this harmless animal was killed not by Meleager or Atlanta but by silent death, which comes suddenly to wreak ruin on Youth which has not yet reached full maturity. The concept

of rapacious and silent Death was represented pictorially on a monument in the Museo Chiaramonti, where a predatory winged figure leans over the back of the couch on which a woman is sleeping (cf. Reclining figures no. 12). Nevertheless, death as such is not often alluded to in the inscriptions. In another inscription (Appendix no. 8) Donatus accused pale Persephone of being jealous of their loving vows and of snatching his wife away in early death. This recalls the popularity of the Rape of Proserpina scenes on the funerary monuments - the difference is that in the inscription Persephone is the predator, not the victim.

The majority of the inscriptions, especially the more elegant ones, refer to the parting of husband and wife, and the deep sorrow it causes. These do not, on the whole, find comfort by postulating a definite afterlife, but maintain an attitude of uncertainty. The longest and one of the most touching of these is on a monument set up by Atimetus, an imperial freedman, to himself and Homonoea, his 'conliberta et contubernalis' (Appendix no. 9). The metrical part of the inscription is laid out as a conversation between three people - Homonoea, a passer-by, and Atimetus. In the first part Homonoea sings her own praises, of her beauty, education and youth, for she was only twenty when 'envious fate' struck her down. We are told of the strength of Atimetus' grief at her death. The passer-by then expresses the conventional wish that the earth might lie lightly upon her, and Atimetus gives some idea of his tentative concepts of the afterlife, as well as his deep love for Homonoea. He says that if the cruel fates were to allow souls to retain their powers of perception, if there is any release from death, then he will give up his own life to be with her. He desires to follow her in death,



to cross the Styx, but Homonoëa speaks again, telling him not to mourn her because the fates are not moved by tears, and death comes to all. The last hope she expresses is that as death snatched her away in youth, Atimetus' life will be prolonged. The shorter Greek epitaph reiterates the great loss that Homonoëa's death has caused, and the sorrow Atimetus feels now that some unexpected power has snatched her away. The sentiments expressed in this inscription, therefore, are not very positive, but it is clear that Atimetus does not believe in any form of immortality other than the traditional one of Hades and the river Styx, or some vague and unspecified continuation of perception. The cruelty of fate, the idea of death snatching away the youthful, are once again prominent notions, but more noteworthy is the traditional guise in which Atimetus pictures his hazy and unformed hope of afterlife.

Other epitaphs, however, express no belief even in these vague hopes of afterlife and reunion. In an inscription already mentioned (Appendix no. 8) Donatus said that he had carved his verses as a last tribute to his learned Pedana whom pale Persephone had snatched away from him, but despite the reference to Persephone which might imply belief in the full panoply of Hades, Donatus complains of the love that tortures him now that Pedana lies at rest in a forgetful (lethaeus) tomb. Amaranthus, a keeper of the temple of Caesar, also dedicates an inscription in everlasting commemoration of his wife, Iulia Procilla (Appendix no. 10), because the most precious years in his life were those he had lived with her. However, all he can wish for her is that the ground might lie lightly on her grave forever: there is no hint of any other afterlife belief. The remaining epitaphs are shorter and simpler. The monument

to Viria Primitiva in the British Museum says simply 'Have domina, vale domin.' (C.I.L. VI 29026), and T. Flavius Capito says of his wife (Appendix no. 11) that he received no sorrow from her but her death.

Certain children's epitaphs also stress the sorrow of parents and the sense of wasted youth. Thus the parents of Iunia Procula (Appendix no. 12) say that she has left them in grief - she died aged eight. Another child's monument is that of Q. Sulpicius Maximus (C.I.L. VI 33976; cf. Portraits no. 9), a boy who died aged eleven after a singular success in poetry writing and reciting. The Latin inscription records his success in the competition and the sorrow of his parents at his death: the far more extensive Greek verses are his winning entries.

Thus even in the few inscriptions which do express or hint at afterlife beliefs they are vague and tentative - they certainly do not suggest a widespread acceptance of the more complex of the philosophical or religious concepts listed by Cumont. It could be argued that the inscription was not considered the place to express such beliefs, but there are a few instances where afterlife beliefs are mentioned, and in all cases they are hesitant. It is reasonable to assume that those with strong, unhesitating beliefs would be more likely to express their views in the inscription than those for whom an afterlife was only an unformed hope. Such ideas as are found tend to be limited to traditional concepts of the shade, whether or not they were taken literally.

The inscriptions are concerned rather with the fact of death, especially its cruelty and rapaciousness towards the young and married couples, and the grief it causes. Where the condition of

the dead is mentioned, they are conceived of as living on in the tomb, or in some other shadowy existence, possibly in the traditional Hades. The majority view seems to have been that death was an unknown quantity, and the afterlife quite uncertain, even if one could hope for some survival. The concern expressed in the literature and the epitaphs is often for this world, for those left behind in grief and the reputation of the dead amongst the survivors. Thus the prime function of the inscription is commemoration, and this is often clearly one of the functions of the decoration of the monuments. This conclusion is largely corroborated by more extensive studies of funerary inscriptions (18).

Since there is little evidence for positive afterlife beliefs, I would suggest that it is unreasonable to expect the decoration of the monuments to express elaborate eschatological views in a pictorial language. It is within the known, if rather limited and vague, framework of ideas that interpretations of the scenes and motifs must be found. One obvious approach is to consider to what extent the decoration of the monuments is peculiar to funerary art, and how far it shares its motifs with the decoration used in other spheres of Roman life. Therefore in the next chapter I propose a brief examination of the motifs used in a variety of arts contemporary with the monuments studied here.

Notes.

- 1). F. Cumont, Afterlife in Roman Paganism (Yale 1923), p. 18.  
'When we turn over the pages of the thick volumes of the Corpus inscriptionum, we are struck by the small number of the epitaphs which express the hope of immortality'.  
In Lux Perpetua (Paris 1949) which deals substantially with the same subject, Cumont gives far less emphasis to the epitaphs expressing scepticism in the face of death, nor does he point out the reticence on the subject of the afterlife which is one of their characteristics.
- 2). Cumont, Afterlife, p. 15.
- 3). Cumont, op. cit., p. 23.
- 4). Cumont, op. cit., p. 24.
- 5). J. Carcopino, La Basilique de la Porte Majeure (Paris 1925);  
F. L. Bastet, 'Quelques Remarques relatives à l'hypogée de la Porte Majeure', Bull. Ant. Beschav. 1970 pp. 148-174.
- 6). Cumont, Recherches, Ch. III 'La lune, séjour des morts', especially the altar of Iulia Victorina (Portraits no. 46; mythological scenes no. 36), and the relief of a funeral cortege from Amiternum now in the museum at l'Aquila.
- 7). As in A.D. 19 when the senate decreed that 4,000 adult freedmen carrying out Egyptian and Jewish rites should be transported to Sardinia, and that the rest, unless they ceased to practise their religion, must leave Italy. (Tacitus, Annals II,85).
- 8). Cicero, On the Nature of the Gods, I, X.
- 9). Pliny, Natural History, VII, LIV-LV.
- 10). Petronius, Satyricon, 34, 42, 71 and 78.
- 11). Satyricon, 71, 'valde enim falsum est vivo quidem domos cultas esse, non curari eas, ubi diutius nobis habitandum est'.
- 12). Martial, Epigrams; Erotion - Bk. V, XXXIV; bk. X, LXI.  
Urbicus - Bk. VII, XCVI.  
Pantagathus - Bk. VI, LII.  
Scorpus - Bk. X, LIII; bk. X, L.
- 13). Pliny's letters give a clear picture of the concept of 'earthly immortality', or the importance of leaving a good and lasting reputation behind. He often urges friends to write their masterpiece as something to outlast their life - he says this twice to Caninius Rufus (Bk. 1, 3; bk. 3, 7), as well as to Octavius Rufus (Bk. 2, 10), and he regrets that Novius Maximus died while his immortal work was still unfinished (Bk. 5, 5). In several letters he refers to the fame of friends who have died and will live forever in our memories: Verginius Rufus (Bk. 2, 1) will

live forever in our memories and on our lips now that he has left our sight. In a letter to Valerius Paulinus (bk. 9, 3) he defines a truly happy man as one who can expect a good and lasting reputation, and knows that fame is to come. He therefore regrets the death of Iulius Avitus (Bk. 5, 21), who died young, because he left nothing for posterity. Frequently Pliny speaks of 'fame and immortality' or 'immortal fame': for him the two go together. In three letters he speaks of the importance of the tomb monument in perpetuating the fame of the dead. In Bk. 2, 7 he praises the value of statues raised to the dead - they bring a double pleasure to the viewer since they recall the fame and distinction as well as the form and face of the dead. In another letter (Bk. 6, 10) he regrets that Verginius Rufus' tomb has only been half built - his ashes lie without name or inscription although his glorious memory travels throughout the world, and his fame makes this wrong the worse for being undeserved. In the third letter (Bk. 9, 19) he considers the question of whether it is nobler for a man to record his great deeds on his tomb or not; Pliny concludes that it is better to ensure the immortality of the dead and by the epitaph perpetuate his undying glory.

- 14). Tacitus, Annals, 46.
- 15). Paul Turner, Introduction to the Penguin translation of Lucian, Satirical Sketches, (London 1961), p. 9.
- 16). This inscription is considered further in chapter 6, Reclining Figures.
- 17). Toynbee and Ward-Perkins, The Shrine of St. Peter and the Vatican Excavations, (London, New York and Toronto 1956), p. 58, n. 4.
- 18). K. P. Harrington, 'Conceptions of death and immortality in Roman sepulchral inscriptions', Proceedings of the American Philological Association, XXX 1899. pp. xxviii-xxxi.  
 A. B. Purdie, Some Observations on Latin Verse Inscriptions (London 1935).  
 R. Lattimore, Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs (Urbana 1962).

Chapter 3: Funerary sculpture and the decorative arts of the early Empire.

'Non è il motivo in sè come tale, ma il modo di usarlo che, tranne eccezioni, determina il significato simbolico'. (Macchioro, p. 21 (13)).

'Nor can we expect to glean much fresh information as to its 'vocabulary' and 'grammar' from minor works of private art'. (Toynbee, 'Picture-language', p. 226).

It is a common view that a comparison between the motifs used in funerary contexts and those used in non-funerary contexts is at best useless, and probably misleading as well: useless because the funerary use of a motif automatically suggests it had an eschatological meaning which it did not have in the non-funerary context, misleading because it might lead to the heretical idea that funerary motifs are 'merely decorative'. However, I believe that such a comparison is both useful and constructive. Of the thirty-five or so motifs which constitute the popular repertoire of the cinerary monuments, most were in common use in a variety of secular arts, although some are more popular in certain contexts than others, and a very few were used only rarely outside funerary art. In many cases the motifs went through periods of popularity in the decorative arts as a whole which correspond to the times they were most popular on the funerary monuments.

A study of the decoration of houses - wall painting, stucco and mosaics, tableware - both of precious metals and terra sigillata, and personal ornament - decorated gems and armour, can show which

motifs were so common in both funerary and non-funerary contexts that they must have formed the basic stock of the artist, and had only a minimum symbolic content: they are fillers designed to be more or less simply decorative. It can also point out which motifs were seldom or never used outside funerary art - these are the motifs for which an eschatological interpretation is most likely. Finally, it can suggest by looking at the way in which each motif was used in the various arts the associations it had for the Roman mind: a motif used on a funerary monument may mean something more than the same motif used in a non-funerary context, but it is unlikely to mean something different.

#### Wall painting.

Wall painting, as the major decorative art to have survived from the early Empire, illustrates most extensively the type of decoration and repertoire of motifs available to Roman artists. However, it should be noted that although I have called domestic wall painting a 'decorative' art, this is not an evaluation shared by all: Karl Schefold in particular has concerned himself with the 'meaning' of the wall paintings of Pompeii, and believes that the mythological scenes and many of the small motifs were chosen to illustrate the philosophical and moral doctrines of the owner (1). This is a view shared by P. W. Lehmann who suggests that the paintings of the villa of P. Fannius Sinistor at Boscoreale can be interpreted as a complex allusion to mystic cults (2). The objections to such an approach are similar to those against an over-elaborate eschatological interpretation of the funerary

monuments of the early Empire, since the tortuous interpretations produced by Schefold and Lehmann on the whole lack evidence and plausibility. Schefold's hypothesis, indeed, was questioned by Picard in his Preface to the French edition of Schefold's major book on the subject:

quand nous choisissons une tenture ou un papier pour les murs de notre appartement, nous cherchons seulement une couleur et éventuellement des motifs qui nous plaisent et qui s'accordent avec le mobilier; même les tableaux que nous y accrochons expriment bien rarement nos pré-occupations religieuses ou philosophiques. En était-il autrement chez les Romains? (3).

Nevertheless, Schefold's analysis of the types of scene favoured in the various styles of wall painting is of interest for the present study, remembering that it was III-IV style painting that was contemporary with the earlier cinerary monuments (4). The second style, according to Schefold, emphasizes the mysteries and the mysterious/sacred aspects of the countryside; it also employs naturalistic plant motifs, epic scenes, especially the Trojan cycle, and genre scenes. Aphrodite and Dionysus were particularly popular. The third style introduced more mythology from outside the Trojan cycle: in particular those myths which express the power of the gods over human life, the impious getting their just desserts, and the difficulties the hero has to overcome to win his victory. Somewhere between the third and fourth styles, he suggests, the hero begins to be a symbol of apotheosis, his trials and sufferings gaining him immortality. Apotheosis was also represented by the women who were visited by gods - Danae, Leda, Ariadne, etc. These themes become stronger in the fourth style, where scenes of lovers predominate.



Mythological scenes, as Schefold noticed (5), were not that common on the contemporary funerary monuments, but the minor motifs - animal scenes, assorted heads and masks, plants, birds and sacred objects - were. Such motifs rendered in wall painting have not received as much publicity as the dramatic mythological scenes, and they do tend to be somewhat repetitious and tedious. Some idea of the repertoire can be gained by looking at their use in six houses of different periods, two in Rome, the rest in Campania.

The villa of P. Fannius Sinistor at Boscureale had in the vestibule painted decoration consisting of garlands slung from columns, with silver vessels, a table and herms, tripods, palm branches, centaurs and the petasos and cloak of Mercury. An exedra off the peristyle was also decorated with garlands, slung from bulls' heads, with bacchic masks, musical instruments, Silenus and a cista mystica. The 'Room of the Musical Instruments' again had garlands with flutes, cymbals, castanets, trumpets and a shepherd's pipe slung from them. The 'Hall of Aphrodite' or 'Mystery Room' has masks of a bearded Silenus and Pan, but the main decoration consists of scenes of Aphrodite and Adonis, and Dionysus and Ariadne. The cubiculum was decorated with more garlands (of branches and leaves), and scenes of statues and cult objects in natural landscapes, and a trompe-l'oeuil window with a glass bowl of fruits and a parrot.

The Casa di Livia has a more eclectic selection of motifs used as decorative fillers (6). Room 1 was decorated with landscape scenes of a vaguely sacred nature, and a frieze of winged creatures above. Room 2 has elaborate fruit and flower garlands with various

semi-sacred objects and masks (Silenus, Pan) hanging from them; above there are pygmy scenes, and on the dado dragon heads. Room 3 has as the main pictures Polyphemus and Galataea and Io and Argus, surrounded by small sphinxes and satyr- and medusa-heads. Flanking these main pictures are small genre scenes and perspective townscapes, and above there are winged female figures. Room 4 also has a frieze of winged animals, and smaller panels of heraldically placed figures - women, men and griffins.

In the third style Casa del Citarista (7) the emphasis is focused on the main large mythological scenes, and the minor motifs are very minor indeed. In an exedra the picture of Iphigeneia in Aulis quite eclipses the other decoration (a few flimsy garlands and plants on the dado). In an aula the picture of the judgement of Paris is flanked by panels containing only small cupids, and below, tiny bird scenes. The frame of this picture is made up of squares, alternate ones containing a medusa head. Other mythological scenes are Dionysus finding Ariadne on Naxos, a sleeping Maenad, Aphrodite and Mars (?) and a fragment of a representation of Endymion. The Apollo as citharist (with a tripod and raven) is in the oecus. Very little minor decoration is to be found alongside these pictures - more rewarding are the smaller rooms which do not have major scenes. One dado is decorated with alternating panels of cupids and food-stuffs (ducks, fish etc.), while above it in narrow panels there are temple scenes, birds with fruit, and dolphins or cupids on sea animals.

As in the Casa del Citarista, the decoration of the Domus Aurea (8) can be divided into two groups: the elaborately decorated areas where the mythological subjects predominate over a few minor motifs,

and the lesser decoration (in corridors etc.) where smaller panel pictures, minor motifs, plant tendrils and fantastic architecture were combined to produce a light decorative effect. In corridor 61, for example, interlocking squares and circles contain minute rosettes and eagles. In corridor 70 birds, sphinxes, medusa heads and griffins are placed in small square panels, panthers and centaurs in larger ones. Griffins and sphinxes are commonly used as volute-ended grotesques in friezes. Other motifs used among the stylised plants, architecture and candelabra are : lions, horses, sea-animals, dolphins, swans, eagles, cupids, lyres, cantharoi and assorted animal heads. Very small panels of landscapes and bird scenes were also incorporated into the decoration.

In the House of the Vettii the decorative motif and small panel comes into its own, and was used on an almost equal footing with the mythological pictures. Small cupid scenes were used all over the place - apart from the famous scenes of the cupid room they are represented elsewhere playing a trumpet or riding animals. Also extremely popular were animal and bird scenes : the birds include cocks and quails, and among the animal scenes are dogs attacking a stag and a boar. Small birds, swans, peacocks, dolphins, ordinary horses, winged horses and sea-horses were also used as small decorative motifs. Masks of various kinds were used, bacchic masks, theatrical masks and medusa heads. Plants, trees, garlands, still life scenes, sacred vessels, jugs, and decorated candelabra completed the repertoire.

The same pattern can be seen in the House of Menander, except that whereas in the house of the Vetti the small scenes and minor motifs were used in addition to the large mythological pictures, in

the house of Menander they tend to replace them. A few motifs can be added to the repertoire listed above: Nilotic scenes, amon heads, a lion hunt, a Nereid on a sea-bull, sphinxes, griffins, storks, goats and bucrania. A survey of other less well preserved houses with decoration in the third or fourth styles confirms that the houses described above give a fair picture of the repertoire of motifs and small scenes available to the wall painter.

It is clear, therefore, that wall painting and grave altars had many motifs in common - in fact, there are very few motifs on the funerary monuments not found in wall painting. The development in the attitude towards wall decoration, too, is of interest. In the second style minor motifs unconnected with the themes of the major scenes are virtually unknown, but in the third style small individual motifs become divorced from the subject of the figured scenes: they exist in large numbers but are summarily treated and are used merely as decorative fillers. The fourth style, however, sees a greater interest in the humbler motifs, with the growth in importance of the small, non-mythological scene. This reflects the decoration of the contemporary cinerary monuments, with their liking for individual motifs and dislike of extensive figured scenes. A similar repertoire was clearly used by both wall painters and monumental masons: the degree to which their repertoires corresponded can be seen from table 1.

### Stucco.

In many houses - I exclude funerary or religious buildings since this is a study of secular decoration - there are only tantalising fragments of stucco left to suggest the range of motifs that could

be used (9). Stucco work swung into production in Italy with the 'coffer style' of c. 90-30 B.C. in which the stucco decoration was placed on vaults and upper walls using heavily-framed square panels. The baths at Caesarea decorated between c. 90 and 70 B.C. had athletic prizes, herms and possibly griffins among its stucco motifs; the House of the Griffins on the Palatine has lunettes decorated with heraldic lion-griffins and peacocks. The House of the Cryptoporticus at Pompeii decorated with second style painting of c. 40-30 B.C. introduces cupid scenes in stucco and has an enlarged repertoire of animals (dogs, winged sea-horses, dolphins and fish) and inanimate objects (athletic objects and prizes, tridents, incense burners, vases, thunderbolts, lyres, thyrsi, a palm branch and table, bulls' heads). Apart from the various athletic objects and prizes it is difficult to see any thematic link between these motifs.

The stucco decoration of the Farnesina Villa belongs to the 'rectangular panel' style of the Augustan period. The three vaults use lighter frames and more complex figure scenes - especially the rural landscapes, shrines and sacrifices popular in contemporary painting. The space which is not dedicated to these large compositions is divided into variously-shaped panels containing Victories (armour-bearing or pouring libations), sphinxes, griffins, candelabra and cupids. There are also borders of foliage and grotesques which include medusa heads. Figures of Zeus (with an eagle), Hermes (with a caduceus) and Demeter (with corn ears) are used among the architectural motifs of vault I. Of the same period (last quarter of the first century B.C.) are the remains of stucco decoration in Livia's house at Prima Porta, with, alternating with one another, small figured scenes and Victories on a candelabrum. The tepidarium of the House

of the Labyrinth at Pompeii is decorated with stucco of the Augustan-Tiberian period - lunettes with stucco reliefs of athletic prizes and a Victory, and a vault decorated with more objects belonging to the palaestra, a winged medusa head, a Victory on a candelabrum, and, in the crown of the vault, a pair of heraldic panthers.

There is an unfortunate lack of existing stucco decoration from the reigns of Caligula, Claudius and early Nero: what evidence there is suggests that the subjects were changing and becoming more numerous. Bacchantes, centaurs, sea-animals, winged animals, panthers, swans, dolphins, cupids replace the athletic prizes, Victories, grotesques and candelabra of the Augustan period. A repeated pattern of a small repertoire of motifs replaces the more complicated scenes, heraldic groups and elaborate borders. It would also seem that this period saw the beginning of mass production, resulting in less originality and a more unthinking use of the pattern book.

In the 'ornate style' of A.D. 60-100 (illustrated by the stucco decoration of the palaces of Nero, the Colosseum and the majority of the houses in the Campanian cities) the figures have become subordinated to the general effect, and are merely fillers for the variously shaped panels. In the Domus Transitoria tiny cupids, dancing figures, candelabra, griffins and Victories with palm branches were used, and in the Colosseum cupids, swans, ducks, dolphins and sea-animals. This repertoire was repeated over and over again elsewhere: a favourite method of decoration was to use almost identical figures (such as maenads with varying attributes) alternating with a very simple motif, as a rosette. Later, however, decoration reverted to the Augustan use of larger panels and heraldic groups.

The stucco decoration of domestic and other secular buildings therefore is too limited in its repertoire to correspond exactly to the decoration of the contemporary cinerary monuments: it lays more stress on the objects associated with athletic victory and Victories themselves, while being deficient in animal scenes and realistic portrayals of plants, trees, garlands, birds (except rather formalised swans) and insects. On the other hand, many of the motifs popular on the cinerary monuments were also commonly used in stucco decoration: cupids, griffins, sphinxes, sea-animals and cult objects such as candelabra.

#### Gold and Silver Plate.

Since most Roman plate was intended for show, and therefore was designed to show the cultivation as well as the wealth of the owner, it never forgot its hellenistic predecessors, and most of the motifs used are hellenistic. Nevertheless, this did not prevent the gold- and silver-smiths from using a wide repertoire of motifs and scenes, with emphasis on realistic natural representations and mythology (10).

A favourite decoration for cups was realistic branches intertwining in a broad frieze: various kinds of plants could be represented in this way - myrtle (one example from Alesia), olive (BoscCoreale and the House of Menander treasure), ivy (Herculaneum), vines (BoscCoreale), laurel (Hildesheim) and shrubs, fruits and flowers (British Museum). Cups decorated with scenes of storks in a marshy landscape were also popular (four from Thrace, two in New York, four from BoscCoreale). The BoscCoreale cups decorated with storks have much in common with the scenes represented on the sides of a number of cinerary monuments (11) - the storks are shown fighting over a

snake, feeding their young in a nest, preening themselves, and catching butterflies and snakes. Another popular design consists of tendrils inside which are small scenes of animals or cupids hunting: on a cup from Boscoreale dogs chase a boar and a deer, an eagle devours a rabbit, a lion attacks a bull, and a stork stabs at a snake. Animals were also represented in friezes: a vase from Hildesheim has dogs hunting a boar and a bull, and a bowl has alternating rams and goats.

Bacchic subjects were particularly appropriate decoration for drinking cups and other vessels, but most were decorated with bacchic attributes and minor bacchic figures rather than Dionysus himself. Two cups from Boscoreale feature cupids - riding a donkey and carrying a thyrsus accompanied by a panther on one cup, and on the other there is a cupid riding an elephant on one side, while on the other is a youthful Dionysus riding a lion. A silver cantharos from Berthouville was decorated with male and female centaurs, and vessels found at Pompeii were also decorated with cupids on animals, and centaurs. Other pieces combine bacchic masks and other attributes into connected still-life scenes in a rural setting.

A few other mythological scenes found their way onto gold and silver plate - Neptune and Amphitrite in the Berthouville hoard, and Leda and the swan. Two jugs in the Boscoreale treasure were also decorated with Victories killing bulls and a ram in front of a statue of Minerva. Busts of various divinities were also placed in the centre of some bowls: a youthful Bacchus from Boscoreale, Cybele and Attis-Men from Hildesheim. Such central medallions could contain small scenes or figures - a seated Athena, an infant Hercules strangling snakes, a seated Hermes surrounded by the animals



sacred to him.

The art of the silversmith was also, strangely enough, a medium chosen for propaganda, and it is the decorative art where we can see most clearly the attempt to communicate a message. This is best illustrated by two pairs of cups from the Boscoreale hoard, both of which in very different ways attempt to express an abstract concept in pictorial form. The skeleton cups have already been mentioned: their decoration is clever and witty, but fail as purely visual propaganda because explanatory words had to be inscribed to ensure that the message was understood. It is quite otherwise with the two cups showing historical events involving Augustus and Tiberius. Because these used the kind of visual propaganda familiar from monumental sculpture no explanation was necessary.

The use of small motifs which were not combined into a scene was rare on gold and silver plate, with one exception - the handles of paterae or 'saucepans'. These were frequently decorated with swans' heads, dolphins, shells, medusa heads and floral ornaments. This form of decoration was used on the handles of Alexandrian plate, where Hermes, dionysiac attributes and animals were popular.

#### Terra Sigillata.

Many early vessels of terra sigillata aimed to imitate hellenistic silverware, but before long hellenistic motifs were swamped by Roman, and, when the industry moved to Gaul, provincial taste. Thus its repertoire of common motifs displays the same mixture of hellenistic and Italian influences as the cinerary monuments do.

Arretine ware displays its debt to silverware most clearly in its use of naturalistic plant motifs, in particular garlands,

but it also used a more formal type of decoration which divided the surface into smaller fields by using such motifs as bucrania, candelabra and columns, and which favoured heraldic groups of figures. Larger figured scenes were used only occasionally, although the repertoire included a number of individual figures. The earliest (Tiberian) provincial terra sigillata used no figured decoration, but only stylised plant motifs. In the Claudian period, however, small motifs (as birds) were added, and this developed into a scheme of decoration which used medallions and metopes, each containing a single motif. Gradually these motifs became more elaborate until, at the turn of the first and second centuries, mythological scenes became popular, and purely decorative ornament became virtually unknown (12).

A small proportion of Arretine ware vessels were decorated with a single mythological scene or historical subject, such as the death of Phaethon, the birth of Dionysus, Heracles and Omphale, or Alexander the Great killing a lion. Nereids were represented carrying the arms of Achilles, and, in imitation of silver ware, storks were arranged in naturalistic scenes. Everyday activities, such as banquetting, hunting, battle and racing scenes or rural sacrifices, were often divided up into smaller scenes by appropriate motifs, as palm trees, herms, or pillars with cupids on top. Particularly common was a scheme of decoration which repeated individual figures in slightly different poses: bacchic figures were particularly popular, maenads dancing, satyrs gathering grapes etc., and Victories, geni and 'kalathos' dancers. Such figures were usually placed on a background of flimsy garlands suspended from thyrsi, tripods or bucrania, but they could also be arranged heraldically. The field could be divided in this way into three, four, five or six small repeating or nearly

repeating panels.

Another form of decoration favoured inanimate objects and plants, especially garlands or sprays. Garlands could be either of the heavy and naturalistic fruit and flower variety or a stylised rope of laurel leaves, and a variety of objects were used to support them - thyrsi, cupids, columns or pillars, bucrania. Bacchic and theatrical masks were often used to fill the spaces above the garlands, and they sometimes swarm with bees, lizards and insects.

Arretine ware, therefore, although it employed quite a number of scenes and motifs, was noticeably lacking in some of the more popular motifs found on the grave altars and in other decorative arts - griffins, sphinxes, rams' heads, eagles, swans, cocks and animal scenes in general. The early date at which the industry reached its peak may account for this: such motifs are to be found on the later provincial terra sigillata (13).

Apollo was especially popular on the terra sigillata of Gaul, represented with a lyre or a quiver or a laurel branch. Venus was also popular, and Mercury who was commonly represented with his caduceus and ram, and sometimes with a purse, but not the cock or tortoise. Dionysus and Hercules were also very common, and other divinities occur frequently: even the head of Zeus-Ammon is not unknown. Nereids, Tritons, marine monsters and cupids on sea-animals form another large group, and cupids were also popular, just running or engaged in an activity such as harvesting grapes. Bacchic figures were popular, and Victories, represented in a number of ways - with a wreath or palm branch, a lyre, or pouring libations or sacrificing at an altar. A great variety of mythological figures were used, as well as personifications and generalised figures -

horsemen, archers, etc. The wolf and twins motif also occurs sporadically (14). Sphinxes and griffins were also used - griffins at all periods, although the griffins of the Antonine period tend to be energetic pouncing beasts, not the staid heraldic type. Medusa heads were also used occasionally.

Of animals, lions and dogs were the most popular, and it seems that even when these animals were represented alone the allusion was to the chase. Panthers were also represented as hunters. Bears, boars, deer and hares form their prey. Bulls, goats, sheep and horses are also found, and there is an example of a ram's head used alone. Many other animals make occasional appearances: squirrels, apes, lizards, snakes, tortoises. Of birds, eagles are the most common. They were represented either dismembering a hare or perched on a thunderbolt, or alone with spread wings. Storks and cranes were widely used, and there are many swans, cocks (not fighting but alone), and birds of indeterminate species. There is even an occasional owl or peacock. Dolphins occur frequently, and fish, flies, butterflies, lobsters, crabs, shells are represented (15).

#### Gems and pastes.

As dating is seldom precise, gems cannot give a guide to the relative popularity of motifs at various periods, but they do give a good idea of the very large range of decorative and semi-symbolic motifs available in the late Republic and early Empire. Moreover, they suggest which emblems were chosen for personal use: the decoration of most gems was presumably specially commissioned or chosen by the customer, unlike much of the domestic decoration seen in house decoration and tableware.

Gisela Richter, considering why particular motifs were chosen, concluded that some at least were chosen for private reasons, but that a large number are explicable only by the cultured taste of their owners (16). Some personal seals are known from literature: Sulla had a seal showing Jugurtha being delivered to him by Bocchus, Pompey used a lion and sword or three trophies, and Julius Caesar an armed Aphrodite. Augustus had a variety of seals, starting with a sphinx, followed by the head of Alexander, and finally his own portrait, the emblem which became the imperial seal. We know that Maecenas used a frog, and Galba his family device of a dog on the prow of a ship. A ring decorated with a Victory and a palm branch was found in the sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus. Other examples show that it was quite usual to use a portrait of oneself, one's friends, an ancestor, or a patron.

Miss Richter suggests that if an individual chose a representation of a particular deity, it was because he felt himself to be under the protection of that deity, and if he chose the portrait of a Greek philosopher, or a Roman general or emperor, or an author, it was because he was a follower or admirer of him. Mythological subjects are less easily explained symbolically or allegorically: Miss Richter suggests that these and in particular representations of Greek statues were merely chosen to illustrate the owner's cultivated taste.

The Trojan cycle and other Greek myths were particularly popular on Republican gems, and certain gods were also commonly represented: Venus, Minerva, Dionysus and Apollo. Mercury was shown both in his psychopompus role and with the infant Dionysus -- he was shown on one gem drawing a diminutive human figure out of

the ground, on another with a draped woman. The more religious aspects of Mercury gave way on the later pieces to his role as a patron of traders. Victories were also popular, especially with trophies and as bull-slayers, and cupid and Nereid scenes were used. Everyday scenes include athletes, chariot races and an actor, and there was a particular taste for sacred scenes involving ritual acts and sacrifices and more specific scenes of omens and various Roman cults. This appears to be a passing phase, since it is echoed in other decorative arts and is not found on the later gems. The animal world was also well represented on Republican gems: camels, owls, swans, eagles, and a series of pygmy fights with cranes are among the repertoire. The one conspicuous group of subjects which do not recur on later gems - but were popular on Republican gems - are the representations of episodes in Roman mythology and history. Several gems show Faustus with the she-wolf and twins, the foundation of the Capitol, Mucius Scaevola, and Mars with Rhea Silvia. Others may show M. Curtius and a battle with the Gauls.

Imperial gem decorators appear to have drawn on a vast repertoire of motifs of widely differing subjects. Many deities and divine figures were used: Jupiter, Apollo, Diana, Minerva, Mercury, Venus and Dionysus (with full rout) were all popular and were represented with varying numbers of attributes. Mars, Demeter and Proserpina were slightly less popular, and Hades is rare. Various foreign gods are also found occasionally, especially Isis and Serapis. Gods were also represented by their attributes alone, particularly Mercury and Apolle. The head of Zeus-Ammon, which is not common in other decorative arts but was common on the cinerary monuments, is also found on a number of imperial gems.

Victories, cupids and Nereids were also popular. Victories were represented with armour, globes, wreaths and palm branches, in a chariot, on a ship, or as a bull-slayer. Nereids were shown both with and without the arms of Achilles, and cupids were used in a wide variety of scenes - with animals, in chariots, gathering fruit and setting cocks to fight. Medusa, sphinxes and griffins were extremely common, giants, centaurs and Pegasus rather less so. Griffins and sphinxes were often represented in rapacious mood, attacking an animal or person. Another fantastic creature which seems to be a creation of the gem makers is the 'gryllos', a collection of motifs arranged to form an animal shape. These often include masks, parts of birds (as the head or feet), lions' heads, rams' heads, horses' heads, ears of corn, snakes, fruit, etc.

The Trojan cycle and other Greek myths continued to be popular, especially Hercules. Portraits of both Greeks and Romans, including emperors, were used, and a variety of everyday life scenes: artists, actors, doctors, athletes, fishermen, shepherds and generalised 'rustics', dancers, hunters and warriors.

As with most of the other decorative arts, animals played a major role. Lions, dogs, bulls and dolphins were the most popular. Many gems had one animal chasing another - lions attacking bulls or stags were a particular favourite, and hunting scenes of a dog with a boar or a stag. Many gems had pastoral scenes with rams or goats, and there are some examples of more unusual animals, such as a mouse eating a piece of fruit. A small number were decorated with an ox head or skull. Eagles were the most popular birds. They were represented devouring a hare, with wreaths in their beaks, clutching thunderbolts, or with ivy, laurel or an altar. There are some peacocks and storks,

- including scenes where they attack snakes or feed their young in the nest - and ravens, ducks and parrots. Cocks were popular, including some cock fight scenes. Dolphins were used in conjunction with other animals or sea creatures, and many insects were used - butterflies, ants, flies, etc.

Certain inanimate objects and plants also made attractive motifs. Comic, tragic or dionysiac masks form the largest group of these. Also common are the attributes of various divinities, and other sacred objects, as a three-legged table with vessels on it, a wreath above, and a candelabrum, or a series of ritual implements (oinochos, culter, lituus, patera and pedum). All kinds of other objects could also be used to decorate gems, among them oars, palm trees or branches, cornucopiae, ears of corn, wreaths, vines and grapes, and clasped hands (- a betrothal ring?).

#### Decorated armour.

Statues in military dress were designed either to commemorate a great man, or, particularly in the case of imperial statues, as propaganda. Thus the decoration of the armour worn on such statues may not in all cases reflect the decoration of real armour, but may rather be part of the message of the statue as a whole: the Prima Porta statue of Augustus is a clear example of the armour being part of an elaborate propaganda message. Moreover, the decorated cuirasses used as part of tropaia decorating hellenistic tombs in Rhodes and Cos cast doubt on the non-funerary meaning of their decoration - any commemorative statue is performing a similar function to that of a funerary monument (17). However, in many cases the torsos of such statues were made separately from the head, which was the only part



it was necessary to make to order. This suggests that the decoration of the cuirass was intended to have only a limited symbolic meaning.

Hekler defined a difference between 'hellenistic' and 'classical' schemes of decoration(18). In the hellenistic category he placed a few Augustan examples (including the Prima Porta Augustus) as well as statues from Greek areas. It is characterised by the use of more figured decoration, especially mythological scenes. In the Julio-Claudian period this gave way to the 'classical' type which abandoned large figured scenes in favour of more purely decorative motifs, especially plant ornaments. The usual format for the decoration of a cuirass can be seen, for example, in the statue of C. Caesar from Minturnae, now in Naples. This has a medusa head on the breast and a pair of animals grouped round a central plant motif below, while the flaps round the bottom of the cuirass were also often decorated. Later the two types of decoration merged and became less distinguishable and there was also a swing back towards more hellenistic forms in the Flavian-Trajanic period.

The repertoire of motifs used to decorate these cuirasses was surprisingly small: most used a combination of the motifs described below (19). The mask on the breast was usually a medusa head, but sometimes a sea-god, head of Isis, or even Helios in his chariot were used. The heraldic group, placed on the lower part of the cuirass, was usually composed of griffins, Victories, or sea-creatures. The flaps were decorated with animal heads (lion, ram or eagle) or with ammon or medusa heads, weapons or rosettes: cuirasses decorated with griffins tend to have animal heads, those with other designs ammon and medusa heads. The she-wolf and twins was a motif particularly popular for statues of Hadrian: a prominently placed

ammon head is often found in association with this motif.

Griffins could be represented simply facing one another, but were often separated by a candelabrum or a plant motif: occasionally men characterised as Phrygians by their headgear were represented feeding griffins from bowls. Both beaked and lion griffins were used. They could be separated by both laurel branches (Museo Civico, Vicenza) or by a thyrsus (Pal. Barberini), showing that they were associated with both Apollo and Dionysus. Hellenistic armour represented griffins as fierce hunters: this may explain why they were popular in their docile state on Roman armour - their ferocity, though not expressed was remembered. However, their popularity might be better explained by the fact that they, like medusa heads, performed an apotropaic and protective function.

Victories were also grouped round candelabra, and they were also represented adorning trophies, crowning the palladium, or killing bulls. Victories have an obvious relevance to decorated armour, but their combination with candelabra and the palladium also underlines their religious connotations. A rather less popular motif, but nevertheless used on several statues, was that of Nereids on sea-horses. On later statues, although not the earliest ones they were carrying the arms of Achilles. Cupids were also represented riding sea-horses on a statue in the Ny-Carlsberg Glyptothek (554A), but cupids were not a common motif on these statues.

Conclusion: the motifs.

The various arts, therefore, did not have identical repertoires of decorative motifs: certain motifs were more popular in some arts than in others. Sometimes it is possible to ascribe the great popularity or rarity of these motifs to technical reasons (thus stucce is poor in naturalistic animal and bird scenes), or to the function of the object (hence the common use of bacchic subjects on drinking vessels), or to the period at which the art was at its peak (this explains why the repertoire of Arretine ware was rather different from that of provincial terra sigillata). Nevertheless, it is possible to recognise a general repertoire of decorative motifs which was drawn upon by all the arts, including the stone masons who made the cinerary monuments. The extent to which grave altar decoration corresponds to that of the other arts can be seen in Table 1: it becomes clear that with only a few exceptions (the motifs and scenes described in chapter 6) the stone masons used those motifs which enjoyed great popularity in other artistic contexts.

Realistic garlands were especially popular in the late Republic and Augustan periods: the rich naturalistic fruit garland was used a little later on the cinerary monuments, but tended to become narrower and more rope-like in the Flavian period - a stylisation also found in Flavian wall-painting and terra sigillata. The return to plumper, more naturalistic garlands on the Hadrianic garland sarcophagi would appear to be a reflection of the contemporary Augustan revival. Laurel, which is the most popular individual plant on the cinerary monuments, was also widely used in other arts, usually as an attribute to Apolle, but it does seem to have had a particular connection with the cult of the dead (20). Palm branches

and wreaths are also to be found in all arts, as symbols of all kinds of victory - cock fights and chariot races in particular.

The various cult objects - jug, patera, tripod, torch and candelabrum, all quite common on the funerary monuments, also occur frequently elsewhere. The jug and patera clearly belong to the world of religious art, and are usually weak symbols for the ideas of sacrifice and ritual action - more complete sets of such objects are found on altars and as temple decoration (e.g. the frieze on the temple of Vespasian, Rome). They sometimes also occur in domestic contexts: a frieze of cult objects was found in the house of Amandus, and were rendered in stucco in Hadrian's Villa. The tripod could be used as a decorative motif without necessarily alluding to Apolle (as on Arretine ware when it is used as a scene divider), but it was usually used as an attribute of Apollo in other arts. Candelabra were popular in most of the decorative arts - in some cases they were associated with Victories and sacrifice, but they more often formed the centre piece of heraldic devices, and were almost purely decorative. Torches could be dionysiac attributes, and were often carried by cupids. Bucrania and bull's heads were popular in the religious and secular art of the late Republic and Augustan period, but were not so common later: this is reflected in the decoration of the funerary monuments, where they were used on the earliest pieces, and again on a few Hadrianic examples.

The ram's head appears to have been a motif particularly favoured by the decorators of cinerary monuments: although it was used in the other arts, it was not very common anywhere else. Rams' heads decorated candelabra and the small flaps of decorated armour, they were used occasionally on terra sigillata, and sometimes formed one

of the elements forming the grylloi on gems. Ammon heads were also not very common in secular decoration, although they were not unknown either. They occur occasionally on gems, the flaps of armour, especially on statues of Hadrian, on Gaulish terra sigillata, and IV style wall painting. They seem to be more of a feature of the decoration of the Flavian period and later. Medusa heads by contrast were very common in many fields of art, especially wall painting and decorated armour, but were nowhere else associated with swans as they were on the cinerary monuments. Bacchic and theatrical masks were also used in many arts, and indeed were rather more popular elsewhere than on the cinerary monuments, although they were used in the decoration of sarcophagi.

Animal scenes, especially hunting with lions or dogs were extremely common in most of the decorative arts: stucco is the main exception. Dolphins were a favourite motif for the decoration of bath complexes, but they were also placed on gems, terra sigillata, stucco and silverware. Birds were a major element in III and IV style painting, and small birds were placed in the metopes on terra sigillata and on gems. Eagles are to be found not so much in painting as in relief - terra sigillata, gems and armour; swans were used for wall painting, stucco, terra sigillata and silverware, and were particularly in fashion in the second half of the first century A.D. Naturalistic stork scenes attracted good craftsmen of most arts, but they used a small repertoire of basic patterns. Cocks and cock fights were represented in painting (cf. the panel pictures in the House of the Vettii), mosaic, and on engraved gems, and individual cocks were one of the motifs used on terra sigillata.

Griffins were possibly the favourite decorative motif of the first century; beaked they were associated with Apollo, and as

'horned lion-griffins' with Dionysus. Griffins were used in several ways in Roman art: on gems they often pounce on or tear at a victim; on early wall paintings, in stucco decoration and on decorated armour they are heraldic beasts, often with a candelabrum between them; they could be sketchy volute-ended creatures, like those in the *Domus Aurea*; they can fly, be sea-creatures, and they were fed by Phrygians. They were often reduced to being a very minor filling motif. Much the same could be said about sphinxes, which were used in a variety of ways and arts, despite their early history as funerary motifs.

Victories are also found in a variety of guises. On armour they were represented with trophies, the *palladium*, or sacrificing at a candelabrum. Bull-slaying Victories also appear on silver jugs from *Boscotrecase*. Heraldic Victories were used on gems, *Arretine* ware, and stucco. Small figures clasping palm branches and wreaths can be found in all arts. More generalised 'genii' were favoured by wall painters as grotesques or small minor motifs. Cupids, too, were ubiquitous - except on decorated armour. They were particularly popular in the second half of the first century A.D. Nereids and Tritons were used on one type of decorated armour, on gems, silverware, *terra sigillata*, and occur in stucco in *Hadrian's Villa*.

On the whole the mythological scenes used on the cinerary monuments and early sarcophagi are not those found frequently elsewhere. The Rape of Proserpina is clearly a funerary theme (although it was used to decorate a piece of ivory which once decorated a musical instrument, and a gem). Bacchic scenes, which occurred in all fields of art, are also not quite the same as the few decorating the funerary monuments (Chapter 7). The wolf and twins, a motif found on a number of the cinerary monuments, was used on Republican gems in

considerable numbers (along with other semi-historical themes), on armour (? especially Hadrianic armour), and terra sigillata from Tiberius to Hadrian.

The scenes and motifs which do not have many parallels in non-funerary art are the door (used in second style wall painting, but otherwise not at all), the dextrarum iunctio, banquet scenes (used only on Arretine ware), and other scenes showing people involved in their work (found otherwise only on gems). These, therefore, are the motifs which may be expected to allude to the deceased, his death, and, perhaps, the life after death. I shall be considering them in chapter 6.

<b>Table 1. comparison between the motifs used in the decoration of the cinerary monuments and those in other arts.</b>	<b>approx. % on grave altars etc.</b>	<b>wall painting - II style</b>	<b>wall painting - III style</b>	<b>wall painting - IV style</b>	<b>stucco</b>	<b>gold and silver plate</b>	<b>Arretine ware</b>	<b>Provincial terra sigillata</b>	<b>gems and pastes</b>	<b>armoured statues</b>
Laurel - branch/tree	17		x	x		xx	x	x	x	x
Palm - branch/tree	3	x		x	xx		x		x	x
Wreaths	9						x	x	x	x
Garlands	55	xxx	x	x	x	xx	xx	x		
Cult objects	20	xx	xx	xx	xx		x		xx	
Tripods	8	x	x				xx		x	
Candelabra	6		xx	xx	xx		xxx			
Bucrania/bulls' heads	7	xx		xx	x		xx		x	
Torches	5				x	x	x		x	
Baskets etc.	5					x	x		x	x
Armour	3				xx					x
Musical instr'ts.	1	xx	x	x	x		x		x	
Rams' heads.	26							x	xx	xx
Ammon heads	12			x				x	xx	xx
Medusa heads	16	xx	xx	xx	x		x	x	xx	xx
Masks (bacchic etc.)	5	xx	xx	xxx		xxx	xxx	xx	xx	
Portraits	13				xx	xx			xx	
Animals	15		xx	xx		xx	x	xxx	xxx	x
Dolphins etc.	8		xx	xx	xx	xx		x	x	x
Small birds	33	xx	xx	xxx	x	x	x	xx	x	
Eagles	31		x	x	x	xx		xxx	xx	xx
Swans	9		xx	xx	xx	xx		xx	x	
Storks	6					xx	xx	xx	xx	
Ravens	4		x	x					x	
Cocks	5			xx				xx	xx	
Griffins	11	xx	xxx	xx	xx	xx	x	xx	xx	xxx
Sphinxes	16	xx	xxx	xx	xx			xx	xx	x
Victories	2	xxx	xx	xx	xx	xx	x	xx	xx	xxx
Cupids	24		xx	xxx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xxx	
Nereids and Tritons	4		xx	xx	x	xx	xx	xx	x	xx
Wolf and twins etc.	5							xx	xx	xx
Bacchic scenes/figs.	4	xx	xx	xx	xx	xxx	xxx	x	xx	
Mythological scenes	8		xxx	xxx	x	x	xx	xx	xxx	
Doors	11	x								
Dextrarum iunctio	2									
Reclining figures.	10						xx			



**Key**

- x** motif used occasionally, or normally used as an attribute of another motif/figure.
- xx** motif quite common.
- xxx** a very popular motif.

Notes.

- 1). K. Schefold, Pompejanische Malerei. Sinn und Ideengeschichte, (Basle, 1952).
- 2). P. W. Lehmann, Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, (Cambridge, Mass. 1953).
- 3). G. Ch. Picard, Preface to the Fresh edition of K. Schefold, op. cit. La Peinture Pompeienne. Essai sur l'évolution de sa signification. (Coll. Latomus vol 108, Brussels 1972) pp. 6-7.
- 4). Schefold, op. cit. passim. Schefold claims that the mythological scenes used in the wall paintings of the first century A.D. had allegorical, indeed eschatological, meanings which were adopted by sarcophagus designers in the second century. This seems to me to be putting the cart before the horse.
- 5). Schefold, op. cit. p. 115. (French edition p. 171): 'Wichtiger aber ist es, dass die Grabdenkmäler der älteren Zeit im Bildschmuck überhaupt sparsamer sind. Der Übergang von der Verbrennung zur Bestattung seit trajanischer Zeit und das Aufkommen der Relief-sarkophage sind der Ausdruck eines wachsenden eschatologischen Interesses das in der Literatur vor allem durch Plutarch bezeugt wird'. While the first statement is incontestable, I cannot accept the second (c.f. Chapter 4).
- 6). G. E. Rizzo, Le Pitture della Casa di Livia (Palatino), (Monumenti della Pittura Antica scoperta in Italia, vol. III, fasc. 3, Rome, 1938).
- 7). O. Elia, Le Pitture della Casa del Citarista, (Monumenti della Pittura Antica scoperta in Italia vol. III, fasc. 1, Rome 1937).
- 8). F. Weege, 'Das Goldene Haus des Nero', JdI. XXVIII 1913, pp. 127-244.
- 9). E. L. Wadsworth, 'Stucco reliefs of the first and second centuries still extant in Rome', MAAR IV 1924, pp. 9-102.  
Roger Ling, Stucco Decoration in Roman Italy, (unpublished Cambridge thesis, 1969).
- 10). Donald Strong, Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate, London 1966.  
BoscCoreale treasure: H. de Villefosse, 'Le trésor de Boscoreale', Monuments Piot V 1899.  
Berthouville hoard: E. Babelon, Le trésor d'argenterie de Berthouville, (1920).

- 11). Chapter 8, Bird scenes.
- 12). F. Oswald and T. Davies Pryce, An Introduction to Terra Sigillata, (London 1920), p. 77:  
'Broadly speaking, it may be stated that the general trend of the design proceeded from the purely ornamental and decorative to the mixed motif, viz. the combination of ornament with figures, and that the panel type of decoration became more pronounced in the later or Flavian stages of the vessel's history'.
- 13). F. Oswald, Index of Figure-Types on Terra Sigillata, (University of Liverpool, 1936-7.)
- 14). Oswald, op. cit. p. 67, nos. 848-851, lists one Tiberian example, two Flavian, one Trajan-Hadrianic, and one Hadrianic.
- 15). A group of bowls dated to A.D. 77-79 discovered at Pompeii (D. Atkinson, 'A Hoard of Samian Ware from Pompeii', JRS IV 1914 pp. 27-64) indicates the motifs popular at this period. On form 29 by far the most popular motif is a dog, either as a single motif or chasing a rabbit, and often metopes of dogs and rabbits alternate. Also popular are lions, winged horses, boars, bears, deer and panthers. Birds were also used on several examples, including an eagle and a goose. Cupids, a male figure in a cloak and gladiators were used, but many bowls were only decorated with a rinceau or a wreath. Form 37 introduces a few more motifs - ducks, swans, eagles and dolphins. ('draped figures', gladiators, arches play a greater part. Minerva, Mercury tearing a deer and a lion eating a
- 16). G. M. A. Richter, 'Subjects on Roman and Meaning', Rev. Arch. 1968, pp. 2 and Introduction to The Engraved Ge
- 17). Cos: A. N. Modona, L'Isola di Corfu pl. XII, a.  
Rhodes tropaion: A. Maiuri, 'Monumenti Archeologici di Rodi', Clara Rhod
- 18). A. Hekler, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte Jahreshefte des Osterreichischen A XIX-XX 1919, pp. 190-241.
- 19). Wroth, 'A Torso of Hadrian in the pp. 199-201.  
a reply by Newton, JHS 1885 pp. 31  
Wroth, 'Imperial Cuirass Ornaments' Hekler, op. cit.  
C. C. Vermeule, 'Hellenistic and I XIII 1959, pp. 1-82.
- 20). For the funerary significance of du danseur d'Antibes et son decor symbolisme funéraire des plantes. plant motifs.

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#### Chapter 4: Cremation and Inhumation.

During the second century A.D. at Rome there occurred what has been claimed as a major change in social custom: from the use of cremation to dispose of the dead to inhumation. At the end of the first century A.D. the most common form of funerary monument was the ash chest or urn which contained the cremated remains of the dead. During the early part of the second century a few people decided to be buried in elaborately decorated sarcophagi instead, and this custom gradually increased until inhumation had become the normal practice. Such a change in custom demands an explanation: many writers have been puzzled by it and have endeavoured to analyse the religious and social movements which might account for it. In parts II and III I shall consider the decoration of both the cinerary monuments and the earliest sarcophagi (1) with the aim of elucidating how far they reflect the ideas on death and afterlife, and what these ideas were. Such a study will also show to what extent the decoration of the two types of monument differed, and this in turn should throw some light on why Roman society abandoned one funerary custom and one type of funerary monument for another.

Various features of Roman religious and social life in the late first and early second centuries A.D. have been cited as the reason for the change in burial rite: a common claim is that it must be due to the shift in ideas about afterlife existence. The spread of the oriental mystery religions, dionysiac cults, and Pythagorean or some syncretistic philosophy have all been cited, as well as a more personal approach to religion and growing eschatological concern in general (2). A major contribution to the subject was made by A. D. Nock in 1932 (3).

He gives a good general analysis of the problem and the available evidence, but his conclusion is not one that many would share, and has been subjected to much criticism. He suggests that the change in rite was not caused by changes in religious or philosophical belief, or in ideas of the afterlife, but rather a change in fashion. He explains what he means by this as follows (4):

By fashion we mean the habits of the rich, which gradually permeated the classes below them. Burial seems to have made its appeal to them because it presented itself in the form of the use of the sarcophagus. This was expensive and gratified the instinct for ostentation. The richest could build mausolea. Many whose resources would not suffice for that could afford sarcophagi, which might well appear a more solid and adequate way of paying the last honours to the dead.

In any discussion of the issue there are two basic questions which must be answered: which element in Roman society was responsible for the introduction and promotion of the use of sarcophagi? and why did they do so? Byvanck (5) sponsored the freedmen nouveaux-riches of eastern origin who were supposed to have retained both their oriental custom of inhumation and a more optimistic outlook on existence after death. Matz in reply cited the fact the earliest sarcophagus whose owner is known to us did not belong to a middle class freedman, but to the consul of A.D. 87, Tebanianus (6), a monument which Byvanck passes over as an anomalous product of one of those upper class families who had always practised inhumation (7). Audin agrees that it was the aristocracy who were responsible for the introduction of sarcophagi, but suggests that they did so because they had been strongly influenced by eastern religions which advocated the use of inhumation (8). Turcan points out that Etruscans, Italics and Orientals all had inhumation

among their ancestral customs. He suggests that it is significant that Antoninus, who was of Italic stock, was the first emperor for whom it is certain that inhumation was practised (9). Religious and eschatological beliefs, he says, did not create the original impetus towards the re-introduction of inhumation, but they did play some part in its general acceptance: a major factor which, he claims, encouraged the establishment of inhumation was a specific philosophical teaching which included the doctrine of Panaetius on the organic solidarity of the soul and which had since been adopted and elaborated on by the Stoics and Pythagoreans.

It is indeed seldom clear exactly who it was who commissioned the earliest sarcophagi - the freedmen nouveaux-riches of oriental origin, the new aristocracy of central Italy and Etruria, or the old Roman aristocratic families. All three groups have good reasons for using sarcophagi: ancestral custom, and the desire to display wealth and superiority, as well as any religious or philosophical beliefs they may have had. It is clearly nonsense to suggest that generations of repressed oriental slaves had been cremated against their religious views and therefore began to inhume their dead when they were set free, since vast numbers of freedmen and slaves set up cinerary monuments in both the first and second centuries of their own free will. Indeed, their numbers are so great as to suggest that it was they who particularly favoured the cinerary monuments. The evidence of the sarcophagus of Tebanianus cannot be laid aside as Byvanck tries to do: Fabretti records the inscription from a cinerary monument set up by Tebanianus' father, C. Bellicius Natalis, the consul suffectus of A.D. 68, to his wife, Billiena Secunda (10), an indication that the family was not one of those which had clung to the practice of cremation. Similar evidence

is provided by the monuments of the Corneliï Pisones, another aristocratic family which adopted sarcophagi at an early date after cremating their dead throughout the first century and into the reign of Hadrian.(11) Other monuments may also suggest that it was the Roman and Italian aristocratic families who first used sarcophagi: the Velletri sarcophagus, which may be an early piece, clearly belonged to a family with connections with Velletri (12), and the sacred implements on the so-called 'priest's sarcophagus' may allude to the high religious office of its owner. Malia Titia, whose name occurs on a fairly early sarcophagus found at Ficana, is unknown to us: the sarcophagus, although of undoubtedly Italian workmanship, has many characteristics of eastern sarcophagi, but the fact that the artist who made it was influenced by oriental ideas does not mean that Malia Titia herself was (13). Byvanck made much of the fact that C. Iunius Euhodus, a freedman, had a sarcophagus made for himself in c. A.D. 165. This cannot be claimed as a particularly early piece, and is therefore not as significant as Byvanck thinks. In short, there is rather more evidence that the Roman and Italian aristocracy favoured sarcophagi in the early part of the second century than that oriental freedmen did.

Similarly, there is no agreement among scholars about which of the philosophical or religious movements in vogue at the beginning of the second century might have influenced the introduction of inhumation. Nock suggests that it was only the Pythagoreans who considered cremation an abomination, and only the Egyptians who were at all concerned to preserve the body (14). Audin, however, ascribes the spread of cremation in the first century A.D. to the influence of the Stoics and Pythagoreans - the introduction of inhumation he suggests was the result of the propagation among Roman aristocratic families of oriental cults which

had absorbed certain mazdean beliefs, including a dislike of cremation. Turcan suggests that there existed an eschatological belief, based on the ideas of Panaetius and the Pythagoreans, and added to by the Stoics, that the body should be kept intact as long as possible as this provided it with partial survival after death, and that this was largely responsible for the popularity of inhumation. Such disagreement about which philosophical system might have taught ideas encouraging inhumation suggests that there was no one doctrine which played a major role in changing attitudes to the method of disposing of the body after death. Nevertheless, there is a strong feeling among modern scholars that philosophical and religious ideas ought to be involved. Less has been said about the oriental religions, but it is worth pointing out that many priests and priestesses of Isis, Serapis and Cybele had no objection to cremation, as their cinerary monuments show (15)(plates 16, 46). As for the more general eschatological ideas the owners of the sarcophagi may have had, and whether these differed significantly from the ideas of those who practised cremation, this will be the subject of consideration in part III, since one major source of evidence which has not been given much attention hitherto is that of the decoration of the monuments concerned.

The various analyses of the problem raise a few further points which are worth considering in greater detail. The first of these, originally brought up by Nock, is whether the change in funerary custom was in fact that significant. An investigation of the burial customs of early Italy shows that there was a very mixed tradition: some people cremated and others inhumed, and in many places one custom took over from the other, or they existed side by side. This situation continued until the late Republic - in the Esquiline cemetery in Rome itself



inhumation seems to have been far more common in the early and mid Republic than cremation, although there are a few cremation burials (16) but in the late Republic cremation began to take over from inhumation, and columbaria were built to house the ash containers (17). It seems that in the first century A.D., however, cremation was not only the majority rite, it was virtually the only one: it is only the occasional monument - as the Caffarelli sarcophagus - which reminds us that a few people or families clung to, or chose to adopt, inhumation. How complete this reaction was can be seen from a few remarks made by ancient authors. Both Pliny the Elder and Cicero named inhumation as the primitive rite in Rome and imply that it had been largely superseded by cremation by alluding to certain families, in particular the gens Cornelia, who retained inhumation as a family rite when others were cremating their dead (18). Petronius also refers to inhumation as 'Graeco more', and Tacitus when speaking of the embalming and inhumation of Poppaea speaks of cremation as 'Romanus mos', and of inhumation as the custom of foreign kings (19). It could therefore be argued that it was this period of cremation that was anomalous, as it was foreign both to early Roman custom and to the customs of the oriental freedmen who formed a considerable section of Roman society. Why, then, did cremation become so popular? One explanation lies in the use of columbaria, since it seems that cremation did not become widespread until after the invention of this useful, economic method of housing large numbers of the dead. Sarcophagi are expensive in materials, labour and space, whereas even the relatively poor could afford a niche in a columbarium, and possibly even a stone ash chest to go in it. This may explain the success of cremation in the late Republic: Roman society had become sufficiently sophisticated for the mass of the people to want a decent burial and

if possible a commemorative monument, a need that cremation supplied more easily than inhumation. This may also explain why inhumation made a come-back after one and a half centuries of neglect: it was now socially desirable to prove oneself superior to the common herd by using a more elaborate form of monument.

This leads to a second basic question: was it inhumation which grew in popularity in the second century, or was it sarcophagi? Did people use sarcophagi because they chose to inhume their dead, or did they inhume because they wanted to use a large showy sarcophagus? The archaeological evidence is not conclusive, but it does seem that if people inhumed in the early second century, they used sarcophagi, not trench graves or any other cheaper form. This suggests that the use of large expensive sarcophagi was a major element in the change of custom. Moreover, the use of a sarcophagus required quite a different type of tomb from the columbarium, a private family tomb. Inhumation therefore was an expression not only of wealth, but also of pride of family. It is interesting that most of the early sarcophagi did not have inscriptions identifying the individual whose remains they contained, whereas most of the cinerary monuments did.(20)

Another possibility which should perhaps be given some thought is whether it was in fact not the commissioners of the monuments who were responsible for the introduction of sarcophagi, but that the market was created by astute craftsmen. Some of the earliest pieces have distinct eastern features, but the sculptors rapidly evolved a characteristically Roman pattern whose closest parallels are the sculpted Trajanic friezes from Trajan's forum and the temple of Venus Genetrix. Although the decoration of the early sarcophagi has much in common with the contemporary cinerary monuments it is by no means certain that the same workshops made both types of monument. It is

possible that sarcophagi were introduced to Rome by sculptors who had worked on the Trajanic friezes: from their point of view such a fashion would be most advantageous, ensuring a steady demand for large scale monuments of good workmanship. The initial impetus, therefore, could have come from the artists themselves, whatever the social and ideological reasons for the acceptance of the new custom by the people as a whole.

Clearly it is impossible to give a simple answer to the problem of why a change in social custom took place in such a complex and sophisticated society as that of imperial Rome. The evidence I have discussed in this chapter consists of mere scraps of information which may or may not be significant. The philosophical and religious climate of the early second century is extremely difficult to gauge, and it seems to me to be impossible to tell how it might have affected the people who chose to buy the earliest sarcophagi. The change in burial custom, to my mind, has not been adequately explained by changes in philosophical or religious belief: nor does it seem that there is sufficient evidence to suggest that any one group of people was solely responsible for it. The question of why Romans began to use sarcophagi (a more accurate version of the problem than why they began to inhumate instead of cremating) has not been solved, and is therefore a major question behind any investigation of the decoration of the monuments.

Notes.

- 1). Part III deals with the earliest, mainly garland, sarcophagi made before c. A.D. 150, i.e. those which were made when inhumation was just beginning to become popular in Rome. A comparison of these with contemporary and earlier grave altars and ash chests would seem to be an obvious procedure in the study of the change in burial rite at this period, but it has not been done at all systematically before.
- 2). J. M. C. Toynbee, The Hadrianic School, Cambridge 1934, p. 162 suggests that the change in rite 'would be a perfectly natural product of the growth of individualism, entailing, so it would seem, a more individual and personal outlook on the after-life, a greater reverence for the relics of the individual human body, a greater interest in the fate of the individual soul'. Schefold, Pompejanische Malerei, p. 171, says it is 'der Ausdruck eines wachsenden eschatologischen Interesses'.
- 3). A. D. Nock, 'Cremation and Burial in the Roman Empire', Harvard Theol. Rev. XXV Oct. 1932, pp. 321-359.
- 4). Nock, op. cit., p. 358.
- 5). A. W. Byvanck, 'Le problème des sarcophages romains', Bull. Ant. Beschav. 1956 pp. 31-38; 'Le début des sarcophages romains', Bull. Ant. Beschav. 1960 pp. 91-95.
- 6). Matz, Meisterwerk, p. 48, no. 19.
- 7). Byvanck, op. cit. 1960, pp. 94-95.
- 8). A. Audin, 'Inhumation et incinération', Latomus 19 1960 pp. 518-532.
- 9). R. Turcan, 'Origines et sens de l'inhumation à l'époque impériale', R.E.A. LX 1958 pp. 323-347.
- 10). Fabretti, Inscriptionum Antiquarum Explicatio, vol. II, (Rome 1699), no. 262. Dütschke, I p. 101, no. 128. Consulships of Natalis in A.D. 68 and Tebanianus in A.D. 87: Degrassi, I Fasti Consolari, p. 18.
- 11). Altmann, chapter 3, Lehmann-Hartleben, Olsen, Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore, (New York 1942). See also chapter 5.
- 12). R. Bartoccini, 'Il Sarcofago di Velletri', Rivista dell'Instituto Nazionale d' Archeologia e Storia d'Arte VII 1958, pp. 129-214. Andreas, Grabkunst, pp. 11-85. M. Lawrence, 'The Velletri Sarcophagus', A.J.A. LXIX 1965, pp. 207-222. D. E. Strong, Roman Art, (London 1976), p. 103.

- 13). R. Calza, 'Un Nuovo Sarcofago Ostiense', Boll. d'Arte 39 1954, pp. 107-113.
- 14). Nock, op. cit. pp. 336-337, 342. Nock suggests that the Pythagorean revival, at its height between 60 B.C. and A.D. 70, was too early to have affected the change in burial rite.
- 15). Chapter 6 - portraits nos. 2-4.
- 16). Monumenti Antichi XV 1905, pp. 43-49.
- 17). The Esquiline in the third and second centuries B.C. became famous for the mass burials of the poor in puticuli, large trenches into which the bodies were thrown and left to rot. In the first century B.C. burial on the Esquiline was being limited. Marion Blake, Ancient Roman Construction in Italy (Washington 1947), p. 62, suggests that it was the closing of the Esquiline cemetery that precipitated the growth of columbaria, but the earliest known example of a columbarium, dating between 55 and 35 B.C., was found in the Esquiline cemetery itself.
- 18). Pliny, NH VII 187; Cicero, De Leg. II 22 56.
- 19). Petronius, Satyricon, III,2. Tacitus, Ann. XVI,6.
- 20). I am not sure of the exact significance of this. It is possible that early sarcophagi were not provided with inscription panels because they were placed in family or individual tombs which would record the name of the family or individuals in inscriptions built into the wall, thus making it unnecessary to label the sarcophagus. It became more common to put inscription panels on sarcophagi later when they were in more general use.

Chapter 5: The Chronological Basis.

Although the inscriptions of many of the cinerary monuments give quite detailed information about the age of the deceased - even to the number of hours in some cases - they hardly ever give the date of the death. There is one exception, the grave altar of Volusia Prima and Volusia Olympias. This provides us with the names of the Consuls of two years, A.D. 89 and A.D. 97 - 89 was the year in which the monument was erected to Volusia Prima, and 97 seems to be the date of a later burial (1). The altar must therefore have been made in or before A.D. 89. Occasionally, too, the information given in the inscription pinpoints the date of death fairly closely. Q. Sulpicius Maximus was a small boy who died after making his mark at a poetry festival; from the information provided by the inscription on his monument it is possible to identify the festival and to say that he died in c. A.D. 94 (2). There are also a few monuments to people who had a place in history. Ti. Iulius Mnester the actor, whose altar is now in the Boboli Gardens in Florence (pls. 1, 2, 93), was executed in A.D. 48 after his involvement in a particularly juicy scandal (3). Rather more frequent are monuments of people who were married or related to, or were a slave or a freedman of, a known person, and many monuments were erected to imperial slaves and freedmen. Such information does not in itself date the monument very closely, but there are sometimes limiting factors. If a man is named as a slave of a particular emperor the chances are that he did not outlive his master, and a freedman who died young could not have survived the emperor by many years. Occasionally we are told other pieces of information which help to limit the possible dates. Amemptus, for example, was a freedman of the 'divae Augustae' Livia, and thus his

monument must have been set up after A.D. 41 when she was declared a goddess (4), and the altar to Rhodon says that he was a slave of the Augusta Domitia - thus it must be dated shortly after A.D. 81, when she gained the title (5). However, most imperial freedmen neglected to put their age or any other additional information on their monuments: they might have lived anything up to sixty years after the death of the emperor who set them free. Such monuments can be useful in gaining a general view of the chronological sequence of the designs of the monuments, but they are not dated precisely enough to be of much use in determining an absolute chronology. The same is true of monuments to wives, sons or daughters of well-known people - they, too, might have outlived their relatives by a very long time, or they might have died before them.

Thus the evidence of the inscriptions gives a few fixed points to the chronological framework: stylistic comparisons help to fill in the gaps. Portraits in particular can provide an approximate date for a monument, although many of the portraits are too small and rough, or damaged, to be of much use. It has frequently been claimed, too, that garland styles can be of inestimable value in assessing the dates of monuments. Some other elements of the decoration also display stylistic changes, and certain motifs and schemes of decoration were clearly in vogue at particular periods, and this often helps to date monuments approximately. By all these means it is possible to build up a chronological basis by which most of the monuments can be dated to a fairly narrow period of time.

Altmann suggested that three groups of monuments could be of great value in ascertaining such a chronological sequence (6). The first and most important is a group of altars found in the late nineteenth

century, dedicated to a number of inter-related people (7). One belonged to M. Licinius Crassus Frugi who was consul in A.D. 27, legate of Claudius in Mauretania, distinguished himself in the British expedition, and died before the end of Claudius' reign (8). His son, Cn. Pompeius Magnus, seems to have died in A.D. 46-47 (9), and his daughter, Licinia Magna, married the consul of A.D. 57 (10) - she probably died under the Flavians. Another member of the family, L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus, took up Galba's cause and died with him (11), and C. Calpurnius Crassus Frugi Licinianus died in Hadrian's reign (12). The other monuments are not so easily ascribed to known personalities.

The altars in this group are not all decorated in the same style. The Claudian altar of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi is decorated with ammon heads above eagles at the front corners with hanging garlands and a dog attacking an animal in the lunette on the front. The altar of Licinia Magna (pl. 4) and that of another member of the family, Asprenans Calpurnius Torquatus (13) were decorated in much the same way, but they are much more elaborate and cluttered. The assumption that monuments of this kind tended to become more elaborate as the Claudian and Flavian periods progressed led Altmann to suggest that the earliest monument in the sequence was that of another Licinia (14), decorated with bucrania supporting laurel garlands, and above the garland on the front a bird with a berry in its beak. The other monuments in the group are rather restrained in their decoration. The Claudian monument to Cn. Pompeius Magnus is hardly decorated at all, and the same is true of the altar erected in A.D. 69, whose only figured decoration is a pair of griffins in the pediment. The altar set up under Hadrian is also simple, and uses a scheme of decoration



which was very popular for better class monuments of the early second century: it was also used on another altar of this group, that of C. Calpurnius Piso Crassus Frugi Licinianus (15). The altars are both decorated with corner pilasters and an acanthus frieze above the large inscription panel, and are so alike they must be close contemporaries.

The second group of monuments described by Altmann belong to slaves and freedmen of the Volusii (16): in fact these cannot be at all precisely dated by their inscriptions. Several of them mention a L. Volusius Saturninus as the master or patron of the person commemorated. On the surface this seems useful information. Tacitus, however, mentions two men called L. Volusius Saturninus: the elder was, he says, the first of his family to become consul (in 12 B.C.) and to amass the family's great wealth - he had been censor and died in A.D. 21. The second was consul in A.D. 3 and died in A.D. 56 aged ninety-three. Yet another L. Volusius Saturninus was consul in A.D. 87 (17). L. Volusius Urbanus described himself as 'nomenclator censorio' on his grave altar (18): as we know that L. Volusius Saturninus (I) had performed censorial duties, it was probably he who was Urbanus' master, and the monument may be a fairly early one. It is decorated with rams' heads above sphinxes, garlands, an eagle above the front garland, and the wolf and twins below it. An almost identical altar, now lost but drawn by Montfaucon, was set up to a Mystus, slave of L. Volusius Saturninus (19). Altmann assumes that this L. Volusius Saturninus is the second one, who died in 56, but the decoration of the monument is so like that of Urbanus' altar that they must be close in date. From the same workshop, using the same scheme of decoration, is the altar of L. Volusius Phaedrus (20)(pl. 3): this, too, must have been made within a few years of Urbanus' altar. Another monument (21)(pls. 91, 94) also seems to belong here. The decorative scheme is slightly different, and it is more elaborate, but

its garlands, mouldings and medusa head are very close in style to those on the altar of Phaedrus. It seems that these two monuments were made by the same workshop at much the same time, probably a few years before the altar to Urbanus. Nevertheless, the knowledge that Urbanus was probably a slave of the consul of 12 B.C. does not go very far towards providing an absolute date for this group of monuments. Another piece whose inscription mentions L. Volusius Saturninus is that of Antiochis Hicete (22). This is decorated in a completely different way, with an eagle perched on an oak wreath as the only decoration on the front. It has been claimed, too, that another monument, the ash altar of Ianuaria, can be dated quite precisely. Ianuaria, according to the inscription, was the slave of Cornelia, wife of a L. Volusius. B. Combet Farnoux has argued, by making several unjustified assumptions, that this L. Volusius is the L. Volusius Saturninus who died in A.D. 56, and that Ianuaria must have died before this date, probably in the second quarter of the century (23). While such a date is possible for the monument, it is by no means certain enough to be of use in establishing the chronological sequence of the monuments. The monuments dedicated to the Volusii, therefore, while forming an interesting group, do not provide absolute dates on which to base a chronology.

The third group of monuments singled out by Altmann are even less helpful in this respect. They come from the tomb of the Platorini built for Sulpicius Platorinus and Sulpicia Platorina. This tomb, however, was destined to house the remains of far more people than the pair mentioned in the original inscription. Inside were found a variety of ash containers of differing kinds, some fragments of three statues, and some more inscriptions. The problem is to match up the

four ash chests decorated with bucrania and garlands (24), generally dated as early Claudian, with four of the people buried in the tomb whose known dates would confirm or deny such a date. This proves to be impossible. The tomb contained, apart from these four ash chests, another decorated stone ash chest of completely different style whose inscription states that it contained the bones of an A. Crispinus Caepio - possibly the man who was quaestor in A.D. 15 (25), a cinerary urn inscribed 'Minatiae Pollae', one architectonic rectangular ash chest, a travertine ash chest, and two alabaster urns, one of which has part of an inscription which seems to suggest that it contained the remains of Sulpicia Platorina. The heroic statue of a man of Tiberian date has been identified as Sulpicius Platorinus, the statue of a young woman may be that of Sulpicia Platorina (26), and the bust of a young girl, it has been suggested, may be that of Minatia Polla. The inscriptions (27) speak of Sulpicius Platorinus and his daughter Platorina, wife of Cornelius Priscus, of Antonia Furnilla the mother of Marcia Furnilla, the second wife of Titus, and of a Crispina, daughter of Caepio. Thus at least three families were buried in the tomb. The four urns, whose dates we wish to establish, probably did not belong to the Platorini - as Sulpicia's remains were placed in an alabaster vase it seems likely that those of Sulpicius were placed in its companion piece. It is possible that the ash chests were the property of relatives of A. Crispinus Caepio, or Antonia Furnilla and her family. In either case the date at which they were made can rest only on stylistic considerations and cannot be confirmed by the inscriptions in the tomb. All four ash chests were made by the same workshop over a relatively short period of time.

These three groups of monuments, therefore, illustrate that inscriptional evidence can provide valuable information for the dating of monuments, but that it cannot be relied on to do so, not even if the information provided by the inscription seems very circumstantial. Portraits have already been mentioned as useful indicators of dates: women's hairstyles in particular can be very helpful, especially when they affect the rather more outrageous Flavian and Trajanic styles. By this means it is possible to date the monument of Iunia Procula (pls. 5, 50)(28) to the earlier Flavian period because of the mass of curls over her forehead: Cornelia Glyce, a middle-aged woman, is also represented with this hairstyle. Other women were represented with characteristically Trajanic and Hadrianic hairstyles (as Varia Sabbatis and Petronia Musa)(29). All these portraits are of excellent workmanship. The portrait is large and is the most important element of the decoration of the monument. The very small, often rather crude, portraits used on many monuments cannot provide such useful information about their dates.

The major motif in the decoration of the cinerary monuments, however, is the garland: slightly over half have garlands of some sort, and on many of these the garland is the dominant element in the decoration. Garlands, it might be thought, would be susceptible to general stylistic changes rather than the vagaries of individual craftsmen. Thus it was suggested, originally by Rodenwaldt and later by Jocelyn Toynbee (30) that a definition of the garland styles current at different periods would be a major step forward in establishing a chronology of these funerary monuments. M. Honroth has attempted to establish precisely such a garland sequence (31) using the few pieces (funerary and non-funerary) which are closely dated by other

means as a basis. What emerges from such a study is that two sculptors working at the same time could produce garlands which look completely different from one another, and that the sequence is difficult to follow because of the number of independent workshops involved. Although it is possible to define certain qualities in each garland - its thickness, its depth, the variety of fruits used, and how much and what kind of drilling - it is much less easy to arrange all this information into a coherent stylistic development. Similarities do occur: it is quite obvious, for example, that the altars of Crenaeus and T. Apusulenus Caerellianus (pls. 8 and 9) were made by the same person at much the same time (32). Such obvious parallels, however, are rare, and it is seldom possible to group the monuments according to workshop.

The problems involved can be seen by considering a group of four monuments whose general scheme of decoration (aureole heads above eagles at the front corners, with a fruit garland) is the same. The monuments to Iunia Procula (pls. 5, 50, 66, 79) and Licinia Magna (pl. 4) have already been plausibly dated to the Flavian period by other criteria. Their garlands, however, appear to have very little in common with each other: Iunia Procula's garland is very detailed, made up of a number of leaves and small fruits which break up the surface, whereas Licinia Magna's is solid and massive, its effect created by drilling into the surface rather than by allowing the leaves and fruits to project from it. Both garlands are quite different to that on the altar to Volusia Prima and Volusia Olympias of A.D. 89. This is somewhat rope-like, with fruits which are all alike and tend to be oval: the garland is not particularly detailed, nor is the effect

of the individual fruits created by drilling into the surface. This garland is supported by cupids and not the ammon head used on the other altars. Thus we have three quite different garland styles all seemingly belonging within the Flavian period. When faced with two more altars of similar design, those of L. Camurtius Punicus (pl. 6) and Statilius Hermes (pl. 74)(33) we find yet another garland style: these garlands do have something in common with each other, but not so obviously with the three garlands described above. They have a certain rope-like quality, but this is not as pronounced as on the altar to the two Volusiae, and the fruits are much more carefully distinguished. At the same time, the leaves do not have the prominence they have on the altar of Iunia Procula, and there is no drilled pattern effect as on the altar of Licinia Magna. Nevertheless, their position in the sequence can be determined more accurately if more garlands are introduced for comparison. The garlands on the altars of Camurtius Punicus and Statilius Hermes are indeed longer, thinner, more rope-like versions of the garlands on the altar with 'D.M.' in the inscription panel from the tomb of the Volusii (pls. 91, 94), and share with the altar to L. Volusius Phaedrus (pl. 3) the solidity and detail of their fruits. The rope-like quality seems to derive from some other source: this feature can be seen quite clearly in the laurel garlands on the altar of Iulius Mnester (pls. 1, 2), and perhaps also in the laurel garlands on the sides of the altar of Iunia Procula (pl. 5), although not in the fruit garland on the front of the monument. The garland on the altar of Licinia Magna, too, could have developed from that on the altar of Volusius Phaedrus, if the patterned effect produced by the drilling and shadows was emphasized. From this it is also possible to see the development towards another

garland, that on an altar in Amelia (pl. 10)(34) which is massive and solid, the fruits only separated from one another by drilled channels. The garlands on the altars of Crenaeus and Apusulenus Caerellianus (pls. 8 and 9) similarly are a logical development from the garland style of the altar to the two Volusiae: the rather carelessly rendered fruits have become quite oval in shape. The heir to both lines of development is the garland on an altar in the Villa Celimontana Gardens (pl. 11)(35); this also has the massive double cuffs with hanging fig leaves characteristic of Hadrianic and early Antonine garlands. Thus it is possible to propose the hypothesis that both the altars of L. Camurtius Punicus and of Statilius Hermes are

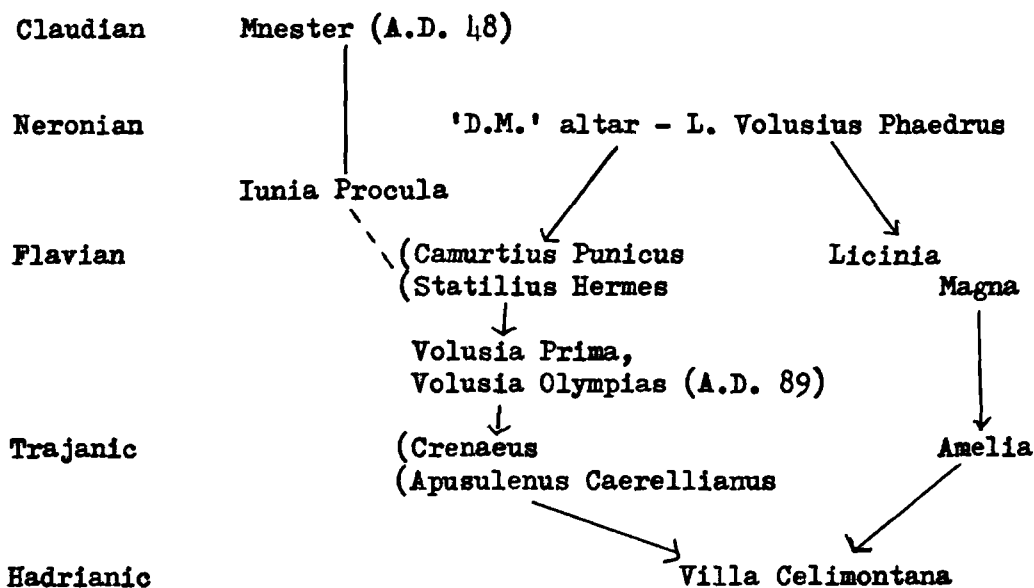


Figure 2

approximately contemporary with that of Licinia Magna, and belong to the mid Flavian period (Figure 2). This kind of process can provide a working hypothesis for the chronological sequence of the monuments, but it is in essence a subjective analysis. No adequate analysis of the sculptural techniques has been made, a study which might produce a more objective result.

Nevertheless, from the collation of the available types of evidence it is possible to assess which types of decorative scheme, and which motifs, were popular in which periods. In the earliest period (late Augustan to c. A.D. 41) decoration appears to have been fairly simple: the monument was generally uncluttered and the range of motifs used limited. The altar of Spondon, a freedman of Augustus and Livia (36) was simply decorated with bucrania supporting garlands, and that of Aemestus (Caesaris Ser.)(37) was decorated with a garland supported by nails. A similar scheme of decoration was used on the altar of Iulia Panthea (38). Two altars which are stylistically very alike also appear to be late Augustan or Tiberian: these are the altars of L. Naevius Oecius (39) and which a destroyed inscription ('Sui et sibi') in the Museo Chiaramonti (40). They are decorated with bucrania supporting garlands, and the latter adds a small portrait bust (badly damaged) to the decoration. The Platorini ash chests probably also belong to the second quarter of the century, and a similar monument, that of Aelia Postumia (41). These show the addition of small birds pecking at the garlands and also medusa heads on the ash chest of Postumia. Two rather unusual ash chests have also been ascribed to this period. That of Annia Cassia has detailed natural history scenes on the sides, crossed branches on the back, and cupids supporting a wreath on the front (42) (pls. 68, 82). An ash chest without inscription in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme (43) has a dextrarum iunctio scene, preparations for a sacrifice, and dancing maenads. The main characteristic of both monuments is the careful and detailed low relief.



The use of bucrania as front corner supports did not last very long, although they continued to be used at the back corners, and experienced a revival on monuments of Hadrianic and early Antonine date (pl. 11) (44). Their place was taken by rams' heads, ammon heads, and occasionally goats' heads. The altar of Ti. Iulius Mnestor, precisely dated to A.D. 48 (pls. 1, 2), is decorated with corner rams' heads supporting laurel garlands, with eagles, small birds, a cock fight scene and a jug and patera arranged above and below the garlands. The monuments of Velusius Phaedrus and Velusius Urbanus, made probably some years later (late Claudian to Neronian), show that the wolf and twins/doe and Telephus motifs and sphinxes had been added to the repertoire, and all these motifs appear to be typical of the monuments of the third quarter of the century. That ammon heads were also introduced in the reign of Claudius is shown by the altar to M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, the consul of A.D. 27 who died within a few years of the middle of the century, but the motif was most popular under the Flavians.

The monument decorated with corner heads, hanging garlands and a number of small minor motifs was the dominant type in the Claudian-Neronian period, but there were also many other varieties. The ash chest of a freedman of Acte, Ti. Claudius Lupercus (45) was decorated with a large oak wreath, and that of Micostratus, a slave of Nero (46), had his portrait bust in a niche surrounded by bacchic figures. Dionysus and Ariadne appeared linking right hands twice on the monument to a boy freedman of the divine Claudius, Ti. Claudius V(italis) (47). The altar of Amemptus, another imperial freedman, dated to post A.D. 41, has the unusual subject of a male and female centaur. The right hand-shake and sleeping figure motifs also occur on monuments to Ti. Claudius

Dionysius and Claudia Prepontis (48)(pls. 30, 31): the figures of the couple are in the style of the middle of the century.

This was a period of experimentation when many new motifs were introduced, and some individualistic pieces were produced before the Flavian boom in the trade resulted in greater standardisation in the decorative schemes and repertoire of motifs used by the various workshops. An important trend which was established at this time, too, is the emphasis of the commemorative aspects of the monuments - the inscription panel, inscribed with information about the deceased and his family, rapidly became a standard feature, and portraits of various kinds established themselves as a major element in the repertoire. The earliest monuments had been either ash chests, whose primary function was to contain the ashes of the dead, or grave altars which were presumably intended to play some part in the cult of the dead: the desire to commemorate the deceased seems to have united and superseded these original functions. It explains the development of a larger, more elaborate type of ash chest or 'ash altar', and the greater popularity of representations glorifying the dead. Such scenes took their place alongside the more conventionally decorative motifs which had already become established in the funerary repertoire and were common in non-funerary contexts.

Monuments decorated with corner heads and hanging garlands continued to be made beyond the end of the first century, but their period of greatest popularity was the Flavian era, when the repertoire of supporting motifs was at its richest. The complexity of these elaborate concoctions can be seen in the early Flavian altar of Iunia Procula (pls. 5, 50, 66, 79), and the later altar of Licinia Magna (pl. 4). The altar of Flavia Daphne, an imperial freedwoman (49),

is typical of a large number of monuments of the period: a large altar, it is decorated with rams' heads above eagles at the corners, a medusa head above the garland and two cocks below on the front, on the sides with a jug, patera and birds above the garland and dolphins below. More elaborate little scenes involving mythological events, mythical creatures - cupids, Nereids and sea-creatures in particular - and animals also abound on many of these monuments. The altar of Rhodon, which, as has already been mentioned, must be dated soon after A.D. 81, has a sea-horse in its decoration, and the scene of Leto fleeing with her children occurs on the altar of Luccia Telesina, which belongs to the end of the century (50). However, by the end of Trajan's reign this type of monument had become stereotyped and unimaginative: this can be seen in the very formal, somewhat dreary, altar of Claudia Semne (51) decorated with rams' heads above eagles at the corners, laurel garlands, a medusa head above the garland on the front and the back, and a jug and patera on the sides. The altar can be dated by the Trajanic-early Hadrianic portrait of Claudia Semne and the inscriptions found in the same tomb (52). One invention which did give the garland a new lease of life was the corner cupid, introduced in the later Flavian period. It was used, for example, on the altar to Volusia Prima and Volusia Olympias of A.D. 89, and on the altars of Crenaeus (pl. 8) Apusulenus Caerellianus (pl. 9), and without inscription in Amelia (pl. 10), all of which can be dated to the end of the century (53).

Large portrait busts were a favourite Flavian motif. The portraits of Iunia Procula, Cornelia Glyce, Q. Gavius Musicus and his wife and Tullius Diotimus with his wife (54) all display characteristically Flavian hairstyles. On other monuments there are full-figure portraits - that of Q. Sulpicius Maximus, the boy-poet of A.D. 94, has

already been mentioned. T. Statilius Aper, too, chose to be represented in an allegorical scene which forms a pun on his name: he is shown as a young man who affected a Domitianic hairstyle, while his wife, whose portrait appears in the pediment, has her hair done in a slightly later fashion (55). Scenes showing the deceased sleeping or feasting were also very popular in the Flavian and Trajanic periods: Pomponia Postuma and Pompeia Margaritae both have Flavian hairstyles, and T. Flavius Abascantus was an imperial freedman (56).

Such scenes were rarely associated with the type of altar decorated with hanging garlands, but rather with schemes which divided the front into a series of rectangular fields. The main scene could then be placed above or below the inscription panel, and there were often pilasters or columns (frequently with spiral fluting) at the corners, and narrow friezes containing small motifs, usually above the inscription panel (pls. 12-15). This type of decorative scheme was associated particularly with the later Flavian and Trajanic periods: it was used on the monuments of two imperial freedmen, T. Flavius Philetus and T. Flavius Alcon (57), and a similar type of decoration was used on the altar of M. Ulpianus Florinus, also an imperial freedman (pl. 7)(58). It is indeed possible that spirally fluted columns were only introduced into Rome in the middle of the first century A.D. (59). The situation is quite different with those monuments, especially small ash chests, decorated with pilasters with vertical fluting: it seems that pilasters of this type could be used at any period. Both of the ash chests made in Etruria at the end of the Republic/early Augustan periods (pl. 18)(60) have vertically fluted pilasters at the corners, and the same feature can be seen on the ash chest of Celadus 'C. Caesaris disp.' (pl. 25) (61). Other monuments, however, are demonstrably later.

In particular there is a group of monuments which appear to be from the same, possibly Ostian, workshop (62): all the altars are large, and are decorated with front corner pilasters (the capitals containing a variety of motifs) with an acanthus frieze containing two animals across the top of the inscription panel. The altar of Iulia Apollonia (pl. 73) has a portrait bust in the pediment whose style indicates that this altar, and presumably the whole group, belongs to the early years of the second century. A characteristic of these later monuments is that the bottom third of the pilaster has double fluting (pl. 71): this also occurs on the altar of Iulia Capriola (pl. 37)(63), who is represented in a feasting scene with a hairstyle of the early second century.

Cinerary monuments continued to be made throughout the second century, and even into the third, but the only innovation in design is the use of abbreviated versions of the designs for mythological sarcophagi. Meleager's boar hunt, Hippolytus and Medea all appear on ash chests of this type (64). The type of altar which had columns or pilasters at the corners also continued to be made well into the second century, as can be seen from an altar in the Borghese gardens in Rome decorated with unfluted columns at the corners and a frieze above the inscription panel containing two sea-animals flanking a cantharos dedicated to a M. Aurelius Aug. lib. Onesimus (65). However, by the second half of the second century sarcophagi had become popular, and many of the craftsmen had, it seems, taken to the manufacture of sarcophagi rather than cinerary monuments. Apart from those ash chests which make use of sarcophagus designs no new schemes of decoration evolved, although many of the small, crude ash chests with stereotyped decoration may date from this period.

Thus although it is possible to give a rough account of the chronological development of the cinerary monuments it is clear that much more research has to be done before all the individual pieces can be confidently assigned a date which is accurate to within a few years. In particular a study of the workshops involved should prove most valuable. The earliest sarcophagi, by contrast, have been the subject of long term research, and they can as a result be dated with greater confidence (although not with universal agreement).

Altmann, writing at the beginning of the twentieth century (66), believed that most garland sarcophagi belonged to the first century A.D. This belief was based on the style of the Caffarelli sarcophagus (catalogue of sarcophagi, no. 1), with its obvious affinities with the decoration of the Ara Pacis Augustae, and the alleged provenance of the garland sarcophagus in Pawlowsk (no. 15), the Mausoleum of Augustus. Altmann suggested that the decoration of sarcophagi developed in much the same way as and parallel to that on the cinerary monuments: thus bucrania gradually gave way to cupids and Victories as garland supports, and the sacrificial objects in the lunettes to medusa heads and masks in the mid first century, and mythological scenes at the end of the first century (67). He mentions the sarcophagus of Tebanianus (no. 2), but considers this and certain other garland sarcophagi with scenes above the garlands to be Trajanic imitations of an essentially first century type of monument. The Actaeon sarcophagus in the Louvre (no. 5) he dates to the beginning of the first century.

Carl Robert, in the early volumes of his corpus of sarcophagi, also dated the Actaeon sarcophagus as Augustan and certain other pieces as first century, but the sarcophagus in the Metropolitan Museum (no. 16) as 'not earlier than the reign of Trajan' (68). However, in an

article published in 1900 he dates another sarcophagus, in Clieveden (no. 17), to the second century, and gives his reasons for rejecting a first century date (69):

It is true that sarcophagi with garlands go back to the Augustan age, but at that period the bunches of fruit are not carried by Erotes on their shoulders but fastened to bucrania; also the semicircular spaces are regularly filled with sacrificial objects; - a clear proof that the motive is borrowed from the decoration of altars. — The substitution of Erotes for bucrania may certainly fall within the first century, but it is remarkable that this motive, which as decoration is so effective, should nevertheless be wholly absent from the Pompeian walls. Consequently it cannot have arisen earlier than the time of Domitian, and probably arose under Nerva or Trajan.

Nevertheless, the first century date of the Actaeon sarcophagus at least was upheld until the publication in 1925 by Rodenwaldt of a monograph on the Caffarelli sarcophagus (70). This showed that the Caffarelli sarcophagus is a most unusual, quite possibly unique, piece of Tiberian date. By a study of their garland styles Rodenwaldt showed that the main group of garland sarcophagi are stylistically quite unlike either the Caffarelli sarcophagus or other monuments of the first century A.D., and indeed belong to the second century.

As a result of this monograph, Mrs. Strong revised her opinion of the date of the Actaeon sarcophagus (71), and Jocelyn Toynbee, in two important articles and a chapter of the Hadrianic School (72), established the basis for all subsequent studies of the chronology of garland sarcophagi. In the first article, published in 1927, her starting point was the Pawlowsk sarcophagus: she questioned whether its original provenance was in fact the Mausoleum of Augustus, and

rejected this as evidence for its manufacture in the first century A.D. Instead she compared its style with that of a garland sarcophagus now in the Lateran Collection (no. 3): the tomb near the Porta Viminalis in which this was found also yielded a brick stamp dateable to A.D. 134 (see below), and thus she concluded that this and the Pawlowsk sarcophagus, and the others in the group, belonged to the late Hadrianic-Antonine period. In the brief article which appeared in the following year (1928) she considered that the evidence of the sarcophagus of Tebanianus in Pisa, concluding that:

The Pisan sarcophagus may well be older than its brother in the Lateran; but its garlands reveal the same new 'second-century' method of treatment. Approximately dated, it contributes valuable confirmatory evidence in support of our conclusions as to the garland-style of the Trajano-Hadrianic age. (73)

The view remained substantially unchanged in the Hadrianic School, where she considers the style of other sarcophagi in relation to that of the Porta Viminalis sarcophagus in greater detail, using the style of the garlands and cupids as criteria. She dates them all as near contemporaries or slightly later than the Porta Viminalis piece, that is, late Hadrianic or Antonine, not Trajanic or early Hadrianic: she maintains the view that the sarcophagus of Tebanianus is the only piece which can be dated earlier than this.

Any investigation of the chronology of the sarcophagi must take into account the evidence afforded by the Tebanianus and Porta Viminalis sarcophagi: thus it is worth considering this in greater detail. The sarcophagus of Tebanianus (no. 2) now in the Campo Santo in Pisa (provenance unknown) bears an inscription which runs along the top of the chest on the front. It is not enclosed in a panel, and



the second line is split up by the figured decoration, so it seems that the inscription was an afterthought. It reads (C.I.L. XI 1430):

C BELLICVS NATALIS TEBANIANVS COS

XV VIR FLAVIA - LI - VM

This man was consul suffectus in A.D. 87 (74), and this is the sum total of the information we have about him. As Matz has pointed out (75) we could expect him to be forty + in A.D. 87, and that he would not live much more than thirty years after that date (i.e. A.D. 117), so the monument is probably Trajanic rather than Hadrianic. Nevertheless, Tebanianus might have died any time after A.D. 88, and the monument might be Flavian, or he might have lived to be over ninety, in which case he would have seen the death of Hadrian. The possible limits therefore are c. 88-138, but the probability is that Tebanianus died between A.D. 100 and 120.

The Porta Viminalis sarcophagus is one of three found in January 1839 in a tomb excavated in the Vigna Argoli near the Porta Viminalis in Rome (76). The tomb chamber had three niches, each containing a large marble sarcophagus: the garland sarcophagus was in the niche facing the door, and the other two are mythological sarcophagi representing the stories of Orestes and the Niobids. The dating evidence consists of tile or brick stamps: one, reported in the excavation report contemporary with the excavation, was stamped with a trident and palm and the words C COMVNI PROCVLI EX PRAE DOMIT LVCILL. This was dated by Dressel to post A.D. 132, but Benndorf-Schoene date it between A.D. 123 and 155 (77). Another stamp was mentioned by Brunn (78): it was said to date from the third consulship of Servianus (A.D. 134). From these stamps it can be inferred that the tomb was built late in Hadrian's reign (79), and this suggests that A.D. 134 should be taken as a terminus post quem for the sarcophagi..

Attempts to evade this date have not challenged the validity of the evidence for the date of the tomb, but have suggested that for some reason the garland sarcophagus was made earlier and was moved to the tomb at some point after A.D. 134. This was the argument used by Matz who believes that both the *Porta Viminalis* sarcophagus and *Tebanianus'* were made by the same workshop at the turn of the Trajano-Hadrianic period. He comes to this conclusion by comparing the cupids and griffins on the sarcophagi with those on the Trajanic friezes (in Trajan's forum and on the temple of Venus Genetrix): the date c. A.D. 140 is, he suggests, about a generation too late for the earliest sarcophagi (80). M. Honroth also ignores the brick stamp evidence (why she does so is not explained) and dates the *Porta Viminalis* sarcophagus by comparison with the Trajanic friezes to c. A.D. 120. This is the date she also gives to *Tebanianus'* sarcophagus and various other pieces (81).

Robert Turcan, on the other hand (82), does not agree that the two sarcophagi are of approximately the same date. He includes *Tebanianus'* among the earliest sarcophagi (A.D. 120-125), but the *Porta Viminalis* sarcophagus was, he says, already a victim of stylisation and stereotyped decoration, and must consequently be dated after A.D. 130. He does not agree either with Jocelyn Toynbee that the *Porta Viminalis* sarcophagus is one of the earliest in the series, or with Matz that this and *Tebanianus'* sarcophagus were contemporary products of the same workshop. His reasons for arranging the other garland sarcophagi in a chronological sequence round these two are largely unexplained: he appears to consider the decorative content before stylistic considerations in accordance with his theory that the Dionysiac pieces are the earliest (83).

The date of Tebanianus' sarcophagus cannot be fixed accurately, but a date of around A.D. 120 seems to be agreed by all. The problems all rest with the date of the Porta Viminalis sarcophagus. The brick stamp evidence is in itself not totally satisfactory, since it seems to be based on a passing remark made by Brunn, and anyway it can be circumvented by the assertion that the sarcophagus must have been made before the tomb was built. Nevertheless, criticism of the evidence is only called for if it really does not accord with the stylistic evidence. I hope to show that Turcan is right in seeing a comfortable gap in date between Tebanianus' and the Porta Viminalis sarcophagi, and that Matz was also right when he suggested that the two monuments were made by the same workshop.

However, before doing so a third, extremely tenuous piece of dating evidence should be mentioned since it does back up a later date for the Porta Viminalis sarcophagus. It concerns a child's sarcophagus (Terme 441; no. 4) which was one of ten sarcophagi found in 1885 in two chambers which seem to have belonged to the Calpurnii Pisones (84). It was mentioned in one of the excavation reports that in one of the sarcophagi decorated with the rape of the Leucippids there was found a worn coin of Antoninus Pius (85). It was argued by Lehmann-Hartleben and Olsen (86) that this coin was not dropped by tomb robbers but found its way into the sarcophagus when it was first used, thus dating it some considerable time (since the coin was well worn) after A.D. 138. This sarcophagus is considered to be only slightly later than the Terme 441 piece, which is therefore dated by Lehmann-Hartleben, Olsen to c. A.D. 138. As this monument has many stylistic similarities to the Porta Viminalis piece, and, indeed seems to have been made in the

same workshop at approximately the same time (see below) this testimony does go some way towards confirming the late Hadrianic - early Antonine date of the Porta Viminalis sarcophagus.

First, however, it is important to establish the relationship between the sarcophagus of Tebanianus and the Porta Viminalis piece: were they made by the same workshop and do they differ widely in date? Superficially the two monuments are quite different (pls. 99, 100). The main similarity between them is the central figure on the front, a youth (probably in both cases a satyr, but opinions differ<sup>(87)</sup>) poised with feet together, left arm raised above his head to hold the taeniae, the right hanging by his side (pls. 105, 106). The differences in pose consist of the way the hand is turned to hold the taeniae, and possibly the angle of the head (the figure on Tebanianus' sarcophagus is damaged so it is impossible to be sure). This figure is not found on any other garland sarcophagus. Both sarcophagi also use cupids as garland supports - at the front corners on the Porta Viminalis sarcophagus, at the back corners on Tebanianus' (pls. 100, 109). These are also in much the same pose, with the outside arm raised above their heads, feet braced against the weight of the garland; the main differences in pose are the angle of the head and direction of the gaze (a difference dictated by their respective positions on the sarcophagi) and the position of the second hand - on the Porta Viminalis sarcophagus this is placed on the garland cuff, whereas on Tebanianus' sarcophagus it holds the taeniae in the air. The significance of this similarity of pose is not as great as in the case of the satyrs, since the majority of the garland sarcophagi have similar cupids. The major differences in the decoration of the two pieces are that the garland supports at the front corners of the Tebanianus sarcophagus are female figures, while those on the Porta Viminalis piece are cupids,

and the fact that Tebanianus' sarcophagus has figured scenes, not medusa heads in the front lunettes, and garlands on the sides, not confronted griffins. Tebanianus' monument is much more elaborate and required more work than the other.

The figures on Tebanianus' sarcophagus are altogether more graceful and delicate than those on the Porta Viminalis piece, which tend to be gross and bloated. This effect is enhanced by the use of lower relief. The cupids on Tebanianus' monument are closer in type to those on the Trajanic friezes, and its medusa heads are of an earlier, less refined type, similar to those used on the cinerary monuments (pls. 109, 3, 4, 6, 8, 69, 83) with round faces, narrow foreheads and summarily rendered hair. The medusa heads on the Porta Viminalis sarcophagus by contrast are elegant in the hellenistic manner with oval faces, rather beautiful features, and elaborately intertwining locks of hair (pls. 107, 108).

The garlands on the front of Tebanianus' sarcophagus differ stylistically from those on the sides (pls. 101, 102, 109): those on the front are flat and rather amorphous, and although the fruits are individually detailed they do not stand out in the garland. The garlands on the sides have a much clearer outline and are rendered in higher relief: the fruits are carefully separated from one another and each is modelled almost in the round. This makes them closer in style to the garlands on the Porta Viminalis sarcophagus (pls. 103, 104), with their tight compact structure and hard round fruits.

It was suggested by Turcan that the lack of vitality in the decoration of the Porta Viminalis sarcophagus shows that it belonged to a later period when the decorative scheme had become routine and boring. The roughly blocked out griffins on the sides might also be taken as

evidence that short-cuts were being used, although this might also be a reaction to the knowledge that the monument was to be placed in a niche. The Porta Viminalis sarcophagus certainly lacks the harmony of the decoration of Tebanianus': this is largely because the cupids and satyr on the front are the same height and hence not in proportion to one another, and thus the cupids seem gross and overgrown. Such disharmony was avoided on Tebanianus' sarcophagus by the use of the female figures at the front corners; the cupids on the sides do not jar because they cannot easily be seen at the same time as the female figures. Such lack of harmony is not necessarily any indication of date. Rather more important is the fact that on the Porta Viminalis sarcophagus each element of the decoration is isolated from the others by an empty space, whereas on Tebanianus' sarcophagus there is very little blank space and the various elements run into one another. This can be seen most clearly in the way the medusa heads fit above the garlands (pls. 100 and 109). The cluttered effect is a Flavian and early Trajanic characteristic (pls. 4, 10): the rather more spacious look came later.

The two monuments clearly have elements in common and significant differences, but do these add up to the conclusion that they were contemporary pieces made in different workshops, or monuments separated by several years but made in the same workshop? The similarity in stance of the central figures on the fronts suggests that the two pieces were made in the same workshop, the design being preserved in a sketch. Differences such as the build of the figure would thus indicate different interpretations by different craftsmen (or the same craftsman at different stages in his career). The difference in general style again suggests a gap of some years between the two

monuments. The cluttered effect, the graceful lively figures, the garland styles and the medusa heads on Tebanianus' sarcophagus all suggest a Trajanic date, whereas the spaciousness of the decoration and the stiffness and solidity of the figures on the Porta Viminalis piece belong to a later period. Above all, the Tebanianus sarcophagus displays an interest in the decoration which one associates with the beginning of a tradition, whereas the Porta Viminalis sarcophagus betrays a more mechanical attitude concerned with producing a high quality piece as economically as possible - it is only the frieze of cupids riding a variety of animals along the front of the lid which shows any exuberance at all. I see no reason, therefore, to doubt that the Porta Viminalis sarcophagus was made at least fifteen years later than Tebanianus'.

So far the garlands of the two monuments have merely been compared with each other, and to some extent with the garlands on the later grave altars. However, there are also a few examples of sculpted garlands from other monuments of the late Flavian, Trajanic and Hadrianic periods. A fragment of a garland from Domitian's palace on the Palatine (88) reveals a style unlike any on the contemporary cinerary monuments. It uses large fruits shown in great detail and variety, with leaves and pods in profusion. It does not have either a hard outline or a deep cross-section, but is rather sprawling and amorphous. Flavian relief sculpture as a whole favours high relief casting deep shadows, with cutting deep into the surface: it tends to be flamboyant and rather chaotically exuberant. Trajanic sculpture by contrast tends to use low relief with hard edges, the details rendered by small grooves as if drawn or etched into the stone. The effect is controlled and neat, but lacks the dramatic effect of the

Flavian work. This tendency is reflected in the garlands which survive from the Trajanic building programme. The oak garland which decorates the base of Trajan's column (89) is hard in outline and broad, with the outline of the leaves clearly marked on the surface. Other fragments are from the temple of Venus Genetrix (90), in Berlin (91), and in the Terme Museum (92). The Venus Genetrix garland has a deep cross-section and small, very detailed fruits packed together in a heavy dense garland. Shadows are created by the careful modelling of each fruit, not by cutting into the surface. The effect is clear and hard, almost metallic. The Berlin fragment shares some of these characteristics : the garland is broad with a deep cross-section, and the fruits are small and densely packed together, but the shadows are not so deep. The Terme garland is also very hard in outline, its surface almost flat (quite unlike the Venus Genetrix piece), and the fruits are separated from one another by narrow grooves cut into the surface (a technique reminiscent of the altars of Licinia Magna, pl. 4, and in Amelia, pl. 10). The garland is again compact and dense, with a deep cross-section. The cupids in these fragments are too mutilated to give much information, but the frieze of cupids from the temple of Venus Genetrix does give an idea of their characteristics. Unlike the cupids on some of the altars (pls. 7, 10) which are stiff and doll-like they are graceful and move naturally, and their faces are babyish with fairly long hair in waves. The cupids on the Berlin and Terme fragments seem to be of a rather more slender type.

Garlands dateable to the Hadrianic period come as a surprise after the Trajanic variety. The Mars altar in the Terme Museum (93) dated October A.D. 124 by its inscription reveals a total lack of interest in the garlands which are similar to those on many of the later grave altars: the fruits are almost oval in shape with no attempt



to make one appear to be a different variety from another. The panels with garlands let into the walls of the Pantheon (94) show the same lack of interest, although in this case the fruits are all spherical, not oval. A garland fragment found at the entrance to the Mausoleum of Hadrian (95) also has a very stylised appearance, with rows of spherical fruits.

The garland style of the sarcophagi, insofar as they have a style in common, seems to derive from the Trajanic garlands. The garlands on the front of Tebanianus' sarcophagus do have features in common with the garland on the fragment from Domitian's palace, but the garlands on the sides are more clearly defined, have a deeper cross-section and altogether have greater similarity to the Venus Genetrix garland. The cupids also belong to an early type: although graceful and with longish hair they are taller and less child-like than those on the Venus Genetrix frieze. The sarcophagus appears to have been executed partly in a Flavian and partly in a Trajanic tradition, presumably by two or more craftsmen. It cannot have been made long after the completion of the Venus Genetrix friezes, and thus is probably closer to A.D. 115 than 120 in date.

The Actaeon sarcophagus in the Louvre (no. 5) with its extreme precision and obsession with minute detail appears completely different from Tebanianus' sarcophagus. Nevertheless, the two pieces share an unusual feature, the use of female figures instead of cupids at the front corners. The women on the Actaeon sarcophagus have much in common with the Victories on the frieze from Trajan's forum (96). The use of low relief with carefully etched details (especially noticeable on the sides - pls. 112, 113) is also characteristic of the Trajanic style. The compact, heavy and well-defined fruit and flower garlands

on the front are also close in style to the Terme fragment. All these features suggest that the monuments must belong to the late Trajanic or early Hadrianic period, but not much later as has been suggested (97). Thus despite differences in style this sarcophagus cannot have been made many years after that of Tebanianus.

Two more sarcophagi also have garlands which are hard in outline and are packed with a variety of detailed fruits. One of these is now in Hever Castle, Kent (no. 6, pls. 115-119). Its garlands clearly belong to the Trajanic tradition: its cupids, too, are very like those of the Venus Genetrix frieze, and the griffins seated at the back corners have the etched clarity which is characteristic of the Trajanic sculptural style. It is likely, therefore, that it was made at the end of Trajan's reign or slightly later. The sarcophagus of *Malia Titia*, found at Ficana near Ostia (no. 7, pls. 120-123), may also be an early piece. When first discovered it was hailed as mid-Antonine, but *Andreae* later dated it somewhere between A.D. 125 and 150 (98). Some of its unusual features (such as the shape of the lid) indicate Eastern influences, but its peculiarities might also be explicable by an early date. Its fruit garlands are again compact, smooth and heavy, while the laurel garlands on the sides (pl. 121) are similar to the oak garland on Trajan's column. The cupids stand on small bases, and there are small birds under the garlands and a goat's head above panthers at the back corners. None of these features are found on the other sarcophagi, but they were all in common use on the cinerary monuments. The cock fight theme, too, is not one which was popular otherwise with the makers of the early sarcophagi, although used on altars. It is possible therefore that this was an early experimental piece made at a time when the conventions had not been

established. Another fragment from Ostia (no. 9) may also be an early piece. The cupids are plump and move well, and the garland is made up of fairly large, detailed fruits. The scene of a Triton and Nereid is also careful and detailed, although not of the standard of the mythological scenes on the Actaeon sarcophagus.

The cupids on a fragment in Venice (no. 8, pl. 114) are not as fat as those on the Venus Genetrix frieze, but are similar to those at the back corners of Tebanianus' sarcophagus in both pose and build, and have the longer hair characteristic of Trajanic cupids. The garland is very rich and naturalistic - the fruits are larger than those on the Venus Genetrix fragment and the garland is altogether less dense and heavy. Again it compares well with the garlands on the sides of Tebanianus' sarcophagus, The scene of the rape of Proserpina above the garland has the same minuteness of detail as the scenes on the Actaeon sarcophagus, but which is totally lacking on Tebanianus'. The Venice fragment should therefore belong to c. A.D. 120.

A number of monuments have garlands which, although similar to the Venice fragment, suggest a development from it. The sarcophagus from the Via Labicana now in the Terme Museum (no. 10) has garlands of fruits of much the same size and density as that on the Venice fragment, and the cuffs are almost identical in shape and size. They are not as rich or detailed, however, and use fewer leaves: they are one step nearer to the stylised garlands of the Hadrianic period. A similar garland was used on a fragment in Vienna (no. 12). The scenes on both this and the Via Labicana sarcophagus are detailed and careful, although not as much so as on the Venice fragment. The cupid on the Viennese fragment is not as elegant or as graceful as those on the

Venice fragment, but it is not very far removed from the Venus Genetrix type. The cupids on the Via Labicana sarcophagus are awkward in their stance, their heads at an odd angle to their bodies. Another sarcophagus with characteristics in common with these is in the Lateran Collection (no. 11)(99). The garland is rather flat and the fruits tend to fall into rows, but the cupids are babyish and move well, suggesting that they are earlier than those on the Porta Viminalis sarcophagus. The masks in the lunettes are also rendered in careful detail, a further indication of early date: this is probably the earliest sarcophagus with dionysiac masks in the lunettes instead of figured scenes. With a fragment in Palermo (no. 14) it is possible to see a step further towards the style of the Porta Viminalis sarcophagus: the cupids are much more stationary than those on Tebanianus' sarcophagus. The garland consists of fruits which are all rather alike and are arranged in rows, and the medusa head, too, is very like those on the Porta Viminalis sarcophagus, with her oval face, elaborate locks of hair and full cheeks and lips.

The Porta Viminalis sarcophagus (no. 3) and the child's sarcophagus Terme 441 (no. 4) have so many features in common that they must be contemporary products of the same workshop. The left hand garlands of the two sarcophagi are virtually identical, with a variety of fruits which are not arranged in rows. The right hand garland of the Terme sarcophagus is made up of stylised long leaves or ears of corn: apart from the laurel garlands on the sides of the Actaeon sarcophagus and the sarcophagus of Malia Titia this is the first attempt to vary the garland types for added interest. More of it will be seen later - it surely represents an attempt to pep up what had become a boring motif. A distinctive feature of the garlands on both the Porta Viminalis and Terme sarcophagi is that long spiky leaves rather than

the more usual vine leaves were used in their cuffs. The cupids are similar in pose and feature, especially their bloated faces and bodies and wig-like curly hair. Both sarcophagi have lids with scenes along the front - on one racing cupids, on the other a hunt. These are similar in composition and theme. The sides of both sarcophagi are without garlands, but unlike the Porta Viminalis sarcophagus the Terme sides are quite elaborate and carefully worked. Moreover the Terme sarcophagus has detailed theatrical masks above the garlands of the front. In their detail they are similar to the dionysiac masks on the Lateran sarcophagus: they must be the first theatrical masks to decorate a garland sarcophagus.

A fragment in Naples (no. 13) probably belongs to much the same period. The cupids are lively and babyish, but not much interest has been taken in the garland which has such big gaps between the fruits that the background is visible through it. This is the inevitable result of the growing tendency to use larger fruits in a looser garland and lower relief: such short cut methods can be seen in later sarcophagi, especially those at Ostia. At the same time the fruits were often arranged in three rows, and little trouble was taken to render them in much detail. The Naples sarcophagus belongs to a group of sarcophagi with three garlands on the front, a device which appears to belong to the early Antonine period. Various features of this sarcophagus, therefore, suggest quite a late date, well into the Antonine period, but the cupids with their similarity to those on the Lateran sarcophagus make a date of c. A.D. 140 more plausible.

In the early Antonine period there seems to have been an attempt to revitalise the garland motif by varying it. On the Pawlowsk

sarcophagus (no. 15) the fruit garlands on the front are bound round with bindings, and on the sides there are oak garlands. Its cupids are again similar to those on the Lateran sarcophagus (central cupid) and on the Porta Viminalis sarcophagus (corner cupids), and the dionysiac masks are detailed and careful, suggesting a date close to that of the Terme 441 piece. A sarcophagus similar to this but with some later features is in Cliveden (no. 17): the cupids have become even more anatomically peculiar, the theatrical masks are less detailed, and in the central lunette there is a portrait bust (unfortunately the head was only roughly blocked out in antiquity - the features are modern). The central garland on this sarcophagus is of fruit and flowers, and is fairly detailed although flat; the garlands on either side are of oak leaves with bindings. The sarcophagus may be of the same workshop as the Pawlowsk piece, but it is probably a few years later, c. 145-150.

The two other sarcophagi in this group are in the Metropolitan Museum (no. 16) and the Palazzo Barberini (no. 18). The cupids, garlands and figure scenes are stylistically so alike that they must belong to the same workshop and the same period. As on the last two sarcophagi there is a deliberate attempt to make the cupids look lively - the two in the centre are running towards one another - but this does not make them graceful. Again, the heads do not seem to fit onto the bodies, and their faces are as coarse as those on the Porta Viminalis sarcophagus. The garlands are continuous, passing over the shoulders of the cupids, and each section represents a season, using flowers for spring, olives for winter, and corn, grapes and fruits for summer and autumn; on the Palazzo Barberini sarcophagus the cupids

also have seasonal attributes at their feet. This seems to me to be a gimmick to make the garlands more interesting rather than an attempt at symbolism. The scenes above the garlands are detailed but are characterised by dumpy figures with large heads, suggesting a date slightly further into the Antonine era than the Pawlowsk sarcophagus.

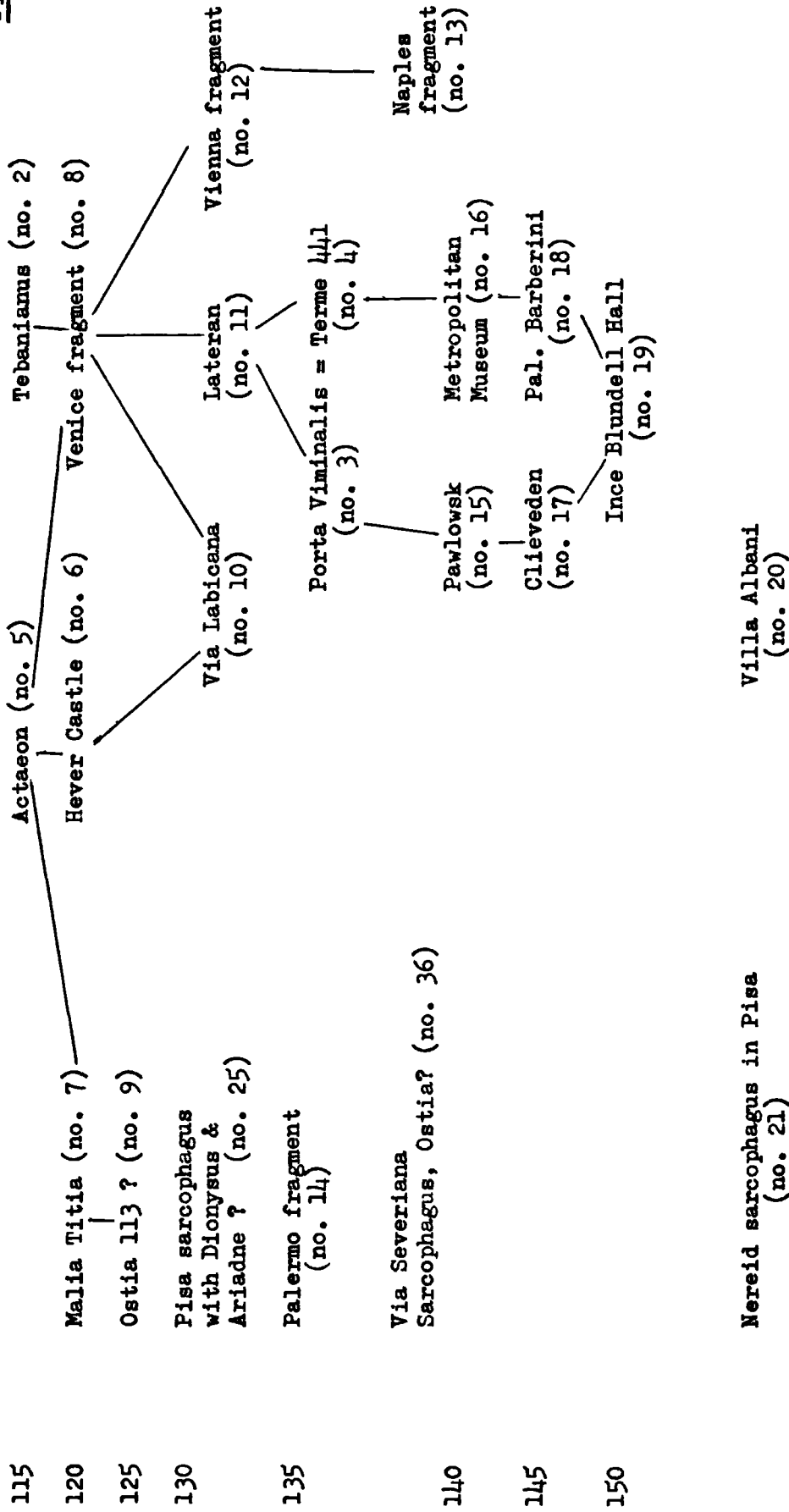
A sarcophagus worth mentioning is that in Ince Blundell Hall (no. 19, pl. 124) as Turcan dated it amongst the early sarcophagi (A.D. 120-125). However, it cannot be this early: the cupids are lumpish and have short hair in curls, the garland is in low relief with its fruits spread out on the background so that it is possible to see through it, and the figure scenes have rather dumpy figures with large heads. It is unlikely that it was made much before A.D. 145. Other sarcophagi which belong to this period are in the Villa Albani (no. 20), which has Cupid and Psyche in the centre flanked by garlands - the work is careful but stylised, and a sarcophagus in the Campo Santo in Pisa (no. 21, pls. 128, 129) with a Triton and Nereid in the lunettes. The style of the latter's garlands is highly idiosyncratic, as the fruits are all outlined by small drill holes. There are many other garland sarcophagi, often of inferior craftsmanship, which were made in the mid-late Antonine period. Their garlands tend to be very stylised and usually dionysiac or theatrical masks were placed in their lunettes: garland sarcophagi ceased to be creative and original at the beginning of the Antonine period.

Inevitably all these dates are approximate. From the stylistic point of view Tebanianus' sarcophagus belongs to the beginning of the series, but how early it is cannot be decided from the inscription alone. If there is indeed a large gap in time between this and the Porta Viminalis sarcophagus surprisingly few monuments can be dated within it. Garland sarcophagi, it seems, only caught on slowly: their period of

greatest popularity was the early Antonine era, and the inventiveness of their designers ran out soon after this date. There were a few other types of early sarcophagi - those decorated with griffins seem to have been made quite early on, and there were a few very unusual designs (100) - but their popularity did not last long either. The sarcophagus design which was destined to flourish was that which covered the whole of the front in a figured frieze, usually representing a mythological episode, and this was established in the early Antonine period.



Figure 3



Notes.

- 1). C.I.L. VI 9326.
  - a) (front) VOLVSIÆ PRIMÆ/ CONIVGI KARISSIMÆ/ EPAPHRODITVS Q N  
DISP/ ET/ VOLVSIÆ OLYMPIADI/ ET EPAPHRODITVS FILIVS/  
EPAPHRODITO/ Q N DIS/ LOCVS D A QVINTO/ N.
  - b) (left side) PRIMA VIX ANN XX M IX D XXIV/ POSIT XII NOVEMB  
FVLVO ET ATRATINO COS. (A.D.89).
  - c) (right side) above VIX AN XLI OB IMP NERVA III COS (A.D. 97)  
below OLYMPLAS V ANN XXV MX DV.

E. J. Bickerman, Chronology of the Ancient World (London and Southampton 1968), pp. 185-186.  
Bibliography: wolf and twins catalogue no. 2.
- 2). C.I.L. VI 33976.  
Cumont, Recherches, p. 254.  
H. I. Marrou, ΜΟΥΣΙΚΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ, pp. 130, 206.  
Portraits catalogue no. 9.
- 3). C.I.L. VI 20139. Tacitus Ann. XI, 36. Birds catalogue no. 59.
- 4). C.I.L. VI 11541. Altmann, pp. 116, 287. Bacchic scenes catalogue, no. 19.
- 5). C.I.L. VI 8434. Altmann, p. 93, no. 67. Blanckenhagen p. 80, no. 4  
Honroth cat. 55. Nereids and Tritons catalogue no. 18.
- 6). Altmann, chapters 3, 4, and 5.
- 7). Most of these were found together in the Villa Bonaparte, Via Salaria. Not. Sc. 1884 pp. 393-394; Bull. dell'Inst. 1885 pp. 9-13, 22-30; B. Com. 1885 pp. 101-103. Although not found in their original positions the altars clearly belonged together. The monuments of Licinia Magna and Asprenans Calpurnius Torquatus were not found at the same time, but have been included in the group by Altmann.
- 8). C.I.L. VI 31721. M LICINIVS/ M F. MEN/ CRASSVS FRVGI/ PONTIF PR  
VRB/ COS LEG/ TI CLAVDI CAESARIS/ AVG GERMANICI/ IN Mauretania.  
His part in the British expedition: Suetonius, Claudius 17.  
His death: Seneca, Apoth. 11.  
Consulship: Bickerman, op. cit. p. 184.  
Altmann, p. 37, no. 1, fig. 22. Honroth cat. 38.  
Animals catalogue no. 34.
- 9). C.I.L. VI 31722 CN POMPEIUS/ CRASSI F MEN/ MAGNVS/ PONTIF QVAEST/  
TI CLAVDI CAESARIS AVG/ GERMANICI/ SOCERI SVI.  
He was quaestor in A.D. 44, Frater Arvalis in A.D. 44-46, but probably died before A.D. 47 (Dio. 60, 31, 7).
- 10). C.I.L. VI 1445 DIS/ MANIEVS/ LICINIAE CRASSI/ FRVGI PONTIFICIS F/  
MAGNAE/ L PISONIS PONTIFICIS VXOR.  
Altmann, p. 40, no. 5. Vat. Cat. II p. 676. Blanckenhagen, p. 80.  
Honroth cat. 69. Bickerman, op. cit. p. 185 (husband's consulship).  
Birds catalogue no. 76.

- 11). C.I.L. VI 31723. DIS MANIBVS/ I CALPURNI PISONIS/ FRVGI LICINIANI/ — VIR S F/ ET VERANIAE/ Q VERANI COS AVG F/ GEMINAE/ PISONIS FRVGI. Tacitus, Hist. I 14-19; III 68. Altmann, p. 39, no. 3, fig. 24. Griffins catalogue no. 26.
- 12). C.I.L. VI 31724. C CALPVRNIVS/ CRASSVS FRVGI/ LICINIANVS CON/ SVL PONTIFEX/ ET AGEDIA QVIN/TINA CRASSI. Vita Hadriani, 5 (death). Altmann, p. 42, no. 9, fig. 30.
- 13). C.I.L. VI 1370. Matz/Duhn, 3940. Altmann, p. 43, no. 10. Altmann believes him to be the son of L. Non. Asprenas, consul in A.D. 6. Animals catalogue no. 28.
- 14). C.I.L. VI 31727. Altmann, p. 41. no. 6, fig. 27.
- 15). C.I.L. VI 31725. Altmann, p. 40, no. 4, fig. 26. Animals catalogue no. 5.  
The sequence of the altars therefore is as follows:
- |                                  |             |
|----------------------------------|-------------|
| Licina                           | Tiberian?   |
| Cn. Pompeius Magnus              | A.D. 46-47. |
| M. Licinius Crassus Frugi        | Claudian    |
| L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi         | A.D. 69.    |
| Licina Magna                     | Flavian?    |
| C. Calpurnius Frugi Licinianus   | Hadrianic.  |
| C. Calpurnius Piso Crassus Frugi | Hadrianic?  |
- 16). Many of these monuments came from a columbarium on the Via Appia and have been collected together in the Lateran collection. Although there are a large number of monuments few of them have inscriptions giving any information other than the names of the occupants. The size and quality of the workmanship vary enormously.
- 17). Tacitus Ann. III,30, records L. Volusius Saturninus' death in A.D. 21, and gives the other information about his career. In Ann. XIII, 30, he records the death of L. Volusius Saturninus II in A.D. 56 at the age of 93. A third L. Volusius Saturninus was consul in A.D. 87 (Bickerman, op. cit. p. 185.)
- 18). C.I.L. VI 1968. Altmann, p. 50, no. 2, fig. 40.  
L VOLVSIO/ VRBANO/ NOMENC(L?)ATORI/ CENSORIO.  
Wolf and twins catalogue no. 3.
- 19). C.I.L. VI 22811. Montfaucon, V pl. 80. Altmann, p. 51, no. 3.  
DIIS MA/MYSTI L VOLVSI/ SATVRNINI SER/ VOLVSIA IRENE ET DORIO FILIO/ VIXIT AN XV M VI PERMISSV Q N.  
Wolf and twins catalogue no. 4.
- 20). C.I.L. VI 7373. Altmann, p. 51, no. 4, fig. 44.  
L VOLVSI PHAEDRO/ TI CLAVDIVS SVAVIS/ ET CLAVDIA AGLAVRE/ SOROR/ ET HERMA A MANV/ FECERVNT/ P C D D.  
Wolf and twins catalogue, no. 18.
- 21). Bacchic scenes catalogue no. 21.

- 22). C.I.L. VI 7386. Altmann, p. 52, no. 5, fig. 42.  
DIS MAN S/ ANTIOCHIDI HICETES/ L VOLVSI SATVRNINI ET/ ANTHVSA  
MATRI B M.  
Birds catalogue, no. 54.
- 23). C.I.L. VI 7387.  
DIS MANIB/ IANVARIAE/ CORNELIAE/ L voluSI/ EVTYCHES CONIVGI/  
BENE MERENTI/ ET SIBI/ L D D D .  
B. Combet-Farnoux, Mélanges 72 1960 pp. 147-165.  
Mythological scenes catalogue, no. 29.  
The inscription is damaged, but it does seem reasonable to restore  
the fourth line as 'L Volusi'. The inscription does not say that  
this is a L. Volusius Saturninus - that is an assumption made by  
Combet-Farnoux. He also assumes that as both Cornelia and L. Volusius  
are mentioned in the inscription they must have been alive when  
the monument was made, and thus the monument was made before A.D. 56.  
This does not seem to me to be adequate evidence that the monument  
was made in the second quarter of the century.
- 24). Museo Nazionale delle Terme inv. nos. 1038 (round), 1039 (rectangular)  
1040 (round and 1044 (rectangular). Altmann, pp. 44-48, figs. 34-  
37. Birds catalogue, no. 1.
- 25). Tacitus, Ann. 1, 74 records that M. Granius Marcellus, governor  
of Bithynia, was accused of treason by his quaestor A. Crispinus  
Caepio.
- 26). Helbig II, p. 81, suggests that the male statue is of Sulpicius  
Maximus, who lived under Augustus and Tiberius. The statue of the  
woman is approximately 50 years later, and it is suggested that  
she is not Sulpicia Platorina but Antonia Furnilla. The bust was  
identified as Minatia Polla in the original publication (Not. Sc.  
1880 p. 129.)
- 27). C.I.L. VI 31761-31768a. The principle inscriptions are:  
a) C.I.L. VI 31761: C SVLPICIUS M F VOT PLATORINVS/ SEVIR/ X VIR  
STLITIBVS IVDIC/ SVLPICIA C F PLATORINA/ CORNELI PRISCI.  
b) 31765: 1st slab missing- 2nd slab:  
x vir STL IVD TR MIL Q TR PL PR/ leg TI CAESARIS AVGVSTI ET/  
c CAESARIS AVGVSTI/ crispina CAEPIONIS F VXOR/ m sulpICIVS Q  
F C N C ET GEMINI.  
3rd slab: (artori pronepo)S SVR(a)  
(vixit annis men)SIBVS X D.  
c) 31766: ANTONIA A F FVRNILLA Q MARCII/ Q F C N C ET GEMINI ARTORI/  
PRONEPOTIS BAREAE SVRAE.
- 28). This elaborate monument has already been considered as a major  
piece for establishing chronology because, unlike most monuments  
with detailed portraits, it was also decorated with other motifs,  
in particular ammon heads, garlands and eagles. cf. Toynbee,  
The Hadrianic School pp. 203-204; Honroth, Cat. no. 63. The  
garland on this has been taken to show the typical form of the  
Flavian garland, but this is misleading.  
(Portraits no. 16).
- 29). Details of all these monuments are given in the section on portraits  
(Chapter 6) - portraits nos. 17, 18, 19.
- 30). C. Rodenwaldt, Der Sarkophag Caffarelli, Berlin 1925. (Winckelmanns-  
programm der Archaeologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin, 83)

Toynbee, The Hadrianic School, pp. 203-205.

- 31). M. Honroth, Die Stadtrömische Girlanden, (Vienna 1971).
- 32). Honroth suggests that these two altars (Honroth cat. nos. 58 & 59) and that of Iunia Procula are nearly contemporary: I cannot agree, but would place the monuments of Apusulemus Caerellianus and Crenaeus approx. twenty years later than the monument to Iunia Procula. Very similar garlands to those on these two altars can also be seen on the lid of the so-called 'priests' sarcophagus in the Vatican Museums. (Altar of Apusulemus Caerellianus - catalogue for reclining figures, no. 7; Crenaeus - Griffins no. 13).
- 33). Altar of L. Camurtius Punicus, Pal. Corsini, Rome: wolf and twins motif, no. 1. Altar of T. Statilius Hermes, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: Animals no. 9.
- 34). Grave altar in Amelia, Municipio: mythological scenes no. 19.
- 35). Altar in the Villa Celimontana (=V. Mattei) gardens: Heads and masks no. 4. The development of the more massive type of cuff can be seen throughout the first century: the very heavy cuff used on this monument, however, has parallels on the garland sarcophagi rather than the cinerary monuments.
- 36). Altar of Spondon, ?Villa Borghese. Heads and masks no. 1.
- 37). Altar of Aimestus, Louvre. C.I.L. VI 11288. Altmann, p. 62, no. 5, fig. 56.
- 38). Altar of Iulia Panthea, Museo Chiaramonti, Vatican Museums: C.I.L. VI 20593. Altmann, p. 66, no. 11, fig. 59. Vat. Cat. I p. 685, no. 561, pl. 73. Honroth, cat. 17.
- 39). Altar of L. Naevius Oecius, cloisters of the Basilica S. Paolo, Rome: heads and masks no. 3.
- 40). Altar in the Museo Chiaramonti, Vatican Museums: portraits no. 14.
- 41). Ash chest of Aelia Postumia, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: birds no. 2.
- 42). Ash chest of Annia Cassia, Perugia Archaeological Museum: cupids no. 30.
- 43). Ash chest without inscription, Museo Nazionale delle Terme, inv. 124514: door motif no. 54.
- 44). As the altar in the Villa Celimontana gardens (pl. 11) and the altar of Fabia Theophile in the Villa Albani: heads and masks nos. 4 and 5.
- 45). Ash chest of Ti. Claudius Lupercus, British Museum 2355: Victories no. 6.

- 46). Ash chest of Nicostratus, once Lansdowne House, present whereabouts unknown. Portraits no. 20. The inscription refers to him as 'Neronis Claudii Caesaris Augusti ven—.''
- 47). Altar of Ti. Claudius V(italis), Vatican Museums. Door motif no. 57. For a discussion of the inscription on this monument, see chapter 6, the door motif, note 37.
- 48). Grave altar and funerary relief of Ti. Claudius Dionysius, Lateran Collection, Vatican Museums. Door motif, no. 47.
- 49). Grave altar of Flavia Daphne, Villa Borghese, Rome. Birds no. 4.
- 50). Grave altar of Luccia Telesina, Museo Chiaramonti, Vatican Museums. A late first century date is probable since she seems to have been either the daughter or the wife of the consul of A.D. 66 (Bickerman, op. cit. p. 185). Altmann, pp. 83-85, no. 46, fig. 70; Turcan, p. 132; Helbig. I p. 280. (Mythological scenes no. 16).
- 51). Grave altar of Claudia Semne, Galleria Lapidaria, Vatican Museums. C.I.L. VI 15592. Vat. Cat. I p. 192, no. 31B, pl. 24. Honroth cat. 100. Henning Wrede, 'Das Mausoleum der Claudia Semne und die bürgerliche Plastik der Kaiserzeit', R.Mitt. LXXVIII 1971, p. 131, no. 7, pl. 76, 3.
- 52). Wrede, op. cit. pp. 128-138, pls. 77, 79.  
On the facade of the mausoleum was a pedimental relief decorated with the portrait bust of a woman with a Trajanic hairstyle: she is identified as Claudia Semne by an inscription underneath. Her husband and her son were both called M. Ulpus Crotonensis, and her husband was an imperial freedman.
- 53). For the emergence of cupids as garland supporters see: Matz, Meisterwerk, p. 85.
- 54). Grave altars of Iunia Procula: Portraits no. 16. Cornelia Glyce (Vatican Museums): Portraits no. 17, L. Tullius Diotimus (Borghese Gardens, Rome): Portraits no. 31, Gavius Musicus (Vatican Museums): Work scenes no. 17.
- 55). Grave altar of T. Statilius Aper (Capitoline Museums): Work scenes no. 9; Appendix of inscriptions no. 7.
- 56). Grave stone of Pompeia Margaritis (Cambridge): Reclining figures no. 10, grave altar of Pomponia Postuma (Florence): Reclining figures no. 24, grave altar of T. Flavius Abascantus (Urbino?): Reclining figures no. 8.
- 57). Grave altar of T. Flavius Philetus (Vatican Museums): Nereids and Tritons no. 6, grave altar of T. Flavius Alcon (Museo Nazionale delle Terme): Cupids no. 47.
- 58). Altar of M. Ulpus Floridus (Perugia Archaeological Museum): Mythological scenes no. 4.

- 59). J. L. Benson, 'Spirally fluted columns in Greece', Hesperia XXVIII 1959, pp. 253-261. H. Plommer, (A note on spiral flutes) in Ant. J. 1969, pp. 127-128.
- 60). Ash chest in Siena Archaeological Museum: Door Motif no. 4, ash chest of P. Volumnius, tomb of the Volumnii, Perugia: Door motif no. 2, pl. 18.
- 61). Ash chest of Celadus, (Capitoline Museums): Door motif no. 25.
- 62). Grave altar of Cn. Sentius Felix (found Ostia, now Uffizi Gallery): Cupids no. 31, Animals no. 2, altar of Iulia Apollonia (Isola Sacra, Ostia): Portraits no. 36, Griffins no. 39, Animals no. 6, grave altar of Cn. Turpilius Parthenopaeus (Uffizi gallery): Cupids no. 32, Animals no. 7. Other monuments with a similar scheme of decoration may also be from this workshop - cf. Animals nos. 1-8.
- 63). Altar of Iulia Capriola (Museo Nazionale delle Terme): Reclining figures no. 22.
- 64). Mythological scenes nos. 20-25.
- 65). Grave altar of M. Aurelius Onesimus, (Borghese Gardens, Rome): Nereids and Tritons no. 22.
- 66). W. Altmann, Architektur und Ornamentik der antiken Sarkophage, Berlin 1902. p. 80 'die Mehrzahl der Guirlanden Sarkophage dem ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte angehörte'.
- 67). Altmann, op.cit. pp. 69-85.  
It seems that several sarcophagi did have bucrania as garland supports, and a few had rams' heads, but I know of none with ammon heads. The Caffarelli sarcophagus is by far the most famous and the most securely dated monument with bucrania. Others are:  
1) a back (?) of a sarcophagus in Leningrad (Altmann, op. cit. p. 67, fig. 26; 2) the sarcophagus of P. Volumnius Violens (Altmann, op. cit. p. 67; 3) Matz-Duhn 2402; 4) Matz-Duhn 2403, with the inscription T. Flavius/ aug. lib./ Eglectus/ ab ungentis/fecit sibi.  
5) Matz-Duhn 2404, sarcophagus of a M. Aemilius Posidonius.  
6) Fragments with rams' heads, Matz-Duhn 2406. 7) child's sarcophagus (of Zosimus) in the Terme Museum with rams' heads.
- 68). Robert, A.S.R. II (Berlin 1890):  
sarcophagus in the Pal. Mattei - dated first century (pp. 190-191)  
sarcophagus once in Florence - dated first century (pp. 148-152)  
A.S.R. III,1 (1897):  
Actaeon sarcophagus in Louvre - dated Augustan (p. 2).  
A.S.R. III,2 (1904):  
sarcophagus in the Pal. Barberini - dated first century (pp. 244-246)  
A.S.R. III,3 (1919):  
fragment in Venice - dated second half of the first century (p. 457)  
sarcophagus in the Metropolitan Museum - dated Trajanic (p. 504).
- 69). C. Robert, 'Roman Sarcophagi at Clieveden', J.H.S. XX 1900 p. 82.
- 70). G. Rodenwaldt, Der Sarkophag Caffarelli, Berlin 1925.

- 71). Mrs. Strong, La Scultura Romana, vol. I (Florence 1923) p. 52, dated the sarcophagus as Augustan; vol. II (1926) p. 417 as Hadrianic.
- 72). J. M. C. Toynbee, 'A Roman sarcophagus at Pawlowsk and its fellows', J.R.S. 17 1927 pp. 14-27.  
'Note on a Roman sarcophagus in the Campo Santo, Pisa', J.R.S. 18 1928 pp. 215-216.  
The Hadrianic School Part II.
- 73). Toynbee, J.R.S. 1928, p. 216.
- 74). Degrassi, I Fasti Consolari, p. 26.
- 75). Matz, Meisterwerk, p. 47.
- 76). G. Melchiori, Bull. dell'Inst., 1839 pp. 1-4.
- 77). Benndorf-Schoene, p. 293. The date 123-155 is quoted as Borghesi's, but is otherwise unexplained. Dressel - C.I.L. XV 1051.
- 78). Brunn, Kunstblatt, no. 77, 24 Sept. 1844, p. 321. Robert, A.S.R. II pp. 168-171.
- 79). It is possible that the stamps belong to subsequent building or repair. The excavation reports are not detailed enough to discount such a possibility.
- 80). Matz, Meisterwerk, p. 48. 'Jedenfalls ist der übliche Ansatz der frühen Girlandensarkophage um 140 um fast eine Generation zu spät'.
- 81). Honroth, pp. 42-43, cat. no. 78.
- 82). Turcan, part II, *passim*.
- 83). Thus he dates a sarcophagus decorated with bacchic scenes at Ince Blundell Hall (sarcophagi no. 19) to A.D. 120-125, but many mythological sarcophagi later (as the Actaeon sarcophagus).
- 84). Lehmann-Hartleben, Olsen, Dionysiac Sarcophagi, p. 10.  
The tomb was found in 1885 between the Porta Salaria and Porta Collina. The grave altars of the Calpurnii Pisones had been discovered earlier amongst the architectural fragments (see note 7) but ten sarcophagi in two chambers now came to light nearby: these are the subject of Lehmann-Hartleben and Olsen's study. The original excavation reports occurred in: Not. Sc. 1885, pp. 42-45 and 74-77; Mélanges, 1885, pp. 318-319, pl. VIII-XIII.
- 85). Not. Sc. 1885, p. 75.
- 86). Lehmann-Hartleben, Olsen, pp. 55-56.  
This analysis depends on the questionable assumption that the family would have abandoned the tomb if robbers had entered it in the second century.



- 87). Picard (Les Trophées Romains, p. 415), followed by Turcan (p. 376), interpreted the central figure on Tebanianus' sarcophagus as Mars.
- 88). Blanckenhagen, p. 66, pl. 22, fig. 63.
- 89). E. Nash, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome, vol. I (1961), p. 286, fig. 337. Honroth, cat. 72.
- 90). Nash, op. cit. p. 424. Honroth, cat. 73.
- 91). Berlin cat. p. 365, no. 902 - 'angeblich vom Forum des Trajan'. Honroth cat. 74.
- 92). Aurigemma, p. 164, no. 43. Honroth, cat. 75.
- 93). C.I.L. XIV 51; Aurigemma, p. 130, no. 315, pl. 65; Helbig III, 2306; Honroth, cat. no. 85.
- 94). Honroth cat. no. 86.
- 95). Gusman, III pl. 176; Honroth cat. no. 101.
- 96). Helbig III, pp. 309-310, 2383.
- 97). Hadrianic: Toynbee, Hadrianic School, p. 213; Mrs. Strong Scultura Romana, p. 417; late Hadrianic: Honroth cat. no. 88. Early Antonine: J. Sieveking, 'Das römische Relief', in Festschrift Paul Arndt, München 1925, p. 32.
- 98) Honroth, cat. 102, pp. 54-55 - early Antonine. Calza, Boll. d'Arte 1954, pp. 111-112 - A.D. 160-170. Andreae, A.A. 1957 pp. 85-86 - A.D. 160-170. Andreae, Grabkunst, p. 23- A.D. 125-150.
- 99). A series of fragments in the Lateran Collection appear to belong to the same workshop - nos. 10064 and 10060 share the rather distinctive head in a wimple, and no. 10513 has a Pan mask of similar style to those on the sarcophagus.
- 100). Griffin sarcophagi: Priests sarcophagus in the Vatican Museums - Vat. Cat. I p. 256, no. 126, pl. 26. Child's sarcophagus in Ostia - Not. Sc. 1928 p. 166. Sarcophagus from the tomb of the Calpurnii Pisones - Lehmann-Hartleben, Olsen, Dionysiac Sarcophagi, passim. Sarcophagus in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge - Budde and Nicholls, Catalogue, no. 160.  
Possibly early sarcophagi decorated with strigillated panels: in Ostia - Not. Sc. 1972, pp. 484-487; sarcophagus now outside the Curia in the Forum Romanum.  
Other early sarcophagi may include the Velletri sarcophagus (see ch. 4, note 12) and a sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme decorated with two chariots and children playing - Helbig III, no. 2394.

**Part II: The Decoration of the Cinerary Monuments.**

Chapter 6. Representations of the dead and images of life and death.

All the motifs considered in this chapter are unusual in that they are not part of the common decorative repertoire used by the decorative arts as a whole: they were used exclusively, or almost exclusively, in funerary contexts (1). With the exception of the door motif and some of the everyday scenes they are all variations on the portrait theme. The dead could be represented on their cinerary monuments as a full, statuesque figure with appropriate attributes, or as a portrait bust, a reclining (sleeping or feasting) figure, engaged in their daily work, or linking hands - usually with their husband/wife. The door motif might seem an odd man out, but it belongs here for two reasons. First, it was used in conjunction with the dextrarum iunctio (or right handshake) motif, and also in one instance with a portrait bust, in another with a 'banquet' scene, secondly because it was quite rare outside funerary art - unlike the other motifs commonly used to decorate the cinerary monuments - and seems to be a symbol of the barrier between life and death.

Note (1).

The door motif does occur in II style wall painting. Doors were a popular motif in the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii, in the Villa of P. Fannius Sinistor at Boscoreale, and in the Villa of Oplontis at Torre Annunziata. The handshake was used on coinage, and banquet scenes on terra sigillata cups. Portraits, too, do occasionally occur in the decorative arts, but their specifically commemorative function caused them to be associated with commemorative and funerary monuments.

The Door Motif and *dextrarum iunctio*.

The Closed Door.

The door motif used in a funerary context was, of course, quite common in the Mediterranean world, and was far from being a Roman invention. Painted or stucco 'false' doors decorated the slabs closing the loculi in the hellenistic cemeteries of Alexandria, and some of the stone monuments from hellenistic Alexandria and Greece were decorated with doors (1). A sculpted form of the door motif used on grave stelai also entered northern Italy via Dalmatia in late Republican times (2). However, it is on certain Etruscan cinerary urns that we find the closest similarity to the motif as it was used on the Roman monuments. On the Etruscan monuments there are already doors flanked by trees, with guarding genii, and doors combined with figures linking right hands. The door is seldom the same shape as on the Roman monuments, and there are no Roman scenes that are exact replicas of the Etruscan, but the scenes are sufficiently alike to suggest that there was some correspondence of ideas, and in certain cases the Etruscan scenes provide interesting parallels and clues to the Roman motif (3).

The door motif was used on the Roman cinerary monuments in three ways: architectonically, in an attempt to make the monument look like a building, pictorially, as the depiction of the door of some other building, or decoratively, as little more than an abstract pattern. These categories, however, are not rigid, and it seems that the door as such was not thought of as a single motif, but existed in several variations according to context. In all cases it could serve

a symbolic function as well as having its realistic surface connotations.

The ash chest of Q. Vitellius (no. 1; pl. 17) seems to be almost totally architectonic in its use of the door motif, although it is clearly not meant to imitate a building realistically: Gusman calls it an 'ossuaire en forme de temple' (4). An attempt to imitate a temple can be seen even more clearly on the Augustan ash chest of P. Volumnius from the tomb of the Volumnii in Perugia (no. 2; pl. 18). The front with its flanking pilasters, double door and imitation walling, and the roof-like lid with tiles and acroteria, clearly represent a temple-like building, although the sides and back do not sustain the fiction. The habit of using one side only to suggest a building is most developed on the grave altar of C. Telegennus Optatus (no. 3). The front is simply decorated with an inscription panel in an elaborate frame and the sides with trees swarming with birds, insects and reptiles, but on the back, in low relief, is a stately and imposing door flanked by columns and topped by a pediment containing cult implements with sphinx acroteria. There are steps up to the door which has four panels, each containing a lion's head with a ring in its mouth. The effect is that of a temple seen front on, and the door appears to be an architectonic rather than a pictorial feature as the temple façade is co-extensive with the back of the monument.

On several other of the Roman monuments a more pictorial representation of the door is combined with an attempt to identify the whole monument with a building. This feature was again anticipated by a late Republican monument produced in Etruria, an ash chest now in the Siena Archaeological Museum (no. 4) (5). The whole

monument is designed to imitate a building, with its corner columns, a lid shaped like a roof, and imitation walling of blocks of stones on the sides. Under the inscription panel is a door flanked by trees and columns, and between this motif and the corner columns there are stylised plant motifs. Thus the door is not strictly an architectonic feature of the ash chest, but rather a pictorial representation, although its presence among so many architectonic elements suggests that it had a double function. The roman ash chest of Valeria Thetis (no. 19) also has a mixture of architectonic and pictorial elements: apart from the door on the front there are spiral columns at the corners supporting a reef-shaped lid with tiling, and imitation walling on the sides. Imitation walling was also used on the ash chest of Varia Amoeba (no. 31) and the ash altar of P. Ciartus Actus (no. 10); columns supporting an imitation roof occur on the ash chests of Cn. Voluntilius Soprohus (no. 11) and Q. Volusius Narcissus (no. 8; pl. 19). The tendency to make the whole monument resemble a building in certain of its features is, however, frequently found when the door motif is absent (6).

In certain cases the door motif is used in a way that cannot really be called either pictorial or architectonic. The large altar of Valgia Silvilla in the garden of the Terme museum (no. 5) which is otherwise undecorated except for a jug and patera on the sides has a large door carved on the back. The door completely fills the field, but it is very simple with no accompanying attributes to explain the use of the motif. The reduction to a pattern is even more obvious on the ash chest of Statilius Eudaemon (no. 6). Here the inscription panel is flanked by designs each consisting of four undecorated panels: it is only comparison with the rather similar but more explicit

ash chest of P. Cervonius Suaves (no. 7) which proves that they were intended to be doors rather than a mere abstract design.

A similar difficulty of interpretation arises with an elegant and elaborate monument, the ash chest of Q. Volusius Narcissus (no. 8; pl. 19). When describing this piece, Gusman at one moment referred to 'cette urne affectant la forme d'un petit temple' and at another to 'l'entrée simulée du tombeau' (7). This confusion, inherent in the very nature of the door motif, is augmented here by the actual appearance of the door. It has eight panels and no pediment, and suggests a pattern of decorated squares rather than a doorway - four panels and a pediment is the more usual formula. It is not unknown for the cinerary monuments to be decorated with eight panelled doors, however: the ash chests of Vitalionis (no. 36) and Celadus (no. 25; pl. 25, 26) both have eight-panelled doors which do not lose their pictorial effect. The unusual appearance of this door is caused rather by the combination of realistic architectural elements (the columns, roof and door) with fantastic pieces of architectural decoration (a volute containing rams' heads and patterned hangings with lions' feet). By placing the door on a base and surrounding it with these unrealistic pieces of architecture the sculptor has created a visual fantasy and the door is neither a realistic representation of a tomb door nor a convincing architectural feature of the monument.

An unrealistic effect was also created on an altar found in the Vigna Villani (no. 9). Again the door stands on a base decorated with bucrania and a garland, and there is a curious series of motifs above it: a tight garland is slung from the ends of a large volute decorated with rams' heads - this hangs down across the top of the door and supports a trophy made up of various pieces of armour.

This, and the fact that the motif is used twice on the monument (once on each side) enhances its decorative rather than its pictorial or its architectonic aspects. A similar effect was achieved on the altar of P. Ciartus Actus (no. 10). On the front, superimposed on an imitation wall, there is a long thin door standing on a base - the motif might be considered architectonic were it not for the tripods treated in exactly the same way on the sides.

However, in the majority of cases the door was clearly intended as a pictorial representation of the door to a building. It would be useful when assessing the ideas behind the motif to know what kind of building this was, but the evidence of the scenes themselves is ambiguous. Where they are used architectonically doors seem to enhance the temple-like appearance of a monument, but the doors used pictorially are not of the same type and do not appear to be temple doors. The name commonly given to the motif, the 'doors of Hades', would not appear to be particularly appropriate, although there is evidence for such an identification of the doors on some of the Etruscan monuments and later Roman sarcophagi (8). Such clues as there are point to their identification as tomb doors: their general appearance (with four panels, often with rings in them, a pediment, and sometimes a central doorpost with rivets in it) and certain of the flanking attributes (see below) give this impression. Moreover, on the ash chest of C. Magius Heraclida (no. 12; pl. 20) the front is divided into four panels by columns and pilasters, and each panel has its own door and inscription panel. The doors are quite realistic, with four panels and a pediment, and it would be more plausible to see these as a row of four tomb doors, one for each person commemorated, than the door of Hades repeated four times.



On the monuments of Helius (no. 58) and Vernasia Cyclas (no. 65; pl. 33), both with a dextrarum iunctio scene, and the altar of Cn. Voluntilius Soprohus (no. 11), the pediment over the door is decorated with the same motif as the pediment to the whole monument: it is possible that this represents an attempt to equate the ash chest with a more grandiose tomb (9). Many of the monuments with pictorial doors are small and humble ash chests which presumably belonged to people who had to be content with a columbarium niche rather than a family tomb: the door may represent the tomb they would like to have had, or may be intended to suggest that the chest itself, although humble, is a tomb as much as a large building.

Although the doors used on the following monuments are very similar to one another, there are many variations in detail, and no two are exactly the same. On several monuments a heavy garland hangs down across the door, as if sealing it forever, an element that perhaps reinforces the view that many of these doors are tomb doors rather than the doors of the underworld (10). This version of the motif is found on the ash chests of L. Visillius Sedatus (no. 13), Valerius Verna (no. 14), Speratus (no. 15), Aphrodisius (no. 16), L. Lepidius Epaphra (no. 17; pl. 21), M. Burrius Felix (no. 18), Valeria Thetis (no. 19), L. Cacius Cinna (no. 21; pl. 22), Vergilia Veneria (no. 22) and without an inscription in the Louvre (no. 20); there was once a garland across the door on the ash chests of Manlia Parata (no. 23), in Liverpool (no. 24; pl. 23) and of Abuccia Arescusa (no. 29), although in all three cases the garland is now broken.

Another major way by which the motif could be varied was by the use of animals, trees or objects placed on either side of the door. Where trees are used, usually laurel or cypress, the intention

could merely be to suggest a cemetery or a funeral setting. This is found on the ash chests of Celadus (no. 25; pl. 25, 26), P. Septimius Herma (no. 26), Manlia Parata (no. 23), Tita Hygia (no. 27; pl. 24), Q. Curiatius Zosimus (no. 28), and an ash chest in Liverpool (no. 24; pl. 23). The ash chest of Abuccia Arescusa and L. Abuccus Pothus (no. 29) has ivy on either side of the door, another traditionally funereal plant, but also with bacchic connotations. The use of palm trees, as on the ash chests of Cn. Volutilius Sophrus (no. 11) and of L. Visillius Sedatus (no. 13) might allude to more complicated ideas involving the concept of Victory: an ash chest in Catania (no. 30) has both palm trees at the corners and ivy growing from cantharoi flanking the door. Reversed torches, no doubt simply referring to the extinction of life, were used on the ash chest of Varia Amoeba (no. 31), and rather curious bulbous columns decorated with leaves stand on either side of the door on the ash altar of C. Voltilius Domesticus (no. 32; pl. 27). These may have no further function than to suggest the architectural setting of the door.

Dogs sit on pedestals beside the door on Onesimus' ash chest (no. 33) - these could be guardians or mourners. Sphinxes, perhaps acting as guardians, flank the door on the grave altar of Evander (no. 34) and on the ash altars of Speratus (no. 15) and Vergilia Veneria (no. 22); griffins perform a similar function on the ash chest of M. Burrius Felix (no. 18). Cupids appear four times - on the ash altar of Valeria Thetis (no. 19), of Valerius Verna (no. 14), of Festus Genethlianus (no. 35), and of L. Caciuss Cinna (no. 21; pl. 22). None of these additions really clarify the motif, although perhaps they are more appropriate to the tomb than to the entrance to Hades. More curious are the dolphins on either side of the door on the ash chest of Aphredisius (no. 16): dolphins also form part of the motif over the

door on the ash chest of Onesimus (no. 33), and dolphins occur again in the column capitals on the ash chest of Vitalionis (no. 36). Swans flank the door on the ash chest of L. Lepidius Epaphra (no. 17; pl. 21).

Trophies or armour are also associated with the door motif.

On the ash chest of L. Visillius Sedatus (no. 13), and on an ash chest in the catacombs of S. Sebastiano (no. 37), trophies are placed on either side of the door, and on an ash chest without inscription in the Louvre (no. 20) the door is surrounded with armour. On the grave altar from the Vigna Villani (no. 9) elaborate trophies were placed above the doors. As the three more imposing pieces are without inscriptions, it is impossible to say whether the owners had had a military career, but in the case of L. Visillius Sedatus the monument is fairly humble and any allusion to a military victory gained by the dead man is extremely unlikely. As trophies could be used to decorate tombs their association with the door motif might merely be intended to reinforce the setting, as the cypress and laurel tree. On the other hand, there are also palm trees on the ash chest of L. Visillius Sedatus suggesting, perhaps, a more concerted attempt to express ideas of victory.

The ideas, such as they are, behind the closed door motif, are not clear-cut, nor is there a single explanation that fits all the variations. The door could be used to equate the ash chest with a temple, shrine or a tomb, but it does not seem that such an equation was necessarily intended. Where the motif is used more pictorially it appears to represent the tomb, itself a symbol of death. It is perhaps not necessary to identify the door in this way: in general

terms a door inevitably suggests a barrier, which is most plausibly explained as that between life and death, between the living and the dead. That this barrier was felt to exist is shown by several epitaphs, especially those of married couples, which express a strong sense of separation. However, Britt Haarløv in a recent study of the door motif on a wider range of funerary monuments has suggested that such doors, whether represented open, half-open or closed, express the idea of a door which can open onto a new life, that is, that the door is a symbol of resurrection (11). While this may be true of a number of the half-open doors on later monuments, it seems to me that the closed doors - many of them sealed with a garland - which were represented on the earlier cinerary monuments do not allude to belief in a life after death. As I have already suggested, they have many varied connotations, but in essence they are a divisive barrier: they state the fact that the living are separated from the dead and are non-committal on the subject of afterlife survival.

#### The open door.

Few monuments show the door open or opening, and they do not form a homogenous group - nor do they really help to clarify the concepts associated with the door motif, despite the fact that they seem to use it in a more specific way. The ash altar of C. Clodius Primitivus and C. Clodius Apollinaris (no. 41) is decorated with two Victories in the act, apparently, of pulling open a large double door of four panels, each decorated with a lion's head. This variant of the motif has been taken to refer to the concept of victory over death: thus Haarløv has written that

The clearest example of the symbolism of victory in connection with the door motif is found on the ash chest of Clodius Primitivus in the Vatican. Here under the palm trees at the corners are seen two victorias in the process of flinging the leaves of the door open wide - on this occasion the action itself of opening the door is synonymous with the triumph over death. (12)

A similar analysis of the scene had been made by Cumont, who described it as showing 'deux Victoires ailées rouvrant les battants de la porte de l'Hadès, tandis qu'aux angles du monument se dressent les palmiers, qui, eux aussi, suggèrent l'idée d'une défaite infligée au Trepas' (13). I can see no good reason for suggesting that the Victories are 're-opening' rather than merely 'opening' the doors, nor for their identification as the doors of Hades. Motifs which seem to allude to the concept of victory - palm branches and armour in particular - are quite common in the decoration of the cinerary monuments, and, as I have already pointed out, were often associated with the door motif. They are frequently said to allude to 'victory over death', but what precisely was meant by this elusive concept has not been adequately explained. Could not these Victories symbolise the victory of death rather than the victory over it? Are they indeed opening the door that leads to a beatific afterlife, or are they merely allowing the dead to enter the tomb, with death as the final victor? The decoration of this monument is unique and fascinating, but I do not find its message at all clear.

A rather different set of ideas is suggested by the open door motif used on the bottom half of a grave altar now in the cloisters of the basilica S. Paolo in Rome (no. 42; pl. 28). Here the doors and their pediment seem to form a cupboard or small

shrine containing the portrait bust (now mutilated ) of a youth or boy (?) but the steps leading up to the door and the elaborate lions' heads and studs decorating it suggest a larger building - a temple perhaps - which is not in proportion to the portrait bust. Several interpretations of the motif are possible: that the portrait is being treated as a funerary imago kept in a cupboard, or that the dead youth has been deified and given a temple, or that this is an attempt to represent the dead living on in the tomb. However, the motif may have combined several such ideas, or the door may have been little more than an elaborate frame for the portrait (14).

The 'cupboard effect' is seen again on an altar of North Italian manufacture in Ferrara (no. 45). The doors are shown half open, and inside are revealed a shelf dividing the space into two and a small bird above with a stork killing a snake below. Another curious revelation behind the doors is the 'funerary banquet' which is taking place between the door leaves on the badly damaged altar of Herenia Iusta (no. 43). The most plausible explanation for this combination of motifs is that the doors are those of the tomb and that the banquet is taking place there.

The presence of a liknon-carrying Silenus in the doorway on the ash altar of Volusia Arbuscula (no. 44) would seem to refer to different ideas again. The motif is clearly meant to be the central element in the decoration and might perhaps be expected to provide the key to any symbolism on the altar as a whole. There are again steps up to the door, and these together with the base suggest that the door might be that of a temple rather than of the tomb, although it is possible that a less concrete barrier, as that between life and death or death and the afterlife, was intended. It is possible to see

this as a statement of belief in a dionysiac afterlife, with the doors representing the passage from life to death or from death to life, the Silenus the dionysiac rout and the ecstatic bliss of the initiate in the afterlife, and the liknon the life-giving power of Dionysus (15). However, various elements mitigate against such a view. The Silenus figure itself is very static, and seems to be emerging from the doorway rather than inviting the dead inside, and the rest of the decoration of the monument (shields, tripods and eagle) does not elaborate on the bacchic theme. The altar remains unusual, and the full significance of its decoration is unclear.

The ash altar of Q. Cornelius Saturninus (no. 46) has an arch rather than a doorway. Inside stands a winged cupid holding a bird in his arms with on either side of the arch a dancing Victory holding a tambourine over her head (these women seem to have wings and are probably not maenads as Altmann suggests). The cupid has the same air of just emerging from a doorway as the Silenus on the altar of Volusia Arbuscula, but here the lack of doors suggests an architectural frame rather than a barrier that can be open or closed (16).

#### The dextrarum iunctio motif.

In its simplest form the dextrarum iunctio motif consists of two people shaking or linking right hands. In most cases (there is one exception) on the Roman cinerary monuments these figures clearly represent a man and a woman, often identifiable as husband and wife. The motif is seen in its most basic form on the grave altar of Ti. Claudius Dionysius (no. 47; pl. 30) set up by his freedwoman who was

also in some sense his wife (17). The couple stand on a ledge linking right hands; he holds a scroll in his left hand, and she may be holding something in hers (if so, it would not appear to be the apple or pomegranate found in other examples of the motif). Similar scenes are reported on the ash chests of Q. Fabius Echus (no. 48), Caponius Avius (no. 49), Claudia Lyde (no. 50), and C. Antius (no. 51), and a similar gesture was used to link the half portraits of man and wife on the front of the grave altar of M. Antonius Asclepiades (no. 52) which has another full-figure dextrarum iunctio scene on the back. The gesture is also found in other contexts, as in the feast scene on the altar of Vitellius Successus in the Vatican (reclining figures, no. 47).

Bruhl expressed in a nutshell the problem involved in interpreting this motif:

Cette poignée de main représente-t-elle l'union par la dextrarum iunctio, l'adieu ou la rencontre dans le monde céleste? (18).

Altmann took the motif to indicate marriage and unity (19). The handshake on the ash chest of Helius (no. 58), which he calls 'die typische Form der Darstellung' he takes to be a scene of confarreatio and he interprets the scroll in the left hand of the man as the tabulae nuptiales. Amelung also interprets a similar scene on the altar of Sex. Caesonius Apollonius (no. 53; pl. 29) as a 'Hochzeit-darstellung' and, more precisely, a scene of confarreatio - the scroll he interprets as tabulae nuptiales and the boy in the background as a camillus; the amazon shield in the background is a 'sacred gift' (20). Nevertheless, Altmann recognised that:

Im Typus unterscheidet sich diese dextrarum iunctio kaum von der Szene des Abschiedes auf hellenistischen Grabreliefs, nur die Rolle in der Linken des Mannes deutet auf die römische Hochzeitsitte'.(21).



When describing an altar with a dextrarum iunctio scene in the Terme museum (no. 54), Romanelli suggested that the scene represented 'due coniugi nel momento e nell'atto del congedo' (22). Tina Campanile makes the same assertion about the dextrarum iunctio on the altar of Vinicia Tyche (no. 55), saying that it represents 'i due coniugi, nella ben nota scena del commiato' (23); the scroll she explains as showing 'la condizionale civile', and the pomegranate compares the wife (whose monument it is) to Persephone. Jocelyn Toynbee, again considering the Terme piece (no. 54) (24) suggests that the motif conveys 'the idea of the mystic marriage of the souls of the deceased in paradise'. Macchiero proposes a compromise explanation: the combination of marriage and death, he says, would not seem odd to the Romans, who loved violent contrasts - the origin of the scene was a realistic representation of a confarreatio ceremony in front of house doors, but it came to be a scene of leave-taking (25). Although his compromise is unsatisfactory, his confusion is well-founded, as neither the marriage nor the separation theories fit all the examples of the motif.

The most complete examination of the motif has been made by Reekmans (26), who traces its development from Greek art through to Christian art of the late Empire, although his main concern is the later part of this period. He points out that the gesture in general symbolises concord, as it did in the Roman imperial coinage (showing Hadrian and Sabina, Antoninus Pius and Faustina, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, for example), and that to the Roman mind it had a special significance since it constituted with the sacrifice the culminating point in the marriage ritual. The funerary monuments, he

suggests, do not show the marriage ceremony itself, but were designed to represent the fidelity of the couple - the scroll therefore is the tabulae nuptiales. However, he also recognises the probability that in some cases the scene can be one of parting, especially when it takes place in front of a door: this, he suggests, could be a sign that the union and fidelity will continue beyond death:

Dans le groupe cité d'urnes cinéraires et d'autels funéraires, si l'on excepte celui de S. Caesonius Apellonius, la dextrarum iunctio au-dessus de l'autel a lieu devant la porte ouverte soit du tombeau soit de l'Hadès. Il se peut que l'on ait voulu suggérer par l'alliance de ces deux éléments l'idée que l'union conjugale se prolonge dans la vie de l'au delà. (27)

More specifically, he says that when the man puts his hand on his wife's shoulder (as on the altar of Vestricius Hyginus and ash chest of Claudia Lyde) this can be identified with certainty as a scene of parting. He notes that similar scenes were used on Greek lekythoi and funerary stelai, and on Etruscan cinerary urns, but this increases rather than solves his perplexity:

Le contexte iconographique - la présence notamment de divinités et de démons d'outre-tombe - prouve qu'il s'agit dans ces cas de scènes d'adieu. Sur certains monuments funéraires romains, au contraire, il n'est pas facile de décider si la dextrarum iunctio doit être prise comme symbole de l'union conjugale ou comme geste d'adieu. Certaines particularités dans la représentation font tout de même pencher parfois pour la dernière interprétation. (28).

Nevertheless, nowhere does he recognise the third possibility, that the scene may be one of reunion.

In support of his leave-taking interpretation, Romanelli also points to the dexiosis scenes on Greek stelai, and Altmann also cites these as scenes of leave-taking. It is worthwhile considering both the Greek and the Etruscan antecedents of the motif, although perhaps to different effect from Reekmans' analysis, Friis-Johansen has considered at length the question of the significance of the handshake on Greek stelai, and shows that its interpretation is not as simple as Romanelli, Altmann and Reekmans suggest (29). He lists the possible interpretations which had been put forward by previous writers (many of which could apply to the Roman use of the motif) as:

- a) the scene shows the dead as if he were still alive.
- b) it shows the last farewell of the dead to the survivors.
- c) it shows the reunion of the newly dead with those who had died before him.
- d) it shows the reunion of the dead with his still living relations at his tomb where they come to worship him.
- e) it shows the reunion of the living and the dead in the imagination: the communication between the living and the dead in an unspecified place (i.e. not the tomb).
- f) the dead are not shown on these scenes - only the survivors are shown.

Johansen himself suggests that in origin the handshake linked the heroised dead with his living worshippers, and this later came to mean a community or union between the living and the dead in no particular location (similar to (e) above) (30).

This explanation, however, does not fit the Etruscan use of the motif, which is often sufficiently like the Roman to suggest

some continuity of use. It is difficult to ascertain what the Etruscans meant by the linking of right hands, but it seems that it was intended to convey either leave-taking between the dead and the living, or reunion between the newly dead and those who had died before, either at the door of the tomb or at the entrance to the underworld. In the majority of cases the scene is as vague about location and what is happening as the Roman examples: thus on certain ash urns (Korte, III, LVIII, i, in Volterra, for example) the couple shake hands among a crowd of other figures, who are presumably relatives, and the scene could be one of marriage, leave-taking, or reunion. However, on various pieces more elements are added. Frequently the pair of figures linking hands is accompanied by a pair of demons, one of which is often Charun, and it is not always clear whether these are separating the pair or bringing them together, nor where the scene takes place, although the possibility that the scene represents a marriage can be ruled out.

That at least two quite different meanings existed for the motif can be seen by considering a few individual pieces. An urn in Volterra (Korte, III, LII, 15) shows two people linking right hands outside a structure that is clearly meant to be a tomb: this would suggest that the door associated with the dextrarum iunctio scenes in Etruscan art should be identified as the tomb door. However, on an ash chest in Berlin (Korte, III, LVII, 8) a figure accompanied by Cerberus stands outside a door holding his right hand out to a figure led to him by a winged demon. The obvious explanation of this is that someone who died earlier is coming to the door of the underworld to greet a more recently dead relative. This impression is confirmed by an urn in the Florence Archaeological Museum (Korte, III, XCVII, 10)

where a winged demon pushes a man out of an arch to greet a man on a horse - again presumably a dead man newly arrived at the underworld, although it may be the family tomb. The picture seems to be different, however, on an urn in Palermo (Kerte, III, LXXVII,2) where it is the rider who is just outside the arch, and the scene could be one of leave-taking. On three urns (Kerte, III, LXI,5; LXII,7; LXII,8) it looks as if the scene is one of parting - a servant or demon holds the horse in readiness for the journey to the underworld while the dead man says goodbye to his family.

Later Etruscan monuments, even where the scene seems more detailed and explicit, do not seem to clarify the situation. A sarcophagus in Palermo (31) has on the far right a man and woman embracing with a demon behind each of them, looking as if about to pull them apart (although this may be illusory). At the other end of the sarcophagus is a door from which a demon carrying a torch issues, and another demon holding a key stands in front of it. Four figures, presumably relatives, stand between the couple and the door: it is not at all clear whether they are gathered to say farewell to the dead on his way to the tomb, or to greet him as a newcomer to Hades. A similar scene, a painting from the Tomba Querciola (32), shows two men linking right hands. Dennis saw this as a scene of parting between the living and the dead: Messerschmidt believes it to show the father greeting his dead son outside the underworld. The Bruschi sarcophagus in Tarquinia (33) shows the dead man riding a horse and accompanied by two demons going towards a tower-like building with an open door, outside which stand a man and a woman. The common and most likely explanation of this scene is that it shows the dead parents waiting for their newly-dead son at the gates of the underworld.

It seems, therefore, from this brief survey, that the motif as used on Etruscan funerary monuments often represented the reunion of the dead with his predeceased family, but in certain cases it seems more likely that it showed him taking leave of his living family, either outside the tomb, or at the gates of the underworld. It is quite possible, however, that the scenes were left deliberately ambiguous - certainly they could mean different things on different monuments, and it is impossible to say categorically that the motif always meant one thing or the other. However, it does seem unlikely that the motif was ever intended in Etruscan funerary art to convey the actual marriage ceremony, nor can Johansen's explanations of the Greek version of the motif apply to it. These conclusions should be borne in mind while considering the Roman use of the motif.

The 'marriage ceremony', or more precisely confarreatio, interpretation has been attached particularly to those scenes on the Roman monuments where the linking of right hands takes place over an altar. This happens on the altar of Sex. Caesonius Apollonius (no. 53), which is without doors, and on the monuments of Helius (no. 58) and C. Domitius Verus (no. 59) with doors. The Caesonius Apollonius scene (pl. 29) is quite detailed: a man holding a large scroll links hands with a woman holding an apple or pomegranate over an altar decorated with bucrania and a garland and heaped with fruits. Behind the woman is a smaller figure, probably a child, assisting with the sacrifice. The scenes on the other two monuments are less detailed and lack the third figure, but they are placed inside a doorway.

The main objection to the theory that the linking of right hands necessarily represents a marriage ceremony is the scene on

one of the altars, that of Q. Flavius Crito (no. 56), where two men, father and son, link hands. Here the scene cannot be one of marriage, nor is it at all likely that the scroll held by the father represents the tabulae nuptiales. Other altars, such as that of Apona Felicitas, (no. 61) set up by a father to his daughter give additional weight to this view, and it seems that there is no precedent for such an interpretation on either the Etruscan or the Greek monuments.

Moreover, this form of marriage would have no part in the lives of the people commemorated by these monuments, and was rare even in the upper strata of society in this period. It is only the presence of the altar, it seems, that suggested a confarreatio ceremony, and this can be explained in other ways. On the other hand, the scene on the altar of Ti. Claudius V(italis)(no. 57; pl. 34), does suggest that the gesture could imply or refer to marriage: the figures whose right hands are linked are Dionysus and Ariadne. The number of monuments with the dextrarum iunctio scene which were dedicated by one marriage partner to the other also suggests that there was some connection in the Roman mind between the gesture and marriage.

Some indication of what is happening can be inferred from the inscriptions accompanying the scenes. In the case of Q. Flavius Crito we know that Iunia Procula, his wife and the mother of his son, Q. Flavius Proculus, set up the monument to both her husband and her son, both dead and therefore pictured either as they were when alive or as reunited after death. Ti. Claudius Fabianus set up a monument (no. 48) to both his parents, Q. Fabius Echus and Fabia Restituta, so again it is probable that that the scene foretells their reunion in the afterlife, or is simply a memory of when they

were living. Such a reunion would fit in very well with the Etruscan monuments and perhaps with the scene of a young and older man exchanging a patera outside a closed door on the anomalous sarcophagus found near Velletri (34).

The explanation is less simple for the other pieces. In the case of Ti. Claudius Dionysius (no. 47; pl. 30), Vinicia Tyche (no. 55), and M. Antonius Asclepiades (no. 52) one partner was still alive and set up the monument to the other, although it was destined to commemorate both of them eventually. Here reunion would be hoped for rather than actually taking place, and it is possible that the scenes represent leave-taking, a communion between the living and the dead, or little more than a portrait implying that the pair were linked by marriage and fidelity during life (35). Those epitaphs which deal with the separation of marriage partners suggest that ideas were hazy on the subject of eventual reunion - they imply a hope but do not state a belief that the couple will be reunited after death.(36).

Nevertheless, the presence of certain elements requires some explanation. In particular, the connection between sacrifice and the dextrarum iunctio motif has to be defined. The sacrificial element can be seen not only in the scenes taking place over an altar (as on the monument of Sex. Caesonius Apollonius) but also on the ash altar in the Terme Museum (no. 54) where the front is decorated with a dextrarum iunctio scene and the sides with preparations for a sacrifice. On one side of this monument two girls are represented walking towards the front, one carrying a basket of fruits and a garland, the other a conical sunshade or umbrella; on the other side are two boys, one carrying a cock and box, the other a jug and



a patera. The presence of the cock among the sacrificial objects suggests a sacrifice for the dead rather than a marriage (see note 24). Sacrificial objects (garland, jug, patera and possibly sacrificial animals) also appear in more traditional guise on the back of the altar of Vinicia Tyche - such objects are more likely to refer to the cult of the tomb than to the marriage ceremony and may suggest the communion between the living and the dead via the cult of the tomb. On the other hand they may not have such precise connotations, but stand in a more general way for the religious atmosphere that should surround the grave, the piety of the life of the deceased (piissimus being a favourite epithet on the epitaphs), and the continuing attention of the family to their ancestors.

A bacchic connection with the dextrarum iunctio motif also occurs on three monuments: the grave altar of Ti. Claudius V(italis) (no. 47; pl. 30), Vinicia Tyche (no. 55) and in the Terme (no. 54). The first of these shows a man dressed in a cloak and a fully dressed woman linking right hands among bacchic attributes - they both wear vine wreaths and hold thyrsi, they are accompanied by a panther, and they stand under a vine trellis. The obvious inference is that they are meant to be Dionysus and Ariadne, and that this is a mythological rather than a family scene, representing their marriage or union. The figures appear youthful, almost child-like, and therefore the boy Vitalis may be equated with Dionysus. If so it is difficult to see the significance of the motif (37). In more general terms bacchic scenes may allude to a reunion in an afterlife of ecstatic bliss, and this may be the significance of the dancing maenads on the sides of the altar of Vinicia Tyche and the back of the altar in the Terme museum. However, it is difficult in both these instances to assess the relationship of

the dextrarum iunctio with both the sacrificial and the dionysiac elements. Romanelli suggests that there were many parallels between the funerary and the dionysiac cults, and Bruhl explains the connection as:

A la séparation due a la mort, fait suite, après des sacrifices aux dieux et aux morts, la joie immortelle symbolisée par les Ménades. (38).

Neither explanation is quite convincing - the juxtaposition of the dextrarum iunctio motif with one or other of these ideas is explicable, but there is no really satisfactory explanation for the presence of all three at once.

The dextrarum iunctio gesture, therefore, seems to have no one clear-cut meaning on the Roman cinerary monuments, despite the rather more precise use of it made in Etruscan art. The combination of the handshake with the door motif, as will be seen, only makes it more obscure. Nor is there a good explanation for the scroll often held in the man's hand. It does not seem to be the tabulae nuptiales in all cases, although it could be in some; it is possible that it does allude to a more general concept, such as 'la condizione civile', but as Reekmans has pointed out the scroll had become such a generalised attribute of the togate figure that it cannot necessarily have had a specific significance, such as that of marriage (39). Even the pomegranate/apple found occasionally in the woman's hand does not necessarily mean that she is the one who has died, as will be seen. It seems, then, that the dextrarum iunctio gesture had become a more or less meaningless convention, designed to convey in most cases rather vague ideas of the parting of dear ones (usually man and wife), their communion while separated, and their reunion after the second of the pair had died.

The door and *dextrarum iunctio* motifs used together.

When the two motifs are fused into one composite motif of a pair of figures linking right hands in a doorway or under a pediment, their details are much the same as when they are used alone: thus many of the issues involved in the study of the combined motif have already been considered. Nevertheless, the use of the two motifs together limits the number of plausible meanings. It is not likely, for example, that the motif shows a marriage ceremony taking place at the entrance to Hades, although this is what the traditional names for the two component motifs would lead us to expect.

I have already suggested that the type of door with four panels and a pediment is likely to represent a tomb, although it may also allude to a temple or shrine. Such an interpretation seems plausible also for those examples where the linking of hands takes place under a pediment supported by pillars rather than in a doorway (C. Cornelius Philo, no. 64; Vernasia Cyclas, no. 65, pl. 33; C. Iulius Hermes, no. 66; and once in the Aula Maecenatis, no. 67). I have also shown that it is unlikely that this type of scene represents a marriage ceremony, although whether the figures are parting, being reunited, or communing with one another at the grave, is less clear. In three cases the inscription makes it clear that the monuments were erected by a wife to her husband (Helius, no. 58 and T. Aquilius Pelorus, no. 60), or by a husband to his wife (Vernasia Cyclas, no. 65). On these pieces parting, reunion and communion may all be implied, and it is unimportant which was intended as the primary message of the motif. The possibilities are narrowed down on the altar of Vestricius Hyginus and Vestria Hateria (no. 62; pl. 32) set up to the pair of them, both dead, by a

freedman, Rhamus: the scene may, as with the monument of Q. Flavius Crito, represent some kind of afterlife reunion on the threshold of the tomb or Hades. A more wholesale family separation and reunion is suggested by the inscription on another monument - that of Sex. Allidius (no. 63), set up for himself, his son, his sister and his wife. Although the scene only shows two figures it may well refer to the whole family once more reunited after death. A family group can be seen on the monument of Grania Faustina (no. 68) which is not strictly speaking a dextrarum iunctio scene, but more of a collective family portrait.

The picture of devoted marriage partners or families expressing a desire for reunion in the tomb or perhaps in some other afterlife, is denied to some extent by three other pieces where the inscription does not mention the woman represented in the scene. The monument belonging to C. Iulius Hermes (no. 66) was set up by a conlibertus C. Iulius Adronicus: Hermes (?) is shown linking right hands with a woman in a doorway, but she is not mentioned at all in the inscription. The altar of Sex. Caesonius Apollonius (no. 53) was also set up by his heirs and freedmen without any reference to his wife in the inscription, and that to C. Cornelius Philo was set up by his patron. There are many possible explanations for such an omission - the wife could have died so many years before that, although dear to the dead man, she had been forgotten by the heirs when the inscription was cut, or the monument may have been chosen from stock without any real consideration of the aptness of the decoration - but these monuments nevertheless emphasize the fact that the motif was not necessarily chosen to commemorate both the people represented.

The details of the scenes, too, do not give any further clues to the nature of the event taking place. On the monuments of C. Iulius

Hermes and T. Aquilius Pelorus the woman holds an apple or pomegranate: however, in neither case was the monument dedicated to the woman. Plotia Flora, the wife of Aquilius Pelorus, was presumably still alive at the time when the monument was made, and we cannot be sure that C. Iulius Hermes had a wife at all. Thus the fruit does not necessarily suggest that the person holding it was dead (as was suggested for the altar of Vinicia Tyche, no. 55). On the ash chest of Apona Felicitas (no. 61) the door is flanked by eagles: this is reminiscent of the door motif used by itself, and may possibly allude to the apotheosis of the pair. The altar of Sex. Allidius (no. 63) has flying cupids holding up the pediment, which is decorated with two birds and a basket rather than the more usual wreath: this may also allude to the deification or heroisation of the pair. Two birds were also represented chasing an insect on the high base on which the dextrarum iunctio pair stand on the altar of Vestricius Hyginus (no. 62; pl. 32). However, these details do not appear to add anything to our knowledge of the meaning of the motif. The altars in the background of the scenes on the chests of Helius (no. 58) and C. Domitius Verus (no. 59) have already been considered.

The 'Hades door' and dextrarum iunctio motifs, therefore, are more varied and complex than many previous writers have supposed. Both motifs have a long history. Several sources may have contributed to the Roman understanding of the motif, and this makes it all the more difficult to assess it. It seems that by the Roman period the rather precise meanings of the earlier motifs, especially the Etruscan, had been forgotten, but that the motif had been endowed with certain new concepts which enriched it and resulted in a compromise rather than a dichotomy. Thus the handshake often implies that the two people

involved were married, and in certain circumstances it may mean little more than that, but this does not seem to be its primary purpose: it is far more important as a gesture of parting or reunion. Although there seems to be more evidence that reunion was intended, the two concepts are not irreconcilable, since reunion implies separation at some point, and both ideas may have been combined in the motif. Apart from the pieces with dionysiac connotations, there is little indication of the conditions under which such a reunion would take place. The representations of doors without figures suggest the tomb rather than Hades, although it is possible that such a reunion could take place in the underworld as on certain Etruscan monuments (40). That ideas were very vague about the location of such an afterlife reunion is suggested not only by the iconography of the scenes, but also by the literary and inscriptional evidence. The combined motif, with its open doors and loving couple linking hands in concord, expresses a sentimentality which is foreign to those rather bleak closed doors, especially those closed by a garland, which were considerably more common in the cinerary monuments: the former suggest that death is not an insurmountable barrier, but that those who loved each other in this life will continue to do so after death, whereas the latter seem to deny any communication at all between the worlds of the living and the dead.

## (Door Motif)

## Notes.

- 1). Painted and stucco false doors closing the loculi in the hellenistic cemeteries of Alexandria:
 

Pagenstecher, Necropolis, Leipzig 1919, p. 85.

B. R. Brown, Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics and the Alexandrian Style, Cambridge, Mass. 1957, pp. 33-39.

A. Adriani, Repertorio d'Arte dell'Egitto greco-romano, Serie C, I-II Palermo 1961, nos. 67-68, pp. 112-117, pl. 37-38; no. 116, pp. 160-161; and *passim*.

The view put forward by Pagenstecher, that the false door motif was influenced by Macedonia rather than Egypt, Asia Minor or Etruria, seems to have been widely accepted. The false door as a funerary motif appears to have been a hellenistic rather than a classical Greek motif, and to have been used in Greek areas outside mainland Greece rather than in Greece itself. False doors were also used in the decoration of Apulian tombs of the third century B.C.: F. Tiné Bertocchi, La Pittura funeraria Apula, Naples 1964.

Hellenistic stone monuments: Altmann, pp. 13-16, esp. grave altar from Alexandria with a partly open door, fig. 10.
- 2). G. Chiesa, 'Tipologia e stile delle stele funerarie Aquilienti', Aquileia Nostra, XXIV-XXV 1953-4, pp. 71-86.
- V. Righini, 'Forma e struttura delle porte romane: gli esemplari di Sarsina', Studi Romagnoli XVI 1965 pp. 393-418.
- J. Wilkes, Dalmatia London 1969 pl. 6, 13.
- S. Rinaldo Tufi, 'Stele funerarie con ritratti di eta romana nel Museo Archeologico di Spalato', Mem. Lincei XVI 1971 p. 87ff.
- Haarlov, The Half-Open Door, Catalogue IV, 'Grave stelai'.
- 3). G. Körte, I Rilievi delle Urne Etrusche vol. III, Berlin 1916.
- Haarlov, The Half-Open Door, Catalogue I, 'Ash urns'; Catalogue VI 'Sarcophagi (A). Etruscan'.
- G. Davies, 'The Door Motif in Roman Funerary Sculpture' in B.A.R. Supplementary Series 41: Papers in Italian Archaeology I, 1978, pp. 203-205.

The door was one of the earliest motifs used in the decoration of Tarquinian tombs of the sixth century B.C. onwards. (M. Moretti, Nuovi Monumenti della Pittura Etrusca Milan 1966): in the tombs of the earlier period the door is best identified as that of the tomb, but by the later third century B.C. (tombs dei Caronti, tomba Querciola) it seems to have become associated rather with the entrance to the underworld.

Doors used as a single motif were also used on a number of later stone and terracotta monuments: the Guglielmo altar in the Villa Giulia Museum, the ash chest of Pomponius Notus in Perugia (Körte, III, CI,3), and a similar monument in Perugia with large jars in place of the statuesque figures flanking the door. There is also a series of small terracotta urns made in Chiusi with a rounded doorway flanked by trees with garlands joining the trees and the door (Körte, III, CI,i and CI,ii).

- 4). Gusman, L'art décoratif, vol. III, notes to pl. 136.
- 5). Apparently the tile closing the loculus in which this ash chest was placed was inscribed with the information that the dead man was a magistrate in the Sullan colony of Chiusi; consequently it has been dated to the beginning of the first century B.C. If this information is correct, then this ash chest and the one from the tomb of the Volunnii make an interesting pair: both are 'Roman' in appearance but were used in Etruria at a date when there is no parallel from Rome. The decoration of both is fully developed in the Roman manner, and the obvious conclusion as I see it is that these form a link between the earlier Etruscan monuments and the Roman pieces, and suggest that the Roman artisans took the motif over from Etruscan funerary art.
- 6). The house - or temple-shaped ossuary has a long history, and in prehistoric times had been especially associated with Latium. That the idea of the tomb as the eternal house was still current in the first century A.D. can be seen from some of Trimalchio's remarks (Satyricon, 71). On the other hand, these monuments also suggest a temple or shrine to the dead - bringing to mind the fanum Cicero planned for Tullia - suggesting the equation of the dead with the gods.
- 7). Gusman, L'art décoratif, vol. II, notes to pl. 112.
- 8). This name was already being used for the motif by Montfaucon in L'Antiquité Expliquée, vol. V (Paris 1719), pp. 144-146, and appears to have been adopted by many writers since. Altmann sometimes calls the motif 'Hadestür' and sometimes 'Grabtür' but he does not consider whether the two concepts are contradictory, or at least quite different.  
For the use of doors identifiable as the doors of Hades on Etruscan and later Roman sarcophagi see my article in B.A.R.; for the literary use of the door metaphor see Haarløv, The Half-Open Door, 'The Literary Sources' - such literary doors seem to have been specifically the entrance to Hades in early sources, but this was later supplemented by a more sophisticated use which first appears in Lucretius.
- 9). The ash chest in the Merseyside Museums, Liverpool (no. 24; pl. 23) does not have an inscription panel, and the door flanked by trees takes up the whole of the front of the monument. Thus although it is very similar to the majority of the 'pictorial' doors on the other monuments, it also has architectonic aspects - i.e. the door appears to the spectator to be the entrance to the monument, and the impression gained is that the ash chest is a small tomb.
- 10). Confirmation of this identification is given by the decoration on the side of a Meleager sarcophagus (now lost, Robert, A.S.R. III, 2 no. 308). This shows the tomb of Meleager as a closed door with a pediment and a garland hanging across it, exactly as on the ash chests. The scene is completed by a cupid who sits and mourns.



- 11). Haarløv, The Half-Open Door, p. 9, rejects the suggestion put forward by Haight (The Symbolism of the House Door in Classical Poetry, New York 1950, p. 152) that the closed door is a symbol of death, the open door of eternal life and the door ajar of the hope of life on the grounds that it is too simplistic; on the other hand, to insist that 'whether the door is open, closed or half-open is of no importance in relation to the central idea of the monument' (p. 56), and that 'one theme pervades all the monuments: the expectation of a resurrection in some form or other' (p. 55) is equally far too sweeping. The door motif was capable of many associations and connotations, and cannot be so easily categorised. Nevertheless, the fact that it was represented closed far more often than open on the cinerary monuments suggests to me that it was conceived of as a symbol of death rather than of resurrection at this period.
- 12). Haarløv, The Half-Open Door, p. 53.
- 13). Cumont Recherches, p. 481.
- 14). A similar 'cupboard' containing a portrait bust can be seen on a tomb on the Via dei Sepolcri at Pompeii: it was set up by Naevoleia to C. Munatius Gerracanus. Another monument from Perugia (necropoli del Palazzone) has the head of a young man flanked by doors, but with no pediment. He was, according to the inscription (C.I.L. XI 1980) Achonius C. f. Medicus. Körte III, p. 200, CXXXV, 6, describes the scene as follows: 'Testa d'uomo imberbe, col collo troppo lungo, posta, così pare, in un armadio (con le porte mezz' aperte), quale usavano i Romani per l'esposizione delle imagines maiorum'.  
Haarløv, Catalogue III,8, dates the altar in S.Paolo to the 3rd century A.D.: I can see no reason for dating it later than the first half of the 2nd century.
- 15). C. Bérard, 'Silène porte-van', Bull. de l'Assoc. pro Aventico 22 1974, p. 15:  
'Silène passant le seuil de l'Hadès, porteur des symboles de la fécondité, incarne le triomphe de la vie sur la mort, la garantie donnée à chaque initié d'une félicité posthume dans les paradis bacchiques'.
- 16). Lehmann-Hartleben, 'L'Arco di Tito', B.Com. 1934 p. 110, suggests that this monument illustrates the close relationship between funerary and triumphal art: the arch he interprets as probably the door to the underworld.
- 17). The inscription on the altar (C.I.L. VI 15003): DIIS MANIBUS/ TI CLAUDI DIONYSI/ FECIT CLAUDIA PREPONTIS/ PATRONO BENE MERENTI/ ET SIBI, gives no indication of a relationship other than patron and freedwoman, but the inscription on the accompanying relief block (Benndorf-Schoene, no. 185 C.I.L. VI 15004) has a similar inscription ending SIBI ET SUIS POSTERISQUE EORUM, and shows the same woman seated at the end of the couch on which Dionysius is reclining.

- 18). A. Bruhl, Liber Pater, Paris 1953, p. 322.
- 19). Altmann, p. 233:  
Die dextrarum iunctio ist die feierliche Art der Vereinigung des Paares. Auf den Grabdenkmälern verklärt sie die Vorstellung ehelicher Zuneigung und Treue.
- 20). Vat. Cat. I, pp. 194-5.
- 21). Altmann, p. 234.
- 22). P. Romanelli, 'Due nuove sculture funerarie del Museo Nazionale Romano', Le Arti XX 1942 p. 165; Romanelli's argument that these are not marriage scenes because of the absence of Juno Pronuba is false, although the conclusion itself may well be right.
- 23). Tina Campanile, 'Un Cippo funebre', B. Com. L 1922, p. 60.
- 24). J. M. C. Roynbee, The Art of the Romans, London 1965, p. 95:  
'the idea of the mystic marriage of the souls of the deceased in paradise', notes to pl. 58: 'The principle side shows the dextrarum iunctio of bridegroom and bride, here interpreted as the 'mystic marriage' of husband and wife in paradise. The faces of the pair are portrait-like, and both display Julio-Claudian hairstyles. On the adjacent sides are boy attendants carrying ritual objects - an umbrella, a basket of fruit, flower garlands, a casket, a cock in a cloth, a patera and a jug - for use at a marriage sacrifice, here interpreted as a sacrifice in honour of the deceased pair. On the fourth side two ecstatic Maenads symbolise paradise'.
- 25). Macchioro, pp. (69)-(70), 77-78:  
'E la dextrarum iunctio tanto per influsso della simpatia che i romani mostravano per l'unione delle idee di nozze e di morte, quanto, e più ancora, per l'influenza dei modelli etruschi, diventò una scena di congedo tra il vivo e il morto prima che questi varcasse la fatale soglia di Hades.'  
The chronology of the monuments with doors and dextrarum iunctio scenes does not at all bear out Macchioro's contentions about the origin of the motif.
- 26). L. Reekmans, 'La dextrarum iunctio dans l'iconographie romaine et paléochrétienne', Bull. de l'Inst. hist. Belge 31 1958, pp. 23-95.
- 27). Reekmans, op. cit. pp. 27-28.
- 28). Reekmans, op. cit. p. 28.
- 29) K. Friis Johansen, The Attic Grave Reliefs of the Classical Period, (Copenhagen 1951).
- 30). Haarløv, The Half-Open Door, p. 29, speaking of the scene on the Roman sarcophagus from Velletri showing a young man handing a patera to an older man outside a door suggests that the handshake refers to the family that cannot even be split up by death: the element which came from Greek art is defined as the concept of a union beyond time and place, whereas the Roman contribution is the concept of pietas which unites the generations.

- 31). R. Herbig, Die Jungeretruskischen Steinsarkophage, Berlin 1952 (vol. VII of A.S.R.) no. 76, pp. 41-42, pl. 55-57a. Körte, III, LIV, i.
- 32). F. Messerschmidt, 'Ein hellenistisches Grabgemälde in Tarquinia', Studi Etruschi III 1929, pp. 161-170, pl. XXVIII. A. Pfiffig, Religio Etrusca, Graz 1975, p. 208, fig. 97.
- 33). Herbig, op. cit. no. 116, pp. 60-61, pl. 74c. Messerschmidt, op. cit. pl. XXX, i. De Ruyt, Charun, Démon Etrusque da la Mort, Brussels 1934, fig. 30, no. 69.
- 34). Sarcophagus found near Velletri in 1955:  
R. Bartoccini, 'Il Sarcophago di Velletri', Riv. Ist. Naz. d'Arch. VII 1958, pp. 129-214.  
B. Andreae, Studien zur romischen Grabkunst, Heidelberg 1963. (see also note 30).  
The scene was interpreted by Bartoccini as showing the dead youth about to enter Hades giving a patera of offerings to an ancestor who is already resident there. Andreae, however, saw the youth as the deceased as Hercules entering the realm of the gods. I prefer Bartoccini's interpretation.

- 35). This meaning of the linking of right hands can be seen in the late Republican and early imperial grave reliefs which were let into the facades of tombs showing a series of portrait busts of those within: marriage partners are generally represented linking right hands, although this often involves tortuous poses. Haarløv p. 46 suggested that: 'the dextrarum junctio is a demonstration of the married couples' 'concordia' (concord and solidarity) or perhaps rather their 'fides' (confidence and faith)'.  
36). c.f. chapter 2, pp. 31-33. Appendix of inscriptions nos. 5, 8, 9.  
37). The inscription on the monument (C.I.L. VI 15314 - the letters in brackets are additions given in the Vat. Cat. III, i, p. 58) reads:

TI CLAUDIO V——I ANTONIA—  
DIVI CLAUDI —B V A (X)V  
CLAUDIA NEBRIS MAT(E) CLAUDIUS HERMA PA(T)  
FILIO PIISSI(MO)  
FECE RUNT  
TI CLAUDIUS PHILETUS P F PIISSIMO  
ET CLAUDIA CALLISTE M SIBI ET SUIS P.

The obvious problem as the inscription stands is the existence of two sets of parents. Helbig in the Vatican catalogue suggests that the original inscription is only the last two lines, and that the monument was therefore dedicated by the parents to an unknown son (f piissimo). However, the disposition of the inscription suggests to me that the first two and the last two lines are original, and only the middle three added later. Thus the altar does not belong to Ti. Claudius Philetus (as various writers have assumed) but to Ti. Claudius V(italis) Antonia(nus)(or T. Claudius V(ictor)), who died aged fifteen (or five). I have elected to call him Ti. Claudius V(italis). Thus Boyancé's theory that Claudia Nebris (Nebris being a significant cognomen in dionysiac contexts) was represented as Semele with her son as Dionysus, is quite unnecessary. C.f. Boyancé, R.E.A. 44 1942 pp. 202-203.

- 38). Bruhl, op. cit. p. 322.
- 39). Reekmans, op. cit. p. 30.  
c.f. H. I. Marrou, MOYCIKOC ANHP (Rome 1964), pp. 181-196 for the meaning of the scroll in various contexts.
- 40). Nock, A.J.A. 1946, p. 144, n. 21:  
'Does not coniugio aeterno mean a sharing of a grave rather than the hope of reunion on another plane?'

Reclining Figures: the dead asleep and feasting.

Although it might seem that figures sleeping and feasting are quite separate motifs, they are iconographically very similar and were confused with one another on the Roman monuments. Thus the altars of Calpurnius Beryllus (no. 28; pl. 38) and Licinia Chrysis (no. 16; pl. 36) both show the dead stretched out on a couch with a small boy at the head and foot, but Calpurnius Beryllus is feasting whereas Licinia Chrysis is fast asleep (1).

Sleeping Figures.

It is possible to trace the development of the representation of the dead asleep on a couch from Phoenicia to Carthage (on sarcophagi made in Sicily) and to Etruria, and thence to Rome (2). Although it seems that in Greek funerary art the dead themselves were seldom represented as sleeping, the Romans used as models for sleeping figures in funerary art a number of hellenistic statue designs of sleeping nymphs, cupids and mythological characters (as Ariadne, Endymion) to produce greater variation on the basic theme.

In the simplest form of the motif a figure is shown lying in a relaxed position as if asleep, without any particular attributes or scenery. Thus on the grave altar of Cornelia Cleopatra (no. 1) a half-draped female figure reclines in the space between the garland and the inscription panel. It is possible that this figure is meant to be a mythological character (such as Ariadne) rather than Cornelia Cleopatra herself - there is nothing in the scene to identify it (3). There is indeed a number of monuments on which the reclining figure is not simply that of the dead but of a figure

appropriate to, but not necessarily equated with, them (4). The reclining figure on the altar of Terpollia Procilla (no. 2) is characterised as a nymph by the overturned urn on which she leans her left hand, while nearby there flies a cupid with a wreath. Cumont suggests that this is not merely a representation of a nymph, but that the dead girl has been equated with the figure to express the hope or belief that she will spend her afterlife with the nymphs (5). Although clearly the nymph was an appropriate motif on this monument, there is little justification for such a precise eschatological interpretation. Similarly, a sleeping cupid (again a popular hellenistic statue type) is appropriate for a child of four - on the grave altar of Claudius Hyllus (no. 3) a winged cupid is shown reclining (not necessarily asleep) in a rocky landscape without any identifying attributes (6). It is possible, too, that the sleeping satyr on the altar of L. Aufidius Aprilis (no. 4) was chosen for its appropriateness to the deceased; again the scene is based on a hellenistic statue type.

A rather different correlation between the scene and the deceased seems to have been intended in the case of Antonia Panace (no. 5) where the reclining figure is a skeleton accompanied by a bird and two butterflies. It seems that the skeleton is to be identified with the dead woman, but the precise meaning of the motif is not clear. The use of skeletons is rare in Roman funerary art, although they could be used flippantly in various of the decorative arts where they tend to allude to mutability: it may be that the intention was light-hearted here, too (7).

The figure on another group of monuments can be interpreted with greater certainty as the person commemorated by the monument

represented as asleep, but in a rocky or neutral landscape rather than the comfort of a bed. Thus M. Ulpus Euphrosynus (no. 6) is shown reclining with a second smaller figure behind him under the overhang of a cave. Apusulemus Caerellianus (no. 7; pls. 9, 35) was represented asleep on rocky ground - he is half draped and holds a wreath in one hand, and over him flies a cupid with a burning torch. This last figure is seen again on the altar of T. Flavius Abascantus (no. 8), where the fully dressed Abascantus is reclining in a neutral landscape (8): he may be falling asleep after a banquet as he holds a wreath in one hand and possibly a cup in the other, and a small seated cupid is propping up his head. Another flying cupid was used on the lid of an ash chest once in the Villa Pacca (no. 9). Here a figure (a girl?) is shown sleeping against a piece of rock with a cupid flying over her: according to Altmann the cupid carries a branch of poppy heads, but the description given by Matz-Duhn is less certain ('nicht deutlichen Gegenstand, vielleicht Mohn') (9).

The two elements which characterise this group are the rocky ground and the flying cupid. A similar rocky setting was used on a relief panel in the Lateran collection which shows a man fast asleep in a curious fringed garment, clutching poppy heads, completely surrounded by rock (10). Cumont interprets this as showing the hypogeum where the body was in fact laid to rest, and where the dead man now sleeps peacefully as a reward for a pious life. Such an interpretation, however, assumes that the body was inhumed: this was presumably not the case with M. Ulpus Euphrosynus, for example, whose ash container was decorated with a scene quite like the Lateran relief. If the motif was designed to suggest that death is like a peaceful sleep, it must refer to the repose of the soul, not the

physical rest of the body. On the other two pieces the sleeper is not in a cave so much as on rocky ground, as in the various hellenistic statue designs. Thus it is possible that Apusulenus and the sleeping girl are intended to recall such mythological sleepers as Endymion and Ariadne, and suggest some hope of an eventual awakening.

Of the flying figure with a torch on Abascantus' altar Cumont writes (11): 'C'est Phosphoros, qui souvent indique aux morts heroisés le chemin du ciel'. The identification was made on analogy with the similar figures accompanying the chariot of the sun on later sarcophagi. However, the presence of this figure on the cinerary monuments is not adequately explained in this way: Cumont does not give sufficient evidence that the figure was indeed Phosphoros, that his function was to guide the dead, or that the ultimate destination of the soul of the sleeper was the sky. The torch was a common attribute for a cupid, especially in funerary contexts, but they are not necessarily to be identified as Phosphoros. The torch itself could simply be a symbol of 'life', as it is labelled on the Boscoreale skeleton cups (12). Thus the torch-carrying cupids may allude to a reawakening after the sleep of death, but they do not necessarily refer to celestial immortality. The attribute could, it seems, be changed to that of poppy heads, as happened on the Villa Pacca piece.

The use of poppy to reinforce the notion of sleep can be seen again on the gravestone of Pompeia Margarit (no. 10) who holds this plant in her right hand. 'Somnus', a figure carrying a horn and a branch of poppy, decorates the side of the altar of Ti. Claudius V(italis) (no. 11; pl. 34), whose front and back were both decorated with the dextrarum iunctio of Dionysus and Ariadne. Here the implication would



seem to be that sleep is merely a temporary result of death, since the dead will reawaken to a blissful dionysiac afterlife. It is possible, therefore, that all these scenes of sleepers express some hope for an existence after death, although not necessarily dionysiac bliss. This may indeed be implied by the rocky landscape in which the sleepers lie, since it recalls the various mythological stories of sleepers who attained immortality. Cumont discusses the nature of Hypnos/Somnus as a god, and ascribes psychopompos powers to him similar to those of Hermes (13): this may help to explain the rather more sinister winged figure leaning over the back of the couch on an altar in the Museo Chiaramonti (no. 12). From the angle of the body (- the right hand side of the altar is missing and consequently the head of the reclining figure has been destroyed) it does not seem that the reclining figure is sleeping. The winged figure could here be the brother of Sleep, Death himself.

There is no other figure quite like this on any other of the cinerary monuments, but two pieces do show death in rather more realistic terms. The ash chest of Iulia Eleutheris (no. 13) represents a girl swathed in blankets lying on a couch with her parents seated mourning on either side, a dog under the couch, and four figures, one of whom may be a doctor, behind it. This is probably best interpreted as a death-bed scene: similar scenes were used on children's sarcophagi (14). The mourning man and woman occur again on a round urn, that of C. Aemilius Felix, in the Galleria Doria (no. 14). Below the inscription panel a figure sleeps on a couch - although a child might be expected, the figure is bearded and is clearly adult: the mourning figures are no doubt to be identified as the Volusia Fortunata and Venerius who commissioned the urn and who are mentioned in the inscription.

A larger group of monuments show the dead, usually a woman, peacefully asleep on a bed, without any direct allusion to death. In its simplest form, on an ash chest in Berlin (no. 15), nothing is added to this scheme. Licinia Chrysis, on the other hand, was represented asleep on a couch with a child standing at its head and foot, the one at the head carrying a basket (no. 15; pl. 36). An altar in the Villa Borghese (no. 17) also has two children placed at the head and foot of the couch on which a woman sleeps: the one at the foot, whose outstretched arm has been broken off, may have been holding something over her. The similarity between these and certain scenes showing the dead feasting has already been noted: this similarity becomes more marked in other representations. The grave relief of Ti. Claudius Dionysius in the Latern Collection (15) (pl. 31) shows a sleeping man with his wife seated at the end of the bed and a little dog jumping up to her, and on the grave relief of Cornelia Onesime (no. 18; pl. 39) the girl lies asleep on a bed with a table in front of it, while nearby stands a raven with a piece of cake in its beak. It is as if she has fallen asleep after a meal. This scene, however, is made more complicated by the two large portrait busts placed one at each end of the bed. It is possible that they represent the two other people mentioned in the inscription, Cornelius Diadumenus and Cornelia Servanda - the monument was set up by Diadumenus for the girl and his wife, and presumably it was intended to commemorate all three of them, although he was not dead when it was made (17). It seems that the reclining figure of Cornelia Onesime is little more than an alternative form of portrait, considered appropriate because of her youth but not necessarily redolent of any

particular eschatological meaning.

Thus there would appear to be two intermingling influences apparent in the sleeping figure motif - one derives from hellenistic statues of mythological characters and shows the sleeper in a rocky terrain, sometimes in a state of heroic undress, the other from Etruscan art, with affinities with the banquet motif: the table, cups, wreath and servants can be present although the person is asleep. In the first case it is often difficult to judge whether the scene is in fact simply a mythological scene, or whether it does represent the person commemorated by the monument. It is possible that the dead have been equated to some degree with the mythological character, and thus the motif may express a hope for eventual reawakening and apotheosis. The second type would appear to be more commemorative, although the idea of death as a peaceful sleep is clearly incorporated in it (18). The motif of sleep seems to have been thought more appropriate for women and children, in contrast to the banquet, which was used particularly for men. These sleeping scenes, although used on monuments of the later first century, were more popular later on: this may be significant with regard to the introduction of inhumation at the beginning of the second century (19).

Feasting figures.

The simplest examples of the banquet scene differ very little from some of the scenes of the dead asleep on a couch - they merely show the figure awake and alert instead of asleep. The ash altar of Iulia Capriola (no. 22; pl. 37) shows her reclining on a high backed couch with her feet bare and her slippers discarded below. In front of the couch stands a three-legged table with three objects on it, probably two drinking vessels and a ladle. She props herself up on one arm and gazes out from the scene; in one hand she holds a cup, and she may have held a wreath in the other. This simple type of banquet scene was used also on the grave altar of Attia Agele (no. 23), who holds a garland over her knees, the grave altar of Pomponia Postuma (no. 24) who holds her little dog on the couch, the ash chest of Titulenus Isauricus (no. 25), a small altar without inscription in the Terme Museum (no. 26), and the front of the altar of L. Carullus Felicissimus (no. 27). The details of these scenes vary, but the basic scheme is the same as on Iulia Capriola's monument. Usually the figure holds a cup in the hand of the arm propping him/her up, and often a garland or wreath in the other hand. The table is usually, but not always, present, and the objects on it vary: usually there are some drinking vessels, whether rough pots or elegant cantharoi, and sometimes a rhyton, ladle or rosette-shaped cake or loaf. There are also individual touches, such as Iulia Capriola's slippers and Pomponia Postuma's little dog.

More elaborate scenes add one, two, or even three child-like figures dressed in tunics (these would appear to be servants), and/or a woman seated at the end of the bed. Under the inscription panel of

the altar commemorating Calpurnius Beryllus (no. 28; pl. 38) the dead man is shown reclining on a bed with a large wreath grasped in one hand, and a cup (?) in the other. On the table in front of him is a ladle and a cake, and at each end of the couch stands a boy, the one on the left holding a jug. A similar scene was used on the altar of Lucretius Hyllus (no. 29; pl. 14), now very badly battered, but clearly showing the remains of figures at both ends of the couch. Also badly damaged is the scene with a single figure standing at the foot of a couch on the altar of Herenia Iusta (no. 29). It seems that there was a table in front of the couch, suggesting that the reclining figure is to be interpreted as feasting rather than sleeping. The whole scene is enclosed by doors. On all three of these scenes the servants remain static, but on a small altar without inscription in the British Museum (no. 31) a man reclines holding out a wreath towards a boy standing at the foot of the couch who leans over and gestures towards it. (20)

The two scenes with three subsidiary figures are rather more complicated and pose certain problems of interpretation. On the ash chest of M. Servilius Hermeros (no. 32) the figure reclining appears to be a woman, although the monument was dedicated to a man. The table, instead of standing in front of the couch, has been moved to the foot, and on it are a cup, jug and ladle, with a rosette-like cake apparently suspended from the wall above. The reclining woman herself holds a cup, and her slippers lie under the bed. Two children stand at the head of the bed, and a third stands behind it waving a fan, or possibly a torch. The ash chest of Loriania Cypare (no. 33) also has a reclining woman (she may in fact be asleep) attended by three figures. Two of these stand at the head and foot of the couch

on small pillars - the one at the head holds a jug. The third figure is a cupid rather than a servant: he leans over the back of the couch holding a disc or a ball over her. This object is interpreted as a mirror by Altmann (21). The scene is completed by the usual table with two bowls, a garland and a footstool with slippers on it.

Another group of monuments has scenes in which the wife sits at the foot of the bed on which her husband reclines. Her right hand is raised to her chin, and she appears to be watching him anxiously; he gestures towards her with his free right hand, while his left holds a cup. This form of decoration was used on the ash chest of L. Roscius Prepons (no. 34), the altar of L. Calpurnius Chius (no. 35), an altar in the church of S. Silvestro, Rome (no. 36), and the altar of C. Iulius Epityncianus (no. 37). On the last the motif is varied by the addition of a garland draped over the man's knees and held at one end by his wife- he stretches his hand out towards it. She has her feet on a footstool and clutches a bird to her breast. On the ash chest of Sostratus (no. 38) a fairly young man reclines while an older-looking woman sits at the foot of the couch with a footstool. She holds a garland looped up into a wreath which he seems about to take from her. The only woman mentioned in the inscription is Sostratus' daughter, and despite the apparent inaccuracy in the depiction, this woman may be her. A garland was also draped over the knees of the woman on the altar of C. Licinius Primigenius (no. 39), and two altars (now lost) used a similar pattern: on that of C. Alfidius Callipus (no. 40) the woman is reading from a scroll, and that of Pedana is unusual in that although the monument was set up to a woman the scene still shows

the man reclining and his wife at his feet (22). On an ash chest in the Vigna Codini (no. 42) by contrast it is a woman who reclines on the couch: it is impossible to tell the sex or age of the figure seated on the end of the couch. Two further unusual details in this scene are the lyre propped up against the pillows at the head of the couch, and the bird (a pet dove or raven ?) standing on the couch. There are no drinking vessels or table to indicate that this is a banquet scene, but the woman is clearly not asleep either.

Other pieces show both the woman seated at the foot of the bed and the servants. The altar of Marcius Anicetus (no. 43) used the variation in which both husband and wife stretch their hands out towards the garland, as on the altar of Iulius Epityncianus, but with a single servant standing behind the couch. An altar in the Conservatori museum (no. 44) is similar, but instead of reaching out to the garland the couple simply link hands, and there are two servants, the one at the foot with a jug. Rather more curious is the scene on the cinerary urn of M. Domilius Primigenius (no. 45) on which it appears that a woman reclines with a man at the foot of the couch (23). There are children at the head and foot of the couch, one with a jug, the other with fruits.

A number of scenes, however, do not fit into these recognisable categories. On the altar of Atimetus (no. 46; pl. 40) it seems that his wife is comforting or easing him from behind the head of the couch, and two naked boys sit at the end of it. On the altar of P. Vitellius Successus (no. 47) a fairly regular banquet scene with the reclining man linking right hands with his wife seated at the end of the bed is made unusual by the presence at the head of the couch of a palm tree and beyond it a prancing horse. There is also a dog

lying under the couch. The dog and handshake are unusual but comprehensible variations on the motif, but the horse and tree are unique and require further explanation. A third altar, that of Q. Socconius Felix (no. 48), is unusually large and complex, and has a number of new features. Both the man and the woman recline on the couch, side by side, holding drinking vessels and with a table with two more cups on it in front of them (24). They are served by three small figures in tunics - the one on the right holds a burning torch, the one in the centre advances on the table with a jug, and the smallest holds a wreath. Above the couch flies a cupid, holding an object in each hand (25). This scene covers the whole of one face of the altar.

A few other monuments, on the whole from outside Rome, use quite different scenes which nevertheless appear to show feasts. On a round urn in Aquileia (no. 49) the inscription panel was used as a table which is flanked by reclining feasters, while behind it are two seated figures who may be the wives of the recliners. Another multiple feast, with twelve or thirteen diners, is in progress on an altar in Este (no. 50). A small altar in Velletri (no. 51) has a table at which a man and a woman sit on chairs, and the altar of Iulia Dorcas (no. 52) also has a female figure seated in a chair and may represent some form of meal.

The 'funerary banquet' scene, therefore, has many variations of detail, although the basic pattern is easily recognisable as that used in numerous Greek reliefs. Although there have been several studies of the Greek banquet scenes, especially their origins and early development, the Roman scenes have attracted less attention (26). The basic questions requiring answers are: who the scenes represent



where the 'banquet' takes place, and on what occasion.

Cumont and Nock present answers to these questions which fall at opposite extremes. Cumont (27) suggests that the banquet is a 'festin céleste', a concept he believes to have been derived and enriched from two sources, the neo-pythagorean and the dionysiac. He describes the development of the motif from votive reliefs showing the gods, to the heroised dead taking a meal, at first underground in Elysium and then, with the growth of Pythagorean beliefs, in the sky. This, he claims, explains the wreath or garland - a 'crown of immortality' - and the cupids who sometimes accompany the feaster. Even more significant is the flying cupid with a torch on Abascantus' monument, identified by Cumont as Phosphoros guiding the soul in its path to the heavens. Nock (28) denies this interpretation altogether, suggesting instead:

Here we may think rather of the ordinary meal of enjoyment or of the actual last meal offered at the grave, which was both the final act of natural piety and the moment of parting.

It is interesting in view of these remarks that Fogolari, writing of the ash chest in Este (no. 50)(29), should suggest that this multiple banquet is a rare representation of living banqueters. She interprets it as the feast held at the funeral, perhaps with the deceased herself in the centre, represented with her surviving friends and relatives. This implies that the usual scene with a single reclining figure shows the deceased when they are dead. The monuments themselves suggest that it was indeed the deceased who was represented feasting: on the whole women are shown on women's monuments, men on men's, although there are a few anomalous cases (30). Single figure scenes were set up by the surviving husband or wife, mother or patron, and

pieces showing the man reclining with a woman seated at the foot of the couch were usually set up by the wife or by the man for himself and his wife. It seems fairly certain, therefore, that the feasters are the deceased and the people mentioned by the inscription. Where one of these is alive and the other dead the scene must take place either in the past, when both were alive, or in the future, when both will be dead, or in some hypothetical time and place: in the last case the scene would be designed to convey an idea, such as that of the contact between man and wife despite the barrier of death, rather than being a realistic representation.

Two inscriptions which accompany banquet scenes help to throw some light on the purpose of the motif. The first is that of Flavius Agricola, already given some consideration in chapter 2 (31). Agricola addresses the visitor to his tomb in the first person, identifying himself and the 'funerary banquet' scene as 'idem ego sum discumbens, ut me videtis', so that there can be no doubt about the identity of the figure. B. Schroder (32) thought that this remark referred both to the earthly and to the other-worldly state of the dead, although he admits that the epitaph does not make it clear whether Agricola was spending his afterlife reclining in the grave or some other place. However, there is no justification for the assumption that Agricola is describing his afterlife at all - he is merely saying that this is his portrait, done of him reclining, as he did in the many years allotted to him by fate. As I have already suggested, the rest of the inscription does not make it clear whether Agricola believed in any form of afterlife existence: the last four lines would seem to deny any belief in a life after death, since he concludes by telling his friends to enjoy themselves while they can - 'cetera post obitum terra consumit et ignis'. It is reasonable to

assume that the scene does not show either the afterlife nor the last meal at the tomb. It is both retrospective and commemorative, showing Agricola as he was when alive and as he would like to be remembered.

The second inscription is on a relief panel with a representation of the father reclining and his son (33). The inscription tells how the dead man regrets his meanness in life, sparing his money for a son who, in the event, died before him. He ordered that he was to be sculpted feasting,

*ut saltem recubans quiescere possit  
securaque iacens ille quiete frui.*

It might seem that he hopes that he will actually spend his afterlife in this way, but the last two lines deny this and show that he merely regrets lost opportunities:

*sed quid defunctis prodest genialis imago?  
hoc potius ritu vivere debuerant.*

The scene is hypothetical; it certainly did not happen in the past, and there seems to be little hope of it occurring in the future. The message is to warn others to take their opportunities while they can.(34)

There is little to support Cumont's interpretation in either of these, but on the other hand there is nothing to suggest that Nock was right when he saw such scenes as a representation of the last meal at the tomb. Their main function was commemorative, and they are primarily just another kind of portrait. However, this is a conclusion drawn from only two reliefs, neither of them decorating cinerary monuments: there are numerous details on the other scenes which are not easily explained by such an interpretation. The fact that husband and wife are shown together in a banquet scene may be, but is not necessarily, an indication that they believe they will share a happy afterlife. The way husband and wife link hands on the monument in the Conservatori (no. 44), and on the

altar of Vitellius Successus (no. 47), might suggest, however, some hope of a reunion in the afterlife, or a parting at the last meal, despite the lack of other evidence for such a view. On the other hand, Donatus, although shown in a banquet scene with his wife Pedana (no. 41) whom he misses terribly, says that she is at rest in a forgetful sepulchre: 'le(t) haeoque iaces condita sarcophago' (35). The doors flanking the scene on the altar of Herenia Iusta (no. 30) may be an attempt to set the scene in the tomb, and to express a hope or belief in an afterlife spent feasting in the tomb, perhaps enjoying the offerings left by surviving relatives. The presence of cupids in some of the scenes also implies that the feast is taking place in the afterlife; these cupids, too, carry rather curious objects - a disc, ball or mirror on the ash chest of Loriania Cypare (no. 33), and perhaps a shell on the altar of Socconius Felix (no. 48). The small, child-like figures acting as servants were derived from the cup-bearer usual on the Greek banquet scenes, but in some cases one may wonder whether they are members of the family rather than servants: in particular there can be doubt as to the identity of the two boys sitting at the end of the bed on the ash chest of Atimetus (no. 46), or the significance of the gesture of the reclining man on the ash chest in the British Museum (no. 31) who holds out a wreath to a boy. On the ash chest of M. Servilius Hermeros (no. 32) one of the boys holds a torch or a fan, and a torch is held by one of the boys on the altar of Q. Socconius Felix (no. 48). These may simply be props appropriate to a banquet, or of greater significance. More curious is the fact that C. Iulius Epityncianus' wife clasps a bird to her breast (no. 37), and the horse and palm tree on the monument to P. Vitellius Successus - none of these could be normal adjuncts to a meal (36).

Notes.

- 1). The confusion between sleeping and feasting figures was already common in Etruscan art - cf. Etruscan 'gisants' with their eyes open. (Collignon, Les Statues funéraires dans l'Art Grec. (Paris, 1911) p. 372.)
- 2). Collignon, op. cit. p. 346, Cumont, Recherches, p. 389.
- 3). Newbold, 'The eagle and the basket on the chalice of Antioch', A.J.A. 1925 pp. 366-369, figs. 6 & 7, published another ash chest with an ambiguous reclining figure. It belonged to a Mr. Welles Bosworth of New York, and was decorated with ammon heads and eagles at the corners, a garland with small birds below and above the garland a reclining nude female figure. Newbold says that she is on a couch with a pillow beneath her head, although this is not very clear from the photograph. Newbold (p. 367-368) interprets this figure as follows: 'The nude figure beneath the inscription-tablet, as are probably all symbols in a similar position, is a graphic representation of the soul whose name is recorded above. Here the soul itself is portrayed, divested of its mortal raiment.'
- 4). A similar reclining female figure can be seen on the broken ash chest of T. Flavius Eucharistus in the Museo Chiaramonti (Bacchic scenes, no. 9), where the other figures are clearly bacchic - this figure is interpreted as Ariadne by Altmann (p. 272), and the scene is presumably a purely mythological representation not intended to portray the deceased.
- 5). Cumont, Recherches, p. 402, explains the motif in these terms: 'Νυμφη en grec désigne une jeune fille ou une jeune femme aussi bien qu'une divinité des eaux, et si une d'elles était ravie à la fleur de l'âge, la douleur de ses parents aimait à se figurer que ces déités l'avaient transportée dans leurs demeures profondes, afin que, devenue leur égale, elle vécût à jamais de leur vie.' It was not, in fact, her parents who set up this monument, although she was only fourteen, but her husband.
- 6). Both Cumont and Collignon suggest subtle meanings for this motif in a funerary context. Cumont (Recherches, p. 408) speaks of 'un symbolisme plus subtil, qui associe la pensée du repos dans la tombe à celle d'une immortalité bienheureuse'. Collignon describes the sleeping cupid motif (op. cit. pp. 342-345) but is concerned particularly with the more elaborate form where the cupid is sleeping on a lion skin and is accompanied by various attributes of Hercules. Therefore he concludes that (p. 345) 'l'enfant mort est identifié avec Éros-Héraclès, et, comme le héros dont le jeune dieu a pris l'arme et l'équipement, il est promis à l'immortalité'. However, such attributes are lacking in this particular representation, and such a meaning unlikely.

- 7). Skeletons are found, for example, on the Boscoreale skeleton cups (now in the Louvre) and on the threshold mosaic of a skeletal butler at Pompeii. Another skeleton mosaic, in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme, has the legend  $\gamma\rho\upsilon\theta\iota\ \sigma\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$  under the reclining figure. Skeletons also appear occasionally on gems and lamps.
- 8). Cumont, Recherches, p. 458, says that he is reclining on a bed and that this is a 'festin céleste', but I can see no sign of a couch. The object held in his left hand may not be a drinking vessel but a pomegranate or apple. Apusullemus Caerellianus also holds a wreath but otherwise there is nothing in this group of scenes to suggest a banquet rather than sleep.
- 9). Altmann, p. 257; Matz-Duhn, no. 3958, p. 204.
- 10). Benndorf-Schoene, no. 162, pl. XVI; Cumont, Recherches, pp. 398-400, fig. 79.
- 11). Cumont, Recherches, p. 458.
- 12). The well-known motif of a cupid leaning on a reversed torch may allude to the life that is extinguished at death: this upraised torch therefore may be intended to show that life has not been extinguished. Cupids carrying torches were also present in marriage scenes. For other scenes with cupids and torches, cf. chapter 7, cupids.
- 13). Cumont, Recherches, p. 368.
- 14). In British Museum: Cat. 2315; in Agrigento; Museo Civico.
- 15). This relief commemorates the same couple as those on the altar of Ti. Claudius Dionysius (Door motif no. 42). There does seem to be some connection between the dextrarum iunctio and feast scenes: a number of the feast scenes show the man and woman linking, or nearly linking, hands. Both types of scene would seem to allude to the desire of married couples not to be separated by death.
- 16). Presumably in this context the raven is to be considered a pet. However, on two other monuments, the lost altar of M. Caecilius Rufus known to me only from a drawing in Mon. Matth. III, pl. LXIII, i, and the altar of Valeria Fortunata known to me only from description (Altmann, p. 91, no. 60; Matz-Duhn 3944), a reclining female figure is represented in a neutral landscape (not on a couch) with a raven and one or two cupids respectively. In the case of M. Caecilius Rufus it is possible that the figure is Semele, and this may also be true of the other piece. A bird also accompanies a feasting woman on the ash chest in the Vigna Codini (no. 42).
- 17). A free-standing kline statue in the Terme museum provides a parallel for this. A man reclines holding on his lap the portrait bust of a woman. This presumably represents his wife who died first but is also commemorated by the monument. This is the only reason I can think of why a bust and not the whole figure should accompany the reclining man.

- 18). This I consider to be a negative rather than a positive afterlife belief. I do not feel that it necessarily implies any form of re-awakening, and is, in fact, simply an elegant, or sentimental, acknowledgement of death. (cf. Ogle, 'The Sleep of Death', MAAR XI 1933, pp. 81-117, for a discussion of the literary use of the metaphor of sleep for death). I am not sure to what extent the more 'mythological' scenes express a positive attitude: it is possible that the presence of a cupid with a torch suggests a belief in re-awakening, and in certain cases it may be that some such idea as communion with the gods in an afterlife was hoped for. Nevertheless, I find it difficult to accept the more detailed interpretation offered by Cumont for certain pieces on their internal evidence, and he does not, it seems to me, provide sufficient external evidence for these views.
- 19). Flavius Abascantus was an imperial freedman, probably of Domitian; M. Ulpius Euphrosynus of Trajan, and it is probable that the altar of Antonia Panace was set up by a freedman of one of the Antonines. The altars of Apusulenus Caerellianus and Cornelia Cleopatra have garlands with cuffs characteristic of the Hadrianic or early Antonine period, and Pomonia Margaris has a hairstyle of the late Flavian period. The three ash chests of Iulia Eleutheris, C. Aemilius Felix and in the Villa Pacca are all of second century type, imitating sarcophagi. None of the other pieces is of a form characteristic of the earlier part of the first century, and the earliest reference to sleep is probably therefore the somnus figure on the late Claudian-early Flavian altar of Ti. Claudius V(italis). The earliest representations of the dead asleep would appear to be late Flavian.
- 20). A similar variation of the scene was used on the grave stone of M. Iunius Rufus (Altmann p. 195, no. 266). The feast with one or two serving boys was also a motif particularly popular with the equites singulares Augusti as on the grave stone of P. Aelius Bassus (Altmann p. 195, no. 267), and the grave altar front (?) of T. Aurelius Saturninus in the British Museum (Cat. 2354). It also passed into the provinces as a favourite motif on military gravestones.
- 21). Altmann. p. 108. Although this interpretation is possible, it is not very likely. A similarly puzzling round object is held in the hand of the cupid on the altar of Q. Socconius Felix.
- 22). This is all the more surprising in view of the lengthy inscription in which the husband laments the loss of his wife (Appendix of inscriptions no. 8). However, presumably the monument was intended to commemorate both husband and wife and this scheme of decoration was felt to express the unity they once had in marriage - the inscription makes it clear that Donatus does not look for any reunion in the afterlife.
- 23). However, this piece is known to me only by photograph, and I may be mistaken in this.

- 24). The representation of both man and woman reclining suggests the use of Etruscan rather than Greek models.
- 25). In the publication of the monument in Antike Plastik IX it is suggested that these are a mussel shell and a roll of cloth.
- 26). The most detailed recent work is Rh. N. Thonges Stringaris, 'Das griechische Totenmahl' in Ath. Mitt. 80 1965, pp. 1-98. The general consensus of opinion seems to be that there was a development from scenes showing gods and heroes receiving votive offerings to the representation of the heroised dead as feasters. This, Stringaris suggests, was a relatively late development. However, with the possible exception of the horse on the altar of Vitellius Successus it would seem that direct allusions to the dead as hero have disappeared on the Roman versions of the motif.
- 27). Cumont, Recherches, pp. 419-420, 457.
- 28). Nock, 'Sarcophagi and Symbolism', A.J.A. 1946, p. 145.
- 29). G. Fogolari, 'Ara con scena di convito' in Aquileia Nostra 27 1956 pp. 39-50. Fogolari thinks that this is a deliberate attempt to represent a banquet of the living, on the occasion of the funeral.
- 30). It is not always easy to tell the sex of figures on the ash chests of poor workmanship, and, moreover, these are the monuments most likely to be chosen from stock rather than especially commissioned. There is the further possibility, that the inscriptions were post-Roman additions. Any of these factors may explain this apparent oddity. I do not think it is particularly significant.
- 31). cf. Appendix of inscriptions, no. 6.
- 32). B. Schroder, 'Studien zu den Grabdenkmälern der Kaiserzeit', Bonn.J. 1902 pp. 46-79.
- 33). Appendix of inscriptions no. 13.
- 34). Another inscription, from Gallia Narbonensis, leaves no doubt that the dead man, L. Runnius Pollio, does intend spending eternity in his tomb drinking (C.I.L. XII 5102): L. Runnius pa(p?)/ Cn. f. Pollio/ cupidius perpoto in monumento meo/ quod dormiendum et permanendum/ hic est mihi.
- 35). Appendix of inscriptions, no. 8.
- 36). Unless the horse and palm tree had some personal significance for P. Vitellius Successus (- they were emblems used on the coinage of Carthage), I can think of no adequate reason for their use on this monument, unless, as mentioned above, as a survival of attributes suitable for heroes. Another puzzling aspect on these monuments is the common practice of covering the back of the couch with a walling effect: it is possible that this was intended to convey the idea that the feast was taking place inside the tomb.



People at Work and Scenes of Everyday Life.

A number of monuments have scenes of the dead actually performing the trade they carried out in life. The best known and most impressive of these is the altar of the knife-maker L. Cornelius Atimetus (no. 1; pls. 41 & 42), a large monument with scenes of the making and selling of knives on the sides. On the left side is the workshop with two men at an anvil, the forge in the background. One man, seated, holds the metal with pincers while the other strikes at it with a hammer: a number of tools hang up on a rail above their heads. On the right side the shop is represented, with a togate customer and the shopkeeper in a loose tunic discussing the stock. An impressive display of blades hangs up between them above a counter with a drawer in it.

A selling scene occurs again on the back of the altar of Q. Socconius Felix (no. 2). In the centre is a table with a piece of cloth (possibly semi-circular and meant to be a toga) draped over it. Two salesmen, one on the left at the back, the other in the right foreground, hold the cloth up for inspection by the figure on the left. He is sitting on an elaborate stool and would seem to be an illustrious customer. There are two more figures (shop assistants?) in the background on the right, and above, as if suspended in the air, is a large open basket. Again this is a large and imposing monument: presumably Socconius Felix and Cornelius Atimetus were both proprietors of flourishing businesses. The ash chest of T. Sextius Polytimus (no. 3) may also show a business in operation. Under the inscription panel is a small scene of a man carrying a yoke from which amphorae are suspended: other amphorae scatter the field. The inscription

does not mention the profession of the dead, and it is not clear whether the man with the yoke is Sextius Polytimus or indeed whether the scene refers at all to his profession.

Carpus Pallantium, the 'adiutor Athenodori praef. annonae' (no. 4) according to the inscription, was represented on the left side of his altar standing on a boat with what seems to be a modius. Annona herself was represented on the right hand side. The grave altar of L. Calpurnius Daphnus (no. 5; pl. 43), 'argentarius macelli magni', also shows him carrying out his profession. The scene consists of three figures: the central one is presumably Calpurnius Daphnus himself, holding a box in one hand and some other object which may be a fish in the other (1). On either side of him are men carrying large baskets on their shoulders. He is presumably checking produce as it comes into the market.

A few other monuments show the dead with the attributes of their trade rather than actually performing it. The lictor Coelius Dionysius (no. 6) was represented with a sceptre and fascēs; a centurion (no. 7) was accompanied by symbols which show him to be a praetorian, and a Greek flute player (no. 8) was represented with a flute in each hand. The instruments of their trade were carved on the sides of the altars of two architects: T. Statilius Aper (no. 9) and C. Vedennius Moderatus (no. 10), 'architectus armamentarii' - in the latter case one of the objects represented seems to be a machine for throwing projectiles. A series of building instruments also occur on the pediment of the altar of the Aebutii (no. 11).

A late ash chest in the Lateran collection (no. 12) has scenes of the grape harvest and wine making on it: on the front is a representation of treading the grapes in a bath, a scene placed

between two herms and under a roof, on the left side a man climbing a ladder with a basket on his back to pick the grapes, on the right two men lifting a basket of grapes under the eye of an overseer. It is quite possible that this is a general scene rather than one with any particular reference to the profession of the person whose remains the chest contained. Similarly, some monuments have depictions of chariot races on them - the most specific is that on the altar of Flavius Abascantus (no. 13) where the charioteer (Sporus) and the horses (Ingenuus, Admetus, Passerinus and Atmetus) are all labelled. Two racing chariots plunge towards one another on the ash chest of L. Calpurnius Optatus (no. 14), and a lively circus race - this time with cupids as charioteers - is represented in a frieze on the grave altar of Sulpicia (pl. 65).

Cumont discusses the monument of Flavius Abascantus in some detail: I have already considered his treatment of the banquet scene on this monument. He questions whether a man in Abascantus' profession - 'a cognitionibus' - could have put the chariot scene on his monument simply because he was a circus fan.

Se figure-t-on l'image d'un jockey gagnant le Grand Prix sculptée dans un de nos cimetières sur la dalle funéraire d'un Conseiller d'Etat? (2)

On the contrary, he suggests that the circus had a religious character and that under eastern influence such scenes gained a mystic meaning. The circus therefore represents the world; he who wins is a kind of kosmokrater, and his victory was associated with that of the emperor. The circus race is thus a symbol. The race recalls work completed which makes one worthy of heroisation, and

to win the race was the characteristic of a soul that is more than human. Thus Flavius Abascantus:

lui aussi, a remporté une victoire sur la mort et parcourru sa carrière terrestre jusqu'à ce terme triomphal. (3)

The image of life as a race to be run, a race which has now been completed, is quite a plausible concept - but need it imply that victory has been gained over death? Cumont has not adequately explained why, on the monument of Abascantus, the charioteer and the horses have been given names: this is a specific race, not a generic scene. However unlikely it might seem to Cumont that such an official was a circus fan, the labels point to some interest in the subject. The scene on the ash chest of Calpurnius Optatus, too, poses problems if we are to see the race as a symbol of victory over death: as with the cock fight scenes there are two contenders, and the victory of one presupposes the defeat of the other.

Cumont's evidence for the mystic interpretation of the chariot race, and in particular its association with imperial victory, seems to be derived from Byzantine sources. The passage from the first ode of Horace which he quotes with the comment 'tant l'apothéose s'était alors vulgarisée' does not furnish evidence for an elaborate interpretation. The monuments he cites as parallels, too, with one exception, belong to a much later period than the cinerary monuments. The exception is the now lost 'cippus' of Onesimus (no. 15), which had on the left side a boy in a quadriga with a palm branch and a wreath, and on the right side a boy in a pileus. The metrical inscription, however, gives no suggestion that the motif was intended to convey the concept of victory over death.

The ash chest of Margaris (no. 16) has a contest of rather a different sort on it: below the inscription panel is a veiled woman sitting on a stool and a man playing some kind of game on a chequered board. People playing this sort of game was apparently a popular motif on the funerary stelai of northern Italy (4). A few other monuments have rather obscure scenes which also appear to relate to family life: the altar of Q. Gavius Musicus (no. 17) has on the left side a scene which may be a schoolroom scene with a teacher and two boys - it is possible that Gavius Musicus was a teacher. The right side has a scene which is totally obscure, with figures carrying what appear to be banners, and a large female figure who may be a goddess carrying a basket and holding a flower.

The altar of C. Iulius Philetus (no. 18; pl. 44) has on the front two figures, a small boy on the left holding up the skirt of his tunic with grapes and an animal in it, and a draped man on the right. On the left side of the monument a man pulls a child along in a sort of push-chair, and on the right side is a small boy with a dog jumping up to him. On the back are a shield and crossed spears. Altmann assumed that the child was Iulius Philetus himself, represented at the age he was when he died. In this case we must assume that the man on the front of the altar is his former master and patron, Postumus. The inscription, however, does not state the age of Iulius Philetus at death, and this identification may be totally erroneous.

Two other monuments represent women with children. On the grave altar of Maena Mellusa (no. 19) a seated woman is shown with a small child in one arm and another child standing in front of her and leaning his elbow on her knee. These figures do not correspond exactly to the people mentioned in the inscription: the scene could show Maena Mellusa with her two children, but as both died before their

first year was completed, the correspondence is inexact (5). The grave altar of T. Apusulenus Alexander (no. 20) belongs even less to the world of reality: again a woman sits in a chair holding out a bird to a cupid. On the right is a girl with a bird in her outstretched hand and a dog jumping up to her. The monument was set up to an aged man by a number of his freedmen or his children. The scene does not therefore seem to be a family scene at all.

#### Notes.

- 1). This is the interpretation given by Matz-Duhn (3886), although the object is not obviously a fish. However, the inscription above the scene reported by Matz-Duhn - CAV DA PISCES CAV - would seem to support this view.
- 2). Cumont, Recherches, Appendix I, p. 459.
- 3). Cumont, Recherches, p. 462.
- 4). As for example on two stelai in the archaeological museum of Turin, one of Domitius Virilis, the other without inscription.
- 5). A similar seated woman with a child leaning on her knee occurs on a sarcophagus in Volterra (R. Herbig, Die Jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage (Berlin 1952), no. 260, pl. 85). This is part of a frieze which includes at its right end a handshake scene and in the centre two standing women with children. In this case the children grow steadily bigger from left to right, and it seems that the scenes may show the woman's marriage and the growth of her child.

## Portraits.

### Full-length portraits.

Many of the motifs already discussed - dextrarum iunctio, reclining figures and the professional and everyday scenes - are portraits with an added facet: they aim at an expression of something more than what the dead looked like. This is also true of the full-length portraits which were designed to impress us with the importance of the deceased or to emphasize certain aspects of his life. Thus C. Titienus Flaccus (no. 1; pl. 45), sevir, equo publico, aedile, was represented riding a proud horse with one hoof raised. The scene is deliberately made to resemble an equestrian statue: the small base, the rather static pose of the horse and Flaccus' raised hand all give this impression (1). The portrait aims at showing that Flaccus was worthy of such a statue as well as being a realistic representation of him in his public capacity. Other people were represented with symbols of their priesthood or adherence to a cult. L. Valerius Firmus (no. 2; pl. 46) a priest of Isis at Ostia, was represented standing in a round-headed niche holding a scroll in one hand and a staff (?) over his shoulder. On either side of the niche are a series of objects, presumably cult objects. Cantineia Procla (no. 3) and Babullia Verilla (no. 4) were both shown holding a sistrum and a cup or situla, and with cistae mysticae on the sides of the monument.

In the case of Statilius Aper (no. 5) the portrait figure is part of an elaborate scene which is, as is explained by the inscription, a pun on his name. Aper, a young man with a Domitianic hairstyle, wearing a toga, and carrying a scroll, stands with a dead boar lying at his feet. He is accompanied by a cupid and a

chest of scrolls, appropriate to him as an architect. Another representation which acts as a pun on the dead man's name occurs on the altar of Ti. Octavius Diadumenus (no. 6). A miniature version of Polykleitos' statue fills the shallow niche on the front of the monument: it does not seem that the head is a portrait, but it is possible that the deceased gained his name because of a likeness to the statue.

Other full-length figures are less elaborate. C. Iulius Successus (no. 7) was represented wearing a toga and standing in a niche. This looks like an honorific statue, suggesting that Successus hoped to be remembered as a man of distinction. More unusual is the pose of the member of the Volusius family (no. 8) who was represented in three-quarters view sitting on a chair.

The statue type of portrait was also popular for children's monuments. The boy Q. Sulpicius Maximus (no. 9) was represented standing in a niche wearing a toga and holding a scroll. His right hand is held to his breast and he seems about to speak. The scroll and area round the niche are covered in inscriptions - the boy, we are told, took part in a competition for the composition and declamation of verse, and he is represented here at the moment of greatest glory in his life. Two epigrams explain the circumstances: in the first Sulpicius himself speaks, in the second his parents. Sulpicius died by working too hard for the Muses, and his glory will reach the skies while the poems he left behind will ensure that his eloquence will not be forgotten. Marrou describes this concept as follows:

C'est une glorification de son talent, de son goût pour les Lettres. (2).



The scroll is a natural attribute for Sulpicius Maximus: its presence on another altar, that of Niconius and Eutyches (no. 10) is rather strange. We are told that one child died aged eleven months, the other aged seventeen months, but the children represented seem considerably older. Both wear togas and hold scrolls in their left hands. There is a box for scrolls at their feet (3).

Children were also represented with animals. A. Egrilius Magnus (no. 11; pl. 47) was represented with a goat which he holds by the horn - presumably a pet. Hateria Superba (no. 12) has a small dog and a bird at her feet, and another bird in her hand. She also holds a bunch of grapes and is being crowned by two cupids. Again the child looks too old for her stated age - one year and six months. Mansuelli (4) suggests that an older child was represented because very small children have no individual characteristics. This seems to deny the primary purpose of portraiture, to show the individual features of the person concerned, and suggests that the most important aspect of the scene is not so much the likeness of Hateria Superba as the fact that she is being crowned by cupids. Mansuelli suggests that whereas the dog and birds belong to this life, as pets of the dead child, the cupids belong to the afterlife: it seems that they must be taken as a reference to the heroisation of the child after death (5).

C. Iulius Saecularis (no. 13; pl. 48) was also represented with animals. He is standing naked but for a short cloak in a shell-headed niche. He holds a butterfly in his right hand and with his left clutches a bird (?) to his breast. On the left is a tree with a dog (?) at the foot and a bird at the top, on the right a baluster with plants growing up it and at the foot a seated monkey. The monkey and the dog could be the child's pets, but the other elements of the decoration suggest a more complex interpretation was intended.

Portrait Busts.

Portrait busts of widely varying size and competence of workmanship were used on monuments of all periods; they were also, especially on the later monuments, placed in a variety of frames and were flanked by a number of different motifs. It is not possible to consider all the portraits represented on the monuments here. A selection of the typical and some of the unusual examples only are considered.

Portraits were particularly popular on monuments to young women. Because of changes in hairstyles these monuments are fairly closely datable, and a chronological sequence can be compiled. Unfortunately, nearly all the face on what is probably the earliest piece (no. 14) has been destroyed, along with most of the inscription. This is an altar in the Museo Chiaramonti with only sui et sibi remaining of the inscription: above the garland on the front is the damaged head of a girl or young woman with ringlets of hair hanging down her neck. The monument is probably of late Augustan or early Tiberian date (6). Of Claudian date is the portrait of the fourteen year old Minucia Suavis (no. 15; pl. 49), simply placed in a rounded niche above the inscription. Her face is delicately moulded with her mouth half smiling and her hair set in waves across the top of her head. This is an extremely sensitive rendering of an adolescent girl. Iunia Procula (no. 16; pl. 50) was younger - only eight - when she died. Her portrait was inserted in a vaguely shell-shaped niche placed in what was clearly meant to be an inscription panel: the inscription was placed on the base instead. Unlike Minucia Suavis, and indeed the majority of the portraits of girls on the funerary

monuments, Iunia Procula's shoulders are bare. The hair covering the top of her head is in a mass of small curls, with delicate corkscrew ringlets down the sides of her neck. Also displaying the characteristically Flavian mass of drilled curls is the portrait bust of Cornelia Glyce (no. 17). This is placed in a deep rectangular recess above the inscription panel, and is flanked by palm trees (- a reference to the woman's name?). The portrait of Varia Sabbatis (no. 18), of Trajanic date, is placed in a shell niche and takes up all the front of the monument: her name is placed on the base. Very similar, also in an elaborate shell niche, is the slightly later portrait bust of Petronia Musa (no. 19). Both women have their hair waved in the front and coiled up on the tops of their heads in a variety of plaits. The musical instruments on the sides of the altar of Petronia Musa may be a reference either to her name or to her accomplishments.

All of these are high quality pieces on which the portrait forms the major if not the only element of decoration. Clearly the main function of the portrait in such cases is commemoration, a reminder of the youth and beauty of the dead woman - for even Cornelia Glyce, whose monument was set up by her son, is a dignified matron, not an old woman. This accords with the sentiments expressed by the epitaphs (7).

For similar reasons boys and young men were often commemorated by portraits. Nicostratus (no. 20) was a slave of Nero - his portrait bust was placed in a niche above the inscription panel. It is rather sketchily rendered, and lacks the finesse of the other portraits discussed so far. Of much higher workmanship is the portrait bust of the six year old Alcis set up by his parents T. Flavius

Hermes and Flavia Edone (no. 21; pl. 51) which is virtually in the round: unlike the bust of Nicostratus, which has very little individuality, this is a true portrait, as sensitive as those of Minucia Suavis and Iunia Procula. Probably of Hadrianic date is the portrait bust of Successus (no. 22), placed in a large round niche in the centre of the front of his monument. Again this is a finely moulded portrait of a young boy. The Antonine altar of two brothers, A. Servilius Paulinus and A. Servilius Paulinianus (no. 23) has portrait busts of both of them, both in the prime of life, above the inscription panel.

Monuments with portrait busts of more than one member of the family are not uncommon. Iunia Venusta set up a monument (no. 24) to her husband, her two children, and her patron, with portraits of all four - the patron is presumably the one in the pediment, the others being represented by the three portrait busts above the inscription panel. The ash altar of C. Clodius Primitivus and C. Clodius Apollinaris (no. 25) has the portrait busts of the two boys together in one shell in the pediment, and on an ash chest in Cleveland (no. 26) there are three small busts, unidentifiable as the panel above is uninscribed, above the garland.

Husband and wife were also represented together. On the altar of M. Antonius Asclepiades (no. 27) they turn towards one another, and, with a rather awkward distortion of their limbs, link right hands. On another monument (no. 28) two cupids hold up the roundel containing the heads of Scribonia Hedone and Q. Tampus Hermeros; the inscription tells us that they lived together for eighteen years without a single cross word, and the representation, although

worn, shows them affectionately cheek to cheek. A shell portrait of Varia Amoeba and her husband, also linking right hands (no. 29) is flanked by cornucopiae. Below there is a closed door flanked by torches, here presumably alluding to life after death as well as life in general.

However, on other pieces the portraits are not so affectionate towards one another. On the grave altar of P. Vitellius Successus (no. 30) the husband and wife's portrait busts stare uncompromisingly from the pediment, and the tender gesture of the handshake is reserved for the banquet scene below. Also placed simply side by side are the portrait busts of L. Tullius Diotimus and his wife (no. 31), and T. Flavius Pinitus and Flavia Algimena, his freedwoman (no. 32). L. Cacius Cinna and Cacia (no. 33; pl. 22) are separated by the whole width of the pediment: their tiny portrait busts are placed in the roundels at the ends of the volutes.

Two basic types of frames were commonly used for portraits: the roundel or clipeus and the shell niche. The wide round frame circling the portrait bust of P. Cordius Cissus (no. 34) is decorated with laurel. This is a large portrait, but elaborate frames were used especially for much smaller portraits. They are frequently held up or flanked by cupids. Two cupids hold up the clipeus portrait of a woman on a grave altar on Torcello (Venice) (no. 35), and that of Iulia Apollonia (no. 36; pl. 73) is held by cupids with the attributes of a torch and a bow and quiver. The portrait of Iunia Pieris on the altar dedicated to her as well as himself by M. Iunius Hamillus (no. 37) is flanked by seated griffins, and that of C. Voltilius Domesticus (no. 38) has a duck on either side. Shell portraits, too, were frequently

supported or flanked by cupids - this combination of motifs occurs on the altars of Caesennia Ploce (no. 39), Plaetoria Antiochis (no. 40) and an altar with a medieval inscription in Pisa (no. 41). Other shell portraits were flanked by dolphins (ash chest of C. Terentius Anencletus no. 42), or flying birds (grave altar in Tarquinia, no. 43). An unusual shell portrait is that of Ti. Claudius Victor (no. 44), a boy with his hair in a bun and a necklace with a crescent as a pendant. No adequate reason has ever been put forward for the use of the shell niche, other than its decorative effect (8).

The portrait bust on a broken altar in the cloisters of the basilica S. Paolo, Rome, (no. 45; pl. 28) was placed in an unusual frame: the cupboard-like shrine already discussed under the door motif. Mrs. Strong's comments on the portrait busts in popular use on the tombs of the Via Appia apply also to this monument - and possibly to many of the monuments considered above.

The type is doubtless influenced by the stark wax imagines that stood in the hall of great Roman houses, and, though we may not go so far as to assert that the pose carries with it a reminiscence of ancestor worship, yet it shows that the Roman was primarily interested in presenting his dead to the homage of the survivors. (9)

This raises the question of how far heroisation is implicit in the Roman use of the portrait. Two monuments explicitly refer to apotheosis of some kind. The altar of Iulia Victorina (no. 46) has two portrait busts, apparently of the same girl. On one side she is shown as quite young, about the age at which the inscription says that she died - ten years. She is wearing a small crescent moon on her head. On the other side the same girl (identifiable by her earrings) is

represented as much older, wearing the rays of the sun on her head. Cumont's analysis of this monument explains this curious feature of the double portrait: he suggests that it alludes to the doctrine of astral immortality, and, in particular, the idea of the moon as a half-way station on the path the soul takes to the sun. Thus he interprets this particular piece in the following way:

L'enfant innocente décedée à dix ans, ira habiter cet astre (= the moon), demeure des justes, puis, quand les temps seront révolus, parvenue, a l'âge mûr, elle s'élèvera vers le soleil (10)

The use of two portraits of the same person and the moon/sun headdresses mark this out as a quite unusual piece: it cannot be assumed to reflect any commonly held beliefs. The other monument is that of Q. Pomponius Eudaemon and Claudia Helpis (no. 47); their portrait busts are represented being carried on the backs of an eagle and a peacock respectively. This clearly associates them with the concept of imperial apotheosis (11).

However, the line between commemoration and worship is a thin one - portraits had a rather special significance to the Roman mind, and to some extent have always been thought capable of some mysterious power. Trimalchio's rather strange remarks about the statues of himself and his wife to be placed in his tomb betray a feeling that the statue does more than merely reproduce the features of the model: it also in some obscure way ensures survival after death (12). This somewhat unformed and superstitious view, the old idea of the imagines, the newer ideas of apotheosis, must have all combined to make the portrait seem more than a mere record for posterity of the features of the dead.

The number of multiple portraits may also be significant.

These contradict a remark made about Roman portraiture by Mrs. Strong: of the Roman she says,

What he desires is not, like the Greek, to represent beautiful scenes of parting and reunion; his sterner purpose is to establish, by means of an almost hieratic pose, a direct relation between the living and the dead. (13)

This is not true where man and wife link hands or are represented cheek to cheek. On these, and where a family is represented together, the portraits seem to suggest precisely the concepts of reunion, parting and communion which were expressed also in the dextrarum iunctio and some of the banqueting scenes.



Notes.

- 1). The pose is strikingly similar to that of the bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius on the Campidoglio.
- 2). H. I. Marrou, MOYCIKOC ANHP (Grenoble 1938 and Rome 1964), p. 206.
- 3). Much has been written on the subject of gaining astral immortality by cultural pursuits and the patronage of the Muses:  
Marrou, op. cit. Part II, Chapter IV.  
Cumont, Afterlife, Chapter IV, Recherches, Chapter IV.  
P. Boyance, Le Culte des Muses chez les Philosophes grecs, A (Paris 1937), passim.  
However, in this case it is inconceivable that the children had even begun their lessons. It is possible that this monument was chosen simply because it represented two children, regardless of age, but this is not at all a satisfactory explanation.
- 4). Mansuelli, Catalogue I, p. 209.
- 5). It is possible that the monument to Niconius and Eutyches (no. 10) and that of Hateria Superba (no. 12) were by the same workshop. Many features of the children are similar, not least the representation of babies as older children.
- 6). For a consideration of the date of the monument c.f. p. .  
Compare this portrait with that of Agrippina the elder:  
Bernouilli, Römische Ikonographie, (Berlin and Stuttgart 1886)  
vol. II, i, pl. XV.
- 7). c.f. Appendix nos. 8,9,10.
- 8). H. Brandenburg, 'Meerwesensarkophage und Clipeusmotiv' JdI LXXXII 1967 pp. 223-224, n. 86, 87 (bibliography).  
According to Brandenburg the usual interpretation of the portrait busts on the later sarcophagi is as a symbol of the soul, and the figures on either side of the shell or clipeus are carrying it to the afterlife (in the case of Nereids and Tritons this means over the sea to the Isles of the Blessed).  
Ch. Picard in Rev. Arch. 13 1939 p. 137 sees the shell as a symbol of immortality, while J. Bolten in Die Imago Clipeata (Paderborn 1937) p. 30 sees it as an allusion to Venus who was born from the sea. It could also, of course, be merely decorative.
- 9). E. Strong, Apotheosis, p. 170.
- 10). Cumont, Recherches, p. 244.
- 11). For a further discussion of the eagle and the peacock as birds of apotheosis cf. chapter 8, birds.
- 12). Petronius, Satyricon, 71.
- 13). Strong, op. cit., pp. 170-171.

Chapter 7: Mythological Scenes and Figures.The Rape of Proserpina.

The most popular mythological scene used on Roman ash chests and grave altars is the Rape of Proserpina (1). The scene occurs on nine monuments, all of a late type (2). The arrangement of the figures always conforms quite closely to a basic pattern (as the scene on the grave altar of Epaphroditus, no. 1; pl. 13, 52). The scene consists of a four-horse chariot moving towards the right at the gallop: in it is the bearded, half-naked Pluto in the act of snatching up Proserpina who leans backwards over his arm, flinging one or both of her arms into the air. Minor details vary. Sometimes Pluto himself drives the chariot, as on the altar of the Villa Albani (no. 9), but sometimes a cupid acts as the charioteer. Sometimes a snake glides along under the horses' hooves, although on the altars of M. Clodius Herma (no. 2) and Valeria Fusca (no. 3; pl. 53) the wavy line seems to be the edge of the earth, not a snake. On the ash altar of M. Ulpius Floridus (no. 4; pls. 7, 54) the snake is replaced by a scatter of flowers, and on the altar of Clodius Herma there is an upended flower basket lying on the ground behind the chariot. An added detail on the altar of Lucretius Hyllus (no. 5; pl. 14) is a tree in the background. The way in which the wind blows Pluto's cloak also varies - it either flies out behind him, as on the altar of M. Antonius Asclepiades (no. 6), or billows in an arc over his head, as on the ash chest without inscription in the Terme museum (no. 7). The arrangement of the horses' heads and legs is also different on the various pieces, ranging from the strict parallel treatment on the altar of Epaphroditus to the two above, two below arrangement on the

Terme piece. Thus, although the scenes would seem to belong to a stereotyped pattern, they contrive to be spirited and lively, and display quite a high level of craftsmanship.

The Rape of Proserpina was popular in other artistic media, especially painting and mosaics, but it was used almost exclusively in a funerary context (3). It also occurred on a small number of ash chests made in Volterra, but otherwise it was a rare subject in Etruscan art (4). The scene in Roman art seldom departs from the general scheme illustrated by the cinerary monuments, although on two mosaics of the second century A.D. (5) the chariot is going in the opposite direction, and it is quite common for Mercury to be leading the horses - a feature which never occurs on the cinerary monuments, but does appear on an early garland sarcophagus (catalogue of sarcophagi no. 8). A variant which is common on Roman sarcophagi is that Proserpina, instead of leaning backwards out of the chariot, is held across Pluto's body; moreover, on the sarcophagi the actual carrying off of Proserpina is only one of several scenes illustrating the story, none of which were used on the cinerary monuments.

The rape of Proserpina has an obvious relevance to funerary contexts, but it is usually assumed that it does not allude to an actual belief in the reality of the underworld realm of Pluto. Cumont suggested that mythological rape scenes such as the rape of Proserpina allude to 'la violence de la mort qui saisit sa victime' (6). Various epitaphs (7) show that death was seen in terms of 'rape', but it was sometimes Proserpina herself who did the snatching (8). It is interesting that the rape of Proserpina, which would seem especially appropriate to women and young people, is not their preserve on the cinerary monuments: only two of the nine were set

up to women (Valeria Fusca, Saenia Longina - no. 8). Of the other seven, two have no inscription, and the remainder were set up to men, three of them freedmen. This might suggest that a more strictly allegorical meaning attached to the motif; Cumont suggests that such a meaning might be 'du sort des humains, qui après être descendus dans la nuit du tombeau, devaient renaître à une vie radiieuse' (9). Later he proposes another, more specific, meaning for the motif:

l'Hadès est suivant une doctrine néopythagoricienne cette vie terrestre, où les hommes sont torturés par leur passions et leurs besoins. Korè sera donc l'essence divine qui s'abaisse ici-bas et s'enferme dans le corps, mais qui, libérée de cette captivité, retourne vers les hauteurs resplendissantes de l'éther. (10).

Such an interpretation he ascribes particularly to the ash chest in the Terme museum; he sees Pluto's outstretched hand holding a staff as a gesture of pointing to the sky, the destination of his chariot, and his billowing cloak as a further reference to Caelus (11). This interpretation seems unnecessarily fanciful, and is contradicted by the two scenes where the opening ground is represented under the horses' hooves (nos. 2 and 3).

Cumont therefore suggests three separate though related allegorical interpretations of the scene: first imply as the unrelenting and inevitable power of death, secondly as an allegory of the descent to the tomb and rebirth to a new life, thirdly as a release for the soul from the bondage of this life to the freedom of the ether. The concept of liberation is appropriate for the three freedmen, Epaphroditus, Ulpus Floridus and Lucretius Hyllus, but

the inscriptions, giving as they do only basic information about the dead and their relatives, provide no support for the concept of liberation to astral immortality. The other motifs on the monuments give only limited aid in determining what afterlife existence, if any, their owners believed in. On most there are only standard motifs, as medusa heads and laurel trees, but Lucretius Hyllus is represented feasting and M. Antonius Asclepiades is twice represented linking right hands with his wife. Both scenes may suggest some concept of afterlife survival, although probably not in the ether. The cupids with the grapes standing on bulbous columns and the other motifs on the altar of M. Ulpus Floridus may also be allusions to an expected blissful afterlife (12). Nevertheless, the basic meaning of the motif is as a picturesque statement of mortality, and specific afterlife beliefs cannot be deduced from it.

#### Other mythological scenes.

A small number of monuments have figured scenes recognisable as mythological representations. Such scenes were generally placed above the garland or underneath the inscription panel. They are found on the later monuments (i.e. those of the end of the first century onward) and in some cases (nos. 20-25) seem to be adaptations of second century sarcophagus designs to fit ash chests. On the whole the representations are of unusual, even rather unlikely stories, and it is sometimes difficult even to know what myth the scene was designed to illustrate. Clearly these scenes would have been chosen for a specific reason by the person who commissioned the monument, but their reasons are seldom obvious. The importance of such scenes in the present study is rather as the forerunners to

the decoration of the earliest garland and mythological sarcophagi rather than as evidence for afterlife beliefs.

Three monuments, the ash altars of M. Coelius Superstes (no. 10; pl. 55), and of A. Albius Graptus (no. 11; pl. 56), and an altar once in Nazzano (no. 12), are decorated with a scene representing a crouching woman, attended by two cupids, having a bath. The scene has generally been interpreted as the bath of Venus, although a very similar scheme of decoration could be used for the bath of Diana (as on the Actaeon sarcophagus in the Louvre, catalogue of sarcophagi no. 5). Certain features suggest that in this instance the woman is Venus - the enclosure of the scene in a shell on two of the monuments, and the fact she is fondling a swan. It is probable that these scenes closely follow a statuary group mentioned by Pliny (13): this would explain the consistency of details such as the attitudes of the cupids. The scenes only differ from one another by the omission or addition of minor details, as the fountain or the swan.

Why the scene was used remains unclear. The two monuments with inscriptions appear to have been set up to men - by a brother (no. 10) or a friend (no. 11), and the accompanying decoration does not point to any emphasis on any particular aspect of the scene. The sea is alluded to repeatedly on the monument of A. Albius Graptus (the shell is held up by Tritons and above their heads are dolphins) but this is not so on the other two monuments. The scene itself has no obvious eschatological interpretation.

A myth which may have some specific funerary meaning is that of Ganymede, whose 'rape' by the eagle may be seen as an allusion to apotheosis. On the grave altar of Statius Asclepiades

(no. 13) Ganymede is shown as a youthful figure seated on a rock giving an eagle a drink from a bowl. The scene is placed in the rounded pediment of the monument.

The remaining scenes appear to be either of rather obscure myths or of myths whose relevance to a funerary context is unclear. The identification of a scene showing Daedalus making a model cow for Pasiphae is quite certain: it occurs in the space under the inscription panel on the ash chest of C. Volcacius Artemidorus (no. 14). Daedalus sits on the left working with what appears to be a lathe; in front of him stands the veiled Pasiphae and a cow with a hole in its side (thus indicating that it is not real). On the far right is the head of an interested-looking bull, and above the back of the cow is a winged cupid with his arms extending behind the bull and Pasiphae, as though approving and encouraging their love. The myth was popular in wall painting (14), but any specific relevance to a funerary monument escapes me.

It is also reported that Oedipus was shown answering the sphinx's riddle on the grave altar of Ti. Claudius Geminus (now lost, no. 15). Unlike the Pasiphae myth this was particularly associated with funerary contexts: it occurs on the garland sarcophagus panel in the Palazzo Mattei (catalogue of sarcophagi, no. 24), on a wall painting from a tomb in the museum of Castellamare di Stabia, and on a mosaic in a tomb at Ostia.

A scene identified as Leto fleeing with her children occurs on the grave altar of Luccia Telesina (no. 16). The central figure, a woman in an agitated state with billowing drapery and a child held in the crook of each arm, is plausibly interpreted as Leto (15). It is the figures on either side of her which are puzzling, and

the absence of the Python by which she is presumably being pursued. The figure on the right who turns away from Leto has been identified as a local nymph. The figure on the left holds up a shield or mirror with the head of Medusa represented on it. It has been suggested that this figure is Minerva, hoping to turn the Python into stone at a glance from the Medusa head. Such an explanation of the three figures is far from satisfactory, and this episode does not seem particularly appropriate to a funerary monument.

The death of Archemoros may have occurred on two monuments (16): those of P. Egnatius Nicephorus (no. 17) and Herbasia Clymene (no. 18). Although the myth is rather an unusual one for representation, it seems the obvious identification of the scene (17). This consists of a boy entwined by a snake, upside down, a fleeing woman, and a naked man with his cloak flying. There is a jug lying on the ground under the boy's head. The myth, apart from its reference to violent death, has no obvious eschatological interpretation, and does not seem to promise any hope of afterlife survival (except insofar as the youth was remembered by the Nemean games instituted after his death). The same theme of violent death is illustrated elsewhere on the altars, by eagles tearing at hares at the corners, and an animal hunting its prey. The figure of Diogenes with a large pot as a dwelling and a dog to identify him decorated the lid of the altar of Nicephorus. This would seem to imply that the myth was to be interpreted in the light of some teaching of Diogenes, and confirms that the monument was not intended to convey any hope of an afterlife.

Another altar (no. 19; pls. 10, 57) with badly damaged decoration and an unreadable inscription, seems to have a mythol-



ogical scene of some kind on it. In the centre sits a naked man holding a bunch of grapes over his head and a child in his lap. He sits on an animal skin draped over a rock. To the right is a woman either propped up against or sitting on an object which may be an omphalos tripod - she points or gesticulates towards the man with her right arm. Behind her on the rock there appears to be a bird (a swan?), and two other objects. Beyond the man on the left is an eagle with spread wings. The central figure is probably Mercury with the infant Dionysus - hence the grapes. The woman would then be one of the nymphs of Nysa - but the significance of the eagle and the swan is less clear.

A group of ash chests clearly of later second or even third century date are decorated with mythological scenes derived from the decoration of sarcophagi. They show Hippolytus and Phaedra (ash urn of Q. Caecilius Anicetus, no. 20, and without inscription in the British Museum, no. 21), Meleager (ash chest of C. Cornelius Zoticus, no. 22, and once in Villa Pacca, no. 23) Apollo and Marsyas (ash chest in Pawlowsk, no. 24) and Medea (ash chest in Ostia, no. 25).

Thus mythological scenes, with the exception of the rape of Proserpina and animals suckling children (see below) were surprisingly rare on the monuments of the first century A.D. and earlier part of the second century - yet these monuments were produced at a time when mythological representation was very popular in other branches of art. The myths which were used are rather obscure and puzzling: they are not those which were to become the staple repertoire of the mythological sarcophagi, although one or two (Oedipus and the sphinx and the bath of a goddess) do turn up on early garland sarcophagi - such a heterogeneous mythological repertoire is, indeed, one of the characteristics of the Hadrianic and Antonine garland sarcophagi.

Individual gods and divinities.

Apart from those appearing in the mythological scenes described above, gods and divinities occur surprisingly rarely on the cinerary monuments. Mercury is one of the more popular gods, presumably because of his psychopompos role. He appears on the back of the altar of Marcius Anicetus (no. 26), where he is represented riding a ram, his cloak billowing out behind him, with a caduceus in one hand and a pomegranate in the other. A cock, another of his attributes, walks in front of him. On one side of the same altar is Juno, standing on a base on which her name is inscribed: she holds a patera and a staff, and is accompanied by a bird. Jupiter, with an eagle and a thunderbolt, occupies the other side, and on the front is a banquet scene. Mercury occurs again on the front of the altar of M. Cocceius Crescens (no. 27) where the ram and tortoise are represented on the sides, and on the left side of the altar of L. Passienus Augianus (no. 28), where he is opposed to Fortuna on the right side (18). Mercury also appears on the altar of Ianuaria (no. 29), watching a goat eating the leaves of a tree. This scene has been given an elaborate eschatological interpretation which I discuss elsewhere (19).

Juno Lucina appears on the right side of the altar of C. Poppaeus Ianuarius (no. 30; pls. 58, 59): this seems to be the most likely identification of the female figure suckling a child, although why she was placed on this monument is more of a mystery. She holds the child in the crook of one arm and a torch in her other hand, and there is a laurel tree behind her. On the left hand side of the monument is a man with his hands raised in the air standing by a table altar with a pig underneath it, and fruits on top. The back

has a figure carrying a plate of food and a basket. These scenes clearly refer to some religious activity: Amelung suggested that the man on the side is C. Poppaeus Ianuarius himself, and that he is praying to Juno Lucina in gratitude for the safe delivery of Poppaea in childbirth (20). However, the surviving inscription gives no hint of any such meaning for the scenes: it remains pure if plausible hypothesis.

Various other female deities occur on the monuments. The Fortuna on the altar of Passienus Augianus has already been mentioned, and Fate, with her wheel and scroll, appears on one side of the altar of Q. Caecilius Ferox (no. 31). A problem of identification occurs with the altar of Sallia Daphne (no. 32) which shows a seated stately woman holding a torch and possibly corn ears or flowers. This could represent a statue of Ceres, but the inscription again gives no clue to the reason for her presence on this monument. There is another goddess, best identified as Annona in view of the inscription, on the altar of Carpus Pallantianus, the 'adiutor Athenodori praef. annonae' (no. 33). She is carrying a torch and also possibly a bunch of flowers.

Diana occurs on two monuments of early second century date dedicated to young girls: Aelia Procula (no. 34) and Aelia Tyche (no. 35). On both of these the figure of Diana appears to have a portrait head, presumably the features of the dead girl. This raises the question of the extent to which the people concerned were actually equated with the gods. Altmann collects together a number of monuments which seem to suggest either by inscription or by decoration that the dead were equated in some way with the gods (21).

The same subject has also been considered in a recent study (22): it does not seem to have any particular relevance to eschatological belief as the dead are either mentioned alongside or at most are assimilated to the deities concerned, not actually identified with them. The question seems to be rather different with Iulia Victorina (no. 36). On this grave altar the portrait of the dead girl is shown on one side wearing the crescent moon, and on the other the rays of the sun. Cumont's analysis of the monument (23) which at least explains its more curious features, suggests that the crescent does not so much equate the dead girl with Diana as represent the destination of her soul.

Amor and Psyche and Venus and Cupid occur on the sides of the altar dedicated to Alfidia Irene to her husband and son (no. 37): presumably these two divine pairs were chosen to reflect the relationships of husband and wife and mother and son. The front of the monument has a funerary banquet scene, of a type showing the woman seated at the end of the bed on which her husband reclines. The monument as a whole therefore expresses Alfidia Irene's love and fidelity to her husband and affection for her son through portraiture and analogy with the gods.

Diana and Apollo may be represented on the altar of M. Valerius Carus (no. 38), decorated with a frieze showing two figures, one male, one female, armed with bows aimed at deer among trees. Apart from this one piece, Apollo is not shown in person, although his attributes (tripods, griffins and lyres) were very common. This is in direct contrast to the popularity of Apollo on the sarcophagi where he was frequently represented with the Muses. Hercules is another god who occurs surprisingly rarely on the cinerary monuments,

considering his popularity on later sarcophagi. One exception is the altar of L. Marcius Pacatus (no. 39) where he was represented overcoming the Hydra, Stymphalian birds and the centaur. His general absence from the monuments is perhaps an indication that there was as yet no attempt to express eschatological ideas via mythological allegory.

Dionysus also occurs on a few monuments: his presence in an inebriated state in the pediment of an altar dedicated to a wine-handler is self-explanatory (Bacchic scenes, no. 1). He also occurs occasionally in the centre of the bacchic thiasos: these scenes will be considered below.

Notes.

- 1). J. Overbeck, Griechische Kunstmythologie, III,2 (1873-1878), ch. 10, esp. pp. 643-645. "  
R. Förster, Der Raub und Rückkehr der Persephone, (Stuttgart 1874). These works collect together the various Greek and Roman monuments with the scene on them. For a further bibliography see Andreae, Grabkunst, pp. 45-49.
- 2). That is, those with spiral columns, not heads and garlands. The altar of M. Ulpius Floridus was presumably made in the early part of the second century; it cannot be earlier than the reign of Trajan.
- 3). Andreae, Grabkunst, p. 48.
- 4). Korte, III, ch. 1, pp. 1-5.
- 5). Blake, MAAR 13 1936 pl. 36,1; 46,1.
- 6). Cumont, Recherches, p. 95.
- 7). Altmann, p. 276, n.3. C.I.L. VI 7898; VI 25871; VI 7872.  
A. B. Purdie, Some Observations on Latin Verse Inscriptions, London 1935, p. 76.
- 8). Inscription on the grave altar of Pedana: C.I.L. VI 27060, Appendix of Inscriptions, no. 8.
- 9). Cumont, Recherches, p. 95.
- 10). Cumont, Recherches, pp. 96-97.
- 11). Cumont, Recherches, p. 97, n.1.  
'Je ne sais si, sur le petit monument que nous reproduisons (fig. 14) c'est intentionnellement que l'on a entouré la tête de Pluton d'un manteau, qui s'enfle comme celui de Caelus, et que le dieu montre le ciel de son sceptre levé.'
- 13). Lehmann-Hartleben, Olsen, Dionysiac Sarcophagi, p. 45, n. 141, interpret the bulbous columns as bacchic 'baetyli' and the Proserpina scene as an allegory of the 'transmigration of the soul'.
- 13). Pliny, NH XXXVI, 35.  
Robert, A.S.R. III,1, p. 1, for the argument that the scene on the Actaeon sarcophagus and the altar of M. Coelius Superstes derive from the statuary group of 'Daidalos'. Altmann (p. 162) also follows this interpretation. Pliny, however, merely mentions 'Venerem lavantem sese' and thus it is quite possible that elements such as the cupids, swan and fountain derive from some other source.

- 14). Reinach, Repertoire de Peintures Grecques et Romaines, (Paris 1922) p. 183.  
 J. M. C. Toynbee, Death and Burial in the Roman World (London 1971) p. 266, suggests that the dead man 'had been a carver in wood or a sculptor', and Nock in A.J.A. L 1946 p. 166, puts it down to 'literary classicism'.
- 15). Statues of women fleeing with children:  
 Conservatori Museum: H. Stuart-Jones, Catalogue, p. 227, no. 31.  
 Museo Torlonia: T. Schreiber, Apollon Pythoktonos, (Leipzig 1879) pl. I,1. (Schreiber also illustrates a number of coins with the figure of Leto fleeing with her children. The other figures on the altar of Luccia Telesina occur on none of them).
- 16). The altar of Egnatius Nicephorus is in the Palazzo Barberini; that of Herbasia Clymene had disappeared before 1905 (Altmann). Both altars are illustrated in Montfaucon (V, pl. 30, 67), and appear to be decorated in exactly the same way except for their lids. It is very unusual for two elaborately decorated grave altars to be so alike, and the history of the two monuments provided in the C.I.L. (VI 17102; VI 19296) is curiously similar. This suggests to me one of three possibilities:
- 1) The two monuments were found together and were therefore possibly commissioned by the same family - this might explain the use of the same myth twice. Such a hypothesis is not borne out by the inscriptions.
  - 2) The genuine monument was copied at some post-classical date to make a pair (this would explain the mirror-image effect, but not the different lids).
  - 3) There never were two monuments: Montfaucon's drawings show the same monument twice but with a different inscription and lid. It seems unlikely that such a discrepancy would remain undetected for so long, but it seems that Mattei doubted the authenticity of the altar of Herbasia Clymene (C.I.L.). Whichever explanation is accepted it should not be taken as particularly significant that the motif of the death of Archemoros occurs on two pieces.
- 17). cf. J. Overbeck, Gallerie heroischer Bildwerke der alten Kunst (Halle 1852) p. 107 ff. pl. lll, esp. no. 1.
- 18). A similar conjunction of Mercury and Fortuna occurs on a wall painting in Trimalchio's house (Satyricon, 29)- Trimalchio himself is represented carrying a caduceus and being led into Rome by Minerva. After scenes of his career he is again represented being raised to a throne by Mercury: Fortuna and the Fates stand by. Mercury is present here presumably in his aspect as god of business. H. Wrede, R.Mitt. LXXVIII 1971 'Das Mausoleum der Claudia Semne und die bürgerliche Plastik der Kaiserzeit', p. 154, sees this as a piece of 'Privat-Deifikation' and the scene 'seine Heroisierung durch Merkur und Athena zeigt'. However, in the case of Passienus Augianus, who was only seven when he died, it seems likely that Mercury is present rather as psychopompos. The presence of Fortuna is rather more obscure, although she has an obvious relevance to life and death in general.

- 19). cf. Chapter 1, p. 9 ; Chapter 8, pp. 259-261.
- 20). Vat. Cat. I p. 810, no. 731A.  
 'Die Gestalt ist Iuno Lucina, die römische Licht - und Geburts-  
 göttin; ihr gilt jedenfalls das Gebet des Ianuarius, wohl ein  
 Dankgebet für eine leichte Niederkunft der Poppaea Ianuaria'.
- 21). Altmann, pp. 282-283. The inscriptions generally mention the  
 god(s) with 'et memoriae' and the name of the dead. The exact  
 significance of the formula is a delicate question. For me it  
 does not furnish proof of the identification or assimilation  
 of the dead with the divinities concerned, although clearly  
 they are being granted exceptional honour by their name being  
 linked with the gods.
- 22). H. Wrede, op. cit., considers the question of 'private apotheosis'  
 in the early second century A.D. as manifested especially by  
 funerary statues of goddesses (eg. Venus) with the portrait  
 head of a specific woman. The religious meaning of this vogue  
 is given less weight than the political and social implications.  
 This, I feel, puts the motif in its proper perspective: too  
 much cannot be based on it as evidence for eschatological beliefs.
- 23). Cumont, Recherches, pp. 243-245; cf. Chapter 6, Portraits,  
 Cumont's explanation at least covers the more curious features  
 of the monument: I have no better explanation for them and  
 therefore accept it tentatively.



Bacchic scenes and figures.

Members of the bacchic thiasos, and even Dionysus himself, occur quite frequently on the cinerary monuments. Although most of these were products of the late first and early second centuries A.D., there are also a few conspicuous examples from the early to mid first century (as Amemptus, no. 19, without inscription in the Terme museum, no. 11, and of Ti. Claudius V(italis), no. 8). Many different types of bacchic figures were represented - maenads, satyrs, Pan, Silenus, centaurs, drunk cupids, and Dionysus and Ariadne. On the whole the scenes are very varied and do not conform to stereotypes. The one exception is the bacchic thiasos in motion, with a drunk Silenus or Dionysus riding an animal at its centre. This occurs on several monuments. None of these seem to date from before the end of the first century A.D.: that of Iulia Alce would appear to be the earliest, and that of Callityche may be of the late second century (1).

On the altar of Iulia Alce (no. 2) the scene is placed above the garland on the front, and is very badly weathered. It shows a figure (possibly Silenus?) riding a horse or donkey, supported by figures on either side, and preceded by another figure (Pan?) leading the procession. On the ash chest set up by L. Mussius Trophimus to his wife Callityche (no. 3) Silenus is riding a donkey, and is being supported on either side by a satyr. In front is a maenad blowing double flutes, and another dwarf-like figure, possibly another Silenus. Behind are two more maenads, one with a basket on her head. On the altar of Sessia Labionilla (no. 4 ; pl. 12, 60) a Silenus sits on a horse - possibly (the relief is very worn) trying

to ride it backwards (2). He is supported by two figures, and Pan leads the horse. Behind are two flute players and in front a standing figure with a seated panther, who may be Dionysus himself. Silenus is also shown riding a goat to the right of Dionysus on the altar of C. Clodius Euphemus (no. 1). This scene also has on it Pan, a dancing maenad, and a satyr with a wineskin over his shoulder.

On two altars whose present whereabouts is unknown, Dionysus was represented riding an animal, on that of M. Aurelius (or Ulpus) Stefanus (no. 5) on a ram, on the other (no. 6) on a donkey. Again a procession of satyrs, maenads and Pan was represented. On the grave altar of Quintia Sabina (no. 7) Dionysus is represented riding in a chariot drawn by panthers. He is holding a thyrsus and a cantharos, and is accompanied by satyrs, a maenad and Pan.

One rather unusual scene has already been discussed: that showing Dionysus and Ariadne joining right hands under a vine trellis, a scene which occurs twice on the altar of Ti. Claudius V(italis) (no. 8; pl. 34). Ariadne was also represented reclining under the inscription panel on the ash chest of T. Flavius Eucharistus (no. 9). The right hand side of this monument has broken away, but to the left of the inscription panel there are a maenad and a satyr: it is likely that Dionysus himself was shown on the right side. The right handshake was associated with bacchic figures on two monuments - the altar of Vinicia Tyche (no. 10) and an ash chest without inscription in the Terme Museum (no. 11). On both monuments a dextrarum iunctio scene on the front is complemented by wildly dancing maenads - on the sides of the altar of Vinicia Tyche, on the back of the Terme piece. More dancing maenads decorate the altar of M. Ulpus Terpnus (no. 12). These make a curious allusion to bacchic mythology - the

maenad on the front is dancing with a severed head, presumably that of Pentheus or Orpheus, in one hand, and a knife in the other (3). The maenads on the other three sides hold more conventional attributes.

Other bacchic figures are also found on the monuments. The altar of L. Aufidius Aprilis (no. 13) has, above the garland, a young satyr sprawled asleep on a rock covered by a panther skin. Two goats watch him. The monument belongs to the end of the first century A.D. The Silenus carrying a liknon on his head emerging from a doorway on the altar of Velusia Arbuscula (no. 14) has already been mentioned. Pan also occurs on a few monuments: it seems that on the altar of M. Ulpus Martialis (no. 15) Pan was represented handing a set of pipes to a nymph. On the altar of Hermia (no. 16) he is engaged in a fight with an animal (a ram or a goat), and on the altar of Telegenia Nobilis (no. 17; pl. 72) he is butting heads with a goat. On the lid of the ash chest of Nicostratus (no. 18) Pan is shown reclining with a maenad.

There are also a few scenes involving figures which are lesser members of the bacchic throng, as the centaurs on the ash altar of the imperial freedman Amemptus (no. 19). These are placed on the front of the monument under the garland: the one on the left is male, plays a lyre, and has a cupid on his back; the one on the right is female, plays double flutes, and has a Psyche on her back. Between them are overturned vessels - a horn and a cantharos. Centaurs were later associated with the bacchic thiasos, and perhaps refer to it here. Drunk cupids appear on the ash altar of Flavius Saturninus (no. 20): two companions support a third definitely the *verse* for wear above the garland on the front. On the ash altar with incomplete inscription in the Lateran Collection (no. 21) revelling cupids occur

again: on the right side under the garland are two drunk boys, and on the left two cupids with a panther.

Therefore, although there is quite a body of monuments with dionysiac figures and scenes on them, they are fairly evenly distributed over one and a half centuries - from Tiberius to the later second century (4). The thiasos and more complicated scenes occur on the later pieces. Moreover, whereas the earlier monuments (with the exception of Ti. Claudius V(italis)) used individual bacchic figures as only one part of the decoration, by the late first and early second centuries they are the major element on the altars they decorate (cf. Quintia Sabina, Callityche, Sessia Labienilla).

Bruhl sensibly points out that any interpretation of the motifs which involves the assumption that the dead was an adept of a bacchic mystery cult should be made with caution (5). He suggests that the choice of a bacchic motif may be made for reasons quite other than religious conviction - the general popularity of bacchic scenes in domestic and other non-funerary contexts shows this. The case of the wine-handler M. Clodius Euphemus (6) is an example of the use of a bacchic scene for probably non-religious reasons. The commissioners of such monuments, therefore, were not necessarily genuine initiates, but could also be those who saw the scenes as more general symbols and allegories (7). Many of the scenes show bacchic drunkenness: the thiasos scenes with a drunk Silenus riding on an animal, the scenes of revelling cupids, and the ecstatically whirling maenads. They may suggest hope for or a belief in a rather materialistic afterlife of eternal joy through a permanent state of

inebriation. Others show bacchic sleepers - a satyr, Ariadne, and Hypnos himself. There are also monuments connecting dionysiac themes with the dextrarum iunctio motif (ash chest in the Terme, no. 11), of Claudius V(italis), no. 8, and of Vinicia Tyche, no. 10). A few monuments (Velusia Arbuscula no. 14, Claudius V(italis), and Amemptus, no. 19) may indeed be expressive of ideas more intimately connected with the mysteries and the concept of salvation, but I see no reason to interpret the majority of the scenes in this way.

Notes

- 1). Turcan, p. 370, dates this monument to c. 110 A.D.; Mats (A.S.R. V,1, p. 71) describes it as 'spätstens flavisch'. The garland style in particular suggests a late Flavian date. Turcan (p. 371, n. 4) also gives dates for the monuments to Quintia Sabina (late Antonine) and Callityche (= Mussius Trophimus) - c. A.D. 200. The latter date would seem to be too late: both monuments are Antonine.
- 2). It is possible that this scene conforms to Mats's classification no. 117 (A.S.R. V,1, pp. 70-71) rather than no. 118 - i.e. Silenus is not riding the horse so much as reclining on it. The scenes on the monuments to Callityche and Iulia Alce are closer to type 118.
- 3). It is possible that the severed head is a portrait. Mansuelli (Uffizi cat. p. 215) suggests that the head is more likely to be that of Orpheus than of Pentheus because of his funerary associations, but even so there is no obvious eschatological interpretation for the scene.
- 4). Early to mid first century: Terme piece (no. 11); Anemptus (no. 19), post A.D. 41; Nicostratus (no. 18), employed by Nere; altar + D.M. (no. 21); Ti. Claudius V(italis) (no. 8), Neronian to early Flavian; Vinicia Tyche (no. 10), early Flavian. Later first century: Volusia Arbuscula (no. 14), slave to the consul of A.D. 56; L. Aufidius Aprilis (no. 13); Iulia Alce (no. 2); C. Clodius Euphemus (no. 1). Second century A.D.: M. Ulpus Terpnus (no. 12), freedman of Trajan?; M. Ulpus Stephanus (no. 5); Ulpus Martialis (no. 15); Sessia Labionilla (no. 4); Quintia Sabina (no. 7); Callityche (no. 3).
- 5). A. Bruhl, Liber Pater, (Paris 1953) p. 317. 'L'interprétation en est encore plus délicate que celle des écrits, car le choix d'un motif sculptural peut être dicté par de tout autres raisons que la conviction religieuse, il peut venir de la mode esthétique ou avoir été imposé par les ateliers de marbriers'. The neo-attic altar of M. Ulpus Terpnus may have been part of a fashion, the subject being suited to the style rather than vice versa. The thiasos scenes on the second century altars (Callityche, Sessia Labionilla) may have been influenced by the vogue for Bacchic scenes on Sarcophagi.
- 6). Bruhl, op. cit., p. 329. 'Si l'autel qui contenait les restes d'un marchand de vins du Vélabre est orné de reliefs avec des scènes bacchiques, il est aisé de comprendre qu'il s'agit d'une allusion au métier du défunt et à la corporation des negotiantes dont il était membre et dont Liber pater était le patron et le protecteur. Il ne s'agit probablement pas d'évoquer l'immortalité dionysiaque'.

- 7). Bruhl, op. cit., p. 331.  
'À côté des initiés proprement dits, beaucoup de gens avaient dû, par l'intermédiaire de l'art, de la littérature ou de la tradition orale, recevoir une sorte de teinture dionysiaque'.

Animals suckling children: The she-wolf and twins, the doe and Telephus, Amalthea.

One particular mythological theme seems to have been quite a favourite in Roman funerary art - that of the endangered or maltreated child who is suckled by an animal. The favourite version of the story is that of the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus, but the doe suckling the infant Telephus, son of Hercules, and the goat Amalthea suckling Dionysus are alternatives also found on the cinerary monuments.

The wolf and twins motif usually consists of a she-wolf similar to that of the Capitoline statue looking round at the two naked children she is suckling - as on the altar of L. Camurtius Punicus (no. 1; pls. 6, 61). The animal may face in either direction, and the pose of the children varies slightly: on a pediment in Vienna (no. 11), only one child is represented suckling, while the other sits some distance away, and a small group of monuments shows the wolf suckling a single child, the other being nowhere in sight. The motif was used on monuments of various dates, but it was especially popular in the second half of the first century, and on monuments decorated with garlands slung from rams' heads (1). One piece, the altar of Volusia Prima and Volusia Olympias (no. 2), is closely dated - Prima died in A.D. 89, Olympias in A.D. 97. The monument is decorated with corner cupids above eagles, and a garland with the wolf and twins motif above it. Indeed, the motif seems to have been a particular favourite with members of the gens Volusia and their dependents: L. Volusius Urbanus (no. 3) and Mystus, a slave of L. Velusius Saturninus, (no. 4), both had monuments decorated with the wolf and twins, and another member of the family, L. Volusius



Phaedrus (no. 18; pl. 3), had the doe and Telephus motif on his monument. The wolf and twins also decorate the monuments of two imperial freedmen, Ti. Claudius Chryseros (no. 5) and C. Iulius Phoebus (no. 6). The motif was placed under the garland on the altar of Ti. Iulius Parthenio (no. 7), a monument in Florence (no. 8), and the ash chest of C. Fonteius Felix (no. 9), and in the pediment of the grave altar of M. Caecilius Rufus (no. 10) and a lid in Vienna (no. 11). On the ash chest of Euphrosymus (no. 12) the motif occurs twice, once on each side, and has been developed into a scene taking place under a tree. The she-wolf suckling one child only occurs on four monuments: that of Petronius Hedychrus (no. 13), an ash chest in Florence (no. 14), a lid in the Villa Celimontana gardens (no. 15), and the ash chest of Euporus, an imperial freedman, in the Vatican Museums (no. 16).

A grave altar in the Galleria Lapidaria of the Vatican Museums, with only 'Dis Manibus Sacrum' in the inscription panel, (no. 17), is of particular interest in that under the garland on the right side there is a representation of the she-wolf and twins, while on the left side in the same position is the very similar scene of the doe suckling Telephus. This is the only instance of the two motifs, visually so alike, occurring on the same monument, although they do occur together in another context, on the flaps of the decorated armour of a statue of Trajan in Leyden (2). The doe suckling a child appears on a few other funerary monuments: under the garland on the grave altar of L. Volusius Phaedrus (no. 18, pl. 3), on the double ash chest of Ti. Claudius Chariton and Claudia Chelidon (no. 19), and in the pediment of the altar of Niconius and Eutyches (no. 20).

The motif of a goat suckling a child (Amalthea with the infant Dionysus) does not appear to have been used in conjunction with either the wolf and twins or the doe and Telephus motifs. It occurs on the pediments of the ash altar of L. Iulius Euhemerus (no. 21; pls. 15, 62), where the scene seems to be set inside a cave, and of the ash chest of Manlia Parata (no. 22), where it takes place under a tree. On the grave altar of L. Sestius Eutropus (no. 23) the motif is placed under the garland.

The funerary significance of both the wolf and twins and the doe and Telephus motifs has already been the subject of some scrutiny (3). The wolf and twins clearly allude to Rome: Schauenberg claims that the doe and Telephus, as heroes of early Roman mythology, also allude to the city (4). Various reasons have been given for the use of the wolf and twins on provincial funerary monuments: homesickness for the city, declaration of Roman citizenship, or the fact that the dead had been buried under the protection of Rome (5). However, such explanations are irrelevant here as all the monuments under consideration were made in or near Rome. An interpretation of the motif which has become widely accepted in recent years is that it refers to the urbs aeterna, hence eternity in general, hope for an afterlife, and immortality (6). This interpretation was originally suggested by H. Gagé and seconded by Cumont. It seemed to be supported by the use of the motif on coins with the Dioscuri and the legend Aeternitas Aug. However, as Salomonson has pointed out, the earliest reign at which this combination of motif and legend appears is that of Maxentius. Despite this, Schauenberg has reasserted the validity of the interpretation:

Dagegen ist meines Erachtens der Beobachtung, dass die Lupa auf Prägungen des Maxentius auch im Zusammenhang mit anderen Inschriften vorkommt, kein Gewicht beizumessen. Mehrdeutigkeit von Symbolen ist eine geläufige Erscheinung, und gerade die Münzpropaganda bot Anreiz und Möglichkeiten vielseitiger Verwendung eines Motivs. Ausserdem ist die Bedeutung unserer Gruppe, soweit dies ihre sepulkrale Verwendung berührt, nicht vom Kaiserkult her zu finden oder doch nur mittelbar, indem beide von der Idee der Urbs Aeterna aus gesehen werden. Die Richtigkeit unserer Interpretation konnte daher nur durch die Untersuchung des Zusammenhangs, in dem die Wölfin auf den Sarkophagen auftritt und der eindeutig in jedem Fall auf Unsterblichkeitsvorstellung hinwies, sowie durch die von der eben genannten Romidee auf die Gründer der Stadt übertragene Ewigkeitsvorstellung erwiesen werden. Wir sahen dabei, dass unser Motiv mehrfach mit einer Reihe sehr verschneidenartiger andere Bilder kombiniert wurden, die alle die Garantie der Unsterblichkeit zu vermitteln suchten. (7)

Most of the cinerary monuments discussed here belong to the first century A.D., and their decoration does little to confirm the idea that the wolf and twins or doe and Telephus are necessarily to be interpreted as symbols of eternity or immortality. To accept such an interpretation it is necessary to be convinced both that the motif would have been associated with the concept of the eternity of Rome at such an early date, and that the second mental jump had also been made, from a general to a personal application (8).

The wolf and twins was only a moderately popular motif on the cinerary monuments, and it cannot be said to have had an exclusively funerary use, since it was used to decorate the armour of statues, provincial terra sigillata, and gems and pastes. It clearly refers to the early history of Rome and hence to Rome itself - it may be significant that the eagle was frequently used in conjunction with the wolf and twins on the altars. On the other hand,

it is also clear that the wolf and twins, doe and Telephus and goat with child motifs are closely linked with one another: it is sometimes even difficult to identify the animal in question (9). The doe and Telephus it has been suggested, also refers to the early heroes of Rome, and no doubt a similarly tenuous connection could be claimed for the Amalthea scenes via Jupiter. Nevertheless, it is worth considering other aspects of the three motifs, and the altars they decorate.

Bachofen suggested that the motifs all refer to mother-love, and that when only one child was represented, the deceased was one of two brothers. As Schauenberg has pointed out, few of the monuments were erected to children by their parents (the only certain example in our list is the monument to Niconius and Eutyches, no. 20). Most of the monuments, indeed, were put up by people who were not even blood relations of the dead. Nevertheless, it is interesting that of the four monuments with only one child being suckled by the wolf (nos. 13-16), one, that of Euporus Achilles (no. 16) was set up by the existing to the dead brother, and another (no. 13) was set up by a conliberta to her conlibertus, Petronius Hedychrus: the other two examples are without inscriptions.

However, the most obvious point of similarity in the three legends is that they all tell of children cast out for some reason by their true parents and brought up by animals, whether wolf, deer, or goat. It is therefore significant that many of those whose monuments were decorated with these motifs were slaves or freedmen: C. Iulius Phoebus was an imperial freedman, Euphrosynus and Euporus Achilles were imperial slaves; Mystus was a slave of L. Velusius Saturninus, and Eutyches (though not Niconius) was a

verna. From their names others too may have been imperial freedmen: L. Iulius Euhemerus, T. Iulius Parthenio, Ti. Claudius Chariton and Claudia Chelidon. Petronius Hedychrus was also a freedman, as his monument was set up by his conliberta, and L. Volusius Urbanns, as 'nomenclator censoris' was also presumably a freedman. The proportion is perhaps not abnormally high - but it is clear that the people who chose these motifs were not thorough-bred Romans. They either died in slavery or are first generation freedmen. C. Iulius Phoebus even had an epitaph in Greek on his monument in addition to the brief Latin one (10). In a sense these people have been brought up by people other than their own parents, and it may be the concept of fostering and adoption which was uppermost in their minds, not Rome or eternity as such. The wolf and twins motif combines two ideas in that the children are being fostered, while the motif is itself a symbol of the adoptive parent, Rome. Such an explanation has the advantage of covering all three versions of the motif while at the same time being in keeping with the information we have of the social position of the various people concerned. It is offered merely as a possible alternative to the 'eternity' interpretation of the motif, which might have been used for much less complicated reasons than that implies.

Notes.

- 1). There is a remarkable unity in the way these monuments are decorated: nos. 3,4,6,7,8, all have the same scheme of decoration, with rams' heads above sphinxes, an eagle above the garland, and the wolf and twins below. The grave altar of L. Sestius Eutropus (no. 23) replaces the wolf and twins with the goat and child, and the altar of L. Volusius Phaedrus (no. 18) replaces the eagle with a medusa head and the wolf and twins with the doe and Telephus. It is probable that these altars were all made in the same workshop, and this may explain why the motifs are so common on the monuments erected by Volusii.
- 2). W. Salomonson, 'Telephus und die römischen Zwillinge', Oudh. Meded. 38 1957, pp. 15-44.
- 3). Salomonson, op. cit.  
K. Schauenberg, 'Die Lupa Romana als sepulkrales Motiv', JdI LXXXI 1966 pp. 261-309.
- 4). Schauenberg, op. cit. pp. 293-295.
- 5). G. Mancini, Not.Sc. 1936 pp. 3-5, on a funerary stele from Torre Uzzone - the wolf and twins are described as 'simbolo dell'unione di terre lontane con l'alma Roma'.  
A. D. Nock, A.J.A. L 1946 p. 140, n2. 'if there is any special meaning in the symbol, it is probably shorthand for "I am a Roman" or possibly "This tomb is under the protection of Roman power".'
- 6). J. Carcopino, La Louve du Capitol, (Paris 1925) p. 47.  
J. Gagé, Mélanges F. Cumont, (L'Annuaire de l'Institut de Bruxelles IV) pp. 163-164.  
Cumont, Recherches, p. 92, n2. 'Elle y exprime, comme sur les monnaies, l'idée de l'Éternité'.  
p. 161, nl. 'cette représentation, si souvent reproduite sur les sépultures, y était un symbole d'éternité, ou pour mieux dire, d'immortalité'.  
p. 338. 'La louve allaitant Romulus et Rémus est un symbole bien connu de l'Éternité'.
- 7). Schauenberg, op. cit. pp. 307-308.
- 8). Thus A. D. Nock, A.J.A. L 1946 p. 140, n2.  
'To Cicero and others the eternity of Rome and the eternity of the universe were parallel and almost synonymous; but the personal application seems to me unlikely'.
- 9). Even so, Schauenberg op. cit. p. 308 passes over the goat and child scenes in a single sentence, and does not seem to consider them as part of the same phenomenon.
- 10). C.I.L. VI 20201.  
C IVLIO AVG L PHOEBO/ RVFIONINO/ CESTVS DE SVO FECIT/ TOYC AΓAΘOYC  
KAI ΘANONTAC/ EYEP/ETEIN ΔEI.

Nereids, Tritons and Sea-animals.

Mythical sea-creatures - Nereids, Tritons, sea-centaurs and sea-animals - were used on a small number of monuments, mainly of the later first and earlier second centuries A.D. (1). Sometimes the motifs were combined into small sea scenes of great complexity, displaying the sculptor's craftsmanship to great advantage: these scenes, with the intricate convolutions of the animals' tails, still look exquisitely delicate, despite the weathering and damage that has affected them since. Three monuments in particular (nos. 1-3) exhibit this superior craftsmanship, not only in the sea scenes themselves, but also in the richness of the decoration as a whole, a characteristic of Flavian monuments. Two of them, one in the Louvre (no. 1) and the other in the Vatican Museums (no. 2) appear to be by the same workshop. The Nereid scene on the former is under the garland on the front: a sea-horse gallops to the left with a Nereid seated on its back and three cupids in the loops of its tail. The Nereid is in back view, and of the three cupids one sits on the part of the tail nearest the Nereid, the second is emerging through one of the loops, and the third is clinging onto the end. The decoration on the front of the altar consists of ammon heads, eagles on bases decorated with bacchic heads and other bacchic attributes, a garland, and a medusa head flanked by swans; there is also a palmette-frieze below the Nereid scene. The effect is very rich indeed. A similar lavishness occurs on the altar (Dis Manibus Sacrum, no.2) in the Vatican Museums. Again the Nereid scene is under the garland on the front. A sea-horse with a Nereid on its back and one or two cupids (the scene is badly damaged and the details unclear) gallops along to the left. The third altar,

with a destroyed inscription, is in the Istituto Latino-Americano in E.U.R., Rome (no. 3). Below the garland on the front is a sea-horse with a Nereid and a cupid seated on its back. Again the scene is damaged. Above the garland there is the unusual and rather curious motif of an eagle perched on top of a medusa head, and apparently flying with it in its claws. Another altar in a similar class of workmanship but of somewhat later date is that of L. Vestiarus Trophimus (no. 4) which has the scene of a Triton and a Nereid on a sea-horse galloping along side by side above the garland on the front. A Triton and a Nereid also occur on the grave altar of Ti. Claudius Geminus (no. 5), below the garland, and on an altar in the Terme Museum with a modern inscription (no. 24).

Three monuments use a sea-scene in a different scheme of decoration: with corner pilasters or columns, a frieze above the inscription panel, and the sea-scene below it. On the grave altar of T. Flavius Philetus (no. 6) the scene consists of two sea-animals with Nereids on their backs and cupids, one sitting on the tail of the left hand animal, the other holding the head of the right hand one. On the altar of Agria Agathe (no. 7) there is a sea-centaur carrying an oar with a Nereid on his back, two cupids playing on his tail, one of them with a leaf or a fan, and two dolphins swimming below. On the altar of Flavia Sabina (no. 8) a sea-horse and a child sea-centaur playing a pipe gallop side by side. On the tail sits a winged cupid playing a lyre.

Individual Tritons occur on two monuments: on the ash chest of A. Seius Zosimianus (no. 9) there is a Triton above the garland, blowing a horn, and on the grave altar of A. Albius Graptus (no. 10; pl. 56) Tritons at the corners hold up the shell containing the representation of the bath of Venus. On the ash altar of Vitalis (no. 11; pl. 63) there is a frieze of two fish-tailed cupids



gesturing towards one another - one of them carries an oar over his shoulder. There are also representations of cupids riding mythical sea-beasts: on an altar in Palestrina (no. 12) there is a cupid clinging onto the back and tail of a sea-panther. On the altar of Ambivius Hermes (no. 13) a cupid rides on a sea-dragon, and on the monuments to Dionysus (no. 14), Comicus (no. 15), Orchivia (no. 16) and N. Naevius Vitulus (no. 17) cupids or boys ride on sea-horses.

A variety of monuments also have sea-animals without riders: sea-horses were especially popular. They occur under the garland on the altars of Rhodon (no. 18) and Abascantus (no. 19), and on the pediment of the altar of L. Calpurnius Daphnus (no. 20). On the grave altar of Antonius Chrysogonus (no. 21) there is a sea-griffin, and on that of M. Aurelius Onesimus (no. 22) two sea-animals which appear to be lions. On the altar of Alcis (set up by T. Flavius Hermes) (no. 23) a sea-dragon, sea-griffin, winged sea-panther (or sea-lion-griffin) and a dolphin decorate the patera on the right side.

Such scenes, in a more elaborate form, became much more common on later sarcophagi: their interpretation has been a subject of debate. For a long time it had been accepted that such motifs refer to a journey of the soul to the Isles of the Blessed, but more recently this has been both questioned and reasserted. The interpretation was first suggested by Buonarrotti in 1698 (2), but it has been taken up by many since. Perhaps the most eloquent of these was Mrs. Strong, who refers to 'a Nereid or some fantastic escort of the soul in its voyage to the Isles of the Blest', and asserts that Tritons are 'the mystic escort of the soul as it voyages to the Isles of the Blest' (3). She explains her interpretation as follows:

This type of sepulchral decoration arises from the belief in a place of habitation of the dead, which the Greeks placed across the river Oceanus, beyond the confines of the world. The dead man - or his soul - might be conveyed thither either by boat, or on the back of a sea-monster, a dolphin, sea-horse or triton. (4)

Cumont also accepted that the motif had this significance - 'plus transparent', he wrote, 'est le symbole de la navigation des âmes vers les Iles Fortunées, où une antique tradition plaçait le séjour des héros. Cette traversée a été choisie comme motif de décoration de nombreux monuments funéraires, où des Néréides voguent sur la croupe de monstres marins s'ébattant à la surface des flots' (5)

However, more important than his support of the 'Isles of the Blessed' interpretation is his comment that for the Pythagoreans these lands could be identified as the sun and the moon washed by the ether.

Two links are missing in the chain of thought which has produced the Isles of the Blessed interpretation, and they have not been supplied by its more recent supporters. It has not been proved that the mythical sea-creatures are travelling specifically towards the Isles of the Blessed, nor is there any evidence that souls were carried on such a journey. There would seem to be Etruscan evidence for a pictorial representation of a journey of precisely this type, but the elements in the picture are far more specific: over a door of the Tomba dei Tori at Tarquinia there is the representation of a rocky island with a naked man riding a sea-horse towards it. This and other examples have been interpreted as evidence for belief in the voyage of the soul to the Isles of the Blessed in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. (6). The Roman monuments consistently show cupids or Nereids riding the sea-animals, and there is no island

represented. The motif, common in all the decorative arts, was not modified in any way when applied to funerary monuments, and the only mythological connections it seems to have had is with the birth of Venus and the carrying of the arms of Achilles (7).

The inadequacy of Latin literary and inscriptional evidence for a Roman belief in the Isles of the Blessed has already featured in the controversy: Rumpf's assertion that Latin authors did not mention belief in the Isle of the Blessed prompted Andreae to produce twenty one instances where the Isles of the Blessed were mentioned, which Brandenburg dismissed as mere poetic tradition with no real relationship to beliefs held by ordinary people (8). The literary evidence is, indeed, far from conclusive, and does little to bolster up the Isles of the Blessed interpretation. At best it shows merely that the concept of a journey to the Isles of the Blessed was still alive: it does not connect this concept with the Nereid and Triton scenes on the monuments, and the links missing in the argument are still missing.

No better alternative explanation of the motif has been offered: Brandenburg's suggestion that such scenes allude either to a better and happier life on earth or to a blissful afterlife free from struggle is equally without foundation. Nevertheless, this is no reason to accept the Isles of the Blest theory as Britt Haarløv has done most recently simply because no better explanation has been offered (9). The motif was popular throughout the decorative arts, and was, of course, frequently used to decorate bath complexes. In sculpture sea-scenes were good for showing off high-class workmanship, and it was perhaps for this reason that they were chosen. Neither the accompanying decoration on the monuments nor the inscriptions suggest

that such scenes were designed to convey any eschatological message, least of all a statement of belief that the soul of the deceased was destined for the Isles of the Blessed.

Notes.

- 1). None of the monuments seem to be earlier than the reign of Nero. Rhodon (no. 14) was a slave of the empress Domitia, and the monument was set up after she had taken the title Augusta, after A.D. 80 T. Flavius Philetus (no. 6) was also a freedman of one of the Flavian emperors. The latest piece is that of M. Aurelius Onesimus (no. 18), also an imperial freedman, whose monument must have been quite late in the second century. From stylistic considerations the other monuments can be dated to a similar span of time, but the larger, better pieces belong to the first rather than the second century (nos. 1-3).
- 2). F. Buonarroti, Osservazioni storiche sopra alcuni medaglioni antichi, 1698, 44.114.
- 3). Strong, Apotheosis, pp. 186, 192.
- 4). Strong, Apotheosis, pp. 215-216.
- 5). Cumont, Recherches, p. 166.
- 6). A. Pfiffig, Religio Etrusca (Graz 1975) pp. 169-173.
- 7). Tritons support the shell containing the bath of Venus scene on the monument of A. Albius Graptus (no. 10). Nereids carrying the arms of Achilles occurred on the garland sarcophagus now cut up and used as statue bases in the Villa Borghese gallery (no. 30) It has been claimed that the cupids playing round the sea-creatures' tails are the souls of the dead, but this is sheer hypothesis.
- 8). A. Rumpf, A.S.R. V p. 131.  
A. Andreae, Grabkunst, pp. 133-135.  
H. Brandenburg, 'Meerwesen sarkophage und Clipeusmotiv', JdI LXXXII 1967, pp. 195-245.  
H. Sichtermann, 'Deutung und Interpretation der Meerwesensarkopage' JdI LXXXV 1970 pp. 224-238.  
Joh. S. Boersma, 'A Roman funeral relief in the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam' Bull. Ant. Bescav. XLVIII 1973 pp. 125-141.
- 9). Britt Haarløv, The Half-Open Door, p. 54.

Victories.

Victories are a surprisingly rare motif on the cinerary monuments considering their popularity in other fields of art (on gems, decorated armour, Arretine ware, provincial terra sigillata and stucco). The motif of Victories killing bulls occurs on a few of the cinerary monuments, but Victories were also used to support wreaths or garlands, or were shown flanking thymiasteria. They perform all these functions in other decorative arts.

Bull-slaying Victories occur on the badly mutilated ash altar of Mitrasia Severa (no. 1): although all the figures have been deliberately damaged it is possible to see that below the inscription panel there were two Victories in the act of slaying bulls, one each side of a thymiasterion. The same motif decorates two jugs in the Boscoreale hoard and a Trajanic frieze in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme (1). The prototype was probably to be found on the parapet of the temple to Athena Nike in Athens. The Victories kneel with one knee in the small of the bull's back and seem to be pulling at its head as they strike home with a knife. Similar scenes seem to have been used on three monuments whose present whereabouts is unknown: those of Iulius Antigonus (no. 2), Laberia Irene (no. 3), and with 'Dis Manibus Sacrum' in the inscription panel (no. 4). It is possible that in the case of Mitrasia Severa the motif was chosen because of her name, the bull-slaying being a reference to Mithras.

Two Victories flank a candelabrum in the pediment of the monument to T. Flavius Romanus (no. 5), and there is an oak-wreath on the front. On the altar of Ti. Claudius Lupercus (no. 6) two Victories support a large oak wreath on the front, and a similar

motif occurs on the lid of the altar of Successus (no. 7). On two altars, those of Egnatius Nicephorus (no. 8) and Herbasia Clymene (no.9), there are Victories at the corners holding up the garlands. On the altar of C. Clodius Primitivus (no. 10) similar corner Victories, standing in front of palm trees, are opening the large double door on the front of the monument. Figures which appear to be dancing Victories holding tambourines flank the central archway with a cupid in it on the ash altar of Q. Cornelius Saturninus (no. 11).

In most cases the Victories are used with further motifs indicating the concept of military victory and triumph: oak wreaths, palm trees, and in the case of Egnatius Nicephorus and Herbasia Clymene, scenes of violence and death. Victories do not, however, occur on the cinerary monuments with trophies or piles of armour, although these are part of the available decorative repertoire. It is possible that such motifs were intended to associate the dead man with the victorious general, as a hero worthy of honour, but they do not necessarily allude to the idea that the dead had attained 'victory over death' and hence immortality (2).

#### Notes.

- 1). Boscoreale jugs: Monuments Piot V 1899, no. 3-pp. 47-49, pl. IIII,2, fig. 10; no. 4-pp. 50-52, pl. IV1,2 fig. 11.  
Frieze in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme:  
Helbig, III, pp. 309-310, no. 2383.
- 2). For a discussion of the 'Victory over death' interpretation of the monument of C. Clodius Primitivus cf. Door motif, p. 131 .

Cupids

Cupids were extremely common on the cinerary monuments, often occurring two or three times on one piece. Cupids were used in a variety of scenes, both as major and minor actors, and were often used as an independent minor motif. They use or hold a number of attributes, representing a variety of aspects and connotations. It is commonly suggested that cupids in funerary contexts are symbols of the happy, carefree souls of the dead enjoying the afterlife (1), an explanation which is too simple to apply to all the cupids appearing on these monuments. Many of the cupids may have had no particular eschatological meaning, cupids being a ubiquitous form of decoration at this period, but certain of the scenes are complex and puzzling, suggesting that they were indeed intended to convey an eschatological message of some kind.

Cupids were often used as accessories in mythological scenes, where they retain their mythological character of the mischievous child-god who brings about unlikely marriages, and is the constant companion of Venus. Thus a cupid stands in the background of the scene of Daedalus making a cow for Pasiphae on the ash altar of C. Volcacius Artemidorus (mythological scenes no. 14), and sometimes drives the chariot in which Pluto carries off Proserpina (mythological scenes nos. 2, 4, 7). It seems that on one piece he even carries off a girl on his own account (altar without inscription, now lost?, no. 1). Cupids also assist Venus in her bath on the three monuments decorated with this theme (mythological scenes nos. 10-12): they fetch the water and tip it over her back. Cupid was also represented with both Venus and Psyche on the sides of the monument to C. Alfidius Callipus (mythological scenes no. 37), and Cupid and Psyche were represented

lovingly intertwined on the altar of Iulius Theopropes (no. 2).

Cupids were represented taking part in activities in a private, mythical world, where they play with one another, with animals, birds, or sea-creatures. It is their presence in scenes of this kind which has gained them their identification as souls of the dead in the afterlife (2). They are sometimes represented revelling, dancing and getting drunk, and such scenes inevitably have bacchic overtones. The octagonal ash chest of D. Lucilius Felix (no. 3) has a cupid on each face except the one containing the inscription: they play musical instruments - a double or single flute and a lyre - or carry torches or garlands, or simply dance. They all look slightly merry. The drunkenness has gone a stage further on the ash altar of Flavius Saturninus (no. 4): in the small scene above the garland two flying cupids held up a drunk child. Two more revellers occur on the right side of an altar without inscription in the Lateran collection (no. 5). One cupid supports the other, who throws one arm in the air and is overbalancing in tipsy excitement. The two cupids on the other side of the monument hold a panther by the tail and are perhaps about to start their revels. Preparations, probably for a drinking bout, were also represented on the lid of the ash chest of Claudia Zosime (no. 6), where two cupids carry a two-handled vessel on a pole. Above the garlands on the same monument are floating or hovering cupids.

Chariot racing was also indulged in by cupids. In a detailed frieze above the inscription panel on the altar of a Sulpicia (no. 7; pl. 65) a chariot race is in full progress. In the foreground there are two chariots travelling towards the left, and in lower relief in the background there are two more cupids riding on horses. The



right-hand chariot has had an accident, and the cupid charioteer sits on the ground where he has fallen. The turning posts and lap markers are all represented (3). On the monument to Cossutia Prima (no. 8; pl. 64) a single cupid is driving a four-horse chariot: the horses appear to be galloping over the sea, or over flames, or on very rough ground.

Cupids also ride on or play with animals, both real and imaginary. A cupid rides on a goat on the ash chest of Vernasia (no. 9; pl. 67) - the goat stands between two trees and munches at the leaves of one of them, apparently oblivious of the cupid on its back. In a rather rough scene on an altar in the Villa Albani (no. 10) a cupid rides on an animal which may be a donkey, and a cupid and a psyche ride on a male and a female centaur, playing a flute and pan-pipes, on the altar of Amemptus (no. 11). On the altar of Herenia Iusta (no. 12) there is a frieze above the inscription panel consisting of two cupids riding on animals flanking two portrait busts which gesture towards them (4). A cupid on the grave altar of Iunia Procula (no. 13; pls. 5, 66) tries to prevent a wolf-like creature wearing a garland round its neck from reaching a basket of fruit.

Cupids were particularly fond of riding sea-animals. They either occur alone on a sea-beast, or accompany Tritons and Nereids in a more complex scene (Nereids and Tritons nos. 1-3, 6-8). On one monument, the altar of Vitalis (no. 14; pl. 63) the cupids have themselves become sea-creatures, with splendid fish-tails instead of legs. They swim towards one another in the frieze above the inscription panel, one carrying an oar over his shoulder. Cupids ride on sea-horses on the monuments of Comicus (no. 15) and Dionysus (no. 16); boys or cupids ride sea-horses on the monuments of N. Naevius Vitulus (no. 17), and Orchivia (no. 18). On the altar of Ambivius

Hermes (no. 19) a cupid rides a large sea-dragon, and on an altar in Palestrina (no. 20) on a sea-panther. The altar of Luccia Telesina (no. 21) has on one side under the garland a cupid riding on a dolphin, while in the same position on the other side there is a boy on a delphin. Cupids riding dolphins also occur under the garland on the front of the altar to Volusia Prima and Volusia Olympias (no. 22). Both cupids carry small baskets in their hands.

Cupids were also represented with birds. On the grave altar of M. Naevius Vitulus (no. 17) two cupids carry a cock and a bunch of grapes: on other altars small boys (not winged cupids) were shown playing with cocks, and even, in one case, conducting a cock fight (5). A cupid was also representing flying side by side with a swan on the ash chest of Euphrosynus (no. 23). On the grave altar of C. Iulius Atimetus (no. 24) a boy or cupid wearing a cloak holds a bird in one hand and fruit in the crook of the other arm, and a cupid with a bird (possibly dead) in his arms was also represented on the ash altar of Q. Cornelius Saturninus. (no. 25).

The significance of all these scenes is rather obscure, but the most puzzling scenes of all occur on the small ash chest of Publilius Severeanus and Blolo (no. 26). The scene on the front of the monument has a central cupid holding up a butterfly while a boy on his right guides a pig onto the scene and another on his left holds a bird by its wings. On the right hand side of the monument a cupid has fallen asleep leaning on an inverted torch, while on the left side another cupid holds a butterfly in the flame of a raised torch. Cupids, birds and butterflies are all commonly said to be

visual symbols of the soul: if this hypothesis is correct, it is difficult to see what the scene refers to at all. However, certain aspects of the scenes would seem to be important. First, the cupids are clearly determining the action, and are in charge; secondly, the cupid resting on an inverted torch is obviously intentionally opposed to the cupid burning a butterfly in a raised torch; thirdly, it seems that the subject of the scenes is sacrifice since the figures on the front are preparing for a sacrifice under the direction of the central cupid who holds a vessel of some kind in his levered hand, and the cupid on the left side is standing in front of an altar. Another scene which appears to show a cupid about to perform a sacrifice occurs above the garland on the altar of Sex. Nonius (no. 27). A cupid stands gazing towards a square altar on the left which has fruits, a large bird and a tripod on top of it. To the right is a lyre (?) propped up against the garland. The cupid therefore seems to be involved in some kind of ritual act dedicated to Apollo.

It seems that on the ash chest of Severeanus and Blolo the cupids are not intended to portray the souls of the dead, but are performing quite a different function, as agents of the world of the dead. This aspect of the cupid can be seen perhaps most clearly in the use of cupids to drive the chariot in which Pluto carries off Proserpina, but the dual nature of the funerary cupid is also illustrated by the connection that cupids had with sleeping figures. On the one hand cupids themselves were represented asleep: on the altar without inscription already mentioned (no. 1) the abduction scene was supplemented with the scene of a cupid lying asleep with a small dog, and the monument of Claudius Hyllus (no. 28) also has a representation of a sleeping cupid. It is probable that some degree of identification between the cupid and the dead was intended in

such cases, and the scenes allude to death as a blessed slumber. The situation is rather different when the cupid sleeps standing up leaning on an inverted torch, as on the sides of the ash chest of Severeanus and Blole and the altar of Q. Caecilius Ferox (no. 29). On the latter the other side is decorated with the figure of Fate. The torch was also an attribute of cupids flying over sleeping figures (reclining figures nos. 7, 8), although on a third monument (reclining figures no. 9) the cupid seems to be carrying a branch of poppy heads instead. The torch is an obvious symbol for life - it was labelled as such on the Boscoreale skeleton cups - its extinction, therefore, would logically refer to death. The reversed torches on which the cupids rest, however, have not been extinguished, but continue to burn: they may, like the sleeping cupid, allude to suspended animation rather than death. The concept of 'eternal sleep' is ambiguous, as it can be merely a euphemism for death but also can carry a promise of resurrection (6). It is difficult to assess which version was uppermost in these instances. The accompanying figure of Fate on the altar of Q. Caecilius Ferox would suggest the first alternative, but the cupid with a raised torch and butterfly on the ash chest of Severeanus and Blole might imply the second. Similarly, the evidence of cupids flying over sleeping figures is ambiguous - do they promise renewed life when carrying a torch, or do they, like the cupid carrying poppy heads, simply allude to 'eternal repose'? (7). The rather sinister, brooding winged adolescent leaning over the back of the couch on another monument (reclining figures no. 12) seems to be a psychopompos figure of a less pleasant nature. Cupids with other attributes also accompany reclining figures - with a raven on the monuments to Valeria Fortunata and M. Caecilius Rufus (reclining figures nos. 20 and 21), holding a disc on

the altar of Loranía Cypare (reclining figures no. 33) and a shell and a scroll (?) on the altar of Q. Socconius Felix (reclining figures no. 48). Such cupids do not seem to perform such a precise function as those carrying torches or poppy, but they do mark the figures out as something other than ordinary mortals in this world.

Cupids, it seems, could also be the agents who conferred apotheosis. The clearest instance of this would seem to be the scene on the grave altar of Hateria Superba (portraits no. 12): two flying cupids are in the act of placing a wreath on the girl's head. This, however, is an unusual scene, although a cupid also flies above the figure of a reclining girl (possibly a nymph) on the monument to Terpollia Procilla (reclining figures no. 2), apparently about to place a wreath on her head. Cupids also hold a garland above the couple linking hands on the ash chest of Caponius Avius (door motif no. 49), and hold up the pediment over the couple on the monument to Sex. Allidius (door motif no. 63). The cupids in such scenes emphasize the fact that the figures they hover over are set aside from living mortals, and to this extent they signify their apotheosis or heroisation. However, it is far more common for cupids simply to support a wreath without any figures represented, or a portrait bust of the deceased: it is possible that this combination of motifs also alludes to apotheosis but it is much less certain that it necessarily does so.

Cupids supporting a wreath often occur in the pediments of monuments: the early ash chest of Annia Cassia (no. 30; pl. 68) is unusual in that the motif is placed on the front of the monument, and because the wreath is made up of ears of corn. It was far more common for the wreath to be made up of laurel leaves (as on the grave altar of Cn. Sentius Felix, no. 31, pl. 71; altar of Cn. Turpilus

Parthenopaeus, no. 32), or of oak leaves (ash altars of Ti. Claudius Callistus, no. 33, M. Ulpus Floridus, no. 34, pl. 7). The use of cupids to support portrait busts in shells or roundels has already been mentioned (portraits, p. 187). Cupids hold up simple clipeus portraits, for example, on the monument of L. Volusius Diodorus (no. 35), L. Postumus Iulianus (no. 36), and Scribonia Hedone (Portraits no. 28) - in the last instance the roundel contains portraits of both husband and wife. Cupids hold up shell portraits on the monuments of Plaetoria Antiochis (portraits no. 40), Caesennia Ploce (portraits no. 39), and with a medieval inscription in Pisa (portraits no. 41). On the grave altar of Iulia Apollonia (portraits no. 36; pl. 73), in the pediment, the cupids flanking the clipeus portrait are accompanied by the attributes of a torch and a bow and quiver.

Cupids were also used as rather more minor motifs. They frequently stand at the corners of monuments, especially on later pieces, as garland supporters. On a grave altar in Amelia (no. 37, pl. 10) they stand at the front corners on top of sphinxes and palm trees, whereas on the altar of Flavius Saturninus (no. 4) they stand on top of panthers, on the ash chest of Comicus (no. 15) they stand on cornucopiae, and on the altar of Volusia Prima and Volusia Olympias (no. 22) they stand on eagles. On the altar to Domitia Augurina (no. 38) they occupy the whole of the corners of the monument. Sometimes such cupids were used to support garlands on circular ash chests, too, as the ash chest of Athania Pieris (no. 39). These cupids often carry attributes: cornucopiae on the ash chest of Antonia Restituta (no. 40), grapes on the ash chests of M. Ulpus Floridus (no. 34; pl. 7), Iamaria (no. 41) and Helius (no. 42), and torches on the ash chest of L. Cacus Hilarus (no. 43)(8). The monument to Silia Attica (no. 44) is unusual in that at its front corners there are large baskets filled with fruit, and,

crawling around on the top of the fruit, a tiny baby-like cupid. Cupids also hold up or flank inscription panels, as on the altars of P. Vitellius Successus (no. 45) and Iulius Saecularis (no. 46, pl. 48). They were also employed to support garlands in the narrow friezes above the inscription panels, as on the altars of T. Flavius Alcon (no. 47), Ti. Flavius Philetus (no. 48), and Attia Quintilla (no. 49).

Most of the cupids used on these monuments are present solely to provide a decorative effect, and do not seem to advance our understanding of any symbolic meaning for the cupid. Cupids clearly cannot be classified simply as symbols for the souls of the dead. It is possible that in some representations some correlation between the playing and revelling cupids and the fate of the soul was intended, but on a number of the monuments the cupids appear to have had quite a different relationship to the deceased, acting as a psychopompos, perhaps, or awarding apotheosis. Cupids, it seems, could belong to the world of the dead as well as their own mythical world. Their presence with an image of the deceased on a funerary monument shows that this person has now passed the barrier between life and death: hence it is quite appropriate that cupids should flank the doorway sculpted on the monuments to Valeria Thetis, Valerius Verna, Festus Genethlianus and L. Cacius Cinna (door motif nos. 19, 14, 35, 21, and 58; pl. 22). However, it is not possible to draw any more definite conclusions from such scenes about the nature of the afterlife the commissioners of the monuments believed in. Scenes such as those on the ash chest of Severeanus and Blolo which hint at a more complex symbolism defy interpretation (9).

Notes.

- 1). A. B. Cook, Zeus, vol. II (Cambridge 1925) Appendix G, p. 1044. Toynbee, Hadrianic School, p.214; 'Picture-Language', p. 225. Lehmann-Hartleben, Olsen, Dionysiac Sarcophagi, p. 52.
- 2). Roger Stuveras, Le putto dans l'art romain, Coll Latomus vol. XCIX, Brussels 1969, pp. 55-57.
- 3). Scenes of this kind were common on later children's sarcophagi - Mme. Turcan Deleani, 'Contributions à l'étude des amours dans l'art funéraire romain: les sarcophages à courses des chars', Mélanges 1964, 1, pp. 43-49. Mme. Turcan-Deleani suggests that such scenes were designed to show that the deceased died young, having come to grief early in the chariot race of life. Stuveras on the other hand (op. cit. pp. 57-58) objects to this interpretation seeing the scenes rather as 'des épreuves posthumes de l'âme, bien ou mal surmontées'. There is no convincing evidence to back up either explanation. Cupids were particularly appropriate for children's tombs, but in the case of Sulpicia we do not have enough of the inscription to know whether she died young or not.
- 4). This is an unusual arrangement of motifs. It is possible that, if cupids do represent the souls of the dead, the portraits which are the earthly image of the dead are here pointing at the cupids which are their other-worldly images.
- 5). Cock fight nos. 15 ('D.M.', Lateran Collection pl. 94), 25 (altar of Caelius Vobiscus, pl. 96). The combination of cupid or boy with a bird and grapes or fruit occurs on several monuments: those of Iulius Atimetus, Severeanus and Blolo, N. Naevius Vitulus and Sex. Nonius.
- 6). Stuveras, op. cit. pp. 34-36, questions whether the reference to 'eternal sleep' which seems to be implied by the sleeping cupid is necessarily a reference to the belief in resurrection.
- 7). Reclining figures, pp.158-59. Camont, Recherches, p. 458, interprets the flying cupid with a torch as Phosphorus, guiding the soul in its path to celestial immortality.
- 8). It is interesting that, despite the connection of cupids with cornucopiae, garlands, grapes and baskets on these monuments, they were not characterised as Seasons, although this was a common type on later sarcophagi.
- 9). This monument is given further consideration in the section on birds. Cupids were also represented in curious scenes with butterflies on gems, as a cameo in the British Museum (Walters, cat. no. 3545) showing a cupid standing between two tripods holding an inverted torch in one hand and possibly a butterfly in the other, cf. also Richter, Engraved Gems of the Romans, no. 156.



### Griffins

Two types of griffin were used on the cinerary monuments: the beaked variety often associated with attributes of Apollo, and the 'horned panther' type which was particularly associated with Dionysus (1). Griffins usually occur in pairs, either in heraldic groups flanking an appropriate object, or on the sides of the monuments. The motif was used particularly on monuments of the late first and early second centuries.

Beaked griffins were often represented flanking the Apollonian attributes of an omphalos tripod or a lyre, a motif placed under the inscription panel on a number of pieces. There are three versions of the motif. The commonest (altars of M. Trebellius Argolicus, no. 1, pl. 70; Plaetoria Antiochis, no. 2; Cn. Ambivius Maecianus, no. 3; M. Tarquinius Severus, no. 4) shows the seated griffins facing towards the tripod with one paw (the one furthest from the spectator) raised to it. The second version, on an altar with a medieval inscription in Pisa (no. 5) and the ash chest of A. Crispinus Caepio (no. 6), represents the griffins with their backs to the tripod but they are turned to look at it over their shoulders. On two other altars, of Orcivius Hermes (no. 7) and Caecilia Romana (no. 8) the griffins' bodies face the tripod (as in the first version), but they turn their heads to look back at the corners of the monument. On the ash chests of Cacia Daphne (no. 9) and C. Iulius Thallus (no. 10) the griffins sit on either side of a lyre, and there are tripods at the front corners of the monument.

Griffins of both types were represented seated on either side of an elaborate candelabrum or thymiaterion. On the ash altar of

Rubria Philete (no. 11, pl. 69), and the grave altar of Sex. Mulvius (no. 12) two seated beaked griffins flank a candelabrum under the inscription panel on the front. Apart from the central attribute, these scenes are identical to that on the altar of M. Trebellius Argolicus (pl. 70). Similar motifs were placed on the pediments of the altars to Crenaeus (no. 31, pl. 8), L. Aufidius Aprilis (no. 14), and an ash chest in the Lateran collection (no. 15). On the altar of C. Titienus Flaccus (no. 16, pl. 45) the griffins in the pediment are standing instead of seated. Magnificent horned panther griffins sit on either side of a candelabrum under the inscription panel on an ash chest in Florence (no. 17) and on the ash altar of Ti. Claudius Thallianus (no. 18). Horned panther griffins also flank a candelabrum in the frieze above the inscription panel on the altar to Sessia Labionilla (no. 19, pl. 12), and standing panther griffins with candelabra occur on the sides of the altar to Cn. Ambivius Maecianus (no. 3), which also has beaked griffins on the front.

Griffins were also represented flanking a cantharos on two monuments, the grave altars of T. Flavius Diadumenus (no. 20) and Turpilius Bioticus (no. 21), both in the frieze above the inscription panel. On the ash altar of M. Iunius Hamillus (no. 22) a pair of fierce beaked griffins flank a portrait roundel: they sit with their backs turned to it and their heads turned round to look at it. Griffins were also placed on either side of a closed double door on the ash chest of M. Burrius Felix (no. 23), and on an ash chest in Arezzo (no. 24) beaked griffins sit on pedestals on either side of an archway inside which a theatrical mask is suspended. Griffins were also confronted without any central motif between them: two horned

panther griffins face each other in a small frieze on the grave altar of Epaphroditus (no. 25, pl. 13), and there are confronted beaked griffins in the pediment of the altar to L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi Licinianus (no. 26).

Griffins also occur occasionally at the corners of monuments. Large beaked griffins take up the whole of the corners and much of the front and sides of the ash chest of Scribonia Hedone (no. 27). Beaked griffins were also used under rams' heads at the front corners of the ash altar of M. Antonius Anteros (no. 28), and panther griffins on the grave altars of Caesennia Ploce (no. 29) and T. Flavius Sedatus (no. 30).

A common use of griffins was on the sides of monuments as the only decoration. They usually sit on a small ledge and face towards the front of the monument. Beaked and crested griffins, for example, occupy the sides on the altars of P. Vitellius Successus (no. 31), M. Ulpius Floridus (no. 32), Licinia Chrysis (no. 33), A. Albius Graptus (no. 34), Iulia Aufidena Capitolina (no. 35), and C. Calpurnius Beryllus (no. 36): the fronts of these monuments are decorated with a wide selection of motifs, and they all belong to the same period (end of the first century/ beginning of the second). On the altar of Annis Isias (no. 37) the griffins are accompanied by the Apollonian attributes of a quiver and a laurel tree, and on the ash chest of Silia Attica (no. 38) the griffins are standing, not sitting. On two altars, those to L. Sutor (no. 39) and Iulia Apollonia (no. 40) the griffins on the sides are the horned panther type.

Although griffins were, on the whole, represented in pairs, and in rather formal poses, they do occasionally appear as individuals, and are sometimes more active. There are two curious winged creatures

which may be griffins on the altar of Iunia Procula (no. 41, pls. 5a, 5b, 66). On the left side of the monument, under the garland, is a crouching winged animal with a beak-like muzzle, and on the front, also under the garland, a winged creature attacks a bull. It has a cat-like body and huge ears, with spreading antlers. A griffin was represented attacking a bull, too, it seems, on the altar (now lost) of Calpurnia Nomea (no. 42). However, the rapacious griffin, a motif popular in other fields of art, was not commonly used on the cinerary monuments. On a small altar in Velletri (no. 43) in the frieze above the inscription panel there is a single seated griffin resting its foot on some unidentifiable object, and there is also a solitary griffin sitting on top of the inscription panel on the ash altar of M. Iunius Ellectus (no. 44): it has its head thrown back as if howling. One further unusual type of griffin should be included here: the beaked sea-griffin above the garland on the front of the altar to Antonius Chrysogonus (no. 45).

Various suggestions have been put forward for the significance of griffins in funerary art. Perhaps the simplest of these is that suggested by Gusman for the griffins on the monument to A. Crispinus Caepio - that they show that the dead man was an initiate of the delphic mysteries (2). Jocelyn Toynbee suggested that they represented in the inviolability of the dead (3). However, they are more often taken to be some kind of symbol for apotheosis and 'victory over death'. Mrs. Strong identifies griffins as 'fantastic animals who bear away the soul to the Emyrean' (4), and Lehmann-Hartleben, Olsen propose that they were from time immemorial symbols of apotheosis, since they drew the chariot of the deceased to heaven, and that when combined with a tripod they might refer to victory over death (5). A similar

conclusion was reached by Turcan, who suggests that in general terms they were a symbol of power and triumph, and hence in funerary contexts were symbols of the victory of the soul over death and matter (6).

Erika Simon, in a longer and more subtle analysis of the motif in both funerary and non-funerary contexts (7), sees the griffin as a rather more complex creature, the companion of three divinities - Apolle/Sol, Dionysus/Sabazios, and Nemesis. The griffin of Nemesis belongs rather to the sphere of political, imperial art, whereas the Apollonian and Dionysiac griffins are particularly funerary. The Apollonian/Solar griffin can betoken apotheosis; the griffin of Sabazios, on the other hand, belongs to a deity of growth and vegetation, and therefore can suggest rebirth. The griffin of Nemesis, on the other hand, occurs on Flavian and Trajanic friezes designed for public buildings. They express the imperial power and allude to the relationship of the Roman world with the East.

The griffin was clearly a complex motif with a long and complicated history. Had this long tradition resulted in a coherent if complex symbolic meaning for the griffin, or had the motif become almost meaningless, used primarily for its decorative value? Griffins were very popular as decorative motifs in all the arts, and were used as minor filling motifs as well as major decoration. The static, heraldic pose favoured by the cinerary monuments was also common in the other decorative arts; what does distinguish the funerary griffins is that they are characterised particularly as sacred creatures, with the tripod and candelabrum as common centrepieces. They are most often identified as the griffins of Apollo, and as such they are only one of several Apollonian motifs in the repertoire. They are also

represented as guardians. This is most obvious when they flank a door or portrait, but is also true of the griffins flanking tripods and other attributes; they may also have performed a guarding or apotropaic function when used on decorated armour. Apart from the rare scenes of a griffin attacking an animal there is little in the decoration of the cinerary monuments to support the view that the griffin necessarily alludes to the concepts of apotheosis or victory over death. It is probable that the popularity of griffins in private commemorative art was affected by their frequent use in Flavian and Trajanic imperial propaganda.

Notes.

- 1). This division was not at all rigid, however. Beaked griffins could be used among dionysiac attributes, and panther griffins on monuments which otherwise do not allude to Dionysus at all. One altar, that of Cn. Ambivius Maecianus (no. 3), has beaked griffins on the front, and panther griffins on the sides.
- 2). Gusman, L'art décoratif, notes to pl. 156.
- 3). J. M. C. Toynbee, 'Picture-Language', p. 225.
- 4). Strong, Apotheosis, pp. 209-210.
- 5). Lehmann-Hartleben, Olsen, Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore, pp. 30-36, 45-46.
- 6). Turcan, Les sarcophages dionysiaques, p. 372, n.2.
- 7). E. Simon, 'Zur Bedeutung des Greifen in der Kunst der Kaiserzeit', Latomus 21 1962 pp. 749-780.

Sphinxes.

Although sphinxes occur on a largernumber of monuments than griffins, they were used on the whole as a more minor motif: most of these sphinxes were placed at the lower corners of the monument, usually beneath rams' heads. However, occasionally sphinxes appear in more complex scenes, and in one case the episode of Oedipus' confrontation with the sphinx seems to have been represented (grave altar of Ti. Claudius Geminus no. 4). In the pediment of the ash chest of L. Terentius Maximus (no. 1) a crouching sphinx places a paw on a ram's head - also lying in the field are two bacchic masks and a cista mystica. A sphinx with a ram's head in its claws also occurs above the garland on the grave altar of Iulia Peregrina (no. 2), and in the pediment of the altar of Cornelia Cleopatra (no. 3) there is a sphinx with a bull's head. Sphinxes, like griffins, were occasionally arranged heralidically in pairs. Sphinxes flank a burning torch in the pediment of the ash altar of Vitalis (no. 5) and on the ash altar dedicated by Iulia Soteria (or Soffria)(no. 6) sphinxes flanking a candelabrum were placed under the inscription panel while sphinxes flanking a large cantharos decorate the pediment. Sphinxes were also placed on either side of closed doors on the ash chests of Cantia Primitiva (no. 7), Speratus (no. 8) and Evander (no. 9). They act as acroteria to the temple-like facade on the back of the grave altar of C. Telegenus Optatus (no. 10) and were also used as acroteria to the pediments of lids, as on the grave altar of T. Flavius Diadumenus (no. 11) and on the ash chest of Claudius Decembar and Claudius Polydeuces (no. 12). They were also used as secondary decoration of other elements: on the ash chest of Onesimus (no. 13), the altar with 'D.M.' in the inscription panel in the Lateran Collection (no. 14) and the ash chest



of Petronius Hedychrus (no. 15) sphinxes were incorporated into the stems of the corner candelabra. Sphinxes occur on their own at the corners of the ash chest of Euphrosynus (no. 16) and on the ash chest of Helius (no. 17) they are sandwiched between tripods and cupids at the front corners. However, most sphinxes sit at the bottom corners of monuments, with one half of their body on one face of the altar and the other half at right angles to it, round the corner: thus they face out from the corners (altar of L. Volusius Phaedrus, no. 18, pl. 3). Although such corner sphinxes were used on all sizes and qualities of monument, they were a common feature on a number of altars of exceptionally high quality made in the Neronian and Flavian periods: they occur, for example, on the large and elaborate monuments in the Galleria Lapidaria ('Dis Manibus Sacrum', no. 19), the Louvre (no. 20), in E.U.R. (no. 21), and of Luccia Telesina (no. 22). On occasion sphinxes were placed under ammon heads (grave altar of Claudius Alexander, no. 23), or cupids (altar in Amelia, no. 24, pl. 10), or lion heads (altar of L. Octavius Melissus, no. 25), but they were usually associated with rams' heads. The sphinxes often sit on small bases representing either rocky terrain or an artificial box (pl. 10), which was sometimes highly decorated (nos. 19, 20).

Sphinxes had been used to decorate funerary monuments in the Greek world since the archaic period (1). They are often said to be apotropaic or to act as guardians (2), an interpretation which appears to accord with their use to flank the door motif and the way they stare out rather aggressively from the lower corners of the monuments. Sphinxes with rams' heads or a bull's head may allude to a different tradition, one which is primarily concerned with the mythological character of the sphinx- sphinxes which attack men were represented on imperial

gems (3), and the habits of the creature encountered by Oedipus also show that sphinxes did have a more sinister side (4). The sphinx was also associated with bacchic motifs - the masks and cista mystica on the ash chest of L. Terentius Maximus (no. 1) and the cantharos on the altar of Iulia Soteria (no. 6). The significance of this combination of motifs, and of the association of sphinxes with a torch (no. 5), a candelabrum (no. 6) and palm trees (no. 24) is rather more difficult to gauge. However, it seems that in most cases the sphinx was primarily a decorative motif, its use in the funerary sphere being sanctioned by Greek tradition.

Notes.

- 1). K. Friis Johansen, The Attic Grave Reliefs of the Classical Period (Copenhagen 1951), p. 107.  
G. M. A. Richter, A Handbook of Greek Art (London 1959), p. 62, fig. 61; p. 70, figs. 73, 75, 76. The Archaic Gravestones of Attica, (London 1961), *passim*.
- 2). Haarløv, p. 49. Friis Johansen, *loc. cit.*, would deny that the classical Greek sphinx had any connection with death and the grave, although he does agree that they had a general function of warding off evil.
- 3). Richter, Engraved Gems of the Romans, no. 247 - sphinx attacking a man; Walters, A Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos in the British Museum, no. 1843 - sphinx with a paw on a human head.
- 4). Haarløv, p. 49, links the sphinx with the idea of the abduction of souls.

Chapter 8: The Animal Kingdom.

A great variety of animals, birds, fish, reptiles and insects were extremely popular on the cinerary monuments: most pieces have at least one creature as part of their decoration, and some have a number of different scenes and motifs. Animals were used to decorate all parts of the monument - above and below garlands, at the corners, on the sides, in the pediments and in elaborate acanthus borders to inscriptions. The standard of workmanship varies enormously; this and the state of preservation often makes it impossible to identify the creatures represented. Many scenes are stereotyped and uninteresting, but there are several instances of scenes beautifully observed from nature.

Although there is considerable variety in the scenes used, there are a few basic themes which were expressed in a number of different ways. Thus the hunting and fighting theme is expressed not only by lions and dogs hunting but also by cocks fighting and birds pursuing their prey; eagles and storks attack snakes and smaller birds chase butterflies and lizards. Also popular were scenes of parents feeding their young, such as the pastoral groups of goats or deer with the mothers suckling their kids and fawns, and the representations of birds feeding their young in the nest. Among the most touching of these is the mother hen sheltering a brood of chicks under her wings. Again in gentler vein are the scenes of animals and birds eating or drinking from overturned baskets or water vessels. Certain creatures, especially dogs and birds, were represented in the company of the dead as their pets. There are also many representations of individual creatures, in particular birds and dolphins,

used as simple filling motifs, placed in the odd corners under garlands or in pediments.

It has been claimed that many of these animal motifs had a symbolic purpose, both individually and as a whole. Butterflies and birds, for example, are said to represent the souls of the dead, and lions hunting or cock fighting the victory of life over death. In more general terms it has been suggested that rich animal and bird life refers to the idyllic peace and plenty to be expected beyond the grave (1). The merits of these various interpretations will be considered in a survey of the scenes and motifs themselves.

Note.

- 1). J. M. C. Toynbee, Animals, Chapter XXIII, 'The Animal Paradise', puts forward the view that pastoral scenes symbolise the existence of idyllic peace and plenty after death: she also suggests that even in non-funerary art animals are symbols of teeming life. I do not think that she gives sufficient evidence for the former interpretation, or that the latter concept is helpful in the present context. Birds, insects, lizards and snakes appeared on some of the very earliest monuments: they remained popular on the cinerary monuments but are not nearly so prominent on the sarcophagi. This has not been adequately explained by any symbolic interpretation, but seems to be rather a reflection of the popularity of animals and birds in all the contemporary decorative arts.

Animals - lions.

Lions were usually represented leaping through acanthus leaves and chasing or confronting another animal in a frieze above the inscription panel. On three such altars, of Telegenia Nobilis (no. 1; pl. 72), Cn. Sentius Felix (no. 2; pl. 71) and M. Ulpus Faustus (no. 3) (and possibly also on the monument to L. Sutor, no. 4) a lion and a bull face one another. A confrontation between a lion and a panther takes place on the monument of C. Calpurnius Piso Crassus Frugi Licinianus (no. 5), whereas on the altar of Iulia Apollonia (no. 6; pl. 73) it seems that two lions face one another (1). On the altar of Cn. Turpilius Parthenopaeus (no. 7) a lion chases a horse through the foliage, and it is possible that the animals on the altar of Iulia Aufidena Capitolina (no. 8) are also a lion and a horse. A more unusual version of the motif was used on the altar of T. Statilius Hermes (no. 9; pl. 74) where a lion attacks a donkey in the space above the garland: this forms the main focus of the decoration and the scene itself is dramatic and arresting. The round urn of Athania Pieris (no. 10) would also appear to show a lion attacking a donkey. A lion stands in solitary splendour underneath the garland on the altar of L. Plotius Eunus (no. 11), and two sea-lions occur in a frieze on the altar of M. Aurelius Onesimus (no. 12). Apart from these complete lions, lion heads were sometimes used as decorative elements in place of other animal heads (nos. 14-17). A lion also occurs as an attribute of Cybele on an ash chest showing her with Marsyas, Apollo and Minerva (no. 13).

It has been assumed that the lion had some special significance in a funerary context, but attention has concentrated on the meaning

of the lion hunt on later sarcophagi. On the cinerary monuments we have representations not of men hunting lions but of lions either alone or confronting and hunting other animals. Mrs. Strong suggested that running lions represented the element of fire which purified the soul, and that when shown confronting a bull alluded to the 'earthly tenement' which 'must be consumed before the liberated soul can attain immortality'(2). She also suggests that the popularity of the lion-and-bull motif in the Roman world was due to the spread of the Mithraic cult. Jocelyn Toynbee, on the other hand, interprets the lion as 'a symbol of the ravaging power of death and of man's victory over it' - but she is referring particularly to the hunted lion rather than the lion as hunter (3).

Neither Miss Toynbee nor Mrs. Strong provide much evidence for their interpretation of the motif, which was also very popular in domestic contexts. As Miss Toynbee herself points out, the arena produced considerable interest in the artistic representation of leaping lions. The motif was particularly popular on terra sigillata, gems and cups, and was used in wall painting, mosaics and friezes. A lion hunts two horses, for example, on a painting in the House of Menander, while a lion chases a bull in a painting in the house of L. Ceius Secundus at Pompeii, and a mosaic panel from Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, now in the Vatican Museums, shows a lion attacking a bull. The common use of the lion in other decorative arts does not preclude it from having a symbolic meaning on the funerary monuments, but it does show that almost identical scenes could be used in a context where such a symbolic meaning is unlikely.

Mrs. Strong's hypothesis cannot easily be proved or disproved: the evidence of literature and inscriptions suggests that such ideas were not in fact widespread in Rome until later in the second century. Nevertheless, it is perhaps significant that the monuments under consideration belong to the turn of the first-second centuries when it is possible that such ideas were beginning to spread to Rome. The odd choice of the donkey as victim on two pieces, too, is interesting in the light of Mrs. Strong's identification of the bull as the 'earthly tenement', since, as is clearly shown by the transformation of Lucius in The Golden Ass, the donkey could represent the lustful and carnal nature of man. It does not necessarily follow, however, that Mrs. Strong was right in suggesting that the lion represents the element of fire: he is, rather, merely the agent of death which inevitably attacks the earthly frame.

Thus Miss Toynbee's suggestion that the lion represents the 'ravaging power of death' is quite reasonable in the case of the lion attacking a donkey. However, on the cinerary monuments there are no instances of men hunting lions, only of lions hunting other animals; the motif therefore merely states the power of death and does not assert man's ability to overcome it. On most of the monuments the lion is not shown in the act of attacking its victims, but chasing them - although it is still possible in this case to identify the scene as a symbol of death stalking its prey, such an interpretation is unlikely where the lion confronts a panther or another lion, or if it stands alone. It must be assumed that the lion was often more decorative than symbolic.



Dogs.

Dogs are represented in two aspects on the cinerary monuments: as pets accompanying the dead, especially children, and as hunters. A dog jumps up to a small boy, presumably the person to whom the monument was dedicated, on the left side of the altar of C. Iulius Philetus (no. 19), and Hateria Superba (no. 18) is accompanied by a seated dog so full of character it must surely be a portrait of her pet. Nevertheless, the other attributes surrounding the girl - two birds, a bunch of grapes and a pair of cupids putting a wreath on her head - give the picture a symbolic air, and the little dog may also be intended as a symbol. Dogs are also found in banquet scenes and with sleeping figures, where again it is difficult to tell whether they are simply pets or have a more symbolic meaning: Jocelyn Toynbee suggests that they may be symbols of fidelity (4). A particularly touching scene shows Pompeia Margaris (reclining figures no. 10) asleep with her dog anxiously pawing at her - a faithful mourner? Thus the two dogs seated outside the door on the ash chest of Onesimus (Door Motif no. 33) could be faithful pets mourning their master. On the other hand, when Trimalchio says that he wants the statue of his wife in his tomb to be accompanied by her pet dog he does not suggest that the dog was in any way symbolic.

Dogs were also represented in the case, hunting hares (or rabbits), deer and boars. On the back pediment of the altar of C. Titienus Flaccus (no. 20; pls. 75, 76) a dog chases a rabbit past a large tree, and a dog pursues a hare or rabbit on the ash altar of Iulia Orge (no. 21), and on the right side of a small altar in Velletri (no. 22). The most dramatic scenes, however, show dogs chasing deer. On the ash chest of Ti. Claudius Callistus (no. 23) two dogs attack

a stag: one has leapt onto the stag's back, and the other runs below. On the right side of an ash chest in Pisa (no. 24; pl. 77) a deer bounds past a tree with a dog in hot pursuit, while on the left side the deer has stopped and looks round at its pursuer in surprise. In similar scenes on the sides of the grave altar of Cn. Ambivius Maecianus (no. 25) the dog has almost caught up with the deer it is chasing, and an ash chest in Arezzo (no. 26) has on the right side a leaping stag with a dog on its back, and on the left side a curious scene of a dog seated under a tree beside what seems to be the carcass of an animal while a bird swoops down from above. Dogs with deer also appear in the two pediments of the ash chest of C. Magius Heraclida (no. 27; pl. 20) and above the garland on the altar of Asprenans Calpurnius Torquatus (no. 28). Dogs are also represented attacking boars: two or three dogs attack a boar underneath the garland on the altar of Herennuleia (no. 29), and a dog attacks a boar in the pediment of an ash chest in the Louvre (no. 30). Some kind of a conflict takes place between a dog and a goat on the ash altar of M. Furius Vestalis (no. 31; pl. 78) - the dog seems to have the goat's ear between its teeth and is pulling at it while the goat lies resisting. A dog or wolf attacks a ram on the altar of Sporus (no. 32), and dogs are shown with a cock on the altar of M. Luceius Martialis (no. 33), and a rat on the grave altar of M. Licinius Crassus (no. 34).

Hunting dogs were a favourite motif in the decorative arts, and dogs hunting rabbits were particularly popular on terra sigillata. Two paintings in Pompeii, one in the House of Menander and the other in the House of the Vettii, and two mosaic scenes in the House of Neptune and Amphitrite at Herculaneum, show dogs hunting deer in scenes almost identical to those on the altars. It seems therefore hardly

necessary to look for a symbolic meaning for the motif. However, it should be remembered that they are one of several types of scene showing a struggle between animals (as lion hunts and cock fights) and as such may have had some particular relevance to a funerary context. Dogs, like cocks, had infernal connections in the Greco-Roman world, and this may have affected their use as a funerary motif to some extent.

Other animals: panthers, bulls, goats, etc.

Although it might be expected that panthers would play a similar role to that of lions and dogs, they were seldom represented as hunters. Panthers were occasionally used in acanthus friezes: a lion and a panther confront one another on the altar of C. Calpurnius Piso Crassus Frugi Licinianus (no. 5), two panthers chase two other animals in the foliage on the grave altar of Agria Agathe (no. 35) - the animals may be a deer and a ram - and on the ash altar of Cosutia Prima (no. 36; pl. 64) a panther is chasing a deer in the acanthus frieze. More curious is the combination of a panther and a cock found on the altars of P. Veratius Eunus (no. 37) and of Herbasia Clymene (no. 38): these scenes will be considered later.

The panther was widely used as a bacchic attribute, and was often represented in the bacchic scenes of the later sarcophagi as a luxury-loving and rather inquisitive animal. On the cinerary monuments also it sometimes accompanies bacchic figures: a panther sits at the feet of Dionysus and Ariadne on the grave altar of Ti. Claudius V(italis) (Bacchic scenes no. 8; pl. 34) and another drinks from the god's spilled wine cup on the altar of C. Clodius Euphemus (bacchic scenes, no. 1). On the ash altar of Flavius Saturninus (no. 39)

panthers are seated at the front corners, taking their place among various bacchic motifs: two flying cupids support a drunk companion above a garland composed of grapes and vine leaves, and there are ivy branches growing from cantharoi on the sides. However, the presence of a panther does not necessarily imply bacchic beliefs. On the altar of the stoic philosopher Claudius Alexander (no. 40) there is a small scene of a panther startled by the contents of an overturned cantharos flowing towards it.

Animals were quite frequently represented with containers for food or liquid, but the animals are not always easy to identify. A wolf-like animal (it may be a tiger?) attempts to investigate a falling basket of fruits on the front of the altar of Iunia Procula (no. 41; pl. 5, 66), but a cupid holds it back. A female animal which may be a wolf, bear or panther, stands under a vine with a large rhyton decorated with a goat's head on the altar of Annia Isias (no. 42; pl. 80) and on the right side of the altar of Iunia Procula (pl. 79) there is another unidentified animal which may be a bear or a rat eating a piece of fruit. However, the animal most commonly represented eating fruit is the hare or rabbit, usually eating from an overturned basket. This motif occurs on few of the larger altars - one example is the grave altar of A. Albius Graptus (no. 43; pl. 56) - but was used on many of the smaller, humbler, and later ash chests, often in the pediment of the lid. The ash chest of Flavius Restitutus (no. 44) has this motif between the inscription panel and the garland, and the double ash chest of Servilia Artemonis and A. Servilius Apella (no. 16) uses it above both garlands. On the ash chest of C. Priminus Macrus (no. 45) it was placed in the pediment. This type of small animal scene was popular in all branches of Roman art: it hardly seems helpful or justified to call the hare or rabbit a symbol of afterlife fertility (5).

Domesticated animals and rural, pastoral scenes also have their place on the cinerary monuments. Herds of animals were depicted with their young: on an altar in the Galleria Lapidaria (no. 46) there is a herd of deer, and on the grave altar of Luccia Telesina (no. 47) a herd of goats with their herdsman and his dog. A doe suckling her young occurs on the ash chest of M. Valerius Italus (no. 48), and a goat suckling a kid on the altar of Vestricius Hyginus (no. 49; pl. 81). Jocelyn Toynbee has suggested that such herds 'symbolize the existence of idyllic peace and plenty awaiting them (i.e. the dead) beyond the grave' (6). The pastoral idyll, however, was so popular in Roman literature and art that it is difficult to assess the extent to which it might have had a specific funerary relevance.

A much more complex symbolism has been claimed for certain representations of goats on the funerary monuments. These claims centre round the scene of a she-goat eating the leaves of a tree watched over by Mercury on the ash altar of Ianuaria (no. 50). Goats are also represented nibbling at trees on two other monuments; on the ash chest of Ti. Claudius Karo a goat munches at a vine shoot (no. 51), and on the ash chest of Annia Cassia (no. 52) there are two goats, one of which stands on its back legs to browse at the foliage of the tree. On the ash chest of Vernasia (no. 53; pl. 67) a cupid is riding a goat between two trees, and the goat nibbles at the leaves of one of them. A goat is also represented lying down on the right side of the grave altar of Viria Primitiva (no. 54), and a goat accompanies the boy A. Egrilius Magnus in the full-length portrait on his altar (no. 55; pl. 47).

Nilsson in his examination of the motif of the goat and tree (7) points out that the goat was the animal commonly sacrificed to

Dionysus, and links the motif with the puzzling, oft-quoted and much discussed orphic inscription on gold from Thurii:

θεος ἔγενου ἐξ ἀνθρώπου / ἔριφος ἐς γαλα ἔπετες /  
 χαιρε, χαιρε, δεξιαν δδοποριων / λεινωναστε φερους  
 και ἀλσεια φερσεφονειας. (8)

The Pythagoreans, he says, took over this formula, and adapted to the first person it was the cry the dead were to make at redemption.

According to the mystical view the dead is a kid as Dionysus had been, and is regenerated by the baptismal milk. Nilsson links this with the concept of astral immortality, since the constellation of the goat is in the Milky Way. Combet Farnoux has a similar explanation for the scene of the goat watched over by Mercury on the altar of Iamaria. He suggests that the goat represents the dead woman, initiated perhaps into a neo-Pythagorean sect under orphic influence which gave an important place to Dionysus as a saviour god. By representing herself as a goat she is recalling the story that Dionysus as an infant was turned into a goat under the protection of Mercury to escape the notice of Juno. Thus she expresses the hope that she too will be assimilated into the essence of divinity. This, he claims, is only one part of a decorative scheme marked by a coherent symbolism expressing a hope of immortality (9). This explanation seems unnecessarily tortuous: it involves an episode in the childhood of Dionysus which is not typical of the myth and the evidence of an obscure inscription written some four hundred years earlier. Whether or not any credence is given to this elaborate interpretation of the altar of Iamaria, it cannot be applied, at any rate in any detail, to the other representations of goats. The goat was sacred to Dionysus, but also

to Mercury as an alternative to the more usual ram: it is perhaps as a symbol of the psychopompus god Mercury that the goat was used to counterbalance the ram on the altar of Viria Primitiva - but it is as a dionysiac animal that it munches the vine shoot on the ash chest of Claudius Karo. The cupid riding a goat may also be a bacchic figure, although he carries no thyrsus or other attribute to identify him as such.

The representation of bulls and boars as the victim of lions or dogs in the hunt has already been considered - bulls were also the victims of bull-slaying Victories - but both animals could also be used alone. On two monuments the animal is pictured as a pun on the deceased's name. This can be seen particularly clearly on the altar of T. Statilius Aper (no. 56) with its explanatory inscription (10), and can be inferred in the case of P. Aelius Taurus (no. 57) whose ash chest has a bull on it. There is no such obvious explanation for the scene of a majestic bull standing on a pedestal by a tree on the altar of Claudia Primigene (no. 58; pl. 83). A bull was also represented on the right side of the altar of Naevius Vitulus (no. 59), with the counterpart of a sow on the left side, and two boars and two bulls were placed among a mass of armour on the round urn of Hermippus (no. 60). It is possible that these animals are sacrificial victims - such a reference might be all the more appropriate to Naevius Vitulus as the inscription says that he was a decurion and his father who set the monument up was an Augustalis. However, the appropriateness of bulls, boars and armour to the theatrical manager Hermippus is rather more obscure.

There are a few instances of rather more unusual representations of animals. An elephant was represented on the left side of a grave altar once in Nazzano (no. 61) and on both sides of the altar of

M. Consius Cerdon (no. 62). In the first case the inscription has been partially destroyed, and in the second it is very short, so that it is very difficult to say whether the elephant could have been a reference to the deceased's trade or life, although this remains a possibility. Also unusual is the cat on the altar of Calpurnia Felicla (a pun on her name?) No. 63), and the monkey on the grave altar front of C. Iulius Saecularis (no. 64; pl. 48). It is quite likely that this was a pet of the dead boy, but the decoration of the monument as a whole suggests that the monkey may have a more symbolic meaning (11).



Notes.

- 1). Although Calza (Isola Sacra, p. 219) thinks the two animals are lions, it seems to me that the battered animal on the left is a bull.
- 2). Mrs. Strong, Apotheosis, pp. 192-194, n. 14.
- 3). J. M. C. Toynbee, Animals, p. 65; 'Picture-Language' p. 213: 'A lion, as one of a class of courageous or destructive creatures, symbolises courage or death'.
- 4). Toynbee, Animals, p. 111: 'while they could be nothing more than emblems of faithfulness, there would seem to be no reason for rejecting the belief that some at least of them recall the actual pet that the deceased had loved in life'.
- 5). For the hare as a symbol of fertility see Macchioro, pp. 102 (94) - 110 (102).
- 6). Toynbee, Animals, p. 283.
- 7). Nilsson, The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age, (Lund 1957), pp. 99-100, n. 2.
- 8). O. Kern, Orphicorum Fragmenta, p. 108, no. 32 f6.
- 9). This view is expounded by B. Combet Farnoux, 'L'inspiration Pythagoricienne et Dionysiaque dans un autel funéraire du Musée du Latran', in Mélanges, 1960, pp. 147-165. This is criticised by Picard in R.E.L. 40, 1962, p. 259: 'Tout cela est fort ingénieux, mais repose sur bien des suppositions qu'aucun texte n'appuie, contrairement aux règles méthodologiques de F. Cumont, et qu'aucun rapprochement avec d'autres monuments ne rend moins incertaines'.
- 10). Appendix of inscriptions, no. 7.
- 11). Helbig, II, p. 305, refers to the animals as 'die Lieblingstiere des Knaben'. The butterfly, however, is unlikely to be a pet, and all these creatures may have a symbolic purpose. It is possible, for example, that the animals at the boy's feet represent his baser nature, and the free-flying birds and butterflies the freed soul.

Birds, insects and reptiles.

Birds were amongst the earliest motifs used to decorate Roman cinerary monuments and remained extremely popular throughout the period they were used, although, as with many motifs, they reached the peak of their popularity in the Neronian and Flavian monuments (1): birds of some sort, whether eagles, swans, cocks, ravens or small garden birds of indeterminate species, decorated well over half the monuments (2). They were particularly common on ash chests and altars decorated with garlands, but were also used in pediments, acanthus borders and on the sides of monuments of all types. Small song-birds are shown pecking at fruit, catching at grubs and insects, or feeding their young, and storks (or herons) were often represented catching snakes, frogs or lizards. These two kinds of bird could be combined into a scene showing storks at the bottom of a tree and smaller birds in the branches, a scheme of decoration often used on the sides of monuments. Eagles, swans and ravens were most often used as individual motifs, for example, at the lower corners of monuments, rather than as part of scenes. Sometimes it is possible to see such scenes and motifs as playing a symbolic role, but far more frequently their purpose seems to have been purely decorative.

Garden birds, storks and herons.

The early association of birds with rich fruit garlands on funerary monuments is perhaps only to be expected in the context of Augustan and early Claudian decoration as a whole, especially wall-painting (3). Birds similar to those painted in the garden room in the villa at Prima Porta were used on three of the Platorini urns (no. 1) and on the ash chest of Aelia Postumia (no. 2). It seems that these

small birds were originally represented pecking at the fruit of the garland or at grubs, and that it was only with a later development that they were shown chasing large butterflies or lizards (4). This motif became quite common for filling the spaces above and below garlands: small birds pecking at berries form a small filling motif, for example, on the sides of the altar of L. Volusius Heracla (no. 3). On a large and elaborate altar in the Galleria Lapidaria (no. 4) small birds are shown attacking a grasshopper above the garlands on the sides, and there are also birds decorating the small bases under the corner sphinxes. There are also charming little birds on the sides of the altar of Apusulenus Caerellianus (no. 5), although this is a comparatively late piece for such careful treatment of birds: the earlier altar of C. Iulius Proculus (no. 6; pl. 84) does not use its bird scenes as mere filling motifs, but makes them into a major feature of the monument - on the front one bird attacks a lizard above the garland while below another larger bird is fighting a snake. On the back there are birds fighting over a rosette below the garland and a bird with a butterfly above, and on the sides there are also bird scenes, although these are less elaborate.

Birds chasing butterflies were indeed a common motif on monuments of all sizes and grades of workmanship. Because in Greek the same word was used for a soul as for a butterfly it has been generally accepted that the butterfly in Roman funerary art is a clear and undeniable symbol of the soul. That the butterfly was sometimes interpreted in this way and could be symbolically important is clear from a series of representations which show butterflies in different contexts. On one of the Boscoreale skeleton cups a butterfly is labelled '            ' - the choice of the diminutive, which was only

used of the soul, instead of 'ψυχῆ', which is ambiguous, shows that in this case the butterfly was definitely intended as a symbol of the soul. A child's sarcophagus of the later second century in the Capitoline Museums showing Prometheus putting souls, represented as butterflies, into human beings, is further evidence for the conscious identification of the butterfly as the soul (5).

More curious are the scenes of cupids burning butterflies. On a base in the Vatican Museums (6) two weeping cupids hold a butterfly over two flaming torches propped up against a three-legged base, a theme which, as we have already seen, also occurs on the left side of the ash chest of P. Severeanus and Bloilo (no. 7) where a cupid holds a butterfly in the flame of a torch. Both of these scenes are unusual and would seem to point to the same basic concept, possibly that the incineration process releases the soul from the body to some form of renewed life or rebirth (7). On the front of the ash chest of Severeanus the central cupid holds up another butterfly, while the boy on the left holds a bird: hence the bird and butterfly are once more associated, but not in their usual relationship of hunter and prey. Butterflies also occur on occasion without birds - on the ash chest of Euphrosyne (no. 8) there is a large butterfly on its own above the garland. A butterfly was also associated with a reclining skeleton on the altar of Antonia Panace (no. 9), and a butterfly is one of the creatures surrounding Iulius Saecularis (no. 10; pl. 48). Both of these butterflies presumably had some kind of symbolic meaning, and may have alluded to the soul of the deceased.

Nevertheless, I fail to see how the interpretation of the butterfly as the soul fits into the majority of the bird and butterfly

scenes, usually used to fill in odd corners of the monument, or how they can justifiably be described as deeply symbolic. The butterfly was clearly appropriate to funerary monuments because of the linguistic associations it had and early beliefs on the nature of the soul, but what are the implications of its capture by a bird? It has been claimed that the birds themselves can represent the souls of the dead, and that lizards, their other favourite prey, symbolise rebirth (8): this makes it even more difficult to make coherent sense of these creatures as a 'symbolic language'. While hesitating to call all scenes of birds chasing butterflies, insects or lizards merely decorative I would suggest that except in a few of the more individualistic cases the scenes are too stereotyped for any symbolism other than the most vague and generalised: it certainly cannot be assumed that they represent a common Roman belief that souls survive to frolic in an afterlife of bliss.

With the development of decorative schemes other than those using heads and garlands, bird scenes did not disappear, but tended to be transferred to other parts of the monument, especially the sides, where they could be expanded and elaborated. The ash chest of Annia Cassia (no. 11; pl. 82), an early and very detailed piece, has on its left side an olive tree carved in low relief, teeming with rich bird and animal life. These creatures are not in true proportion to one another, but are in various scales, the effect being that of a page in a sketch book where the motifs are not expected to have any logical relationship to one another. A diminutive dog chases a bird to the left of the tree, while there are four large birds with berries and a butterfly flying through the branches: a frog (or monkey) sits quite

incongruously among the topmost leaves, and a large grasshopper launches itself from the middle. There even appears to be a small bucranium in the field. The right hand side by contrast is much less chaotic with two goats eating the leaves of a tree. More realistic proportions were achieved on an ash chest in the Lateran collection (no. 12; pl. 85) where small birds and a mouse play among the leaves, tendrils and fruits of crossed vine branches.

A more characteristic scheme of decoration was used on the sides of the altar of Epaphroditus (no. 13; pl. 86) where two small birds stand with wings unfurled at the bottom of a laurel tree; although of good workmanship the scene lacks verve. In contrast the scenes of a bird perched in a vine and pecking at the grapes on the sides of the altar of M. Trebellius Argolicus (no. 14) are livelier but of cruder workmanship. The laurel tree is usual in these scenes, but a pine tree was substituted on the altar of Cossutia Prima (no. 15; pl. 87) - one large raven-like bird perches at the top, while another stands at the bottom with a butterfly in its beak, and at the other side of the tree there is a snake.

However, the most common version of the scene has storks at the bottom of the tree pecking at a snake twined round its base. The workmanship and style of the scenes again varies considerably, although the basic scheme remains the same. On the grave altar of Rubria Philete (no. 16; pl. 88) the tree is very precise and detailed, and the storks awkward and harsh, and there are no small birds in the branches of the tree. On the altar of Valeria Fusca (no. 17; pl. 89) there are lively storks, a bird in the branches, and a later stage in the natural history story has been reached, when the stork on the left has succeeded in unwinding the snake from the tree. Similar scenes

are to be found on a number of altars, including on the sides of the altars of Cn. Turpilius Parthenopaeus (no. 18) and C. Sutorius Secundus (no. 19), and the back of a grave altar in the Vatican (no. 20). The sides of the altar of C. Titienus Flaccus (no. 21; pl. 90) are particularly lively: the snake is putting up a good fight against the storks, one of which has a mouse by the tail, and there are four small birds grabbing at the berries in the branches of the tree. The altar of Claudia Ianuaria (no. 22) is unusual in that the jug and patera so common on the sides of grave altars are superimposed on the trees. The scene on the left side of the altar of C. Telegennus Optatus (no. 23) perhaps rivals that on the ash chest of Annia Cassia in the variety of creatures used and the richness of the scene. The decoration of the right hand side is inferior to that of the left, and is clearly by a different hand: it has the usual scheme of small birds in the branches of the tree, and at its foot two storks, one of which is tossing a lizard into the air. On the left side, on the other hand, there is a snail, a birds' nest and a bird preening itself as well as the more usual flying birds, while at the foot of the tree one stork grabs at the tail of a lizard climbing the tree and the other is pulling a snake from its place in an ox-skull.

The stork killing a lizard or a snake was a popular motif in several fields of art: the Boscoreale silver hoard boasts a fine pair of silver cups showing storks in attitudes very like those on the altars, and storks were used in the decoration of other silver cups. They were also very popular on the Arretine imitations of silver-ware, and were found on provincial terra sigillata and gems. An exedra ceiling in the House of Menander at Pompeii is also covered with stucco decoration incorporating storks (9). However, it seems that the combination of storks with trees and small birds was unique to

funerary sculpture.

Another motif which was generally popular in the decorative arts as well as on the cinerary monuments was that of the birds' nest with the parent birds feeding their young (10). The nest motif was often used in conjunction with stork motifs on the altars: on the altar of L. Octavius Melissus (no. 24) one side has a nest scene and the other a stork killing a snake. The left side of the altar of Pelagia (no. 25) has a nest scene above the garland and a stork with a snake below it, and an altar in E.U.R. (no. 26) has this combination of scenes on both sides. An altar in the Lateran Collection (no. 27; pl. 91) combines the scenes in a different way, by showing a storks' nest. The scene on the right side is more complete, with one of the parent storks standing on the nest, still fighting a snake wrapped round its body, while the other stork feeds two clamouring chicks. The central portion of the scene on the left side has been damaged, but again one stork fights a snake, while the feet and tail feathers of a second stork and chick remain on the right. The significance of these scenes may be as Jocelyn Toynbee suggests (11), the notion of piety: the reciprocal care that the young and old should have for one another - just as parents look after the children while young, so the children should look after their parents when they grow old, and their tombs when they die. It has also been suggested that these birds' nest scenes symbolise rebirth (12).

The more usual form of the nest scene, showing small birds, not storks, swooping down onto a nest of two or three hungry chicks, was used above the garlands on the sides on a number of very elaborate altars, such as those of Luccia Telesina (no. 28), an altar in the Galleria Lapidaria (no. 4), the altar of Iunia Procula (no. 29; pl. 5a,c)



and the altar of Claudius Alexander (no. 30), where one of the parent birds is bringing a lizard to the three young in the nest. Although such scenes were usually placed on the sides of altars, they could be used above the garland on the front (altar of P. Carvilius Felix, no. 31), in a volute frieze above the inscription panel (altar of M. Coelius Superstes, no. 32), or in the pediment (altar of C. Bellicius Prepons, no. 33). The nest itself is also unnecessary: on the ash chest of M. Aurelius Iustianus (no. 34) two parent birds are feeding a baby bird above the garland on the front, and on the ash chest of C. Octavius Restitutus (no. 35) the actual nest is very poorly defined, and the motif is repeated twice, above each garland.

Small birds were also represented drinking from cantharoi or pecking at fruit in a basket. Scenes of birds perched on a cantharos seem to follow a basic pattern quite closely - one bird bends down to drink while the other reaches up into the air to pluck a berry from a branch or an insect from the air. This scheme was used on the sides of the altars of Amemptus (no. 36), M. Antonius Alexander (no. 37) - where the cantharos is flanked by a third bird and a jug/patera at the base - and the ash chest of C. Seius Crocus (no. 38) where the diminutive vessel is surrounded by elaborate acanthus whirls and flowers. On the ash chest of Rurria Secundina (no. 39) the cantharos is surrounded by four long-tailed birds, and on the double ash chest of Iulia Callityche (no. 40) two small birds perched on ivy leaves flank a cantharos under both inscription panels. Here the cantharos seems to be laden with fruit rather than filled with water, and other monuments (as the ash chest of Ti. Claudius Chryseros, no. 41, and without inscription in the Terme Museum, no. 42) show birds pecking at the fruit in a laden basket.

Eagles.

Although eagles were extremely popular in the decoration of the cinerary monuments, they were usually used as individual secondary motifs following a stereotyped pattern rather than in major scenes. They were most commonly used at the bottom corners of monuments using garlands as their main element of decoration, usually below ammon heads (as on the altar of L. Camurtius Punicus, no. 43; pl. 6), but also below rams' heads (altar of Flavia Daphne, no. 44), or cupids (altar of Crenaeus, no. 45; pl. 8). They were also frequently placed above the garland on the front (altars of L. Volusius Urbanus, no. 46; Ti. Iulius Mnester, no. 59, pl. 1,2), in the pediment (altar of Q. Volusius Antigonus, no. 47), at the corners of the lid (altar of Vitalis, no. 48), in friezes (ash chest of Ti. Claudius Victor, no. 49) and in the capitals of columns or pilasters (altar of Cn. Sentius Felix, no. 50; pl. 71). On one piece, the altar of C. Titienus Flaccus (no. 21; pl. 75) they were used in the circles at one end of the bolster volutes on the top of the altar. Eagles were usually represented with fully or partially spread wings, perhaps pecking at the garland or the taeniae, but in the majority of cases without attributes. Sometimes, however, there are additions such as wreaths, snakes, or thunderbolts, and very occasionally an eagle was used in a supporting role to another motif.

In view of the interpretation made by Cumont, followed by Mrs. Strong and others (13), that the eagle in a funerary context was the bird of apotheosis, it is important to consider the ways in which this bird was used on the cinerary monuments, and the question of whether the eagle was represented so frequently on these monuments

because it immediately suggested to the Roman mind the passage of the soul to the celestial regions where it became divine. Clearly the eagle could have some such meaning - by far the most plausible explanation for the decoration of the altar of Q. Pomponius Eudaemon and Claudia Helpis (no. 51), where an eagle is shown carrying on its back the portrait bust of a man, as a peacock does a bust of a woman on the opposite side, is that the couple are thus represented undergoing apotheosis in precisely the same way as Titus on his arch in the Forum. Nevertheless, this is the most blatant and explicit reference to the eagle as a bird of apotheosis: another, more veiled, allusion to this concept may have been expressed by the scene of Ganymede feeding an eagle in the pediment of the altar of Statius Asclepiades (no. 52). Cumont's interpretation of the eagle flanked by winged heads in the frieze of the ash chest of Ti. Claudius Victor (no. 49) as a reference to the passage of the soul of the dead boy through the atmosphere is, I feel, possible but by no means essential. Much more far-fetched is his suggestion that where the eagle is placed between the garland and the inscription panel it is as if it is carrying the name, which is the essence or soul, of the deceased on its back instead of the portrait or actual figure of the dead (14). Nor do I think that it is justifiable to see every eagle as the bird of apotheosis, as Cumont tends to do, for example, the quite ordinary eagle in the pediment of the altar of T. Flavius Abascantus (15).

Cumont himself (16) saw the need to distinguish between Eastern influences and the Latin tradition which used the eagle also as an emblem of the legions and Roman power. Mrs. Strong (17) also allows that the eagle could in certain circumstances be a symbol of earthly glory rather than spiritual triumph, and finds it difficult to decide

whether the wreaths of oak associated with some of the eagles on Roman funerary monuments were there primarily as crowns of immortality, following the Eastern influence, or as the corona civica of Latin tradition. In fact, the eagle is only closely associated with an oak wreath on a very small number of the monuments. On the front of the altar of P. Fundanius Velinus (no. 53) the eagle holds a wreath in its beak and a thunderbolt in its claws: the wreath is too small to be certain that it is an oak wreath, but its combination with the thunderbolt suggests that this was intended to be the eagle of Jupiter and Rome. On the altar of Antiochis Hicete (no. 54) an eagle is perched on the top of a large oak wreath, and on the altar of Iulia Procilla (no. 55) the eagle is inside the wreath. Mrs. Strong suggests (18) that as these are women's monuments the wreaths cannot be crowns of valour and therefore must refer to apotheosis. The inscription on the altar of Iulia Procilla, although comparatively long (19), gives no indication of such a belief, and, indeed, the last line would seem to deny it. In certain other cases an eagle and an oak wreath occur on different parts of the altar, but are not closely associated - as on the altars of C. Volusius Heracla (no. 3) and P. Clartus Prepons (no. 56). On both these altars the wreaths are in the pediments, and the eagles at the lower corners and above the garland respectively. On the altar of Furia Secunda (no. 57) an oak garland was used with eagles at the bottom corners: Mrs. Strong also suggests that such an oak garland is in fact a wreath in disguise.

To what extent do these eagles refer to apotheosis? The closest parallel to the eagle and wreath motif as seen on the altars of Iulia Procilla and Antiochis Hicete is the relief panel in the church of Ss. Apostoli in Rome from the Forum of Trajan (20). This has

an eagle with widespread wings standing inside an oak wreath, and, presumably, was intended to convey ideas of the power of Rome rather than of apotheosis. The association of eagles with ammon heads on the cinerary monuments, and the fact that they often occur on the same monuments as the wolf and twins motif, would also suggest that the eagle refers to Jupiter and Rome. Eagles and wreaths were component parts of the military emblems on an altar of a centurion in the Galleria Lapidaria (no. 58); on the altar of P. Fundanius Velinus (no. 53), and possibly also on the altar of Ti. Iulius Mnester (no. 59; pl. 2) the eagle clutches a thunderbolt in its talons. These attributes and associations would suggest that the eagles represented on the cinerary monuments were not necessarily symbols of apotheosis, although it is difficult to see any precise relevance of the eagle of Jupiter and Rome to all the people whose monuments it decorates.

Most common after the solitary eagle is the eagle and snake. This motif was often placed in the pediment of monuments, as on the altars of Nicanor (no. 60), Cincia Thallusa (no. 61) and Prepons (no. 62) - the last being a particularly fine representation with the snake wrapped round the eagle's foot and rearing up at him, giving him a malicious grin. There is a similar scene on a large altar lid in the Lateran Collection: it presumably belonged to a grave altar. The eagle and snake motif was also used above the garland on the altars of L. Sutorius Secundus (no. 19), and of Claudius Alexander (no. 30) where, instead of showing the fight in progress, the snake is represented just emerging from the garland to surprise the eagle. On the back of the altar of P. Fundanius Velinus, on the other hand, the eagle has already defeated the snake and is trampling it underfoot, bending his head down to peck at it. It seems that there may also be eagles holding snakes in the

flames of torches on an ash chest in Cleveland (no. 63) (see below).

Cumont (21) refers in passing to the snake as an 'emblème/  
symbole connu d'immortalité', but when he gets down to an analysis of  
the motif in Roman funerary contexts he gives a rather more specific  
explanation:

Quelle pensée pouvait éveiller pour un Romain la vue du  
serpent sur un tombeau? Evidemment celle du genius, qu'on  
avait coutume de représenter sous cette forme dans les  
maisons. (22)

He goes on to explain the development of the concept of the genius,  
which came to be regarded as the rational part of the human soul which  
left the body at death and ascended into the atmosphere. Therefore the  
snake is a symbol of the survival of the rational soul after death,  
'la survivance heureuse du genius' (23).

Other interpretations of the motif have been suggested by  
Wittkower and Lehmann-Harleben/Olsen (24). Wittkower traces the use  
of the eagle and snake motif over a wide area of space and time, and  
describes the scene as 'the most powerful of birds fighting the most  
dangerous of reptiles', with the result that the motif was frequently  
used 'to express a struggle or a victory of cosmic grandeur' (25). In  
Roman funerary art, he suggests, the fight signifies 'the triumph of  
the heavenly realm over the dark chthonic forces' (26). Lehmann-Harleben/  
Olsen interpret the snake as a spirit of the earth, and thus of the  
'terrestrial element', and the eagle as a symbol of the incorporeal  
nature of the soul: of the two together they suggest that 'in their  
flight toward heaven they are consequently symbols of apotheosis'. The  
eagles on the Cleveland ash chest (no. 63) they interpret as holding  
in their beaks snakes which they toss into the flames of the burning  
torches, thus symbolising the consummation of the terrestrial element

by fire in the rites of funerary incineration and apotheosis. From photographs, however, these 'snakes' look rather more like taeniae, and it is not altogether clear that the eagles are tossing them into the flames. If this is so the motif provides an interesting parallel to the scenes of cupids burning butterflies mentioned above.

Cumont interprets the snake as the rational soul; Lehmann-Hartleben/Olsen, on the contrary, assert that it is the terrestrial element which the soul must cast off. Wittkower does not associate the eagle and snake with the body and soul at all, but with good and evil, chthonic forces and heavenly realms. These explanations are clearly at odds with one another, and all lack really convincing proof. Any interpretation of the snake must take into account the fact that it is not always opposed by the eagle: the most usual form of combat is between storks and snakes. The stork is usually the aggressor and has the upper hand in the struggle - an interesting variant of the motif is the stork pulling a snake out of a skull on the altar of C. Telegennus Optatus (no. 23). A cock is also shown with a snake in the pediment of the altar of Ti. Claudius Clemens (pl. 95), and a smaller bird is in the thick of a struggle with a large snake on the altar of C. Iulius Proculus (pl. 84) - the snake in this instance has a good chance of emerging the victor.

It is easy to think of explanations of such scenes which are plausible at first sight: the scene of a stork pulling a snake out of a skull, for example, could be neatly explained as the 'rape' of the soul from the body at death, or perhaps the snake assailed by storks represents the perils the soul has to survive before eventual salvation. Such interpretations remain pure speculation. The eagle and snake is, as Wittkower has shown, a very ancient motif. It seems that

by the Roman period any symbolic meaning it might have had was confused, and it is no longer possible to assert that it meant any one thing more than another: indeed, in most cases it was probably used as an artistically attractive natural history scene, with no ulterior symbolic function.

Eagles were also represented tearing at hares on the altars of Egnatius Nicephorus (no. 64) and Herbasia Clymene (no. 65); on both altars this is not the only scene of violent destruction. Rather more curious is the association of eagles with medusa heads on two of the altars. On that of Flavia Daphne (no. 2) eagles simply replace the more usual swans flanking the medusa head above the garland, but on the other (no. 26), an altar without inscription in the Istituto Italo Latino-Americano in E.U.R., the eagle is actually perched on top of the medusa head, and seems to be flying with it in its claws. The eagle perched on a patera decorated with a flower on the altar of Vinicia Tyche (no. 66) may be a different version of the same idea.

#### Swans.

Swans were not quite as popular as eagles, but they do occur fairly frequently on the cinerary monuments as a minor motif. They were used particularly below rams' heads at the back corners of altars whose front corners were occupied with ammon heads and eagles (as the ash altar of P. Carvilius Felix, no. 31; the grave altar of T. Statilius Hermes, no. 67; the grave altar of Furia Secunda, no. 57). Less frequently swans were placed under goats' heads (grave altar of Ti. Claudius Fortunatus, no. 68), under bucrania (idem, and the altar of L. Plotius Eumus, no. 69), or ammon heads (ash chest without inscrip-



tion Florence, no. 70), and can even support a garland (ash chest of Vettia Soteris, no. 71; ash chest of Cornelia Persice, no. 72). They were also used by themselves as a filling motif above the garland on humble pieces, as on the ash chests of M. Flavius Hyla (no. 73) and Saenius Priscus (no. 74), and in the pediment of the lid (ash chest of Ciartia Hygia, no. 75).

A very common and rather more curious use of the swan is as an attribute of medusa heads: this combination does not seem to occur in other fields of the decorative arts, although both motifs were widely popular separately (27). The motif of a medusa head flanked by swans was often used in the space above the garland on Claudian-Flavian monuments of high-class workmanship (as the altars of Licinia Magna No. 76, pl. 4; Volusius Phaedrus, no. 77, pl. 3; and without inscription in the Louvre, no. 78), but was also used on more humble monuments, as those of Silvanus (no. 79) and Ti. Claudius Abascantus (no. 80). Less frequently the combined motif was used in the frieze above the inscription panel: on the ash altar of C. Tullius Castus (no. 81) the frieze consists of two rams' heads on the outside flanking two swans which in turn flank the central medusa head. On the altar of Rubria Philete (no. 16; pl. 69) a similar frieze of rams' heads, swans and a medusa head is contained in volutes with a garland below.

Medusa heads seem to have been connected with Apollo and swans from an early date (28): on the seventh century B.C. Cameirus plate in the British Museum the figure of Medusa is represented clutching two swans by their necks. Medusa heads were also connected with griffins and dolphins on Etruscan cinerary urns (29), suggesting that there was already a connection in Etruscan funerary art between Apollo and Medusa. In the tomb of the Volumnii at Perugia one of the

inside pediments is decorated with a medusa head, the head of Apollo and the head of Hermes. This recalls the common association on the Roman monuments of the rams'/goats' heads of Mercury, the swans of Apollo, and medusa heads (30).

On the ash chest of L. Visilius Sedatus (no. 82; pl. 92) swans flank a tripod standing inside an archway with a laurel garland hanging across it, suspended from burning torches. These in turn are flanked by palm trees at the front corners. On the sides are cantharoi with ivy growing out of them, and in the pediment of the lid there is a wreath (31). The association of the swans with the tripod and laurel garland on this monument emphasize again one of the clearest associations swans had for the Roman mind - with Apollo. Swans were frequently used with laurel garlands, and on the altar of Furia Secunda (no. 57) the swan and laurel motifs on the sides seem to have been deliberately contrasted with the eagle and oak on the front (32). The prominence of the attributes of Apollo on the grave monuments of the first century A.D. has already been remarked (33), and swans belong to this important group of Apollonian motifs, which includes tripods, laurel trees and garlands, griffins and ravens. There does not seem to be any more precise explanation for the use of the swan on these monuments - although Jocelyn Toynbee has suggested that the swan is a symbol of 'a happy death' (34).

Two monuments employ the swan motif in rather curious ways. On the ash chest of L. Lepidius Epaphra (no. 83; pl. 21) swans flank a closed door with a garland hanging across it, and on the ash chest of Euphrosynus (no. 84) a cupid and a swan are represented flying side by side in an attitude of mutual affection.

Ravens, doves and other birds.

Ravens were also represented with tripods on the sides of a small group of altars - of Mitrasia Severa (no. 85), Sex. Mulvius (no. 86), Herennuleia (no. 87), Micimus and Stefanus (no. 88) and Sessia Labionilla (no. 89; pl. 98). The general features of these are so similar that it is possible that they came from the same workshop (35). The motif is the same on all of the monuments: the whole of the side is taken up by a large omphalos tripod, sometimes draped with flimsy laurel garlands, and there is a raven perched on the top. The raven, like the swan, was an attribute of Apollo, and in particular the Apollo of prophecy. It is therefore natural that it should be associated with a tripod (36).

Raven-like birds sometimes accompanied reclining women: Cornelia Onesime (pl. 39)(37) has her raven, presumably a pet, under the couch, and a similar bird, which may be a raven or a dove, accompanied the reclining figure on the fragment of an ash chest from the Vigna Codini (reclining figures, no. 42). An unidentifiable type of bird was clutched to the breast of the seated woman on the monument of C. Iulius Epityncianus (reclining figures, no. 37). Children could also be represented with pet birds, usually doves, as Hateria Superba (portraits, no. 12) and Licinius Faustus (no. 90) were.

Because of inadequate or careless workmanship it is not always easy to identify birds on Roman funerary monuments: eagles can look like swans or ravens, ravens like thrushes, and so on. Nevertheless, a few other birds can be identified with certainty. Peacocks were occasionally used on women's monuments - I have already

discussed the peacock with the bust of Claudia Helpis on its back as a counterpart to the eagle of apotheosis on the altar of Q. Pompeius Eudaemon (no. 51). A proud frontal peacock with tail spread stands between the two fruit baskets in the pediment of the altar of Varia Sabbatis (no. 91), and another peacock seems to be pecking at fruit on the pediment of the altar of Allia Sophia (no. 92)(38). Altmann also claims that there is a pelican on the altar of Mussius Hilarus (no. 93), but it seems to be a poorly rendered stork or swan. Owls were occasionally used: they occur in the capitals of the corner pilasters of the altar of Cn. Turpilius Parthenopaeus (no. 18), and perhaps also on the altar dedicated by Iulia Soteria (no. 94) and the altar of Vitalis (no. 48).

Notes.

- 1). Birds do not, however, seem to have transferred to the garland sarcophagi (with the exception of the sarcophagus of *Malia Titia* in Ostia). This is in keeping with general trends in decorative taste, although wall paintings in tombs continued to use birds.
- 2). For this reason only a small number of representative and unusual pieces have been considered individually here.
- 3). Augustan decoration favoured the use of birds in a natural setting (as in the garden room of the villa at Prima Porta), but later decorative schemes (as IV style painting and provincial terra sigillata) preferred to use birds in frames and as individual motifs without an elaborate setting.
- 4). Although precise dates cannot be given for the Platorini urns (Chapter 5) it is possible to arrange them on stylistic grounds in a chronological order - 1040, 1039, 1038, 1044. It is on this assessment and more general observations that I base the hypothesis that the earliest birds were represented without butterflies, and that the bird and butterfly motif was introduced later.
- 5). Capitoline Cat. p. 142, no. 13, pl. 34.
- 6). Vatican Museums, Sala dei Busti. Vat. Cat. II no. 312, pls: vol. III, 2, pl. 237. Gusman, II pl. 95, 96.  
The other scenes on this base are bacchic and pastoral: the scene with the cupids and the butterfly is flanked by centaurs, on the opposite side there is a bacchic feast, and on the other two sides there are idyllic pastoral scenes. Gusman dates it to the first century A.D., but this is dubious.
- 7). Flames can also allude to purification. The scene on the Vatican base certainly suggests a pyre, and that the butterfly is being cremated. If this is also the explanation of the motif on the ash chest of Severeanus, it is a very rare reference to the cremation process.
- 8). Macchioro, *passim*, and p. 50 (42):  
'la farfalla, simbolo dell'anima, si accoppia solo all'uccello perchè anch'esso è simbolo dell'anima'. The bird and butterfly scenes he puts in a class he calls 'simbolismo inconscio'.  
Cumont says of the lizard (Recherches, pp. 408-409):  
'Ce saurien agile ne s'endort-il pas, quand l'air glacé de l'hiver l'engourdit, pour reprendre, avec l'éclat de ses couleurs, sa vitalité et sa prestesse, dès que les souffles du printemps échauffent l'atmosphère? Il sort alors de sa léthargie pour renaître à une vivacité nouvelle, comme les Amours recommencent leur jeux dans un autre monde'.

A.A. 1941, p. 553 (of the ash chest in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme, door motif no. 54): 'Kaum etwas des Bildwerkes deutet auf den Tod und das Grab hin, wenn man nicht etwa das mehr stillebenhafte Bild der von Vögeln gefangenen Schmetterlinge dafür nehmen will, die von jeher in der antiken Kunstsprache eine Allegorie für die Seelen der Verstorbenen sind'.

For the possible symbolic meanings of the lizard, see Chapter 1, note 7.

- 9). Silverware: D. E. Strong, Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate, London 1966, p. 137. Boscoreale cups: Monuments Piot V 1899, nos. 11, 12, 13, 14; pl. 11-14. Oswald Pryce, Terra Sigillata, pl. II,3.
- 10). Monuments Piot. V 1899, pl. 13, 14.
- 11). Toynbee, Animals, pp. 244-245. Miss Toynbee cites Aelian's statements about the family feeling of storks, and the use of storks as adjuncts of Pietas on coinage. The inscriptions on the relevant cinerary monuments show that they were set up by parents to children (Bellicius Prepons and Iunia Procula) or by one brother to another (Octavius Melissus, Coelius Superstes), or by freedmen to patrons (Carvilius Felix, Claudius Alexander). This suggests that the motif, if it does refer to any such concept, must allude to care given in the past, rather than that hoped for in the future.
- 12). D. E. Strong, Roman Art, p. 79.
- 13). Cumont, 'L'aigle funéraire d'Hierapolis', Études Syriennes, pp. 35-118. Mrs. Strong, Apotheosis, p. 181 and *passim*.
- 14). Cumont, op. cit. p. 71, n.1. A similar idea was put forward by Newbold 'The eagle and the basket on the chalice of Antioch', A.J.A. 1925, p. 368.
- 15). Cumont, Recherches, p. 458.
- 16). Cumont, 'L'aigle funéraire', p. 71.
- 17). Mrs. Strong, Apotheosis, pp. 185-186, 191.
- 18). Mrs. Strong, op. cit. p. 185.
- 19). Appendix of inscriptions, no. 10.
- 20). Mrs. Strong, La Scultura Romana, vol. I (Florence 1923), p. 206, fig. 121.
- 21). Cumont, Recherches, pp. 88, 219 n.4, 339.
- 22). Cumont, Recherches, p. 395.
- 23). Cumont, Recherches, p. 396.

- 24). R. Wittkower, 'Eagle and Serpent. A Study in the Migration of Symbols J. of the Warburg Institute, II 1938-39, pp. 293-325.  
Lehmann-Hartleben, Olsen, Dionysiac Sarcophagi, pp. 28-30.
- 25). Wittkower, op.cit. p. 293.
- 26). Wittkower, op. cit. p. 311.
- 27). Medusa heads were popular in II, III, IV style wall painting, on provincial terra sigillata, gems and armoured statues; they were seldom used on Arretine ware and were not used in stucco decoration. Swans were popular in III and IV style wall painting, stucco decoration, and gold and silverware (their heads in particular being used to decorate handles), on provincial terra sigillata, and gems. They do not occur on armoured statues. The two motifs were nowhere, as far as I know, combined in precisely the way they were on the cinerary monuments. Moreover, this combination of motifs does not seem to have transferred onto sarcophagi, although medusa heads alone were used on them.
- 28). A. L. Frothingham, 'Medusa, Apollo and the Great Mother', A.J.A. 1911 pp. 349-377, cites numerous ways in which Medusa and Apollo were linked.
- 29). Korte, III, CXLI, 11, and p. 200, fig. 48 for griffins, III, CXL, 8 for dolphins.
- 30) A. L. Frothingham, 'Medusa II', A.J.A. 1915, pp. 13-23.  
p. 18: 'The Etruscans applied the emblem to the resurgence of life beyond the grave as well as to the resurgence of life on earth in the spring'.  
He only mentions one example of the motif on the Roman funerary monuments (altar of Silvanus), and says of them (p. 18) only that their connection with Apollo and immortality is clear. It is not clear to me.
- 31). The decoration of this monument is rather unusual: I can see no obvious symbolic explanation for this combination of motifs.
- 32). On two altars known to me only by description, that of Pedana (reclining figures no. 41) and of M. Aurelius Stefamus (Altmann p. 147, no. 167) it seems that the sides were decorated with swans flanking a laurel tree. It is often difficult to tell storks and swans apart on these monuments, and Altmann's description of these birds as swans may not be correct.
- 33). Matz, 'Der Gott auf dem Elefantenwagen', Abhandl. Akad. Mainz. 10 1952 pp. 756-760.  
Matz, Gnomon 32 1960, p. 549.  
Turcan, Sarcophages Dionysiaques pp. 369-370.
- 34). Toynbee, Animals, p. 260.

- 35). All of the altars are the same shape and have corner spiral columns with garlands hanging between them and the inscription panel. Above the inscription panel is a frieze and below it a scene of some kind.
- 36). It is possible that a medusa head was represented between ravens rather than swans in the capitals of the columns on the altar of Cossutia Prima (no. 15; pl. 87).
- 37). See reclining figures, note 16 for further examples of ravens used with reclining figures.
- 38). Altmann (p. 280) also suggests that there were peacocks on the gravestone of Flavia Felicissima (C.I.L. VI 18400; Vat. Cat. I p. 876, no. 198), but these appear to be ordinary small birds with very long tails. The peacock seems to have been a late arrival on the funerary monuments.



Cocks and the cock fight motif.

Cocks and hens were represented with a variety of animals, and also on occasion with cupids, an amphora, a basket and with chicks, but by far the most usual motif is the cock fight, or cocks with the emblems of victory - a palm branch or a wreath. The scenes showing cocks actually fighting are among the most dramatic and realistic of all those used on the cinerary monuments. On the altar of Ti. Iulius Mnester (no. 1; pls. 1, 93) the two cocks merely face one another in a hostile fashion, and the contest has not yet begun. The actual moment of victory, however, was represented on the altars of Dionysos (no. 2), L. Plotius Eunus (no. 3), C. Numisius Felix (no. 4), without inscription in Palestrina (no. 5) and the ash chest of L. Cornelius Iason (no. 6): in all of these scenes one cock, the winner, is pecking at the head or neck of a dejected loser. On the altar of Eunus the identity of the victor is emphasized by the wreath at its feet. Cocks fighting were also represented on an altar in Tarquinia (no. 7), from the Vigna Villani (no. 8), and the ash chest of Auxibius Agathopus (no. 9). On the altars of Pelagia (no. 10) and Flavia Daphne (no. 11) the cocks contest a palm branch, and on the altars of Ti. Claudius Fortunatus (no. 12), Licinia Magna (no. 13; pl. 4), and in Amelia (no. 14, pl. 10) there is a tug of war going on as the cocks pull at opposite sides of a wreath.

On only one altar ('D.M.' in the Lateran Collection, Vatican Museums, no. 15, pl. 94), is the fight over and done with, and all the trappings used in other branches of art accompany the figures (1). These include two small boys, apparently the owners of the cocks, a prize table, and a herm. On the left a boy leaves the scene, his hand to his

face as if crying, carrying his dead cock under his arm. In the centre the second boy has his arm round the winning cock who struts towards the prize table with a wreath in one claw. The three-legged table has two wreaths on it, behind it stands a bearded herm, and in the background are five palm branches splaying out from the table, three on the left and two on the right.

There have been several attempts to explain the occurrence of cocks on funerary monuments. Mrs. Strong (2) suggests that the Persian belief in the prophylactic powers of cocks passed into Roman imagery, or that fighting cocks were emblems of the combative or watchful instincts, and were considered to be the habitat of the soul of the dead warrior, as the eagle was for the ruler. She also points out that the cock was the emblem of Hermes Psychopompos, and thus could be represented with a caduceus in its beak. It was also, as the herald of the sun, a symbol of rebirth. The explanations given by Macchioro are similar (3), and he remarks in particular the long-standing funerary association of the cock. None of these explanations, however, is really adequate for the use of the motif on the Roman cinerary monuments since neither the frequent use of the palm branch and wreath nor the various aspects of the complicated scene on the Lateran altar are explained by these speculations.

A more useful examination of the motif has been made by Bruneau (4) who traces the development of the cock fight motif from the heraldic group in geometric art through the fight proper in Greek and hellenistic art, to the Roman imperial monuments, both funerary and non-funerary. He suggests that already by the end of the fifth century B.C. the motif was developing an allegorical and symbolic meaning, a fact he deduces from the substitution of cupids

for people in such scenes. He also cites several literary texts using the cock as a symbol of the ardour of the warrior and his bravery. He then rightly points to the emphasis which is laid in many Roman and hellenistic representations on the emblems of victory (the palm branch and wreath) and on the nature of the contest as an athletic one set in the palaestra (this he takes to be the significance of the herm present in some pieces). Cumont, dealing briefly with the motif in a footnote (5), had already suggested that the cock fight was to be classed with a number of other representations of athletic contests which he sees as symbols of immortality.

The motif was in fact quite common in non-funerary contexts: it occurs on mosaics, paintings and gems in a number of variations. One mosaic in particular, from the House of the Labyrinth, has features that throw interesting light on the altar in the Lateran collection, and indirectly on all the cock fight scenes on the cinerary monuments. It appears to show not only the victorious and defeated cocks, their owners and a prize table, but also personifications of Victory and Defeat. Bruneau therefore suggests that when the cock is represented with a palm branch it is acting as an allegory of victory and that this is why the moment of the contest which is usually represented is the point at which the victor is made known. Moreover in his analysis of the cock fight motif on the imperial funerary monuments he makes the all-important assumption that the victory symbolised by the cock is the victory 'over death'. This, in essence, is the same thing as Cumont's view that the cock is an emblem of immortality.

There can be little doubt that these scenes were designed to show struggle, victory and defeat. The explanations given by the writers of the earlier twentieth century can only have an incidental

relevance: they may explain why, for example, the cock was chosen in preference to other animals or birds. However, Bruneau's statement that the contest is shown at the moment when the victor becomes known (6) is not true of all the funerary monuments since the fight has long since ended on the piece in the Lateran Collection, and on several monuments, especially those where the cocks dispute a palm branch or a wreath, they are still evenly matched. Cocks are shown in a number of contests with other creatures, sometimes as the loser. It would seem that a panther has a cock at a disadvantage on the altars of Herbasia Clymene (no. 16) and P. Veratius Eunus (no. 17), and some other animal attacks a cock on the altars of M. Luceius Martialis (no. 18) and Egnatius Nicephorus (no. 19). On an altar mentioned by Altmann (no. 20) two hens fight over a salamander, and on the altar of Cominia Restituta (no. 21) there is a cock or hen with a snake or lizard (7). The dramatic scene in the pediment of the altar of Ti. Claudius Clemens (no. 22; pl. 95) shows the confrontation of a cock and a snake.

It is possible therefore that in these cock fight scenes the notion of defeat was as important as that of victory, or at least that the importance lies in the balance between the two - if one wins, the other loses. If such scenes are indeed allegories, what is it that is shown as victorious, and what has been defeated? There seems to be little justification for Bruneau's assumption that this is an allegory for the victory (of the soul, presumably) over death. The contest could as plausibly be a general allegory of life itself in which one contestant inevitably falls and gives way to another - as the body must eventually to death. Thus we may have representations of the victory of death, not the victory over it, and where the contest

is undecided or the two cocks dispute a wreath or a palm branch the allusion may be to the struggles of this life - if indeed it is necessary to suggest any such specific meaning.

A few other monuments show hens in a less martial vein. Hens are represented with a basket in the pediment of the grave altar of Curtia Prapis (no. 23) and with an amphora on the altar of L. Valerius Fyrmus (no. 24; pl. 46). In the pediment of the altar of Caecilius Vobicus (no. 25; pl. 96) a cupid endeavours to hold a bunch of grapes away from a cock which keenly pursues them (8). A cock is also represented with two cupids and grapes on the altar of Naevius Vitulus (no. 26). An unusual and charming representation of a hen sheltering her chicks under her wings, represented in the round, occurs on the lid of the ash chest of T. Sextius Polytimus (no. 27). It is rather difficult to see any direct link between these scenes and the more common cock fight motif.

Notes.

- 1). Bruneau, 'Le motif des coqs affrontés dans l'imagerie antique', B.C.H. 89 1965, pp. 90-121: this gives a list of the major hellenistic and imperial uses of the motif. On a small painting in the House of the Vettii there are two fighting cocks, a third one is dead and a fourth unscathed, with a table with a palm branch, a crater and a herm. There is also a mosaic from the House of the Labyrinth. However, the closest parallels to the scene on the altar in the Lateran collection are in the lunettes on the garland sarcophagus of Malia Titia, and on the other, later, sarcophagi - in the cloisters of the basilica S. Paolo, Rome, and in the Lateran collection. In all of these cupids or boys are represented as well as the fighting cocks.
- 2). Strong, Apotheosis, pp. 214-215, n. 50 (lecture III), n. 27 (lecture II).
- 3). Macchioro, p. 96 (88) - 102 (94), esp. pp. 100 (92) - 101 (93).
- 4). Bruneau, op. cit.
- 5). Cumont, Recherches, p. 398, n. 4.
- 6). Bruneau, op. cit. p. 115.
- 7). As all these altars have either been lost, or are now inaccessible, it has not been possible to verify the details.
- 8). The motif of the cupid keeping grapes away from a cock appears to have been popular for a long time: it was used on later sarcophagi and on a late panel in the Milan archaeological museum.

Dolphins.

Dolphins and other sea creatures achieved considerable popularity as decorative motifs in the Roman world, especially in such contexts as bath buildings where they are obviously appropriate (1). Dolphins also occur quite frequently on the cinerary monuments, although they were never as popular as birds and animals, and are usually used as a minor motif. The most obvious exception is the unusual object, which appears to be an ash container, from the tomb of the Haterii (no. 1), decorated with fish, ducks and dolphins swimming in water on three sides (2).

Dolphins could be used as accompanying detail in Nereid and Triton scenes, as on the altars of Agria Agathe (Nereids, no. 7) and in the Galleria Lapidaria (Nereids, no. 2). On the ash altar of A. Albius Graptus (no. 2; pl. 56) a pair of dolphins are sandwiched between the cupids and Tritons standing at the front corners: here the dolphins appear to be accompanying the Tritons, who hold up a shell containing a representation of the Bath of Venus, for whom a sea setting is appropriate. However, dolphins were most commonly used either on their own under the garland, or as a flanking motif, or as a secondary decoration of other motifs.

When used on monuments decorated with the garland scheme of decoration, the dolphin was generally placed under the garland, whether on the front, sides or back (nos. 4-17; figure 4) I know of only one example, the ash chest of A. Plautius Fortunatus (no. 3) on which there are dolphins in the space above the garland. Sometimes the dolphin is represented with a shell and water, as on the ash altar of M. Antonius Anteros (no. 5), or there can be two dolphins, as on the

altars of Sporus (no. 6), Furia Secunda (no. 4) and Abascantus (no. 8); on the altar of Luccia Telesina (no. 9) the dolphin is being ridden by a boy on one side and a cupid on the other. However, in general the dolphins are on their own and are fairly insignificant because they are small, in low relief, and in the shadow of the garland. Sometimes, indeed, the dolphin seems to have been used as a simpler counterpart of the sea-beast used on the front: on the altar of Abascantus there is a sea-horse under the garland on the front, two dolphins in the same position on the sides, and on the altars of Rhodon (no. 11) and in Palestrina (no. 13) a dolphin was used on the sides when a sea-horse or cupid on a sea-panther had been used on the front. Dolphins were often placed under Medusa heads, birds, or flying figures, all motifs which could be interpreted as relating to the air. They also frequently occur on monuments decorated with the cock fight motif (figure 4).

It seems generally agreed that these dolphins, if symbolic, must be symbols of water, but opinions differ as to the significance of the water (3). As with Tritons and Nereids it has been suggested that they could allude to the journey to the Isles of the Blessed, but an interpretation which has received greater attention is that they refer in some way to the purificatory power of water (4). Cumont further interpreted dolphins as an 'emblem des eaux superieures', and 'L'element aqueux, ou si l'on prefere, de l'ocean celeste', and when discussing their association with a medusa head on a Pannonian stele, he suggests that the medusa head is a symbol of the moon to which souls were carried by the winds through the purifying celestial ocean (5). This interpretation is all the more interesting in the light of the frequent association of dolphins with medusa heads on the



cinerary monuments. However, it must be remembered that the dolphins on these monuments are all rather insignificant, and that the combination of these motifs, all of them quite common, might be quite fortuitous. The contrast of air (birds) and sea (dolphins) may have been made for its own sake without eschatological overtones.

Dolphins were also used to flank portraits, usually of women, placed inside a shell (as on the altars of C. Terentius Anencletus, no. 18; the ash chest of Claudia Prepusa, no. 19; on the lid of the ash chest of Margaris, no. 20; and in the pediment of the altar of T. Statilius Aper, no. 21). They could also flank empty shells, as on the ash altar of Ti. Iulius Photus (no. 22) or a trident (grave altar of M. Ulpus Fortunatus, no. 23). On the ash chest of Aphrodisius (no. 24) they flank a closed door. They were also occasionally used, upended, at the front corners of ash chests, as that of Ti. Claudius Nicostratus (no. 25), or as acroteria on the lids - ash chest of L. Cocceius Dexius Clymenus (no. 26) and the altar of L. Calpurnius Daphnus (no. 27).

Dolphins were also used as decoration of other motifs on the monuments: they were sometimes used in the capitals of the corner columns (as on the altar of Vitalis, no. 28), and as elements in elaborate candelabra (ash chest of Petronius Hedychrus, no. 29). Rather more unusual is the use of a dolphin and sea-creatures to decorate the patera on the right side of the grave altar of Alcis (Nereids, no. 23) and the dolphin on the amazon shields on the sides of the ash altar of L. Volusius Diodorus (no. 30).

Figure 4.

<u>Monument</u>	<u>Front</u>	<u>Sides</u>	<u>Back</u>
4. Grave altar of Furia Secunda.	Flying boy. Shell+ 2 <u>dolphins</u> .	Jug/patera. Birds.	- - - - -
5. Ash altar of M. Antonius Anteros.	Medusa head. <u>Dolphin</u> + shell, water.	Jug/patera. Flowers.	- - - - -
6. Grave altar of Sporus.	Animals. 2 <u>dolphins</u> .	Jug/patera. Birds.	- - - - -
7. Grave altar of Lucceius Optatus.	Medusa head. <u>Dolphin</u> .	Jug/patera. Birds.	- - - - -
<hr/>			
8. Grave altar of Abascantus.	Medusa head. Sea-horse.	Jug/patera. Birds.	Floating boy. 2 <u>dolphins</u> in water.
<hr/>			
9. Grave altar of Luccia Telesina.	Mythological scene Herd scene.	Jug/patera, Birds, Boy/ cupid on a <u>dolphin</u>	- - - - -
10. Altar in the Sala della Biga.	Medusa head. Birds.	Birds. <u>Dolphin</u> .	Tree.
11. Grave altar of Rhodon.	Medusa head. Sea-horse.	Birds. <u>Dolphin</u> .	- - - - -
12. Altar of Aspania Polla.	Medusa head. Birds.	Jug/patera. <u>Dolphin</u> .	- - - - -
13. Grave altar in Palestrina.	Cock fight. Cupid on sea- panther.	Jug/patera, bird. <u>Dolphin</u> .	- - - - -
14. Grave altar of T. Claudius Fortunatus.	- - - - - Cocks + wreath.	Birds. <u>Dolphin</u> .	- - - - -
15. Grave altar of Flavia Daphne.	Medusa head. Cocks.	Birds. <u>Dolphin</u> .	- - - - -
16. Grave altar in Tarquinia.	Portrait. Cocks.	Birds. <u>Dolphin</u> .	- - - - -
17. Grave altar in Amelia.	Mythological scene. 2 Cocks.	Birds. <u>Dolphin</u> .	- - - - -

Notes.

- 1). E. B. Stebbins, The Dolphin in the Literature and Art of Greece and Rome, (Menasha, Wisconsin, 1929), Chapter VII, gives a history of the motif in various Greek and Roman arts. Dolphins were particularly popular on the mosaics and sculpted decoration of bath buildings, and in the mosaic decoration of the Piazzale delle Corporazioni at Ostia - both have obvious connections with the sea.
- 2). Benndorf-Schoene, p. 226, express doubt as to whether this was an ash container because of two holes in the front which they interpret as water outlets. Nevertheless, I incline to believe it to be an ash chest.
- 3). Macchioro, p. 72 (64).  
Strong, Apotheosis, pp. 215-216; the dolphin is seen as primarily the means of conveying the soul to the Isles of the Blessed.  
Cumont, Recherches, pp. 154, 157.  
Stebbins, op. cit., p. 81; it is also suggested that there was an association between Apollo Delphinus and the cult of the dead.
- 4). especially Strong, op. cit., pp. 215, 216.
- 5). Cumont, op. cit., pp. 154; 155, n.4; 157.

Chapter 9: The Minor Motifs.Plants.

Plants, and motifs derived from plants - trees, branches, tendrils, garlands, wreaths and friezes or borders made up of leaves and flowers - abound on the cinerary monuments. Although a great variety of plant types was used, by far the most common individual plant is the laurel, which was represented both as a tree and as wreaths or garlands. Laurel trees with birds in their branches and/or storks at the foot were, as has already been seen, frequently used to decorate the sides and backs of larger monuments (birds nos. 13, 16-22; pl. 86, 88, 89, 90). Laurel trees also occur in other scenes - there is a laurel tree separating a dog from the stag it is chasing on the sides of an altar in Pisa (animals no. 24; pl. 77), and griffins sit at the foot of laurel trees with quivers hanging in the branches on the sides of the altar of Annia Isias (griffins no. 37). The trees being eaten by goats on the altars of Vernasia (cupids no. 9; pl. 67) and Ianuaria (mythological scenes no. 29) may also be laurel trees, and Juno Lucina stands under a laurel tree on the altar of C. Poppaeus Ianuarius (mythological scenes no. 30; pl. 58). Laurel trees were also used on their own without any accompanying animals, birds or figures. Such a motif occurs, for example, on the sides of the altars of Scribonia Iucunda (no. 1), without inscription in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme (no. 2), and of Attia Quintilla (no. 3). Laurel trees often flanked the closed door motif (door motif nos. 23-28; pl. 23, 24), although, indeed, it is not always obvious whether such trees are laurel rather than cypress (as on the ash chest of Celadus, door motif no. 25;

pl. 25, 26). These trees, whatever further symbolic meaning they may have had, certainly enhance the monumental appearance of the door and emphasize its funereal setting (1).

Palm trees, although much less common than laurel, do appear on several monuments, usually at the front corners. They were combined with Victories on the monument of C. Clodius Primitivus (Victories no. 10), and with cupids on a monument in Amelia (cupids no. 37; pl. 10). They stand on their own at the corners on the monuments to Cornelia Glyce (no. 4)(2) and L. Visillius Sedatus (no. 5; pl. 92). They, too, could flank the closed door motif (door motif nos. 11, 13, 37), and in the unusual scene on the altar of Vitellius Successus (reclining figures no. 47) a horse and a palm tree are included in the banquet scene. Other trees which occur occasionally are the pine, which was represented with a bird in its branches on the altar of Cossutia Prima (birds no. 15; pl. 87) and of Iulius Saecularis (birds no. 10), and was used without birds on the altar of Ti. Octavius Diadumenus (no. 6)(3). On the sides of the ash chest of Annia Cassia there are olive (?) and oak trees surrounded by animals and birds (animals no. 52, birds no. 11; pl. 82), and in the pediment of the altar to C. Titienus Flaccus (animals no. 20; pl. 75, 76) a dog chases a rabbit past a tree which appears to be a fig.

Vines and ivy were also common plants on the cinerary monuments. Dionysus and Ariadne link hands under a vine on the monument to Ti. Claudius V(italis) (door motif no. 57; pl. 34), and an animal of some kind stands under a vine on the ash chest of Annia Isias (animals no. 42; pl. 80), while on the altar of M. Trebellius Argolicus the sides are decorated with birds perched in

vines (birds no. 14). Vines could also be used to decorate the shafts of corner pilasters (as on the altar of *Cossutia Prima*, pl. 64). Both vine and ivy branches were a common decoration for smaller, humbler ash chests: an ash chest in the Lateran collection (birds no. 12; pl. 85) has crossed vine branches with small animals and birds in them, and the ash chest of *Caecilius Isius* (no. 7) has ivy growing from a cantharos on the front and crossed ivy branches on the sides. An ash chest in Berlin (no. 8) varies the motif by representing a cantharos from which both ivy and vine branches grow. The closed doors on the ash chests of *Abuccia Arescusa* (door motif no. 29) and in Catania (door motif no. 30) are also flanked by ivy branches.

Cumont, in a brief survey of the use of plants on certain funerary monuments (4) has suggested a number of reasons why these plants in particular were chosen to decorate the funerary monuments of Greece and Rome. The first and most obvious reason he suggests is that ivy, myrtle, olive and laurel were traditional funerary plants because aromatic plants had been used to make litters on which the dead were placed from an early date in Greece, their natural scents being designed to combat the smell of the decaying body. Ivy, he believes, was one of the offerings given to the dead, and laurel and ivy were planted in funerary gardens. This last fact would help to explain the number of instances in which the door motif was flanked by laurel (or cypress) trees and ivy. It also helps to explain the inscription on the ash chest of *Caecilius Isius* (no. 7) which says that he 'fecit se vivo sibi arca hederatica in quo se poni iubet' (5): the stone representation may have been a substitute for a real ivy-grown monument.

Cumont also suggests a more complex interpretation for such motifs. He points out that nearly all the plants used for funerary decoration were evergreens, and believes that this was because they were considered 'le présage ou la garantie d'une durée prolongée au-delà de la tombe'(6): the small birds perched on top of the ivy branches on the ash chest of Caecilius Isius he describes as 'images sans doute de l'âme ailée qui vient se nourrir du fruit de la plante d'immortalité'(7). Such an interpretation he would, presumably, apply also to the rather more common motif of birds in the branches of laurel trees or pecking at laurel garlands. The evidence for such an identification is not convincing: Cumont does not cite any clear statement by ancient authors that evergreens were taken to be symbols of immortality.

All these plants, of course, also had non-funerary connotations. Each was associated with a specific deity - laurel with Apollo, ivy and vine with Dionysus, the cypress with Pluto, the pine with Attis, the olive with Minerva and the palm with Victory. That the plants were often used with this aspect in mind is clear from several of the representations: the laurel was on one piece accompanied by griffins and quivers, also Apollonian attributes, the palm trees stand behind the Victories on the ash chest of C. Clodius Primitivus (griffins no. 37, Victories no. 10). The laurel was important generally in ancient ritual as an instrument of purification (8), and was a major motif in the Augustan cult of the Lares (9).

No doubt all these elements fused to make such plants, especially the laurel, seem suitable for funerary decoration. The expansion of the simple tree motif into a more elaborate design with

small birds in the branches and storks at the base may not be of great significance: it produces a pleasing motif by combining a traditional funerary plant which was associated with the popular god Apollo with a common decorative motif, birds. The interpretation of the scene as an allegory of the survival of the soul in the afterlife, the laurel being a symbol of immortality, is not adequately documented and does not fit in with the vague afterlife concepts expressed in the literature and epitaphs of the period.

Wreaths were usually made up of laurel or oak leaves. They were often used by themselves as an independent motif decorating the front, or more often the pediment, of monuments of various sizes and qualities (pl. 7, 9, 69, 85). They were also frequently associated with the door motif, occurring either in the small pediments of the doors themselves, or in the pediments of the monuments decorated with the door motif (pl. 21, 22, 23, 25). Wreaths, of course, are admirably suited to the pedimental shape, and could easily be rendered on the small scale required for the pediments above the doors, but their use in a variety of other scenes suggests that they may have been used for reasons other than their decorative effect alone. Wreaths crop up in association with Victories, cupids, portraits, reclining figures, eagles and cocks: the significance of the wreath in such scenes has already received some attention, but they should now be considered together to determine whether the wreath as such had a general significance which applied in all cases.

The wreath was clearly used as a symbol of victory in funerary as well as non-funerary art. Victories were represented supporting an oak wreath on the altars of Ti. Claudius Lupercus and



Successus, and decorate the pediment of the altar of Flavius Romanus which has a large oak wreath on the front (Victories nos. 5, 6, 7). Cock fight scenes also incorporated wreaths as a symbol of victory. In the most complex scene of this type wreaths were displayed among the prizes on the table (cocks no. 15), and a wreath was also used to distinguish the winning bird on the altar of Plotius Eumus (cocks no. 3). On the altars of Ti. Claudius Fortunatus, Licinia Magna and in Amelia (cocks nos. 12, 13, 14; pl. 4, 10) the cocks fight over the possession of the wreath - similar scenes substituted a palm branch, another emblem of victory (cocks nos. 10, 11).

Oak wreaths were also associated with eagles (birds nos. 3, 53-56): I have already suggested that in this case the wreath is derived from the western tradition and alludes to Rome and Jupiter, and was probably not derived from an eastern tradition which used the motif to symbolise such specific ideas of immortality as those proposed by Cumont (10). The oak crown was a symbol of the power of imperial Rome and a distinction awarded to her soldiers for special valour, just as the victor's crown was a distinction given to those who had proved superior ability in the world of athletics. Thus the scene on the monument of Hateria Superba (portraits no. 12) showing cupids placing a wreath on the girl's head is not necessarily a statement of her immortality. It is not clear whether the main message of the scene is simply that Hateria had in life been a child of particular virtue and talent, or whether it was designed to convey the idea that, being dead, she is different from and superior to living mortals. The wreath may allude to heroisation and apotheosis, but it cannot be stated with certainty that it

refers to anything so specific: it seems to indicate that the girl has left the world of the living - whether this makes her immortal depends on the religious beliefs of the person looking at the monument. The simpler motif of two cupids holding up a wreath (cupids nos. 30-34; pl. 68, 71) may be designed to express a similar idea, and the wreaths held by reclining figures, by now traditional trappings in such scenes, may also have been intended to indicate that the banqueter was dead, even a hero of some kind.

I would suggest, therefore, that the wreath was not so much a 'symbol of immortality' as a mark of distinction which in funerary contexts distinguished the dead from the living, the dead being, according to a long-lived popular tradition, a superior kind of being for whom some remnant of respectful fear remained (11). The wreath was therefore particularly suitable as decoration for the pediments of the door motif, itself a symbol of the division between life and death.

The garland was the most common motif on the monuments: garlands hanging from corner heads occur on the earliest pieces (and indeed their hellenistic forerunners (12)), and continued to be used well into the second century. Even when they were not a major element in the decoration they often played a minor role hanging across the top and down the sides of the inscription panel (pl. 12-14). Garlands were usually made up of mixed fruits, leaves and flowers, or of laurel leaves and berries - on many monuments (as that of Iunia Procula, pl. 5) a fruit garland was placed on the front and laurel garlands on the sides. Other varieties of garland occur occasionally, as those made up of oak leaves and acorns

(altars of L. Sutorius Secundus, birds no. 19; Luccia Telesina, mythological scenes no. 16; Furia Secunda, birds no. 57), or vine leaves and grapes (altar of Flavius Saturninus, bacchic scenes no. 20). It has been suggested that garlands represent offerings made to the dead (13), but garlands were a common decoration for altars and sacred buildings, and their use here may simply reflect the sacred aspect of the monuments rather than a more specific funerary concept.

Apart from these more obvious plant motifs there are also a number of fruit containers, such as cornucopiae, baskets and vases. Cornucopiae were not very common - they occur occasionally on the sides of smaller monuments (as an ash chest in Berlin, no. 8), and in the capitals of the pilasters or columns at the corners of larger monuments (altar of Julia Apollonia, pl. 73). Cornucopiae also appear as attributes of cupids (ash chest of Athania Pieris, cupids no. 39, ash chest of Antonia Restituta, cupids no. 40), and flank the portrait busts in the pediment of the altar of Varia Amoeba (portraits no. 29). Animals and birds were represented investigating baskets of fruit and flowers which have fallen over: rabbits or hares frequently appear in these scenes, especially on the smaller monuments (animals nos. 16, 27, 43, 44, 45; pl. 20). A more unusual version of the motif shows a wolf-like animal straining to reach a basket on the altar of Iunia Procula (animals no. 41; pl. 66). Also popular on the smaller monuments are scenes of birds pecking at the fruit in a basket, a motif frequently placed in the pediment of the lid, as on two ash chests in the Museo delle Terme (birds nos. 41, 42). A peacock stands between two baskets in the pediment of the altar to Varia Sabbatis (birds no. 91)

Baskets also occur as attributes of cupids, as on the altars of Vitellius Successus (cupids no. 45) and Volusia Prima and Volusia Olympias (cupids no. 22), where the cupids riding on dolphins carry an unusual shape of basket, round, with a single handle over the top. Baskets also appear on their own: on the ash chest of M. Iunius Ellectus (no. 9) there is a single basket laden with fruit under the inscription panel on the front. Another version of the motif is a vase full of ears of corn, a motif which flanks the inscription panel on the ash altar of Callityche (no. 10), while on the sides of an ash chest in New York (no. 11) there are baskets containing corn ears or palm branches with a fillet (14).

Notes.

- 1). See A. Alföldi, Die Zwei Lorbeerbaume des Augustus, (Bonn 1973), pp. 2-4 for the use of twin trees flanking the entrance of important religious buildings.
- 2). Altmann, p. 122, no. 130, suggests that the palm trees in this case were intended to be a pun on the woman's name.
- 3). The pine tree is on the left side of the altar; on the right side is a second inscription, 'ad pinum'. Whether this has any relationship to the pine tree, and what it means, I do not know.
- 4). F. Cumont, La stèle du danseur d'Antibes et son décor végétal - étude sur le symbolisme funéraire des plantes, (Paris 1942).
- 5). Cumont, op.cit. p. 7, figs. 4, 5. C.I.L. VI 13756.
- 6). Cumont, op. cit. p. 11.
- 7). Cumont, op. cit. p. 7.
- 8). S. Weinstock, Divus Julius, (Oxford 1971), p. 20.
- 9). Alföldi, op. cit. p. 57, seems to suggest that the laurel trees with birds in their branches on the grave altars derived from the use of the laurel in Augustan state art, but does not pursue the matter any further.
- 10). Chapter 8, eagles; Cumont, L'aigle funéraire, *passim*.
- 11). Cumont, Afterlife, chapter 1.
- 12). Round funerary altars decorated with bucrania and garlands were very common in the later hellenistic and early imperial periods on Rhodes: P. M. Fraser, Rhodian Funerary Monuments, (Oxford 1977) pp. 27-33.
- 13). Toynbee, 'Picture-Language', p. 225.
- 14). I can see no one basic symbolic interpretation for these motifs which can be applied in all cases. They do not at this stage appear to be seasonal emblems.

Cult instruments and other objects.

Among the most common motifs used on the cinerary monuments, particularly the larger pieces, are the jug and patera, usually placed one on each side of the monument. Many large but simple monuments were decorated only with an inscription (framed or unframed) on the front, and a jug on one side, a patera on the other: this type of decorative scheme was used, for example, on the matching altars of M. Natronius Rusticus and Petronia Sabina (no. 1). The jug and patera otherwise frequently appeared above the garlands on the sides of monuments decorated with corner heads and garlands (as the altar of Iunia Procula, pl. 5). It is rare for the jug and patera to appear on the same face as a laurel tree, although this does happen on the altar of Claudia Ianuaria (no. 2), where the jug and patera are awkwardly superimposed on top of the trees. The jug and patera were on occasion elaborately decorated - the patera on the side of a grave altar in Palestrina (no. 3) has a lion head in the centre, and the patera on the altar of Alcis (no. 4) is decorated with a medusa head in the centre surrounded by a number of sea-animals, while the jug is also decorated with a sea-animal in low relief on its body.

The jug and patera occur on the earliest pieces and continued to be used well into the second century: they must allude to a basic function of the monuments, as altars on which sacrifices could be made to or for the dead. Few of the so-called 'altars', however, seem to have been designed specifically for sacrifice: some, but only a small proportion, had flat tops or specially created flat surfaces bounded by the volutes and pediments, whereas most had sloping tops on which sacrifices could not be made (1). The continued

use of the jug and patera motif shows that this function was never quite forgotten, and occasionally, there are more specific allusions to sacrifice. Thus on the back of the ash altar of Amemptus (no. 5) there is an ox-skull hanging from a nail at the top of the field, with below a square table with a jug, patera and large sacrificial knife on top of it, and on the sides of an ash chest in the Terme Museum (door motif no. 54) preparations for a sacrifice are represented (2).

The jug and patera are very generalised cult implements without relevance to one cult rather than another, but objects which do allude to particular cults also appear on the monuments. A sistrum accompanies other cult implements on an ash chest in the Capitoline Museums (no. 6; pl. 16), and various cult objects, including two cistae, accompany the portrait of L. Valerius Fyrmus, an Ostian priest of Isis (no. 7; pl. 46). The cista mystica also appears on the sides of the monuments of two Isiac followers, Cantinea Procla (no. 8) and Babullia Verilla (no. 9). However, the appearance of the implements used in this cult is comparatively rare: by far the most common object belonging to a specific cult is the tripod of Apollo.

Although tripods can occur on monuments without any other Apollonian attributes - and, indeed, on monuments decorated with scenes alluding to other cults (as that of Sessia Labionilla, no. 11; pl. 12, 60, 98) with its elaborate bacchic thiasos) they usually do appear in close association with griffins, swans, laurel trees, or ravens. The heraldic motif of griffins flanking a tripod has already been considered (griffins nos. 1-8), as has the scene consisting of two swans with a tripod on the ash chest of L. Visillius Sedatus

(birds no. 82; pl. 92). A tripod flanked by ravens appears in the pediment of the ash chest of L. Postumius Iulianus (no. 10), and ravens were often represented perched on the top of the elaborate tripods used to decorate the sides of some monuments (as that of Sessia Labionilla, no. 11; pl. 98, Mitrasia Severa, no. 12; Sex. Mulvius, no. 13; Herennuleia, no. 14; Miccinus and Stefanus, no. 15). Such tripods could, however, be represented without the raven (grave altar of Lucretius Hyllus, no. 16; pl. 97, ash altar of P. Ciartus Actus, no. 17). Tripods were also occasionally placed at the corners of monuments particularly elaborate tripods were used on the altar of C. Iulius Proculus (no. 18; pl. 84), but cruder versions also appear on smaller pieces, as the ash chest of Q. Calidius Pothus (no. 19). The tripods are all of the 'omphalos' type; they often stand on low bases and could be draped with flimsy laurel garlands.

It has been suggested that tripods are symbols of victory over death (3), but they do not, on the whole, appear with other emblems of victory, whereas they do appear with other Apollonian attributes, and indeed are singled out as the most important of the Apollonian motifs. The popularity of Apollonian attributes on the cinerary monuments, although commented on by previous writers (4), has not been adequately explained. The motifs do not seem to have had particular eschatological associations, and their popularity therefore would seem to suggest that the cult of Apollo was generally popular and had a numerous and enthusiastic following throughout the first century A.D.

Stylised candelabra or thymiateria were also used fairly frequently, either as the centre piece in heraldic groups (griffins nos. 11-19; sphinxes no. 6; Victories nos. 1, 2, 5; pl. 8, 45, 69).



or at the corners of monuments. They could be quite elaborate objects, themselves made up of decorative elements such as sphinxes, rams' heads, dolphins and maenads or sirens (nos. 20-22). Such objects clearly have religious and funerary connotations. Candelabra were sometimes placed in opposition to the burning torch motif - on the ash altar inscribed only with 'D.M.' in the Lateran Collection (no. 20; pl. 91) there are elaborate candelabra at the front corners with upright burning torches at the back corners. The torch is a much more versatile motif than the candelabrum: the part they play as attributes of cupids has already received some attention (5). Indeed they occur in some of the most puzzling scenes already discussed, as those on the ash chest of P. Severeanus and Blolo (cupids no. 26), in Cleveland (birds no. 63) and on the ash chest of L. Visillius Sedatus (birds no. 82; pl. 92). Torches flank a funerary banquet scene on the ash chest of M. Domilius Primigenius (reclining figures no. 45) and the closed door motif on the altar of Varia Amoeba (door motif no. 31), and on the ash altar of Vitalis a torch was used as a central motif between the sphinxes in the pediment (sphinxes no. 5). Upright burning torches were sometimes used at the front corners as well as the back - they do so on the grave altar of Vernasia Cyclas (no. 23), but they were more common at the back corners (as on the ash altar in the Campo Santo, Pisa, no. 24; pl. 77). On one of the Boscoreale skeleton cups a torch is labelled 'life': this does not necessarily mean that the torches mentioned here had a similar meaning, and it should be noted that the label does not say 'life after death' - to the Roman mind the torch might have suggested the concept of life continuing after death, but the one

word 'BLOS' inscribed above a torch on one cup is hardly sufficient evidence for such an interpretation. The torch seems to have been a somewhat vague motif, not one that was associated with any one specific eschatological meaning.

Two further groups of objects of a rather less obviously religious character remain - musical instruments and arms and armour. Musical instruments are not very common, and when they do occur it is usually in the context of a cult in which they play a part. Thus the lyre was represented as the central motif for confronted griffins (griffins nos. 9, 10), or in a scene with other Apollonian attributes (as on the monument to Sex. Nonius, cupids no. 27). Musical instruments also occur with bacchic figures - Pan hands his pipes to a nymph on the altar of Ulpus Martialis (bacchic scenes no. 15) and Pan and a maenad are accompanied by pan-pipes and flutes on the ash chest of Nicostratus (bacchic scenes no. 18). In the delicately detailed scene of centaurs and cupids on the ash altar of Amemptus (bacchic scenes no. 19) the centaur plays a lyre, the cupid on its back a flute, the female centaur double pipes and the female cupid pan pipes. The sistra which occur on Isiac monuments have already been mentioned (nos. 6, 8, 9). The one monument where musical instruments appear as a major motif unconnected with any cult is the large and elegant grave altar of Petronia Musa (no. 25): on the front of the monument is a large portrait bust of the dead woman in a shell niche, and on the sides, carved with care and in detail, are a lyre and a cithara. The metrical Greek inscription shows that the woman was famed for her musical ability, and suggests that this rather than any more complex explanation is the reason for the appearance of these instruments (6).

Armour and weapons also occur on a few monuments. They are piled up round the door motif on four monuments (door motif nos. 9, 13, 20, 37) and, with four animals, completely cover the ash chest of Hermippus (animals no. 60). A medusa head in the centre of the pediment on the altar of M. Antonius Alexander (no. 26) is flanked by cuirasses and greaves, and another pediment, on an altar without inscription in the Louvre (no. 29) was also decorated with pieces of armour. Although half the above monuments have no inscription there is no reason to suppose that any of the people commemorated were soldiers. A rather nondescript motif, apparently representing a shield with crossed spears, was used particularly on the sides of some of the smaller ash chests and monuments of poorer workmanship - it consisted of a circle cut into the stone (the shield) from which four stylised spears emerged into the corners. This occurs, for example, on the sides of the ash chest of Antonia Restituta (no. 27) and on the back of the altar of C. Iulius Philetus (no. 28). Again the motif was not associated with monuments to soldiers. It is possible that such motifs were designed to allude to the presumed heroic state of the dead - certainly when placed round a door the impression is that of a grandiose tomb. Nevertheless, why it should have been used mainly on rather humble monuments remains a mystery.

Notes.

- 1). As, for example, on the ash chest of Cornelia Persice (birds no. 72), the altar of C. Iulius Proculus, pl. 84, and with 'D.M.' in the inscription panel in the Lateran Collection (no. 20), which all have specially shaped tops for receiving sacrifices.
- 2). For the association of the dextrarum iunctio motif with the theme of sacrifice cf. chapter 6, pp. 142-143.
- 3). Lehmann-Hartleben, Olsen, Dionysiac Sarcophagi p. 36.
- 4). Matz, Abhandl. Akad. Mainz. 10 1952 p. 756; Gnomon 32 1960 p. 549. Turcan p. 369, n. 1.  
Matz refers to Apollo only as 'Hausgott der Julier'.
- 5). Chapter 6, reclining figures; chapter 7, cupids.
- 6). C.I.L. VI 24042.

Heads and Masks.

Bucrania were among the earliest motifs to be used on the cinerary monuments: the earliest pieces were decorated simply with corner bucrania supporting fruit garlands. This scheme occurs on the monument dedicated to Spondon (no. 1), a freedman of Augustus and Livia - Livia is called 'Augusta' in the inscription, so the monument was probably made early in the reign of Tiberius. Bucrania with garlands were in common use in hellenistic art for altars and temples, and had also been used in the late Republic and early Empire to decorate Roman tombs (1). Bucrania were presumably used in sacred architecture as an emblem of sacrifice, but by the reign of Tiberius they were no doubt used because of their traditional association with religious buildings and monuments, and were not designed to convey any more specific concepts of sacrifice or mortality.

Bucrania continued to be used as corner garland supports until about the middle of the first century, and were gradually joined by other motifs. On the altar of Licinia (no. 2), the earliest monument in the group found in the Villa Bonaparte, small birds were represented pecking at a laurel garland suspended from bucrania, and on another early altar, with a destroyed inscription in the Museo Chiaramonti, a portrait was added (portraits no. 14). The altar of L. Naevius Oecius (no. 3) is so like it in style (although it lacks the portrait) that it must belong to the same workshop. Slightly later in date and much smaller are the ash chests from the tomb of the Platorini (birds no. 1) and the ash chest of Aelia Postumia (birds no. 2), but bucrania were rapidly ousted by

rams' heads and ammon heads for the decoration of the corners.

Nevertheless, bucrania continued to be used in a variety of ways on the cinerary monuments. They occasionally appear at the back corners of altars - on the altar of L. Plotius Eunus (Animals no. 11) there are bucrania at the back corners but cupids at the front. They sometimes support minor garlands as those above the main scenes on the altar of M. Ulpius Terpmus (bacchic scenes no. 12), or the garlands decorating the bases under the door motif on the ash chests of Volusia Arbuscula and Volusius Narcissus (door motif nos. 44, 8; pl. 19) and a bull on the ash chest of Claudia Primigene (animals no. 58; pl. 82). A bucranium also stands on its own to the left side of the monument to P. Cordius Cissus (portraits no. 34), and bucrania were incorporated into the lively animal and bird scenes on the left side of the ash chest of Annia Cassia (pl. 83) and the left side of the altar to C. Telegenmus Optatus (birds no. 23). In the latter scene a stork is represented stabbing at a snake emerging from the skull.

Despite their rather minor role throughout the later part of the first century bucrania made a dramatic come-back in the early part of the second century. They were used at the corners of a few large, expensive, but unimaginative altars which clearly post-date the earliest garland sarcophagi. An altar in the Villa Celimontana Gardens (no. 4; pl. 11) is a good example of this type. The choice of motifs suggests a deliberate attempt to imitate earlier altars, but the effect is heavy and clumsy, quite unlike the altars of the early first century. A monument with the same characteristics dedicated to Fabia Theophile (no. 5) also has bucrania at the front and back corners; the ash chest of T. Aelius Agathopus (no. 6), an

imperial freedman, is curiously like the Platorini urns in style (2).

The ram's head, although it might seem a strange motif, was extremely popular, occurring on something like a quarter of the cinerary monuments. Rams' heads were used as garland supports at front and back corners: early examples occur on the altars of Ti. Iulius Mnester (pl. 1, 2) and L. Volusius Phaedrus (no. 7; pl. 3), but the motif was often relegated to the back corners of monuments of the Flavian period, as on the altar of Iunia Procula (pl. 5). It transferred with success to the type of altar with corner columns or pilasters: it was often placed at either end of a volute-shaped frieze above the inscription panel. Such rams' heads usually flanked medusa heads (as on the altars of Valeria Fusca, no. 11, pl. 53; Rubria Philete, no. 12, pl. 69; Claudia Primigene, no. 13, pl. 83). Other combinations were possible - rams' heads flank a bird's nest on the altar of Coelius Superstes (pl. 55), a palmette design on the ash chest of Q. Volusius Narcissus (pl. 19) and griffins on the altar of Sessia Labionilla (pl. 12). Rams' heads were also sometimes placed underneath the lions' feet at the ends of the vertical patterned hangings used on such altars, as on the altars of Epaphroditus (pl. 13, 54), and Vestricius Hyginus (pl. 32).

Rams' heads were not widely used in the contemporary decorative arts. They do occur on gems as emblems of Mercury, but otherwise they were most often used as a sculptural decoration: they occur on candelabra, bases and some altars, and on the cuirasses of armoured statues. They were a convenient motif for the corners of rectangular objects, and this may have dictated their use as much as any symbolic meaning they had. They are not used on the cinerary monuments as part of scenes or with any other motifs which might help to explain their

presence: they do tend to occur close to swans and medusa heads, but the significance of this is not obvious. Although the attributes of Mercury, as a psychopompos, would be appropriate to funerary monuments, this aspect of the motif is not emphasized in any way.

The head of Zeus Ammon, with its characteristic curled beard and ram's horns, was used at the front (less frequently back) corners of a number of monuments as a garland support, the garlands being tied to the horns. The motif appears to have entered the repertoire during the reign of Claudius - it was used on the altar of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi (animals no. 34) who died during the reign, but was most popular on the elaborate monuments of the Flavian age (pl. 4, 5, 6) and continued in use to and beyond the end of the first century (it appears on the altar of Rhodon which was erected after A.D. 80, and on the altar of Cornelia Cleopatra whose garlands stylistically belong to the Hadrianic period). Although favoured particularly for the decoration of large and elaborate monuments of the best workmanship ammon heads were also occasionally placed on smaller pieces, and were used on monuments decorated with a wide range of motifs. The ammon heads were generally placed above eagles, less frequently above sphinxes, and on rare occasions above swans. Mythological and semi-mythological scenes (especially Nereids), animal scenes, or medusa heads often appear on such monuments. The altar of Epaphroditus (pl. 13) is unusual for its use of ammon heads in a frieze above the inscription panel: they normally only occur at the corners.

Ammon heads were not nearly as popular in other decorative milieux. They were not unknown in IV style Pompeian painting, occur on several gems, occasionally crop up on terra sigillata, were quite common as decoration of the armour on statues of Hadrian, and also



occur as an architectural decoration (3).

It has been suggested that the use of ammon heads on these funerary monuments should be seen as part of an elaborate symbolism alluding to immortality and in particular to beliefs expounded by the neo-Pythagoreans (4). According to this view Ammon had been adopted from Alexandria already absorbed into the bacchic cortege, his head being a dionysiac emblem. It was even suggested that M. Licinius Crassus Frugi may have been material to the adoption of the motif in Rome, since he could have come across it in Mauretania. The precise symbolic role the ammon head was supposed to play in this scheme was not defined. More interesting, if inconclusive, are the comments made by Budischowsky in his article on the combination of ammon heads with medusa heads in the friezes from North Italian fora (5).

He questions whether Jupiter-Ammon was completely assimilated into Roman culture, or whether his was still essentially a foreign cult: Ammon was associated with Isis who was also alluded to occasionally on the cinerary monuments. It seems that the motif was not used as an exotic foreign emblem: Budischowsky cites many instances in a variety of arts where the motif was used, particularly in combination with medusa and rams' heads. Ammon heads and rams' heads, indeed, may have been thought of as interchangeable motifs (6).

The ammon head was not associated with bacchic motifs on the cinerary monuments: it does occur frequently with eagles and the wolf and twins motif (for example on the altar of L. Camurtius Punicus, pl. 6). It is interesting, therefore, that it should have been favoured for the decoration of Roman official monuments and statues - the armour of statues of Hadrian, the frieze of the temple of Vespasian, and North Italian fora - it is possible that even on funerary monuments

it retained a semi-official flavour. There is little evidence for any other symbolic, let alone eschatological, meaning which it may have had (7).

Medusa heads, often flanked by swans, were placed in the prominent position above the garland on the front of a number of the cinerary monuments. The swans are quite large with very twisted necks, but the style of the medusa heads themselves can vary enormously - contrast the medusa heads on the altars of Volusius Phaedrus, no. 7, pl. 3; Licinia Magna, no. 8, pl. 4; L. Camurtius Punicus, no. 9, pl. 6; and Crenaeus, no. 10, pl. 8). On the later type of monument with corner columns or pilasters the medusa head was often placed in the centre of a frieze above the inscription panel. In this case it was often flanked by rams' heads and may be with or without swans (altars of Valeria Fusca, no. 11, pl. 53; Rubria Philete, no. 12, pl. 69; Claudia Primigene, no. 13, pl. 83). Medusa heads could also be used as minor decorative motifs: on the altar of C. Titienus Flaccus, for example, medusa heads fill in the ends of the volutes on the front (no. 14; pl. 45), and on the altar of Cossutia Prima (no. 15; pl. 64) they were used in the capitals of the pilasters. Although usually combined with swans or rams' heads medusa heads could also be associated with eagles (altar of Flavia Daphne, no. 16, altar without inscription in E.U.R., no. 17), lions' heads (altar of Q. Volusius Antigonus, no. 18) or ravens (altar of Cossutia Prima, no. 15).

The most common explanation for the motif dismisses it as 'apotropaic', a description which may be true as far as it goes, but is not particularly helpful (8). Other investigations have emphasized the nature goddess aspects of Medusa (9), have seen her as an allusion to the Moon and celestial immortality (10) and have suggested a

bacchic connection, medusa being a symbol of the god's power (11). The motif was not used on these monuments in a way which makes any of these explanations particularly likely. The combination of the medusa head with swans, found only on the cinerary monuments, links the motif with Apollo rather than Dionysus: it is possible, therefore, that it does allude to the moon (or the sun) and to celestial immortality. The medusa head was often placed above garlands with dolphins below - perhaps an attempt to distinguish the element of air from that of water (chapter 8, figure 4). The most puzzling of the scenes, however, is that of an eagle perched on a medusa head on the altar in E.U.R. (no. 17). The motif of an eagle carrying a portrait bust (as on the grave altar of Pomponius Eudaemon or the arch of Titus) has been plausibly interpreted as a representation of apotheosis. If this scene means anything at all and is not just a careless juxtaposition of motifs it must be assumed that the medusa head is a substitute for the deceased, or his soul, which is being carried aloft by the eagle. It is possible that the swans which flank other medusa heads are performing a similar function, although they are not usually associated with apotheosis. The head of Medusa is a curious and complex motif with many facets: it was often used as a bland and harmless decorative filler, but could also on occasion appear in a more powerful and primitive guise. Its appearance with swans is strange but may not be of great significance - the popularity of the motif in all decorative contexts with a general apotropaic function may, after all, be a sufficient explanation for its appearance on the cinerary monuments.

A few other types of head and mask do occur on the monuments. Theatrical masks are rare and are found only on the later pieces, as

the altars of Successus (no. 19) and M. Antonius Asclepiades (no. 20). In both cases the masks appear close to portraits and may be an allusion to life as a part played on a stage. A rather more common use of masks is as acroteria at the corners of the lids - again this is a characteristic of the later monuments. The masks on the altar of Iulia Apollonia (no. 21; pl. 73) may be theatrical masks, but those on the altars of Cn. Sentius Felix (no. 22; pl. 71) and M. Trebellius Argolicus (no. 23; pl. 70) are of a more common type, male masks with corkscrew ringlets down either side of their faces wearing pointed or 'Phrygian' caps. Such heads are sometimes referred to as heads of Attis, but the identification is by no means certain.

Bacchic masks are surprisingly rare. A mask of Pan was represented below the garland on the front of the altar of Viria Primitiva (no. 24) and a bearded head, probably Silenus, was placed on the front of the altar of Amemptus (no. 25). Bearded masks, again possibly bacchic, also supported the garlands on the octagonal ash chest of Lucilius Felix (no. 26). Bacchic masks of the type used on large numbers of the garland sarcophagi do not appear on the cinerary monuments.

Notes.

- 1). A. E. Napp, Bukranion und Guirlande (Heidelberg 1933), gives an account of the development of the motif. Bucrania and garlands with paterae above occur on the tomb of C. Poplicius Bibulus (Nash, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome, II p. 319, pl. 1085). Tombs with bucrania and garlands of a later date include the monument of Caecilia Metella on the Via Appia and the tomb from Vicovarro now reconstructed in the Lateran Collection.
- 2). The inscription must be Antonine or later: it is possible that it was placed on the ash chest subsequent to its manufacture.
- 3). Heads which appear to be ammon heads were painted on the walls of the House of the Vettii and the House of Menander, and occur very occasionally on terra sigillata. A head of Ammon also occurs in the centre of a patera in the frieze of cult objects on the temple of Vespasian in Rome (Nash, op. cit. II p. 504, pl. 1323).
- 4). M. Fasciato, M. J. Leclant, 'Les monuments funéraires à masques d'Ammon', R.E.L. XXVI 1948 pp. 32-33.
- 5). M. C. Budichowsky, 'Jupiter-Ammon et Méduse dans les forums due Nord de l'Adriatique', Aquileia Nostra XLIV 1973 pp. 201-216.
- 6). Fasciato, op. cit. suggests that the motifs are essentially the same, the ammon head representing the anthropomorphic version, the ram's head the animal sacred to the god.
- 7). Miss Toynbee's explanation (The Art of the Romans, p. 94) that the head of Jupiter-Ammon is a 'protector of the dead' is not very helpful either, although it may help to explain the relationship with Medusa.
- 8). Lehmann-Hartleben, Olsen, Dionysiac Sarcophagi p. 49: 'They are generally interpreted as 'apotropaic', which is one of those archaeological terms used rather to conceal the inability to explain than actually to explain'.
- 9). A. L. Frothingham, 'Medusa, Apollo and the Great Mother', A.J.A. 15 1911 pp. 349-377; 'Medusa II. The Vegetation Gorgoneion', A.J.A. 19 1915 pp. 13-23.
- 10). Cumont, Recherches, p. 155, n. 4. Cumont quotes this identification as Carcopino's - elsewhere (op. cit., p. 339) he suggests that the head of Medusa is apotropaic.
- 11). Lehmann-Hartleben, Olsen, op. cit. p. 50. 'It would thus seem that the Gorgoneion in this cult, like the Bacchic ritual masks, was a symbol of the god's power as embracing the realms of life and death'.

Conclusion.

In the four chapters in Part two I have considered the range of the motifs and small scenes most frequently used by the sculptors of the cinerary monuments. A few of the more complex scenes, it has been suggested, may refer to detailed concepts of death and the afterlife, but this does not seem to be true of the majority of the scenes used. The door and dextrarum iunctio motifs are eschatological in the sense that they refer to death, but they do not explore in any detail the conditions under which the deceased may continue to exist. Many of the portraits and scenes representing the deceased are commemorative and retrospective, referring back to the deceased's life but not to his continued existence after death. A few, but only a few, do allude to some form of apotheosis or heroisation, or to death as sleep, and possibly to an eternal banquet, but such ideas appear to be vague, their details usually imprecise. Thus it is often difficult to tell whether the hazy afterlife existence the scenes hint at is in the tomb or elsewhere: the dead are merely shown as having a quite separate existence from the living.

Greater problems arise with those scenes and motifs which were more widely used in the decorative arts. Certain motifs are used in a way which suggests that they could have had a symbolic meaning - torches, wreaths and some cupids clearly fall into this category. Other motifs stand for rather generalised concepts, as the jug, patera and candelabrum allude to ideas of cult and sacrifice. The cult of Apollo in particular was represented by several very popular motifs, but these do not seem to add up to a coherent eschatological symbolism. Allusions to the cult of Bacchus are not nearly

so common, and are sporadic until the very end of the first century: again they do not appear to afford evidence for widespread belief in a bacchic afterlife. Another group of motifs, including the wolf and twins, amon head, eagles and oak wreaths, appears to allude to the military success and grandeur of Rome, and a smaller group of motifs points to the concept of victory, although there is no evidence to suggest that this should be interpreted as 'victory over death'. In the case of certain other motifs - bucrania, garlands, sphinxes and medusa heads for example - tradition may best explain their popularity, but for many other small scenes, especially animal and bird motifs, and the scenes involving Nereids and many cupids, there seems to be no symbolic eschatological reason for their choice which was governed rather by their decorative value.

The decoration of the cinerary monuments, therefore, was not devoid of symbolic content, but at the same time there is no coherent 'picture language'. The scenes often hint at ideas, perhaps leaving them deliberately vague, and most of the motifs have only a very limited meaning. Various concepts and attitudes can be detected on the monuments: they are characterised both as altars for sacrifice and cult use, and as miniature tombs; they were also often decorated with statues and portraits of the dead which commemorate their features, and thus provide some measure of 'earthly immortality'. Vague ideas of apotheosis or heroisation do not appear to be accompanied by scenes which express belief in the happy state of the dead since there is not sufficient evidence for such interpretations of the semi-mythological scenes. There is very little evidence, too, for the belief in celestial immortality or any of the more esoteric philosophical or religious views of the afterlife: only a few of the

more unusual scenes give any hint that a few people may have believed in them.

A few further observations should be made as they have some relevance to the introduction of the sarcophagi. First, the cinerary monuments, although using a limited amount of symbolism, did not on the whole go in for allegory, even in the mythological scenes (an exception is the scene on the altar of Statilius Aper, where the allegorical interpretation had to be laboriously explained in the inscription). Secondly, although more and more motifs were added to the repertoire as the first century progressed, so that the Flavian monuments were often decorated with a rich array of scenes and motifs, this does not seem to have been the result of the development of a more coherent symbolism, but merely the reflection of contemporary decorative taste. Nevertheless, by the beginning of the second century this trend had worked itself out and the decorative schemes became repetitive and stereotyped, in need of some fresh ideas. Finally, it should be noted that the decoration of the monuments made for different strata of society does differ somewhat: there is a great contrast not only in style but also in decorative repertoire between the rather impersonal and restrained decoration of the monuments of senatorial families (the Licinii, Calpurnii Pisones and of Luccia Telesina), and the sometimes very personal monuments of working people, especially slaves and freedmen. The latter group favoured scenes representing the deceased - the dextrarum unctio motif, reclining figures, and work scenes, while using fewer of the mythological scenes and figures preferred on the larger monuments. A similar division was to recur on the sarcophagi: the earliest pieces tended to continue the type of decoration used on the better class



cinerary monuments, and the motifs used on the cinerary monuments of the freedmen, slaves and poorer citizens were not to appear on sarcophagi until some time later.

**Part III: The Garland Sarcophagi.**

Chapter 10: The Decoration of the Garland Sarcophagi.

The decoration of the garland sarcophagi of the first half of the second century can be seen to follow on from that of the better-class grave altars of the late first century. It is not difficult to follow the progression, for example, from the altar of Luccia Telesina, or the altar in Amelia (pl. 10) to the sarcophagus in Hever Castle (no. 6; pl. 115). There was no radical break in artistic tradition, whatever the significance of the change in burial rite. Nevertheless, there are differences in the decoration of the two types of monument, and these differences may reflect the reasons for the change in burial rite and the adoption of the new type of funerary monument.

The main focus of the decoration of the garland sarcophagi lies in the small scenes in the lunettes which tended to be elaborated at the expense of the rest of the decoration. The scenes illustrate a wider range of myths and semi-mythological events than those used on the cinerary monuments, but the repertoire of motifs as a whole was greatly reduced and the minor motifs are clearly quite secondary to the scenes in the lunettes. Thus the garland sarcophagus lies half way between the cinerary monuments and the mythological sarcophagi where minor motifs have either disappeared altogether or have been integrated into the main scene. That it was not impossible or aesthetically undesirable to continue using the wider range of minor motifs is shown by a few exceptional pieces. The sarcophagus of Malia Titia (no. 7) uses a non-mythological subject - the cock fight - in its lunettes, and has small birds under the garlands and animal heads above seated animals at the

back corners. Another sarcophagus at Ostia (no. 40) has a jug and a patera on the sides, and the Via Labicana sarcophagus (no. 10) has non-mythological sacrifice scenes on the front and bird scenes on the sides. On the whole, however, very little interest was taken in the minor motifs or in animal and bird scenes. The repertoire was limited to cupids or sometimes female figures as garland supporters, with very rarely a seated griffin, dolphin or bucranium at the back corners, and seated griffins on the sides. Medusa heads quite often appeared in the lunettes of the earlier pieces, while theatrical and dionysiac masks emerged later and continued to be popular on garland sarcophagi long after the type with scenes had ceased to be made (1).

The decoration, in contrast to that of the earlier cinerary monuments, appears dry and impersonal - often well executed but lacking the personal touches that enlivened some of the cinerary monuments. Above all the decoration of the garland sarcophagi avoids any direct allusion to the individual buried inside, or to the fact of their death. Very few of them have even the briefest of inscriptions (2). Gone are all the scenes showing the dead - the only portrait occurs on the relatively late sarcophagus in Cliveden (no. 16), and even that, it seems, was only roughly blocked out in antiquity and was not completed to represent the features of the deceased. As I have already suggested, it is possible that this tendency is associated with the social class of the deceased. However, there are also very few animal motifs, and no ammon heads, wolf and twin motifs, sphinxes or growing plants (as opposed to garlands) and very few cult objects on the sarcophagi: in this they perhaps merely follow a trend already discernible on the later cinerary monuments.

It is in the small scenes, therefore, that one would expect to find symbolism or allegory, and an examination of these is crucial in the study of the changeover from cremation to inhumation. I have divided the scenes into three main categories - mythological, bacchic and genre (including the Nereid and cupid scenes). Among other things I hope to show that Matz was not altogether justified in his assertion that:

Wenn es einen Gott gibt, dessen Attribute auf den Grabaltären und Aschenurnen des 1 Jh. n. Chr. dominieren, so ist es Apollon, der Hausgott der Julier. Das Wiederaufleben der Sarkophagbestattung, wahrscheinlich sollen in den späten Jahren Trajans, ist mit einer starken dionysischen Note verbunden. Die ersten attischen und stadtrömischen Sarkophage sind die dionysischen. Die anderen Themen folgen ihnen freilich auf dem Fuss. (3)

While it is certainly true that Apollonian attributes do not play as large a role on the garland sarcophagi as they had on the cinerary monuments it is also demonstrable that bacchic scenes do not outnumber other scenes on the early garland sarcophagi. It is only the large number of later Antonine sarcophagi with bacchic masks in the lunettes that give the impression that bacchic motifs predominated. If the earlier pieces (i.e. those made before c. A.D. 150) are considered on their own it can be seen that the proportion of bacchic scenes and motifs to non-bacchic motifs is not very different from that on the cinerary monuments.

#### Mythological scenes.

The mythological incidents chosen appear a curious, even random, selection - only one of them (the rape of Proserpina) was at all common on the cinerary monuments, although another (Oedipus and the sphinx) does occur on one grave altar, and the myths of Medea and Marsyas were to be popular themes for mythological

sarcophagi. Otherwise the scenes do not come from myths particularly favoured for funerary decoration: two sarcophagi were decorated with scenes from the Trojan cycle, having in common the episode of Philoctetes' exile and return from Lemnos, while others have episodes from the adventures of Theseus, the Actaeon myth, and the story of Polyphemus and Galataea. It is possible that such themes were chosen to illustrate, in allegorical form, specific eschatological beliefs held by those who commissioned the sarcophagi, but they may also represent only the eclectic taste of the educated classes. It is essential therefore to consider these mythological scenes from the point of view of their possible allegorical content, and to look for any common themes which might link them together as a more coherent group.

The sarcophagus in the Louvre decorated with four scenes from the myth of Actaeon is the most elegant and probably the earliest piece in this group (no. 5; pl. 112, 113). The scenes in the lunettes are full of crisp, minute detail, and the mythological scenes are not confined to the front, as tended to happen later, but also occur on the sides. Supporting the fruit garlands on the front are female figures without attributes - they could be Victories, Maenads, Muses or Nymphs. At the back corners are seated griffins supporting laurel garlands: the Apollonian connections of these is perhaps in keeping with the subject of the mythological scenes. The front of the lid is decorated with a frieze of Nereids riding sea-animals, and Tritons, and there are masks in the pediments of the lid and acting as acroteria.

In the right hand lunette on the front Diana is represented bathing, with Actaeon watching from above. Diana kneels on the bank

of a stream, holding up her hair while a cupid pours water over her back. Another cupid collects water in a shell from a waterfall. Actaeon is above on the right, while on the left is the local water god who provides the stream of water. The scene in the left hand lunette on the front shows Actaeon, sporting antlers, beating off four dogs which attack him ferociously. Under a tree on the right, and facing away from Actaeon, is a herm of Priapus. Above are two figures, the water god again, and one of Actaeon's servants who aims a stone, either at Actaeon or at the dogs. In the scene on the right side of the sarcophagus Actaeon lies dead, with an old woman holding his feet as if laying him out, and his mother Autonoe kneeling at his side and weeping over him. One of his erring dogs looks down at him from above. On the left side of the sarcophagus the scene shows two men apparently feeding the dogs. One holds a bag which one of the dogs is trying to reach, while the second man holds back two more dogs. Another bag is suspended from the branches of a tree, and in the background on the right there is a statue of a young god carrying a pedum and a liknon.

Certain elements crop up in more than one scene. The setting of oak trees, cypresses and rocky terrain is present in all the scenes, and the local water god appears in both the scenes on the front. The terrain was also emphasized in Ovid's account of the myth (4), where mountains, a valley with cypresses and pine trees growing in it, a spring, pool and cave are all mentioned. The pedum is also a recurring object: in the first scene Actaeon holds a pedum, in the second he tries to beat off the dogs with it, and his servant also holds one, in the third scene a pedum is propped up behind Actaeon's head, and in the fourth the statue of the

young god holds a pedum. The pedum is, of course, a natural attribute in hunting and rural scenes, but it is also a dionysiac object. It is perhaps significant that in the Bacchae of Euripides Actaeon is mentioned twice: in l. 230 we are reminded that his mother Autonoe was a bacchante, and in l. 1237 his fate is compared to that of Pentheus; in Ovid's Metamorphoses (Bk. III, l. 720) Pentheus appeals to his aunt Autonoe in Actaeon's name as he is being torn to pieces. The statues of Priapus and the young god with a liknon also fall within the sphere of the dionysiac cult, yet both could be little more than conventional adjuncts to a country scene, like the trees or the rocks. The sexual licence that Priapus represents is also a direct contrast to the strict chastity of Diana which was the cause of Actaeon's downfall, and it is presumably no accident that he turns his back on Actaeon in the second scene.

The scenes therefore indicate some literary knowledge of the myth, and a keen awareness of the ironies implicit in the story - but do they have an eschatological message? The scenes stick fairly closely to the version told by Ovid, although he describes Diana's companions as nymphs, not cupids (5). Ovid's moral for the story is a simple one: destiny was to blame for Actaeon's death, since it was no sin on his part to lose his way and fate cannot be avoided - none of us can evade the death that destiny has planned for us. Over a century had elapsed since Ovid's version of the story was written: although the sarcophagus in style appears to attempt to recapture the Augustan spirit, its eschatological message need not reflect the ideas of the Augustan writer. The myth speaks of a man who lost his life as a punishment for his impiety in gazing on that he was not supposed to see, and it is possible to see in it the



opposition of two kinds of mysteries, those centred round Diana and those of Dionysus, Dionysus being represented by the pedum-carrying son of Autonoe. Actaeon. If so, the sarcophagus was not a dionysiac piece but on the contrary was used to express anti-dionysiac sentiments, championing the religion of Diana and Apollo against the mysteries of Bacchus.

The other elements in the decoration do little to clarify the problem. The griffins and laurel garlands are attributes of Apollo but they had been commonplace in funerary art for a long time and are not placed in a prominent position on the sarcophagus. Nor are the female figures given any attributes which might help us to identify them, and so do not add anything to the theme of the decoration. It is also difficult to see any connection between the frieze of Nereids and Tritons and the other motifs.

This sarcophagus is virtually the only one with a representation of the Actaeon myth: Robert (6) mentions two other fragments, both of non-garland sarcophagi which seem to have been decorated with it. One, in Ostia, shows the crouching bathing Diana with a figure watching from above, while another, now lost, used quite a different model for the same scene. The story of Actaeon was not a common funerary theme, although it was quite popular in other, non-funerary contexts. There are several parallels for the two main scenes on the front - the bathing goddess was used on three cinerary monuments, but there the scene seems to represent the bath of Venus and has no reference to Actaeon. The scene of Actaeon beating off the dogs has a long history, going back via Polygnotus to a metope on the temple E at Selinunte. The motif was also a popular one in the wall painting of the last ten years at Pompeii.

According to Robert a Boeotian pyxis in the National Museum of Athens provides a parallel for the third scene, but the fourth scene, the one with the dogs, has no known precursors. It is interesting that this particular scene should have been chosen or invented to complete the sequence: it possibly reflects the great attention paid by Ovid to the hunting dogs of Actaeon.

Two sarcophagi were decorated with scenes illustrating events in the Trojan war. A sarcophagus once in the Giardini Gherardesca, Florence (no. 22)(7) had in its lunettes scenes featuring Odysseus and Philoctetes. There are four scenes: those on the front show Philoctetes being persuaded to return from Lemnos and journeying thence, while the sides have the rape of the Palladium (left) and the recognition of Odysseus by Euryclea on his return to Ithaca (right). Although the first two scenes are of successive events in the same story, the other two do not have an obvious link either with them or with each other, except for the presence of Odysseus. The persuasion of Philoctetes to return from Lemnos also occurs in the left hand lunette of the Hever Castle sarcophagus (no. 6; pl. 115-119): the accompanying scene in the right hand lunette in this case seems to show Sarpedon being carried from the battlefield (8). I have been unable to identify the scenes on the sides.

Although the two sarcophagi have one scene in common, the scene where Odysseus and Neoptolemos (or Diomedes (9)) are represented on Lemnos persuading Philoctetes to return with them, the two representations are by no means identical. On the Florence sarcophagus Philoctetes half kneels in front of his rocky hovel - his right foot, stretched out behind him, appears to be bound, and he holds a bird's wing in his left hand. On the right is a youth

apparently speaking to him, while on the left Odysseus skulks out of sight behind the cave. Some of these elements also appear on the Hever sarcophagus: Odysseus again stands behind the cave while a young man on the right moves away, possibly carrying the all-important quiver in his arms. The pose of Philoctetes, however, is quite different. He does not kneel but sits, his bandaged right foot stretched out in front of him, and he does not appear to be holding a bird's wing. The major difference between the two scenes is the addition on the Hever Castle sarcophagus of a seated woman on the right: she is very stately and carries a sceptre, and is probably a goddess.

The second scene on the front of the Florence sarcophagus shows a man, plausibly interpreted as Philoctetes again, riding on a waggon drawn by two mules: Odysseus follows carrying the quiver, and there is a youth in the background. On the left side is the rape of the Palladium scene. Diomedes sits on a small altar holding the statue in his right hand, while Odysseus stands with his arm outstretched on the right. Between them is an ionic pillar. On the right side of the sarcophagus Odysseus sits on a stool with his right leg in a bucket while a woman (Euryclea) washes his foot and a second figure stands behind.

The two moments of the Philoctetes story which were chosen suggest that the inspiration came from Sophocles' Philoctetes, since the time covered is that of the play. Artistic inspiration may have descended from the paintings described by Pausanias on the Acropolis at Athens (I, 22, 6), where the scenes of Odysseus stealing the bow from Philoctetes and Diomedes carrying off the Palladium were closely associated. Thus it may have been because of artistic precedent

alone that these two episodes occur side by side on the sarcophagus. The recognition of Odysseus, although it has some artistic forerunners (10), does seem an odd choice. The question remains whether there was some elaborate thematic, symbolic or allegorical link between the scenes, or whether they merely reflect eclectic literary and artistic taste.

The play of Philoctetes has death as an important theme: the island, and more specially the cave, are used by Philoctetes as symbols of death, as the place he will never leave and where he will inevitably die. He speaks of himself as already dead, and although given the opportunity of life and possible health he chooses to stay and die - until Heracles intervenes to make him leave. Heracles in the final section of the play reminds us that glorious immortality is his, won by his labours, and he urges Philoctetes to take the actions that lead to life and glory, not to slow decay and despair. To this extent Heracles can be seen as a saviour god, an immortal who helps bring others to immortality. Unfortunately the only direct reference to Heracles on the sarcophagus is his quiver, and he has no connection with the scenes on the sides. All the scenes show Odysseus' deviousness, even dishonesty, and his homecoming implies peace after travail, as does the scene of Philoctetes travelling back from Lemnos. However, there does not seem to be a coherent theme to explain the choice of scenes.

The same conclusion seems inevitable for the Hever sarcophagus. The second scene on the front shows two warriors, the one on the right in a helmet and the one on the left in full armour, carrying

a comrade between them. He is naked but for the sword slung round his body, and appears to be dead, with a wound in his hip. An elderly man with a staff stands behind the body, and there is a strangely shaped tree on the right. The most likely candidate for the victim of this scene of Sarpedon. It is difficult to see a thematic link between the two scenes: both are episodes in the Trojan war, and both deal with the power of destiny or the gods over man's life, but they have little else in common. The scenes on both the sides (pl. 118, 119) seem to depict conversations. In both a woman stands in the centre, one hand to her breast, the other held out as if she is speaking. On the right side she is accompanied by two young men - one may be placing a crown on her head, or he may simply be gesturing towards her: the other has his hand to his mouth as if doubtful or thoughtful. In the other scene the central woman is accompanied by a shadowy female figure standing behind her and a more matronly woman sitting on a rock in front of her and perhaps addressing the other two. Behind her is what appears to be the rear end of a lion, sphinx or griffin. There are no clear attributes to identify the figures in either scene. It is probable that they depict episodes from the Trojan war, but what the events are and whether the figures are human or divine I do not know.

Another interesting combination of scenes occurs on a sarcophagus front built into a wall of the Palazzo Mattei in Rome (no. 23). In the left hand lunette the scene is that of Oedipus' meeting with the sphinx - the sphinx sits on a rock to the left, with her paw raised above either a bull's head or two human heads torn to pieces. On the right stand two men with a horse looking over their shoulders, one of them with his hand to his chin (Oedipus). The second scene shows Polyphemus and Galataea. Polyphemus is seated on a rock that

juts out into the sea: he wears a panther skin and has a pedum between his legs, with a small sheep in one hand. In front of him Galataea rides on a dolphin, while above there is a half-draped reclining figure who is represented as a stream or water-fall - this is presumably Acis.

Oedipus and the sphinx was not a particularly common funerary theme. It was not at all popular on later Roman sarcophagi but does occur in tombs in different media, as a wall painting now in the museum at Castellamare di Stabia, a mosaic in Ostia, and the grave altar of Ti. Claudius Geminus (mythological scenes no. 15). The last piece also has on it a representation of Nereids and Tritons - Galataea was also a Nereid. However, if there is any funerary link between Oedipus and Nereids it is not an obvious one, and it was not developed later. The myth of Polyphemus and Galataea is very rare in funerary art, although it was common in domestic wall painting as a 'fated love' theme (11). It was also one of the stories told by Ovid in the Metamorphoses (Bk. XIII) who emphasizes the fatality of love, the brutishness of Polyphemus' nature, and the face of Acis: Polyphemus threw a rock at him in a jealous rage and seemed to have crushed him, but the rock split open and from it emerged a water god like Acis in appearance but blue in colour and wearing horns. Such an apotheosis may explain the presence of the story in a funerary context. Polyphemus could be seen as the power of death, Galataea the power of love that works miracles, and Acis the mortal who dies but is reborn immortal, but is there any connection between this and the Oedipus scene? Clearly the central element in this incident is the riddle which Oedipus answers, thus saving his life, a theme which could be interpreted as illustrating

the importance of mystic knowledge in achieving eternal life. The two scenes do not seem to form a natural pair, and if any eschatological interpretation was intended (which I doubt) it must have been a very personal view of the myths, since they do not recur either alone or in combination on later Roman sarcophagi.

Two sarcophagi of a rather later date, one in the Metropolitan Museum (no. 17), the other in the Palazzo Barberini, Rome (no. 18), are decorated with three scenes on the front, representing consecutive episodes of the same story rather than individual incidents or myths. The garlands on the front of the sarcophagus in New York represent the four seasons, consisting of spring flowers, corn, grapes and pomegranates and olives. The scene in the left hand lunette shows Theseus and Ariadne standing before the door of the Labyrinth. Ariadne is handing Theseus the ball of thread - he stands with one foot on a rock in three-quarters back view, and behind Ariadne is a pillar with a vase on top. The central scene shows the fight between Theseus and the Minotaur: the Minotaur is down on one knee and raises his hand above his head, while Theseus stands above him swinging his club back to strike him. The third scene represents Theseus abandoning Ariadne on Naxos: she lies sleeping on the ground beneath a fig tree while he sneaks off to the right hand. On the left side of the sarcophagus above an oak garland is the bust of a child with a flower wreath in his hair and an animal skin draped over one shoulder: he is generally interpreted as the infant Dionysus. Above the laurel garland on the right side is a comic mask. The front of the lid is decorated with cupids racing in chariots drawn by various animals and with various plants in the background.

Again it is difficult to trace any coherent ideas linking the various elements of the decoration. In particular there is the problem of the child's bust, since it is not clearly characterised as that of Dionysus (although the child would seem to be a follower of the god), and is paired with the comic - not a bacchic - mask. The presence of this head alone is not, therefore, sufficient evidence for the classification of the sarcophagus as bacchic. The mythological scenes show the exploits of Theseus in Crete, but the conclusion of the episode (hinted at but not represented on the sarcophagus) was the rescue of Ariadne by Dionysus. The union of Dionysus and Ariadne is a theme with an obvious allegorical interpretation: even in the pleasant context of the Metamorphoses Ovid associates Ariadne with astral immortality, for Dionysus sets her crown as a constellation in the sky (12). Yet the fact remains that the scenes depicted do not show the apotheosis of Ariadne, but rather the labours of Theseus. Allegorical interpretations of the scenes can be constructed: the entrance of the Labyrinth is reminiscent of the door motif on the ash chests, an allusion to the threshold between the realms of the living and the dead. Ariadne's ball of thread, like the sphinx's riddle, can be seen as the 'secret' by which death can be conquered. The Minotaur - half man, half beast, like Polyphemus - may represent the brutish side of man which must be sloughed off before the soul can attain immortality, or he could simply personify death itself which is overcome by the hero. The scene showing the abandoning of Ariadne poses the most problems. The figure of the sleeping woman is reminiscent of the similar figures on the cinerary monuments, and the scene may indeed look forward to her eventual reawakening and



apotheosis. If so, the scenes as a group would seem to point to different ways of gaining immortality: Theseus represents the hero who conquers death by physical means while Ariadne relies on the intervention of a saviour god. It is not inconceivable therefore that the scenes express, in allegorical form, the mystic views of the deceased about death and the afterlife.

The theme of Theseus on Crete was again not to become popular on later sarcophagi: Ariadne was frequently represented with Dionysus but not with Theseus. The child's bust may not be very significant, and any attempt to see it as crucial to the decoration of the sarcophagus must also explain the comic mask which was given a place of equal importance. The garlands which allude to the seasons do not seem to bear any relation to the scenes above them, and the use of these fruits may simply be a device to liven up the motif. The cupid race is a subject used in this position on other sarcophagi: again it does not seem to have much in common with the other motifs, except for the basic theme of contest and victory found also in Theseus' fight with the Minotaur.

From the same workshop is the sarcophagus in the Palazzo Barberini, Rome, decorated with scenes of the Marsyas story. This also has garlands made up of fruits and flowers appropriate to the seasons, and the cupids have attributes at their feet appropriate to the seasons - a goat for spring, a corn basket for summer, a basket of grapes for autumn and a hare for winter. In the left hand lunette is Minerva playing a flute under an olive tree: on the right of the scene is a rock with a waterfall, an owl, a tree, and a figure interpreted by Robert as Magna Mater holding a tympanon, although it is more likely to be a water divinity. In the central lunette is the flaying of Marsyas. He stands with his

back to a fig tree from which hang his double flutes and panther skin. To the right stands the Scythian, and between them is a spring and a grind stone for sharpening the knife. On the extreme right is a gaunt tree in whose branches are a raven and the quiver of Apollo. In the right hand lunette Apollo sits on a rock surrounded by his attributes - a lyre, a swan, a griffin and a laurel tree. Above on the left is a rock with a fig tree and a female figure holding a reed-like object - this figure may be Victory, although Robert prefers to see her as a local divinity (13). On the sides are fruit garlands with medusa heads above. There is no lid.

Robert reports another fragment of a garland sarcophagus with a representation of this myth in the Museo Chiaramonti (14). This has part of a fruit garland and above it the scene of the flaying of Marsyas almost identical to that on the Pal Barberini sarcophagus.

Cumont in his consideration of the Muses in funerary symbolism suggested an allegorical meaning for the contest of Marsyas and Apollo (15). This is the struggle between the base and gross characteristics of man and his higher nature which was cultivated by the study of those arts patronised by Apollo and the Muses. The flute stands for the lower, the lyre for the higher elements. The soul which is devoted in life to these higher pursuits will be lighter since it will be weighed down with less carnality and so with the aid of the Muses it will soar to astral immortality. Thus Marsyas represents something similar to the Minotaur in the Theseus legend. Several elements in the representation are not explained by this theory - the presence of Minerva, the figures

perched on the rocks (whether Magna Mater and Victory or water divinities) and the recurrence of the spring in all three pictures. Cumont's explanation, too, emphasizes the Muses who are not present on this sarcophagus: the emphasis is definitely on Apollo who both appears in person and is alluded to by a number of his attributes.

The Marsyas legend was very popular on sarcophagi. Not only do we have evidence of two garland sarcophagi decorated with it, but there are also a great number of the mythological frieze sarcophagi decorated with it. There are, however, certain significant differences between these sarcophagi and the representations on the garland sarcophagus: the Muses are found increasingly on the later pieces which also place Apollo or the contest in the central position, whereas the garland sarcophagus reserved this for the punishment scene. The water divinities, on the other hand, are present in all cases (16).

It seems, therefore, that as with the Theseus episodes on the Metropolitan Museum sarcophagus these scenes of the Marsyas myth are close to allegory, although the allegorical content is not as coherent as on the later sarcophagi. However, perhaps most significant is the use of scenes illustrating consecutive moments in the same episode rather than unconnected scenes: this occurs otherwise only on the Actaeon sarcophagus. The development must surely be linked with the increasing popularity of frieze sarcophagi and also with the growth in allegorical interpretation.

Mythological scenes also occur on three fragments of garland sarcophagi. A section in Venice (no. 8; pl. 114) is probably half of a front of a sarcophagus (17): above a garland supported at either end by a cupid is a representation of the rape of Proserpina.

The scene shows a four-horse chariot travelling towards the right led by an almost naked man in back view who must be Mercury. In the chariot Proserpina leans back over Pluto's arm with her head over the back of the chariot, and Pluto's cloak billows out over his head. Apart from the figure of Mercury the scene follows the same general scheme as that used on the cinerary monuments. Later sarcophagi were to couple this scene with that of Ceres wandering in her chariot in search of her daughter (18), and it is possible that this episode would have been illustrated in the other lunette of this sarcophagus. Sometimes further scenes were added on the later sarcophagi, as Proserpina kneeling with her basket at the moment at which Pluto seizes her, Pluto, Proserpina and Mercury in the Underworld, and the other girls collecting their flowers. The most revealing scenes, however, occur on a sarcophagus where the scenes of Proserpina on the front are supplemented with scenes of Alcestis on the sides (19): in one she is being led into Hades by Mercury, on the other back from thence by Hercules. This clearly points to the concept of resurrection, and it is possible that this was already implicit in the rape of Proserpina scene, although it was probably still just an allegory of death.

Robert also reproduces a drawing of a fragment of a garland sarcophagus once in the Pal, Martelli in Florence (no. 24), which was decorated with the scene of Medea fleeing in her chariot drawn by dragons, carrying the body of a child over her shoulders. This theme was popular on the mythological sarcophagi, whose decoration followed the Euripidean version of the story quite closely (20). Another fragment of a garland sarcophagus, consisting of half a

cupid, a garland and the scene above it, was built into the wall of the cathedral at Spoleto (no. 25; pl. 130). The scene takes place in a rocky landscape with a tree. The central figure sits on one outcrop of rock and leans towards the tree growing on another: he appears to be touching the tree with a thick stick or to be hanging something on it, or detaching something from it. Behind this figure is a winged youth, his head missing, facing in the opposite direction. Various objects (and possibly a bird?) are scattered round the foot of the tree. The scene is both badly damaged and placed too high in the wall to see it in detail: I have been unable to identify it.

These myths seem to have very little in common with one another, and to represent as random a choice as those on the cinerary monuments. The rape of Proserpina, Marsyas and Medea were all to become very popular on the later mythological sarcophagi, but the other themes are virtually unknown. Actaeon, Polyphemus and Galataea, Theseus and Medea were all popular on domestic wall painting, but not the rape of Proserpina, Oedipus or Philoctetes. The Actaeon myth involves Diana, the Marsyas story Apollo and Minerva, Theseus and Ariadne Dionysus, and Philoctetes Hercules. Many of the myths deal with violent death; the Oedipus and Theseus scenes share the riddle or puzzle, the Actaeon and Marsyas stories the theme of punishment by the gods, and Actaeon and the scenes from the Trojan cycle the effects of destiny on man. No one theme links all the scenes, nor any one allegorical interpretation, although it seems that the later the sarcophagus the more coherent and unified its decoration: this suggests that the idea of mythological allegory may have been gaining ground by the middle of the century, and may

explain why some of the myths used on the earliest sarcophagi are never heard of again. Most of the scenes were current in other media, especially painting, so that a sculptor could have chosen pleasing scenes from a copy-book without necessarily attaching a deep eschatological significance to them. The mythological scenes do seem to suggest a clientele of cultivated taste and education, and snobbery may have played some part in the choice of repertoire. The lack of any obvious eschatological interpretation such as can be found on the later sarcophagi suggests that this kind of elitism may have dictated the choice of scenes rather than the desire to express complex eschatological ideas.

#### Bacchic scenes.

The number of garland sarcophagi with bacchic scenes in the lunettes is not very great. As with the cinerary monuments the scenes feature the bacchic thiasos more often than Dionysus or dionysiac mythology: there are two erotic scenes with Pan and a maenad and a hermaphrodite, and two scenes with drunk members of the thiasos being carried by others. Maenads also appear dancing and the thiasos is shown preparing for sacrifices. Dionysus appears as a baby in one representation, with Ariadne in another, and with a maenad and Pan; he may also be the subject of Pan's interest in the erotic scene on Tebanianus' sarcophagus.

The earliest scenes are those on Tebanianus' sarcophagus (no. 2; pl. 110, 111). In the left hand lunette on the front is the erotic scene: a figure, half-draped and reclining, is being approached by Pan. The reclining figure may be a hermaphrodite or Dionysus (21): it holds out its drapery to show its body to Pan

who steps back in amazement and admiration. The second scene shows a trophy at whose feet sit two captives, one male and the other female, while to the right stands a naked youth holding a spear (or some such object) in his right hand. The scene is not overtly bacchic, although it has been claimed that it alludes to the Indian Triumph of Bacchus (22).

Apart from these scenes the sarcophagus is decorated with female figures at the front corners, cupids at the back corners, and a youthful male figure in the centre of the front. The latter (pl. 105) appears to be wearing a helmet and a curious piece of drapery round his waist. This has been identified as a representation of youthful Mars by Picard and Turcan (23). The four garlands are all of fruit and flowers, and there are medusa heads above the garlands on the sides. The lid is missing.

Picard and Turcan have both published detailed analyses of this decoration reaching similar conclusions. Picard (24) points to the name 'Bellicus' and the fact that Tebanianus had presumably held high rank in the army and had gained some military honour: hence the female figures at the corners (Victories) and the central Mars. The scene with the trophy not only symbolises the virtues of Tebanianus which qualify him for apotheosis, but also alludes to the assimilation of his victories with the Indian Triumph of Bacchus. The erotic scene therefore refers to the felicitas of Dionysus. Picard concludes that the sarcophagus is a witness to the influence of the mystic dionysiac cult which spread in the later years of Trajan's reign, his army officers having been exposed to it in the Parthian campaigns: Tebanianus was no doubt one of these officers.

Turcan's view of the sarcophagus elaborates on these suppositions (25). He suggests that such a mixture of erotic mythology and martial imagery is quite in keeping with the contemporary view of the cult: Dionysus was both a warrior and a culture god, and the Pax Romana was associated with dionysiac universalism. Thus he, too, sees the monument as witness to the return of this orgiastic religion to almost official favour, but in a romanised form which made it acceptable to more traditionally minded Romans. The strong elements of victory in the decoration of the sarcophagus and the figure of Mars he suggests also allude to the concept of triumph over death and heroisation through noble deeds.

Both the interpretations rest on identifications of the figures which are by no means certain. Many of the motifs used on this sarcophagus are quite standard: the children at the back corners, the medusa heads, and the female figures all occur on a number of sarcophagi (26), and the central figure is not necessarily Mars - the almost identical figure on the Porta Viminalis sarcophagus is a satyr. The trophy scene is not shown to be dionysiac by any definite attribute, and in fact the only definitely bacchic figure on the whole sarcophagus is Pan. The trophy may, as Picard and Turcan suggest, allude to events in Tebanianus' life of which he felt proud, but we do not know that he had anything to do with the Parthian war, or indeed any war. The combination of this scene with the erotic scene seems odd to modern eyes, but the theme was one which had for a long time been popular in other media, especially wall painting. Turcan and Picard both pass over the precise significance of this scene in their interpretations: its



mildly bacchic connotations might be a red herring in the analysis of the sarcophagus' decoration, as Tebanianus could have chosen it for quite private reasons - it is, after all, the only clear bacchic element in the decorative scheme. The idea that Tebanianus came to be involved in a mystic dionysiac cult while in Parthia remains pure hypothesis, and any attempt to use the sarcophagus' decoration as witness to it stretches the evidence too far.

The scene on the fragment of a garland sarcophagus in Vienna (no. 12) is incontestably bacchic. The scene above the garland shows the baby Bacchus standing for the first time attended by a maenad or a nymph leaning on a column and a Silenus and a satyr. Scenes of the childhood of Bacchus were common on frieze sarcophagi, and we have also seen the use of scenes showing the child suckled by Amalthea and in the lap of Mercury on the cinerary monuments. Unfortunately we do not know what the companion scene(s) were on this sarcophagus, Another early fragment, in the Campo Santo, Pisa (no. 26; pl. 125) has Dionysus reclining in Ariadne's lap - again the accompanying scenes are missing. An erotic scene and a scene of bacchic drunkenness appear on another sarcophagus of similar date (c. A.D. 130-135) in Ince Blundell Hall (no. 19; pl. 124). This has three cupids on the front, the central one holding a sheep by the tail. These support fruit garlands. It seems that the sides, now detached, were decorated with griffins with their paws on rams' heads. In the left hand lunette on the front is Hercules, drunk, being supported by a satyr carrying a lowered torch and Pan. At their feet is a wreath, and on the left an olive tree, on the right a statue of Priapus. The right hand lunette has a sleeping nymph or maenad asleep in a cave with a cupid behind it on the

left while Pan creeps up on her from the right. The themes of drunkenness and sleep were, as we have seen, connected with bacchic figures on the cinerary monuments. A somewhat later fragment in Naples (no. 13) also has a scene of drunkenness above the central garland. A drunk Pan or Silenus is being carried bodily by two cupids and a young satyr (or three cupids). The other two lunettes on this piece contain masks. Such scenes may refer to a popularised version of the dionysiac view of the afterlife - incessant drunkenness, sex and sleep - they do not seem to be capable of a more complex interpretation.

Another sarcophagus, now lost, (no. 27) had scenes of maenads and Silenus making preparations, probably for a sacrifice or cult actions. In the left hand scene on the front there are two women, one bending down and the other carrying a tray or basket; on the right are a statue of a bearded god wearing a long robe, and an offering table. In the right hand scene is a fat Silenus carrying a liknon on his head, and a draped woman bending over a rough altar. At the front corners of the sarcophagus are female figures, in the centre a dancing (?female) Pan. A garland sarcophagus in the Vatican Museums with scenes of a maenad and Dionysus is probably of quite late date, after the middle of the second century. The scenes are badly mutilated and weathered, but it seems that in the right hand lunette there was a dancing maenad, and in the left Dionysus with a maenad and Pan. Matz also mentions four sarcophagi, now lost, which were decorated with dionysiac figures: they, too, probably belonged to the later half of the second century (27).

Of these garland sarcophagi with bacchic scenes only two belong to the period when garland sarcophagi were first used, those of Tebanianus and in Vienna. The Naples and Pisa fragments are some ten years later and the lost sarcophagus may be five or ten years later still, but all the others belong to the middle of the century or later. The scenes, with the possible exception of those on Tebanianus' sarcophagus, do not appear to be designed to introduce new eschatological ideas: they differ very little from the scenes which appear on the cinerary monuments and in other decorative contexts, especially wall painting, in the first century. It cannot be said with any justification, therefore, that there was any particular connection between the mysteries of Dionysus and the first use of sarcophagi.

Rural sacrifice scenes.

Two sarcophagi, one in the Terme Museum from the Via Labicana (no. 10; pl. 126, 127), the other represented by two fragments built into the wall of the Villa Doria (no. 29), were decorated with rural scenes of sacrifice. Turcan believed the Via Labicana sarcophagus and the lost sarcophagus with scenes of preparations for a sacrifice already mentioned (no. 27) were made by the same workshop or even the same hand (28). His reasons for suggesting that the two pieces were closely related are the subject matter of the scenes, the similar degree of detail with which they were rendered, and the similar moulding used across the top of the sarcophagus. However, other features deny this: the very static, awkward cupids on the Via Labicana sarcophagus are quite a contrast to the graceful and lively female figures and Pan on the other.

The fruits of the garlands on the Via Labicana sarcophagus are varied and detailed, whereas those on the lost sarcophagus are all the same, summarily rendered, oval in form, and tend to be arranged in rows. The same person may have composed, and even executed, the scenes, but it is unlikely that the same person executed the supporting figures and garlands. The left hand scene on the Via Labicana sarcophagus is in fact almost identical to that on one of the fragments in the Villa Doria. It is more likely that these two were made by the same workshop than the other two.

The Via Labicana sarcophagus has three cupids on the front, and upended dolphins at the back corners, supporting fruit garlands. In the left hand lunette on the front is a seated bearded peasant wearing a tunic off the shoulder and with bare feet: he sits on a rock and in front of him is a table with a bowl of fruits on it. He holds a jug as if about to pour a libation, and holds a small pig by one of its back feet - the pig appears to be trying to escape. Behind the table is a fig tree and beyond it the statue of a young god standing on a base - he is naked but for a cloak over his arm. He holds a pedum over his shoulder and some object in his hand. There is a cypress tree on the far right of this scene. In the right hand scene is another, younger and unbearded peasant, again in a tunic and bare feet and sitting on a rock below a fig tree. He holds the front paws of a young goat in his hands while a second lies at his feet. In front of him is a four-legged table with two objects on it, and above a set of pan pipes hang from the branch of the tree. At the far left is a statue of a draped elderly and bearded god on a base - he holds a jug in one hand and a stick-like object in the other. In the lunettes on the sides of the

sarcophagus are bird scenes. On the left side is a stork with a tree; the stork is apparently plucking a snake from the branches of the tree. On the right side is an eagle tearing at a hare.

The scene on one of the Villa Doria fragments (no. 29a) is much the same as that in the left hand lunette of the Via Labicana sarcophagus. Again an old peasant sits in front of an altar and the statue of a young god placed in front of a tree; he again holds a small pig by the rear feet and pours a libation from a jug. The scene on the other fragment (no. 29b) shows a peasant who appears to be letting the blood out of an animal; the animal is tied by the rear feet to a tree, and its blood is falling into a basin underneath. There is another animal at the foot of the tree.

The interpretation of the scenes has centred particularly on the identification of the gods whose images appear in the lunettes of the Via Labicana sarcophagus. Paribeni, Aurigemma and Honroth see the young god as Silvanus Iuvenis (29) and the other as an elderly Dionysus. However, a far more fantastic interpretation was produced by Kerényi (30). He suggested that the young god should not be identified as Silvanus but young Dionysus: he is carrying a pedum and a net for catching hares, an offering made live to Dionysus. He also suggested that he might be Zagreus, that is Dionysus in his aspect of god of the Underworld. He takes the scene as a whole to represent the sacrifice by an old man to a young god in an attempt to regain the vigour he had in his first initiation. The elderly god he feels does not pose problems- he is Dionysus - the goats are present because a kid seethed in its mother's milk was a sacrifice to Dionysus. Kerényi also ties up certain other of the plants and animals on the sarcophagus with

these cults. He concludes, however, that the scenes should be interpreted as the religious life overcoming death not through philosophical speculation but through cult action. Turcan on the other hand (31) believes both gods to be Dionysus, one old, one young. The young god therefore is Dionysus Sykites or Meilichios, not Zagreus or Silvanus. The young and old images are a promise of a reviving cycle, important in funerary imagery. The scenes he does not see as mystic so much as a depiction of a simple and serene daily devotion. He does not think the animal scenes are particularly significant at this date, although they may have had religious meaning earlier.

It seems to me that the two sarcophagi - the Via Labicana and Villa Doria - should be taken together. On the Villa Doria sarcophagus the second scene, replacing the scene with the elderly god on the Via Labicana sarcophagus, shows a different scene of rural piety, so perhaps too much should not be made of the opposition of the old and the young gods. Indeed their precise identification is probably not that important. What is important is that the scenes exude intense piety and peace: the man in all the scenes is totally absorbed in his actions, and is clearly perfectly happy with his animals and his gods. These scenes appear to be completely different in intention and effect from any of the scenes on the other garland sarcophagi. Nevertheless, their simplicity is misleading, for they are as literary as any of the mythological scenes: they represent the idealised picture which a cultivated town-dweller has of the country. The animal scenes are an interesting survival from the decoration of the cinerary monuments: if they have any particular significance and relevance to the scenes on the front of the

sarcophagus it must be to illustrate the barbarous vigour of nature - a theme quite in keeping with the scenes showing the control of nature by cult acts to the gods concerned.

Nereids, Tritons and Cupids.

Sea-scenes - Nereids and Tritons and cupids on sea-animals or dolphins - were very popular for the decoration of garland sarcophagi. Some of these are quite late, belonging to a period outside the scope of the present work, and the earlier pieces seem to be represented only by fragments. A large fragment in Ostia (no. 9) dates from c. A.D. 125. Only one lunette remains, and this has in it a Nereid riding sedately on the back of a cheerful Triton who brandishes a sunshade. A series of fragments from the Villa Borghese (no. 30) may also be fairly early. It seems that the five panels, now used to decorate statue bases, once belonged to one sarcophagus. This may be reconstructed with four cupids and three garlands on the front with scenes of Nereids in each of the lunettes: on the sides there were sea-griffins above the garlands. In the central lunette on the front is a Nereid carrying a breastplate riding on a dolphin, and in both the lunettes on either side of this there are Tritonesses carrying other pieces of armour - a shield and greaves. Other fragments used in the same way in the Villa Borghese seem to come from a sarcophagus of considerably later date (no. 35). This, too, had three garlands on the front. In the central lunette a Nereid rides on the back of a Triton blowing a shell horn, while in the lunettes on either side cupids ride enthusiastically on sea-panthers.

A complete sarcophagus in the Campo Santo, Pisa (no. 21; pl. 128, 129) is quite idiosyncratic in style, but nevertheless may belong to the years before the middle of the century. This has three cupids with two garlands on the front and in the lunettes a Nereid riding on the back of a sea-centaur. The slightly older, bearded sea-centaur on the left is carrying pan pipes in one hand, while the younger one on the right holds a bowl of fruit on high. There are a number of small fragments of garland sarcophagi with scenes of this type (nos. 31-33). Most of these are badly damaged, but it seems that the sea-centaur on one of the two fragments in the Museo Chiaramonti is playing a lyre, and the Nereid seated on the back of a Triton on a fragment in Viterbo is also playing a musical instrument of some kind. Other examples of sarcophagi with Nereid and Triton scenes are known only from drawings (32).

These scenes do not stray very far from the pattern established on the cinerary monuments: the cupids playing in the tails of the sea-creatures are missing, but this might simply be because the shape of the lunette does not easily accommodate them. Perhaps the most important development is that on the first of the Villa Borghese sarcophagi (no. 30) the Nereid scenes represent a mythological event - the transport of the arms of Achilles - and not a mere genre scene. On the monuments generally there is a proliferation of attributes, especially musical instruments (a conch horn, pan pipes, lyre and lute (?)) which supplement the more usual oar or rudder. Nevertheless, apart from the introduction of the mythological element the scenes do not add anything new to the motif, and it is difficult to see that they are any more significant than those on the cinerary monuments.

Other garland sarcophagi were decorated with cupids riding



on sea-creatures. These all seem to be later pieces. The second sarcophagus in the Villa Borghese has already been mentioned (no. 35): it had cupids riding on sea-panthers in the two side lunettes on the front. A fragment in the Louvre (no. 34) has a cupid on a sea-griffin, and a sarcophagus in the Galleria Lapidaria (no. 37) has a cupid riding on a sea-panther in one lunette and on a sea-lion in the other. A child's sarcophagus in the same collection (no. 36) has cupids riding on dolphins in both lunettes on the front - they form mirror images to one another - and in the frieze along the front of the lid there are two more cupids holding up the couch on which a sleeping Psyche lies. Another child's sarcophagus, in Aix (no. 39) has a cupid on a sea-griffin in the left lunette, and a sea-panther in the right. Finally, a sarcophagus in the Terme Museum (no. 38), so stylised that it is probably of quite a late date (although possibly not as late as the third century as Rumpf suggests (33)) has large fierce sea-dragons with small cupids on their backs in both lunettes.

Cupids on sea-animals and Nereids also found their way on occasion onto other parts of the sarcophagi than the lunettes. The Actaeon sarcophagus has an elegant train of Nereids and Tritons with a variety of sea-animals in the frieze along the front of the lid. A sarcophagus in the Terme Museum (no. 4) which has masks in the lunettes on the front was decorated on its left side with a cupid on a sea-dragon, and on the right side with a cupid (dressed as Hermes?) on a sea-ram. However, in most cases the motifs were used as decorative fillers for the lunettes, and were most common in the years just before the middle of the second century rather than on the earliest pieces. They were presumably used for monuments bought from stock

rather than those specially commissioned.

Although cupids were usually represented in scenes with sea-animals they are represented at play on a sarcophagus in Ostia (no. 41; pl. 131, 132, 133). In the scene in the left lunette one cupid is wearing a huge Silenus mask, and pokes his hand out through its mouth: the second cupid stands in front of him, his hands raised in (mock?) surprise and terror. The scene takes place between two trees (34). In the second scene two cupids, their wings folded on their backs, face one another over two objects on the ground which appear to be a ball and a palm branch. The scene is quite animated and it seems likely that the two cupids are about to embark on some contest, whether wrestling or a ball game. The scene is again placed between two trees. On the sides of the sarcophagus are a jug and a patera. The scene of cupids playing with a mask can be found in a variety of reliefs: the scenes do not suggest any very deep sentiments or ideas.

The sarcophagus of *Malia Titia* (no. 7; pl. 120-123) has cock fight scenes in both the front lunettes. Both scenes are of excellent workmanship. In the left hand scene the cock on the left holds a wreath in his claw - he looks proud and victorious. The other cock bows his head down and looks up at the first cock, clearly defeated and perhaps asking for mercy. In the background are two boys: one holds a palm branch, while the other blows a trumpet. In the scene in the right hand lunette the cock on the left has a palm branch behind him and stalks away to the left giving a proud and contemptuous look over his shoulder at the loser, who hangs his head very low in defeat, his wing trailing. In the background are three boys. The one whose cock presumably lost is leaving in

tears and another child has his hand on his shoulder as if comforting or upbraiding him. The third child, the owner of the successful bird, leads the winner off, a short stick in his hand.

Calza (35) has already considered these scenes: he points to the use of the motif not only on the cinerary monuments but also on some later sarcophagi and in literature. He suggests that they are an allegory of life and death, and points to the belief that the cock is a malignant night spirit. The problems are the same as for the scenes on the cinerary monuments - the addition of the finer details on these scenes does not change their significance in any way. As with them the scenes can be seen to allude to victory and defeat, and as such may be allegories of life and death, but they cannot be taken to allude to victory over death without further evidence. The other motifs on the sarcophagus - animal heads, panthers and medusa heads on the sides with dolphins with a trident in the pediments of the lid - do not aid interpretation in any way.

#### Heads and masks.

Medusa heads were used on some of the early sarcophagi, but probably at first only on the sides: thus they appear in the lunettes on the sides of the sarcophagi of Tebanianus and Malia Titia. A medusa head was also used in the lunette of the fragment in Palermo (no. 14) which seems to be the side of a sarcophagus. The Porta Viminalis sarcophagus, however, is the earliest piece to use the motif as the major decoration in the lunettes on the front (no. 3; pl. 100). The decorative scheme, minus the central satyr on the front, was then used on a number of sarcophagi from

the middle and second half of the second century, as on a sarcophagus once in the Isola Sacra (no. 41). On none of these were the medusa heads flanked by swans or associated with rams' heads as they were on the cinerary monuments. The medusa heads on the Porta Viminalis sarcophagus (pl. 107, 108) and the Palermo fragment in particular are of the very refined and beautiful hellenistic type - in contrast to the rougher versions on the sides of the sarcophagi of Tebanianus and Malia Titia (pl. 109, 121). The calm medusa faces on the Porta Viminalis sarcophagus' chest add to the static, even dreary, appearance it presents: it is only the lively cupid frieze along the front of the lid which shows any sign of movement.

Dionysiac masks were destined to be the most popular filling motif for the lunettes - dozens of sarcophagi of the later second and third centuries used this motif, but it does not seem to have been introduced particularly early into the repertoire and did not really catch on until the middle of the second century. The earliest sarcophagus with dionysiac masks in the lunettes is probably in the Lateran Collection (no. 11), dating from c. A.D. 130. A number of fragments in the Lateran Collection, also with dionysiac masks in the lunettes, seem to be by the same workshop, which may have specialised in this type of decoration (36). The masks on the sarcophagus are: in the left lunette a satyr and maenad, in the right lunette a Silenus and a woman wearing a wimple, a characteristic headdress which is also found on the other fragments. The masks rest on rocky ledges.

On the sarcophagus fragment in Naples (no. 13), to be dated a few years later, the lunettes with dionysiac masks flank a

central lunette with the scene of drunk Pan being carried by cupids. On the sarcophagus in Pawlowsk (no. 15) made in c. A.D. 140 all three lunettes on the front have two masks placed on rocky ledges - Pan and a satyr, two Sileni, and a satyr and a maenad. A number of other sarcophagi from the period around the middle of the second century were decorated with dionysiac masks. A very standard sarcophagus of this type is in the Isola Sacra, Ostia (no. 42): others found ways of varying the scheme. A sarcophagus in Orvieto which may have come from Ostia (no. 43) uses a cantharos as the central garland support on the front, while another in the Villa Albani (no. 20) places Cupid and Psyche in the centre in addition to cupids supporting the garlands. A sarcophagus now used as a fountain in the Villa Borghese gardens (no. 44; pl. 134) has winged Victories as garland supports instead of the usual cupids - these are the earliest female figures which can be identified as Victories with any certainty, as those on the other sarcophagi are wingless. There can be one or two masks per lunette on such sarcophagi, and the favourite types are Satyrs, Sileni, Maenads, Pan and Dionysus. There is sometimes a pedum accompanying the masks. Such masks probably suited admirably the taste for a generalised allusion to the bacchic cult without necessarily suggesting a deeper or a particularly eschatological meaning.

Theatrical masks were never quite as popular on the sarcophagi, but they do appear from time to time. The earliest examples are on the sarcophagus in the Terme museum from the group found in 1885 which seems to have come from the same workshop as the Porta Viminalis sarcophagus (no. 4), and possibly a fragment in Berlin (no. 45)(37). The sarcophagus at Cliveden (no. 16) has an un-

finished portrait bust in the central lunette flanked by a tragic mask in the left lunette and a comic mask in the right lunette. The Terme sarcophagus has two comic masks in both lunettes, and the Berlin fragment has two tragic masks in the surviving lunette, one of them identified as Hercules. Theatrical masks, as I have already suggested, may have been designed to compare life with a part played on a stage, a part which is now over. This is perhaps likely in the case of the Cliveden sarcophagus where the portrait bust was so closely associated with the two kinds of mask, alluding perhaps to life's pleasures and sorrows.

Heads and masks of all kinds seem to have emerged on the sarcophagi slightly after the mythological and bacchic scenes: like the more ordinary scenes (Tritons and Nereids or cupids on sea-animals) they need not have been made to a special commission, as the mythological scenes must have been, and continued to be used on sarcophagi made during the later part of the second century and even into the third and fourth centuries. They are decorative motifs with only the minimum of symbolic eschatological content.

#### Griffins and griffin sarcophagi.

Although this study is devoted primarily to the garland sarcophagi, another small group of monuments should be mentioned because they, too, appear to be of early date and their decoration uses motifs already popular on the cinerary monuments of the late first century. The main element in their decoration is the griffin.

The earliest sarcophagus is the 'priest's sarcophagus' in the Vatican Museums (no. 46), so-called because of the various priestly implements above the garlands on the lid. On the front a pair of

horned lion-griffins face one another over an acanthus pattern, raising their inside front paws. Their tails develop into peopled scrolls, the volutes containing cupids spearing animals. At the corners are burning candelabra composed of several elements. The sides are also decorated with horned lion griffins with bulbous columns (baetyli?) at the back corners. The lid has a frieze of cupids supporting garlands, each with a ritual implement above. There are masks forming corner acroteria, and in the side pediments laurel wreaths.

The sarcophagus is often said to belong to the Trajanic-early Hadrianic period (38), but there are good stylistic reasons for thinking that it is even earlier, and it certainly ante-dates the garland sarcophagi. The griffins are closer to the Flavian than the Trajanic type (39): Trajanic griffins, for example those in the Lateran Collection from Trajan's forum, are rendered in low relief - they are taut and tense with carefully modelled muscles and finely etched wing details. The sarcophagus' griffins are flabbier, shaggier, and altogether less civilised, and the detail on their wings is not as crisp. This is not the result of inferior craftsmanship but of a different style, a style which can be seen in Flavian sculpture, especially reliefs from Domitian's palace on the Palatine. Peopled scrolls, moreover, according to Toynbee and Ward Perkins (40), were adopted in Rome by sculptors of the Flavian period, and were used particularly under Domitian, although they did not long outlast the end of the century. The writers consider this motif on the priest's sarcophagus to be stiff and stylised, but it is not unduly so and betrays Flavian influence even if it was not made under the Flavians. Finally, the cupids and the garlands on the frieze of the lid are of a style seen on the grave altars of the end of the

first century rather than those used on the garland sarcophagi - in fact they are very like those on the grave altars of Crenaeus and Apusulemus Caerellianus (pl. 8, 9). On balance, therefore, I would date the sarcophagus to c. A.D. 100; it may have been made early in the reign of Trajan, but the sculptors were trained under the Flavians and had not yet come under the influence of the Trajanic friezes.

The other sarcophagi decorated with heraldic griffins are closer to the style of the Trajanic griffins. A child's sarcophagus in Ostia (no. 47; pl. 135) has two pairs of confronted lion-griffins on the front. In the centre of each pair is a candelabrum, and in the centre of the chest a male mask, possibly placed in front of another candelabrum. There is a single griffin on the sides. Another child's sarcophagus, in Cambridge, (no. 48) has two pairs of standing beaked griffins on the front, arranged back to back so that the two in the centre are confronted. The central figure is female and acanthus-ended, carrying a basket of fruit on her head. At the front corners are bulbous columns or thymiateria, at the back corners upright burning torches, and on the sides a single griffin. The frieze along the front of the lid is decorated with bucrania supporting a variety of garlands with cult objects above, and in the pediments on the sides there are laurel wreaths. One more sarcophagus of this type comes from the tomb of the Calpurnii Pisones (no. 49). It is decorated with two pairs of seated panther griffins on the front: they raise their paws to a bulbous object, and there is a palmette in the centre and torches at the front and back corners. On the sides there are more griffins, one with a rams' head. The lid is decorated with a frieze of cupids riding on sea-animals, and in the



pediments a sea-dragon with dolphins, and pigs under a tree with a dog. Finally, there is one more sarcophagus which may well belong to the early part of the second century. This is a strigillated sarcophagus found at Ostia (no. 50). The whole of the front is decorated with a precise strigil pattern. On the left side is a winged horned lioness with her foot on a ram's head, and on the right side a lion-griffin rearing back in surprise as a snake emerges from a cavity in a rock. There are torches at the back corners (41). Griffins were also used in the decoration of the garland sarcophagi, as back corner garland supports (Actaeon and Hever Castle sarcophagi) and on the sides (Porta Viminalis sarcophagus and sarcophagus in Ince Blundell Hall).

Matz and Lehmann-Hartleben, Olsen see the panther or lion griffins on sarcophagi of this type as allusions to the cult of Dionysus - Matz declares the priests's sarcophagus to be one of the earliest dionysiac sarcophagi (42). The motif was popular at this period in many arts, not least sculpture: it need not allude to a deeply mystic view of the afterlife based on bacchic ideas. If it did, surely some other bacchic motif would have been chosen to decorate the lid, not the selection of religious objects which do appear. The decoration of these sarcophagi does not abound in allusions to the cult of Bacchus. Moreover, beaked griffins were still being used on the Cambridge sarcophagus and are the usual variety on the garland sarcophagi: the two types of griffin, despite their allegiance to different deities, still seem to be interchangeable. As I have attempted to show, the decoration of the garland sarcophagi does not show any particular leanings towards the cult of Bacchus, and the griffin sarcophagi do not afford sufficient evidence for changing this view.

Conclusion.

The decoration of the earliest sarcophagi, therefore, does not represent a major break with that of the cinerary monuments, but it does represent a development from it, involving the emphasis of certain motifs and the neglect of others. The earliest pieces, which use an unusual selection of mythology, were clearly specially commissioned by their owners, although by the middle of the century the emergence of less individual pieces can be seen, suggesting a less particular choice by the sculptors' patrons. In Part One I suggested that the decoration of these monuments, and the differences between their decoration and that of the cinerary monuments, might help to explain the change in burial rite. What conclusions can, in fact, be drawn from the monuments on this question?

Although the scenes used in the lunettes of the garland sarcophagi are complex and offer many points for speculation as to a hidden allegorical content, I can find no one idea which links them all to suggest that a particular religious or philosophical viewpoint was behind the change in burial rite. In particular, I do not agree with Matz and Turcan that the cult of Dionysus was especially favoured in their decoration: on the contrary, I would suggest that there are still traces of the reverence for Apollo which was so apparent on the cinerary monuments. Scenes alluding to Bacchus and the bacchic throng became more popular on sarcophagi made around the middle of the second century, but such scenes do not abound on the earlier pieces, and those that were used tend to be rather vague and unspecific.

Apart from the mythological scenes the garland sarcophagi use a decorative repertoire that is a reduced version of that used on the cinerary monuments: it is difficult to see any deep symbolic

content in the cupids, female figures, garlands, medusa heads, theatrical or dionysiac masks, or, indeed, even in the Nereid and cupid scenes. The mythological scenes must hold the clue, if any, to the reason for the adoption of sarcophagi and inhumation. One of the most striking things about these scenes is that they illustrate very literary themes: most of the myths are to be found in Ovid's Metamorphoses, others allude to the Iliad and plays by the Greek dramatists. Even the rural scenes suggest the pastoral literature of Rome. It is possible that such scenes do convey a complex eschatological moral based on philosophical principles, but if so it is deeply hidden indeed. The education and cultural level required to appreciate these scenes, let alone commission them, must have been quite high, and forms a contrast to the somewhat cruder mentality behind many of the cinerary monuments. The earliest sarcophagi seem to go out of their way to prove that they are not vulgar (43).

Who, then, was responsible for the commission of such monuments? Tebanianus, an ex-consul, was one, the totally unknown Malia Titia was another, but neither of their monuments are altogether typical of the group; it is probable that a third belonged to the Calpurnii Pisones. Turcan suggests that the adoption of sarcophagi was brought to Rome by administrative officials who had been in the East: he quotes the case of Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus, the proconsul of Asia in A.D. 106-7, who died before the end of Trajan's reign and planned to be buried in a Greek garland sarcophagus (44). However, Turcan links together two phenomena which should not be treated as inseparable - the introduction of sarcophagi and a new enthusiasm for the dionysiac cult. Both may have come from the East via the same set of people, but this does not mean that

sarcophagi were introduced because of such bacchic beliefs. It is a pity we know so little about the people whose monuments these were: they must have been quite wealthy, they were clearly well-educated and proud of their cultivation, and they may have belonged to the senatorial families. Their adoption of sarcophagi may reflect influence from the east, or it may be a resurgence of Italian habits - some noble families, after all, had always inhumed their dead. It seems likely that at first they did not include the freedmen or the middle classes: the cinerary monuments suggest that this larger section of society preferred a rather different repertoire of motifs, some of which do crop up again on sarcophagi of the later second and third centuries when inhumation had become the more usual burial rite in the city.

I would suggest, therefore, that the adoption of sarcophagi was exactly what Nock suggested: a manifestation of the whims of fashion. Large, expensive sarcophagi were introduced to Roman society by a cultural élite at the beginning of the second century, and, as they were soon imitated by those with cultural aspirations, a new fashion was born. It need not have depended at all on changes in religious, philosophical or moral belief. The development of memorial art is, after all, always as much at the mercy of current artistic trends as it is affected by religious belief. The contemporary Roman might have remarked, as the Duchess of Malfi was to do fifteen centuries later:

Why, do we grow fantastical in our death-bed?

Do we affect fashion in the grave? (45).

Notes.

- 1). Honroth cat. nos. 111, 113-121, dating from c. A.D. 160 to the early fourth century.
- 2). The exceptions are the sarcophagi of C. Bellicus Natalis Tebanianus and Malia Titia. See Chapter 4, n. 20.
- 3). F. Matz, Gnomon 32 1960 p. 549.
- 4). Ovid, Metamorphoses. bk. III, lines 193-252.
- 5). See Chapter 7, mythological scenes n. 13. It was presumably easier to copy the model used on the cinerary monuments complete with the cupids than to redesign it with nymphs.
- 6). Robert, A.S.R. III,1, p. 6, nos. 2(1) and 2(2).
- 7). I do not know the present whereabouts of this - it does not seem to be any longer in the garden which belonged to the Conte Gherardesca on the Borgo dei Pintti. The following description is based on the drawing produced by Robert and his description of it. I know of no photographs of it.
- 8). This identification seems likely in view of the representation on a red figure calyx signed by Euphronios. Here the helmeted warriors carrying Sarpedon are winged, and Hermes stands in the background. The arrangement of the figures is similar, but it is possible that the scene on the sarcophagus is an adaptation of the design for a different episode. The figures on the calyx are labelled, so there is no doubt about their identities: J. Boardman, Athenian Red Figure Vases, London 1975, fig. 22.
- 9). For the question of whether the younger man is Neoptolemos or Diomedes see Robert, A.S.R. II, pp. 149-150.
- 10). Robert, A.S.R. II, p. 152, refers to terracotta reliefs showing the same subjects.
- 11). It was used in conjunction with scenes of Andromeda, Actaeon, Phrixus, Paris and Helen and Io and Argus.
- 12). Ovid, Metamorphoses, Bk. VIII, lines 176-182.
- 13). Robert, A.S.R. III,2, p. 246. Victory was commonly placed at this point in the narrative on the later sarcophagi. A water divinity, however, would accord with the account of the myth given by Ovid.
- 14). Robert, A.S.R. III,2, pp. 246-247, no. 197.
- 15). Cumont, Recherches, pp. 18-20, 303-304.
- 16). Robert, A.S.R. III,2, pp. 247-267.

- 17). Robert, (A.S.R. III,3, p. 457) and Valentilli (Marmi scolpiti della Marsiana, Prato 1866, p. 128) believed it to be part of the front. Anti (Il Regio Museo Archeologico nel Palazzo Reale di Venezia, Rome 1930, p. 136) believed it to be a side. The pose of the cupids suggests that this is the left part of the front, but a considerable part of these figures has been restored, and it is difficult to see at precisely which point this panel was detached.
- 18). Robert, A.S.R. III,3, pp. 458-495.
- 19). Robert, A.S.R. III,3, pp. 464-465, no. 372, Florence, Uffizi Galleries.
- 20). Robert, A.S.R. III,2, pp. 206-217.
- 21). The torso of the body is male, but the genitals are obscured by the drapery and damage to the figure. The second figure is definitely Pan. Miss Toynbee in J.R.S. 18 1928 p. 215 identified the figures as Bacchus and a satyr: in The Hadrianic School p. 230 as a hermaphrodite with Pan. Turcan, p. 125 and p. 376, and Picard, Les Trophées romains p. 415, see them as a hermaphrodite who may or may not be Dionysus, and Pan, Matz, in A.S.R. IV,1 p. 124, as a hermaphrodite and Pan. Honroth, cat. 79, thought them Bacchus and a satyr. Morrona thought they were a satyr and a bacchante.
- 22). Toynbee, Hadrianic School, p. 230, does not see the scene as dionysiac, but Picard, op. cit., p. 416 and Honroth, loc. cit., identify the standing figure as a satyr, and Matz (loc. cit.) sees him carrying a thyrsus. Honroth identifies the scene as the Indian Triumph of Bacchus.
- 23). Picard, op. cit. p. 416. Turcan p. 125.
- 24). Picard, op. cit. pp. 415-416.
- 25). Turcan pp. 375-377.
- 26). Picard and Turcan interpreted them as the infant Bacchus, or a pun on heros, eros.
- 27). Matz, A.S.R. IV,1, p. 125, nos. 31-34, = Matz-Duhn nos 2356, 2411, 2413, 2440.
- 28). Turcan, p. 126.
- 29). Paribeni, Not.Sc. 1925 pp. 407-409; Aurigemma, p. 34; Honroth cat. 91.
- 30). K. Kerényi, 'Il Dio Cacciatore', Dionysos, 15 1952, pp. 131-142.
- 31). Turcan, pp. 389-392.
- 32). Rumpf, A.S.R. V, nos. 7-9.
- 33). Rumpf, A.S.R. V, p. 6, no. 16.

- 34). This curiously shaped tree can be seen again on the Hever Castle sarcophagus in the Sarpedon scene (pl. 117).
- 35). Calza, Boll. d'Arte 39 1954 p. 111.
- 36). Lateran Collection, nos. 10064, 10060, 10513.
- 37). Honroth Cat. 97 dates the fragment late Hadrianic, but I have not seen this piece and cannot be sure of its date.
- 38). Vat. Cat. I p. 256, no. 26; Toynbee, Hadrianic School, p. 216, Gusman, notes to pl. 54; Toynbee, Ward Perkins, P.B.S.R. 18 1950 p. 16, all date it 'Trajanic', Honroth dates it Trajanic to early Hadrianic, c. A.D. 120 (Cat. 76).
- 39). For Flavian and Trajanic relief styles, especially griffins, see JdI 51 1935 pp. 72-81.
- 40). J. M. C. Toynbee and J. B. Ward Perkins, 'Peopled Scrolls: a hellenistic motif in imperial art', P.B.S.R. 18 1950, p. 11.
- 41). A similar sarcophagus, with strigils on the front and griffins on the sides, rests outside the Curia in the Forum Romanum.
- 42). Matz, Meisterwerk, p. 47. Lehmann-Hartleben, Olsen, Dionysiac Sarcophagi, pp. 45-47, and passim.
- 43). The scenes could have been chosen more or less at random from a pattern book: even so, the choice of these specifically mythological themes argues cultural pretensions, if not actual knowledge.
- 44). Turcan, p. 373. M. Theuer, 'Der Sarkophag des Celsus Polemaeanus', Forschungen in Ephesos VI,1 1953, p. 42.
- 45). John Webster, The Duchess of Malfi, Act IV, Sc. II, l. 153-4.

**Appendix: The Inscriptions.**



Appendix: the major inscriptions.

## 1). C. Iulius Hesper - Museo Nazionale delle Terme.

Dis Man C. Iulius Hesper aram fecit sibi ubi ossa sua coiciantur  
 quae si quis violaverit aut inde exemerit opto ei ut cum dolore  
 corporis longo tempore vivat et cum mortuus everit inferi eum  
 non(?) recipiant.

## 2). M. Romanus Iovinus - basilica S.Paolo, Rome.

D.M. M. Romani Iovini rhetoris eloqui Latini. conditus hac  
 Romanus est tellure Iovinus docta loqui doctus quique locui docuit  
 manibus infernis. si vita est gloria vitae vivit et hic nobis ut  
 Cato vel Cicero. M. Iunius Severus et Romania Marcia heredes bene  
 merenti fecerunt.

3). Iulia Heuresis - Museo Nazionale delle Terme, C.I.L. VI 20513.

D. M. S. Iuliae Heuresis sanctissim volente fato vixit annis LXXII.  
 Hic super ossa cineresq tuos bene dicta quiescis, fecit Pomponia  
 Trophime bene merenti.

4). M. Iunius Rufus, C.I.L. VI 9752.

M. Iunio M. f. Pal. Rufo Soterichus pedagog. fecit. Hae sunt parvae  
 tuae meaeq sedes, haec certa est domus, haec colenda nobis, haec  
 est quem mihi suscitavi vivus.

5). L. Sempronius Firmus - Capitoline Museums. C.I.L. VI 18817.

Animae sanctae colendae D. M. S. Furia Spes L. Sempronio Firmo  
 coniugi carissimo mihi ut cognovi puer puella, obligati amori  
 pariter cum quo vixi tempori minimo et quo tempore vivere debuimus  
 a manu mala diseparati sumus. ita peto vos (Ma)nes sanctissimae  
 commendat(um) habeatis meum ca(ru)m et vellitis huic indulgentissimi  
 esse horis nocturnis ut eum videam et etiam me fato suadere velit  
 ut et ego possim dulcius et celerius aput eum pervenire.

6). Flavius Agricola. Once in the Vatican Cemetery, C.I.L. VI 17985a.

Tibur mihi patria, Agricola sum vocitatus  
 Flavius, idem ego sum discumbens, ut me videtis,  
 sic et apud superos annis, quibus fata dedere,  
 animulum colui nec defuit unquam Lyaeus.  
 praecessitque prior Primitiva gratissima coniuncta  
 Flavia et ipsa, cultrix deae Phariae casta  
 sedulaque et forma decora repleta,  
 cum qua ter denos dulcissimos egerim annos.  
 solaciumque sui generis Aurelium Primitivum  
 tradidit, qui pietate sua coleret fastigia nostra,  
 hospitiumque mihi secunda servavit in aevum.  
 Amici, qui legitis, moneo, miscete Lyaeum  
 et potate procul redimiti tempora flore  
 et venereos coitus formosis ne denegate puellis;  
 cetera post obitum terra consumit et ignis.

7). T. Statilius Aper. Capitoline Museums. C.I.L. VI 1975.

a) Innocuus Aper ecce iaces non virginis ira nec Meleager atrox  
 perfodit viscera ferro mors tacita obrepit subito fecitque ruinam  
 quae tibi crescenti rapuit iuvenile figuram.

b) T. Statilio Vol. Apro mensori aedificior vixit ann XXII m  
 VIII d XV. T. Statilius Vol. Proculus accensus velatus et  
 Argentaria Eutychia parentes filio optumo et Orciviae Anthidi  
 uxori eius sibi et suis libertis libertabus posterisque eorum.

8). Donatus to Pedana. C.I.L. VI 17050.

Ingrata Ven(e)ri spondebam munera supplex  
 erepta, coitum, virginitate tibi,  
 Persephone votis invidit pallida nostris  
 et praemature fun(e)re te rapuit.  
 su(p)remum versus munus Donatus et aram  
 et gratam scalpsit, docta Pedana, chelyn.  
 Me nunc torquet amor, tibi tristis cura recessit  
 le(t)haeque iaces condita sarcophago.

9). *Atimetus to Homonoëa, Capitoline Museums. C.I.L. VI 12652.*

*Atimetus Pamphili Ti. Caesaris Aug. l. L. Anterotianus sibi et  
Claudiae Homonoëae conlibertae et contubernali —*

ἡ πολυ ἑιρηνων λιγυρωτερη, ἡ παρα Βακχῶ  
και θουνας αὐτης χρυσοτερη Κυπριδος.  
ἡ λαλη Φαιδρη τε χειδονις ἐνθ Ὀμονοια  
κειμαι Ἀτειρητῶ λειπομενη δακρυα  
τῶ ιτελον ἀσπασιη βακις ἀπο· την δε τος αυτην  
δαιρων ἀποιδης ἐσκεδεσαν φιλιην.

*Verba Homonoëae:*

*Tu, qui secura procedis mente, parumper  
siste gradum, quaeso, verbaque pauca lege:  
illa ego, quae claris fueram praelata puellis  
hoc Homonoëae brevi condita sum tumulo;  
cui formam Paphie, Charites tribuere decorem,  
quam Pallas cunctis artibus erudiit.  
Nondum bis denos aetas mea viderat annos,  
iniecere manus invida fata mihi.  
nec pro me queror hoc: morte est mihi tristior ipsa  
maeror Atimeti coniugis ille mei.*

*Verba Viatoris:*

*Sit tibi terra levis, mulier dignissima vita,  
quaeque tuis olim perfruere bonis.*

*Verba Atimeti:*

*si pensare animas sinerent crudelia fata,  
et posset redimi morte aliena salus,  
quantulacumque meae debentur tempora vitae  
pensassem pro te, cara Homonoëa, libens,  
at nunc, quod possum, fugiam lucemque deosque  
ut te matura per Styga morte sequare.*

## V Verba Homonoeae:

Parce tuam, coniux, fletu quassare iuventam  
 fataque maerendo sollicitare mea!  
 nil prosunt lacrimae nec possunt fata moveri:  
 viximus; hic omnis exitus unus habet.  
 parce! ita non unquam similem experiare dolorem,  
 et favent votis numina cuncta tuis.  
 quodque mihi eripuit mors immatura iuventae,  
 id tibi victuro proroget ulterius.

10). Iulia Porcilla - Leyden?, C.I.L. VI 8703.

Iulia Procilla vix. an. XIX. Amaranthus Caesaris aeditus ab  
 concordia coniugi bene meritae posuit.  
 Hunc tibi perpetuo titulum, gratissima coniunx,  
 corporis extincti dedicat ipsa fides.  
 vixisti mecum iuvenis carosq(ue) per annos  
 quos vita exegi dulciter ipse mea.  
 Opto, si qua fides remanet t(e)lluris amicae,  
 sit tibi perpetuo terra levis tumulo.

11). T. Flavius Capito to Plaetoria Antiochis. Vatican Museums,  
C.I.L. VI 24243.

D.M.S. Plaetoriae Antiochidi rarissimae feminae vix. ann. XXVI  
 m. III d. XXIV h. X. T. Flavius Capito coniugi castissimae piissimae  
 et de se optime meritae de qua nullum dolorem nisi acerbissimae  
 mortis eius acceperat dignissimae fecit.

12). Iunia Procula - Uffizi gallery, C.I.L. VI 20905.

Dis Manibus Iuniae M. f. Proculae vix. ann. VIII m. XI d. V  
 miseros patrem et matrem in luctu reliquit. fecit M. Iunius  
 (M. l.?) Euphrosynus sibi et ——. Tu sine filiae et parentium  
 in (uno ossa?) requiescant quidquid nobis feceris idem tibi speres  
 mihi crede tu tibi testi(eris?).

13). Barberini Collection, C.I.L. VI 25531.

Qui dum vita data (e)st, semper vivebat avarus  
heredi parcens, invidus ipse sibi,  
hic accumbentem sculpi genialiter arte  
se iussit docta post sua fata manu,  
ut saltem recubans in morte quiescere posset  
securaque iacens ille quiete frui.  
Filius a dextra residet, qui castra secutus  
occidit ante patris funera maesta sui.  
Sed quid defunctis prodest genialis imago?  
Hoc potius ritu vivere debuerant.

C. Rubrius Urbanus sibi et Antoniae  
Domesticae coniugi suae et Cn.  
Domitio Urbico Rubriano filio suo et  
libertis libertabusque posterisque  
eorum et M. Antonio Daphno fecit.

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