

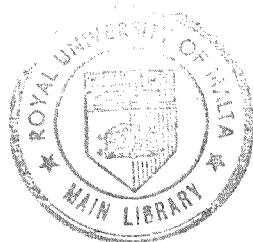
ROMAN RELIEF
PORTRAITURE
TO SEPTIMIUS
SEVERUS

Anthony Bonanno

BAR Supplementary Series 6
1976

Portraits and other Heads on Roman Historical Relief up to the Age of Septimius Severus

Anthony Bonanno



B A R Supplementary Series 6
1976

British Archaeological Reports

122 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 7BP, England

GENERAL EDITORS

A.C.C. Brodrigg, M.A.
Mrs. Y.M. Hands

A.R. Hands, B.Sc., M.A., D.Phil.
D.R. Walker, M.A.

Details of all issues of British Archaeological Reports will be sent free of charge and without any obligation to purchase, on request from the above address.

B.A.R. Supplementary Series 6, 1976: "Portraits and other Heads on Roman Historical Relief up to the Age of Septimius Severus".

© Anthony Bonanno, 1976.

Price £5.90 (\$13.00) post free.

Cheques and postal orders should be made payable to "British Archaeological Reports" and sent to the above address.

For a list of other B.A.R. publications, please see the last page.

Printed in Great Britain

CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF PLATES	
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	
INTRODUCTION	1
LATE-REPUBLICAN AND AUGUSTAN RELIEFS	
✓ Relief of Aemilius Paullus in Delphi	4
✓ Relief from the "Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus"	7
Relief from the Basilica Aemilia	12
Frieze from the Temple of Apollo <u>in Campo</u>	16
Relief of Actian Apollo	20
✓ The <u>Ara Pacis Augustae</u>	23
JULIO-CLAUDIAN AND FLAVIAN RELIEFS	
✓ The <u>Ara ^{Pietatis} Pietas Augustae</u>	35
✓ Relief of the Julio-Claudians in Ravenna	41
✓ <u>Suovetauralia</u> relief in the Louvre	45
✓ The Altar of the <u>Vicomagistri</u>	47
✓ The Cancellaria reliefs	52
✓ The Arch of Titus	62
TRAJANIC, HADRIANIC AND EARLY-ANTONINE RELIEFS	
✓ Trajan's Column	69
✓ Trajan's Great Frieze	77
The Arch of Trajan at Beneventum	82
The Hadrianic Roundels	95
Reliefs from the Arco di Portogallo	107
✓ The Reliefs on the base of the Column of Antoninus Pius	110
LATE-ANTONINE AND SEVERAN RELIEFS	
✓ The Antonine relief from Ephesos	114
✓ Marcus Aurelius' Column	137
The Arch of Septimius Severus in the Forum Romanum	143
The Arch of the Argentarii	147
The Arch of Septimius Severus in Lepcis Magna	150
Relief of Septimius Severus in Cyrene	156
CONCLUSION	163
REFERENCES	177
ABBREVIATIONS AND SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	215
PLATES	after page 227

LIST OF PLATES

(Question marks denote doubt, of varying degree, as to the certainty of identification.)

Frieze from the monument of Aemilius Paullus at Delphi.

1. General view.
- 2a. South Side. Helmeted rider. No. 26.
- 2b. East Side. Helmeted foot soldier. No. 3.
- 3a-b. North Side. Bareheaded rider, No. 14.
- 3c. South Side. Dead soldier. No. 29.
- 3d. Same. Dead soldier. No. 25.

Relief from the "Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus".

4. General view.
5. Mars.
6. Sacrificing priest.
7. Seated togatus of second group from left.
8. Standing togatus of second group from left.
9. Lyre-player.
10. Piper.
11. Camillus walking behind priest.
12. Victimarius leading sacrificial bull.
13. Figure waving laurel branches.
14. Veiled figure holding a vexillum.

Relief from the Basilica Aemilia.

- 15a. Scene IV. The Rape of the Sabines.
- 15b. Scene V. The Punishment of Tarpeia.
16. Scene II. Bearded figure (Faustulus?).
17. Scene III. Portrait-like figure.
18. Scene IV. Roman young man holding unconscious Sabine woman.
19. Same. Detail.

20. Scene V. Bearded warrior on the left (Titus Tatius?).
21. Same. Sabine soldier.
22. Same. Marriage scene. Two women facing each other.
23. Scene VIa. Nude soldier.
24. Fragmentary heads.
25. Fragment of relief preserved in the Lateran Museum.
26. Same. Detail.

Frieze from the Temple of Apollo in Circo.

27. First group of ferculum bearers.
28. Ferculum with captive barbarians.
29. Second group of ferculum bearers.
30. Part of the procession of victims.
31. First group of bearers. First bearer from left.
- 32a-b. Same. Second and third bearers.
33. Bearded captive.
34. Young clean-shaven captive.
35. Second group of bearers. Second bearer from left.
36. Same. Third bearer.
37. Same. Fourth bearer.
38. Trumpeter.
39. First victimarius from left.
40. First popa from left.
41. Second popa.
42. Third popa.
43. Third camillus from left.
44. Small fragment with another ferculum procession. Two of the bearers.
45. Fragment showing a battle on horseback.
46. Another fragment showing a mounted battle scene.

Relief of Actian Apollo.

47. General view.
48. Background figure and trumpeter.
49. Third figure from left (lictors?).

Ara Pacis Augustae.

South Frieze.

50. Group of lictors preceding Augustus.
51. Same. Detail.
52. Augustus and three of the figures preceding him.
53. Augustus.
54. Fragmentary relief head of Augustus in Vienne.
55. Augustus followed by a foreground figure (Tiberius or Pontiff?) and a background figure (Piso?).
56. Detail of same.
57. First flamen flanked by two background figures.
58. Other three flamines and a background figure.
59. Same. Detail.
60. Agrippa preceded by a velate priest.
61. Agrippa followed by two background figures and a child (Lucius Caesar?).
62. Agrippa.
63. Veiled Roman lady (Livia or Julia?) flanked by background figures.
64. Same. Detail.
65. Young man (Tiberius?) and young lady (Antonia Maior?).
66. Antonia Minor (?).
67. Antonia Minor (?) and young man in military costume (Drusus?).
68. Drusus (?) and veiled lady (Antonia Minor?).
69. Young man (L. Domitius Ahenobarbus?) preceded by a background figure (Maecenas?).
70. Same. Detail.
71. Small child (Germanicus?).
72. Two children (Gnaeus and Domitia, son and daughter of Domitius Ahenobarbus and Antonia Maior?).

North Frieze.

73. Young camillus (Gaius Caesar?).
74. Young child.
75. Magistrates and priests.

76. Lictors.

Small frieze on the inner altar.

77. Two figures, one with head missing.

78. Veiled priest and flamen.

Allegorical panels.

79. Tellus.

80. Aeneas.

Ara Pietatis Augustae.

81. Claudius surrounded by lictors and other figures.

82. Same. Detail.

83. Claudius.

84. Camillus and other three figures.

85. Same. Detail (Virgil?).

86. Lictors and flute-player.

87. Figure emerging from behind a temple.

88. Figure standing near a temple (head overworked).

Relief of the Julio-Claudians in Ravenna.

89. General view.

90. Augustus.

91. Same.

92. Antonia Minor (?) as Venus Genetrix.

93. Germanicus (?).

94. Same.

95. Claudius (?).

96. Same.

97. Smaller fragment showing victim and sacrificial attendants.

98. Same. Detail.

Suovetaurilia relief in the Louvre.

99. General view. Large fragment.

100. General view. Small fragment.

The Altar of the Vicomagistri.

101. General view. Left.
102. General view. Centre.
103. General view. Right.
104. First two vicomagistri and background figure.
105. Other two vicomagistri and background figures.
106. Fourth vicomagister and Lar carriers.
107. First two Lar carriers.
108. Other two Lar carriers.
109. Musicians.
110. Sacrificial attendants.
111. Sacrificial attendants.
112. Background togate figure.
113. Sacrificial attendants and a trumpeter.
114. Trumpeters.
115. Two magistrates, camillus and three lictors.

The Cancellaria reliefs.

116. Frieze A. General view.
117. Frieze B. General view.

Frieze A.

118. First lictor.
119. Domitian-Nerva.
120. Same.
121. Lictors in front of Roma.
122. Roma and lictors.
123. Lictor behind Roma.
124. Lictor behind the Genius of the Senate.
125. Bearded officer.
126. First soldier.
127. Second soldier.
128. Third soldier.

Frieze B.

- 129. Apparitor, Roma and Vestal.
- 130. Lictors and Genius Senatus.
- 131. Lictor, Genius Senatus and Domitian.
- 132. Domitian.
- 133. Domitian, Genius Populi and Vespasian.
- 134. Vespasian.

The Arch of Titus.

- 135. Triumphal procession. Chariot scene.
- 136. Triumphal procession. Spoils scene.
- 137. Chariot scene. Lictors above horses' heads.
- 138. Titus.
- 139. Spoils scene. Group of ferculum bearers.
- 140. Same. Another group of ferculum and tituli bearers.
- 141. Apotheosis panel. Titus.
- 142. Fragmentary relief head of Titus. Museo del Foro Romano.

Trajan's Column.

- 143. Scene XXXVI. Trajan.
- 144. Scene XL. Trajan.
- 145. Scene LXXII. Trajan.
- 146. Scene CIII. Trajan.
- 147. Scene CIV. Trajan surrounded by his associates.
- 148. Scene CV. Trajan.
- 149. Scene CXXX. Trajan.
- 150. Scene CXXXVII. Trajan.
- 151. Scene CV. One of Trajan's associates (Sura?).
- 152. Scene LXXV. Decebalus.

Trajan's Great Frieze.

- 153. Adventus of Trajan and part of battle scene.
- 154. Battle scene with Trajan charging enemy.
- 155. Detail of same.

156. Adventus of Trajan. Re-cut portrait of Trajan.
157. Battle scene. Re-cut portrait of Trajan.

Arch of Trajan at Beneventum.

Side facing the city.

158. Right attic relief. Trajan and Hadrian (?).
159. Hadrian (?).
160. Lictor.
161. Right pier, top panel. Trajan flanked by lictors.
162. Same. Detail. Trajan.
163. Same. Detail. Lictor in the background.
164. Right pier, lower panel. General view.

Side facing the countryside

165. Right attic relief. Trajan and a companion.
166. Same. Trajan.
167. Same. Trajan's companion (Sura ? Quietus ?).
168. Same. Young man standing on bridge (Hadrian ?).
169. Same. Another young man standing on bridge.
170. Same. Background head.
171. Left pier, top panel. Recruit.
172. Same. Lictor behind Emperor.
173. Same. Lictor on the extreme left.
174. Right pier, top panel. Trajan, personification and lictor.
175. Same. Lictor.
176. Left pier, lower panel. General view.
177. Same. Lictor in foreground behind Trajan.
178. Right pier, lower panel. General view.
179. Same. "Hercules".
180. Same. Man holding horse.

Passageway.

181. Sacrificial scene. General view.
182. Istitutio alimentaria. General view.

- 183. Sacrifice scene. Lictor.
- 184. Vault relief. Trajan crowned by a Victory.

The Hadrianic Roundels.

- 185. Departure for the Hunt. Young man holding horse. No. 17.
- 186. Same. Man with spear in hand. No. 19.
- 187. Sacrifice to Silvanus. Man standing in the background. No. 23.
- 188. Bear Hunt. Portrait figure on horseback (Quinctianus?). No. 28.
- 189. Same. Young man resembling Antinous. No. 26.
- 190. Sacrifice to Diana. Hadrian's portrait re-cut. No. 32.
- 191. Same. Portrait figure (Statianus?). No. 30.
- 192. Same. Bearded figure. No. 29.
- 193. Boar Hunt. Hadrian's portrait re-carved. No. 3.
- 194. Same. Portrait figure on horseback (Quinctianus?). No. 1.
- 195. Same. Young man on horseback (Antinous?). No. 2.
- 196. Sacrifice to Apollo. Hadrian's portrait re-carved. No. 5.
- 197. Same. Portrait figure holding horse (Statianus?). No. 7.
- 198. Same. Bearded figure. No. 4.
- 199. Pause after the Lion Hunt. Hadrian's portrait re-carved. No. 9.
- 200. Same. Portrait figure (Quinctianus?). No. 11.
- 201. Same. Bearded figure. No. 10.
- 202. Same. Young man. No. 8.
- 203. Same. Young man. No. 12.
- 204. Sacrifice to Hercules. Hadrian's portrait re-cut. No. 15.
- 205. Same. Portrait figure (Statianus?). No. 16.
- 206. Same. Bearded head belonging to this relief. Berlin Museum. No. 14.
- 207. Same. Young man. No. 13.
- 208. Fragmentary head perhaps belonging to one of the Tondi. Antiquario del Foro Romano.

Reliefs from the Arco di Portogallo.

- 209. Apotheosis of Sabina. General view.
- 210. Laudatio memoriae. General view.

Reliefs from the base of the Column of Antoninus Pius.

- 211. Apotheosis. Antoninus Pius.
- 212. Same. Faustina the Elder.
- 213. Left decursio. Riders 14, 15, 16.
- 214. Right decursio. Riders 14, 15, 16.
- 215. Left decursio. Rider 12.
- 216. Right decursio. Rider 12.

Antonine relief from Ephesos.

- 217. The adoption of the Antonines by Hadrian. General view.
- 218. Same. Hadrian and personification.
- 219. Same. Hadrian.
- 220. Same. Antoninus Pius.
- 221. Same. Marcus Aurelius.
- 222. Same. Lucius Verus.
- 223. Sacrifice of a bull. General view.

Panels of Marcus Aurelius.

- 224. Clementia. Marcus Aurelius.
- 225. Triumph. Marcus Aurelius.
- 226. Sacrifice. The Emperor and part of his retinue.
- 227. Same. Marcus Aurelius.
- 228. Fragmentary relief portrait of Marcus Aurelius perhaps belonging to a lost panel. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.
- 229. Clementia. Pompeianus.
- 230. Sacrifice. Pompeianus.
- 231. Profectio. Pompeianus.
- 232. Lustratio. Pompeianus.
- 233. Submission. Pompeianus.
- 234. Rex Datus. Pompeianus.
- 235. Prisoners. Pompeianus.
- 236. Adlocutio. Pompeianus.
- 237. Liberalitas. Pompeianus.
- 238. Same. Claudius Severus (?).

- 239. Same. Victorinus (?).
- 240. Sacrifice. Portrait figure.
- 241. Submission. Young barbarian prince.
- 242. Same. Barbarian and signifer.
- 243. Rex Datus. Barbarians and signifer.
- 244. Adlocutio. Soldier and signifer.

Marcus Aurelius' Column.

- 245. Scene XXXIX. Marcus Aurelius, associate and soldier.
- 246. Scene XLIX. Marcus Aurelius, two associates, soldier and barbarian.
- 247. Same. Marcus Aurelius.
- 248. Scene LV. Marcus Aurelius and Pompeianus.
- 249. Scene LXII. Marcus Aurelius deliberating with his officers.
- 250. Scene LXVI. Marcus Aurelius.
- 251. Scene LXXIV. Marcus Aurelius.
- 252. Scene LXXV. Marcus Aurelius and associates.
- 253. Scene LXXVIII. Marcus Aurelius, associate and signifer.
- 254. Scene LXXXIII. Marcus Aurelius and associates.
- 255. Scene XCVIII. Marcus Aurelius, associates and soldiers.
- 256. Scene IX. Pompeianus.
- 257. Scene XXXVII. Pompeianus.
- 258. Scene XL. Barbarians.
- 259. Barbarians from various scenes.
- 260. Scene LVI. Barbarian.
- 261. Sarcophagus from Villa Taverna in Frascati. Victimarius.

Arch of Septimius Severus in the Forum.

- 262. Panel I, scene C. Left group.
- 263. Same. Right group.
- 264. Same. Adlocutio, general view.
- 265. Same. Background head in the centre.
- 266. Panel II, scene B. Left group.
- 267. Same. Right group.

- 268. Same. Right group (detail).
- 269. Same. Left group (detail).
- 270. Panel III, scene B. Right group including Emperor.
- 271. Same. Headless figure on the right of Emperor.
- 272. Same. Two bearded figures behind Emperor.
- 273. Same. Upper left group.
- 274. Same. Lower right group.
- 275. Panel IV, scene B. Adlocutio. Central group including Emperor.
- 276. Same. Detail.
- 277. Pedestal relief no. 16. Roman soldier.
- 278. Pedestal relief no. 14. Parthian captive and Roman soldier.
- 279. Pedestal relief no. 15. Parthian captive.
- 280. Same. Roman soldier.

Arch of the Argentarii.

- 281. East pier, internal panel. Septimius Severus.
- 282. Same. Julia Domna.
- 283. West pier, internal panel. Caracalla.
- 284. West pier, south face. Praetorian standards with images of Severus and Caracalla.

Arch of Septimius Severus in Lepcis Magna.

- 285. Attic frieze. Dextrarum Iunctio. General view.
- 286. Same. Septimius Severus.
- 287. Same. Caracalla.
- 288. Same. Geta.
- 289. Same. Julia Domna.
- 290. Attic frieze. Triumphal Procession. Central part of frieze.
- 291. Same. Septimius Severus flanked by Caracalla and Geta.
- 292. Same. Severus.
- 293. Attic frieze. Sacrifice. General view.
- 294. Same. Julia Domna.
- 295. Same. Caracalla or Geta.
- 296. Same. Genius Senatus.

- 297. Same. Jupiter.
- 298. Attic frieze. Triumph. Parts of the frieze.
- 299. Same. Julia Domna.
- 300. Pier panel. Sacrificial scene. General view.
- 301. Same. Severus, Hercules and Caracalla.
- 302. Pier panel. Capitoline Triad. General view.
- 303. Same. Severus as Jupiter.
- 304. Same. Julia Domna as Hera.
- 305. Pier panel. Subject not clear. General view.
- 306. Same. Julia Domna.
- 307. Pier panel. Crowning of Geta (?). General view.
- 308. Same. Geta (?).
- 309. Pier panel. Crowning of Caracalla (?). General view.
- 310. Attic frieze. Dextrarum Iunctio. Group of figures on the right.
- 311. Attic frieze. Sacrifice. Group of figures on the right.
- 312. Same. Group of figures on the extreme right.

Relief of Septimius Severus in Cyrene.

- 313. General view.
- 314. Parthian in flight to the left.
- 315. Nude warrior.
- 316. Sitting Parthian captive.
- 317. Caracalla.
- 318. Enemy soldier.
- 319. Septimius Severus.
- 320. Roman cornicen.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work is indebted to many people, and I would like to express my gratitude to all who have helped with the task.

I wish to record my great debt to the late Professor D. E. Strong whose stimulating suggestions and friendly discussions proved invaluable in the initial stages of my research. I am deeply grateful to Dr. R. Reece for his unfailing assistance and encouragement without which this work could never have reached completion. Dr. M. A. R. Colledge has had the kindness to read the text and make useful criticisms. I am also greatly indebted to Professor J. M. C. Toynbee for correcting the text and providing specialist advice. It goes without saying that I am solely responsible for any errors of language or interpretation.

I should like to express my gratitude to the Directors and Curators of the various museums and collections, in which the monuments are housed, for permission to examine closely and photograph a number of reliefs. Special thanks are due to my friend Amanda Claridge for her assistance with the photography of some of the pieces. The final processing of the plates was greatly facilitated by J. Scerri of the Medical School of the Malta University. My colleagues, too numerous to mention by name, have all contributed with their friendly help.

I am grateful to Mrs. Marina Felice for the meticulous accuracy with which she carried out the typing of the original manuscript and to Mrs. Esme Hill for its final typing. Advice and assistance have been generously given by the Editors of B.A.R.

I wish to thank the Royal University of Malta for supporting me financially during my research course in London, and the Central Research Fund of London University for contributing towards travelling expenses.

Finally, for their constant help, material and moral, I wish to dedicate this book:

CARIS PATRI ET MATRI,
UXORI ET FILIAE DILECTIS.

The following is a list of publications from which plates have been reproduced. The numbers in brackets refer to plates in this book.

Bartoccini R., Afr.It. figs. 82(297) 75(286) 64(297) 83(287) 88(289) 100(296)
98(294) 106(295).

- Becatti G., La colonna coclide istoriata: problemi storici iconografici stilistici (Rome 1960) pls. 22a(238) 22b(254) 25b(252) 26a(253) 26b(255) 28b(243) 37(246) 42a-b(260-1).
- Bianchi Bandinelli R., Rome, the centre of power: Roman art to A.D. 200 (London 1970) figs. 237(135) 238(136) 239(137, 140) 358(242) 359(241) 366(250).
- Blümel K., JdI 47 (1932) 90-6 figs. 2(206b) 4, 2(206a).
- Brilliant R., MAAR 29 (Rome 1967) pls. 63(262-3) 78(273) 105(251) 103(258) 102(245) 53b(278) 53c(279) 55b(277) 54c(280) 62a-b(264-5) 72(266-9) 80(270-2) 81(274) 90(275-6).
- Brunn-Bruckmann, Denkmäler no. 595(47-9).
- Cagianò de Azevedo M., Le Antichità di Villa Medici (Rome 1951) pls. III (182 & 87) IX(88) VII(83 & 85) IX(86).
- Caprino et al., La colonna di Marco Aurelio (Rome 1955) pl. D(249).
- Carettoni G. F., RivIstArch 19 (1961) 5-78 pl. in front of p. 26 (15a-b) figs. 76(17) 69(24) 11(16) 23(18).
- Giuliano A., L'Arco di Costantino (Milan 1955) figs. 7(154) 8(153).
- Gross W.H., Bildnisse Trajans (Berlin 1940) pls. 37a(145) 38b(149) 38c(150) 38d(144) 40b(148) 41a(146).
- Hafner G., RM 62 (1955) 160-73 pls. 61(89 & 90) 62(92) 63(93 & 94) 64(95 & 96).
- Hassel F. J., Der Trajansbogen in Benevent: ein Bauwerk des römischen Senates (Mainz 1966) pls. 40(161) 16(168 & 169).
- Haynes D. E. L. - Hirst P. E. D., BSR Suppl., London 1939 figs. 6(281) 7(282) 10(283) 22-3(284).
- Heintze H. von, Römische Kunst (Stuttgart 1961) fig. 72(139).
- Inan J. - Rosenbaum E., Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor (London 1966) pls. XXX(222b) XXVII, I(221) XXV, I(220) XX, I(219).
- Kähler H., Der Fries von Reiterdenkmal des Aemilius Paullus in Delphi (Berlin 1965) pls. 1(1) 21(2a-b) 22(3a-d).
- Kähler H., Seethiasos und Census. Die Reliefs aus dem Palazzo Santa Croce in Rom (Berlin 1966) pls. 4-5(4) 9(5) 10(6) 15a(9) 15b(11) 15c(13) 15d(14) 16a(7) 16b(12) 16c(10) 16d(8).
- Lehmann-Hartleben K., Die Antike 1 (1925) 319-37 figs. 8(151) 7(147) pls. 38(143) 35(152).
- L'Orange H.P. - Gerkan A. von, Der spätantike Bildsmuck des Konstantinsbogens (Berlin 1939) pls. 43b-c(193) 44a-b(199) 44c-d(190) 45a-b(196) 50a-b(157) 50c-d(156).
- Magi F., I rilievi flavi del Palazzo della Cancelleria (Rome 1945) pls. XII(120) XV(124) XVI(123) XVII(125-6) XVIII(127-8) XXIII(132) XXIV(134).

- McCann A.M., MAAR 30 (Rome 1968) pl. XVIII, 4(288).
- Pallottino M., Studi e Materiali del Museo dell'Impero Romano I (Rome 1938) fig. 13(155).
- Pietrangeli C., L'Arco di Traiano a Benevento (Novara 1947) pls. XIII (158) XVII(164) XXIII(178) XXII(176) XXIV(181-2) XXV(184).
- Reinach S., RA Se IV, XV(1910) pls. I(194) II(195) IV(198) VI(197) VII(202) VIII(201) IX(200) X(203 & 207) XII(205) XIII(185 & 186) XIV(187 & 189) XV(188) XVI(191 & 192).
- Rodenwaldt G., AbhBerl 3 (1935) 1-27 pl. 5(25a).
- Rotili M., L'Arco di Traiano a Benevento (Rome 1972) pls. 66(183) 75(177) 81(179) 82(180) 88(173) 89(172) 93(171) 100(175) 112(163) 126(167) 134(160) 133(159) 150(170) 95(174) 111(162) 143(166).
- Ryberg I.S., MAAR 22 (Rome 1955) pls. XX(24) XXXV(99 & 100).
- Ryberg I. S., Panel reliefs of Marcus Aurelius (New York 1967) pl. VIII fig. 8(228) pl. XVI figs. 14b(226) 15a-b(224) 38(244) 52c(237) 53c(231) 53d(230) 53g(236) 53b(235) 53i(233) 54(23a) 53e(232) 53f(234) 53a-b (229) 17a(240) 17b(227) 15c-d(225).
- Simon E., MZ 1 (1963) fig. 32(73).
- Stuart Jones H., The sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Oxford 1926) pl. 105(209 & 210).
- Vogel L., The Column of Antoninus Pius (Cambridge, Mass. 1973) figs. 7(211a) 8(212) 17(213) 13(216) 14(214) 16(215).
- Wegner M., Das Römische Herrscherbild II 4 (Berlin 1939) pl. 6(208) 7a(211b).
- Wegner M., Das Römische Herrscherbild II 1 (Berlin 1966) pls. 20c-d(142) 20a(138) 20b(141).
- Wegner M., JdI 46 (1931) figs. 6(247) 10(248) 47(256) 48(257).

INTRODUCTION

Since the appearance of Courband's work on Roman relief in 1899¹ several studies of this special branch of Roman art have been made either within the framework of Roman Imperial sculpture and art² or singly in museum catalogues³ and in monograph publications of the monuments to which they belong.⁴ An immense quantity of articles and publications has also been dedicated to the study of individual reliefs or groups of reliefs.⁵ On the other hand the portraits found on these reliefs have been included in monographs dealing with the portraits of individual Emperors⁶ or whole dynasties.⁷ What is still lacking is a work dedicated solely to the study of the entire range of portraiture in Roman relief.

This is precisely what this work sets out to achieve within the boundaries of Roman historical relief, that is, those reliefs which were set up to commemorate specific historical events or achievements of the Roman rulers. An assessment is made wherever possible of all the heads carved on these reliefs, with an attempt to decide first whether they are real, genuine portraits or not. Wherever portraiture is already established I shall discuss whether the suggested identification is acceptable or, if more than one identification is proposed, which one is the most probable. Comparisons will be made with free-standing portraits of the person in question in an attempt to determine which official portrait type is followed, if any, and in which way they differ. I shall try, at the end, to trace the development in the presentation of portrait figures and investigate whether this development follows a fixed pattern. In the examination of the heads I shall be searching for indications as to how the sculptors went about handling the portrait-heads within the whole composition, with a special emphasis on the question as to whether the Imperial portraits were tackled by the carver of the whole relief, or whether a specialist portrait-sculptor intervened for this job. The dating of each monument is also discussed in the light of observations made regarding portraiture.

As hinted above, my study is not limited to the heads which have already been established as real, genuine portraits and identified correctly - or incorrectly - with historically documented figures, but extends also to the heads of secondary figures, which accompany the main portrait figures, and those of the background figures, which generally have only a compositional or functional role: to fill the empty space in the background or to indicate the meaning of the picture. These heads have been included in order to establish the development of the standardized facial or head type, and deduce therefrom which heads differentiate themselves from the current type, with possible aspirations to portraiture.

What is, however, the criterion by which one can judge whether a head is a portrait or not? The definition of a portrait is not an easy one. Even Bernhard Schweitzer, in an essay on the art of portraiture in Greece, declined

to attempt a dogmatic definition. But he laid down, as a guide, two or three requisites which distinguish a portrait (Bildnis) from a simple image (Bild): "Perciò, quel che riconosciamo per ritratto, deve rispondere a due, o se pretende ad assurgere a rango di opera d'arte, a tre requisiti: (1) deve raffigurare una persona determinata - per persona si intende un individuo vivente o vissuto, in tutta la sua limitatezza e le sue caratteristiche umane; (2) la persona dev'essere raffigurata in maniera inequivocabile, cioè le sue fattezze debbono essere colte con i mezzi formali dell'arte in modo che possano riferirsi soltanto a questa persona e a nessun'altra; (3) si pretende, infine, che la personalità dell'individuo ritratto, cioè anche la sua intima essenza individuale, traspaia delle fattezze esteriori. Nella misura in cui la personalità si riconnette all'epoca storica e l'artista è in condizione di raffigurare questo nesso, il ritratto esprimerà anche contenuti che vanno al di là della persona stessa."⁸

The first two criteria can easily be adapted and applied in order to distinguish portraiture in historical relief. The third one will not be considered as an essential requirement for portraiture, but can be useful in the evaluation of the artistic merits of the relief portrait in comparison with those in the round.

In Roman relief sculpture the portrait figures are never indicated by name as so often happens in Greek art, for instance, in vase painting, Archaic sculpture and Hellenistic portraiture. But since the relief is a narrative picture they can be detected most often merely from their function in the scene. The role played by each figure in the scene betrays, to a large extent, the probability of its representing a real person or just an invented image. The man depicted standing in a chariot and being crowned by a Victory, or performing a sacrifice, or being received by allegorical figures, is bound to represent the principal figure, in Imperial times, the Emperor. An ordinary military, civilian, or religious official - a soldier, lictor, or sacrificial attendant - is far less likely to represent a historical person and, therefore, a portrait. ①

Besides function, other means are employed to pinpoint the figures that are most likely to be portraits, such as the place in the composition, attitude and position of the figure, and sometimes its size. It is quite logical that the most important figure - generally the Emperor - should occupy the most prominent position in the scene and stand out in highest relief, and that the movement and direction of the heads of the surrounding figures should lead the eye of the spectator towards him. Sometimes he appears larger in size than the other figures and very often in full-face attitude. Before the late-Antonine and Severan period this frontality is limited to the body. More or less the same devices are employed to detect the probability of portraiture in the other, subordinate figures. Figures enjoying a prominent position by their vicinity to the Emperor or by their high relief are also more likely to be portraits than those placed in remote corners and in low relief. ②

The last and perhaps the most definite criterion in selecting portraits from stock types is the characterization of the head and facial features which should be only and unmistakably referable to the person portrayed. If the head falls into the general pattern of the current standardized type, then it may be ③

use of probability rather than dogmatism.

considered as just another variation of a common theme. On the other hand, the more strongly individualized and life-like the features, the greater the probability of portraiture. In the case of the Imperial figures our task is made easier by comparisons with the portraits on coins, and with those in the round which, in turn, have been established as such from coin evidence. Such comparisons can often reveal to what extent the relief portrait is an idealized version or a realistic, truthful image of the personality in question. The appraisal of portraiture among the other figures is more difficult precisely because of the lack of such documentary and iconographic evidence. Therefore this criterion has to be applied in conjunction with others discussed above.

Thus, if a figure occupies a prominent position, stands in high relief and plays an important role and, over and above all this, is characterized by strongly individualized features, then in all probability it constitutes a portrait of a historical person. If, on the other hand, a background figure, in shallow relief and fulfilling a subsidiary function, has such characterizing features it does not follow that it represents a portrait but may be explained by a desire on the part of the sculptor to instill some character into one or two of his otherwise stereotyped secondary figures.

The following study does not, by any means, cover the whole list of surviving commemorative reliefs belonging to the period in consideration. It was, indeed, originally intended to include other reliefs on which the majority of the heads - including that of the Emperor - have been lost and for which an approximate date might have been attempted on the basis of the head types of the surviving figures. A few of these reliefs are the Nuncupatio votorum in the Louvre, the Palazzo Sacchetti relief, the fragmentary panel in the Lateran and the "Anaglypha Traiani". My initial purpose was to cover also fragments of single, or groups of, heads such as the relief head of Augustus in Vienne and the group of heads in the Lateran, as well as other fragments attributed to known historical reliefs, like the head of a soldier in Berlin thought to have belonged to the Great Trajanic Frieze.

If all these were included, however, the work involved would have stretched far beyond the time and space available. The chosen course of selecting some 25 of the most important and representative monuments proved to be more fruitful and has enabled the major points at issue to come clearly through.

What follows is therefore an examination and discussion of the main monuments of historical relief from the Roman Capital with the inclusion of three provincial examples which seemed of special importance in relation to metropolitan art.

the outside of the temple
the relief is on the outside of the temple

LATE-REPUBLICAN AND AUGUSTAN RELIEFS

RELIEF OF AEMILIUS PAULLUS IN DELPHI

The first Roman commemorative relief that we know of does not come from Rome, not even from Italy, but from the Greek world which little by little in the II century B.C. passed under the rule of Rome. This is particularly significant since we know that before coming in contact with the Greeks the Romans were not particularly fond of art⁹ and the only commemorative artistic genre used by the Romans at the time was the paintings, showing episodes of war campaigns, which were displayed in Rome during triumphal processions.¹⁰ These paintings - now non-existent - are held by a number of scholars of Roman art as the form of art from which Roman historical relief developed.¹¹

The earliest surviving Roman relief belongs to the monument commemorating the victory of Aemilius Paullus over Perseus of Macedon at Pydna (PLATE 1). It consists of a frieze running around the top of a tall rectangular pillar which supported an equestrian statue of the general and stood close to the temple of Apollo at Delphi.¹² The frieze was put up by Aemilius Paullus replacing an earlier one set up in honour of Perseus to whose glory the whole monument was originally dedicated. It is closely dated to the interval between 22nd June 168 B.C. (the date of the battle) and 29th November 167 B.C. (triumph of Paullus in Rome when he gave up the title of imperator accorded to him in the monument's inscription).¹³ In four scenes, distributed on the long and short sides of the pillar, the relief shows successive episodes of the battle of Pydna.

For the first time a Greek artist was commissioned by a Roman patron to record in almost documentary manner a specific event in contemporary history.¹⁴ In order to do this the Greek designer abandoned the centuries-old Greek tradition of commemorating events of contemporary or recent history by mythological or allegorical themes. If indeed we are to accept Kähler's identification of one of the Roman riders with Paullus himself¹⁵ we should have here the first extant example of a Roman portrait in relief.

It is a great pity that none of the figures have been preserved in a state good enough to permit a reliable iconographical and stylistic judgement from the point of view of portraiture. It also has not been easy to distinguish between Romans and Macedonians but Kähler's distribution of the opposite sides seems the most acceptable.¹⁶

The figure with the best preserved head is the bare-headed kneeling soldier on the East side (No. 8).¹⁷ His face is full with a rounded, rather slanting forehead set on a thick neck. He wears long curly hair and turns his head in profile to the left while his body is en face. Though rather heavy his features are fairly regular and do not present any portrait traits. Besides, he is clearly recognizable as a Macedonian both from his dress and the typical

Macedonian shield, the chalkaspis.¹⁸ The face of the foot soldier (No. 3)¹⁹ carrying a similar shield on the left half of the same scene is almost completely hidden both by the shield and the helmet (PLATE 2b). The left eye (the only visible part) is long-drawn, but in correct profile, though it does not seem to have been worked in any detail.

Another head, completely represented but corroded to a large extent belongs to the helmeted rider (No. 26) in profile to the left on the South side (PLATE 2a). His helmet has cheek-pieces which cover part of his face and his round shield is plain except for a horizontal element in relief in the shape of a barley corn. He is also a Macedonian.²⁰ The only visible features: eye, nose and forehead are very characteristic of the stereotyped Greek face. The two dead warriors lying on the ground in the same scene,²¹ one in heroic nudity (No. 25) (PLATE 3d) and the other partly covered by his decorated shield (No. 29) (PLATE 3c), are most interesting because they are the first examples of an iconographical type which will appear constantly in reliefs representing battles between Romans and barbarians, from the Mantua relief to the Great Trajanic Frieze and the Trajanic and Aurelian Columns, as well as on II and III century sarcophagi. They also form the link between these Roman reliefs and those representing battles in Greek art e.g. the Great Frieze on the Altar of Zeus from Pergamon and the "Alexander sarcophagus". The one on the extreme right (No. 29) is a Macedonian²² and though his facial features have completely disappeared, the upturned position of the head with hair hanging loosely down is still very evident. It is almost impossible to assign to either party the completely naked figure on the left (No. 25) because of the lack of distinctive elements.²³ Again the face is very corroded but it seems that originally it must not have differed from the Hellenistic type so popular at the time, with regular, slightly idealized features. Only his eyes seem to be closed, as those of most of the barbarians in later Roman reliefs will be. Again his face is turned upside down and facing the spectator but it does not convey any expression of suffering, such as we find in later battle scenes.

dead
barbarian

The classification of these five figures with the enemy side almost automatically deprives them of any claim to portraiture. As will be seen in later reliefs depicting battle scenes, the enemy is usually portrayed as a stock type and the only individuality conferred is usually merely racial. In this case not even this characterization is conveyed since all the faces are still Hellenized or generic.

We now pass to the most important figure, which is supposed to represent Aemilius Paullus. It is the rider seen from the back with head turned in profile to right on the North side (No. 14). His pose, riding a rearing horse, is very appropriate to a victorious Roman general dressed in the Hellenistic fashion, but so is that of the figure on the rearing horse on the extreme left of the East side. Furthermore, if one compares the Delphi relief with the "Alexander Sarcophagus" in Istanbul²⁴ one would find a perfect parallel for the latter figure in that of Alexander. They both stand on the far left end of the scene; both are represented in profile to right, the upper trunk of the body being twisted so that the chest is frontal; both raise their right arm in the act of throwing the spear while the left arm is hidden behind the horse's neck; both horses are in exactly the same prancing poise. Indeed the analogy

is so great that it seems as if the designer of our relief had a model similar to that used by the carver of the sarcophagus.²⁵ This similarity extends to the "Alexander Mosaic" in the National Museum of Naples.²⁶ Besides, this figure wears the Roman armour - as one would expect from a Roman general - in contrast with No. 14 who wears the typically Hellenistic cuirass.²⁷ It is true that the latter presents some portrait-like traits observed by Kähler: a no longer youthful figure, full face with a tendency towards the double-chin, small eye between the long-drawn heavy upper eyelid and the baggy lower one (PLATES 3a-b); but it is also true that we do not know what the other figures looked like especially the rider I have just mentioned. Besides, even this head is so battered and worn that a reliable objective judgement cannot be made.

So, as long as no more definitive proof of the traditional identification of the rider on the North side with Aemilius Paullus is brought forward, we shall have reason to doubt its validity, especially in view of the new possible candidate proposed above.

That the relief was designed and carved by Greek - or at least Hellenized - craftsmen is obvious from both style and technique. Roman craftsmen were unable to produce anything of this standard either at this stage or for a long time afterwards.²⁸ Paullus' particular admiration for Attic art and culture is well known.²⁹ Kähler³⁰ repeats Becatti's suggestion³¹ that the designer was the Athenian Metrodorus. However, the iconographic and stylistic analogies with the frieze from a grave monument from Lecce, now in the Museum of Budapest, suggest also the possibility of a sculptor from Magna Graecia.³²

RELIEF FROM THE "ALTAR OF DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS"

The earliest historical relief to be found in Rome, and one of the most controversial, is that belonging to the so called "Altar of Domitus Ahenobarbus" in the Louvre.³³ It was found in Rome in the XVII century together with a relief representing the marriage of Peleus and Thetis attended by a procession of Tritons and Nereids now in Munich.³⁴ It is now certain that both reliefs belonged to the same monument,³⁵ but rather than belonging to an altar, they probably decorated the sides of a base of a group of statues in a temple, perhaps the temple of Neptune in circo Flaminio.³⁶ The connection, however, between the reliefs and the Domitii family is now abandoned, as it was all based on unsubstantiated hypotheses piled one on another by various distinguished archaeologists.³⁷

The scene represented on the Louvre relief is evidently that of a census on the left and a sacrifice of a suovetaurilia (a lustrum) on the right (PLATES 4a-d). The presence of soldiers on both sides and of the god Mars in the centre suggests a censorial lustrum made in connection with the enrolment or disbanding of troops.

The relief is opened at the left end by a seated togatus in profile to the right writing on a folding tablet and with a pile of similar tablets at his side. His whole head is restored and so is that of the second togatus who stands before him with right arm stretched towards the opened tablet and holding in his left hand another tablet which might be a record of his possessions. He is looking at the first seated figure with whom he forms an intimate and isolated group. This is followed by another independent group of two togati, again one seated and the other standing. Their heads are turned towards each other while their bodies are shown en face. The seated togatus has a fat round face almost fused with an extremely thick neck (PLATE 7). The left side of his face is partly detached from the background but shows the same shapeless state (the nose is restored). He wears a rather strange hairstyle cut very high up at the back. His right eye presents itself just as a blocked-out, almond-shaped rounded surface. The standing togatus has a rather thinner face (PLATE 8). The slight distortion of chin and mouth is due to its position against the background. His hair, one of the best heads of hair preserved, is roughly carved in a distorted mass of curled and pointed locks separated by shallow channels. It covers a good part of the forehead where it ends clumsily in a straight line. The third group consists of two soldiers in mail armour, helmeted and carrying long oval shields - that carried by the second soldier is even longer and bulkier than the rest. The heads of the soldiers face in opposite directions and their faces are in the same shapeless state as the rest. The first soldier is represented en face as far as his body is concerned and raises his hand towards his brow in an [unintelligible gesture.] The second soldier is in profile to the right. Next in order are two short togate musicians: a lyre-player and a piper. The lyre-player is shown in three-quarter view to the right but his head is turned sharply to the left (PLATE 8). His face is oval, with very small eyes set

9

well apart and big shapeless ears. He wears a wreath over his hair. The piper is shown walking to the right. Though his head is also badly preserved, one can see that he also wore a laurel wreath (PLATE 10). His right eye is now plain with an almond-shaped outline. His ear is set too far out on the hair. The left half of the face was apparently never worked. The swollen cheeks are an interesting element as it will occur on most of the faces of pipers on Roman reliefs, both official and private, conveying a rather grotesque appearance to this type of figure.

The statuesque figure of the warrior which concludes the left side of the relief is obviously Mars (PLATE 5). He is helmeted and wears the typically Hellenistic cuirass. With his right arm he leans on his spear and rests his left arm on a large circular shield. The impression of divinity is conveyed by his statuesque poise and his height, which is greater than that of the rest of the figures near him.

Behind the altar, which divides the relief in two, are two camilli (sacificial attendants) also draped in the toga. The first one is in profile to the right and raises his right arm to his head again in a gesture whose meaning escapes me.³⁸ The second attendant, in three-quarter view to the right is pouring some liquid from his pitcher into a patera held by the priest over the altar.

From his central position the priest who is conducting the sacrifice is intended to be the focal point to which the eye of the spectator is conducted (PLATE 6). He is obviously the most important figure in the whole scene - together with Mars. Like the latter he is larger than some of the other figures and stands facing the spectator. He wears the toga which covers also his head. His head is unfortunately lost and restored. We cannot even tell whether or not his face was turned to the right - as restored.

The sacrificing figure is followed immediately by the procession of victims led by the half-clad victimarii. But almost squeezed between him and the first victimarius is a short boyish figure, another camillus, with a heavy cloak hanging loosely down to his shins and an incense-box (acerra) on his shoulder. He is walking to the left and turns his head slightly towards the spectator (PLATE 11). Both his eyes were originally shown, but the surface of the marble is so eroded that only their outline and the main features of his face are distinguishable. Again the left ear is relatively far too big. The victimarius holding the bull is shown facing his victim with his back to the altar but again turning his head to the right towards the spectator (PLATE 12). Besides the clumsiness of his body and the disproportion of his arm in relation to his body, one should note the boyish features of his chubby face, though he is almost as tall as the main figure. Very remarkable are also his thick fleshy lips. The wreathed figure behind the bull waving palm branches as part of the lustratio ceremony shows a face in strict profile to the left, flat against the background (PLATE 13). His face, though corroded, presents unusually regular and well proportioned features probably owing to the fact that being in profile he offered less difficulty of perspective. Even his eye is shown correctly in profile. The same can be said of the veiled and wreathed figure following him on the same plane against the background, with the vexillum on his left shoulder. The

outline of his face is also much neater and more regular than that of any of the other figures, his head being in absolute profile (PLATE 14). Both victimarii shown leaning over their victim have restored heads.

A pair of soldiers balance the group on the left side and wear the same armour. This time they seem to be in conversation with one another. The last figure - a soldier grooming or leaning on his horse - is a very unusual one in this relief, as it is shown from the back, facing into the background.

Unfortunately none of the heads is preserved in a state good enough to enable us to judge them iconographically. The head of the figure most likely to have been a portrait, the sacrificant, is completely missing. He must have represented the victorious military commander, as it was customary for the latter to perform the lustration of his troops himself.³⁹ As for the figure carrying the vexillum, the toga over the head is probably intended to distinguish him only as a priest or attendant⁴⁰ (cf. the veiled attendant of the Ara Pacis who precedes the flamines and carries an axe) rather than a second censor.⁴¹ Castagnoli⁴² argues that this is the same censor as the sacrificant, here represented as leading the army back into the city ad vexillum as described by Varro.⁴³ A repetition of the same figure in the same scene is very unlikely especially when it is shown, as here, in the background. Besides, from what we may deduce from the head, no portrait features are imparted to it. It is more likely that the sacrificant is meant to represent one person with two functions: that of censor and military commander.

The first thing that hits the eye of the observer in this relief is the unskilfulness and clumsiness both of design and execution especially when it is compared to its twin relief in Munich. The composition is very symmetrical with a broken paratactic arrangement of groups, consisting on the whole of two figures each, without any real link between them. Some of the gestures of the figures are apparently meaningless. The proportions of the various parts of the body, those of the figures in relation to one another and in relation to the animals are far from naturalistic. But what concerns us most is the ugliness visible on practically all the faces of the surviving figures: large noses, large ears sticking too far out, fat faces, blocked out eyes. We must admit that this impression is partly due to the extremely eroded surface of the marble - the faces seem to have suffered even more damage than the rest of the relief. Besides, the heads must have been manipulated and polished in modern times.⁴⁴ That most of the shortcomings in the heads of the Paris frieze are due to the lack of skill of the carver is seen when they are compared with the two heads in profile in the background behind the victims (PLATES 13-14) whose faces are technically far more satisfactory. Similar differences in achievement between profile and foreshortened heads will occur in several instances on later historical reliefs.

It is also commonly assumed that both the Paris relief and the one in Munich were produced by the same artist.⁴⁵ In my view an unprejudiced examination of the two reliefs leaves no doubt that the carver (or carvers) of the thiasos could not possibly be the same as the executant of the Paris relief, technically and stylistically far inferior.⁴⁶ By this I would not exclude the possibility that the designer of the reliefs might have been the same. If this were the

case, in the mythological scene he would have been treading on very familiar ground whereas the novelty of the census meant that the artist was still only experimenting. Indeed, it is the first instance in which a typically "Roman" event is represented in the "Roman" fashion. Nevertheless the actual sculptor who carved the Paris relief is certainly a different personality, as regards both skill and workshop training.

The date of the relief has been the most controversial point among Roman art historians. The chronology proposed for it varies from the end of the II century B.C.⁴⁷ to the late-Republic or early-Augustan.⁴⁸ In my opinion the date proposed by Coarelli,⁴⁹ 97 B.C., is the more probable and coherent from all points of view. The following are the main points of his arguments: (1) no lustrum was celebrated between 70 and 28 B.C.; (2) the type of armour, identical in all details with those described by Polybius after the middle of the II century B.C., and the toga exigua worn by the figures do not allow a date as late as 28 B.C.; (3) of the limited number of lustra actually celebrated before 70 - viz. in 115, 108, 102, 97, 89, and 70 - the one that satisfies all requirements is that of 97 B.C. when Marcus Antonius the famous orator was censor.⁵⁰

Marcus Antonius was in fact entrusted with the reorganization of the fleet to conduct a war on the pirates which he did successfully and celebrated a triumph - hence the naval connotation in the Seethiasos. He was later elected censor, together with L. Valerius Flaccus, for 97 B.C. and decorated the rostra imperatoriiis manubiis and from the booty of the Cilician war.⁵¹ Consequently the sacrificant in the Paris relief may possibly represent Marcus Antonius.

After comparing the various details of the two reliefs Kähler identified the presence of a typically Italic form, recognizable especially in the heads which find parallels on those of the late Etruscan sarcophagi.⁵² The composition too of the Paris relief is to be derived from similar Etruscan sarcophagi, whereas that of the Munich relief derives from Hellenistic models. Coarelli compares certain compositional elements with Attic votive and funerary reliefs as a proof of a single creative spirit behind the two reliefs.⁵³ He holds that the 'historical' element in the latter was adapted in order to create a genre completely new to the craftsmen, i.e. the historical relief, as desired by the commissioning Roman patron. He does not however attempt to explain the peculiar form of the heads which do not find parallels in Attic votive or funerary reliefs, whereas they do in Etruscan urns and sarcophagi.⁵⁴

As we have seen, it is hard to tell whether or not the artist had any intention of portraying real historical figures with individual characterizing traits, owing to the state of preservation of the heads, which are either missing or too much worn. That the central figure of the sacrificant was indeed intended as a portrait of the historical personage concerned is very probable. The soldiers, with half of their faces covered by their plumed helmets, tend to look like anonymous figures without any claim to being portraits. This remains true of soldiers throughout the history of Roman relief. The same applies to the sacrificial attendants whose place in the relief is functional and who have no individual personal significance. As for the four togate figures, these are meant to represent the whole body of Roman citizens and bureaucrats. But

though no real historical person can be supposed to have ever been intended, there are certain realistic features in the two surviving heads of the second group, certain elements peculiar to Italic "expressionism", which make the relief stand out as having a Roman (or Italian), rather than a Greek, pedigree.

16/185 m. restoration

RELIEF FROM THE BASILICA AEMILIA

This relief⁵⁵ consists of a frieze which decorated the internal entablature of the Basilica Aemilia running presumably around all four sides of the hall.⁵⁶

The frieze depicted scenes from the legendary history of Rome such as the Rape of the Sabine women and the Punishment of Tarpeia (PLATE 15). We should not, therefore, expect to find in it portraits in the strictest sense of the word, i. e. heads with the realistic features of the particular person represented. Most of the figures' heads, however, are far from the stereotyped facial types we usually meet on Greek reliefs. Indeed, some of them show very individualized features, which suggest the intention of the sculptor to portray Roman faces with down-to-earth, realistic likenesses in which contemporary Romans would without difficulty recognize their ancestors. They would have to be, of course, either reconstructed or invented by the artist himself or copied from illustrated compendia of portraits of famous Roman historical figures, like the "Imagines" of Varro. Or they could have been modelled on other plastic images, if these actually existed.

Let us now analyse the principal figures and see which heads, if any, qualify as portraits.

The female figure in scene Ia⁵⁷ is clearly a divinity. Her role in the scene and her idealized facial type are sufficient indications that it is so.

The male bearded figure in scene II⁵⁸ shows, on the other hand, a human person, an ordinary shepherd (PLATE 16). This has been identified as Faustulus.⁵⁹ If this were true, the image of Faustulus would of course be a creation of pure fancy, a reconstructed or, rather, invented 'portrait' of the shepherd who brought up Romulus and Remus. In fact we immediately see in his face generic and somewhat idealized features, though a certain individuality is conveyed by the cut of the hair and the high cheek-bones.

In scene III, showing the building of the walls of a city, perhaps Lavinium,⁶⁰ the standing female figure on the left is obviously a personification of the city being built.⁶¹ Of the other three male figures engaged in the building of the wall the only surviving head is that of the man in the centre behind the wall. It is precisely this head which has been considered by many scholars as a very good portrait (PLATE 17). It depicts a middle-aged man looking to the right with a serious expression. The latter is produced mainly by the deep-set eyes and the tightly closed lips. The face is full with high broad forehead, nicely cut regular nose, and slightly retreating chin. A slight adiposity is apparent in the loose flesh around the jaws and under the chin. The hair consists of small individual locks without any regular formation.

The importance of this figure is ably indicated by the pyramidal composition. It occupies a central position in the scene and the ascending rhythm of the two other figures at the sides guides the eyes of the spectator to the bust of the middle-aged man who emerges from behind the wall. By his attitude he is indicated as the director of the construction work. It is therefore possible that this characterized head shows a prominent Roman personality in the

guise of a legendary city founder. The identical hairstyle and the stylistic and typological similarity in the various portraits of Cicero,⁶² as Bartoli, Furuhausen and Carettoni agree,⁶³ suggest a late-Republican date for the execution of the head.

Scene IV depicts the Rape of the Sabines (PLATE 15a).⁶⁴ On the left half of the slab are shown two groups of figures, each consisting of a young Roman man holding a Sabine woman, and a third group of two men running after a Sabine maiden. The head of the male figure in the first group is much mutilated and that of the woman is very typical of the rest of the female heads, which do not present any interest in characterization. Besides, her face is empty of any emotional expression. In the second group the man is in rapid motion to the left, holding an unconscious woman in his arms, but turns his head back towards the third group on the right (PLATES 18-9). Though his face is not built according to any Hellenized Greek type and shows rather hard and plain features, there is no real attempt at a realistic individualization and the Roman spectator could not have identified this figure - or indeed any of the others - with any specific historical figure. He would only have seen in it just one of the young Roman men taking part in this historical or pseudo-historical episode.⁶⁵ In the third group the two male heads are mutilated. The female figure, on the other hand, is very much in the classical tradition and greatly reminiscent of the famous Niobid group. The same can be said of the girl in the first group.

On the right half of the slab the only figure surviving with its head is that of a seated matronly lady observing the rape scene. Her head is veiled and her face and hairstyle are too generic and classical to offer any individualization. An attempt has been made, however, to interpret this matrona as Hersilia, a legendary figure of debated identity.⁶⁶ There are no substantial grounds in favour of this interpretation and Carettoni interprets the figure as a divinity.⁶⁷

Scene V presents two episodes which seem to be of totally different content. Each contains five figures (PLATE 15b). On the left half of the slab is represented the punishment of Tarpeia who stands in the centre covered from the waist down by shields thrown at her by the surrounding soldiers.⁶⁸ The composition gives a very symmetrical appearance and is framed at each end by a bearded soldier. The one on the left (PLATE 20) has been identified as a Sabine king, Titus Tatius, because of his 'nobility of features', the attribute of power - the hasta on which he leans - and the attention by which he follows the episode without actually participating in the punishment.⁶⁹ He is helmeted and his face shows deep-set eyes and prominent cheek-bones with slightly hollow cheeks. His thick beard is made up of tufty curls and its texture and treatment recall closely those of Faustulus' beard. Again here we observe an imaginative facial type created to represent a semi-legendary figure. Essentially it is very similar to the conventional type shown on Republican coins such as the denarius of T. Titurius Sabinus.⁷⁰ Furuhausen, however, holds that this soldier represents Mars, while King Tatius would be the bearded soldier on the extreme right.⁷¹ Unfortunately, as admitted by the same writer, the iconography of the King does not exclude either of the suppositions.

The face of the second soldier from the left is also mutilated and does not show any portrait features. He has been interpreted as a Roman soldier from his armour.⁷²

Tarpeia is shown completely en face and corresponds perfectly with the type found on the coins.⁷³ Her face is surrounded by hair in long disorderly locks and her eyes are wide open and fixed on the spectator. Any further comment on the expression of her face tends to be subjective.⁷⁴

Another important head, for the quality of the execution, is that of the next figure, the Sabine soldier immediately to the right of Tarpeia, who is shown from the back in the act of throwing his shield at her (PLATE 21). The most striking feature in this head is the hairstyle which, together with the thick long whiskers, is not to be found in any of the other heads on the frieze. The hair is, in fact, swept back in a thick mass of small curls producing a rich and pleasant effect of light and shade. The face, however, is that of a handsome young man without any peculiar realistic traits but at the same time avoiding the stereotyped and classical look of the other Sabine warriors in the battle scenes, as in scene VIa.⁷⁵ (The fully armed Roman soldier in the latter scene and the surviving helmeted head in fragment VIId⁷⁶ also offer a contrast with the idealized faces of the Sabines by their hard, if regular, features.)

Finally, returning to the scene with the punishment of Tarpeia, the bearded figure on the extreme right, whose face is also partly mutilated, shows some resemblance to "Titus Tatius" but it displays much more vigour both in the attitude of the body and in the muscles of the face. He may be an ordinary officer distinguished as such by his beard, or he may indeed represent King Tatius, counterbalancing Mars on the other end, if we are to accept Furuhausen's theory.⁷⁷

The rest of the slab is taken up by five female figures variously interpreted as the other five Vestals, companions of Tarpeia,⁷⁸ or as participants in a nuptial scene.⁷⁹ The two surviving heads (PLATE 22) differ somewhat in facial types. The face of the girl on the right is sweeter and more idealized than that of the left one which appears older and plainer, though this impression might be due to the amount of corrosion visible in it. (The soft modelling of the two faces especially the sfumato treatment of the eyes and the more pronounced graciousness of the former show that the sculptor is following a tradition with its roots in 'Praxitelean' sculpture. The hairstyle is the usual one, again recalling IV century and Hellenistic types, with hair swept loosely back in wavy strands from a central parting, in this case partly covered by the veil.)

In the battle scene VIa⁸⁰ one notices that the Sabine soldiers are very Hellenized (PLATE 23). Not only are they depicted nude in the traditional Greek manner but also the features of their faces are greatly idealized. Good comparisons for them are found on IV century B.C. Attic grave stelae and on the Amazonomachy from the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus. In contrast to them the Roman soldiers wear a full military uniform and in most cases their faces are modelled with a taste for realism and show hard military traits.

A brief mention must be made of the couple of instances in which a wounded or slain soldier is shown lying on the ground with head turned upside down and facing the spectator. They bring to mind the similar figure on the frieze commemorating the battle of Pydna, but the pose and the expression of suffering in their faces seem to be more directly influenced by the Pergamene Frieze.

Besides the above scenes there exist some other fragmentary heads which have not found a place in any particular scene (PLATE 24). Their heads are once more either much worn or quite generic and, being out of context, can contribute little, if at all, to our study.

A last word must be said on the fragment preserved in the Lateran⁸¹ depicting a helmeted young man working in front of a low wall of rough stones behind which are three other figures: the upper part of a man's body on the left, a semi-nude man in the centre and a sitting figure on the right (PLATES 25-6). The first man has completely lost his head and that of the second is corroded beyond recognition. Though the head of the third is damaged, it is easily recognizable as female from the hairstyle with a knot at the back. The subject of the scene is still not certain: perhaps the construction⁸² or the destruction⁸³ of a city, but definitely not a repetition of the episode of the punishment of Tarpeia.⁸⁴ Unfortunately nothing can be said on the iconography and style of the heads, except that the male figures seem to represent ordinary workmen or soldiers, whereas the woman is somewhat more difficult to interpret.⁸⁵

A question of great controversy is the date of the relief. For stylistic reasons the frieze cannot be held to be contemporary with the original building of the Basilica Aemilia but was probably carved for one of the at least four restorations of which we know. The frieze does not seem to belong to the Tiberian restoration of 22 A.D.⁸⁶ The style and subject matter speak a different language from that of the Imperial age. It does not even fall in the context of Augustan art around 14 B.C.⁸⁷ The composition and style of the figures are still too much tied to the later Hellenistic mythological reliefs with landscape setting and are very different from the more 'Italic', more 'Roman' Ara Pacis reliefs produced only a few years later (13-9 B.C.). The style and technique of the heads and their facial type together with the hairstyle, are also different from those of the Ara Pacis. Some heads do, in fact, appear very similar to the aristocratic portraiture of the late Republic, especially the head of the central figure in the scene with the construction of a city. As regards facial type and stylistic quality the heads seem to place the relief somewhere between the "Ahenobarbus" relief, on which the first attempt at Romanization of the heads was not altogether successful, and the full-bodied Roman portraits of the Ara Pacis. It is for the above considerations that we favour an earlier date for the creation of the relief and the restoration of 55-34 B.C. - probably a more complete rebuilding - of the Basilica is very likely. The relief could well have been re-used in subsequent restorations and the technical anomalies noticeable on the Lateran fragment could be the result of such a restoration.⁸⁸

Since the Basilica Aemilia was always linked with the homonymous gens⁸⁹ which took charge of building, rebuilding and decorating it with statues and portraits of their ancestors, and since in the I century B.C. it was the fashion among the Roman aristocracy to claim relationship with legendary and historical kings and heroes, it is quite possible that the frieze represented episodes from Rome's history glorifying the ancestors of the Gens Aemilia. In that case the 'city founder', the strongly individualized portrait on slab 7, might have been portrayed with an "Aemilian" physiognomy.⁹⁰ The remoteness of the 'historical' episode represented, however, compels us to advance this suggestion as a pure hypothesis.

One must not lose sight of Basilica Aemilia
= Gens Aemilia

FRIEZE FROM THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO IN CAMPO

Five fragments, of different sizes, from an internal frieze decorating the temple of Apollo in campo were found in the excavations of the same temple in 1937-8⁹¹ and are now kept in the Conservatori Museum.⁹² The figured relief is carved in one piece with an ornamental frieze of acanthus leaves. It was set high up inside the building and in spite of the smallness of the figures it must have been clearly visible.

The longest fragment represents a triumphal procession in movement to the left showing a ferculum with two captives and a trophy on the point of being heaved up by laurel-crowned attendants (PLATES 27-9). A trumpeter links this scene to the next which shows three almost identical groups each consisting of a sacrificial attendant leading a bull behind which stands the popa with his malleus (PLATE 30). At the right end of the fragment stands a togate figure facing the spectator with his arm extended towards another attendant carrying a situla. Two similar togate figures, also en face, one of whom carries the lictor's fasces in his left arm, appear in a smaller fragment. Another small fragment shows another ferculum, this time with propitiatory offerings, being carried by a group of four attendants and preceded by a similar group, only two figures of which partially survive. In this fragment the procession moves to the right, which shows that probably the two processions were shown moving from each side towards a central point, recalling thus the movement of the Panathenaic procession on the Parthenon and pointing forward to that on the Ara Pacis.⁹³

A general survey of the heads in this frieze makes it evident that none of them have pretensions to real portraiture. Consequently our main interest in these heads are the facial types that they represent and their disposition in relation to the background and to each other.

The first group of three ferculum bearers have rather standardized features with similar facial types (PLATES 31-2). The hairstyle common to all three consists of thick short curls with no particular arrangement or emphasis on detail. The upper eye-lids are usually very thick and rounded, whereas the lower ones almost merge with the eyeball and the cheek. A distinctive technical feature in these three heads, which occurs also in most of the figures leading the sacrificial victims, is the use of tiny, fairly deep, circular holes at the corners of the eyes, nostrils and mouth. In most cases these deep holes at the corners of the eyes make the eyeball stand out better, as in the case of the second figure where the lower lip is also separated from the chin by such a device. Whereas in none of the other figures on the frieze has an attempt been made to separate the face in profile from the background, except for the second bearer in the second group, the face of the first figure is boldly undercut by a channel separating it from the drapery of the second figure. The reason for this separation might be that the face stands against another figure and not against the plain background as the rest.

The two captives sitting against a trophy on the ferculum, with hands tied behind their backs, present us with the first representation of barbarian captives in relief (PLATE 28). They may even be considered as the surviving

prototypes of such captives as portrayed in later Roman sculpture, especially of the bearded facial type displayed by the first prisoner. He is characterized as a middle-aged man with wrinkles on the forehead in the form of two deep horizontal undulations and a short vertical depression above the nose (PLATE 33). The projecting eyebrows overshadow the deep-set eyes. His copious beard consists of thick curls with a few rather deep grooves to separate them. The hair is of the same type as that of the rest of the figures, but longer and thicker. That of the other captive, who appears as a clean-shaven young man, consists of long wavy strands swept forward towards the forehead (PLATE 34). His face is slightly distorted, not only on the left side, nearer to the background, but also on the right one. The eyes are also deep-set with deeply gouged inner corners. The eyelids are so thick that the left eyeball is almost invisible.

The heads of the second group of bearers have an unfinished appearance as to their faces, hair and laurel crown (PLATES 35-7). The trumpeter behind the attendants also shows this rough finish of the face, but his hair and wreath are much more distinctly carved (FIG. 38). One must bear in mind that the relief was intended to be seen from a distance where these sketchily cut heads would have been indistinguishable from the others. This particular group is also interesting for the treatment of the drapery which is much plainer and flatter than in the other figures. Here, as in the Lateran fragment of the Basilica Aemilia relief, we find the use of the drill in the deep grooves cut to separate folds from each other and sleeves from the rest of the tunic. This deep drilling does not occur in any other part of the frieze.

I can think of two possibilities that might explain such a peculiar feature: (1) either this part of the frieze was worked over at a later period in order to highlight the drapery; or (2) a different carver with different techniques was employed on this part of the frieze. The first explanation seems rather improbable, since the frieze was an internal one and therefore not liable to weathering - the present weathering must have taken place after the building collapsed or was abandoned. The second possibility is much more probable, especially when one looks at the unfinished appearance of the heads. The long frieze could have been entrusted to several craftsmen to complete - as was the case in several later monuments - and the man who carved this section seems to have favoured more hasty technical tricks and less finishing for his work.

The figure en face near the head of the first victim displays more detail in the carving of the eyes, mouth and chin, although its general features are still very broadly conceived, with smooth, rounded forehead and cheeks (PLATE 39). The two figures en face by the head of the other two bulls repeat exactly, almost to the muscle, the pose of the former. However, essential parts of their faces are missing, so that it is virtually impossible to tell whether they also repeated the facial features. This in fact does not happen in the three popa figures standing behind the victims. Their bodies are identical, but their heads show several different features. The first popa's face is of the ordinary, though rather heavy, type, with large nose and thick lips (PLATE 40). The pronounced arched eyebrows give it a somewhat austere expression. The hairstyle is also of the usual type, but the locks are much more clearly separated. The face of the second popa is more idealized, more classical, with the forehead almost on the same plane as the nose (PLATE 41). The third one is similar to the second, but with extremely clear-cut locks in his hair (PLATE 42).

The attendant carrying the situla at the end of this fragment bears a great resemblance to the second figure of the frieze and presents the same deep cutting in the corners of the mouth (PLATE 43). Some surface movements occur on the forehead.

On practically all the faces, as well as on the other naked parts of the bodies, one notices tiny tool marks which are probably the result of working with a fine chisel. This shows that the surfaces of the marble were neither polished nor smoothed down with the rasp.

The two figures carrying the ferculum in the smaller fragment share the same facial type and hairstyle with the other figures, except that they are uglier and more coarsely carved (PLATE 44). The left one looks chubbier and rounder in the face than the right one. The head is missing on both the togate figures standing en face in the smallest frieze.

Unfortunately no heads at all survive on the other two fragments showing a mounted battle scene⁹⁴ presumably between Romans, with cuirass and helmet, and barbarians, clad only in a light tunic with one bare shoulder (PLATES 45-6).⁹⁵ The composition, with well spaced groups of two fighting warriors, together with the treatment of the theme, recall very closely the late Hellenistic tradition of the battle-frieze as seen on the Monument of Aemilius Paullus at Delphi. The same subject was later treated in a somewhat different manner in the Mantua relief depicting a battle between Romans and Gauls.⁹⁶

Until we can determine to which particular historical battle - if it is indeed a historical battle - and to which triumph the two themes refer, it will remain difficult to pin-point the date of the creation of this relief. As for the captives represented on the ferculum, it is not at all easy to determine their nationality. If the frieze portrayed the triumph celebrated by C. Sosius in 34 B.C. for his successes in Syria - as has often been suggested⁹⁷ - then the captives would have represented either Jews or Aradii.⁹⁸ Their clothing and facial type, however, do not in any way suggest such people and Helbig noted that the 'skin-hat' on the trophy points to a Nordic people.⁹⁹ Besides, the costume they are wearing here - a longish tunic with a short cloak held by a clasp on the chest - is different from that worn by the enemy in the battle scene. The latter seems to suggest Gauls rather than any other people.

The rebuilding of the temple of Apollo in the Campus Martius has been attributed to Sosius on the basis of references in Pliny.¹⁰⁰ To my mind in both cases the adjective Sosiani or Sosianus is qualifying the noun Apollo rather than the temple. This would refer to the cedar cult statue of Apollo which Sosius brought over from Seleucia and which was kept in the temple. The epithet was used probably to distinguish this temple from the new one on the Palatine vowed by Octavian in 36 B.C. and dedicated in 28 B.C. Therefore there is no solid ground for attributing the erection of the temple of Apollo to Sosius, least of all the frieze. In any case, even if he did start the rebuilding of the temple in his consulship of 31 B.C. it would have been interrupted later in the same year when he fled to Antony. Augustus would probably not have shunned the task of completing it himself after the Civil War. On the other hand it would have been too presumptuous of any person other than the Emperor or one of his family to have a private triumph carved in the

interior of a temple of such vetustas. Although Augustus himself never undertook any campaigns in Gaul, the barbarians in the triumph scene could well refer to the triumphs of his adoptive father after the Gallic wars. The barbarians in the battle scene also fit into the general iconography of Gauls as represented in Roman battle reliefs such as the Mantua relief.

The architectural ornament below the figured frieze has been dated to ca. 20 B.C. by comparison with that of the Arch of Augustus.¹⁰¹ The facial type and hairstyle of the figures seem to anticipate, even though rather remotely, those of the background figures on the Ara Pacis. The simple, forceful treatment of the faces and the sketchy appearance of the hair are still very reminiscent of the heads of the 'Ahenobarbus' and the Basilica Aemilia reliefs. Therefore a date between the latter and the Ara Pacis, say around 20 B.C., would fit well with the type and style of the heads in the Conservatori frieze.

For the second time in the history of Roman monumental reliefs this frieze presents us with the combination, on the same monument, of two completely different themes both in subject-matter and in style. On one hand we have a mounted battle in the Greek Hellenistic tradition treated in an equally Greek style, and on the other a purely Roman 'narrative' theme carved out in the Roman, or shall we say Italic, style still in its infancy. We have already met this combination of the traditional and the novel in the 'Ahenobarbus' monument and we shall find it again on the Ara Pacis and, in a different way, on the base of Antoninus Pius' column.

The triumph scene appears indeed as the precedent for similar friezes on the Arches of Titus, Trajan and Septimius Severus. But it does not share with these the so-called 'popular' or 'plebeian' stylistic qualities.¹⁰² The figures are well-proportioned and naturalistic and compare rather better with those of the small inner frieze of the Ara Pacis, though they are less deeply cut and executed in a somewhat cruder style.

RELIEF OF ACTIAN APOLLO

A very fine but fragmentary relief now kept in Budapest¹⁰³ is reported to have come from Avellino near Naples.¹⁰⁴ Most probably however its ultimate origin is Rome.¹⁰⁵ The relief shows a figure easily identified as Apollo seated on a rocky base with his lyre resting on his left knee and a tripod behind him (PLATE 47). In front of him can be seen the sterns of two ships one with its rudder plunged in the waves. Behind him appears what looks like a procession only three figures of which partially survive.

The first figure at the far left end of the relief is almost completely lost except for the head and part of the neck. His face is also partly damaged and all we can see of it is the forehead and the left eye, cheekbone and ear (PLATE 48). His head is carved in low relief in profile, though not completely, to the left, whereas his body seems to have been in threequarters view, since the muscles of the neck show the effect of a torsion on the head. His hair is cut in a straight line over the forehead and consists of slightly raised curly locks separated by shallow, sharp lines, as if chased. His forehead must have had a few wrinkles one of which is still visible. Three other small and finely incised wrinkles mark the crow's feet at the corner of the left eye, which is shown almost full face. A very close parallel for this head is found on the Ara Pacis relief in the first background head behind Augustus (PLATE 55). The shape of the hair and its shallow, but very naturalistic, treatment are almost identical. The surviving facial features appear remarkably similar and the two heads make perfect cousins. It is not possible to say whether the same person is portrayed because so much is missing of the face in this relief and it is very doubtful whether the Ara Pacis head is a portrait.

The second figure is preserved down to the waist. It is a trumpeter blowing his long tuba (PLATE 48). Both his body and head are shown in profile to the right. He is the most projecting figure of the three and wears a rather thicker mass of curly hair worked in great detail and consisting of very irregular locks, some more plastic than others. The whole effect is very attractive and reminds one of bronze technique. His cheek is slightly puffed in the effort of blowing the trumpet but does not give the face that grotesque effect which is found on several trumpeters and pipers in Roman reliefs, as for example in the "Ahenobarbus" frieze (PLATE 10).

The last figure, the one nearest to Apollo, is dressed like the others in a short tunic and a short cloak pinned on the right shoulder (PLATE 49). His body is almost en face whereas his head is nearly in complete profile to the

right and slightly bent forward. In his hands he is holding a long object which has been the subject of much discussion. His face, which is slightly detached from the back surface, is full, with a strong bone structure visible beneath the fleshy surfaces, which do not lack a certain amount of chiaroscuro effect. The hairstyle is very similar to that worn by Julio-Claudian figures, though from the forehead it descends in a regular curve behind the ear without any hint of side-burns. The curls are not regular except on the forehead where they curve neatly down in thick pointed locks. At the back they are swept down rather than forward, as is usually done from Julio-Claudian times onwards.¹⁰⁶ Finally, except for the fullness of the face, which is a common occurrence on reliefs of this period,¹⁰⁷ and the slight adiposity of the neck, this head does not really show any portrait features. It seems more likely, as we shall see, to represent a secondary figure, although the possibility of it showing a member of the Imperial family cannot be discounted altogether.

The scene has been interpreted by many as the thanksgiving ceremony of Augustus to Actian Apollo under whose protection he had fought the battle of Actium. It would thus seem to recall a passage from Dio Cassius¹⁰⁸ where he tells how Octavian dedicated, on the same hill where his pretorian tent had been pitched, a shrine to Apollo (ἔδος ὑπαίθριον), adorning it with the beaks of captured ships. The figure nearest to Apollo has, in view of this, been identified as Augustus.¹⁰⁹ Others have identified him with Germanicus whose visit to Actium in 18 A.D. is recorded in Tacitus.¹¹⁰

The identification with Augustus is certainly out of the question because his iconography does not agree in the least with the head of this figure.¹¹¹ An identification with Germanicus would seem more attractive since the face of the relief figure could fit, though not perfectly, with Germanicus' portraiture.¹¹² The position of the figure at the head of the procession and nearest to Apollo is the ideal one for the principal actor in the event. Nevertheless, both body and head are cut in very low relief and the man is far too short in comparison with the tubicen behind him. The position of the trumpet itself would appear rather odd if it were above the head of the main figure, and almost touching it. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that a secondary figure is meant to be represented here, some kind of official such as a lictor or sacrificial attendant. For one would expect the principal figure to be shown in the highest relief possible, as occurs invariably on later Roman historical relief sculpture, and at least as tall as his entourage, if not taller. Another important factor is the dress worn by the figures. When Germanicus visited Actium, he was on his way to an official visit to Athens and one would expect him to wear official civilian dress, such as the toga, whereas the tunic and pallium in our relief remind us more of the semi-military attire (the Lager-tracht) worn by the Emperor and his officials on the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius.¹¹³ This type of attire, if it is indicative in any way, would tend to take us back to the event which took place after the battle of Actium.

The object held by the third figure has also been a major factor in the discussion. It has been variously interpreted as a torch, spear, standard, trophy and lastly as the lictorial fascēs.¹¹⁴ One guess is as good as another, but Strocka's reconstruction of the fascēs looks the most likely. In that case one would hardly expect a real portrait in the figure of a lictor. In my view

the principal figure of this relief is to be sought further to the left in the missing part of the relief.¹¹⁵

Typologically and stylistically the faces of these three figures do not differ much from those of the Ara Pacis, but the treatment of the hair is far more careful and attractive than the dry uniform masses of curls on the latter. I have not yet found a good parallel for the modelling of the tubicen's hairstyle. The figure of Apollo has been related by some to the Tellus on the panel of the Ara Pacis¹¹⁶ and by others to the Apollo of a relief in the Spada collection.¹¹⁷ It seems therefore that chronologically the creation of this relief centres around the Ara Pacis: whether before or after it is more difficult to decide. The composition of the relief, allowing plenty of space between and around the figures, seems to stand somewhere between the 'Sosiano' relief and the more crowded Ara Pacis. Moreover it seems more likely that the relief was carved in the reign of Augustus when the memory of the historical event was still fresh rather than in the reign of Tiberius, as has been suggested.¹¹⁸

There is endless variety in the patterns and joins, as well as in the design, the arrangement of which never seems to be repeated (Kopied paste).

to use our contemporary jargon.

THE ARA PACIS AUGUSTAE

The Ara Pacis was erected by the Senate, as Augustus himself records, to celebrate both his return from Spain and Gaul in 13 B.C. and the ensuing peace in the Roman Empire. It stood in the Campus Martius and on it the magistrates, priests and vestals had to celebrate an annual sacrifice in memory of the event. It was voted on 4 July 13¹¹⁹ and inaugurated on 30 January 9 B.C.¹²⁰ After the time of Augustus, it is reproduced in coins of Nero and Domitian,¹²¹ but no trace of it appears in later literary or epigraphic sources.¹²²

The discovery of the fragmentary monument under the Palazzo Peretti-Fiano-Almagià was made in various stages: in 1568, 1859, 1903 and finally in 1937-8. The fragments were thus scattered in various collections including the Louvre, Vatican, Museo Nazionale Romano, and in the Medici collection in Florence. The fragments in the latter collection were for a long time confused with others kept in the Villa Medici in Rome which did not belong to it, but to the Ara Pietatis.¹²³ The first to propose an identification of the fragments with the Ara Pacis was F. von Duhn in 1879.¹²⁴ He was followed by E. Petersen who produced the first graphic reconstruction which was confirmed and completed by later investigation.¹²⁵ The scattered fragments were collected together, with a few exceptions which were replaced by casts, and the whole complex was reconstructed near the Mausoleum of Augustus shortly after the excavations of 1938-9. The long awaited monumental publication of the Altar by G. Moretti, who had directed the final excavations and the reconstruction of the altar, appeared posthumously in 1948.¹²⁶

The identification of the monument standing on the left bank of the Tiber near the Mausoleum of Augustus with the Altar of Peace of Augustus has been unanimously accepted by the enormous list of scholars and art historians who have occupied themselves with this most important landmark of classical art.¹²⁷ The only rejection of this identification came from S. Weinstock in 1960 mainly on grounds of lack of inscriptions and subject-matter indicating it as a monument of peace.¹²⁸ His arguments were however discounted point by point by J.M.C. Toynbee¹²⁹ who had already dedicated a short but well-balanced monograph to the Altar.¹³⁰

The Ara Pacis consists, in its essential elements, of a large sacrificial altar raised on a platform. It is reached by a few steps and surrounded by an enclosure wall pierced by two entrances, one on the east and the other on the west side. The whole elevation is in marble and both the altar and its enclosure wall are decorated with carved sculpture. A frieze depicting a procession runs along the exterior of both long sides (north and south) of the enclosure wall above a zone decorated with acanthus foliage, flowers and swans. Above a similarly decorated dado on each side of the entrances are figured panels with episodes from the legendary history of Rome or allegories of the prosperity of the Empire under the Augustan rule. The inside of the wall is ornamented with a frieze of bulls' skulls supporting garlands of fruit

description

and flowers. The altar itself is also adorned with ornamental scroll work and smaller processional friezes showing Vestals, priests, sacrificial attendants and victims. A number of fragments belonging to these friezes have still not been integrated in the monument. They are thought to have adorned the lower plain zones of the altar and represented divinities and personifications.¹³¹

The large external frieze depicts, it is generally agreed, the procession which took place on the day of the consecration of the altar on 4th July 13 B.C. and in which the Emperor himself appears accompanied by his family and by religious and civilian officials.¹³² Thus a specific event of contemporary history is here recorded in sculpture and the actual participants of that same event are skilfully portrayed. If we look back at the pre-Augustan reliefs that we have examined, we notice that the creator of the Ara Pacis did not derive his inspiration for the design of this frieze from them, in spite of the fact that the purpose of this officially-sponsored monument was practically the same. The classical character of the frieze with its elegant simplicity and clarity of style are certainly due to the design and execution of Greek sculptors whose work in the last centuries B.C. had been very popular among Roman private individuals and now found favour with the official State patrons. It is in fact on a fifth century Athenian monument that this processional frieze is modelled, the Panathenaic procession of the Parthenon.

As on the Athenian frieze, the procession of the Ara Pacis is made to proceed in the same direction along two separate sides of the building. The two sections were meant to meet in an imaginary point at the main entrance on the west.

The identity of a number of figures shown in this procession has been fixed with certainty, or with a very high degree of probability.

Augustus stands at the head of the procession on the south frieze which for this reason must have been meant to be the focus of the documentary element on the Altar (PLATES 52-3, 55). He is preceded by a group of lictors and a camillus and followed by the four flamines and various members of the Imperial family. The two wreathed men standing on either side of him have been identified as the two consuls of the year 13 B.C.¹³³ and more recently as pontifices.¹³⁴ The latter interpretation strengthens the theory that Augustus, and not Agrippa, is acting here in the capacity of Pontifex Maximus instead of Lepidus who was in exile in that year.¹³⁵ By the gesture of his right hand he appears to be offering incense as suggested by the presence of a camillus, with an acerra, in front of him.

The figure of the Emperor stands out, by its majestic pose, stature and height of relief, as the most important figure in the whole frieze, perhaps equalled only by the other veiled man, Agrippa, further to the right. Though the iconography of this figure leaves no doubt that it represents Augustus himself, in spite of the extensively damaged head, its position in the procession adds further proof of the identification. The movement of the figures behind him leads the spectator's eye towards the front part of the procession where the lictors form a suitable escort and by the direction of their heads - a few of them actually looking back to him - mark him out as the most important

personality. The Roman viewer would therefore have had no doubts that this was the Emperor, even if the physical features had not corresponded with his real ones. They do, however, agree perfectly with the known portraits of Augustus.

The formation of the few surviving locks of hair on the forehead recalls very closely, without being exactly identical, that on the portraits of Augustus from Prima Porta and Via Labicana.¹³⁶ The slanting shadow at the corner of the mouth and the triangular shape of the face are also typical of Augustus. A comparison of our head with the one of the Prima Porta statue leaves no doubt that the relief head is derived from the same prototype.¹³⁷ The forehead of our head is, however, unusually uneven, with slightly swollen brows separated by two small vertical depressions on the nose-bridge. This indicates either a more advanced age or a more realistic version of Octavian's features than his usual idealized portraits in the round. A final, and perhaps more convincing, comparison should be made with the head of Augustus in relief from Vienne (PLATE 54).¹³⁸

While making the above comparisons one cannot fail to notice the extremely cursory treatment of the Ara Pacis portrait in contrast with the perfectly smooth and detailed finish of the other heads. The marble surface has an unusually rough chisel finish which does not occur even on other figures in the same frieze. It also bears a few marks of the rasp which is a standard feature on the flesh surfaces in all the reliefs of the Ara Pacis.

The second most important figure on the south side, we have already noticed, is the veiled man who dominates the right hand part of the frieze with his height and solemn composure (PLATES 60-2). His identification with Agrippa, Augustus' son-in-law and right-hand man, is practically unanimous among scholars.¹³⁹ Agrippa died in 12 B.C. while the Altar was still, presumably, being carved and one might interpret the atmosphere of grief that emanates from the veiled head as the desire of the artist to recall this sad event.¹⁴⁰ He is shown as an old man with the marks of old age clearly displayed on his wrinkled forehead. The crow's feet at the corner of his eye and the flabbiness of the flesh accentuated by the folds on the cheek add to the realism injected into this face. A few traces of the rasp survive but the surface has been smoothed and partly polished in modern times.

A comparison of our head with the portrait of Agrippa in the Louvre,¹⁴¹ to which one may add a similar replica in the Uffizi, Florence,¹⁴² leaves no doubt as to the certainty of the identification. The profile is identical and the deep set eyes, squarish forehead and general structure of the head are very similar. But the modelling and formal treatment are very different from any of the known portraits, except perhaps the colossal head in the Capitoline Museum,¹⁴³ which shows similar, but not so strong, traits of old age. The modelling of the face is generally hard and dry, especially in the linearity of the wrinkles. It is clear from these pronounced marks of senility, which are further underlined by the pervading youthful idealization of the surrounding heads, that this is one of the last images, if not actually the last image, of the noble general. The absence of other portraits of Agrippa at such an advanced stage of his life seems to suggest that the relief head was done with a first hand knowledge of his physiognomy before his death in 12 B.C.

From a close examination of the portraiture on the Ara Pacis one immediately discovers that, except for the unmistakable portraits of Augustus and Agrippa and one or two other anonymous figures, the other heads are treated in such a generalized way that none of them can be reliably identified on the basis of their facial features or hairstyles alone or by comparison with other portraits. Their identification has to rely chiefly on their attributes, position in the procession, and relation to other figures. This is especially the case with the members of the Emperor's family.

The best example is that of Tiberius who for a long time was thought to be the figure immediately behind Augustus (PLATE 55), just because he was one of the consuls for 13 B.C. and these were considered to be suitably placed on either side of Augustus.¹⁴⁴ Now that these two figures have been interpreted as pontiffs, Tiberius' identification has been shifted to the young-looking man in the foreground to the right of 'Julia' (PLATE 65).¹⁴⁵ Now neither of these two figures, indeed none of the other figures in the frieze, has any real resemblance to the iconography of Tiberius.¹⁴⁶ Ryberg's view that he is shown twice over in the same procession is even less acceptable.¹⁴⁷ The 'continuous' reappearance of the same figure in the same relief is not introduced into Roman imperial sculpture before the time of Trajan. Besides one would not really expect a figure of secondary importance, such as Tiberius in 13 B.C., to appear twice when the principal figure does so only once.

A closer look at the two heads in question might help to decide which one is more likely to merit the name of Tiberius. The man behind Augustus is shown in three-quarters pose to the left and the head is turned sharply back to the right (PLATES 55-6). The first thing that strikes the viewer in this head is the massive well-built structure of the face. The cheeks are rounded and the lips full. The hairstyle is typical of the male hair-do worn on the Ara Pacis, consisting of small curly locks combed irregularly forward. The lower part of the long side-burn is incised on the surface. This head is particularly interesting because the hair shows a roughly cut ridge over the forehead similar to that which we shall meet on the re-cut head of Domitian-Nerva in the Cancelleria reliefs.¹⁴⁸ It is in fact even more obvious and it seems rather surprising that it managed to escape the notice of so many scholars who have studied the reliefs. The superciliary eminences are exaggeratedly projecting in contrast with the upper half of the forehead which is cut very low. These peculiarities suggest a re-cutting made on the forehead at some point after the original creation of the relief, since no attempt was made to conceal it by smoothing or carving the hair on the forehead in line with the rest. Besides, the rasp marks which cover the whole surface of the face, are absent in the upper part of the forehead. Another peculiar element in this head, which also occurs on several heads in the rest of the frieze, is the clear semicircular incision marking the irises on the eyeballs without, however, any sign of the pupil.¹⁴⁹

In spite of these evidences for working-over on the forehead, this head can hardly be compared with any of Tiberius' portraits. The inflated lower part of the face contrasts heavily with the relative leanness of Tiberius' cheeks. Also, his eyes are never set so deep under such protruding brows.

The young man in the foreground behind 'Julia', is likewise togate and wreathed. Both body and head are shown in three-quarters view to the left (PLATE 65). His face is typically Julio-Claudian with standardized and idealized features: smooth unwrinkled forehead and plain cheeks conforming with the triangular structure of the face. The eyes are rather elongated and the eyeballs are not marked. The hairstyle is the ordinary one with short side-burns. Both heads are obviously difficult to reconcile with Tiberius' portraiture, but if a choice is to be made it would preferably fall on the latter head which, in its general character, could at least fit an eclectic reconstruction from a variety of Tiberius' images, especially as regards the eyes, hairstyle and triangularity of the face.¹⁵⁰

A more likely identification is that of the figure in military costume and of the woman in front of him as Drusus the Elder and his wife Antonia the Younger (PLATES 67-8).¹⁵¹ The close relation of these two figures looking at, and perhaps talking to, one another is unmistakable. The identification of Antonia is strengthened by the plaited bun of hair that she wears at the back of her head and which we find - though with some variety - in all her portraits both in coins and in marble.¹⁵² Drusus' head as seen on the coins is not very different from the head in relief.¹⁵³ He has regular Julio-Claudian facial features with rather leaner cheeks than the other male figures on the relief. The planes of his forehead and cheeks are also very smooth. Very distinctive is his long sideburn consisting of small curly locks partly plastic and partly cut on the cheek surface. As with the four figures preceding him, his eyeballs are not marked, but his eyebrows are incised with short S-shaped lines. His lips are separated by a rather deep groove. The young man is wearing the military tunica and paludamentum and his pose is quite unique among the figures in the foreground. Both his head and body are shown in strict profile and he is the only figure shown raising one foot in the act of walking.

Drusus
e
Antonia

Another couple on whose identification there has not been much controversy is the one at the far right end of the south frieze, said to represent Antonia Maior (PLATE 68), the elder sister of Antonia Minor, and her husband, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (PLATES 69-70) accompanied by their two children Domitia and Gn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (PLATE 72).¹⁵⁴ Once again no substantial evidence inherent in the iconography of the two heads supports the identification. The man's facial features are again very generic and do not differ much from those of 'Tiberius' behind 'Julia'. He wears the usual hairstyle with a long side-burn partly gouged in the cheek. His face is slightly more rounded and full. The eyebrows are incised; as for the eyes, only the left one bears the cutting of the iris and pupil.

As we have already said, the majority of heads are very stereotyped and standardized according to the Neo-classical idealizing values in vogue in the last decades of the I century B.C. The shape of the faces, the cut of the eyes and lips, the line of the chin - both in profile and en face - can easily be reduced to a common denominator. This is especially obvious on the female figures. The heads of the three Roman ladies in the foreground share the same profile and structure of face, the same modelling, and almost identical

hairstyles all of which are derived from classical Greek or Hellenistic sculpture. The more pronounced idealization of female iconography is perhaps just a reflection of Roman portrait sculpture in the round, where the artist tries to infuse distinctive physiognomic features into the male portrait, whereas he seems too timid, at least in the early stages, to stain the ideal female beauty, as established in Greek art, with individual, realistic traits. This is carried almost to the extreme on the Ara Pacis, where it is almost impossible to distinguish any one female figure from the other.

Her position immediately behind Agrippa has earned the veiled and wreathed lady, with her body en face in the foreground the identification with Julia who in 13 B.C. was still the former's wife (PLATES 63-4).¹⁵⁵ The identification of the young man to her right as Tiberius would not really stand in the way of such a claim, since Julia after Agrippa's death in 12 B.C., when presumably the relief was still in process of being carved, was married to Tiberius. The arguments in favour of Livia, the wife of Augustus, cannot however be discarded.¹⁵⁶ Her position in the foreground, her dignified attire and noble features make this woman stand out as a noble Roman matrona. Her head is turned to the left towards Agrippa and shows the indication of the iris in both eyes. The triangular forehead resulting from the centre parting of the hair, which is then swept back in thick wavy strands, the full oval face, fleshy lips and clear-cut eyelids and eyebrows, all find their models in Greek sculpture particularly of the IV century B.C. A comparison of this head with that of the personification of Tellus on the allegorical panel shows that in both cases the same Greek models were used and, perhaps, the two heads were even produced by the same artist although the Tellus face shows greater delicacy of forms.

We have already mentioned the largely accepted identification of Antonia Minor and her husband Drusus. Antonia, like Julia, is also placed en face and dressed in long tunic and heavy cloak, but her head is uncovered (PLATES 65-7). She breaks the monotony of the procession by looking back at her husband with whom she seems to be in intimate conversation. As far as the plaited chignon at the back is concerned, her hairstyle agrees with that of the usual iconography of Antonia¹⁵⁷ but the series of extremely regular waves she usually wears has been replaced by random, irregular and thick strands, as in the majority of female heads in the frieze. The row of small isolated curls on the forehead which characterize a number of her portraits are also absent. Two small curls in front of her ear are actually cut into the marble surface rather than raised in relief. The eyeballs are apparently plain. A close-up view of her face betrays an abundance of rasp-marks. The similarity of the face with that of Tellus is again very noticeable.

We have also mentioned Antonia Maior standing next to her husband L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. This lady, although clearly a person of distinction, is made to stand further back in lower relief by the two children walking beside her in the foreground (PLATE 68). Her face is cut in complete profile against the background whereas her body is turned rather awkwardly towards the spectator. Her head is veiled, but not crowned. A wreath or diadem, however, must have been added separately in the plain channel visible between the hair and the edge of the veil above the forehead. Her cheeks are rounded and smooth as in the case of the other ladies. Likewise her hair is

similar, perhaps more plastic and deeply cut; three small locks are incised on her cheek by the ear. Her eyebrows are also incised with S-shaped lines, whereas the incision of the eyeball has partly disappeared but must have comprised both iris and pupil.

Since the four children shown on this relief are in the foreground and evidently princes of the Imperial family, they deserve to be treated in this section. The little child wearing the bulla over a miniature toga between Antonia Minor and Drusus fits very well, in age and context, with their two-year-old son, Germanicus¹⁵⁸ - his brother Claudius was born three years later in 10 B.C. He is round-headed and chubby-faced (PLATE 71). Though the surfaces of the head are very corroded, the cut of the eyes and mouth are visibly not very different from those of the adult heads. His dress and self-possessed attitude make him look very grown-up. The two children in front of Antonia Maior and Domitius also fit with the children of this couple: the daughter Domitia and the younger son Gnaeus, the future father of Nero (PLATE 72).¹⁵⁹ The boy's head is modern. He also wears the bulla on the toga. He has grabbed his uncle Drusus' cloak while his mother is holding him back with her right hand. His sister looks down on him smiling. She is also rather chubby and her hair is also gathered at the back. Her head, which is crowned by a round stephane which partially survives over the left ear, is also very corroded but one can still see the markings of the irises between the thick eyelids. Children (foreground)

A slightly more complex figure is the child almost squashed between Agrippa and 'Julia' (PLATE 61). He wears a short tunic and grabs hold of Agrippa's toga and looks up to 'Julia'. His face is exceptionally puffy and ugly. He is said to be Lucius Caesar, the younger son, born in 17 B.C., of Agrippa and Julia. The strange hair-cut he is wearing, made of long cork-screw curls hanging down his neck and held down by a circlet, and the torque around his neck have led some scholars to conclude that the boy is here acting as a camillus.¹⁶⁰ The same objects and the physiognomy of the child - fat cheeks, distended lips and short broad nose - have induced others to see in him a barbarian prince, though he seems to be rather out of place in the procession, even as a Parthian hostage.¹⁶¹

The rest of the surviving figures in the foreground are two lictors, three flamines and the veiled priest carrying an axe; the remaining lictors and the fourth flamen are shown in the background. Though real portraits are not to be expected in the heads of the lictors one cannot fail to notice how much more realistic their faces are than the idealized ones of the members of the Imperial family. This realism expresses itself mainly by differentiating the surface of the forehead in such a way as to show greatly bulging brows in contrast with the receding forehead. This occurs also on the flamines' heads and on those of the background figures from the left end down to the one immediately before Agrippa. It looks, in fact, as if this part of the frieze might have been executed by a hand different from that which executed the part that contains the classicizing physiognomies of the Julio-Claudians.

The first fairly complete head of a lictor survives on the second slab from left and shows clearly the swollen brows with a central depression above the

nose (PLATES 50-1). It is not clear whether the flat ridge on the hairline above the forehead is a result of deliberate re-cutting or of the damaged state of the relief in this area. The same swelling of brows is seen in the next two lictors in the foreground. The one nearest to Augustus is shown with his back to the spectator and faces the background in three-quarters pose (PLATE 52).

The first two flamines look perfectly alike but face in opposite directions (PLATES 57-9). They both have a heavily built, rounded face with similarly cut eyes and fleshy lips. The superciliary eminences are not, however, as pronounced as in the other figures. The incision of the iris in the right eye of the first flamen is hardly visible and not at all in the left one, due to erosion. The surfaces of the face have been smoothed at some stage as no trace of the rasp remains. The irises of the second flamen are indicated by rather unsteady semi-circular incisions. His eyebrows are sharply-edged with a thin shallow groove running along their curves. Once again the edge of the hair-line is chipped above the forehead. The third flamen in the foreground, still a young-looking man, presents only a continuous, slightly rounded bulge in the lower zone of his forehead (PLATES 58-9). His eyes are clearly incised.

The short, veiled priest following the flamines has a thick-set face marked eyeballs and incised eyebrows (PLATE 60).

There is a great variety of types of background heads on this side of the procession, from the realistic portrait-like head of the old man on the right to the idealized youthful head behind Agrippa. Between these extremes are those heads which, though their faces fall under a standardized generic pattern, still present one or two realistic traits such as the inflated brow muscles visible on all the surviving lictors' foreheads. It is this background facial type that is preferred in later reliefs, especially in the Flavian and Trajanic ones.

A number of background heads deserve to be mentioned singly. The first is the faint, almost ghost-like, head to the right of the second pontiff (PLATES 55-6). The humped nose and stretched mouth, which gives the face that grinning expression, together with the naso-labial depression, are highly characterizing and it has been thought that the man represented L. Calpurnius Frugi Piso.¹⁶² Although one cannot deny outright the possibility of a portrait it seems to me too much to expect such a personality to be portrayed in such a subordinate position. We have already observed the overall similarity this head bears with that on the extreme left of the Actian Apollo relief, especially in the amount of detail lavished on the hair. Also worth mentioning is the eye which is seen almost as if it were en face when the head is in full profile.

The flamen in the background, in contrast with the others, is strongly individualized and portrayed as an old man (PLATES 58-9). Once more the ends of a few curls on the forehead are chiselled away and the upper half of the forehead is separated from the raised lower half by a strongly marked wrinkle. Quite unusually the eyebrows themselves - partly but rightly restored - are plastically projecting and marked with incised lines. The separating channel between upper eyelids and brow is also unusually deep

and is continued into a wrinkle at the outer corner of the eye. The right eye is absorbed completely into the background whereas the left one is clearly marked by the usual semicircle. The three-quarter profile position of the head is the cause of the distortion of the face which is found also on the characterized figure between the first two flamines (PLATE 57) and on that of the togate man standing immediately in front of Augustus, who was previously named as Varus, the second consul for 13 B.C. and now simply as a pontiff (PLATE 52).¹⁶³

The most portrait-like background head however is that on the extreme right of the frieze (PLATES 69-70). It is wreathed and cut in shallow relief in profile to the left. It shows an old man with very realistic marks of his age: wrinkles, flabby flesh with folds around the mouth and on the jaw, and balding hair. Incisions mark both eyebrow and iris. It was Benndorf who first suggested that the man represents Maecenas, the patron of arts in Augustus' court, and a few others have accepted this identification,¹⁶⁴ but no one has yet provided solid evidence to prove it, since we do not have any reliable portraits of Maecenas. It is true that the figure is so life-like that it seems reasonable to consider it a portrait of a historical person. On the other hand it seems to me too hazardous to name any particular personality unless one has real iconographic grounds to support it. But if hypotheses are to be made, they ought to be considered as such.

The more stereotyped version of the background head is represented mainly by the classicizing head behind Agrippa, by the one behind 'Julia' and by the one in front of the veiled priest (PLATES 61, 63, 58). All three, but most of all the first one, are the product of the Neo-Attic tastes introduced by the Greek workshop of sculptors employed by Augustus to carve these historical reliefs. They are, in fact, in the same tradition as the widely standardized Julio-Claudian iconography as expressed in the heads of the male members of the Imperial family on the right half of the frieze. This idealized facial type will reappear later both on Julio-Claudian reliefs - on the Ara Pietatis - and on Flavian monuments, where they will offset even more the realistic portraiture of the main figures.

The three female heads in the background fall under the same category of classically-inspired faces.

The second half of the procession, which is represented on the north side of the Altar, shows the official bodies of senators, magistrates and priests. The fringed mantles of some of the figures may indicate the presence of priestesses and the children may be accompanied by their parents, perhaps also members of the Emperor's house. A good amount of discussion has taken place around the identification of the various figures and it would be pointless and irrelevant to try to evaluate the various hypotheses, since all the heads in the foreground have been destroyed and replaced by modern ones, except for those of the three children. In fact no attempt has been made to see specific persons on this part of the frieze until Moretti's suggestion that the putto-like child towards the centre represented Lucius Caesar as the infant Romulus, the child near Agrippa being, as Moretti maintains, his elder brother Gaius.¹⁶⁵ Simon's interpretation is also confined to the children.¹⁶⁶ The composition of this procession, compared to the south one, is more monotonous and drags along with repetitive coupling of foreground and back-

Figure — 1/16 figure
ground figures. This monotony is however broken in the left half of the frieze by more homely and lively scenes of figures actually conversing with each other and of a child grabbing at the toga of the man in front of him and asking to be picked up. Isocephalicism is here even more dominant.

Starting with the two children on the slab which is still housed in the Louvre, we meet first a little girl wearing a necklace and a hairstyle similar to that worn by Octavia, with a raised central plait.¹⁶⁷ Though extremely battered, her face is very typical of the puffy children's faces that we met with on the south frieze. No identification has been suggested for this solemn-looking little girl. She is preceded by another child, this time a boy of seven or eight years dressed as a camillus (PLATE 73). Though an ordinary camillus might have been intended here, the triangular structure of the face and its physiognomical features are identical with those of the young Julio-Claudian princes, so that one is inclined to look for the portrait of one of these in this child. Lucius Caesar was only four in 13 B.C. but his brother Gaius could fit exactly since he was seven years old at that date. Unfortunately none of the portraits of the young prince go back to such an early age, but a portrait in Mainz¹⁶⁸ does not leave any doubts as to the iconographic similarity. Note also the typically Julio-Claudian hairstyle of the boy. Last, but certainly not least, is the half-clad putto in the centre of the procession (PLATE 74). He wears a torque on his neck and long hair, with central braid on the apex of his head, ending in cork-screw curls on the neck. His face is very corroded but the puffiness of his cheeks, the well-fed body and the whole atmosphere around him recall such playful Hellenistic putti as the "Boy Choking the Goose" by Boedas. Again hairstyle, dress and torque point to a religious role for the boy.

Of the adult figures only a few heads carved in very shallow relief on the background survive and these are also damaged. They fall under the same categories of idealized and slightly characterized faces that we met with on the south frieze. Of some interest is the quasi-en face ugly face behind the veiled priest on the right hand slab (PLATE 75). His wide-open staring eyes are not marked by the indication of the iris and pupil which appears in all the modern restored heads and also in the background head of the first licitor in profile to the right at the head of the procession (PLATE 76).

The frequent marking of the eyeball on the figures of the south processional frieze presents us with an intriguing problem from the technical point of view. As far as I know only two scholars have dedicated some observations to this peculiar feature and they do not seem to have produced a plausible solution to it.¹⁶⁹

Until 1903 it could have been argued that the introduction of the incision of the iris in the figures of the Ara Pacis was made in modern times when these reliefs were subjected to an extensive amount of restoration. But in that very year, among other fragments of the Altar, the slab with the two flamines (fourth one from left) came to light. For technical reasons it could not be extracted from under the foundations of the Palazzo until the final excavations of 1938. Now five of the six figures appearing on this slab show the same treatment of the eye, thus establishing the fact that this technical expedient was resorted to in antiquity. But it is also a well-known fact that this plastic rendering of the eyeball does not appear in any marble sculpture until

the latter part of Hadrian's reign or early years of Antoninus Pius.¹⁷⁰ Such details of the eyes were in fact before Hadrian added in painting as on the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta.¹⁷¹ So it is extremely unlikely that the eyes were incised during the original carving of the monument. Besides, if they were, would not the master-sculptor of the reliefs have taken pains to see that all the heads were uniformly treated, especially in such an important feature as the eye, and insisted that all the eyes were incised? We have seen, however, that not all the heads have marked eyeballs; and while the majority of those that have them have only the iris, a few others have also the pupil. On the other hand a hasty cleaning or restoration of a monument which at a certain stage had lost much of its importance and fallen into decay could well have offered the opportunity of introducing a new technical device which had by then come into fashion in order to highlight the eyes. A slightly careless restorer, or group of restorers, could afford, indeed would tend, to be inconsistent and not 'restore' all the eyes in the same way.

Furthermore would not such an occasion tempt the restorers to do some retouching in parts which might have received some damage? I am referring to the re-cutting which must have taken place on the foreheads of certain figures, especially that of the pontifex behind Augustus. This consists mainly in cutting deeper the upper part of the forehead thus making the lower part exaggeratedly protruding and leaving a roughly-cut edge on the hair.¹⁷²

That the Ara Pacis was still standing at the time of Hadrian is known from Moretti's excavations. Moretti tells us that at this time, precisely between 132 and 140, a retaining wall was added around the altar to save it from being engulfed by the ever rising level of the surrounding ground.¹⁷³ The latter would have been as high as the foot of the figured frieze and the spectator, standing at about 2.50 m away from the relief, would have his eyes exactly at the same level as the heads of the figures and thus be in a far better position to see minor details such as the eyes. Therefore a 'restoration' of the sculptured frieze could very likely have taken place at this stage.

The incised eyebrows, however, may be due to modern re-working as they appear only on the slabs found in the XVI century and not on any of the heads discovered in this century.

In spite of its size and damaged state the small frieze of the inner altar deserves a short note. Regarding the composition and general attitude of the figures comparisons have already been made with the "Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus" and the relief in Ince Blundell Hall.¹⁷⁴ In a relief on so small a scale real portraiture is hardly to be expected. The great majority of the heads have disappeared and the two or three that survive are in such a bad state that no positive comment can be made on them. Looking at the row of Vestals on the internal left side one notices that their heads were already broken and restored in antiquity as dowel-holes are still visible on the necks. At the back of the altar, to the right, one figure survives with its head (PLATE 77). The hair, cut in small round balls brings to mind that worn by the figures on the frieze from the temple of Apollo. Though the carving of the figures on the Altar frieze is slightly rougher than on the triumphal frieze, the effect of the muscles and drapery is nevertheless more naturalistic. Some of the figures are, on the other hand, neatly and carefully cut.

The figure that struck me most on examining the altar is that of a togatus with veiled head seen on the inner right wing (PLATE 78). The head is missing but the position and gesture of the figure together with the design of the drapery are identical with those of Augustus on the large frieze. Besides, behind him is a figure which can be safely identified as a flamen because it is wearing the same characteristic hat worn by the flamines on the main relief, that is, a tight fitting cap with a spike and disc. Only part of this hat is still visible but there is no mistake about it being the galerum. Are we to recognize Augustus as Pontifex Maximus also in the inner frieze or simply an unspecified high priest or Rex Sacrorum who was supposed to conduct the annual sacrifice on the altar? The latter is the more likely answer since the significance of the small frieze is believed to symbolize the said annual sacrifice rather than the specific historical event of 13 B.C. which is the theme of the external reliefs.¹⁷⁵

There is not much to say about the allegorical panels, since they are neither historical nor do they carry any portraits, but it is a matter of some interest to look at some of the heads. We have already noticed the similarity in the shape and modelling of the face, hairstyle and cut of the eyes and mouth, between the Tellus figure (PLATE 79) on the left panel of the east entrance and the heads of the female members of Augustus' family. On the panel with Aeneas sacrificing, the head of Aeneas is an imaginary "portrait" of the father of the Roman nation (PLATE 80). The idealized bearded head is in the same tradition as the reconstructed portraits of legendary and semi-legendary ancestors found on coins, and we have also met a couple of such heads on the Basilica Aemilia frieze: Faustulus and T. Tatius.¹⁷⁶ Moretti's restoration of 'Achates' on the same scene is definitely out of place.¹⁷⁷ The size of the head is far too big, much bigger than the other heads of the panel, and the curve of the background above the head does not correspond with the rest of the upper cornice. It is clear that its place is somewhere else, perhaps on the Roma scene.¹⁷⁸ The head of Mars on the Lupercal panel is interesting for its iconographical type and for its special treatment of the hair and beard in cork-screw locks with central deep holes, both of which features turn up again in later historical reliefs.

JULIO-CLAUDIAN AND FLAVIAN RELIEFS

THE ARA PIETATIS AUGUSTAE

We have already come across the fragmentary slabs of relief from the Villa Medici in Rome. These are still to be seen immured in the internal facade of the Villa near Trinità dei Monti on the Pincio. Because of their overall similarity in size, composition and style to the then known panels of the Ara Pacis they were thought, at first, to be part of the same monument¹⁷⁹ until Sieveking distinguished two separate altars and assigned the Medici fragments to the Ara Pietatis Augustae.¹⁸⁰ Since then this theory has been generally accepted.¹⁸¹

The date and place of discovery of these reliefs is not known but they were in the possession of the Della Valle family already in the sixteenth century.¹⁸² They include six pieces of a monumental frieze originally about 1.55 m high. Another group including several fragments corresponding in material, dimensions, and style to the Medici group were found in the Via Lata in 1923 and 1933.¹⁸³ One of the new fragments, decorated with festoons of laurel leaves and berries tied to a candelabra, and an umbilicate patera in the centre, established the close relationship of the Altar of Piety to the Altar of Peace in details of structure and ornament.¹⁸⁴ This is further confirmed by coins showing the Ara Pietatis.¹⁸⁵ The documentary evidence relating to the history of the Altar is very scanty. We know that it was constituted by decree of the Senate in 22 A.D. on the occasion of a serious illness of Livia, but it was not erected and consecrated until 43 under Claudius.¹⁸⁶ This implies that the meaning of pietas was primarily the filial devotion of Tiberius towards his mother but when it was implemented by Claudius the original significance of the monument was extended to Claudius' own pietas towards the deified Augustus.

The actual remains of the Altar are so few, particularly if it had dimensions similar to those of the Ara Pacis, that it would be extremely difficult to attempt a reconstruction of the monument. From its representation on the coins, however, and from the few surviving elements it seems that it looked very much like the Ara Pacis. It had two similar long processions along the long sides of the enclosure walls. These would probably have been directed towards the same end of the altar, as was the case on the Ara Pacis; this is suggested by the two different directions followed by the figures of the various fragments. Moreover, those pieces which show facades of temples as background to sacrificial ceremonies¹⁸⁷ could well have come from the four panels flanking the entrances to the precinct.

There seem to be two possible interpretations of the ceremony represented on the Ara Pietatis: the installation of Claudius as Flamen Augustalis¹⁸⁸ or the Supplicationes ordered by Tiberius on the occasion of the illness of

Livia in 22 A.D. in which Claudius must have taken part as Sodalis Augustalis.¹⁸⁹ The second event would suit the young image of the Emperor in the relief; he would have been 32 in that year. Although we do not know that these Sodales carried the spiked cap, it is possible that they wore the same characteristic cap as the Flamen Augustalis. The singularity of the central figure, however, seems to isolate him as the one and only figure of his type and thus makes him more appropriate for the sole priesthood of the Flamen Augustalis. Although we have no record of Claudius occupying this priestly office, he might well have held it from 31 to 40 A.D., that is, between the death of Nero Drusus, who held the priesthood until 31, and 41 when Claudius himself became both Emperor and Pontifex Maximus.¹⁹⁰

All the figures in the various fragments are cut in only two planes of relief: the foreground figures, whose heads are shown almost invariably in three-quarters and attached to the background by a small part of the back of the head thus show the face in its entirety, while the heads of the background figures are shown invariably in profile. This contrasts with the Ara Pacis, where even the heads in highest relief were never so much detached from the background and the face tended to disappear partially into it - except for the children, whose heads were carved more independently. On the Augustan Altar the position of the head offered much greater variety, ranging from the completely full-face, through various degrees of three-quarter poses, to strict profile. Greater variety of planes of reliefs, as much as four different planes, was also shown there, even though the overall height of relief was lower than in the Medici fragments. Another novelty introduced by the Medici reliefs is the representation of bearded heads, of which, however, only one survives. A greater number of figures, two of which are standing in the foreground, have long whiskers. The whiskers are far more plastically raised than on the Ara Pacis and tend to be punctuated by curly, almost circular, locks. This certainly reflects the change in fashion which came about between the two monuments. The only bearded head is still timidly relegated to the background. The beard itself, covering only the cheeks and chin, consists of circular locks accentuated by drilled holes in the centre. This type of beard, as we shall see, constitutes an important dating element as it appears with a gradual progressive development on a good number of later historical reliefs.

Though some degree of doubt remains as to whether the figure with the spiked cap is really the principal figure on the whole monument¹⁹¹ - since so little of the figured frieze survives - its full-face position, gesture, drapery and noble demeanor make it stand out as the focus of attention of the scene (PLATE 81). Similar devices to those used on the Ara Pacis are here employed to offset this figure as a very important one. It stands as if enclosed in a frame delimited by the two figures in the foreground on either side. The left one, though facing in the opposite direction, defines the frame with the vertical profile of its body, of which only the upper part of the torso remains. The figure on the right stands en face but directs its gaze to the main figure. The head of the latter is enclosed in another frame produced by the heads in the background, of which the two at the far ends also face inwards. Furthermore, two of these background figures are lictors carrying their characteristic fasces and as such indicate the presence of the Emperor himself who had the right to be accompanied by as many as twelve lictors.

The priest stands en face with his head turned slightly to the right but directing his glance out of the relief into the open space in front of him (PLATES 82-3). The comparison of the head with the known portraits of Claudius and the profiles shown on his coins leaves no reasonable doubt that the person here represented is the Emperor Claudius.¹⁹² This identification is almost universally accepted.¹⁹³ Laura Fabbrini's recent attempt to see in it the portrait of Drusus Maior obviously arises from her confusing Drusus the Elder, already dead in 9 B.C. with Drusus Minor who occupied the priesthood of Flamen Augustalis until 23 A.D.¹⁹⁴ In the year of the dedication of the Ara Pietatis (43 A.D.) Claudius was already fifty-three and if we look carefully at the face of our figure we see that he is still quite young, probably in his thirties. It is clearly a retrospective portrait of the Emperor that is shown here. His age would fit very well with an occasion which had taken place sometime in the third or fourth decade of our era: for example the Supplicationes of 22 A.D. when Claudius was Sodalis Augustalis or his hypothetical, but most probable, installation as Flamen Augustalis sometime after 31 A.D.¹⁹⁵

Claudius is portrayed with his characteristic triangular face with broad forehead and cheeks tapering down to the chin. His face lacks, however, the marks of mature age usually observed on his portraits, such as those in the Braccio Nuovo 18 and 117 and the one in Malta.¹⁹⁶ This is to be ascribed, as we noted, to the youth of the figure. The hairstyle follows almost exactly that of the Braccio Nuovo portraits, with the neatly cut fringe above the forehead, except that it lacks the two forks of locks above each eye. Otherwise it repeats faithfully the central change in the direction of the pointed locks and the arrangement of the small tapering side-burn. Stylistically it also lacks that plastic chiaroscuro effect of the facial surfaces characteristic of Claudius' portraits in the round.

He is wearing the double toga or laena and the spiked cap which is usually associated with the flamines. The cap as seen here is, however, somewhat different from that worn by the flamines on the Ara Pacis. The cap itself (the pileus) is considerably shorter and covers a lesser area of the hair. It has no border along the edges and no palmette on the ear-piece; the latter does not in fact occur even on later reliefs. The spike (apex) fixed on the crown of the cap is also thicker and the horizontal disc stands half-way up on it, whereas on the Ara Pacis it rests immediately on the cap.

In the position of this principal figure we notice a return to the frontality encountered on the "Ahenobarbus" relief, but which was completely set aside in the Ara Pacis. This revival of frontality extends also to all the foreground figures and indeed even to the background ones, all of which present bodies facing the spectator, although their heads are in strict profile.

The remaining figures in the foreground surviving with their heads amount to only four - excluding the victimarii and the camilli. One of these stands en face on the right end of the same fragment. His face corresponds to the Julio-Claudian type that we met on the south frieze of the Ara Pacis: his features are generic, with no attempt at individualization¹⁹⁷, and they do not differ from those of the three Julio-Claudian princes on the right half of the

Augustan frieze, with their common rounded cheeks, finely cut eyes and fleshy lips. The slightly projecting eyebrows, however, recall similar features on the figures surrounding Augustus on the same frieze. The hair-style is not very different either, except for the long, rather plastically raised whisker and the hair at the back which is brushed horizontally forward.

The second foreground figure appears on the other fragment which is at present joined to the first one (PLATE 84). This joint is clearly not correct, since the movement of the figures is in the opposite direction.¹⁹⁸ In fact it is likely that the slab belonged to the frieze on the opposite side of the altar. The camillus carrying the Lar suggests that a procession with the Lares Augusti was represented there. Besides, all the four figures are shown without laurel wreaths.

The foreground figure on the right stands en face with head turned to the right. Unfortunately the face is heavily battered and the nose missing. It does, however, seem to differ slightly from the facial type that we have met so far; it almost anticipates Flavian and Hadrianic types. This is mainly due to the unusual hairstyle and long curly whiskers. The hair is a compact arrangement of S-shaped curly locks, shallowly, but naturalistically, cut. The whiskers consist of those flat cork-screw curls that have been seen already in the beard of one of the background heads. The identification of this man with Horace participating in the Ludi Saeculares, together with Virgil and Propertius, or Livy, is based on the hypothetical identification of the background figure behind him.¹⁹⁹ This interpretation is, of course, completely anachronistic since the statuette of the Lar Augusti provides a terminus post quem which excludes both Virgil - more so Horace - and the Ludi Saeculares.²⁰⁰

The camillus on the left is evidently a non-portrait figure, but is of some interest as the first in a long series of long-haired feminine-looking camilli that we shall meet in such later reliefs as the Arch of Titus, the Arch of Trajan at Benevento and the Panels of Marcus Aurelius.

Another togate figure in high relief is cut in full-face position on the slab with the slaying of the bull (PLATE 86).²⁰¹ His head is turned sharply to the left, creating a well-modelled oblique muscle on the neck. Though not a realistic portrait this head avoids the usual idealized type of face. His cheeks are rather hollow, stressing the bone structure of the face. Some movement of the surface is also detectable on the forehead in an attempt to suggest the muscle structure beneath. The folded double-pipe in his hands betrays his role as piper. As such he differs considerably, if not completely, from the pipers that we usually meet in sacrificial reliefs: he is spared the usual grotesque puffed cheeks by not being shown blowing the pipe and he is portrayed as a full-bodied adult figure.

The last, and one of the most interesting, of the foreground figures is the only extant one on the slab which shows the temple of Magna Mater.²⁰² This figure is also shown en face, with the head turned to the right (PLATE 88). From the close-up photograph it is clear that the head is worked-over and that the working-over is typical of III century portrait-sculpture. The plastic hair has been chiselled off to produce a very short hair-cut and a close-clipped beard is produced by a series of frequent random blows with

a point. The deep wrinkles on the forehead were probably also cut at this stage. Such re-cutting would fit well with Colini's theory that these reliefs must have been re-employed to decorate an arch, possibly the Arch of Diocletian near S. Maria in Via Lata.²⁰³

We have already noticed that the figures in low relief are all, without a single exception, shown in profile to left or right. Except for one or two instances where some realistic elements are added, these faces share a very stereotyped pattern with an almost identical profile. This applies especially to the heads of the figures flanking the Flamen, whose forehead slants down almost on the same plane as the nose (PLATES 81-2). The latter tends to be long, with the lower tip curving down well below the nostril cavities. All five heads are very idealized and two of the faces, the ones immediately to the right of Claudius, are identical in profile. One is slightly differentiated from the other by the addition of a long side-burn. A characteristic of the peculiar variation of Julio-Claudian hairstyle worn on the Ara Pietatis is the way in which the hair behind the ear is swept forward in horizontal S-shaped locks. In the young-looking head to the left of the Emperor we have the first, and rather timid, attempt to show the face of a human figure wearing a beard of circular drilled curls. The eyes are shown correctly in profile in only two of these five heads, whereas the eyes of the others are rather stretched and full-face.

On the fragment with the procession of the Lares there are two background heads (PLATE 84). They are uncrowned and stand on a slightly higher level than the foreground figure on the right. This is a new feature and it is rather strange that it occurs on this monument, since on the other fragments iscephalism is the unbroken rule. It also confirms the fact that this slab did not belong to the relief with the Flamen to which it is joined, but to another one, perhaps the opposite processional frieze. The frontality of the bodies is even more obvious in this fragment.

The figure on the right has a very characterized face, vividly expressive, and it has been identified with Virgil (PLATE 85).²⁰⁴ This identification is very attractive, particularly in view of the strong likeness between this head and the portraits of 'Virgil', particularly the one in Venice.²⁰⁵ However, the dates of the creation of the altar and of the event it commemorates cannot possibly allow the presence of Virgil who died in 19 B.C.²⁰⁶ It seems to me that special care must be taken in attempting such identifications and physiognomical likenesses ought to be supported by strong circumstantial evidence, especially when it is a question of figures carved in the background, where they occupy a position of minor importance. In actual fact this head bears extremely portrait-like features and is very likely to be meant to represent a specific historical figure. But to identify it with a person who had long been dead and had no direct - or indirect - connection with the event celebrated, is far too risky. Indeed, if one compared the same head with the profile of the Julius Caesar in the Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti 107,²⁰⁷ one would find that there is also an almost perfect similarity between the two, but nobody is ever going to dare to say that they portray the same person.

Even less well founded is the identification of the more youthful, and less individualized, figure behind him as Propertius or Livy.²⁰⁸ His head falls, in profile and facial traits, into the same scheme as the other idealized heads on the previous slab. He has a slightly heavier jaw, more projecting brow and less well-kempt hair.

Of the two lictors behind the bull in the sacrifice scene (PLATE 86) the one on the right is again an idealized classicizing type, whereas the one on the left presents some of the usual realistic traits which are often produced, not with the intention of depicting a known specific portrait, but to break the monotony of the academically correct and unrealistic faces. Such traits are the two deep horizontal wrinkles furrowing the slanting forehead, crow's feet, aquiline nose, lean cheeks and folds around the mouth and under the chin.²⁰⁹ The head of the togate figure emerging from behind the temple of Mars Ultor on the same relief stands out slightly higher in relief than the others (PLATE 87). It does not however avoid the general idealization of the majority of background figures. Once again the long whiskers, covering a good part of the right cheek are raised plastically in curly locks rather than incised on the cheeks as in the Ara Pacis.

81/ We need not delay over the two fragments discovered in 1922 and 1933²¹⁰ and by common consent assigned to the same monument. The characterless youthful head appearing on the larger fragment belongs to a ceremonial attendant and is no different from the heads of attendants leading the bull in one of the Medici fragments, though the modelling of the face, particularly the eyes, seems ~~to me~~ rather harder and drier. The small fragment representing a banquet of the Vestals is so crudely done that ^{one} I cannot help expressing ^{my} ~~my~~ ^{one's} doubts as to whether it really belonged to the altar, as is generally thought.

RELIEF OF THE JULIO-CLAUDIANS IN RAVENNA

Two well-known fragments of a relief certainly belonging to a Julio-Claudian monument used to be immured in the church of San Vitale in Ravenna and are now exhibited in the cloister of the Archaeological Museum of the same city.²¹¹ They must have formed part of a long frieze about 1 m high running above a narrow strip decorated with palmettes and lotus flowers. The strongly projecting cornice above the heads implies that the frieze was seen at a certain height but the depth of the relief and certain details on the lowest part of the frieze - such as the globe under Augustus' feet - would be hidden if it stood too high and an architectural frieze like the one from the "Temple of Apollo Sosiano" is consequently very unlikely. On the other hand it could well have decorated an altar enclosure like that of the Ara Pacis - perhaps an altar in honour of the Gens Julia and dedicated to the Genius Augusti.²¹²

On one fragment two victimarii are seen leading a bull for sacrifice and behind them four other figures, probably spectators, are crowded in the background (PLATE 97). The overall similarity with the slightly smaller vicomagistri relief in the Lateran suggests that the procession might have included a sacrifice to the Divus Augustus.²¹³ On the other fragment appears a row of five heroized or divinized figures belonging to the Julio-Claudian family (PLATE 89). The diversity of the composition and content suggests once more that the two reliefs adorned different faces of the monument.

A fragment of a frieze found in Carthage shows similarly placed figures of Mars and Venus and a youth standing on small plinths.²¹⁴ On account of these plinths it must be supposed that the figures represent statues applied on a relief background and the designer of the Ravenna fragment had probably the same intention, but omitted the base. The generally en face positions of the figures strengthen this impression of a row of statues paraded in front of the onlooker.

Standing majestically in heroic semi-nudity on the right end of the relief is Augustus himself. His identification is accepted universally.²¹⁵ The facial features and especially the hairstyle agree perfectly with those of Augustus and reflect the well-known type exemplified by the statue from Prima Porta.²¹⁶ Bernoulli maintains that he is here represented as Jupiter with sceptre in hand and globe under his foot.²¹⁷ But Petersen argues that he is shown as an unbearded Mars with lance and sword.²¹⁸ He stands facing the spectator like a statue with all the attributes of a deified Emperor. His head is crowned by a wreath of oak and turned three-quarters to the right. The direction of his head and of the female figure beside him implies that the frieze continued to the right and that the missing figures were perhaps as important, if not more, as those surviving on the left of Augustus. Thus the figure of the deified Augustus probably stood in the middle of the row of statues, very much in the same way as the tiny figure of Mars stands in the centre of the pedimental sculptures carved on the temple facade of Mars Ultor on one of the reliefs in the Villa Medici.²¹⁹ Augustus shares with Mars the same

pose and attributes:- left foot resting on a globe, right arm leaning on a spear and parazonium in left hand. While Mars wears a helmet, however, Augustus has an oak wreath. The Emperor is taller than the rest of the figures and such a device already distinguishes him as the centre of attraction.

The hairstyle, as already noticed, follows more or less faithfully the Prima Porta type with the characteristic forked arrangement of locks above the right eye. The general shape of the head is also similar, but the Ravenna head shows a much stronger bone structure with bulging brows, prominent cheekbones and marked naso-labial folds. A similarly crowned portrait of Augustus still but with more idealized features, is the head in Munich, Antikensammlung.²²⁰ None of the Emperor's portraits seem to match this strongly punctuated muscular structure of the face. The central part of the face is, besides, very much damaged.

The iconographic type of the female figure to the left is easily identifiable as that of Venus Genetrix from the tiny winged Eros that she holds on her left arm. She appears in the same way on the pediment of the temple of Mars Ultor in the relief from the Ara Pietatis.²²¹ She wears a light chiton and heavy himation. Her hair is parted in the middle on the forehead and swept backwards in regular wavy strands and tied in a loose double knot on the nape of the neck (PLATE 92). She is crowned by a diadem decorated with rosettes between two rows of pearls. Although she is unmistakably Venus, it is most likely that she represents an Imperial lady sub specie deae. She has, in fact, been variously identified as Livia, Julia and Antonia Minor.²²² We are faced here with the same iconographic problems that we encountered on the female figures on the Ara Pacis, because the facial features are so idealized and generic that it is impossible to assign them with certainty to any one of the female members of the Julio-Claudian family. The oval, but rather full, face and the hairstyle are derived from Greek IV century types. Nevertheless the comparison of this head with that of Antonia the Younger on the Ara Pacis (PLATE 66) strikes me as the most reasonable; and this identification seems to be the most likely, especially on grounds of hairstyle.²²³ oo Livia

The next figure to the left is one of the most mysterious and debated of the figures, mainly because of the six-pointed star carved on the hair-fringe just above the forehead (PLATES 93-4). This is further complicated by a circular hole above it, which was meant either to hold a meniskos or another star in metal - the youth on the Carthage relief has a similar hole in the same position. The young man's exceptionally muscular body is covered only from the waist down by a cloak. His face is rather full, but conforms with the triangular structure typical of Julio-Claudian princes. His hair, composed of irregular wavy locks and covering a good part of the forehead, presents the post-Augustan feature that we met for the first time on the Medici reliefs, that is, the hair behind the ear combed horizontally forward. His youthful features are again so generically Julio-Claudian that as many as eight different identifications have been proposed including Caesar, Marcellus, Tiberius and Nero.²²⁴ Most of these, especially that of Caesar, have been prompted by the star on his forehead, since Caesar appears several times

with the same symbol of deification on coins.²²⁵ Although the existence of the star has been denied²²⁶, it is most certainly there, as I have had the opportunity of checking for myself on a close examination of the relief. Although the name of Caesar was soon given up for obvious reasons of anachronism, there nevertheless prevails a tendency to identify the young man with some Julio-Claudian prince who died prematurely.²²⁷ V.H. Poulsen would rather see a living emperor with aspirations for deification and he opted first for Caligula²²⁸ and more recently for Nero.²²⁹ For my part I would rather agree with Hafner's identification of the figure as Germanicus,²³⁰ as this is supported by its likeness with the posthumous images on coins issued under Caligula and Claudius²³¹, the Gemma Claudia²³², the statue from Gabii in the Louvre, which repeats almost exactly the same statue-type²³³, and the head in the Capitoline Museum.²³⁴

If, however, we accept this figure as Germanicus, we would not be able to assign, with Hafner, that of the cuirassed man on the left to Claudius²³⁵, unless the sculptor of the relief meant to represent existing statues of the persons concerned without any relation to a particular historical event. Which is exactly what he appears to have done. The cuirassed figure appears definitely older than the half-naked youth, and Germanicus, born in 15 B.C. was older than his brother Claudius by five years. But whereas Germanicus died at the age of thirty-four, Claudius lived to be sixty-four. Even if it is not absolutely convincing, the identification of this man with an old Claudius may prove acceptable, when he is compared with some of Claudius' portraits.²³⁶ Various other identifications have been attempted, but to my mind without any positive results.²³⁷ I find totally unacceptable those of Agrippa, Caius Caesar and Drusus II, either for lack of correspondence in age or for iconographical reasons, or both. The least improbable is perhaps that of Claudius.

Of all four heads this is particularly strange in its physiognomy (PLATES 95-6). The face is full and rounded with an extremely heavy structure. The facial structure is very pronounced, mainly in the high cheek-bones and in the forehead which in profile shows an unusual slanting curve. The brows protrude diagonally over the rest of the forehead toward the temples, thus forming a V-shaped prominence. Another noticeable feature is the baggy, almost pendulous, double-chin which never occurs on the idealized versions of the imperial portraiture usually found in these commemorative reliefs. His hair presents the same shallow treatment as in the head of 'Germanicus'. It is swept forward in long wavy locks ending low on the forehead, where they all point to the right temple. An element which adds considerably to the ugliness of the head is the ear which, though slightly damaged, must have originally jutted out in a ridiculous manner on the background. It is also cut in the same way on the head of Augustus, where the appearance of the head would have gained in effect if the ear was not represented at all.

The head and a good part of the body of the seated figure on the left edge of the slab are missing and it is impossible to guess whether it also represented another portrait of the Julio-Claudian house.

The presence of the deified Augustus gives his death in 14 A.D. as a

Definite terminus post quem for the relief. If we accept the above identifications, we must also presume that the relief was set up after the deaths of those persons, since all three are represented as divinized. Germanicus died in 19 A.D., Antonia during the reign of Caligula, and Claudius in A.D. 54. The relief should have therefore been carved between this date and A.D. 68, which marks the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty; consequently in the reign of Nero. Nero might, in fact, have been represented in the missing part of the relief on the right, in which direction the majority of the surviving figures, including Augustus, turn their gaze. Nero had pretensions at deification even in his lifetime;²³⁸ and he might have had himself portrayed in a row of statues of deified ancestors. The realism and plastic modelling of the male adult heads seem to place the relief between the initial budding of these stylistic elements in Claudius' portraiture and their full bloom in Flavian portraiture.

To judge the artistic merits of the relief, it seems that the carver was an excellent sculptor, but a mediocre, if not inferior, portraitist. It would suffice to examine the minute details in the modelling of the anatomy of the nude bodies and the care lavished on the naturalistic drapery, with deep undercut folds and flimsy adhering parts, in order to appreciate the sculptural ability of the craftsman. But when our scrutiny passes to the heads, we cannot fail to be disappointed. In the heads of Venus and the young man, where the artist follows well-established canons and official portraits, the effect is not without merit, but when he tries to infuse realism into the other two heads, his powers fail him. On both heads the movement of the muscles on the forehead is exaggerated and far from naturalistic.

Carved in the same style and showing the same surface polish is the other fragment preserving part of a bull and six other figures (PLATES 97-8). These are distributed on two planes, two in the foreground, the victimarii, and four in the background, thus recalling the rigid distribution of figures on the Medici reliefs. However, not all the heads are in profile, because the one at the right edge is shown slightly turned outward. The figures are somewhat short, stocky, and very muscular. The heads show the same tendency towards heavily built faces with strong bulging facial muscles.

3 poss dates 14 147-68 71-73 Vesp. & Titus.

SUOVETAURILIA RELIEF IN THE LOUVRE

Only three lustra are recorded to have taken place in the I century A.D.²³⁹ The first one was closed by Augustus and Tiberius in 14 A.D.²⁴⁰, the second took place when Claudius assumed the censorship in 47-48 A.D. with Vitellius as colleague,²⁴¹ and lastly Vespasian and Titus closed the lustrum in 72 or 73.²⁴² These are then the only three occasions which could provide the subject matter for the two relief slabs, now kept in the Louvre, depicting a double Suovetaurilia (PLATES 99-100).²⁴³

The larger slab forms the whole left half of the relief and features a procession of the three victims led by victimarii and other sacrificial attendants with two lictors curiatii. The procession ends on the right with the veiled censor sprinkling incense on a small altar. Part of a second altar survives in the same slab on which the second censor was originally shown pouring a libation. A small fragment with similar measurements, theme and style, also in the Louvre, certainly formed part of the same scene and showed a similar procession of animals and victimarii moving from the right.

The participants are cut in various grades of relief, ranging from the ghostly background head in the centre to the figure of the sacrificant which is shown in highest relief. The high relief and the tall stature emphasize the prominence of this figure, which is undoubtedly the Emperor acting as censor. The high stature of this main figure has been interpreted as indicating a tall Emperor, such as Tiberius or Caligula,²⁴⁴ but it looks more like a conventional expedient to make the principal figure stand out better, a device seen in such other sacrificial scenes as the "Ara of Domitius Ahenobarbus". The Emperor is placed in profile and recalls the same position of Augustus on the Ara Pacis, although there he faces left and his body is not so completely in profile as it is here. His face stands out independently from the background but unfortunately it is completely restored from just below the hairline, making the identification of the Emperor more difficult.

The rest of the figures are sacrificial attendants, victimarii, lictors or mere spectators.²⁴⁵ None of them seems to be in any position of special distinction or endowed with attributes to mark it out either as a high ranking official or member of the Imperial family. This seems to depart from the Augustan and Julio-Claudian concept of the official relief, where the Imperial family, including the female members, formed an integral part.²⁴⁶ This might be brought forward as an argument in favour of a Flavian date when the Imperial family would have consisted only of the Emperor himself and his two sons and when even the wives of the Emperors seem to have been deprived of a place in state official relief, to reappear only in early Antonine times.

Therefore, since all the remaining figures are officials of minor importance, one would not expect to find any attempt at portraiture in them. In fact most of the faces belong to a stock type which is not completely different from the Julio-Claudian one, though minor discrepancies are noticeable. The majority affect a rather short jaw-bone in contrast with the long heavy one of the Julio-Claudian type, and the profile tends to slant slightly inwards towards the chin. Greater prominence is given to whiskers and full-bodied,

even if still short, beards are now sported by not only one figure but by two figures in the foreground and one in the background. The faces are always shown in profile, except for the victimarius who leans forward towards the pig and turns his head back.

The idealized young heads are evidently direct descendants of the Julio-Claudian type of the Ara Pacis and Ara Pietatis. The bolder and more frequent appearance of the beard suggests a later date than the Ara Pietatis where it appears only in one figure in the background. The only lustrum celebrated after the Claudian one is that of 72-3 A.D. and it follows that it is the one commemorated in this relief. The similarity to the Cancellaria reliefs in the spacing of the figures against a certain amount of empty background, and in the handling of the drapery, also speaks in favour of an early Flavian date. The small grooves, certainly made by a running drill, visible on a close examination in the hair of the first, eighth, tenth and thirteenth figures from the left are a very restrained forerunner of a similar technique used much more freely in the Domitianic Cancellaria reliefs. Moreover, it is more likely that the counterpart of the priest in the missing half of the relief is another Imperial figure - as would be the case in Vespasian's and Titus' closing of the lustrum - than a private citizen, Vitellius, who celebrated the lustrum with Claudius.²⁴⁷

THE ALTAR OF THE VICOMAGISTRI

The long frieze in the Lateran Museum, showing a procession of magistrates, priests, lictors and three victims with their attendants, was found under the Palazzo della Cancelleria in 1938-9, together with the two more famous Flavian reliefs.²⁴⁸ It was discovered in two large slabs of unequal length, the smaller of which is in a much better state of conservation as it was leaning against the tomb of A. Hirtius with the sculptured face against the wall. The other was found in various fragments lying horizontally with the sculptured face upwards.²⁴⁹ The pieces together form one complete side of what looks like a rectangular monument, perhaps the base of a monumental altar similar to the inner altar of the Ara Pacis.²⁵⁰ On each end traces of the figured frieze running along two of the other sides are still visible.²⁵¹ Both features seem to imply that the actual sacrificial ceremony was represented on one of these; and the absence of the Imperial figure on the surviving side of the altar tends to suggest that it might have been portrayed in the scene of sacrifice.

Though a good many figures stand facing the viewer the procession is meant to be moving to the right (PLATES 101-3). This is implied by the direction of movement of the victims and the orientation of the heads. The procession is led by two togate magistrates and two tunicate camilli. Both pairs are shown facing one another as if in conversation. Behind these, in shallow relief, are three lictors with fasces and rods. They are followed by three tubicines shown with their backs towards the spectator. Then follow the three victims, a bull, steer and heifer, each accompanied by a group of victimarii disposed according to a more or less similar design. The procession ends on the left side with the two musicians, a piper and a lyre-player, who come immediately behind the victims. Then come the four bearers of the Lares and Genius Augusti and finally four togate magistrates whose number and context identify them as the four vicomagistri.²⁵² Figures in shallower relief appear repeatedly in the background at different levels sometimes at the same height as the foreground figures, sometimes head and shoulders above them.

There are thirty-eight figures cut in different planes of relief. All of them are laureate except for the four Lar carriers whose heads are veiled. The most important of these figures are evidently those in highest relief, namely the magistrates on either end and the bearers of the Lares. Of the four vicomagistri on the left end of the frieze only two heads survive. The bodies of all four are, however, shown standing en face. The first magistrate from the left is cut on a slightly shallower relief than the other three (PLATE 104). His head is turned in three-quarter view to the right. His face is that of a homely plebeian Italic character. Although the face is attached to the background there appears no distortion on the inner left half. In fact the left ear is not shown at all and thus the mistake committed on the Ravenna relief is avoided. The forehead is furrowed with three long shallow wrinkles. The eyes are large with thick upper lids. The bone structure appears under the

stretched surfaces of the face. Some attempt is also made to differentiate the facial muscles, especially in the swollen eyebrows and around the mouth. The hair is summarily rendered in short separate locks combed forward and down from the crown of the head. The only apparent drill work is in the open mouth.

The missing head of the second figure was cut almost entirely in the round and attached to the background - as in the case of the Lar carriers - by a puntello, part of which is still visible on the background surface (PLATE 104). The head of the third togate figure is also missing, but it must have been attached to the surface, since a much larger broken area is seen on the background (PLATE 105). Similarly attached is the head of the fourth magistrate, also facing left (PLATES 105-6). This square-shaped head is a very realistic portrayal of the rustic features of a plebeian. The low forehead is lined with horizontal wrinkles. The eyes are rather long, with heavy rounded eyelids and deep circular drilled holes in the inner corners. The visible left side of the face is all wrinkled up, whereas the hidden half is almost plain. The left cheek shows the flabbiness of the skin by deep folds running down towards the jaw-bone. A feature which is shared by all foreground figures is the deep recess that separates the lower lip from the chin. The face is lean, with flesh stretched tightly over the bones whose structure is thus made evident, especially the high projecting cheek-bones and the heavy jaw-bones. Even the muscles of the neck are moulded with care, giving a certain prominence to the Adam's apple. The hair is made up of fairly regular curved and pointed locks combed in the same way as that of his colleague.

Both surviving heads have all the prerequisites to qualify as portraits. They are singled out and given an important position and their plebeian-looking faces accord well with their identification as vicomagistri, since these were usually of freedmen status.²⁵³ We can thus safely claim that we have the real, though perhaps rather crude, likenesses of the vicomagistri who took part in the sacrificial ceremony here recorded.

The four carriers of the Lares and Genius Augusti are also placed in strict frontality, except for the one on the extreme right whose body is turned slightly to the right. The three preserved heads are, however, turned in three-quarter view to the right and in all cases carved in the round and attached to the background by a small puntello (PLATES 106-8). This device does not occur, so far as I am aware, on any other official historical relief, except on the panels of the Arch of Septimius Severus in Rome.

It has been claimed that the surviving faces of the three camilli are "unmistakably portraits of Julio-Claudian style and iconography".²⁵⁴ It appears to me that all three have many features in common and that these are so stereotyped that no claim for individualization or portraiture could be substantiated. Their iconography does admittedly recall that of the Julio-Claudians, but only generically, as a stock type. The only feature that gives the faces a certain characterization is the short light beard which has all the appearance of a barbula or lanugo indicating that the young men have not yet assumed the toga virilis. Their hair, combed forward in one clean sweep

over the forehead, recalls the hairstyle worn by a number of young Julio-Claudian princes, particularly the young Nero.²⁵⁵ It also seems to anticipate a similar hair-cut worn by one of the lictors in frieze A of the Flavian Cancellaria reliefs. Another common feature of the three young men is the large right ear jutting too far out and placed too high up behind the eye.

The first camillus who is carrying the Genius Augusti is the youngest looking of the three, with a more idealized face (PLATE 107). Very deep drilling can be observed between his open lips and between the neck and veil in all three veiled figures. A very shallow, in certain places only incised, beard covers the jaws and chin. The central camillus is taller than the other two; his face is rather fuller and more rounded and his eyes are set deep under the projecting brows (PLATE 107). The third one looks rather older, with his squarely-built face and lined forehead (PLATE 108).

These veiled young men are preceded in the procession by two other togati whose instruments qualify them as musicians (PLATE 109). The piper stands in the foreground, almost in profile, but his head is lost. Some of the victimarii stand in the foreground too (PLATE 111). Their faces are very corroded but enough of their features remains to show their dependence on the victimarii of the Ara Pacis and Ara Pietatis. Only one of the two tunicate camilli has retained his head which is turned to the left, while his body stands en face (PLATE 115). Of the two magistrates leading the procession only parts of their heads are preserved and these are also much corroded.²⁵⁶

The three lictors cut in very shallow relief behind them are shown head and shoulders above the foreground figures, while their feet are standing on the same level. Their bodies are en face while their heads are turned in complete profile to right (PLATE 115). The profile of their faces recalls closely the more idealized background figures on the Medici reliefs, although the central face seems to have been somewhat differentiated by the very short jaw-bone and folded skin on the cheek. The amount of corrosion is, however, so great that no reliable judgement can be made. The same may be said for the rest of the background heads on this less well-preserved slab. Two of the three trumpet-players are not actually background figures but are cut in a slightly lower relief than the foreground ones (PLATE 114). The originality of their pose, with their foreshortened backs facing the spectator, has been rather too highly acclaimed.²⁵⁷ It should be remembered that two figures were similarly posed on the Ara Pacis, in front of Augustus. There even the head is shown turned slightly into the background, while here they are in profile, and the foreshortening of the body is much more successfully achieved there than it is here. With these trumpeters a return is made to the usual grotesquely puffed faces typical of such figures, especially in the case of the central one. His face is ugly, abnormally long, with swollen cheeks. Once more the trumpeter on the left is raised above the popa in front of him, while his feet stand on the same base line. The three background figures appearing each above one of the victims' heads are also raised, but not exactly to the same height. The one above the bull's head is carved in so shallow a relief that he is hardly visible (PLATE 110). This is partly due to erosion of the surface. The face is however unmistakably boyish, with a snub-nose. In the same depth of relief is the victimarius behind him, but this time he is not raised above his companions.

It is rather strange that all the background figures on the left slab are shown on the same, or very slightly higher, level as the foreground figures. They are six in all, including the lyre-player. Their function seems to be merely to fill the empty gaps between the foreground figures. Their heads are without exception in profile, while their bodies are shown en face. Sometimes it is difficult to determine from the folds of the drapery whether a front or a back view is intended, as in the figure between the first and second veiled camilli. Their feet are, however, shown in profile. The whole effect is very naive and primitive.

Real portraiture is certainly not to be expected in these figures. Nevertheless their heads do not belong to the idealized types, except perhaps for the first one from left (PLATE 104). It belongs to the generic type of background heads somewhere between the Julio-Claudian and the Flavian. The slightly older appearance of the second figure is mainly due to the beard which is so short as to be almost invisible (PLATE 105). The third face shows some characterization in the low forehead, large nose, and adipose double-chin. The eye is shown almost full-face whereas that of the next one is shown correctly, or almost correctly, in profile. The latter has a horizontal depression on his forehead, but the most characterizing feature about him is his large humped nose (PLATE 107). In both cases this characterization is no more than an attempt to break the monotony of the generic, stereotyped faces. The fifth head and that of the lyre-player belong to the latter type (PLATES 108-9).

Dose Although a Tiberian date has been proposed for the vicomagistri relief,²⁵⁸ the majority of scholars seem to be in favour of a Claudian date.²⁵⁹ Suggestions have also been made that the relief might belong to the Ara Pietatis together with the reliefs in the Villa Medici and the fragments from the Via Lata.²⁶⁰ However, there are great stylistic differences between the Lateran frieze and the Medici slabs which cannot even be accounted for by the difference in size. It is impossible to reconcile the number of experimental innovations paradoxically fused with unskilfulness of design and execution of the vicomagistri relief and the academically correct and refined style of the Medici reliefs. There are admittedly some compositional and iconographical similarities between the two. The en face foreground figures with heads turned in three-quarter view towards one another are closely related to those in the Medici reliefs, and so are the equally en face background figures with heads invariably in strict profile appearing between those in high relief. The break with the neo-classical conventions of isocephalicism is already timidly attempted in one instance on the larger monument, but here the break is complete, and heralds the gradual conquest of space in later historical reliefs, even though the problems that ensue are not happily resolved. I am referring to the naive elongation of the background figures which are raised to various heights above the foreground ones while keeping their feet on the same level. Such problems are not logically and realistically solved until the reliefs of the Arch of Titus and even more so of the Column of Trajan, since not even the designer of frieze B of the Cancelleria succeeds in eliminating such anomalies.

Iconographically the background figures are also reminiscent, to some extent, of those on the Ara Pietatis and seem to be the last and rather decadent exponents of the Julio-Claudian stock type. The rustic verism of the portraits of the street magistrates, on the other hand, seems to anticipate the revival of late-Republican realism of Flavian portraiture. But since the presence of the Genius Augusti links the ceremony with a Julio-Claudian Emperor, the relief appears to belong somewhere between the Ara Pietatis and the beginning of the Flavian dynasty, either in the last years of Claudius' life or in the reign of Nero.

In spite of the monumentality of the altar, which seems to imply an official State relief, the special position allotted to the four vicomagistri and the portrayal of their likenesses suggests that it could well have been sponsored privately by the street magistrates themselves to commemorate a special event in which they took part. Such altars, of smaller scale, appear to have been often commissioned by such magistrates and a number of examples are found in various museums.²⁶¹ Finally, private sponsorship might explain better the second rate quality of the sculpture and the freedom in experimenting with new ways of expression apparent in the frieze.

THE CANCELLERIA RELIEFS

The discovery in 1937 of the two famous panels under the Palazzo della Cancelleria in Rome, now exhibited in the new Lateran Museum, has added to the repertory of Roman historical reliefs two important documents of indisputable finesse.²⁶² Their documentary importance for the stylistic development of Roman art and for their iconographical content is enhanced by the excellent state of preservation of the carving.²⁶³

The scene in frieze B is universally accepted as representing an emperor's civil adventus in Rome (PLATE 117).²⁶⁴ The relief shows a togate young man followed by lictors, Vestals and an apparitor, and accompanied by the Genii of the Senate and the People, welcoming an old, but still vigorous, man. The latter is being crowned by a Victory, which is partly missing, and followed by lictors. A slight movement of these figures towards the two togate figures is suggested by the direction of the heads and the slightly raised feet. But here it is the moment of the encounter of the two groups that is shown; and a static impression is produced by the frontality of the figures and the presence of a seated goddess on the left. Once again the most characteristic feature of this panel is the all pervading frontality of the bodies of the figures, broken only by the movement of the legs. All the figures are placed en face except for the second Vestal and the second lictor from the left, both seen from the back.

The figures are placed on two planes of relief, either in high relief in the foreground or in shallow relief at the back. The human background figures are kept on the same level as the foreground ones, but the divine and allegorical ones are raised shoulder high above the others: a seated Roma is raised on a platform, whereas Victory's feet are detached from the ground and the Genius of the People stands on a high pedestal, but with only the left foot resting on it. An irrational solution is provided for the Genius of the Senate whose feet rest on the same ground level as the rest of the figures with a consequent unnatural elongation of his body which reminds one of similar anomalies on the vicomagistri relief.²⁶⁵

The scene in frieze A has been interpreted by Magi²⁶⁶ as an adventus, but the hurried movement of the figures to the left shows that a profectio is more likely (PLATE 116).²⁶⁷ The Emperor, who is stationary, is led forward by a Victory, a lictor, Mars and Athena. Urged on by Roma (or Virtus) to move forward by her gesture, he is bidden farewell by the two standing Genii, and followed by an equally hurried group of soldiers. Though less dominating than in frieze B, the frontality of the bodies is still very evident, at least in the upper part. The heads are however either turned in profile or three-quarters either way. In contrast with frieze B, where we notice a regular alternating of foreground and background figures distributed on two planes, in A we see much greater variety both in relief planes and in composition. In B the human element is separated from the divine and allegorical one, the latter being cut in shallower relief and raised above the former. In A both elements are mingled together in one single action. There are however some other essential differences of composition. In frieze A the figures are much more crowded together in the centre than on the sides; their height is

reduced and their relief depth increased from sides to centre thus forming a convex curve with the Genius of the Senate in highest relief. Although the identity in size, subject-matter and general style does not leave any doubt that the two panels belonged together to one single monument, these essential differences of composition and some other diversities of style and technique and in the treatment of drapery and anatomy, have led observers to believe that the panels were designed by two different artists.²⁶⁸

In panel A the Imperial figure is immediately singled out as the tunicate figure, with right hand stretched forward, between Athena and Roma. All the figures have their attention directed towards him, even in the case of those in front, whose heads are turned back towards him. He is surrounded by divinities, two of whom, Minerva and Roma, provide him with an ideal frame. He is also taller than the other figures behind him. His body is shown in three-quarter view, with some awkward distortion of the shoulders, while his face is in profile against the background, into which it is embedded up to the outer corner of the right eye (PLATES 119-20).

The first things that hit the eye regarding this head are certain abnormalities which suggest a re-cutting of the face. The head is too small; its proportion in relation to the body is 1 to $8\frac{1}{2}$ whereas in the other figures in the same panel it is 1 to 7 or, at most, 8. The second and most important element is the roughly cut ridge following the hair line on the forehead. This must have been left in its rough state when the forehead of the original head was cut deeper in order to produce the portrait of another person. This also applies to the 2 cm - wide strip - or 'halo' - running along the profile of the face on the background. It has been left unsmoothed, whereas a similar but narrower and fainter 'halo' along the outline of the hair is much smoother. While the latter is possible evidence for a specialized portrait sculptor having been employed for carving separately the Imperial portraits²⁶⁹, the former confirms the evidence of a re-cutting of the face.²⁷⁰ Besides, the dry modelling of the face and its rough unfinished surface contrast markedly with the smooth, academically finished faces of the rest of the figures.

Because of this, the only iconographical clue to the identity of the original figure portrayed is the coiffure, which is a very distinctive one. It is in fact the coma in gradus formata favoured by Nero²⁷¹ and later adopted also by Domitian.²⁷² It consists of long hair combed forward in a series of regular waves towards the forehead. On the forehead it formed an attractive curved fringe of locks whose edges have been chiselled off in the re-cutting process.²⁷³ Another characteristic feature is the hair at the back where it is parted from a central vertical line and swept forward towards the ears. This forward horizontal movement occurs admittedly on some of Hadrian's portraits,²⁷⁴ but it does so also on most of the Julio-Claudian portraits²⁷⁵ and on Flavian ones, particularly Domitian's.²⁷⁶ But the central parting at the back does not occur on either Julio-Claudian or Hadrianic portraits, not even on the bust in the Thermae Museum cited by McCann as an example.²⁷⁷ I am not sure whether it ever does on Domitian's portraits, since most of them are unworked or missing at the back and of the others none is illustrated from the back. Besides, Hadrian's face is much too flat to allow a re-cutting of such a head with so projecting a nose; and an identification with a II century Emperor is very unlikely.

Since, as we shall see, the old Emperor appearing on panel B is unmistakably Vespasian, it follows that the corresponding figure on this panel is one closely related to him, namely one of his two sons, Titus or Domitian. The association with Minerva, for whom Domitian had a special veneration,²⁷⁸ makes the latter the more likely candidate of the two. The hairstyle, moreover, leaves no doubt that this identification is the right one, especially after a comparison is made with the well known portraits of Domitian.²⁷⁹ A perfectly identical hairstyle is worn by his portrait in the Museo dei Conservatori.²⁸⁰ The integration of a plaster cast of the re-cut head into a portrait of Domitian by Magi²⁸¹ eliminates all shade of doubt that the Imperial figure in frieze A was originally Domitian. The re-carving of the head is easily explainable by the damnatio memoriae to which the name and images of this nefarious Emperor were subjected.²⁸²

Whose likeness is then portrayed in the present face? After Magi's identification all scholars have accepted that the new re-cut portrait is the image of Nerva.²⁸³ One need only compare the relief face with the few surviving portraits of this Emperor, whose reign lasted only two years, to realize how justifiable this identification is.²⁸⁴ The nearest parallel is the head from Tivoli in the Museo delle Terme²⁸⁵ which reproduces exactly so many physiognomical features of the relief head that a common model type must have been followed in both cases. The profile is almost exactly identical with slanting forehead, short jaw-bone, protruding thin lips and hooked nose, more pronounced in the Tivoli head. On a full-face view one notices the common horizontal cut of the eyebrows, the similar horizontal and vertical wrinkles on the forehead - the short vertical ones are more slanting in the relief head - the pronounced cheek-bones (much more accentuated on the relief head by the hollow cheeks). The general dryness of the modelling is more obvious on the Cancelleria head than in the Tivoli portrait, where some soft modelling and movement of the flesh is visible around the mouth. One has to keep in mind, however, that this relief face was probably carved with some haste in order to save the relief from the merciless damnatio. In fact, the asymmetry of certain details in the face cannot go unnoticed from a full-face view of the head. The slight swelling under the lower eyelid and the naso-labial fold, both on the left side of the face, do not have their counterparts on the right half which is left rather neglected as being hidden from sight to an ordinary viewer facing the relief.²⁸⁶ The cavities of the nose were left to their original depth and consequently appear very shallow. The rough rasp finish of the surface in the face and neck do not occur anywhere else in the relief, not even on Vespasian's head, where a finer rasp has cancelled the traces of the rougher one.

The same conventions of movement of figures and of direction of heads, as well as a conspicuous difference in stature are also used in panel B to mark out the principal personality of the scene, the solemn togate old man on the right half of the panel. The old man's intimate relationship with the young man to the left produced by his gesture and by the reciprocity of their glance, mark out the young togate as enjoying almost, if not completely, equal rank. The bodies of both figures are placed en face, but the young man is turned slightly to the right. Both heads are, however, in three-quarters view facing one another.

There is no possibility of mistaking the portrait of Vespasian in the old togate; in fact all scholars agree with the identification (PLATES 133-4).²⁸⁷ The characteristic features of Vespasian which appear in his coin effigies and portraits are reproduced on the relief head:²⁸⁸ square structure of head with rounded skull, high forehead, high and prominent cheek-bones, aquiline nose, extremely thin lips, protruding round chin, double-chin and thick-set neck. The faithfulness with which this head follows other portraits of Vespasian is surprising and extends to minute details such as the wrinkles on the forehead and at the corners of the eyes. Similar, too, are the V-shaped swelling on the forehead, which caves in abruptly at the root of the nose, the slightly angular naso-labial folds, and the folds of the flesh on the jaws and on the neck. The expression of intense concentration is produced by the numerous vertical wrinkles in the centre of the forehead and the highly arched eyebrows, caused by the contraction of the brow muscles. Very characteristic, too, is the overhanging skin which conceals almost entirely the upper eyelids.

The dry and incisive modelling and the linearity of the wrinkles contrast heavily with the dominating classicizing style of the reliefs. It is, however, very much in keeping with the dry realism of a good part of Flavian portraiture including some of Vespasian's portraits, such as the one in Copenhagen²⁸⁹ and the heads in the Thermae Museum,²⁹⁰ and Tunis.²⁹¹ The same style, deprived of the "typically Flavian surface illusionism", appears occasionally on some of Titus' and Domitian's portraits and seems to be a dominant feature in the portraiture of Nerva,²⁹² especially of the Tivoli head already mentioned.

"The stress on cubic, abstract form with a concern for tectonic clarity, the break down of the integrity of the surface planes with the incision of linear details into the flesh, and the contortion of individual muscle areas which gives a feeling of psychological tension to the head are all very different from either Flavian 'illusionism' or later Flavian 'classicism'." This is one of the arguments brought forward by Mc Cann²⁹³ against a Domitianic or Flavian date for the relief. She further adds that the above stylistic qualities are more characteristic of the portraiture of the Trajanic period or of the first decade of Hadrian's reign.²⁹⁴ The interest in tectonic structure is indeed quite typical of Trajanic portrait sculpture, but even a cursory examination of the Flavian portraits shows how very typical of Flavian portraiture those same stylistic qualities are.

The difference in style of the head of Vespasian from the other 'ideal' or 'ordinary' types has been explained by Magi as being the product of a different artist, a specialist portrait carver.²⁹⁵ The survival of an unpolished strip following the outlines of the head on the background are, in his view, evidence that the head was just blocked out by the sculptor of frieze A and left to be completed by a specialist in Imperial portrait cutting. A similar unpolished strip around the hair of Domitian's head in frieze A, which could not be attributed to the re-cutting of the head, seems to suggest a similar explanation.²⁹⁶ The practice of leaving particular heads just blocked out, to be cut in detail at a later stage is known to have existed in Roman art from several sarcophagi, the most famous of which is the sarcophagus of a general from Portonaccio in the Museo delle Terme.²⁹⁷ Here all the figures and their heads have been completed and polished except for the heads of the principal figure and his wife. These, which would have been intended to represent

the portrait effigies of the buyer of the sarcophagus and of his wife, are just blocked out. The sarcophagus has been passed down to us in its stage before the sculptor in charge of this special task had done his work. Of course, the historical relief belongs to a completely different class of sculpture and is governed by entirely different exigencies. Therefore one has to try to discover similar technical procedures in other historical reliefs in order to establish whether this was a regular standard feature or limited to one or two instances. So far this is the only occasion that I have come across where such a procedure might have been resorted to and in our study of the other reliefs we shall examine the possibility of further evidence for it.

The most problematic figure in these two reliefs is that of the young man beside Vespasian for whom no satisfactory interpretation has yet been proposed (PLATES 131-2).²⁹⁸ In my view the problem arises mostly from the fact that this head was apparently not cut by the same portrait-sculptor that carved the head of Vespasian in the same panel. There is no evidence on the background of a previously blocked out head as in the case of Vespasian and of Domitian in the other frieze. The head, in fact, has all the appearance of being carved by the sculptor who carved all the other heads on the same relief. It shares with them the same classicizing generic features. Most of all it bears the signature motif which is found on all the other heads on panel B except that of Vespasian: a short incised line underneath the lower eyelids.

There are, however, certain features that differentiate this head from the others, some of which might be intended as portrait traits. The hairstyle is similar to the one worn by Domitian on the other panel: the coma in gradus formata. It forms, however, a thicker mass and the curls become more plastically raised and undercut to produce separate individual curls in the two tiers above the forehead. Also noteworthy is the wider use of the drill both on the front curls and at the back. Another characterizing feature is the slight beard limited to a small area on the cheek and on the chin. The sideburns are slightly raised but mainly incised. The beard on the chin takes the form of long curly locks with small drilled holes. This has rightly been interpreted as the lanugo which Roman young men grew before the depositio barbae at the age of twenty.²⁹⁹

Its position in the relief and the paternal gesture of Vespasian's arm clearly suggest that this young figure is a historic personality; in all likelihood one of his sons. Now with all probability this relief is intended to picture the return to Rome of Vespasian in 70 A.D. and his encounter with Domitian.³⁰⁰ In 70 Titus would be 31 and Domitian 19.³⁰¹ The latter's age accords very well with both the youthful features and unshaven barbula of our mysterious figure. The hairstyle is also the one favoured by Domitian and if we look carefully at the face we find that in spite of the general idealization of the features there are some traits that fit well into the iconography of Domitian, such as the slightly swollen brows above the nose-bridge and the protruding upper lip.³⁰²

Since, as will be seen, the reliefs must have been executed in the reign of Domitian this retrospective portrait of Domitian in his youth would either have to be reconstructed from memory or based on contemporary portraits or else copied from his juvenile portraits such as the fragmentary head in Ostia.³⁰³

This is actually the nearest parallel to our portrait for most physiognomical features. It has the same shape of face, the same horizontal cut of eyebrows and similarly shaped eyes, nose, lips and chin. But the greatest analogy between the two heads is in the hair-cut which displays the same rigid low arch around the forehead, with a similar row of upright curls and the same deep undercutting of the curls. However, the relief has in addition a more rigidly tiered hairstyle and the lanugo. In any case the idealization and apparent genericity of the face are undoubtedly due to the attempt to portray the young image of the Emperor.

It is worth noting that although the two heads of Vespasian and young Domitian are set almost three-quarters to the background no distortion of the face occurs on the former and is kept to the bare minimum in the latter. The head of Nerva in frieze A is placed more strictly in profile and the background cuts off part of the face from the outer corner of the right eye.

None of the other foreground figures show any pretensions to portraiture. The head of the bearded officer in frieze A, looking back towards his companions (PLATE 125), affects a type of beard which is unusual on a Flavian relief but will appear in a great number of soldiers and officers on the Column of Trajan. This thick beard may be a distinction of seniority or higher rank in the army. Some attempt at differentiating this figure's face from the faces of the anonymous series of soldiers and lictors is made by means of one or two characterizing features, for instance, the two swellings on the forehead flanking the nose-bridge and two small linear, but deep, wrinkles above them. This is the first time on a historical relief that a human figure is represented wearing such a thick beard.³⁰⁴ It had always been thought that the Greek type of beard came into fashion only with Hadrian.³⁰⁵ We have already seen, however, that occasionally bearded figures appear on reliefs as early as the Ara Pietatis; and its appearance here should not prove too much of a surprise. Even less should it force us to date the whole sculpture to the reign of Hadrian. The peculiar treatment of the beard in numerous plastic circular curls with drilled holes in the centre has already been met with in the head of Mars on the Ara Pacis.³⁰⁶ As in that head, so here the drilling is limited to circular holes but is much more liberally used on the beards of Mars in frieze A and of the Genius Senatus in both Cancelleria reliefs. A slightly freer use of the drill is observed in the hair to highlight its regular wavy curls.

This particular head is, as already noted, very distinct from the others and is very individualized; but one cannot be certain whether it is meant to represent the true portrait of a real person, say the leader of Domitian's praetorian guard, or just a type representing a Roman officer.

His companion, to whom he is looking back, is characterized by similar features on the forehead (PLATE 127), but otherwise his head is very similar to the heads of the other four soldiers whose facial profiles and hairstyles vary only in small details. The use of the drill in the hair is limited to offsetting the locks around the ear and above the right temple.

One other figure in the foreground is the young lictor on the opposite end of the relief. His body is in quick motion to the left while his head is turned back three-quarters to the right (PLATE 118). His face is extremely idealized,

with perfectly regular features: smooth, rounded, low forehead with slight, almost imperceptible, swellings above the inner eyebrows; finely cut eyes; fleshy lips; and smooth rounded cheeks. The hairstyle differs slightly from that of the others in that it is combed forward in one clean sweep to end in an arched fringe low over the forehead, recalling the coiffure of the Lar bearers in the vicomagistri relief.

The first figure from left on panel B is the apparitor or Vestal's attendant.³⁰⁷ He stands en face and motionless while his head is turned towards the main figures to the right (PLATE 129). He is characterized by a short beard consisting of small pointed locks curving their way irregularly in various directions. The treatment is very similar to that of the beard on the young Domitian especially in the shallower parts. He wears the typical hairstyle of these reliefs, with smooth, straight, long strands swept forward onto the forehead. His face is very regular, introducing the new generic 'type' represented also in the background heads. His regular features do not suggest a portrait, even though his beard is quite a distinctive element.

female
Of at least five Vestals present on the relief only one head survives (PLATE 129). She stands in exactly the same position as the apparitor, and wears the characteristic fillets around her head. Her face displays the classicizing and generic features usually found in other female figures on reliefs. The forehead slopes down on the same plane as the nose without any interruption at the root of the nose. The classicism of this female face is somewhat colder, more academic, than that of the Julio-Claudian faces and a comparison of the shape and profile of the face with those of Roma seated behind her shows an almost perfect identity of form.

The only other figure in the foreground is the lictor standing in the centre of the whole scene (PLATES 130-1). His thick hair makes the face look rather triangular from the front. It is composed of very irregular curves and forms a sort of frame round the forehead where the thick curls become more regularly orientated and are separated by deep drilled channels. A feature which appears for the first time on such reliefs is the stippled beard created by a series of parallel pittings giving the impression of an unshaven face: a very distant precursor of the similar effect popular on III century portraits, although the technique is entirely different.

None of the heads of the background human figure has survived in frieze B, but the six surviving on frieze A give us a clear idea of the current facial type which, though somewhat classicizing, differs completely from the background facial type of either the Ara Pacis or the Ara Pietatis. The four soldiers are so homogeneous in the shape of their head, hair-cut, facial profile, sinuous shape of mouth and in the carving of the eye and ear, that the sculptor seems to have followed one single design for every head (PLATES 123-4, 126, 128). Differentiation of the heads is produced by the addition of a moustache and side-burn in one head and a slight beard in another, and by the movement of hair locks.

The soldier immediately behind Roma is covered almost completely by her and by the Genius of the Senate so that only his head and neck are visible (PLATE 123). He has very regular features with a low forehead which caves

in slightly just below the hairline and swells out gently towards the brow. A shallow horizontal furrow separates the lower swelling from the upper recess. The eye offers a good compromise between a frontal and a profile view. The sagging overlid at the outer corner of the eye is a feature which occurs also on all the other background figures. Some movement of the facial muscles is suggested on the forehead and around the mouth. The hair is combed forward with S-shaped curls with their ends pointing in different directions on the crown, but regularly pointing backwards on the forehead. A small side-burn and a slight moustache are raised in very shallow relief.

The head behind the Senatus, set on a frontal body, repeats faithfully the previous head in most facial traits including the regular curve of the jaw-bone (PLATE 124). A circular depression on the ear-lobe is eroded. The hair is, however, smoother and the face is completely clean-shaven. The third soldier, following behind the bearded officer, has a more squarely built jaw-bone (PLATE 126). He is also clean-shaven but his forehead is not furrowed, though the naso-labial muscles are lightly indicated by the movement of the covering flesh. The hair locks are much more irregular except along the forehead. Some use of the drill is apparent in the short grooves around the ear. The background soldier at the far end of the relief wears a short beard on the chin in addition to a moustache and long whiskers (PLATE 128). All are very shallowly cut and in a few places the small locks are just incised on the surface of the face. The tips of the hair locks on the forehead change direction over the left temple. The rest of the facial traits repeat those of his companion.

The two other background figures are the lictors between Nerva and Roma one of which is cut on a slightly higher relief than the other (PLATES 121-2). The general shape and profile of his head are the same as the soldiers', but what makes him stand out from the rest is the somewhat thick beard. Though perhaps rather less plastic, it repeats the beard of the officer in the foreground. It consists of a mass of S-shaped curls highlighted by circular and crescent-shaped drillings. Where it borders on the cheek it is rendered by a series of scratched lines. The hair locks are much thinner and more disorderly, especially on the forehead. A few drilled grooves separate some locks from one another and from the ear. Low at the back the locks curl round in circular tufts. His forehead is smooth and slightly rounded. He has a fine nose and fleshy sinuous lips. The eye is cut in a fashion similar to that of his companion and the other background figures and presents the same peculiar overlapping of the drooping overlid at the outer corner.

Partly covered by his companion the second lictor has his head slightly higher up than the former's. His head is constructed in a way similar to that of the third background soldier, with wide, squarely built, jaw-bone. The fleshy sinuous lips and shape of the eyes, ears and nose are similar to his colleague's. The hair on his eyebrows is marked by a few scratched curved lines. These appear faintly on his companion's brow but much more clearly on two of the foreground figures on the same relief: Mars and the lictor before him.

It is clear that the sculptor of frieze A is different from that of frieze B. The fundamental discrepancies in design and composition between the two reliefs have already been discussed. To these one can add the difference in facial type. Unfortunately our comparison is limited to the two foreground figures in B which differ considerably from those in A, not to mention Roma, the Genii and Domitian's hairstyle. Furthermore I have noticed minor technical devices present on the heads of one relief and absent from the other. The eyes are differently cut and show a distinctive incised line below the lower eyelid in frieze B which does not occur in A; in relief A, on the other hand, a few figures present incised eyebrows, and inside all the slightly opened mouths of the foreground figures a smooth ridge suggesting the teeth is visible below the upper lip. All these elements constitute signature motifs of two different sculptors even if the designer was the same for both reliefs.

The style of the reliefs has been a strong argument in favour of those who postulated a Hadrianic date for their original creation. It is true that if the heads of Vespasian and Nerva were missing probably no one would have hesitated to assign the Cancelleria reliefs to Hadrian's reign on grounds of style alone. It is also true that at least two of the heads, the heavily bearded ones - not to mention the heads of divinities and allegorical figures - would seem to fit better in a Hadrianic context. But all this is the consequence of misconceptions and unfounded hypotheses which have been building up as a result of art criticism during the last century and the beginning of this century, according to which Flavian art is to be recognised from its 'illusionism' not only of space³⁰⁸ but also of texture.³⁰⁹ Thus certain currents of style, like the 'academic', the 'classicizing', 'realistic', 'illusionistic' and the 'continuous' have been apportioned to air-tight compartments wherein all art objects ought to be distributed according to whether or not they possess certain stylistic qualities which fit into that particular compartment.

Meanwhile the personality of the artist was completely ignored. Roman art was to be considered as the product of the whims and tastes of the Roman rulers rather than the product of the age, with its political, social and economic problems. It is only in the last four decades that art history and criticism started to regard these aspects as important factors in the formation of aesthetic values.³¹⁰

The Cancelleria reliefs are a product of the classicizing or Hellenizing current which had never really died out in Roman art. The existence of an artistic personality or a workshop still working according to the traditional naturalistic values of Greek art, but obviously using new technical devices, is not to be ruled out. The treatment of the drapery and anatomical features on the Arch of Titus are not dissimilar from those of our reliefs, in particular of frieze A. It is enough to compare the figure of Vespasian and that of Titus, the Genius of the People on the Chariot panel and that in frieze A, and finally the treatment of the legs and feet on both monuments. But the most striking thing of all is the close compositional relationship that frieze A has with the Spoils panel, already noticed by Magi.³¹¹ the outward curve of the composition towards the centre and the decreasing height of the figures from sides to centre. Furthermore, and what is most relevant to our study, is the similarity of some of the background heads on both monuments: same division of forehead, same profile, same carving of the lips, eyes and ears, and similar hairstyle.

Nor do our reliefs lack the 'spatial illusionism' found on the Arch reliefs. Here it is produced by the variety of heights of the heads of the figures, above which an empty space is left where the spears and the fasces produce the same effect, admittedly much more restrained, as that produced on the Arch.

The presence of the bearded heads is not an argument against a Flavian dating since we have encountered bearded figures already in the Julio-Claudian reliefs - the Suovetaurilia and Ara Pietatis - and they will reappear very frequently on the Column of Trajan. The strongest argument in favour of a Flavian date is, however, the indisputable iconography of the Emperors which cannot ever be logically explained other than in a Flavian context.³¹²

Admitting a Flavian date the obvious choice is a date under Domitian in whose honour the reliefs were evidently set up. It is very debatable whether to opt for a date in the early or later years of Domitian's reign. Magi associates the reliefs with the Emperor's triumph over the Chatti in A.D. 83 while holding that the Arch of Titus was dedicated not at the beginning of Domitian's reign but after his death: under Nerva, or in the early years of Trajan's rule.³¹³ Toynbee refuses this theory and dates the reliefs to the 'late-Domitianic classicizing style, the fruit of the maturing of the Emperor's well-known philhellenic tastes'.³¹⁴ It is difficult to decide which of the two monuments was produced first. The co-ordination of traditional composition and style with certain attempts at innovation, such as the incipient 'spatial illusionism', seems however to precede the more defined illusionistic treatment of the Arch of Titus sculpture.

P. 164, Cupids from Temple of Venus Genetrix.

THE ARCH OF TITUS

• Victory in the Jewish War. Divo
• The SPQR erected 8th monument for Titus.
↳ Apotheosis, under the vault.

The reliefs of the Arch of Titus³¹⁵ are the first ones to be mentioned that have stood on their respective monument since the erection of the latter in antiquity and which present no problem of provenance. The problem of the date of the reliefs is thus strictly tied to that of the whole Arch. The arch was dedicated by the Senate and the Roman people "to Titus son of Vespasian". Though no reference is given in the inscription as to the occasion it commemorates, the reliefs set on each side inside the passageway suggest that it was the victory of Titus over Judaea and the capture of Jerusalem in A.D. 71. In the inscribed dedication on the attic, however, Titus is referred to as 'Divo' which implies that at least when the inscription was set up Titus was already dead and consecrated. Therefore the whole arch was completed after his death. The panel under the vault, showing the Apotheosis of Titus also implies the same thing, at least so far as the sculptured decoration of the inner vault is concerned.³¹⁶

All scholars seem to be in agreement on the posthumous date of the Arch of Titus,³¹⁷ but no definite, reliable evidence has yet been brought forward in order to establish the approximate date of the completion of the arch and consequently of the reliefs. The dates proposed are principally two: the early years of Domitian's reign³¹⁸; or sometime after his death, in the principate of Nerva or the early years of his successor Trajan.³¹⁹

The arguments in favour of a Domitianic date seem to me rather weak viz.: Domitian's ambition to enhance his own personality by glorifying the Flavian family by means of a monument dedicated to his brother and predecessor; Domitian's consecration of Titus; the similarity of the architectural decoration to that of Domitian's other public and private buildings. Those in favour of a post-Domitianic date, on the other hand, are more realistic. Domitian's dislike and hatred of his elder brother would hardly have permitted him to overcome his reluctance to honour him with such a monument. In conjunction with this is Suetonius' assertion that beyond the deification no further honour was accorded by Domitian to Titus after the latter's death.³²⁰ Then there is the total absence of any mention of the arch in Martial's detailed description of the area.³²¹ Lastly the similarity in structure and decoration to those of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum suggests that the two arches were erected in a much narrower space of time than used to be thought.³²² Besides, certain architectural elements find their parallels also in the decoration of the Forum of Nerva.³²³

Against this background all we can do is to try to determine, from an examination of the heads in the reliefs and from their style and technique, a relative, rather than an absolute, chronology, namely whether the reliefs of the arch should precede those of the Cancelleria, securely dated to Domitian's reign, or be placed between the latter and the relief panels of the Arch of Trajan, in a continuous progressive evolution in spatial illusionism and conquest of space.³²⁴

✓ The two relief panels one on either of the passageway of the arch have been, since the beginning of this century, the centre of gravity of Roman art history.

They assumed this important role when Wickhoff, in his introduction of the Vienna Genesis, discovered in them the culmination of the most original achievement in Roman sculpture, "spatial illusionism".³²⁵

The two panels (PLATES 135-6) show two subsequent moments of the triumphal procession as if taking place simultaneously. The triumphal procession is that celebrated by Titus after his victory over the Jews. On one panel is shown Titus on a chariot being crowned by a Victory standing behind him. The chariot is drawn by four horses led by a helmeted Amazonian figure, perhaps Roma. Twelve lictors distinguished by their fasces are placed in the background walking in front of or alongside the quadriga. The Emperor is followed by the Genius of the Roman people and three figures wearing the toga.

The other panel shows a crowd of tunicate attendants, some carrying the seven-branched candlestick, the others carrying the golden table and silver trumpets, all of which represent the spoils taken from the temple of Jerusalem. Three long-haired camilli carry the tituli and three togate figures accompany the procession in the foreground.

It is not relevant to this study to discuss the errors of perspective in the representation of the chariot in relation to the horses or of the arch for which the procession with the booty seems to be heading. Nor is it our duty to discuss the greatly debated question of "spatial illusionism" and the qualities of "respiration" produced by the open ground above the figures. Suffice it to say that as Riegl pointed out,³²⁶ this open ground is introduced by the designer of necessity, to represent Titus in the triumphal chariot and the spoils of the temple above the heads of the figures. These are shown at different levels only in the Spoils scene where as many as three heads are shown overlapping each other.³²⁷ On the Chariot scene they tend to follow the rule of isocephalism except for the heads behind the horses, where they curve slightly upwards in order to appear above the horses' heads (PLATE 137). One other interesting point to make is that the background on both panels, but especially on that of the Spoils, curves slightly inwards from sides to centre, while the figures stand out progressively in higher relief towards the centre. This marks a step forward on the similar, but much more limited, convexity of the figures in frieze A of the Cancelleria which lacks, however, the concavity of the background.³²⁸ A sense of perspective in the right direction is attempted in both reliefs of the arch in showing the heads in lower relief smaller than those in the foreground.

The fast movement of the procession to the right in the Spoils scene is stressed by placing almost all the figures in profile. Only two figures are placed en face and both have lost their heads. A greater sense of rest is imparted by the dominating frontality in the Chariot scene, where all the figures' bodies face the spectator while the heads assume various directions in profile or in three-quarter view.

The Emperor is immediately recognizable from his position on the triumphal chariot, raised above the rest of the figures and being crowned by Victory. His body is placed en face in a pose which anticipates the chariot scene on the Severan Arch at Lepcis. His head is however turned almost completely in profile to the left (PLATE 138). It stands at an angle to the neck, which projects obliquely from the trunk. Though the whole left, or outer, half of the

face is missing enough of the mouth and chin and of the right side survives to betray the characteristic portrait features of Titus: thickset neck, broad chubby face, heavy double chin, fleshy lips and nose - most of which is chipped.³²⁹ Enough of the hair survives above the right temple to show that it was brought forward in smooth crescent-shaped locks as in his portrait on a togate statue in the Vatican, Braccio Nuovo 26,³³⁰ rather than in the curly hairstyle of the cuirassed statue at Sabratha³³¹ or the head from Herculaneum in Naples, Museo Nazionale 6059.³³² Vermeule finds 'this head not unlike the Boston portrait'.³³³ Our head is, however, much broader at the jaws and the hair is not formed of cork-screw curls at the front as on the Boston head. Whilst the latter is one of the earliest portraits, even earlier than the cuirassed statue from Herculaneum,³³⁴ the relief head is definitely based on a late portrait. The striking similarity to the Vatican head, especially in the modelling of the lips and chin suggest that a common model is followed.

Though the head is carved in strict profile, most of the inner half of the face is shown without any distortion whatsoever, as if the head was intended to be seen as a complete portrait in the round. The tumid lips and the careful modelling of the surviving half give only a faint idea of the artistic merit of the portrait.

It has been noticed that both Vespasian and Domitian, who participated in the triumph of 71,³³⁵ the former on his own chariot and Domitian following on a white horse, are mysteriously absent in the reliefs. The absence of Vespasian was blamed on lack of historical faithfulness and lack of piety on the part of Domitian, himself absent.³³⁶ The absence of Domitian would be truly out of place if the reliefs were executed in his reign, understandable if after his death and ensuing damnatio memoriae. More strange, in my view, is Vespasian's absence since his appearance in the reliefs would have provoked no objections either if they were executed under Domitian (he enjoys a prominent place in the Cancelleria reliefs) or under a subsequent Emperor.

One does not expect to find any portraits of real historical persons among the crowds of bearers or lictors. Any attempt that there is at realism in the modelling of their faces is made just to break the monotony of idealized faces so much in fashion in Julio-Claudian reliefs. However, there are a number of figures, all of them togate, which occupy a prominent place in the foreground of both reliefs and which could have originally been real portraits. Unfortunately in all five instances the heads are missing and the rest of the figures are in such a bad state that no attributed survive to suggest any identification. Is there a possibility that any of these represented one of the other members of the Flavian house?

The first one appearing on the left end of the Chariot scene is definitely a simple lictor. He is wearing the toga like the apparitor on frieze B of the Cancelleria. He is surely either one or the other, because one of the fasces above his head³³⁷ could not belong to any other figure than him and if its lower part had survived it would have ended in his left hand. The togate person on the extreme right, on the other hand, is in such an unimportant position, at the back of the procession, that he could hardly have represented an Imperial figure. Its place, next to the half-naked figure of the Genius of the Roman People, indicates that it might well have represented the Senatus as on the Cancelleria reliefs.

Nothing seems to have survived on the other panel to help with the identification of the three foreground togate figures there. It is very likely, however, that they were officials of some kind accompanying the anonymous crowd of attendants. The second one from the left wears a strange arrangement of straps which would have distinguished his function. He must have been an official of some importance, since because of him the number of porters at the back of the ferculum with the candlestick is reduced to three instead of the usual four. His head was cut in so high a relief that originally it was detached completely from the background. So was that of the third togate figure of whom only the outline survives. In fact, in both cases, behind their heads are carved other heads in low relief.

The other surviving heads in the foreground belong to two porters, but they are so battered that little if anything can be made of them. The one in the centre, just to the left of the togate figure, looks as if it wore a beard. The other one, bowed under the weight of the shewbread table in the front, has puffed cheeks and face bent down towards the ground (PLATE 140).

In the Chariot scene there are three heads which do not belong strictly to the background since, though in profile, their heads are carved in higher relief.

The first head belongs to the first lictor on the extreme left of the panel. Though the face is very corroded, the full beard and moustache are still quite distinct. As it is practically the only fully bearded figure on the reliefs this head assumes great importance, especially because the beard is formed of a mass of corkscrew curls with drilled holes in the centre, like the ones observed on the Cancellaria reliefs and, even earlier, on the Suovetaurilia relief in the Louvre and on one of the Medici reliefs. The hair, however, is combed in smooth strands falling low on the forehead with a few drilled grooves. Some characterizing features are the slanting forehead, slightly crooked nose and deep-set eyes.

The second of these figures is the lictor just to the left of Roma. His head is the best preserved one in higher relief. After that of Titus it is in fact the most characterized face with mobile forehead muscles and prominent superciliary eminences. The same mobility of surface is observed on the cheeks, where the high and pronounced cheekbones and the long massive jaw-bones are stressed by a slightly hollow cheek and a shadowy naso-labial depression. No details survive of the hair where it is not covered by the laurel wreath. The neck muscles and Adam's apple are also strongly indicated in most of the other figures.

The forepart of the third surviving head is broken off, but the heavy structure seems to have been very similar to the one of the head just described. The special thing about this head is the hairstyle which at the front is arranged in cork-screw curls with small holes in the centre and combed straight at the back behind the wreath. This particular hairstyle is found later on some of

Hadrian's portraits, e.g. the one from Ostia,³³⁸ and on another Hadrianic portrait of an unknown individual also from Ostia.³³⁹ As for relief sculpture, besides recalling the feminine hairstyle of the *camilli* in the small friezes on both the Arch of Titus and that of Trajan, it occurs on a bearded figure to the left of a sacrifice scene in a relief also from Ostia, dated to the reign of Domitian.³⁴⁰

The background figures offer more scope for stylistic and iconographic examination since practically all their heads survive owing to the shallowness of the relief (PLATES 137, 139-40). Their hairstyle is almost invariably the same (except for the *tituli* bearers): - hair combed regularly forward towards the forehead where it finishes in a neat arched fringe. Some figures wear long side-burns. The drill is used only in the wreaths and, in one or two cases, to offset the hair on the forehead. The feminine looking *tituli* bearers wear long wavy hair at the back. Two of them, one on either end, have a smooth curving fringe flowing from under the laurel wreath onto the forehead, whereas the one in the centre wears the honey-comb arrangement so typical of female hairstyles in Flavian times, but appearing also on the male attendants on the narrow friezes of the Arch of Titus and that of Trajan at Beneventum.

The features of the faces are quite regular and a few faces are so generically idealized that they look almost identical. In most cases, however, some degree of realism is attempted in the movement of the facial muscles especially on the cheeks and foreheads. The eyelids are generally sharply cut, the eyebrows well marked, the nose pointed and the lips fleshy. The modelling is natural and life-like, though its tendency towards exaggeration in the heads in low relief anticipates remotely some of the harder treatment to be observed on Trajanic reliefs. The eyes are in a few cases long and mistakenly shown *en face*, but in most cases the sculptor has expertly drawn them shorter and rather deep at the inner corners, thus throwing out the eyeball.

— In style and technique the heads in the reliefs of the arch stand somewhat between the Cancelleria reliefs and those assigned to the Trajanic period, though they are so different from both that our reliefs seem to have been carved by a singular artistic personality which stands on its own, independent of anything that goes before and anything that follows it. Certain analogies cannot, however, pass unobserved. The hardness of the features of two of the foreground figures, and of some of the background figures, and their somewhat dry modelling seem to anticipate the more exaggerated hardness and dryness on Trajanic reliefs. The regularity and tendency towards idealization of the majority of the background figures seem to be more closely related to their immediate predecessors of the Cancelleria. Compare for instance the second head behind the horses in the Chariot scene and that of the soldier between Roma and the *Genius* of the Senate in frieze A of the Cancelleria. The narrow horizontal wrinkle on the forehead, the hair, the modelling of the ear and the shape of the eye and lips are so strikingly similar that one is inclined to think of a common model or cartoon.

Therefore, considerations of style and historical arguments, as well as the strong similarity in the architecture and architectural decoration of this arch with the one in Benevento, lead us to believe that the monument and its sculptures were executed after Domitian, perhaps in the early years of Trajan's reign.

Greatly inferior in quality to the sculpture of the triumphal reliefs is the small square panel carved in the centre of the vault above the passageway.³⁴¹ It represents, with grossly incorrect perspective, the Apotheosis of Titus i.e. Titus being carried up to heaven on the back of an eagle. The motif of the eagle transporting the deified person is known previously in a gem showing the Apotheosis of Nero.³⁴²

The Emperor is shown in full frontality with his head turned slightly to the left (PLATE 141). The 'optimum' - or rather the least unhappy - view of the face is had by the spectator standing close to the Chariot relief to the left. Nevertheless the distortion of the face remains visible throughout. The head is abruptly interrupted by the cornice which cuts through the skull. The ears are misplaced, especially the right one which is shown clumsily jutting out where it should not appear at all. Though iconographically not a faithful image of the Emperor, certain features leave no doubt about recognizing Titus. The broad squarish structure of the face is here exaggerated, but the characteristic shape of the lips and chin is unmistakable. The forehead is divided by one horizontal furrow. The crude almond-shaped eyes dip down towards the nose and the left eye is larger than the right one. The hair is smooth and lifeless. Like the other relief head on the arch, this one is also dependent on a late portrait, perhaps it was even copied from the former. The result, however, is entirely different, a naive, ugly image without life or expression. This is certainly due to the lack of skill of the carver and not to any particular stylistic current or attitude. Nor is it due to it being unfinished.³⁴³ The position of the relief and the consequent difficulty involved in its carving may also have some share of the blame.³⁴⁴

A fragmentary relief head in the Museo del Foro Romano has been correctly identified with a portrait of Titus (PLATE 142).³⁴⁵ It was found early this century during the excavation of the Medieval deposit above the Via Sacra in the Roman Forum. This provenance has led Wegner to believe that the head must have belonged originally to the Arch of Titus. He even suggested that it belonged to a relief destined to be set up under the vault, but later abandoned to make room for the present Apotheosis panel.³⁴⁶

The head is heavily damaged and seems to have been knocked off the background against which it was carved in profile to the left. Only the left half of the face survives and the break deprives us also of two of the most characteristic traits of Titus' iconography, the lips and chin. However the shape of the two horizontal wrinkles on the forehead and the vertical ones at the root of the nose, the outline of the latter and the shadowy depression at the corner of the mouth, as well as the cut of the eye with its sharp eyelids confirm Wegner's identification. Like the portrait in the Chariot relief, this head follows a late portrait of Titus with the characteristic tightly curled hair combed smoothly forward onto the face. However, the face is not as broad at the jaw. Indeed, the style and treatment of the face suggest a completely different artistic personality. The hand that carved this face betrays feeling for lively plasticity and soft modelling most evident in the treatment of the wrinkles on the forehead and around the mouth.

The traces of a laurel wreath on the hair behind the ear suggest that the head belonged to a triumphal relief where the Emperor appeared already

crowned and not being crowned, as on the Arch of Beneventum.³⁴⁷ Though Wegner's conjecture regarding its provenance from the Arch of Titus on the Via Sacra cannot be dismissed outright, it is equally valid to suggest another possible provenance. The head could have belonged to a triumphal relief decorating the other Arch of Titus erected around 80 A.D. near the Circus Maximus.³⁴⁸

TRAJANIC, HADRIANIC AND EARLY-ANTONINE RELIEFS

TRAJAN'S COLUMN

The Column of Trajan³⁴⁹ was completed and inaugurated in 113 A.D. This date is suggested by the Imperial titles appearing in the inscription on the base of the Column³⁵⁰, and confirmed by the *Fasti Ostienses*.³⁵¹ Composed of nineteen drums of Parian marble³⁵² the Column stands on a cubic base and is topped by a Doric capital on which once stood the gilt-bronze statue of the Emperor later replaced by Sextus V with a statue of Saint Peter. It was designed to form an integral part, and focal point, of that magnificent architectural programme: the Forum of Trajan. It stood behind the Basilica Ulpia and was flanked by the two famous libraries, the Greek and the Latin, from which one could have better appreciated a view of the upper courses of the relief.

The relief decoration takes the form of a spiral frieze, more than 200 m long³⁵³, running round the shaft of the Column, and depicts in the 'continuous' narrative style the events of Trajan's campaigns of 101-2 and 105-7 against the Dacians. The narration of the two campaigns is separated by a Victory writing on a shield and flanked by two trophies. The scenes are either directly linked to each other without the slightest break, or separated by means of some landscape element (a tree, a rock etc.) indicating a turning point in the narration.

On the Column the human figures dominate the surrounding landscape which is consequently reduced in scale and seen from a bird's eye view by means of a pictorial map-technique, where the ground seems to have been tilted forwards. The figures at the back are thus raised above those in front to give a pictorial illusion of depth. The relief itself remains very low throughout - it rarely exceeds 2 cm - in order not to break the contour of the shaft. In the background the details are very often merely incised and the figures in very low relief are offset by an outline groove.

The story unfolds itself in 155 scenes. These have been found to be reducible to six types of episodes with a fixed theme repeated with small changes in details.³⁵⁴ These themes are: adlocutio, sacrifice, works of fortification, envoys or prisoners, marches and journeys, battles.

The number of figures carved on the Column exceeds 2500. This prevents us from examining in detail the whole relief as we did with the other monuments. We are thus obliged to give only a general assessment of the portraiture therein, citing some examples.³⁵⁵

The Emperor Trajan appears more than sixty times in the Column and his presence is the dominating factor throughout the frieze. Just as Augustus appears as the first among the citizens on the *Ara Pacis*, so Trajan appears on his column as the first among the soldiers.³⁵⁶ He is shown in various

attitudes fulfilling various functions as the leader of the Roman army. He thus appears several times sacrificing, addressing his troops, deliberating with his officers, receiving messages or submissions from the enemy, supervising construction work and riding at the head of the army, but never actually taking part in the battle, as on the Great Frieze.

The Emperor's body is, as a consequence, depicted in a great number of different poses. He is most often shown standing with his body turned in a three-quarter position, a few times in complete profile but slightly more often en face, facing the spectator. Frontality prevails towards the end where he appears in this position in five consecutive scenes. This frontality, however, is limited to the body and is not shared by the head. The head is shown always, except for a few instances, in complete profile so that the combination of a frontal body and a profile head is by far the dominating one. In a few instances the head is seen in three-quarters view and only once completely en face, in the sacrifice scene no. XIX.³⁵⁷ As for the sitting position, the designer tends to show the lower part of the body in profile so that a twist of the body brings the upper part of the trunk with the shoulders to face the spectator. In one case, in scene CV (PLATE 148) this twist is accompanied by a turn of the head in the opposite direction so that, while the body is seated towards the right, the head is in profile to the left. In most cases the standing position reverses this twist of the body so that while the lower trunk and legs are en face, a turn of the right shoulder and arm (mainly to the right) brings the upper part of the trunk in quasi-profile. See, for instance, scenes X, XIV, XXX, LXXXVI and CIV (PLATE 147).

The surface of the marble has not survived in the same state of preservation throughout the Column. Certain scenes have been restored completely or in part and in other areas the faces are so worn that it is virtually impossible to recognize the persons, including the Emperor, from the physiognomical features alone. Moreover, in a few cases - very few indeed - not even the original features betray easily the portraiture of Trajan, so generic are the facial treatment and hairstyle (e.g. scenes XII and CIII (PLATE 146)).

In all cases however, it is relatively easy to determine the Imperial figure from his armour, position, gesture and, sometimes, size. When Trajan is not wearing the military cloak or the toga, he wears the distinctive cuirass and paludamentum which are, however, worn also by his generals. But in every scene he is placed in such a position as to form the focal point of attention. The direction of attitude of most of, if not of all, the figures surrounding him is centred upon him. By his gestures in performing a sacrifice, giving battle instructions, raising his arms in greeting or in addressing his troops, and by his stature, which is generally larger and taller than that of his companions, the viewer is left with no doubt as to his identification.

On the Column there is no indication that a specialist portrait-carver was employed to sculpt the images of the Emperor. On the contrary, everything seems to indicate that wherever Trajan appears, the same sculptor carved the whole figure, head and body. There are no 'haloes' to indicate blocked out heads, as on the Cancelleria reliefs. In all cases, the style and technique used in each head are consistent with the rest of the particular scene in which it appears. On the other hand, there are certain differences in

diff.
skill

style and technique between some groups of scenes and some others which are also paralleled by differences in the portraits of the Emperor contained in them, so that it is quite clear that several craftsmen collaborated in the sculpture of the Column.³⁵⁸ In some cases the difference between one hand and another is due to skill, or lack of it. Compare, for instance, the ugly, almost unrecognizable, heads in scenes LXXIII, LXXXVI, XCI, and the excellent portrait in scene CIV. In most cases, however, the diversity is in the treatment of the hair and the formal language of the face.

The Emperor's head in scene XXV has rather full and rounded cheeks, slanting forehead bulging well out over the nose, and the hair forming a straight fringe, consisting of regular curls covering a good part of the forehead and temples. The lips shut tightly and pouting give, together with the tensed up brow, an expression of reproach. The head of Trajan on horseback in scene XXVI is a completely different one both iconographically and stylistically (PLATE 143). The shape of the skull is less rounded and bulges out at the back. The hair does not cover much of the forehead and seems to be rather receding over the temples. Though its surface is fairly damaged it seems to have appeared originally very much like the hair worn by Trajan in CIV. Again, though the slant of the forehead and the bulge of the brow are also present, the brow does not protrude over the nose but merges with it in a continuous, slightly sinuous line. The outer corner of the brow, on the other hand, is more projecting and throws a darker shadow on the deep-set eye. The naso-labial fold is much more evident and some movement of the facial muscles is imparted by a restrained play of light and shadow on the leaner cheeks.³⁵⁹ The emphasis on the jutting, small and rounded chin separated from the neck by a fold of flesh, and the serried lips, with overlapping upper one, are more typical of the portraits of Trajan in the round. The whole face breathes an expression of authority and military discipline.

One of the portraits that follow most faithfully those in the round is, however, that in scene CIV where the Emperor is seen deliberating with his generals (PLATE 147). This is certainly the finest Imperial portrait on the Column; and considering the fine portraits of the three figures surrounding him, especially that of the general in front of him, one would not hesitate to assign the execution of this scene to the most skilful of the collaborators, perhaps to the Master of the Column himself.³⁶⁰ In this scene, as Bianchi Bandinelli put it, "never, perhaps, has any artist better conveyed the human relationship (one of fundamental trust and devotion) between a senior minister, also a personal friend, and a leader with the gift of calm decision and sure command, than in this representation of Trajan and a member of his entourage".³⁶¹ The finely cut eye is set less deeply under the equally finely cut brow with its sinuous outline. The unusual amount of detail in the rendering of the hair, the strands being shallowly, but plastically, raised and separated from one another, reproduces the same effect as on the portrait in the British Museum,³⁶² but without any use of the drill. The coloristic effect on the cheeks and around the mouth is taken even a step further. The bone structure of the jaws and the cheekbone shows through the tightly stretched flesh as the cheek is hollowed slightly by an undulating shadow that follows the movement of the naso-labial depression. The slant of the forehead is very restrained and the hair comes down well over the temples.

The face of the Imperial figure being presented with the severed heads of barbarians in scene LXXII (PLATE 145) is so angular and its treatment so dry that it rather reminds us of the portraits of Nerva and Vespasian on the Cancelleria reliefs. But the linearity of the wrinkles, so evident in the Flavian portraits, is totally lacking in this portrait, and indeed in all the other portraits on Trajanic monuments, be it Column, Frieze or Arch.

While having the same general profile, the head in scene XL presents a different portrait altogether (PLATE 144). The head is squarer and the face fuller and planted on a thick neck. The hair flows very low onto the forehead. The head does not fit at all well on the body which presents a great distortion in the upper part especially when it is looked at from the front.³⁶³ The ugly portrait of the sacrificing Emperor in scene XLI is also planted on a dumpy short body with considerable distortion due to the three-quarter pose. The proportions of the head to the body tend to be rather small on a number of occasions but especially in the last four scenes in which the Emperor appears i.e. CXXV-CXLI (PLATES 149-50). In these the general proportions, the posture, the turn of the head and position of arms and feet are so similar that it is hard to believe they were not done by the same craftsman.

In general the portraits appearing on the Column seem to be based on the latest official type produced in Trajan's lifetime.³⁶⁴ Indeed, this very model has been called "the sacrifice type"³⁶⁵ because in a good number of places on the Column, especially in the sacrifice scene CXIII, Trajan wears a hairstyle which is peculiar to this iconographical scheme. This coiffure seems to be imitated from the portraits of Augustus - this the link Augustus-Trajan is reaffirmed - though the locks seem to converge in forked arrangement on the left rather than on the right. One of the best exemplars of this hairstyle is perhaps the bust in the Uffizi.³⁶⁶ Most probably it does not reproduce an actual hairstyle worn by the Emperor but a conventional one. The archetype of this group of portraits seems to have been created around A.D. 110.

As we turn to look for members of the Imperial family, we are disappointed to find that, as on the Flavian monuments, they are completely absent. Trajan was childless so that no children could be depicted on the frieze, but his wife Plotina, who eventually outlived him, could well have appeared in a profectio or an adventus scene. The Emperor is however constantly flanked or surrounded by a number of officers of high rank whose repeated appearance in various episodes forces us to consider them as belonging to this second group of figures. A number of these officers have such portrait-like features that it is surprising that so little literature has been devoted to their identification. As a matter of fact some names have been suggested for one or two of these figures like Lucius Licinus Sura³⁶⁷, Lucius Quietus³⁶⁸ and, most important of all Hadrian, Trajan's successor.³⁶⁹

Being childless, Trajan had to provide for a successor and in his selection of Hadrian, a distant relative, he passed over several of his chief military associates. But he delayed the formal act of adoption to the very last and this gave rise to the rumour that Hadrian owed his adoption to the favours of Trajan's widow, Plotina, who allegedly kept secret Trajan's death until the death-bed adoption was safely announced. Hadrian is known to have taken an active part in the Dacian wars. At the age of twenty-six he was already in command of the Legio I Minervia when the latter was summoned by Trajan to join him in the

campaign of A.D. 102.³⁷⁰ It seems right, therefore, to expect Hadrian to be portrayed on the Column and where is it more likely to discover him if not in one of Trajan's bearded companions?

In scene LXXXVI, showing a sacrifice, Lehmann-Hartleben³⁷¹ refused to see Hadrian in the participant in front of the central arch of the theatre³⁷² since he judged the state of preservation too bad to allow any positive assertion. Weber³⁷³ did not hesitate to accept the same identification, but Wegner³⁷⁴ finds the figure in a sufficiently good condition to exclude it. Cichorius³⁷⁵ thinks he could recognize Hadrian also in scene LXXXIX in the young bearded officer above Trajan; but he is contradicted by Lehmann-Hartleben.³⁷⁶ As Wegner concludes,³⁷⁷ there are no definite iconographical grounds for an identification with Hadrian. On the contrary, the hair flowing so low down onto the forehead is against it. Cichorius' suggestion³⁷⁸ that Hadrian is to be recognized in the officer following Trajan, in scene CII, is again rightly refuted by Lehmann-Hartleben³⁷⁹ and Wegner,³⁸⁰ since the only trait he has in common with Hadrian is the beard. Again Lehmann-Hartleben³⁸¹ does not accept Cichorius' identification³⁸² of the third of Trajan's companion in scene CXXX. Wegner,³⁸³ however, is disposed to accept it, since the rather irregular hairstyle occurs in Hadrian's portraits. If this is really Hadrian we have here his first known portrait. *Potentially his 1st portrait*

Lucius Sura has been identified with the young officer with curly hair conversing intimately with Trajan in scene CIV (PLATE 147).³⁸⁴ His body is en face but his head is turned in profile to the left to look at the Emperor. Though in profile, part of the right side of the face is made visible from a side view, without provoking the least distortion in the whole. It is a finely cut portrait with very neat modelling in the eyes, eyebrows, mouth and ear and equally careful treatment of the hair which consists, at the front, of regular rows of corkscrew curls with central holes and, at the back, of smooth shallow locks. His features are manifestly idealized and the only indication that he represents a real historical personality is the fact that he appears several times on the spiral relief and not because of any realism in his physiognomy. Some of the other scenes where he appears are: XVIII where the right side of his face is visible since the head is cut in three-quarters view, whereas the body is again en face; XL where the head is in profile to the right and the body faces into the background; CV (PLATE 151) where he appears with a much fuller face; CXIV in profile to the left behind Trajan.³⁸⁵

A more realistic portrait, and one which appears more frequently in the company of Trajan, belongs to another officer whom we meet for the first time seated at a war council in scene VI.³⁸⁶ He sits on the left of Trajan, while on the right sits another officer whose face is completely destroyed. He is rather fat with full round cheeks and smooth hair receding at the temples. The latter is his most distinctive feature. He appears in several scenes among which: IX,³⁸⁷ X, XIV, XXV, XXVII, LXXII, LXXVII and CXXX.

Another interesting figure is the bearded officer with long smooth hair of the characteristic Trajanic type, flowing smoothly forward and covering a good part of the forehead. He appears for the first time in scene X behind Trajan with his body facing the background and his face turned three-quarters to the right, looking at Trajan. In the Emperor's surroundings he appears again in

One cannot just simply equate any bearded figure with Had.

scenes XXXV, LXXV, CIV and by himself, away from the Imperial group and at the head of a squadron of armed soldiers, in scene XCVIII. A young officer, also with smooth and long hairstyle of the Trajanic type, appears for the first time to the right of Trajan in scene IX and again in scene XXIV where his features are much better preserved.

It should have been very easy to identify Lusius Quietus as the leader of the Moorish cavalry which did splendid service for Trajan in Dacia and which appears only once, but very distinctly, in scene LXIV. But all the cavalymen represented seem to share common ethnic features and none of them stands out in any way either by his physiognomical features or by any pretensions at leadership of the rest. In fact Lehmann-Hartleben refuses to identify Quietus himself.³⁸⁸

The same differences in the treatment of the iconography and in the modelling of the heads observed in the portraiture of Trajan are encountered also on these figures, so that it is sometimes very difficult to determine whether the same individual or a different one is meant to be represented. The theory that several sculptors must have collaborated in the execution of the relief, each entrusted with individual, or groups of, scenes, is further confirmed by these differences.

Besides their important role as portraits of individuals these figures tend to have another, and from a certain point of view a more important, function, that is to serve as a frame around the Imperial figure whereby he is immediately recognizable as the principal character. Almost without exception they turn their heads in his direction and therefore attract the spectator's attention to him. They are usually grouped around the Emperor in most of the scenes concerned with the first Dacian War, but in those of the second war they tend to either disappear or lose themselves among the crowds of soldiers. They re-emerge in their usual role towards the end, in the last scenes.

On the enemy side we also come across at least one figure of a barbarian whose facial traits can be identified in a few scenes such as LXXV and CXLV. Since among the anonymous host of barbarians their leader is the only figure likely to be physiognomically and iconographically recognizable, the identification of this barbarian with Decebalus, the Dacian king, is very probably correct. In scene LXXV he is shown standing behind his subjects who are surrendering to Trajan (PLATE 152). Though physiognomically he is fairly representative of his race, nevertheless certain individualistic features, like the broad eyebrow, huge bony nose with deep wide nostril, high cheekbone and a certain expressiveness in the face, distinguish him as a life-like image of the king of the Dacians.³⁸⁹ His striking resemblance to a portrait bust in the Vatican Museum³⁹⁰ does not leave any doubt that both heads represent the same person. Since Decebalus' head was displayed in Rome after his death at the end of the war, the sculptor or sculptors concerned could well have gained a first hand knowledge of the barbarian prince's physiognomy. The same person appears also in scene CXLIII-CXLIV.

With the figures treated above ends what one might call portraiture in the strict sense. The rest of the 2500 figures belong to the anonymous crowd but play an important role, in certain ways [not unlike the chorus in a Greek tragedy.] Iconographically and physiognomically they are classifiable according to their race, sex, rank and role into Romans, barbarians, Germans or Dacians, Moors,

legionaries, auxiliaries, Roman or barbarian wives and children. The artist has succeeded in making the various races of barbarians easily distinguishable, not only from their costumes and gear, but also from their facial features and, most important of all, their hairstyle.³⁹¹

It is well known and appreciated that the barbarians are shown in such a favourable light on the Column. Far from being pictured as a cruel and savage enemy they are presented as an honourable, virtuous people in a desperate struggle to defend their country and natural rights against an inevitable, pre-determined, god-designed conquest by the Roman people. A few tragic scenes which express the humanity of these barbarians in their sufferings are not lacking. Scenes CXX-CXXI show their sorrow in their facial expressions and gestures, especially in the case of the grief-stricken old chieftain weeping over his dead son. Similar expressions of suffering appear in the face of a wounded Roman soldier being nursed by his fellow soldiers in scene XL,³⁹² contrasting markedly with the rough treatment being meted out to the captured Dacians in the same scene.

Stoic.

In the sacrifice scenes VIII, LXXXVI, XCI, XCIX, CIII we meet familiar 'type' figures: the long-haired young camillus encountered on the Arch of Titus and the piper with his usual grotesque, puffed face. The trumpeters with swollen cheeks recalling those on the vicomagistri relief are also seen on the right of scene VIII.

At this point I wish to look especially at the sacrificial scene LXXXIII-LXXXVI. The procession of men and women in the left hand corner of the scene brings to mind immediately the external procession of the Ara Pacis and it seems that the artist here had that particular monument in mind in designing this scene. As on the Ara Pacis the figures are isocephalic though not completely so, as if the artist was unwilling to accept such a rigid disposition of the figures, which was opposed to his ideals. There are two or three heads actually cut in the background, one in complete profile, the other almost facing the spectator with a slight turn to the left. But what most brings to mind the Ara Pacis is the presence of children dressed in a similar way and wearing similar hairstyles, especially the two girls with the chignon at the back. Children also appear in the company of adults on the right end of the scene where a very small child is actually wearing the full long toga like the one on the Ara Pacis.³⁹³ The atmosphere is similarly one of familiarity with a few figures turning back their heads to converse with their companions.

Ara Pacis

Given the shallowness of the relief and the perspective devices used in this monument, background figures are virtually non-existent, at least as we are used to them on larger and deeper reliefs. Here there are only two real planes of relief for the figures and their heads, the foreground plane and a slightly lower one, the illusion of depth in a crowd being suggested by superimposing figures in a vertical sense.

One, in our view, very important point to make is the wide use of the beard among the figures of the spiral frieze. It is not limited to the barbarians, but occurs also on the majority of Roman soldiers. Therefore what has traditionally been considered to be a typical Hadrianic fashion, originated and encouraged by that Emperor's philhellenic tastes, was already in common use in the reign of Trajan. One has only to look at a few scenes to see the predominance of

bearded faces, e.g. scene III with the setting out of the Roman army for the first campaign, and, in particular, scene XCVIII-XCIX where all the adult figures are bearded except Trajan. Worthy of note also is the variety both in the type and in the treatment of the beard. Some figures wear it short, others long and thick. On some it consists of a mass of kinky curls with central holes, on others of slightly wavy locks separated by relatively deep zigzagging drilled channels.³⁹⁴

It is a most extraordinary achievement and indicative of the resources of the carvers of the Column relief that among the thousands of figures represented one can say that virtually not one single face repeats another. Even among the nameless crowds of Roman soldiers and barbarians the craftsmen sought to distinguish one head from the other in facial traits, hairstyle and beard or in position in relation to the background. Though, as already observed, a certain amount of difference is noticeable between one group of scenes and another - differences of technique and modelling of the faces and also differences of skill - the unity in concept, style and design imply the existence of a Master who created and supervised this magnificent representation of Roman history in relief.



TRAJAN'S GREAT FRIEZE

The Great Trajanic Frieze consists of several scattered fragments, the main parts of which are immured in the central passageway and on the short ends of the attic of the Arch of Constantine in Rome. Casts of these were taken and put together to form a single long frieze eighteen metres long, now exhibited in the Museo della Civiltà Romana.³⁹⁵ The frieze about 3 m high was originally even longer as is shown by the breaks at either end and by the subject matter which implies a further extension certainly to the left.³⁹⁶

It is not known for certain to what type of monument this frieze belonged. The hypothesis that it belonged to a Trajanic arch was for some time the most popular one.³⁹⁷ The plaster reconstruction of the relief, however, helped to exclude its provenance from an arch, the structure of which excludes so long a frieze.³⁹⁸ Petersen even doubted its provenance from any building in Trajan's Forum since Ammianus Marcellinus (XVI, 10, 15) speaks of the intact splendour of the Forum at the time of Constantius II i.e. after Constantine's re-use of the slabs in his arch.³⁹⁹ Its original location in the Forum, and more precisely along the walls of its precinct was held by Sieveking, Wace, and Michon,⁴⁰⁰ and confirmed by comparison with other reliefs, known with some degree of certainty to have been found in Trajan's Forum.⁴⁰¹ After offering several hypothetical locations of the Great Frieze within Trajan's Forum, Pallottino admits that "il problema della origine del fregio deve ritenersi sostanzialmente insoluto".⁴⁰² Wherever its original place, it was sawn up rather arbitrarily into several parts four of which were used by Constantine to decorate his arch near the Flavian amphitheatre and in both instances where the Emperor appears his portrait was worked over to produce his (Constantine's) likeness.⁴⁰³

The traditional opinion that the reliefs belonged to the time of Trajan, going back to the Renaissance and maintained by the above mentioned scholars, was in the former case intuitive and in the latter mostly based on historical allusions and comparisons with Trajan's Column. Sieveking already saw the possibility of recognizing in the Imperial figures the head of Trajan reworked in the likeness of Constantine.⁴⁰⁴ Nibby, trying to reconcile the style of the reliefs and the Imperial faces, dated the passageway reliefs to the age of the Gordians.⁴⁰⁵ Petersen would exclude the representation of Trajan's Dacian Wars because of iconographical elements - such as the huts and the barbarian type - which differed from those of the Column illustrating the same theme.⁴⁰⁶ E. Strong subsequently considered the possibility of the reliefs representing the Dacian campaigns of Domitian,⁴⁰⁷ an opinion accepted by Reinach.⁴⁰⁸ The traditional chronology and attribution was defended by Sieveking with the observation that the re-worked heads could not be other than Trajan's.⁴⁰⁹ It has since then been universally accepted.⁴¹⁰

On grounds of similar dimensions of slabs, figures and heads and analogous style and typology, especially of armour, various fragments of historical reliefs have been assigned to the rest of a vast frieze which supposedly decorated the Forum Traianum. The most substantial of these fragments are three slabs immured in the entrance of the Villa Borghese Museum in Rome.⁴¹¹

From the slabs re-used on the Arch of Constantine and, better still, from the reconstruction of the whole frieze in the plaster cast of the Museo della Civiltà Romana we find that the frieze is carved in the "continuous"⁴¹² - but not "narrative"⁴¹³ - style with the Emperor appearing several times in different scenes which are not separated from each other by conventional cornices or other devices. Indeed figures belonging to one scene overlap others in the following scene. This means taking the "continuous" style of the Column a step forward, since in the latter the scenes are separated by empty caesurae or by landscape elements. The Arch slabs have preserved for us two scenes in which the Emperor appears: (1) an adventus Augusti occupying a small fraction of the frieze on the left end (PLATE 153) and (2) a widely spread battle scene with the Emperor on horseback charging the enemy in the centre (PLATES 153-4).

In the adventus scene Trajan is being welcomed back to Rome by a group of lictors and by the allegorical figure of Roma (or Virtus). He is being crowned by a Victory and followed by attendants carrying banners. The composition of the battle scene is subdivided into smaller elements. From left to right we have Roman cavalry and infantry pressing on a group of barbarians from all sides; the Emperor followed by Roman cavalry, tubicines, cornicines and signiferi trampling on and charging the enemy; Roman soldiers guarding a captive and displaying barbarians' severed heads followed by three Roman horsemen advancing from the right.

The Frieze differs greatly from the Column both in concept and composition. Whereas on the Column we are presented with a more or less faithful episodic narration of the Dacian Wars unfolded on an imaginery scroll around the shaft of a column, in the Great Frieze we have an ideal synthesis of the war and the ensuing triumphal celebrations on the same historico-allegorical lines as those of the Arch of Beneventum, but spread out on a long horizontal frieze, or series of friezes. But the two monuments differ also in technique and treatment as a result of the difference in size. The monumental dimensions of the Frieze allow for a much higher relief than the Column and consequently we find on it a much greater variety of planes ranging from foreground figures almost standing out in the round, to figures just designed on the background. The step-wise superimposition of heads receding gradually into the distance - as much as four tiers are visible in the Borghese fragments - is different from that of the Column, where the figures are cut on the same height of relief and recede into the background in the maplike technique, and seem to be a direct inheritance from the techniques used on the Arch of Titus.⁴¹⁴

In the adventus scene Trajan, together with Roma and Victory, stands out prominently against a background of a crowd of lictors (PLATE 153). The Emperor stands en face in a statuesque pose reminiscent of the Prima Porta statue. Like Augustus he is wearing an anatomic cuirass and a military cloak which is here pinned in the usual manner on the left shoulder. His head is turned three-quarters to the left. It is cut in very high relief but attached to the background from behind the ear. The Emperor's face and hair have been recut to produce the portrait of Constantine (PLATE 156). That, originally, the head represented Trajan is universally accepted.⁴¹⁵ A comparison of the re-modelled head with one of the portraits of Trajan viz. the bust in the British Museum,⁴¹⁶

shows us their close relationship and we can with our imagination build on the present head to bring out the original image of Trajan. The original slightly triangular, roundish structure has been squared by cutting down on the cheeks thus bringing out and stressing the high and prominent cheekbones and heavy jawbones of Constantine. The jaws are rendered even more massive and conspicuous by cutting down from the neck around them. The ear is left practically the same and its shape is identical with that of the ears on the British Museum bust. From the small, rather flat eyes of the original head the IV century carver managed to produce the characteristic late-Antique large bulging eyes by cutting deep around the orbits. The small vertical furrows at the root of the nose, and the two light depressions sloping outwards from the tearducts seem to have remained untouched. The forehead has been enlarged by raising the hairline. The general shape of the hair is also Trajanic but the hair locks were cut deeper and thicker especially around the forehead. This similarity with the British Museum head suggests that Trajan's portrait on these friezes was modelled on his decennalia type of A.D. 108.⁴¹⁷

Unfortunately the head of the Emperor in the battle scene is so battered that one cannot get much more information from it (PLATE 157). Wearing the same military attire he is charging his horse at the enemy and causing havoc before him.⁴¹⁸ The head is again in three-quarter view and cut in very high relief almost independently of the background. The influence of Greek Classical and Hellenistic motifs in this direct participation of the Emperor in the battle is evident. More than of the stele of Dexileos of the IV century B.C. this figure fighting on horseback reminds us, as in the case of the Delphi Frieze, of the famous "Alexander Sarcophagus". The Emperor here symbolizes the power and invincibility of the Roman Empire.

The head preserves rather more of the chin which recalls closely the protruding chin of Trajan. The small slanting depression at the left corner of the mouth is also a characteristic feature of Trajan's portraiture. The head bears a strong similarity, in pose, formation of hair and the clumsy left ear protruding out against the background, to the head of Trajan on the vault relief in the Arch at Beneventum.

The small bust carved on the standard behind the Emperor wears a typically Trajanic hairstyle with smooth hair and low fringe.

On the Frieze there do not seem to be any figures of primary importance apart from the Emperor, and perhaps understandably so since the relief is intended as the sublimation of the Princeps' achievements and not as a historical document, as was the Column. The rest of the figures appear in front of him as an anonymous crowd distinguished as Romans or barbarians, lictors or soldiers, signiferi or tubicines from their armour, dress, attributes and racial features. This does not mean that they are not given different distinctive physiognomical features. These, are however, not such as to give individual portrait character to the heads.

A very striking factor in the great majority of faces is a strong passionate expression imparted by tensed and contorted facial features and violent movement of facial muscles and planes which seems to reflect the violence of the action in the composition. The pathetic expression has an extremely successful effect

on the faces of oppressed barbarians who are facing death or captivity; and it is equally shared by the defeated barbarians on the Column. Indeed the barbarian enemy in both monuments seems to be exalted by the artist in its Titanic effort to avoid an inevitable destiny. It would appear to be the favourite subject of the creator of both monuments and is treated with all human sympathy; a fact which has tempted art historians to attribute the creation of both monuments to one single personality, the Maestro della gesta di Traiano or better Maestro dei Daci morenti.⁴¹⁹ Slightly out of place is the equally tormented expression on some of the Roman soldiers' faces who are also intimately involved in the human tragedy of war but on the aggressive side. Completely out of place is the similar pathetic appearance on the faces of the lictors between Roma and Trajan in the adventus scene, which is a peaceful and festive occasion.

In this scene, the figures behind the main group are disposed on various grades of relief the highest of which is the long-haired, round-faced young and idealized lictor dressed rather unusually in military costume. A certain amount of deep drilling is noticeable in his straight hair, similar to that used in Victory's long hair. The rest of the figures in this scene are either lictors or soldiers - some carry the fasces, others spears or banners - and serve the function of background figures disposed in different planes of relief. A further advance on the Arch of Titus relief regarding the background figures is the appearance of heads which are almost completely covered by figures in front of them. In fact only the hair of the topmost row is visible, incised on the flat surface rather than plastically raised.

Almost all of these low-relief figures wear the typically Trajanic hairstyle with long smooth strands combed forward to form a neat fringe, low down on the forehead. The use of the drill on these figures is very restrained and limited to a few grooves to separate the thicker locks of hair at the front. Only one of the heads wears a long side-burn with very shallow circular rings and equally shallow drilled holes in the centre. Their features are rather uniform and stereotyped. The treatment of the facial surfaces is hard and dry though some movement is shown in the forehead muscles which enhances the otherwise vague pathetic expression brought about by the open, deep-drilled mouths.

In the battle scene more than fifty figures are depicted, cut in a great variety of heights of relief and placed at different levels without the rigidity of tiers observed on the previous scene. Remarkable when compared with both the Column and the Arch of Beneventum, is the total absence of bearded faces among the Roman soldiers. Only one or two of them wear long whiskers, namely two of the signiferi, since the cheeks of the soldiers are covered by their helmets. Though none of the heads can be claimed as portraits, the sculptor has endeavoured to break the monotony of the otherwise stereotyped faces by raising the surfaces of the forehead and making the brows project in a tense expression on several of the foreground heads, especially on the five horsemen, two following behind the Emperor and three at the far right end. The structure of the faces is usually very powerful with heavy, massive chin and jaw bones and the modelling is hard and dry. This type of face and modelling is best exemplified on the heads of the three signiferi immediately behind the Emperor who, judging from his present reworked face, seemed to have shared the same hard and powerful features.

The heads in the background belong mainly to Roman soldiers with their characteristic full-dress helmet. Those in shallower relief are all in strict profile, but one or two of them stand out in slightly higher relief with faces turned in a three-quarter position. They also have exaggerated modelling of facial features with bulging brow muscles separated from the flatter upper part of the forehead by a horizontal furrow, but they are rather uniform without much variety between one face and another. More coloristic effect is achieved on the surfaces of the trumpeters' puffed cheeks. The well preserved flat chisel finish of the face of the first soldier behind the severed Dacian heads might give an idea of the original finish of the other faces.

The eyes of the flat profile figures are invariably shown en face, an element which has been quoted as indicative of a certain clumsiness on the part of the carvers.⁴²⁰

The fighting Dacians are all shown bearded, some wearing a full flowing beard; on others hair is limited to chin and upper lip. One or two of the dead ones, however, have clean shaven faces. Their hair is always long. The drill cuts deeply between locks of both hair and beard. We have already observed the passionate expression on their faces produced by their deeply wrinkled and tormented foreheads and deeply drilled open mouths. Most remarkable is the group fighting desperately in front of the Emperor's horse. One could hardly fail to notice the difference in the faces of the severed heads of Dacians being displayed by the Romans to the Emperor (PLATE 155), a scene which recalls a similar one on the Column. The tension has vanished and the facial features are smooth, calm and distended, the eyes closed. And the same is the case with the surviving faces of the dead enemy lying on the ground.⁴²¹

THE ARCH OF TRAJAN AT BENEVENTUM

The Arch of Trajan at Beneventum is dated by the duplicate inscription on the attic to A.D. 114.⁴²² This date is suggested by the Emperor's titles there included - Optimus, Germanicus, Dacicus.⁴²³ All scholars seem to agree on the date indicated by disagree on whether it refers to the initial dedication or the actual inauguration of the finished monument. The majority have favoured the first interpretation suggesting that the arch may have taken a few years to complete and that it was finished after Hadrian's accession to the throne.⁴²⁴ The main argument, on which this theory is based, is the style and iconography of the panels of the attic which seem to point to an early Hadrianic date. It has been suggested in fact that it was Hadrian who placed at least some of the relief sculptures on Trajan's arch in order to justify his title to the succession, since he alone, besides Trajan, is portrayed wearing an Imperator's garb.⁴²⁵ More recent studies of the arch favour an earlier date for the completion of the monument, possibly 144 A.D.⁴²⁶ This appears to be confirmed by analogy with the inscription of the Column of Trajan. The date given there is confirmed as that of its completion by the Fasti Ostienses.⁴²⁷ The Via Traiana from Beneventum to Brindisi was officially opened in A.D. 110⁴²⁸ and the arch could well have been voted by the Senate on or soon after that date in order to commemorate the occasion and to serve as a Janus Viae for the new road.⁴²⁹

In my view the second interpretation is the more logical one since any title conferred on the Emperor between the date the monument was voted and its actual inauguration, such as Parthicus in 116 (or 115),⁴³⁰ would have been included in the text. Moreover neither in the inscription nor in the sculptural decoration is there any allusion to the Emperor's wars in the East embarked upon in A.D. 114.⁴³¹ Even if Hadrian does really appear on the attic reliefs, his presence there is justified by his role in the Dacian Wars, as would also be his appearance on the Column.⁴³²

For their subject matter the panels fall into three groups: (1) the panels on the side facing Beneventum; (2) those on the side facing the countryside, (3) the two horizontal panels in the passageway. The first group facing Beneventum, and therefore Rome, show events of Trajan's reign connected with the Metropolis. The reliefs facing the countryside show events connected with the provinces and the panels in the passageway those regarding Beneventum itself.⁴³³

Since the number of secondary and background figures is so great we have to limit ourselves to a rather cursory examination of their typology and point out a few outstanding features. More detail will be devoted to the heads of the Emperor and those which seem to belong to important historical personages. In our survey of the panels on the arch we shall start from the upper left corner on each side and work first sideways and then down.⁴³⁴

Starting from the side facing the city, the panel on the left of the inscription shows seven divinities on two planes of relief: the Capitoline Triad in the foreground and another four deities in the second plane. From the gesture of Jupiter it is quite evident that this panel is to be viewed in conjunction with its companion on the right. Zeus is seen offering the thunderbolt to the Emperor who appears in the second panel directing his attention to the supreme god.

Rather than an "abdication" by Jupiter in favour of Trajan,⁴³⁵ we see rather, with Hamberg and Rotili,⁴³⁶ Zeus giving to Trajan the instrument of destruction against the enemies of the Roman Empire, be they Dacians or Parthians. It is not clear whether the scene is meant to represent an adventus or a profectio.⁴³⁷

The Emperor's body is en face with just a slight turn of the shoulders, while his head is twisted in three-quarters view in the direction of the divinity on the left (PLATE 158). Trajan's face is completely corroded but the typical massive construction of the head, the hairstyle and the powerful neck are enough to confirm the identification.⁴³⁸ Even if his head were completely missing he would still be recognizable from the frontality of his body and his stature which is offset by the shrunken proportions of the only other two figures in the foreground.

These have been interpreted as consuls welcoming Trajan to the capital.⁴³⁹ Their position in the foreground certainly gives them a certain prominence, but their small size in relation to the other figures is very strange. This unusual element occurs also on two other panels on this side of the arch. It may be ascribed to the recurrent tendency in Roman art to dwarf the surrounding figures in order to make the Imperial figure stand out larger. But since in this case not all the figures are reduced in size, it may be that they are meant to symbolize the ordinary Roman citizenry; in which case it would seem to anticipate the Late Roman hierarchy of human dimensions as they appear on the Constantine reliefs. Their heads are completely worn. Like their counterparts in the other two reliefs they are dressed in togas without umbo and balteus.

Although shown in the second plane the bearded figure wearing a decorated cuirass and paludamentum is marked as a figure worthy of attention by the gesture of the female turreted personification who seems to be introducing it to the Emperor. The resemblance of the head to Hadrian's portraits is remarkable and several scholars have seen in it a portrait of young Hadrian and a direct allusion to his claimed adoption by Trajan (PLATE 159).⁴⁴⁰ His wearing the Imperator's garb seems to confirm the theory of a profectio for a war and suggests that Hadrian is perhaps being introduced as one of the Emperor's associates. He too is shown en face with his head turned towards Trajan.

Born in A.D. 76 Hadrian would be thirty-eight in A.D. 114 just about the right age for this young, but mature, man in his thirties. The structure of the head is very triangular, definitely more so than on the other portraits of the future Emperor. The face appears rather too pointed towards the chin, whereas the free-standing portraits show a broader jaw emphasized by a thicker growth of beard. The latter is here rendered by finely cut, small, curly locks with some use of a fine drill. Most of the hair is worn away but what survives indicates a similar treatment with the use of a wider drill. The forehead, which appears too large for Hadrian, is divided by a horizontal wrinkle and two vertical ones isolating the root of the nose. The eyes are well cut with sharp eyelids. The small mouth is carefully modelled with lips separated by a skillfully handled drill. All in all we are presented with a very fine head, too characterized not to be a portrait and its attribution to young Hadrian is very probable.

Comparing this head with the earliest portraits of Hadrian like the one in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme⁴⁴¹ and the other in the Palazzo dei Conservatori,⁴⁴² we notice a much broader and rounder face in the free-standing portraits. In these the horizontal partition of the forehead is completely absent but a slight vertical depression above the nose-bridge recalls the more pronounced one on the relief head. A regular feature in Hadrian's portraiture is the wavy hairstyle ending with a series of strongly projecting locks on the forehead. This is not found on the Benevento portrait which displays a very irregularly curled hair. The beard on the other hand, although unusually undercut by the drill, is rather similar in shape, particularly as regard the moustache. Wegner, while accepting the relief head as Hadrian's portrait, does not find decisive physiognomical features belonging to him; on the contrary he finds the forehead too large, the orbital arches too highly sprung and lips too full and agitated.⁴⁴³

There are four background figures - excluding the turreted personification - two in profile to the right coming through the arch and two lictors in profile to the left in front of the temple. The features of the latter two are more academic and classicizing in the traditional Greek manner than are most of the background figures in other panels, and correspond very well in modelling and iconographical concept to the divinities on the opposite panel (PLATE 160). This might possibly suggest a separate, distinct, sculptor working solely on these two panels but it does not have to imply a later, Hadrianic, date. After all we have found that this type of classicism keeps re-emerging incessantly throughout the history of Roman official art - as on the Augustan Altar and Domitian's Cancelleria reliefs. Besides, the other two background heads share the same hardness of treatment as the rest of the figures on the arch, as well as that peculiar rendering of the eye en face instead of in profile.

Returning to the left side of the same facade, on the top panel of the pier we see two female allegorical figures presenting to Trajan two togate citizens. These are again reduced in size and are supposed to represent legionary veterans in connection with the foundation of the Ulpian colonies.⁴⁴⁴ Again their heads are very badly weathered. All the figures in this panel have frontal bodies except the Emperor who stands almost completely in profile. His head is also very damaged but what survives of the face and hair shows the same type as the better surviving portrait on the opposite panel.

The only other figure in the foreground is a lictor dressed in the characteristic tasselled cloak. Much of the face and hair surface is smoothed away but one can still see his rather thick curly beard, and drilled grooves in his wavy hair.

The background figures are only two lictors, the two women being manifestly allegorical and the bearded figure on the right being interpreted as Silvanus.⁴⁴⁵ Both lictors wear smooth, rather wavy, hair and a short beard consisting of cork-screw curls with drilled holes in the centre, like the ones we have met on the Arch of Titus and Cancelleria reliefs.

The corresponding panel on the right pier shows Trajan meeting three citizens who, from the divinities represented behind in the background, have been described as mercatores.⁴⁴⁶ The Emperor, surrounded by lictors, is

posed en face but his head is turned sharply to left towards the tradesmen to whom he stretches out his arm. Trajan's head is the first relatively well-preserved one so far (PLATES 161-2).]

The stern vigorous head is implanted on a thick powerful neck. The marks of age and fatigue which seem to characterize the portraits of the last years of Trajan⁴⁴⁷ are absent. The low forehead is drawn rather straight. The planes of the cheeks present an almost imperceptible movement of the muscles with a subtle play of light and shade which becomes more sustained in the folds on each side of the mouth. The portrait is, in Rotili's words, "una raffigurazione per così dire programmatica, che ripudia l'idealizzazione resa con aulica eleganza e la puntuale ripresa veristica del modello e trova invece la

The hair is treated in thin separate strings swept forward from the back which then group in thicker locks on the forehead and curve down the left temple where they are separated by dark drilled grooves. The great amount of detail lavished on the treatment of Trajan's hair is not limited to this head but can also be observed on the other figures of this panel and on several other panels including those of the attic.

Once again the next most important figures in the relief are three togate undersized men standing in the foreground on the left. It is important to note that, in contrast with the Late Roman representation, these figures are not clumsy, ugly or illproportioned but merely a reduced version of normal human dimensions. The head of the figure on the left is very weathered. It was originally bearded and seems to have portrayed a middle-aged man with lean cheeks and prominent cheek-bones. The hairstyle of the three figures is typical of most heads on the arch, consisting of a simple, rather low mass of hair swept straight forward to the forehead where the tips form a neat regular arch. The facial features are very regular and typical of the secondary figure of the reliefs.

Some characterization appears on the bearded face of the young lictor in the centre. He wears a rather serious expression produced by the two swellings on the inner corners of the brows. The short compact beard is cut finely with a great amount of 'chased' detail in rendering the single pointed locks. The hair is an excellent example of the artificial tiered coiffure. Although the head is very Hadrianic in type and bears a strong resemblance to Hadrian himself it cannot even be considered a real historical portrait. This young man is no more than a simple lictor whose function is betrayed by his costume and fasces.

Much more realistic and portrait-like is the head of the lictor on the extreme right of the panel (PLATE 163). It is in shallower relief but not really a background figure.⁴⁴⁹ Although a great part of the surface is covered by grime incrustations the rich play of light and shade suggesting the movement of the facial muscles is still very conspicuous. The bone structure is visible beneath the stretched skin. The cheek is rather lean with high cheek-bone contrasting with the folds of the flesh along the nose and mouth. The nose is crooked and the eye small with sharply cut eyelids. Traces of linear horizontal wrinkles are still visible on the forehead and at the corner of the eye.

In spite of its realism and individuality it cannot really be claimed as a portrait of a particular person, since it represents an ordinary lictor, but seems to have been derived from real life probably from a live model. It shows also the ability of the sculptor to produce a brilliant life-like image in contrast with the other more or less stereotyped faces used to fill the background. The descriptive treatment of his hair occurs also on the hair and beard of the three background heads. Of these only the one in faint relief on the left shows the peculiar frontal eye.

The Emperor does not appear on the lower panel of the left pier the combination of which with its companion on the right pier repeats that of the attic. In this panel the Genii of the Senate and the Roman People, together with a turreted female personification stand out against a background of six figures in togas and a colonnaded building. The direction of the heads towards a central point in the panel is unusual on this occasion since one would expect them to be directed towards the Emperor in the other panel. The attention of the viewer, however, is reverted to Trajan by the gesture of the Senatus who is welcoming him into the city.⁴⁵⁰ The heads of the figures in the background are idealized and rather Hellenized. In spite of heavy corrosion, traces of beards formed of circular drilled locks can be made out. The hair in the majority of figures is extremely curly thus departing from the predominating smooth hairstyles of the arch.

Trajan, in full frontality and led by another togate and equally frontal figure, appears on the right panel surrounded by no less than twelve lictors crowded behind him (PLATE 164). They are in fact so crowded in the limited space that the designer had to resort to a device already used on the Arch of Titus: superimposing heads in progressively decreasing heights of relief. As in the Spoils relief, this superimposition of heads is concentrated in a particular area. The whole effect is not very pleasant and lacks the dynamism and movement of the Flavian relief.

The composition of the scene is very symmetrical and the figures are disposed mainly on three planes of relief: Trajan and his togate companion in the foreground; three lictors in the second plane; and the rest in profile in the background.

The Emperor is recognized immediately from his position, his usual one on the arch, that is in the outer half of the panel and facing inwards. He is wearing the usual type of toga, with umbo and balteus, which throughout the whole arch is worn only by himself and by the Senatus and, in one instance, by the turreted female figure on the opposite panel. Although extremely corroded the head is most distinctively Trajan's from its structure and hairstyle.

The togate man leading Trajan into the city is probably the praefectus urbi⁴⁵¹ and it is really unfortunate that his head is so much damaged and worn since it could have reproduced the portrait of this official involved in the event celebrated. Only the general shape of the hair is visible. As usual it is swept forward in long waves to form a deeply channelled fringe on the forehead.

The lictor in the second plane between the praefectus and Trajan has the most characterized head of all. The balding high forehead presents a narrow horizontal furrow in the centre separating the two bulging parts. The wrinkles on the forehead and the receding hair tempt one to compare him with the person with similar traits portrayed on the attic panel of the country side (PLATE 167), but the complete absence of side-burns, and the fact that here this figure is only a lictor, rule out any identification of the two figures.

Physiognomically the background heads are very standardized. They are cut in profile but their eyes are rendered full-face. A great variety is shown in hairstyles, ranging from the normal smooth hair to a very curly one with several disorderly round locks with drilled holes, as on the farthest head in the centre and the one on the extreme right.

This preference for curly hair, the clumsiness of the drapery of several figures and the prevailing frontality suggest that the sculptor of this panel might have been the same as the one who carved its companion on the left.

Passing on to the side facing the countryside we start again from the attic panels. The left one has preserved only its right half and in it are represented four divinities. One is inclined to suppose that, as on the opposite facade, only divinities appeared in this scene. But from the direction of the heads it is clear that the attention of the surviving figures is turned to a missing figure on the left and not towards the Emperor on the right hand panel. This strongly suggests that the Emperor might have appeared also in this panel in his usual position, turned inwards to face these divinities. It is also possible, however, that Jupiter is the missing principal figure as on the opposite panel.⁴⁵² Scholars have tended to prefer the former alternative, especially Scerrato, Vessv Vessberg and Rotili.⁴⁵³ Both Scerrato and Vessberg reached their conclusion after accepting the inclusion in the panel of a fragment of relief kept in the Museo del Sannio at Benevento⁴⁵⁴ and proposed a graphic reconstruction of the panel. The lictor represented in the fragment shows the identical type of face and dress and the same sensibility for minute detail in the treatment of the hair and beard as to most lictors on the arch reliefs.

The panel on the right of the inscription has been the centre of some debate because one of the figures represented in it has also been named the young Hadrian. The controversy extends to the female personification of a province, kneeling between two river personifications in submission to Trajan. On the identification of this province depends, to a great extent, the date of the completion of the arch. If the rivers personify Tisia and Alutus then the kneeling province represents Dacia⁴⁵⁵ and the date established by the inscription, 114 A.D., could safely stand as the date of the completion and inauguration of the arch. If the rivers were to be interpreted as Tigris and Euphrates and the province Mesopotamia, as the upholders of the Hadrian identification want us to believe, then the chronology of the arch would have to be brought down to A.D. 115 or even later, which is at variance with the inscription. Further confirmation of the first interpretation is the bridge seen on the left of the panel which seems to allude to the famous bridge built by Trajan's engineers in his Dacian campaigns, which is also represented on his Column.

The Emperor, dressed in military tunic and paludamentum stands facing the spectator with his head turned slightly to the left. Though also affected by a certain amount of corrosion, this head is perhaps the best preserved portrait of Trajan on the arch (PLATES 165-6). The face has the usual triangular construction with a very sloping forehead and extremely prominent brows overhanging the deep-set, shaded eyes. This slant of the forehead is much more inclined than in any of Trajan's portraits in the arch, but not to the extreme degree of the posthumous portrait from Ostia.⁴⁵⁶ The eyes are unusually large and wide-open. Two small, slanting wrinkles are still visible on the forehead at the root of the nose, rising from the inner corners of the eyebrows. From the tear-ducts the two characteristic canals flowing outwards towards the cheeks are cut even deeper than usual and so are the folds enclosing and completely isolating the nostrils and mouth. Apart from a certain leanness in the lower part of the face, the rest is very typical of Trajanic portraiture:- lips, chin, jaw-bones and ears. The hair presents an unusual wavy fringe encircling the forehead and temples, where the deep running drill is used rather liberally to separate one lock from another.

The togate man shown on a slightly lower plane beside Trajan is certainly an important figure (PLATES 165, 167). His prominent position and height of relief, in conjunction with the remarkable characterization of his head, indicate that he was meant to portray a definite historical person.⁴⁵⁷ He has been identified with the Moorish prince Lusius Quietus⁴⁵⁸ and with Trajan's friend Lucius Licinius Sura.⁴⁵⁹ We have already tried to identify L. Quietus, without success, among the Moorish cavalry on the Column.⁴⁶⁰ In any case this portrait does not betray any ethnic somatic traits that might qualify him as a Moor. On the other hand, in the spiral relief of the Column L. Sura is usually identified with a portrait which is completely different from this one, with a young face and curly hair.⁴⁶¹ Indeed a figure with similar receding hair and shape of head appears several times on the Column⁴⁶² but it is hard to say whether it represents the same person as the one on the arch. A deeper study of the portraiture of Trajan's associates both here and on the Column might throw more light on their iconography.

The characterization of this head is achieved mainly by its realistic features, such as the balding hair, the wrinkles and folds of the flesh and by the intense expression of the face. The latter is brought about by the swelling of the lower part of the forehead, particularly in the centre above the nose, where the movement of the contracted muscles is produced by various wrinkles and depressions.

The deep folds of the skin on the cheeks and around the mouth and dimpled chin, the crow's feet and the wrinkles on the forehead show the mature age of this figure. The hair is balding at the temples leaving a central isolated group of tresses where the use of the drill is more obvious.

The other figure, for which an identification with Hadrian is usually proposed, is the young man in still shallower relief standing on the bridge above the kneeling province (PLATE 168).⁴⁶³ Von Domaszewski's original identification was most probably prompted by the vague resemblance of the figure's head to Hadrian and by the gesture of the tunicate young man on the far left who seems to be calling the attention of Trajan to his friend on whose shoulder he is placing his right hand, in a manner closely recalling the gesture of the turreted figure on the opposite side.

Whereas the cuirassed figure might with some degree of faith and good will be accepted as an image of the young Hadrian, I find it much less likely to see the future Emperor in this one.⁴⁶⁴ First of all it is necessary to make a choice and determine which one of the two is the most likely to be he, since it is unacceptable to have two so physiognomically discordant images of the same person on the same monument, especially if both panels were set up at the same time. In this respect I find the young man here the less probable candidate.⁴⁶⁵ Secondly everything in his appearance seems to indicate an ordinary Roman citizen. He is shown in a very secondary plane of relief. The type of toga is similar to that worn by the undersized figures encountered on other panels. Indeed both he and his companion on the left are shown in a slightly smaller scale than Trajan and his group. Moreover, both his physiognomy and hairstyle are identical with those of his companion (PLATE 169) so that it is even doubtful whether a portrait is intended. Although some facial features and the shape of the beard seem to recall vaguely the portraits of Hadrian, they are so generic that they cannot be taken as conclusive evidence.⁴⁶⁶ There is moreover discrepancy between Hadrian's characteristic hairstyle and the very Trajanic one worn by this figure. Lastly, the latter's young appearance seems to portray a man in his twenties rather than one of 38, as Hadrian was in A.D. 114. Even if the image is retrospective to the years immediately after the Dacian Wars Hadrian would still be past the age of thirty.

The tunicate figure on the left resembles the pseudo-Hadrian not only physiognomically but also in the stylistic treatment and position of the head (PLATE 169). The eyebrows are similarly sharply edged. The eyes have the same shape and cut. The modelling of the flesh surfaces is smooth and soft. The lips are similarly separated by a deep dark groove made by the drill. The hairstyle is more regular, even more Trajanic in character but presents the same change in the direction of curls on the right temple.

The lictor on the far right also shows idealized features and soft modelling as well as slight swellings on the superciliary eminences. The peculiar treatment of the hair with shallow, almost incised, lines at the back and thicker, more plastic and heavily channeled locks at the front, offers a very good parallel for the lictor's head in the fragment of the Museo del Sannio.

The only two heads in the background are in profile but show the peculiar frontal eye. The one on the left belongs to the more handsome standardized type. His hair-cut shows a peculiar feature that is found quite commonly on the arch, that is the brusque transition from plastic curly hair above the forehead to the shallow, plain curls at the back. The other head, behind Trajan, is clean-shaven and rather ugly with pointed nose, thin lips and protruding double chin (PLATE 170). His hair is dressed in imitation of the tiered fashion.

On the upper panel of the left pier we find Trajan in the usual position receiving two soldiers in civil clothes presented to him by a young personification, Honos or Mars. The scene refers to the reorganization by Trajan of the army.⁴⁶⁷

The upper part of Trajan's face is missing but, to judge from what survives, both hairstyle and facial features, especially the closed mouth with serried thin lips, short protruding chin, restrained naso-labial depression and short jaw-bone, correspond with the more orthodox relief heads of Trajan in the other panels.⁴⁶⁸

Also in the foreground are the two soldiers being presented to the Emperor. The recruit nearest to Honos belongs to the standard Trajanic type with simple hairstyle and regular features. On the contrary the face of the other recruit is all agitated (PLATE 171). The brows are swollen up with a muscular contraction and the forehead is lined with deep contorted furrows. He wears a short, almost imperceptible, beard and very agitated hair. A handsome-looking young lictor stands behind the Emperor (PLATE 172). He wears an attractive short beard and a somewhat irregular version of the ordinary Trajanic hairstyle common on these reliefs. A slight characterization is added to his otherwise regular, idealized face in the inflated brow.

The rest of the heads are cut in profile on the background. The one on the extreme left is facing out of the Arch into nowhere (PLATE 173). It is somewhat characterized by rather unnatural wrinkles and a tense expression. The treatment of his hair and beard is exactly the same as that of his colleague near him. One very corroded head in the centre shows some individuality in the balding hair. The other two lictors present more stereotyped faces, one clean-shaven, the other wearing a short beard.

The panel on the right is thought to commemorate the istitutio alimentaria made by Trajan to help poor children.⁴⁶⁹ Except for the children, whose faces are completely obliterated, the only human figure in the foreground is Trajan. His squat dumpy body stands clumsily facing the spectator while his head is turned to the left (PLATE 174). This portrait is very close to the one in the mercatores panel on the opposite side. The face, however, is rather broader and more rounded. The mouth is perhaps wider and the lips even less fleshy than normal, but there is no doubt that it is inspired by the same model. The hair is done in the same manner with the same pattern of loose individual locks flowing over the forehead and temples.

The rest of the heads belong to lictors and are placed in profile on the background. All display rather idealized stereotyped faces except for the two in the centre. These present unusually ugly faces treated with hard dry modelling (PLATE 174). The eyes in all the profile heads are shown en face. An interesting feature in these faces, which does not occur anywhere else in the reliefs, not even on the foreground heads of the same panel, is the plastic indication of the hair on the eyebrows (PLATE 175).

The presence of barbarians and the peaceful atmosphere in the lower panel on the left pier have led scholars to believe that this scene shows the pacification of Germany.⁴⁷⁰ This is the most crowded of the external panels because besides the Emperor and twelve lictors, there also appear four barbarians and a semi-nude bearded personification (PLATE 176). The Emperor's head is missing but he is immediately distinguished by his usual position in the outer half of the relief.

Also in the foreground are two barbarians, one rather advanced in age with full beard, the other of younger aspect with separated moustache, whiskers and chin-beard. Their facial features and beards seem to assign them to some Germanic tribe but, except for the absence of the characteristic cap, they also have close parallels in the Dacians of the Great Trajanic Frieze. Even their tense pathetic expressions recall the tormented faces of the Forum frieze.

The lictor in the foreground behind Trajan shows a young, handsome, very classical face which differs considerably from the ordinary Trajanic facial type (PLATE 177). His face is solidly built with marked muscles of forehead, cheeks, and jaws. He wears a thick mass of curly hair and a finely cut beard formed of circular or S-shaped curls with drilled round holes. The other lictor's head is also of some interest, especially for its tiered hairstyle; and it resembles closely, both physiognomically and in hair-do, the lictor in the mercatores scene. Were it not that here the face is clean-shaven, one might have conjectured that the two portray the same person, say a favourite lictor. The figures, however, indicate the popularity of this fashionable, complicated hairstyle which in the I century A.D. is found only on Imperial portraits, of Nero and Domitian.

A very wide range of facial types is provided by the lictors in the background. They are all in profile, some in slightly higher relief than others. Their eyes are without exception full-face. The heads overlap one another considerably and in some cases only the hair is visible. The influence of the Spoils relief of the Arch of Titus is evident in the illusion of depth. Some are just standard idealized faces like the second from the left. Some are slightly individualized with hard manly features, as in the case of the face behind the missing head of Trajan. One or two have strikingly ugly faces, especially the one on the extreme left looking out of the arch.

The theme of the last panel on the country side is still rather mysterious and it has recently been interpreted as the settlement of the Danube region (PLATE 178).⁴⁷¹ In it Trajan, followed by seven lictors, receives three men one of whom wears a lion's skin on his head and shoulders (PLATE 179). He is commonly identified as Hercules.⁴⁷²

Trajan's head is once again very much battered and worn. It is consistent with the type common on the other panels. Most typical is the hairstyle, with the usual pattern and use of the drill on the front. The face is rather broad and powerful. The strong massive structure of "Hercules' " face and the hard treatment of its surface present a great similarity to the signiferi on the Great Frieze in Rome. The rendering of the neck muscles and of the eyes are almost an exact copy of those of the signifer in the foreground.

Of the four figures appearing in second plane, the one holding the horse by the reins is the only one who presents genuine portrait features (PLATE 180). He greatly resembles the "Lusius Quietus" of the attic panel. He shares the same receding hair on the temples, the same pattern of wrinkles on the forehead and at the outer corners of the eyes, the same eyes, lips and naso-labial folds. The general appearance here is, however, rather younger and lacks the intensity of expression of the attic head.

The same crowding of the background figures of the previous panel is repeated in this relief. The emphasis is manifestly more on the generic idealized type than on the realistic one.

Similar crowding of figures and attempts at depth or 'spatial' illusion, with a more or less analogous range of facial types, occur on the long horizontal panels in the passageway. The reliefs are greatly influenced by those of the arch of Titus, but are very different in concept and composition. Much less space is left above the heads, since there is no actual need for it, whereas on Titus' reliefs the Emperor had to be raised on the chariot and the spoils and tituli had to appear above the heads. The figures become, therefore, more isocephalic. In each panel the Emperor retains his customary position at one end of the relief so that the spectator coming through the arch from the countryside, i. e. from Brindisi, would find himself facing the Emperor on either side.

The Sacrifice scene is supposed to commemorate the inauguration of the Via Traiana.⁴⁷³ The Emperor is making the offering in the presence of the Senatus, camilli, the usual twelve lictors and sacrificial attendants (PLATE 181). This is the only relief where he appears with veiled and wreathed head. He stands en face with his head turned somewhat to the left. The portrait is damaged, but is certainly derived from the same type as the majority of Trajan's portraits on the arch. On the opposite panel, which shows the institutio alimentaria proclaimed by Trajan in favour of the needy children,⁴⁷⁴ he stands in three-quarter pose to the right but lacks his head (PLATE 182). All the heads of secondary and background figures fall under the usual range of facial types, from the standardized idealistic head to the more characterized pseudo-portrait type (PLATE 183). A brief mention must be made of the Senatus and the grotesque piper both of whom repeat standard iconographical types that occur on several historical reliefs.

The last relief of the arch is the small square panel carved in the centre of the vault of the passageway. It concludes the whole cycle of sculpture celebrating the Emperor's gesta with the coronation of Trajan by a Victory (PLATE 184).⁴⁷⁵ The composition and theme constitute a variation on the coronation of Trajan in one of the scenes of his Great Frieze (PLATE 153). Trajan's figure seems to be derived from an iconographical type of cuirassed statues many different versions of which have survived.⁴⁷⁶ A type represented by a statue in Leiden, Rijksmuseum⁴⁷⁷ and another in Olympia⁴⁷⁸ shows a similar attitude but the position of the body and the movement of the arms are reversed, whereas they are almost identical on a statue from Ostia.⁴⁷⁹ As for the head, the type of hairstyle, in closely set thin strands forming a neatly arched fringe on the forehead, assigns it to a different type of Trajan's portraits from any yet encountered on this arch.

The quality of the carving and design of this panel is remarkably inferior to that of the rest of the sculpture that decorates this monument. A comparison of the two figures with their counterparts on the Trajanic Frieze further emphasizes the lack of organic coherence in the Benevento figures. Both are clumsily reduced in height and their bodies appear graceless and disproportioned. Even the modelling, particularly of the drapery, is coarse and rigidly schematic. Since from the structure and relief decoration of the vault it is evident that the panel was carved in situ this clumsiness may be explained by

the enormous difficulty faced by the carver in cutting a figurative scene in such an awkward position. A similar situation is encountered on the Arch of Titus.

From the above cursory survey of the portraiture on the Arch of Beneventum one can deduce that all Trajan's portraits appearing thereon, except the one in the panel with the Submission of 'Dacia' and that on the vault panel, are derived from the same type. Even the damaged heads can be seen to belong to the same type from what survives of the structure of the face and from the hairstyle. The two best well-preserved heads are those of the mercatores panel and the one with the institutio alimentaria. The latter portrait has a rather wider and rounder face, but this is only a minor, insignificant variation on the scheme and we may use the mercatores head as the prototype of the relief portraits.

The most characteristic iconographical element in this portrait is the hairstyle. As in all Trajan's images the hair is combed forward in straight thin strands overlapping the low forehead. What varies in different types is the pattern formed by them on the forehead and temples. In our case the thin strands develop into thicker locks and curve gently sideways and down the temples. The nearest parallels I can find for our portrait are four busts: two in the Vatican,⁴⁸⁰ one in the British Museum⁴⁸¹ and the fourth in the Museo Capitolino.⁴⁸² All these portraits are classified under the decennalia type created in 108 A.D.⁴⁸³ The formation of the hair is repeated faithfully, almost to the smallest detail, in the relief head. It is in fact rather surprising, and unusual, that so much detail is lavished in the treatment of the hair, on this relief head, with its very thin strands individually marked, almost as carefully as in the free-standing portraits. This particular fancy for detail is however a favourite stylistic ingredient in all the reliefs of the arch, particularly in this panel, as can be seen from the background heads on either side of the Emperor.

Besides the hairstyle one observes an almost complete identity in the shape of the face and its constituents, such as the eyes and eyebrows, low upright forehead, and the same modelling of the lips, chin and naso-labial folds. In spite of the damage to the nose and mouth one can still read the same expression of benevolent authority typical of the portraiture of this Emperor.

In his monograph on Trajan's portraiture, Gross arrives at the same tripartite division of the Emperor's images on the arch, but he goes on to support the theory that the panels of the attic belong to a Hadrianic date because the portrait in the Dacia relief presents a different type altogether.⁴⁸⁴ He overlooks, however, the fact that Trajan's portrait on the opposite side of the attic belongs to the same decennalia type and has no relation, corroded as it is, to this head. What marks the latter as a portrait on its own is the hairstyle which forms a different pattern on the forehead, the slanting forehead, projecting eyebrows with deep set eyes and strongly accentuated folds along the mouth. Several of these physiognomical traits are, however, found also in some portraits of the decennalia type, like the head in Villa Albani.⁴⁸⁵ Gross compares the head with the beautiful posthumous portrait from Ostia and therefore assigns it to Hadrian's reign.⁴⁸⁶ It is true that the two faces have a lot in common, but the Ostia head is more idealized, more befitting a divus, and the hairstyles do not match completely. My opinion is that the sculptor of this panel chose to give an original, personal interpretation of Trajan's likeness, independently

of the available official types. The descriptive treatment of the marks of old age in this face corresponds to that of the realistic features of another of his creations, the portrait of the man talking to the Emperor in the same scene.

The other portrait which falls under a different type is the one in the vault panel. The schematic formation of the hair on the forehead finds its closest parallels in the portrait statue in Copenhagen⁴⁸⁷ and in another head from Ostia.⁴⁸⁸ Both are classified, rather significantly, under the second of Trajan's portrait types, the Bürgerkronentypus.⁴⁸⁹ Gross compares it also with the Column portraits in scenes XL and CXXXVI,⁴⁹⁰ but these two heads are so damaged, especially on the hair, that I do not think the comparison is valid.

Of the two identifications proposed for Hadrian I have accepted the possibility of one, the cuirassed figure on the Beneventum side, and demonstrated the improbability of the other. It has also been argued that Hadrian's presence on the arch does not have to imply either that the monument was finished after Trajan's death or that the attic panels were inserted separately by Hadrian "to enhance belief in the story that he (Trajan) had formally adopted, and long since designated, his successor".⁴⁹¹ Although Trajan's companion on the Dacia panel is almost certainly a portrait figure, his identity is still not settled.

The Benevento reliefs provide us with a wide range of facial types for secondary figures. The background figures fall more or less into the usual schemes. We have met very idealized types in the traditional Hellenized fashion of the Ara Pacis and idealized Trajanic types, either clean-shaven or bearded. Another group shows fairly standardized, stereotyped heads with a few realistic characterizing features among which we may include those with receding hair - excluding however the one in the Dacia relief. And finally very realistic, portrait-like types.

Apart from the vault panel - for which I have already attempted an explanation - all the sculptured reliefs of Trajan's Arch show a remarkable unity of design, style and technique which suggests that they were designed by a single master-sculptor who closely supervised the actual carving done by the assistants of his workshop. In all the reliefs frontality dominates the composition with the Emperor appearing consistently on the external side of the panel and facing inwards. Except for the two heads discussed above, Trajan's portraits respond to a single iconographic and stylistic type. Specimens of the various facial types of secondary figures are distributed over different panels and so are the variations in hairstyle. A peculiar technique in the treatment of the hair with very shallow locks at the back and more plastic ones with drilled undercutting at the front also occurs on most panels. All these features and several others indicate that the application of the cartoon designs to the marble took place under the strictest supervision of a master whose "signature" has recently been located on one of the attic panels (PLATE 170), perhaps the one in which he was directly involved, the panel with the Submission of Dacia, where the most original portrait of Trajan appears together with another splendid portrait.⁴⁹²

THE HADRIANIC ROUNDELS

The eight circular reliefs set in pairs over the lateral passageways on both facades of the Arch of Constantine are also reused sculptures produced originally early in the second century A.D. They are commonly known as the 'Hadrianic roundels' or 'tondi' from their shape similar to that of medallions.⁴⁹³ They are more than two metres in diameter and show scenes of hunting. Each scene depicted is dominated by the Imperial figure. The Emperor is seen on horseback, actually engaged in the hunt, in two of the roundels. In the others he is either performing sacrifices to various divinities, or just setting out for the hunt, or else pausing after slaughtering the victim.

On the south side of the arch the scenes show, from left to right, I Departure for the hunt; II Sacrifice to Silvanus; III Bear Hunt and IV Sacrificial Offering to Diana. On the north side facing Rome also from left to right: V Boar Hunt; VI Sacrifice to Apollo; VII Pause after the Lion Hunt; VIII Sacrifice to Hercules.

These reliefs are now universally accepted as belonging to the reign of Hadrian. Since all the heads of the Emperor have been recut, or replaced, as portrait-heads of Constantine and Licinius, or Costantius Chlorus⁴⁹⁴, this chronological attribution is based mainly on the subject matter, general style and composition and the type and treatment of the heads of the Emperor's companions appearing in the medallions.

Hadrian's passion for the hunt is well attested in literary and epigraphical sources.⁴⁹⁵ He is known to have brought down a boar by a single blow,⁴⁹⁶ killed bears in Mysia,⁴⁹⁷ and in Boeotia⁴⁹⁸ and, finally, lions in Libya.⁴⁹⁹ Precisely connected with this kind of sport are roundels 2, 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8. The Greek epigram from Thespis is a dedication to Eros, the archer, by Hadrian, of a bear that he killed on his horseback.⁵⁰⁰ Since Arndt for the first time assigned the eight reliefs to Hadrian there has been almost general agreement on the subject.⁵⁰¹

The interpretation of the subject matter has, however, led Stuart Jones to consider the reliefs to be Flavian, more precisely Domitianic.⁵⁰² His conclusions are based on Domitian's love of the hunt as passed on to us by literary sources and on stylistic arguments.⁵⁰³ Some differences of style caused Sieveking to suggest a difference of date between the roundels on the south side, according to him belonging to the time of Domitian, and those on the north side, executed in Hadrian's time.⁵⁰⁴ He later admitted that the stylistic differences were due to different artistic personalities and not to difference of date, *Zeitstil*.⁵⁰⁵ Detailed studies of the heads were made by S. Reinach and H. Bulle⁵⁰⁶ by means of casts of the heads kept in the Musée de St. Germain and here reproduced. Both studies confirm the Hadrianic date of the medallions.

As in the case of the Great Trajanic Frieze it is not known to what monument the roundels originally belonged; but the contents of the reliefs indicate a monument of personal significance to the Emperor rather than of State importance. It has been suggested with some plausibility that they derive from an

octagonal monument of religious, less probably of funerary, significance.⁵⁰⁷ Antinous' appearance is far too rare - he appears only once if at all - to justify the theory that the monument was erected by Hadrian to the memory of Antinous.⁵⁰⁸

The Departure for the Hunt (I) shows four figures approaching from an arch which is set flat against the background without any attempt at perspective. In the centre and in high relief stands the Emperor in full frontality (No. 18).⁵⁰⁹ The pose is very statue-like and repeats exactly that of the Augustus from Prima Porta. Both hands are missing so that we cannot tell what was held in them, but in all probability the left hand held a spear (as on the Augustan prototype), since a trace of it survives on the ground beside the left foot and a spear is held by the Emperor in other medallions. As in all the other reliefs the Emperor wears a short tunic, girt at the waist, and a mantle pinned on the right shoulder.

Though the head is missing there is no possibility of confusing the Imperial figure with the other equally projecting figure on the right. Here, and indeed in all the other reliefs, the Emperor is easily recognizable from one, or more, of the usual devices such as pose, height of relief, slightly higher stature, frontality, attributes, and the direction of the heads of the other figures. The missing head was cut practically in the round and attached to the background by a small puntello.

No trace of the face of the other figure in the foreground (No. 20) survives and therefore nothing can be said about its portraiture, except that it must have shown a portrait of one of the Emperor's companions who accompanied him in his travels, during which the episodes shown in the roundels occurred.

In this particular tondo the four figures are disposed on only two planes: the two above-mentioned figures in the foreground and the other two in the background. Both the heads of the latter are in profile. The heroic nudity of the young man on the left who is holding a dog and a horse (No. 17, PLATE 185) has earned him the identification with Antinous.⁵¹⁰ Admittedly the Hellenized ideal features of the face do give it a certain amount of resemblance to Hadrian's paramour, especially the sharply edged eyelids and eyebrows, straight nose, sensuous thick lips and short curved jaw-bone. But this resemblance is too generic, and the chin is not projecting at all, while the hairstyle is completely different from that usually worn by Antinous. It is formed of a mass of thickly set cork-screw curls disposed in more or less regular rows at the front, more confused at the back. Besides, the unimportant position, relegated to the background, does not suit the Emperor's beloved youth, and Bulle thinks he is only a magister canum.⁵¹¹

The left eye is correctly cut in profile and the eyeball marked with iris and pupil which are moved forward to the side as they would have been seen in real perspective. Traces of the rasp are still visible on the cheek and neck.

Though there is absolutely no likeness to Antinous in the other figure holding a spear in the background under the arch (No. 19, PLATE 186), Arndt managed to identify it with him.⁵¹² Reinach saw in it a "rather sickly Roman face with individual traits",⁵¹³ but the only differentiating trait in this head is the long and broad whisker on the right cheek. Like the hair it is very plastic and formed of irregularly orientated wavy locks. The facial features are generic,

though not idealized. The eye, though damaged, can be seen to be correctly shaped in profile. The flat neck presents a strong oblique projection indicating the stretched out muscle.

Four figures also appear in the roundel with the Sacrifice to Silvanus (II), three in the foreground whose heads are either missing or damaged beyond recognition, and one in the background which survives practically entirely (No. 23, PLATE 187). The latter stands in profile praying to the god with raised right arm.

I cannot understand how, with such good casts of the heads in hand, Reinach could see in this latter figure any resemblance to Antinous. He admits, however, that it is not handsome enough and refuses to see in it his portrait.⁵¹⁴ In Bulle's classification he falls under group D, viz. mere youths or *famuli*, and I agree with him that this head could hardly be called a portrait.⁵¹⁵ To me he is just an anonymous background figure with the function of filling up a wide empty space in the back. His face is in fact very generic, with plain uncharacterizing features. His hair parts from the crown and is combed down forward becoming more and more plastic and taking the shape of confused wavy locks. The eye is drawn en face and thus repeats the error of the Trajanic reliefs.

The Emperor is recognizable as the central figure (No. 24) standing en face and placing an offering on the small altar. Only the puntello of attachment of his head survives on the background. On the right stands another figure (No. 25) like the one in the same position in roundel I. On the far left the third headless figure (No. 21) stands in profile, raised higher than the others on rocky ground.

In the Bear Hunt relief (III) the Emperor and two other men are on horse-back pursuing a bear which he is in the act of spearing. The Emperor's head (No. 27) carved practically in the round is completely worn. The figure riding alongside (No. 28, PLATE 188) represents a very important person, since his portrait is found twice again on the tondi. He stands out in high relief and his head facing three-quarters to the left in the direction of the Emperor is only slightly attached at the back. Unfortunately it has survived in a bad state since most of the hair and forehead are corroded, but the portrait features are unmistakable. The face is slightly triangular, but thick set with flabby flesh especially in the double-chin, and marked naso-labial folds. The eyes are deep-set but badly weathered: so are the lips, which however appear tightly pressed together. Noted by Reinach⁵¹⁶ as an important figure, together with four other heads on the other reliefs, this portrait is identified by Bulle⁵¹⁷ as T. Caesernius Macedo Quinctianus, the companion of Hadrian in one of his journeys to the East.

Squeezed into the narrow space behind the Emperor is the third figure (No. 26, PLATE 189) which belongs to the background, even though the head and indeed the rest of the body are not in such a shallow relief as in the background figures encountered so far. The space into which it is inserted is so narrow that the head overlaps the moulded rim of the circumference. The resemblance of this head to Antinous is striking and has been noticed by Reinach,⁵¹⁸ but Bulle finds in it Skopasian reminiscences (*sic*) and rightly considers it far removed from the delicate sensuous nature of Antinous'

portraiture.⁵¹⁹ As a matter of fact this head resembles Antinous' images only in the general construction of the face, but the actual details, such as the angular pointed chin, high forehead, highly arched brow, and uncovered ear suggest a different youth, perhaps another of Hadrian's young friends. His right eye is correctly drawn and bears the usual light indication of iris and pupil: the face is not in strict profile but slightly turned outwards.

The relief with the representation of a Sacrifice to Diana (IV) presents a symmetrical composition with the image of the goddess in the centre and two human figures on each side. All the heads are cut in almost the same height of relief and attached to the background. The Emperor (No. 32, PLATE 190) is recognizable from his tall stature, his gesture of performing the sacrifice, and veiled head. This is the only one of the Emperor's heads that survives on this side of the arch though in a very bad condition. From what survives it is obvious that the original portrait was recut in order to produce the image of Constantine.⁵²⁰ In contrast to the recut portraits on the other side this one seems to be rather badly handled. This is most obvious in the right, and only preserved, eye, with its thick and rounded eye-lids. The eye-ball is marked with a heavily cut semicircular iris and pelta-shaped pupil, whereas the other figures have only a lightly drawn semicircular iris and round pupil partly concealed by the upper eye-lid. In my view this particular head betrays the original construction of Hadrian's head perhaps more than the other recut heads. The high and broad mass of hair has not been done away with, because of the restrictions imposed by the veil. The rest of Hadrian's bearded face can easily be imagined on the new clean-shaven face.

Because of his position, balancing that of the Emperor and directly facing him, the person immediately on the left of the altar (No. 30, PLATE 191) is marked out as important. In fact he occupies the same position, opposite the Emperor on the other side of the altar, in the two other scenes of sacrificial offerings to Hercules and Apollo (Nos. 16 and 7). Whether he is also to be seen in the headless figure in a similar position in the Sacrifice to Silvanus (No. 21), cannot be ascertained.⁵²¹ There is in truth a "Trajanic"⁵²² quality about this head, in the harder, sturdier face and the more austere expression, which distinguishes it from the other portrait of an important comes of Hadrian already encountered. But the physiognomical likeness of the two heads is undeniable, so that it is likely that the two persons are brothers. In fact the one appearing in this relief has been named as T. Caesernius Statianus, the younger brother of Quinctianus, also a companion of Hadrian in his journey to the East.⁵²³ The face is rather rectangular with fleshier, but more muscular, cheeks and jaws. The forehead is divided by one horizontal furrow. The eyes are wide open and not so deeply set under the arched eyebrows. They are lightly marked as usual by a circular line and small rounded depression. The outer corner of the right eye is marked by three small wrinkles. The chin is small, angular and pronounced, with fleshy underchin. The hair is very agitated, assuming greater plasticity round the forehead. Since it is not well preserved at the back we cannot say whether it had the same regular wavy formation as have the other portraits of the same person.

The head of the bearded figure (No. 29, PLATE 192) on the left is also extensively damaged and only a few areas of the original surface survive. The

squarish face, however, and the type of beard relate it closely to the bearded figure on the left of the scene with the Sacrifice to Apollo (No. 4). The hair behind the ear is similarly combed forward but above the left eye it is far too low on the forehead and combed sideways in long flat strands. The general resemblance of these two figures to Hadrian, especially in the Hadrianic type of beard and haircut, has earned these figures the name of "Hadrian's double" (*sosie*).⁵²⁴ Bulle believes that both these men and the other bearded one in the Lion Hunt (No. 10) represent the same personage and classifies them under his group C which, in his view, represent the Jagdmeister, the Master of the Hunt.⁵²⁵

The left eye is badly drawn, being on the inner, less visible, side, but the widely arched brow and the modelling of the beard are very similar in all three heads.

The last figure in this medallion (No. 33), standing behind the Emperor on the right, has lost its head and only a few traces of the hair and beard remain. It is the only figure whose head is not placed in profile but turned in three-quarter view to the left. The hair projects in thick curly locks over the forehead as in No. 4. The beard is less plastic than that of his counterpart (No. 29) on the same relief, but shows very fine details of lines and shallow grooves. Very fine chiselling occurs also at the back where the hair is rendered in fine strands combed horizontally forward.

The appearance of another figure in the same relief with the same hairstyle and beard is evidence for the popularity of such a fashion in Hadrian's reign and against the theory that these heads are portraits of one single person.

Passing on to the north side of the Arch we are immediately struck by a strange element which does not occur on the south side, the halo engraved on the background around the head of the Emperor. No doubt, this element was added with the reuse of the reliefs to adorn the Arch of Constantine in the IV century.

The first relief we come across above the left passageway is the Boar Hunt. The composition is similar to that of the Bear Hunt but the Emperor is in front and is followed by two other riders, one showing the portrait of the important person also encountered in the Bear Hunt, the other a young man safely identifiable with Antinous.

The Emperor's head (No. 3, PLATE 193) portrays once again the image of Constantine,⁵²⁶ but the broken puntello behind the ear shows that the original head was attached to the background by it. Since there is a break at the neck, one might be inclined to suppose that the original head was knocked off and replaced by another. But the present head fits so snugly on the rough break that one feels bound to conclude that the original head was knocked off, worked over separately, and replaced in its original position. It presents the same hard features as the portrait of Trajan-Constantine in the Trajanic Frieze with the same emphasis on a strong bone structure especially of the jaws, chin and cheeks. The wavy hairstyle is very Hadrianic at the top and might have been only slightly retouched.

The other horseman in the foreground (No. 1, PLATE 194) clearly enjoys the same importance of position as Hadrian's companion in the Bear Hunt. The head, preserved here in a much better state, shows the same portrait features. The hair has the same shape and gives a better idea of how it must have looked originally:- formed of tortuous thick curly locks. More deeply marked are the horizontal and vertical wrinkles on the high and wide forehead. The eyebrows curve down and bulge out laterally towards the external corners, sheltering the deep, large, slightly baggy eyes. These are marked in the usual manner and at the outer corner of the right one are two crow's feet. The cheeks are well rounded and the jaws well covered with rather loose flesh. That the two heads represent the same person is obvious even from our illustrations, but more so on a close view of the reliefs themselves. The same structure of the head, shape of hair, forehead, eyes, ears, mouth etc., confirm this identification. Therefore this figure represents, according to the ingenious theory of Bulle, the elder of the Caesernii brothers, T. Caesernius Macedo Quinctianus.⁵²⁷

Though placed behind the foreground figures, the third horseman (No. 2, PLATE 195) is given much more importance than is usually allotted to background figures. This is done by raising the height of the relief of the head to almost the same height as the other companion of the Emperor. The direction of the head, three-quarters to the left, is rather odd, facing out of the relief rather than towards the principal figure. One might suggest that the carver was perhaps restricted to this view because the only model he could get hold of was from a relief head facing in the same direction. Until evidence is brought forward in support of this hypothesis it remains only a possibility.

The resemblance of the head to the portraits of Antinous is so striking that its identification with Hadrian's favourite is practically beyond doubt. Reinach compares it with Antinous Mondragone in the Louvre and, surprisingly enough, interprets it as "perhaps also Antinous", whereas he is more categorically in favour in less likely candidates.⁵²⁸ Bulle is right in accepting this as the only figure representing, "ohne Zweifel", Antinous.⁵²⁹ Clairmont, in his monograph on Antinous' portraiture also selects this head as one of Antinous' reliable portraits and classifies it with his "Bildnisse mit individuell gestalteter Haartracht",⁵³⁰ The facial features, head construction and hair-style agree perfectly with the known images of the Bithynian youth. The best comparison is indeed with another head in relief, the one with Antinous-Silvanus now kept in the Banca Nazionale in Rome.⁵³¹ The hair with thick plastic and tortuous locks, separated by deep drillings, corresponds very well though not following exactly the same pattern. Also identical in both reliefs are the fine straight nose, the neat sharp cut of the eye and the fleshy lips. The jaw-bone in our head is slightly longer and heavier than in the Silvanus relief, but this is true of most of the portraits in the round.⁵³² The modelling on the head of Antinous-Vertumnus in the Villa Albani relief is much more delicate, though academically cold.⁵³³ His face is also fuller and more effeminate.

The relief with the Sacrifice to Apollo is also very symmetrical in composition. The cult statue and altar are in the centre, but the two figures on the left are balanced on the right by one man and a horse. The Emperor (No. 5, PLATE 196), performing the sacrifice, stands on the left turned in profile

to the right with a spear against his shoulder. The present head portrays a IV century personage⁵³⁴ and though the original head must have been knocked away from its place, it is clear that it was the same head that was recarved and replaced, and not substituted by another, because it fits exactly on the neck. In this case the recutting is so complete that virtually no trace of Hadrian's portrait remains except perhaps the thicker hair on the left temple and the line of beard on the left cheek.

The man on the right (No. 7, PLATE 197) holding the horse by the rein is frontally posed and turns his head back in the direction of the Emperor. His head is definitely a portrait and his likeness to one of the two resembling companions of the Emperor is evident. That he is the younger of the two is more obvious in this head, because the whole face is visible and much better preserved than on No. 30 in the Sacrifice to Artemis, where part of it is cut away by the background. Therefore, according to Bulle's theory, this portrait is that of T. Caesernius Statianus.⁵³⁵ The high narrow forehead, still untouched by wrinkles, the highly arched brows, the large fleshy lips and the tight facial muscles, but most of all, the more practical, serene, but energetic expression, are characteristic of this person's portraiture. The chiaroscuro play in the movement of the surfaces and the modelling of the flesh which, though covering well the bony structure underneath, reveals its powerful build, make of this head one of the best portraits on these tondi. The hair is combed forward in the in gradus formata tradition but the waves are not so regular and it becomes much thicker and more irregular around the face.

The third figure in slightly lower relief (No. 4, PLATE 198) standing behind the Emperor and facing in the direction of the altar is one of great interest as it has been a key argument in the discussion over the date of the reliefs and the identification of the Emperor. It portrays a bearded young man probably in his thirties with a broad squarish face and sleepy expression imparted by the eyes veiled by heavy eye-lids. The forehead is lined by two sinuous horizontal wrinkles and two very light converging ones marking the root of the nose. The hair is worn in the Hadrianic fashion, combed horizontally forward in more or less regular waves and becoming more plastic around the forehead where it is collected into thick, separate, curly locks. The beard is also so typically Hadrianic that this Emperor is the first person to come to mind as soon as one sees this head. In fact it has been interpreted as Hadrian's portrait and used as evidence in favour of the theory that the roundels were Trajanic or made in Trajan's honour.⁵³⁶ However, the resemblance is so vague and superficial that it could also easily be taken as the portrait of Antoninus Pius, as was in fact done by Blümel.⁵³⁷ Features similar to those of Hadrian's portraits, especially to the bust in the Vatican (Rotonda 543)⁵³⁸, are the wavy hairstyle, its division in the direction of the curls above the left eye, the brows arching their way up sideways and the "box-like" shape of the head. Though a few of Hadrian's portraits look similarly melancholic, none presents eyes so sleepy. None of them has either the same pattern of wrinkles, if at all, on the forehead or the depression on the cheek slanting down from the inner corner of the eye to the beard line, which, together with the naso-labial depression, force out a rounded fold of flesh between them. Antoninus' portraits⁵³⁹ display the same wavy hairstyle on the sides, but on the front they have a much more irregular formation with the ever-present scissor pattern

in the centre, which is absent on the relief head. Pius' face is never so square but tapers gently downwards. It has usually the same drooping upper lids, but not the high-flying eyebrows. The beard is also usually more plastic. Only a few portraits, among them the Vatican portrait (Sala a Croce Greca)⁵⁴⁰, show the same pattern of wrinkles on the forehead.

In consideration of all this and of the fact that similar, but not identical, heads appear on other reliefs of the same cycle, in one case two on the same panel and in each case in a position of minor importance, unbefitting the Emperor designate either of Trajan or of Hadrian, it would be safer to regard this figure as an official with a more or less definite function even if it is not, necessarily, that of 'Master of the Hunt'.⁵⁴¹

The medallion with the 'Pause after the Lion Hunt' is the one that shows the greatest number of figures i.e. five. All the figures stand facing the spectator except for the one on the extreme right whose body is turned inwards and his head looking up and out of the relief. The Emperor's head is facing three-quarters to the right while the three others are in profile turned towards him.

Hadrian's head (No. 9, PLATE 199) was removed, once more, to be worked over separately and replaced; the joint fits perfectly and the original puntello, part of which survives on the background, was done away with. The hair has been only slightly retouched and retains the regular waves of the original, the line of the original beard can just be discerned on the left cheek. The head is very much damaged but clearly shows the clean-shaven portrait of Constantine.

The Emperor is balanced by a figure in equally high relief on the right (No. 11, PLATE 200) whose portrait features bring to mind immediately one of the two important personalities encountered in other reliefs notably Nos. 28 and 1. It has the same broad, slightly triangular face with high and wide forehead furrowed by deep wrinkles, the same deep over-shadowed eyes, the same small mouth and fleshy underchin. The hair is dressed in the same irregularly disposed locks and the plastically raised and incised eyebrows repeat the left eyebrow - the only one surviving - of No. 1. They similarly bend down and project over the eyes towards the outer corners. The indications of the iris and pupils on the eyeballs are well preserved and show better the sharpness of the iris incision and the roundness of the pupil.

The bearded figure (No. 10, PLATE 201) standing between the figure just described and the Emperor has also been identified with two Imperial adoptive sons. It displays a bearded head cut in three-quarters pose facing the Emperor, with rather plain features but characterized by the Hadrianic hairstyle and beard. I find this head so different from No. 4 in the previous medallion that it seems to me totally unjustifiable to group them together with No. 29 as representing the same person.⁵⁴² Very attractive, but built on very loose foundations, is Blümel's identification of the head with L. Aelius Verus, who died on 1 January 138, the adoptive heir of Hadrian before Antoninus. This identification is based on the vague resemblance of the relief head with a coin portrait of Aelius.⁵⁴³ The differences between this head and Nos. 4 and 29 lie not only in the hairstyle, which consists of loose, agitated and thick curls without any definite arrangement, and in the beard, which is much thicker,

especially on the chin, but also in the shape of the head which is much taller. Finally there is very little similarity to Hadrian's portraits and absolutely none to the known portraits of Aelius Verus.⁵⁴⁴ Though he stands in the centre of the composition, this man plays a less important role than the previous figure (No. 11), since he is in lower relief and the role of "Master of the Hunt" might fit him well.

There are two more figures whose position at either end of the medallion and in low relief points to an even less important function. They are probably either young favourites of the Emperor or simply 'grooms', since both are guarding horses.

The one on the left (No. 8, PLATE 202) represent a very young man, perhaps an adolescent, with his face placed three-quarters to the right, so that even the left eye is visible. Though our illustration shows the whole face, except for the nose tip, the lower part of it, including the mouth and chin, is at present missing. This break must therefore have taken place since the beginning of the century. Again, the idealized classical profile and features resemble greatly those of Antinous (No. 2), but the hair is much more compact and shorter and leaves the ear uncovered. Besides, the very shallow sideburn in front of the ear never occurs in Antinous' iconography. In this young man Reinach sees a page-boy and Bulle a Greek ephebos (Griechenburschen).⁵⁴⁵

Still far more removed from any of Antinous' portraits and more powerfully built is the head of the other youth on the right (No. 12, PLATE 203). Very unusual is the direction of the head facing obliquely upwards out of the relief. It is fixed on a thick powerful neck where the torsion is rendered by a strongly projecting muscle. The eye is small and rather clumsily cut in contrast to the sharp, careful cut of all the other eyes in these sculptures. The cheeks are full, the chin small and the lips parted. The hair appears as an unkempt mass of extremely agitated, flame-like, locks with deep undercutting. The youth is called a "page-boy" by Reinach and a "groom" by Studniczka.⁵⁴⁶

The last relief shows four figures offering a sacrifice to the image of Hercules. The Emperor, performing the ceremony, stands in profile to the right (No. 15, PLATE 204). His head is veiled for the occasion. Hadrian's original portrait can be very well imagined as replaced by the new IV century head. The latter was worked over in situ, as there are no breaks at the neck and the carver was restricted by the veil in manipulating the original. In fact Hadrian's hair can be visualized in the widened upper part of the head. It has of course been chiselled down to a compact mass and so has the beard, but its outline on the cheek seems to have been retained.

Once again the Emperor is balanced by another portrait figure standing on the other side of the altar, on the right (No. 16, PLATE 205). His head is rendered with a fine feeling for texture and delicate modulations of the surface. As a portrait the head is most realistic and lifelike and it obviously belongs to the same person as Nos. 7 and 30 named as T. Caesernius Statianus.⁵⁴⁷

The head of the man behind the Emperor (No. 14) is missing but in the collection of sculpture of the Berlin Museum there is a head which Blümel has identified as belonging to him (PLATE 206).⁵⁴⁸ No measurements are given but the experiment made by Professor R. Lautier, who applied a cast of the head to a cast of this tondo conserved in the Museum of St. Germain-en-Laye, left no doubt as to its provenance.⁵⁴⁹ This becomes even more obvious when the head is compared with that of the bearded "Master of the Hunt" (No. 4) in the Sacrifice to Apollo. The formation of the hair and beard, the square shape of the head and the great majority of the facial features are so similar that the temptation to regard them as portraits of the same person is irresistible. The hair follows exactly the same wavy pattern and ends on the forehead in thick locks which curl back in the same manner, though not exactly in the same direction. The forehead is also lined by two horizontal wrinkles, though the upper one is straighter at the centre. The eyebrows follow the same direction, rising outwards towards the temples, and have the same incised indications of the hair which have almost disappeared in No. 4. The eyes have exactly the same markings and bear the same heavy drooping eyelids giving the face that sleepy look. Identical also are the slanting nasolabial fold, the slight twitch of the lips, and the beard. The only obvious difference is the longer ear with a larger lobe in the Berlin head. The state of preservation of the latter is much better than most of the other heads and shows the fine detailed treatment of the hair and the rasp finish, traces of which have been noticed on other heads.

What we cannot accept in Blümel's theory is his identification of these portraits with Antoninus Pius, the adoptive heir of Hadrian from 25 February 138 to July of the same year, when he became Emperor. This is because of their incompatibility with that Emperor's portraiture, as demonstrated above with regard to No. 4. Blümel's view was in fact accepted by L'Orange⁵⁵⁰ and then refuted by v. Lorentz and Rumpf, and finally by Wegner who enumerates more physiognomical discrepancies.⁵⁵¹

The fourth figure on the left (No. 13, PLATE 207) is manifestly the least important of all and could well be classed with the famuli of the Emperor. He is described by Reinach as 'personnage assez laid, evidentment un portrait'. From our illustration the opposite appears to be the case. Indeed his features are so regular and idealized that he has been related typologically to the Diomedes of Munich.⁵⁵² The hair is low and short but very detailed, even in the treatment of each hair lock. In front of the ear it is extended down in a long narrow side-burn. The only other characterizing element is the slight horizontal depression dividing the forehead in two. The head is obviously not a portrait and should be classed with 'type' figures.

A head in the Antiquario del Foro Romano (PLATE 208) has been related to the Hadrianic roundels on grounds of its resemblance to the head in Berlin.⁵⁵³ Its provenance from a relief is clearly indicated by the slanting flat break on the right side of the head. It also shows signs of working over, as in the widened eyelids, the deepened iris and pelta-shaped pupil, the drilled tear-ducts, the sharp outline of the eyes and lips, and the chiselled beard. This working over and its resemblance to the Berlin head made Simon conclude that the head was reworked by the same sculptor who recut Hadrian's heads on

the medallions between 312 and 315 A.D.⁵⁵⁴ Its provenance cannot be ascertained, since it does not fit in any of the roundels. The only place where it could possibly have fitted is on the Imperial figure in the scene of Sacrifice to Silvanus. The head is in fact appropriately veiled, reworked, and was originally turned slightly to the left. This hypothesis is, however, discredited by the head's identification with Antoninus Pius, since the sacrificer in the medallions could only be Hadrian.⁵⁵⁵ The formation of the hair, especially the now damaged forked pattern over the centre of the forehead, indicates another replica of the Vatican type, Croce Greca 595. It is, however, unusually fresh in inspiration and execution. The size of the head and its style and technique confirm its relation to the tondi, though no other medallions belonging to the same series survive.

In his conclusion, and consequent to his identification of the bearded figures with Antoninus Pius and Aelius Verus, Blümel places the execution of the reliefs in the last year of Hadrian's reign. Aelius Verus would have been represented as the future successor to the throne, but owing to his premature death on 1 January 138 he appears only once, the rest of the reliefs being carved during the last seven months of Hadrian's life and perhaps also early in the reign of Antoninus Pius. The latter appears, in his place, as Caesar, owing to his adoption by Hadrian in February 138. However, since both identifications have been discredited, we refuse to accept these chronological limits. According to Bulle's interpretation, the events portrayed took place between 118 and 134. Therefore it would be safer to establish the years 134-138 as the dates during which the tondi were executed. The absence of funerary implications or elements of deification, suggests that the roundels were finished before Hadrian's death in 138. Their frequent religious connotations favour Bulle's theory that the reliefs might have belonged to a monumental altar in the tradition of the Ara Pacis.⁵⁵⁶

Summarizing the problems of portraiture discussed above, we find that the Hadrianic date for the creation of the roundels is beyond doubt. The subject matter alone determines Hadrian as the most likely Emperor to be the central figure and the object of commemoration on the reliefs. He was a great enthusiast for the hunt, and in his reign no important wars were undertaken to suggest the setting up of commemorative reliefs of greater significance, like those of Trajan. The novelty of the shape of the reliefs also suggests influence from the medallions issued in his reign, some representing identical themes. The general style and modelling reflect the revival of the Greek Classical plastic values - which had really never disappeared in Roman art - fostered by the philhellenic tastes of Hadrian. Finally the portraiture of the figures appearing in them leaves room for no reasonable doubt that Hadrian is the Emperor in whose honour this set of reliefs and the monument to which they belonged were set up. His features are recognizable beneath the reworked heads of the principal figure. The presence of the typically Hadrianic type of heads with the characteristic beard and hairstyle, so popular in his reign, and of the idealized beardless "Greek" youths, among whom Antinous' portrait figures at least once, confirms their Hadrianic date. The style of the heads, varying from the classical idealization of the human figure to a restrained realism and expressiveness in a number of portraits, together with the technique, which relies more on the

soft, plastic modelling of the flesh and the fine, detailed chiselling of the hairy parts, with almost total exclusion of the drill, are truly representative of Hadrianic sculpture.

Apart from the two scenes with the representation of the actual hunt on horseback, with remote (classical or Hellenistic) and immediate (Trajanic) inspiration, the other scenes present a tendency to frontality: the Emperor appears twice in profile and four times en face or quasi-en face; the other figures are with one or two exceptions always en face. This frontality is of course limited to the bodies, because the head is always turned in one direction or another. The relief is in most cases so high that the figures assume the appearance of statues fixed on a background.

As I said, Hadrian's heads have been reworked into IV century portraits. In four cases his head was carved practically in the round and attached by a narrow puntello to the background. In the others, part of it disappears into the background, showing nevertheless both eyes and no distortion.

Two important personalities (Nos. 1, 11, 28 and 7, 16, 30) have been identified in the two figures which in five compositions appear directly opposite the Emperor and in three others in his immediate vicinity, but always in almost equally high relief. Their respective heads look much alike, but certain fundamental physiognomical and expressive differences determine them to be two separate personalities. They have plausibly been named as the Caesernii brothers, each of whom is known to have been a "comes Hadriani in Oriente".

Antinous is safely identified only in the young beardless rider (No. 2) in the Boar Hunt, but another possible candidate is his counterpart in the Bear Hunt (No. 26).

The bearded heads, two or three of which bear a strong resemblance to one another, are preferably to be considered as representing officials with special duties concerning the hunting field, say 'Master of the Hunt'. Their identification with Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Aelius Verus is either downright unacceptable, as in the case of Hadrian, or else only remotely possible.

RELIEFS FROM THE ARCO DI PORTOGALLO

The two reliefs now in the Conservatori palace, Scala IV, 1 and Scala VI, 11, showing one the apotheosis of a woman and the other an adlocutio, come from the Arco di Portogallo in the Corso, which was destroyed by Pope Alexander VII in 1662.⁵⁵⁷ This arch was a late Roman construction built in the IV or V century A.D.⁵⁵⁸ and therefore the reliefs must have been robbed from another monument and reused there. Becatti suggests their provenance from Hadrian's arch at Via di Pietra, perhaps decorating the western facade while the east side was taken up by the adventus Augusti and the Torlonia reliefs.⁵⁵⁹

The relief with the apotheosis shows a veiled and diademed woman being borne up to heaven by a winged figure in the presence of a seated man, another man standing behind him, and a reclining personification of the Campus Martius (PLATE 209). The good state of preservation of the deified lady permits an identification with Sabina, wife of Hadrian, who is recognized in the seated figure though its head is much restored. The head of the speaker in the adlocutio scene is also considerably restored, but the original outline of the face is also recognizable as Hadrian's and the close connection of the panel with the other seems to suggest a laudatio memoriae delivered by the Emperor himself in honour of his deified wife and further confirms the identification of the Emperor. Both reliefs have been considerably restored⁵⁶⁰ and in a few cases perhaps even worked over,⁵⁶¹ so that the attribution to a late Hadrianic date is based mainly on the iconography of Sabina and perhaps less reliably on consideration of style.

The seated Emperor in the apotheosis relief is clad in the toga and faces in profile to the left. Though the nose, left eye, left ear, wreath, left cheek, mouth and jaw are restored, his head according to Stuart Jones "does not forbid identification with Hadrian".⁵⁶² The surviving parts of the beard and hair do not contradict this identification, but the head is devoid of any iconographical or art-historical value.⁵⁶³

On the contrary, the surviving head of the Empress is all important because it is the only reliable evidence for dating the relief.⁵⁶⁴ She sits on the back of a female winged figure with her chest turned outwards and her head three-quarters to the right. The identification of the deified Empress with Sabina is beyond doubt.⁵⁶⁵ The likeness with the veiled head in the *Thermae Museum* 727⁵⁶⁶ is so great that there could be no doubt that the head in relief is derived from this model or from a common prototype. The shape of the face, tapering down toward the small prominent chin, is identical in both, though slightly rounder at the cheeks on the relief head. In both heads the eyes are identically indicated with iris and pupil. The hair is similarly drawn back with a central parting but the long, slightly wavy strands are separated by somewhat deeper and more darkly drilled grooves in our head. The rest of the hair is covered by a high diadem and a veil. These two elements, together with the content of the relief, place both heads after 136 A.D. when Sabina died and was consecrated. In quality the relief head is much inferior to the *Thermae* portrait: the modelling is colder and the face empty of any expression and relying on the use of broad smooth planes very much in consonance with the style of the rest of the relief.

The whole head of the bearded figure behind the Emperor is modern. The two other figures are allegorical and agree with the pervading classicism of the whole composition.

A point worthy of comment is the reappearance of one of the female members of the Imperial family who, to judge from the scanty surviving monuments, seem to have been excluded from official State reliefs since the Ara Pacis. Even more significant becomes the fact that the Empress is here the actual point of the relief: she is the principal figure placed in the most prominent position and the one towards whom the attention of all the other figures is directed.

The Emperor in the adlocutio scene stands on a small podium with his body completely en face while his head is turned in profile to the right (PLATE 210). According to Stuart Jones the former restoration of the head was removed in 1921, revealing a profile which was almost certainly that of Hadrian.⁵⁶⁷ But since a plaster cast from a head of Hadrian was attached in 1922 this statement cannot be verified as nothing of the original head is visible. Therefore at present it is only the relation of this relief to the previous one in dimensions and style that reveal the subject of the composition and the identity of the speaker.

There are three other figures in the foreground, two standing in front of the suggestus and listening to the speech and the third, with spear in hand, standing beside the suggestus on the left. Whether he is the "trecenarius of the speculatores"⁵⁶⁸ or a "praetorian",⁵⁶⁹ the latter is evidently the Emperor's bodyguard. Much of his head is restored, including the nose and parts of his forehead, cheek and beard. The hair, composed of numerous small circular curls with drilled central holes, is not a novelty and similar hairstyles are found in Hadrianic contexts, as on the famous tondi. The beard is done in the same manner and similarly fits well into Hadrianic iconography.

The half-dressed youth with ideal classical features and thick agitated hair is definitely the Genius of the Roman people. In front of him is a young boy dressed in a loose toga. Most of his head is restored. He is interpreted by some as just a type figure representing the Roman children, but Simon insists that his privileged position earns him an identification with one of Hadrian's "crown princes", Lucius Verus or Marcus Aurelius.⁵⁷⁰ The latter was already fifteen when Sabina died, he had assumed the toga virilis and was already betrothed. So Simon chooses Lucius, who was six in A.D. 136. This seems to me too hasty a conclusion and the frequent appearance of ordinary children in early II century State reliefs, such as the internal panels of the Arch of Trajan and the Anaglypha Trajani, make me more inclined to consider the child to be a symbolic figure. What survives of the head does not in any way confirm the identification with the early portraits of young Verus.

The bearded figure standing behind the Emperor on the suggestus is certainly the Genius Senatus.⁵⁷¹ His flowing curly beard and the characteristic hairstyle, slightly wavy and flattened on the crown and very curly around the face, with the locks held in place by a fillet, leave no doubt that he is the same symbolic figure as the one in the adventus of Hadrian. But the two heads

are so different, especially in the treatment of the hair, that it makes one doubt whether this relief could have ever been a companion to the adventus relief.⁵⁷² The same applies to the heads of the Genius of the people and the other figures.

Two similar figures stand in profile in the background. The one on the platform behind the Emperor is considerably restored. His hair is short and swept forward in more or less regular waves. His head is characterized by a balding forehead, strong chin and hard features. The head of the other figure, beside the Populus, bears a great resemblance to it. His forehead, right eye and nose are restored. He also has a short receding hair, though in this case with very curly locks separated by fine shallow drilled grooves. The likeness between these two men recalls the two beardless portrait-figures on the Hadrianic tondi, but the features of the two heads on this relief are so standardized and ugly that it is difficult to think of them as portraits. Simon, however, sees in one an intimate friend of Hadrian, of the older generation because he is clean-shaven, and attempts an identification with M. Annius Verus, the adoptive grandfather of Marcus Aurelius who was still alive when Sabina died. In the absence of coin portraits of this man, she finds similar physiognomic features in the portraits of his daughter, the Empress Faustina.⁵⁷³

The contents of the reliefs suggest that they were produced in the nineteen months' interval between the death of Sabina (136 A.D.) and that of Hadrian (138). This would mean that they were contemporary with the Hadrianic tondi. Yet the spirit and style of the two groups are very different. The bare parts both of the faces and of the limbs lack that softness achieved in the roundels by means of delicate transitions of planes. The coiffures and beards are treated with a monotonous narrative which, in spite of the abundant use of the drill - which is practically never used on the tondi heads -, lacks the colouristic effect found on Hadrianic and Antonine portraiture. There are also considerable differences in the handling of the portraiture. There the two beardless heads are powerful portraits in the Roman tradition as developed to its full capacity in Trajanic times, here they are simply stereotyped heads that would qualify more as background types.

Cianfarani places the reliefs in the early years of Antoninus Pius who tried to rehabilitate the memory of Hadrian. Even the apotheosis of Sabina is supposed to have taken place after Hadrian's death.⁵⁷⁴

THE RELIEFS ON THE BASE OF THE COLUMN OF ANTONINUS PIUS

Only the base survives of the Column erected in honour of Antoninus Pius immediately after his death by his adoptive sons and successors to the throne, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.⁵⁷⁵ The rectangular base, now kept in the Cortile della Pigna of the Vatican, presents on one of the longer sides the inscription recording the erection, and on the other a relief showing the apotheosis of Antoninus and his wife Faustina, while on the shorter sides are carved two almost identical scenes of a military parade.

In the apotheosis scene the Emperor and his consort are represented from the waist upwards borne to heaven by a winged genius in the presence of a seated Roma and a reclining personification of the Campus Martius. Though the quality of the relief is good and the carving technically first rate, the composition is generally felt to be too academic, anachronistically classicizing and even "cold and lifeless", in contrast to the lively "surprisingly Late Antique" scenes on the sides.⁵⁷⁶

The Imperial couple are smaller in scale than the other figures (about two-thirds) but they are nevertheless the focal point on which the whole movement of the composition is centred. This is achieved by the direction of the faces of the personifications and by the internal relationship of the couple turning towards each other. Frontality characterizes the general composition and also the figures of the Imperial couple, whose bodies face the spectator. Both figures are preserved in very good condition.⁵⁷⁷

The head of the Emperor betrays an unmistakable portrait of Antoninus Pius, with his characteristic hairstyle and beard and his rectangular and lightly wrinkled forehead (PLATE 211). Typologically the nearest free-standing portrait is the one in the Vatican, Croce Greca 595⁵⁷⁸ from which the the relief head seems to be ultimately derived. It has the same construction of the head (a little squarer in the apotheosis head). The hair has exactly the same formation over and round the forehead, especially in the overlapping of the curls above the nose. One can even observe that the wide drill in many instances reproduces similar, but much narrower, channels on the Croce Greca head, faithfully following their direction. The wrinkles on the forehead also follow more or less exactly those of the bust, though here they are slightly deeper and less linear, especially the two horizontal ones. The same holds good for the small wrinkles by the outer corners of the eyes. The hair on the eyebrows is rendered by incised lines as in practically all the portraits of Antoninus. The eye-orbits are admittedly longer and narrower than in the model, the upper eyelids being narrower and thinner, but they are equally deep-set under the prominent eyebrows from which they are separated by a dark, undercut channel. The horizontal depression on the nose-bridge seems to appear only on this head. Though a number of features seem to have been borrowed more from the group of portraits produced in the early years of Antoninus' life, usually grouped under the head in the *Thermae Museum* 718⁵⁷⁹ the lower half of the face, with the naso-labial folds, the formation of the moustache and the serried, indrawn lips, belongs unmistakably to the Croce Greca type datable to around 148 A.D.⁵⁸⁰

The two portraits, however, although so close in iconographical traits are very different in style for, while the group in the round is characterized by soft modelling and detailed rendering of the hairy surfaces, the modelling of the relief head is drier and the treatment of the hair and beard more colouristic, owing to the much bolder use of the running drill. The latter feature seems to anticipate the more conspicuous colourism in the portraiture of Marcus Aurelius' reign, both the round and in relief. It thus fits very well stylistically in the date of the relief, that is the early years of Marcus' reign.

The portrait of Faustina the Elder is equally recognizable in the head of the veiled Imperial consort (PLATE 212) even if we have no other veiled portrait of her to compare it to, as we had in the case of Sabina.⁵⁸¹ Except for the veil, which covers a good part of the head leaving visible only the face and the front of the hair, the head seems to be a perfect replica of the type of the Museo Capitolino, Imperatori 36.⁵⁸² The greatest similarity is to be observed in various details of the hair, such as the horizontal division between an upper series of waves and a lower one, the three-tiered plaited bun on top and the central parting of the wavy hair above the nose. Less detail, however, is rendered in the relief head, whereas the free-standing Capitoline portrait reproduces the more sophisticated, more minutely detailed coiffure of the Empress. The face, too, is more triangular in shape and thinner towards the chin. In this it is nearer to the more idealized version of the Ostia Museum.⁵⁸³

As in the Emperor's portrait, the finish is much less refined both in the hair and in the flesh surfaces, which still show the rough traces of the rasp, whereas these are almost always polished down in the portraits in the round. While the style is more or less the same as in the latter, and agrees with the usual custom of Roman portraiture in presenting us with a youthful, idealized, good-looking image of the Empress, the melancholic expression which emanates from the portrait in the round is here replaced by a cold, academic and lifeless countenance.

Though the sculptor has spared the face of the female portrait the use of the drill, he did not abstain from employing this tool to give it a personal, original trait in the wide groove that outlines the hair separating it from the veil and which corresponds to the similar groove separating the temples from the hair in the Emperor's head. Both portraits have finely incised eyebrows and similarly marked eyeballs which present a more strongly incised iris than on the Hadrianic tondi and a pupil which is not yet as deep and as fully pelta-shaped as on the Aurelian panels.

The two short sides of the Column base are heavily restored. A number of figures were entirely missing and restored in modern times. The majority of heads are lost and the surviving ones belong to the figures in lower relief and have restored noses.⁵⁸⁴ Concentrating on these original heads one notices that they are much more physiognomically differentiated than it is at first obvious from a general survey including the restored heads. Though one also finds repetitions of fixed physiognomical types, such as riders 14 and 15⁵⁸⁵ on the left-hand decursio (PLATE 213), the individuality of features of some others, for example, riders 12 on the two sides (PLATES 215-6) and 14, 15, 16 on the right-hand side (PLATE 214), gives them a real portrait character.

Though one would not logically expect portraiture in the heads of the foot-soldiers, which have been identified as members of the pretorian guard, and in the equites - identified in the riders wearing short cloaks - real portraits might have been intended in the riders wearing a toga-like costume (3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 17) representing the seviri.⁵⁸⁶

Some of the heads, for instance, of riders 12 and 16 and foot-soldiers 1 (both left and right) on the right-hand decursio and rider 12 of the left-hand decursio, though differentiated, can be shown to derive ultimately from an Antonine type of head corresponding to the portraiture of Antoninus himself and of his successors, with similarly shaped and carved hairstyle and beard. In other heads the straight and smooth hair and beard show them to be derived from Hadrianic types, e.g. riders 7, 14 and 15 in the right-hand scene, but the facial features are definitely heavier and unclassical. One or two figures are also clean-shaven and rather youthful - foot-soldier 4 on the right-hand scene and rider 7 on the left-hand one - a survival of the pre-Hadrianic fashion. Riders 14 and 15 of the left-hand decursio, are at the other extreme and perfect cousins to the ugly figures on the panels of the Arch of Septimius Severus in the Forum, with their thick eyelids and lips, highly arched brows, wide eyes and deeply undercut, thick, curly hair and beard.

Therefore, though a few reminiscences of Hadrianic portraiture are still discernible, the typology of the heads points forward towards the heavy, bumpy features of the ugly faces of Marcus' Column and Septimius' Arch. The break with the past is even more definite in the style of the figures, in which the organic proportions of the body have been sacrificed and in which the major concentration is on the enlarged head.

Some variations are also observed in the carving technique as well as in the stylistic treatment of various heads. For instance the heads of riders 5 and 7 are embedded in the relief surface in the right-hand scene and more undercut, with faces entirely projecting, in the left-hand one. On the other hand, the heads of riders 12, 14, 15 are locked into the surface on the right-hand decursio, more undercut on the left-hand one. Therefore one cannot really assign each of the two scenes to different carvers, because these stylistic and technical variations distinguish one figure from another but not one side from the other. One cannot, however, help noticing the entirely different conception of the two scenes from that of the apotheosis; the latter being of traditional inspiration and respecting the classical canons established in Hadrian's reign, the former presenting a complete novelty both in the composition and in the dumpy unclassical figures. But when one compares the heads of these figures with the Imperial portraits of the main relief, especially with the head of Antoninus, one finds that they respond, essentially, to the same concept of plastic art, with the same dry forms and use of the drill, and that the differences are due to the smaller scale of the former. It is not surprising, therefore that we choose to assign, with Vogel, the whole sculpture to one and the same master-sculptor, even if we are to assume that minor sculptors were employed to carve different figures under his supervision.

It is now an accepted and established fact that the two lateral scenes represent the funeral decursio⁵⁸⁷ which took place on the occasion of the deification of Antoninus Pius immediately after his death. We cannot verify, iconographically, Vogel's theory that the two isolated riders of very high rank, one on each scene (nos. 13), are Antoninus' successors participating in the funeral military parade, simply because both heads are missing. But their prominent position, in high relief, and their isolation in the composition, together with their unique costume, seem to respond perfectly to the usual conventions of Roman relief by which the principal figures are made to stand out from the rest. Besides, the exact repetition of the decursio scene, with this particular figure appearing in exactly the same position in each case, seems indeed to reflect the political programme of Marcus Aurelius in taking as co-ruler his adoptive brother L. Verus and in emphasizing their equality as Augusti and their pietas towards their father.⁵⁸⁸

LATE-ANTONINE AND SEVERAN RELIEFS

THE ANTONINE RELIEF FROM EPHEOS

For the Antonine period by far the most important and significant historical relief outside Rome itself comes from Asia Minor, the monumental frieze from Ephesos which is now housed in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.⁵⁸⁹ It seems to have formed, originally, a single long frieze similar to the Great Frieze of Trajan; it was similarly reused, this time to enclose the basin of a fountain inserted into the facade of another building, the Library of Celsus. The date and the events celebrated in it have been greatly debated, especially in more recent years. The whole controversy can be brought down to two contrasting opinions.

On the one hand it is believed that the relief was set up at the outset of the Antonine period, around 140 A.D., and that it was intended to glorify Hadrian and his family by adoption. The latest champion of this theory is Vermeule who insists that there is 'nothing in style or subject matter that cannot be explained against the background of Hadrian's dynastic succession on the eve of his death and the portraits can only fit the year just before or those shortly after Hadrian's death'.⁵⁹⁰

On the other hand is the theory, which to me seems to be based on more solid ground, launched as early as 1939 by F. Eichler, and supported by the overwhelming majority of art historians,⁵⁹¹ that the relief was erected to commemorate Lucius Verus' victory over the Parthians in the wars of A.D. 161-5, which date thus constitutes a terminus post quem. Eichler defended his position against Vermeule in a strongly worded article published posthumously and appeared to prove convincingly that the monument was erected immediately after the death of Lucius Verus in January 169.⁵⁹²

The most important part of the frieze for the purpose of our study is the slab showing, in complete frontality, the portraits of Hadrian and of his adoptive son and grandsons: Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (PLATE 217). In spite of the controversy regarding the date of execution of the frieze, there is universal agreement on the iconography of the portraits in this fragment⁵⁹³ and on the event commemorated on it, the double adoption of the Antonine dynasty by Hadrian in 138 A.D. Opinions are divided as to whether we should consider the portraits to be contemporary with the event or created a quarter of a century later.

All the heads in this slab have suffered considerable damage; most of all the head of Hadrian, identified with certainty in the adult veiled togate figure on the right (PLATES 218-9). Almost the whole of the face is missing, except the right cheek. A good portion of the beard and of the hair by the right temple also survives and betrays the typical hairstyle and beard-cut of the Emperor.

Since it is practically an established fact that the relief was executed after 165, this portrait must be a posthumous one and shows the Emperor at 62, shortly before he died in 138 A.D. The image must have therefore been modelled on one of the existing portraits and Wegner has suggested, rather convincingly, that the portrait is based probably on the type Imperatori 32.⁵⁹⁴

The other veiled togate figure on the left is immediately recognizable, without any shadow of doubt, as Antoninus Pius, not only from his characteristic beard and hair-do, but also, and chiefly, from his facial features: the broad forehead, the eyes set deeply under the shadow of the strongly projecting eyebrows, the slender cheeks and withdrawn lips (PLATE 220). The hair on the eyebrows was originally indicated but the pupils were never marked on the eye-balls. It is true that, as Wegner pointed out⁵⁹⁵, the head does not follow exactly any of the known Metropolitan types of Pius' portraits, especially in the formation of the hair locks at the front; but otherwise the general shape of the hair, beard, and face are not at all dissimilar. The liberties taken by the artist in the iconography of this Imperial portrait further suggests that the latter is a posthumous image of the Emperor Antoninus, who died in A.D. 161 at the age of 75 and was 56 at the time of his adoption. As to its artistic merits the portrait is certainly not of the best quality when compared with other products of Asia Minor sculptors.

Marcus Aurelius, easily identified in the young togate figure beside Antoninus, and partly covered by him, is here portrayed at the age of 17 (PLATE 221).⁵⁹⁶ The head follows a model of the type Museo Capitolino, Galleria 28,⁵⁹⁷ where his face is still completely beardless, whereas the Landsdowne House and Museo del Foro Romano 1211 types show a maturer face with a light beard, moustache and whiskers.⁵⁹⁸ The sculptor follows so faithfully the Capitolino model, not only in the cut of the facial features but also in the formation of the hair, that it seems he must have been familiar with a copy of it. What is missing in the relief head is the marking of the pupil on the eyeballs and of the hair on the eyebrows, as well as the versatile use of a fine drill on the Capitoline head. The style is also different and more consonant with Asia Minor art.

The last member of the Antonine dynasty to be seen on this slab is Lucius Verus whose identity with the young boy in the centre can be deduced only from the content of the scene (PLATE 222).⁵⁹⁹ Young Lucius is here portrayed at the age of seven and since all his other surviving portraits show him at a later age, no really good comparison can be made with his portraiture in the round. This head of young Lucius at such a late date and in such a remote province ought to be taken more as a reconstructed image than as a true likeness of the prince. His central position in this slab is one of the main arguments brought forward by Giuliano and others in support of their interpretation and dating of the relief.⁶⁰⁰

The strange head peering out from behind Hadrian's left shoulder, with its feminine, idealized features and long wavy hair (PLATE 218), has been interpreted by Vermeule as Faustina II, daughter of Antoninus and designated Empress of Marcus Aurelius⁶⁰¹; by others as the genius of the father of Lucius Verus, Lucius Ceionius Commodus Verus, who had died just before the adoption.⁶⁰² It is definitely not a portrait and it might be safer to regard it as a personification of some sort.⁶⁰³

Speaking of the whole panel we note that such bold frontality both of the composition and figures has never been encountered in Roman historical relief so far. The frontality of the Imperial couple on the base of the Antonine Column is still much less pronounced and that of the Liberalitas panel of Marcus Aurelius is not so complete. This seems to me to be further proof of the later date of the carving of the relief and may be used in support of the theory that the origins of frontality in Roman art were in the East.⁶⁰⁴ This particular relief might then be considered as one of the landmarks in the progressive influence of the Eastern provinces on Roman Imperial art, which was to culminate in the small frieze of the Arch of Constantine in Rome.

One notices a homogeneity of style in the carving of all the heads. In some cases the sculptor has followed closely the official iconography, in others he has given a somewhat original interpretation, which is due partly to the long lapse of time between the event commemorated and the actual carving. However, the same formal taste pervades the whole panel. In it, the complete absence of the running drill which is commonly employed in contemporary sculpture in the Metropolis, and indeed, even in some of the other slabs of the same relief, is very remarkable.⁶⁰⁵ The complete absence of the plastic indication of the eyes both in this fragment and in the others⁶⁰⁶ cannot be taken as proof of an early date, since in Asia Minor this technical device is not universally employed either in the II or in the III centuries A.D.⁶⁰⁷

On all the other slabs, some of which have only an allegorical or mythological content, all the heads of possible portrait-figures are missing and it will be sufficient to make a brief mention of the various identifications.

The figure wearing an elaborately decorated cuirass in the small fragment showing the Roman she-wolf (Inv. I 1652) was previously interpreted as an Emperor but now it is regarded as Mars.⁶⁰⁸ The cuirassed warrior stepping into a chariot in scene I 867 is now considered to be Lucius Verus being taken up to heaven (an apotheosis) whereas before it used to be thought that he represented Trajan in a profectio.⁶⁰⁹ Worthy of note is the fragment with the sacrifice of a bull (I 859) which shows an Antinous type head in the background and a free use of the running drill in the hair of most of the figures (PLATE 223). The isolated frontal figure of Abundantia, with the cornucopae in her left arm, in fragment I 1656, has been widely interpreted as Faustina the Elder.⁶¹⁰ Wegner has even suggested that the head is based on the type Museo Capitolino, Imperatori 36.⁶¹¹ Though the right half of the face is missing and the hair is partially covered by a veil, the characteristic shape of the face with full, rounded cheeks, sleepy eyes and low, broad forehead, together with the distinctive hairstyle, displaying the familiar elaborate knot of false braids, leave no doubt that the identification is correct. Like most of the other Imperial portraits in this relief, this one would also be posthumous and it bears some relation to the relief head in the apotheosis of Antoninus and Faustina.

In conclusion, the theme of the whole frieze, as Eichler suggested, is the life of Lucius Verus, from his adoption down to his death and apotheosis, including episodes from his victorious campaigns over the Parthians in the years 161-5 A.D. In the latter scenes the influence of the Great Frieze of the Altar of Pergamon and of the Great Frieze of Trajan is considerable.

THE PANELS OF MARCUS AURELIUS

It was Petersen who first pointed out that the three reliefs showing scenes from the life of Marcus Aurelius on the staircase of the Conservatori palace belonged to the same series as the eight panels inserted in the attic of the Arch of Constantine.⁶¹² Though there are some obvious differences of style between the one group and the other, the dimensions and shape of the panels are identical and, though Marcus Aurelius' head is missing on the Arch panels the appearance of the same portrait-figure in two of the Conservatori and six of the Arch panels, further confirms their close relation. The unity of the eleven panels was questioned by Sieveking and Rodenwaldt⁶¹³ who regarded the Conservatori reliefs as the last expression of Hadrianic classicism and the re-used reliefs as part of that revolt against classic canons which heralded the beginning of Late Antique art. Kähler however admitted the stylistic divergences between the two groups as evidence for different artistic trends and not as proof of different dates.⁶¹⁴ We shall see furthermore, in our analysis of the reliefs, that there are as many stylistic and typological analogies closely relating some of the panels of one group to those of the other, and that the stylistic and technical divergences are to be attributed to the different carvers employed for their execution.

Analysing the reliefs one by one as usual, we start with the Conservatori panels for the simple reason that they are the only three where the Emperor's head survives. In them the Emperor is shown gradually increasing in age and he appears youngest in the Clementia panel.

This relief shows Marcus Aurelius riding majestically on horseback in the company of another portrait-figure also on horseback and surrounded by soldiers. Two kneeling barbarians pray for mercy. The Emperor wears the military costume consisting of cuirass and paludamentum and moves to the right. His head is placed almost in profile to the right but it stands out so much that almost the whole head is visible, as if it were in the round (PLATE 224).⁶¹⁵ Accordingly the face is fully visible and carefully worked on both sides without the slightest shade of distortion or neglect on the inner half. The wrinkles on the forehead are hardly visible but a strong horizontal depression divides the forehead in two, emphasizing the pronounced eyebrows. These are highly arched upwards towards the temples. The hair on them is plastically raised and marked with incised lines. More linear and deeply marked are the short wrinkles on the nose-bridge and the crow's feet at the external corners of the eyes. The hair is pulled up clear from the forehead and forms a thick mass of large curls disposed in more or less regular rows. The thick beard waves its way gently down and divides on the neck below the chin. The moustache overlaps the upper lip without covering it completely. A curly lock stands out independently on the neck below the right ear. The rounded eyeballs are sunk somewhat deeply in their sockets. The pupils and irises are clearly marked, the surface between them appearing slightly raised. The feeling for plastic modelling is most apparent in the soft transitions of the muscle surfaces especially on the forehead and on the cheeks where the high and prominent cheek-bones merge gently with the concavity of the hollow cheeks and these with the naso-labial folds. The face displays a subdued introvert, melancholic expression typical of the Philosopher-Emperor, especially in the dreamy look of the eyes.

Beside the Emperor, placed in slightly lower relief, rides a man with strong portrait features who appears several times in the other reliefs and who has been named with a great degree of plausibility as Pompeianus, the Emperor's son-in-law (PLATE 229).⁶¹⁶ This frequent appearance of the same head marks it out as a definite historical figure and one of very high rank. Indeed his proximity to the Emperor and the frequency of his appearance - second only to the Emperor's and even superior to Commodus' - is indicative of either intended succession or intimate friendship. In fact the best possible candidate for such a personality could only be Pompeianus, Marcus' chief-of-staff and loyal close friend, who married his daughter Lucilla in 169.⁶¹⁷

On this relief Pompeianus occupies a central position with chest en face and head turned three-quarters to the left to face the Emperor. He is wearing a military costume consisting of paludamentum and either a cuirass or tunic - the rest of the body is concealed behind Marcus' horse. His features are very individualistic. He wears a low compact hair-cut combed forward from the back with individual curls separated by shallow drilled grooves, but also plastically rounded. The same applies to the short beard, where fine grooves are drilled. The surface of both hair and beard is too much weathered to show how much detail was rendered in individual locks, apparently very little, if any. But the most characterizing features of this man are the balding temples and the knitted brow which produces a definite pattern of wrinkles on forehead and nose-bridge. The forehead is furrowed by three short horizontal lines and two small vertical ones at the root of the nose. In the recess above the aquiline nose three additional wrinkles enhance the frowning effect. The eyes are rather long and narrow and marked with the usual semicircular iris and pelta-shaped pupil according to the fashion of the time.

In this particular head one notices certain differences or asymmetrical elements in the inner half of the face which are due to a slight perspective distortion of the features and perhaps to a certain degree of negligence. The right eyebrow, for example, is much more highly arched, the eye rounder, the cheek flatter and the beard unworked. These, together with the right ear projecting slightly on the background, spoil the otherwise successful portrait, if the head is viewed from the front, i.e. from a position which in actual fact does not seem to be the intended, ideal, or 'optimum' one, since the spectator is probably expected to look at the panel from the right side and facing the Emperor - whose face is in fact carefully carved all over. On the left side of the face, on the other hand, one can discern the same plastic feeling as encountered on the Emperor's face, though to a minor degree. The round volumes of the eye-bag, pronounced cheek-bone, lean cheek and naso-labial fold are smoothly fused, though not with the same delicacy as on Marcus' head. The external corners of the eyes bear the typical, but in this case faintly incised, crow's feet and the eyebrows also seem originally to have been incised.

This particular head of Pompeianus betrays a completely different artistic personality from that (or those) that carved the other heads of the same figure, because of the plastic sensibility in its modelling of the flesh and, especially, in the treatment of the hair. Since this same sensibility is seen also on the Emperor's face and on those of all the other figures in this panel, and since it

agrees well with the naturalistic treatment of the rest of the relief, we can safely conclude that one single craftsman was entrusted with the execution of the whole picture, heads and all.

In this relief there also appear five soldiers, two in high relief, one in slightly lower relief and two in profile in the background. They all wear plumed helmets which cover their hair and a good part of their cheeks and beards. The fact that all the soldiers wear a beard is consistent with the fashion of the period which from Hadrian's reign onwards, but more so in Antonine and early Severan times, became universal among adults, especially among the soldiery. Otherwise the soldiers' facial features are stereotyped, and when compared with soldiers in other panels of the same cycle, they appear even rather idealized. Their eyeballs are all marked in the usual manner and what is visible of the beard and hair is covered by drilled grooves. The emphasis in these stereotyped faces is mostly on deep-set eyes, lean cheeks and high cheekbones.

The two kneeling barbarians asking for clemency deserve one last word. Their faces again are typical, representative of their race, with rather large heads and strong features. They differ from the fiercer type of barbarians in the Prisoners relief in their calmer demeanour, in their more kempt hair and beard, in their dress, but most of all in their treatment, which is more in the current of the classical ideals of the Trajanic and Hadrianic monuments.

The Triumph relief shows Marcus Aurelius on the triumphal chariot being drawn by four horses through an arch. In the background on the left is a small temple. The Emperor is being crowned by a small Victory flying behind him above the chariot.⁶¹⁸ Beside the chariot in the background are a wreathed young man and a trumpeter.

The Emperor, wearing the toga, is standing in three-quarters position to the right. As in the Clementia panel his head is cut in high relief and the face is completely visible, including also part of the left ear (PLATE 225). Similarly both sides of the face are symmetrical without any distortion and the left side is almost as carefully worked as the right one. This particular face of the Emperor is in many aspects quite different from that on the other two Conservatori reliefs and the general impression is of an age more advanced than that of both the other portraits.⁶¹⁹ The construction of the face is very long and triangular thinning down towards the chin. The hair is combed up away from the forehead in a round mass of agitated curls following more or less the same pattern as in the Clementia head, except for the distinction made between hair and beard by means of a small sideburn curving to a point in front of the right ear. The beard is narrower and more pointed at the front. It is divided at the centre and waved sideways instead of downwards as usual. It is also simply designed and lacks any of the isolated locks which characterize the other heads. The eyes are rather small and narrow behind very heavy and thick eyelids. The eyeballs are deeply incised, the drilling of the pupil taking the shape of an almost completely circular hole. The brows are extremely highly arched and the hair on them is indicated by incised lines. The three wide wrinkles on the forehead follow the curves of the brows with a gentle dip at the centre above the nose. The two small wrinkles on the outer corners of

the eyes are also indicated. The depression enclosing the moustache from nose to cheek is rigid and linear. A technical feature which further distinguishes this head from the other two is the rather faintly chiselled grooves at the edge of the beard on the right cheek.

Originally Marcus Aurelius did not stand alone on the chariot. The empty space in front of him on the right and the clumsy appearance of the left arm of the Emperor and of the lower parts of the left columns of the temple in the background, as well as the evident awkwardness of the steps of the same, indicate clearly that a small figure once stood beside the Emperor. This was at a later stage erased and the background adjusted. It was Max Wegner who for the first time rightly supposed that a sculptor had reworked this panel and cut away this figure.⁶²⁰ One must admit with Wegner that this person could not be other than Commodus, Marcus' son, and that this suppression took place in 193 on the damnatio memoriae which followed the tyrant's death.⁶²¹ Accepting the triumph here represented as the one of 27 November 176,⁶²² Commodus would then have been a mere boy of fifteen and his small figure would have fitted excellently into the small empty space on the chariot.

The young man with crowned head in the centre is a lictor, to judge from his costume, with his cloak fastened by a clasp at the front, and from the fasces which appear faintly carved against the pilaster of the arch to his left. He stands en face behind the horses and turns his head a little to the left and upwards to look at the Emperor. He is the only lictor in all the eleven panels and here he seems to symbolize the whole body of officials. His head is idealized with full rounded cheeks, fleshy lips and long hair covering most of the forehead. The brows and nose are finely cut. The eyes are incised and the eyelids sharply outlined. The hair is mostly plastic with naturalistic long curls but with the inclusion of some drilling where a few thin marble bridges have been left untouched. Typologically and stylistically this head goes back to the classical ideals of Hadrianic sculpture and the face resembles so much that of Antinous that, were it not known for sure that the reliefs are Aurelian, some scholar or other would have certainly been tempted to see the Bithynian youth in the young man. One would not be surprised if someone suggested that the model for this head was taken from one of Antinous' portraits surviving to Aurelius' reign.

The trumpeter in profile to the right and with wreathed head follows the usual typological tradition of wind-instrument players, and is shown with grotesquely puffed cheeks and snub-nose. For type and pose it compares best with the central trumpeter of the three in the vicomagistri relief of the Cancellaria. Here, however, the cheek is covered by a broad whisker which is merely incised on the marble surface. The forehead is wrinkled and the hair drilled.

The third Conservatori relief is much more crowded than the other two mainly because all the nine figures, plus that of the bull, are disposed on the same level, whereas in the Clementia panel the eight figures are distributed on several levels. The emperor appears performing a sacrifice against an architectural background and in the company of the Genius Senatus, a flamen, two portrait-figures and four sacrificial attendants (PLATE 226).

The Emperor stands in a three-quarter position to the right and is dressed appropriately for the offering in a toga which is drawn over the head as a veil (PLATE 227). Though the head is almost in profile the whole face is again carved carefully on both sides without any distortion on the inner half. This portrait is once more a different one from the others, not only because of the veil covering the head, but also because of several iconographical or physiognomical elements.⁶²³ Here the Emperor appears older than in the Clementia scene but slightly younger than in the Triumph. The hair, that part of it which is not covered by the veil, is very much damaged, but where it is least worn, by the right ear and in the line around the forehead, it shows a pattern different from that of the other two relief heads. Especially noticeable is a group of curls pointing down and projecting over the right temple and another group pointing to the eye in front of the right ear. The beard also follows a completely different pattern and hangs loosely down in flame-like, separate locks. Two of these stand out isolated against the neck on each side. Furthermore, a few locks are seen to curl up to form circles. In the longer drilled grooves around the chin plenty of narrow marble bridges have been left uncut. The two wrinkles on the forehead are more strongly and deeply engraved and the flesh between and on either side of them bulges out with naturalistic modelling. The crow's feet are increased in number to three but are shorter and more linear. The spherical eyeballs bulge out considerably between the thick eyelids, the lower ones being separated from the cheek by a curved line. The cheek is modelled with the same plastic feeling as are the other two Imperial portraits and also the other two portrait-heads in the same panel. The brows lack the usual strong outline and the incised indication of the hair. The absorbed expression of the Philosopher-Emperor is here enhanced probably in accordance with the sanctity of the ceremony.

Pompeianus in this scene is placed in the second plane between the Senatus and the Emperor and only his head is visible (PLATE 230). It is in profile to the right, but an extra small portion of the left side of the forehead is shown in which the wrinkles converge perspectively. The plasticity of the fleshy parts of this face is clearly the product of the same hand that modelled Marcus Aurelius' veiled head. This becomes more evident when one compares the deep wrinkles on the two foreheads, with the rounded fleshy ridges in between, and the modelling of the cheeks. The general effect is on the other hand very different from the plasticity of Pompeianus' head in the Clementia relief. The most evident difference is in the treatment of the hair and beard which also contrasts with that of those of the Emperor and which anticipates by some decades the peculiar impressionistic treatment of the hairy surfaces in the III century A.D. The short hair, with the characteristic balding temples, and the equally short beard are rendered as very compact masses covered by several long shallow grooves produced by the running auger (drill) instead of the usual plastically raised and modelled locks. The direction of the latter is suggested by that of the grooves which run in more or less parallel lines. The three horizontal wrinkles that furrow the forehead and the two small vertical ones above the nose are more deeply cut than in any other of his portraits and emphasize the frowning effect of the knitted brows. The latter curve down gently towards the ears and in this case show parallel, oblique, incised lines indicating the hair. The nose is more strongly aquiline than in the Clementia head and is, perhaps, suggestive of Pompeianus' semitic origin. The eyes are

set deeply under the projecting brows and the eyeballs are incised in the usual manner - the faint line of the semicircular iris has disappeared, owing to erosion, as indeed in several of the heads both in this relief and in the others.

Becatti is, in my view, wrong both in finding this head very different in style and in "incisive modelling" from the other heads of the same relief, and in his conclusion that it was produced by a separate carver, the specialist portraitist who carved the two portraits of Pompeianus in the Profectio and Lustratio scenes.⁶²⁴ That these are so similar in concept as to form a single homogeneous group is perfectly true, but this is due, as we shall see, more to a common model than to a single carver. Besides, both stylistically and technically this head is not dissimilar to the other heads of the relief.

In the background, but further removed to the left, is another bearded man whose facial features are not so portrait-like but whose beard is strongly characterized (PLATE 240). The latter seems to imitate closely Marcus' beard in the same scene with its peculiar formation of separate strands flowing loosely down the neck. In its treatment it strikes a compromise between the plasticity and deep undercutting of Marcus' beard and the shallow drillings of Pompeianus'. Very similar to the latter's is the treatment of the hair, though the drill is used to produce longer and more curvilinear grooves. The hair itself is smooth and combed forward to cover a good part of the forehead and its style seems to reflect the persistence of the fashion which was so popular in Trajanic times. The forehead is smooth with a slight swell over the inner brows. The cheek is modelled with the same feeling for mobility of surfaces as in those of Pompeianus or Marcus Aurelius, but the depression by the nostril is reduced considerably. Comparing this face with the other faces in this relief one notices the lack of realistic features, which implies either the somewhat young age of the man, or the will of the sculptor to give us his version of the Aurelian idealized "type" of head.⁶²⁵

If this is really a portrait one must look for an identification with one of the Emperor's close friends. Since this is purely a religious, non-military, occasion it is very doubtful whether one ought to look for a comparable figure on the Column. He is, however, wearing military attire with paludamentum pinned on the right shoulder. He is, in fact, the only figure to do so, unless Pompeianus is also to be supposed to be wearing the same costume. The small size and the usually cursory treatment of the heads on the Column does not always permit reliable comparisons and I am not sure whether one ought to see the image of the same man in the head in the background behind Marcus Aurelius in scene LXXVIIIb and the man above the Emperor in scene LXXV.⁶²⁶

Various elements in the three portrait-heads just described show that all three were carved by the same hand. The more obvious of these elements are: the type and treatment of the beards, the modelling of the cheeks, the almost identical shape of the ears and the cut of the eyes, especially the marked separation of the lower eyelid from the cheek.

Of the remaining six figures one is allegorical, the Genius of the Senate, and the others are sacrificial attendants and a priest. The Senatus follows faithfully the established types of bearded idealized heads with the typical hair-do. The priest whose head appears between the Emperor and the bull is

definitely a flamen, perhaps even the Flamen Dialis.⁶²⁷ He wears the characteristic headdress - the spiked galerus. It is very difficult to say whether his head is meant to represent the portrait features of a particular flamen or not, for whereas the face does not lack some degree of realism, especially in the crooked nose and the very low forehead, its ugliness is completely devoid of character and expression. On the other hand, one might interpret his short stature as a particular physical mark of the flamen concerned. The beard grouped in thick wavy curls, including one or two spiral ones, is treated with the same amount of drilling and undercutting as that of the previous figure. The hair is very agitated and formed of disorderly strands lined with drilled grooves and swept backwards.

The gradual disintegration of the organic form towards more ruthlessly realistic faces is best seen when one compares the faces of the popa and the bearded sacrificial attendant behind him with similar figures in earlier sacrificial scenes such as the Mattei relief in the Louvre and decennalia relief in the Uffizi, Florence.⁶²⁸ In those Hadrianic monuments the Greek ideals of naturalism and careful finish reached their peak and then started to be replaced by less organic, more abstract forms, partly as a direct effect of the wider use of the more economically convenient tool, the running drill. The piper, who for his height should not look older than seventeen, wears an unkempt short beard. His cheeks are puffed and his face ugly and old-looking. The long-haired camillus has a rather more idealized face.

All the eyes of the figures are marked in the customary way but with an almost circular hole for a pupil and the semicircle of the iris has often disappeared through weathering.

Since of the eleven panels the Emperor's portrait survives only on the three Conservatori reliefs it might prove convenient to discuss the three Imperial portraits together at this stage.

It has been established by Wegner⁶²⁹ that the portraiture of Marcus Aurelius bears at least one outstanding feature which separates his portraits of the first half of his reign from those of the second, namely, the direction of the hair on the forehead. While in the portraits of the 160s A.D. - such as the Bust of the Vatican, Sala dei Busti 285 from the years 164-166 - the locks of hair hang down over the forehead, in those of the 170s A.D. they are combed upwards away from it. Our three relief heads manifestly belong to the second group because in all three cases the curls around the forehead are swept up backwards. Besides, the advanced age of the Emperor is suggested by several elements such as the deep wrinkles on the forehead, the hollow cheeks, the marked naso-labial fold. Moreover, even the formal treatment is different: the still traditional plastic and detailed treatment of the Vatican bust has been replaced by a more pictorial effect produced mainly by the freer use of the running drill.

As far as hairstyle is concerned the nearest free-standing portraits of Marcus Aurelius are the cuirassed bust of the Museo Capitolino, Imperator 38,⁶³⁰ the head on a cuirassed bust in the Thermae Museum 688,⁶³¹ and the one in the Louvre.⁶³² In these the hair is pulled backwards leaving the forehead bare, whereas all the other portraits have hair flowing down. Their

beard is also similar, flowing freely and thickly and separating in wavy pointed locks at the edges. Of these three the Louvre head distinguishes itself from the others by the idealization of the features, the highly polished finish of the flesh surfaces and the minute detail in the hair and beard, besides the total absence of the plastic indication of the eyeballs which shows the persistence of the old fashion of indicating these details in paint - traces of which are still visible, on a close inspection, marking the iris.

In the Capitoline head, though the two horizontal wrinkles are indicated on the forehead, they are so faint as to be hardly noticeable. On the other hand the "crow's feet", so clearly engraved in the relief heads, are not even suggested. The formation of the beard with individual locks flowing separately along the neck is a characteristic feature that one notices also on two of our heads, those in the Clementia and the Sacrifice scenes.

The nearest portrait in the round, to the relief heads, in my opinion, is the one in the Thermae Museum. It shows the same realistic wavy horizontal wrinkles on the forehead of the Triumph and Sacrifice heads; the same swelling at the bridge of the nose resulting in the two small, slanting wrinkles along it as in the Clementia head; and the "crow's feet" at the external corners of the eyes. Other common features are the high eyebrows, arched outwards; the movement of the flesh on the cheeks; the agitated movement of the locks of the hair and beard; but above all, the heavier use of a wide-gauged drill boring deeply between the locks and giving a forceful play of light and shadow.

The three Conservatori heads also differ considerably from one another both in physiognomical type and in stylistic treatment. These differences have been recounted in the description of each head and consist mainly in differences of age, in the shape and treatment of the beard and other minor details such as the indication of the hair on the brows.

That such differences are due in part to the different carvers is obvious, especially as far as technique is concerned. But iconographical discrepancies imply also the use of different models even if these models were designed by the same master, which is more than likely. This master seems to have been inspired mostly by the Thermae head, but he must also have tried to give three different interpretations of the same image. On the other hand the style and technique used in each head are so congruous with those of the other heads, indeed of all the figures of the relief in question, that it is natural to conclude that every carver was entrusted with the sculpture of the whole relief, heads and all, without the introduction of a specialist portrait-carver.⁶³³

To the three Conservatori relief heads another relief portrait is usually added. It was found in Rome near the Castel St. Angelo and is now kept in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen (PLATE 228).⁶³⁴ It is thought to have belonged to a relief pendant to the Clementia panel. The scale of the head is close to the other three heads but slightly larger: 0.37 m from top of crown to tip of beard, compared with c. 0.33 m for the Conservatori heads. The head, which survives with part of the neck and right shoulder and part of the flat background in front, is turned in profile to the left while the body seems to have been en face. It is quite evident that the person portrayed is Marcus Aurelius and the fact that he is wearing a paludamentum makes the Clementia relief the most likely to form a pair to it. In fact, it is with the Imperial

head of the latter relief that the Copenhagen head has most in common. Very similar is the cut of the rounded and bulging eyes, the shape of the brows with marked incised hair, crow's feet and beard. There are also, however, some obvious discrepancies, such as the two heavily marked wrinkles of the forehead, the shape of the hair which is more compressed at the sides, and finally the deeper and more cursory use of the drill especially on the beard on the inner cheek. If this fragment really belonged to a relief from the same monument it would have to be assigned to another, a fourth, carver who was following a different model. Moreover the number of reliefs would still be incomplete since the other two Conservatori reliefs, the Triumph and the Sacrifice, would each require another pendant relief with the Emperor facing left.

We now pass on to treat the eight panels that decorate the attic of the Arch of Constantine, two above each lateral passageway, flanking the inscription. We shall examine the reliefs singly in the order they present themselves to us on the Arch starting from the south side and proceeding from left to right. The various attempts at reconstructing the original distribution of the panels on the Aurelian monument⁶³⁵ seem to me as yet unconvincing, even the latest one by Scott Ryberg.⁶³⁶ The most serious objection to such an ideal reconstruction seems to me to be the absence of two equal groups of panels with the Emperor facing in opposite directions. In fact six panels show him facing to the right and only two facing to the left. An attempt at a rational distribution in this sense was made by the designer of the Arch of Constantine by putting the only two panels with the Emperor facing to the left on the right hand side of each facade. Therefore it would seem that other panels with the same orientation were not available, or else he would have used them to balance the compositions. This seems also to imply that (a) either Ryberg's theory of the "optimum view",⁶³⁷ which may be perfectly applicable to the panels of the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum, does not hold good for the Aurelian reliefs, or (b) at least four other panels with an orientation to the left are missing, or (c) the monument to which they originally belonged was not a two sided arch. Furthermore, from the analogies of style and typology discussed below we hold that the Conservatori reliefs were produced by the same workshop as some, if not all, of the arch reliefs and may probably have decorated the same monument.⁶³⁸

The first panel on the left on the south side shows the Emperor being welcomed to the Capital by Roma. He is followed by Mars and flanked, in the background, by two female figures. The scene is placed against an architectural background of a temple and what looks like a four-sided arch.⁶³⁹ The event recorded is certainly a simple adventus similar to that depicted in the adventus of Hadrian in the Conservatori palace, here with the addition of a flying Victory supporting a festoon. The Emperor, wearing a military tunic and tasselled cloak, stands in a three-quarter position to the right. His head - and likewise all the other Imperial heads in the Arch panels - is replaced by the portrait of Constantine restored in the XVIII century. Roma and Mars follow the standard traditional type whose classicism has by now been emptied of all life. Remarkable is the close relation of Mars to the soldier standing in the same position in the Clementia scene. One figure seems to repeat the other in every detail, except for the head. Of the two female

figures, the one on the right is obviously allegorical, representing Felicitas with the caduceus and cornucopiae. The veiled woman on the left has been variously identified with Aeternitas, Pietas, and, by Aymard, with Diva Faustina as Mater castrorum.⁶⁴⁰ Ryberg supports this theory and sees Aeternitas personified by Faustina who had been at the front with the Emperor and died in the East before the end of the war.⁶⁴¹ Comparing, however, the head of this figure with the known portraits of Faustina, this identification with the Empress seems too far fetched.⁶⁴² She does indeed present a slightly sagging underchin in her free-standing portraits, but never the hairstyle of the relief head. Her coiffure is usually more complicated and lacks the small pointed lock in front of the ear.

The close relation noticed between the figure of Mars and the soldier in the Clementia panel and the strong classicizing style of the whole relief with its emphasis on plastic volumes, rather than on the pictorial effect of the drill, in the drapery and on the heads, relate this panel more closely to the Conservatori ones than to some of its companions on the Arch. This is further proof against the separation of the two different groups as belonging to two different monuments or, even, to two different periods.⁶⁴³

The second panel shows a profectio, the Emperor setting out probably for war. The meaning of the scene is conveyed by the personification of the Via Aurelia reclining on the ground and the group of soldiers holding horses and brandishing vexilla. The Emperor is followed by the Genius of the Senate and a strange bearded figure also in the toga. Alongside the Emperor and almost completely hidden by him is Pompeianus.

The Emperor stands in profile to the right with all the other figures, except two, looking in his direction. His head is also modern. Originally Marcus' head must have stood higher and more towards the back, as appears from the roughly chiselled space behind the present head. More of Pompeianus' head would have thus been visible.

The latter is immediately recognizable from his highly individualized features: the short receding hair; high, deeply wrinkled forehead; knitted brows; strongly crooked nose with the two small ridges at its root; and short beard (PLATE 231). The same features indicate that typologically the head is closely related to that of the Sacrifice panel and that it was probably derived from the same model. There are even some similarities of style, in the feeling for plastic modelling of the flesh, and technique, in the use of the drill on hair and beard. Ryberg's association of this head with that of the Clementia is not acceptable, even typologically.⁶⁴⁴ On the contrary, Becatti assigns it to the same portraitist who produced the images of Pompeianus in the Sacrifice and Lustratio reliefs.⁶⁴⁵

Besides the personifications of the Via Aurelia and of the Genius Senatus the young man in the foreground on the right seems also a symbolic figure. He wears the military costume and armour and holds a vexillum in his right hand, while with the left he holds a horse by the reins. The clean-shaven face is so idealized and delicately formed that it could also suit a female figure. It is certainly neither a portrait nor an ordinary soldier but a personification of the young Roman cavalry.

The faces of the three other soldiers contrast markedly with the classical head of the youth. All three are bearded and somewhat ugly. The mouths are opened by the drill and the short beards are rendered in the same fashion as Pompeianus', with shallow drilled grooves. The soldier on the extreme right is facing upwards and out of the relief. This rather odd position and attitude seems to have been influenced by that of the young man, also holding a horse, in the Hadrianic tondo representing the Lion Hunt (No. 12). The difference between the idealized cleanshaven face of the Hadrianic youth and the coarse ugly features of the Aurelian bearded soldier is remarkable.

A strikingly strange figure is the bearded man standing in the background between the Emperor and the Senatus. The 'Faun-like' features of the face and the unusual beard, with loosely wavy curls and two long tufts hanging separately down the neck, do give some individuality to this head but, in my view, they do not have those expressive qualities which produce a portrait. It is even less possible to see, with H. v. Heintze, the portrait of the same person as the togate at the far right end on the podium in the Liberalitas scene.⁶⁴⁶ There is absolutely no iconographic, far less stylistic, connection with that bald figure. The hair is much fuller, the beard looser, the eyes smaller.

The relief that contains the greatest number of portraits and consequently the most debated one is the Liberalitas panel. In it the Emperor is seen on a high podium distributing largess to Roman citizens standing below. On the same podium stand three other figures, which certainly represent historical persons, and an attendant. The first thing that impresses the viewer is the unusual composition. It is not only different from the other panels of the series, but is the first composition of its kind in the history of Roman relief. The only possible parallels are to be found in one or two adlocutio scenes on the Column of Trajan. Not only has the whole scene a rigidly frontal orientation but also the great majority of figures are en face.

The Emperor in this case is an exception because his body is turned three-quarters to the left. This position must have been dictated by his sitting posture which would have required an enormous amount of foreshortening if he had been placed en face.

It might be convenient to discuss at this point the possibility that Commodus was also present on this panel. The first time I saw this relief, the two broken elements on the upper surface of the podium - one visible, to the left of the woman's head, and the other hidden behind the child borne shoulder-high on the right - made me suspect the one time presence of another figure in the space above. The clumsy appearance of a few elements in this area, such as the pedestal, the feet and the drapery, and the parallel phenomenon in the Triumph relief made me conclude that this space was worked over after the elimination of a figure that stood - or rather sat - beside the Emperor. And who else could come to mind if not Commodus who, as in the Triumph scene, was depicted near the Emperor and later struck out on his damnatio memoriae. Von Heintze's article on this panel, with the convincing arguments there brought forward, confirms this theory beyond doubt.⁶⁴⁷

According to v. Heintze the liberalitas shown here is that delivered in 177 A.D. when Commodus was consul.⁶⁴⁸ This liberalitas was the seventh

of Marcus Aurelius and the second of Commodus. The prince was, however, sixteen in A.D. 177 and there is certainly not enough space below the untouched parts of the two togate figures to allow for the inclusion of such a grown-up boy. According to the same theory the short togate figure on the right would be the second consul of 177, M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus, the son of Ceionia Fabia the sister of Lucius Verus, and the two bearded togate figures at the back would be statues of M. Bassaeus Rufus (left) and T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius Pollio (right) erected on the 'pronaos of the temple of Antoninus Pius and Faustina'.⁶⁴⁹ Becatti, on the other hand, argues that the three personages shown are the officials of 176 A.D. the year when the liberalitas was proclaimed even though it was actually distributed the year after.⁶⁵⁰ These are the consuls T. Pomponius Vitrasius Pollio (left) and M. Flavius Aper (right) and the praefectus urbi C. Aufidius Victorinus (in the foreground).

I contend however, together with Kähler and Ryberg,⁶⁵¹ that the togate figure on the left cannot be other than Pompeianus on strong iconographical evidence (PLATE 237). One cannot possibly deny that this is the same person as the one we have seen portrayed repeatedly so far. Von Heintze chooses to overlook this fact, though she finds Bassaeus Rufus appearing several times also on the Column of Marcus Aurelius.⁶⁵² It is only Becatti, as far as I know, who insists that the man represented in this relief is a different one from the one appearing several times on the other panels.⁶⁵³ What makes Becatti see such a different portrait - though he lists more analogies than discrepancies - is simply the fact that the head is here cut in high relief, and almost completely en face, whereas in all the other scenes he appears almost completely in profile.⁶⁵⁴ A profile view usually entails the narrowing of the face which thus appears slightly longer, but in a full-face view the real structure can be adhered to, especially if the relief is high enough. Otherwise every individual feature repeats the characteristic ones of Pompeianus in the other scenes, especially the high balding forehead, the compact hair protruding in the centre over the forehead, the four incisive wrinkles, the shape of the knitted brows with the two horizontal ridges at the root of the nose, and finally the lean cheeks stressed by the prominent cheekbones. But whereas the identity of the portrait is unmistakable, there are admittedly certain differences. The main ones are of style and are due to the work of different hands. The strong realism of this head is achieved by the greater mobility of the facial surfaces, which give a pleasant effect of frequent transitions from light to shade, especially on the cheeks and around the brows, and by the linearity of the wrinkles of the forehead in contrast to the plasticity of those in the Sacrifice and Profectio scenes. The treatment of the beard relies on shorter, but deeper, drillings. The slight differences in the structure of the head are only the result of the different position of the head and can be explained by the existence of a different model. It is evident that for a full-face view the designer had to procure a different cartoon than for a profile view, a cartoon which was translated superbly by the carver of this relief into a most effective portrait, full of character and expression.

A portrait in the round in the Athens National Museum, no. 2727 is thought to represent the same person. Though the style is completely different, relying entirely on plastic modelling both in the flesh and in the hairy parts, the

portrait presents a great resemblance to the Liberalitas head both in the physiognomical features and in the expression, so that it could be the image of the same man, Rufus according to Heintze, Vitrasius Pollio according to Becatti.⁶⁵⁵ The latter supports his theory by the evidence that Pollio held the office of proconsul Asiae and thus could well have had a statue put up in his honour in Greece, whereas Rufus had no eastern connection whatsoever. Pompeianus on the other hand is not excluded, since he was born at Antioch.

The identification of the togate figure standing at the back on the right is much less possible to determine (PLATE 238). If the two figures are really meant to form a pair, which is likely, our choice must fall either on M. Flavius Aper, the second consul for 176 (Becatti) or M. Vitrasius Pollio as the second statue recorded on the pronaos of the Temple of Antoninus Pius (von Heintze), or else on Claudius Severus the colleague of Pompeianus in the consulship of A.D. 173 (Kähler). All three theories seem to face serious objections. Becatti's hypothesis that the two figures are the consuls of 176 rather than 177 appears too far fetched to carry conviction. The same writer, on the other hand, has shown that the colonnade appearing in the background of the same scene does not represent the pronaos of the Antonine temple but a portico, in which case the theory of von Heintze cannot be sustained.⁶⁵⁶ The objection to Kähler's theory is that in 173 A.D. Commodus did not share the liberalitas with his father as he did in 175 and 177. He could however have been present next to his father simply as heir to the throne. Moreover, in 173 Commodus would be twelve years old and his smaller stature would have fitted better into the small space beside the Emperor on the platform. In this case Becatti's objection to his presence would be answered. Claudius Severus was also the Emperor's son-in-law and a man with philosophical interests and therefore fitting the "intellectual" appearance of this figure.

This man stands in full frontality and turns his head to the right, in the same direction as his companion. The lack of participation in the scene suggested by both figures' gaze being fixed on points outside the relief is brought forward as further evidence by von Heintze in support of her theory that the two figures are statues. This head shows a mature man. It is rather long and framed by copious hair and beard. Both of these in fact are much thicker than those of Pompeianus, with more plastically raised tufts of hair and a more curly effect produced by the tortuous movement of the drillings. The man is slightly bald at the temples with a curious isolated lock flowing down the centre of the forehead. The latter is furrowed by two short wrinkles and the brows are knitted in a tense expression which is further exaggerated by the small open mouth. The head is more damaged than that of Pompeianus but its general concept is the same, especially in the attempt to show the inner ear standing out against the background.

It is not certain whether one ought to see, with von Heintze, the same person in scene XXXII of the Column of Marcus Aurelius, even less so in scenes LXIX and CVI.⁶⁵⁷

In the third figure standing in the foreground on the right Becatti sees the praefectus urbi Victorinus and von Heintze the second consul of 177 Quintillus - Kähler overlooks him (PLATE 239). Though both seem to have some legitimate grounds for their identifications it seems more plausible to suppose the

presence of the praefectus urbi. The information regarding the prefects of the city at this period is very scanty, but we know that Victorinus was a man of senatorial rank greatly esteemed and favoured by Marcus Aurelius, who conferred upon him the office in question. We know for certain that he occupied that position in 183 but he could also have been praefectus before.⁶⁵⁸ As far as Quintillus is concerned, we do not know whether he took part in the wars and whether he is represented on the Column.⁶⁵⁹ The two heads in scenes XV and XXV have very little in common with the Liberalitas head and completely different is that between the Emperor and the Senatus in the Profectio panel.

Like the other togate figures, this man stands en face on the podium but his head is turned in three-quarter profile to the left. His head immediately appears to be out of proportion to the short and thin body and on a closer look at the relief one realizes that this is due to the re-working of this area when the figure of Commodus was erased.

The most striking features of this head are the high, considerably bald forehead lined by two shallow wrinkles, the large rounded eyes, and the small flat nose whose profile is almost on the same plane with the forehead. Whereas usually the hole of the pupil touches the upper eye-lid here it is lower down, almost in the centre of the eyeball. The nose and the thick lips are outlined by a deep groove which curves its way down from above the left nostril. The hair and beard are again thicker and more plastic than Pompeianus', with a further suggestion of corkscrew curls.

Of the several figures appearing near Marcus Aurelius on his Column, none seem to combine the characteristic bald forehead and small nose of this man.

The fifth figure on the podium, the attendant leaning out of the relief on the left, has a restored head. Below him stands a man who faces inwards, into the relief, but whose face is missing. The other four figures are all facing the spectator. Of these the man in the centre, the child to his left and the woman on the right, have modern heads. The only surviving head belongs to the young man on the right carrying a headless child on his shoulders. He is beardless, with regular, rather idealized, youthful features and is almost certainly meant to represent the healthy Roman youths benefitting from the congiarium which is being distributed.

As a whole the style is similar to that of the Profectio in the treatment of the architectural background, in the heads and in the plasticity of the multiple folds of the drapery with which the worked over parts offer such a striking contrast.

The last panel on the south facade of the Arch of Constantine shows a scene of Submission of an old barbarian chieftain, supported by a young barbarian. The Emperor receives the submission from a small suggestus on the left. Behind him stands the usual portrait figure and behind the two barbarians is a group of soldiers and signiferi holding military standards which fill the empty space above their heads.

The Emperor, dressed in tunic and paludamentum, sits in profile to the right.

The man behind him, standing also on the suggestus, wears a cuirass and paludamentum and stands in three-quarter profile against the corner of the panel overlapping the cornice and with his head turned in profile to the right. The prominent position given to this military figure and, above all, the strongly characterized portrait-features of his head assure us of his identification with the Emperor's son-in-law, Pompeianus (PLATE 233). The rectangular structure of the head, with the high, straight forehead furrowed by wrinkles; the conspicuous aquiline nose with the peculiar ridge at its root; the slightly receding hair cut very short and rendered, like the close-clipped beard, by frequent short grooves drilled by the ground-auger; all belong to this familiar likeness.

This particular head of Pompeianus seems, however, to be very different from any of his portraits yet encountered, especially in the modelling which, though maintaining some plasticity on the cheeks, depends on the linear incised wrinkles for the only break in the monotony of the plain forehead. The hair, on the other hand, seems to have been cut down to a plain rounded block with just a little, if any, projection over the planes of the face, and then subjected to the cursory, time-saving tool, the running drill. The latter is used to produce short channels starting from the forehead and following each other in more or less parallel rows suggesting the direction of the hair locks. Similar treatment is given to the beard and the drill is used to gouge out a groove along the outline of the head and the rest of the body, to make them stand out better against the background.

The barbarians are represented in this relief by the old chief, the young man supporting him and another of riper age in the second plane partly obscured by the soldiers. Though there are some minor iconographical discrepancies between these barbarians and the ones in the Clementia relief - for instance in dress - the main difference is in the expressiveness of the faces and the treatment of the hair. Otherwise they all bear generic facial types representing the barbaric nordic races that the Romans clashed with so many times. The old man represents the subdued chief combining the ferocity of the savage enemy with venerable old age. The man at the back represents the courageous manhood of the tribe, who submit unwillingly to the Roman intruder and perhaps question the decision of their leader (PLATE 242). The expression of wonder and sorrow is conveyed by the wide-open mouth which is deeply undercut by the drill. The hair of both appears as a thick mass of agitated locks deeply lined and undercut by the drill. Even more agitated is the hair of the young 'prince', in perfect agreement with the extremely pathetic expression of his face (PLATE 241). Most expressive are the eyes with deep tear-ducts and raised pupils and the knitted eye-brows. We encountered similar expressions of agony in the barbarians on the Trajanic Frieze and in one of the panels of the Arch at Beneventum. There we also met the same iconographic type of barbarian, but on the Aurelian barbarians the prodigal use of the drill is a complete novelty.

The soldiers do not differ much from those of the Clementia relief. Only, the signiferi are represented with much longer and thicker beards than their fellow soldiers.

On examining all the heads of this panel, one is bound to observe the great diversity between the dry modelling of Pompeianus' head and the accurate modelling of the faces of the other figures, between the disinterested and cursory treatment of the hair and beard of the former and the happy combination of plastic moulding and undercut shading of those of the latter. One is even tempted to attribute Pompeianus' head to a different hand, a carver whose skill seems to be inferior to that of the one entrusted with the execution of the other figures. Are we to attribute this head to a separate portraitist employed to carve solely his portrait? In this connection we should note that in at least three other panels Pompeianus' portrait shows the same aesthetic taste and stylistic and technical treatment; in which case the same specialist portraitist would have carved all four heads. Or are we to suppose that this influential figure in the Imperial court left special instructions to the sculptors as to the stark simplicity of image by which he wished himself to be represented? Or could it not be that the carvers of each of the four panels followed one particular model set by the master-craftsman to be faithfully translated into the marble?

Though an answer to the above questions is bound to be pure guesswork or speculation, I find the latter solution the most logical.

This last panel of the south side is so close in concept, composition and general style, to the following three from the north side that they seem to form a homogeneous group. In each one the Emperor stands or sits in one corner of the panel on a small suggestus. Behind him stands the unmistakable figure of Pompeianus, and in front of him are crowded soldiers and barbarians.

The Rex Datus panel is the first one that we encounter on the north side. It shows the appointment of a prince as the leader of a barbarian tribe. The Emperor stands on a suggestus in front of which are gathered a few barbarians and Roman signiferi.

Besides the Emperor's head, that of the appointed prince is also restored. The main interest of this panel thus lies in the portrait-figure behind the Emperor, the type heads of the barbarians and those of the signiferi.

This time Pompeianus is almost completely hidden behind the Emperor especially if seen from ground level. He occupies the same confined space on the left corner, overlapping the cornice, as in the Submission relief. The characteristic features are unmistakably those of Marcus' faithful companion (PLATE 234). Though the head is rather broader and squarer, in profile, than usual, the stylistic version of the portrait and the technique used to achieve it are almost identical with those of the portrait in the previous panel. The face has received more plastic modelling on the cheek, but the forehead is plain with faintly scratched wrinkles. The hair and beard maintain the same compactness and show the same treatment with the running drill. Considering the head in its context, one notes that the sculptor has carved it on a slanting plane, as if it were foreshortened upwards.

The heads of the barbarians not only present the same racial type of face and hair as in the Submission, but also the drill technique in the hairy surfaces is almost identical in both (PLATE 243).

The same applies to the signiferi in the background, where one also notices the same use of a deep drilled channel separating the face of one figure from

the head of the other. A point to note is that in both reliefs the background heads are shown both in strict profile and in three-quarters view, and that in the latter case the distortion is minimal and the faces are much better done than the three-quarter background faces of earlier reliefs. The soft and lively modelling and the smooth polished finish of the flesh surfaces are more typical of portrait sculpture in the round than is usual in relief portraiture.

The Rex Datus is followed by the Prisoners relief in which two barbarians are being conducted into the presence of the Emperor. Of the group of four panels with this type of composition this one presents the greatest movement both in the windblown standards and waving spears and in the bustle of soldiers leading the barbarian captives by force towards the Emperor.

It is immediately noticeable how identical iconographically, stylistically and technically is the head of Pompeianus here with that of the previous two panels (PLATE 235). It is such a perfect replica of the one in the Submission that one cannot doubt that the two are derived from the same model.

Though typologically the barbarians - who are chieftains, to judge from their tasselled cloaks - are not dissimilar to the usual type, their agitated hair, blown up in long strands separated by equally long drilled channels, together with the exaggerated, almost theatrical, expression and turn of the face of the one in the centre, against the background, recall more closely some of the barbarians appearing on the Column, as in scene XL.

The soldiers seem to share, but to a far lesser degree, the passionately expressive facial features, especially as regards their deeply drilled open mouths. Noteworthy is the beard of the soldier in the foreground, with his body facing into the relief, which is composed of the familiar circular curls with central drilled holes. Also noteworthy is the full-face eye of the profile background head and the en face head beside the Emperor. In the latter the face is so successfully flattened and foreshortened so as to fit into a low relief that it avoids any unpleasant distortion.

The last of the group of reliefs with this peculiar composition is the Adlocutio in which the Emperor addresses his troops.

The Emperor stands on the suggestus but this time occupies the right hand corner. His body, in contrast with his pose on the other panels, is turned almost en face.

Pompeianus, too, occupies the usual position with head and body partly overlapping the cornice. Structurally and iconographically his portrait is identical with the other three on the Submission, Rex Datus, and Prisoners (PLATE 236). But there are a few minor differences that ought to be noted. The wrinkles of the forehead are hardly visible and the temples are slightly more bald than usual. Most significant of all is the technique with which the drill is applied on the hair and beard. The grooves thereon are so broad and short that they seem more the product of a gouge chisel with curved blade. The minor iconographical discrepancies on the other hand might be due to the reversed direction of the head which requires a model sketch of the left profile. The technical differences cannot be explained other than by supposing a different carver, so that Becatti's theory, that these four heads were done by the same specialist-artist, is further questioned. 660

The heads of the soldiers, two of which are shown with their backs to the spectator, follow the common facial type characteristic of these reliefs. The slight differences between one and another are due to the shape, thickness, and treatment of the beards. Strikingly different is the beard of the younger-looking soldier on the extreme left, which is very shallow on the lips and chin and is formed of cork-screw locks (PLATE 244). On the other hand, the signifer on the left presents a great similarity to his colleagues in the Submission in the realistic modelling of the face and the drill treatment in both the hair and beard and in the wolf's skin covering his head, from which the face is separated by the customary drilled channel.

The most crowded panel of all eleven is certainly the Lustratio relief in which at least 19 figures, besides the animals, are represented. They are, however, so well distributed on different levels and planes of relief that it gives the impression of a revival of the "spatial illusionism" of the Flavian arch reliefs.

As on the Sacrifice relief, the Emperor is dressed in the toga, which originally also covered his head, and occupies a central position.

In the crowd of soldiers the familiar portrait of Pompeianus is immediately recognized in the figure behind the bull's head (PLATE 232). Both stylistically and iconographically this portrait transcends any of the portraits of the previous four panels but shows a much closer relationship with those in the Sacrifice and Profectio, especially with the former one. In it one finds the return to plasticity in the mobile modelling of the cheeks, in the wrinkled forehead where the two vertical furrows reappear, and in the shape of the hair and beard which are distinguished from the rest of the face not only by the rough markings on them but also by their higher relief. The drilled grooves in them are almost identical in their shallowness and direction with those on the Sacrifice head. As in the latter, the head is in almost strict profile, with part of the left side of the forehead and eyebrows shown.

The soldiers' faces are typical of the slightly more idealized version of the Aurelian soldier type, recalling more closely the ones in the Clementia relief. Remarkable is the variety of positions of the heads. Even in the signiferi's heads the drill in the beard seems to serve a minor role, to enhance the effect of the plastically modelled curls.

Of considerable interest is a comparison between the piper and the camillus holding the acerra in this relief and those of the Sacrifice relief.⁶⁶¹ The piper has basically the same snub-nosed, Faun-like, ugly face which is here shown en face and flattened to fit into the very shallow relief, which results in a considerable amount of distortion. The face of the camillus, on the other hand, though drawn in shallow relief, retains its unspoilt, good-looking features. The hair betrays only a slightly different, but not more profuse, use of the drill.

Having discussed the portraiture of Marcus Aurelius after treating the Conservatori reliefs we can only discuss that of Pompeianus at this stage, after examining all the reliefs, since he appears in both groups.

First of all the identification problem ought to be clarified in the light of the iconographical studies made so far. There are many important personalities in the entourage of Marcus Aurelius, among military associates, high

ranking magistrates, close friends and sons-in-law of the Emperor, who can claim identification with this particular portrait-figure which appears so often on these panels and also on the Column frieze. A few of these are T. Claudius Pompeianus, M. Bassaeus Rufus, Cn. Claudius Severus, Giunius Rusticus, Vitrasius Pollio, Pertinax and M. Flavius Aper. Pertinax, the future Emperor, is of course excluded because we know his iconography from his later Imperial coins whilst that of the others is not documented in any way. Bassaeus Rufus has indeed a very strong claim since he was praefectus praetorio in the wars, held many important offices in the provinces and was awarded the honour of three statues in public places.⁶⁶² Pompeianus, however, seems to be the most likely candidate - even if by a very narrow margin - since he was one of the most successful generals of Marcus Aurelius in the frontier wars, his close friend and son-in-law, and at least twice consul;⁶⁶³ moreover he appears both in military scenes and in scenes of purely civilian significance.

It seems that for strong iconographical, stylistic and technical reasons, the portraits of Pompeianus can be divided into groups. The heads of the Submission, Rex Datus, Adlocutio and Prisoners form one separate group (PLATES 233-6), and those appearing in the Sacrifice, Lustratio and Profectio form a second group (PLATES 230-2). The portrait of the Clementia stands apart in its position, in its strongly projecting and three-quarter profile, and in the emphasis on plastic modelling not only of the flesh but also of the hairy surfaces, with an almost total absence of the use of the running drill (PLATE 229). This portrait seems to imply, in fact, not only a different sculptor from that of the other portraits - a sculptor working still in the old traditional style - but also a different model - a model entirely different from the one on which the only other head in profile to the left, that of the Adlocutio, is based.

The second group, represented by the heads in the Lustratio, Sacrifice and Profectio, is based on an identical model in which, whereas the emphasis in the treatment of the face is on plastic modelling, the treatment of the beard and hair is a compromise between the raised volumes of the Clementia head and the total predominance of the scouring drill of the first group. This first group is characterized by the hard plain features of the face, interrupted only by the linear incisions marking the wrinkles of the forehead, and the total destruction of organic form in the drilled surfaces of the hair and beard. Again, slight differences in the handling of the drill in these four heads suggest different carvers following more or less faithfully the same model.

The portrait in the Liberalitas, which I strongly believe to represent the same man, is obviously based on a different model and is the work of a distinct artistic personality whose skill at portraiture is unequalled by any of the other carvers. Suffice it to note the delicate modelling of the face especially beneath the inner corners of the eyes and the soft transitions from light to shade of the cheeks and cheek-bones, with which the sculptor succeeded in expressing the paradoxically strong, military character of the man. Again the hair and beard are treated differently, with more volume and smaller drillings.

In conclusion, as I said in the beginning, I hold that with great probability all the eleven panels decorated one single monument. There are of course great differences in composition, style, and technique between one relief and another. I do not, however, accept the divisions into groups suggested so far.⁶⁶⁴

There are too many close affinities in composition, treatment of drapery, architectural background, and portraiture, between reliefs belonging to the Arch and those of the Conservatori palace to accept their traditional division into two separate groups. On the contrary, to judge by the portraits, especially by Pompeianus' portraits, if we were to distinguish one group of reliefs from the rest, this would be the first group mentioned above, i. e. Adlocutio, Prisoners, Rex Datus, Submission. Their homogeneity is not limited to the portraits of Pompeianus but extends to the whole concept of the scene, to the treatment of the empty space above the main heads, and lastly to the treatment of the secondary heads of soldiers and barbarians. Therefore if there ever were two monuments from which the eleven reliefs were taken, we would suggest that one was decorated by these four panels and the other by the rest.

*Verger's Col: low relief
- 1 poly chr. S. view from left.*



Box relief drawn by Enea Vico, Francisco d' Hollanda
Lionel: Antonio Rosio, and Etienne du Plessis.

MARCUS AURELIUS' COLUMN

According to the inscription on its base the Column of Marcus Aurelius⁶⁶⁵ was begun in 180, the year in which Marcus died, and finished in 192 when Commodus died. It was erected on the Campus Martius, near the Via Flaminia, where it dominated the monumental buildings which had gradually been put up in the area since Augustus. It is quite plainly an imitation of Trajan's Column and, like it, was intended to celebrate the achievements of the Roman army under the leadership of the Emperor.

The square base upon which it stands used to also carry sculptured reliefs with a scene of triumph and a series of Victories. These were chiselled away by Domenico Fontana, the architect employed by Sixtus V to restore the Column.⁶⁶⁶ As on Trajan's Column, a spiral of sculptured relief winds its way up in 23 turns on the marble shaft. On top stood the statues of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina II for which was substituted that of St. Paul in the Renaissance. Half way up a Victory writing on a shield separates the events of the first campaign (172-3 A.D.), against the Germans, from the second, against the Sarmatians (174-5 A.D.).⁶⁶⁷ The relief is cut much higher than on the Trajanic Column, thus breaking the contour of the shaft. It has been severely damaged in many parts and the features of a great many figures have been worn beyond recognition. Several scenes have been restored in part, and some entirely, in the Renaissance.⁶⁶⁸

The same types of scenes as on the Trajanic monument repeat themselves on Marcus' spiral relief: marches, battles, submissions of, or negotiations with, barbarians, destruction of enemy settlements and adlocutiones. To these are added two original episodes in which supernatural intervention plays an important part: the "miracle of the thunderbolt" and the "miracle of the rain" (scenes XI and XVI). In contrast with Trajan's Column the landscape is here merely indicated by single elements. The human figure dominates the field uncontested. As in our survey of the other Column, we have to limit ourselves to a general discussion of the portraiture, quoting examples from various scenes.

Aurelius' Column has been considered by many art historians as the precursor of Late Roman art, of that peculiar stylistic and formal language which characterizes Roman art from the III century A.D. onwards and which is usually termed "Late Antique" (Spätantike, Tardo Antico).⁶⁶⁹ One of the stylistic "Late Antique" elements which appear on the Column is the frontality, not only of a composition in general - compare the adlocutio scenes with those of the Trajanic Column⁶⁷⁰ - but also of the individual human figures. In the case of the Emperor this frontality is mostly displayed in the attitude of his body - a feature found in several earlier reliefs, much less so in the direction of his head. The Emperor's body is en face in almost half the scenes in which he appears and in the other half it is placed in three-quarter pose or almost en face. As for the head, on the other hand, it appears strictly en face only in three scenes IV, XXIX, LXXVI, whereas it is carved in three-quarters in the majority of scenes.

"Late Antique" style is, however, here not only incipient but in a well-advanced stage in another of its aspects: the disintegration of organic form in the representation of the human figures. These appear clumsy and out of proportion, either too stretched out or too short and dumpy. The heads are almost without exception too large and very cursorily worked. The liberal use of the drill further deprives them of any organic plasticity. Portraiture is obtained by reproducing the main essential characteristics of the face and head of the individual.

In this Column the attitude of the Emperor is never that of the formidable conqueror, as is Trajan's in his Great Frieze, but of a pacificator who undertakes and accepts war as an abominable but inevitable evil. The melancholy expression on his face throughout the Column reflects the subtle vein of pessimism and disgust for war and killing which echoes, in turn, the austere and disconsolate reflections of the Philosopher Emperor in his Meditations (PLATES 245-55).⁶⁷¹ The figure of the Emperor is made immediately recognizable by the usual devices: high relief; prominent, often central, position; tall stature; direction of the heads of surrounding figures. He is none the less recognizable from his portrait features which are sometimes carefully reproduced but generally reduced to the essential characteristic elements, just enough to distinguish him from his companions. The most significant features used to define Marcus' heads are his high rounded mass of curly hair and his long flowing beard. Sometimes the large bulging eyes are reproduced and in a number of heads the wrinkles on the forehead survive (scenes XLIX, XCVIII, PLATES 246-7, 255), but in most cases all the other portrait features are either neglected - perhaps owing to the small scale of the figures or the height at which they appear - or worn by weathering. In the few places where it survives, the nose is exaggeratedly large and gives the face the impression of a caricature rather than of an official portrait (scene LXVI, PLATE 250).

Comparing the portraits of Marcus Aurelius on the Column with those on the Conservatori panels, one finds that either the former are inspired directly by the latter or that both are modelled on common prototypes, with the characteristic hairstyle swept high away from the forehead and thick flowing beard. It has already been seen that the panel heads probably imply more than one model. This is even more evident in the case of the Column heads. The enormous variety in the Imperial portraits is due, to a great extent, to the participation of different carvers, even if not of different masters, whose personalities and stylistic aptitudes have been tentatively distinguished and distributed on definite parts of the Column.⁶⁷² But there are fundamental physiognomical discrepancies in the various interpretations of Aurelius' iconography which definitely imply different models. The three-quarter, almost full-face, head in scene XCVIII (PLATE 255) seems to be derived from the same model as Marcus' portraits in the Clementia panel, with the same deep horizontal furrow separating the bulging lower forehead from the upper half, the same hair and beard formation. His head in scene LXXV (PLATE 252) seems also to be derived from the same type. That in scene LXII (PLATE 249) is fundamentally different and nearer to the Triumph portrait because of its leaner, longer face, with wrinkled forehead and pointed beard. The profile head in scene LXVI (PLATE 250) seems to be more eclectic and combines features from the Triumph

head (wide, highly sprung, arched eye-brows, plastically modelled and marked by incisions; formation of the hair; modelling of the right cheek) with others from the Sacrifice head (particularly in the more freely flowing beard with occasional circular locks). This is indeed a remarkable portrait of Marcus because it reveals not only the skill of the carver - the feeling for detail and plastic modelling is not suppressed - but also his more mature and individualistic personality. These iconographic discrepancies cannot be explained otherwise than by different models, in this case certainly designed models, probably drawn from different existing portraits, since Marcus was dead in 180 when the Column was begun.

The stylistic difference between the Column heads and those of the panels is partly due to the small scale of the Column figures. Another important factor, however, is the freer application of the running drill. The plastic modelling of hair and beard in the larger reliefs has disappeared completely and is replaced by blocked out masses honeycombed by holes and small grooves (PLATES 251-4).

The attempts made by Morris to identify Commodus in a number of scenes in the second half of the frieze⁶⁷³ are far from convincing and his identifications have been refuted one by one by Becatti.⁶⁷⁴ Commodus' absence is noteworthy, since the Column was sculptured in his reign and further proves that the two campaigns shown were those fought between A.D. 172 and 175 which were conducted by Marcus Aurelius single-handed. Commodus was, however, probably represented on the relief which decorated the base, the designs of which have been handed down to us by Enea Vico and Piranesi.⁶⁷⁵

On the Column frieze the Emperor appears almost without exception flanked, preceded, or followed by figures whose position indicates them as men of high rank: generals, associates and close friends of the Emperor. The very individualized features of some of them and their repeated appearance on several occasions suggest that they are portraits of historical figures. In other cases the claim to portraiture cannot be sustained with certainty, since the figures concerned occur only once (e.g. the two figures on either side of Marcus in scene XLIX, PLATE 246). The background head behind the Emperor in scene LXXVIII (PLATE 253) is almost certainly not a portrait, though it vaguely resembles the faun-like head in a similar position in the Profectio panel. The facial features are so generic and uncharacterized that the head seems to have only a compositional function, to fill the space in the background. The man appears in fact to be a simple soldier or signifer, since the standard behind him seems to belong to him.

In the absence of other iconographical evidence it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to name any of these associates. The only exception is one figure whose features are identical with those of the portrait figure we have met so often in the Aurelian panels and which we have preferred to identify with Pompeianus.⁶⁷⁶ Others claim him to be the praefectus praetorio, M. Bassaeus Rufus.⁶⁷⁷

One ought to note that whereas on the panels one can distinguish three, or possibly four, different stylistic interpretations of this portrait, on the Column, where the carvers are much more numerous and of varying skill, one finds many more interpretations, some often so sketchy that it is uncertain whether

the sculptor meant to represent Pompeianus or another person. His characteristic features are recognizable already in scene III on the left of the Emperor, and perhaps also in the same position in scenes IX (PLATE 256) and XV. A number of his portraits seem to be closely related to those in the panels. In scene XX the head in the background behind Marcus is immediately recognizable as Pompeianus and compares well with his head in the Liberalitas panel. The less obvious use of the drill, however, and the very flattened face might connect it more closely with the portrait in the Sacrifice relief.⁶⁷⁸ Becatti suggests the same name for the portrait figure facing Marcus Aurelius in scene XXXII⁶⁷⁹ and thinks that its interpretation is similar to that appearing on the group of four reliefs consisting of the Adlocutio, Rex Datus, Prisoners and Submission, because of the high skull and compact shape of the head. Although there are several figures which can be identified with Pompeianus with some degree of certainty, I believe that he is certainly recognizable in scenes XXXIII, LV (PLATE 248), where his head is almost an exact replica of the one in the Clementia panel, XCVI and XCVIII. The head on the Rex Datus panel is closely related to that in scene XXXVII (PLATE 257).

Attempts have also been made to relate the physiognomy of some of the other associates of the Emperor with portrait figures from the panels. Becatti sees the same physiognomical formula of the praefectus urbi beside the Emperor in the Liberalitas scene, characterized by his precocious baldness framed by an agitated mass of circular locks, in some heads of the Column, such as that of the officer in the foreground behind Marcus in LXXVIII (PLATE 253), the one on the left in XCVIII (PLATE 255) and in LXXV (PLATE 252).⁶⁸⁰ Whereas the first two comparisons are plausible enough, the third is out of the question since the figure presents a full head of hair which has been smoothed down by corrosion. The togate man on the right at the back in the Liberalitas is detected by Becatti, perhaps justifiably, in the right hand official in LXXXIII (PLATE 254) (though he limits his comparison to style and typology),⁶⁸¹ and by von Heintze in XXXII, LXIX, CVI.⁶⁸²

As in the Trajanic Column, very often these figures standing in the immediate vicinity of the Emperor, have a merely compositional role: to offset the Emperor by providing him with a frame. In the majority of cases, in fact, they flank the Imperial figure, one on each side, and enhance the frontality of the composition.

The secondary figures consist mainly of Roman soldiers and barbarians. As is to be expected, the soldiers are treated as just part of the large anonymous crowd that constitutes the Roman army, without the least attempt at individuality. Their heads generally follow a set type with generic features. They are without exception bearded, in line with the fashion of the time. Their faces, however, manifest a certain ugliness of features which we have already noticed, in its initial stages, in the panels, especially in the Adlocutio relief, and which we shall see even more pronounced on the Roman Arch of Septimius Severus. This type of face is exemplified in the two tiers of marching soldiers in scene LXVII. The faces are flattened and show large eyes, thick lips, wide-open mouths, flat noses and lumpy rough cheeks.

The same anonymity is also apparent among the barbarians none of whom seem to assume a distinct personality, as does the figure of Decebalus in Trajan's Column. There seem to be at least two, if not more, physiognomically distinct types of barbarians which may be meant to represent the two different nationalities of the enemy involved in the bellum germanicum et sarmaticum. One type is shown with rugged facial features and abundant dishevelled hair and beard as in scene XL (PLATE 258) which seem to recall the barbarian with similar agitated hair and beard and deeply gouged mouth in the Prisoners panel. The rendering of the Column heads, however, is usually conveyed by more hasty and sketchy means. Another type which appears for the first time on an official monument is characterized by a very long head with hair sticking well out over the forehead and a very long flame-like beard (PLATES 259-60). The heads are almost invariably placed horizontally with the face pointing upwards and they usually belong to fallen or submissive barbarians. This type of barbarian is widely dispersed through the narrative of the Column. It makes its first appearance in scenes XIX and XX, reappears in LVI but becomes more numerous in LXVIII. Though stereotyped and crudely drawn these heads impart a strong effect of suffering. It seems that this second type of barbarian is the favoured subject of a group of sculptors employed on the Column who must have had a common working experience in a different type of relief sculpture, the battle sarcophagi of the late II century (PLATE 261) and it is possible that they belonged to one large workshop dealing with this kind of sculpture which seems to have been chosen as an appropriate means of expression on the long spiral frieze.

There is little to say about the background figures. It is generally difficult to distinguish them from the other figures owing to the low relief of the scenes. One can perhaps speak of truly background heads when these are cut so flat as to appear almost sketched on the background, which is not a very common occurrence in this frieze. Two examples are the barbarian on the right in scene XIX and the officer on the right in XLV. It is mostly in this type of flat, shallow carving that the use of the drilled groove outlining the figure is most evident. The favoured position of the head is naturally a profile one, but a full-face position is not completely lacking. The best example of the latter is perhaps the full-face soldier above the horses' heads in scene XXXIX (PLATE 245) whose head seems to be directly inspired by a similarly placed background head of a soldier in the Prisoners panel.⁶⁸³

As on the Trajanic Column, though the great majority of faces, especially of secondary figures, are very little varied and belong to stock types in which rugged features, roughly drawn beards and open, drilled mouths predominate, the sculptors have achieved an extraordinary amount of individual characterizations especially in the portraiture of the generals and military associates of the Emperor. A number of these are true portraits of real historical persons who did actually take an active part in the wars. But considering the lapse of time between the occurrence of the events and the actual carving one must deduce that some of the heads are reproduced from existing sculpture, in relief or in the round, while others were perhaps reconstructed from memory, and others merely invented.

The concept and stylistic rendering of portraiture on this Column, together with the whole execution of the frieze, presents a major step forward in the evolution of aesthetic values from objective naturalism to abstract expressionism. Leaving behind the naturalistic representation of the human form, in its organic entirety and proportions achieved by plastically moulded volumes, of earlier historical relief, with the Column of Marcus Aurelius we enter a new phase in which we observe distorted and unnaturally ugly faces, out of proportion to the squat, stumpy bodies in which the structural features are merely blocked out and the minor elements hurriedly gouged out by the running drill. A few elements of this crisis in Roman relief sculpture have been encountered, in their early stages, on the base of Antoninus' Column, but the complete take-over of the running drill as a means of artistic expression is achieved only on Marcus' Column, with a significant prelude on some of his panels. As for frontality, though the Emperor himself is not so conspicuously frontal as is usually implied, the composition of the scenes - especially the adlocutio ones - and the attitude of the figures in relation to the Emperor and the spectator show a definitely great stride towards Late Roman art. With all this, the Column frieze paves the way to the panels of the Arch of Septimius Severus, where this revolution in artistic values is taken yet another step forward.

Considering the enormous variety in the treatment of the portraiture of the Emperor and other identifiable personalities and in the interpretation of stock types, such as soldiers and barbarians, it is difficult to accept the assumption of a single master-sculptor behind the execution of the whole Marcus Column - as was probable in the case of the Column of Trajan. The theory of a common master for both the Column and the panels of the Arch of Constantine, the "Maestro delle imprese di Marco Aurelio", is definitely not acceptable.⁶⁸⁴ "Not only do we find several different sculptors charged with the work's execution, but several different master-artists providing the designs, as a detailed analysis makes clear".⁶⁸⁵

THE ARCH OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS IN THE FORUM ROMANUM

The Arch of Septimius Severus was erected in 203 A.D. at the foot of the Capitol on the north-west side of the Roman Forum. It was built in honour of Septimius Severus and his sons, Caracalla and Geta, to commemorate their victories over the Parthians.⁶⁸⁶ The main historical relief sculpture consists of four rectangular panels placed above the lateral passageways of the arch. Beneath these panels four narrow friezes are carved, and on the eight pedestals supporting the projecting columns of the facades are depicted groups of barbarian captives and Roman soldiers. All these reliefs are connected with the Parthian wars.

The narration of several episodes from the eastern campaigns is distributed in roughly horizontal registers on the four large panels. The prototype monument for such a narrative representation of official history is the spiral, or helical, column. Here, however, it is replaced by a series of rectangular panels which are divided into scenes separated by irregular strips of ground jutting out from the background, resembling the separating ledges in the spiral columns. The narrative is thus "continuous", enclosed within one frame, but consisting of separate scenes showing the main episodes of the war. Within the scenes the "bird's-eye-view" or "tilted-ground" concept is maintained. The figures are carved in a much higher relief than on either of the Columns and in several instances rows of figures are superimposed step-wise on different planes of relief.

Out of twelve scenes, distributed somewhat arbitrarily on the four panels, the Emperor, accompanied by his sons and retinue, appears in only eight.⁶⁸⁷ Of these three are assigned to the adlocutio motif (I C, II C, III B), two to the Council (II D, II E) and three to the Submission (II B, II A, III B). In all cases the heads of the Emperor and those of his sons are missing, so that no Imperial portraits have survived. U. Scerrato is of the opinion that one of the two figures coming out of a gate on the right of scene C of Panel I represents Severus. Its iconography however, does not in any way correspond with any of Severus' portraits.⁶⁸⁸ The position of the head in profile and in shallow relief contrasts with the usual position of the Emperor on the Arch; and the rotulus in the figure's left hand could just be an attribute of authority, appropriate to any high official; it does not necessarily entail the presence of the Emperor.⁶⁸⁹

The task of identifying the Emperor among the crowd is, however, rendered somewhat easier by the use of the usual conventions found in earlier historical reliefs. Severus always stands to the fore in the highest relief, and is thus most subjected to weathering. On either side are his sons in slightly shallower relief (PLATES 264, 270, 275). Distributed behind and on either side of the Imperial triad, are figures of high-ranking officials. Though it is not possible to say to what extent, the size of the Imperial figure is also enlarged. Frontality is here increased to a degree so far equalled only by the adoption scene of the Ephesos relief. Finally, the direction of the heads, and in several cases even of the movement of the composition, focus the attention of the viewer on the Emperor. This is best exemplified by the adlocutio scenes (PLATES 264,



275). Here Septimius and his associates stand isolated on high ground and his audience is massed in a U-shaped crowd beneath him, all its members looking intently at his Imperial majesty.

The position of the two sons, which can be deduced only by their height, is not always the same, sometimes Caracalla is on the left and Geta on the right of the Emperor, and sometimes the other way round. The heads of the Emperor and his heirs were almost always cut completely in the round and sometimes attached to the background only by a narrow puntello, traces of which are still preserved in II D and E. We have good reasons to believe that the absence of the heads of the Imperial figures is not always due to the action of time and exposure to the natural elements. After murdering his brother Geta in 212, Caracalla had his name erased from the dedicatory inscription on the attic of the Arch and replaced by further titles referring to himself and his father.⁶⁹⁰ It is reasonable to suppose that this damnatio memoriae was extended to the figures representing Geta in the reliefs. Unfortunately the damage to the marble surfaces is so great that not even the signs of deliberate removal are clear and the only instance where they are so is the headless figure on the right of Septimius Severus in the Submission scene B on Panel III (PLATE 271).⁶⁹¹ It seems very likely that this figure represented the censored Geta, although Brilliant prefers to see in it Plautianus, Septimius' good friend and praetorian prefect who also fell a victim to a damnatio memoriae, probably as early as A.D. 205.⁶⁹²

One identification that has been suggested is that of the officer standing in the city gate in Panel I scene C. The attempt to see the Emperor in him has already been discounted.⁶⁹³ The head, however, with the long wavy beard and large fleshy nose and thick lips, might have been intended to portray a historical figure. Brilliant attempts an identification with Laetus, the brave defender of Nisibis in the second Parthian war. But since his appearance on the Arch is rendered unlikely by his execution at the order of the Emperor, the author suggests an alternative, the Roman governor left in charge of the new province of Mesopotamia.⁶⁹⁴ But except for a somewhat distinct beard, the head does not really avoid the general standardization of the other secondary figures.

Looking at the reliefs from ground level the viewer is immediately impressed by the apparent uniformity of the surviving heads. All the figures, including those of the Emperor and his retinue, are exceptionally squat and stumpy with disproportionately large heads, ugly and, almost without exception, bearded faces. On a closer scrutiny, which is only possible by means of photographs, this impression is corrected somewhat and a number of differentiations in physiognomy and stylistic treatment are observed, though in certain areas, such as Panel IV, our initial impression remains unchanged.

There are certain similarities in composition and style between panels I-III and between II-IV which have caused Brilliant to postulate the participation of two artists, with different personalities, whom he calls the Antonine master and the Severan master.⁶⁹⁵ As far as concerns the style and technique used on the heads and the latter's complete standardization according to a particular stock type - which we might call Severan - the figures of Panels II and IV have,

in fact, much in common and could certainly have been the work of craftsmen from the same workshop. Certain common features, especially the greater characterization and interest in surface detail - such as the muscles of the forehead and cheekbones - are also shared by the heads of Panels I and III. The closest comparison that can be made is between the full-face head in the centre of the left-hand group of listeners in Panel I (PLATE 262) and the two heads behind the left shoulder of the Emperor in Panel III scene B (PLATE 272). The cut of the eyes and mouth is the same and the general type of head is very similar in all three; but not the rendering of the hair and beard.

The haste with which the reliefs were completed, and the diversity of styles noticeable within the panels themselves, suggest the participation of several carvers, each perhaps being allotted one or two scenes to execute. But I venture to think that the designs of all four panels were drawn by the same master and their execution entrusted to assistants who had obviously different artistic tastes and abilities. There are no basic diversities in the overall designs, but there are several discrepancies in concept and quality in the treatment of the figures in different scenes. Suffice it to compare the finely modelled heads of Panel I scene C (PLATES 262-5) with the coarse mask-like faces of Panel II scene B (PLATES 266-9), the characterized, but lumpy, heads of Panel III scene B (PLATES 270-3) with the simplified lumpy forms of Panel IV scene B (PLATES 274-6). But that the designer is one and the same seems to be a reasonable inference both from the unity of design of the four panels and from what might be considered to be the usual custom in the decoration of monuments of this kind.

The influence exerted by the Column of Marcus Aurelius, both on the design and on the treatment of the figures, is obvious and plenty of comparisons have been drawn by Brilliant.⁶⁹⁶ The Severan panels constitute a further step forward in the reduction of organic form in Late Roman art. The disproportions of the human figures on the Column are more blatant on the Severan reliefs; the crude heads of the Column, in which plasticity and modelling are already greatly reduced, become even lumpier and coarser on the Arch. Nor is there any real distinction between Roman soldier and barbarian except in dress.⁶⁹⁷

One particular carver who certainly distinguishes himself markedly from the others is the one who produced the adlocutio scene in Panel I (PLATE 264). In his sensitive modelling, rich variety of forms and skilful use of the drill, he seems to favour the stylistic treatment and technical tricks of large-scale Aurelian sculpture, tricks which he handles with great mastery on figures on a greatly reduced scale. By 'large-scale' Aurelian sculpture I mean the panel reliefs of Marcus Aurelius as opposed to the helical frieze of his Column, and particularly the group of four camp scenes which appear to stand out from the rest.⁶⁹⁸ In the same adlocutio scene of Panel I the head of the bearded officer placed en face behind the Emperor strikes me as a possible, or rather probable, portrait of a historical figure even though it would be presumptuous to give it a name (PLATE 265). The head is very expressive and distinguished by greater refinements of characterization and differentiation of facial surfaces than are the other heads. On a reduced scale, it appears to have the same force of expression and character as the head of Pompeianus in the Liberalitas panel of Marcus Aurelius, by which it seems to have been inspired. Should the carver

of this head and of this particular scene be considered as the master-sculptor of the panels? An answer either way cannot be proved with certainty, but one obvious fact remains: that the sculptor of this scene is one of very high standards and an excellent carver of heads, not to say a portraitist.

Before passing on to the next monument a word must be said about the four narrow friezes below the panels and the relief figures on the pedestals. Most of the four friezes has virtually disappeared but the little that survives on the north-west and south-west registers appears to echo the conceptual and formal values of the panels, as well as the long tradition of narrow friezes decorating commemorative arches. Here they represent oriental captives and symbolic figures paying homage to Rome.⁶⁹⁹

The pedestal reliefs show recurring motifs of groups of either one Roman soldier and one Parthian captive or of two of each. The reliefs repeat each other so closely that it seems that the master-sculptor must have designed only three or four cartoons which were applied to the marble and repeated on different pedestals according to the direction of the movement of the figures.⁷⁰⁰ The original design is followed faithfully not only in the general scheme but also in details of drapery and in the heads. The style and type of the latter is derived from the panel relief sculpture of Marcus Aurelius, rather than from the spiral relief. The thick curly hair of one type of soldier (PLATE 277) and the long wavy beards of the captives (PLATES 278-9) hark back to the more plastic sensitivity of Aurelian portraiture, whereas the heavily drilled plain surfaces on the hair and beard of the other soldiers (PLATES 278, 280) derive their technique from that used on most of Pompeianus' heads.

THE ARCH OF THE ARGENTARII

The Arch of the Argentarii ⁷⁰¹ is securely dated by its inscription. It was erected in the Forum Boarium, between December 203 and December 204, by the Silversmiths and Tradesmen of the area and dedicated to Septimius Severus, his sons Caracalla and Geta, and to Plautilla and Plautianus, Caracalla's wife and father-in-law. The names and titles of the latter three were later erased and substituted by others referring to Caracalla and his father. ⁷⁰² Owing to this securely datable context, the portraits represented in the reliefs have often been used in the identification and dating of Imperial portraits in the round. ⁷⁰³

The relief sculpture is distributed over small panels decorating the piers of the arch. The main panels with which we are concerned are those adorning the internal faces of the two piers: on the east face Septimius and Julia Domna making a sacrificial offering; on the west face Caracalla performing the same rite. ⁷⁰⁴ On the south facade two elongated rectangular panels represented single figures whose identity cannot be established since they have almost totally disappeared. ⁷⁰⁵ These panels are flanked by small pilasters decorated with praetorian standards in relief and on the two best preserved ones four Imperial imagines can still be recognized. ⁷⁰⁶ On the shorter external faces of the arch two panels showed groups of two soldiers and two barbarians, but only one of the panels survives and all the heads in it are weathered beyond recognition. ⁷⁰⁷

On the internal panel of the east pier Severus appears in a fully frontal pose, pouring a libation onto a small altar. ⁷⁰⁸ His toga is drawn over his head and his abundant hair falls in the four parallel thick curls which are characteristic of the Serapis-Severus portrait type (PLATE 281). ⁷⁰⁹ His rigidly rectangular face and the long beard, parted in the middle, are also characteristic of this type of Severus' iconography. The cheeks are broad and angular and the eyes wide and staring, with deeply-drilled pelta-shaped pupils. The main forms of the beard are crudely outlined by the drill. Though this particular example of the Severus-Serapis type portrait is dated by the inscription of the arch to 204 A.D. the evidence of the coins indicates that the type itself existed earlier. ⁷¹⁰ The relief portrait further confirms its popularity which is also attested by a greater number of images in the round. ⁷¹¹ Whereas the assumption of a divine attribute had been rendered in the portraiture of previous Emperors, Severus is the first Emperor, after Commodus, to have himself portrayed as a particular divinity, in this case Serapis. ⁷¹² This ties up well with the hieratic frontality with which the Emperor faces the viewer and seems "actually to receive the sacrifice rather than offering it as in earlier imperial sacrifice scenes", ⁷¹³ reflecting the gradual change in the concept of the Imperial image at this stage of Roman art.

Julia Domna is shown even more stiffly en face, standing behind, and a little to the right of, the altar. Her head is partly veiled and crowned by a crescent shaped diadem (PLATE 282). ⁷¹⁴ The version of Julia Domna's characteristic hairstyle shown here assigns this relief head to the earliest portrait type of the Empress, the Gabii type. ⁷¹⁵ The portrait in the round nearest to it in psychological content and formal treatment is the head from Ostia. ⁷¹⁶ Both share the same broad oval shape of the face, the same transcendental expression and the undrilled wavy hair.

On the right of this panel, in the empty space on the background, there are still traces of another figure which must have been chiselled off at some point. This working over is also indicated by the clumsy appearance of Julia Domna's left arm and dress. The missing figure we can reasonably assume to have been Geta, the younger of Severus' sons, who was murdered in 212 and his name and image removed from all public monuments by his brother Caracalla.⁷¹⁷

Caracalla is given a privileged position in the opposite panel where he is standing en face and holding a rotulus in his left hand, while with his right he pours a libation over a small altar laden with fruit. He is certainly meant to double his father on the opposite relief. The space behind and on the left of the altar which now appears empty was once occupied by two figures whose outlines can still be made out from the traces of working over. It is thought, with plausibility, that the left space was occupied by Plautilla, the wife of Caracalla, and the central one by her father Plautianus.⁷¹⁸ The names of both were erased from the inscription at some date after the murder of Plautianus and the banishment of Plautilla in A.D. 205, at the instigation of Caracalla.

It seems that in the hasty working over of this relief the head of Caracalla himself was retouched (PLATE 283). As the officiating priest at a Roman sacrifice one would expect him to be veiled. In fact traces of working over around the head and on the right shoulder appear to indicate that the fold of the toga which covered them was later removed. The reason for this alteration is unknown.⁷¹⁹ Being securely dated from its context this portrait is put at the head of one of Caracalla's portrait types, 'The Arch of the Argentarii type' (Typus Argentarierbogen).⁷²⁰ This is actually the first of the iconographical types of the young Caracalla and it is known from several portraits in the round, among which the nearest to ours is the one in Toulouse.⁷²¹ All of them are characterized by the rounded childish face and the long agitated hair which forms a fixed, definite pattern of locks on the forehead. Naturally the relief head is not the archetype from which the others were copied, but all seem to be derived from the same archetype. The artistic quality of the relief head is, as usual, inferior to that of most, perhaps of all, the free-standing portraits. The running drill is used freely to undercut and separate the locks of hair.

Though the imagines on the praetorian standards on the south facade are too small and roughly carved to give us any important iconographic information, we can identify with certainty Septimius Severus in the lower bearded busts, which seem to show the same Serapis-Severus type as on the larger panels (PLATE 284).⁷²² On one standard Severus is placed en face, on the other three-quarters to the right. The same positions are shared by Caracalla, who appears on the upper busts. Wiggers sees the same Argentarii portrait type in these two tiny images,⁷²³ which to me seem entirely different from one another. Geta was originally depicted in similar busts beneath those of Septimius Severus.

The major importance of the Arcus Argentariorum is as a valuable document of the new trends in the representation of the Imperial figure in the relief sculpture of the Metropolis, which in the reign of Septimius Severus show a definite turning point. The sculpture on this arch is even more significant in that it is not a State-sponsored monument but one erected by private initiative - though official approval of the project would seem to have been required. It shows

that the assumption of a divine role by the Emperor is not only apparent in official art, which might be interpreted as a means of Imperial propaganda, but also in privately sponsored monuments and, consequently, as a direct reflection of the image of the Emperor in the mentality of Roman citizens. The provincial manifestation of this same attitude is the relief sculpture of the Arch of Septimius Severus in the North African city of Lepcis Magna.

THE ARCH OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS IN LEPCIS MAGNA

The quadrifrons arch of Septimius Severus in Lepcis Magna was excavated in 1929 and given a somewhat preliminary publication soon after.⁷²⁴ Since then several archaeologists and art historians have occupied themselves with it and treated separately some of the numerous problems involved,⁷²⁵ but as yet a comprehensive publication of the entire complex, with a discussion of the still unsolved questions presented by both its architecture and its sculpture, is still lacking. As usual, in our study of the reliefs of this Severan monument we shall limit ourselves to the portraiture found in them and discuss other problems only when they are directly connected with the portraits.⁷²⁶

The Emperor, together with his family, must have appeared in all the four of the large friezes which decorated the four sides of the attic. He and his sons must have been present in the lost sections of the two friezes showing a triumphal procession (PLATE 298) and a sacrifice (PLATE 293). In both cases the central position of the Imperial group is implied by the composition of the surviving sections and by the direction of the heads of the figures, as well as by the appearance in both cases of a female figure which, as we shall see, must definitely be identified as Julia Domna, also looking in the same direction. In the two friezes in which the sections containing the Imperial family have survived, Septimius and his sons occupy the centre of the composition, with the figures on either side turning their attention towards them (PLATES 285, 290). The smaller vertical panels, which decorated the piers of the arch, are each divided into two scenes the upper one representing a motif involving one or two members of the Imperial family (PLATES 300-9).

The Emperor's portrait survives on four reliefs: in the Dextrarum Iunctio (PLATE 285) and Chariot friezes (PLATE 290) and in the two small panels showing the Capitoline Triad and a Sacrifice scene (PLATES 300, 302). He has also been erroneously identified in the togate and crowned figure in the Sacrifice frieze (PLATES 293, 296) and in a small fragmentary head of a crowned bearded man (PLATE 297).⁷²⁷ The first figure cannot possibly be Septimius. It is too far removed to the side of the composition, away from the focal point of the scene, and wears long hair - which Severus never does. It can, in fact, be identified with certainty as the Senatus and compared to a similar figure in one of the two rectangular panels inside the passageway of the Arch of Trajan at Benevento (PLATE 181). The second is a head of Jupiter belonging to one of the small-scale divinities in the same frieze, one of whom is visible behind Julia Domna (PLATE 293).⁷²⁸

In the Dextrarum Iunctio scene the Emperor joins hands with Caracalla while between them stands Geta. Severus' head is turned in three-quarter pose to the left but his face is symmetrical and regular even if somewhat flattened (PLATE 286). The portrait shows the Emperor as an old man, but with idealized features. The hair hangs down over the forehead in wavy curls parted irregularly by deep drilled grooves. The long beard is separated in the middle and a further tripartite division is noted in profile, closely similar to that on

several of his coin portraits.⁷²⁹ The face is long with the narrow high forehead characteristic of Severus' iconography. From coin evidence McCann assigns the head to "the new portrait type popular in the last years of Severus' reign, from 207-211".⁷³⁰ Soechting places it under the decennalia type created in A. D. 202.⁷³¹

Classified under the same portrait type, but in a different style, is the head of Septimius from one of the smaller reliefs showing the Emperor presenting Caracalla to a female figure (PLATES 300-1).⁷³² The scene takes place on the pronaos of a temple beneath the steps of which, in the lower scene, a sacrifice is depicted.⁷³³ Severus is shown with his toga drawn over his head and he is characterized by the long beard hanging down over his chest and divided on each side into three pointed curls. Although the head is crudely worked, there is much more differentiation of the planes of the forehead and cheeks than in the previous portrait. This tendency to render the muscles of the face in relief agrees well with the other heads in the same scene, including that of Hercules.

In another of the small panels the Emperor appears as Jupiter seated between Athena on the right and Julia Domna-Hera on the left (PLATES 302-3).⁷³⁴ Although a considerable part of the damaged head has been added, including the hair, forehead and left eye, the central part is still missing. The pupil on the left eyeball is marked. The more naturalistic treatment of the hair, with a much more restrained use of the drill, suggests a sculptor different from the carver of the previous panel. Although the statuary prototype of Severus' figure seems to have been Bryaxis' image of Serapis, the hair over the forehead is not that of the Serapis-Severus type with four hanging curls,⁷³⁵ but of the late portrait type found in the previously described relief heads at Lepcis. The beard, even if rather shorter and more compact, shows also the same divisions. The absence of the Serapis type on the Arch of Lepcis is significant and further confirms a later date for the reliefs. As Toynbee pointed out, the portrayal of the Emperor as Jupiter is unusual in his lifetime,⁷³⁶ but McCann has shown that this can be explained in the light of Severus' political propaganda.⁷³⁷

The last portrait of Septimius Severus from the Arch of Lepcis takes us back to one of the attic friezes which depicts him standing in a chariot and flanked by his sons in a triumphal procession (PLATES 290-2). He is represented as triumphator with a laurel wreath crowning his head. It is immediately noticeable that the prototype followed here is totally different from the one that we have encountered so far. The most significant differences are in the hair, which is swept back and away from the forehead, and in the beard, which is drawn under the chin and parted only on the sides. The similarity to the later portraits of Marcus Aurelius, especially that with his veiled head in the Sacrifice panel of the Palazzo Conservatori (PLATE 227), is striking and seems to be convincingly explained by McCann as a "definite portrait allusion to Marcus Aurelius and more specifically to the divinely enhanced Jupiter-like Marcus Aurelius of his later years".⁷³⁸ Severus' claim to adoption into the Antonine dynasty is well known from the inscriptions and coins,⁷³⁹ and the inhabitants of Lepcis would have been all too happy to recognize this claim of their native-born Emperor. Soechting classifies this portrait with the Adoptions-Typus⁷⁴⁰ while McCann, somewhat inconsistently, suggests a decennalia type.⁷⁴¹

The portrait of Caracalla survives only on two reliefs, the Dextrarum Iunctio (PLATE 285) and the small panel with the sacrificial offering (PLATE 300). But other loose fragmentary heads have been attributed to him including one which now appears to be lost (PLATE 295)⁷⁴² and another which has been mistakenly attached to the wall above one of the togate figures in the Sacrifice frieze (PLATE 293) and which Strocka places somewhere to the left of Julia Domna in the missing central scene of the same frieze.⁷⁴³ Furthermore, Caracalla is certainly to be identified in the damaged figure on the right of Septimius in the Chariot scene (PLATES 290-1) and probably also in the headless figure being crowned by a Victory in another small panel (PLATE 309).⁷⁴⁴

In the Dextrarum Iunctio Caracalla turns in profile to the right in the act of offering his hand to his father. His head is however shown fully, in high relief and with perfect symmetry (PLATE 287).⁷⁴⁵ The upper part of the head above the forehead has been restored in cement. The portrait shows a broad, rounded, well-fed face with large eyes, thick protruding lips and heavy chin. It is certainly derived from the Gabii type named after the Louvre bust 1076 found in Gabii.⁷⁴⁶ From the prince's portraits grouped under this type, the head in Tunis, Musée du Bardo C. 1347, is remarkably similar to the relief head.⁷⁴⁷ They both share the same short hair and long narrow whiskers, low forehead lined by two small wrinkles and slightly swollen in the lower half, the same broad eyebrows, the same cut of the eyes and probably even the same pupil. Only the execution and stylistic quality are different and much inferior in the relief head. These two portraits offer, indeed, an excellent opportunity for comparing the artistic value of relief portraiture with that in the round. Wiggers dates the Gabii type portraits to the years between 205 and 209.⁷⁴⁸ Caracalla's portrait from the Arch has also been dated to these years on coin evidence by McCann and Soechting, who thereby support the later date of the reliefs.⁷⁴⁹

The veiled portrait in the small relief with the sacrificial offering belongs also to the same type (PLATE 301).⁷⁵⁰ In spite of the worn surfaces of the face, the broad features, heavy chin, thick lips and long thin sideburn show a close relation to the previous relief portrait. The swelling of the lower forehead is even more pronounced, in agreement with the tendency of the carver of this panel to exaggerate the facial muscles. The heavily drilled hair, on the other hand, reminds one of the damaged head of the prince in the Chariot frieze. The latter, though lacking the whole face, is identifiable both from the taller stature and from the characteristic thick neck and heavy facial features (PLATE 291). The hair, still well preserved, is covered with drilling and does not seem to follow any particular type of portraiture in the round.⁷⁵¹ As for the two fragmentary heads mentioned above, the iconography does not allow us to make a reliable distinction between Caracalla and Geta, but the wreath, part of which is visible over the head, and the general features indicate that certainly one of the two princes is represented.⁷⁵²

Geta's portrait survives only in two reliefs, the Dextrarum Iunctio (PLATE 285) and a small panel with the crowning of the prince (PLATE 307), but he is identifiable with certainty in the Chariot frieze (PLATE 290) and perhaps also in the small Sacrifice panel (PLATE 300).

The identification of Geta in the central togate figure between Caracalla and Septimius in the Dextrarum Iunctio scene is beyond any shadow of doubt. His position and his height indicate him as the younger of the two princes. The present head, however, is a restoration in plaster of the original one which was found during the excavation of the arch and attached to its place, but has since then been lost.⁷⁵³ Most of the publications show pictures of the original head (PLATE 288).⁷⁵⁴ The shape of Geta's head is longer and more oval than his brother's. The facial features are less heavy, more delicate and handsome. The lips are smaller and less fleshy. Wiggers has derived the portrait from the Munich-Toulouse type with which it has most in common.⁷⁵⁵ But a number of features, such as the high forehead, seem to indicate a later variety of the same type. McCann relates the shorter hairstyle to 'his second portrait type, which appears on his coinage between the years 203-208'.⁷⁵⁶

The young togate figure being crowned by a Victory in one of the pier reliefs (PLATE 308) is probably Geta, since the relief seems to have formed a pair with another panel, mentioned above, showing a rather taller headless figure, also being crowned in the same way and probably Caracalla. The head, which is broken off and re-attached, suggests the younger features of Geta. More definite judgement is impossible owing to the corroded state of the head.⁷⁵⁷

While the position and height of the prince on the left of Severus in the Chariot scene, and the surviving traces of his crown, leave no doubt about Geta's identification in this headless figure (PLATE 291), the same cannot be said of the headless veiled togate personage in the Sacrifice scene of the pier panel (PLATE 300).

Julia Domna, the wife of Septimius Severus, is portrayed several times on the reliefs of the Arch of Lepcis. Her portrait-head has been preserved in five reliefs, but she might have been also represented in one or two other places in the small panels from the arch piers.

The portrait in the Dextrarum Iunctio, where she is shown behind Caracalla on the left (PLATE 289), displays the characteristic broad, oval face with fleshy round cheeks, widely arched eyebrows and big eyes. But most characteristic of all is the hairstyle in the shape of a helmet (Helmfrisur). This type of coiffure, worn by Julia Domna herself or by other ladies of the Severan age, has many varieties.⁷⁵⁸ The one shown here has been dated by Meischner, from coin evidence, to around 207 A.D. and assigned to a type which he names after Lepcis.⁷⁵⁹ To the Lepcis type are also to be attributed portraits of Julia Domna from Carnuntum and Ostia.⁷⁶⁰ This particular variety of the Helmfrisur is characterized by the single, separate braid that follows the outline of the hair from the temples to the back, and by the vertical arrangement of the braids at the back. It is quite manifest that stylistically and technically this portrait corresponds well with the three other Imperial portraits of the same frieze. Very evident is the identical cut of the eyes, with the same indication of the pupil and drilled holes in the tear ducts, and of the brows which are broadly arched, plastically raised and incised to indicate the hair (the latter has been worn away on Severus' head).

The same identical iconographic type is seen in the other portrait of Julia from the attic relief with a scene of sacrifice (PLATE 294).⁷⁶¹ The face is worked more or less in the same manner, but the drill in the hair is handled

differently, with more frequent, but thinner, grooves. The same hairstyle and general outline of the face are recognized in the extremely battered head of the female figure holding a large palm-leaf in a slab which formed part of the fourth frieze showing a triumphal procession (PLATES 298-9).⁷⁶² The same type is also followed in the veiled portrait - also badly damaged - of Julia Domna-Hera in the small relief representing the Capitoline Triad (PLATE 304). The head from a very fragmentary panel, the subject of which is not clear, represents Julia with a different hairstyle (PLATES 305-6). Although the head is broken in two and worn in parts, the features of the Empress are unmistakable and the hairstyle is derived from an earlier, simpler type, probably the Gabii type.⁷⁶³

Besides these portraits of the Imperial family, the Arch of Lepcis reliefs, especially the attic friezes, present us with a host of other figures with more or less characterized heads. They are usually arranged in two rows, one chest-high above the other⁷⁶⁴ on each side of the central scene, towards which their heads are directed. The heads are very well differentiated from one another but a number of them can be reduced to recurring types, for instance, that of the four bearded men in tunic and cloak on the right of the Dextrarum Iunctio scene (PLATE 310). The positions of the heads are also very varied though the body is most often shown en face. On a close examination of these secondary heads one notices certain differences in style, especially in the use of the running drill. The majority of the heads emphasise on the contrast between the smooth polished surfaces of the faces and the colouristic effect of the hair (PLATES 310-1). This, however, is achieved in different ways. In the four figures mentioned above (PLATE 310), for example, the drill is used as a subsidiary element, to undercut the plastic curls of the hair and beard, whereas in the three figures above the papa on the right of the Sacrifice frieze (PLATE 311) it is used to gouge out dark grooves on otherwise plain rounded masses. In the last slab on the right of the same frieze (PLATE 312) four of the heads wear more naturalistically moulded hair and beards with an almost total absence of drilling.

One ought to note also that the pupil of the eye is not always indicated. Taking again, as an example, the Sacrifice frieze, it is to be observed that whereas the figures in the central scene, including Julia Domna, have marked pupils, the latter are missing in the heads of all the other figures on the side slabs. Similar discrepancies in the eye rendering and in the use of the drill are also found in the other friezes.

This diversity of styles and techniques indicates that a good number of different sculptors took part in the execution of the reliefs. The main differences that have been noticed are between the larger friezes of the attic and the smaller reliefs of the piers, especially in the handling of the same portrait-types of Severus and Caracalla. Other differences have been observed between one frieze and another, such as the portrait-types and their treatment in the Imperial groups of the Dextrarum Iunctio and the Chariot scenes. Finally further discrepancies occur in the type of modelling of heads even on the same frieze; which suggests the participation of several artists on the same frieze. This, however, does not in any way diminish the unity of design of the larger reliefs,

even if their designer might not have been responsible for the creation of the smaller panels, which respond to a different compositional design. The master-sculptor of the Arch might have been versatile enough to adapt his compositions to the exigencies of the space available, as did the master-sculptor of the Severan Arch in Rome.

It is quite clear that the main themes behind the sculptural decoration of the Lepcis Arch are Severus' victories over the Parthians⁷⁶⁵ and the Concordia Augustorum. But what exactly are the events represented and where and when did they take place? These are questions which have not yet been answered satisfactorily. To my mind the best hypothesis made so far is that by Strocka,⁷⁶⁶ who maintains that these reliefs do not in actual fact describe faithfully a particular historical event but depict a general, adaptable type of episode. The Triumph, for example, which could only take place in Rome, is transferred to Lepcis as a 'manifestation de la gloria (ou bien la Virtus) Augustorum dans la ville natale de l'empereur', perhaps even with the participation of local magistrates and religious officials. The Sacrifice frieze may represent a solemn sacrifice offered by the Imperial family to the Capitoline Triad, that is in Rome.

In the light of the iconographic evidence brought forward, the traditional date for the reliefs most commonly accepted by scholars, 203 A.D., cannot be sustained.⁷⁶⁷ All the Imperial portraits seem to suggest a date between A.D. 205 and 209, preferably 207.⁷⁶⁸

RELIEF OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS IN CYRENE

The least well known of the commemorative reliefs dedicated to Septimius Severus is perhaps the one in the North African city of Cyrene. Since its excavation in 1955,⁷⁶⁹ it has been noted in a few archaeological journals⁷⁷⁰ and more recently mentioned and illustrated in a number of books on Roman art.⁷⁷¹ Only C. C. Vermeule has dedicated to it a slightly more detailed discussion.⁷⁷² Judgement on it has been generally disparaging. Only Vermeule seems to like its style, though he admits the tendency to a general dumpiness of the figures, the enlargement of their heads and the crudeness of their faces. Perhaps justifiably, none of the scholars who have studied the portraiture of Septimius Severus⁷⁷³ or of his children⁷⁷⁴ have sought for any of their portraits in this relief.

So far the most extensive work on the Cyrene frieze is by the late Professor D. E. Strong. It was delivered as a lecture at the British Museum on the occasion of the opening of the Libya Exhibition on June 14, 1973, and later published, almost verbatim, in the Libyan Society Report.⁷⁷⁵ The writer traces back the composition of the relief to the sculpture and painting of the Hellenistic Age and finds a strong influence in it of the 'designs of sarcophagi made in Attica in the second and third centuries A.D. which monopolized the Cyrenaican market'.⁷⁷⁶ He identifies two of the figures with Severus and Caracalla and dates the monument to around A.D. 203.⁷⁷⁷ In the following review of the frieze I shall accept both the identification of Caracalla and the approximate date, but not the identification of Septimius whom I find represented elsewhere. I shall also suggest a new identification, that of Geta.

The frieze decorated the entablature of the eastern end of a colonnade running along the front of a building now known as the Market-Theatre.⁷⁷⁸ Beneath the moulding on which the figures' feet rest, and on the same block as the frieze, runs an inscription in Greek recording the erection of a statue of the Emperor in a chariot by a group of citizens from their own private funds (ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ).⁷⁷⁹ The only two titles of the Emperor mentioned in the inscription refer to 195 A.D. when the Emperor assumed these titles. The title of Parthicus Maximus which he added in 198 could have appeared on the broken third slab, since in the same year the title Invictus (here ANEIKHTON) first appears on his coins. From the content and style of the relief, however, a later date for the monument seems more likely.

The relief itself⁷⁸⁰ depicts a battle between Romans and barbarians whose dress betrays their oriental, most probably Parthian, origin. For the most part the standing figures are of equal height - with their heads in line with the upper edge of the frieze - whether they fight on foot or on horseback (PLATE 313). A few other figures are shown falling under the blows of the Romans or lying dead on the ground, while a Roman trumpeter is awkwardly placed at a somewhat lower level as if to fill the space in front of the mounted bearded figure in the centre. On either corner of the frieze stood a figure of a captive barbarian with arms tied behind his back and legs crossed. Though both figures are extremely damaged the one on the left has survived in a much better state, so as to give a clear idea of its function.

Proceeding from left to right, the second figure is even more damaged but on a close inspection it can be seen to be walking towards the previous figure with the left hand resting on the left thigh. The position of the legs implies that the figure is seen from the back, at least from the waist down. Though nothing positive can be said about its action, Strong's suggestion that it is a barbarian woman clinging to the captive seems very unlikely, because the legs are clearly not covered by the long drapery usually worn by female barbarians.⁷⁸¹

The third figure, on horseback, is probably a Roman soldier since he is wearing a military cloak and cuirass, some of the vertical flaps of which are clearly visible below the waist. Besides he is shown in a victorious attitude and, with sword in hand, he seems to be hitting the second figure towards which his head is turned back.

He is followed by another figure, this time on foot, with the right arm raised to strike a kneeling barbarian. He is also a Roman wearing a paludamentum pinned on his right shoulder like his companion. The barbarian supports himself on his right arm, while with his left one - on which he wears a bracelet above the wrist - he tries to protect himself from the imminent blow, or, more probably, to pull away an arm which is seizing him by the neck. He is the first figure so far to retain its head, though not in a very condition. It is shown facing diagonally downwards and turned slightly outwards, not in a strictly profile view. It is not clear whether he was originally wearing any headdress. He has, however, a thick beard consisting of roughly shaped round projections clustered together in a compact mass. As in the other surviving heads, the face shows a roughness of treatment with bumpy features. The eye-ball, between heavy eye-lids, presents a wide circular drilled hole in the centre. The drill is also used to cut a deep canal between the open lips.

Closely connected with this barbarian is another lying fallen on the ground. He is completely worn and his features are unrecognizable. He seems to be stretching out his right arm towards his bearded companion. Above him another warrior and his horse are galloping in full flight to the left. Both horse and soldier turn back their heads towards the figure from whom they are fleeing. His flight and his costume distinguish this soldier as a Parthian. He is in fact wearing a short tunic and the "Phrygian" pointed cap (PLATE 314). His face is clean-shaven and presents us with the Cyrenaican Severan version of the idealized generic type of a youthful face. His cheeks are plain and rounded and, though some corrosion of the surface has taken place, it is quite obvious that no characterization was ever intended. The mouth is drilled horizontally with a rigid straight groove. The eye-balls, framed by thick heavy eye-lids are bored with a large circular hole to indicate the iris. From under the headdress part of the hair is visible, in which the use of drill is barely discernible.

The figure from which this Parthian is fleeing is of some importance since it has been identified by Strong with Septimius Severus.⁷⁸² He stands majestically in heroic nudity holding a large circular shield with a central boss in his left arm while his right arm is drawn holding a sword, of which only the hilt survives. He is shown from the back with the upper part of the trunk facing the background, while his head is turned in profile to the left (PLATE 315). In

fact more than half of his face is shown, but his right eye merges with the flat background. With all the good will I can muster, I just cannot see Septimus Severus portrayed in this figure. His nudity and pose find their parallels on many battle sarcophagi of the second century A.D.⁷⁸³ The figure belongs in fact to a stock type of naked warrior with an ancient pedigree. In Roman monumental sculpture it is even found on one of the reliefs on the Arch of Orange. Indeed it goes back at least to early Hellenistic times, precisely to the "Alexander Sarcophagus",⁷⁸⁴ where a similar heroic nude figure appears.

Strong has "little doubt that this is Severus". Though he admits that Severus was "one of the most image-conscious emperors",⁷⁸⁵ he does not discuss - in fact he does not even mention - the fact that the face of the figure is beardless. Though the head is admittedly badly damaged, the weathering has affected only the left side of the face, i.e. the left ear and the hair behind it. The rest is in a relatively good condition as can be seen from our photograph. I made it a point to check carefully myself whether the chin presents any breaks and I can say for certain that not only the chin but indeed a good part of the left cheek preserves the original surface with some traces of the same claw-chisel marks that cover all the sculptured surfaces. Therefore, since we know of no other image of the Emperor without a beard and since, being so conscious of his image, he is most unlikely to have allowed himself to be thus portrayed, we have to discount this identification. Over and above this, none of the facial features in this head bears any resemblance to those of Severus' portraits.

The face presents a large nose under a slightly sloping forehead. The eye is apparently cut in the same way as that of the previous figure but only the spherical shape of the eye-ball with the central drilled hole survives. The mouth is again opened by a deep and wide drilled groove. A rather unusual feature is the short and rigidly straight naso-labial depression from behind the nostril to the corner of the mouth. A similar trait seems, however, to have been cut on the face of the seated captive nearby.

Strong's "most conclusive evidence" for his identification, "the Victory carrying a shield and stretching out her arm to crown him" must also be dismissed after a close examination of this object. What Strong saw as a Victory is in fact a trophy against which is tied the captive seated beneath it with hands bound behind his back. The large oval object is truly a shield with a central boss; the outstretched "arm" is only the horizontal bar of the trophy, and the battered head was either an empty helmet or a helmeted mask. Similar trophies with seated captives with hands tied behind the back occur on several triumphal reliefs,⁷⁸⁶ and the trophy alone, covered in full armour, occurs even more often.⁷⁸⁷

A further argument against this identification, and one which favours my own, is the figure's position which is far removed from the centre and facing the shorter end, whereas the most important part of the relief is certainly more to the right towards the centre.

The seated captive, together with the trophy, closes the first slab. Because of the great amount of weathering and a large chip missing on the right cheek, only a frightening mask of a face survives (PLATE 316). The general shape of a beardless face can still be made out. The left eye is completely erased but

enough of the right one survives to show the same cut and technique as on the other figures. The same applies to the wide straight gap in the mouth. Worthy of note are the deep drillings cut between the neck and the cloak which are fully representative of the drilling technique which dominates the whole relief and is used to outline objects against the background, to separate flesh from drapery and one fold of drapery from the other.

Again, the Parthian nationality of the captive is betrayed by the characteristic cap with pointed top curved forward. He is seated with chest turned forward in full view, while the head is bowed down and shown in a three-quarter view. The whole pose is in fact exactly similar to that of the bearded barbarian on the frieze from the Temple of Apollo in Campo, only reversed.

The first identifiable figure on the second slab is that of a young warrior whose body is almost en face in a diagonal position as he is about to hit the enemy with a deadly blow. He wears a cuirass and paludamentum. As his eagle-headed sword lies in its scabbard, the weapon he is brandishing is probably a spear which he is aiming at the mounted enemy moving towards him from the right. The strange object in his left hand could be an aegis - as suggested by Strong⁷⁸⁸ - which he holds by the upper edge using it as a shield. The head is also almost en face but with a slight turn to the right (PLATE 317).

This youth has a full, well-fed face with rather heavy jaws and chin. The abundant hair consists of thick curls separated by frequent deep holes and grooves made by the drill. The eyes, of which the right one is the best preserved, are cut in the usual manner, but in this case the inner corners are far more deeply excavated, thus isolating better the spherical eye-ball which is also bored by a round hole. The deep, dark canal that marks the mouth is done with greater care than usual and it follows the sinuous shape of the fleshy lips. The drill has also been used to create the strong shadow between the lower lip and the chin, thus emphasizing the fleshiness of the former and the prominence of the latter.

All the facial features, though expressed in a different technique, agree perfectly with the iconography of Caracalla with whom it has been rightly identified by Strong.⁷⁸⁹ In 203, at the age of 17, Caracalla had already participated in the eastern wars with his father and brother, had been proclaimed Imperator Designatus and Augustus and occupied the office of consul. The eagle-headed sword hilt might very well be distinguishing him as Imperator Designatus.⁷⁹⁰

Portraits of the young prince, which offer very good comparisons iconographically, are the Vatican head (Sala dei Busti 347)⁷⁹¹ and the one in the Museo delle Terme (No. 641).⁷⁹² But the best comparisons are significantly with two heads cut in relief, the portrait of young Caracalla on the Arch of the Argentarii and the one on the Sacchetti relief. In the latter, however, he is wearing what looks like very long whiskers, which are absent in our relief.⁷⁹³ The resemblance to Caracalla's head on the Dextrarum Iunctio relief on the Arch of Lepcis is less obvious. The structure and general features of the face are nevertheless the same: heavy jaws and chin, protruding lips and wide flat nose. The hairstyle in the Lepcis head seems, however, to be shorter than usual. One ought to notice, moreover, the rasp finish of the flesh surface which is much finer and shallower than on the Cyrene relief. The teenage appearance of the young warrior accords well with the age of Caracalla in 203.

The horseman at whom Caracalla's spear is aimed turns his head back to the right and so does his rearing horse as if both have been thrown back by the supernatural power of the aegis. The warrior's body is thrown forward fully en face, except for the legs and the head. He is wearing a plain helmet secured by a wide strap covering the cheeks and the chin (PLATE 318). His attitude of defeat implies that he belongs to the enemy, and so does the costume, consisting only of a short tunic tied at the waist. The facial features are accordingly generic and belong to the stock type peculiar to this relief, an example of which we have already met in the horseman fleeing from the nude figure. Though it is in profile, the whole of the face is carved and can be seen from the side. It is rather full, with the usual deep-set globular eyes with large circular holes in the centre, a relatively smaller nose, and deep-drilled open mouth. The well-shaped lips are better preserved than usual and are similar to Caracalla's but the mouth is much smaller.

The next mounted figure is one of the greatest importance. In my view, if the Emperor was ever represented on this relief we must certainly look for him in this figure and not in the heroic nude. It is far from being just "a fleeing barbarian".⁷⁹⁴ First of all his position is very central and by his movement to the right and the direction of his head, almost en face but turned slightly to the left, he dominates the whole scene. Besides, if our hypothesis is correct that the headless figure spearing an enemy immediately to his right is Geta, his position between the latter and Caracalla on the left would be an ideal one for Severus who in almost all his official reliefs had himself portrayed in the company of his children, very often with one on each side.

The fact that he takes no aggressive action in the battle does not imply that he is fleeing. In all Imperial reliefs depicting battles between Romans and barbarians the Emperor is never shown in a fighting gesture - except on the Great Trajanic Frieze where he is actually charging the enemy while brandishing a spear. Therefore the Emperor's inaction in this case in no way goes against the conventions of Imperial art. His presence alone and his relaxed attitude on his rearing horse - not lacking, in fact, a certain degree of majesty - is enough to give the impression of his complete control of the battle.

The cloak he wears, pinned on the right shoulder and flying out behind him shows that he is Roman and not barbarian since the enemy is invariably shown wearing merely a tunic. Besides, below the waist his "tunic" presents a series of straight vertical grooves separating elements which seem to be the flaps of a cuirass, similar to those worn by Caracalla and the Roman horseman on the far left. All these elements support our identification of this figure with Septimius Severus.

To these one must add another important factor: the facial features (PLATE 319). The latter, though sharing with the rest a certain amount of generalisation - in great part due to the crude style, the roughness of the surface and corrosion - betray a certain likeness to the portraits of Septimius Severus. Most important of these features is the beard. At first sight it seems to be formed only of a mass of rough bumpy tufts, but a view from the front reveals better traces of vertical separating channels recalling the characteristic partition of Severus' beard, which he seems to have imitated from his Antonine predecessor, Marcus Aurelius.

Unfortunately only part of the face survives and this not in the best of conditions. The right eye presents the usual spherical eye-ball which in this case stands out grotesquely between the deep depressions on either side, since no trace has survived of the eyelids. The usual deep groove separates the lips, but this time it dips down at either corner of the mouth to offset the moustache and lower lip. A close examination of the only surviving cheek reveals that the face was not just built up of flat or smooth round planes, but that great movement of the muscles underneath was suggested by the moulded surfaces. The rough finish produced by the claw-chisel is preserved only in some traces on the right cheek.

The only head that survives from the rest of the relief belongs to the helmeted figure strangely placed at a low level immediately in front of Severus' horse. The curved object he carries behind his head looks very much like a trumpet and distinguishes him as a cornicen. The cloak clasped on his right shoulder and the plumed helmet qualify him as a Roman soldier. The presence of a cornicen in this particular place is significant if our identification of Severus is right, since cornicines also appear on the Great Trajanic Frieze in the immediate vicinity of the Emperor.

Being in the most sheltered position this head has suffered the least damage and having preserved the original surface gives the best idea of the original style, modelling and finish of surface of the whole relief (PLATE 320). However, as Strong suggested, some sort of wash or fine plaster, of which no trace now survives, seems to have been originally added. The whole might also have been painted in different colours.⁷⁹⁵

As in all the other figures, the upper part of the trunk of the body stands en face but the head is in profile to the right. He shares the same characteristic features with the other figures, namely, large broad nose, thick fleshy lips, drilled eye-ball, thick eye-lids. The eye is rather long drawn and deep-set under the eyebrow with a dark recess in the inner corner. Note also the movement of the muscles on the cheek and the wooly effect of the beard which differs from that of the Emperor only because it lacks the vertical drilled grooves.

The next figure in active combat, though headless, seems to me to be identifiable with Geta, Caracalla's brother. Strong also looked for him in the relief but could not find him.⁷⁹⁶ To my mind the figure of Geta in this position enhances the symmetry of the central composition with Severus in the middle. Like Caracalla, his body is posed obliquely though slanting in the opposite direction. Like Caracalla, too, he is shown en face brandishing a spear which he aims at a fallen enemy. He is also dressed exactly like Caracalla in a very short cuirass and mantle pinned on the right shoulder. His sword hangs in the scabbard across the chest. Its hilt however is a plain one, which indicates that the eagle-headed hilt was the prerogative of the elder brother alone. The heroic and victorious attitude and the young appearance of the figure fit well with a representation of the younger prince.

The barbarian being defeated by Geta and pressed down by the latter's knee is headless. He wears the usual tunic and on his chest hangs a strange object which looks vaguely like a human female head.

On the third slab which once bore the rest of the frieze nothing can be made out except for a horseman riding to the right, parts of other figures, mounted or on foot, and part of a figure at the corner of the frieze which corresponds to the captive in the same position on the left-hand end. Next to him on the narrow side is a figure with a grotesque head, perhaps another captive or, more likely, another trophy.

The general dumpiness of the figures with their large heads and somewhat abstract features are a product of the Late Roman - or Late Antique - art which has been noted in its early stages on the decursio scenes on the base of Antoninus' Column and which has as yet found its greatest expression on the Column of Marcus Aurelius. In the context of Severan sculpture, however, these stylistic and technical features find their greatest expression in the relief panels of the Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum.⁷⁹⁷ Compare, for instance, the faces and proportions of some of our figures with those of the soldiers in Panel III Scene B, and the bearded figures in Panel I Scene C. To judge, however, from the trumpeter's head, it seems that greater care in the modelling of the face has been spent on our heads than on those in the Roman reliefs. The peculiar claw-chisel marks are found only in the Cyrene relief and the whole effect gives the impression that the carver was actually working with a spatula on a soft plastic material.

This great similarity in general style of the figures to those in contemporary official Roman art, a similarity which, on the other hand, is largely lacking in the Lepcis reliefs, suggests that the designer and carver of the Cyrene relief depended directly on Rome for his cartoons, iconography, style and technique. Thus it is Lepcis which seems to be independent, to a certain extent, of Rome and justifiably so, since she imported both material and a whole school of sculptors from Asia Minor.⁷⁹⁸

The inscription beneath the Cyrene relief offers only a terminus ante quem non of A.D. 198 for the creation of the monument. But this dependence on contemporary metropolitan sculpture in style and technique suggests a later date, perhaps slightly after 203 when the celebration of Severus' decennalia took place.

CONCLUSION

Historical relief is one of the major original developments of Roman art and portraiture in narrative relief is another.

One of the most important genres of Roman art which had no forerunner in Greek art is the factual representation of a historical event in three-dimensional relief. Real events from contemporary, or near contemporary, history had indeed suggested the themes of several classical and Hellenistic reliefs, but Greek artists and their patrons preferred to commemorate events of this kind under the veil of myth or allegory. To celebrate the victory of the Greeks over the Persians in the V century traditional mythological and legendary themes were chosen: battles between Greeks and Amazons, between Lapiths and Centaurs, Gods and Giants. All symbolized the struggle and final victory of civilization over barbarism, of West over East. In the II century B.C. the struggle between Gods and Giants on the Great Altar of Pergamon is a clear allusion to the Attalid dynasty's victories over the Galatians.

On the other hand war-like episodes from the history of Central Italy are found in Etruscan art, as in the "François Tomb" at Vulci, but in painting not in sculptural relief. An episode from a war is also represented in the famous mosaic from Pompeii with the battle of Alexander and Darius, by some thought to be a copy of a celebrated picture attributed to Philoxenos of Eretria.

From the III century B.C. onwards we have evidence also in Rome of paintings illustrating episodes from war campaigns being displayed in triumphal processions and exhibited in public places, the so-called "triumphal paintings". Such paintings depicting the campaigns against the Carthaginians and the Syracusans were exhibited by Valerius Messalla in 263 B.C. on the walls of the Curia (Pliny, *HN* 35. 22). In 201 B.C. P. Scipio Africanus held an exhibition of triumphal paintings and in 188 B.C. L. Scipio showed pictures on the Capitol of his exploits in Asia.⁷⁹⁹ Perhaps some inspiration from these paintings - none of which have survived - is reflected in the work of the modest painter of a tomb on the Esquiline.⁸⁰⁰ Whether these paintings gave rise to, or somehow influenced the origin of, Roman commemorative relief cannot be ascertained. It is certain, however, that they were the product of the same sense of history and deep-rooted passion of the Roman mind for factual detail which brought about the creation of historical relief. It is perhaps not accidental that the first surviving historical relief illustrates such a war episode and that it was erected by L. Aemilius Paullus, the same man who asked the Athenians for a painter to commemorate his victories against the Macedonian king, Perseus.

That the Roman realistic, or veristic, portrait had its roots in Hellenistic sculpture as well as in Etruscan and Mid-Italic art is today universally accepted.⁸⁰¹ What I consider to be a purely Roman contribution is the fusion of portraiture and commemorative relief. Greek funerary reliefs of the IV century B.C. and later, besides being a different branch of sculpture altogether, never

seem to have represented the true likeness of the dead person as happens in Roman funerary sculpture.⁸⁰² The only two other Greek monuments I know of, where portraits appear in relief, are the "Alexander Sarcophagus"⁸⁰³ and the relief of Archelaus with the "Apotheosis of Homer" in the British Museum;⁸⁰⁴ the purpose of the first is evidently funerary and the scenes portrayed are symbolic rather than historical in character; the second is a votive relief and Ptolemy IV and Arsinoe III are shown as Chronos and Oecumene deifying Homer in an equally symbolic composition.

[It is therefore in Roman relief sculpture that true portraits appear for the first time in the representation of real episodes from contemporary history. This combination of portrait and narrative relief is again the offspring of that sense of history and factualism which was rooted in the Roman character which demanded a real, immediately recognizable, likeness of a historical figure to be inserted in the figurative representation of the achievements of the Roman people. For a Roman the relief is not a historical record unless the real people involved in that particular event are present. It is to my mind precisely the combination of these two realities in one single art form that constitutes one of the greatest achievements and most significant revolutions of Roman art with respect to Greek art. Without its portraits the Ara Pacis would have been only a second-class imitation of the Panathenaic procession of the Parthenon. Without its portraits Trajan's Column would have remained a simple narration of the struggle of the Roman army and the Dacians, of civilization and barbarism, and would have lacked that experienced reality which is infused into it by the likenesses of people the Romans knew so well and with whom they identified themselves.

From the above survey of the more important historical reliefs it follows that the heads in them can be divided in two categories: portraits in the strict sense of the word as explained in the Introduction and ordinary 'non-portrait' or 'type' heads.

Of the first group the most significant is naturally the principal figure. We have already seen, both in the introduction and in the study of the reliefs themselves, how the main personality in a relief is to be recognized from various conventions which are used almost without exception in this type of figurative sculpture. From the Ara Pacis onwards, making allowance for one or two exceptions, like the vicomagistri relief, this principal figure is the Emperor himself and locating him in the scene is quite easy. When his head survives iconographical evidence is our main source of identification. When it is missing we find that he is reliably distinguishable by compositional conventions: he is carved in highest relief, is very often en face and is larger than the other figures; the composition is centred on him with the movement and attention of the remaining figures being directed towards him.

In the pre-Imperial reliefs the main figure, whenever present, is a general or an important magistrate or a legendary hero whose gesta are being celebrated. Because of the essentially Hellenistic theme and composition of the battle relief of Aemilius Paullus I have expressed doubts on the recent identification of the general and suggested the possibility of locating him in the headless rider on the left of the east side by analogy with similar Hellenistic compositions. On the contrary, the sacrifice scene of the 'Ara of Domitius Ahenobarbus' is very

'Roman', both in subject and in concept, and anticipates the compositional conventions adopted later to mark out the Emperor in the Imperial reliefs. The magistrate is placed in the centre, with a full-face pose. He is larger in stature than the other figures and the composition leads the eye of the viewer towards him.

The Basilica Aemilia frieze presents a problem of its own, since it depicts episodes from the legendary history of Rome and therefore no genuine portraits can possibly be represented in it. One figure may be meant to portray Faustulus and another Titus Tatius, in which case they would be only imaginary or fabricated 'portraits'. The 'city-founder' has most of the requirements of portraiture, both compositionally and because of his realistic portrait-like features, and could well be intended as a historical figure known to the late-Republican Romans from tradition or history text-books. However the likelihood of the head reproducing the true image of that semi-legendary figure is very remote, if not completely absent.

In the frieze from the Temple of Apollo no such principal figure survives. Nor does it appear in the fragmentary relief of Actian Apollo where, however, some elements suggest its presence on the left, in the missing part of the procession.

The position of the principal figure in Imperial times varies considerably: from a lateral one on the Ara Pacis and the panels of the Arch of Trajan, to a central one in three of Marcus Aurelius' panels and on the Arch of Septimius in Lepcis, and to a raised space above an anonymous crowd as in most adlocutio scenes on the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius and on the Arch of Septimius in the Roman Forum. The Emperor, however, remains always the focal point of the spectator's attention.

The pose or attitude of the Emperor also varies a lot. We find a profile view in the Ara Pacis, a couple of scenes from the Hadrianic tondi and in a few of Marcus' panels, and a three-quarter pose in several scenes from the two sculptured Columns, a few reliefs from the Arch of Beneventum and some of Marcus' panels. But by far the most common pose - by pose for the moment I mean the attitude of the body irrespective of the head - is the en face one. Frontality in the body of the Imperial figure is encountered as early as the Julio-Claudian Ara Pietatis and Ravenna reliefs and is later encountered on the Cancelleria reliefs and the Arch of Titus, in most of the panels of Trajan's Arch, some of Hadrian's tondi, the apotheosis reliefs, and in many scenes from the Column of Marcus Aurelius. This frontality, however, reaches its highest degree in the monuments of Septimius Severus where not only the body but also the head is turned outwards to face the viewer. The meaning of frontality at this later stage of Roman art and its probable origin in the East have been ably discussed and argued by several eminent historians of Roman art⁸⁰⁵ and there is little point in indulging in such a discussion here. I do wish, however, to make two remarks. Firstly, as noticed above, frontality is a common feature in Roman relief sculpture from the Julio-Claudian period - not to mention the late-Republican 'Ahenobarbus' relief - even though not in its totality, as it is usually understood and as it appears from the Severan period onwards. Secondly, the anticipation of this rigid frontality by a few decades in the Antonine relief from Ephesus may be used to argue in favour of its ultimate origin in Iranian art, as a stepping stone to its assimilation in Metropolitan art.

Iconographically, the development of the Emperor's portrait in relief follows closely that of free-standing portraiture. In the majority of cases the relief head is a more or less faithful replica of one or other of the Imperial official portrait types. The Augustus of the Ara Pacis imitates, with slight variations the Prima Porta type. Most of Trajan's portraits on the Beneventum Arch are replicas of his decennalia type. Even Severus' head in the Argentarii Arch imitates an official type - the Severus-Serapis type. In a few cases original versions are provided which do not fit any known prototypes, such as Trajan's portrait on the attic relief with the Submission of a province and young Domitian's head in Frieze B of the Cancellaria. In the II century A. D. however we note certain iconographical deviations which are mostly due to stylistic and technical devices. The ungainly, sometimes unrecognizable, portraits of Trajan in his Column are certainly the result, to a large extent, of the small scale and the multitude of the figures. The even more disfigured and numerous versions of Marcus Aurelius' portraits on his Column are also partly due to the small scale but mostly to the tendency in relief sculpture of this later period to break up the organic form of the human figure by quicker and more expressive means, such as the running drill. Had Severus' portraits survived in the triumphal Arch in Rome they would have probably shown the same stylistic tendencies which predominate on the heads of the other figures, with their clumsy, coarse, almost caricature-like features.

Stylistically and technically the relief portrait - both of the Emperor and of all the other figures for which comparisons can be made - differs in various degrees from free-standing portraiture throughout its history and the final product is usually inferior to the better examples of official portraits in the round. Most often it lacks the smooth finish, the delicate modelling and, most important of all, the psychological content of portraiture in the round. It is this last quality which, according to Schweitzer, is an essential requirement if the portrait is to be considered a work of art. To understand these diversities one must consider the essentially different purpose and destination of the two types of portraits. Whereas one is intended to be seen at very close quarters, in private dwellings or in public places, where the minutest details can be explored, where the texture might even undergo a tactile appreciation, the other is intended to be seen as part of a whole picture, very often placed at a height where the naked eye can only enjoy a general, overall impression of the head without distinguishing the subtler touches of texture and modelling. This is often not realized by art critics, who can scrutinize at leisure these portraits by means of enlarged photographs, or in the actual original, at close quarters, in those cases in which the reliefs are placed at eye-level in museums.

To illustrate the inferior quality in modelling and surface finish one needs only compare the head of Augustus in the Ara Pacis with his best known portraits such as the statues from Prima Porta and Via Labicana. In spite of their excellent portrait qualities even the heads of Trajan on his Arch lack the refinement and delicacy of surface texture of some of his busts, such as the British Museum one. This gap between relief and free-standing portraiture widens even further in the latter half of the II century A. D. The most important elements that bring about this gap are those referred to above, namely the gradual breakup of organic form and the ever increasing use of the drill. Both elements appear in reliefs before they do so on works in the round, and as far as they are concerned the

former class of portraiture keeps well ahead of the latter practically throughout this development. This widening gap between the two can first be clearly discerned in the portrait of Antoninus Pius in his apotheosis relief. Comparing it to other portraits of his we have observed for the first time the much more pronounced use of the drill in the rendering of the hair and beard instead of the more conventional plastic modelling. This use of the drill keeps increasing in Aurelius' reliefs, first in his panels and later even more markedly on his Column, to make its full impact in the Severan relief portraits, which convey an impression of astounding diversity from their counterparts in the round. Some of Marcus' panels do, however, show a noticeable respite from this process of erosion of naturalistic form and proportions.

Besides the Emperor's portraits there occur in several reliefs a number of figures which by their function, position, attributes and, particularly, because of their physiognomical features, are manifestly portraits of contemporary historical personalities. These can be divided into two groups: members of the Imperial family and high-ranking civil or military officials.

Members of the Imperial family appear in great number in the Ara Pacis procession, where almost all the figures in the foreground on the south side and a few even on the north side have been identified with Julio-Claudian personalities. On this monument they participate as ordinary human persons in a homely family atmosphere, almost as if echoing Augustus' policies in endeavouring to preserve the integrity of the Roman family. On the Ravenna fragment, on the other hand, three Julio-Claudians appear beside the Emperor, this time as statues of deified or heroic figures. Afterward the members of the Imperial family do not reappear on the monuments until the Antonine and Severan times. Domitian is present in Frieze B of the Cancelleria not as an adjunct to Vespasian but in his own right as the actual protagonist. With the end of hereditary succession, after the Flavian dynasty, this absence of the Imperial family from the commemorative reliefs is to be explained by the childlessness of Trajan, Hadrian and the Antonines. Trajan 'adopted' Hadrian on his deathbed and Hadrian adopted the Antonines in the last months of his life. In fact the members of the Antonine dynasty, including the child Lucius Verus, are portrayed together with their adoptive father in the retrospective late-Antonine relief from Ephesos. With the re-establishment of a hereditary dynasty by Severus, the Emperor appears accompanied by his wife and children almost in every monument except on the Arch of the Forum, where he is flanked only by his heirs. Their significance here, however, is very different from that of the Julio-Claudians in the Ara Pacis: they are representatives of a ruling dynasty with a connotation of despotic oriental kingship, rather than members of the family of the 'first among equals'.

The disappearance of the Empresses until the apotheosis of Sabina probably requires a further explanation. Since their images are found in free-standing portraits, this may be due to the subject matter of the surviving historical reliefs, wars and State-business, in which the Emperor appears in his role of head of State and in which his wife would not have a natural role. In fact, when she finally reappears she does so after her death in an honorary funerary monument dedicated to her alone (as in the case of Sabina) or in conjunction with her equally deified husband (apotheosis of Antoninus and Faustina). It is once more with Severus that the Empress returns to the foreground and participates in scenes of triumph (Lepcis Arch) and others of symbolic character (Lepcis and

Argentarii Arches). But she is still absent on the sculptures relating to the eastern war in which she was naturally not directly involved.

We have noticed the great uniformity in the features of the Julio-Claudian princes and their wives, especially on the Ara Pacis, so that the reliability of their identifications is very often questionable. Their dependence on official portrait-types can only be surmised from comparisons with coin and marble portraits, but the lack of sufficient differentiation between one head and another does not permit convincing conclusions. On the contrary, their apparent derivation from a common basic physiognomical pattern and their minimal departure from the common type detract much from their portrait value.

The portraits of Sabina and Faustina I in the apotheosis reliefs, although retaining much of the traditional idealization of Imperial female portraiture, show unmistakable individual features which can be seen to derive, in each case, from one particular portrait type. The same can be said of Julia Domna's portraits from both the Lepcis and the Argentarii Arches. The most decisive iconographical element in the portraits of these Empresses is certainly the hair-style.

In the Ephesos relief the head of young Marcus Aurelius has also been traced to one of his earliest portrait types, but that of Lucius Verus may have been a reconstructed one. Caracalla's and Geta's images, in both the Roman and Lepcis reliefs also correspond to their official portraiture, although some independence is detectable, as is to be expected, in the provincial reliefs.

Most of our remarks regarding the development of the Emperors' portraits apply also to those of their families. These undergo the same changes in the concept of the human image and in the stylistic idiom and techniques by which it is expressed.

Because of the existence of other documentary iconographical evidence, Agrippa in the Ara Pacis frieze is perhaps the most reliably identifiable of all the portraits of high officials present in historical reliefs. Whereas the image in that relief can be compared to his portraits on coins and in the round, we do not have such means for checking the identifications of such personalities as Licinius Sura, Lusius Quietus, Pompeianus or Bassaeus Rufus, and Plautianus, whose portraits remain therefore on a more or less hypothetical level. But that they are real portraits has been proved or confirmed by applying the criteria set out in the Introduction.

Agrippa can be considered a member of Augustus' family, since he was his son-in-law, but his realistic and characterized features have nothing in common with the standard Julio-Claudian iconography and his image stands out as a true portrait of a distinguished historical personality.

Trajan's military associates are portrayed several times on his Column. At least three of them can be considered as portraits both from their characterized features and their recurrence in different scenes, but which one is Sura, Quietus or Livianus it is not possible to say. Deeper study of these heads and a more thorough investigation of the literary sources may produce positive results in this direction. As with Trajan's heads, these portraits were produced by several hands, with consequent differences in their handling. Adding to this

factor the small scale of the figures, one is often not sure whether the same person or a different one is intended. This is also the case with Marcus' generals in the other Column. The main difference between the portraits of the two monuments is again the ugliness and coarse treatment, with plenty of drilling, of the heads in Marcus' Column.

On the Arch of Trajan, the larger scale of the figures permits a better stylistic and iconographic appreciation of the two so far identifiable portrait figures: 'Sura' or 'Quietus' and Hadrian. The former has the very realistic features and dry modelling usually associated with Flavian portraiture, which however occur also in figures on other panels, even on a background head. Hadrian, if and in whichever of the two attic heads he is to be identified, introduces a new iconographical type, the bearded and somewhat more idealized portrait.

In the Hadrianic roundels the bearded heads represent more probably a Hadrianic type rather than real portraits, even though two or three of them bear a strong resemblance to one another. The other group of six figures each with a clean-shaven face and strongly characterizing features are almost certainly portraits of two of Hadrian's companions, perhaps the Caesernii brothers. Their heads show a return to a more plastic feeling in surface modelling. Antinous' head, on the other hand, with his idealized ephebic features, can be classified as portrait only because of its strong resemblances to his known images. A comparison with his free-standing portraits is again very indicative of the inferiority of the relief heads in which the delicate soft modelling is almost non-existent.

Marcus Aurelius' reliefs provide us with an interesting series of portraits of his military and civilian officials, the most important of whom, almost certainly Pompeianus, appears several times both in his panels and in the Column frieze. The most remarkable feature in practically all these portraits is the unusual use of the drill in the hair. The hair and beard are generally very short, in contrast to the thick, abundant hair and flowing beard of Marcus Aurelius, and their smooth surfaces are scored by short and rather shallow furrows which produce an impressionistic effect anticipating the close-clipped beards of III century portraits. The high degree of realism in their faces can only be appreciated when compared with the Hadrianic relief portraits and with Marcus' own portraits in the same panels. The 'debased' or 'decadent' quality of portraiture on the Column can once again be measured by confronting portraits of the same individuals in the panels and in the spiral frieze.

The one or two possible portraits on the Severan Arch of the Forum show several typological and stylistic elements in common with those of the Column of Marcus Aurelius. The beards, however, seem to become thicker, tuftier, and more deeply undercut by the drill. The disproportion of the head to the body is even more pronounced and the dumpiness of the figure does not spare either the Imperial or the other portraits. The larger scale of the Lepcis reliefs - as well as the pedestal reliefs of the Roman arch - makes them a better match to Marcus' panels than to either the Column or the Severan panels. It is not sure whether portraits, other than the Imperial ones, were ever meant to be represented since it seems that the reliefs do not depict specific historical episodes but symbolic ones, and since the figures which might otherwise qualify

as portraits do not differ much from the general facial types of the panels. In any case these show a mixture of heads with either plastically moulded beards and hairstyles or with a drilled treatment similar to that of Pompeianus.

The ordinary, non-portrait, figures are all those whose role, position, or facial features deprive them of any pretention to true documentary portraiture. These consist of soldiers, lictors, sacrificial attendants, barbarians or mere spectators. Divine and allegorical figures are naturally excluded for their obvious irrelevance to the subject. It has often been noted that some of these ordinary figures adhere to a facial type which is repeated in different periods with only minor variations. Such are, for example, the piper and the camillus. The iconographical differences in these facial types from one period to the other are not very significant and can rarely be used as chronological evidence since they are not reduceable to a fixed evolutionary pattern. Thus the type of piper with grotesque puffed cheeks appears repeatedly from the earliest sacrificial relief, the 'Ahenobarbus' relief, down to the sacrificial scenes relating to Marcus Aurelius. In Aurelius' reliefs, however, there appears one element which may be used as a chronological pointer, the beard. The camillus on the other hand, is always shown as a beardless, young, more or less good-looking boy. At first he appears with a short, or moderately long, hair, but from Titus onwards he begins to wear a long feminine hairstyle, which in Flavian and Trajanic times is characterized by a beehive arrangement in front. More chronologically indicative, especially in second century reliefs, are the style and technique in the treatment of these types. Thus, an Antonine camillus or piper is immediately distinguishable from a I century type by the wide use of the undercutting drill. Sometimes the class typology is sacrificed in favour of the current facial type as in the case of the piper in the Ara Pietatis who is given a typically Julio-Claudian face.

The non-portrait figures, which embrace both background and foreground figures, can be separated into two groups. The majority can be classified as stereotyped figures, which means that their heads fall under a particular physiognomical type. There are others, greatly fewer in number, whose features are untypical and even portrait-like but which cannot be classified as portraits because of their role of position in the relief and therefore may be called pseudo-portraits.

In the majority of monuments, where several secondary figures appear, the stereotyped, or standardized, heads are found to fall into two main types: the idealized and the slightly characterized. The idealized version is originally based on traditional Greek aesthetic values with their predilection for handsome, perfectly regular features. Most of the Basilica Aemilia figures, especially the female ones and those of the Sabine warriors, fall into this category and, apparently, so do two of the figures in the 'Ahenobarbus' relief, the priest with the vexillum and the young man waving palm branches. A coarse, more sketchy version appears in the sacrificial attendants and popae of the Temple of Apollo frieze. On the Ara Pacis the best specimen is the background head immediately behind Agrippa. Except for a few minor variations, such as the length of the jaw-bone, the slant of the nose, and the roundness of the face, this idealized type of face (as exemplified by the latter Ara Pacis figure) changes very little until the posthumous Hadrianic reliefs. Suffice it to compare the two background

lictors to the right of Claudius in the Ara Pietatis, the lictors in the Cancellaria reliefs and the two on either side of Trajan in the adventus panel on the attic of the Arch at Beneventum, as well as the majority of beardless famuli on Hadrian's tondi. After Hadrian this clean-shaven idealized type disappears almost completely and its place is taken over by a bearded type which becomes gradually less idealized and uglier with Marcus Aurelius and Severus, so that at the end it cannot really be distinguished from the caricature-like, ill-shaped facial type that dominates the Antonine Column and the Severan panels. The beardless young lictor in the Triumph panel of Marcus Aurelius and two clean-shaven heads in the Cyrene relief are significant exceptions and display a surprising return to the regularly featured idealized face - even if in a very abstract form in the North African relief.

The slightly characterized heads very often fall also under a common facial denominator typical of one particular monument or one particular period. This common pattern also develops very much on the same lines as the idealized type. The heads on the 'Ahenobarbus' relief are too worn to be judged conclusively, but the non-idealized ones seem to belong either to a boyish-looking fat-faced type or to a manly plain-featured type. The sketchy character of the 'Sosiano' relief allows very little distinction between the idealized and the characterized types, the latter being differentiated only by heavier features and large noses (as in the case of most of the litter-bearers). The type which survives, with few variations, right up to Hadrianic times appears for the first time on the Ara Pacis where it is best exemplified by the group of lictors in front of Augustus. The facial features are in the main regular, but some character is added by the inflated brows, wrinkles on the forehead and folds by the mouth. The young flamines in the foreground seem to belong also to this stereotyped version. Being apparently a lictor, even the first figure in the procession of the Actian Apollo relief falls under this category. The Julio-Claudian version is found again in a few figures of the Ara Pietatis and in all the heads, both foreground and background, on the Ravenna fragment with the sacrificial victim. A crude interpretation of this type appears in the vicomagistri relief, in the ugly background figures behind the camilli and vicomagistri. The Cancellaria reliefs present a leaner and squarer type of face in the soldiers of Frieze A. The bearded officer in the same relief introduces another type which will appear frequently among the soldiers on Trajan's Column. Almost all the heads of the Arch of Titus reliefs belong to the beardless Flavian brand. This predominates also in the Great Trajanic Frieze, where almost all the soldiers share hard features, heavily built faces and strongly swollen brows. On the Beneventum Arch the same type appears in the equally hard, but less expressive, features of the majority of lictors. In Hadrian's roundels we find the beardless non-idealized type, for instance, nos. 19 and 23, but more commonly the bearded type, for example, nos. 4 and 29, whose physiognomy is so close to that of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius that claims of identification with one or other of the two Emperors have been made. From the tondi onwards the characterized type is almost exclusively bearded; ranging from the more suave type with thick hair and beard in the decursio reliefs to the soldiers in Marcus' panels with their rather shorter beards and rugged features - although there a few better-looking, more refined heads emerge. On Aurelius' Column, however, the rugged coarsely featured heads occupy the whole scene, to become more

caricature-like, puppet-like and thick-bearded on the Severan Arch. A wider range of characterized types can, however, be distinguished on the Lepcis Arch: ranging from a slightly whiskered, young type, to the heavily bearded mature type.

The second group of non-portrait figures, the 'pseudo-portraits', are those whose function or position in the relief deprives them of any claim to portraiture, even if their features are very realistic and portrait-like. Perhaps the most debatable example of this kind of figure is the so-called 'Maecenas' on the Ara Pacis, to which one may add the background head in very faint relief behind Augustus' companion on the right. The position of these two figures is certainly a very subordinate one, but there is no means of identifying their role. The first might possibly be a real portrait, whether Maecenas' or someone else's cannot be decided, but the second appears to be only a pseudo-portrait. More decidedly pseudo-portraits are found on the Arch of Trajan, the best example of which is the lictor on the right of the mercatores panel, with his life-like, realistic and untypical features. The purpose of such life-like heads seems to be merely to break the monotony of the type heads and, perhaps, to enhance the credibility of the scenes by presenting down-to-earth, 'real' faces. Such pseudo-portraits would in my view either be actually modelled on anonymous sitters or purely the creation of the artist's imagination.

Since the main purpose of Imperial relief sculpture is the glorification of the Emperor - besides, of course, the commemoration of the achievements of the Roman people which are embodied by the Emperor himself and his gesta - most of the figures in the reliefs, especially the ordinary non-portrait types, serve two main functions. Besides indicating the meaning of each scene they fill a compositional role: they help to make the Imperial figure stand out better by their position - sometimes enclosing the Emperor in an ideal frame, as on the Ara Pietatis - and by the direction of their heads which generally face the Emperor. This compositional function is even more important in the case of the background figures which further serve to fill the empty spaces behind the main figures. Two main observations have to be made with regard to these background heads, one concerning their position, the other about the rendering of the eyes. The commonest position for background heads is the one in strict profile. This is most probably due to the fact that such a position offers less room for distortion of the face, whereas in three-quarter and en face views the symmetry of the face has to be sacrificed, owing to perspective and the shallowness of the relief. Let it suffice to compare, as an example, the background heads in the Ara Pacis frieze. In the case of profile heads, moreover, it has been observed that the eye, which naturally ought to appear also in profile, is rendered en face. This irregularity reminds one of similar perspective errors in archaic Greek art and seems to suggest that the sculptors of these reliefs were not always skilled enough, or did not take enough pains, to overcome it. This anomaly occurs sporadically in every period, if not in every relief, but it predominates in the reliefs from the Arches of Titus and Trajan, thus adding another argument in favour of the close relation between the two arches.

After having dealt with the different types of portraiture encountered in my study of the individual reliefs, there are a few problems which have kept em-

erging in the discussion of the portraiture and on which I would like to comment briefly. Admittedly most of what follows is in some ways subjective and not founded on concrete evidence, but nevertheless it sums up the impressions that I formed after a thorough and careful examination of the reliefs.

One of the most intriguing problems that the historian of Roman art constantly faces is the attempt to reconstruct the process by which the sculptor went about creating a relief. In our case one is more likely to ask oneself what was the process by which portraits were carved on these reliefs. Although we have no surviving handbook of ancient sculptural techniques, it is logical and reasonable to surmise, from the analogy of modern or contemporary art, that cartoons were widely used in the process. The picture would be first designed on paper and then translated into three-dimensional relief. If several carvers were involved, owing to the size of the monument to be decorated, then these cartoons, normally designed by one and the same master in order to maintain a certain unity in the project, would be distributed to these craftsmen for transference onto the marble. On the Severan Arch in the Forum it is clear that the numerous pedestal reliefs were derived from only three, or possibly four cartoons, which were copied very faithfully, the heads of the various soldiers and captives being almost identical from one group to the other.

This brings us to the problem more closely related to portraiture. Were the portraits in relief, especially the Imperial portraits, modelled from the same cartoon from which the general picture was derived? Or were special, more detailed sketches provided for a more careful handling of the Imperial image which, after all, was the most important element in such commemorative reliefs? Or else were plastic models used and direct copies of them made? Although the third possibility cannot be discounted completely, it appears rather unlikely since it involved transporting the statue or bust in question from its location to the workshop or, if the reliefs were carved in situ, to the monument which was being decorated. The possibility of the Emperor himself sitting for the carving of each of his portraits in relief is so remote that it can be ignored. It is however very likely that he sat for the modelling of his official portraits, copies of which would have been within easy access, in public places. Of course, wax copies, or copies in some other cheap and malleable material, could have been made from these and then used as models on the working site. This method is more practical and might have been used in some cases, but the work involved is still considerable. The easiest and most practical method, it seems to me, was for the artist to obtain access to a portrait in the round or, perhaps, to the actual person whom he wanted to reproduce and sketch on paper two or more different views of the head. Such views would obviously have to include at least one from the front and one or two from the sides, one of each profile, all according to the position of the head on the relief. In short he would be doing exactly the same as a modern sculptor who is commissioned to carve a portrait; only the task of the latter is facilitated by the use of photography. With such sketches in hand the carver or the specialist portraitist, whatever the case may be, would not find it too difficult to achieve a faithful likeness of the intended person.

The only evidence for the use of this method by sculptors of Roman historical reliefs is found in the reliefs themselves. In monuments where we have several

scenes showing the same person repeatedly it is generally found that groups of heads follow essentially the same model. The basic and more conspicuous physiognomical features, such as the shape of the face, the eyes, nose, hair-style etc., are reproduced accurately from the paper designs. The minor differences of details and style are due to the different interpretation of the cartoons given by each individual carver. The best illustration of this is perhaps the Arch of Trajan where all the Emperor's portraits, with the exception of two, follow more or less accurately one model which, in turn, is derived from an official portrait. Similarly the portraits of Pompeianus on four of Marcus Aurelius' panels have been found to be derived from the same model. The essential characterizing features are meticulously reproduced, in particular the strongly crooked nose, the pattern of the wrinkles on the forehead, the beard and receding hair. Differences in the surface modelling and in the use of the drill is accounted for by the participation of different craftsmen or executants.

An important problem, linked with the previous one, is to determine whether it was a regular custom in the production of historical reliefs to have the important portraits carved by a specialist. I have already discussed, in the section dedicated to the Cancelleria reliefs, the evidence for a similar practice in the production of sarcophagi. As for historical relief sculpture, there is still no substantial evidence in support of the theory, and it seems that generally all the portraits were carved by the same sculptor who executed the whole scene or the section allotted to him. This is certainly the case with the Julio-Claudian reliefs, the two Columns, the Severan monuments and all those reliefs in which the original portraits survive untouched. Although I have endeavoured to look for substantial differences in style and technique between portrait-heads and the rest of the relief in order to confirm the theory of the intervention of specialist portrait cutters, I have not discovered any, not even in the panels of Marcus Aurelius. The portraits of Pompeianus in these panels, which at first sight seem to be so different from the rest of the heads, are found on a closer inspection to be quite in consonance with the general style and technique of the reliefs. Thus the emphasis on plastic modelling in his portrait on the Clementia panel echoes that of the other heads in the same panel, and the style of his portraits in the four camp scenes agrees with that of the other heads in their greater reliance on blocked out surfaces scored by the drill. The essentially different style of Vespasian's and Nerva's heads in the Cancelleria reliefs may be explained by a later re-cutting of the portraits, which is certain in the case of Nerva. As for Domitian in Frieze B, his head is carved in exactly the same style as the other figures. The 'halo' around the head may be explained by supposing that the sculptor of a relief panel might be inclined to leave the most important part of it, the Imperial portrait, to the end and that he would first block it out roughly in order to carve it in greater detail at a later stage.

It has often been noticed that, although the relief portrait follows more or less faithfully the free-standing portraiture iconographically, there are fundamental stylistic and, in later stages, technical differences. These are due mainly to the diversity of purpose of the two branches of portraiture. On one hand we have the portrait par excellence in which the spectator expects to see not only the distinctive features of the sitter but also the spiritual content of his personality, his character as well as what he stands for. In the case of the Emperor he expects to see in the portrait the essence of the Empire, the mani-

festation of the ruler (Augustus from Prima Porta) or the head of the state religion (Augustus from Via Labicana). In relief all these ideas are conveyed by the content of the picture in which the portrait is inserted, by the function that it performs and by its relation to the surrounding figures.

In relief the portrait carver aims only to reproduce the essential characteristic traits. All that is required is that the person, whether the Emperor or someone else, is easily recognizable. The psychological content, however, the ethos, is very rarely discernible. A typical, characteristic expression of the face may be reproduced, as in the knitted brows of Pompeianus, but the portrait is never spiritually alive. One cannot read the mood and character of the person beneath the marble surface as one so often can in free-standing portraits. Antoninus Pius' portrait in the Apotheosis relief appears completely devoid of any psychological content when compared with his portraits in the round.

Another difference which has been observed several times between relief and free-standing portraiture is the lack of finish and the use of more cursory technical devices in the relief heads. An analogy with painting, to explain this, may not seem too irrelevant. The creator of a historical relief, both in its initial design phase and later in the actual carving, appears to me to be in the same position as the painter who has to cover a large surface with a commemorative painting. His position in relation to the sculptor of a free-standing portrait is the same as that of the painter of a large-scale narrative picture to the painter of an easel portrait. The artists involved in large scale creations have to use different, more economical and time-saving, techniques to create the desired effect. Whereas an easel painter can dedicate most of his attention to the portrait itself, trying to instil into it as much life, expression, spirit and psychological character as he is capable of, and lavishing on it all the detail he can afford, the large scale painter, having a much more complex picture to depict, can dedicate relatively much less time and effort to the heads of individual figures, since he has to direct his attention also to bodies, landscape, animals and other objects. Besides, having a much larger area to cover by his painting, he uses more cursory techniques, such as a thicker brush, to achieve his purpose. The finished painting, if looked at closely gives the impression of a hasty, sketchy work in which detail is sacrificed to the general impression of the whole picture which is ideally to be seen from a distance.

The same happens in three-dimensional portraiture. The sculptor of a relief has to distribute his attention and energies among all parts of the picture, while the carver of a portrait bust has only the portrait itself to concentrate on. Thus the relief sculptor resorts to more hasty techniques in his carving, such as the running drill. He also generally refrains from cancelling the rough traces of the rasp, sometimes even of the chisel, which are noticeable on heads in several reliefs. The resulting portrait, when examined at close quarters, as we have been doing in this study, appears greatly inferior in quality, whereas if seen in its context, in the general picture, minor details of execution would pass unnoticed. In contrast with the smooth polished finish, the soft delicate modelling of the flesh and the detail in the hair of the free-standing portraits of Augustus, his head in the Ara Pacis frieze shows flat marks of the chisel on the cheeks and thick blocked-out locks in the hair. The gentle modelling of the Vatican portrait of Antoninus Pius, almost sensible to the touch, and the minute

details used prodigally in the hair, are completely absent in the head of the same Emperor in the apotheosis relief, where the surfaces of the facial planes are hardly differentiated and the running drill furrows the volumes of the hair and beard to produce only an 'impression' of the chiaroscuro play which is so naturalistically rendered in the other portraits.

In conclusion there are two further points which I think should not be passed over without a brief mention: one regarding iconography, the other more closely concerning style.

Firstly, from this study of portraiture in historical relief I have come to the conclusion that too much importance is usually given to official Imperial portraiture as a criterion for dating free-standing private portraits. This procedure is justifiable to a great extent by the fact that there is not much else to go by as a chronological gauge. But, considering the great differences, stylistic and iconographic, between portraits of the Emperor and those of other individuals on the same reliefs one wonders how really efficient these dating criteria can be. This is best realized when one compared the portrait of "Quietus" with that of Trajan on the Arch at Beneventum, the heads of the Caesernii brothers in the tondi with Hadrian's usual portraiture, and Pompeianus with Marcus Aurelius in the panels. From the reliefs we notice also that the beard was worn by ordinary soldiers and officials long before Hadrian made it officially fashionable.

The other point regards the importance to be attributed to the influence of the Emperor in establishing the Kunstwollen, the aesthetic taste and style in the art of a certain period. To what extent, for example, was the classicism of Hadrianic relief sculpture and art in general determined by the philhellenic tastes of the Emperor? How much was the radical change in the stylistic language and concept of art in the second half of the II century A.D. influenced by Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, and Severus? The answer is not an easy one and would require a whole book to itself, but it is certain that the Emperor's role in this matter has been greatly exaggerated by the vast majority of art historians. Limiting myself to relief sculpture and portraiture I find that the Emperor could only have a restricted influence. He could choose one Master or another, prefer one school of sculptors to another, but he could never dictate a priori the stylistic language of a particular artistic project except, perhaps, in general terms, by expressing his preferences for the traditional or modern, classical or experimental styles. Relief portraiture can be influenced directly by the Emperor even less, much less than his free-standing official images. For the latter he could presumably choose from a range of alternatives but as regards reliefs he could not do much beforehand except, perhaps, to indicate specifically the official type of image by which he wanted himself to be represented.

The major determining factor, in my view, both for the style of the relief in general and of the portraits, was the artistic personality or workshop entrusted with the execution of the project, even though in Roman art these remain completely anonymous. The artist, in turn, is to a large extent the product of his times, and besides reflecting his own personality, his work of art reflects the spirit of his age, a whole chain of political, social, economic, religious and philosophical factors.

REFERENCES

1. E. Courband, Le bas-relief romain à représentations historiques (Paris 1899).
2. E. g. E. Strong, La Scultura Romana (Florence 1923); D. E. Strong, Roman Imperial sculpture (London 1961); J. M. C. Toynbee, The Art of the Romans (London 1965); R. Bianchi Bandinelli, Rome, the centre of Power: Roman art to A.D. 200 (London 1970) and Rome, the late Empire, Roman art A.D. 200-400 (London 1971).
3. H. Stuart Jones, The sculptures of the Museo Capitolino (Oxford 1912); *idem.*, The sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Oxford 1926); E. Michon, "Les bas-reliefs historiques romaines du Musée du Louvre", Mon Piot 17 (1909) 145-253; W. Helbig, Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom (Tübingen 1963-72).
4. Such as G. Moretti, Ara Pacis Augustae (Rome 1948); M. Rotili, L'Arco di Traiano a Benevento (Roma 1972); R. Brilliant, The Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman forum, MAAR 29 (Rome 1967).
5. It is sufficient to review the bibl. attached to the reliefs of the Ara Pacis, the Cancellaria, panels of Marcus Aurelius and the two Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius.
6. W. H. Gross, Bildnisse Trajans (Berlin 1940); D. Soechting, Die Porträts des Septimius Severus (Bonn 1972).
7. M. Wegner, Die Flavii (Berlin 1966); *idem.*, Die Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit (Berlin 1939).
8. B. Schweitzer, Alla ricerca di Fidia (Milan 1967).
9. Plutarch, Marc. 21; Strabo 5. 235. See Frova 125-36; Bandinelli 35-43.
10. Pliny HN 35. 22; Joseph. BJ 7. 143-52. Perhaps the famous fresco fragment from a tomb on the Esquiline is a copy of such a 'triumphal painting'.
11. Bandinelli 114-5, fig. 117; Frova 373-5, fig. 349.
12. Delphi, Museum. The best and most recent analysis of both the content and style of the frieze is H. Kähler, Der Fries vom Reiterdenkmal des Aemilius Paullus in Delphi (Berlin 1965), with previous references and excellent detailed photographs. See also J. M. C. Toynbee (review of Kähler, Reiterdenkmal) JRS 57 (1967) 265 and Havelock 187, 189, 194, fig. 157.
13. Kähler 7-8.

14. See infra p. 6 , nn. 28-32.
15. Kähler 17-8. Accepted by Toynbee.
16. There is some difference of opinions on the subject among scholars. Besides Kähler see also Reinach 1910 433-68; Bieńkowski 165-88; Lévêque 633-43.
17. Kähler 27-8, pl. 7. The numbering of figures adopted by Kähler is followed.
18. Ibid. , 13, fig. on p. 34; Reinach 1910 438, 442, 463; Bieńkowski 169, 174, 178; Lévêque 635, 642.
19. Kähler 26, pl. 21 b.
20. Ibid. , 32-3, pl. 21 a. Cfr. Reinach 1910 438, 463 (Thracian).
21. Kähler 32-3, pl. 22 d-e.
22. Ibid. , 33, pls. 20, 22 d.
23. Ibid. , 32, pls. 18, 19, 22 e (?); Reinach 1910 463 (Roman); Bieńkowski 166 (?); Lévêque 635, 642 (Macedonian).
24. F. Winter, Der Alexandersarkophag von Sidon (Strassburg 1912); Havelock 191-2, figs. 150-2.
25. The two reliefs have a remarkable amount of common, or very similar, elements. Apart from the figure of Alexander himself the other one, still mounted on a fallen horse, is identical on both reliefs, but the two figures face in opposite directions. The figure of a rider on a rearing horse in profile to the left occurs twice on the Delphi relief, at the right-hand end, and in the same position on the sarcophagus. The dead soldiers lying on the ground with upturned heads, closed eyes and loose hair are also found on the Sidon relief.
26. B. Andreae, Das Alexandermosaik (1959); Havelock 252, pl. XI. The attitude and position of Alexander and of the soldier mounted on a fallen horse occur also in the mosaic. The stray riderless horse of the relief is recalled by the stray horse in the centre.
27. In fact Reinach 1910 441-2, 463; Bieńkowski 170, 178; and Lévêque 637, 643; all assign No. 14 to the enemy side.
28. Since most, if not all, official state reliefs until Hadrian's reign are generally attributed to Greek masters, the only examples of products of Roman, or Italian, artists are those which belong to the so-called 'popular' or 'plebeian' current. See Bandinelli 57-63, figs. 57-69.
29. Havelock 194.
30. Kahler 19, 23.
31. G. Becatti, "Metrodoro e Paolo Emilio: Un'Ipotesi", Critica d'Arte 6 (1941) 70-1.
32. Kähler 19; Havelock 194.

33. Musée du Louvre, no. 975. The most comprehensive work so far on this relief and the one in Munich is undoubtedly H. Kähler, Seethiasos und Census. Die Reliefs aus dem Palazzo Santa Croce in Rom (Berlin 1966) with the more important preceding bibl. and detailed photographs. More recently F. Coarelli, "'L' 'Ara di Domizio Enobarbo' e la cultura artistica in Roma nel II secolo A.C.", Dialoghi di Archeologia 3 (1969) 1-67, who brings to date Kähler's bibl.
34. On the discovery of the marbles from an ancient building beneath the Church of S. Salvatore in Campo and their removal to the Palazzo Santacroce, of which they adorned for some time the internal facade, see Coarelli 17-24.
35. Kähler 1966 16.
36. It was A. Furtwangler, Intermezzi (Leipzig 1896) who first discovered the connection between the Munich and the Paris reliefs and their common provenance from the Palazzo Santacroce. He also suggested that they formed part of the altar of the building, discovered under the Church of S. Salvatore in 1837, which L. Ulrichs, Skopas, Leben und Werke (Greifswald 1863) 126 ff. had identified with the Temple of Neptune in Circo Flaminio. Others maintained that the slabs covered the base on which the famous thiasos group by Scopas stood: J. Sieveking, "Der sogenannte Altar des Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus", JOAI 13 (1910) 95-101; Coarelli 24.
37. The building in which it was found was identified with Neptune's temple, in turn identified with Pliny's "delubrum Cn. Domitii" (HN 36. 26) and with that figured on a coin of Domitius Ahenobarbus datable to c. 40 B.C.: H. A. Grueber, Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum, II (London 1910) 487, pl. CXII, 14.
38. See Ryberg 29, n. 46.
39. Cic., De div. 1. 102.
40. Ryberg 30, n. 49.
41. A. von Domaszewski, ArchRW 12 (1909) 67-82.
42. F. Castagnoli, "Il problema dell' 'Ara di Domizio Enobarbo' ", Arti Figurative 1 (1945) 181-96.
43. Varr., De ling. lat. 6. 93.
44. My colleague, Miss Amanda Claridge, who is at present working on a thesis on technique in Roman sculpture, suggested in a verbal discussion that the figures might have been finished in stucco and painted. The application of stucco, however, seems to me very unlikely since the shape of the faces, especially the eyes, mouth and ears, does not allow for further additions in other materials.
45. Coarelli 45-9.
46. Kähler 1966 30.

47. von Domaszewski, ArchRW 12 (1909) 78-82; Goethert 7-18. See Ryberg 31, n. 54.
48. Michon 147-55; Strong 10 ff.; M. Bieber, The Sculpture of the Hellenistic age (New York 1955) 187.
49. Coarelli 37-42.
50. See Klebs, s.v. "Antonius", RE I, 2 (1894) 2590-4.
51. Cic., De orat. 3. 10.
52. Kähler 1966 29-30, pl. 21, 4.
53. Coarelli 45-9.
54. Ibid., figs. 10-1; Kähler 1966, pl. 21, 4.
55. Rome, Museo del Foro Romano. A. Bartoli, "Il fregio figurato della Basilica Emilia", BdA 35 (1950) 289-94, figs. 1-9; G. F. Carettoni, "Il fregio figurato della Basilica Emilia", RivIstArch 19 (1961) 5-78, figs. 1-76 with earlier bibl. cited in nn. 1, 155. See also H. Furuhausen, "Some remarks on the sculptured frieze of the Basilica Aemilia in Rome", Opus Rom 3 (1961) 139-55, figs. 1-15.
56. The restored slabs account for only 16 m of the 184 surmised to be the extent of the complete frieze. The slabs were put together from innumerable small fragments. I shall follow the numbering of the scenes adopted by Carettoni.
57. Carettoni 9-10, fig. 5 calls it "Scene with a sacred theme".
58. Ibid., 13-6, figs. 9-10: "Farewell Scene".
59. Ibid., 15-6, figs. 11.
60. Ibid., 16-21, figs. 12-3.
61. Ibid., 16, fig. 14.
62. See e.g. R. Paribeni, Il ritratto nell'arte antica (Milan 1934) pls. XCVI, CII, CIII; A. Hekler, Bildniskunst d. Griechen u. Römer (Stockholm 1912) pls. 159-61; B. Schweitzer, Die Bildniskunst d. römischen Republik (Leipzig 1948) 91-103, figs. 137-9, 142-3, 146-7.
63. Bartoli 293; Furuhausen 149; Carettoni 65, n. 158.
64. Carettoni 21-7, figs. 22-4, pl. opposite p. 26.
65. Cfr. Furuhausen 145 who thinks that "the frieze ... does not merely depict anonymous young Romans carrying away some Sabine girls, but must ... include some personages known to the artist and his public".
66. Furuhausen 145-6; W. F. Otto, "Hersilia", RE XVIII, 1 (1912) 1149.
67. Carettoni 24-6, fig. 25.
68. Ibid., 27-32, figs. 29-36 and pl. opposite p. 26.
69. Ibid., 27-8, fig. 33. Also Bartoli 292; C. Picard, "Le châtimeut de Tarpeia et les frises historico-légendaires de la basilique Aemilia à Rome", RA 49 (1957) 181-8.

70. E. Babélon, Monnaies de la République Romaine (Bologna 1963) (1885-6) II 497-9; Furuhausen 143, figs. 7-8.
71. Furuhausen 142-4 does not accept this interpretation. He considers the bearded man on the left to be Mars and the one on the right to be Titus.
72. Ibid., 144.
73. Carettoni figs. 30-1.
74. Ibid., 31 sees an expression of firm decision. Furuhausen 142 interprets her gesture as one of horror and despair.
75. Ibid., figs. 43-4.
76. Ibid., figs. 45, 50.
77. See n. 71.
78. Furuhausen 142.
79. Carettoni 32-6, figs. 37-42.
80. Ibid., figs. 43-5.
81. Ibid., 56-7, fig. 75; A. Giuliano, 'Un nuovo frammento del fregio della Basilica Emilia', BdA 40 (1955) 165-7, figs. 1-4.
82. Giuliano 1955 166.
83. Furuhausen 148.
84. Picard, RA 49 (1957) 187-8.
85. There are a few iconographic, stylistic and technical elements in this fragment which do not occur in the other parts of the frieze preserved in the Antiquarium of the Forum: the soldier's helmet, the unusual hair-style of the female figure, the treatment of the drapery and stone-wall, with ample use of the drill which is also employed to detach parts of the figures from the background.
86. H. Kähler, Rome and her empire (London 1963) 40 places its destruction by fire in 14 A.D. instead of B.C.
87. Strong 1961 17-9.
88. Toynbee 1953 79-80; Furuhausen 149, n. 3. See supra n. 85.
89. Tac., Ann. 3. 72.
90. Furuhausen 155.
91. A. M. Colini, BullComm 66 (1938) 259-60; G. Lugli, Roma Antica (Rome 1946) 536 ff., esp. 538. The building is also called 'Temple of Apollo Sosiano'.
92. Braccio Nuovo, Sala VII nos. 1, 2, 6, 12, 13. Best publication with extensive bibl. in Ryberg 144-6, pl. LI. See also Führer II 458-60, no. 1670; Strong 1961 19, fig. 31.
93. See infra pp. 23-34.

94. The only photograph published so far showing only one of the fragments is in T. Kraus, Das römische Weltreich (Berlin 1968) 223, fig. 178 b. The other fragment is unpublished.
95. Führer II 459.
96. A. Levi, Sculture greche e romane del Palazzo Ducale di Mantova (Rome 1931) 75-8, pl. LXXXV.
97. Ryberg 146; Bandinelli 69 (executed between 20 and 17 B.C.); Strong 1961 note on fig. 31 (not carved earlier than 20 B.C.). The association with Sosius is called into question by Toynbee 1953 75, n. 2 and Führer II 460.
98. The exploits for which Sosius celebrated the triumph of 34 B.C. were the defeat of the Aradii (Dio 49, 22. 3) and the capture of Jerusalem in company with Herod in 37 B.C. (Dio 49. 22. 3; Plut., Ant. 34. 6; Sen., Suas. 2. 21; Tac., Hist. 9). For C. Sosius' career see F. W. Shipley, MAAR 9 (1931) 25-8).
99. Führer II 460.
100. Pliny, HN 13. 53; 36. 28. See Toynbee 1953 75, n. 2.
101. H. Kähler, Die röm. Kapitelle des Rheingebietes, Römischgermanische Forschungen 13 (1939) 11-3; see also D. E. Strong - J. B. Ward Perkins BSR 30 (1962) 5 and passim.
102. Such as the "complete disregard for maintaining a realistic scale of proportions" and "stubby appearance", "stumpy style". See Bandinelli passim and 215, 263; Brilliant 1967 144-5.
103. Budapest, Museum Inv. 4817. Original H. about 1 m. BrBr 595 (J. Sieveking); A. Hekler, Die Sammlung antiker Skulpturen (Budapest 1929) 116, no. 107; J. Szilagyi, Griech. u. röm. Sammlung d. Mus. in Budapest (Budapest 1957). Recently V. M. Strocka, 'Neues zum Actiumrelief', AA 1964 823-34.
104. BrBr 595. This provenance is not as reliable as Sieveking reports it to be. It could have found its way there from anywhere, as Sieveking says it used to be immured in Avellino and was not actually excavated there.
105. Especially if Strocka's combination of the Copenhagen fragment (with a Python under some rocks) and the Actium relief is correct, since the former is said to have been acquired in Rome. See Strocka 1964 825, fig. 1.
106. E.g. on the Ara Pietatis and Cancelleria reliefs.
107. Such as the Ara Pacis.
108. Dio 51. 1.
109. BrBr 595; Hekler 116; Szilagyi 57; Arias 81-2. Although Strong 14 favours the Augustan event she does not identify Augustus.

110. Tac., Ann. 2. 53. 3-4. See Curtius 1948 84-5; Polacco 178; J. Gagé, Apollon romain (Paris 1955) 509, n. 1; E. Simon, Die Portlandvase (Mainz 1957) 37, n. 4.
111. Polacco 178; Strocka 1964 832-4.
112. For Germanicus' iconography see C. Pietrangeli, s.v. "Germanico", EAA III (1960) 848-9 and bibl.
113. See especially the costume worn by Marcus Aurelius on most of his panels on the Arch of Constantine. It does, however, also occur in the hunting scenes of the Hadrianic medallions.
114. For the whole discussion see Strocka 1964 832-4.
115. Perhaps at the end of the procession behind the victims as the togate figures in the 'Sosiano' relief and the magistrates in the vicomagistri relief.
116. E.g. Strocka 1964 830.
117. Arias 81 (Tiberian); Strong 246 (Hadrianic).
118. BrBr 595 (Sieveking); Arias 81; Polacco 178. As for the mixing of divine and human figures in one historical relief, a precedent already existed in the figure of Mars on the "Ahenobarbus" relief.
119. Res Gestae 12. 2. The same date is given by the Fasti Amiternini (CIL I 2, 244 and 320) and the Fasti Antiatates (CIL I 2, 247).
120. Fasti Praenestini (CIL I 2, 232); Fasti Caeretani (CIL I, 2, 212); Acta Fratrum Arvalium (CIL VI, 2028); Ovid, Fasti I, 709. For the discussion of literary and epigraphic sources see Moretti, 7-10; Hanell 31-120, esp. 62 ff.
121. Mattingly I (1923) pl. 47, no. 2; II (1930) pl. 74, no. 6.
122. From information gathered during the excavation of 1937-8 Moretti 198 ff. deduces that it must have still been standing in Hadrian's time.
123. See infra, p. 35, nn. 179-81.
124. F. von Duhn, Miscellanea Capitolina 1879 11 ff. and AnnInst 1881 302 ff.
125. E. Petersen, Ara Pacis Augustae (Vienna 1902). J. Sieveking, JOAI 10 (1907) 175-90, was the first to exclude the figured fragments at the Villa Medici in Rome from the Ara Pacis.
126. G. Moretti, Ara Pacis Augustae (Rome 1948).
127. For the earlier bibl. of the Ara Pacis see Moretti passim and Ryberg 1949 94, nn. 1-3. More recent bibl. may be found in Führer II 694 ff.
128. S. Weinstock, JRS 50 (1960) 44-58. Supported by T. Gesztelyi, ActaDebr 2 (1966) 43-6.
129. Toynbee 1961 153 ff. Also H.P. L'Orange, ActaIRN 1 (1962) 15-6.
130. Toynbee 1953 67-95.

131. H. Kähler, JdI 69 (1954) 67 ff., esp. figs. 8, 10, 17, 18.
132. Toynbee 1953 72.
133. Moretti 220, figs. 166-7, pl. 26; Toynbee 1953 82.
134. Hanell 83-4; Toynbee 1961 155.
135. Hanell 71-4; Toynbee 1961 155.
136. See Kähler 1959, pls. 6-9, 24-7.
137. Studniczka 916-8, pl. IV.
138. M. Pobé-J. Roubier, The Art of Roman Gaul (London 1961) 64, pl. 127.
139. Suggested by v. Duhn, AnnInst 53 (1881) 319; idem, MonInst 9, pls. 34 ff.; disputed without satisfactory evidence by Curtius 1932 267; 1933 236 ff.; now universally accepted. See e.g. Moretti 227; Ryberg 1949 86 ff.; Toynbee 1953 83-4.
140. For Agrippa's role, now that he is no longer considered to be deputizing for the Pontifex Maximus, see Hanell 78 ff.
141. Cyrtius 1933 192-243, pls. 30-1; H. von Heintze, Römische Porträt-Plastik (Stuttgart 1961) 8, pl. 6. For the comparison see E. Löwy, JOAI 23 (1926) 59, figs. 20-1; Moretti 227.
142. Curtius 1933, figs. 18-9.
143. Ibid., pl. 41.
144. Moretti 219 ff.; Toynbee 1953 82.
145. Hanell 83-4; Toynbee 1961 155.
146. For the iconography of Tiberius see Polacco passim. He identifies Tiberius in the figure in the foreground seen from the back and facing Augustus (62-3, pl. VIII, 1). This figure is, however, only a lictor since part of his fasces is still visible on his left shoulder.
147. Ryberg 1949 85. Cfr. Hanell 84, n. 9; Toynbee 1953 85.
148. See infra pp. 52-3 (PLATES 119-20).
149. For a discussion of both technical peculiarities see infra p. 32.
150. See Polacco, pls. VI-XLII.
151. Among others Moretti 230-1; Toynbee 1953 86; V. Poulsen, Claudische Prinzen (Baden-Baden 1960) 18-9, fig. 3.
152. Mattingly I, pl. 33, 19-22; pl. 35, 8-9; Felletti Maj 54-5, 69-70; Polaschek passim, esp. pls. 19-21.
153. Mattingly I, pl. 33, 11-8. Curtius 1935 260 ff.
154. Moretti 231; Domaszewski 1903 64; Toynbee 1953 86.
155. L. A. Milani, RM 6 (1891) 315-7; Toynbee 1953 85; Simon 10, nn. 93, 104.

156. E. Petersen, RM 9 (1894) 199; Moretti 228, n. 58; and recently W. H. Gross, Iulia Augusta (Göttingen 1962) passim, esp. 73 ff. According to this interpretation Julia would be the lady putting a caressing hand on the child in front of her (PLATE 63). Being such an important personality, however, Julia is hardly to be relegated to such a subordinate position in the background. This and the strange band worn by her on the forehead make me inclined to think that she might be a nurse (so does Toynbee 1953 85).
157. See supra n. 152.
158. Toynbee 1953 86; Domaszewski 1903 62; Moretti 230.
159. Moretti 231; Toynbee 1953 86.
160. Studniczka 913; Toynbee 1953 84, n. 5. Moretti 270 ff. maintains the identification with Lucius' elder brother, Gaius, who was however seven years old in 13 B.C. and therefore too old for this child.
161. Simon 9, fig. 31.
162. Poulsen 6-7, figs. 3-4. Simon 9 erroneously gives this name to the second consul of 13 B.C., thought to be the figure immediately in front of Augustus.
163. See supra nn. 134, 144.
164. Benndorf in Petersen, n. on page 109; E. Petersen, JOAI 9 (1906) 302; Moretti 231, 289, fig. 192; Toynbee 1953 85, n. 2.
165. Moretti 269-73.
166. Simon 9-10.
167. See B. M. Felletti Maj, "Ottavia Minore", EAA V (1963) 806.
168. Simon 1-18, figs. 1-3. Prof. Toynbee has verbally expressed her view that these children are too far removed from their parents to be considered members of the Imperial family. She thinks that they are only aristocratic or Senators' children.
169. Stuart Jones 244-5; Toynbee 178-9.
170. Toynbee 178 ff. It does, however, appear in minor arts, such as coins and gems, even in Greek times.
171. Kähler 1959, pls. 6-7.
172. Supra pp. 26-7.
173. Moretti 198-9.
174. Moretti 295-6; Ryberg 42, 48, n. 48, pl. XI, figs. 22 a-b, 25.
175. E. Welin, ΔΡΑΓΜΑ M. P. Nillsson dedicatum (Lund 1939) 500-13.
176. Supra pp. 13-5.
177. Moretti, pl. 20.

178. Studniczka, pl. VI, fig. 7, and Toynbee 1953 80, pl. XII b, assign it to the Roma panel.
179. Duhn 11 ff.; Petersen 60-8, 99-103, 111-21, figs. 26-8, 35-7.
180. Sieveking 1907 180 ff.
181. The most important studies of the monument are: R. Bloch, "'L' 'Ara Pietatis Augustae' ", MélRome 56 (1939) 81-120; M. Cagianio de Azevedo, Le Antichità di Villa Medici (Rome 1951) 56-64, under nos. 3, 11, 23, 24, 41, with detailed discussion under 47. For more recent bibl. see Führer II 528. H. Fuhrmann, AA 55 (1940) 466-7 ascribes them to the altar at the 'Tarentum'. Weinstock 53 refuses the theory.
182. For their history see Michaelis, JdI 6 (1891) 218-38, and Petersen 130 ff.
183. NSc 1925 232-3; Colini 41-61; Bloch 104-20.
184. Colini 54, fig. 15; Ryberg 66-7, n. 16.
185. Mattingly I 153, pl. 29, 14; III, pl. 66, 8-10; IV, pl. 35, 8; Bloch 83 ff., figs. 1-2.
186. Tac., Ann. 3. 64; CIL VI, 562; ILS 202.
187. Two on the facade of the Villa Medici, interpreted as the Temples of Magna Mater and Mars Ultor, and one from the Via Lata, now in the Mus. Conservatori, showing the Temple of Apollo (?).
188. Ryberg 72-5.
189. Block 92-6; Curtius 1932 247, n. 2 makes the same suggestion but dates the relief to the reign of Tiberius. The college of the Sodales Augustales was created in 14 A.D. in honour of the deified Augustus and the Julii family, and Claudius was appointed a member.
190. Ryberg 72-3.
191. Cagianio de Azevedo 57.
192. Among others Bernoulli II, 1, 327 ff.; M. Stuart, The portraiture of Claudius (New York 1938) 67 (possible); B. M. Felletti Maj, "'Claudio'", EAA II (1959) 704-6. For coins see Mattingly I, 164 ff., 200-1, 282-3.
193. Studniczka 907-9, pl. I, figs. 2-3; Curtius 1932 247; Bloch 92-4; Ryberg 72.
194. L. Fabbrini, BdA 49 (1964) 317, n. 133; idem., BdA (1967) 67-9, figs. 14-35.
195. See supra n. 190. The holder of the office after Nero Drusus (d. 31 A.D.) is unknown. Silanus who is the next known Flamen Augustalis was born in the year 23 A.D. and he is hardly likely to have been made flamen in 31 A.D. at the age of 8. Furthermore in 43 A.D. when the altar was dedicated he would have been 20, too young for the age of this figure.
196. Studniczka, pl. I, fig. 3; A. Bonanno, Sculture greche e romane nei Musei e collezioni di Malta (Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Palermo 1971) 56-61.

197. There are no close-up photographs of this head, and since it has proved impossible for me to study the relief closely, I prefer not to venture on new identifications.
198. Ryberg 68.
199. Carpenter 100-1, pls. 31-2; Scramuzza 240-5; Schoder, CB 19 (1942) 1-2.
200. Ryberg 68.
201. Ibid., fig. 36 b-d.
202. Ibid., fig. 36 c.
203. Colini 56-61; Bloch 118-9 points out that S. Maria in Via Lata is near the property of the Della Valle family and the Medici group may have come from the same area.
204. Supra n. 199.
205. Carpenter, pl. 30 D.
206. Supra n. 200.
207. Curtius 1932, pl. 50.
208. Carpenter 101 (Propertius); Scramuzza 240-5 (Livy).
209. According to Cagianò de Azevedo 65, no. 48, the small fragment with two heads on the left is not pertinent.
210. Colini 44-7, fig. 7; 48-52, fig. 9; Ryberg 71-3, pl. XXII, figs. 36 e-f.
211. Poulsen 32-9, figs. 24-5 with earlier bibl. Superseded by G. Hafner, "Zum Augustus Relief in Ravenna", RM 62 (1955) 160-73, pls. 61-4 and Poulsen 1958 189-90.
212. Ryberg 90-3, figs. 42 a-c.
213. Ibid., 91.
214. S. Gsell, RA 34 (1899) 40, pl. 2; Giglioli, Catalogo del Museo dell'impero romano (Rome 1927), pl. 44; Langlotz, "Zwei römische Terrakotten", Festschrift Bernhard Schweitzer (Stuttgart 1954), pl. 66, 3.
215. See list of previous bibl. and interpretations in Hafner 161; Ryberg 91-2.
216. Bernoulli II, 1, 255, pl. I; Poulsen 32; Hafner 161-4, pl. 61. For the Prima Porta statue see Kähler 1959.
217. Bernoulli II, 1, 255.
218. Petersen 183. Prof. Toynbee disagrees and prefers an identification with Jupiter.
219. P. Hommel, Studien zu den römischen Figurengiebeln der Kaiserzeit (Berlin 1954) 22-30, esp. 26, figs. 2-3.
220. See Kähler 1959, pls. 25 b, 26 b.
221. See supra n. 219.

222. See Hafner's list p. 161, and his own interpretation, pp. 164-70 (Antonia). More recently: Ryberg 92 (Livia).
223. Hafner 164-70, pl. 62, figs. 1-5. For the iconography of Antonia Minor see Polaschek passim. Prof. Toynbee favours the identification with Livia.
224. Hafner 161.
225. Friedländer, AZ 25 (1867) 110 ff.; Conze, GGA 1868 812; Friederichs-Wolters, Die Gypsabgüsse antiker Bildwerke in historischer Folge erklärt (Berlin 1885) no. 1923.
226. Poulsen 34.
227. E.g. F. Studniczka, RM 25 (1910) 54, n. 2; F. Poulsen, Porträtstudien in norditalienischen Provinzmuseen (Copenhagen 1928) 64; G. Lippold, Gnomon 5 (1929) 662.
228. Poulsen 35-9.
229. Poulsen 1958 189-90.
230. Hafner 170-1, pl. 63; also Hekler, JOAI 21-2 (1922-4) 178, n. 11 and Curtius 1948 59 ff., 81 ff.
231. Curtius 1934 128, fig. 5; Fuchs, RM 51 (1936) 225, pl. 31, 4.
232. Ibid., 212 ff., pl. 31, 1.
233. Bernoulli II, 1, 237, pl. 10; Curtius 1948 86.
234. Stuart Jones 1912 188, no. 5, pl. 46; Curtius 1934 129, fig. 7, pl. 8, 9.
235. Hafner 171-3; Poulsen 1958 190.
236. Hafner 171-2, pl. 64, 1-4.
237. See list in Hafner 161; Ryberg 92.
238. Tac., Ann. 15. 74.
239. The last time the censorship was held in the I century B.C. was in 22, by Plancus and Paullus: Suet., Claud. 16; CIL VI, 919; Berve and Kubitschek, RE XIII 2 (1927) 2040-59.
240. Res Gestae 8; Suet., Tib. 21.
241. Suet., Claud. 16; CIL VI, 919.
242. Berve and Kubitschek, RE XIII 2 (1927) 2051.
243. Inv. nos. 1096-7. The exact provenance is unknown, but it was in Rome when it was published in 1553 by Antoine Lafreri. See F. de Clarac, Musée de sculpture antique et moderne (Paris 1846-53) II, 745-7, pl. 219, no. 312; Michon 192-203; Ryberg 106-9, pl. XXXV, figs. 54 a-b.
244. R. West, Römische Porträt-plastik (Munich 1933) 203; Sieveking 23; Fuhrmann, MdI 2 (1949) 52.
245. Both figures in the smaller fragment have their face restored. The position of their heads, however, and the gesture of the hand of the

figure on the right show that they are conversing with one another and repeat similar pairs on the larger fragment.

246. One must remember, however, that we have no concrete evidence that any other Imperial figures appeared on the Ara Pietatis reliefs, though they are likely to have done so.
247. Scholars are divided in their judgement of the date of execution of the relief. Tiberian: Sieveking 23; Fuhrmann, MdI 2 (1949) 52. Claudian: Lehmann 25; F. W. Goethert, RM 54 (1939) 196; Ryberg 108. Flavian, perhaps Domitianic: Strong 126; Toynbee 1946 180-1.
248. A. M. Colini, BullComm 66 (1938) 268-70 and 67 (1939) 205-6, pls. D-E; H. Fuhrmann, AA 55 (1940) 463-7. Good descriptions and discussions of the relief are found in Ryberg 75-80; Lippold III, 2, 505-12, pls. 229-33 (Magi).
249. Magi 45, 50-4, 94, figs. 37-8 for an account of the excavation.
250. Lippold III, 2, 510-1; Ryberg 75, n. 45.
251. Lippold III, 2, pl. 233.
252. For the cult of the Lares and Genius Augusti, and the officials in charge of it, the vicomagistri, see Ryberg 53-7.
253. See J. Bleicken, 'vici magister', RE VIII A 2 (1958) 2480-3. Similar magistrates are represented also on the small altar from the Vicus Aesculeti now in the Conservatori: Stuart Jones 1926 74-5, pl. 26; Ryberg 59-60, pl. XVI, fig. 30.
254. Ryberg 77.
255. Mattingly I, 200-5, pl. 38, 1-27; V. H. Poulsen, ActaA 22 (1951) 119-35; idem., ActaA 25 (1954) 294-301; Giuliano 18, no. 23, pls. 16-7.
256. Ryberg 79 believes they are probably the consuls, since they wear the high calcei and are accompanied by lictors.
257. Bandinelli 69; Ryberg 78.
258. Strong 1961 28, fig. 51; E. Simon in Führer I, 258 (perhaps from Tiberius' Ara Providentiae); Kraus 227 (first quarter of I century A. D.).
259. Ryberg 75-80 (post Ara Pietatis); Magi in Lippold III, 2, 510; Bandinelli 69 (30-50 A. D.).
260. Fuhrmann, AA 55 (1940) 463-7; Ryberg 75-6, n. 45.
261. See supra n. 253 and Ryberg 55-63, figs. 28, 30, 31.
262. H. Fuhrmann, AA 55 (1940) 460-76; 1941 542-6; P. H. von Blanckenhagen in: Das neue Bild der Antike 2 (1942) 310-41. F. Magi, I rilievi flavi del Palazzo della Cancelleria (Rome 1945) is the monumental and most complete publication of the reliefs and their excavation. For the most recent and thorough study of the iconography and style see E. Simon, JdI 75 (1960) 134-56; and their highly controversial re-dating by A. M. McCann, RM 79 (1972) 249-76, with further, more recent, bibl. cited in nn. 1, 2, 115.

263. Although considerable portions are missing from both panels their content may be easily guessed. The surprisingly good condition of the carving - the noses of most of the figures are still intact - is due to the fact that they were never put up on the public building they were intended for, or if they were, certainly not for a long time (see Magi 134-7). Besides, when discovered they were found leaning against the tomb of the republican consul A. Hirtius with their carved face protected, and must have stayed in the same position since the time when they were stacked there as a marble workshop deposit, not later than Hadrian's reign. For details of the discovery see Magi 37-54, figs. 37-8, 40, 137-41.
264. Magi 106-15; Toynbee 1957 4-6; Simon 1960 134, 151-4; McCann 275-6.
265. Supra p. 50.
266. Magi 98-105; idem RendPontAcc 28 (1955-6) 45-54; idem ArchCl 23 (1971) 88-92; Simon 1960 134, 136-51.
267. Hamberg 53 ff.; Toynbee 1957 11-2; McCann 275, n. 115.
268. Magi 145-8; Kähler (rev. of Magi), Gnomon 22 (1950) 30-41 argues for different workshops; B. Neutsch, JdI 63-4 (1948-9) 100-10 suggested that the work of four different hands can actually be detected and that the master-designer executed the right hand slab of Frieze A, the finest piece. Cfr. Toynbee 1957 17.
269. Magi 149, pl. 24; Toynbee 1957 7.
270. Magi 60 ff.; Toynbee 1957 14; Simon 1960 136. Cfr. Schefold 188-91.
271. Suet., Nero 51. Magi 62; Toynbee 1957 7, 15. For coins see Mattingly I, pl. 41, 2-3.
272. F. Matz, RM 54 (1939) 145-60; Magi 62-3. The short reign of Otho, three months, and the contents of the reliefs exclude any possible identification with that emperor whose hairstyle is very similar to the Neronian one: Mattingly I, pl. 60, 1-14; Bernoulli II, 2, 6 ff., pls. III-IV.
273. In my view this hair-do is in no way comparable to the hairstyle worn on any of the portraits of Hadrian whose hair is never combed in such a regular succession of waves. See Wegner 1956 1-73, pls. 2-31; Mattingly III, 236 ff. Cfr. McCann 254-5, who sees the same hairstyle in Hadrian's portraits.
274. Wegner 1956 8-10, pl. 8 a; McCann 255.
275. See e.g. Poulsen 1958 175-90, figs. 1-16.
276. Wegner 1966, pls. 23-5.
277. McCann 254-5.
278. See Magi 62.
279. See Wegner 1966, pls. 23-35.

280. Ibid., pls. 27, 29.
281. Magi 60-9, pls. A-B.
282. Ibid., 67-9.
283. Ibid., 67, pl. C; Toynbee 1957 14-5; McCann 257-9. Schefold 189 believed the head was originally intended to be Nerva and never re-cut. He was followed by A. Rumpf, BonnJbb 155-6 (1955-6) 112 ff.
284. For Nerva's portrait iconography see H. Götze, MdI 1 (1948) 139-56, pls. 45-56; Wegner 1966 43-8, pls. 36-41.
285. Wegner 1966 44-5, 112-3, pl. 36.
286. Toynbee 1957 14, infers from this asymmetry that the right side of the face was 'left as it was originally sculptured'.
287. Magi 57 ff., pl. I B, XXIV; Fuhrmann, AA 55 (1940) 460 ff., fig. 29; Toynbee 1957 4-7; L'Orange 1947 64, fig. 36; Simon 1960 134 ff.; McCann 251-3.
288. Mattingly II, pls. 1-43. Recently G. Förchner, Berliner Numismatische Zs. (1959) no. 21, 3-10; (1960) no. 26, 25-32. Wegner 1966 9-17, 72-84, pls. 1-9.
289. Wegner 1966, pl. 3; F. Poulsen 459-60, no. 659 a, Tillaeg til Billed-tavler, pl. 11.
290. Wegner 1966, pl. 1; Felletti Maj, no. 142.
291. Musée Alaoui au Bardo. Inv. C1025. Wegner 1966, pl. 6 d.
292. Wegner 1966, pls. 20 a-b, 25, 28 a-b, 39 c-d, 40 c-d.
293. McCann 262.
294. Ibid., 262-5.
295. Magi 149-50.
196. Ibid., loc. cit., suggests that both portraits might have been produced by the same artist with a lapse of time between the two, but he admits that he cannot recognize sure stylistic qualities common to the two heads and suggests the possibility of a fourth artist. Similarly L. Curtius, Neue Zürcher Zeitung 10, 7 (1948) 1465; B. Neutsch, JdI 63-4 (1948-9) 108; Schefold 189-90; all favour one portraitist, though the latter believes the heads were never reworked. McCann 271-6 thinks both heads were re-cut from heads of Hadrian and Trajan.
297. Führer III, 14-20, no. 2126 with bibl. on p. 20.
298. Neither Magi 132-3, nor McCann 260, 275, give a satisfactory explanation as to why this head, be it a portrait of Domitian (Magi) or of Hadrian (McCann), has not been re-cut with the re-adaptation of the relief, as in Frieze A.
299. Magi 70; Toynbee 1957 6; McCann 260-1.
300. RE VI 2 (1909) s.v. "Flavius" (no. 206) 2647 ff. (Weynand); Magi 106-

9. Cfr. Simon 1960 151-4 who interprets the scene as the establishment of the gens Flavia.
301. A similar encounter, this time between Titus and Vespasian, took place in 71 A.D. Joseph, BJ 7. 119; RE VI 2 (1909) 2706; Magi 133, n. 2. This event is even less likely as Titus would be 32 years old and would not fit with the young age of this figure.
302. Wegner 1966 30-42, pls. 23-35; Mattingly II, pls. 59-83. In spite of McCann's arguments against the identification with Domitian, it is obvious that the young man does have common features with Domitian, immensely more so, in fact, than he could possibly have with a "young Hadrian".
303. Calza 46-7, no. 64, pl. 37; Wegner 1966 33, 104, pl. 24 a-b.
304. Bearded divinities and legendary figures appear as early as the Basilica Aemilia frieze.
305. Daltrop, Die stadtrömischen männlichen Privatbildnisse trajanischer und hadrianischer Zeit (Münster 1958) 60-3; Simon 1960 138-9, n. 17; McCann 268-9.
306. Moretti, pl. XXI.
307. Magi 27, 93-6.
308. Wickhoff 76-9, 99-110; Strong 105-17. Cfr. Strong 1961 31, who virtually pulls to pieces the theory of "illusionism" in the Arch of Titus reliefs.
309. Frova 234; Felletti Maj 79, no. 141.
310. Bandinelli 1950; J. M. C. Toynbee, Some notes on artists in the Roman World (Brussels 1951); H. P. L'Orange, Art forms and civic life in the late Roman empire (Princeton 1965); Toynbee xi-xxxi.
311. Magi 45-6, 156-66, fig. 72.
312. McCann bases her arguments in favour of a Hadrianic re-dating of the reliefs on stylistic arguments which can never outweigh the iconographic evidence. Cfr. Magi, RM 80 (1973) 289-91 exposes, in a short note, the vulnerability of McCann's theories.
313. Magi 160-6.
314. Toynbee 1957 18.
315. A good comprehensive publication of the monument is still lacking. The most extensive treatment of the Arch so far is by K. Lehmann-Hartleben, "L'Arco di Tito", BullComm 62 (1934) 89-122, pl. III.
316. The whole complex of sculptural decoration of the vault both in this arch and in that of Trajan at Benevento must have been carved in situ since it is impracticable, perhaps impossible, to carve the whole area in separate blocks and then to assemble them in perfect alignment. The irregularity in the joints of the design, noticeable at present, is due presumably to the restoration by Valadier in 1822.

317. Strong 105-7, pl. XXI, figs. 71-4 (Domitianic); Strong 1961 31-2, pls. 59-60 (Domitianic); C. C. Vermeule, AJA 68 (1964) 336-7 (A.D. 80-5); Bandinelli 213, figs. 237-40 (A.D. 80-5).
318. See previous note. Toynbee 1947 190-1; idem. 1957 18.
319. McFayden 131 ff.; Magi 160-6; Rotili 57, n. 13; Toynbee 1947 190-1.
320. Suet., Dom. 2 'nullo praeterquam consecrationis honore dignatus, saepe etiam carpsit obliquis orationibus et edictis'.
321. Mart., Epigr. 1. 70.
322. Hassel 23-30; Rotili 59-73. The "occhielli" between the dentils, a characteristic of Flavian architecture, which so far were thought to be absent from the Arch of Trajan (Toynbee 1947 190), are indeed present on the Trajanic monument. They have almost completely disappeared through erosion but one or two examples still survive (see Hassel, pl. 20, 2 and 30, 1).
323. See P. H. von Blanckenhagen, Flavische Architektur und ihre Dekoration untersucht am Nervaforum (Berlin 1940) 51-7.
324. As in Magi 160-6. Cfr. Toynbee 1957 18.
325. Wickhoff 76-9, 99-110. His 'shadow theory' was approved by Riegl, Spätrömische Kunstindustrie, chap. II, and rejected by Petersen 157, 2.
326. See Wace 277-8.
327. The practice of making the heads of the figures at the back appear above those in front did not become fully developed till the Trajanic period.
328. See Magi 157-66.
329. Wegner 1966 28, 91-2, pl. 20 a; Bernoulli II, 2, 35, no. 34; Vermeule, AJA 68 (1964) 337.
330. Wegner 1966, pl. 11.
331. Ibid., pl. 21 c-d.
332. Ibid., pl. 10.
333. Vermeule, AJA 68 (1964) 337, pl. 109, fig. 30.
334. Ibid., 337.
335. Amply described by Joseph., BJ 7. 123 ff.
336. McFayden 133 ff.
337. Which is on a higher relief than the other fascies.
338. Calza, no. 117, pl. LXVIII.
339. Ibid., no. 116, pl. LXVII.
340. Ibid., no. 66, pl. XXXVIII. The indication of the iris, however, assigns this relief to a late Hadrianic or even Antonine date.

341. Lehmann 1934, fig. 5; Rotili, fig. 72.
342. Lehmann 1934, fig. 18. By comparing this theme with the one on the vault of the Arch of the Sergii in Pola (fig. 17) Lehmann tries to prove the funerary purpose of the Arch of Titus. Prof. Toynbee is of the same view and holds that the reliefs represent an allegory of Titus' celestial triumph.
343. See Wegner 1966 92.
344. We have strong reasons for believing that the relief was carved in situ (supra n. 316). In fact the same clumsiness in the carving is to be observed on the vault-panel on the Arch of Trajan. Wegner's conjecture, that the representation of the apotheosis is a subsequent hasty replacement for an older relief, is unfounded. The relief carving is an integral part of the whole vault decoration and cut on the same blocks.
345. Wegner 1966 28, 93, pl. 20 c-d.
346. Ibid., 93.
347. Cfr. ibid. 28.
348. Known only from its inscription CIL VI, 944. For the discovery of its foundations see BullComm 1934 176.
349. The Column was published and illustrated in monumental editions such as: W. Froehner, La Colonne Trajane (Paris 1872-4); C. Cichorius, Die Reliefs der Traianssäule (Berlin 1896-1900); K. Lehmann-Hartleben, Die Traianssäule (Berlin & Leipzig 1926); P. Romanelli, La Colonna Traiana: rilievi fotografici eseguiti in occasione dei lavori di protezione antiaerea (Rome 1942). For later bibl. see EAA II (1959) 756-60 (L. Rocchetti); F. B. Florescu, Die Traianssäule (Bucharest 1969); and L. Rossi, Trajan's Column and the Dacian Wars (London 1971).
350. CIL VI, 960.
351. Fasti Ost. XXII 54 ff.
352. Cfr. Rocchetti 756 ("Carrara").
353. The height of the 23 spirals ranges from 0.89 m at the lower end to 1.25 m at the top. The height of the figures from 60 to 80 cm.
354. Lehmann 11-108.
355. The only work on the portraiture of the Column is by K. Lehmann-Hartleben, Die Antike I (1925) 319-37, pls. 32-8.
356. Lehmann 151. According to him it is the spirit of the I century of the Roman Empire that manifests itself in this. But later on in his work he detects the first stages of Late Roman art. There is however no trace of the hieratic frontality, differences in scale or dumpiness of the figures that one finds in later relief sculpture.
357. I shall follow Cichorius' numbering of the scenes which is also used by Lehmann-Hartleben. Owing to the reduced scale of these publications

it is not always possible to distinguish the small details to which I shall often refer in this account of the heads. My observations are based on a careful study of the Column itself and of the casts in the Museo della Civiltà Romana and the Victoria and Albert Museum.

358. Rocchetti 759.
359. Great care should be exercised in judging the modelling and style of such sculptures from photographs alone. Comparing, for instance, pl. 38 in Lehmann 1925 and pl. 2 in Froehner, one finds some difficulty in believing that the two figures are the same. In Froehner's picture one sees the mobility of the facial surfaces. Lehmann's picture seems to have been taken in the wrong light, because in pl. 20 of his monumental publication the small head of Trajan shows much more coloristic effect on face and neck.
360. Note the naturalism in the cut of the drapery and the indication of the muscles and veins in Trajan's right arm.
361. Bandinelli 229, fig. 253.
362. Gross 85-6, 127-8, pl. 15 a; Bandinelli 252.
363. Froehner, pl. XI.
364. For the Imperial portraits on the Column see Gross 43-52, 123-4, pls. 37-41.
365. Felletti Maj 1966 964; Gross 110-1 (Opfertypus).
366. Gross 107-8, pl. 30; Felletti Maj 1966, fig. 1087.
367. He was a loyal friend of Trajan. He received high military honours as well as a public statue on the Caelian Hill. See RE XIII 1 (1926) 471-85 (Groag).
368. A Moor and ruler of the Moors, he heads the Moorish cavalry in the Dacian war. See RE XIII 2 (1927) 1874-90.
369. The associates of the Emperor in the Dacian Wars were several. A few names are Claudius Livianus, Liberius Maximus, Pompeius Falco, Minucius Natalis. For an extensive list of these see Henderson 267. See also Rossi 96 and RE XIII 1 (1926) 477.
370. Henderson 265-6.
371. Lehmann 35, n. 2, pl. 39; also 4, n. 7
372. Identification suggested by Domaszewski, Philologus 65 (1906) 343. According to him the Column received its sculptural ornament in Hadrian's reign.
373. Weber 18, n. 67.
374. Wegner 1956 112.
375. Cichorius III, 90, pl. 65.
376. Lehmann 60, n. 1, pl. 41.

377. Wegner 1956 112.
378. Cichorius III, 168, pl. 46.
379. Lehmann 35, pl. 48.
380. Wegner 1956 113.
381. Lehmann 61, pl. 61.
382. Cichorius III, 299, pl. 76.
383. Wegner 1956 47, 113 does not fail to express his justified reservations in connection with such an important identification, since the figure's nose and lips are damaged.
384. Bandinelli 229.
385. For his other identifications see RE XIII 1 (1926) 476-8.
386. Cichorius I, 43.
387. Cichorius II, 50, 55 thinks that the officer on the right in scene IX is perhaps the same as the one seated on the right in scene VI. Sura has also been identified in most of these scenes. In all cases the identifications are purely conjectural since we have no means of ascertaining their validity.
388. Lehmann 89, 2.
389. The portrait qualities of his image are recognized also by Lehmann 151. See also Cichorius II, 357-8; Lehmann 1925 323-5, pl. 35.
390. Lehmann 1925, pl. 34.
391. Ibid., 321-9.
392. See Froehner, pl. XXV.
393. Supra p. 29.
394. Note the identity in type and treatment of hairstyle and beard between the officer at the head of a troop in scene XCVIII (Froehner, pl. 129) and the surviving heads on the Chatsworth relief (Rüdiger, "Die Anaglypha Hadriani", Antike Plastik XII (Berlin 1973) 161-73, pls. 67-72).
395. Formerly the Museo dell'Impero Romano. Average height of heads 0.30 m. M. Pallottino, "Il grande fregio di Traiano", BullComm 66 (1938) 17-56; reprinted in the series Studi e Materiali del Museo dell'Impero Romano I (Rome 1938). Here reference is made to the pagination of the latter.
396. Pallattino 7-8.
397. Even as early as the XVI century. L. Fauno, Delle antichità della città di Roma (Venice 1548) 94; Bellori, Veteres arcus Augustorum (Rome 1690), pl. 45. The most recent study on the Frieze is by Gauer, JdI 88 (1973) 318-50 with bibl. in n. 10 and passim.

398. Pallottino 6.
399. Petersen 1889 314-39. Marcellinus' remark may refer solely to the architecture of the Forum and not to its sculpture. Cfr. Courbaud 146 ff., Strong 142.
400. BrBr no. 580 (Sieveking); Wace 1907 229-58; Michon 211 ff.
401. Pallottino 7.
402. Ibid., 23-5. Toynbee 1965 61 suggests that it might come from the forum temple of Divus Trajanus and Plotina.
403. Calza 1972 216-7, 248-9, who also refers the original heads to Trajan. See also Gauer 319, n. 6.
404. BrBr no. 580.
405. Nibby, Roma nell'anno 1838, I, 445.
406. Petersen 1906 516-23.
407. Strong 135, 149, n. 17.
408. Reinach, RA 20 (1924) 365-6.
409. Sieveking 28, n. 34.
410. Pallottino 21-35; L'Orange 188; Gross 40 ff., 122; Strong 1961 40. A return to a Domitianic date has been attempted by Gauer 318-50. His theory has, however, been justly refuted by J. M. C. Toynbee in a lecture entitled "Trajan's Column" given in Oxford on 4th November 1974. Toynbee 1965 61 envisages the possibility that the Frieze was executed after Trajan's death and she declares that the triumph represented is not only terrestrial "but also celestial - his victory over death by apotheosis".
411. I have had to leave out these fragments for the reasons given in the Introduction. See Pallottino 17-21; Gauer 328-36.
412. Wickhoff 111-6; Strong 144-7.
413. It is not depicted in a chronological sequence of events.
414. The problem of showing the feet of raised background figures on a higher level is here solved by making them rest on rocky elements.
415. Except for Petersen 1906 516-23; Strong 135, 149, n. 17; Gauer 344-5 (Domitian). Pallottino 26-7 evaluates carefully the two possibilities and ends by preferring Trajan, even on the evidence of physiognomical features alone.
416. Gross 85-6, pl. 15 a.
417. Gross 85-98.
418. The figure of Trajan charging a fallen enemy, on horseback, in a similar cuirass and cloak, and brandishing a spear, is repeated faithfully on a sestertius of Trajan dated 103-111 (Mattingly-Sydenham, Roman Imperial

- Coinage (2nd ed. London 1962) no. 534; Rossi, fig. 13, p. 44). The group of Victory crowning the Emperor also occurs on another sestertius (Rossi, fig. 14).
419. Bandinelli 1950 209-28; Frova 247.
 420. Wickhoff 74 ff.; Courbaud 117 ff.; Wace 281; Stuart Jones 1906 217, 227-8.
 421. Bandinelli, figs. 258-9.
 422. CIL IX, 1558; ILS 296. The main and most recent publications are: C. Pietrangeli, "L'Arco di Traino a Benevento", Documentario Athenaeum Fotografico (Novara 1947); F. J. Hassel, Der Trajansbogen in Benevent: ein Bauwerk des römischen Senates (Mainz 1966); M. Rotili, L'Arco di Traiano a Benevento (Rome 1972).
 423. The title of Optimus had in A.D. 114, according to Dio, LXVIII, 23, 2, been but recently conferred upon him. See ILS 845. The title does not seem to appear in earlier inscriptions but Pliny in A.D. 100 (Pan. 2) uses it and it appears on coins from A.D. 105 onwards. See also T. Frankfort, "Trajan Optimus. Recherche de chronologie", Latomus 16 (1957) 333 ff.
 424. M. Rostovtzeff, Social and economic history of the Roman Empire (Oxford 1926) 587; Toynbee 14-22, 244; idem 1946 181-2; Pietrangeli 3. For further bibl. see Rotili 81, nn. 95-108.
 425. Domaszewski 173 ff. See also n. 424.
 426. Hassel 1-9; Rotili 55-9. Also Hamberg 67-8; Scerrato, ArchCl 5 (1953) 215-21.
 427. Fasti Ost. XXII 54 ff. See Hassel 1-9; Rotili 55-9.
 428. T. Ashby-R. Gardner, BSR 8 (1916) 104 ff.
 429. A statue of Trajan was erected in that year at Brundisium by the authorities of that city. CIL IX, 37.
 430. Henderson 187, n. 2.
 431. For the interpretation of the kneeling province on the attic relief of the Country side see infra p. 87.
 432. Supra pp. 72-3.
 433. For the discussion and interpretations of the reliefs I refer to Hassel 9-23 and Rotili 73-112. Points regarding such interpretations will be raised if and when relevant to our argument.
 434. The order in which the reliefs should be read has been another topic of discussion. See Rotili 95-112.
 435. Strong, Apotheosis and after life (London 1915) 86, 93, pl. X.
 436. Hamberg 65-6; Rotili 81, 107-9, pls. CXXIX-CXLII.
 437. See previous note. The military connotation is suggested by the central

figure's military dress and the Temple of Mars in the background.
 Toynbee 1965 62 sees in the thunderbolt the symbol of Trajan's vocation to govern the world as the god's viceregent.

438. Good detailed illustrations of several heads can be found in Rotili, figs. 100-17, pls. LIII-CXLIII.
439. Rotili 107-8; P. Veyne, MelRome 72 (1960) 191-219; Hassel 19.
440. Proposed first by Domaszewski 177 ff. and accepted by many among whom Weber 4 ff., and Toynbee 18. Toynbee 1965 62 identifies the female personification with Italia pointing Hadrian out as Trajan's heir.
441. Inv. 124 491. Wegner 1956 108, pls. 2, 5 b, 8 a.
442. Scala II 9. Ibid., 108, pls. 3, 5 a, 8 b.
443. Ibid., 31, 55, 64, pl. 1 a.
444. Rotili 102, pls. CI, CII, CIV-CVI.
445. Ibid., 102, pl. CI.
446. Ibid., 102-6, pls. CIII, CVII-CXII.
447. Gross 52 ff.
448. Rotili 157.
449. See also Rotili, pl. CXII.
450. Ibid., 99-100, pl. LXXXIV.
451. See previous note.
452. The theory that the relief in the Villa Medici, showing a man and a woman, might be the missing part is pure fantasy. G. C. Picard, MelRome 56 (1939) 136-50. Cfr. Rotili 94, fig. 77.
453. Scerrato, ArchCl 5 (1953) 215-21; O. Vessberg, OpusRom 4 (1962) 159-64; Rotili 91-5, fig. 79.
454. Rotili, fig. 78.
455. For the whole discussion together with references see ibid., 80-4, nn. 91-121.
456. Gross 113-5, 132, pls. 33-5.
457. The man holding the horse in the lower right panel on this facade repeats almost exactly the portrait features of this man. See Rotili, figs. 112-3, pls. LXXXII, CXXVI.
458. Domaszewski 190; Pietrangeli 2.
459. Rotili 90, 107, 145, fig. 113, pl. CXXVI; Hassel 18.
460. Supra p. 74, scene LXIV.
461. Supra p. 73, scene CIV, PLATE 147.
462. E.g. scenes IX, X, LXXII, CXXX. Supra p. 73.

463. Domaszewski 173 ff.; Hassel 18, pl. 16, 2; Rotili 81-2, 143.
464. Even Gross 94 hesitates to recognize Hadrian in this young man. He finds some resemblance in the beard, eyebrows and lips; but the hair-style does not seem to him to coincide with that of Hadrian.
465. If the two panels are meant to represent contemporary events, I cannot see why the two portraits have to be so different in age. Whether the relief is to be interpreted as the Submission of Dacia or Mesopotamia, this age gap in either case cannot be justified.
466. Wegner 1956 32, 55, 64, 94, pl. 1 b. After some hesitation he accepts the identification.
467. Rotili 100-1, pls. LXXXV-XCIII.
468. For the type see discussion infra pp. 93-4.
469. Rotili 79, 101, pls. XCIV- C. Prof. Toynbee interprets it as the settlement of veterans who are being introduced to Trajan by a bearded Mars.
470. Ibid., 78, 98, pls. LXXII-LXXVI.
471. Ibid., 78-9, 98-9, pls. LXXVII-LXXXIII. Toynbee 1965 62 thinks that the scene is an allusion to Spain, famous for the breeding of horses.
472. In particular E. Petersen, "L'Arco di Traiano a Benevento", RM 7 (1892) 249-50; Domaszewski 186-7; Hassel 12; Rotili 98-9.
473. Rotili 87-8, 97, pls. LII, LV, LVII-LXIV. Toynbee 1965 62 thinks it refers to the Emperor's charitable foundation, the alimenta in favour of the poor children of Italy.
474. Ibid., 87-8, 97-8, pls. LXIV, LVI, LXV-LXXI.
475. Not an Apotheosis as often thought. See ibid., 84, 107, 111-2, pls. XX, XXI, 2.
476. See especially G. M. A. Hanfmann and C. C. Vermeule, AJA 61 (1957) 223-53, pls. 68-75.
477. Gross 56-7, pl. 3 b; Hanfmann-Vermeule, pl. 73, fig. 13.
478. Gross 88, pl. 2b.
479. Hanfmann-Vermeule, pl. 73, fig. 14.
480. Sala dei Busti 282: Gross 87, 128-9, pl. 19 a; Braccio Nuovo 48: ibid. 87, 129, pl. 19 b.
481. Ibid., 85-6, 127-8, pl. 15 a.
482. Ibid., 86-7, 129, pl. 15 b.
483. Ibid., 85-98; Felletti Maj 1966 962-5.
484. Gross 52-3.
485. Ibid., 88, 129, pl. 14 c-d.

486. See supra n. 456.
487. Glyptotec 543 a: ibid., 78, pls. 1, 11 a.
488. Ibid., 81-2, pl. 14 a-b.
489. Ibid., 75-84.
490. Ibid., 53, pls. 38 c-d.
491. Toynbee 1946 181-2; Hanfmann-Vermeule 230-1.
492. Rotili 177-80, pl. CL 1, 2.
493. Condurachi, "La Genèse des Sujets de Chasse des 'Tondi Adrianei' de l'Arc de Constantin", Atti del VII Congresso Internazionale di Archeologia Classica, II (1961) 454-9 maintains that bronze medallions showing scenes of a similar subject, issued under Hadrian, preceded the marble roundels and might have inspired their peculiar shape and composition. Even the exergue has been faithfully reproduced.
494. A. Giuliano, L'Arco di Costantino (Milan 1955) captions for figs. 13-6 (Licinius); L'Orange 166 ff., 186 (Licinius); Wegner 1956 31 (Licinius). Cfr. Calza 1972 155-6, 205, nos. 67, 123, pls. XLV-VI, figs. 134-7, with previous bibl. Calza presents very sound arguments in favour of Costantius Chlorus rather than Licinius.
495. Spart., Vita Hadriani 2, 1: "venando usque ad reprehensionem studiosus".
496. Dio, 69, 10, 3.
497. Dio, 69, 10, 2; Vita 20, 13.
498. IG VII, 1828; Kaibel, Epigr. gr. 811.
499. Athenaeus XV, 677 e; Vita 26, 3, 10.
500. See supra n. 498.
501. BrBr nos. 555, 559-60, 565. A few years before, however, Petersen 1889 314-39, pl. XII, had considered them Trajanic. Some of the main supporters of the Hadrianic attribution are: M. Bieber, RM 26 (1911) 214-37; Toynbee 245 (previous bibl.); L'Orange 161 ff., pls. 39-42; Maull, JOAI 42 (1955). 53.
502. Stuart Jones 229-51.
503. Ibid., 244-51.
504. Sieveking, RM 22 (1907) 345-60.
505. Idem. BPW 39 (1911) 1239-40.
506. S. Reinach, "Les têtes des médaillons de l'arc de Constantin à Rome", RA 15 (1910) 118-31; H. Bulle, "Ein Jagddenkmal des Kaisers Hadrian", JdI 34 (1919) 144-72.
507. Ibid., 165 ff.
508. Strong 1961 44.

509. The numbering of the figures corresponds to that used by Reinach, fig. 1, which is also adopted by Bulle.
510. BrBr no. 555; Reinach 128, no. 17.
511. Bulle 154 sees no resemblance at all with Antinous.
512. BrBr no. 555.
513. Reinach 128, no. 19.
514. Ibid., 127-9, no. 23.
515. Bulle 153-4. He classifies the young men without any portrait features, who seem to have a more or less servile role, under this group.
516. Reinach 129, no. 28.
517. Bulle 155-9.
518. Reinach 129, no. 26.
519. Bulle 153-4.
520. L'Orange 168, pl. 40 b, 44 c-d; idem 1953 128, pl. 125.
521. Bulle 152 sees him in the other headless figure behind the Emperor on the right.
522. Reinach 129, no. 30.
523. Bulle 156-7. Although Bulle names Statianus as the elder of the two brothers, I find that the portrait represented by nos. 30, 7, 16 looks younger than that of Quinctianus identified in nos. 28, 1, 11.
524. Reinach 129, no. 4.
525. Bulle 154-5.
526. L'Orange 168, pl. 43 a-c; idem 1953, pls. 120-2.
527. See n. 523. The similarity between this head and that in a fragment of relief in the Lateran, already noticed by Bulle 156, fig. 5, is very strong. But the latter lacks the indication of the iris in the eye and is ascribed by Stuart Jones 250, pl. 30, to a Flavian relief. See also Wace 285.
528. Reinach 127-8.
529. Bulle 153.
530. C. W. Clairmont, Die Bildnisse des Antinous (Switzerland 1966) 56-7, no. 57.
531. Ibid., 31, 39-40, no. 5, pl. 7.
532. See especially ibid., pls. 4-6, 9, 10.
533. Ibid., 46-7, no. 25, pl. 20.
534. Supra n. 494.
535. Bulle 155-8. See n. 523.

536. Petersen 1906 522-3; Weber 19; Studniczka, RA 15 (1910) 130.
537. K. Blümel, "Ein Porträt des Antoninus Pius aus Einem der Rundreliefs vom Konstantinsbogen", JdI 47 (1932) 90-6.
538. Wegner 1956 110, pl. 29.
539. See Wegner 15-25, pls. 1-9.
540. Ibid., 145, pl. 4 a.
541. Bulle 154-5.
542. See, among others, Bulle 155; Weber 19; Bieber, RM 26 (1911) 219.
543. Blümel 95-6, fig. 5.
544. Bernoulli II, 1, 135 ff., pl. XLIII. See also Bonacasa, Ritratti greci e romani della Sicilia (Palermo 1964) 86-7, pl. L, 3-4 with bibl.
545. Reinach 128; Bulle 159.
546. Reinach 128; Studniczka in Reinach 130.
547. Supra nn. 523, 535.
548. Blumel 90-6; idem RM 49 (1934) 317 f.
549. Blümel 93, figs. 2-3.
550. L'Orange 166.
551. F. von Lorentz, RM 48 (1933) 308 ff. See Wegner 1939 125.
552. Bulle 154.
553. It is given only a brief mention in L'Orange 166, n. 1.
554. Führer II, 826-7, no. 2055. Simon gives a more detailed account of the head and its working over.
555. Wegner 1939 140, 279, pl. 6 c-d.
556. Bulle 165-72.
557. Stuart Jones 37-8, 266-7, pl. 105; Führer II, 264-5, 569-70, nos. 1447, 1800 with bibl. The arch is so-called from its vicinity to the residence of the Portuguese Ambassador.
558. As suggested by the structure in travertine and peperino and architectural elements. Stucchi, BullComm 73 (1949-50) 101-22.
559. Becatti 69; Cianfarani 235-54, pl. I: Vermeule, AJA 61 (1957) 116. Cfr. Wace 1907 258-63 who suggests a monument similar to the column of Antoninus Pius.
560. For an account of the restorations see Stuart Jones 1926 37, 266; Führer II, 264, 569.
561. Stuart Jones 1926 37; Strong 1961, n. on pl. 79.
562. Stuart Jones 1926 266.

563. See Wegner 1956 108.
564. Strong 213 mistakenly states that "the head of the Empress is modern" while "the head of the Emperor (despite the bad restoration of the nose) shows clearly the features of Hadrian". There are no published detailed photographs of this head and I have not succeeded in taking one myself.
565. Cianfarani 247; Wegner 1956 90, 128.
566. Wegner 1956, pls. 45 b, 47 b, 48 b.
567. Stuart Jones 1926 37.
568. Wace 1907 261.
569. Führer II, 265.
570. See n. 569.
571. Certainly not Aelius Verus, the consul for A.D. 136, as suggested by Wace 1907 260.
572. See n. 559.
573. See n. 569.
574. Cianfarani 252.
575. A. von Domaszewski, "Zwei römische Reliefs", SBHeidel 4 (1960); W. Amelung, Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museum (Berlin 1903-8) I, 883-93, no. 223, pls. 216-8; Führer I, 378-80, no. 480; L. Vogel, The Column of Antoninus Pius (Cambridge, Mass. 1973).
576. Strong 1961 51-2.
577. For restorations see Vogel 10-1.
578. Wegner 145, pl. 4 a.
579. Ibid., 141, pl. 3.
580. Ibid., 23-5, 145-6; Felletti Maj, "Antonine Pio", EAA I (1958).
581. See however Mattingly IV, 42 ff., pls. 7-10.
582. Wegner 26, 28-9, 31, 91, 161, pl. 10.
583. Ibid., 30-1, 159-60, pl. 11.
584. For a detailed account of the restorations: Vogel 13-6.
585. Although not really the ideal one, the system of numbering of the figures used here is that devised by Amelung I, 891, and reluctantly adopted by Vogel 12.
586. For the discussion over the identification of the figures see Vogel 56-61.
587. Ibid., 56, 83.
588. Ibid., 66, 83, 85.

589. F. Eichler, "Das sogenannte Partherdenkmal von Ephesos", VI International Kongress für Archaeologie (Berlin 1939) 488 ff., pl. 54; idem. JOAI Beihefte II (1971) 102-35, figs. 1-33; Vermeule, Berytus 13 (1959-60) 22, no. E 9, pl. 18; idem AJA 61 (1957) 117, 238, n. 125; idem. Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor (Cambridge, Mass. 1968) 95-123, figs. 33-52.
590. See previous n. and AJA 66 (1962) 200-1. Others of the same opinion are: Toynbee 141, pl. 32; idem 1965 65-6, 251; Brilliant, Gesture and Rank in Roman Art (New Haven, Conn. 1963) 137-8.
591. Inan-Rosenbaum 71, no. 34; Kraus, no. 223 (H. von Heintze).
592. Eichler 102-35. So also Wegner 1956 38; Giuliano 1959 184-6.
593. Only Strong 258 seems to confuse the various identifications recognizing Marcus Aurelius in the eldest man, Lucius Verus in his colleague and Commodus in the child.
594. Wegner 1956 38, 63, 66, pl. 30 d; followed by Inan-Rosenbaum 71, pl. XX, 1.
595. Wegner 17, 20, 89, 151-2; Inan-Rosenbaum 74, pl. XXV, 1.
596. Wegner 89, 206; Inan-Rosenbaum 76, pl. XXVII, 1.
597. Wegner, pl. 15.
598. Ibid., pls. 16 a, 18.
599. Ibid., 62, 64, 249; Inan-Rosenbaum 79, pl. XXX, 5.
600. Giuliano 1959 186; Wegner 1956 38.
601. Vermeule 110.
602. Wegner 1956 38; Giuliano 1959 186; Eichler 115.
603. See Ryberg 133; Kraus 223 (v. Heintze).
604. Bandinelli 324; E. Will in VIII congrès international d'archéologie classique (Paris 1965) 511-26; M. A. R. Colledge, The Parthians (London 1967) 165, 175.
605. See Eichler, figs. 5, 6, 7, 16, 19, 23, 31.
606. The only exception is the personification of the river Euphrates in fragment I 860 (Eichler, fig. 23) where it might have been a later addition.
607. See, for portraiture, Inan-Rosenbaum, pls. XVII-LIV.
608. Vermeule 101 (Imperator); Wegner 1956 38.
609. Eichler 112-3 (Verus); Vermeule 107 (Trajan).
610. See Vermeule 112.
611. Wegner 166.
612. Petersen, RM 5 (1890) 73-6; idem RM 6 (1891) 3-64; followed by Strong 253-7, figs. 153-63. The reliefs on the Arch were usurped by

Constantine to decorate his monument; those of the Conservatori were transferred to the Palazzo from the Church of Santa Martina in 1525. With the latter Petersen included a fourth relief on the same staircase which had been brought over from Piazza Sciarra and which, on evidence on style and content, is now attributed to Hadrian (supra p. 107, n. 559). For the Conservatori reliefs see Stuart Jones 1926 22-9, nos. 4, 7, 10, pl. 12; Führer II, 255-61, no. 1444 (Simon). A collective study of all the reliefs and the problems involved is I. S. Ryberg, Panel Reliefs of Marcus Aurelius (New York 1967).

613. Sieveking 34; Rodenwaldt, AbhBerl 3 (1935) 1-27. This duality was supported by Wegner 1938 155-95; Becatti 55-6; Cagianò de Azevedo, RM 60-1 (1953-4) 207-10; Ryberg 1967 84.
614. Kähler, RM 54 (1939) 252-69, esp. 265-9, pls. 57-8. Also L'Orange 185.
615. Wegner 4, 44-5, 195-6, pl. 28 a.
616. For his identification on the Column see infra nn. 676-7. See also Führer II, 257, 260; Ryberg 1967 10-1, n. 5. Others identify him with Bassaeus Rufus: Stuart Jones 265-7; Strong 255. See infra n. 649.
617. On Pompeianus see Groag-Stein 234-5, no. 973; RE III 2 (1899) 2483-5, no. 282 (Groag).
618. The motifs of a Victory standing on the chariot and crowning the Emperor and of a procession heading into an arch, seem to be inspired by the inner panels of the Arch of Titus. One should note however that the precocious attempt at foreshortening the arch in the Flavian relief is completely absent here.
619. Wegner 44, 195-6, pl. 28 c-d.
620. Wegner 1938 157-63, figs. 1-2 a.
621. The original presence of Commodus is universally accepted. See for instance Heintze 670; Ryberg 1967 2, 17-8, fig. 11 b. Even Becatti admits it although he rejects a similar appearance of Commodus in the Liberalitas: 1967 322; 1972 59-74.
622. Becatti 55-68; Ryberg 1967 2, 18.
623. Wegner 45, 195-6, pl. 28 b.
624. Becatti 72.
625. Ryberg 1967 23, 80, fig. 17 a, believes it to be a portrait though "there is no evidence to identify him among the several individuals who held high place in the imperial circle during the wars".
626. Reference is made to the numbering of scenes in the publication of the Column by E. Petersen-A. von Domaszewski-A. Calderini, Die Marcus - Säule auf Piazza Colonna in Rom (Munich 1896). See also Becatti, pls. 27 a, 28 a.
627. Führer II, 260; Ryberg 1967 22.

628. J. Charbonneaux, La Sculpture Grecque et Romaine au Musée du Louvre (Paris 1963) 136, no. 992; G. A. Mansuelli, Galleria degli Uffizi, Le Sculpture (Rome 1958) I, 170-1, no. 149, fig. 146; Strong 211, 419, figs. 123, 254.
629. Wegner 44.
630. Ibid., 192-3, pls. 25 b, 26.
631. Ibid., 194, pl. 29 a.
632. Ibid., 187, pl. 29 b.
633. See also Becatti 1967 328 regarding Pompeianus' head in the Clementia relief. He admits that its carver 'non è un particolare ritrattista ma l'esecutore stesso del rilievo'.
634. F. Poulsen 489-90, no. 701, pl. LVII; Wegner 1938 169-71, fig. 4; Ryberg 1967 15, fig. 8.
635. Wegner 1938 155 ff.; Becatti 66-9.
636. Ryberg 1967 84-9, figs. 56-7; see Becatti 1967 328-31.
637. Ryberg 1967 84-5.
638. See J. Ruysschaert, RendPontAcc 35 (1962-3) 101-21. Also Petersen 1889 317 ff.; 1890 73-6; L'Orange 185; Heintze 674.
639. Becatti 1967 323.
640. See ibid., 325; J. Aymard, REA 52 (1950) 71-6.
641. Ryberg 1967 67, fig. 47 a.
642. For the portraits of Faustina II see Wegner 48-55, pls. 34-8. Becatti 1967 325-6 rejects the identification with Faustina and the divinities. He does in fact suggest an identification with Fortuna Redux whose temple appears at the back.
643. Supra n. 613; and Frothingham, AJA 19 (1915) 1-12.
644. Ryberg 1967 78-9.
645. Becatti 1967 327-8.
646. Heintze 674.
647. Ibid., 670-4. Cfr. Bandinelli 316; Becatti 291-7. More recently Becatti 1972 64-6 repeats his refusal to accept Commodus' presence.
648. Heintze 673-4.
649. Ibid., 664-9.
650. Becatti 62-5; idem. 1967 327; idem 1972 69.
651. Kähler, RM 54 (1939) 252-69; Ryberg 1967 74, fig. 52 c.
652. Heintze 667-8.
653. Becatti 59-60; idem 1972 60-2.

654. Compare the almost exact replica of the Liberalitas figure in scene LV of Marcus' Column, where the head is placed precisely in the same position, and the head of the same man behind the Emperor in scene XX where it is shown almost in profile.
655. Heintze 668, pl. CCXLVI, fig. 4; Becatti 1972 71-3, pl. XXXVIII, 2.
656. Becatti 1972 69-71; Heintze 668-70.
657. Heintze 668.
658. Becatti 64-5, nn. 116-8.
659. Heintze 673-4.
660. Becatti 58; idem 1967 327-8.
661. Becatti 56.
662. On Bassaeus see Groag-Stein 356-7, no. 69; RE III 1 (1897) 103-4 (von Rohden).
663. Supra n. 617.
664. See particularly Becatti 66-72; idem 1967 328-31; Ryberg 1967 77-83.
665. The major illustrated publications are: E. Petersen-A. von Domaszewski-G. Calderini, Die Marcus - Säule auf Piazza Colonna in Rom (Munich 1896); P. Romanelli, La Colonna Antonina: rilievi fotografici eseguiti in occasione dei lavori di protezione antiaerea (Rome 1942); C. Caprino-A. M. Colini-G. Gatti-M. Pallottino-P. Romanelli, La Colonna di Marco Aurelio (Rome 1955). In the numbering of the scenes the Petersen edition is followed.
666. For the history of the Column in modern times see Petersen et al. 1-20 (Petersen); Caprino et al. 29-42 (Colini).
667. Petersen et al. 105-25 (von Domaszewski); Caprino et al. 79-117 (Caprino). Others believe that the wars represented are those of A.D. 172-5 and 177-80; Morris 33-43.
668. For restorations, see Caprino et al. 119-24 (Calderini).
669. Bandinelli 314-28; Becatti 53-5, 72-9; Caprino et al. 43-60 (Pallottino).
670. Hamberg 135 ff.; Becatti 73-4.
671. See e.g. 10. 10 and 10. 36.
672. M. Wegner, JdI 46 (1931) 161-74; Caprino et al. 51-3.
673. Morris 33-43.
674. Becatti 48, n. 95.
675. See Becatti 51-3, pl. 5; idem 1972 66-8 with bibl.
676. Petersen et al. 43; Caprino et al. passim; Becatti 47, 58.
677. Stuart Jones 265-7; Strong 255; Hekler, JOAI 21-2 (1922-4) 181-2; Heintze 667-8, figs. 5-7.

678. Becatti 76, pls. 18, 19 a.
679. Ibid., 76, pl. 20.
680. Ibid., 76, pl. 27 a-b, 25 b.
681. Ibid., 76, pl. 22 b.
682. Heintze 668, figs. 9-11 whom she names Vitrasius Pollio.
683. Becatti 77, pls. 32-3.
684. Ibid., 79-82. Cfr. Caprino et al. 43-60 (Pallottino) and Bandinelli 323-8.
685. Bandinelli 324.
686. The most recent and by far the most comprehensive edition of the Arch and its reliefs is: R. Brilliant, The Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman forum, MAAR 29 (Rome 1967). Discussion of the date of the Arch in pp. 91-5.
687. See Brilliant 1967 167-217 and "Schematic rendering of the scenic composition of the Great Panels" on p. 169. The Roman numbers for the panels and the letters for the scenes adopted by Brilliant will be followed here.
688. U. Scerrato, ArchCl 7 (1955) 199-206, pls. LXXXII-LXXXVI. Cfr. Bernoulli II, 3, 21-2, 28; L'Orange 1947 142, n. 14; Budde 1955 3-4, n. 7; McCann 1968 66, n. 25; all state that none of the portraits of Severus survive.
689. See e.g. figures carrying similar rotuli on the attic reliefs both on the Arch of Trajan and the Arch of Severus in Lepcis.
690. CIL VI, 1033. Fully discussed in Brilliant 1967 91-5.
691. Speaking of the figure on the right in Panel I C, which he identifies as Geta, Brilliant 1967 188 is not specific whether "the head has been sheared off" deliberately or not.
692. Brilliant 1967 207, 254. Dio 75. 14-6, 76. 4. Budde 1955 3, n. 7 sees Geta in this headless figure and Plautianus in the bearded man between it and Septimius.
693. See n. 688. It is best illustrated in Scerrato, ArchCl 7 (1955), pl. LXXXV, 1.
694. Brilliant 1967 173, 178-9.
695. Ibid., 246-50.
696. Ibid., 219-50, figs. 66-108.
697. See e.g. ibid., pls. 78 a-c, 81.
698. Supra pp. 130-4.
699. Brilliant 1967 137-47, pls. 44-8.
700. Ibid., 149-65, pls. 49-59.

701. Madaule, "Le Monument de Septime Sévère au Forum Boarium", MélRome 41 (1924) 111-50; D. E. L. Haynes-P.E.D. Hirst, Porta Argentariorum (BSR Suppl. London 1939); M. Pallottino, L'Arco degli Argentari (Rome 1946).
702. CIL VI 1035. See Haynes 3-11.
703. E.g. McCann 1968 73-4; Soechting 25-7; Wiggers 14-5, 17-22.
704. Haynes 16-27, pls. VI-VII.
705. Ibid., 27, pl. I.
706. Ibid., 38-40, figs. 22-3. See also the small reliefs with sacrificial scenes and divinities: ibid., 29-35, figs. 15-9.
707. Ibid., 27-9, fig. 14.
708. On the interpretation of the scene see Ryberg 138-40.
709. McCann 1968 73-4, pl. XV; Soechting 200.
710. As early as 200-1 A.D. according to Soechting 27; 196-7 A.D. according to McCann 1968 206, pl. VI, figs. 1-2.
711. A good proportion of Severus' portraits belong to this type: McCann, Cat. 46-97, pls. LIV-LXXXII.
712. For a discussion of the concept of the divinity of the Emperor see McCann 1968 57-8, nn. 112-6; Soechting 26, nn. 81-2.
713. McCann 1968 58.
714. Haynes 18-9, fig. 7. Meischner, rather surprisingly, does not even mention this portrait.
715. Meischner 30-42.
716. Ibid., 32, fig. 39.
717. Haynes 20-2, figs. 11-2; L. Budde, Die Entstehung des antiken Repräsentationsbildes (Berlin 1957) 6, pl. 6; McCann 1968 73; Wiggers 110. Others, like Madaule 129-30 had suggested Plautilla.
718. Haynes 22-3, fig. 13; Wiggers 125.
719. See Wiggers 77, pls. 2 a-b, 23 a.
720. Ibid., 17-22. See also C. Jacobson, RA 1 (1903) 121-3 who was the first to identify him correctly and Budde 77.
721. Musée Saint Rymond 30156: Wiggers 87, pl. 3 b.
722. McCann 1968 74, n. 4; Soechting 27, 200-1, fig. 9 d.
723. Wiggers 77.
724. R. Bartoccini, "L'arco quadrifronte dei Severi a Lepcis", AfrIt 4 (1931) 32-152.
725. See among others: Ward Perkins 59-80; idem. 1951 269 ff.; Bandinelli et al., fig. 9, 32-48; V.M. Strocka, AntAfr 6 (1972) 147-72.

726. Mainly concerned with the portraiture of the reliefs: Budde 11-7, pls. 4, 6-7; Meischner 46-50; McCann 1968 74-8 and passim; Soechting 27-30, 107-8, passim; Wiggers 88-9, 113.
727. Bartoccini 132, figs. 97, 100; 92, fig. 64.
728. McCann 1968 78, n. 24; Strocka 15, fig. 40; Soechting 28, n. 101, 259-60.
729. See McCann 1968, pls. I-XIV.
730. McCann 1968 77, pl. XVIII, 2.
731. Soechting 231. For an account of the type see pp. 59-62.
732. McCann 1968 77, pl. XVIII, 3; Soechting 233.
733. McCann interprets the scene as the presentation of Caracalla to the three Tychai of Tripolitania. But the second figure from the left is male with the toga drawn over his head. Soechting sees Geta in this figure and Julia Domna in the female figure.
734. McCann 1968 78, pl. XX, figs. 1-2; Soechting 232.
735. McCann 1968 53, pl. XX, 3.
736. J. M. C. Toynbee, in a lecture delivered at the University of Münster in 1948, cited by Budde 9, n. 11, suggested that the arch could have been dedicated after Septimius' death, namely between A.D. 211 and 212. I consider, however, that the period between Severus' death and the murder of Geta is too short for the erection and decoration of such a complex monument.
737. McCann 1968 78.
738. Ibid., 77, pl. XIX, 2-3.
739. Ibid., 50-1, 78.
740. Soechting 41-8, 168-9.
741. McCann 1968 77.
742. Bartoccini 142, fig. 106; Budde 12, pl. 6 a; Strocka 155.
743. Strocka 162, fig. 3.
744. Bartoccini, fig. 52; Wiggers 89.
745. Bartoccini 83 (Geta); Budde 9, pl. 6 b; Wiggers 14-6, 88, pls. 6, 7 c.
746. Wiggers 22-4, pls. 5 c, 8 a-b, 22 a.
747. Ibid., 23, 90, pls. 7 a-b, 8 d.
748. Ibid., 24.
749. McCann 1968 74-8; Soechting 28, 107-8.
750. Wiggers 89.
751. Ibid., 88.

752. Ibid., 88, 113.
753. Wiggers 96, 113, pl. 24.
754. Such as Bartoccini, figs. 84-5; McCann 1968 76, pl. XVIII, 4.
755. Wiggers 113; for the Munich-Toulouse type see idem 97-100, pls. 25, 26 c-d.
756. McCann 1968 76, pl. XVII, 3. This aureus appears to me to show a much older youth than does the relief head.
757. Bartoccini 52; Wiggers 113, pl. 27 c.
758. For a study of the female portraiture of the Severan age see Meischner.
759. Meischner 14-5, 46-50; see also drawings opposite p. 194.
760. Ibid., figs. 41-2.
761. Bartoccini 136, fig. 98; Strocka 168, pl. 2 b; Bandinelli et al., fig. 39.
762. Bartoccini 138-42; Strocka 167-8, pl. 1b.
763. Meischner 30-42, figs. 36-9.
764. In some cases, as in the Sacrifice frieze, their feet can be seen hanging in mid-air.
765. The costumes worn by the captives in the Triumph scenes and in the trophies carved on the piers of the arch leave no doubt as to their identity.
766. Strocka 147-72.
767. Bartoccini 152; Townsend, AJA 42 (1938) 522; P. Bober, The sculptures of the Arch of Septimius Severus at Leptis Magna (New York 1943) 4-8; Ward Perkins 1951 281.
768. McCann 1968 74-8; Soechting 107-8. See also review of Soechting in JRS 63 (1973) 281 (M.A.R. Colledge).
769. FA 10 (1955) 3229, figs. 84-5; ILN 23 (Feb. 1957) 30, figs. 5-6; SEG XX, no. 728.
770. E.g. H. Sichtermann, AA (1959) 284-91, figs. 25-8.
771. Kraus 238, no. 233 (H. von Heintze); R. G. Goodchild, Kyrene und Apollonia (Zurich 1971), pls. 85-7.
772. Vermeule 79-80, 93.
773. E.g. McCann 1968; Soechting.
774. E.g. Budde; Wiggers.
775. D. E. Strong, "Septimius Severus at Lepcis Magna and Cyrene". The Society for Libyan Studies, Annual Report 4 (1972-3) 27-35, pls. VII-X.
776. Ibid., 32; A. Giuliano, Il commercio dei sarcofagi attici (Studia archaeologica, 4, 1962) 53-6; Ward Perkins, ProcBritAc 57 (1971) 137 ff.

777. On p. 30 the author gives 202 A.D. as the year of the celebration of the Emperor's decennalia but in p. 34 he gives the correct date.
778. For this building see supra n. 769.
779. The following corrections have to be made to the text as reproduced by Strong in fig. 1, p. 29. Instead of ΕΥΣΕΒΗ ΙΤΕΡΤΙΝΑΚΑ read ΕΥΣΕΒΗ ΠΕΡΤΙΝΑΚΑ . The K in APABIKON is easily integrated. Instead of ΦΙΑΟΤΕΙ (or ΦΛΑΟΤΕΙ as on p. 30) read ΦΙΛΑΟΤΕΙ .
780. It is carved on shelly and very gritty limestone.
781. See e.g. the female barbarians on the Arch of Lepcis: Bartoccini, fig. 34; and on the sarcophagus from Via Casilina: Bandinelli, figs. 346-7.
782. Strong 1972-3 33.
783. See B. Andreae, Motivgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den römischen Schlachtsarkophagen (Berlin 1956).
784. R. Amy et al., L'Arc d'Orange (Gallia Suppl. XV, 1962), pl. 95; Charbonneaux, figs. 249-50.
785. Strong 1972-3, n. 33. The fact that the word ΣΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΝ of the inscription occurs below this figure is purely accidental and has no parallels. Miss. J. Reynolds, who studied the inscription, in a verbal discussion regarded it as a pure coincidence.
786. See e.g. the one on the ferculum in the Temple of Apollo frieze, and on the triumphal frieze of the Arch of the Severans in Lepcis (Brilliant 1967, fig. 51). See also the battle sarcophagus in the Capitol (Bandinelli, fig. 341).
787. The earliest is the one behind Roma in the Lagina frieze: Schober, Der Fries des Hekateions von Lagina (Istanbuler Forschungen, 2 1933), pl. XI. See also EAA VII (1966) 996-8 s.v. "Trofeo" (Mansuelli); Bartoccini, fig. 32.
788. Strong 1972-3 31.
789. Ibid., 33-4.
790. Ibid., 34, n. 37.
791. Budde 26, pls. 15 a, 17 a; Wiggers 83 (Argentarii type).
792. Budde, pl. 18; Strong 1972-3, pl. X a; Wiggers 79-80, pls. 1 a-b, 5 a (Argentarii type).
793. The identification of the Sacchetti relief head with Caracalla is very doubtful and has been recently rejected: Wiggers 83-4.
794. Strong 1972-3 31.
795. Ibid., 31. On the polychromy in the Severan Arch in the Roman Forum see Brilliant 1967 223, nn. 20-2.
796. Strong 1972-3 34.
797. Supra pp. 143-6, PLATES 262-76.

798. Ward Perkins 59-80, esp. 75; idem 1951 269 ff.; M. Scuarciapino, La scuola di Afrodisia (Rome 1943). The panel portraying the siege of a city is, however, very different from anything else in Lepcis, and reminds one of the narrative panels on the Severan Arch in Rome, although the inspiration could have come from the Column of Marcus Aurelius (see Brilliant 1967, figs. 97-8).
799. Other sources for such "triumphal paintings" are: Festus 209 M; Livy 24. 16; 41. 28; Pliny HN 35. 23, 135; Appian 8. 66. See G. Becatti, The art of ancient Greece and Rome (London 1968): from 372-3, 289-92.
800. G. Zinserling, Eirene 1 (1960) 153-86.
801. Richter, JRS 45 (1955) 39-46; EAA VI (1965) 695-738 s.v. "Ritratto" (Bianchi Bandinelli). For the term "Mid-Italic" see Bandinelli 429 and passim.
802. B. Schweitzer, Alla ricerca di Fidia 318, n. 3. See e.g. the Ilissus stele in the National Museum, Athens: Charbonneaux, fig. 243.
803. Winter, Der Alexandersarkophag von Sidon (Strassburg 1912); Charbonneaux 237, figs. 249-50.
804. D. Pinkwart, "Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene", Antike Plastik 4 (Berlin 1956) 55-65; Charbonneaux, fig. 317.
805. See, for instance, L'Orange 1947; idem 1953. See also supra n. 604.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

<u>AA</u>	Archaeologischer Anzeiger.
<u>AbhBerl</u>	Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Phil-hist. Klasse.
<u>ActaA</u>	Acta Archaeologica.
<u>ActaDebr</u>	Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis.
<u>ActaIRN</u>	Institutum Romanum Norvegiae. Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam pertinentia.
<u>AfrIt</u>	Africa Italiana.
<u>AJA</u>	American Journal of Archaeology.
<u>Amelung</u>	W. Amelung, <u>Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museum</u> (Berlin 1903-8).
<u>AnnInst</u>	Annales Institutorum.
<u>AntAfr</u>	Antiquités Africaines.
<u>ArchCl</u>	Archeologia Classica.
<u>ArchRW</u>	Archiv fur Religionswissenschaft.
Arias	P. E. Arias, <u>La Scultura Romana</u> (Messina 1943). J. Aymard, "L' <u>adventus</u> de Marc Aurèle sur l'arc de Constantin", <u>REA</u> 52 (1950) 71 ff.
Bandinelli	R. Bianchi Bandinelli, <u>Rome, the centre of power: Roman art to A.D. 200</u> (London 1970).
1950	R. Bianchi Bandinelli, <u>Storicità dell'arte classica</u> II ed. (Florence 1950). R. Bianchi Bandinelli, <u>Rome, The Late Empire, Roman Art A.D. 200-400</u> (London 1971).
<u>et al.</u>	R. Bianchi Bandinelli, E. Vergara Caffarelli and G. Caputo, <u>Leptis Magna</u> (Rome 1963).
Bartoccini	R. Bartoccini, "L'arco quadrifronte dei Severi a Lepcis", <u>AfrIt</u> 4 (1931) 32-152.
Bartoli	A. Bartoli, "Il fregio figurato della Basilica Emilia", <u>BdA</u> 35 (1950) 289-294, figs. 1-9.
<u>BCH</u>	Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique.
<u>BdA</u>	Bollettino d'Arte.

- Becatti G. Becatti, La colonna coclide istoriata: problemi storici iconografici stilistici (Rome 1960).
- 1967 G. Becatti, "Osservazioni sui rilievi di Marco Aurelio", ArchCl 19 (1967) 321-31.
- 1972 G. Becatti, "Il rilievo della Liberalitas di Marco Aurelio", ArchCl 24 (1972) 59-74.
- G. Becatti, "Metrodoro e Paolo Emilio: un'ipotesi", Critica d'Arte (1941) 70-1.
- G. Becatti, The art of ancient Greece and Rome (London 1968).
- Bernoulli J. J. Bernoulli, Römische Ikonographie (Stuttgart 1882-94).
- M. Bieber, "Die Medaillons am Konstantinsbogen", RM 26 (1911) 214-37.
- M. Bieber, The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age (New York 1955).
- Bieńkowski P. Bieńkowski, Les Celtes dans les Arts Mineurs Gréco-Romains (Krakau 1928).
- Bloch R. Bloch, "L' 'Ara Pietatis Augustae' ", MélRome 56 (1939) 81-120.
- Blümel K. Blümel, "Ein Porträt des Antoninus Pius aus Einem der Rundreliefs vom Konstantinsbogen", JdI 47 (1932) 90-6.
- P. Bober, The sculptures of the Arch of Septimius Severus at Leptis Magna (New York 1943).
- N. Bonacasa, Ritratti greci e romani della Sicilia (Palermo 1964).
- BonnJbb Bonner Jahrbücher.
- BPW Berliner philologische Wochenschrift.
- BrBr Brunn-Bruckmann, Denkmäler.
- Brilliant R. Brilliant, Gesture and Rank in Roman Art (New Haven-Conn. 1963).
- 1967 R. Brilliant, The Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman forum, MAAR 29 (Rome 1967).
- BSR British School of Archaeology at Rome, Papers.
- Budde L. Budde, Jugendbildnisse der Caracalla und Geta (Münster (Westf.) 1951).
- 1955 L. Budde, Severisches Relief in Palazzo Sacchetti, JdI Ergänzungsheft 18 (Berlin 1955).

<u>BullComm</u>	Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma.
Bulle	H. Bulle, "Ein Jagddenkmal des Kaisers Hadrian", <u>JdI</u> 34 (1919) 144-72.
Cagiano de Azevedo	M. Cagiano de Azevedo, <u>Le Antichità di Villa Medici</u> (Rome 1951).
Calza	R. Calza, <u>Scavi di Ostia, I Ritratti VI</u> (Rome 1964).
1972	R. Calza, <u>Iconografia romana imperiale da Carausio a Giuliano (287-363 d. C.)</u> (Rome 1972).
Caprino <u>et al.</u>	C. Caprino, A. M. Colini, G. Gatti, M. Pallottino, and P. Romanelli, <u>La Colonna di Marco Aurelio</u> (Rome 1955).
Carettoni	G. F. Carettoni, "Il fregio figurato della Basilica Emilia", <u>RivIstArch</u> 19 (1961) 5-78, figs. 1-76.
Carpenter	R. Carpenter, "Observations of familiar statuary in Rome", <u>MAAR</u> 18 (1941).
	F. Castagnoli, "Il problema dell' 'Ara di Domizio Enobarbo' ", <u>Arti Figurative</u> 1 (1945) 181-96.
<u>CB</u>	Classical Bulletin.
Charbonneaux	J. Charbonneaux, R. Martin, and F. Villard, <u>Hellenistic Art</u> (London 1973).
Cianfarani	V. Cianfarani, "Rilievo romano di Villa Torlonia", <u>BullComm</u> 73 (1949-50) 235-54, pl. I.
Cichorius	C. Cichorius, <u>Die Reliefs der Trajanssäule</u> (Berlin 1896-1900).
<u>CIL</u>	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
<u>CJ</u>	Classical Journal.
	C. W. Clairmont, <u>Die Bildnisse des Antinous</u> (Switzerland 1966).
Coarelli	F. Coarelli, "L' 'Ara di Domizio Enobarbo' e la cultura artistica in Roma nel II Secolo A.C. ", <u>Dialoghi di Archeologia</u> 3 (1969).
Colini	A. M. Colini, "I frammenti di architettura e di rilievi rinvenuti presso la chiesa di S. Maria in Via Lata", <u>RendPontAcc</u> 11 (1935) 41-61.
Courbaud	E. Courbaud, <u>Le bas-relief romain a representations historiques</u> (Paris 1899).
<u>CP</u>	Classical Philology.
Curtius	L. Curtius, "Ikonographische Beiträge zum Porträt der römischen Republik und der julisch-claudischen Familie"
1932	<u>RM</u> 47 (1932) 202-68.

- Curtius L. Curtius, "Ikographische Beiträge zum Porträt der römischen Republik und der julisch-claudischen Familie".
- 1933 RM 48 (1933) 182-243.
- 1934 RM 49 (1934) 128 ff.
- 1935 RM 50 (1935) 260 ff.
- 1948 MdI 1 (1948) 53-94.
- G. Daltrop, Die stadtrömischen männlichen Privatbildnisse trajanischer und hadrianischer Zeit (Münster 1958).
- Domaszewski A. von Domaszewski, "Die politische Bedeutung des Trajansbogens in Benevent", JOAI 2 (1899) 173 ff.
- 1903 A. von Domaszewski, "Die Familie des Augustus auf der Ara Pacis", JOAI 6 (1903) 57-66.
- Duhn F. von Duhn, Miscellanea Capitolina (1879).
- EAA Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica Classica e Orientale.
- Eichler F. Eichler, "Zum Partherdenkmal von Ephesos", JOAI Beihefte II (1971) 102-35, figs. 1-33.
- F. Eichler, "Das sogenannte Partherdenkmal von Ephesos", VI International Kongress für Archäologie (Berlin 1939) 488 ff., pl. 54.
- FA Fasti Archaeologici.
- L. Fabbrini, "Il ritratto giovanile di Tiberio e la iconografia di Druso Maggiore", BdA 49 (1964) 304-26.
- L. Fabbrini, "Addenda iconografica", BdA 52 (1967) 67-9.
- Felletti Maj B. M. Felletti Maj, Museo Nazionale Romano. I Ritratti (Rome 1953).
- 1966 B. M. Felletti Maj, "Traiano", EAA VII (1966) 963-5.
- B. M. Felletti Maj, "Antonino Pio", EAA I (1958) 442-4.
- B. M. Felletti Maj, "Claudio", EAA II (1959) 704-6.
- B. M. Felletti Maj, "Ottavia Minore", EAA V (1963) 806.
- G. Förschner, "Das Porträt des Vespasian auf römischen Münzen", Berliner Numismatische Zs. (1959) no. 21, 3-10 and (1960) no. 26, 25-32.
- Froehner W. Froehner, La Colonne Trajane (Paris 1872-4).
- Frova A. Frova, L'arte di Roma e del mondo romano (Turin 1961).

- Führer W. Helbig, Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom I-IV (Tübingen 1963-72).
- Furuhagen H. Furuhaben, "Some remarks on the sculptured frieze of the Basilica Aemilia in Rome", OpusRom 3 (1961) 139-55, figs. 1-15.
- Gauer W. Gauer, "Ein Dakerdenkmal Domitians. Die Trajanssäule und das sogenannte grosse trajanische Relief", JdI 88 (1973) 318-50, figs. 1-13.
- GGA Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.
- Giuliano A. Giuliano, Catalogo dei ritratti romani del Museo Profano Lateranense (Vatican City 1957).
- 1955 A. Giuliano, "Un nuovo frammento del fregio della Basilica Emilia", BdA 40 (1955) 165-7, figs. 1-4.
- 1959 A. Giuliano, "La ritrattistica dell'Asia Minore dall'89 a.C. al 211 d.C.", RivIstArch 17 (1959) 146-201.
- A. Giuliano, L'Arco di Costantino (Milan 1955).
- Goethert F. W. Goethert, Zur Kunst der römischen Republik (Berlin 1931).
- R. G. Goodchild, Kyrene und Apollonia (Zurich 1971).
- Groag-Stein E. Groag-A. Stein, Prosopographia Imperii Romani I-III (Berlin/Leipzig 1933-43).
- Gross W. H. Gross, Bildnisse Trajans (Berlin 1940).
- W. H. Gross, Iulia Augusta (Göttingen 1962).
- Hafner G. Hafner, "Zum Augustus Relief in Ravenna", RM 62 (1955) 160-73.
- Hamberg P. G. Hamberg, Studies in Roman Imperial Art (Copenhagen 1945).
- Hanell K. Hanell, "Das Opfer des Augustus an der Ara Pacis. Eine archäologische und historische Untersuchung", OpusRom 2 (1960) 31-120.
- G. M. A. Hanfmann, Roman Art, A modern survey of Art of Imperial Rome (London 1964).
- Hanfmann-Vermeule G. M. A. Hanfmann and C. C. Vermeule, "A New Trajan", AJA 61 (1957) 223-53, pls. 68-75.
- Hassel F. J. Hassel, Der Trajansbogen in Benevent: ein Bauwerk des römischen Senates (Mainz 1966).
- Havelock C. M. Havelock, Hellenistic Art (Greenwich, Conn. 1971).
- Haynes D. E. L. Haynes and P. E. D. Hirst, Porta Argentariorum (BSR suppl., London 1939).

- Heintze H. von Heintze, "Zum Relief mit der Liberalitas des Marc Aurel", Hommages à Marcel Renard III (1969) 662-74, pls. 244-9.
- Hekler A. Hekler, Die Sammlung antiker Skulpturen, Museum der Bildenden Künste in Budapest (Budapest 1929).
- A. Hekler, Bildniskunst d. Griechen u. Römer (Stockholm 1912).
- A. Hekler, "Studien zur römischen Porträtkunst", JOAI 21-2 (1922-4) 172-202.
- Henderson B. W. Henderson, Five Roman Emperors (Cambridge 1927).
- IG Inscriptiones Graecae.
- ILN Illustrated London News.
- ILS Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae.
- Inan-Rosenbaum J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor (London 1966).
- C. Jacobsen, "Caracalla Jeune", RA 1 (1903) 121-3.
- JdI Jahrbuch des k. deutschen archaeologischen Instituts.
- JOAI Jahreshefte des oesterreichischen archaeologischen Instituts.
- JRS Journal of Roman Studies.
- JWarb Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes.
- Kähler H. Kähler, Der Fries vom Reiterdenkmal des Aemilius Paullus in Delphi (Berlin 1965).
- 1959 H. Kähler, Die Augustusstatue von Primaporta (Cologne 1959).
- 1966 H. Kähler, Seethiassos und Census. Die Reliefs aus dem Palazzo Santa Croce in Rom (Berlin 1966).
- H. Kähler, "Parerga zu einer Arbeit über den römischen Triumph - und Ehrenbogen", RM 54 (1939) 252-69, pls. 57-8.
- H. Kähler, Rome and her empire (London 1963).
- Kraus T. Kraus, Das römische Weltreich (Berlin 1968).
- Lehmann K. Lehmann-Hartleben, Die Traianssäule (Berlin & Leipzig 1926).
- 1925 K. Lehmann-Hartleben, "Köpfe der Trajanssäule", Die Antike 1 (1925) 319-37, pls. 32-8.
- 1934 K. Lehmann-Hartleben, "L'Arco di Tito", BullComm 62 (1934) 89-122.

- Lévêque P. Lévêque, "L'identification des combattants de la frise de Paul-Émile à Delphes", RA 31-2 (1948) 633-43.
- Lippold G. Lippold, Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums (Berlin 1936-56).
- L'Orange H. P. L'Orange and A. von Gerkan, Der spätantike Bildsmuck des Konstantinsbogen (Berlin 1939).
- 1947 H. P. L'Orange, Apotheosis in Ancient Portraiture (Oslo 1947).
- 1953 H. P. L'Orange, Studies on the iconography of cosmic Kingship in the ancient world (Oslo 1953).
- H. P. L'Orange, Art forms and civic life in the late Roman empire (Princeton 1965).
- F. von Lorentz, "Ein Bildnis des Antoninus Pius", RM 48 (1933) 308-11.
- MAAR Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome.
- Madaule Madaule, "Le monument de Septime Sévère au Forum Boarium", MélRome 41 (1924) 111-50.
- Magi F. Magi, I rilievi flavi del Palazzo della Cancelleria (Rome 1945).
- F. Magi, "Brevi osservazioni su di una nuova datazione dei Rilievi della Cancelleria", RM 80 (1973) 289-91.
- Mattingly H. Mattingly, British Museum, Coins of the Roman Empire I-V (London 1923-50).
- H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, Roman Imperial Coinage II ed. (London 1962).
- I. Maull, "Hadrians Jagddenkmal", JOAI 42 (1955) 53-67.
- McCann A. M. McCann, "A re-dating of the Reliefs from the Palazzo della Cancelleria", RM 79 (1972) 249-76.
- 1968 A. M. McCann, The portraits of Septimius Severus, MAAR 30 (Rome 1968).
- McFayden McFayden, "The date of the arch of Titus", CJ 11 (1915) 131 ff.
- MdI Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts.
- Meischner J. Meischner, Das Frauenporträt der Severerzeit (Inaugural Doctoral Dissertation of the Free University, Berlin) (Berlin 1964).
- MélRome Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'Ecole française de Rome.
- Michon E. Michon, "Les bas-reliefs historiques romains du Musée du Louvre", MonPiot 17 (1909) 145-253.

<u>MonInst</u>	Monumenti Inediti Pubblicati dall'istituto di Corrispondenza archeologica.
<u>MonPiot</u>	Monuments et mémoires publ. par l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres, Fondation Piot.
Moretti	G. Moretti, <u>Ara Pacis Augustae</u> (Rome 1948).
Morris	J. Morris, "The dating of the Column of Marcus Aurelius", <u>JWarb</u> 15 (1952) 33-43.
<u>MZ</u>	Mainzer Zeitschrift. B. Neutsch, "Zur Meisterfrage der Cancellaria-Reliefs", <u>JdI</u> 63-4 (1948-9) 100-10.
<u>N Jbb</u>	Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum.
<u>NSc</u>	Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità.
<u>OpusRom</u>	Opuscula Romana.
Pallottino	M. Pallottino, "Il Grande Fregio di Traiano", <u>BullComm</u> 66 (1938) 17-56; reprinted in the series <u>Studi e Materiali del Museo dell'Impero Romano I</u> (Rome 1938). M. Pallottino, <u>L'Arco degli Argentari</u> (Rome 1946). R. Paribeni, <u>Il Ritratto nell'arte antica</u> (Milan 1934).
Petersen	E. Petersen, <u>Ara Pacis Augustae</u> (Vienna 1902).
1889	E. Petersen, "I rilievi tondi dell'Arco di Costantino", <u>RM</u> 4 (1889) 314-39.
1906	E. Petersen, rev. of <u>BrBr</u> nos. 546-95, <u>NJbb</u> 17 (1906) 516-23. E. Petersen, "Die Attikareliefs am Constantinsbogen", <u>RM</u> 5 (1890) 73-6. E. Petersen, "L'Arco di Traiano a Benevento", <u>RM</u> 7 (1892) 239-64. E. Petersen, "L'Ara Pacis Augustae", <u>RM</u> 9 (1894) 171-228. E. Petersen, "Die Ara Pacis Augustae", <u>JOAI</u> 9 (1906) 298-315.
<u>et al.</u>	E. Petersen, A. von Domaszewski and G. Calderini, <u>Die Marcus - Säule auf Piazza Colonna in Rom</u> (Munich 1896). C. Picard, "Le châtiment de Tarpeia et les frises historico-légendaires de la basilique Aemilia à Rome", <u>RA</u> 49 (1957) 181-8.
Pietrangeli	C. Pietrangeli, <u>L'Arco di Traiano a Benevento</u> , "Documentario Athenaeum Fotografico" (Novara 1947). C. Pietrangeli, "Germanico", <u>EAA</u> III (1960) 848-9.

Polacco	L. Polacco, <u>Il volto di Tiberio</u> (Padova 1955).
Polaschek	K. Polaschek, <u>Studien zur Ikonographie der Antonia Minor</u> (Rome 1973).
F. Poulsen	F. Poulsen, <u>Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek</u> (Copenhagen 1951). F. Poulsen, <u>Porträtstudien in norditalienischen Provinzmuseen</u> (Copenhagen 1928).
Poulsen	V. H. Poulsen, "Studies in Julio-Claudian Iconography", <u>ActaA</u> 17 (1946) 1-48.
1958	V. H. Poulsen, "Portraits of Caligula", <u>ActaA</u> 29 (1958) 189-90. V. H. Poulsen, "Nero, Britannicus and others", <u>ActaA</u> 22 (1951) 119-35. V. H. Poulsen, "Once more the young Nero and other Claudians", <u>ActaA</u> 25 (1954) 294-301. V. H. Poulsen, <u>Claudische Prinzen</u> (Baden-Baden 1960).
<u>ProcBritAc</u>	Proceedings of the British Academy.
<u>RA</u>	Revue archéologique.
<u>RE</u>	Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft.
<u>REA</u>	Revue des études anciennes.
Reinach 1910	A. J. Reinach, "La frise du monument de Paul-Emile à Delphes", <u>BCH</u> 34 (1910) 433-68.
Reinach	S. Reinach, "Les têtes des médaillons de l'arc de Constantin à Rome", <u>RA</u> 15 (1910) 118-31.
<u>RendPontAcc</u>	Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rendiconti. G. M. A. Richter, "The origin of Verism in Roman Portraits", <u>JRS</u> 45 (1955) 39-46.
<u>RivIstArch</u>	Rivista del R. Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte.
<u>RM</u>	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung.
Rocchetti	L. Rocchetti, "Colonna di Traiano", <u>EAA</u> II (1959) 756-60. G. Rodenwaldt, "Über den Stilwandel in der Antoninischen Kunst", <u>AbhBerl</u> 3 (1935) 1-27 with 10 plates. P. Romanelli, <u>La Colonna Antonina: rilievi fotografici eseguiti in occasione dei lavori di protezione antiaerea</u> (Rome 1942).

- P. Romanelli, La Colonna Traiana: rilievi fotografici eseguiti in occasione dei lavori di protezione antiaerea (Rome 1942).
- Rossi L. Rossi, Trajan's Column and the Dacian Wars (London 1971).
- Rostovtzeff M. Rostovtzeff, Social and economic history of the Roman Empire (Oxford 1926).
- Rotili M. Rotili, L'Arco di Traiano a Benevento (Roma 1972).
- A. Rumpf, 'Römische historische Reliefs', BonnJbb 155-6 (1955-6) 112-35, pls. 17-20, 22.
- J. Ruyschaert, 'Les onze panneaux de l'Arc de Marc-Aurèle érigé à Rome en 176', RendPontAcc 35 (1962-3) 101-21.
- Ryberg I. S. Ryberg, 'Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art', MAAR 22 (Rome 1955).
- 1949 I. S. Ryberg, 'The procession of the Ara Pacis', MAAR 19 (Rome 1949).
- 1967 I. S. Ryberg, Panel reliefs of Marcus Aurelius (New York 1967).
- SBHeidel Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil-hist. Klasse.
- Scerrato U. Scerrato, 'Un frammento dell'Arco di Traiano a Benevento', ArchCl 5 (1953) 215-21.
- U. Scerrato, 'Nota iconografica in margine all'Arco di Settimio Severo', ArchCl 7 (1955) 199-206, pls. LXXXII-LXXXVI.
- Schefold K. Schefold, Orient, Hellas und Rom in der archaeologischen Forschung seit 1939 (1949) 188-91.
- R. V. Schoder, 'Found: A portrait of Vergil?', CB 19 (1942) 1-2.
- B. Schweitzer, Die Bildniskunst der römischen Republik (Leipzig 1948).
- B. Schweitzer, Alla ricerca di Fidia (Milan 1967).
- Scramuzza V. M. Scramuzza, 'Livy in the Ara Pietatis Augustae?', CP 38 (1943) 240-5.
- SEG Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.
- Sieveking J. Sieveking, 'Das römische Relief', Festschrift Paul Arndt (Munich 1925) 14-35.
- 1907 J. Sieveking, 'Zur Ara Pacis Augustae', JOAI 10 (1907) 175-90.

- J. Sieveking, 'Die Medaillons am Constantinsbogen', RM 22 (1907) 345-60.
- J. Sieveking, 'Der sogenannte Altar des Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus', JOAI 13 (1910) 95-101.
- J. Sieveking, 'Die Medaillons am Constantinsbogen', BPW 39 (1911) 1239-40.
- Simon E. Simon, 'Das neugefundene Bildnis des Gaius Caesar in Mainz', MZ 58 (1963) 1-18.
- 1960 E. Simon, 'Zu den flavischen Reliefs von der Cancellaria', JdI 75 (1960) 134-56.
- Soechting D. Soechting, Die Porträts des Septimius Severus (Bonn 1972).
- Strocka V. Strocka, 'Beobachtungen an den Attikareliefs des Severischen Quadrifrons von Lepcis Magna', AntAfr 6 (1972) 147-72.
- 1964 V. Strocka, 'Neues zum Actiumrelief', AA (1964) 823-34, fig. 1.
- Strong 1961 D. E. Strong, Roman Imperial Sculpture (London 1961).
- 1972-3 D. E. Strong, 'Septimius Severus at Lepcis Magna and Cyrene', The Society for Libyan Studies Annual Report 4 (1972-3) 27-35, pls. VII-X.
- Strong E. Strong, La scultura Romana (Florence 1923).
- E. Strong, Apotheosis and After Life (London 1915).
- M. Stuart, The portraiture of Claudius (New York 1938).
- Stuart Jones H. Stuart Jones, 'Notes on Roman historical sculptures' BSR 3 (1906) 213-71.
- 1912 H. Stuart Jones, The sculptures of the Museo Capitolino (Oxford 1912).
- 1926 H. Stuart Jones, The sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Oxford 1926).
- S. Stucchi, 'L'Arco detto "di Portogallo" sulla Via Flaminia', BullComm 73 (1949-50) 101-22.
- Studniczka F. Studniczka, Zur Ara Pacis (Leipzig 1909).
- Szilagyi J. Szilagyi, Griechisch-Römische Sammlung d. Mus. in Budapest (Budapest 1957).
- Toynbee J. M. C. Toynbee, The Hadrianic School (Cambridge 1934).
- 1946 J. M. C. Toynbee, review of Hamberg, JRS 36 (1946) 181-2.



- Toynbee 1947 J. M. C. Toynbee, review of Magi, JRS 37 (1947) 187-91.
- 1953 J. M. C. Toynbee, "The Ara Pacis reconsidered and historical art in Roman Italy", ProcBritAc 39 (1953) 67-95.
- 1957 J. M. C. Toynbee, The Flavian reliefs from the Palazzo della Cancelleria in Rome (London 1957).
- 1961 J. M. C. Toynbee, "The 'Ara Pacis Augustae' ", JRS 51 (1961) 153 ff.
- 1965 J. M. C. Toynbee, The Art of the Romans (London 1965).
- J. M. C. Toynbee, Some notes on artists in the Roman World (Collection Latomus. VI) (Brussels 1951).
- Vermeule C. C. Vermeule, Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor (Cambridge, Mass. 1968).
- C. C. Vermeule, "The Great Antonine Altar at Ephesos", AJA 66 (1962) 200-1.
- O. Vessberg, Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik (Lund and Leipzig 1941).
- Vogel L. Vogel, The Column of Antoninus Pius (Cambridge, Mass. 1973).
- Wace A. J. B. Wace, "Fragments of Roman historical reliefs in the Vatican and Lateran Museum", BSR 3 (1906) 273-94.
- 1907 A. J. B. Wace, "Studies in Roman Historical Reliefs", BSR 4 (1907) 229-76, pls. XX-XXII.
- Ward Perkins J. B. Ward Perkins, "Severan art and architecture at Lepcis Magna", JRS 38 (1948) 59-80.
- 1951 J. B. Ward Perkins, "The art of the Severan age in the light of Tripolitanian discoveries", ProcBritAc 37 (1951) 269 ff.
- J. B. Ward Perkins, "The Roman West and the Parthian East", ProcBritAc 51 (1967) 175-99.
- Weber W. Weber, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus (Leipzig 1907).
- Wegner M. Wegner, Die Herrscherbildnisse in Antoninischer Zeit Das Römische Herrscherbild II 4 (Berlin 1939).
- 1938 M. Wegner, "Bemerkungen zu den Ehrendenkmälern des Marcus Aurelius", AA 53 (1938) 155-95.
- 1956 M. Wegner, Hadrian, Das Römische Herrscherbild II 3 (Berlin 1956).

- Wegner 1966 M. Wegner, Die Flavier. Das Römische Herrscherbild II 1 (Berlin 1966).
- M. Wegner, 'Die kinstgeschichtliche Stellung der Marcussäule', JdI 46 (1931) 161-74.
- S. Weinstock, 'Pax and the 'Ara Pacis' ', JRS 50 (1960) 44-58.
- R. West, Römische Porträt-plastik (Munich 1933).
- Wickhoff F. Wickhoff, Roman Art transl. E. Strong (London 1900).
- Wiggers H. B. Wiggers and M. Wegner, Caracalla bis Balbinus. Das Römische Herrscherbild III 1 (Berlin 1971).

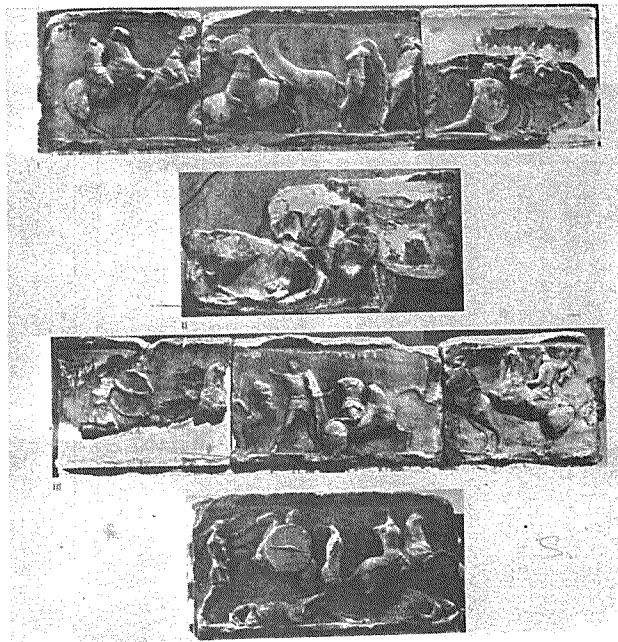


PLATE 1

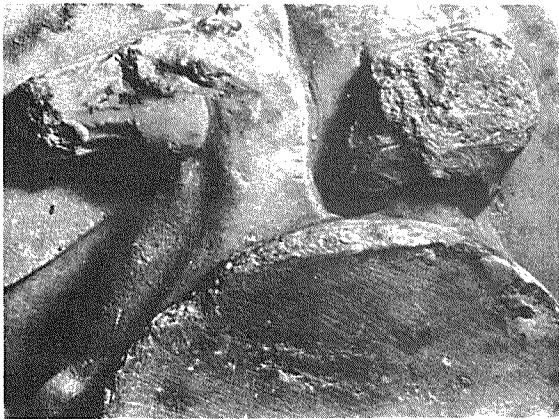


PLATE 2 a-b

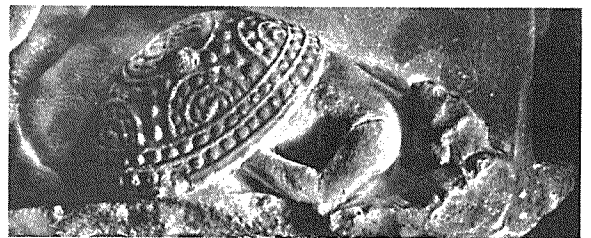


PLATE 3 a-d

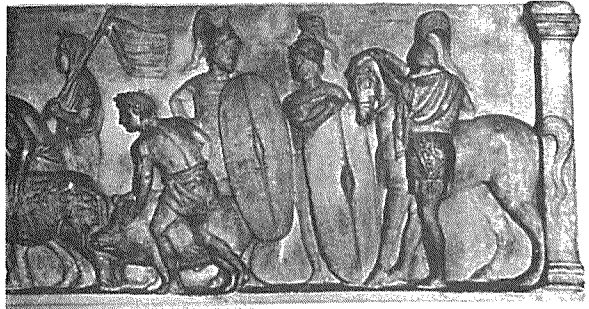


PLATE 4 a-d



PLATE 5



PLATE 6

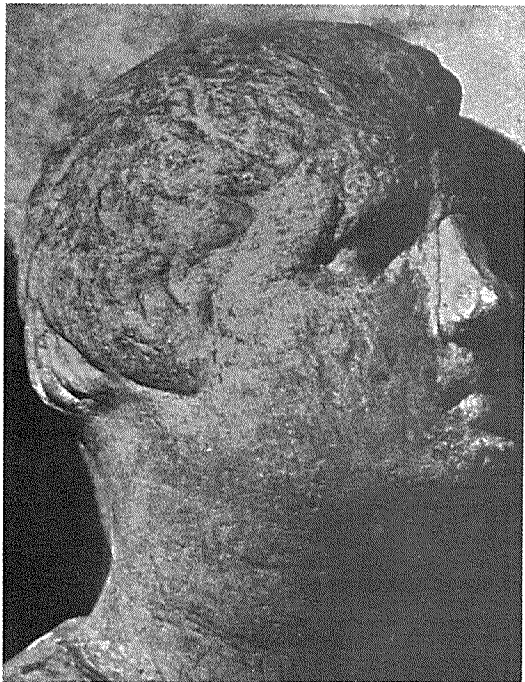


PLATE 7

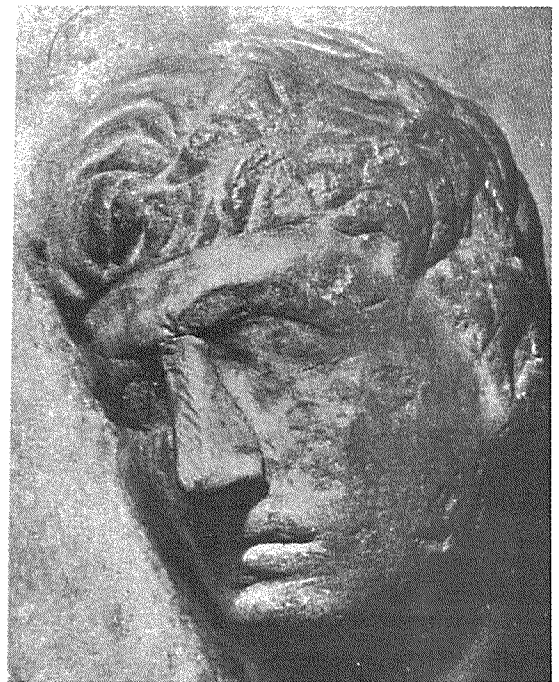


PLATE 8



PLATE 9



PLATE 10



PLATE 11



PLATE 12

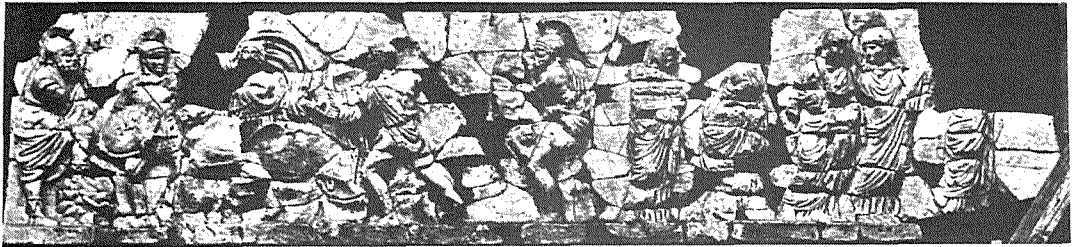
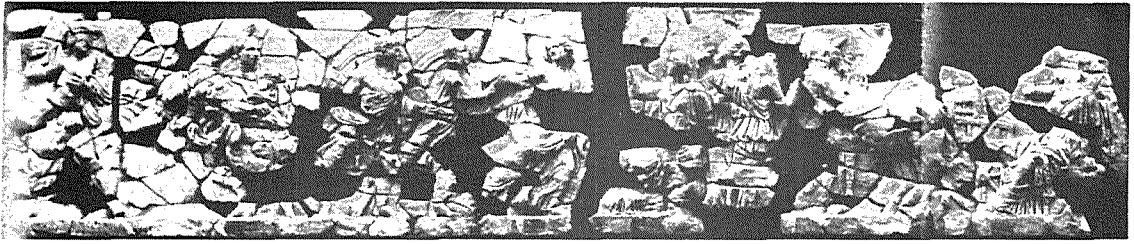


PLATE 13



PLATE 14

Rape of the Sabine Women



Punishment of Tiberius PLATE 15 a-b



PLATE 16



PLATE 17

44
Cicero



PLATE 18



PLATE 19



PLATE 20



PLATE 21



PLATE 23

Slender
features of the
eyes
11



PLATE 22

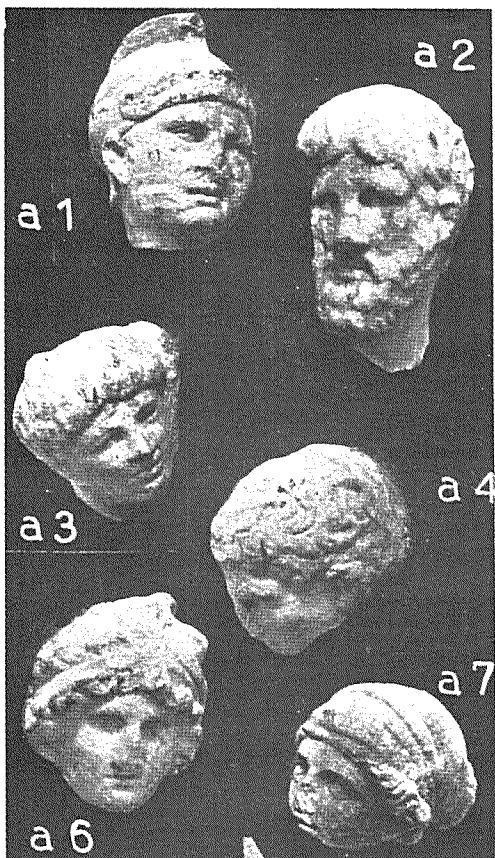


PLATE 24



PLATE 25



PLATE 26



PLATE 27



PLATE 28

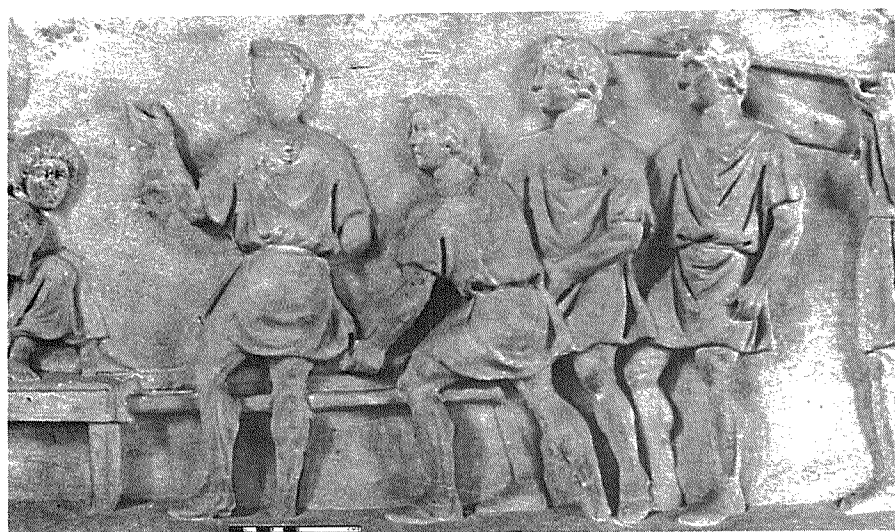


PLATE 29



PLATE 30



PLATE 31



PLATE 32 a-b



PLATE 33



PLATE 34



PLATE 35



PLATE 36



PLATE 37



PLATE 38



PLATE 39



PLATE 40



PLATE 41



PLATE 42



PLATE 43



PLATE 44



PLATE 45

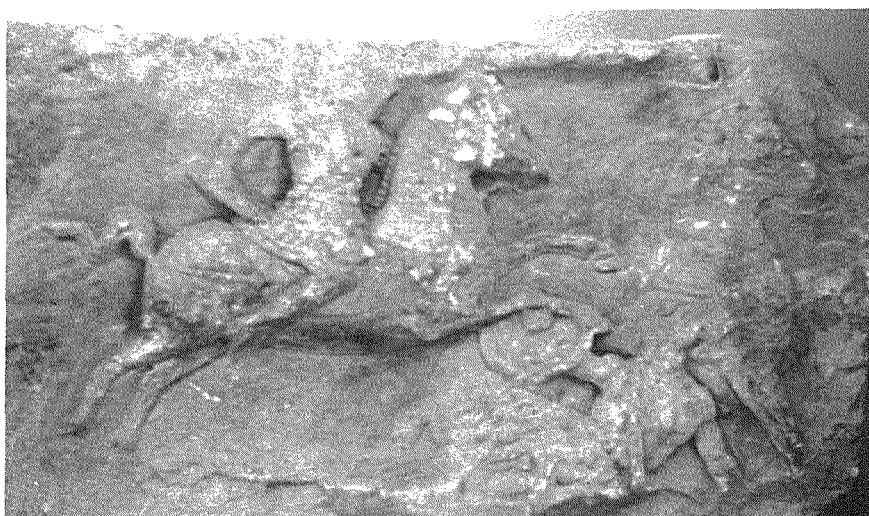


PLATE 46



PLATE 47



PLATE 48



PLATE 49

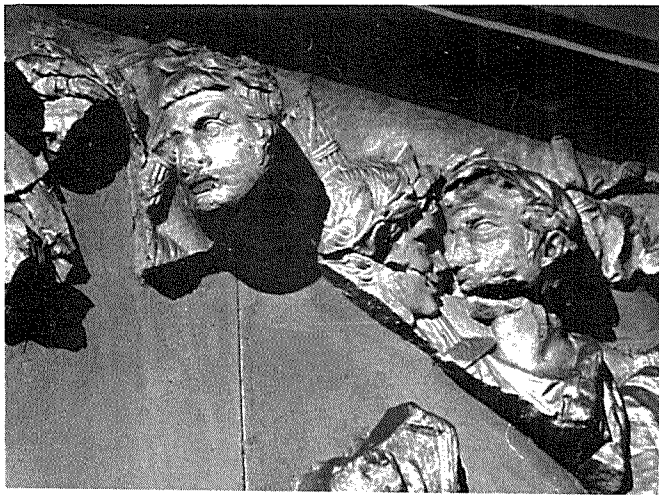


PLATE 50

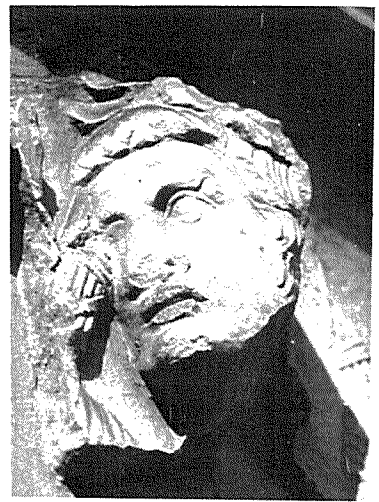


PLATE 51



PLATE 52



PLATE 53

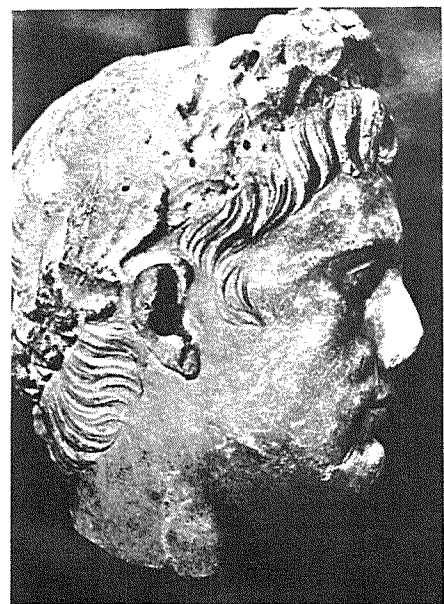


PLATE 54

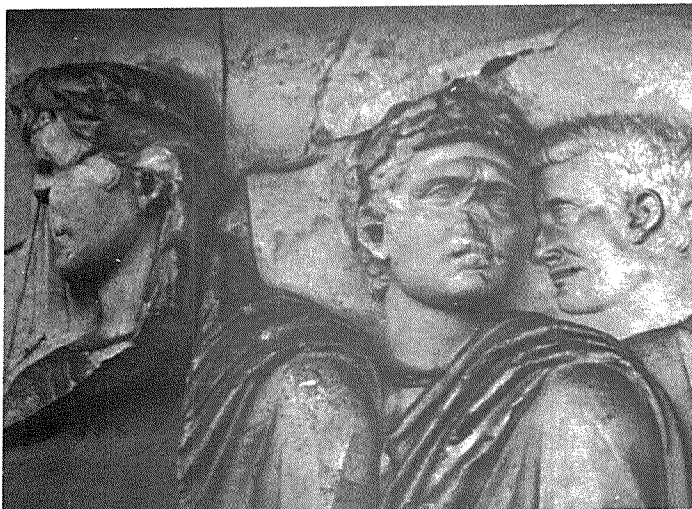


PLATE 55



eyes

PLATE 56



PLATE 57

Flemish



PLATE 58



PLATE 59



PLATE 60



PLATE 61



PLATE 62

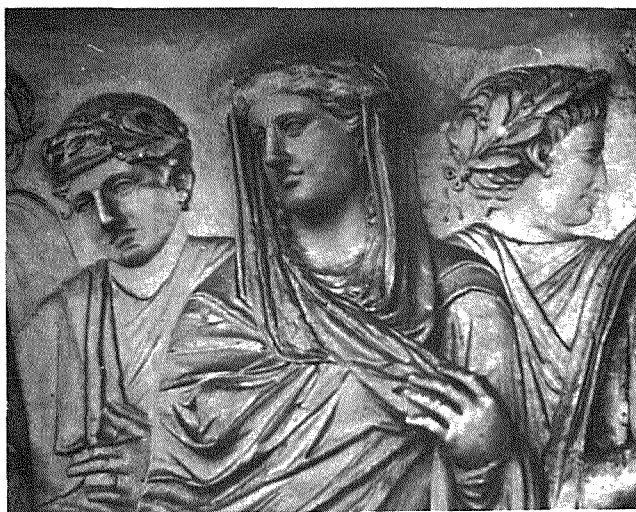


PLATE 63



PLATE 64



PLATE 65



PLATE 66



PLATE 67



PLATE 68



PLATE 69



PLATE 70



PLATE 71



PLATE 72



PLATE 73



PLATE 74



PLATE 75



PLATE 76



PLATE 77



PLATE 78



PLATE 79



PLATE 80

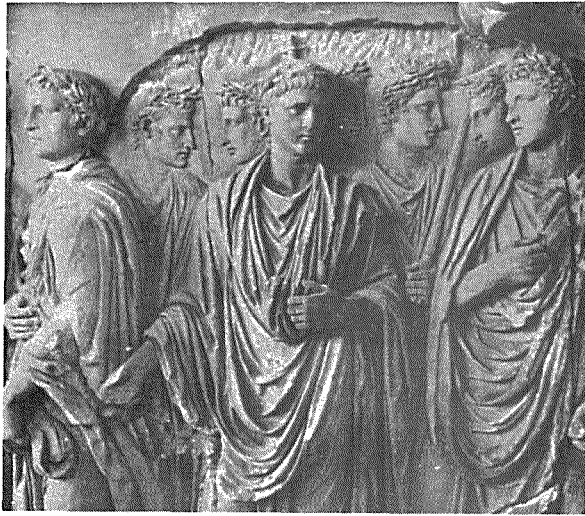


PLATE 81



PLATE 82



PLATE 83



PLATE 84



PLATE 85



PLATE 86



PLATE 87

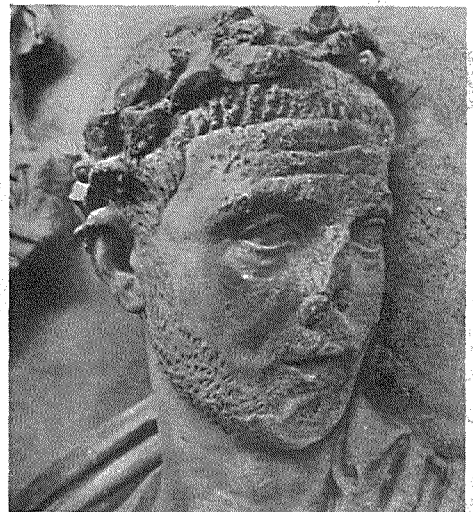


PLATE 88

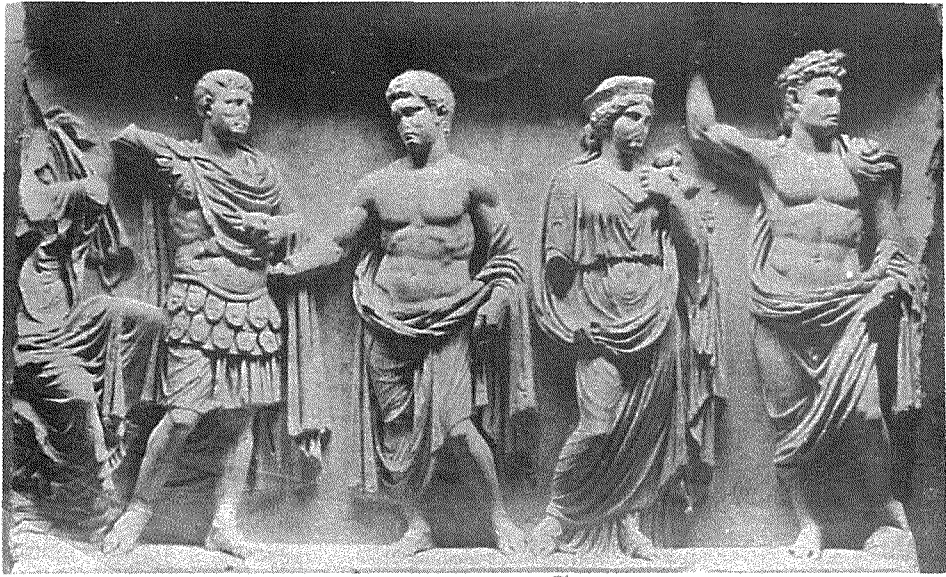


PLATE 89



PLATE 90

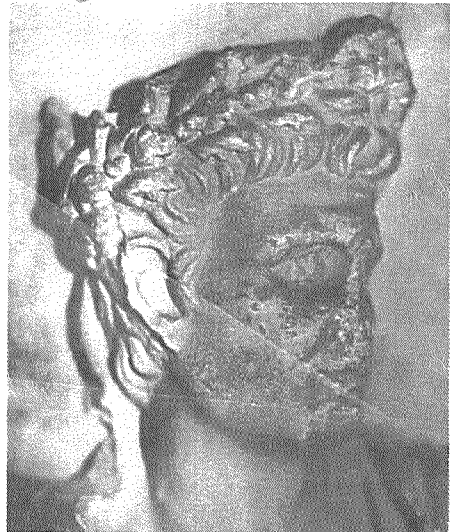


PLATE 91

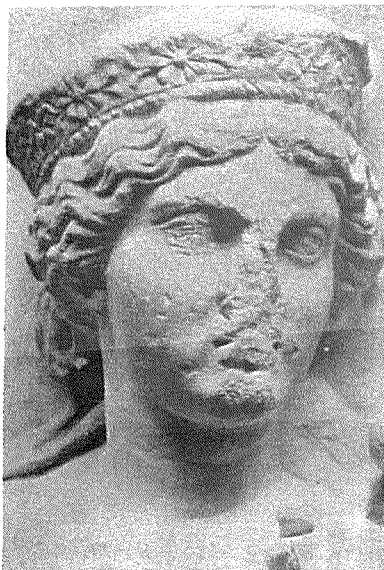


PLATE 92



PLATE 93



PLATE 94



PLATE 95



PLATE 97

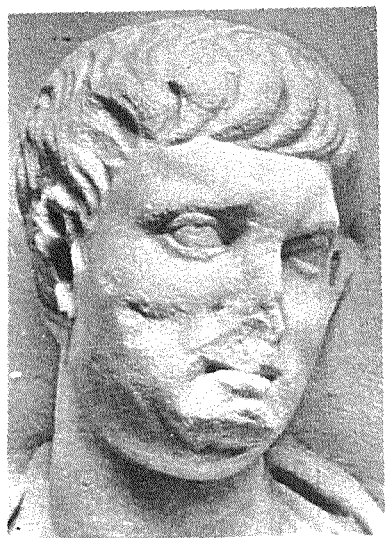


PLATE 96



PLATE 98



PLATE 99

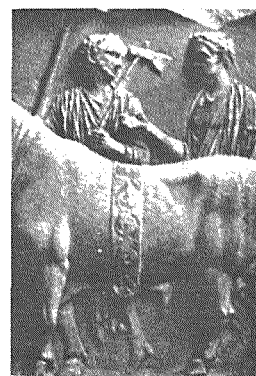


PLATE 100



PLATE 101



PLATE 102



PLATE 103



PLATE 104



PLATE 105



PLATE 106



PLATE 107



PLATE 108



PLATE 109

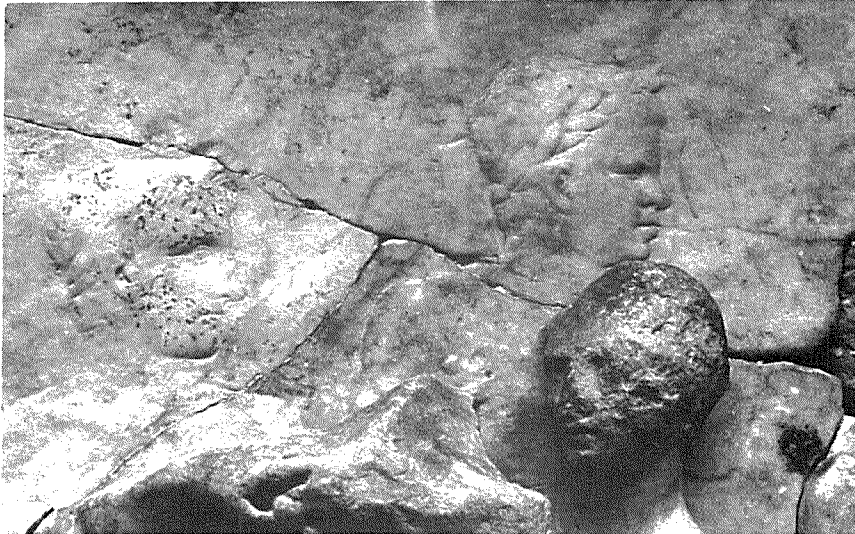


PLATE 110



PLATE 111

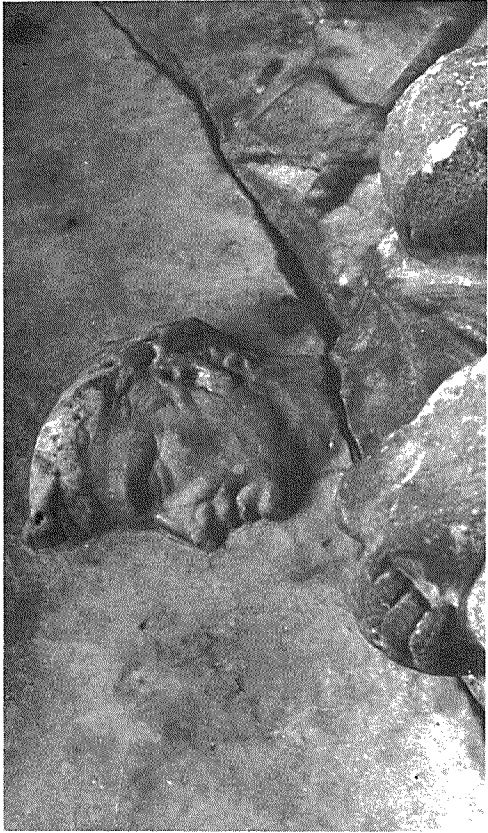


PLATE 112



PLATE 113



PLATE 114



PLATE 115



PLATE 116 a-b

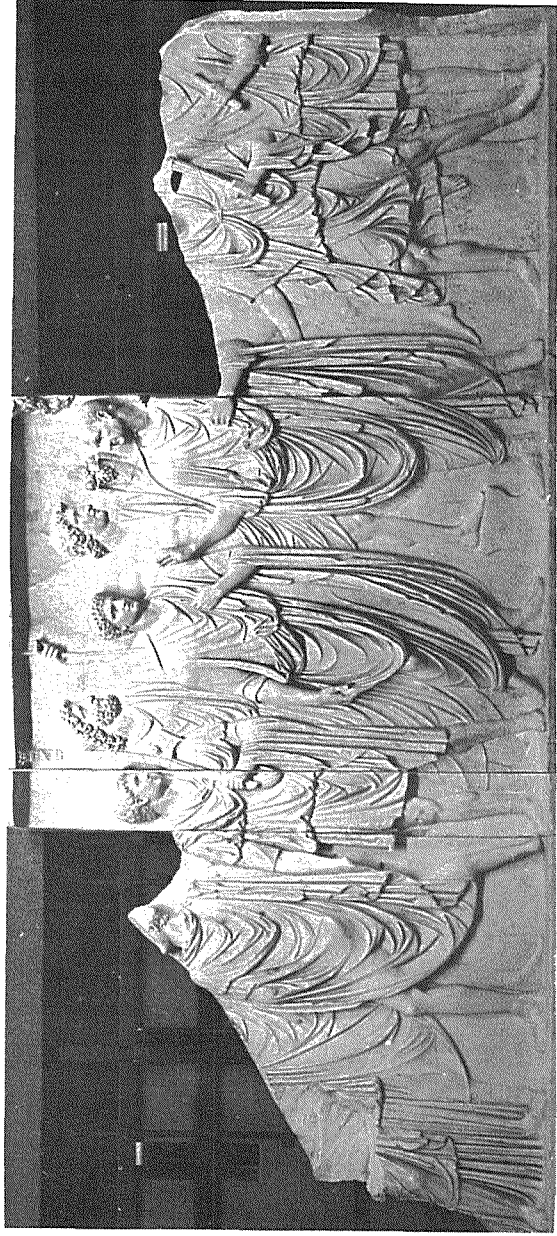


PLATE 117 a-b



PLATE 118



PLATE 119



PLATE 120 a-b



PLATE 121



PLATE 122



PLATE 123



PLATE 124



PLATE 125

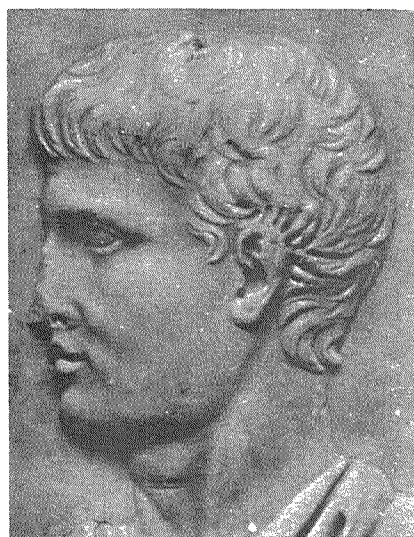


PLATE 126

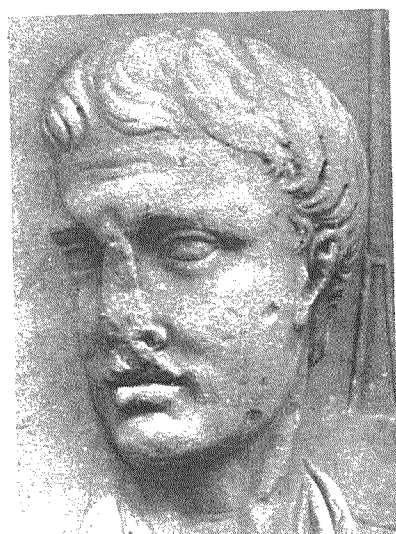


PLATE 127



PLATE 128



PLATE 129



PLATE 130



PLATE 131

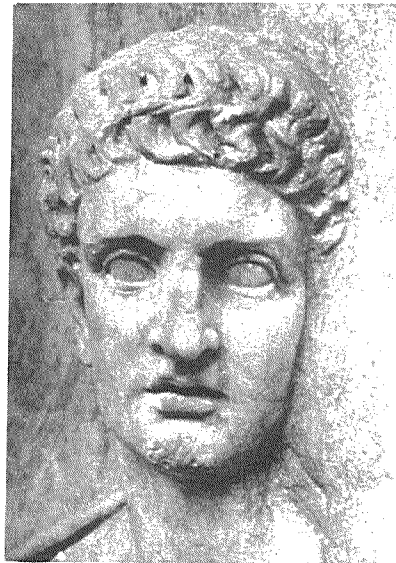
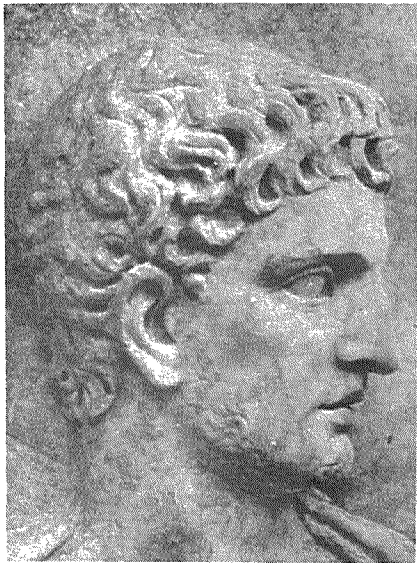


PLATE 132 a-b



PLATE 133

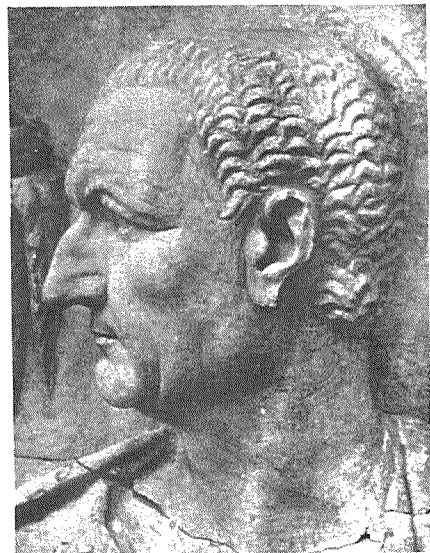
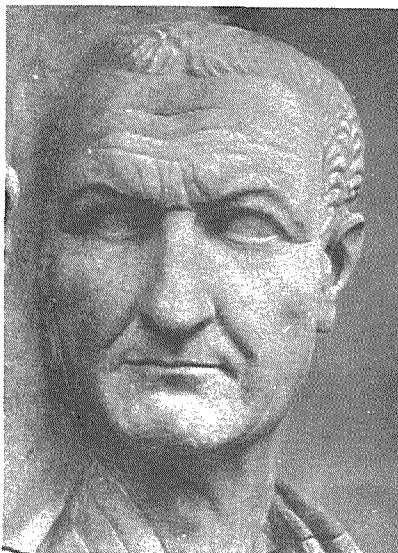


PLATE 134 a-b

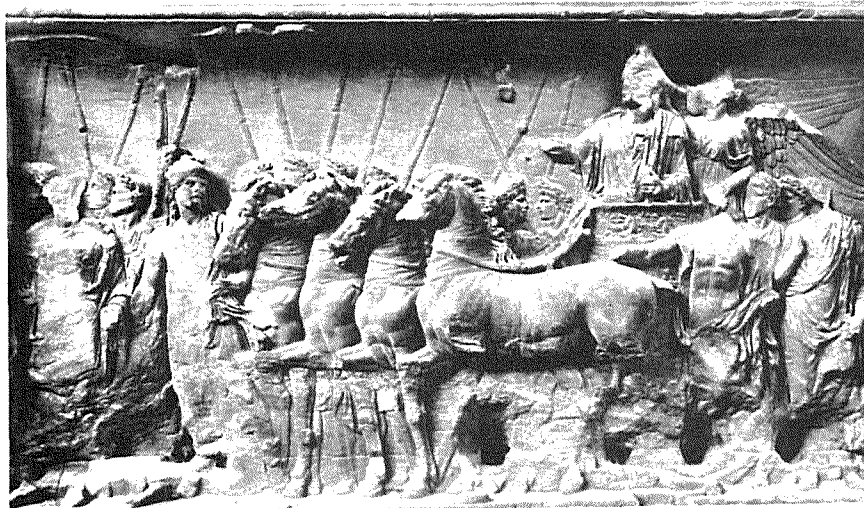


PLATE 135

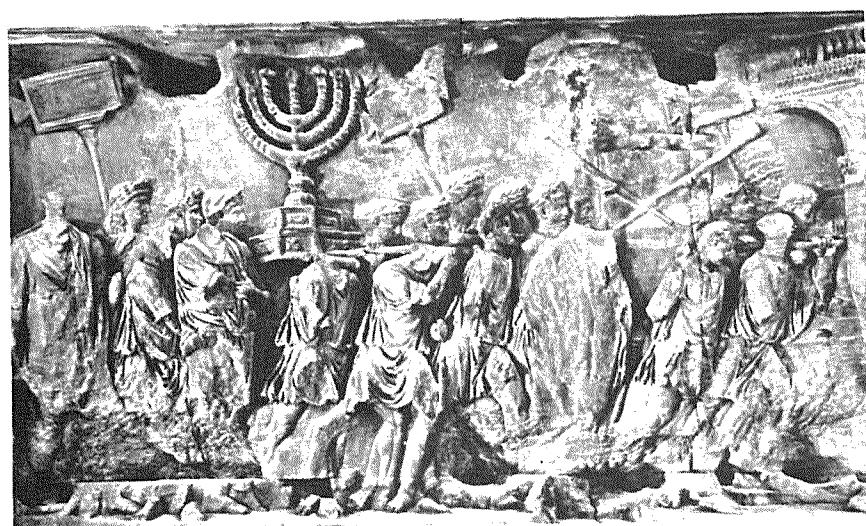


PLATE 136



PLATE 137



PLATE 138



PLATE 139

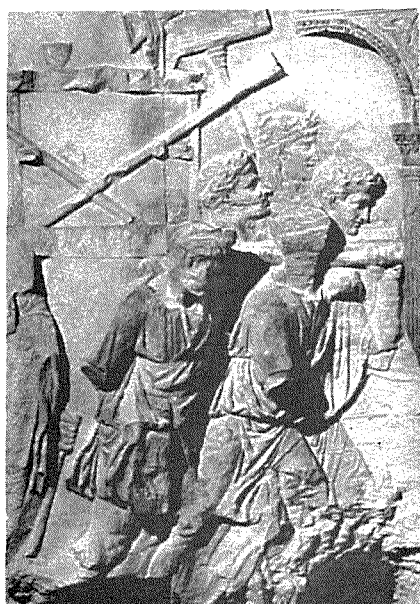


PLATE 140



PLATE 141



PLATE 142 a-b



PLATE 143



PLATE 144



PLATE 145



PLATE 146



PLATE 147



PLATE 148



PLATE 149



PLATE
150



PLATE 151



PLATE 152



PLATE 153



PLATE 154



PLATE 155

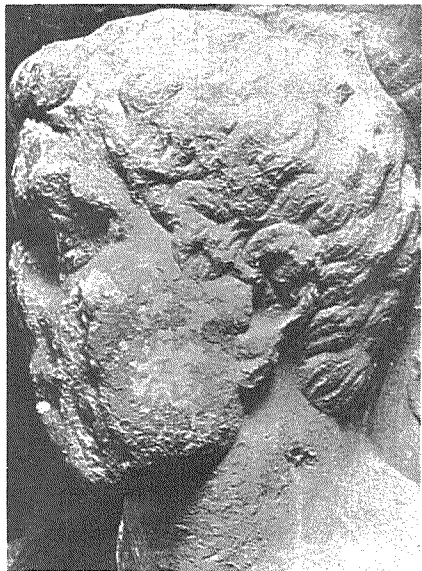


PLATE 156



PLATE 157



PLATE 158



PLATE 159



PLATE 160



PLATE 161



PLATE 162



PLATE 163



PLATE 164



PLATE 165



PLATE 166



PLATE 167



PLATE 168



PLATE 169



PLATE 170



PLATE 171



PLATE 172

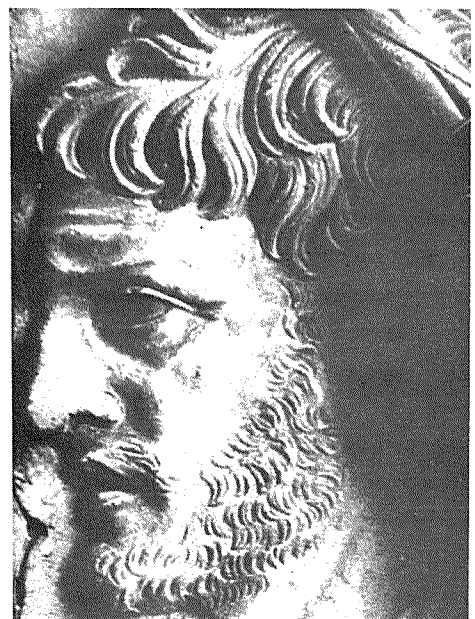


PLATE 173



PLATE 174



PLATE 175

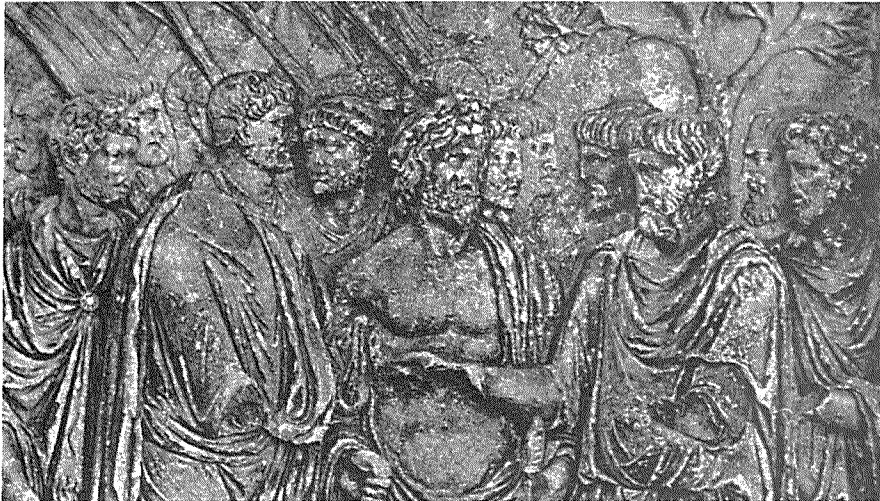


PLATE 176



PLATE 177



PLATE 178



PLATE 179



PLATE 180



PLATE 181



PLATE 182



PLATE 183

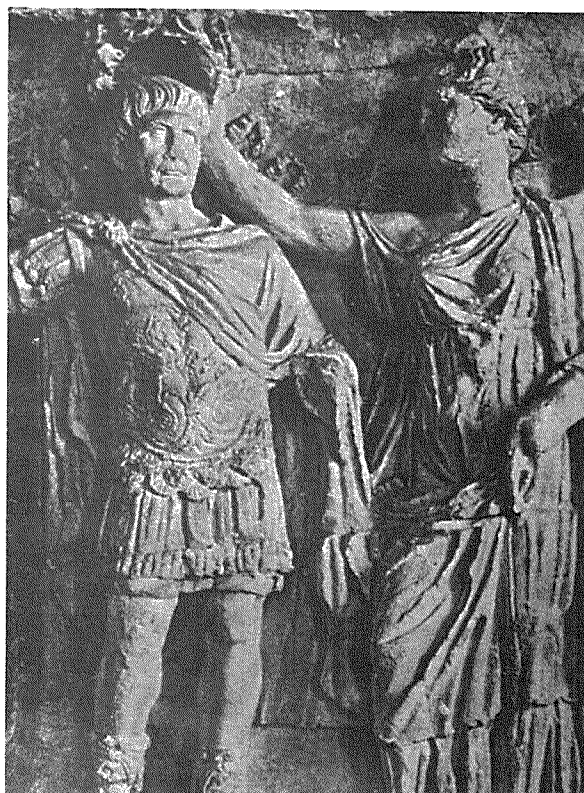


PLATE 184

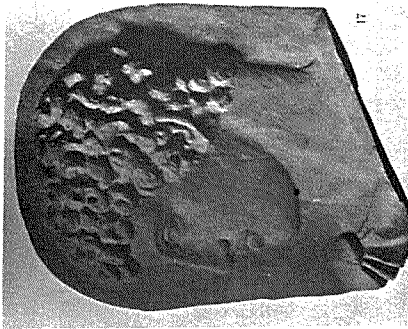


PLATE 185

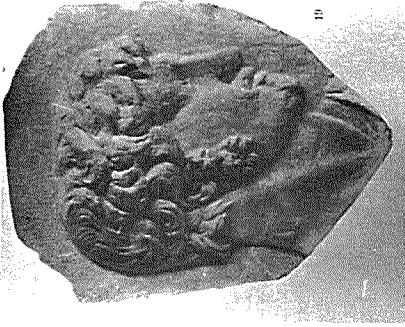


PLATE 186



PLATE 187



PLATE 188 a-b

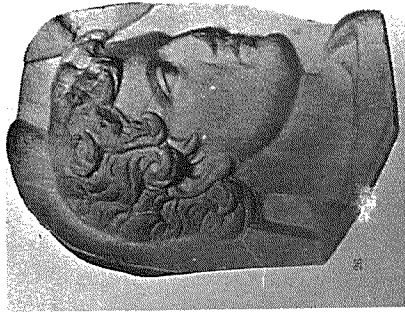


PLATE 189

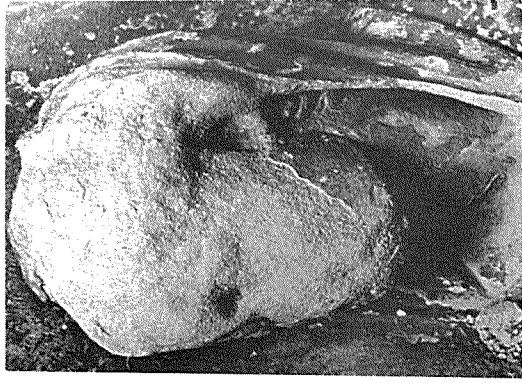
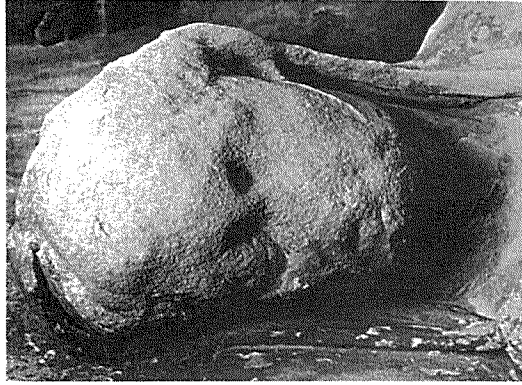


PLATE 190 a-b

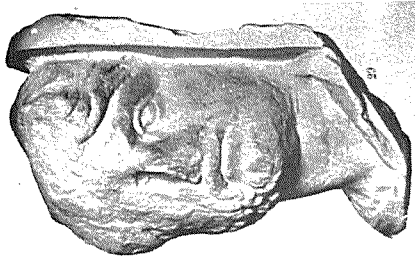
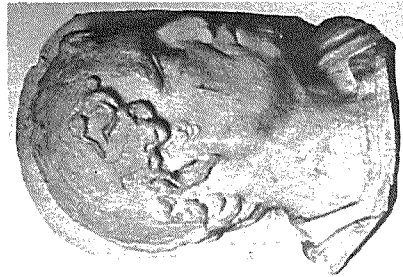


PLATE 191 a-b

PLATE 192

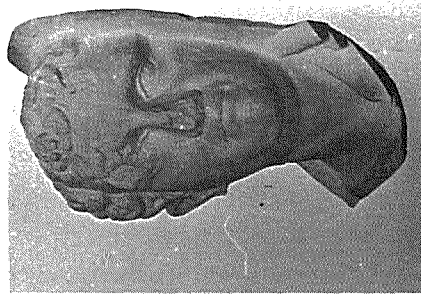
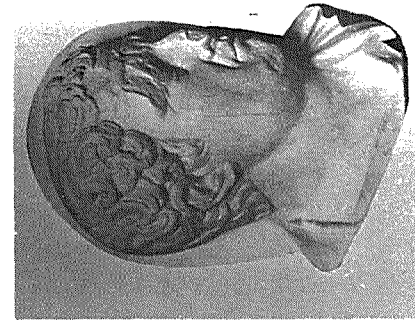


PLATE 194 a-b

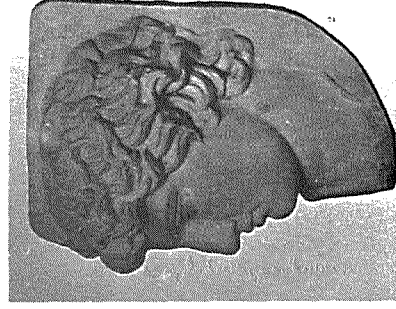


PLATE 195 a-b

PLATE 193 a-b



PLATE 196 a-b

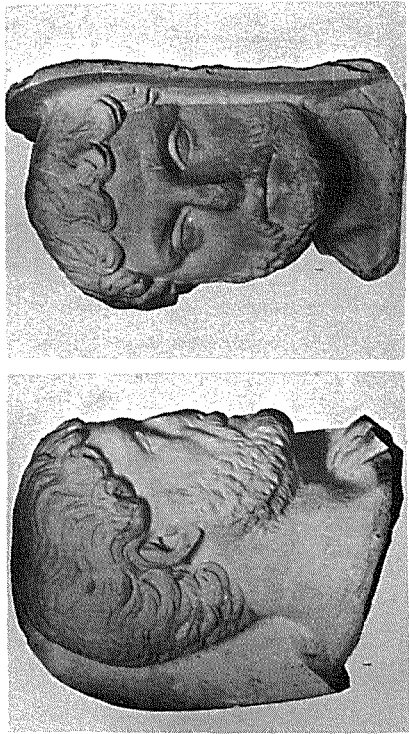


PLATE 198 a-b



PLATE 197 a-b

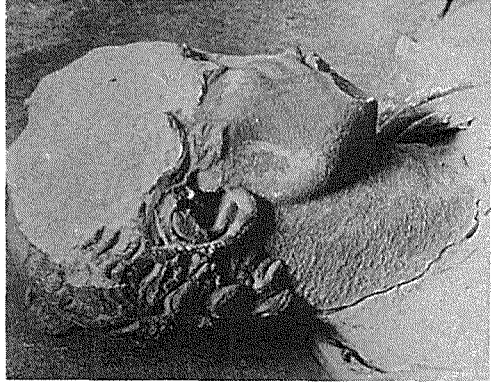


PLATE 199 a-b





PLATE 200 a-b

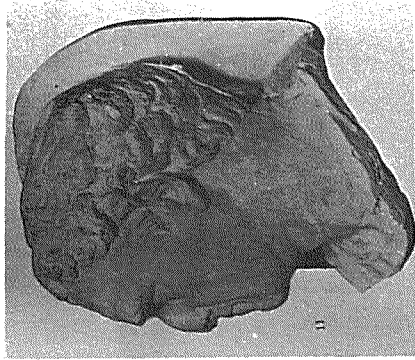


PLATE 201 a-b

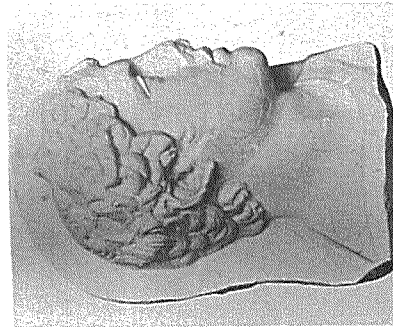
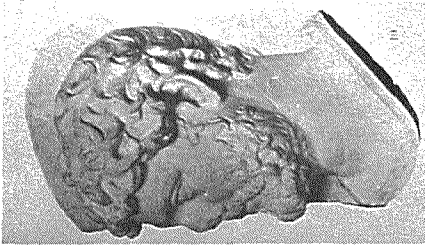


PLATE 202 a-b



PLATE 203

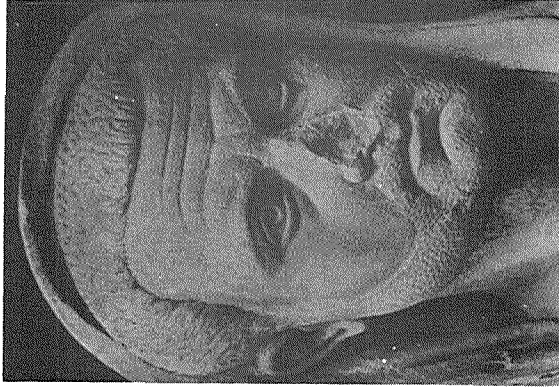


PLATE 204

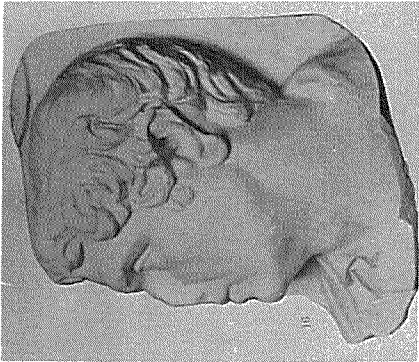


PLATE 205 a-b



PLATE 206 a-b



PLATE 207

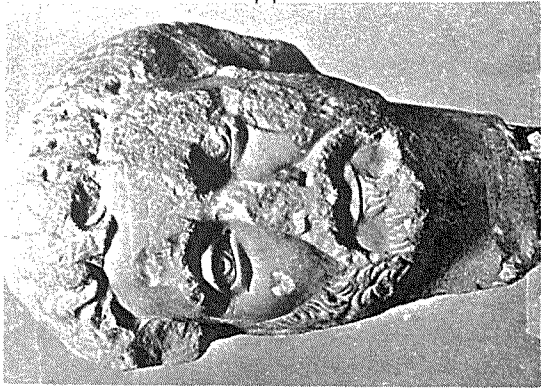
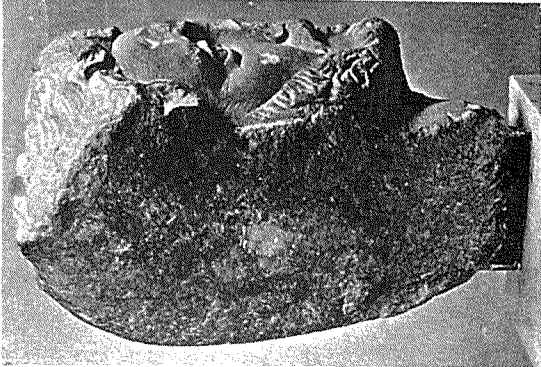


PLATE 208 a-b



PLATE 209

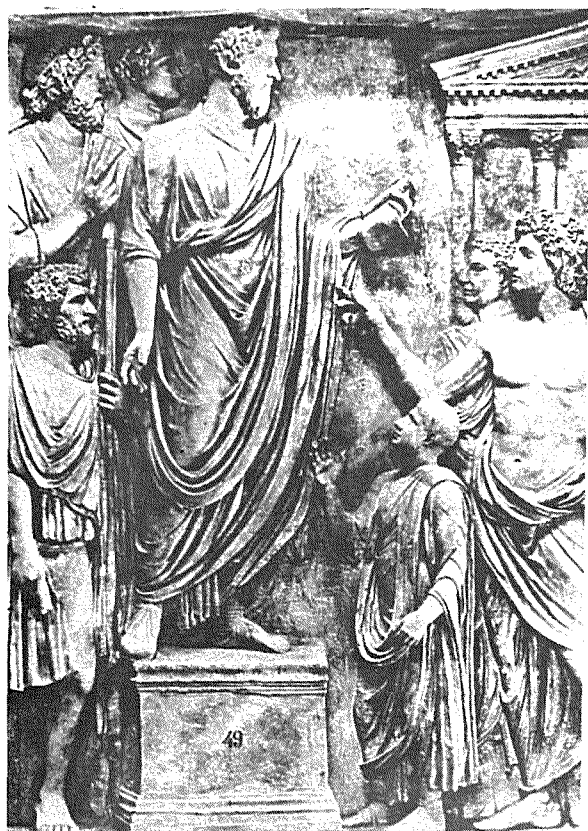


PLATE 210



PLATE 211 a-b



PLATE 212



PLATE 213



PLATE 214

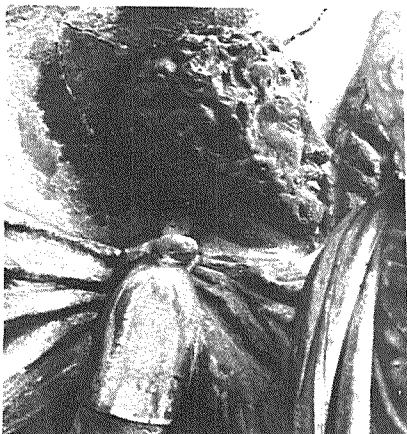


PLATE 215



PLATE 216



PLATE 217

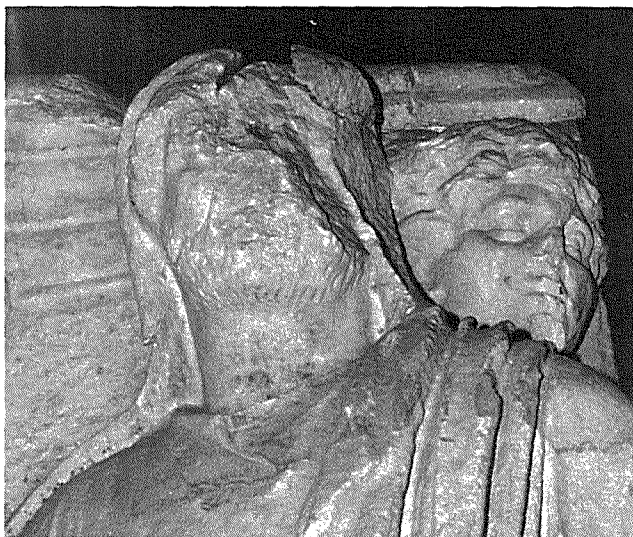


PLATE 218



PLATE 219

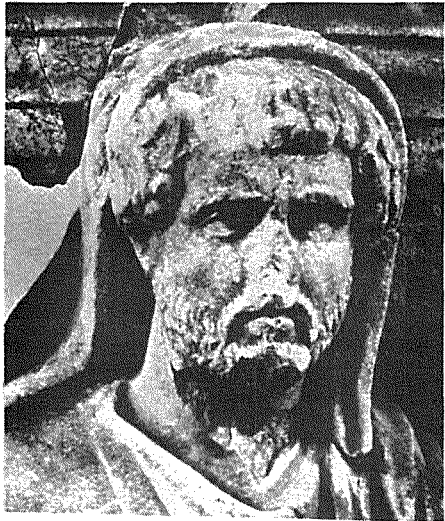


PLATE 220



PLATE 221

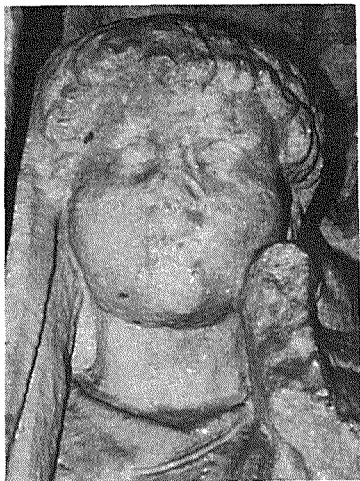


PLATE 222 a-b



PLATE 223



PLATE 224

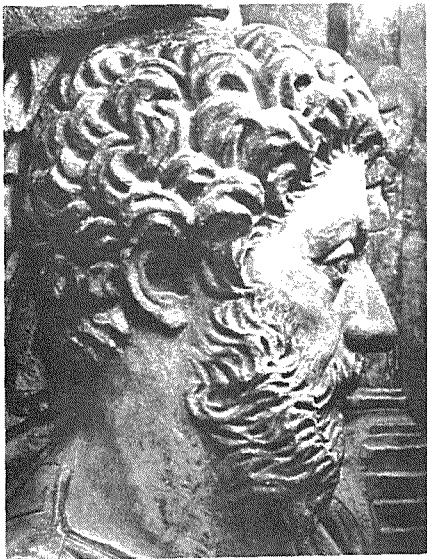


PLATE 225



PLATE 226



PLATE 227



PLATE 228

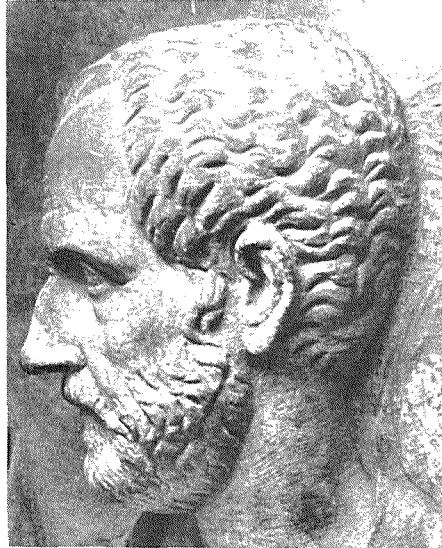
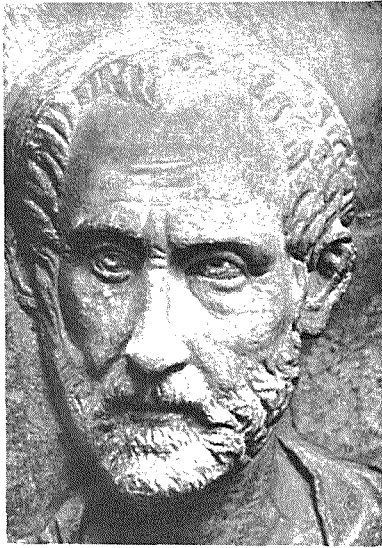


PLATE 229 a-b



PLATE 230



PLATE 231



PLATE 232



PLATE 233

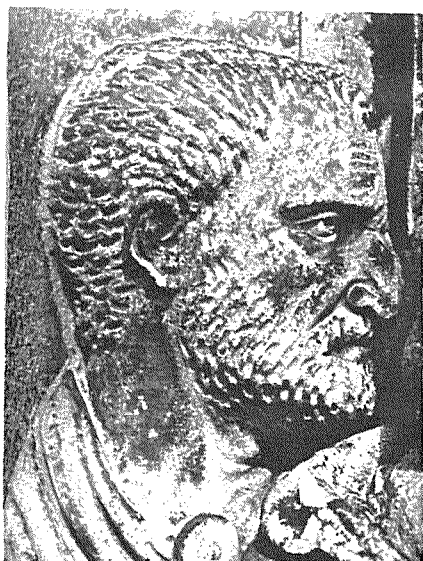


PLATE 234



PLATE 235

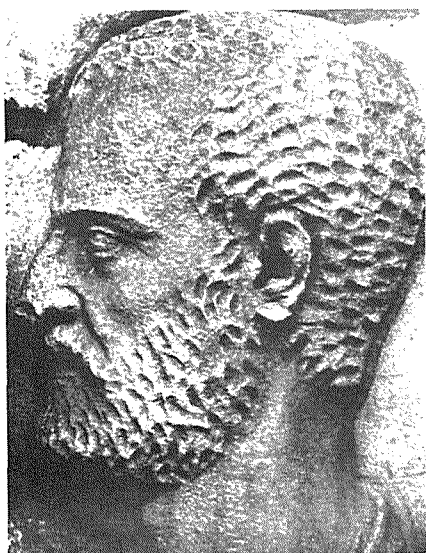


PLATE 236

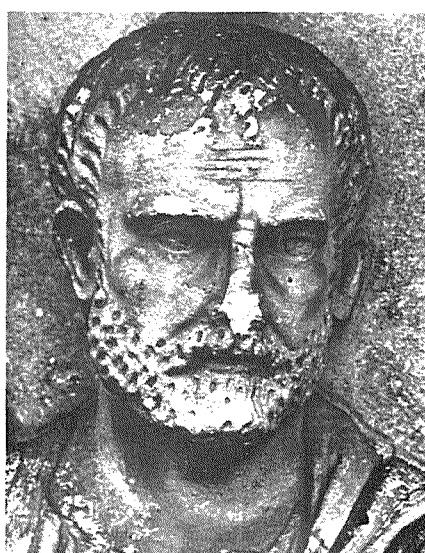


PLATE 237



PLATE 238



PLATE 239



PLATE 240



PLATE 241

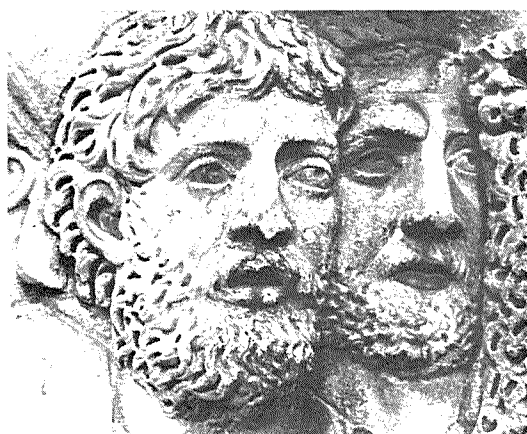


PLATE 242



PLATE 243



PLATE 244



PLATE 245



PLATE 246



PLATE 247



PLATE 248



PLATE 249



PLATE 250



PLATE 251



PLATE 252



PLATE 253



PLATE 254



PLATE 255

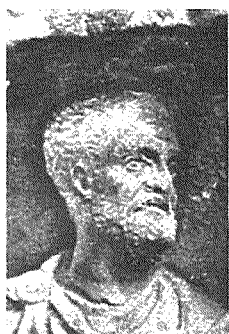


PLATE 256

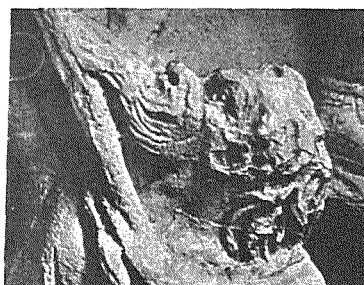


PLATE 257





PLATE 258



2

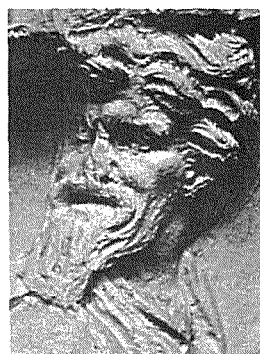


PLATE 259

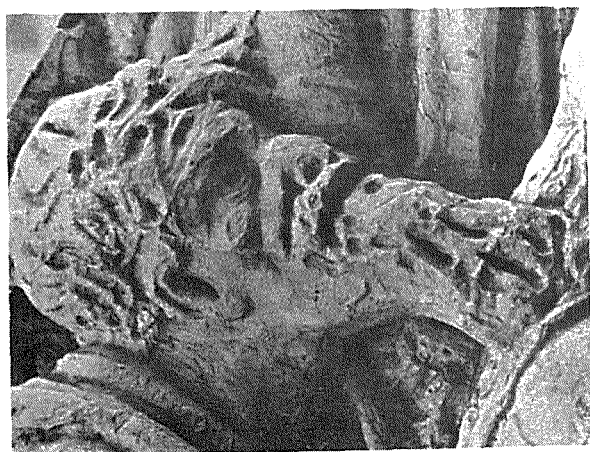


PLATE 260



PLATE 261



PLATE 262

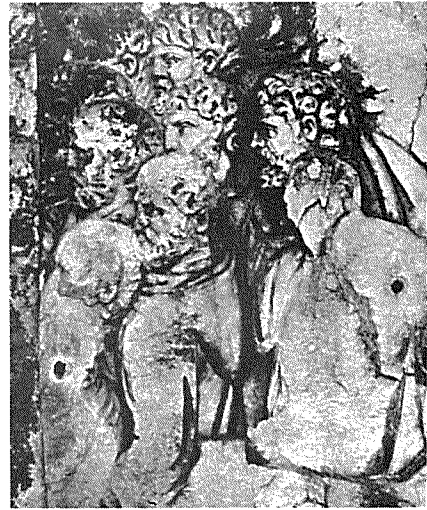


PLATE 263



PLATE 264



PLATE 265

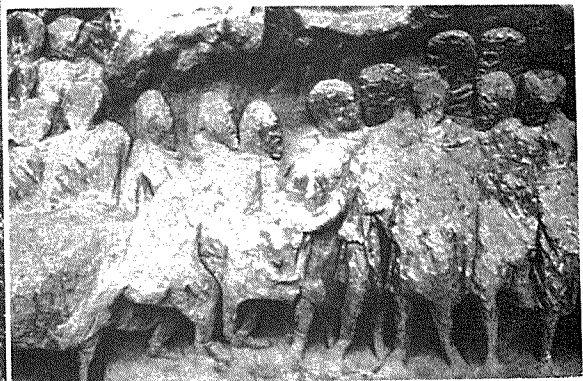


PLATE 266



PLATE 267



PLATE 268



PLATE 269



PLATE 270



PLATE 271

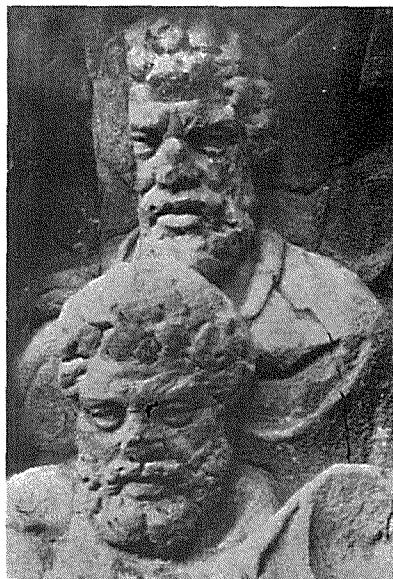


PLATE 272



PLATE 273



PLATE 274



PLATE 275

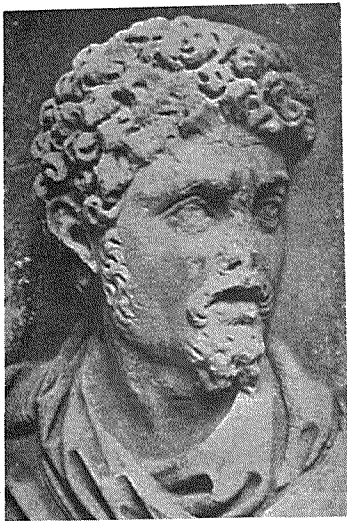


PLATE 277



PLATE 276



PLATE 278



PLATE 279



PLATE 280



PLATE 281

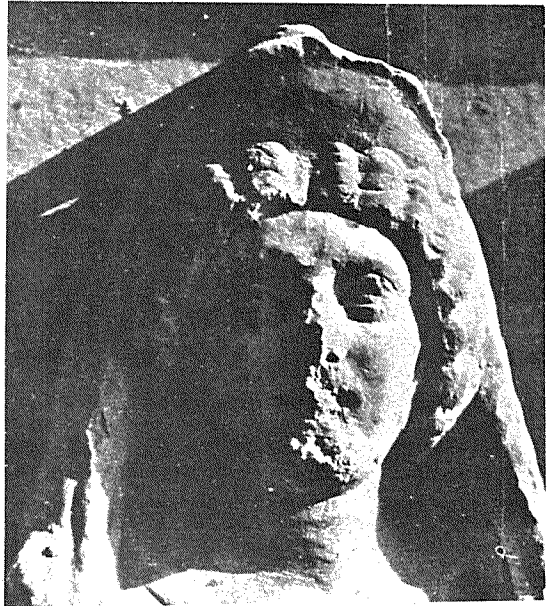


PLATE 282



PLATE 283



PLATE 284 a-b

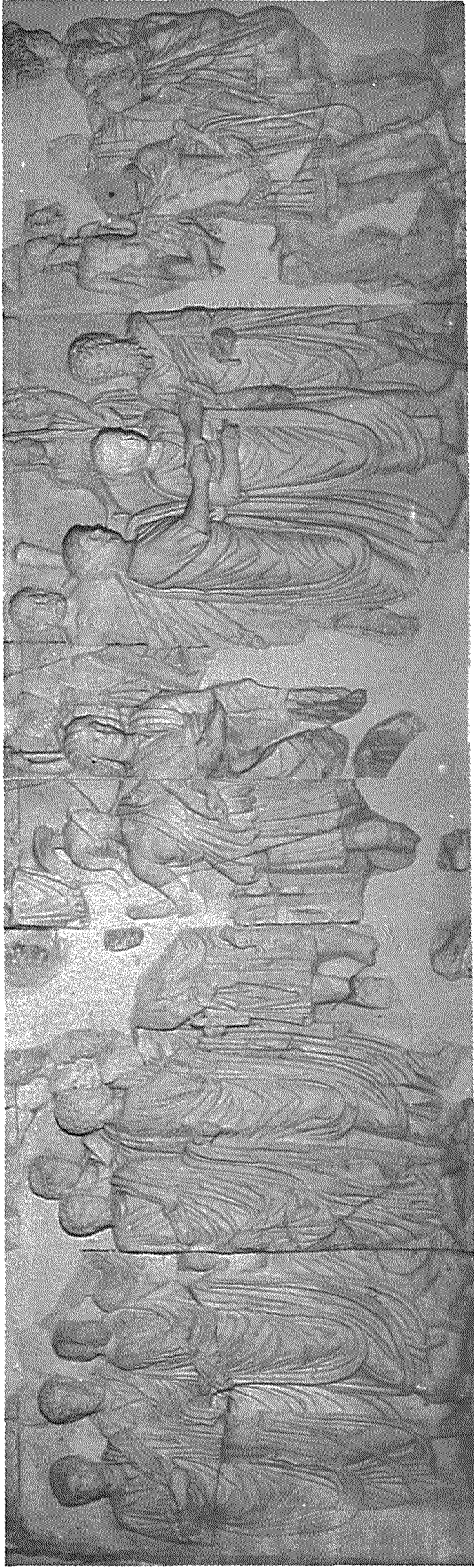


PLATE 285



PLATE 288

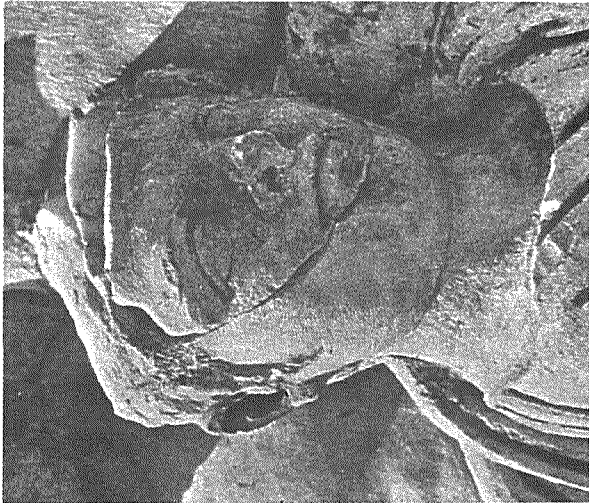


PLATE 287



PLATE 286



PLATE 289



PLATE 290



PLATE 291

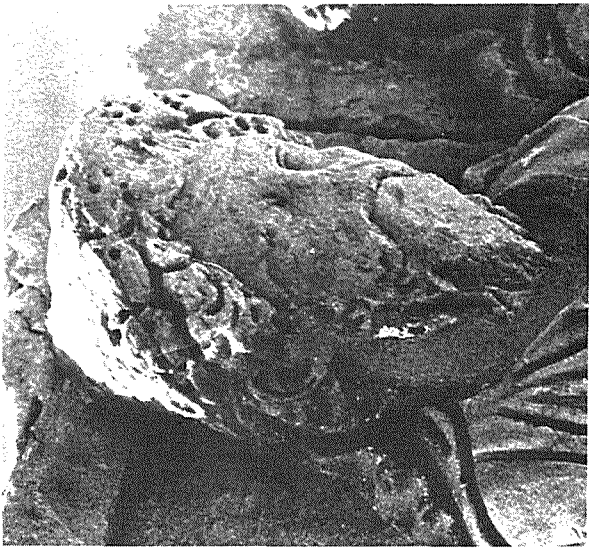


PLATE 292

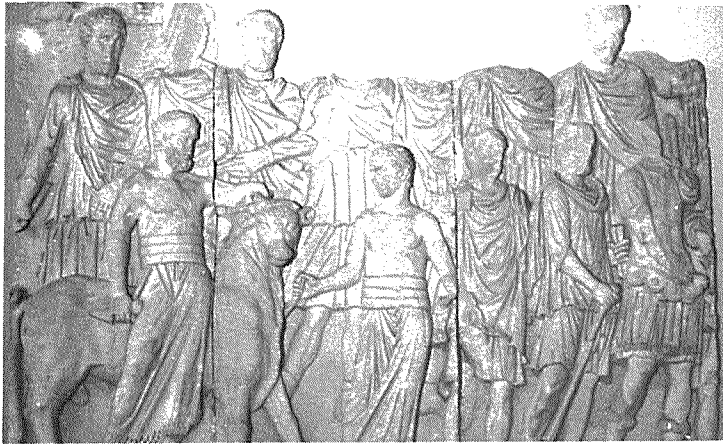


PLATE 293 a-b

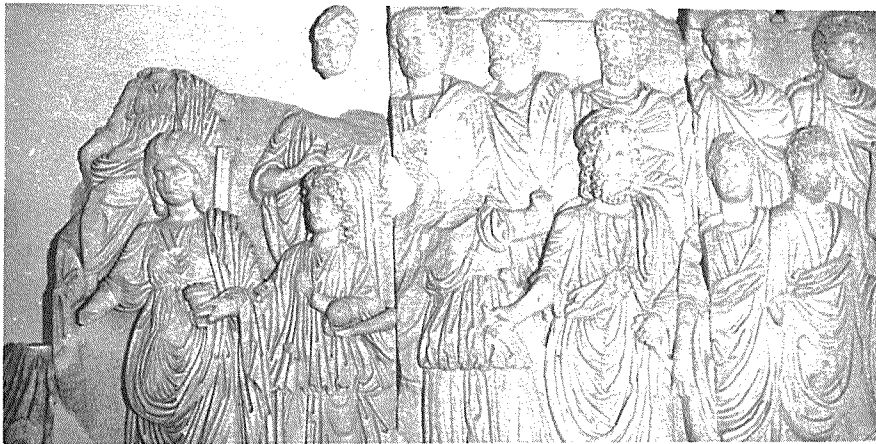


PLATE 294



PLATE 295



PLATE 296



PLATE 297



PLATE 298 a-b



PLATE 299

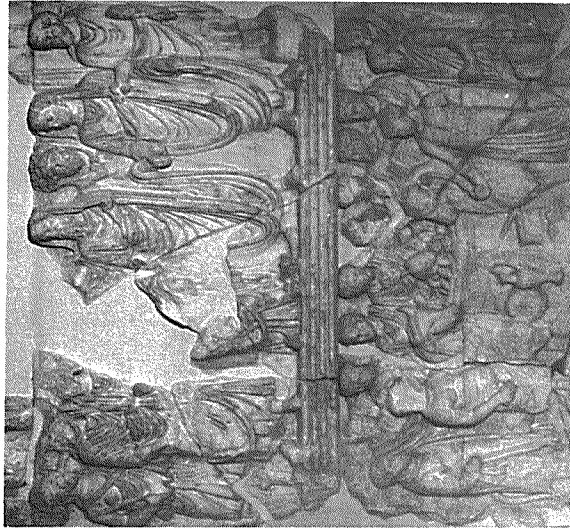


PLATE 300



PLATE 301



PLATE 302



PLATE 303



PLATE 304



PLATE 305



PLATE 306



PLATE 307



PLATE 308

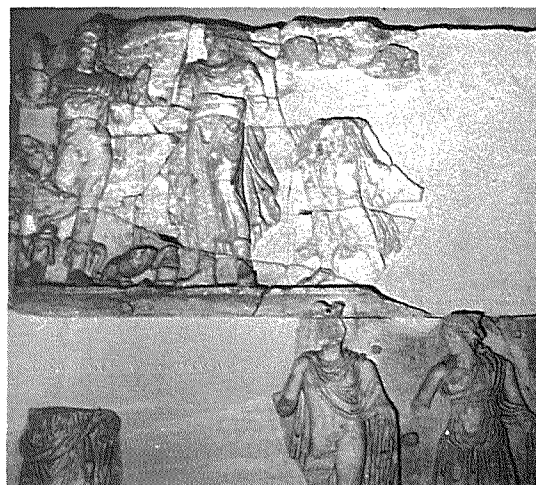


PLATE 309

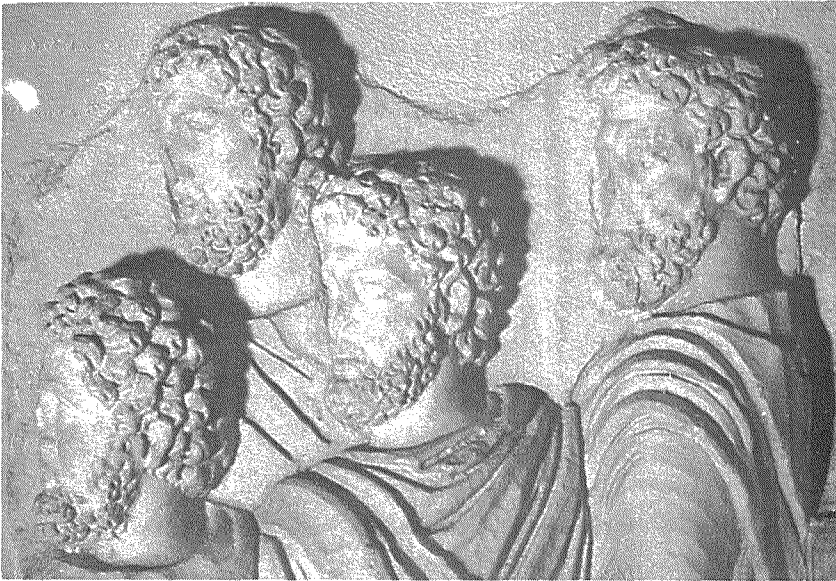


PLATE 310



PLATE 311



PLATE 312



ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡ
ΑΝ. ΚΗΤΟΝ



ΝΕΥΣΕΒΗΤΙΕΡΤΙΝΑΚΑΣΕΒ
ΝΗΕΣΥΝΤΟΑΡΜΑΚΤΙ

PLATE 313 a-b



ΒΑΣΤΟΝΙΑΡΒΗ ΟΝΑΔΙΑΒ
ΕΓΝΙΔΙΟΝΟΙΦΙΑΟΤΕΙ

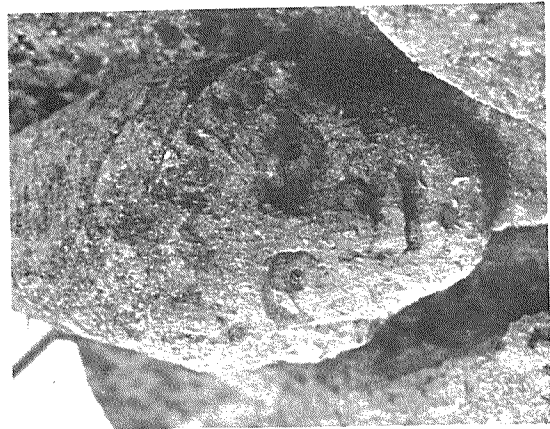


PLATE 314

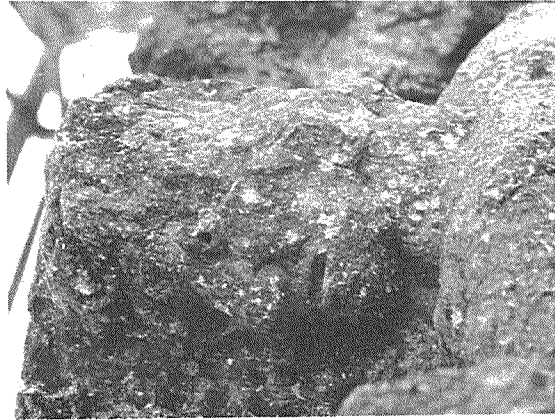


PLATE 315



PLATE 316



PLATE 317



PLATE 318

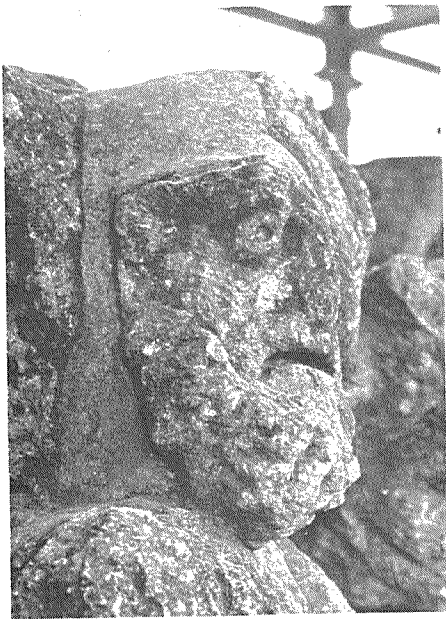


PLATE 319



PLATE 320



British Archaeological Reports

122 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 7BP, England

List of Titles

(Cheques & money orders should be made payable to 'British Archaeological Reports' and sent to the above address. Prices include postage.)

B.A.R. 1, 1974, "Cuddesdon and Dorchester-on-Thames, Oxfordshire: two early Saxon 'princely' sites in Wessex", by Tania M. Dickinson: 54 pp., 4 figs., 4 plates. Price £0.75 (\$2.20) post free.

B.A.R. 3, 1974, "A Corpus of Early Bronze Age Dagger Pommels from Great Britain and Ireland", by Ron Hardaker: 65 pp., 7 figs., 2 plates. Price £0.80 (\$2.30) post free.

B.A.R. 4, 1974, "Coins and the Archaeologist", ed. John Casey and Richard Reece: 271 pp., 44 figs., 5 plates. Price £3.50 (\$9.00) post free.

B.A.R. 5, 1974, "Some Iron Age Mediterranean Imports in England", by Peter Harbison and Lloyd R. Laing: 39 pp., 4 plates. Price £0.80 (\$2.30) post free.

B.A.R. 6, 1974, "Anglo-Saxon Settlement and Landscape", ed. Trevor Rowley: 138 pp., 15 figs., 7 plates. Price £2.00 (\$5.50) post free.

B.A.R. 7, 1974, "A Corpus of Pagan Anglo-Saxon Spear-Types", by M.J. Swanton: 90 pp., 4 figs. Price £1.10 (\$3.00) post free.

B.A.R. 8, 1974, "A Corpus of Roman Engraved Gemstones from British Sites", by Martin Henig: Part i, Discussion, 205 pp., 4 figs.; Part ii, Catalogue and Plates, 117 pp., 61 plates. Price (parts i and ii together) £5.00 (\$12.00) post free.

B.A.R. 9, 1974, "Grooved Ware Sites in Yorkshire and the North of England", by T.G. Manby: 133 pp., 43 figs., 2 plates. Price £2.00 (\$5.50) post free.

B.A.R. 10, 1975, "Stamp and Roulette Decorated Pottery of the La Tène Period in Eastern England: a Study in Geometric Designs", by Sheila M. Elsdon: 115 pp., 19 figs., 5 plates. Price £2.30 (\$6.00) post free.

B.A.R. 11, 1975, "Anglo-Saxon Garnet Inlaid Disc and Composite Brooches", by Richard Avent: Part i, Discussion, 126 pp., 30 figs., 6 maps, 8 tables, 4 colour plates; Part ii, Catalogue and Plates, 52 pp., 78 plates. Price (parts i and ii together) £5.80 (\$13.00) post free.

B.A.R. 12, 1975, "Cirencester: the Development and Buildings of a Cotswold Town", by Richard Reece and Christopher Catling: 78 pp., frontispiece and 11 figs., 9 plates. Price £1.50 (\$4.00) post free.

B.A.R. 13, 1975, "Settlement Types in Post-Roman Scotland", by Lloyd R. Laing: 46 pp., 25 figs. Price £1.00 (\$2.60) post free.

B.A.R. 14, 1975, "Clay Pipes for the Archaeologist", by Adrian Oswald: 207 pp., 23 figs., 6 plates. Price £3.80 (\$10.00) post free.

B.A.R. 15, 1975, "The 'Small Towns' of Roman Britain: Papers presented to a Conference, Oxford, 1975", ed. Warwick Rodwell and Trevor Rowley: 237 pp., 70 figs., 17 plates. Price £4.80 (\$11.50) post free.

B.A.R. 16, 1975, "Bar Hill: A Roman Fort and its Finds", by Anne Robertson, Margaret Scott and Lawrence Keppie: 185 pp., 57 figs. Price £3.50 (\$9.00) post free.

B.A.R. 17, 1975, "New Forest Roman Pottery: manufacture and distribution, with a corpus of the pottery types", by M.G. Fulford: 200 pp., 61 figs. Price £3.90 (\$10.00) post free.

B.A.R. 18, 1975, "The Roman Milestones of Britain: their petrography and probable origins", by Jeffrey P. Sedgley: 56 pp., 5 figs. Price £1.00 (\$2.70) post free.

B.A.R. 19, 1975, "Rams Hill: A Bronze Age Defended Enclosure and its Landscape", by Richard Bradley and Ann Ellison: 264 pp., 59 figs., 21 plates. Price £5.50 (\$12.50) post free.

B.A.R. 20, 1975, "Later Prehistory from the Trent to the Tyne", by A.J. Challis and D.W. Harding: Part i, Discussion, 247 pp; Part ii, Catalogue and Illustrations, 178 pp., 100 figs., 10 plates. Price (parts i and ii together) £6.50 (\$15.00) post free.

B.A.R. 21, 1975, "Roman Fort-Defences to A.D. 117, with special reference to Britain", by Michael J. Jones: 192 pp., 21 figs., 1 map, 6 plates. Price £3.90 (\$10.00) post free.

B.A.R. 22, 1975, "Hanging-Bowls, Penannular Brooches and the Anglo-Saxon Connexion", by David Longley: 49 pp., 19 figs. Price £0.95 (\$2.40) post free.

B.A.R. 23, 1976, "Bordesley Abbey, Redditch, Hereford-Worcestershire: First Report on Excavations 1969-1973", by Philip Rahtz and Susan Hirst: 295 pp., 41 figs. in text, 3 colour plates, 17 black and white plates; wallet with a further 20 figures. Price £5.90 (\$13.00) post free.

B.A.R. 24, 1976, "A Corpus of Religious Material from the Civilian Areas of Roman Britain", by Miranda J. Green: 321 pp., 21 figs., frontispiece and 30 plates. Price £5.90 (\$13.00) post free.

B.A.R. 25, 1976, "Neolithic Flint Axes from the Cotswold Hills", by Alan Tyler: 98 pp., 9 figs. Price £1.90 (\$5.00) post free.

B.A.R. 26, 1976, "The Black Prince's Palace at Kennington, Surrey", by Graham J. Dawson: 213 pp., 20 figs. Price £3.90 (\$10.00) post free.

B.A.R. 27, 1976, "Wawcott III: A Stratified Mesolithic Succession", by F.R. Fromm: 209 pp., 85 figs. Price £3.90 (\$10.00) post free.

B.A.R. 28, 1976, "Barrow Mead, Bath 1964: Excavation of a Mediaeval Peasant House", by Jayne Woodhouse: 73 pp., 15 figs., 4 plates. Price £1.30 (\$3.00) post free.

B.A.R. 29, 1976, "Occupation Sites of a Chiltern Range: Excavations at Puddlehill and Sites near Dunstable, Bedfordshire. Part I: Neolithic, Bronze Age and Early Iron Age", by C. L. Matthews, Foreword and Summary by C. F. C. Hawkes: 209 pp., 123 figs., 9 plates. Price £3.90 (\$10.00) post free.



British Archaeological Reports

122 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 7BP, England

B A R Supplementary Series

List of Titles

(Cheques & money orders should be made payable to 'British Archaeological Reports' and sent to the above address. Prices include postage.)

B.A.R.-S 1, 1975, "The Lewis Collection of Engraved Gemstones in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge", by Martin Henig: 153 pp., 29 plates. Price £2.90 (\$7.00) post free.

A complete catalogue of the Lewis Collection, with every gemstone illustrated. The majority are of Roman Imperial date. Also an appendix describing and illustrating a cache of glass gems dating to the Second Triumvirate.

B.A.R.-S 2, 1975, "Defended Sites of the Late La Tène in Central and Western Europe", by John Collis: 267 pp., 100 figs. Price £5.50 (\$12.50) post free.

B.A.R.-S 3, 1976, "Le Périphe d'Hannon/The Periplus of Hanno", by Jacques Ramin: 125 pp., 4 maps. Bilingual volume, full texts in French and English. Price £2.40 (\$5.50) post free.

B.A.R.-S 4, 1976, "Coins of the Ancient Thracians", by Yordanka Youroukova: translated from the Bulgarian by V. Athanassov: 153 pp., 28 plates. Price £2.80 (\$7.00) post free.

B.A.R.-S 5, 1976, "The Metrology of the Roman Silver Coinage, Part 1: from Augustus to Domitian", by D. R. Walker: 159 pp., 17 figs. Price £2.50 (\$6.00) post free.