



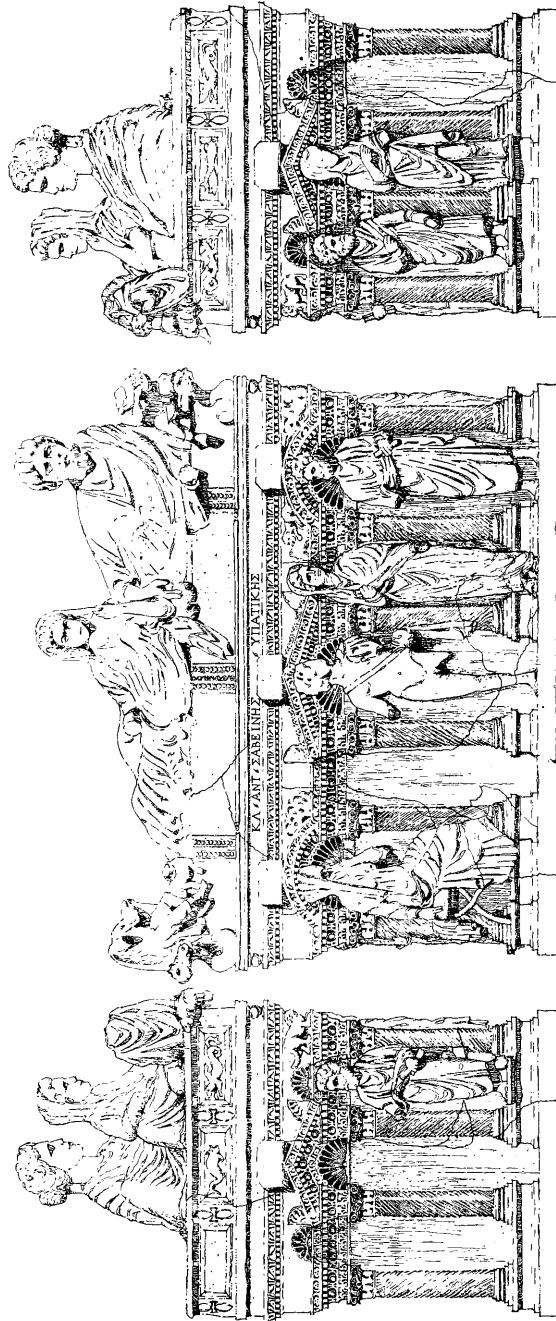
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THE SARCOPHAGUS OF CLAUDIA ANTONIA SABINA
AND THE ASIATIC SARCOPHAGI

Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina
Restoration by Howard Crosby Butler



S A R D I S

PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE EXCAVATION OF SARDIS

VOLUME V ROMAN AND CHRISTIAN SCULPTURE

PART I

THE SARCOPHAGUS OF CLAUDIA ANTONIA SABINA
AND THE ASIATIC SARCOPHAGI

BY
CHARLES RUFUS MOREY



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TO

ALLAN MARQUAND

. MAGISTRO .
. OPTIMO . DOCTO .
. DILECTO .

∞

P R E F A C E

THE present volume is meant to give adequate publication to the sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina, the most interesting and important work of the Roman period which was found at Sardis by Howard Crosby Butler. Its author found, however, that this could not be done without a comprehensive treatment of the whole group of Asiatic sarcophagi to which the sarcophagus of Claudia belongs, and on which it sheds unexpected light. The second and larger portion of this volume is therefore devoted to the Asiatic sarcophagi in general, and thus answers in some degree the wish expressed nearly twenty years ago by Josef Strzygowski (*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 1906, p. 419), that someone would treat this subject in a monograph.

I am much indebted to Strzygowski for the loan of photographs of the Vienna examples in the series, and of course for numerous illustrations borrowed from his publications,—everyone who writes on late antique or early mediaeval art must of necessity be in some way his debtor. Edmund Weigand of Würzburg has helped me with the description and tracing of a fragment from Smyrna, and I have to thank also the authorities of the British Museum and the Louvre, and Mr. Harold Ingholt, for others of my photographs. My obligation to other foreign scholars and to European and American periodicals and publications is acknowledged in the list of illustrations.

In America, Professors Chase of Harvard and Murray of Columbia have given me valuable suggestions, and I am particularly obliged to Mr. J. Donald Young of Columbia for several descriptions and a number of photographs, as well as for help on points of archaeology. Dr. John Shapley of Brown University has contributed some items of keen and far-reaching criticism for which I hope due credit has been given him in the text. My own colleagues at Princeton have given me the greatest assistance, especially Mr. Stohlman, Professors Elderkin, Smith, and Allan Marquand, and Dr. Shear.

To all of these gentlemen on both sides of the water I wish to express here my very great appreciation of their kindness. I must not fail also here to acknowledge the generous support of the publication on the part of the members of the Society for the Excavation of Sardis whose subscriptions made this volume possible. The scholar to whom I am most grateful for help at every stage of its preparation, Howard Crosby Butler, is dead; this monograph, like all the volumes of the Sardis series, must be in some sense a tribute to his memory.

C. R. MOREY

Princeton, New Jersey

April, 1924

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THE SARCOPHAGUS OF CLAUDIA ANTONIA SABINA

CHAPTER I

THE SARCOPHAGUS OF CLAUDIA ANTONIA SABINA CIRCUMSTANCES OF DISCOVERY: CLAUDIA'S TOMB



HEN the members of the excavating party arrived at Sardis early in 1913, for the opening of the fourth campaign, they found a collection of large marble fragments of late imperial sculpture lying beside the excavations of the Temple of Artemis. These fragments had been found during the winter by a peasant while ploughing down in the plain to the northwest of the Akropolis not far from the west bank of the Paktolos, and beside the main road which followed the line of the ancient "royal road," and passed through the Roman city. Among these fragments were three large pieces, two of which fitted together to form the entire front of a funeral couch, with two female figures and a dog reclining upon it and provided with *fulcra* ornamented with horses' heads upon which perched two putti bearing baskets of fruit in their arms. The third piece formed one angle of the trough of the sarcophagus, to which the funeral couch served as lid, and included in its decoration three figures and part of a fourth. These figures stood between colonnettes with spiral fluting carrying a richly carved entablature, which was surmounted by a curved pediment above a male figure at the end of one face of the angle and by a pointed pediment above a female figure that stood second from the end on the other face. The curved pediment was accordingly recognized as the right end of the sarcophagus, and the pointed pediment as the central feature of a lateral face. The other fragments included in this first find were of smaller size and failed to fit the larger pieces described above.

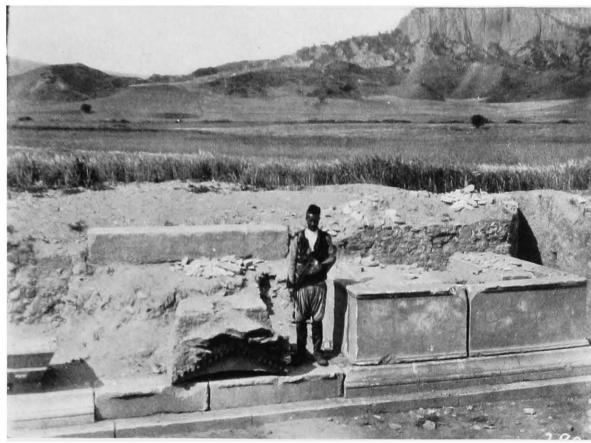
As soon as the main excavations were organized, a detachment of labourers was taken to the place where the original fragments were discovered, and systematic digging at once began to bring forth fragments large and small, many of which were easily fitted to the parts already recovered. Thus to the front of the sarcophagus was added the piece with the Greek inscription containing the name and quality of Claudia Antonia Sabina; the heads of the two reclining figures were found, the larger one well preserved, the other badly damaged; two more of the *aediculae* were ultimately pieced together from fragments; a complete *aedicula* belonging to one of the lateral faces came to light; and the head and other details were added to the mutilated female figure at the left end of the large angle piece. All these figures were laid out on the pavement of the Excavation House, where it was found possible to put together enough fragments to compose the entire front of the sarcophagus save for a single missing figure which once stood in one of the unpedimented spaces between the *aediculae*. The front thus reconstructed was found to display the composition usual in the sarcophagi known as belonging to the "Sidamara" or Asiatic series, having the customary central *aedicula* with pointed pediment flanked by

THE SARCOPHAGUS OF CLAUDIA ANTONIA SABINA

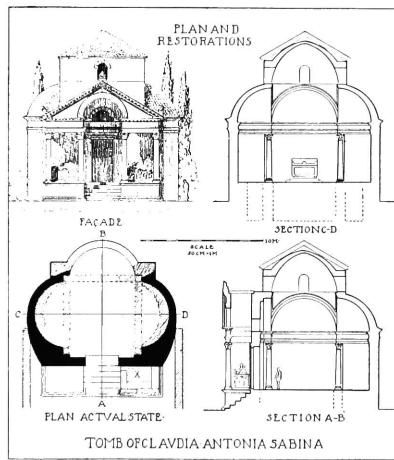
similar ædiculæ surmounted by curved pediments, and statuettes installed within the ædiculæ themselves as well as in the narrow intercolumniations separating them. The wide central ædicula is occupied by a standing youth, with a draped standing female figure in the next bay to the right, and in the terminal bay a standing bearded figure, also draped. On the other side of this angle are two figures: a draped male figure of the bearded type filling a narrow intercolumniation, and a draped standing female in an ædicula with pointed pediment which constituted the central feature of the right lateral face. The missing figure, to which allusion was made above, once occupied the unpedimented space to the left of the central ædicula on the front; architectural fragments connect this with an arcuated ædicula which constituted the left terminal bay of the front, and housed a seated draped female. To this fits perfectly the intercolumniation containing a standing draped bearded statuette which formed the right panel of the left lateral face of the sarcophagus.

Thus were recovered four out of five figures on the front of the sarcophagus, two out of three from the right lateral, and one out of three from the left lateral face. Fragments of the base, together with a number of unsculptured thin pieces, make it almost certain that the posterior face was plain. Greater completeness might be given the restoration of the monument by the small fragments of sculpture that remain unplaced, if it were possible to fit these together under more favourable conditions than attended the first assembling, but much cannot be expected of future attempts, since fresh mutilations of the pieces were perpetrated during the recent war in Asia Minor. The fragments were found dispersed over a space of about eight meters, and some of them at a depth of a meter or more, which explains why only the larger pieces were brought to light by the ploughshare.

While the excavations for the recovery of the fragments of the sarcophagus were in progress, foundations and walls were encountered which led to the unearthing of a small building that proved to be the monumental tomb to which the sarcophagus belonged (*ill. 1*). The first architectural feature to come to light was a large pedestal, with die and base mouldings of marble, large enough to have accommodated the sarcophagus with space to spare. The die measured, exclusive of the mouldings, 3.06 m. in width and 2.23 m. in depth, with a height of 0.85 m. Many of the fragments of sculpture belonging to the sarcophagus were found around this pedestal. The pedestal itself was found to terminate on one of its long sides against a wall of masonry to the south (cf. Vol. I, *ill. 154*). At the east, or left, it once abutted a flight of steps, three meters wide, of which the bottom step was still *in situ*. On the other side of the steps the base mouldings and foundations of a second pedestal were found, also terminating against a wall to the south. The marble threshold of a doorway was found at the top of the steps. Excavations beyond the wall of masonry revealed the walls of a building, the east and west ends of which were curved exedrae whose outer curves were not concentric with the inner beyond the major axis, but were carried forward on a larger arc to the outer wall of the two pedestals. The remaining wall of the building had been much damaged, but foundations of a third exedra were discovered which showed that the building was a *triconchos* with a straight fourth side against which were placed the two pedestals and the steps.



1. Tomb of Claudia Antonia Sabina; actual state



2. Tomb of Claudia Antonia Sabina; plan and restorations

THE SARCOPHIAGUS OF CLAUDIA ANTONIA SABINA

During this digging a great many architectural details came to light, including pieces of the bases, shafts, and capitals of columns about 0.35 m. in diameter, pieces of horizontal and raking cornice that had belonged to the same order, and parts of a large angle aeroterion. The apex of the gable of a pediment which is included in this group of architectural fragments plainly shows a curved under surface, and this with other fragments proves that the apex of the cornice crowned an arch above the middle intercolumniation of a portico.

It had been evident from the first that these details belonged to the tomb building, and equally clear that they were parts of a porch. When all the details were measured, it was found possible and logical to locate columns at the outer angles of the two pedestals and to erect in restoration horizontal entablatures at either hand with an arch above the steps, in the manner of other and better preserved sepulchral buildings of Asia Minor, such as the tomb (second century) of Mamastis at Termessos, and several other monuments of the sort at the same place. The plan also finds a parallel in one of the sepulchres of Termessos of the second century, viz., the Perikleia tomb of the north necropolis, in which the apse and lateral niches afford an undeveloped prototype for the trefoil arrangement of the plan of the tomb of Claudia Antonia Sabina. The tomb of Aurelia Padamouriane Nanelis, of the first half of the second century (*ibidem*), had an arrangement of the sarcophagi on either side of the door, similar to that which may be postulated of the porch of Claudia's monument.¹

For the sarcophagus of Claudia, as we shall see later, shows distinct neglect in the finish of the right lateral face, and must therefore have been meant to stand on the right hand pedestal with the feet of the reclining figures toward the steps, beneath a sort of canopy formed by the two columns to the right of the central arch, and their entablature (*ill. 2*). This disposition of the sarcophagus suggests another similar monument on the pedestal opposite, as has been indicated in the restoration. The pedestal on this side was apparently the more exposed of the two, for it has disappeared down to the base mouldings, and was probably broken up for lime long ago. The sarcophagus which it carried must have met the same fate, and it is not impossible that the fragment of a sarcophagus found at Sardis and now in the Louvre is a piece thereof (listed as Sardis A in the Catalogue, p. 39); for although the Louvre fragment corresponds very closely to the details of Claudia's sarcophagus, it was not a part of it, as discrepancies of measurement and composition have shown. The situation of the tomb beside the main route of travel would have made it convenient for antiquity hunters.

The architectural details of the tomb are elaborate enough in design, but rather loose in execution. It is to be noted that the sima of its raking cornice resembles closely, save in scale, the corresponding feature in the order of the sarcophagus. The cornice and other details of the portico are so similar to certain architectural motifs of Syria and Asia Minor of the second half of the second century that they may with safety be assigned to that period. The decoration of the modillions, the quatrefoil motif of the soffits, and the proportions of the cornice are paralleled in the Tychaion of Is-Sanamén, which is dated A.D. 191. An even closer rendering of modillions and soffits is found in cornice fragments of the theatre of Ephesus, dating after the reign of Commodus.²

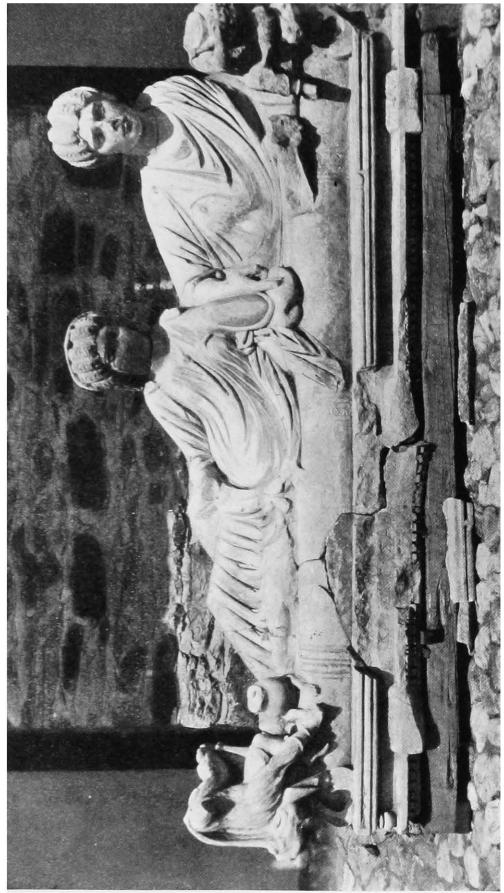
C H A P T E R I I

DESCRIPTION OF THE SARCOPHAGUS

THE sarcophagus in its original state (*frontispiece*) was of imposing dimensions, having an extreme length of 2.325 m., an extreme depth of 1.16 m., and an extreme height of 2.11 m. The height of the two reclining figures on the lid is 0.65 m. and 0.70 respectively, the bareheaded woman being the larger. The couch on which they rest is 2.325 m. long, measuring from the outer extremities of the horses' heads that decorate the faces of the *fulcra*; the length between the *fulcra* themselves is 2.175 m. These *fulcra* are about 0.16 m. in height, and the headless putto on the right measures 0.35 m. from the mattress to the upper extremity of the figure. The couch-rail is 2.27 m. long and 0.055 m. thick; the height of the small turned posts supporting it is 0.06 m. The cornice on which the couch rests, and which constitutes the lowest member of the lid, is 0.055 m. high, making the total height of the lid to the lower profile of the horses' heads 0.33 m., and to the top of the unveiled head 1.03 m. The depth of the lid, restored along the lower cornice, is 1.16 m., while the depth of the couch alone is 0.995 m. The coffin proper measures 2.17 m. in length and 1.08 m. in height, with a depth (restored) of 1.09 m.

The marble, according to Dr. T. Leslie Shear, who has made a careful study of the Sardis marbles, is undoubtedly Lydian, and from a neighboring quarry. The technique varies in the two portions of the sarcophagus, the chisel alone having been used on the lid, save in the ornament of the cornice which forms its lower termination, where the drill is employed quite as exclusively. On the trough drill and chisel were in use together; the ornament, hair, pupils of the eyes, and the narrower indentations of the drapery are all executed with the drill, while the larger folds of drapery, the flesh modelling, and the animals which serve as acroteria upon the cornice, are carved with the chisel. The indentations of the acanthus leaves of the capitals are made with the chisel, as well as the inner grooving of the leaf in the Lesbian cymation, the flutings of the colonnettes, and the cavettos of the bases. Where the drill has been used in the ornament, the surfaces have been worked with a file, resulting in a flatness, in contrast with the depth of the shadows caused by the drill, which affords at once the illusion of modelling when seen at a distance and an intricate pattern of light and shade.

The lid was fashioned to represent a couch (*ill. 3*). It consists of a bed represented as resting on four low turned feet, one of which is still preserved on the left hand corner of the front. The rail comprises a lower member with a roundel profile, above which is a rectangular piece with a triangular groove running along its front, save in the middle, where it is interrupted by a slender bolster tied at each end (one end only preserved), which seems to imitate a device to protect the shin of a person getting upon the bed. The bed itself is equipped with head and foot-boards (*plutei*) of a strong *cyma recta* profile and about equal in height. The outside of the head piece is ornamented with rectangular panels (*ill. 4*) separated by a conventional foliate design and containing roughly



3. Sarcophagus of *Claudia Antonia Sabina*; lid



4. Sarcophagus of *Claudia Antonia Sabina*; head-board



5. Sarcophagus of *Claudia Antonia Sabina*; foot-board

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carved figures of winged beasts with triton's tails in the terminal panels, and two dolphins with tails crossed in the center. The decoration of the foot-board is similar, except that a single dolphin occupies the central panel (*ill. 5*; see also p. 74). The front faces (*fulera*) of the head and foot-boards are decorated with finials consisting of horses' heads turned inward. The marble core of the lid is deeply undercut below the bed at a right angle, and the same is done to the upper edge of the cornice which forms its lowest member, with the object of throwing a deep shadow beneath the bed and producing the illusion that it actually stood upon its four low feet. The cornice mentioned, which belongs by composition to the architecture of the trough, consists of a row of dentils surmounted by a sima of palmettes, of the same character as that found on the archivolts and raking cornices of the adiculae below, which will be described later on. On this portion of the lid are lifting bosses, oblong in shape, provided for the adjustment of ropes in lifting the lid, and left unworked. They are placed above the three adiculae of the front, and above the central one of each lateral face.

Upon the bed is a mattress, whose casing is decorated with three bands, of which the outer two are subdivided into three narrow strips without ornament, with a filling between them of an undulating stem sprouting leaves on alternate sides. The central band is subdivided into two series of three strips each, of which the central strip is vaguely decorated with a scroll design, a larger version of which ornaments the space intervening between the two series mentioned. At the head of the bed is a bolster against which the larger of the two reclining figures rests her elbow; the top of this bolster appears above the head-board in *ill. 4*. Another cushion supports the elbow of the smaller figure.

The use of the couch form for the lid of sarcophagi and cinerary urns is a well-known Etruscan and Roman device, and occurs sporadically in Greek tombs from the fourth century on, becoming common however only in the imperial period.³ A number of parallels for the couch-lid with reclining portrait figures of the deceased, such as we have in the case of Claudia's sarcophagus, may be cited,—at Arles, Paris (Louvre), Petrograd, Pisa, Rome (Capitoline, Conservatori), and Spalato,⁴—in which also one will find either the banding of the mattress or the attendant putti, or both. The majority of these examples show indication of eastern origin by their decoration on all four sides. But the characteristic features of the couch-lid on Claudia's sarcophagus,—the lifting-bosses and the peculiar decoration and form of the *fulera*,—are found only on sarcophagi in Melfi, Rome (Palazzo Torlonia), Constantinople (Ottoman Museum, from Sidamara), and Myra, with the addition of lids discovered at Hierapolis, Sagalassos, and Torre Nova. All these we shall find listed in the catalogue of Asiatic sarcophagi as products of the same school which produced the monument of Sardis, and they are also the only members of the series in the case of which the lid has been preserved. Since the uniformity of type in the surviving examples is so marked, it must be assumed that the rest of the series had similar lids, and that it is characteristic of the series as a whole. Of the surviving covers mentioned, those of Torre Nova and of the Melfi sarcophagus resemble the couch of the Sardis sarcophagus in respect to the curious shin-guard described above as upon the front of the rail, as well as in the motif of the pet dog lying at the foot of the couch.⁵

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The shin-guard however also appears on the lid of the Sidamara sarcophagus in the Ottoman Museum (on which it was mistaken by Reinach⁶ for a “thyrsé ou carquois allongé”), and on this sarcophagus, as well as on the Torlonia example and the lid at Sagalassos, we also find two putti disposed at head and foot of the couch.

These putti in the Sardis example are costumed alike in chiton, chlamys clasped on the right shoulder, and shoes; and both hold shallow baskets of fruit in their upraised hands. Their heads have been broken off. The one at the left has also lost the right arm below the shoulder, and sits on the outer extremity of the *pluteus*. His fellow at the head of the couch is perched in similar fashion on the *pluteus*, with left leg drawn up; the feet, and the last three fingers of the right hand are broken off. Between these Erotes recline the two portrait figures, both clad in chiton and himation, the latter wrapped loosely below the waist and around the legs, and rather tightly about the right arm and shoulder; the larger woman to the right carries the himation also upon her left shoulder, and high in the neck at the back (broken away between the left shoulder and the back of the neck), while her companion has drawn it up over the head as a veil, and the fracture of the mantle on the left shoulder shows that she held one end of it forward with the left hand, now broken off above the wrist. On her left side the himation is tucked into the space between the left breast and the arm-pit, thence descending in a fold which hangs over the front of the mattress, a motif very characteristic of the series. The disposition of her right hand, broken at the same point, is not clear. Both women are lying in the same position, the left leg bent and flat on the couch, the right knee raised and bent slightly backwards (*ill. 5*). The heads of both were broken off when found, and that of the veiled woman has suffered greatly in front, practically the whole of her face being chipped off below the forehead. The head of the larger figure is nearly intact, having lost only the ridge and tip of the nose, and the surface of the upper lip. The left lower jaw was mended with a hard cement in antiquity (*ill. 7*), possibly after an accident in adjusting the lid. The hair shows unmistakable traces of reddish paint. The forward portion of the left hand, and of the object (*hypothymis?*) which it held, is also gone; her right hand, which rests on the elbow cushion of the veiled figure, is represented in the speaking gesture, with the first two fingers extended and the last two held by the thumb.

The larger figure is obviously the more important of the two, and she also holds the position of honour at her companion's left; whence she may be identified as the owner of the sarcophagus, the Claudia Antonia Sabina of the epitaph. The slighter figure would then be naturally her daughter, probably married, in view of the classic matron's gesture of the lifted veil, although the veil may have here merely a funereal meaning. Both women have a distinctive style of coiffure, with hair waved artificially back from the parting in the middle, and terminating, in the case of the unveiled head of Claudia at least, in a somewhat flattened knot. The preservation of this head is fortunate, for the coiffure enables us to date the sarcophagus fairly closely in the last quarter of the second century, as we shall see later. We may thus add to the series of sarcophagi of the class to which this one belongs its third dated example, since the Melfi sarcophagus had already been assigned by Delbrueck to c. 169, and the Torlonia sarcophagus by Robert

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to the first half of the third century, both upon the evidence afforded by the coiffure of the female figure on the lid.⁷

Comparison of the head (*ills. 6, 7*) with that of the female figure which reclines at full length on the couch-lid of the sarcophagus of Melfi (*ill. 8*) reveals a marked identity of style. The treatment of the hair differs it is true; the hair of Claudia having been worked roughly but consistently with the chisel throughout, while the back hair of the Melfi head is simply roughened, and the indentations of the anterior waves are finished with the drill. The waves also cover the ears of Claudia completely, while the lower lobe is visible on the Melfi head. But in both heads there is a characteristic angularity in the juncture of neck with chin and breast, in both the same restricted incision of the mouth, small chin, and fullness of the jaw, together with a heavy modelling of the eyelids. On the other hand the pupils are not indicated in the eyes of the lady of Melfi, as they are in Claudia's case; and there is also in the latter a knitting of the brow, a flatness of cheek, and a suggestion of double chin which indicate portraiture, while the ideal features of the Melfi head led Delbrueck to conclude that it is a type compounded of contemporary portraits of the younger Faustina and her daughter Lucilla.

The decoration of the trough includes in its composition, as was pointed out above, the cornice with the row of dentils and palmette sima that decorates the lowest member of the lid. The top of the wall of the trough is marked by a fillet; its face is decorated on the front by three ædiculæ, each composed of two colonnettes with spiral flutings running in opposite directions, which carry an entablature and pediments that are pointed above the central ædicula and arched over those at the ends. The colonnettes of the face of the trough rest on low individual pedestals, which on the lateral faces are converted into a sort of podium under each pair of colonnettes. Both pedestals and podia are composed of a die with cap and base mouldings consisting of a fillet and a quarter-round.⁸ The colonnettes are about six and one-half diameters high from plinth to abacus. The plinth is quadrate, with small rounded horns on the corners, and supports an Attic base consisting of three cavettos and toruses, of which the lowest torus is of marked projection, the upper two hardly wider than the ring of the shaft. The spirally fluted shafts are terminated above with a fillet and astragal, and are engaged to the extent of about one-quarter of their circumference. The capitals are conceived as having eight equal acanthus leaves with two lobes on each side, one sharply notched and the other scarcely detached from the body of the leaf; the terminal lobes and the tips of the leaves being joined in an overhanging lip continued around the bell. From the tip of the front leaf (*ill. 11*) rises a stem terminating in a leaf motif which decorates the middle of the concave abacus. Between the latter and the bell are four volutes, sharply undercut and connected by little pins of stone to the acanthus leaves to protect their delicate inner contours; they represent, of course, the corner volutes and the returning spirals of the Corinthian capitals, but the original function is so far forgotten that the corner volutes roll inward and the inner ones upward, the former apparently rising from the tip of the outermost acanthus leaf, the latter from the abacus. All four volutes are practically equivalent in size (*ill. 9*).

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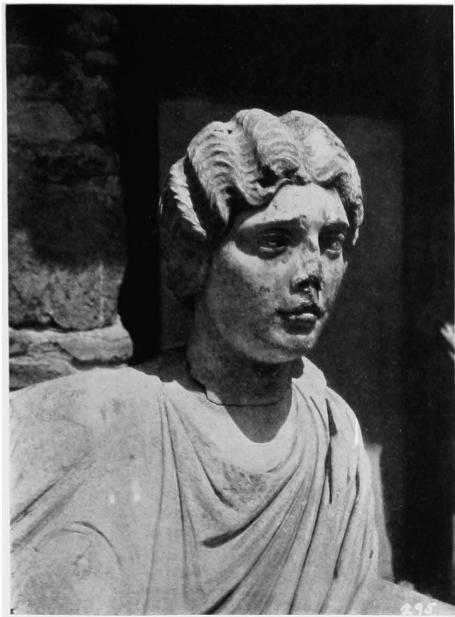
The colonnade bears an entablature of which the profiles from bottom to top are: a very flat cyma reversa decorated with the Lesbian cymation, an equally flat ovolو carved with egg-and-dart and separated from the preceding by a narrow fillet; a row of dentils; and a right-lined fillet, above which rises a sima decorated with flat palmettes filed on the surface and rolled alternately inward and outward. The form of these palmettes is degenerate, and the shadows are executed with the drill, as indeed are all the details of this entablature as well as the volutes of the capital. The entablature is broken out above the capitals and returned along the wall of the sarcophagus. The cornice of the pediments in the ædiculæ displays the same series of mouldings, minus the Lesbian cymation; these pediments are filled with conches whose flutings radiate from the bottom upward, around which the cornice is continued with the omission of the cymation as mentioned, the spaces intervening between the cornice and the conch being treated with drill holes alone (*ill. 14*).

The gabled ædicula in the center of the front displays a gutter ornament of incised undulation, with crockets indicated by the drill. Its acroteria at the corners were half-palmettes, much curled, of which the beginning of the one to the left is still to be seen (*ill. 10*). The acroterion at the top of the gable is also partly preserved, and was apparently also meant to be the lower part of a palmette, which one would suppose to have been continued in the blocked-out lifting-boss above on the lid, in this case as well as in that of the bosses above the other ædiculæ. This was predicated with reference to the similar bosses on the sarcophagus of Melfi by Delbrueck. It is to be noted, however, that the lifting bosses on the surviving covers of the series are also unworked, and such uniformity leaves the doubt if they were ever intended to be, since it is quite possible that the rustication of this motif was a mannerism of the school.

The central pointed pediment is flanked by ædiculæ with arched pediments on the front; and there was an evident intention to imitate this aspect on the lateral faces, for here, although the colonnettes are equivalently spaced, the central bay repeats the gabled ædicula of the front exactly save for the diminished dimensions, and the intercolumniations which flank it are assimilated to the terminal archivolts of the façade by the addition of small conches above the sima (*ill. 11*).

The sima of the arched pediments of the front is broken out horizontally for a length amounting to about half the width of the impost over the capitals, and in the spandrels thus formed we find a group of a lion felling a beast (bull?). On the corners the composition is further complicated by placing the lion in return along the lateral face, while his victim occupies the terminal spandrel on the front. Of these acroteria, the lions of the lateral faces have lost their heads, and the one on the right face a portion of the rump and the tail. The groups above the cornice of the left archivolt are badly mutilated; those of the right niche are fairly preserved, but all of them show a very summary manner of carving, which indeed is characteristic of the chisel technique throughout the sarcophagus, in contrast to the delicacy with which the desired effects are secured with the drill.

Of the eleven statues which stood between the colonnettes, seven were recovered, as stated in the preceding section. I shall describe them as they appear in the restoration



6. Head of *Claudia Antonia Sabina*



7. Head of *Claudia Antonia Sabina*



8. Head of *reclining woman on the sarcophagus of Melfi*



9. Sarcophagus of *Claudia Antonia Sabina*; front angle to right



10. Sarcophagus of *Claudia Antonia Sabina*; central aedicula of front



11. Sarcophagus of *Claudia Antonia Sabina*; right lateral face



12. *Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina; left lateral face*



13. *Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina; fragment of front*



14. *Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina; fragment of front*



15. *Coin-portraits of Crispina*

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(*frontispiece*) from left to right, beginning with the only remaining figure of the left lateral face, which occupied its terminal bay to the right (*ill. 12*). It is a bearded figure of "poet" or "philosopher" type, standing with the weight resting on the right foot, the feet shod with very summarily indicated sandals, and the body clad in chiton and himation, a fold of the latter wrapping the left hand, which holds a rotulus. The right hand is gone, and the tip of the nose, while the exposed left cheek has also suffered damage. The figure stands, like all the statues of the lateral faces, upon a bevelled base projecting above the upper listel of the podium. The arms are engaged to the colonnettes on either side and the head to the entablature.

Next to this figure, around the corner of the sarcophagus, is the seated female of *ill. 13*, occupying the left terminal aedicula of the front. She sits on a cushioned faldstool with badly mutilated supports, and is clad in chiton, girdled and clasped between the breasts whence its folds radiate like the rays of a star, and the himation, drawn over the head as a veil. The himation was also drawn about the left shoulder, as appears from the fracture of it upon the left arm and the portion visible between the latter and the body, so that the left forearm (preserved, but never restored to place) was lifted, with the hand drawing the himation forward in the manner of the figure of the daughter on the couchlid, probably indicative here as there of the married state of the person represented. The right wrist and a part of the hand is broken, but enough remains to show that the first two fingers were extended and the next two closed, reproducing the gesture of the left hand of Claudia. The face and the neck of the figure are gone; from the remnants of the waved coiffure in front and its extension under the veil in the back we can see that the hair was dressed in the same fashion as was Claudia's. A piece of drapery is thrown over the stool, hanging down vertically in front of it and outward behind. This figure also transcends the dimensions of the niche, the head being engaged to the entablature, the right foot to the lower part of the colonnette, and the right shoulder and elbow originally to the missing colonnette at the left.

The figure which once stood in the adjoining intercolumniation is lost, and we pass to the occupant of the central aedicula (*ill. 10*), a beardless youth standing with the weight on the right leg, nude save for the sword-belt that crosses the torso in front, and the chlamys clasped on his left shoulder and draped over his left arm. The hair is sufficiently preserved to show that it was of the full and bushy sort familiar in heads of the "Eubouleus" type; the face has entirely disappeared except for the lower portion of the right cheek. The right arm, broken at the elbow, was extended along the colonnette to the left, as the still existing fracture thereon shows; the left forearm is broken off with no trace left whereby to determine its function. The surfaces of the neck, torso and right leg are damaged, and the right foot is missing; the pudenda are broken off, and also all of the left leg from the thigh except a part of the calf still adhering to the back wall of the aedicula in its fractured lower portion. The engaging of the figure is of the same character as that of the preceding two.

The female figure in the intercolumniation to the right (*ill. 14*) is clad in chiton and himation, like the seated female of the left terminal bay. She stands with weight on the

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left leg, and looks toward her neighbour, a “philosopher” resembling the first described of our series, who occupied the right terminal bay. Her hair is waved back from the face in a more classic and ideal manner than that of Claudia’s coiffure and that of the seated female, following thus an artistic tradition and not the prevailing mode. The himation, drawn over the head and shoulders, is wrapped tightly around the right wrist and held by the right hand in a meaningless loop. The figure has been put together from a number of fragments whose junctures may be seen in the illustration; the left wrist and hand are missing, and while we still have the right leg and its drapery, as well as the major portion of the left leg below the knee, it has not as yet been possible to set them into place.

The bearded figure in the adjoining ædicula is almost a replica of the “philosopher” of the left lateral face. He stands, however, upon the actual podium of the sarcophagus instead of upon a pedestal. Like his neighbour just described he stands well within the ædicula and his head only is engaged to the architectural frame.

The two statuettes remaining of the decoration of the right lateral face are reproduced in ill. 11.⁹ The bearded figure to the left is of the “philosopher” type just described, but differs from the preceding in that his right arm is caught in the fold of his himation and the left hand dropped along his side, holding some indistinguishable object, probably a rotulus. The woman to his left in the central ædicula wears a chiton with short sleeve baring the right forearm, and girdled so that the overhanging fold can be discerned beneath the himation on the left leg. The himation, drawn over the head and left shoulder, leaves the right arm free and terminates in a fold over the left forearm, most of which is lost so that its function cannot be determined with certainty. From a comparison with similar figures in the Asiatic series to which our sarcophagus belongs, we shall see that the left hand probably held a plate of offerings. The face is entirely obliterated, and no trace is left even of the coiffure.

These two figures of the right lateral face are engaged by left shoulder and arm, and the head. They are curiously out of proportion, the female overtopping the bearded figure by half a head; and the same disproportion may be seen on the front in the relative height of the standing male and female figures. The reason for the tall female on the front may well be an attempt on the part of the sculptor to relieve the bareness of the undecorated strip intervening between the entablature of the colonnade and the cornice border of the lid, but no such reason explains the marked disparity of the two figures of the lateral face. A crudeness of handling is evident here in other respects; the capital of the last colonnette to the right is merely blocked out as to its leaves, the preliminary incisions and the drill-holes for the separating shadows alone being indicated. The carving, too, is markedly inferior to that of the front and that of the figure of the left lateral face, notably in the drapery of the female figure, and the flat face of the “philosopher,” whose mouth, eye, and mutilated nose are rendered in full face in spite of the sharp profile of the head.

These inferiorities show an intentional neglect of the right lateral face, either on the part of the master-sculptor himself, or more probably by reason of the assignment of the task to an assistant. We have already seen (p. 5) that this makes certain the position of

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the sarcophagus on the pedestal to the right of the steps of the tomb building, and it is clear that the ultimate site of the sarcophagus was known to the sculptor of whom it was commissioned, since he felt at liberty to treat the right lateral face, invisible to one ascending the steps of the monument, in the summary manner above indicated. This apparently minor point assumes considerable importance when we reflect that it makes it impossible to regard the sarcophagus as an importation from a distant center, and indeed a local product is seen in the portrait character of the head of Claudia, as well as the unusual group of two female figures, instead of the customary married pair or single figure on the couch-lid. Final confirmation of origin in Lydia is found in the close resemblance of the palmettes in the simas of the sarcophagus to those used on the cornice of the tomb, and in Dr. Shear's conviction that the marble comes from a local quarry.

CHAPTER III

INSCRIPTION AND DATING

ON either side of the central boss of the lid, in the depression mentioned above as cut back into the core of the lid between the rail of the couch and the cornice below, is carved an inscription (*ill. 3*), more easily made out in our illustration to the left of the boss, where the mutilation of the cover of the sarcophagus has broken away the overhanging rail of the couch and the projection of the cornice. On this side we read: ΚΛ·ΑΝΤ·ΣΑΒΕΙΝΗΣ and to the right of the boss the epitaph is completed by the title: ΤΙΑΤΙΚΗΣ. The epitaph entire thus reads: Κλ(αυδίας) Ἀντ(ωνίας) Σαβείνης ὑπατικῆς which becomes more familiar in the Latin equivalent: CLAVDIAE ANTONIAE SABINAE FEMINAE CONSVLARIS, i. e. “(the tomb of) Claudia Antonia Sabina, a lady of consular rank.”

The title of *femina consularis*, translated in Greek by the term ὑπατική, sometimes amplified to ἡ κρατίστη ὑπατική, again modified to ὑπάτη, and in the later empire to ὑπάτισσα, belonged strictly, when used by a matron as here, only to a woman who had married an ex-consul, or some dignitary enjoying the *ornamenta consularia*.¹⁰ It is exceedingly rare in Latin inscriptions, only two examples being hitherto recorded,¹¹ but fairly frequent in Greek, with over a dozen examples so far known,¹² all of them in Asia Minor and Cyprus with the exception of a lead-stamp at Ste-Geneviève in Paris, and a curious graffito of a Roman lady touring in Egypt, who left her name and quality inscribed on a wall of the royal tombs at Thebes. The dated examples in inscriptions are of the end of the second and the first half of the third century. Greek freedom in the use of Roman indications of rank is well-known,¹³ and it is certain that one cannot depend on the epithet ὑπατική to imply always a consular husband, although this usage is indicated by an inscription of Sidyma, where the epithet is qualified by the explanatory phrase: γενομένην (without the usual article) γυναικα τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ὑπατικοῦ. Another of Oenoanda Lyciae contains the name of a certain Claudia Druantilla Platonis ὑπατική while the same lady appears again in a list of 110 matrons, nearly all of equestrian (not consular) rank, who are recorded by an inscription of Rome as having participated in a public *supplicatio* to Juno in the year 204; hence Dessau¹⁴ concludes that the quality of ὑπατική added to Druantilla's name in the Lycian inscription was acquired by marriage to a *consularis* after that date. On the other hand a certain Regina, whose name appears in two dedications at Palaipaphos in Cyprus, is qualified in one as ὑπατική but in the other as ἐξ ὑπάτων ὑπάτη. The latter shows that her consular rank was regarded as inherited, and this was legally possible if she were an unmarried descendant of a *consularis*; if she was a matron, the phrase reflects a tendency on the part of the Greek provincials to assign the dignity to all descendants of *consulares*, which transpires in such phrases as ἔγγονος (ἔγγονη) ὑπατικῶν, frequently appearing in Greek inscriptions.

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But the examples of the use of *νπατική* in Greek inscriptions hitherto recorded are mostly from *tituli* in honour of Roman personages, while the inscription on our sarcophagus is the only case which offers an instance of the use of the term in her own epitaph by the woman concerned. We have here therefore a reflection of Roman, not Greek, usage, and are therefore justified in giving the epithet its strict legal significance in Claudia's epitaph, and assuming that she was the wife of an ex-consul of Rome. This in turn opens the interesting question how a lady of the highest official aristocracy of Rome happened to be domiciled in the Lydian city of Sardis to the extent of acquiring a tomb and thus definitely adopting this provincial center as the settled abode of her family for the rest of her life. To this question, unfortunately, the terseness of the epitaph affords no certain answer, but we may round out the conjectural picture of this expatriated family from other indications.

There is for instance an apparent connection with Claudia's ménage in the name of Claudius Antonius Lamos, who paid the expenses of a dedication, in honour of his two daughters (priestesses of mysteries at neighbouring Smyrna), which was voted by the senate and the people of the city, and by the *σύνοδος* of the mystae, in reward for the diligent performance of their functions.¹⁵ The further fact that the name of the elder daughter was Claudia Antonia Sabina Procliane is good evidence that her father was a freedman of Claudia's, or in some other sense her dependent.

The gesture of Claudia's daughter,—she is represented on the couch-lid of the sarcophagus pulling forward a corner of her himation-veil,—might be regarded as indicative of her married state, which would add a further detail to the history of Claudia's home. Lastly, as was pointed out above, it is more likely in this case of a personal epitaph than in the honorary inscriptions where the title of *νπατική* elsewhere occurs, that it maintains its legal restriction to the wife of an ex-consul. We may therefore add to our *personae* the husband, *vir consularis* and suitable mate to Claudia's nobility, indicated by her triple name and the prominent Roman families which it connotes.

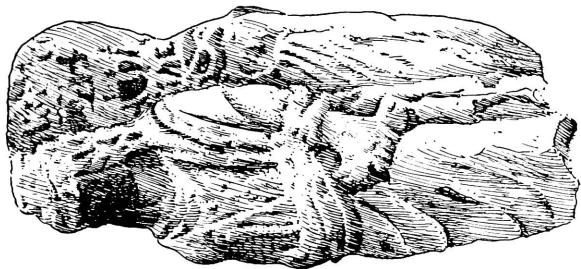
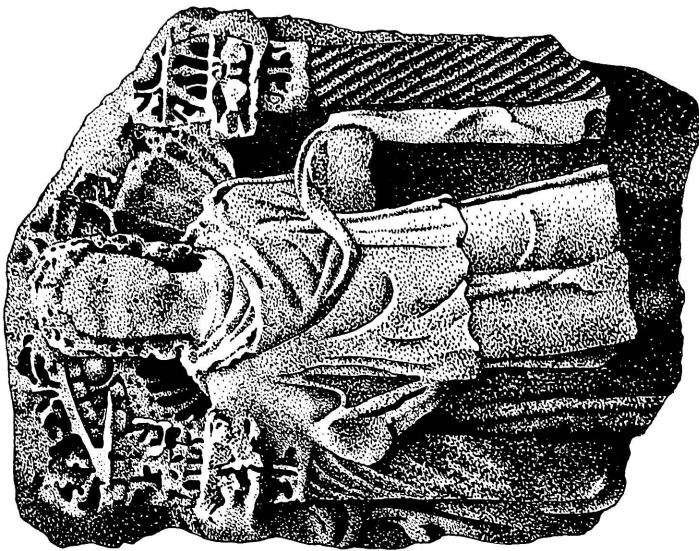
Claudia, when she ordered her sarcophagus, must have been a widow, since if her husband had been living at the time, we should expect him to appear beside her upon the couch in the usual manner of “marriage” sarcophagi. He was therefore dead, and presumably buried in the sarcophagus which stood upon the pedestal at the left of the steps leading into the tomb, a fragment of which sarcophagus is perhaps the piece from Sardis in the Louvre (*ill. 60*: see p. 5). A natural explanation of the presence of an ex-consul of Rome in Lydia is that he filled the consular office of proconsul of Asia. Among the governors of the province¹⁶ in the second half of the second century, to which period our sarcophagus belongs, one is known to have died there, namely Sulpicius Crassus, proconsul in 190–1 or 191–2, who was put to death during his administration of the province by order of Commodus.¹⁷ To the series of conjectures hazarded above, we may indulge another to the effect that this unfortunate official was Claudia's husband, and that political considerations may have determined her to stay in Asia even after the assassination of Commodus. Possibly an additional reason was a local marriage on the part of her daughter. If Sulpicius Crassus was her husband, his disgrace and execution may account

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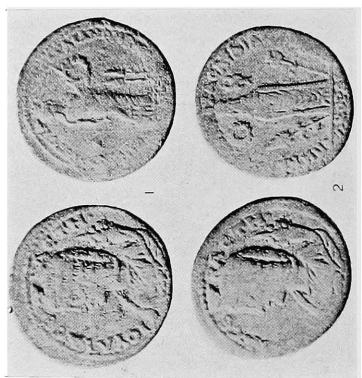
for his being buried at Sardis, instead of at Ephesos, the proconsul's seat, but Claudia would have felt no hesitation in using the consular title in the reaction that followed the death of Commodus.

I am aware that the above hypothesis is finely spun, and it is fortunate that we need not rely upon it for the dating of the sarcophagus. For this is approximately fixed by the fashion of Claudia's coiffure (*ill. 7*), the value of which as a test for date has been materially increased by Delbrueck's careful study of the coiffures on the coins of the younger Faustina and Lucilla the sister of Commodus, between the years 155 and 175. Delbrueck divides the coin-portraits into five phases, his material being the coins struck at Rome and Alexandria, of which the Egyptian examples show a tendency to continue the coiffures about a year longer than at Rome. From a style of hair-dressing that includes a fringe and exposes the ears, Delbrueck traces the transformation of the coiffure to the fifth phase in which the fringe is omitted and all but the lower lobe of the ears is covered. The coins which show this coiffure in Lucilla's portraits must date c. 169, the latest year in which her head appears on the coins, since she still wears the coiffure of the fourth phase on Alexandrian pieces of 169-170, and the portraits show a maturity inconsistent with an earlier date. The head of the Melfi sarcophagus (*ill. 8*) displays a style of coiffure closely resembling the fifth phase, and the sarcophagus is therefore dated by Delbrueck c. 169, with the probabilities according to the same author favouring a date before this rather than after since the knot of the Melfi coiffure is more convex than Lucilla's and resembles that worn by Faustina in Delbrueck's fourth phase c. 165-167.

Lucilla's hair and that of the Melfi head leave the lobe of the ear exposed. On the Sardis sarcophagus, however, Claudia's ears are fully covered, and the knot is flatter than is the case with the Melfi coiffure, although the general style of both heads is the same. We may note also that the waving of the hair is stiffer and of more artificial appearance upon Claudia's head than in the Lucilla portraits or the Melfi head. This adds a third indication that Claudia's portrait is of later date than that ascribed to the Melfi head. Whatever this date may be, it will also be the date of the sarcophagus, for the group on the lid, as was pointed out before, is unusual in its representation of mother and daughter instead of the ordinary married pair or single person. In the case of the stock pieces which display the latter, it would be quite possible that the portraits should be blocked out and afterward finished with the features of the purchasers, a practice to which the frequent occurrence of unfinished heads on sarcophagi bears testimony; but it is very unlikely in the case of so unusual a group as that of our sarcophagus and we must assume that the monument was specially commissioned. The head of the Melfi figure is also regarded by Delbrueck as contemporary with the sarcophagus on which it appears, in this case because the "portrait" is an ideal one, reflecting the general type of the empress and the princess, and therefore offering no ground for believing that it was carved after the sarcophagus was finished, in order to reproduce the features of the deceased. We have then a date c. 169, according to Delbrueck, for the Melfi head and sarcophagus, and a date subsequent to this for the sarcophagus and portrait of Claudia Antonia Sabina.



18. Two faces of corner fragment of sarcophagus (Alashkert)



17. Coins of Sardis, with portraits of *Julia Domna*



16. *Septimius Severus and Julia Domna;*
Arch of Silversmiths, Rome

18. *Coins of Sardis, with portraits of Julia Domna*

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The reasons for regarding the Sardis sarcophagus as later than that of Melfi have been set forth above as existing in the difference between the coiffures; that of Claudia being dry and artificial in the handling of the surface, having a flattened knot, and covering the ears completely. All three of these characteristics of Claudia's coiffure begin to appear first in some of the coin-portraits of Crispina, wife of Commodus (after 177) (*ill. 15*), and are continued in the portraits of the ephemeral empresses of Pertinax and Didius Julianus, in those of the latter's daughter Didia Clara, and in the earlier portraits of Julia Domna¹⁸ (*ill. 16*). In the coiffures of Plautilla on coins of 202 the ears begin to appear again, and in the later portraits of Julia Domna (*ill. 17*) we find the peculiar nest on the neck which becomes the salient characteristic of the hair-dressing employed by the ladies of the Emesan dynasty. We have then in the covering of the ears and the absence of the "nest" a *terminus ad quem* of c. 200 for the date of our sarcophagus.

The covering of the ears again, the flattening of the knot, and the harder treatment of the surface of the hair characteristic of the portraits of the end of the century, show that we can establish our *terminus a quo* appreciably later than the date given by Delbrueck to the Melfi sarcophagus, c. 169. But the coiffure of Claudia when compared with those of post-Commodan portraits shows an earlier character, for the transformation of the Commodan coiffure effected in the last decade of the second century brought about not only the flattening of the knot referred to above, but also a lengthening thereof so that it ultimately reached to the top of the cranium and covered the whole back of the head. This is already apparent in the portraits of Titiana, wife of Pertinax, and in those of Scantilla and Didia Clara (wife and daughter of Didius Julianus) on coins of 193. The closest parallel in fact for the knot worn by Claudia can be found among the coin-portraits of Crispina (177 to c. 183; *ill. 15*).

We must allow, however, for that slower imitation in provincial works of the fashions of the capital, which was found in the belated coiffures of Faustina on the coins of Alexandria, and also consider the hard and artificial technique employed upon the surface of the hair, which much more resembles that of the early heads of Julia Domna (see note 18) than that of the Melfi head (*ill. 16*). It is quite clear that we shall be safe in assigning the sarcophagus to the last quarter of the second century, and from the considerations given above there appears no reason why it should not have been ordered in the early nineties thereof, and thus coincide in date with the execution of Sulpicius Crassus so that no contradiction is involved with the conjecture offered above as to his identity with Claudia's husband. For Claudia may well have ordered her own tomb at the time of the burial of her husband and the building of the mausoleum, and it is significant to note in this connection that the dates of the architectural details that most closely resemble those of the mausoleum, viz., those at Iş-Sanamén and Ephesus, are of the end of Commodus' reign or posterior thereto. The palaeography of the inscription is consistent with a dating in the last quarter of the second century, but so far as I can see offers no evidence for further limitation. This will be provided, however, by the determination of the place to be occupied by Claudia's sarcophagus in the chronological evolution of the series as a whole, from which we shall find that the monument must have been produced c. 185–195.

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Sarcophagus in the Colonna Gardens, Rome (Rome D)

C H A P T E R I V

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE ASIATIC SARCOPHAGI

I HAVE adopted in this discussion the term "Asiatic" to denote the series of sarcophagi to which the Sardis example belongs, somewhat proleptically, since the final proof of the Asiatic origin of the series will be produced in the treatment of the problem of the centers of production; but the Asiatic provenance of the series as a whole is now I think accepted generally by students of the problem. The old name of "Sidamara," which was given to the series because the first example known was found on that ancient site, near Ambar-Arassy, in a part of Lycaonia included in the province of Cappadocia, can no longer be used with propriety to denote the whole series, since the examples resembling this sarcophagus belong to a later development only and show a different technique from that employed on the earlier members, of which the Sardis sarcophagus is one.

The first scholar to note the Asiatic affinities of this type of sarcophagus was Ainalov, who published the latest example of the series, the fragment of a Christian sarcophagus in the Berlin Museum, in his *Hellenistic Foundations of Byzantine Art* (1900, Russian), and emphasized the difference between its architectural decoration and the figured frieze of the Roman type, as well as its specific resemblance to sarcophagi found in Asia Minor. In 1901 Strzygowski published the Berlin fragment again in his *Orient oder Rom?*, and added to the group a fragmentary sarcophagus at Konieh, a fragment at Nicaea, the sarcophagus from Selefkeh in the Ottoman Museum at Constantinople, a sarcophagus in the Villa Ludovisi at Rome and another like it at Concordia, a fragment in the British Museum, and the "marriage" sarcophagus in the cortile of the Palazzo Riccardi at Florence. All these he assigned to ateliers of Asia Minor, on the basis of the "Fundort" of the examples whose provenance was known, and the pronouncement by Lepsius that the marble of the Berlin fragment and probably that of the Selefkeh example as well was quarried in the Proconnesos.

The Sidamara sarcophagus itself, although discovered in 1875 by Davis and repeatedly seen thereafter by other explorers, first began to attract attention in the year of the publication of Strzygowski's *Orient oder Rom?* (1901). Ramsay, who had already described the monument in various publications, pointed out in the *Revue des Études anciennes* of this year (p. 358) that the two most important examples of the series had been found at Seleucia in Cilicia (Selefkeh) and Sidamara in Lycaonia, which suggested to him that the center of manufacture was Tarsus, whence the Sidamara sarcophagus might have been exported through the Cilician gates to Lycaonia and the other example taken by sea to Seleucia. The sarcophagus of Sidamara was finally transported to the Ottoman Museum in October of 1901, and in the following year a number of articles about it were issued, the tone of which in general was hostile to the eastern origin of the series.

Mendel, for example, in his catalogue of the Konieh museum in *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* of 1902, while adding to the list four fragments in Athens, and

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a fragment from Uskeles, attacked the unity predicated of the series by Strzygowski, and found, in the details of architecture and the relation of the latter to the figured decoration, so much of Roman taste that, even if unity be proven, the style of the sarcophagi could not be considered other than that of the generalized "Roman art of the empire." Altmann, too, in his *Architektur und Ornamentik der antiken Sarkophage*, which appeared in the same year and made the important addition to the series of the sarcophagus of Melfi, argued from the latter ("unzweifelhaft italisch") that Strzygowski's statistic did not prove an Oriental origin. Mendel's position was elaborated by Th. Reinach in an article on the Sidamara sarcophagus in *Monuments Piot* of 1902, in which he concludes that the composition of the façades of these sarcophagi "se rattache à une mode romaine, celle d'orner les façades des temples de statues isolées, fixées dans des niches similaires. Comme pour mieux souligner sa double origine, elle associe volontiers ce type nouveau de cuve au type traditionnel de couvercle étrusque en forme de lit funéraire." Reinach also repeated the mistake of Altmann in inserting in the series a sarcophagus front in the Montferrand collection of the Hermitage at Petrograd, representing a tomb-portal in the central aedicula of the façade, which as we shall see belongs to a well-defined type imitative of the Asiatic series. He suggested another addition of the sort in a fragment of the Capitol (discussed and classified on p. 56) which belongs to the same imitative category, and accepted as of the series the two fragments in the Louvre from the Borghese collection, already claimed by Strzygowski in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* of 1901 (p. 726). The argument against an Asiatic origin which Reinach found in the Roman couch-lid was emphasized by Botho Graef in a note on the sarcophagus of Sidamara in *Die weite Welt* of 1902 (pp. 1175–78). Additional notes on the lid of the Sidamara sarcophagus, and the connection with the series of the example in the Palazzo Torlonia, were given by Reinach in the tenth volume of *Monuments Piot*.

Strzygowski however vigorously defended his original position in reviews and notes published in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (X, 1901, p. 726; XII, 1903, pp. 433, 704; XV, 1906, p. 419; XVII, 1908, p. 640), and in *Byzantinische Denkmäler*, III (1903), adding meanwhile to the list two fragments at Smyrna and others in the Lanckoroński and Ferdinand d'Este collections in Vienna (the Lanckoroński piece, as we shall see, does not belong to the series). A shift toward his hypothesis was first seen in the series of articles published by Muñoz in *Nuovo Bulletino di archeologia cristiana*, 1905, 1906, in *L'Arte* of 1906, and the *Rivista critica delle scienze teologiche* for 1907 and 1908. Muñoz in the course of these articles finally aligned himself on the side of Strzygowski, and made several important additions, notably a complete trough in the Colonna gardens at Rome, fragments at Brussa, Ismid, and Tyre, a fragment in the Galleria Lapidaria of the Vatican (see p. 57), and four new fragments in the Louvre (the one previously mentioned from Sardis, and three from modern Denizli, near Laodicea Phrygiae). The Louvre fragments, including also the two Borghese fragments above mentioned, were published by Michon in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* of 1906, in which he further called attention to a piece in the Chiaramonti gallery of the Vatican, and a fragment at Eskishehr.

Still more important was the addition made by Strzygowski in *Journal of Hellenic*

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Studies of 1907, in a publication of ten fragments of a sarcophagus of our type in the Cook collection at Richmond, in which he took the occasion thus offered to modify and define his theory as to the origin of the type. He here decided that it reflects the art not of Ephesus, or any other center of western Asia Minor, but of Antioch, arriving at this conclusion by a series of arguments so subjective that I cannot refrain from repeating them in brief as an example of the dubious reasoning which sometimes mars the brilliance of Strzygowski's work. The composition of the façades of the Asiatic sarcophagi, Strzygowski says, is repeated, in its alternation of broad and narrow niches, in the ivory revetment on the front of the cathedra of Maximianus (a Syrian monument according to him). The well-known ivory plaque representing an archangel in the British Museum is draped like the saints nearest John the Baptist on the cathedra. This archangel stands on steps, indicating an entrance behind him, whence we are invited to believe that the niches on the cathedra, and on the Asiatic sarcophagi, meant doors. This in turn reproduces the stage-façade as reconstructed by von Cube on the basis of the fourth style of wall-decoration at Pompeii, and the fourth Pompeian style "came" from Antioch. I think this argument needs little comment, except to point out that the derivation of the fourth Pompeian style is still to be determined, that the latest sifting of the evidence on the origin of the cathedra of Maximianus (by E. Baldwin Smith, *American Journal of Archaeology* 1917, pp. 22-37; cf. also the point for Alexandria made by Amelung, *Ausonia*, 1908, p. 135) indicates that it was done in Alexandria, and that both it and the British Museum ivory date from two to three hundred years later than the monuments whose stylistic origin they are supposed to demonstrate. It may be added that the sarcophagi of the imperial period so far discovered in Syria, aside from the Tyre fragments mentioned above, and to judge from the examples at Antioch published by Foerster (*Jahrbuch des archäologischen Instituts* 1898, pp. 186, 187), as well as those from Saida, Beirut and Tripoli in the Ottoman Museum (Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures etc.* I, nos. 12, 22, 26, 33, 42, 44) merely reproduce current types which have no connection with our series.

Strzygowski's hypothesis, favourably reviewed in *Burlington Magazine* (XI, 1907: pp. 109-111) by Mrs. Strong, who also gave a summary of the bibliography to 1907 in her *Roman Sculpture* (p. 13 ff.), was still questioned by Amelung in 1908, who in that year published the second volume of the *Sculpturen des vatikanischen Museums*, and doubted (p. 157) whether the sarcophagi might not be regarded as a type originating in Italy, exported to the East, and then reacting on the later products of Italy itself. Dütschke also, in his *Ravennatische Studien* of 1909 (p. 129) believed that the hypothesis of Asiatic origin "must fall with the discovery of further Italian examples," and this writer extended very materially the list of parallels in Roman architecture for the composition of the façade on the Asiatic sarcophagi, already compiled by Mendel and Reinach. The former of these two scholars added another fragment to the list in his catalogue of the museum at Brussa in *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 1909 (p. 332), where also a list of the examples at that time known was given.

A new development was given to the study of the series by Rizzo's publication (*Römische Mitteilungen*, 1910, p. 89 ff.) of the sarcophagus of Torre Nova. This is unlike a

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typical Asia Minor sarcophagus in having a figured frieze uninterrupted by architectural forms on its faces, but the podium ornament and pilaster capitals are identical with the sima and capitals of the sarcophagus of Melfi. It also shows affinities with a child's sarcophagus from Megiste Lyciae in the National Museum at Athens, which likewise displays the uninterrupted frieze and similar capitals. The marble of the Torre Nova example is Pentelic, but the details of architectural character were found by Rizzo to be Asiatic, and he finally accepted an Asiatic origin for the sarcophagus, thus instituting another type within the series, related in the technique and capitals to Strzygowski's group.

The next important contribution to the subject was Delbrueck's careful publication of the Melfi sarcophagus in *Jb. arch. Inst.* of 1913, which weakened the theory of the Italian origin of the series, based hitherto on the fact that the two examples supposed to be of earliest date, the Melfi sarcophagus and that in the Palazzo Riccardi at Florence, had been found in the peninsula. For Delbrueck found that the marble "seemed to be Pentelic," and that the style was Greek. The trend of opinion toward Strzygowski's point-of-view was also reflected in the conversion of Mendel, who concludes in the first volume of his catalogue of the sculpture of the Ottoman Museum (1912), that the first sarcophagi of the series seem to have been done in the northern part of Asia Minor; "mais ce qui paraît très vraisemblable c'est que la transformation des motifs s'est opérée principalement dans les villes du centre et du sud dont l'architecture offre une si grande analogie de sentiment avec celle des sarcophages et témoigne de la même intempérance dans le décor ornemental" (p. 314). We owe to this publication the best description of the examples from Sidamara, Selefkeh, and Ismid, as well as exhaustive bibliographies thereof, and a supplement to Mendel's former list of 1909, which completed the catalogue of examples up to 1912.

The most useful discussion of the series since Delbrueck's monograph on the Melfi sarcophagus, and Mendel's catalogue just cited, is the brief treatment included in the article *Baalbek und Rom*, published in *Jb. arch. Inst.* of 1914 (p. 73) by Weigand, who had already given a very superficial notice in *Athenische Mitteilungen* of the same year (p. 48), in which he cited the sarcophagus of Ste.-Marie-du-Zit as related to the series, and proposed to date the bulk of the sarcophagi between 250 and 350! In the more careful discussion of the *Jahrbuch*, Weigand developed the suggestion made by Rizzo in relating the Torre Nova example to the series. Recognizing that the series need not be limited to those sarcophagi which have the customary composition of the three *ædiculæ* on the front, and basing his classification rather upon the form of the capital alone, he finds that several additions can be made. Such are the two sarcophagi already mentioned,—the example of Torre Nova and its sister sarcophagus from Megiste in Athens,—both of which are of the usual Greek type, decorated on all four sides with a figured frieze, and differing from the Roman frieze sarcophagi by the use of profiled cornice and podium, as well as the architectonic marking of the corners by colonnettes or pilasters. Both these sarcophagi, however, show affinity with the series under discussion by the use, on the pilasters, of the capital with double volute and sharply notched acanthus leaves like those, for instance,

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of the Sardis sarcophagus, and the Torre Nova example is still more closely allied to the type by the twisted colonnettes which replace the corner pilasters on the front, and by the appearance on the upper sima of the colouristic Lesbian cymation found throughout the group. The podium, moreover, displays a "wilted" palmette design exactly corresponding to the ornament of the cornice sima which is found in nearly every early member of the series.

This shows that the output of our ateliers was not confined to the arch-and-gable type, and Weigand has found the capital which identifies a member of the series on a sarcophagus of the British Museum (*ill. 92*), with the Labours of Herakles represented in a colonnade bearing a horizontal entablature, broken out above the second and fourth of the five intercolumniations to form *aediculae*. Another sarcophagus of similar composition is hesitantly assigned to the series by Weigand. It is now dismembered; its front, with figures of Apollo, three Muses, and three male figures, is on the steps of Araceli in Rome, while the lateral faces, with figures of Herakles, Dionysos, and a bacchante, are in the Villa Mattei. Its capitals are not of the double volute type, but those of the lateral faces are similar, save in the omission of the echinus, to the capitals which surmount the spiral colonnettes on the front of the sarcophagus of Torre Nova. The architectural composition of the portion at Araceli is however fundamentally different from that of the Asiatic sarcophagi, consisting of an applied order with horizontal entablatures framing seven arched niches. The Mattei fragments themselves afford no cogent reason for attaching this sarcophagus to the series, and Robert (*Sarkophagreliefs*, III, no. 141) has found reason to think that the figures are imitated from statues at Rome.

Lastly, we find the tell-tale double volute and the notched leaves on a series of sarcophagi at Rome (*ills. 82-86*), with front displaying an arcade of five arches, viz., a sarcophagus in the Villa Borghese; a fragment in the Giardino della Pigna of the Vatican; and the well-known example of the Palazzo Torlonia,—all decorated with the Labours of Herakles. Weigand mentions "certain indications" of western influence in the decoration of this trio, and the specific example thereof which he gives consists of the use on the back of the Borghese example of the Lesbian cymation with the "tulip" form of the inner leaf, a motif not used in the eastern examples of the moulding. But Weigand failed to observe that the portion of the sarcophagus which displays this western form has been restored, and wrongly, since the correct Asiatic form is found on the original moulding of the last two bays and a half of the front, so that we may without reserve assign the sarcophagus and its mate of the Vatican and the Palazzo Torlonia to the Asiatic source indicated by the capitals, the spiral colonnettes, and other details. Of the three, the Torlonia example furnishes the most decisive parallel with our Asiatic series in the close resemblance of the couch-lid (*putti*, bands, *fulcra*) to those of the sarcophagi of Melfi and Sardis, and in the similarity of the palmette which decorates its cornice and podium.

The expansion of the series thus effected by Weigand, including sarcophagi of evident affinity of technique, but displaying either an uninterrupted frieze, or horizontal entablature *en ressaut*, or arcade of five arches, instead of the usual gabled and arched *aediculae*, is only one of the important contributions made by him to the study of the

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series. He was also the first to see the significance of the different forms assumed by the acanthus bell in the capitals of the series. This had been noticed by Strzygowski (*J. H. S.* 1907, p. 107), but had been explained as due only to difference in date. Weigand sees in the difference rather the mark of distinction of ateliers, and assigns all the examples which show chisel-technique and the sharply notched leaves in the capital (as on the sarcophagus of Sardis) to Lydia, since four of them have been found there,—an hypothesis which needs, so far as the locality is concerned, the further support which I hope to furnish later on.

This leaves the majority of the series to be assigned to another atelier, which Weigand does not attempt to localize; what evidence there is for this center will be set forth in a subsequent section. But his example in expanding the "Lydian" group of the Asiatic sarcophagi by the addition of examples with a different system of decoration but identical technique, has been followed by Stohlman with reference to the non-Lydian portion of the series (*American Journal of Archaeology* 1921, p. 223 ff.). Stohlman has isolated another sub-group, which shows its connection with the series as a whole by the characteristic double volute of the capital, but is allied in the colouristic handling of the leaves to the Sidamara sarcophagus and its congeners, and by a further peculiarity found on the back of the Sidamara sarcophagus itself, namely the foliate filling of the spandrels between the arches. These sarcophagi (*ills.* 79, 81, 87–89, 90, 93, 94), like those of the last of the three varieties added by Weigand to the "Lydian" sub-group, have an arcade of five arches on the front, with the exception of two late examples, wherein the central gable of the three-aediculae type is united to the lateral arches to form a continuous arcade without the intervention of the unpedimented intermediate bays, and also without the impost-block which crowns the capitals of the three-aediculae form. Stohlman's sub-group consists of a fragmentary sarcophagus front at Bari, a fragment in the Metropolitan Museum of New York (said to be from Asia Minor), a sarcophagus with figures of the Muses and two poets formerly in the Villa Mattei at Rome, another similar example in the British Museum, and the two late examples mentioned at Concordia and the Villa Ludovisi. Of these, the last-mentioned pair had already been connected with the Asiatic series by Strzygowski (*Orient oder Rom?*, 1901), but the other examples are practically fresh acquisitions. The establishment of this new sub-group, with the demonstration of its relation to the series, has rounded out our material and made easier the classification of the new finds which in course of time will inevitably be added to the various categories of the Asiatic series.

Stohlman's group received an addition in the fragment of the Berlin Museum, published by Wulff in *Amtliche Berichte*, XXXV, 1914 (cols. 237–8). This fragment belonged to a sarcophagus of the type of the Mattei example, and contains a muse which is obviously related to the series found on the Mattei sarcophagus and its sister in the British Museum. The recent publication of one of the Tyre fragments (by Mme. Denyse le Lasseur in *Syria*, 1922) shows that it too belongs to Stohlman's type.

Another important contribution to the series was made by Dr. John Shapley of Brown University in *Art Bulletin*, (V, 1923; pp. 61–75). Shapley in this article gives what is prac-

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tically their first publication to the front and back of the important sarcophagus of the Sidamara type, whose lateral faces are in the Louvre. The Louvre fragments, brought from the Borghese collection at Rome, have long been known: the long sides, "skied" on the walls of the Museo Borghese at Rome, have almost entirely escaped the notice of students. Shapley's article, besides giving an excellent publication of the trough thus reconstituted,—the earliest example, with the Richmond fragments, of the "Sidamara" type of Asiatic sarcophagi,—contributes also some valuable suggestions as to the technique of the Sidamara sarcophagi, and the manner of their distribution, to which reference will be made hereafter.

The present writer has published preliminary notes on the series in the form of a brief article for the *Art Bulletin*, (IV, 1921; pp. 64–70) on the "Origin of the Asiatic Sarcophagi," and a note on the chronology of the series in the *American Journal of Archaeology* (1923, pp. 69–70).

Rizzo, Weigand, Stohlman and Shapley have all accepted the Asiatic origin of the series as a whole, and I think that Strzygowski's contention is to that extent accepted by all students of the question today. Wulff in his *Altchristliche und Byzantinische Kunst* (Burger, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* Vol. I, 1914, p. 170) has also accepted this view in assigning the Asiatic sarcophagi to a center in northern Asia Minor.

The above commentary on the bibliography of the subject includes the most important contributions to date; the reader can find further bibliography in Mendel's *Catalogue* (p. 314), and in the catalogue of the series contained in Chapter V of this monograph. This catalogue is arranged alphabetically according to the provenance of the examples, so far as this can be ascertained, giving first the sarcophagi of the principal type with three aediculae, impost-blocks, and intermediate unpedimented bays, and then the additional categories which we owe to Weigand and Stohlman. Nine numbers (exclusive of Shapley's discovery of the missing portions of the Borghese-Louvre sarcophagus) have been added to the previous lists: a corner fragment from Alashehr (Philadelphia Lydiae), a fragment from Eskishehr (Dorylaion) in Berlin, a fragment in the Stamboul gate at Isnik (Nicaea) cited by Wulff, the Sardis sarcophagus itself, the sarcophagus of Ste-Marie-du-Zit noticed by Weigand, the fragment of a Muse-sarcophagus at Berlin, and three numbers whose connection with the series has not hitherto been recognized, viz., a fragment at Myra, and two couch-lids, one at Sagalassos, and the other discovered at Torre Nova in 1903. Where there is evidence that the fragments in any one place belonged to the same sarcophagus, they are listed under a single number; where doubt thereof exists, they are listed separately. The inconsistency in the matter of the use of ancient names of places along with the modern designations will be pardoned in the interest of clearness, for I have used in each case the place-name that has been attached to the example by previous writers, in order to facilitate identification.

It will be apparent from the illustrations accompanying this catalogue that the series divides into two sections, in one of which we find a more robust handling of the ornament, in the other one much looser and more colouristic. The sarcophagi of the first class, to which our Sardis example belongs, include those which Weigand has assigned to

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Lydia; those of the second resemble in all essentials the Sidamara sarcophagus in the Ottoman Museum. I hope to show later sufficient reason for accepting Weigand's guess of the Lydian origin of the first class as a certainty; the center of production of the examples of the second class is less clear. The technique of each example in the catalogue, if it could be certified, is accordingly indicated as either "Lydian" or "Sidamara" as it is found to belong to the first class or to that of the Sidamara sarcophagus.

The Lydian sarcophagi show far more use of the chisel than do the Sidamara examples; this is seen particularly in the capitals, whose leaves are separately carved by the Lydian sculptors, while the sculptors of the Sidamara sarcophagi merely indicate an impressionistic foliage with the drill. The drill is indeed the Sidamara tool *par excellence*, and to its over-use can be ascribed the quasi-disappearance of the traditional mouldings in a confused foliation of no definite design, with only an ove or leaf here and there to remind one of the original ornament. The same vague lace-work also supplants the palmette ornament of the simas which is so characteristic of the Lydian group. In addition to these most obvious differences, the two groups are distinguished by separate conceptions of architectural proportion, composition, and logic, and also by distinctive sets of figure-types.

Detailed description is given in the case of the better preserved representatives of each class, so that the reader may gain a clear idea of the distinction between the two manners; the descriptions elsewhere are merely summary, save of examples hitherto unconnected with the group, or insufficiently described in previous publications.

CHAPTER V

CATALOGUE OF THE ASIATIC SARCOPHAGI

A. PRINCIPAL TYPE, WITH THREE AEDICULAE

ADALIA (Attalia, Pamphylia). Two fragments. Photographs of the Russian Archaeological Institute in Constantinople; Mendel, *Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines* (Musées impériaux ottomans), I, p. 312, nos. 32-33; Kgl. Museen zu Berlin, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen*, III, 1 (Wulff), p. 15. Male and female figure flanking tomb-portal.

ALASHEIR (Philadelphia Lydiae) (*ill. 18.*). Corner fragment, said to come from Jaijar, near Alkan. Keil & von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine IIIe Reise in Lydien* (Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, phil-hist. Klasse, 57, 1), p. 15, figs. 8-9. Left terminal aedicula of long side with figure of youth in chiton and chlamys, with long hair falling on shoulders; right terminal unpedimented bay of lateral face, with similar figure in chiton and himation, holding rotulus in left hand. Sidamara technique.

ALTYNTASH (valley of): now in museum of Brussa (*ill. 19.*). Fragment, broken below, comprising left half of long side, and one figure of adjoining lateral face. Height, 0.98; width, 1.52; depth, 0.20. White marble. Muñoz, *L'Arte*, 1906, p. 131, fig. 1; Strzygowski, *J. II. S.* 1907, p. 106; Mendel, *B. C. H.* 1909, p. 329, fig. 41. *Long side:* (1) Erato (identified doubtfully with Polymnia by Mendel; the figure reproduces the type of Erato on Rome I and J); (2) Euterpe, costumed like Melpomene in Rome I and J (*ills. 87, 90*), holding flute in right hand; (3) Melpomene (?) so Mendel, but the figure closely resembles in costume and otherwise the Thalia of Rome I and J; see *ills. 87* and *90*), holding mask in right hand; the last two mentioned, according to Mendel, are almost exactly reproduced on an unpublished Hellenistic sarcophagus of Aphrodisias. *Lateral face:* Herakles, wearing mantle, seated on rock spread with lion's skin, holding club in right hand; mistaken for female figure by Muñoz. Details of description and preservation are given by Mendel, who dates in the first half of the third century. Sidamara technique. [Note: Muñoz reproduces as belonging to the sarcophagus the lower portion of a lid, showing a bead-and-reel above the sima; this is omitted in Mendel's reproduction and description.]

ATHENS A. Exact provenance unknown; now in the National Museum. Three fragments belonging to one sarcophagus. Sidamara technique. 1. (*ill. 20.*). Broken at right and below; left end (about two-thirds) of lateral face. H. 0.69; W. 0.80. Mendel, *B. C. II.* 1902, p. 235, no. 2a, fig. 9. Standing youth in chiton, chlamys and boots, holding shield in left hand; youth similarly dressed mounted on rearing horse, holding long spear in right hand; a dog appears beneath the horse. 2. (*ill. 21.*). Broken at sides; left end of lateral face whose central aedicula was occupied by tomb-portal. H. 0.82; W. 0.32. Mendel, *ibid.* p. 236, no. 2b, fig. 10. Standing female figure, in chiton, and himation veiling head, with extended left hand which probably held plate of offerings (broken), conducting ox to sacrifice (head broken). 3. (*ill. 22.*). Perhaps the figure on the other side of the tomb-portal, and pendant to preceding. Mendel, *ibid.* no. 2c. Standing bearded figure in chiton and himation holding rotulus in left hand; replica of right terminal figure of right lateral face of Selefkeh (*ill. 63.*). Mendel (*B. C. H.* 1909, p. 334, nos. 19-21) suggests that this figure may be identical with the statuette found in the excavations of the west slope of the Akropolis (Watzinger, *Ath. Mitt.* 1901, p. 316, no. 9); he dates Athens A immediately after Isnik A (*B. C. II.* 1902, p. 237; see *ill. 33.*).

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ATHENS B. Exact provenance unknown; now in the National Museum. Two fragments of a single sarcophagus, somewhat larger than the preceding. Sidamara technique. 1. (*ill. 23.*) Broken at sides. H. 0. 97. Mendel, *B. C. H.* 1902, p. 236, fig. 11. Standing youth in himation leaving right shoulder and breast (to waist) bare; holds rotulus in left hand. 2. (*ill. 24.*) Figure of young woman draped in himation, with fragment of spiral colonnette to right. [NOTE: Mendel, in his list *B. C. H.* 1909, p. 334, nos. 19–21, mentions *three* sarcophagi to which the preceding five fragments are said to belong; this is apparently an inadvertence due to the numeration employed in the original description *B. C. H.* 1902].

CONSTANTINOPLE (Sulu Monastir); now in the Berlin Museum (*ill. 25.*). Fragment broken right, left, and below; right lateral face of sarcophagus which was undecorated on posterior face. H. 1. 42; W. 1. 24; D. (at cornice) 0.19. Proconnesian marble. Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom?* p. 40, pl. 11; Kgl. Museen zu Berlin, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der chr. Epochen*, III, 1 (Wulff), no. 26. Christ in chiton and himation, beardless and wearing crossed nimbus, standing in the central aedicula (gabled); a beardless apostle in similar costume, holding codex in both hands, stands in the intercolumniation at either side. The architectural composition is that of the left lateral face of Sidamara with the following differences: conch omitted from gable; composite capitals, with very thin echinus, and a new leaf-arrangement which suppresses the front leaf of the capital, its place being taken by the junction of the two lateral leaves; Lydian technique in capitals; Sidamara technique in impost-blocks.

³) DENIZLI A. From Denizli (near Laodicea Phrygiae); now in Louvre (Salle Magnésie du Méandre) (*ill. 26.*). Left portion of lateral face, broken below and to right. H. 0. 66; W. 0. 48. Crystalline marble (Muñoz, *N. Bull. arch. crist.* 1905, p. 84). E. Michon, *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist.* 1906, p. 86, fig. 6. Camillus in girdled chiton, conducting ox to sacrifice, holding plate of offerings in left hand; portion of tomb-portal to right. On cornice to left, a lion devouring a beast; above the head of the camillus, a sea-monster (?). Lydian technique.

¹) DENIZLI B. Provenance and present location as above (*ill. 27.*). Corner fragment, broken below and to left, with upper portion of third figure of a lateral face. H. 0. 38; W. 0. 36. Crystalline marble (Muñoz, *l. c.*). Michon, *l. c.* p. 84, fig. 4. Head and portion of the bust of a youth, wearing chlamys clasped on left shoulder; on cornice to right, lion devouring beast. Muñoz (*l. c.* p. 84) assigns A and B to the same sarcophagus; Michon (*l. c.* p. 84, note 3) states that the measurements do not permit this. Lydian technique.

DENIZLI C. Provenance and present location as above (*ill. 28.*). Fragment of aedicula broken all round. H. 0. 60; W. 0. 35. Crystalline marble (Muñoz, *l. c.*). Michon, *l. c.* p. 85, fig. 5. Youth wearing himation draped to leave breast and right shoulder bare; right hand lifted to chin, left hand holding rotulus. Sidamara technique.

ESKISHEHR A. At Eskishehr (Dorylaion) (*ill. 29.*). Fragment, broken left, below, and above to right, of right terminal aedicula of long side. Radet, *En Phrygie (Now. Arch. des Missions*, VI, 1895), p. 585 ff., fig 8.; Michon, *l. c.* pp. 88–89. Diocorus, in girdled chiton and chlamys clasped on left shoulder, holding protome of horse with left hand. Mistaken by Radet for a stele. Sidamara technique.

ESKISHEHR B. From Eskishehr (Dorylaion); now in Berlin Museum (Inv. 1481). Fragments of a marble sarcophagus. "Unterteil einer Nische mit den Füssen der darin stehenden Figur, der Basis und dem Anfang des Schaftes einer gedrehten Säule, Stücke vom oberen, muschelförmigen Abschluss einer Nische mit dem Säulenkapitell und einem von einem Stier überfallenen Löwen als Akrotergruppe, drei Oberschenkel, eine rechte Hand mit Kanne, Hinterkopf und Oberkopf eines Mannes mit poliertem Gesicht. Die Arbeit zeigt alle charakt. Eigentümlichkeiten der von Stry. (O. o. R. 45 ff.) zusammengestellten Sarkophaggruppe des IV. Jahr. n. Chr." (*Jb. arch. Inst.* 1903, Anzeiger, p. 38, no. 32).

? FLORENCE, cortile of Palazzo Riccardi; formerly on the steps of S. Giovanni, and near the



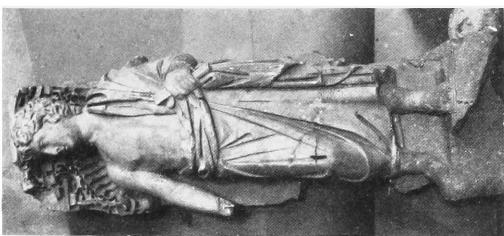
19. Fragment of sarcophagus from Magnesia; seated Heracles and Muses



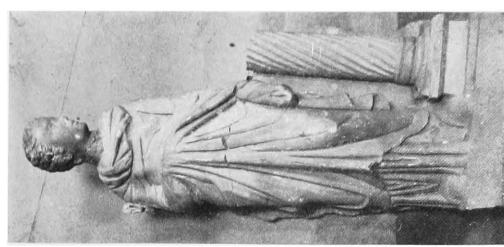
20. Athens, National Museum; fragment of sarcophagus with hunting-scene
(Athens A)



21. Athens, National Museum;
fragment of sarcophagus
(Athens D)



22. Athens, National Museum,
fragment of sarcophagus
(Athens A)



23. Athens, National Museum;
fragment of sarcophagus
(Athens B)



25. Berlin, Museum; fragment of sarcophagus from Sulu-Monastir;
Christ and apostles (Constantinople-Berlin)



26. Paris, Louvre; fragment of sarcophagus (Denizli A)



27. Paris, Louvre; fragment of sarcophagus (Denizli B)



28. Paris, Louvre; fragment of sarcophagus
(Denizli C)

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Campanile (ill. 102). Complete sarcophagus with few restorations (legs of the Dioscuri and right front corner of the lid), but the faces of the figures have weathered almost beyond recognition. The lid is of differently coloured marble than the trough, and shows slight discrepancies in measurement, which led Dütschke to suppose that it belonged to another sarcophagus; Reinach admits it as the original lid. II. I. 17; W. 2. 38; D. I. 24. The material is a matter of dispute, Strzygowski maintaining that the marble is crystalline, "also nicht italienisch," while the analysis of the R. Opificio delle Pietre dure at Florence, quoted by Muñoz, reports that the marble seems to be Parian or Pentelic, but might be a Maremma variety. Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien* II, no. 105, and the earlier bibliography there given; Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom?* p. 52 ff.; *Byz. Zeit.* X, 1901, p. 726; Th. Reinach, *Mon. Piot*, IX, pp. 210, 212 (note 3), 214, 216; Altmann, *Architektur und Ornamentik der antiken Sarkophage*, p. 55; Muñoz, *N. Bull. arch. crist.* 1905, p. 96 ff.; Wulff, *Altchr. und Byz. Kunst*, I, p. 170; Rizzo, *Röm. Mitt.* 1910, p. 99.

Ornament. The lid is decorated with imbrications, and at the corners with round projections faced with an acanthus leaf returning upward toward the top. The lowest member is profiled as a sima with in- and out-rolled palmettes of Asiatic technique, but with the out-rolled palmettes inverted as in Rome G (Torlonia) (ill. 83.), and with no drill-holes. Below this is a row of widely spaced dentils. The back of the coffin is not decorated, and the architectural treatment is limited to the front, where we have the usual three aediculae, supported on spirally fluted colonnettes with double volutes in the capitals, bearing an impost with double profile whose ornament is handled in the Sidamara technique, and continued as the entablature of the wall between the aediculae; the colonnettes rest on Attic bases of the usual type save that the lower torus is thicker than in other examples. The customary conches appear in the pediments, and bulls are used as corner acroteria, felled by lions rendered in return on the lateral cornice. We find also the half-palmettes employed as the acroteria for the central pointed pediment, and the egg-and-dart in the cornices of the aediculae.

Thus far the ornament noted is similar to that of the Asiatic series, but other details show considerable divergence from the regular repertoire. The pediments, for instance, have simas decorated with a foliate undulating stem of a sort not found elsewhere in the series except in Rome C (Galleria Lapidaria), which has a similar motif with feathered half-palmettes (ill. 54.), and acroteria very closely resembling those of the Riccardi sarcophagus. The inner acroteria of the terminal pediments consist of seated putti, much mutilated, apparently holding fruit in the sinus of their chlamydes, and the pediments themselves are markedly steeper than is the case elsewhere in the series, so that the usual empty spaces in the corners between conch and cornice, which the Asiatic sculptors relieved with drill-holes, do not appear, the pitch of conch and pediment being practically the same. Stranger variations are found in the connecting of the pediments with very Roman looking garlands, in the elliptical leaves of the capitals, frequent in western sarcophagi but not found in the series elsewhere, and the curious dissection of the podium into a series of pedestals beneath the stylobate on which the figures stand (with low plinths added beneath the aediculae). These pedestals correspond in width to the portions they support, narrow under the colonnettes, wider under the lateral aediculae and intercolumniations, and wider still beneath the central aedicula, which is distinctly broader than the lateral ones. Leafy twigs decorate the narrow pedestals, a garland supported by two bucrania is found on those under the lateral aediculae, and a conventional laurel garland under the unpedimented spaces, banded at the left, plain at the right; on the pedestal of the central aedicula is a garland supported in the beaks of pair of eagles.

Figured Decoration. Front: (1) Dioscurus standing, nude save for chlamys clasped on right shoulder and draped over breast and back, and sword belt from which sword hangs on left

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thigh, wearing *pileus* and holding with left hand the bridle of his horse (head broken off), which is turned inward; beneath the figure reclines Gaia, wearing wreath in her hair, holding cornucopia in left hand, with right hand broken, and a fragment of an animal at her feet; (2) female figure (wife) standing, dressed in chiton, and himation veiling head, right arm enveloped in mantle, left broken off; (3) in central aedicula the married pair, with the wife to left in chiton, and himation veiling head and pulled forward with left hand; to the right the husband in tunic, toga and shoes, with right arm broken, and rotulus in left hand; traces remain of the feet of a small Eros who stood between the pair; (4) in the unpedimented bay to the right the husband appears again as imperator in cuirass, military boots, and paludamentum clasped on right shoulder and draped over right shoulder and arm; (5) in the terminal aedicula to right stands a Dioscurus, draped as before, and with the same disposition of the horse; under him is the reclining figure of a bearded Okeanos, with rudder in right hand, an indeterminate object in the left, and a swan at his feet.

Lateral Faces: *Left:* the husband again in costume of imperator, standing on suggestus, holding scabbard containing sword in his left hand and extending the right toward a barbarian captive wearing Phrygian cap, trousers and shoes, who bends before the imperator with his hands bound in a chain held by a soldier who stands behind him; *right*, a victimarius leading a bull to sacrifice.

On the authority of Carl Robert (quoted by Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom?* p. 53), the sarcophagus has been dated in the Antonine period, but Rizzo inclines to the beginning of the third century; for the further discussion of this date, and the necessity of excluding the Riccardi sarcophagus from the purely Asiatic series, see p. 57 ff. Lydian? and Sidamara technique.

FUGLA (near Isinda). Fragment of marble sarcophagus, with remains of two standing figures, one on either side of a spirally fluted colonnette. Woodward, *Annual of Brit. School Athens*, 1909–1910, p. 85, and note 3: “to left: draped female figure turned half-left; head and right arm missing; left arm supported across breast in fold of veil which presumably covered the head as well; l. knee bent, weight being entirely on right leg. To right: draped male figure turned three-quarter right; left side broken away and head missing; long chiton reaching to the feet, over which is thrown a mantle which passes around the waist in heavy horizontal folds; right hand (missing) rested on hip.”

HIERAPOLIS PHRYGIAE (Pambouk-Kalesi) A, north necropolis (ill. 30.). Fragment of couchlid, broken above, and to left and right. H. 0. 95; W. 2. 30. Winter, *Altertümer von Hierapolis* (*Jb. arch. Inst.*, *Ergänzungsheft IV*), p. 65, fig. 14; Laborde, *Voyage en Asie Mineure*, pl. xxxviii. Reclining headless figures of married pair, husband resting right hand on wife's shoulder and holding rotulus in left; wife holds hypothymis (?) in her right hand, and a fold of her himation in the left, draped over the front of the mattress; couch decorated with garlands; animals, birds, and a fragmentary putto stand on the couch rail. Sidamara technique.

HIERAPOLIS B. Same location (ill. 31.). Trough decorated on all four sides, and broken above. W. 2. 30. Laborde, *l. c.*; Winter, *ibid.* p. 65, fig. 15. “Mann auf sprengendem Ross, von einem Hund begleitet, die Rechte zum Stoss gegen einen heranstürmenden Eber erhebend . . . Die rechts und links anschliessenden vier Nischen sind mit je einer ruhig dastehenden männlichen Figur gefüllt. Die linke Nebenseite des Sarkophags zeigt einen entsprechenden Säulenbau und, zwischen den Säulen stehend, in der Mitte eine Frau und zwei Männer ihr zu Seite. Gegenüber sieht man ein Opfergerät in einer Nische, die oben mit einem spitzen, einen Rundbogen einschliessenden Giebel abschliesst, und zwei Frauen, von denen die rechts eine Schale, die links eine Traube hält. Auf der noch schlechter als die übrigen Teile erhaltenen Rückseite stehen fünf Figuren in Nischen, in der Mitte ein gerüsteter Mann mit Szepter oder Speer in der Rechten, daneben beiderseits eine Frau mit Schleier und weiterhin in den



29. *Eskishehr, fragment of sarcophagus (Eskishehr A)*



30. *Hierapolis; sarcophagus-lid (Hierapolis A)*



31. *Hierapolis; long side of sarcophagus (Hierapolis B)*

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letzten Nischen rechts eine ruhig stehende, ein Szepter haltende Frau, links eine nach der Mitte zu eilende weibliche Figur, der in der raschen Bewegung der Mantel am rechten Schenkel auseinandergeschlagen ist, vielleicht eine Nike" (Winter). Discrepancy of measurement prevents assignment of A and B to same sarcophagus. Sidamara technique.

ISMID (Nicomedia). Now in the Ottoman Museum, Constantinople (*ill. 32.*). Corner fragment, retaining two figures of a long side and one of a lateral face. H. 1. 17; W. 0. 835; D. 1. 21. White marble, with uniform tinting of reddish brown. Muñoz, *L'Arte*, 1906, p. 131, fig. 3; Strzygowski, *J. H.* 8. 1907, p. 102; Mendel, *Cat.*, no. 20. *Long side*: standing female figure in chiton, and himation veiling head; standing winged Eros, nude save for chlamys clasped on right shoulder and draped over left shoulder and arm, holding torch (broken) in right hand; on cornice a putto playing with a goat (repeated on Selefkeh), and a stag devoured by lion represented in return on cornice of lateral face; on the face of the cornice above the sima, a frieze of bucrania and garlands.

Lateral Face: standing male figure in chiton and himation; indications of tomb-portal with altar in central aedicula; feet of male figure which occupied the terminal bay to the right. Details of preservation and description given by Mendel. Lydian technique.

ISNIK (Nicaea) A (*ill. 33.*). Fragment walled in a house in the Street of the Greeks, consisting of the pediment of the central aedicula of a long side with the mutilated bust of a draped figure. H. 0. 34; W. 0. 68. Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom?* p. 45, fig. 13. Lydian technique? (see pp. 76 and 83).

ISNIK B (*ill. 34.*). Fragment of lateral face walled in the Stamboul gate, broken left and right, but retaining all three figures. Laborde, *Voyage*, plate opp. p. 39, no. 3; Wulff, *Altchr. und Byz. Kunst I*, p. 172, fig. 162. (1) Standing male figures in chiton and himation, with mutilated face; (2) headless female figure, standing in the gabled central aedicula, dressed in chiton girdled at the waist, and himation, with right arm raised, and the left extended (forearms broken). Conches above the lateral bays. Wulff dates close to Constantinople (Berlin), but the technique indicates a much earlier period. Lydian technique.

KASSABA (Lydia) (*ill. 35.*). Fragment "jetzt mit der Reliefseite nach unten vor der Tür zur Kirche des gr. Spitäles 'Hagios Nikolaus'", broken below and to right and left, retaining figure of an unpendedent bay of a long side, and portions of the terminal aedicula to the left and the central gabled aedicula to the right. H. 1. 12; W. 0. 068; D. 0. 185. Bluish marble. Keil & von Premerstein, *Bericht über eine He Reise in Lydien* (Denkschr. Wiener Akad. phil.-hist. Kl. 54, II) p. 4, fig. 1. Mutilated standing figure of a winged Eros. Carved bosses on the pedestals of the colonnettes. Keil and von Premerstein note that the back bears an Armenian inscription showing that the fragment was used as a grave-stone in the Armenian cemetery. Lydian technique.

KONIEH (Iconium); Museum. 1. (*ill. 36.*). Long side of large sarcophagus found in pieces in the city wall; bluish marble. Ainalov, *Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Art* (Russian), p. 163, fig. 31; Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom?* p. 49, fig. 17. (1) Achilles seated, right, wearing chlamys clasped on right shoulder; (2) Thetis standing, facing left, wearing chiton and himation and holding Achilles' helmet in her hands; (3) beardless standing figure in cuirass and paludamentum, holding spear (broken) in right hand; (4) beardless figure in chiton and chlamys clasped on right shoulder, moving right; (5) headless male figure moving right, in chiton and chlamys clasped on right shoulder. Regarded by Strzygowski as co-eval with Selefkeh. Sidamara technique. 2-3. (*ill. 37.*). Two fragments of the same sarcophagus H. 1. 0. Mendel, *B. C. H.* 1902, p. 225, no. 4, figs. 4-5. Sidamara technique. 2. Broken to right and left. Diocorus, with legs broken away from above the knee, wearing chlamys clasped on right shoulder, holding fragmentary protome of horse by bridle in right hand, and lifting left; female figure standing, dressed in chiton and himation. 3. Broken at upper left and lower

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right corners. Female figure standing, dressed as preceding; Dioscurus, as above, standing, legs broken below knee, holding with left hand the bridle of a fragmentary protome of a horse.

Strzygowski gives the provenance as Eski-Bedestan, while Mendel records the sarcophagus, in his catalogue of the Konieh museum (*B. C. H.* l. c.) as "trouvé en morceaux dans le mur d'enceinte de la ville."

KUTAYA (Kottyalon); now in the museum at Brussa (*ill. 38.*). Fragment, broken to left, right and below, of a lateral face, retaining the mutilated upper portions of the figure in the central aedicula and the unpedimented bay to the right. H. 0. 43; W. 0. 67; D. 0. 18. White marble. Mendel, *B. C. H.* 1909, p. 332, no. 83, fig. 42. Beardless figure, broken away from the waist down, in himation leaving the breast and right shoulder bare; male figure with mutilated head, similarly broken, in himation draped over both shoulders, leaving bare the center of the breast. Sidamara technique.

MELFI, cortile of Palazzo pubblico (*ills. 39–41.*). Found in 1856 at Alberi in Piano, near the old Via Appia, c. 12 km. from Venusia, between Venosa and Melfi. Complete sarcophagus, save for minor mutilations described in detail by Delbrueck, to whom the reader is also referred for details of description. H. 1. 66; W. 2. 64; D. 1. 24. The marble "scheint pentelisch zu sein" (Delbrueck). Delbrueck, *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1913, pp. 277–308 (*Ant. Denk.* III, pls. 22–24), and bibliography there given; Weigand, *ibid.* 1914, p. 73 ff. I give a summary description, naming the long sides "front" and "back," and the lateral faces "right" and "left," according to the present facing of the reclining figure on the lid; it is to be noted, however, that Shapley (*Art Bulletin*, V, 1923, p. 74) has given good reason to think that the lid is at present reversed, and that the tomb-portal should be, as is regularly the case, at the feet of the reclining figure and thus on the *left* lateral face; this would of course reverse the designations. The description given by Winter of Hierapolis B (p. 32) indicates a tomb-portal ("Opfergerät in einer Nische") on what he calls the right lateral face; if this is really the case, the designations should be reversed here also and the long side reproduced in *ill. 31* should be regarded as the back of the sarcophagus instead of the front as Winter names it.

Lid. Couch, on which reclines a female figure in chiton and himation, resting head on a bolster and cushion; the couch resembles that of Claudia's sarcophagus in mattress decoration, *fulera*, and "shin-guard," as well as in the representation of the dog at the foot of the bed, of which only the fore-paws are left; but instead of the two Erotes of the Sardis couch, there is here but one (headless), at the head of the couch, walking left with opened wings, dragging a reversed torch in the left hand and holding a garland in the right. The depression below the rail is also different, being filled here with a frieze of marine monsters. The lifting bosses and sima palmettes of the lower member of the lid are as in the Claudia sarcophagus, but Melfi replaces the dentils with a bead-and-reel.

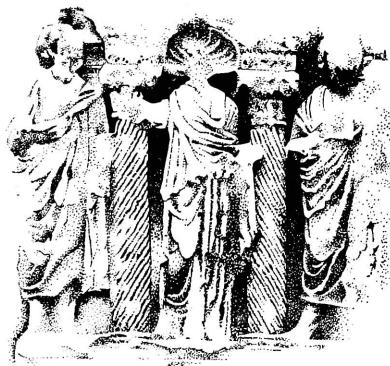
Ornament. The colonnade corresponds to that of the Claudia sarcophagus, but with the unpedimented intercolumniations equal in width to the aediculae, which on the other hand are emphasized by the projection of the podium beneath them. The entablature of the unpedimented bays curves back in a concave sense to the central aedicula, as in Denizli A, Myra A, and Sardis A. The acroteria of front and back are alike: on the corners, lions *en face* seen in profile on the lateral faces; seated griffins on the inner corners of the terminal aediculae; reclining sea monsters over the unpedimented bays; half-palmettes on the central gable as in the sarcophagus of Claudia. The same half palmettes adorn the central aediculae of the lateral faces, with dolphins between them and the corner lions. The spandrels of the conches omit the drill-holes throughout the sarcophagus. The details of the entablature and the colonnettes are identical with those of the Claudia sarcophagus, save that the capitals are



33. Isnik (Nicaea); fragment of sarcophagus (Isnik A)



32. Constantinople, Ottoman
Museum; corner-fragment
of sarcophagus (Isnik B)



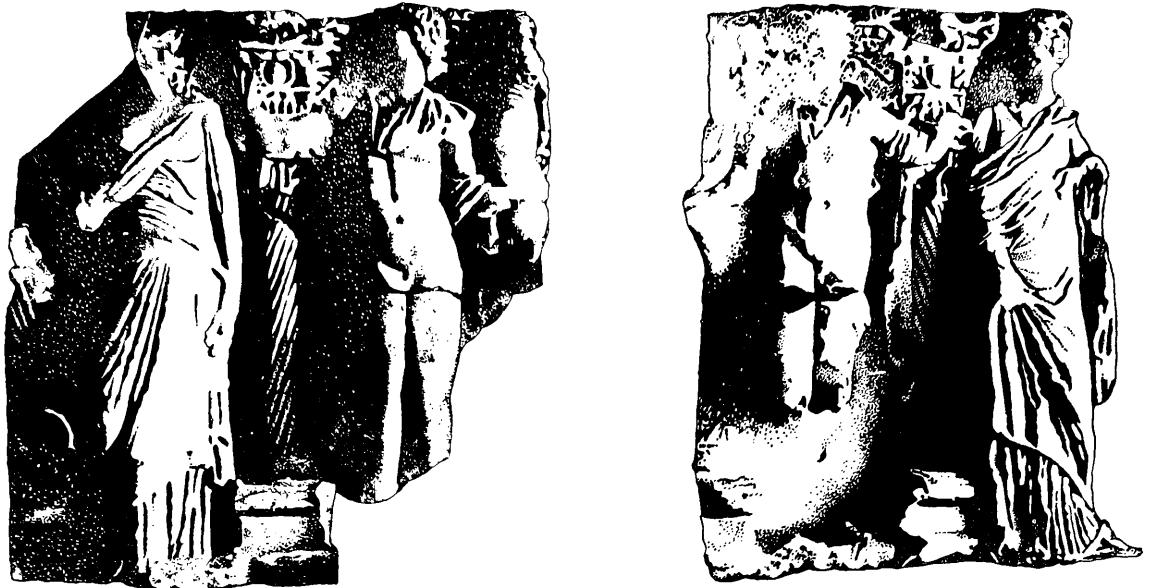
34. Isnik (Nicaea); fragment of sarcophagus
(Isnik C)



35. Kassaba, Lydia; frag-
ment of sarcophagus



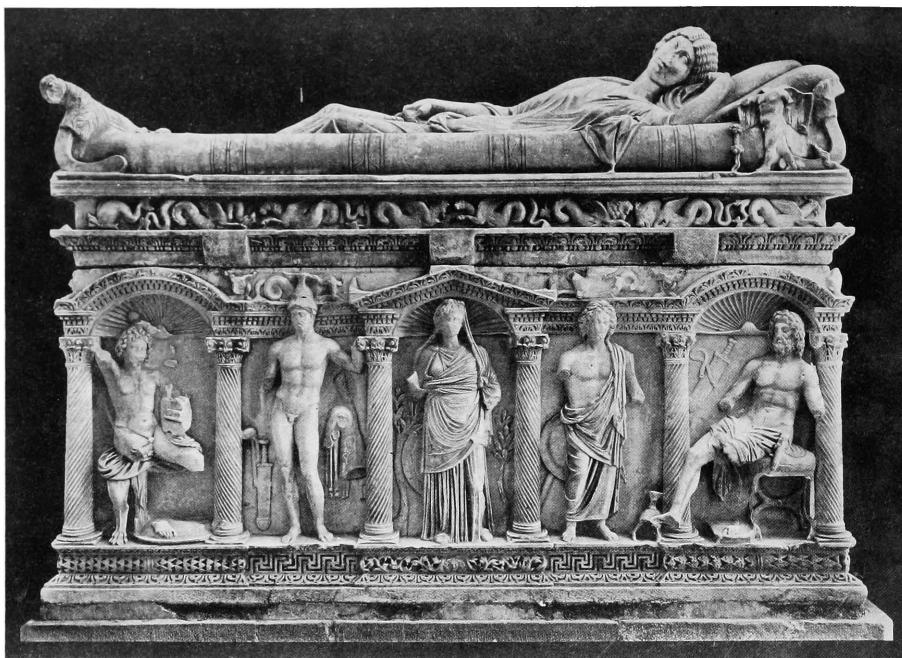
36. Konich museum; long side of sarcophagus, with Thetis arming Achilles



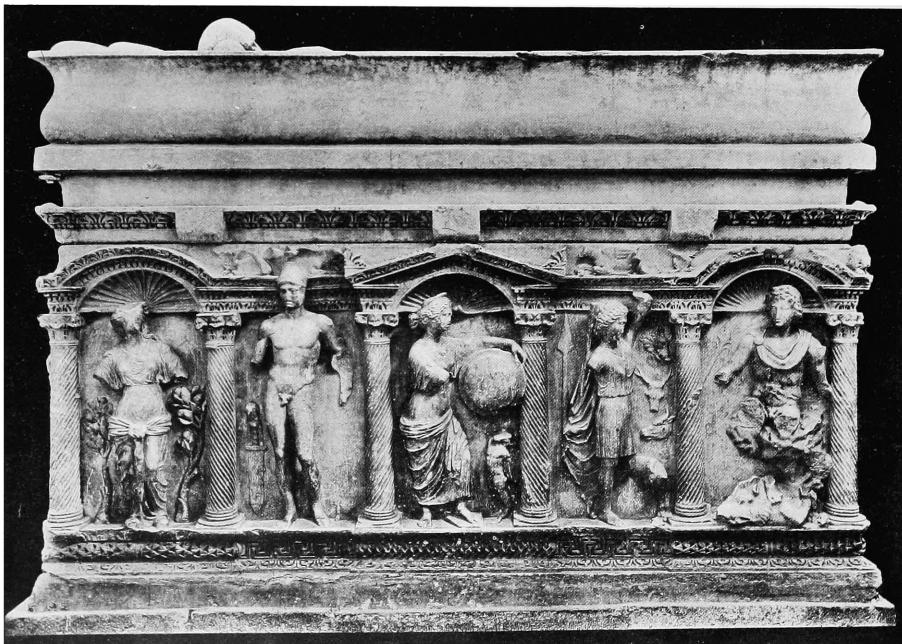
37. Konieh, museum; fragments of sarcophagus, with Dioscuri and female figures



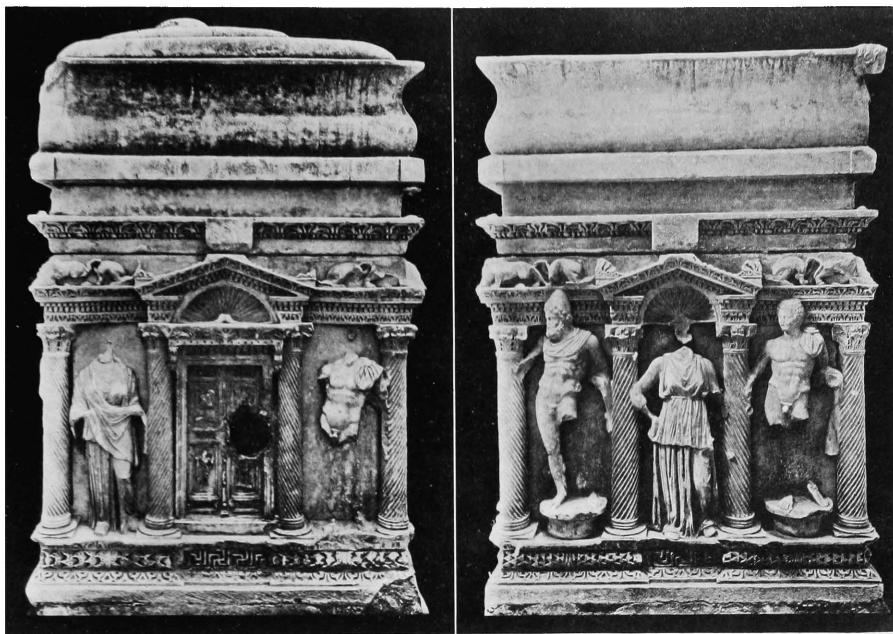
38. Brussa, museum; fragment of sarcophagus (Kutaya)



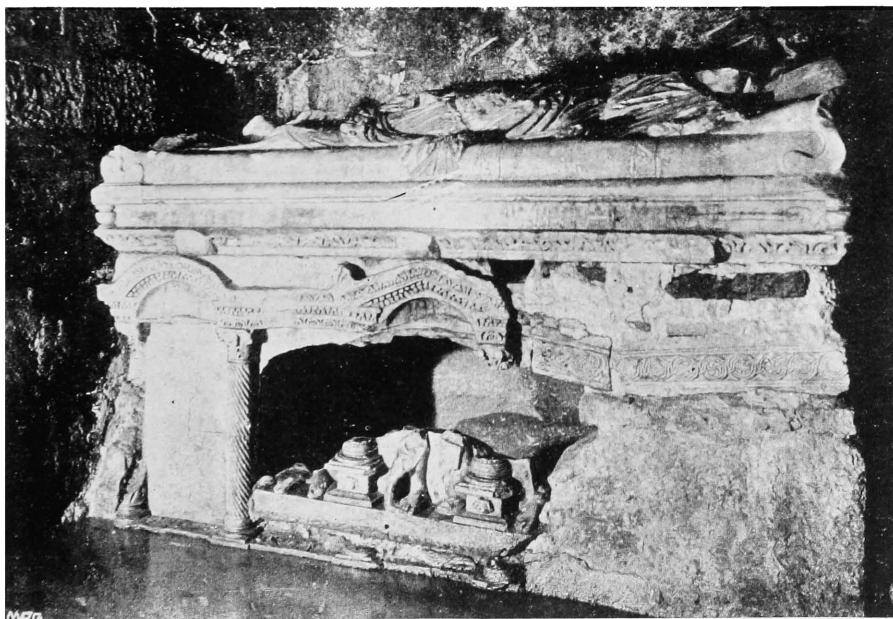
39. *Melfi, sarcophagus; long side*



40. *Melfi, sarcophagus; long side*



41. *Melfi; lateral faces of sarcophagus*



42. *Myra. Lycia; fragments of sarcophagi (Myra A and B)*

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more consistently Corinthian in canting the volutes and the returning spirals, and all four volutes spring correctly as to direction. The podium is richly decorated with sharply undercut borders: conventional garlands under the terminal bays on all the sides; rinceaux under the central aedicula of the front; a guilloche under that of the rear face; an intersecting maenander under the unpedimented bays of front and back and the central bays of the lateral faces. Above these panels runs a Lesbian cymation, and below them a cyma recta with the colouristic palmette which decorates the sima of the sarcophagus of Claudia and is repeated in Melfi in the simas of the colonnade and the lowest member of the lid.

Figured Decoration. *Front,* left to right: (1) Apollo Citharoedus, seated on draped stool, holding cithara on left thigh with left hand; (2) nude standing figure of hero wearing helmet and holding sword by strap in his right hand and a broken lance in his left, his corselet hanging on a tree-branch in the background; (3) Persephone (?), first of the "Chthonic triad," which Delbrueck sees in the three figures in bays 3, 4, 5 of the front, wearing chiton, and himation veiling head, standing before a shield which hangs between two laurel trees in the background; (4) youthful standing male divinity with bushy hair, dressed in himation leaving breast and right shoulder bare, with helmet at his feet to the right, and a shield and spear in the background to the left; (5) Hades (?) seated on faldstool, bearded, with drapery over thighs and sword hanging from a support (originally painted) in the background. *Back,* left to right: (1) female suppliant, in chiton, and himation draped about the thighs and legs, holding an olive (?) branch (now broken away, except for the tip remaining on the capital to the left; missing also are her elbow and forearm) in her left hand; (2) nude warrior wearing helmet, holding a sword by a strap in his right hand, and a lance in his left (broken away with the left forearm); (3) Aphrodite in chiton, and himation draped about the thighs and legs, wearing stephane, polishing (?) with her right hand (broken away with elbow and forearm) a shield supported by the right arm of Eros (head mutilated), who stands beneath the shield and holds a torch in his left hand; (4) Artemis, in girdled chiton, manipulating her mantle behind her in a dance, with the remains of a hound at her feet to the right, and the heads of a boar, a bull, and a stag relieved against the background to the right, balanced by a hunting spear in similar relief to the left; (5) Meleager, in chlamys clasped on right shoulder, seated on rock and resting feet on protome of Calydonian boar, with his hunting spear in relief on the background to the left.

Right Lateral Face, left to right: (1) headless female figure in chiton, and himation which probably was drawn over the head, and of which a fold is draped over the left forearm (broken); (2) tomb-portal, with four-panelled door and two consoles supporting a lintel, whose sima is decorated with three whole palmettes and two half-ones, all rolled outward, and with an undulating stem-motif on its upper face; (3) torso of Hermes, with remains of clasped chlamys on left shoulder.

Left Lateral Face, left to right: (1) Odysseus, nude save for chlamys clasped on right shoulder, standing on pedestal (left leg almost entirely gone), lifting right arm (lost) apparently in gesture of speaking; (2) Helen, whose head is destroyed except for the posterior portion, standing, wearing peplos with girdle over the diplois at the waist; (3) Diomedes, wearing chlamys clasped on left shoulder, standing on a basis similar to that of the statuette of Odysseus (legs missing from the thighs to the feet, which still remain on the pedestal), bearing object (missing) on right arm (Palladion?). Dated by Delbrueck c. 169. Lydian technique.

MYRA A. Myra, in church of Hagios Nikolaos (*ill. 42.*). Fragmentary lid and portion of long side of a sarcophagus. H. (of sarcophagus without lid) 1.10; H. of lid 0.70. Fine marble. Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, p. 336, fig. 127; Petersen & Luschan, *Reisen in Lykien*, II, p. 36. Lower part of the figures of a married pair reclining on the lid; arch and colonnette of

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left terminal aedicula; pediment of central aedicula, and adjacent concave entablature to left. "Die Nischen sind flach gearbeitet und entbehrten des gewohnten Reliefschmuckes" (Rott). Lydian technique.

MYRA B. *Ibidem*, and same bibliography (*ill. 42.*). Fragment, broken above and to left and right, of a marble sarcophagus; the upper portions are in private possession at Castel Orizo (Megiste). The fragment at Myra preserves a portion of the podium and two bases of colonnettes, adorned with carved bosses as on Kassaba. Of the figured decoration there remain: the feet of a standing figure, unshod; and the crossed lower legs and syrinx of a shepherd (?). This fragment now occupies the space left by the missing central portion of the preceding sarcophagus. Lydian technique.

RICHMOND. Doughty House, collection of Sir Frederick Cook (provenance unknown). Ten fragments of a large sarcophagus. Grey, crystalline marble. Sidamara technique. Strzygowski, *J. H. S.* 1907, p. 99 *ff.*, fig. 1 and pls. v–xii; Amelung, *Ausonia*, 1908, p. 129. Tomb-portal and standing figures.

1. (*ill. 43.*). H. 2. ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in.; W. 1 ft. Broken to right and left. Tripod table supporting lighted altar. Strzy. A.
2. (*ill. 44.*). W. 2 ft. 1 in. Broken to right and left, and below. Fragmentary left terminal aedicula of a long side. Nude youth, wearing chlamys clasped on right shoulder, with curly hair (bound with laurel ?) covering the back of the neck, holding in left hand an indeterminate object (broken), and in the right a doubled hypothymis (not a branch, as stated by Strzy.) with fruit or flowers; the legs are broken away half-way below the knee; on the cornice are fragmentary acroteria, to the left a fallen stag, to the right, Eros playing with beast (cf. Ismid, Sardis A, and Selefkeh). Strzy. B.
3. (*ill. 45.*). W. c. 16 in. Left side broken away, as well as left leg of the figure at the knee. Fragmentary central aedicula of a long side. Nude youth as before, but with no trace of leaf-crown upon the head. Strzy. C.
4. (*ill. 46.*). W. c. 16 in. Broken to left and mutilated above. Fragmentary terminal aedicula of a long side (right end). Complete figure (save for missing left arm above elbow, and right forearm), resembling 3, and wearing laurel (?) wreath on head. Strzy. D.
5. (*ill. 47.*). Broken to left. Fragmentary terminal aedicula of a long side (left end). Youth with short hair, wearing chiton and himation, of which a fold is pulled with the right hand horizontally across the lower part of the body; holds a rotulus in the left hand. Strzy. E.
6. (*ill. 48.*). W. 17 in. Broken to left and below. Fragmentary central aedicula of lateral face (from the relative narrowness of the conch). Youth with short hair, legs broken off below the knees, in chiton and himation wrapped closely about the body and arms. Strzy. F.
7. (*ill. 49.*). Broken above and to left. Fragmentary unpeditmented bay of a long side (the beginning of a pediment may be seen to the right). Female figure in chiton and himation, holding rotulus in left hand, and wrapping right hand in a fold of the himation; remains of carved acroterion representing a beast. Strzy. G.
8. (*ill. 50.*). Broken to left, right, and above. Fragmentary unpeditmented bay of a long side (too wide for a lateral face). Female figure in chiton, and himation veiling head, holding a fold of her himation in the right hand. Strzy. H.
9. (*ill. 51.*). Broken to left and below. Fragmentary unpeditmented bay of a long side (the beginning of a pediment may be seen to the right). Female figure, broken away below the knees, in chiton, and himation veiling head, holding a fold of her himation in the left hand; remains of a carved acroterion. Strzy. I (J).
10. (*ill. 44.*). Fragment comprising pedestal, base and lower portion of the shaft of a col-



43. Richmond, Cook Collection;
fragment 1



44. Richmond, Cook Collection;
fragments 2 and 10



45. Richmond, Cook Collection;
fragment 3



46. Richmond, Cook Collection,
fragment 4



47. Richmond, Cook Collection;
fragment 5



48. Richmond, Cook Collection;
fragment 6



49. Richmond, Cook Collection;
fragment 7



50. Richmond, Cook Collection;
fragment 8



51. Richmond, Cook Collection;
fragment 9

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onnette, together with a portion of the podium of the sarcophagus displaying a fragmentary foot, at present plastered in to complete 2. On the shaft and the base of the colonnette is a horse's hoof, and on the pedestal a *puntello* for the attachment of an indeterminate object. Mrs. Strong (cited by Strzyz. note 6, p. 102) points out that the fragment does not belong to 2, since if the foot be placed so as to complete the figure in 2, the fragment of colonnette is out of line with that of 2. It is to be noted that the pedestal of this colonnette is lower than in the other fragments, which may be explained by assigning the fragment to a lateral face; but the possibility remains that this fragment belongs to another sarcophagus altogether.

A tentative reconstruction of one long side may be made by arranging a series, from left to right, consisting of nos. 2, 7, 3, 9, 4.

ROME A. (ill. 52.). From the Ghetto, Rome (further provenance unknown); now in the British Museum (no. 2312; Towneley Collection). H. c. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. Fragment broken to left and right, comprising the central aedicula, the adjacent unpedimented bay, and a portion of the right terminal aedicula of a long side. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculp.* no. 2312; Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom?* p. 51, fig. 19; the same, *J. H.* S. 1907, p. 111, fig. 8. Bearded figure (poet) seated on a cushioned stool supported on three feet carved to represent lions' legs, reading from a scroll held in the left hand; Muse (Thalia) standing, with hair waved artificially and tied with a fillet in the back which leaves free the ends of the locks; dressed in chiton, girdled below the breasts, and himation, holding a comic mask in her right hand. The column base has a round plinth. Sidamara technique.

ROME B. Vatican, Chiaramonti; provenance unknown (ill. 53.). Fragment, broken to left, right, and below, of a central aedicula and the adjacent unpedimented bay to the left, belonging to a long side. H. 0.48; W. 0.75. Rather coarse-grained yellowish marble with bluish spots. Michon, *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist.* 1906, p. 88; Amelung, *Sculpturen des vaticanischen Museums*, I, Chiaramonti, no. 518, pl. 70. Upper half of male standing figure with himation draped over left shoulder, head mutilated and right arm broken away above the elbow, holding spear in the left hand; female standing figure (Artemis), broken away from the hips down, with mutilated head, in chiton girdled beneath the breasts, and himation, holding long object in her hands. Lydian technique.

? ROME C. Vatican, Galleria Lapidaria; provenance unknown (ill. 54.). Fragment, broken to left, right, and below, including the pediment, impost-blocks, and acroteria of the central aedicula (long side) of a large sarcophagus. H. 0.47; W. 0.83. Fine-grained yellowish marble. Muñoz, *N. Bull. arch. crist.* 1905, p. 85, no. 15, fig. 2; Amelung, *op. cit.* I, Gall. Lap., no. 42a. The sima is decorated with an undulating stem sprouting half-palmettes, very similar to that used on the cornices of Florence (Riccardi), whose acroteria also are identical with those of Rome C. See p. 59 for the relation of this fragment to Florence (Riccardi), and the necessity of excluding the two from the purely Asiatic series. Lydian ? and Sidamara technique.

ROME D. Villa Colonna; provenance unknown (ill. 55 and plate opp. p. 21.). Marble trough, complete save for loss or mutilation of heads of figures. H. 0.91; W. 2.16; D. 1.09. Muñoz, *Bull. arch. crist.* 1905, p. 85, no. 16, figs. 3 and 4; the same, *Monumenti d'arte antica e medievale*, I, pl. 3. *Front*, (1) seated man in himation holding rotulus in his left hand, balanced by (5) a seated woman in chiton, and himation veiling head, at the other end of the front (both seated on stools raised on pedestals; in this, and the position in profile *vis à vis*, resembling the two figures that form the sole figured decoration of the front of a sarcophagus in the museum at Konieh, from Kotch-Hissar; Mendel, *B. C. H.* 1902, p. 224, no. 3, fig. 2); (3) in the central aedicula, Eros standing on a pedestal, wearing chlamys clasped on the left shoulder, and holding grapes (?) in the left hand (in background to left, a tree in low relief); (2) in the un-

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pedimented bay to the left, a standing female in chiton, and himation veiling the head; (4) to the right, a standing man in chiton and himation. *Back*, left to right: (1) standing man in chiton and himation; (2) standing female figure in same; (3) standing male figure nude save for chlamys draped over the left arm and shoulder; (4) standing female figure in chiton and himation; (5) standing male figure (headless) in chiton and chlamys.

Left Lateral Face, left to right: (1) youth wearing chlamys clasped on left shoulder and draped over right shoulder and arm, holding a basket of fruit (?) in both hands; (2) tomb-portal in front of which stands a lighted altar on a low pedestal; (3) standing female figure in chiton and himation.

Right Lateral Face, left to right: (1) standing woman in chiton and himation; (2) youth in chlamys similar to that of the left lateral face; (3) standing female figure in chiton and himation. Both lateral faces display conches on the cornice, as in the sarcophagus of Claudia, above the unpedimented lateral bays. Lydian technique.

ROME E. Trough, divided into four pieces, the front and back being now in the Museo Borghese, Rome (Room I); the ends, which formerly decorated the east façade of Villa Borghese, are now in the Galerie Mollien of the Louvre (nos. 1497, 1500) (*ills. 56–59*). Long sides much restored; lateral faces broken above, below, and to left. Original dimensions (Shapley): H. c. 1.1; W. c. 2.2; D. c. 1.0; actual dimensions of front, H. 1.02; W. 2.26; of back, H. 1.0; W. 2.13 (Shapley); Michon, (*Mél. d'arch. et d'hist.* 1906, pp. 80 ff.) gives the dimensions of the lateral faces: left, H. 0.99; W. 1.; right, H. 0.99; W. 1.04. The marble seemed Italian to Michon, but the obvious relation of the sarcophagus to Asiatic examples such as Rome I and J (identity of muse-types) makes this unlikely. Shapley, *Art Bulletin*, (V, 1923; pp. 61 ff.) and the bibliography there given. Details of preservation and description given by Shapley, from whose publication the present description is summarized.

Ornament. The architectural composition is of the three-aedicula type on front and back, the colonnettes of the front standing on pedestals whose original height is uncertain (the base of the front being restored), those of the back on the three podia which support the aediculae. The spandrels of the arches have remnants of figured acroteria, probably animals. Cornice and sima are filled with confused foliation worked with the drill which also appears beside the remnant of Lesbian cymation in the lower member of the impost-block and frieze. The upper member still retains the egg-and-dart, of which the darts are all broken away save one in the second intercolumniation of the front. The lateral faces are decorated each with a middle aedicula flanked by unpedimented intercolumniations, whose entablatures, according to Shapley's careful reconstruction, were curved to meet the corner capitals in awkward imitation of the Lydian entablatures as exemplified in Melfi. The colonnettes of the lateral faces stand on a continuous podium, to which are adapted shelf-like pedestals for the statuettes (replaced by a ship's-prow on the right lateral face, on which stands the personification of the Odyssey) which partly or wholly obliterate the bases of the colonnettes; the arrangement seems to be a crude imitation of such shelf-pedestals as appear on the lateral faces of Claudia's sarcophagus. The front of the sarcophagus is distinctly longer than the back, whose left terminal aedicula is quite narrower than the others. Shapley concludes from this and from a canting of the entablature of the right lateral face to adjust it to the front, that the work proceeded from right to left, thus affording a technical explanation for the persistent connection, on eastern sarcophagi, of front with foot and back with head.

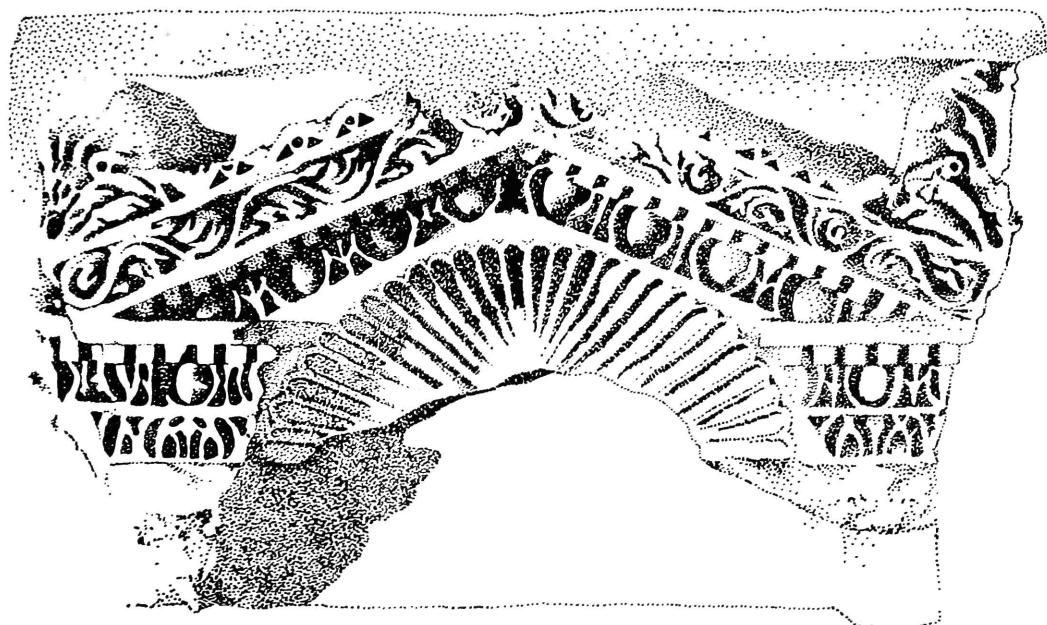
Figured Decoration. Front, left to right: (1) Klio, in girdled chiton and himation, a fold of which is wrapped around her left wrist; rotulus in left hand; hands and face restored. (2) Euterpe, in chiton girdled by embroidered belt, and himation hanging down her back from knots on shoulders; hands (and forearms) holding each a pipe, are restored. (3) Apollo



52. British Museum; fragment of sarcophagus, with poet and muse
(Rome A)

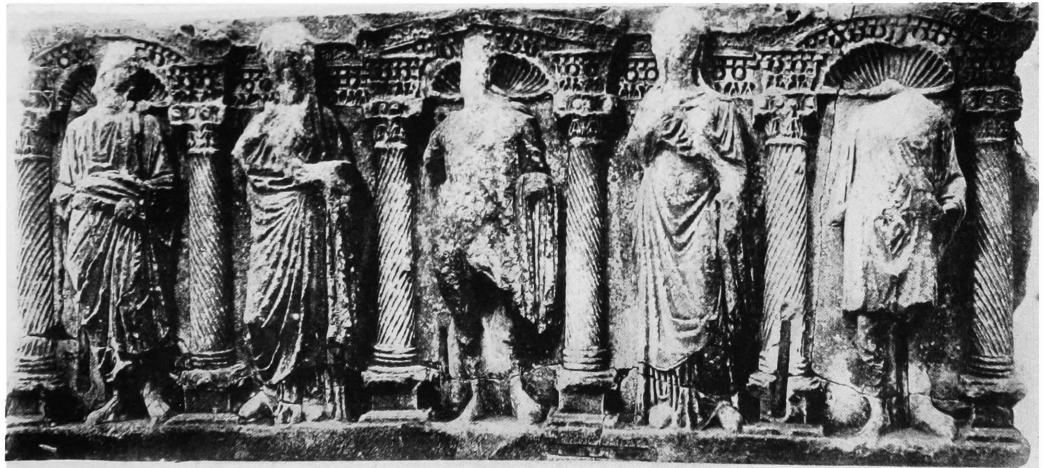
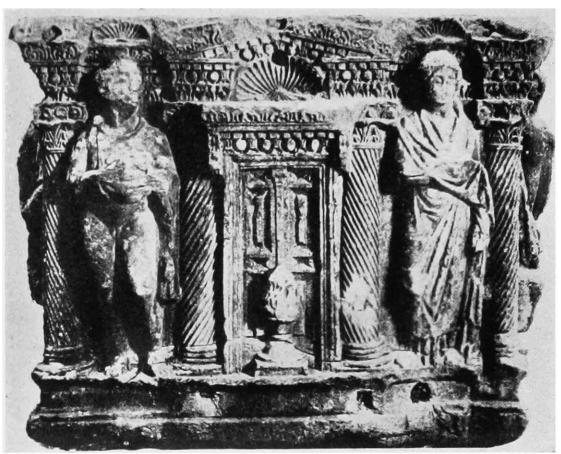
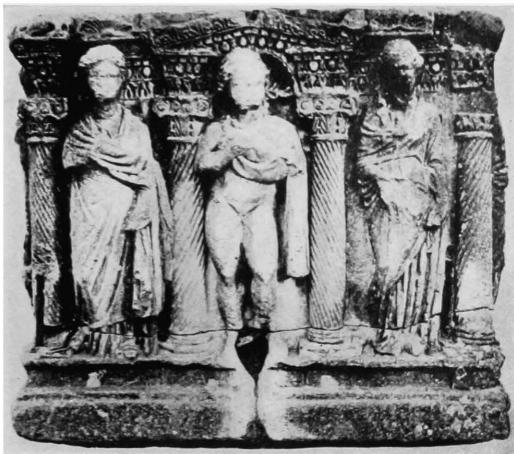
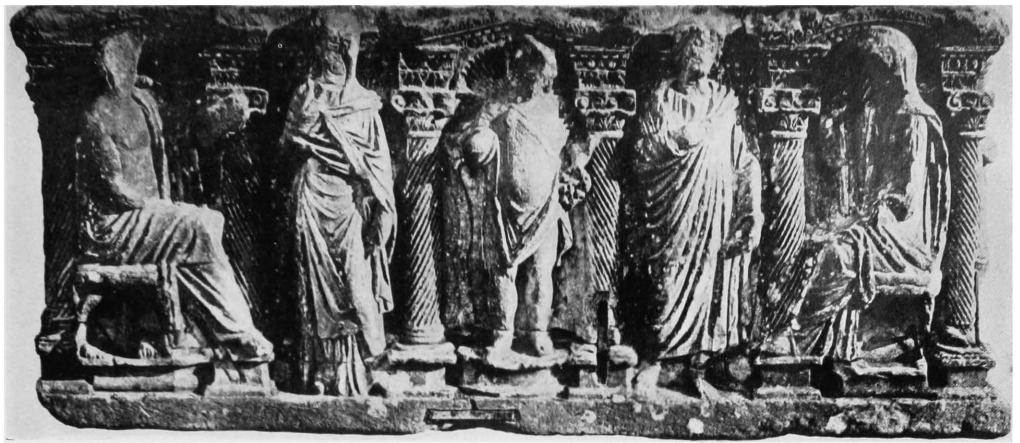


53. Vatican, Chiaramonti gallery; fragment of sarcophagus
(Rome B)



54. Vatican, Galleria Lapidaria; fragment of sarcophagus (Rome C)

54. Vatican, Galleria Lapidaria; fragment of sarcophagus (Rome C)



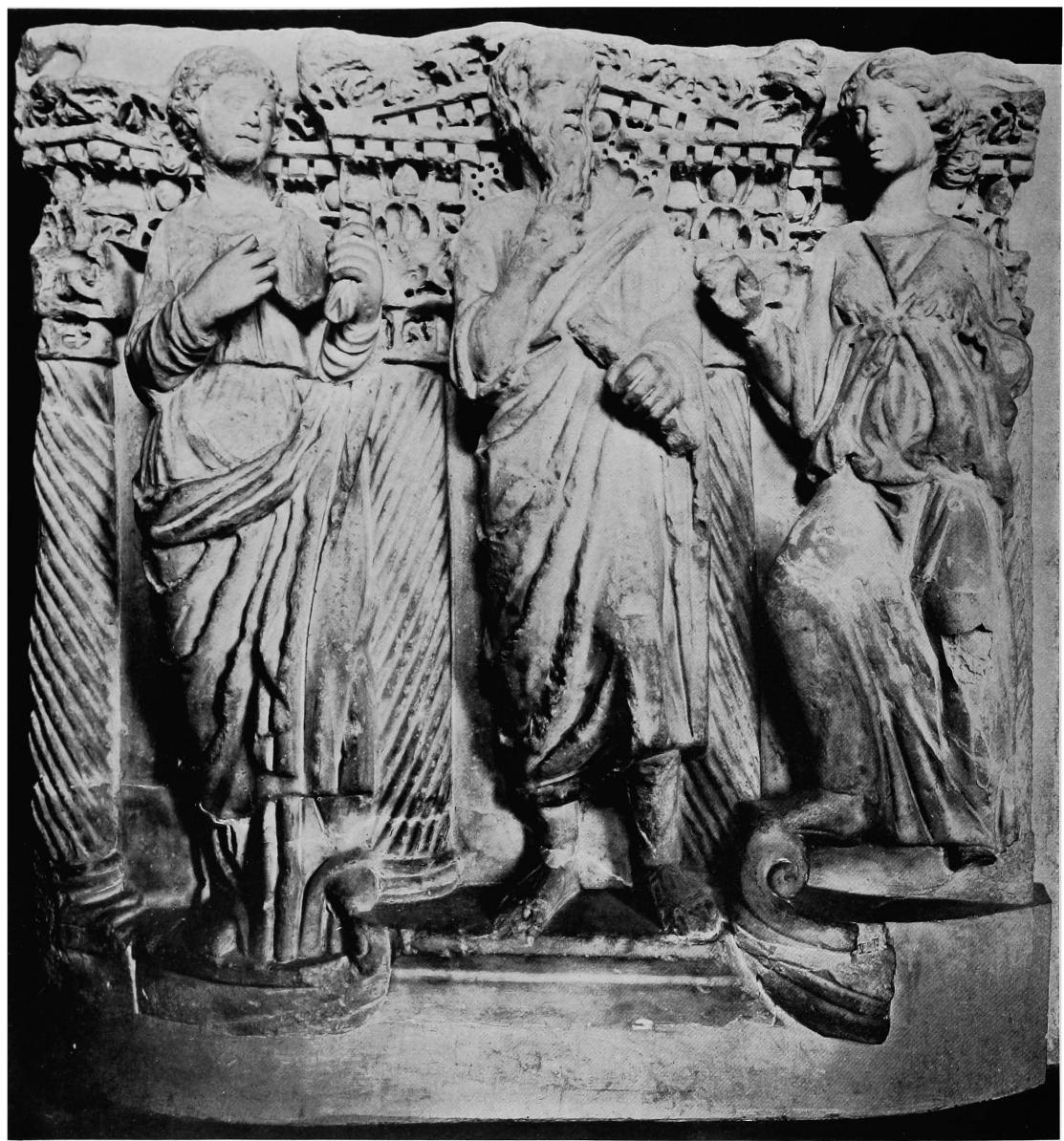
55. Sarcophagus in the Colonna Gardens (Rome D)



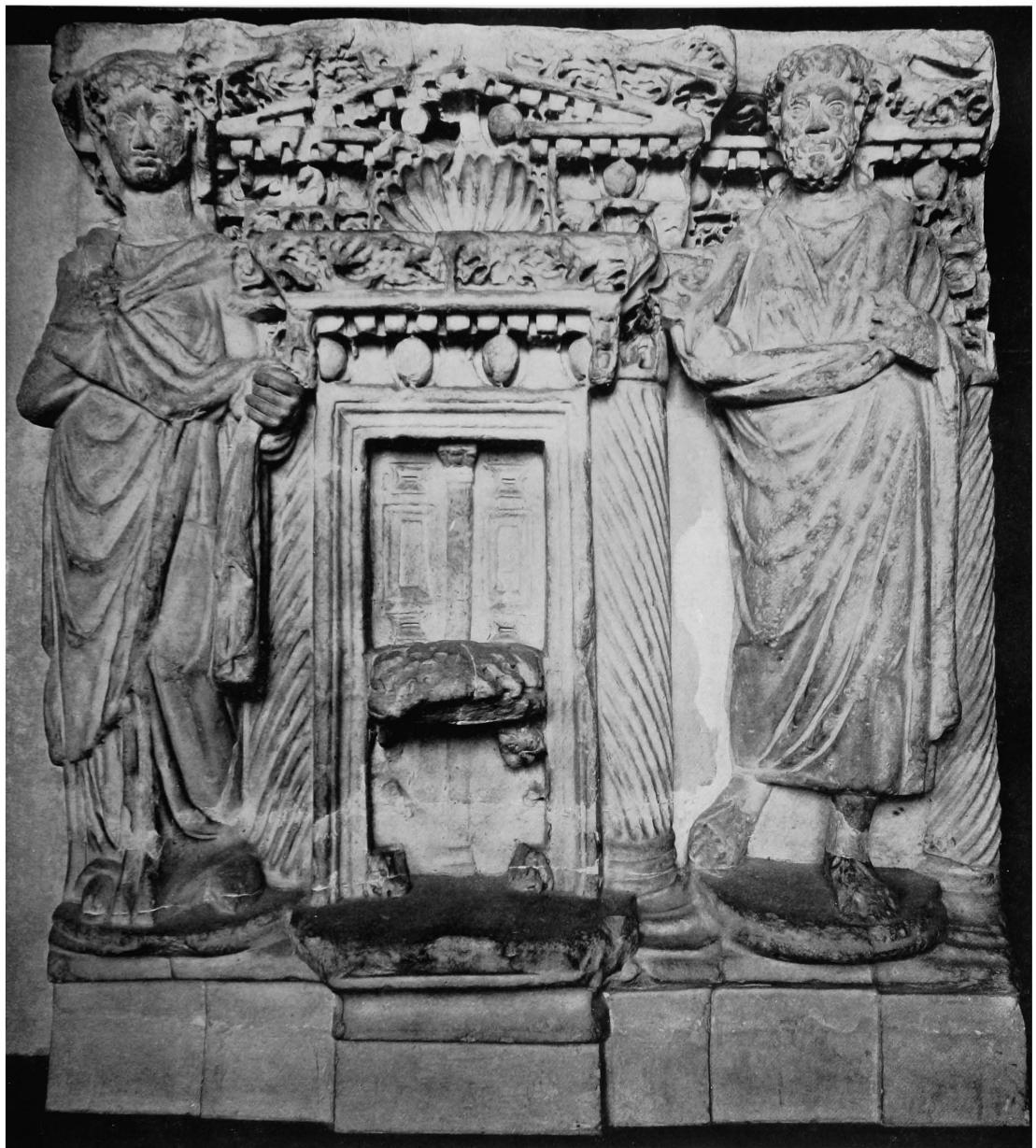
36. Museo Borghese; sarcophagus-front, with Apollo and Muses (Rome E)



57. Museo Borghese; back of sarcophagus, with Moses (Rome E)



38. Paris, Louvre; right lateral face of sarcophagus, with Homer between the Iliad and Odyssey (Rome E)



59. Paris, Louvre; left lateral face of sarcophagus (Rome E)

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Musagetes, in himation draped on left shoulder and lower body, holding lyre on left thigh; hair and right arm restored. (4) Thalia, in girdled chiton and himation on left shoulder and lower body, rolled to a belt across the abdomen, holding comic mask in right hand, pedum in left. Melpomene, in chiton girdled with embroidered belt, and himation over left shoulder and arm, holding short sword (restored) in right hand, and tragic mask (restored) in left; face and hands restored. *Back*, left to right: (1) Terpsichore, in chiton and himation, a fold of which is held in the right hand (restored), holding in left hand a lyre which is further supported by a strap running diagonally to the right shoulder. (2) Erato, in chiton and himation, a fold of which crosses the body and is wrapped about the left forearm; the restored right hand rests on the breast, the left on a lyre which stands beside her. (3) Kalliope, in girdled chiton, and himation, whose ends are caught beneath the girdle and pass over the shoulders to fall behind her; her restored hands hold a rotulus and tablet. (4) Urania, in chiton and himation with hands and attributes restored; a stylus is held in the right hand, with which she touches a globe held in the left. (5) Polymnia, in chiton and himation wrapped about the right arm and hand, standing with weight on right leg, the left being crossed, and resting her left elbow on a tree-trunk.

The correspondence of these figures of Apollo and the Muses with Bie's types (*Die Musen in der antiken Kunst*) is given by Shapley. Comparison with the muses of Rome I and J (p. 49 ff.), which represent the types current in the ateliers that produced the sarcophagi of Sidamara type show that the sculptor here employed the usual Terpsichore type for the Apollo of the front, and was consequently forced to find another for Terpsichore herself, which he did by freely adapting the Erato of the next niche. He has also repeated the Melpomene type for Euterpe and Kalliope, and reversed the position of Polymnia. The other Muses follow, save for differences arising from restoration of drapery, arms and attributes, the types of Rome I and J.

Right Lateral Face, left to right: (1) female figure personifying the Iliad, in chiton and himation, a fold of which she holds in her left hand; (2) Homer, in chiton and himation, standing on a low pedestal in the central aedicula, holding a rotulus in his left hand; (3) female personifying the Odyssey, in long chiton girdled over the diplois under her breasts, standing left on the prow of a ship, and extending her right hand toward the poet.

Left Lateral Face, left to right (mistaken by Th. Reinach, *Mon. Piot*. IX, 1902, p. 209, note 2, and by Michon, *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist.* 1906, p. 81, note 3, for the "partie droite d'une grande face"): (1) standing female figure in chiton, and himation veiling head, and right arm holding fold of himation in left hand; (2) tomb-portal, in front of which is an offering-table, with mutilated legs imitating lions' legs; (3) standing bearded male figure in chiton and himation, of which a heavy roll crosses the body, supporting the right elbow (right forearm broken away), and grasped by the left hand.

Shapley dates the sarcophagus in the first quarter of the third century. Sidamara technique.

SARDIS A. Found at Sardis; now in the Louvre (Salle Magnésie du Meandre) (ill. 60.). Muñoz, *N. Bull. arch. crist.* 1905, p. 85, no. 14, 3; Michon, *op. cit.* p. 83, fig. 3. H. 0.25; W. 0.53. Crystalline marble (Michon, *l. c.*) Corner fragment, comprising the cornice of the left intercolumniation of a lateral face, and the left extremity of the adjacent raking cornice. Acroteria: headless lion couchant, extended in return upon the long side; putto playing with panther (?), fragmentary (cf. Ismid, Richmond 2, and Selefkeh). Lydian technique.

SARDIS B. The sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina (p. 6 ff. and ill. 3-7; 9-14.). Lydian technique.

SELEFFEHI (Seleucia Ciliciae). Found at Selefkeh; now in the Ottoman Museum (ills. 61-64.). Complete trough H. 1.27; W. 2.63; D. 1.30. Greyish marble with small crystals (Mendel); similar to the Proconnesian marble of Constantinople-Berlin according to Lepsius (quoted

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by Strzygowski, p. 55). Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom?*, p. 47, figs. 14-17; Mendel, *Cat.* no. 19, and the bibliography there given. *Front*, left to right: (1) Dioscurus, standing, wearing chlamys clasped on right shoulder and draped over the left shoulder and the back, holding by the bridle the protome of a horse whose body is carved in low relief on the background; grasping in the other hand (left) a spear; (2) headless standing female figure in chiton and himation, a fold of which she holds in the left hand; (3) headless male figure, in chiton and himation, seated upon a cushioned stool, with feet imitating lions' legs and placed upon a pedestal, holding an unrolled rotulus in the left hand; (4) standing headless female figure in chiton and himation, of which a fold is held in the left hand; (5) Dioscurus as before, but with the position of horse and hands reversed. *Back*, left to right: (1) beardless youth standing, wearing chiton and himation, holding rotulus in left hand, with which and the right hand he pulls a fold of the himation horizontally across the figure (cf. Richmond 5); (2) female standing figure in chiton, and himation veiling head (mutilated), holding a fold of the himation in the left hand (mistaken for a "diptych" in the case of this figure, and in that of the similar one described below, by Muñoz, *N. Bull. arch. crist.* 1905, p. 81); (3) nude standing boy, holding garland (cf. Richmond 2) in left hand; (4) standing female figure in chiton and himation, holding a fold of the latter in her left hand; (5) youth in chiton and himation, standing, with a fold of drapery over the extended left hand, which held an object now mutilated.

Right Lateral Face: profiled podium; (1) standing youth in himation, draped to leave breast and right shoulder bare, holding rotulus in left hand, and extending right arm (broken just below the shoulder); (2) bearded standing figure in chiton and himation (right forearm broken above the wrist); (3) similar figure holding rotulus in the left hand and raising the right (broken above the wrist).

Left Lateral Face: podium ornamented with a conventional garland of laurel leaves; (1) youth in chiton and chlamys clasped on left shoulder, wearing boots, holding a shield on the left arm and moving left with profile to the right; (3) youth in similar dress mounted on a horse rearing right (equipped with saddle cloth), attacking boar with a spear (broken); a dog appears beneath the horse. *Acroteria*: on angles, deer felled by lion carved in return on the lateral face; on the interior angles, Eros playing with a beast, as on Ismid, Richmond 2, and Sardis A.

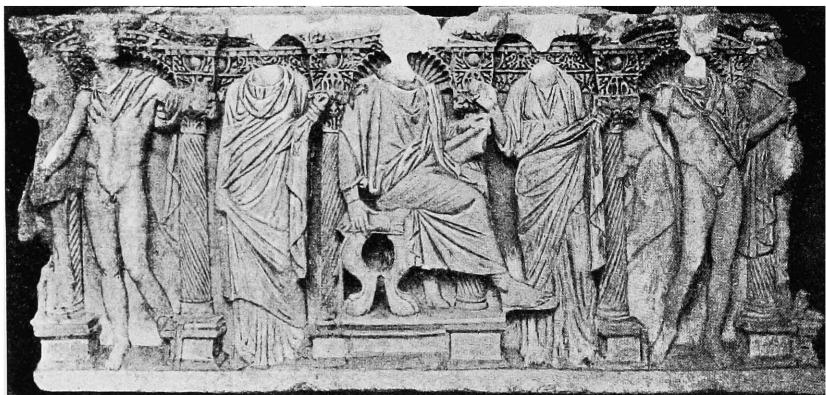
Details of description and preservation are given by Mendel, who dates the sarcophagus c. 250, and assigns it to the same atelier as Sidamara. The three figures of the left lateral face are interpreted by Wulff (*Altchr. und Byz. Kunst*. I, p. 172) as "Verstorbene und vielleicht Mitglieder eines Mysterienkults" in harmony with the symbolic significance given by him to the figured decoration in general; with Mendel, he identifies the seated figure on the front with the deceased. Sidamara technique.

SIDAMARA. Found near the site of ancient Sidamara, at Ambar-Arassy; now in the Ottoman Museum, to which it was removed in 1901 (*ills.* 65-67.). Discovered by Davis in 1875. Complete sarcophagus, but with mutilated lid. H. (max.) c. 3.135; W. (max.) 3.81; D. (max.) 1.93. White marble. Th. Reinach, *Mon. Piot*, IX, p. 189, pls. XVII-XIX, and X, p. 91, figs. 1-2 (reproductions of the lid); Mendel, *Cat.*, no 112, and the exhaustive bibliography there given.

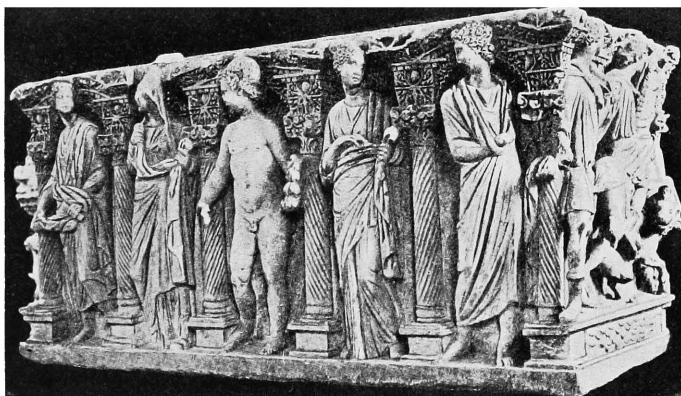
Lid. This is at present reversed, the married pair facing toward the rear face of the sarcophagus; the couch is of the same type as that used in the case of the lids of Sardis B, Melfi, Torlonia, Myra, Torre Nova B, and Sagalassos, but most closely resembles that of Sardis B. The man and his wife reclining on the mattress have the same posture of the legs as that of Claudia and her daughter; the heads, and the right forearm of the woman are broken away; the right arm of the husband encircles the shoulders of his wife, and his left rests on the mat-



60. Paris, Louvre; fragment of sarcophagus (Sardis A)



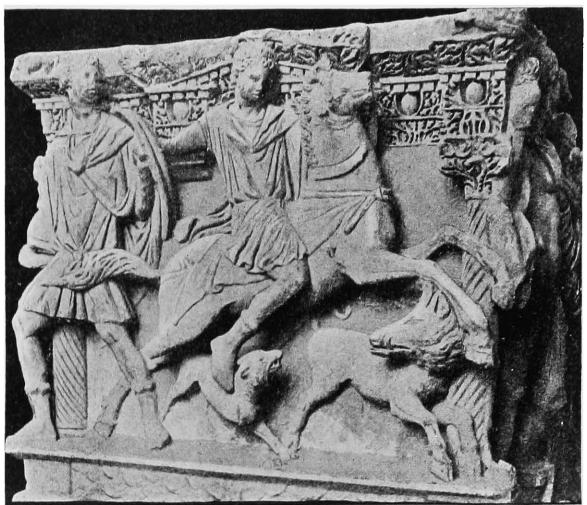
61. Constantinople, Ottoman Museum; sarcophagus-front (Selefkeh)



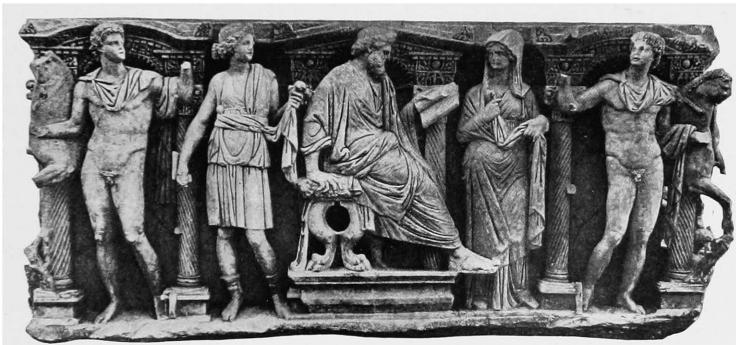
62. Constantinople, Ottoman Museum; back of sarcophagus (Selefkeh)



63. Constantinople, Ottoman Museum; right lateral face of sarcophagus (Selefkeh)



64. Constantinople, Ottoman Museum; left lateral face of sarcophagus (Selefkeh)



65. Constantinople, Ottoman Museum; sarcophagus-front (Sidamara)



66. Constantinople, Ottoman Museum; back of sarcophagus (Sidamara)

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tress, holding an unrolled rotulus; the left arm of the woman rests similarly upon the couch holding a fold of her himation. Both are dressed in chiton, and himation which in the case of the man is rolled across the breast in a fold prefiguring the *contabulatio*, this fold in the case of the woman is flat, and embroidered with an undulating stem.

The mattress is decorated with bands ornamented like those of Sardis B, and horses' heads again adorn the *fulera*, but beneath them is added the head of a lion on the left, and of a lioness on the right, whose winged bodies are returned upon the lateral faces of the lid. A putto, headless, sits on the foot of the mattress, as in Sardis B; he wears only a chlamys clasped on his right shoulder and forming a *sinus* in which he holds fruit; his right hand grasps a bunch of grapes which another much smaller putto, also headless and wearing chlamys, tries to seize as he stands on the rail in front of the mattress; this bunch of grapes is also apparently the objective of the barking dog that crouches on the foot of the couch (head missing). Another putto, of costume and proportions similar to those of the first-mentioned, stands on the rail at the head of the couch, resting his left hand on the back of a goose which at the head of the couch formed a pendant to the dog at its foot; the child's right hand (lost, with entire arm) apparently held the neck of the bird (broken away). The front of the mattress, and the boards which encircle it on the other three sides as in the case of the Melfi couch, are decorated with a frieze of putti and Erotes fighting with beasts. The "shin-guard" of the Sardis and Melfi couches appears here in similar form on the front of the couch-rail (not noted by Mendel, and mistaken by Reinach for a "thyrsé ou carquois allongé"). The lifting bosses of Melfi and Sardis B are also present, and similarly unfinished. *Ornament.* On the front the aediculae are equated as to the acroteria and the ornament of the gutter of the sima-faces; the half-palmettes, and the undulating stem that decorates the gutter of the central aedicula appearing also in the terminal pediments. The palmettes of the sima are lost in a confused mass of colouristic foliation, while in the two registers of the impost-blocks and the cornice of the pediments the classic profiles are similarly lost, save for three oves in the cornices, and one which survives in the upper register of the impost-block, as well as the dart and the adjacent outlines of the leaves of the Lesbian cymation, which is still found in the lower register of the impost-block. The capitals too have lost the reminiscence of acanthus leaves; on the face we find a slender stem isolated on either side by drilled incisions, which is all that is left of the central rib of the leaf *en face*; the rest of the basket disappears in irregular foliation, and the volutes have no logical relation to the capital whatever. On the left lateral face, where the capitals may be seen more clearly, we still find the tendril winding upward to form the foliate *flos* of the abacus, and here also one can measure the extent to which colourism has destroyed the Greek tradition of form in the mouldings, for in the acroteria which cap the simas of the central gable and the terminal colonnettes, the half-palmettes resemble ferns (as also on the front), and no differentiation is made between them and the filling-motif of the simas of the pediment and the tomb-portal. The two oves of the pediment's cornice, and the three of the lintel of the portal, are separated by foliations similar to those of the palmettes, with no trace of the traditional dart. On the front the colonnettes have still the Attic base and the pedestals which we find on Sardis B and its fellows in the Lydian group, but the upper torus of the base is widened, and the second is reduced to a size not greater than that of the ring of the shaft. On the left lateral face the colonnettes have no bases at all, and even the shafts are gone upon the right lateral face and the back except in the case of the terminal colonnettes; the horseshoe arches of the lateral face and the segmental ones of the back are thus pendent, and spring from profiled corbels. In these also the foliation insinuates itself to the destruction of all classic form, eliminating the oves entirely on the sima of the arches, and filling the spandrels with a luxuriant leaf design whose wildness is only relieved by the amorphous rosettes that usually appear in the center.

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The final effacement of Greek design is found in the impost-blocks of the front and the left lateral face, whose outlines no longer even reflect the echinus and cyma profiles of the egg-and-dart and the Lesbian cymation, as is the case in the examples of Lydian technique like Sardis B, but assume a convexity which has an obvious tendency toward symmetry, the last stage of which is found in the impost-blocks of the Constantinople fragment in Berlin one hundred and fifty years later. The sole identity which the ornament exhibits with that of the Lydian group is the "wilted" palmette of the sima on the lowest member of the lid.

Figured Decoration. The figures also contrast with those of Melfi and Sardis B in being on the one hand more animated, and on the other longer and more svelte, without however losing that preference for fourth century style as against the Hellenistic which Delbrueck's close analysis has shown to have guided the choice and execution of the Melfi statuettes,—note for example the pronounced rhythm produced by the hip-shot attitudes of the figures on the front, and their frontality. Of modelling there is very little save in the lower legs, and the faces and arms, and even here much less than in the Richmond figures. The draperies are executed in flat surfaces, with grooved shadows that produce the illusion of form, and there are numerous indications noted by Mendel throughout the sarcophagus of the reliance of the sculptor on optical effect, notably the deliberate neglect of modelling in unnoticeable portions of the figures (*e. g.*, the veiled female of the front with eyes unincised, and the marble left rough between her neck and the edge of the himation; the "Artemis," whose right hand is unworked between the index and the thumb; the woman to the left of the tomb-portal, the left side of whose face is unworked). An optic point-of-view is also presupposed by the leaving unworked of the usually invisible sides of the impost-blocks. Such pictorial devices were familiar to Asiatic artists from the Antonine period on,—the higher portions of the Library at Ephesus and of the theatre at Aspendos show much more decomposition of the traditional modelling of details than do the lower.

Lastly, we find the figured decoration assuming the dominant rôle and relegating the architecture to a mere background, culminating finally in the curious setting of the hunting-scene beneath a pendent arcade on the back and the right lateral face. This has been remarked by all observers, and prompted the protest of Reinach: "on ne chasse pas dans la rue de Rivoli." The search for animation manifest in the figured decoration results in the invasion of the three sides of the couch, left unsculptured in Melfi, by the frieze of putti-huntsmen, in the greater relative size of the figures as compared with the dimensions of the aediculae and of the unpedimented bays, and in the replacement by friezes of the formal designs which decorate the podium of the sarcophagus of Melfi: on the right lateral face a chariot race; on the left putti engaged in a lion-hunt; and at the back a series of groups depicting athletes exercising in a palaestra. A brief description of the large statuettes follows: *Front*, left to right: (1) Dioscurus as in Selefkeh; (2) standing maiden attired as Artemis, called by Mendel the daughter of the defunct (mistaken for a male figure by Muñoz, *N. Bull. arch. crist.* 1905, p. 79), wearing chiton and chlamys, a fold of which she holds in her left hand; (3) bearded figure seated (the deceased according to Mendel), a replica in all respects of the central figure on the front of Selefkeh; (4) standing woman (wife of the deceased, Mendel) in chiton, and himation veiling the head, holding a fold of the latter in both hands; (5) Dioscurus as in Selefkeh. *Back*: five mounted huntsmen attacking a lion, a doe, a bear, and a panther.

Right Lateral Face: continuation of the preceding scene in the form of a horseman with two hounds (one standing on a ledge above at the left, the other beneath the rearing horse) attacking two deer.

Left Lateral Face: female figure in chiton, and himation veiling the head, approaching a tomb-portal which occupies the central gabled aedicula, bearing in her left hand a plate of

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offerings which she touches with her right. In front of the portal is a table bearing fruit; to the right a standing bearded figure in chiton and himation, raising the right hand and holding a rotulus in the left.

Details of description and preservation are given by Mendel, who dates in the second quarter of the third century. Sidamara technique.

SMYRNA A. Smyrna, in the garden of the Turkish gymnasium; further provenance unknown, but probably from the vilayet (ill. 68.). Fragment, broken to left, right and below, of the terminal aedicula of a long side. H. 0.71; W. 0.50. Strzygowski, *J. II. S.* 1907, p. 102, fig. 3; Mendel, *B. C. II.* 1909, p. 333, no. 11. Standing youth; head missing, as well as the legs above the knees, the right arm above the elbow, and the left forearm; chlamys draped over the left shoulder and arm. Sidamara technique.

SMYRNA B. Smyrna, in private possession; further provenance unknown, but probably from the vilayet. Strzygowski, *Byz. Zeit.* 1901, p. 726; Mendel, *l. c.* no. 12. Figure of Odysseus (?).

SMYRNA C. (identical with B?). "Im Kunsthändel in Smyrna, angeblich aus Ephesos" (Weigand) (ill. 69). Corner fragment of lateral face. Weigand, *Jb. arch. Inst.*, 1914, p. 73; photograph in Weigand's possession. Weigand has communicated the following description: "Erhalten ist eine Mittelädikula mit Dreiecksgiebel, Figur abgeschlagen, und rechts anschliessend der Interkolumnium mit bärfigem Gott, bis über die Brust erhalten, vom rechten Interkolumnium nur Teil der darübergesetzten Muschel; Bruch von links nach rechts." Lydian technique.

USKEA (Pisidia). Fragment, broken at left, of a lateral face (ill. 70.). E. Sarre, *Arch. epigr. Mitt. aus Oesterr.* 1896, p. 47, fig. 4; Weigand, *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1914, p. 73. Torso of standing male figure wearing chiton girdled at the waist (camillus), with remains of an animal (bull?) beside him; tomb-portal, in front of which stands a lighted altar upon a support; standing female figure in chiton, and himation veiling head. Lydian technique (Weigand).

VIENNA. Collection of Archduke Franz Ferdinand d'Este (ill. 71.). Lateral faces of trough, broken below. Strzygowski, *Byz. Zeit.* 1906, p. 419.

Right Lateral Face: gabled middle aedicula containing standing beardless male figure in chiton and himation (right hand broken away); palmette acroteria; unpedimented bays to right and left, having small conches above the cornice and containing each a female figure standing, dressed in chiton and himation veiling head; the figure to left holds veil with her right hand and a spindle (?) in her left, the other's arms and hands are wrapped in the himation.

Left Lateral Face: Tomb-portal in gabled middle aedicula, flanked in the unpedimented bays by camilli dressed in girdled chitons; the camillus to left (facing right) carries offering-plate in left and urceus in right; the camillus to right (facing left) carries plate of offerings with both hands; conches above the cornice of the unpedimented bays. The impost-blocks of both faces support each a small figure of a lion as acroterion. Lydian technique.

B. TYPE WITH UNDIVIDED FIGURED FRIEZE

MEGISTE (Lycia). "Von Kastel Orizo, der alten Megiste, brachte ein türkischer Schiffer den Sarkophag nach den Piräus" (von Duhn). Benndorf's statement that the sarcophagus might have come from Cilicia is a mere guess; his objection that marble monuments of the kind are rare in Lycia would not apply to an imported article, which this sarcophagus in all probability is. Now in the National Museum, Athens. Child's sarcophagus complete save for the loss of the lid (ills. 72-74.). H. 0.43; W. 0.90; D. 0.52. Parian marble (Robert); "erinnert an den pentelischen (Marmor), mehr jedoch an den lydischen von Sipylon, aus dem bekanntlich der Gallier im Capitol und die sogenannte Arria und Päiusgruppe in Villa Ludovisi gehauen

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sind" (von Duhn). Von Duhn, *Ath. Mitt.* 1877, p. 132 *ff.*, pls. x-xii; Benndorf & Niemann, *Reisen in süd-westl. Kleinasiens*, I, 39, note 6; Robert, *Ant. Sarkophagreliefs*, II, no. 138, pl. L, and the bibliography there given; Rizzo, *Röm. Mitt.* 1910, p. 92, fig. 1; Weigand, *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1914, p. 73. On the *front* are disconnected figures from the Bellerophon myth: (1) Stheneboia in chiton and himation, seated on a cushioned faldstool; (2) to the right a bearded man (Proitos) in chiton and himation, holding a rotulus in his left hand,—a replica, save for the direction of the profile, of the first figure on the right lateral face of Sardis B (*ill. 11.*); (3) Aphrodite, in chiton and himation, and wearing stephane, writing on a shield supported by Eros (repeating thus the type of Melfi, back, no. 3, *ill. 40.*); (4) Bellerophon wearing chlamys draped over left shoulder, standing beside the captured Pegasus. *Back*, left to right: (1) Diomedes, wearing chlamys draped over left shoulder and arm, moving left and carrying Palladion on his left arm; (2) Odysseus, wearing *pileus*, chiton girdled at the waist, and chlamys clasped on right shoulder, moving right, with right hand to mouth in gesture of surprise; (3) female figure, nude save for himation draped about the lower part of the body; and (4) a youth, wearing chlamys on his left shoulder and back, erecting a trophy, on which a woman is about to lay a spear and the youth a sword (?) (unfinished); two shields lie at the foot of the trophy.

Left Lateral Face: Combat of centaur and a bearded Lapith dressed in chiton girdled at the waist; in the background an olive-tree, and to the right a scabbard containing a sword, in relief against the background with no indicated support (cf. the sword on the background of Melfi, front no. 5, *ill. 39.*)

Right Lateral Face: Drunken Herakles supported by a satyr to left and Pan to right, in a group moving left, the satyr holding a lighted torch downward to light the path.

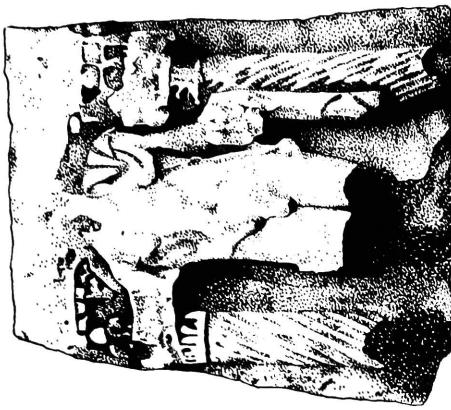
The lowest portion of the sarcophagus is left in the rough for imbedding in a basis as was the case with Melfi and Sardis B. At the corners are fluted pilasters, with reeds imbedded less than half-way up from the bottom of the shafts, Attic bases of two toruses, cavetto, and larger torus (as in Sardis B and throughout the series) resting on plinths profiled with a double torus (cf. the pilasters of the theatre of Aizanoi).¹⁹ These pilasters bear capitals with leaves cut in the Lydian technique, and bearing, below a thin abacus with a heart-shaped leaf for a *flos*, the characteristic double volutes of the Asiatic series, but here still somewhat canted outward, and with the logical direction of the spirals. The heads of all the figures except the companions of Herakles and the Lapith, overlap the cornice. The same pilasters, and the unfinished base, appear on Torre Nova A. Dated by von Duhn and Robert in the second century. Lydian technique.

NAPLES; Museo Nazionale. From the Farnese collection (further provenance unknown). Relief (restored) once part of a sarcophagus from the same hand or atelier which produced Torre Nova A, since it presents an exact replica, save for restorations, of the group of Persephone, the initiate, and the hierophant on the front of that sarcophagus, although the figures are somewhat larger. H. 0.507; W. 0.565. Fine grained marble (Pentelic?). Restorations noted by Rizzo, *Röm. Mitt.* 1910, p. 103, no. 2, fig. 5.

TORRE NOVA A. Found at Torre Nova in 1903; now in the Palazzo Borghese, Rome (*ills. 75-78.*). Child's sarcophagus, lacking the lid (which was assumed by Rizzo, without sufficient reason, to be gabled) complete on the back and the lateral faces, but broken away in front for two-thirds of the extent from left to right; the shaft and capital of the left terminal colonnette are missing, and most of the shaft of the colonnette on the right hand corner. H. 0.587; W. 1.30; D. 0.63. Pentelic marble (Lepsius, quoted by Rizzo). Rizzo, *Not. degli Scavi*, 1905, p. 408 *ff.*, and *Röm. Mitt.* 1910, p. 89 *ff.*, pls. II-v; Hauser, *ibid.* p. 273; Lechat, *Rev. Ét. anc.* 1911, p. 400; Weigand, *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1914, p. 73. The frieze on the *front* represents according to Rizzo (see however the criticism of details of his interpretation by Hauser



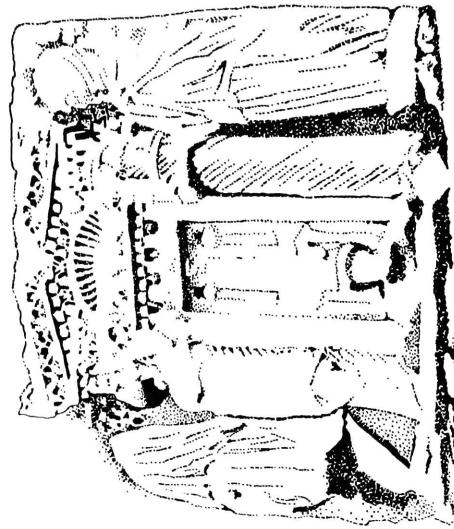
67. Constantiople, Ottoman Museum; lateral faces of Sarcophagus (Sidamara)



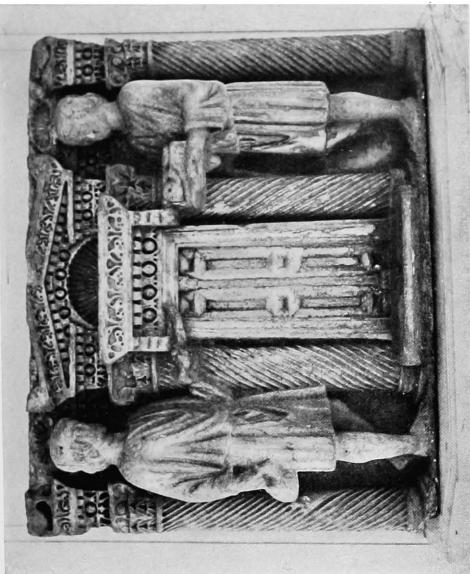
68. Smyrna, fragment of sarcophagus (Smyrna A)



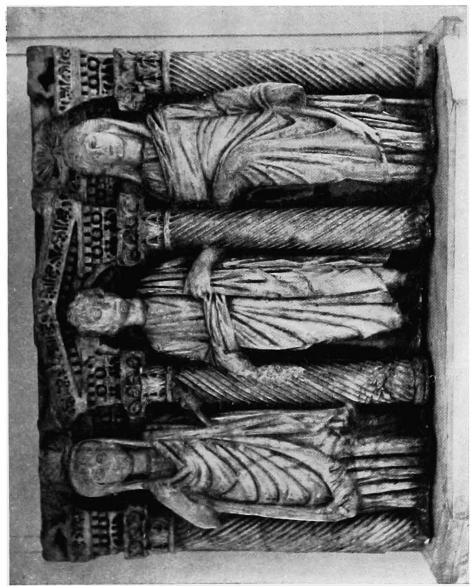
69. Smyrna; fragment of sarcophagus (Smyrna C)



70. Uskeler, Pisidias; fragment of sarcophagus with tomb-portal



71. Vienna; lateral faces of sarcophagus in the d'Este Collection



72. Athens, National Museum; front of child's sarcophagus, with Sthenelos, Proitos, Aphrodite, and Bellerophon (Megiste)



73. Athens, National Museum; back of child's sarcophagus, with Diomedes, Odysseus, and trophy-scene (Megiste)



74. Athens, National Museum; lateral faces of child's sarcophagus, with combat of Lapith and centaur, and drunken Herakles with satyr and Pan (Megiste)

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and Lechat) an initiation (of Herakles?) into the Eleusinian mysteries, the figures being; (1) Iakehos, in chiton and chlamys, holding a torch in both hands and standing near an altar (to left), lighted and laden with offerings; (2) Demeter, seated on cista draped with deer-skin and encircled by a serpent, wearing chiton and himation and holding a torch (broken) in her left hand and a hyacinth in her right; in the background behind Demeter are two mutilated figures of women, standing, in low relief; (3) to the right of Demeter, Persephone, headless, in chiton and himation, holding downward in each hand a lighted torch and standing near (4) a throne (to right) draped with a ram's skin, on which sits the initiate (Herakles?), holding a torch in his left hand, with a ram's head at his feet, and dressed in himation only, which is drawn up over his head as a veil; (5) to the right, in front of a wall adorned with a *parapetasma*, a bearded hierophant, standing facing right and wearing chiton and himation, making libation from an urecus upon a small lighted altar, and carrying a plate of offerings in the other (left) hand; (6) next to right Dionysos (?), in chiton, chlamys and boots, holding lighted torch in left hand, and performing a libation from an urecus held in the right; (7) Hecate (?) depicted as a standing figure in low relief against the wall, wearing chiton and himation and crowned with a pine-wreath.

The capital of the spiral colonnette whose upper portion still remains to the extreme right at the corner of the sarcophagus is of composite type, consisting of a circular basket of leaves supporting an astragal and an echinus adorned with egg-and-dart and crowned by a concave abacus exhibiting a quatrefoil *flos*. The *back* displays a scene of mourning women, of whom two are seated on an oblong altar decorated with garlands and bucranion; another stands to the right, leaning with right hand on the altar, and holding the left behind her back; to the left is a woman seated on a rock, with a naked boy leaning against her knee; she wears only a long chiton without sleeves, whereas the other women are attired in chiton and himation. Two women similarly attired appear on the *left lateral face*, one standing, with left foot resting on the ledge of rock on which her companion sits; the first woman leans her elbows on the knee thus lifted, holding a small object (*diptych*?) in her left hand; the second wears her chiton loosened to reveal the breast and shoulders, and holds in her left hand, resting upon the rock, what seems to be a ladle. On the *right lateral face* is a pair of ephebes, one of whom to the left, dressed in exomis and chlamys draped over right arm, stands with crossed legs (left leg mutilated; the right broken away below the knee) leaning with his right elbow upon a pillar, and resting his head upon his right hand in an attitude suggestive of mourning. The youth who sits on the rock to the right of the fig-tree occupying the center of the composition has a similar air; his hands rest listlessly upon his knees; his body is naked as to the upper portion, but wrapped in the himation about the hips and legs.

On the posterior corners of the sarcophagus are fluted pilasters like those of Megiste, sculptured on both sides, reeded to a third of the height of the shaft, and bearing capitals of Corinthian type whose leaves are cut in the style of Sardis B and Melfi,—in short in Lydian fashion,—and crowned by the double volutes characteristic of the Asiatic series in general, with a thin abacus above them bearing a *flos*. The affinities with Asiatic ornament do not end with this; the Lesbian cymation which crowns the front of the sarcophagus reappears not only in the early Lydian examples, but also in the *scenae frons* of the theatre at Side; the profile of the sima, in the Corinthian temple at Termessos; and the base of the pilasters, in the theatre at Aizanoi, as was pointed out before with reference to the same pilaster-bases on the Belleronphon sarcophagus from Megiste.²⁰ The most striking parallel is however found in the decoration of the sima of the podium of the sarcophagus, identical in every respect of flat surface, curve of the palmettes, and interspersed drill-holes, with the “wilted” palmettes of the sima in the Lydian group (*e. g.* Sardis B and Melfi), and closely resembling with these the palmettes in an entablature at Sillyon, and on the sima of the cornice of Hadrian's gate at Adalia.²¹

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Rizzo therefore concludes that the sarcophagus originated in Asia Minor, but in his discussion of the style of the reliefs, he is impressed by the reminiscences of Attic art in the figures of the sides and the back, comparing for the mourning group of the back the female figures on the east pediment of the sarcophagus of the Mourning Women from Sidon, a pair of funerary statuettes in Berlin, and a small metope published by Wolters (*Ath. Mitt.* 1893, pl. 1) all Attic works of the fourth century. A further survival of Attic style may be seen in the Iakchos of the front face. Striking confirmation of Rizzo's feeling in this regard was furnished by Hauser (*Röm. Mitt.* 1910, p. 280 ff.) who found the prototype of the seated youth of the right lateral face, line for line, in a relief in Berlin (ill. 136.) originally part of the frieze of the Ionic temple on the Ilissos.²² Rizzo dates in the end of the second century or the beginning of the third. Lydian technique.

C. ARCADE TYPE WITH FIVE ARCHES

BARI, S. Nicola. Fragment of a long side, broken to left, right and below, converted in the middle ages into a tomb for Archbishop Elia (ill. 79.). Stohlman, *A. J. A.* 1921, p. 228, fig. 8. Four archivolts remain, resting directly upon the capitals of the spiral colonnettes; each of the four remaining bays is crowned with a conch, and contains the figure of a philosopher draped in himation leaving the right breast and shoulder bare; the legs of each figure are broken off with the drapery below the knees. Dated by Stohlman in the second or third quarter of the third century. Sidamara technique.

BERLIN, Kaiser-Friedrich Museum; acquired from a dealer in Rome. Fragmentary two bays of trough, (long side), broken to right, left, and below (ill. 80.). H. 0.78; W. 0.59. Wulff. *Amtl. Berichte aus den kgl. Kunstsammlungen*, XXXV, 1913–1914, cols. 237–238, fig. 128. Kalliope, standing, in chiton and himation, facing right, holding stylus in right hand, and tablet in left; Klio, standing, in girdled chiton and himation, of which a roll crosses the body diagonally, supporting right elbow, and held together with a rotulus, by the left hand; head almost entirely broken away. The figures are almost replicas of the corresponding Muses on Rome J (ill. 90.), hence not to be interpreted, as by Wulff, as "a pupil taking dictation from a teacher." Wulff dates in the fourth century; against so late a date is the close resemblance to Rome J of the middle of the third; the technique however shows a certain dryness, and conventionalizing of the Sidamara colourism which would place the fragment later than Rome J, and it can probably be safely assigned to the second half of the third century. Sidamara technique.

NEW YORK, Metropolitan Museum, no. 18.108 (ill. 81.). Said to have been brought by the former owner from Asia Minor. Two pieces forming a fragment, broken to left, right and below, of the central bay of the front of a sarcophagus, together with a portion of the conch of the one to the right. White marble. Stohlman. *A. J. A.* 1921, p. 223, fig. 1. Male figure in chiton and himation, with hair, beard and face of the type of the Antonine imperial portraits and those of Septimius Severus, seated on a cushioned stool, holding an unrolled rotulus in the left hand. The figure, save for the type of head, is a replica of the central seated figure on the fronts of Seleukos and Sidamara, less closely resembling the poet of Rome A (Brit. Mus.; ill. 52). Sidamara technique.

ROME F. Vatican, Giardino della Pigna (ill. 82.). Fragment, broken to left and right and mutilated below, of the front of a sarcophagus, retaining the fourth bay entire, a portion of the capital of the spiral colonnette in the third and its archivolt, and portions of the archivolts of bays 2 and 5. H. 0.82; W. 1.65. Coarse-grained marble. Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, III, no. 130; Amelung, *Sculpturen des vat. Mus.*, I, Giardino della Pigna, no. 102, pl. 101; Weigand, *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1914, p. 73. No conches appear in the niches; of the three remaining spandrels



75. Rome, Palazzo Borghese; sarcophagus-front (Torre Nova A)

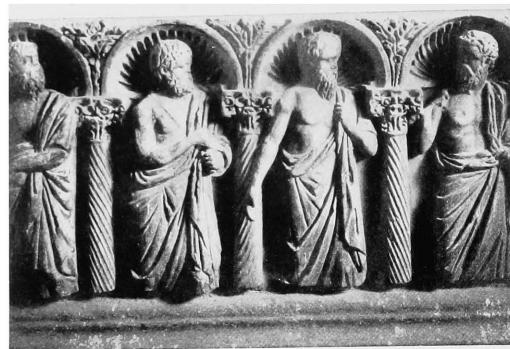


76. Rome, Palazzo Borghese; back of sarcophagus (Torre Nova A)

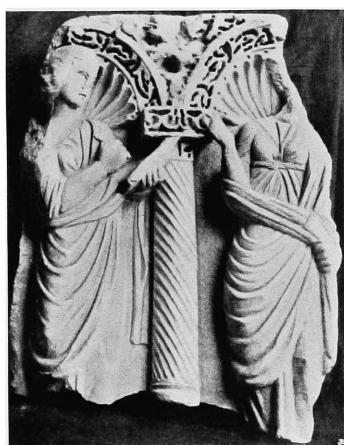


78. Rome, Palazzo Borghese; heads from the sarcophagus of Torre Nova A

77. Rome, Palazzo Borghese; lateral faces of sarcophagus (Torre Nova A)



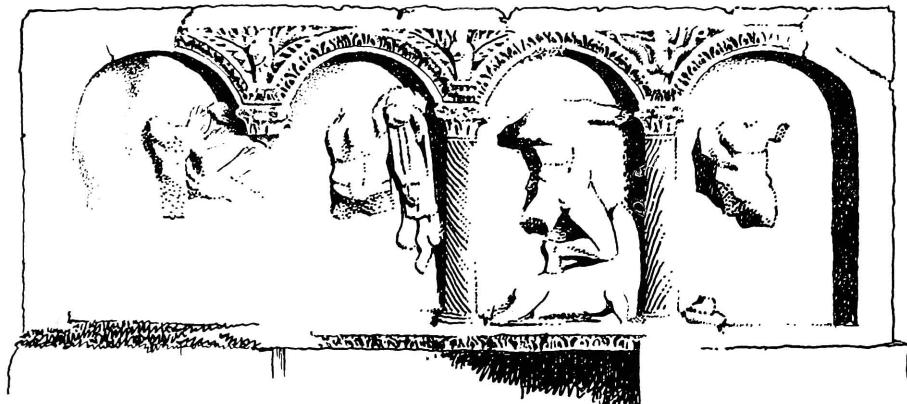
79. Bari, S. Nicola; fragment of sarcophagus



80. Berlin, museum; fragment of sarcophagus, with Muscs



81. New York, Metropolitan Museum; fragment of sarcophagus, with seated poet



82. Vatican, Giardino della Pigna; fragment of sarcophagus, with Labours of Herakles (Rome F)

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the two to the left are filled each with two large spreading leaves, against which is relieved a herm of Herakles clad in an animal's skin and ithyphallic; the third spandrel contains a triton blowing a trumpet held in his right hand, and holding a rudder in his left. The archivolts retain the cornice-tradition of Type A (three aediculae) by profiling the arches with a Lesbian cymation of the type of Melfi, which is repeated as the profile of the base of the sarcophagus. The capitals closely resemble those of Melfi. The figured decoration, much mutilated, consists of the second, third, fourth and fifth of the Labours of Herakles (Lernaean Hydra; Erymanthian Boar; Cerynean Hind; Stymphalian Birds). Details of description and mutilation are given by Amelung; Robert gives the end of the second century as the probable date. Lydian technique. [NOTE: a fragment probably of the posterior face of a sarcophagus is listed by Robert, *l. c.* no. 131; formerly in the Villa Panfili, it is now lost, but described by Zoëga, whose account of the one remaining group shows that it represented the episode of the Cretan Bull as on Rome II and London; the fragment must therefore have belonged to a sarcophagus using the customary Herakles cycle of our series, and Robert thinks it possible that it formed part of the rear face of Rome F.]

- * **ROME** G. Palazzo Torlonia (*ills. 83, 84.*). Complete sarcophagus including lid, but much restored; in the XVI century in Palazzo Orsini; further provenance unknown. H. 2.30; W. 2.44; D. 1.29. Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, III, no. 126, and the bibliography there given; Reinach, *Mon. Piot*, X, p. 91; Weigand, *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1914, p. 73.

Lid. Couch, of the same type as we have found throughout the series (*fulera* adorned with horses' heads; banded mattress; putti; fold of drapery hanging over the front of the mattress) but resembling specifically Sardis B in the two putti clad in chlamys at head and foot, except that the putto at the foot sits *en face* instead of in profile, and the one at the head is standing as in Sidamara on the rail of the couch; on the other hand the decoration of the space between the feet of the couch with sea-monsters is the same, save for less variation in the beasts, as that employed on Melfi; the sima of the lowest member also differs from Sardis B and the other examples in the inversion of the out-rolled palmettes. The married pair on the couch recline as in Sidamara, the husband's right arm encircling the shoulders of the woman, his left, resting upon the mattress, holding an opened rotulus. The woman rests her left hand on the overhanging fold of drapery mentioned above, and holds an hypothymis in the right. Both figures are clad in chiton and himation; the present heads are not the original ones, which are known from several old copies as of the type of the first half of the third century,—the man wearing short hair and beard, the woman a coiffure with a nest on the neck of the Mamaea type (cf. Robert, *l. c.* pls. XXXVI—XXXVII). The "shin-guard" is here reduced to a flat moulding with a triangular groove in the center. The customary lifting bosses are placed over the junction of bays 1 and 2, and 4 and 5, on the front.

Ornament. The sarcophagus proper is decorated on all four sides by an arcade of five arches (omitting the conches) on the long sides and three on the lateral faces, whose spiral colonnettes rest on a podium broken out under the terminal and central bays of the long sides, and under the terminal ones of the lateral faces, exactly in the manner of Melfi, and also reproducing in the ornament of its torus on the lateral faces the motifs used on Melfi,—garlands flanking an intersecting maeander. On the long sides the torus is decorated with the motifs used on the back of Melfi, but the garland is employed under the central bay instead of on the ends, and the guilloche which ornaments the torus under the central aedicula of Melfi is here used under the terminal intercolumniations. As in Melfi again, the base of this podium displays a colouristic palmette on its lower curve and a Lesbian cymation on its upper, but the latter shows a later date in the disintegration of the leaf, whose outer contour is becoming so definitely attached to the dart as to form a separate unit while the inner leaf assumes a triangular form, thus initiating a process whose full development may

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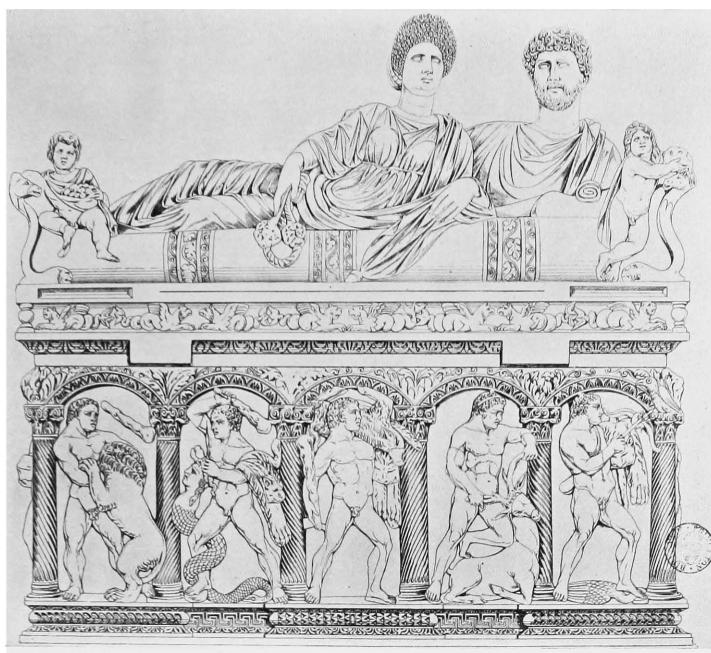
be seen in the cymatations of the Palace of Diocletian at Spalato.²³ The same leaf-and-dart decorates the archivolts, which thus retain, as in the preceding number, the reminiscence of the cornice mouldings of the pediments of the three-aedicula type. The colonnettes are in every respect similar to those of Sardis B, having the same bases and capitals, which also show, in distinction to those of Melfi and in accordance with their later date, the illogical direction of the volutes. The spandrels of the arcade are filled with foliation of naturalistic character, into which on the lateral faces are inserted infant and female heads.

Figured Decoration. This consists, as in the last example, mainly of the Labours of Herakles, the *front* displaying the Labours of the Nemean Lion, the Lernaean Hydra, the Erymanthian Boar, the Cerynean Hind, and the Stymphalian Birds; on the *back* are the Cretan Bull, the Mares of Diomedes, the death of Hippolyte, the slaying of Geryones, and the capture of Cerberus. The sixth (Augean Stables) and twelfth (Apples of the Hesperides) appear in the first and third bays of the *right lateral face*, on either side of a standing female figure at present restored with a cornucopia, whom Robert identifies with Juventus. On the *left lateral face* the central bay contains a tomb-portal, exactly corresponding in composition and decoration to that of Denizli A (Louvre; *ill. 26.*), and Rome D (Colonna; *ill. 55.*), flanked by a female standing figure to the left, in chiton, and himation veiling the head, holding an *acerra* in her hands; and a standing youth to the right, wearing a chlamys clasped on the right shoulder and draped over the left shoulder and arm, holding a staff in his right hand and a ram's head in the left.

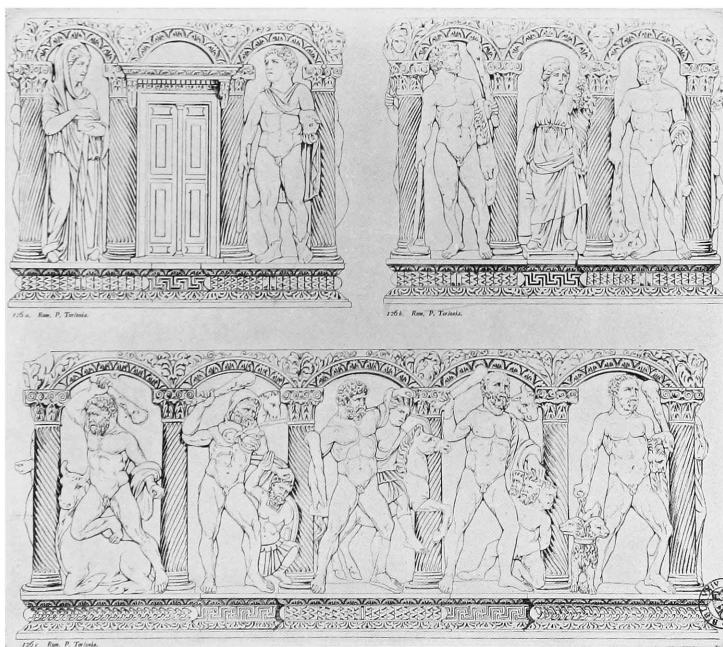
Details of description and restoration are given by Robert, who dates, on the basis of the coiffure of the original head of the woman reclining on the couch, in the first half of the third century. Lydian technique.

ROME H. Villa Borghese, except for two fragments of the podium of a lateral face, which are in the Louvre; the sarcophagus came into the possession of Cardinal Scipione Borghese in the XVII century; its further provenance is unknown, but there is record of it in the sixteenth century (*ills. 85–86.*). Only the long sides remain, the present lid being a substitution, and of the long sides themselves the front has been largely restored and the back even more, the two bays of its right end being wholly modern except for a column base. H. 1.00; W. 2.63. Robert, *op. cit.* III, no. 127, and the bibliography there given; Weigand, *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1914, p. 73. Enough of the original ornament remains (the last two bays to the right on the front) to guarantee the profile of the arches (which have no conches, like all other Lydian members of the five-arch group) as a Lesbian cymation identical in composition with that of Rome F (Pigna; *ill. 82*) and Melfi (*ills. 39–41*), but of somewhat less colouristic effect, being more compact, and more modelled than flat, retaining a well-defined ball in the head of the dart. On the back the restorer has changed this to the western type of cymation by giving the characteristic tulip form to the inner leaf, which accounts for Weigand's mistake in assigning the sarcophagus and its congeners (Rome F, Pigna; Rome G, Torlonia) to an atelier of Asiatic workmen in Rome (see p. 25). The filling of the spandrels originally consisted of an acanthus rosette alternating with a tree, but the restoration has given rosettes to the corner spandrel at the right of the front, and to all three of the spandrels on the modern right half of the back. The high podium is treated as a rocky landscape containing various scenes of hunting.²⁴ The colonnettes with their bases and capitals are of the Melfi type, but with a sharper canting of the volutes.

The figured decoration consists again of the Labours of Herakles, the *front* bays containing the scenes of the Nemean Lion, the Hydra, the Boar, the Cerynean Hind, and the Stymphalian Birds, while the original episodes remaining on the *back* are the Cretan Bull, the killing of Diomedes, and of Hippolyte. The last two bays of the back originally had the slaying of Geryones and the capture of Cerberus; the Labours of the Augean stables



83. Rome, Palazzo Torlonia; sarcophagus-front, with *Labours of Herakles* (Rome G)



84. Rome, Palazzo Torlonia; back and lateral faces of *Herakles-sarcophagus* (Rome G)

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and the Apples of the Hesperides were doubtless on the right lateral face as in the case of the preceding sarcophagus. It is noteworthy that the iconography of the Labours is simpler here than in the preceding examples, in which more detail is inserted and the bays more completely filled. A specific difference is found in the rendering of the slaying of the Lernaean Hydra, which is here depicted at Herakles' left, while in Rome F and G (Pigna, Torlonia), and in other renderings of later date in the third century, the serpent is at Herakles' right and coils about his leg. The Amazon, too, here kneels; in Rome G (Torlonia) and the sarcophagus described below under the type with horizontal entablature (London, British Museum), she is mounted.

Details of description and restoration are given by Robert, who dates in the second half of the second century. Lydian technique.

ROME I. Formerly in Villa Mattei (*ills. 87–89.*); now in the Terme? Sarcophagus decorated on three sides, complete save for the missing lid, and (not to mention minor mutilations) the loss of the heads of Erato, Melpomene, Thalia and Terpsichore, the left hand of Erato, the right arm of Melpomene, and the right forearm of Terpsichore. Riegl, *Spätömische Kunstdenkmäler*, p. 78, fig. 16; Rivoira, *Le origini dell' architettura lombarda*, I, fig. 297 and *Architettura musulmana*, p. 138, figs. 115, 116; Muñoz, *N. Bull. arch. crist.* 1905, p. 89; Stohlman, *A. J. A.* 1921, p. 228, fig. 4–6. The ornament is almost identical with that of Sidamara; the arcade of the front being equivalent in spandrel filling and decoration of the archivolts to that of the back of the Sidamara sarcophagus. The arches here are semicircular, but contain, in contrast to the Lydian Herakles-sarcophagi we have been describing, the conches radiating upward of the Sidamara type. The colonnettes have bases identical in proportions and profile with those on the front of that sarcophagus.²⁶ The horseshoe arches of the lateral faces reproduce the type of the right lateral face of Sidamara (*ill. 67*), and rest on a podium which resembles the profile of its sister sarcophagus from Selefkeh (*ill. 63.*). The technique on the other hand is looser than in either of the monuments mentioned: the spandrel filling is more confused than on the back of Sidamara; the capitals vary in height; there is more movement and less dignity to the figures; and this search for animation is not accompanied by a corresponding skill in rendering it, which leaves the attitudes at times ungainly and reveals faulty articulation (cf. the second figure on the right lateral face). The statuettes represent the Nine Muses and two poets, as follows:

Front, left to right: (1) Erato, headless, in chiton and himation, holding a plectrum in her right hand, the left (broken) resting upon a small lyre; (2) Melpomene, headless, in long chiton with Gorgoneion on the breast, and girdled by an embroidered belt beneath the breasts, with himation draped over left arm and hanging in two folds over the shoulders and beneath the girdle, right arm (broken away) hanging at her side (*puntelli* on the colonnette), the hand resting on the club of Herakles (fragment on the column base and pedestal), left arm draped with the end of her himation, the hand holding a tragic mask; (3) Euterpe in chiton and himation, holding long double flute in both hands; (4) Thalia in similar dress showing the chiton girdled beneath the breasts, headless, holding a comic mask in her right hand, and a fold of the himation, together with a staff (broken) in her left; (5) Terpsichore, in similar dress, resting the weight on the right leg, with left foot raised and resting upon an unrolled rotulus depicted in perspective on the base of the corner colonnette, holding a large lyre with the left hand, which she was apparently striking with the right (broken).

Right Lateral Face, left to right: (1) Urania, in chiton baring right shoulder, and himation, extending her right hand (which held an object now broken away) toward the globe she holds with the left; (2) poet, bald and bearded, in himation baring breast and right arm and shoulder, moving right with both hands resting on a spirally twisted staff; (3) Polymnia in chiton and himation, resting weight on left leg, with right leg crossed in front of it, leaning

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on a pillar with right elbow, and resting the chin upon her right hand, while the left arm holds a fold of her himation beneath the right arm-pit.

Left Lateral Face, left to right: (1) Kalliope in chiton and himation, holding tablet (broken) in the left hand; (2) bearded poet in himation baring breast and right arm and shoulder, raising the right hand to his head and holding a rotulus in the left; (3) Klio, in chiton and himation, raising her right hand toward the poet, and holding in her left, around which a fold of the himation is tightly wrapped, a rotulus.

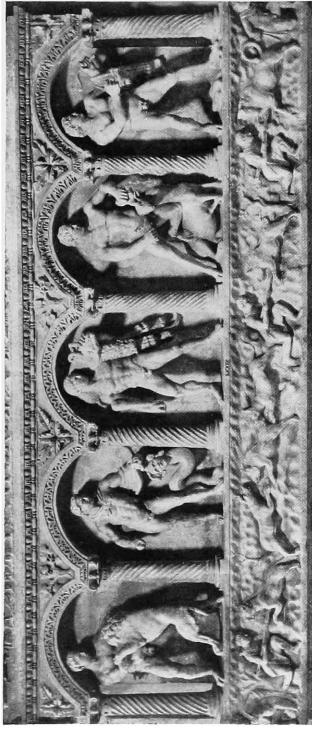
Stohlman dates the sarcophagus in the second or third quarter of the third century. Sidamara technique.

ROME J. From Villa Montalto; now in the British Museum (*ill. 90.*). Sarcophagus front. *British Museum Marbles*, X, pl. 44; Bie, *Die Musen in der antiken Kunst*, p. 58, no. I, 10; Stohlman, l. c. p. 230, fig. 7. The ornament follows the type of the preceding example, save that the middle torus of the bases does not seem to be so much emphasized, and the corner colonnettes are replaced by pilasters, with shafts decorated by vine rinceaux, and bases reproducing the profile of those on Torre Nova A and Megiste. The five bays are filled by four pairs of standing Muses, with Euterpe retaining her place in the central bay, which is narrower than the others. The base of the last colonnette but one, on which Terpsichore rests her foot, substitutes a rectangular die for the lower toruses and cavetto. Kalliope and Klio of the left lateral face of the Mattei sarcophagus here occupy the left terminal bay, balanced in the right terminal bay by Urania and Polymnia, which figures are found on the right lateral face in the Mattei example. The rest of the Muses appear in the order observed on the front of the preceding sarcophagus.

The nine figures are represented as follows, from left to right: (1) Kalliope, in chiton and himation, holding tablet in her left hand, a replica in everything but the gesture of the right hand against her breast (which probably held a stylus) of the Mattei Kalliope; (2) Klio, a replica of the corresponding Muse on the Mattei example, except that the weight of the body is shifted to the left leg, and the himation is arranged somewhat differently; (3) Erato, exact replica, save for details of the himation, of the Mattei Erato; (4) Melpomene, exact replica; (5) Euterpe, exact replica; (6) Thalia, exact replica, with more of the staff preserved; (7) Terpsichore, exact replica, enabling us to restore the plectrum in the missing right hand of the Mattei Muse; (8) Urania, replica in all but the arrangement of the himation, and the oblong object here held in the right hand, which is broken away in the case of the Mattei Muse; (9) Polymnia, replica, except that the himation is wrapped around the left arm and thrown over the left shoulder.

These identities, and the close resemblance of the ornament, make it clear that the two sarcophagi are from the same atelier and of the same date, which is placed by Stohlman in the second or third quarter of the third century. Sidamara technique.²⁷

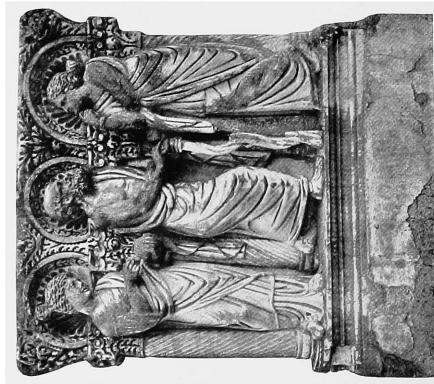
TYRE. Constantinople, Ottoman Museum. Found with other fragments in the vicinity of Tyre, between Ma'choûq and Rechidye, in the course of excavations by Macridy Bey, in 1903 (*ill. 91*). The more important of the other fragments are in the Ottoman Museum, the less important remain at Tyre and Rechidye. Fragment of long side of trough, broken to left and right, and below. H. 1.15; W. 1.58. Muñoz, *L'Arte*, 1906, p. 132; Mendel, *B. C. H.* 1909, p. 334, no. 18; Mme. Denyse le Lasseur, *Syria*, III, 1922, pp. 132-133, pl. xxiv. Herakles, nude, save for chlamys clasped on breast and hanging over back and left arm; head covered with lion's skin; female head turned left; female head turned right. To left of Herakles, remains of niche containing mutilated left arm of female figure. Sidamara technique.



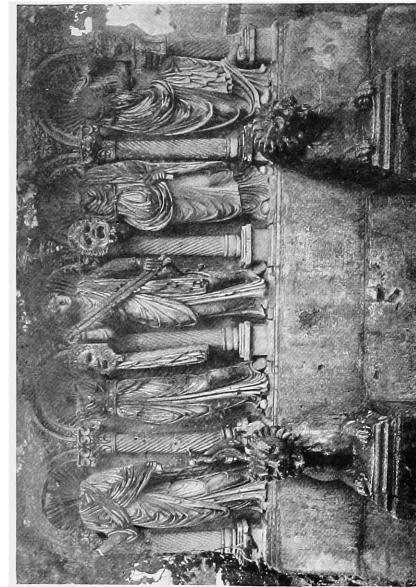
85. Rome, Villa Borghese; sarcophagus-front, with Labours of Hercules (Rome II)



86. Rome, Villa Borghese; back of sarcophagus, with Labours of Hercules (Rome II)



88. Right lateral face of sarcophagus formerly in Villa Mattei, with poet and two Muses (Rome I)



87. Front of sarcophagus formerly in Villa Mattei, with Muses (Rome I)



89. Left lateral face of sarcophagus formerly in Villa Mattei, with poet and two Muses (Rome I)

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D. TYPE WITH HORIZONTAL ENTABLATURE

LONDON. British Museum; from Athens, according to indications given by Vaux (*Handbook to Antiquities in the British Museum*, 1851, p. 249), and Ellis (*British Museum; Towneley Gallery*, II, 1836, p. 206 ff.) (ill. 92.). Rear face of a sarcophagus, broken to left and right, retaining the three central bays and portions of the terminal ones. H. 2.16; W. 2.16. Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, III, no. 131; Weigand, *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1914, p. 73. The architecture here consists of a colonnade of six colonnettes, longer than elsewhere in the series, with the customary base and plinth, but bearing capitals which, while they show the usual double volutes, have leaves with vertical grooving and undercutting that gives the basket the appearance of a tongue-ornament. The podium resembles portions of that of Melfi and of Rome G (Torlonia) in its guilloche design, but this is capped and supported by a Lesbian cymation, whereas the other sarcophagi have a base moulding ornamented with palmettes. This Lesbian cymation is loose and irregular in design, the dart sometimes showing a ball-cap but usually a rectangular tip; the contours of the leaves are grooved. At the corners of the projections of the podium a trefoil replaces the usual inner leaf. The podium and entablature are broken out in alternate bays, but the projecting bays are here nos. 2 and 4 instead of the central and terminal intercolumniations as was the case of the podium of Torlonia and of Melfi. The entablature consists of an architrave of three fasciae, supporting a narrow frieze ornamented with ivy-rinceaux. The Labours of Herakles which fill the intercolumniations are placed like statue-groups on low pedestals, whose front is marked alternately with a semicircular concavity or projection; in bay no. 4 the projection is marked with an extra rectangular set-off. The Labours are those of the back of Torlonia, and almost replicas thereof, save that the Amazon is represented as slipping from her horse, and the figures of Diomedes and Geryones are rendered without legs like trophies with heads, —a convention which may be due to the statuesque treatment of the several groups. Weigand's notion that this sarcophagus is the latest of the Lydian group is hardly tenable, in view of early indications such as the occasional retention of the ball-cap of the Lesbian dart, and the grooving of the leaf-contours. Details of description and mutilation are given by Robert, who regards the workmanship as "jedenfalls provinziale Arbeit." Lydian technique.

E. TYPE WITH CENTRAL GABLE AND LATERAL ARCHES

CONCORDIA. Found in the necropolis (ill. 93.). Fragments of the front and lateral face of a sarcophagus. Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana*, V, pl. 362, 1; Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom?*, p. 50; Stohlman, *A. J. A.* 1921, p. 230. The shaft of but one colonnette is preserved, showing the upper torus of the base. The capitals, of which one is preserved entire, are of the colouristic type employed in Rome I and J (Mattei; British Museum); so also is the filling of the spandrels and the foliation which replaces the old profiles of the pediments. These pediments (inclosing no conches) are carried directly on the capitals without the interposition of the impost-block, and are three in number, the central one pointed and each lateral bay arched. In the central pediment one can still see the outlines of the old half-palmette acroteria of the original three-aedicula type, but the "palmettes" are now mere nondescript repetitions of the spandrel filling. On the lateral face appears a garland, unfinished, with central knot and pendant, and lemnisci; within the garland is a Gorgoneion. On the front the left terminal bay, retaining half its archivolt, contains the standing figure (broken below) of a youth ("ancella," Garrucci), in chiton and himation, bearing an *acerra* in his hands; in the central bay is the married pair, standing with right hands clasped in the *manuum iunctio*; the faces are unfinished. The wife to left is clad in chiton, and himation

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veiling the head and pulled forward with left hand in the matron's gesture. The husband to right wears a tunic and toga, whose cross-fold in front approximates the *contabulatio*; in his left hand he holds a rotulus. These figures are broken away below the knees, as also the lower part of the body of the small Hymenaeus who stands between them holding a torch in his hands. In the arched bay to the right stand two bearded figures, the one to the left clad in chiton and himation, the other in tunic and toga with even more marked approximation of the *contabulatio* than that just described, indicating the identity of this figure with the husband. He holds a fold of his toga with the right hand and rotulus in his left. This pair of figures is also broken away below the knees.

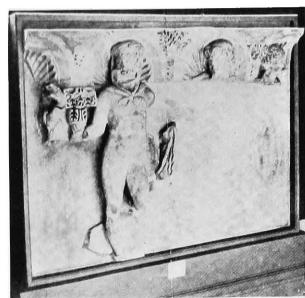
Stohlman dates in the last quarter of the third century. Sidamara technique.

ROME K. Formerly in Villa Ludovisi. (ill. 94.) Sarcophagus front. Garrucci, *op. cit.* V, pl. 362, 2; Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom?* p. 50, fig. 18; Stohlman, *A. J. A.* 1921, p. 230. The ornament is completely preserved save for the left half of the second spandrel, and identical with that of the preceding example, except for minor differences such as the smaller size of the acroteria on the pointed pediment, which has a rounded peak at the top, and the insertion of rosette whorls of acanthus leaves in the tympana of the terminal bays. The bases of the colonnettes are here intact and show the customary profiles of the Sidamara type. The figures also are fairly well preserved; mutilation has obliterated the faces of the two women in the left terminal bay, and the right forearm of the male figure to the left in the opposite bay is broken away. In the left bay, the two standing women are dressed in chiton and himation; the one to the left holds a box in her hands; the other rests her right elbow in the palm of her left hand, around which is wrapped a fold of her himation. The central group, standing before a *parapetasma*, repeats the disposition of Concordia; the husband has the close-cropped hair and the short beard of the portraits of the end of the third century, and upon the veiled head of the wife appears the tip of the braid (Scheitelzopf) which came into fashion in coiffures from the middle of the third century on.²⁸ The group of two standing male figures in the right terminal bay is a replica of the corresponding pair on Concordia. In the tympanum of the central bay is the inscription: D M D E ? I AVRELI THEODORI EMINENTISSIMAE MEMORIAE VIRI DEPOSSIO DIE · III · NON · IVNIAS. To the left of this in smaller letters the widow has added: VARIA OCTABIANA C.F·CONIVGI SVO INNOCINTISSIMO FEC. The occurrence of the word *deposcio* (*depositio*) leads Stohlman to date the sarcophagus in the last quarter of the third century, since the term begins to appear in catacomb epitaphs of Rome after c. 250. This gives a probable *terminus a quo*, but no very close limitation *ad quem*, since the word is occasionally found instead of the usual *depositus* far into the fourth century.²⁹ On the other hand the coiffures of both husband and wife reflect the second half of the third century, and a late date therein is indicated not only by the relative coarseness with which the ornament is executed, but also by the contamination of the originally separate types of aediculae and arcade, and the intrusion of the Roman custom of direct portraits. In the series hitherto such representation of the deceased as has occurred has taken the form of ideal figures selected from the stock repertoire of the ateliers. It is hardly necessary to state that Concordia and Rome K were produced in the same atelier, if not by the same hand. Sidamara technique.

SAINTE-MARIE-DU-ZIT, Tunis. Now in the Musée Alaoui (ill. 95.). Sarcophagus front, with minor mutilations (head and right leg from the hip of the first of the Graces broken away, as also the left leg from the knee of the middle one, and the left hand of the shepherd). H. 0.82; W. 2.30. White marble. Weigand, *Ath. Mitt.* 1914, p. 48 (takes the example for an imitation of our type); *Musées de l'Algérie*, XV, *Musée Alaoui* (Suppl.), no. 1115; pl. XLVI, 1. The ornament is the same as that of the preceding, except that the capitals have



90. British Museum; detail of sarcophagus-front, with *Muses* (Rome J)



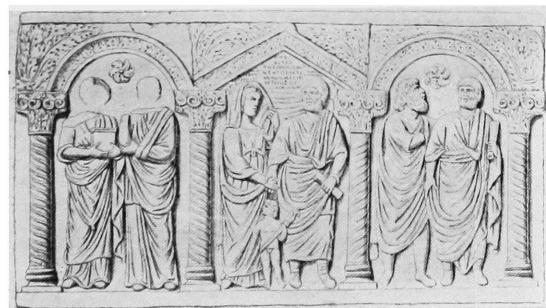
91. Constantinople, Ottoman Museum; sarcophagus-fragments, with *Herakles* (Tyre)



92. British Museum; back of sarcophagus, with *Labours of Herakles* (London)



93. Concordia; fragments of sarcophagus



94. Sarcophagus-front formerly in Villa Ludovisi (Rome K)

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lost their double volutes and now present a composition resembling that of Constantinople (Berlin), in that the face of the capital is no longer occupied by a leaf, but by the juncture of the two leaves which spring from the corners. The triangle thus formed is filled with fine foliation. An abacus with *flos*, resembling again that of the Berlin example, crowns the capital. The colonnettes are spirally fluted and have the customary late Sidamara base, particularly in the case of the central pair, where the upper torus is exaggerated as in Rome I (Mattei). The central niche is much wider than the others and crowned with a pointed pediment with barely indicated dentil-row, and terminal acroteria vaguely outlined within the spandrel foliation, as on Concordia and Rome K (Ludovisi). The dentil-course of this pediment rests upon the capitals at either end; its upper listel is decorated with an undulating stem resembling that of the pediment of Constantinople (Berlin). The foliate filling of the spandrels is interrupted between arches 1 and 2, and 4 and 5, by masks. Pilasters mark the ends of the front, after the manner of Rome J (British Museum), and with the same kind of base and identical vine-rinceaux. The cornices are plain, and no conches are employed.

The figured decoration consists of a group of the Three Graces in the central compartment, and the Four Seasons in the lateral bays. Of the latter, impersonated by putti, the first is nude and stands upon a low pedestal, holding a hare by the forelegs in his right hand, and a round receptacle with indeterminate contents in his left. His neighbour to the right, representing Summer, holds a broken object in his right hand, and a sheaf of grain in the left; he is also unclothed. The outer Graces of the central group hold each an hypothymis in the outstretched hand, resting the other arm on the shoulder of the central figure, who stands facing inward with her head in profile to the right, resting her hands on the outer shoulders of her sisters. The putto representing Autumn follows, wearing chlamys fastened on the right shoulder and forming in front a *sinus* filled with fruit; he holds in the right hand a bunch of grapes (?) and in his left a doubled fold of his chlamys (for parallels to this figure, see p. 63). In the terminal bay is Winter, costumed as a shepherd in boots and sleeved chiton, and bearing a ram on his shoulders, whose four legs are clasped in the shepherd's right hand; the left (broken away) probably held a staff.

The date of the sarcophagus is indicated by the "Scheitelzopf" worn by the Graces, giving a *terminus a quo* from c. 250. Much later date is shown by the change in the capital, with its resemblance in the arrangement of the leaves to that of Constantinople (Berlin), the final example in point of chronology which the series at present affords. The fourth of the season-putti, again, is assimilated to the Good Shepherd type of Christian art, whose earlier examples show the shepherd grasping the front and hind feet of the animal with both hands; the gathering of all four feet together into one hand, as here, is characteristic of the fourth century examples of the *Pastor Bonus*.³⁰ Lastly there is an unmistakable air of the fourth century about these figures in their squatness and lack of relative proportion, the putti in fact being larger than the Graces. We shall not err therefore in placing the sarcophagus in the first half of the fourth century. Sidamara technique.

F. INDETERMINATE TYPE: SARCOPHAGUS LIDS

SAGALASSOS. Sarcophagus lid. (ill. 96.) Lanckoroński, *Villes de la Pamphylie et de la Pisidie*, II, p. 150, fig. 113. Married pair, headless, reclining on a couch with grooved upper border, mattress decorated with bands and a bird (holding twig in beak) carved in low relief, with feet and *fulcra* of the form of Sardis B, Melfi, Sidamara, Rome G (Torlonia), Myra, and Torre Nova B. The husband holds a rotulus in his left, and rests his right hand on the right shoulder of his wife; the latter grasps a fold of drapery in her left hand which falls over the front of the mattress, and in her right an hypothymis supported by two winged putti carved

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in high relief on the front of the couch. Two more putti, both wearing chlamys, are disposed at the head and foot of the couch in the manner of Sidamara and Rome G (Torlonia); the one at the head is standing on the couch-rail and holding fruit (?) in the *sinus* of his chlamys; the other sits on the foot of the mattress holding in his hands a plate (?) with indeterminate objects upon it; upon the couch-rail to the left of the standing putto is a cock. Sidamara technique.

TORRE NOVA B. Found at Torre Nova in 1903, but hitherto unrecognized as a member of our series (ill. 97.). Complete sarcophagus lid, save for minor mutilations (tips of the *fulcra*, fingers of the hands of the reclining boy; the dog's head). W. 1.436. White marble (Rizzo suggests Luna marble with hesitation; this seems impossible in view of the obvious derivation of the monument from the Lydian atelier). Rizzo, *Not. degli Scavi*, 1905, p. 416, figs. 4-5. The lid is of the couch-type represented by Melfi, Sardis B, Rome G (Torlonia), Sidamara, Myra, and Sagalassos, having the same bands on the mattress, similar *fulcra* (although the presence of the horses' heads cannot be certified because the tips are broken away), the characteristic overhanging fold of drapery, the turned feet, and the dog reclining at the foot of the mattress as in Sardis B, Melfi, and Sidamara. On the head of the couch is a bolster and a pillow, against which rests the left elbow of a reclining boy, wearing chiton and himation, and holding an unrolled rotulus in his left hand, which is stretched out upon the mattress. The space between the feet of the couch is decorated with a frieze of four garlands suspended upon bucraenia, from the horns of which dangle lemnisci.

Rizzo dates in the second century; from the simplicity of the treatment of the couch and its accessories (omission of the putti, and of the frieze on the face of the mattress), a position in the series close to Melfi is indicated, and I should place the example not later than the third quarter of the second century, a date also indicated by the high quality of the portrait head of the boy. Lydian technique.

Throughout the foregoing catalogue I have noted the variety of technique exhibited by each example as either "Lydian" or "Sidamara." It will make the rest of our discussion clearer if these two classes be summarized at this point, omitting the dubious examples marked with interrogation-point in the catalogue, and the fragments from Adalia, Fugla, and Eskishehr (Eskishehr B, Berlin), which have not been sufficiently described to permit classification:

LYDIAN TECHNIQUE

DENIZLI A	LONDON	ROME D (Colonna)	SMYRNA C (=B?)
DENIZLI B	MEGISTE	ROME F (Pigna)	TORRE NOVA A
ISMID	MELFI	ROME G (Torlonia)	TORRE NOVA B*
ISNIK A*	MYRA A	ROME H (Borghese)	USKELES*
ISNIK B*	MYRA B*	SARDIS A*	VIENNA
KASSABA	ROME B (Chiaramonti)	SARDIS B	

The Lydian technique of most of the above examples is apparent from the capitals, in which the leaves are sharply serrated, as well as in the handling of entablatures and cornices, wherein we find the Greek mouldings retained in profile and ornament, the egg-and-dart not being interrupted by foliation as in the Sidamara examples, and the simas retaining the original palmette pattern, which in the Sidamara technique is modified as we shall see later, or degenerates into a confused colouristic leaf-design. The numbers marked with the asterisk cannot be assigned on the basis of the capitals, which have been either mutilated or lost, but their attribution to the Lydian group is justified on other grounds. Thus in Isnik A and B, Sardis A, and Uskeles, the Lydian technique above-described is found in the cornices or entablatures; the column-pedestals retained by the fragment listed as Myra B have carved bosses identical with those of Kassaba;

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and the Lydian provenance of the couch-lid from Torre Nova (Torre Nova B) is clear from its close resemblance to that of Melfi.

SIDAMARA TECHNIQUE

ALASHEHR	CONSTANTINOPLE (Berlin)*	KUTAYA	ROME K (Ludovisi)
ALTYNTASHI	DENIZLI C	NEW YORK	SAINTE-MARIE-DU-ZIT
ATHENS A	EKSHEHR A	RICHMOND	SAGALASSOS*
ATHENS B	HIERAPOLIS A*	ROME A (Brit. Mus.)	SELEPKEH
BARI	HIERAPOLIS B*	ROME E (Borghese-Louvre)	SIDAMARA
BERLIN	KONIEH	ROME I (Mattei)	SMYRNA A
CONCORDIA		ROME J (Brit. Mus.)	TYRE

Of the numbers marked with the asterisk, Hierapolis A and Sagalassos are couch-lids evidently belonging to the Sidamara group by reason of the greater elaboration of their detail, in contrast to the relative simplicity of the Lydian lids (Melfi, Sardis, Rome G Torlonia, Torre Nova B), as well as by their style. The hunting scene on the face of Hierapolis B is found only on Sidamara examples (nothing can be judged of the technique from the drawing in *Altertümer von Hierapolis*). The Berlin example from Constantinople retains some of the Lydian chisel technique in the carving of the leaves of the capitals, but its impost-blocks are of the Sidamara type, as well as the architectural composition of the lateral face of which it is a fragment.

It will be noted that while in Torre Nova A and Megiste the Lydian ateliers produced a type with undivided figured frieze and no architectural setting save the corner colonnettes and pilasters, the Sidamara examples so far listed all belong to the architectural types. There is reason to suppose, however, that the latter series also included frieze-sarcophagi. Marked resemblances to the Sidamara sarcophagi in both motifs and technique are shown by certain frieze-sarcophagi of the third century, which on further investigation may prove them to be Asiatic products. Such affinities are shown, for example, by nos. 163, 221, and 223 in the third volume of Robert's *Sarkophagreliefs*, at Spalato, the Conservatori Museum at Rome, and Pisa. The lids of all three are related in type to the Asiatic lids; on the front of one of these sarcophagi (163) we find the Diocurus type and the seated poet, both characteristic Sidamara motifs; and on the other two the hunting-group of the lateral face of Selefkeh. A Muse-sarcophagus in the Musée Alaoui seems to belong to the same category (see note 27).

The present monograph will not pursue this possible clue to an extensive expansion of the Asiatic series, leaving the task to others. It will be well, however, to indicate in the following chapter the extent to which the Asiatic types were imitated in the west, so that future students of the problem may not confuse such imitations with authentic products of the Asiatic ateliers. The pseudo-Asiatic character of Florence (Riccardi) and Rome C (Galleria Lapidaria) has already been suggested by the description of these examples given in the catalogue; in the following chapter an attempt will be made to summarize the evidence which definitely excludes these two numbers from the series, and to isolate the other western groups that imitate the principal architectural type (three-aediculae) of the Asiatic sarcophagi.

C H A P T E R V I

WESTERN IMITATIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL TYPE THE RICCARDI SARCOPHAGUS AND ROME C (GALLERIA LAPIDARIA)

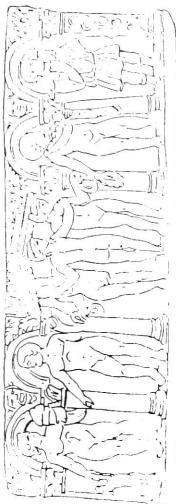
In the lists of the series previously published by Th. Reinach,³¹ Muñoz,³² and Mendel,³³ there have appeared some examples of very uncertain connection with the series, such as the fragment from Frascati seen by Muñoz³⁴ in a dealer's hands at Rome, and others which are quite certainly imitations of the type. In this category may be placed the Montferrand sarcophagus, said to be from Greece, in the Hermitage (*ill. 98*), and the example in the Capitoline Museum, the first of which was definitely, and the latter tentatively, added to the series by Th. Reinach.³⁵

These sarcophagi belong in fact to a well-defined type quite different from the Asiatic, and represented by the following examples, arranged in approximately chronological order:

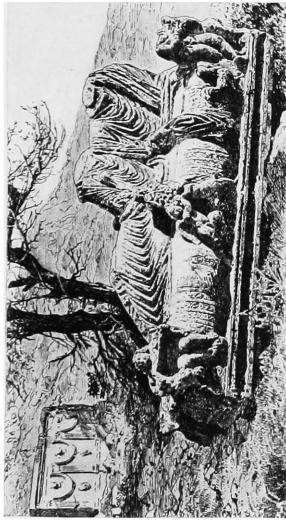
1. ROME, VATICAN, Belvedere (Amelung, *Sculpturen des vat. Mus.* II, Cortile del Belvedere, no. 60). Sarcophagus-front; late Antonine in date and of Italian marble (Amelung).
2. ROME, CAPITOLINE (cited by Th. Reinach, *Mon. Piot*, IX, p. 209, note 3).
3. ROME, CONSERVATORI (Amelung, II, l. c. p. 156). Similar to no. 1, and of the same date (Amelung).
4. FLORENCE, PALAZZO RICCARDI (Dütschke, *Ant. Bildwerke in Italien*, II, no. 122). First half of the third century (Dütschke) (*ill. 99*).
5. PETROGRAD, HERMITAGE (Reinach, *Mon. Piot*, IX, p. 208, no. 10). Pentelic marble.
6. ROME, VATICAN, Belvedere (Amelung, II, Cortile del Belvedere, no. 48).

The type of these sarcophagi, ranging in date from the end of the second century well into the third, seems to be Italian in origin, since the earliest example (no. 1) is of Italian marble according to Amelung, and the Petrograd sarcophagus, while its marble is said to be Pentelic and its provenance Greek, belongs unquestionably to a later phase. *Ill. 99* shows the Riccardi example, ascribed to the third century by Dütschke, in which western workmanship betrays itself in the substitution of portraits instead of mythology as the main theme of the sculptor, in the free use of *parapetasmata*, and the lack of architectonic logic in the composition. On the other hand, the derivation of the idea of the façade from the Asiatic three-aediculae type is equally evident.

The group is characterized by the transposition of the tomb-portal, characteristic feature of the left *lateral* face of the Asiatic sarcophagi, to the central gabled aedicula of the front, where it is regularly represented with the left valve ajar, from which in nos. 4 and 5 issues the figure of Hermes Psychopompos. The earlier examples maintain the Asiatic tradition of three separate aediculae, marking the separation by genii (nos. 1, 3), female divinities or personifications (2) or Victories (4), and retaining the Asiatic impost above the capitals of the arched lateral bays (although the omission of the entablature in the



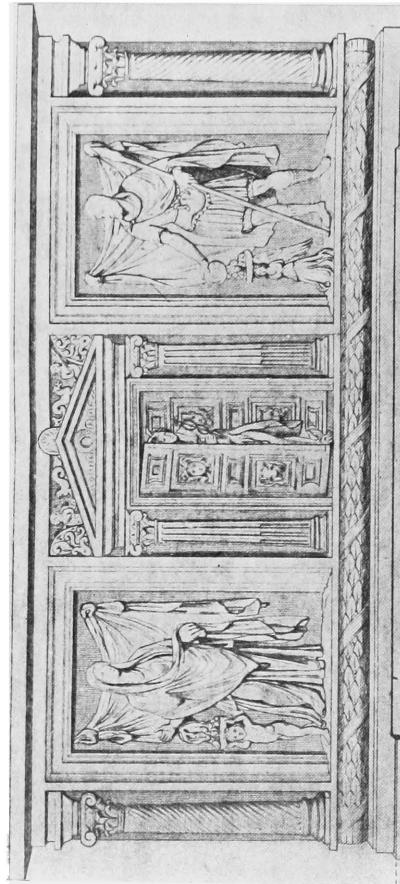
95. Alatri, museum; sarcophagus-front, with Three Graces and the Seasons (St. Marc-de-Zih)



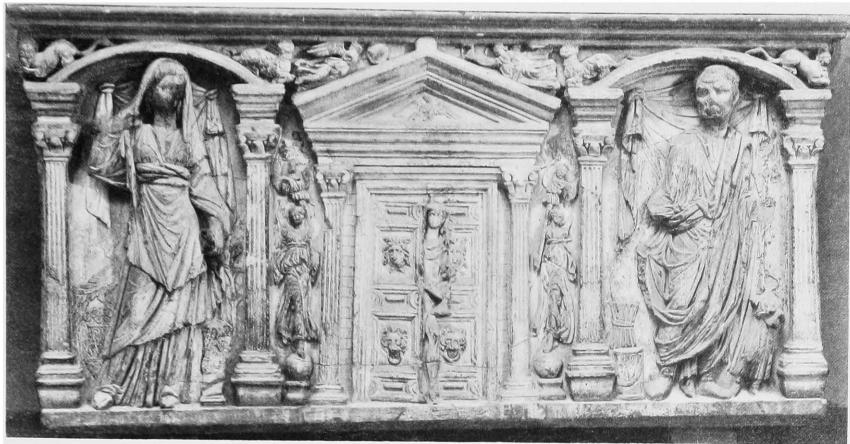
96. Sagalassos; lid of sarcophagus



97. Sarcophagus lid found at Torre Novara (Torre Novara B)



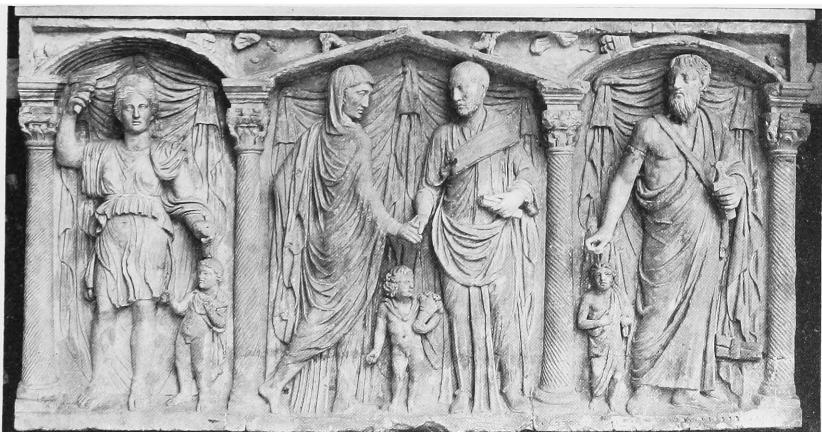
98. Petropavlovsk, Hermitage; sarcophagus-front in the Montferrand Collection, with tomb-portal



99. Florence, Palazzo Riccardi; sarcophagus-front



100. Vienna; fragment in the Lanckoroński Collection



101. Copenhagen, Glyptothek Ny-Carlsberg; sarcophagus-front

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unpedimented intermediate spaces has deprived the form of its original meaning. In 5 and 6 the lateral aediculae give way to simple panels with terminal colonettes, and it is to this phase of the evolution of the imitative type that Reinach's Petrograd sarcophagus belongs.

A fragment in the Galleria Lapidaria, with the remains of a head of a horse belonging to a Dioscurus, was regarded by Muñoz³⁶ as reflecting a preliminary phase in the evolution of the series. This fragment has all the appearance of belonging to the same sarcophagus as the fragment in the Lanckoroński collection in Vienna (*ill. 100*), but as I am not informed as to the material and measurements of the two pieces, this can only be offered as a conjecture. In any case the two fragments belong to the same type of sarcophagus, and this type is closer to the Asiatic than the one just described in retaining the entablature in the unpedimented bays, as well as the impost block. The ornament is different from that of our series, however: a crenellation or dentil-row is added beneath the egg-and-dart of the pediment in the arched aedicula; the Lesbian leaf of the lower member of the impost-block is foliate; and the capitals are composite. That this type is imitative and western is indicated by the *pileus* worn by the Dioscurus of the Lanckoroński fragment (see p. 58; this figure might however be Odysseus, unless the Vatican fragment, with its horse's protome, proves to be the missing right hand portion of the Vienna fragment), and especially by the foliation of the Lesbian cymation. In any case the two pieces cannot be placed within the Asiatic series.

Another type, represented by examples in the Vatican (Belvedere), in Copenhagen (Glyptothek Ny-Carlsberg, *ill. 101*), and the Terme Museum (from the Via Appia),³⁷ retains the impost-blocks of the Asiatic type, but omits the unpedimented intermediate bays, so that the colonnettes of the central gabled aedicula serve also as the inner supports of the terminal arched niches. This makes the type resemble, save for the presence of the impost-block, the composition employed on the fronts of Concordia and Rome K (Ludovisi). The ornament, however, shows no connection with the series, and the subjects employed belong to the Latin rather than the Eastern cycle, exception being made of the Dioscuri in the terminal bays of the Terme sarcophagus. The three examples cited are dated in the third century by Amelung, Schulz, and Mariani-Vaglieri respectively.

The sarcophagus listed in the catalogue as Florence (Palazzo Riccardi; p. 30; *ill. 102*), to be distinguished from the one mentioned above in the "tomb-portal" group, partakes of the characteristics of such imitations of the Asiatic type to such an extent that in my opinion it should not be included in the series, as has hitherto been the case, but should be regarded rather as an adaptation of the three-aediculae type to Roman taste, and probably executed in Italy. The discrepancies manifest in the ornament have already been pointed out in the catalogue, and even greater divergence from the Asiatic tradition is found in the subjects employed, of which the only familiar type is that of the Dioscuri. Even these differ from the Asiatic Dioscuri by the fact that the horses turn their heads inward, and the twins wear the *pileus*. Neither of these features appear in our series, but the twins regularly wear the *pileus* in the western examples of the type, and as often as not the horses are turned inward.³⁸ A possible reason for this rather undecorative handling of the figures as terminals may be found in the influence of the famous group

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of Monte Cavallo, since Petersen³⁹ has shown that the original disposition of these statues represented the horses as turned toward the center of the composition, and Reinach⁴⁰ has already remarked the resemblance of the Riccardi Dioscuri to the Quirinal group.

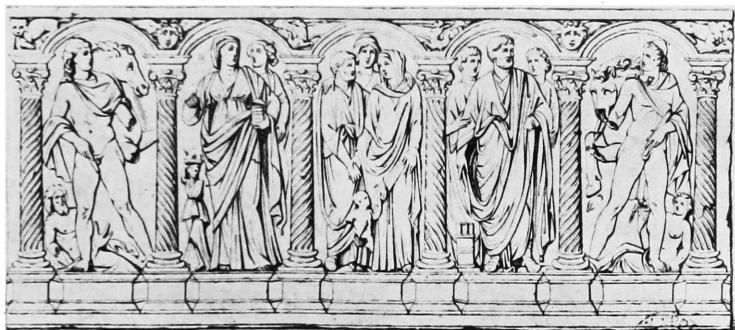
Further indication of Roman origin for the sarcophagus is found in the substitution of portraits and scenes related to the life of the deceased, for the mythological cycles characteristic of Greek tombs,—a substitution which makes its way into our series only in its latest phase, since we have found no direct portraiture in the decoration of the coffins of our monuments in any examples prior to Concordia and Rome K (Ludovisi), which date in the end of the third century. The “marriage sarcophagus,” of which the Riccardi sarcophagus is an example, is indeed a thoroughly Roman notion, and Rossbach’s study⁴¹ has made clear the Roman origin of the rites and symbols depicted on these monuments, varieties of which are found in the two imitative groups described above (pp. 56, 57).

Lastly, the composition of the right lateral face,—a victimarius leading out a bull to sacrifice,—is repeated on one of the small sides of a sarcophagus (*ill. 103*) in the Campo Santo at Pisa,⁴² and again on the lateral face of a sarcophagus found at Tipasa, (*ill. 104*)⁴³ both very similar in type, and very clearly to be excluded from the Asiatic series. The Pisan sarcophagus is also remarkably like the Riccardi example in its front, where we find, it is true, an arcade of five arches replacing the three aediculae of Riccardi, but nevertheless the same disposition of the married pair in the central compartment, and the single figures of husband and wife in the adjoining bays, with the Dioscuri, wearing the *pileus*, again in the terminal bays, and their horses turned inward. The same accessory figures of Gaia and Okeanos accompany the Dioscuri. Minor differences are to be noted in the additional figures beside the husband and wife in bays 2 and 4, and the Juno Pronuba who stands between the married pair in the center; the husband in the Pisan sarcophagus wears civil garb, instead of the martial costume of the deceased upon the Riccardi example. In the African sarcophagus (*ill. 104*) we have four bays only; the Dioscuri, wearing the *pileus*, with horses turned inward, occupy the terminal compartments, and the central two display the married pair, sacrificing in the one to the left, with the husband dressed as an imperator, and in the bay to the right performing the *manuum junctio* with the little figure of Hymenaeus between them.⁴⁴

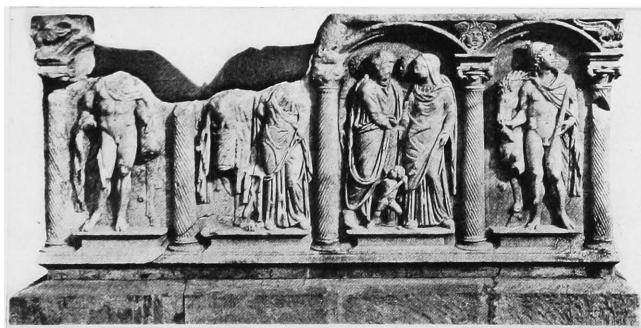
These two sarcophagi undoubtedly show the influence of the Asiatic type in the use of the arcade and the spirally fluted colonnettes which they employ, as also in the reminiscence of an impost-block above the capital. But they do not belong to our series, and show no further signs of other than a western origin, which indeed is indicated by the use of the Roman marriage cycle in the figured decoration, and by the un-Asiatic inward turning of the horses of the Dioscuri, as well as the *pileus* which is worn by the twins. Their connection with the Riccardi sarcophagus is shown not only by these identities of iconography, but also by the use in all three of the same spoon-shaped leaves in the capitals, so marked a departure from the Asiatic form. Another strange feature is the dissection of the podium into isolated pedestals,—placed under each colonnette and figured group in the Pisan example, under the figures alone in the sarcophagus of Tipasa, and constituting a further violation, in the Riccardi monument, of Asiatic tradition.



102. *Florence, Palazzo Riccardi; front of sarcophagus, with Dioscuri and married pair*



103. *Pisa, Campo Santo; sarcophagus-front*



104. *Front of sarcophagus found at Tipasa*

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The Riccardi sarcophagus thus appears to be an imitation of the Asiatic type produced by the same atelier or school from which issued the Pisan and African sarcophagi, and the discrepancies which it manifests when compared with genuine members of the Asiatic series are to be explained as the slips of a copyist. The lower torus of the base of the colonnettes is thus too thick, the leaves of the capital proved too difficult for the western sculptor, the pediments are pitched too steeply, and their cornices adorned with an undulating stem-motif which occurs nowhere else in the series save in the other dubious example represented by Rome C (Galleria Lapidaria). The single unqualified parallel with the Asiatic ornamental cycle is furnished by the palmette on the sima of the lid, which appears again in Rome G (Torlonia); but we cannot be sure that the present lid belongs to the sarcophagus, and if it does, its pitched roof adds another to the list of divergencies. Lastly, and perhaps most important of all as showing the fundamental difference in technique, the drill is scarcely used at all in the decoration, as has been noted by all observers.

The resemblance of the ornament in the cornices of the Riccardi sarcophagus to that of the fragment in the Galleria Lapidaria listed in the catalogue as Rome C (*ill. 54*) makes it likely that this fragment also belongs to the category of western imitations. Both examples show an attenuation of the outlines of egg-and-dart and Lesbian cymation hardly found even in Sidamara technique, and both substitute for the Asiatic sima-palmettes the undulating stem sprouting feathered half-palmettes. The clearest symptom of community of atelier or school is found in the feathering in both also of the lowest pair of leaves in the half-palmettes of the acroteria; one can judge the disparity existing between the style of Rome C and Riccardi on the one hand, and that of the Asiatic series in general on the other, by comparing *ills. 33 and 54* (Isnik A and Galleria Lapidaria).

The models which the sculptors of these two examples had in mind were early examples of the Sidamara section of our series, as is shown by the use of the continuous egg-and-dart in the cornices of the pediments and intermediate bays, uninterrupted by foliation as in the later Sidamara sarcophagi, and also in the early-looking base to the colonnettes; in the impost-blocks the sculptor of Riccardi has employed the typical Sidamara technique in giving up the two oves and two leaves of the egg-and-dart and Lesbian cymation respectively, which always appear in impost-blocks of Lydian technique, using instead the single ove and single dart found on the Sidamara examples. This is important for dating the sarcophagus, for no examples of Sidamara technique have so far been found antedating 200. It was mentioned in the discussion of the Riccardi sarcophagus in the catalogue that the monument has always been dated on the authority of Carl Robert in the period of the Antonines, but the toga worn by the husband is arranged in a manner consistent with the first half of the third century (cf. the toga worn by the male figure in the other Riccardi sarcophagus reproduced in *ill. 99*, on which according to Dütschke's description the female figure wears the coiffure of Julia Maesa), and the peculiarity just noted in the treatment of the impost-block seems to me decisive in favour of dating the sarcophagus no earlier than the beginning of the third century, to which conclusion Rizzo also inclines.

C H A P T E R V I I

THE REPETITION OF THE FIGURE-TYPES

WITH the elimination of the imitative types described in the last section, the continuity of the series as a whole, and particularly the unity of its two subdivisions, becomes very clear. It is demonstrated not only by the persistence of the same types of architectural decoration and motifs of ornament, but also by the curiously limited repertoire of figure sculpture employed by the Asiatic sculptors, which resulted in the constant repetition of figures throughout the series, from one sarcophagus to another, and at times even on the same example. The extent to which this was done may be judged by the following list of the figure-types used on more than one of the series, with the sarcophagi on which it occurs noted under each type. It will be found as we examine the distribution of these figures, that the types divide into two sets distinct one from the other except for the use (with modification) in the second of a few types characteristic also of the first, and that these two sets are employed in the two groups of the Asiatic series, the Lydian and Sidamara respectively. It will be best then to list first the Lydian types, beginning with the six employed upon the sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina as of immediate interest to us, pointing out the instances of the use in the Sidamara group of Lydian types, and second, to catalogue the figure-types used on the Sidamara sarcophagi exclusively.

LYDIAN TYPES

[Abbreviations: RLF—right lateral face; LLF—left lateral face; the numerals indicate the position of the figure in the sequence from left to right. An asterisk denotes Sidamara examples.]

1. Bearded standing figure in chiton and himation, right arm held in a fold of himation as in a sling; left hand holding rotulus (*ill. 105.*).
Sardis B, RLF 1; Isnik B, LF 1, 3; Megiste, front 2; Rome D (Colonna), front 4; Rome E (Borghese-Louvre)* LLF 2 (left hand changed).
2. Bearded standing figure in chiton and himation, which is wrapped around the left wrist; right arm raised or extended; left hand holding rotulus (*ill. 106.*).
Sardis B, LLF 3, front 5; Athens A3*; Ismid RLF 1; Rome D (Colonna) back 1; Selefkeh *RLF 3 (with head changed to Antonine or Severus type); Sidamara *LLF 2 (head mutilated).
3. Standing ephebe, with weight on right leg, and chlamys draped over left shoulder and arm (*ill. 107.*).
Sardis B front 3; Denizli B?; Melfi LLF 3, RLF 3; Rome D (Colonna) back 3; Smyrna A* (with weight of body on left leg).
4. Standing female, in chiton, and himation veiling head, with fold of himation descending diagonally from left shoulder, another from the right to the left wrist and wrapped about both, while a third is pulled around the left wrist and held in the right hand (*ill. 108.*).
Sardis B front 4; Ismid, long side 1 (mutilated); Rome D (Colonna) front 2, back 4; Rome E (Borghese-Louvre)* LLF 1, right hand concealed by himation, left holds drapery-fold.
5. Female figure seated on faldstool, in chiton, and himation veiling head and pulled forward with hand (*ill. 109.*).

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Sardis B front 1; no exact parallel in the series, but a similar figure in reversed position is found on Rome D (Colonna) front 5; cf. also Megiste front 1.

6. Standing female figure, dominatrix, facing right. Head & hands broken off. Lower part of body and legs broken off.

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the Odysseus (?) of Smyrna C may also have formed part of this subject. For the sake of completeness there may also be noted here the mannerism of the drapery-fold, doubled and held in the hand, which begins to be seen on the later examples of Lydian technique (Sardis B front 4; Rome D, Colonna front 2, back 2), and becomes very artificial in the Sidamara group (Rome E, Borghese-Louvre RLF1 and LLF1; Selefkeh front 2, 4, back 2, 4; Sidamara front 2, 4; Richmond 9; Ste-Marie-du-Zit, third putto).

The Sidamara examples that employ the Lydian types have been indicated with asterisk, and it will be noted that their use thereof is always qualified by some modification of the type in question. Thus Type 2, used on Athens A, Selefkeh, and Sidamara, seems from the heads preserved on Athens A3 and Selefkeh to have acquired the Antonine-Severus type, and the ephebe of Type 3 has shifted his weight to the other leg. Types 1 and 4 undergo change when used on Rome E. The camillus of Type 9 acquires an himation when used on Concordia. The tomb-portal also, while it shows within the Lydian group a steady tendency to diminish in height, drops to an absurd level in the Sidamara examples. The female figure, Type 8, which stands to the left of the tomb-portal on Melfi and Rome G (Torlonia), shifts to Type 6 in Sardis B, and is then taken over and modified by the Sidamara sculptors: a bull accompanies the figure in Athens A2; on Sidamara the figure turns to profile and changes the position of the legs; in Richmond 9 the head is reversed and the plate of offerings omitted; finally in Selefkeh the head is unveiled.

The rest of the types belong to the Lydian group alone, and therefore afford very good evidence for the unity thereof on the one hand, and on the other against the identity of its atelier or school with that employing the Sidamara technique. This will be even more apparent as we examine the Sidamara repertoire represented by the next series of types, which do not appear upon the Lydian sarcophagi at all.

SIDAMARA TYPES

12. Dioscuri (*ill. 116.*).

Sidamara front 1, 5; Eskishehr A (wearing chiton as well as chlamys); Konieh 2, first figure, and Konieh 3, second figure; Selefkeh front 1, 5. The reversal of the direction of the horses' heads on Florence (Riccardi), as well as the *pileus* worn by the Dioscuri, indicates a western imitation (see p. 58).

13. Poet-and-muse type. Bearded figure wearing chiton and himation seated on stool, reading from a rotulus, with a female figure in chiton and himation standing before him (*ill. 117.*).

Sidamara front 3, 4; Rome A (British Museum), the woman here representing Thalia; Selefkeh front 3, 4 (woman raising right hand); New York (female figure lost). The standing female of Sidamara is repeated on Selefkeh back 2; in Konieh 1 the group is modified to represent Thetis arming Achilles.

14. The Muses; who appear in practically identical iconography on Rome I (Mattei; *ills. 87–89*) and Rome J (British Museum; *ill. 90*); six of the types of Rome I and J are found on Rome E (Borghese-Louvre), and the other three, with the Apollo, are adapted from types within the cycle. The types of Erato, Melpomene (characterized as Euterpe), and Thalia are found on Altyntash; Thalia appears again on Rome A (British Museum). The Erato type is used elsewhere, and without reference to the Muse; it is therefore listed as Type 15.

15. Erato-type. Standing female figure in chiton and himation; the latter is arranged in a fold crossing the body downward to right, and wrapped tightly around the left wrist; another fold arranged in a loop on the breast and passing over the shoulders, supports the right hand (*ill. 118.*).

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- Richmond 7; Athens B2 (right arm modified); Konieh 3, first figure; Altyntash, long side 1 (muse, identified tentatively with Polymnia by Mendel). The type is used for Erato but with the right arm free, and, with further modification, on Rome I (Mattei) front 1; Rome J (British Museum) 3; and Rome E (Borghese-Louvre) back 2.
16. Standing youth, in himation only, which is wound in a narrow fold around the waist and over the left shoulder, and caught under the left arm (*ill. 119*).
Athens B1; Kutaya 1; Selefkeh RLF 1; Denizli C (with right hand raised to chin). The same type, with lowered hand, is used for one of the philosophers on Bari (first figure), but in this case is bearded.
17. Beardless derivative of Type 1 (*ill. 120*).
Constantinople (Berlin), figure of Christ.
18. Group: standing youth in chiton and chlamys, holding shield on left arm, and a mounted huntsman similarly dressed attacking a boar; a dog beneath the horse (*ill. 121*).
Athens A1; Hierapolis 2, 3; Selefkeh LLF. The standing youth is repeated on Konieh 1, fourth and fifth figures, and adapted in the shepherd of Ste-Marie-du-Zit.
19. Standing youth with long hair falling upon the shoulders, wearing chlamys clasped on the right shoulder, and draped over the left shoulder and arm (*ill. 122*).
Richmond 3 and 4; Alashehr 2, where a chiton is added to the costume.
20. Standing female figure in chiton and himation, the latter wrapped around and covering the right arm, which is held against the body, the hand pulling the himation sharply to the left. (*ill. 123*).
Konieh 2, second figure; Selefkeh front 2.
21. Standing youth, with short curly hair, wearing chiton and himation, a fold of which is wrapped about the left wrist, and another is held stretched between the right and left hands; a rotulus is also held in the left hand (*ill. 124*).
Richmond 5; Selefkeh back 1.
22. Standing youth, wearing chlamys clasped on right shoulder and draped over the left, holding a garland in the left hand (*ill. 125*).
Richmond 2; Selefkeh back 3.

Other similarities which it has not been thought worth while to illustrate are: the transformation of the Meleager of Melfi (back 5) into the seated Herakles of Altyntash; the modification of Type 2 into the central figure of Vienna RLF; the identity of the Naples relief with a group upon Torre Nova A; and the resemblance of the poets of Rome I (Mattei) with the philosopher figures of Bari, Kutaya, and Athens B1. A type which survives throughout the series is the putto holding fruit in the sinus of his chlamys, which decorates the couch of Sardis B, Rome G (Torlonia), Sagalassos, and Sidamara, reappears as a standing figure in Rome D (Colonna; LLF 1, RLF 2), and is finally found impersonating one of the seasons on Ste-Marie-du-Zit.

CHAPTER VIII

DERIVATION OF THE FIGURE-TYPES

SOME of the types described in the preceding section are undoubtedly reflections of Greek originals, and these can be identified with more or less precision in the case of the repertoire of the Sidamara group. No. 13, for example, the “poet-and-muse” group, has already been related by Gutmann⁴⁵ to a Hellenistic composition represented in a fresco from the Farnesina (*ill. 126*),—a male figure seated and resting his left hand on a mask which lies in his lap, with two female figures standing, one beside him and the other in front. As the composition passed into relief, the woman beside the seated figure was omitted, as on the Lateran relief of “Philiscus meditans,”⁴⁶ where a table containing two masks is added; the composition appears in this abbreviated form, but without the table, in two other replicas, *viz.*, a relief in Berlin and another in the Stroganoff collection,⁴⁷ around which may be gathered a number of adaptations of the theme employed in the late imperial period. Some of these are noted by Th. Reinach,⁴⁸ who thinks that the original may have been a votive monument celebrating the victory of a dramatic poet, since Thalia occupies the role of the female companion of the “poet” in the British Museum fragment from the Ghetto (Rome A; *ill. 52*). But we can only speculate upon the ultimate original of the type,—a well-known work of art in view of the many replicas,—and Studniczka’s attempt to relate the “poet” to the statue of Menander by the sons of Praxiteles, set up in the theatre at Athens, has been rejected by Bernoulli and Lippold.⁴⁹

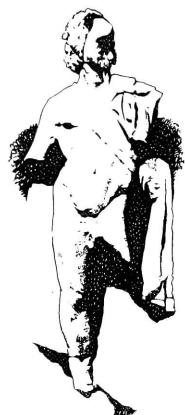
We have to deal with a better-known Hellenistic model in the case of another Sidamara group, namely the Muses of Altyntash and of Rome E, I, and J (Borghese-Louvre, Mattei, British Museum; *ills. 56–59* and *87–90*), together with the single figure of Thalia on the Ghetto fragment just mentioned. The Polymnia of Rome E, I, and J, leaning on a stele with arms wrapped in her himation, is a popular type in imperial art, but derived from a prototype as early at least as the well-known relief of the Apotheosis of Homer by Archelaos of Priene, dated by Watzinger⁵⁰ in the end of the third century B.C. This figure recurs on the basis discovered at Halikarnassos (*ill. 127*; upper left), together with three other figures of the relief of Archelaos, and Amelung⁵¹ identified the quartette as a portion of the famous group of the Muses by Philiskos of Rhodes which Pliny mentions as being in his time in the temple of Apollo near the Porticus Octaviae at Rome. Of the four, one at least besides the Polymnia has survived among the Sidamara types, *viz.*, the Erato which is the first figure on the fragment from Altyntash in the museum at Brussa (*ill. 19*), wherein we still may see the peculiar folds of the himation, pulled diagonally downward from the shoulder by the left hand, and across the body by the right, that characterize the drapery of the muse with the small lyre on the basis of Halikarnassos (*ill. 127*, lower right) and on the relief of Archelaos. The basis, being the later of the two, has emphasized the sharp diagonals of the drapery, and the Erato of Altyntash has increased the tension



105. *Type 1*



106. *Type 2*



107. *Type 3*



108. *Type 4*



109. *Type 5*



110. *Type 6*



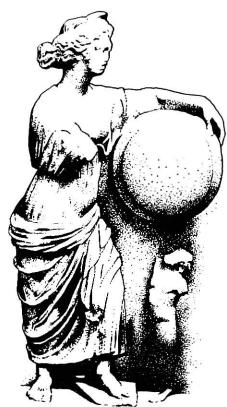
111. *Type 7*



112. *Type 8*



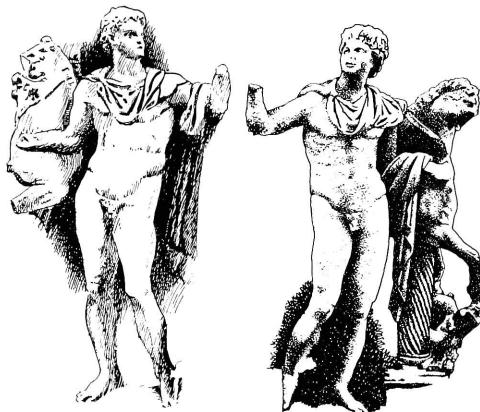
113. *Type 9*



114. *Type 10*



115. *Type 11*



116. *Type 12*



117. *Type 13*



118. *Type 15*



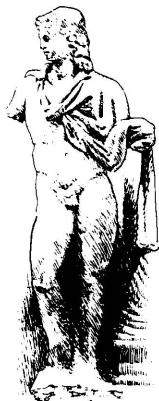
119. *Type 16*



120. *Type 17*



121. *Type 18*



122. *Type 19*



123. *Type 20*



124. *Type 21*



125. *Type 22*



126. *Fresco from the Farnesina, Rome*

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of the folds to an absurd extent, but the scheme in all three examples is essentially the same. On Rome E, I and J (Borghese-Louvre, Mattei, British Museum; *ills.* 57, 87, 90), the right arm is freed from the himation in order to wield the plectrum (in Rome I and J at least; the right hand of Rome E is a restoration), but the crossed folds and the wrapping of the left wrist are sufficiently preserved to lead Amelung to recognize in the Erato of Rome J a derivative from the type of the basis.

Another of the four mentioned above as common to the basis and the Apotheosis is the muse with a rotulus in the uplifted right hand (*ill.* 127, upper left). This seems to be the original of the Klio on Rome E, I and J (*ills.* 56, 89, 90), since the attribute remains, though shifted to the left hand, and the posture is the same in Rome E and I, being changed in Rome J only to balance better the figure in relation to its sister muse in the same compartment. The binding of the wrist with the drapery which marks the figure on the basis of Halikarnassos has become conventionalized into a sash-like fold running from the right elbow across the body to the left hand. It is not impossible, finally, that the Thalia of Rome I and J, and of Rome A (British Museum; *ill.* 52) owes the peculiar low swing of the himation which uncovers the torso to the similar loose draping of the dancing muse as she appears on the basis (*ill.* 127; lower left), and that the change in the position of the arms was effected by the addition of the attributes of the mask and pedum; in this case all four of the types common to both the basis and the relief of the Apotheosis of Homer would be represented in the Sidamara muse-group.

To the quartette thus recovered among the figures of the lost group of Muses, Watzinger adds a fifth in the person of a standing figure on the basis, holding a pair of flutes in the left hand, and raising the right (*ill.* 127; upper right). Amelung recognized a copy of this figure in the Euterpe which occupies the center of the fronts of Rome I and J; while the himation here passes under the right arm instead of over the shoulder, the essential feature of the arrangement is retained in the exposure of the right breast, as well as in the diagonal sweep of the drapery across the body. The position of the arms is also the same, motivated in our sarcophagi by the introduction of the long double flute which Euterpe holds in both hands.

The other four muses of the group have been identified by Watzinger and Amelung with more or less certainty from the figures on the basis and supposed replicas existing in the statuary of the Roman period; additional material has been furnished by the discovery of statues of six muses and of Apollo during the excavations of the Thermae of Faustina at Miletos (*ills.* 128, 129, 130), which were apparently copied or adapted from the Hellenistic original.⁵² But the resemblances which undoubtedly exist between the Kalliope of Rome I and J on the one hand and the standing muse with the mask who leans her left hand on the large lyre, on the basis of Halikarnassos (*ill.* 127, lower left; arrangement of drapery; posture; small fold of himation upon the left shoulder) are not of a character to warrant us in assuming that the figures on our sarcophagi were derived from the same original as that of Halikarnassos; the same is true of certain affinities displayed by the Urania of our sarcophagi with statues in Berlin, Munich, Miletos, Copenhagen and elsewhere, in which Watzinger, Amelung, and Hekler have recognized

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copies of the sixth muse in the original group.⁵³ The Melpomene of Rome I and J (changed to Euterpe in Altyn-tash and used for Melpomene, Euterpe and Kalliope on Rome E) is not the invention of the sculptors of these sarcophagi, since the type is used also in statuary,⁵⁴ but so far evidence is lacking to show that either it or the Terpsichore on the same sarcophagi is derived from the "Philiskos" group. The tendency of the sarcophagus-sculptors to mix their sources in the representation of the Muses (noted by Amelung) warns us against assuming a derivation of our Muses *en bloc* from one Hellenistic original, on the ground of the imitation thereof in the particular cases of Polymnia, Erato, and Euterpe, less certainly in those of Klio and Thalia.

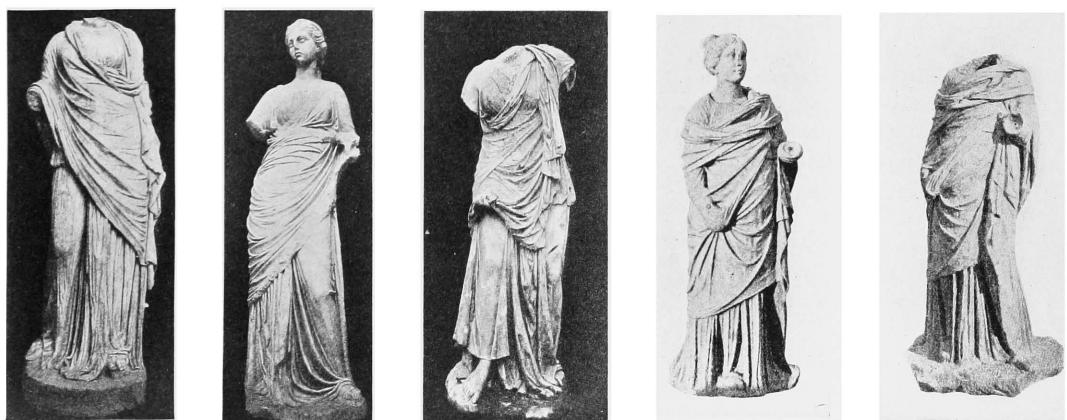
It was pointed out before in the description of Type 15 that it is merely the vulgarization of the Erato-figure, having the same characteristic binding of the left wrist in the cross-fold of the himation, and the catching of the right in the loop from the shoulder. The remoter ancestress of this figure is probably the "kleine Herculenserin" of Dresden, in which Amelung sees a replica of a work by some pupil of Praxiteles.⁵⁵ But the form in which the type is used by the Sidamara sculptors is that of the basis of Halikarnassos, and therefore belongs to the Hellenistic cycle rather than that of the fourth century; the same reservation may be made with reference to Diez' suggestion that the "poet-and-muse" group (Type 13) is derived ultimately from Attic grave-reliefs.⁵⁶

Type 20 is allied to that of certain terra-cotta figurines which demonstrate its currency in the Hellenistic period; its use in the sculpture of Asia Minor is attested by a terra-cotta replica of Myrina, and by its closest replicas in statuary, viz., two statues of Magnesia of the first century B.C. (*ills. 131, 132*).⁵⁷ Type 16, with its fellows of the philosopher series on the fragments of Bari and Kutaya, represents a banal philosopher figure so common in Hellenistic and imperial art, and so varied (compare the modifications in our series alone), that it would be waste of time to speculate upon the original from which it may have been derived. The hunting-group of Type 18, as well as the huntsmen of the back of Sidamara, were certainly creations of the Hellenistic period, but it is doubtful if either are to be regarded as derivative from particular works of painting or sculpture.

The rest of the Sidamara types are clearly related to the earlier repertoire used in the Lydian ateliers. Thus the youth of Type 19 is merely a wingless variant of the Eros (Type 7) used on Ismid; the omission of the wings is already found on a late example of Lydian technique in Torlonia (LLF 2). Similarly, Type 21 exhibits a beardless variant of Type 2, adding also the meaningless motif, which certainly cannot be attributed to any prototype and must be regarded as an invention of the atelier, of the fold of drapery stretched between the hands. The Dioscuri (Type 12) were inspired according to Mendel⁵⁸ by a traditional athlete proceeding doubtless from the school of Lysippos, but they are equivalents in posture, drapery, structure, and proportions of the standing youth of Type 22, and this in turn simply varies the arrangement of chlamys in the Lydian Type 3. The figure of Christ on the Berlin fragment from Constantinople (Type 17) is equivalent to Type 1, save for the beardless head. The Lydian type 2 survives in the Sidamara examples with the change of the original head to one modeled after the Antonine and Severan imperial portraits.



127. Basis of Halikarnassos; the Muses



128-130. Statues of Muses found at Miletos

131-132. Statues found at Magnesia

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From the foregoing it becomes apparent that the ateliers from which the Sidamara examples issued were partially indebted for their repertoire to the earlier Lydian group; the additional types which do not fall within this category, such as the "poet-and-muse" group, the Muses, Type 20 and the hunting-group, are derivative from themes of the Hellenistic period.

The Lydian types themselves seem in some cases to be of imperial epoch as to origin, in others to be derived from Hellenistic originals like the new Sidamara types, but in most instances to be related to the art of the fourth century B.C., and particularly that of Athens, so that in general the repertoire of this group has an air of academic archaism. The camillus of Type 9 is a creation of the Roman period, and of Roman origin itself, if we may trust Leila C. Spaulding's conclusion that the camillus-type in this form is characteristic of Roman art alone, with no extant examples antedating the imperial period.⁵⁹ The tomb-portal, or "Hades-door" of Type 11, is another type that cannot be specifically attributed to Greece, since it shows a wide-spread use on Etruscan, Egyptian, and Roman monuments as well as those of Greece and Asia Minor.⁶⁰ But the form it assumes in our series, with the four panels of the valves and the architectural framing, is that which characterizes the motif on the stelae of Asia Minor, of which most of the examples so far have been found in Phrygia. The bulk of these examples do not antedate the III century, and it is very likely that the gables or lunettes which frequently crown the lintel of the portal on the stelae were imitated from the aediculae which happen to surround the portals on the lateral faces of our sarcophagi; such is undoubtedly the case with the stele reproduced in *ill. 133* (*Dorylaion*), on which we have a conch in a horseshoe arch imitating the type of the back and right lateral face of Sidamara, and on the pilasters at the sides an undulating stem with ivy-leaves decidedly reminiscent of the ornament on the pilasters of Rome J (British Museum; *ill. 90*). At the same time it must be remembered that the tomb-portal was a familiar form in Asia Minor from very early times, as the rock-hewn tombs of Phrygia, Lycia, Galatia and Caria show, and Noack therefore derives the motif ultimately from the entrances to such sepulchral chambers. The opening door, frequent on Etruscan cinerary urns and Roman sarcophagi (see for instance the series imitative of our type described on p. 56), and found also on a cippus of Alexandria,⁶¹ is very rare on the Asiatic examples.

A Hellenistic origin is probably to be assumed for the Herakles cycle which is used on Rome F, G, H (*Torlonia*, *Pigna*, *Borghese*) and London; we are at a loss for a specific prototype, but it is certain that the cycle of the Twelve Labours as here depicted was not formed before the end of the fourth century, and may with more likelihood be attributed to the third.⁶² Similar incertitude must be admitted with reference to Type 5, reminiscent of the Attic grave-reliefs, and the Eros of Type 7 as well, although in the latter case the maturity of the forms is clear evidence of the survival of a fourth century model, and the type itself is naturally attributable to the Attic art of that period, specifically that of the circle of Praxiteles. Type 2 also, in spite of its banality, retains in the Lydian example of Sardis B a head which preserves the Attic tradition embodied in the Asklepios of Melos (*ill. 12*), while the Sidamara sculptors, to judge from the well-preserved example of the

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type on Selefkeh (RLF 3; *ill.* 63), revised the head in imitation of the imperial portraits of the late second and early third century (cf. also the transformation of the poet's head on New York, *ill.* 81, in the same sense). The similar figure of Type 1, at least in the beardless variant it assumes in Type 17, has been explained by Strzygowski⁶³ as a reflection of a fourth century figure of the character of the Sophokles in the Lateran (*ill.* 134), and certainly the veiled standing woman of Type 4 is ultimately derived from an Attic figure of the same period, best represented by the "grosse Herculannerin" of Dresden, (*ill.* 135),⁶⁴ the original of which is ascribed by Amelung to the circle of Praxiteles because of its resemblance to the muses on the basis of Mantinea.⁶⁵ Type 1, however, is fairly common in the statuary of the empire, in East and West alike,⁶⁶ while the popularity of Type 4 is attested by the list of replicas recorded by Hekler, the most noteworthy of which are found among the statues of the *virgines vestales maximae* of the Domus Vestae in the Roman Forum, dating in the third century.⁶⁷

Type 6, as pointed out before, is a late motif in the Lydian ateliers, becoming popular in the Sidamara group, but derived originally from Type 8, an exclusively Lydian figure. The possible prototype of the latter, and those of the others which adorn the sarcophagus of Melfi, have been sought by Delbrueck⁶⁸ with some success. Type 8 itself he assigns to a model of the fourth century, "probably a grave-statue," but is unable to identify it further. A replica of it came to light, however, among the muses found in the Thermae of Faustina at Miletos, in the statue (*ill.* 128) dubbed "Urania" by Wiegand,⁶⁹ and identified with the muse with the double flute on the basis of Halikarnassos by Mendel.⁷⁰ In any case the figure seems to have been one of the nine in the "Philiskos" group, though clearly imitating an earlier model of the fourth century, and its resemblance to our type is striking, both figures having the essential features of the chiton folds revealed below the edge of the himation, the veiled head (to be restored in both), the stiff "Pheidian" drapery on the bearing leg, and the himation folds hanging from the left shoulder and over the left arm. Only the posture is reversed, the woman of Miletos resting the weight on the left leg, but this is the case also in one of the replicas within the Lydian group itself, viz., the second figure on Isnik B.

Type 8, on the Melfi sarcophagus, stands on one side of the tomb-portal. On the other side is the Hermes which best represents Type 3, and this, as Delbrueck points out, is so close to the Hermes of Andros in every respect that the original must be sought in the circle of Praxiteles. The Aphrodite of Type 10 is also traceable through such replicas as the Victory of Brescia and the Venus of Capua to the fourth century, and Delbrueck follows Furtwaengler in ascribing the latter of the two to a Peloponnesian master of the early part of the century, and in regarding the prototype of the Capua figure as the Aphrodite of Akrokorinthos; he believes, however, that the original of our type was another type related to the Corinthian statue.

This completes the list of types used on more than one of the Lydian sarcophagi, and the foregoing discussion shows that the sculptors that produced them were mostly following famous examples of Greek sculpture, largely Attic, of the fourth century. This archaic habit of the school is strikingly confirmed by Delbrueck's conclusions regard-

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ing the other figures used upon the sarcophagus of Melfi, which imitate the sculpture of the fourth century exclusively. The Palladion group (LLF; Odysseus, Helen, Meleager) he finds to be basically Polykleitan, but betraying a fourth century original in the heads and Helen's drapery, and derived from an original of the first half of the century, apparently belonging to the Peloponnesian school. The Clithonian triad on the front (figures 3, 4, 5) is not that of Eleusis, since the youth cannot be identified with Triptolemos, Plutos or Iakchos, and the style is neither Peloponnesian nor Attic; the resemblance of the Hades to the Sarapis of Bryaxis the Carian, combined with the above considerations, suggests to Delbrueck an Asiatic prototype for the group.

The dancing Artemis of Melfi (back 4), who has lost the dancing motif on what is probably an adaptation of the type in Rome B (Chiaramonti), and degenerates still further into a young girl attired as Artemis rather than the goddess herself in Sidamara (representing the daughter of the deceased according to Mendel), is allied to the Aphrodite of Epidauros in face, hair and drapery. The latter is assigned by Hauser to the younger Polykleitos, and Delbrueck believes that the prototype of the Melfi Artemis belonged to the same period and *milieu*, possibly to be identified with the statue of Artemis at Karyai.

The same critic finds the heroes represented in the second figures from the left on the front and back of Melfi to be reflections of a fourth century style untouched by the influence of Skopas and Praxiteles; the Apollo of the front being derived from a mid-century type, the suppliant (back 1) from one of the second half of the fourth century, and the seated Meleager (back 5) from a work of the earlier portion of the century, at least anterior to Lysippos. The figures all in fact reflect the fourth-century schools preceding Lysippos, with a preference for the Peloponnesos. They are likewise selected with the taste of a connoisseur; famous works are not represented among the figures just discussed, whose originals seem to have been largely the less-known products of the second transition in the first half of the fourth century. Such taste seemed to Delbrueck to point less to Rome and Asia Minor, where Hellenistic and neo-classic fashions were in vogue, than to Athens; he nevertheless notes that the dancing Artemis appears upon medallions of Antoninus Pius.

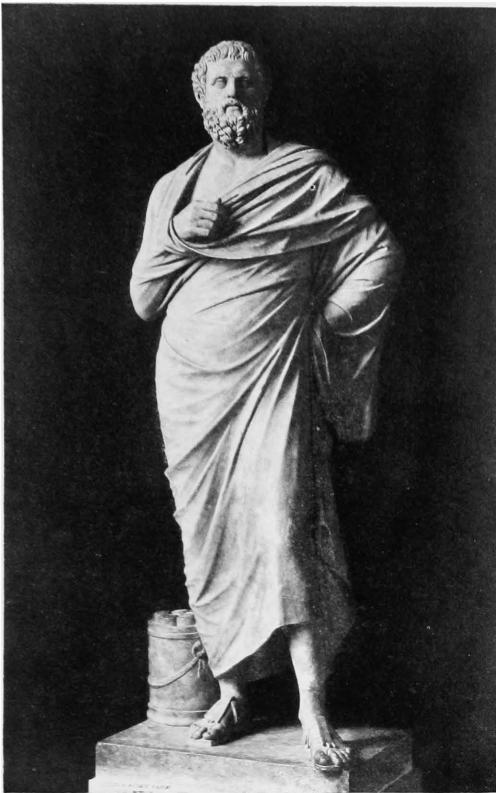
The Attic connection thus suggested for the Lydian atelier by Delbrueck is confirmed by Rizzo's analysis of the types used on Torre Nova A, particularly those of the back and the sides. The mourning woman resting her head on the left hand (back) simply reverses the position of one of the figures in a tympanum of the sarcophagus of the Mourning Women, and Rizzo has found many reminiscences of Attic style in comparisons made with stelae (cf. the nude child leaning against its mother on the stele of Asia⁷¹) and with lekythoi. Even on the front, whose composition Rizzo regards as of Hellenistic origin, the head of Iakchos recalls the "Eubouleus" head in which Furtwaengler recognized the style of Praxiteles. The composition itself represents the initiation of Herakles into the mysteries of Eleusis and savours thus of Attic origin.

Final proof of Attic influence on the Lydian ateliers at least in the earlier phase is found in a detail of a relief of Parian marble in Berlin, dating in the fifth century B.C. and be-

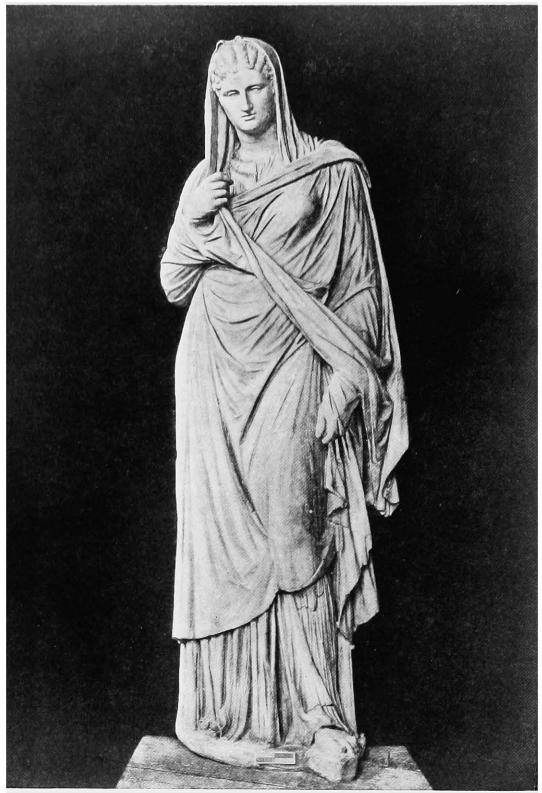
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longing to a series of fragments (Berlin, Vienna, Athens) from the frieze of the Ionic temple on the Ilissos.⁷² The youth seated upon a rock in this relief (*ill.* 136) is repeated on the right lateral face of Torre Nova A (*ill.* 77). It should be noted also, for future reference, that another detail of this frieze (in Vienna), which represents a maiden kneeling and clasping a column, apparently as a refuge against the pursuit of a man in chlamys who bends to seize her, is repeated on another relief in Vienna which was found in Ephesos (*ill.* 137). The copies in both cases are exact, even to practically equivalent dimensions.

Of the types on the child's sarcophagus from Megiste, two have been mentioned already,—the Aphrodite of Type 10, and the bearded man representing Proitos, an example of Type 1. The ephebe in the trophy scene on the back may be a variant of Type 3. The Bellerophon, with Pegasus, on the front, is derived from the same original as the relief in the Palazzo Spada;⁷³ the rest of the figures and groups offer no evidence of origin. The rest of our sarcophagi (Concordia, Rome K Ludovisi, Ste-Marie-du-Zit, Riccardi) which have preserved their figured decoration, are either too late to contribute anything of importance in the problem of the origin of the types, except in so far as their figures occasionally show the survival of the original repertoire (camillus on Concordia; putto with fruit on Ste-Marie-du-Zit), or, in the case of Riccardi, the types are replaced by Roman motifs, or fundamentally modified as in the case of the Dioscuri with their *pilei* and inward facing horses. The significance of some of the data obtained in the foregoing discussion of the types used upon the Asiatic series will appear in the following section, in which an attempt will be made to locate the ateliers which produced these sarcophagi.



134. Lateran Museum; statue of Sophokles



135. Dresden. Museum; the "Grosse Herculaneumserin"



133. Grave-stele at Dorylaion



136. Detail of frieze of the Ionic temple on the Ilissos

CHAPTER IX

CENTERS OF PRODUCTION

FROM various indications in the preceding discussion, the Asiatic origin of the series as a whole would seem to be sufficiently clear, but in view of the fact that the proof thereof has never been completely stated, it will be useful to sum it up at this point.

In the first place the majority of the examples whose ultimate provenance is known were found in Asia Minor, and the use of Italian marble in any one of the series, although predicated of Rome E (Borghese-Louvre) by Michon, and with hesitation of Torre Nova B by Rizzo, has never been proven by examination or analysis, while Lepsius is authority for the Proconnesian marble of Constantinople (Berlin) and a very similar variety in the case of Seleukeia, and for the Pentelic marble of Torre Nova A. Muñoz found the marble of Rome D (Colonna) and of the four fragments in the Louvre (Denizli A B C; Sardis A) to be "crystalline" (whatever worth this observation may have), and the same is stated of the Richmond fragments by Strzygowski. The marble of Melfi, according to Delbrueck, is Greek and probably Pentelic; Megiste is of Parian marble, according to Robert, and of Lydian, according to von Duhn. Greek marble, finally, is used in the Naples fragment that belongs to the same atelier as Torre Nova A. The material of the rest of the series has not offered any proof one way or the other as yet, and archaeologists are inclined to lay less and less stress upon the evidence of marble, in view of the difficulty of identifying the varieties with security, and the extensive marble trade of the imperial period which vitiates attempts to prove the provenance of a monument even when the quarry from which its marble came can be certified. This last applies, however, to the well-known marbles of commerce, and not to marble used locally. The marble of Sardis B is recognized as local by Dr. Shear, whose extensive knowledge of ancient marbles in general is in this case particularly authoritative because of his familiarity with the building-stones used at Sardis. His conclusion furnishes, therefore, the strongest possible evidence of a local origin for the sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina, and for the sarcophagi of its type.

Second, we have noted throughout the series generally, with the possible exceptions of Sardis B, and of late examples like Rome I (Mattei) and Concordia, the characteristic four-sided decoration of the sarcophagus which was recognized fifty years ago by Matz as a feature which distinguishes Greek workmanship from Roman.⁷⁴ This has been confirmed by Robert and Altman,⁷⁵ as also Matz' further criteria for Greek sarcophagi,—the architectural composition of the façade and the profiling of cornice and podium. The use of the conch with flutings radiating upward has been shown by Weigand's interesting statistic⁷⁶ to be a predominantly eastern motif, the western conches usually reversing the direction of the flutings. The tomb-portal assumes the form found on Asiatic stelae, and in almost every case where specific parallels for the style and type of the statuettes have been found *in situ*, they have proved to be products of Asia Minor (Type 8, replica in a figure of Miletos; Altyntash 2, 3, replicas upon a Hellenistic sarcophagus of

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Aphrodisias; Type 20, replica in a statuette of Myrina and statues of Magnesia). A final indication is the appearance of Type 1, and of the standing youth of Type 18 (transformed into Hermes), on the "underworld sarcophagus" from Ephesos in the Ottoman Museum,⁷⁷ as well as the fold of drapery held in the hand, so characteristic of our series, which is found in another of the figures on the front of this curious monument of the second century.

The most convincing evidence for the Asiatic origin of the series is found in the ornament, the parallels for which in the architectural monuments of Asia Minor have already been cited to some extent in the catalogue. Thus the affinities exhibited by the ornamental details of Megiste and Torre Nova A with monuments of Termessos, Aizanoi, Sillyon, and Adalia have already been noticed, and Weigand has isolated as a peculiarly Asiatic form the Lesbian cymation characteristic of the Lydian group.⁷⁸ In both Syria and Asia Minor this cymation shows the growth of colourism in the disintegration of the leaf and dart, and in both the final result is the formation of a new arched motif made up of the dart in combination with the adjacent contours of the leaves on either side (*cf. ill. 138, passim*). In both, this process is accompanied by the separation of the inner part of the leaf from its outer contours. But in Syria this inner part (inner leaf) splits completely in two, and the dart remains intact, while in Asia Minor the reverse is the case, the inner leaf retaining its unity, and the dart becoming a trio of shafts connected by little pins. This process is traced by Weigand from the late Augustan period, when the isolation of the inner leaf begins, together with a flattening of the lancet point, and an emphasized relief of its central rib. In Hadrian's time the round head of the "dart" has become prominent; during the reign of Antoninus Pius the lancet point splits into its three shafts. Throughout this evolution Weigand finds that the Roman cymata are consistently differentiated from the eastern ones by a floralizing of the lancet cap.

The effect of the process is signally demonstrated by the "trident" ornament⁷⁹ which decorates the lower member of the impost block on all examples of Sidamara technique; this is merely the new element formed as described above by the union of the lancet with the outer contours of the adjacent leaves. The Asiatic character of this trifid lancet is obvious from a glance at the examples collected by Weigand in the table reproduced in *ill. 138*, on which one may also see how closely the cymata of Melfi approach to the architectural examples dating in the second half of the second century (Ephesos, upper story of Library; Hierapolis).

Another detail equally characteristic of the series in its earlier history is the Lydian capital. Weigand, in the course of his study of imperial architectural ornament, has made valuable observations in this regard as well,⁸⁰ finding again a set of criteria for differentiating the treatment of the Corinthian capital in east and west. The essential distinction lies in the greater plastic quality of the western leaves, and the conservatism manifested by the Roman sculptors in retaining the function of the caulinuli, as well as in giving a more vertical direction to the lobes of the leaves. Eastern capitals generally arrange the leaves in a single plane without overlapping, tend gradually to suppress the caulinuli, and to produce a perpendicular relation of the lobes to the central stem.

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The last-mentioned characteristics are all found in the capitals of our series. It is not possible, however, to relate these, or the other feature of our capitals which consists in the sharp sawtooth cutting of the edges of the lobes, with points that curl to contact with adjacent lobes or leaves, to Asia Minor alone. Weigand finds that the handling of the acanthus leaf just mentioned, in capitals and elsewhere, was popular over a wide area in the later Hellenistic period, and he cites examples not only in Asia Minor, but in Syria, Alexandria, Athens, Rome, and the western provinces of the empire.⁸¹ In the first and second centuries, however, his examples are nearly all Syrian or Asiatic,⁸² and in the study of the Golden Gate of Constantinople he finds that the technique is continued in the capitals of early Byzantine architecture, which to one familiar with the close connection of proto-Byzantine art with Asia Minor will afford no small proof that the technique was a well-established tradition in late imperial ateliers in the Asiatic provinces. The closest parallels I have found for our capitals (excluding later examples) are: for the suppression of the caulinuli, a capital of Aphrodisias;⁸³ for the equating of the volutes, a capital of the street-portico of Pompeiopolis in Cilicia;⁸⁴ for both, the capitals of Lanckoroński's Tomb S 3 at Termessos.⁸⁵

The spirally fluted colonnettes which recur consistently throughout the series, and are as marked a characteristic thereof as the double volute, are not, according to the final conclusion of Chapot in his monograph on the "Colonne torse" necessarily indicative of origin in Asia Minor. But he admits that almost all the coin-types that exhibit the spiral columns in the edifices represented upon them are on coins struck in Asiatic cities, and some of the earliest architectural monuments which he cites as displaying the form are located in Asia Minor (Termessos, theatre; Ephesus, library; Aphrodisias, thermae).⁸⁶

An undoubted Asiatic form is found in the palmette ornament of the simas prevalent throughout the Lydian group, which also decorates the podium on Torre Nova A and Melfi, and is still retained on the Sidamara sarcophagus. This flat palmette of wilted appearance in the leaves develops from a Hellenistic prototype represented by a sima in the Artemision at Magnesia, through the early imperial form illustrated by an example in the theatre at Ephesus, to the summary handling which we find on Lydian sarcophagi, and in numerous examples in the architectural ornament of the second century. I shall mention only those at Termessos, Aspendos, Adalia, Sillyon, and in the Bouleuterion of Miletos, with a fragment of possibly later date found during the excavations of the "tomb" in front of the Bouleuterion,⁸⁷ and lastly the sima palmettes on the cornice of Claudia's tomb. The repertoire of the Lydian sculptors, as represented on the sarcophagi of Melfi and of Claudia Antonia Sabina, is almost completely repeated (palmettes; egg-and-dart; Lesbian cymation; dentils), in practically identical forms, on the upper story of the façade of the Library at Ephesus, begun c. 115, but finished according to Weigand no earlier than the reign of Antoninus Pius.⁸⁸

The alternation of upright and inverted palmettes, as on Rome G (Torlonia) and Florence (Riccardi), is also found in Asiatic simas;⁸⁹ the conventionalized laurel garlands, rinceaux, guilloches, and intersecting meanders that decorate the podium of Melfi, of which the garlands are found on a lateral face of Selefkeh, and the guilloches, garlands

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and maeanders on the podium of Rome G(Torlonia), are well known motifs employed for toruses of columns, flat mouldings and soffits, and of wide spread use in the imperial period. Parallels for these motifs are frequent enough in Asiatic architecture, e.g., the consoles and soffit decoration of the Corinthian temple at Termessos (garlands and guilloche); the soffits of the *scenae frons* at the same place (guilloche); the lintel of a doorway in the *scenae frons* of Sagalassos (rinceaux); the frieze of Hadrian's gate at Adalia (rinceaux); the frieze of the theatre at Ephesos (rinceaux); the podium of the same (intersecting maeander); the soffits of the Library at Ephesos (garlands and rinceaux).⁹⁰ Delbrueck has already found the closest parallel for the Lydian column-base in the theatre of Aizanoi,⁹¹ and the sea-monsters and dolphins which decorate the exterior face of the *plutei* of Claudia's couch are found again on a similar set of panels in a fragment from the *scenae frons* of Termessos.⁹² We shall also find in Asiatic stage façades of the second century⁹³ that curving back of the entablature from the impost-block to the wall, which is a feature of the unpedimented spaces on the earlier examples of our Lydian group, and another characteristic feature of the same period and region,—the convex profile of the frieze,—has been assigned by Strzygowski⁹⁴ as the source for the peculiar profile of the impost-block on our sarcophagi. These last two features, however, are connected with the origin of the architectural type in the one case and its evolution in the other, so that it will be better to consider them when we come to deal with these two topics.

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Asia Minor being thus established as the place of origin, broadly speaking, of the series, it remains to be seen if we can further limit the center,—or centers,—of production. The point was made in the description of Claudia's sarcophagus that the relatively inferior workmanship of the right lateral face showed that the master-sculptor was acquainted with its destination, and that the sarcophagus must therefore be regarded as a local product rather than an importation from any great distance. Similarly, the identity of the sima ornament on the sarcophagus with that of the cornice of the tomb itself shows that a local group of workmen was employed on both. Lastly, we have Dr. Shear's conclusion that the marble comes from the nearby quarries, as final proof of local origin. But "local" is an elastic term; there is no reason why the sculptors should not have come from a neighbouring city, even if their materials were procured at Sardis itself, and other indications point to Ephesos as the center in which the series was produced, at least in its earlier or Lydian phase.

Weigand has stated (see p. 26) that the majority of the examples of Lydian technique have been found in Lydia. This statement needs the qualification afforded by the map showing the distribution in Asia Minor of the examples of known provenance (*ill. 139*), from which it will be seen that besides the examples in Lydia itself or its immediate vicinity (Denizli is near ancient Laodicea Phrygiae), we have also one inland at Uskeles (in Pisidia, not Lydia as Weigand states), and a number in places accessible to the sea in the cases of Ismid, Isnik, Megiste, and Myra (two examples). The examples found in these four places might easily have been imported thither from Lydia, so that Uskeles

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remains as a negligible exception to the indications of Lydian provenance afforded by the distribution of the group.

But we have also a number of examples of Lydian technique in Italy, which, since they are either complete sarcophagi (or a lid, in the case of Torre Nova B) or are known to have been so when discovered, cannot be regarded as other than exportations. Such are Melfi, Rome D (Colonna), Torre Nova A and B, Rome G (Torlonia), which with the five examples from towns of Asia Minor on, or accessible to, the coast, brings the number of presumably exported examples, not counting fragments, to ten, as against six found in Lydia proper (Sardis A and B, Kassaba, Smyrna C and Denizli A and B, counting the latter as virtually of Lydian provenance). This statistic at least shows that the atelier which produced the examples of Lydian technique was devoted largely to manufacture for export, which in turn connotes a coast city rather than Sardis itself or another inland center. An echo of the exporting activity of the school seems to be preserved in the terminology employed in an inscription of Patara (Lycia), in which a certain Zosimos records the erection of his tomb and the placing therein of two sarcophagi, one "domestic" (*έτερω μὲν τοπικῶ*), the other "Asian" (*έτερω δὲ Ἀσιανῷ*), the latter of which he states is to be reserved for his own use.⁹⁵ The formulae of the epitaph are consistent with a date in the end of the second century, and it is hardly necessary to point out that *'Ασιανός* at this time would refer to the Roman province of Asia of which Ephesos was the capital, whence it is likely that Zosimos has preserved to us the commercial name for our sarcophagi. It is to be noted also that the Lydian type was popular in Lycia, since no less than three of our examples have been found there (Megiste, Myra A and B).

Indications thus point to a seaport of the province of Asia, and specifically of Lydia, as the center of export, and of the two important cities of this description, Smyrna and Ephesos, the latter has most in its favour; the one example of Lydian technique thus far cited from Smyrna (Smyrna C) is "angeblich aus Ephesos" according to Weigand. It will be remembered also that a group in the frieze from the Ionic temple on the Ilissos at Athens is exactly copied in a relief found at Ephesos (see *ill. 137*), and that a copy of similar faithfulness in dimensions and detail, and after the same frieze, is furnished by the seated youth on one of the lateral faces of Torre Nova A. The fact that both relief and sarcophagus imitate the same monument,⁹⁶ and one of relatively minor importance, and with the same precision in reproducing the original dimensions, indicates that both were produced in the same atelier, which corroborates the probability that Torre Nova A originated in Ephesos.

Again, it was pointed out above that the ornamental repertoire of the sculptors of Melfi and Sardis B, and of the Lydian sarcophagi in general for that matter, is provided by the upper story of the Library at Ephesos, the last monument of importance to be finished in that city at the time when our atelier must have begun its activity, and it cannot be regarded as mere coincidence that the Lesbian cymation of this upper story is so closely reproduced upon the Lydian sarcophagi (compare in *ill. 138* the cymatia of the Library and of Melfi, nos. 34 d, and 34 e). Finally the claims of Ephesos to be the center of production of the Lydian group find interesting support in the podium frieze

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which is all that remains of a sarcophagus found in that city (now in the Ottoman Museum).⁹⁷ For the left end of this frieze consists of scenes in a sculptor's atelier, among which we find a workman engaged in carving a draped male statuette which reproduces Type I of the Lydian repertoire. We have thus a series of small, but significant, indications that combine with the general probabilities of the case to fix the center of production, of the Lydian group at least, in the capital of the province of Asia.

The provenance of the examples of Sidamara technique presents us with a harder problem. The map (*ill. 139*) shows a curious distribution of these examples, some of them turning up in the same places that have produced the Lydian sarcophagi, as Smyrna and Denizli, and others being found near Sardis itself (Alashehr) or near Lydia (Hierapolis). But the rest come from the interior (Altyn-tash, Eskishehr, Konieh, Kutaya, Sidamara and Sagalassos), with a belated fragment of the late fourth century hailing from Constantinople, and the examples of Selefkeh and Tyre suggesting exportation by sea. We have clearly another case of an exporting center, but one that was supplying an Asiatic rather than a Roman market, for only a few of these sarcophagi, and late ones, have been found in the west in a state that might lead one to suppose that they were exported thither (Rome I, Mattei; Concordia; Rome K, Ludovisi; Ste-Marie-du-Zit). The ultimate provenance of Rome A cannot be traced further than the Ghetto, and the Muse-fragment in Berlin came from a dealer in Rome; the Richmond fragments seem to have resulted from a modern cutting up of the sarcophagus for shipment,⁹⁸ and we cannot be sure of the "Fundort" of Rome J (British Museum, from the Villa Montalto, Rome) or of Rome E (Borghese-Louvre). The fragment in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, was presumably brought from Asia Minor itself.

The previous attempts to localize the series as a whole were based on the examples of Sidamara technique. Ramsay, with the sarcophagi of Sidamara and Selefkeh in mind, suggested Tarsus as the probable center from which the huge tomb of Sidamara might have been transported over the Roman road through the Cilician gates, and its sister sarcophagus of Selefkeh might have reached its destination by sea. Strzygowski first argued for Kyzikos on account of the neighboring Proconnesian quarries which furnished the material of the fragment from Constantinople and probably also that of Selefkeh, but afterward located the center at Antioch, on the slenderest of data (see p. 23). These theories presupposed the unity of the series, and the possibility must be canvassed that the sarcophagi of Sidamara technique are merely later products of the old atelier of Ephesus, the difference of technique representing in this case a change of fashion which reflects the Asiatic taste of the third century, rather than the Roman requirements of the second which the sculptors of the early examples of our series must have had to meet. Arguments in favour of such a view may be found in the fact that the architectural compositions invented by the Lydian sculptors are unchanged in their general aspect upon the Sidamara sarcophagi. It is also to be noted that Isnik A, while it has the palmette sima in its pediment which is a Lydian feature, betrays an incipient foliation of the leaf-and-dart, and also shows the central single ove (instead of a pair) which characterizes the upper member of the Sidamara impost-blocks. It thus represents a transition through

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which the original Lydian forms might have passed into the later ones of the Sidamara sarcophagi. Again, several of the Lydian types continue to be used by the Sidamara ateliers. But it was pointed out in the discussion of the repetition of figure-types that the Lydian figures always suffer some modification at the hands of the later sculptors, and the theory of unity is hard to reconcile with the extraordinary shift in technique of ornament, whereby the Greek mouldings become a mere reminiscence afforded by an ove or two, or by the arrow-point of the Lesbian dart, with the adjoining contours of the leaves, the rest of the space being filled with confused foliation. We have also noticed the sharp advance in colourism on the part of the Sidamara examples, the flattening of the planes, the numerous cases of *trompe d'œil* on the sarcophagus of Sidamara itself, the almost universal employment of the drill to produce deep shadows that will give the illusion of form whose substance is denied the modelling, the elongation and animation of the figures, and the introduction of a new set of Hellenistic types instead of the fourth century cycle, largely Attic in origin, which was preferred by the Lydian ateliers. Another change is the introduction of the conch into the arcade-type. Such differences might possibly be explained as due to the later date at which the Sidamara examples, as a whole, were produced, but there are indications that the two groups overlap in point of time, since it will appear in the discussion of the chronology of the series that the Richmond fragments and a number of other Sidamara examples are at least as early in date as Rome G (Torlonia) of the Lydian group. This shows that the Sidamara sarcophagi began to be produced before the Lydian series came to an end; if we assume a single atelier, both types must have been produced by it at the same time for a certain period, which seems unlikely in view of the disparity of figure-types and technique above-noted.

If then a second center is indicated, we are confronted with the problem of its location. Mendel, noting the change that came over the series in its later examples, suggests that this was accomplished "in the cities of the center and the south (of Asia Minor) where the architecture offers so great analogy of feeling with that of the sarcophagi and reflects the same intemperance of ornament."⁹⁹ But the archaeological evidence, so far as it goes, points to the north, since of the Sidamara group the only examples whose material has been analyzed (Constantinople-Berlin, Selefkeh), have been recognized as of Proconnesian marble; at least this was the verdict of Lepsius in the case of the Berlin fragment, and the marble of Selefkeh was found to be of similar quality by the same expert. We may add to this what support can be found in the fact that a variety of sarcophagus existed in Asia Minor which bore the name "Proconnesian," as is attested by an epitaph of Smyrna, the names in which seem to reflect the nomenclature of the third century (Aurelia, Antonius, Alexander), wherein the owner of the tomb, a certain Tryphaina, states that she has bought "the new Proconnesian sarcophagus" (*ἀνησαμένη τὸ καινὸν ἀνγεῖον Προκοννήσιον*).¹⁰⁰ So far as the evidence leads us, therefore, it seems probable that our series is not a unit, but that the examples of Lydian technique were produced in Ephesus, and those of Sidamara technique issued from some center in the north, which may have been Kyzikos, Nicaea, or Nicomedia, whence the examples found at Selefkeh, Smyrna and Tyre were exported by sea, and the others by overland routes. It will appear also

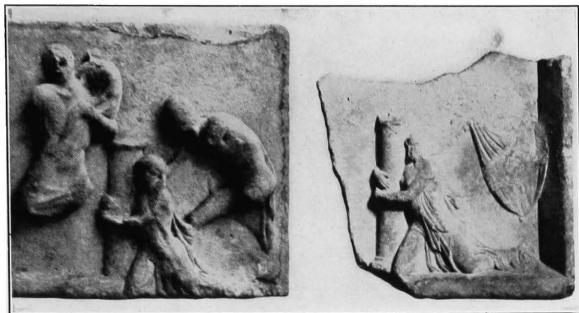
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from the examination of the chronology of the series which follows in the next section, that the earliest examples of Sidamara technique so far found *in situ* were located in the north of Asia Minor (Altyntash, Kutaya).

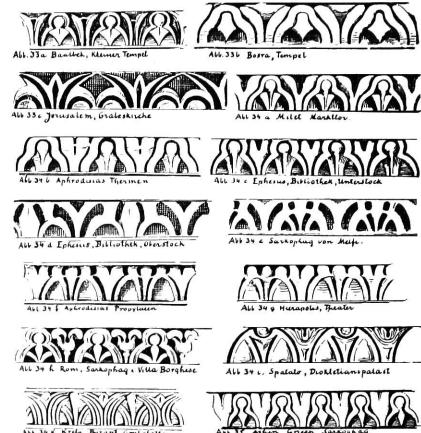
The meaning of the word "atelier," when used with reference to the Sidamara sarcophagi, may have a special significance. We have noted the probability that the Lydian examples were exported from Ephesos by sea, but we have also seen reason to suppose that workmen were sent to Sardis from the capital to build the tomb of Claudia and to carve her sarcophagus. The far greater inland distribution of the Sidamara sarcophagi raises the question whether, in the case of this later type, the transportation was not rather of workmen than of works.

Dr. Shapley, in his publication of Rome E (Borghese-Louvre), in the *Art Bulletin* (V, 1923, p. 72), gives interesting reasons for such a theory, based chiefly on the sarcophagus of Sidamara itself. The inaccessibility of the site where it was found, its great weight (estimated, with the lid, at thirty tons), and the fragility of its carving make it very improbable that the huge monument was ever transported over any great distance. But if carvers were sent to Sidamara to make this sarcophagus, they were probably sent to the other inland sites as well, and we have, at least for the Sidamara series, the presumption of a travelling atelier, an antique counterpart to the mediaeval *maestri Comacini*, which would amply explain the puzzling features of the group, viz., its wide inland distribution, its variety of materials, and, in contrast, its faithful conformity to type.

The probability of such a travelling atelier, having its headquarters apparently in the north of Asia Minor, has far-reaching consequences in the formulation of a theory of late antique art. It would explain the eastern names of sculptors found in Italy, like the Eutropos whose Greek epitaph in the Lateran Museum (Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte cristiana*, VI, pl. 488, 25) symbolizes his profession with a graffito representing two workmen drilling out the reliefs of a sarcophagus. Muñoz (*N. Bull. arch. christ.*, 1907, pp. 301 ff.) has already pointed out the existence of Asiatic sculptors in Italy, attested by signatures partly on monuments undoubtedly executed in Italy itself, from the first century to the fourth. Dr. Shapley's suggestion would also explain, without the necessity of assuming an extensive import-trade in sarcophagi, the curious perpetuation of the Asiatic types (three-aediculae, horizontal entablature, arcade) in the columnar sarcophagi used in Italy in the fourth century, as well as the persistent reminiscences of Asia Minor in their figure-types and iconography (cf. Stohlman, *A.J.A.* 1922, p. 86 ff.). To the present writer this theory seems to solve many difficulties, and to afford a working hypothesis for the influence of Asia Minor on Latin art, first through the exports of a fixed atelier working at Ephesos, then through the development, in the third century, of travelling bands of workmen, and finally in the fourth, through the emigration of such workmen westward.



137. To left: detail of frieze of Hissos-temple
To right: relief found at Ephesus



138. Types of Lesbian cymata



139. Map showing distribution of the Asiatic sarcophagi in Asia Minor



140. Heads of figures on the sarcophagi of Melfi

C H A P T E R X

CHRONOLOGY AND EVOLUTION OF THE SERIES

In determining the chronological sequence of the series we commence of course with the examples to which a certain date can be assigned. These are the Melfi sarcophagus, dated c. 169 by Delbrueck; Sardis B, which we have seen can be safely placed in the last quarter of the second century; Rome G (Torlonia) in the case of which the coiffure of the original head of the female figure reclining on the couch-lid dates the sarcophagus in the first half of the third century; Rome K (Ludovisi) in whose epitaph occurs the word *deposio* with its indication of a date after 250, confirmed by the "Scheitelzopf" worn by the wife of the deceased; and Ste-Marie-du-Zit, in which the same coiffure is given the Graces. The date of Constantinople (Berlin) is indicated by the crossed nimbus worn by Christ, for while our data in regard to the period when this motif first appeared in Christian iconography may be revised at any moment by the discovery of an earlier example, the fact remains that no certain instance of its use is known before the fifth century, since Wilpert has shown that the "Constantine-cup" of the British Museum, with its crossed nimbus on the head of Christ, is a modern copy of a detail in a miniature of a South Italian Exultet.¹⁰¹ The crossed nimbus of this supposedly Constantinian monument was the only archaeological support which Strzygowski could cite in favour of his dating of the Berlin fragment in the early fourth century, and the same evidence was used by Th. Reinach to date it in the third.¹⁰² The investigations of the ornament of the end of the empire on the part of Strzygowski, and especially Weigand,¹⁰³ would in any case place the Berlin example at least as late as the end of the fourth century, for besides the new form of the leaf-basket which first appears in the series in Ste-Marie-du-Zit (consisting of the replacement of the anterior leaf by the juncture of the two lateral leaves), and the disappearance of the double volutes whose place is taken by a thin echinus (not seen in Ste-Marie-du-Zit), the technique of the acanthus distinctly approximates, in its reduction of the serration of the leaf-contours to a series of drill-holes, the characteristic carving of the so-called "Theodosian" capitals of the fifth century.¹⁰⁴ We must therefore accept Wulff's vague "fourth to fifth century" as the best we can do in the way of dating this remarkable piece.

To the above archaeological data we can add a few criteria of style that afford sound indication of period. Melfi for example exhibits a bead-and-reel beneath the palmettesima which ornaments the lowest member of the lid; this bead-and-reel is replaced by a row of dentils in Sardis B, and the palmettes alone are used in Rome G (Torlonia),—a transformation of the type which will enable us to place other members of the series which display one or another of these features. Again, the cornice of the unpedimented bays of the lateral faces of Melfi are capped with figured acroteria, while on Sardis B a small conch appears at these points. Lastly, the shelf-like pedestals which support the figures of the lateral faces of Sardis B do not appear in Melfi; on the other hand the

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marked curvature of the entablature in the unpedimented bays of Melfi is scarcely noticeable in Sardis B.

In the examples of Sidamara technique, we can find some help in the obvious imitation of the Lydian types by the sculptors of the new school, if new school it was, since it is clear in view of this imitation that the earlier examples will show most affinity with the Lydian works in composition, ornament, and figure-types. The ornament, too, should prove of value in determining dates in both groups, and we can rely especially on criteria derived from the successive forms assumed by the Lesbian cymation, a distinct disintegration in which can be traced from the beginning to the end of the Lydian group.

We shall take up first the chronological sequence of the last named group. At the outset we shall find, so far as the three-aediculae type is concerned, no monument of the series that shows any signs of antedating Melfi, the originality of whose figured decoration is hardly equalled elsewhere; nor shall we find again in the series so just an appreciation of architectonic logic, the tendency throughout, and accentuated in the Sidamara group, being toward the achievement of an optical illusion whereby the architecture is conceived more and more as behind the figures in perspective, which results in the steady enlargement of the statuette and a corresponding diminution in the relative size of the architectural bay.

But in the arcade type with five arches we find an example bearing evidence of earlier date than Melfi in the case of Rome H (Borghese). It has already been noted that the Herakles iconography on this sarcophagus betrays a relatively early date in depicting the Lernaean Hydra to the right of Herakles; the later type with the Hydra to the left is found on Rome G (Torlonia) of the first half of the third century, and can be followed through that century in later sarcophagi with Herakles scenes (see note 25), but it already appears on Rome F (Pigna) whose Lesbian cymation on the other hand closely resembles that of Melfi. The change in the Lernaean Hydra scene must therefore have been accomplished during the latter half of the second century, and the older type on Rome H (Borghese) is thus an indication of date toward the middle of the century rather than its end.

More specific evidence is furnished by the Lesbian cymation as it appears in the two bays and a half still unrestored of the right end of the front. Here the head of the middle rib of the "dart" still shows the well-defined ball which characterized its form in the first and early second centuries (see examples of Miletos, Aphrodisias, and Ephesos, nos. 34 a, b, c, of Weigand's series reproduced in *ill. 138*). Particularly noteworthy is its resemblance in this respect to the leaf-and-dart of the lower story of the Library at Ephesos (*ill. 138, 34 c*), begun at least at some date in the first half of the second century; the later upper story has cymatia that are repeated, with some angularization, on Melfi (*ill. 138, 34 d and e*), the change consisting in the loss of distinction of the part of the ball-head, which now becomes a mere enlargement of the rib at its top, displaying a squatness at this point in the Melfi cymatia which continues throughout the series.

The moulding is otherwise thoroughly disintegrated, the inner leaf being separated from its contour, and the inner rib of the dart as well, which also has acquired the little

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pins connecting it with its periphery, as in the rest of the sarcophagi of the series and also the later architectural examples cited by Weigand (*Aphrodisias, Hierapolis*, *ill.* 137, 34 f and g), so that a date slightly earlier than that of Melfi,—say c. 160,—will probably not be too late for the Borghese sarcophagus.

On Torre Nova A the ball is merely incised in the enlargement of the middle rib of the dart, which otherwise approaches the amorphous shape of Melfi. The contours of the leaf are still grooved with the chisel as in the Borghese example, a feature found in Rome F (Pigna), Melfi and London, but tending to disappear in the later members of the group. A date between the Borghese sarcophagus and Melfi would thus seem to be indicated for Torre Nova A, and for the Naples fragment from the same atelier. The similarity of the heads on Melfi and Torre Nova A (compare *ills.* 78 and 140) is too strong to admit the possibility of a wide difference in date, and we shall probably not err in placing Torre Nova A c. 165. A dating close to Melfi is also indicated for the couch-lid listed as Torre Nova B, in view of the simplicity of its accessories, even the single putto of Melfi being absent, and the pet dog alone representing the usual paraphernalia of the Lydian couch-lids. The ornamentation of the lowest member of the couch-lid was in this case apparently transferred to the top of the coffin proper, so that we are deprived of the aid of this criterion. A date co-eval with Melfi may also be assigned to Rome F (Pigna) by reason of the above-mentioned resemblance of the cymatia in the two examples; the rearrangement of the Hydra-scene shows that the fragment post-dates Rome H (Borghese).

The simplicity noted in the couch-lid of Torre Nova B is also present in the couch-lid of Myra A, which also displays a bead-and-reel below the palmette sima instead of the later row of dentils; this with the wide spacing of the intermediate bays, narrow in later examples, indicates a date close to Melfi. The curving of the entablature on this example is also a Melfi feature which disappears as we proceed further in the series. The same peculiarity in Rome B (Chiaramonti) shows that this fragment must also be dated in the Melfi period, a conclusion confirmed by the relatively wide intermediate bay and the strong modelling of the figures. These two monuments would belong therefore to the third quarter of the century.

To the same period must be assigned the London sarcophagus with horizontal entablature and figure-decoration consisting of five of the Labours of Herakles. Weigand's suggestion that we have in this the latest of the Lydian group must have been based on the drawing in Robert, which gives to the Lesbian cymatia a form even more decadent than that of Rome G (Torlonia). As a matter of fact the leaf-and-dart that appears on the podium, while loose and irregular in execution (the dart sometimes retains the ball-head, but is usually topped with the angular cap appearing in the Melfi variety) nevertheless retains the grooving of the contours of the leaf which is lost as we pass out of the Melfi group. The use of the guilloche as the ornament for the podium appears on Melfi as well as the Torlonia sarcophagus, and the canting of the volutes in the capitals, together with their retention of the original direction of the spirals, shows that we have to deal, in the London example, with a monument of the earlier phase of the Lydian series.

Denizli A and B, although Michon states that discrepancies of measurement do not

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permit them to be assigned to the same sarcophagus, are nevertheless so identical in figure style and ornament that they may be assigned to the same hand (cf. the complete correspondence of the drill-holes in the palmettes of the simas), and are therefore of the same date. The curved entablature of Denizli A thus dates both the fragments soon after Melfi, a distinctly later date being, however, indicated by the crowding of the camillus of Denizli A into a narrow unpimented bay, as well as by the filing flat of the ornament that replaces the chisel grooves observed above as an early feature in Rome H (Borghese), Torre Nova A, Melfi, Rome F (Pigna), and London. But the Denizli fragments date before Sardis B, for by the time the latter sarcophagus was made the sculptors had fallen into the habit of placing small conches on the unpimented bays of the lateral faces, and this feature does not appear here as yet. Again, the head of the youth on Denizli B is too reminiscent, in its good modelling, of the heads of Torre Nova A and Melfi (*ills.* 78, 140), to warrant our placing the fragments at too distant a date from these sarcophagi, in spite of the significant change in architectural composition noticed in the narrowing of the unpimented spaces. The curving of the entablature in Sardis A, the narrowness of its intermediate bay, and the resemblance of its ornament and acroteria to the same features in the preceding pair, adds this fragment also to what may be called a transitional group, bridging the gap between the first products of the school and its *fin de siècle* style as represented in Sardis B.

The evolution we have been tracing, it is clear, tends to limit the date of Sardis B more closely than was permitted by the data obtained from Claudia's coiffure. If the group described above is distinctly later than Melfi, it is also earlier than the group represented by Sardis B, for the latter shows new features added to the repertoire of the group as a whole, and a further loss of architectonic logic. The small conches, for example, are in the phase of Sardis B added to the cornices of the unpimented bays of the lateral faces, and it is probable that we owe to this group two more innovations in the form of the shelf-like pedestals on which the statuettes of the lateral faces are placed, and the pedestals under the colonnettes of the front, since the former do not appear in Melfi, and the latter in neither Melfi nor Myra A. The curving of the entablature also is attenuated or passes out entirely.

Early in this group of the end of the century we must place Megiste, since it retains the older type of sarcophagus with undivided frieze, and has other affinities with Torre Nova A. Its later date is manifest from the relative crudeness of the execution of the capitals, the growing flatness of their spirals, the relieving of the heads of the figures against the cap-moulding (reflecting the tendency spoken of before to enlarge the figures at the expense of the clarity of their architectural setting), and lastly the replica of Type 2 (as it appears on Sardis B) afforded by the figure of Proitos on the front. The podium, too, has lost the refinement of Torre Nova A, and acquired the rectangular outlines which it shows on the lateral faces of Sardis B and Rome D (Colonna). The sarcophagus-ends of Vienna take their place in the series here: the tomb-portal is as high or higher than in Denizli A, but conches appear above the unpimented bays of the lateral faces. These fragments are thus to be dated between Denizli A and Sardis B.

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Ismid, Isnik B, Kassaba, Myra B, Smyrna C, and Uskeles are contemporary with Sardis B, whose date from the evidence afforded by the evolution we have been tracing may now be limited to the period about 190. Ismid may be the earliest of the six in view of the relative strength of its figure modelling, but the altar is here introduced as a new motif in front of the tomb-portal, and the fragment has in common with Sardis B the shelves of the lateral faces, and the pedestals beneath the colonnettes of the front. Isnik B has also the shelf-pedestals on its lateral face, and conches like those of Sardis B on the cornice above the intermediate bays. Kassaba repeats the Ismid Eros-type and the pedestals for the colonnettes, which here, however, are decorated with carved bosses, a detail appearing also in the fragment listed as Myra B, which thus takes its place at this point in the series. The lateral conches and relatively good ornament of Smyrna C would place this fragment in the group. Uskeles has the lateral conches and the altar in front of the tomb-portal, whose cornice is at the level of the shoulder of the camillus as in Denizli A, having thus dropped from the quasi-natural height given it on Melfi, in pursuance of the emphasis desired upon the figures, and the relegation of the architecture to proportions consistent with a perspective view.

In Rome D (Colonna) one begins to feel a still later phase. It has most of the features of the preceding group: conches on the lateral cornices; altar in front of the tomb-portal, which retains the height of Uskeles; and pedestals under the colonnettes on the long sides. But these pedestals on the back are higher than those in front, and resemble in this respect the proportions of the pedestals used upon Sidamara examples which are later than the Sidamara sarcophagus itself. Another approximation of the Sidamara type is found in the elimination of the break in the center of the podia of the lateral faces as on Sardis B; in the Colonna sarcophagus this podium has become continuous as on the Sidamara examples, e.g., Selefkeh. Again, the signs of failing creative power, already noticeable in the repetition of one of the figure types on Sardis B (front 5; LLF 3), are accentuated in the case of the Colonna sarcophagus, where we find the putto-type repeated, and two renderings of Type 4. Lastly, one of the female figures illustrating the latter type (front 2) stands before a seated philosopher probably impersonating the deceased, thus approximating the "poet-and-muse" group of the Sidamara repertoire.

From the indications above noticed, a date c. 200 is probably right for Rome D (Colonna). To the same period, or a little later, must also be assigned Isnik A, still representative of Lydian technique in the retention of the classic egg-and-dart in the upper member of the impost-block, but in the lower member already showing the foliation, in incipient form, which fills the ends of this feature in the examples of Sidamara technique. Mendel's assumption,¹⁰⁵ that Isnik A was the "earliest of the Anatolian series" was made when the group was still too small for correct generalization, and the distinction between the Lydian and Sidamara technique was not yet recognized. Were it not for the palmettes retained in the sima of the pediment, Isnik A might pass for an early example of the Sidamara type and must in any case be considered a transitional specimen. It already shows a Sidamara feature in marking with an ove the center of the upper member of the impost-block.

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Rome G (Torlonia) is already dated in the first half of the third century by the Mamaea-coiffure of the head that originally belonged to the female figure reclining upon the couch-lid. A later phase of the group is in any case indicated by the degeneration of the Lesbian cymation, which in certain places (e.g., the lintel of the tomb-portal) begins to approximate the triangular and foliate form of the inner leaf which characterizes the cymatia of the palace of Diocletian at Spalato (compare *ill.* 84, and 138, 34 i). Another symptom of the same significance is the disappearance of the dentil-row beneath the palmettes of the couch-lid. The accessories of the couch include two putti as on Sidamara, but this feature is also found on Sardis B, and there are other indications which warn us against dating the sarcophagus too far into the third century, such as the survival of Melfi motifs in the form of the frieze beneath the couch and the ornamentation of the broken-out podium, as well as the relative height of the tomb-portal, although the fact that the last-mentioned feature appears in an arched bay accounts in great measure for its height. It would seem that the first quarter of the third century, rather than the second, is the period when the sarcophagus was produced, especially as we may accept the possibility, since the portrait group consists of the conventional husband and wife, that the portraits were finished afterward upon a stock sarcophagus. A point to be noted is a slight but significant change in the palmette which adorns the lowest moulding of the podium; here the leaves that flank the central pair in the inrolled palmette are not amalgamated with the smaller leaves at the sides as is the case throughout the Lydian series from Torre Nova on, but are given a vertical effect and independent outlines,—a feature observable in the palmettes of Isnik A and also on the couch-lid of Sidamara.

The Roman imitations which we have identified in Rome C (Galleria Lapidaria) and Florence (Riccardi) must also date in the first quarter of the third century, as was pointed out in the discussion of the Riccardi sarcophagus on p. 59. The Vatican example is the earlier of the two, retaining the classic profiles of the impost-block which are almost of Sidamara type in Riccardi. Both are reminiscent of the Lydian style in the retention of the full egg-and-dart in the cornice mouldings, but both on the other hand approximate the Sidamara technique in the attenuation of the outlines of the ornament. The Dioscuri of Riccardi, moreover, belong to the Sidamara repertoire.

The dating of the Sidamara examples themselves is much more difficult, particularly in the earliest phase of the group. This series shows its later origin in comparison with the Lydian in the frank imitation of the architectural compositions of the former type, whose architectonic logic, already undermined in its later examples, is obliterated in some of the first issues of the new school. The cyma of the Lesbian cymation, for example, and the ovolو profile of the egg-and-dart, are both at least suggested even on the latest Lydian sarcophagi; in the examples of Sidamara technique these profiles merge into a continuous entasis of the impost-block, which may have been influenced, as Strzygowski thought, by the convex profiles of Asiatic (and Syrian) friezes (see p. 74), but is quite as well explained by the degeneration of the profiles we have just noted. In fact the lack of symmetry in this profile (which becomes symmetrical only in the latest member of the series, Constantinople-Berlin) is a good argument against the derivation from or relation to

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the convex frieze; the impost-block curves upward and outward, retaining thus the general direction of the original profiles of the entablature of which it is a section.

A second change transformed the ornament of the profiles, as was noticed in the description of the Sidamara example itself, by retaining only one complete ove (which becomes the central motif) in the upper member of the impost-block, and by substituting in the lower member the new unit consisting of the dart and adjacent leaf-contours, which had evolved from the separation and fresh combination of the elements of the Lesbian cymation. Similarly in the egg-and-dart of the cornice mouldings only a few of the oves are retained, and both here and in the impost-block the remaining space is filled with a confused foliation characteristic of the new school and supplanting the classic motifs entirely on the lintel of the tomb portal of the left lateral face of Sidamara. It displaces also the old palmettes of the pediment-simas.

The tomb-portal has dropped in height, on the Sidamara sarcophagus, until it is level with the breasts of the woman standing beside it, indicating an even stronger tendency on the part of the new ateliers to diminish the effect of the architectural forms in favour of the figures. The latter in turn fill the bays to overflowing, and in extreme cases like the back and right lateral face of Sidamara the colonnettes are suppressed to further the freedom of the hunting scene. The drill, used mainly for details of ornament in the Lydian group, now invades the figures, the folds of whose draperies tend to become flat surfaces with illusory projection furnished by the grooved shadows executed with the drill. With this goes a marked increase in the reliance upon optical effect, some curious instances of which were noted in the descriptions of Sidamara and Rome I (Mattei).

The failing invention shown in the repetition of types on Sardis B and Rome D (Colonna) is accentuated in the second group, and on its most pretentious examples; Mendel notes for example the repetition of figures of athletes in the small frieze of the podium on the rear face of Sidamara, and the motif of the hand clutching a fold of the himation is found no less than four times in the female figures on Seleukeia (front 2, 4; back 2, 4), which themselves are scarcely more than replicas.

The carrying-over into the new school of certain of the figure-types of the Lydian repertoire was noted on pp. 60 and 62 (Types 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 9) but it is significant that the types retained are used only on the later group of Lydian sarcophagi represented by Sardis B, with the exception of the ephebe wearing the chlamys, and this figure is changed by shifting the weight to the other leg, while Types 1, 2, 4, 6, and 9 all undergo more or less modification in the Sidamara group. The rest of the Sidamara types are new, and show a shift of taste from the Attic and fourth century models preferred by the Lydian sculptors to the Hellenistic cycle. We can therefore find data for the chronological sequence of the Sidamara examples in the degree of survival of the Lydian types, as well as in the details of ornament and the architectural forms.

On the basis of the latter I find that Rome E (Borghese-Louvre) and the Richmond fragments represent the first phase of the Sidamara series, since in them the dart is retained on the upper member of the impost-block. The comparative excellence of the figure style is also in favour of an early dating, since it shows a vigour of modelling quite

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equal to the later examples of the Lydian group; it is noteworthy, however, that the slenderer Hellenistic canon of proportions tends to displace the older Attic compactness. The figured acroteria are also a survival from the earlier school. Rome E is earlier than the Richmond fragments, retaining the egg-and-dart intact in the frieze as well as on the impost-block; in the Richmond fragments the darts have begun to yield to irregular foliation. The curving of the entablature in Rome E's lateral faces, in archaic imitation of the earlier Lydian group, denotes a period when these Antonine works were still employed as models.

Athens A shows the same conservatism regarding the darts of the Doric cymation, and reproduces Lydian types in the woman with the sacrificial bull at the tomb-portal (corresponding to Sardis B, RLF 2) and a draped standing bearded figure of Type 2 (Sardis B, front 5; LLF 3). The vigour of the youth in himation reproduced from Athens B in *ill. 23*, and the relatively low pedestal of the colonnette in *ill. 24*, indicate that these fragments are co-eval with the other Athens example, but the conclusion is somewhat qualified by the foliation discerned in the cornice of the arcuated pediment. Somewhat later, but still within the period represented by the Athens examples, we may place Altyntash, and Kutaya, by reason of the relative solidity of the remains of the cymation appearing on the lowest member of the impost-block, and the fairly good figure style. The foliation here, however, has displaced the darts that survived in the Richmond fragments and Athens A, and both of the pieces just mentioned introduce un-Lydian motifs in the Muses of Altyntash, and the "philosophers" of Kutaya.

The date of the fragments just discussed must be gathered from their relation to the sarcophagus of Sidamara. This is later in its handling of ornament than the above examples, the use of foliation being consistent throughout. But certain details show that too late a dating must not be given the sarcophagus; such are the relative lowness of the colonnette-pedestals on the front and the survival of Lydian types, e.g., Types 2 and 6 on the left lateral face, the tomb-portal, and the Artemis of the front, although it must be observed that the tomb-portal has introduced the un-Lydian motif of the offering-table and the original Artemis of Melfi is changed almost beyond recognition. The couch-lid has a marked resemblance to that of Rome G (Torlonia) in that the dentils below the palmettes which are found on the lowest member of the lid of Sardis B are omitted in both Torlonia and Sidamara; the latter shows its later date by the elaboration of the Torlonia type in the addition of accessories in the decoration of the couch, and the figured frieze which replaces the formal ornament of the podium. The changes in the figure-style, the violations of architectonic logic, and the transformation of the ornament which is apparent in this, the most imposing member of the Sidamara group, have been pointed out sufficiently in the description given in the catalogue. These changes, and the anteriority of Rome G (Torlonia) which the comparison of the couch-lids in the two examples imposes, makes it necessary to date Sidamara at least as late as 225,—there is no reason in fact why we should not accept Mendel's dating in the second quarter of the century. This would place Rome E, the Richmond fragments, and those of Athens, Altyntash, and Kutaya in the first quarter of the third century.

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The dating of the Sidamara sarcophagus carries with it that of a number of others. Selefkeh must be its contemporary, and indeed is assigned to the same atelier by Mendel; its front closely imitates the Sidamara façade; the figures on the back seem to be inspired by the Richmond sarcophagus or one like it, and the hunting-group of the left lateral face by Athens A. Further reminiscence of earlier forms is found in the podium of the right lateral face, profiled somewhat after the manner of Sardis B, and in the survival of the garlands of Rome G (Torlonia) in a crude imitation on the podium of the left lateral face; the figured acroteria, found on Rome E and Richmond but not on Sidamara, are survivals of Lydian practice, and one of them (putto playing with a beast) is paralleled by acroteria of Ismid and Sardis A. On the other hand the figure style (except on the right lateral face) shows a degenerate stiffness even when compared with that of Sidamara; the column pedestals of front and back have risen in height; and the foliation of ornament has materially increased, since the oves are almost gone from the cornices of the aediculae, and the Lesbian cymation is occasionally suppressed upon the impost-blocks.

A later connection with Sidamara is evident in the New York fragment, in which the seated figure of the Sidamara front is repeated, but with a late "Antonine" head which may well reflect the ideal of an age just past. It was pointed out by Stohlman¹⁰⁶ that the examples of Sidamara technique with the arcade of five arches filled with conches probably derived the idea from the pendent arcade of this sort on the back of Sidamara, and support is given this theory by the fact that the conches are not used in the arcaded types of the Lydian series, whence another indication is derived of the anteriority of Sidamara with reference to the fragment in New York and its congeners. The imitation of the Sidamara "poet-and-muse" on Rome A (British Museum), with an awkward elongation of the legs of the stool that betokens a copyist, indicates a similar date for this fragment. The deterioration of the figure style manifest in the un-rhythmic ephebe of Smyrna A might point to a considerably later date, but the figure reproduces Type 3 of the Lydian repertoire, with the position of the legs reversed, and it is therefore probable that the Smyrna fragment belongs in the middle of the century along with the other fragments we have been discussing. The relative vigour with which the philosopher types of Bari, and the Herakles of Tyre, are expressed leads me to place these fragments in the same period.

The decline of the Sidamara school is first evident in Rome I (Mattei) and Rome J (British Museum) to which the same date must be assigned in view of the identities in the figures pointed out in the catalogue. The Berlin Muse-fragment is evidently a slightly later issue of the same atelier. In the description of the Sidamara sarcophagus attention was called to the growing restlessness of the figures, which in these three examples reaches the point of unstable equilibrium, and one can feel the relatively later date by comparing the serious philosophers of Bari with the attitudinizing poets that repeat their type on Rome I (Mattei). The horseshoe arches, already used as a pendent arcade on the right lateral face of Sidamara, and in miniature upon the *carreres* of the chariot race of its podium frieze, are for the first time employed in the large upon a colonnade on the lateral faces of Rome I.¹⁰⁷ Laxity of technique betrays itself in the varying height of the

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capitals, which sometimes reach an altitude in the leaf basket equal to that of the late capitals of the fragment from Constantinople in Berlin; a similar decadence may be seen in the equating of the ring of the column-shaft with the lower torus, and the increased enlargement of the upper torus whose prominence is one of the peculiarities of the Sidamara group.

A date in the second half of the third century must also be assigned to the following: to the couch-lid of Sagalassos, by reason of the extreme decadence of the style of the reclining figures, and the unstable animation of the putti-pair supporting the hypothymis; to that of Hierapolis A because of the over-elaborate and uninventive decoration of the couch; to Hierapolis B, which shows its date by the transference of the hunting-group to an illogical position athwart the central aedicula of a long side; to Konieh in view of the degenerate stiffness of the figures; to Alashehr and Eskishehr A, whose position late in the series is manifest by the curious investing of the Dioscurus and the ephebe of Type 19 with chitons; and to Denizli C, wherein Type 16 has lost the plasticity it had in Athens B, Kutaya and Selefkeh, and is executed in what amounts to low relief, giving an inordinate sharpness to the turn of the head in profile, and an awkward adhesion of the arms to the body; the type is further modified by raising the right arm to the face.

Concordia and Rome K (Ludovisi) are obviously of the same date and atelier, and the former can be safely placed at least as late as the second half of the third century by the coiffure of the wife on the Ludovisi example, as well as by the use of the word *depossio* in the epitaph. These two sarcophagi represent the final step in the decadence of the architectural decoration of the series, in that the distinction of the three aediculae is sacrificed in order to make a continuous colonnade like that of the arcade type, and this is accomplished by very awkward adjustment of the central raking cornices to the colonnettes of the lateral archivolts. The same thing was done on Roman sarcophagi with much better success by the employment of an impost-block, and on three examples of earlier date in the third century than our pair.¹⁰⁸ This and the fact that Roman influence is otherwise apparent in these sarcophagi in the introduction of the direct portraiture of the married pair as an element of the decoration of the front, inclines one to seek the origin of the amalgamation of the aediculae in the west; it must be noted, however, that Bruno Schulz supposes an earlier Syrian example in the propylaea of 'Ammān (Philadelphia), which he dates in the second century.¹⁰⁹ The general evolution of the Sidamara technique would place Concordia and Rome K at the end of the third century.

The synthesis of central gable and lateral arches is further developed in the sarcophagus from Ste-Marie-du-Zit by adding another arch at either end to complete the five bays of the arcaded type. The discussion of this sarcophagus in the catalogue showed that it must be dated in the first half of the fourth century in view of the squat crudeness of the figures, their violation of proportion, and the use of the later variant of the "Good Shepherd" type in the fourth of the putti representing the seasons. To these indications may be added the change of the leaf-arrangement in the capital to the form found in the latest of the series, the fragment from Constantinople in Berlin, whose date has been discussed above.

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The results of this survey of the chronology of the series may best be summarized by the following table, in which the examples are arranged without distinction of technique according to their approximate dates:

- c. 160: Rome H (Borghese)
 - c. 165: Torre Nova A; Torre Nova B; Naples
 - c. 170: Melfi; Rome F (Pigna); Myra A; Rome B (Chiaramonti); London
 - c. 175-185: Denizli A; Denizli B; Sardis A
 - c. 185-195: Megiste; Vienna; SARDIS B; Ismid; Isnik B; Kassaba; Myra B; Smyrna C (=B?); Uskeles
 - c. 200: Rome D (Colonna); Isnik A
- First quarter of third century: Rome G (Torlonia); Rome C (Galleria Lapidaria); Florence (Riccardi); Rome E (Borghese-Louvre); Richmond; Athens A; Athens B; Altyntash; Kutaya
- Second quarter of third century: Sidamara; Selefkeh
- c. 250: New York; Rome A (British Museum); Smyrna A; Bari; Tyre
- Second half of third century: Rome I (Mattei); Rome J (British Museum); Berlin; Sagalassos; Hierapolis A; Hierapolis B; Konich; Alashehr; Eskishehr A; Denizli C
- End of third century: Concordia; Rome K (Ludovisi)
- First half of fourth century: Ste-Marie-du-Zit
- c. 400: Constantinople (Berlin)

CHAPTER XI

DERIVATION OF THE ARCHITECTURAL TYPES

IN the case of the examples of our series with uninterrupted frieze, the two sarcophagi of Torre Nova and Megiste, the derivation is clear; these monuments are simply a variant of the usual Greek sarcophagus, and particularly of the “caryatid” type assigned to Athens by Altmann,¹¹⁰ and more comprehensively by Weigand,¹¹¹ in which the frieze is bounded at the ends by caryatids (or other decorative figures) or by trees, or by a symmetrical treatment of the terminal figures of the frieze that gives them the function of stops at either end. Our two examples merely use the colonnettes and pilasters for the same purpose. Otherwise, in proportions, and in the profiled cornice and podium, they continue the Greek and specifically Attic tradition.

The three-aediculae type has on the other hand prompted a number of theories as to its origin. Th. Reinach¹¹² was impressed with the impossibility of motivating the architectural setting of the figures unless the latter be considered as statues disposed in a *zotheca*, or the façade composition be recognized as a *scenae frons* “devant lequel posent et pérorent des personages sur l’étroite estrade du *logeion*.” This derivation of the type from the stage-façade is supported by Strzygowski,¹¹³ while Wittig supposes the same source for the columnar sarcophagi of the fourth century that continue our series.¹¹⁴ Altmann on the other hand relates the three-aediculae composition to that revival of the second Pompeian style of wall-decoration (*ill. 144*) which is seen in early form among the frescoes of the Baths of Titus, and in the second century in paintings of the Villa of Hadrian at Tivoli, with examples at Rome in the Villa Negroni, and in a house on the Via dei Cerchi.¹¹⁵

Delbrueck¹¹⁶ believes that sarcophagi of this type reproduced the prothesis-baldachin on which lay the effigy of the deceased, since according to him the sarcophagus proper cannot be taken for a temple, having no roof or steps. The architectural façade would in his theory be regarded as open, and the objects that hang upon the wall beside the figures in Melfi offer, to him, no “psychologischer Widerspruch” to this interpretation. It seems to me that they constitute an insuperable objection to regarding the aediculae and the unpipedimented spaces as open, and certainly one would be troubled to apply Delbrueck’s hypothesis to the back of Sidamara, with its pendent arcade and hunting-scene.

A nearer approach to interpretation of the type seems to have been made by Mendel,¹¹⁷ who regards the three-aediculae type as a combination of naos and *kliné*, the temple form of the coffin reflecting the far-off ancestry of the sarcophagus of the Mourning Women, and betraying the same relation to contemporary architecture which that monument sustains, since the alternation of arched and gabled aediculae is a widely used motif in imperial architecture of the second and third centuries (Mendel cites the theatre at Termessos, the nymphaeum of Miletos, the porches of the sanctuary of Aphrodisias, the

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decoration of the wall of the court of Baalbek, the Baths of Caracalla, and the "Baths of Diana" at Nîmes). He also makes the point indicated by Reinach,¹¹⁸ that while the couch is used as a tomb-type and for the decoration of stelae in the Hellenic east from early times, the specific form of the lid with reclining figures of the defunct upon it is Etruscan and Roman, and its appearance in the east in the imperial period must be regarded as an infiltration from the west.

The objection to this interpretation lies only in the word *naos* used to describe the coffin proper. It is no more possible to conceive the coffin as a structure of temple form than as an open baldachin for the support of the funeral effigy as Delbrueck would have it, because the same difficulty confronts us in both cases,—viz., that the objects suspended from the wall in Melfi, and the suppression of the colonnettes on the back of Sidamara, reveal the sculptor's notion of the background as a *wall* with engaged colonnade, not the porch of a temple, and as a *paries* rather than a *murus*, since he proceeds to decorate it with an architectural style of wall-decoration popular in his time.

The architectural motif in the wall decoration of the empire has been treated by several writers,¹¹⁹ and the examples in the imperial architecture of the second century that afford parallels for the decoration of our type have also been collected,¹²⁰ although the stage-façades of Aizanoi and Aspendos (*ills.* 141 and 142) show examples of the alternation of gabled and arched aediculae which for some reason were not cited by Mendel,¹²¹ and there is also to be added the facade of the Library at Ephesus (*ill.* 143) and the stucco decoration of Kasr-Firaun.¹²² But certain aspects of the relation of this type of wall-decoration to the façades of our sarcophagi have not been sufficiently noted.

That such a relation exists is clear from a comparison of the stage façades of Aizanoi (*ill.* 142), and Aspendos (*ill.* 141), and their imitation in the Library at Ephesus, with any one of the sarcophagi of the three-aediculae-type (compare e.g., *ill.* 39 with *ill.* 141). The popularity of the aedicula in wall-decoration of Asia minor must have accompanied the introduction of the Roman *scenae frons* into the Asiatic theatre. The beginning of the transformation of the stage façades of Asia Minor into Roman form is found in the re-building of that of Ephesus from the year 66 A.D.¹²³ It is unnecessary, in my opinion, to canvass the question whether the sarcophagus sculptors derived the form directly from its use in architectural decoration or from the intermediate source of wall-painting; the salient feature of the decorative art of the period is the submergence of plastic in optical effect, whereby the distinction between the rendering of architectural façades in stone and fresco tended to disappear, and the sculptor thought in terms of painting, and *vice versa*. An extreme instance of this has been revealed by Kohl in his discussion of the rock-cut tombs of Petra, where the curious lack of logic in the upper stories of the façades is explained by the sculptor's intention to represent them in perspective behind the lower story, after the fashion of the wall-paintings of Pompeii of the second style (*ill.* 144) revived, as pointed out above, in the second century.¹²⁴

Now it has been shown by Fiechter¹²⁵ that one of the chief differences between the handling of the Roman *scenae frons* in east and west lies in the unbroken back wall which is retained in the east, with certain early exceptions (Ephesus and Priene) as against the

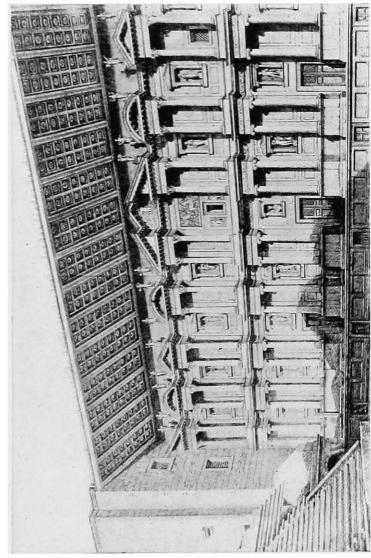
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western tendency to break the wall with deep niches whose curve is followed by the engaged colonnades. The latter feature is found in the theatre of Bosra in Syria,¹²⁶ and small niches also break the wall in other Syrian stage façades (Eš Šuhba; Djerash¹²⁷); in Asia Minor on the other hand the examples from Aizanoi on (*ill. 142*; aet. Hadriani) show a consistent projection of the aediculae from a continuous wall,¹²⁸ which is precisely the system followed by the sarcophagi with three aediculae.

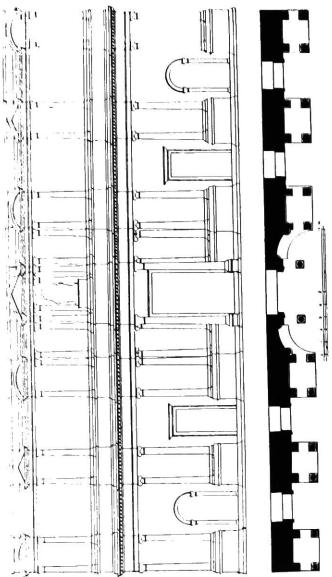
Further evidence of the imitation, on the part of the Lydian sculptors at least, of the Asiatic stage façades is furnished by the evolution in the latter of the curved niches that flank or envelope the central aedicula (*prostas*). This feature first appears in the remodelled Hellenistic façades of Ephesus and Priene, in both of which the central aedicula inclosing the *porta regia* is flanked by shallow niches in the wall, of segmental plan in Ephesus, and semicircular at Priene. But later on at Aizanoi this disposition is modified so that the *regia* has a *prostas* borne by two engaged columns supporting an entablature *en ressaut*, and the lateral niches have become two half-niches which carry an entablature from the wall behind this *prostas*, forward in a concave sense to lateral aediculae borne each upon a pair of columns (*ill. 142*). The resulting composition, considered as an optical effect, is that of the façades of our three-aediculae sarcophagi of the earlier Lydian group represented by Melfi, wherein the entablatures of the outer aediculae curve back and join the wall at the point of projection of the central bay (*ill. 39*). Such a composition is found in the wall-paintings of the fourth Pompeian style (*ill. 145*) wherein Cube¹²⁹ found the reflection of the Roman *scenae frons*, and the reproduction of the optical effect thereof, rather than the rendering of veritable spatial relations, is hardly more the purpose of the fresco-painter than of the sculptor of the Melfi sarcophagus, who has deliberately adopted an illusionistic treatment after the manner of the pictorial sculptors of the Petra tombs.

The façade of Melfi again is still more closely approached by the central part of the stage wall of Sagalassos (*ill. 146*), where the back wall is left flat and the curve restricted to the entablature above the *regia*. But in other theatres of the Antonine period in Asia Minor these curvatures are given up in favour of a flat back wall against which the aediculae emerge in wholly rectangular projection. This change is slowly followed by the sarcophagi of the Lydian group, which, as we have seen, first narrow the intermediate bays that bear the curved entablature,—a further advance in optical illusion,—and then suppress the curve, so that by the time the sarcophagus of Claudia was produced, the refinement has disappeared. The awkward attempt of the sculptor of Rome E (Borghese-Louvre) to reproduce the early Lydian curve in the entablatures of his lateral faces is obviously an archaic imitation.

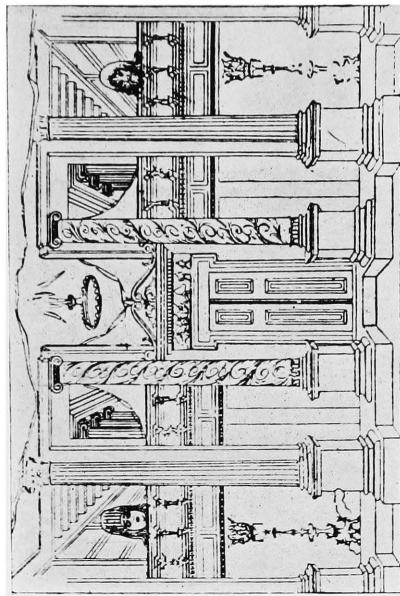
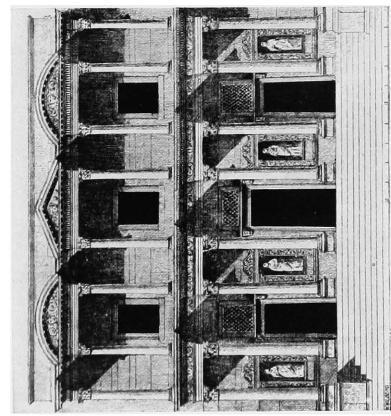
It is clear from this evidence of the influence of the stage façades of Asia Minor upon the composition of our sarcophagi that the other aedicula-type with level entablature is merely a variant derived from the same source (compare *ills. 92* and *143*). The arcade-type with five arches is not so readily explained as to origin; the latest treatment of this subject, by Weigand,¹³⁰ ascribes an Italic origin to the arcade both in construction and decorative application, chiefly because the earliest examples appear at Pompeii. We have already seen that the use of the motif in Asiatic monumental wall-decoration is reflected



143. Restored elevation of the Library at Ephesus



142. Plan and elevation of the stage facade of Aspendos



144. Pompeian wall-painting of the second style

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in the decoration of the *carceres* in the chariot-race of the podium frieze on the right lateral face of Sidamara, which dates in the second quarter of the third century. Weigand cites further examples (mainly western) of early imperial and even republican date that employ the motif; to his list may be added a fragment of *terra sigillata* from the neighborhood of Bonn assigned by Dütschke¹³¹ to the end of the second century, and the bronze reliefs of the *thensa Capitolina*, which Stachlin dates in the same period.¹³² The conch filling of the archivolt, in view of its absence from the Torlonia sarcophagus of c. 200–225, and its appearance on Sidamara of c. 225–250, would seem to have been added to the Asiatic arcades between these dates, although it occurs much earlier in isolated conch-niches.

C H A P T E R X I I

CONTINUATION OF THE ASIATIC TYPES IN LATER ART

THE subject of this section is one which Mr. Stohlman and the present writer hope to treat more fully elsewhere; it will suffice here to point out some of the more interesting instances of the continuation of the types of architectural composition and of the figures employed by the sculptors of our schools, in the art of the later empire and of early Christianity.

The continuation of the Lydian technique in Asia Minor itself is illustrated by a relief of the museum at Konieh (*ill. 147 a*), published by Mendel.¹³³ This still displays the spiral colonnettes crowned by Lydian capitals, with the usual sharply cut lobes of the acanthus and double volutes, unrolling from a pair of stems dropped from the abacus, like inverted Ionic capitals. We see also the central gable with the characteristic gutter ornament consisting of an undulating stem, and crude reminiscences of the old half-palmettes as acroteria; the lateral niches are crowned with archivolts containing the usual conches with flutings radiating upward. But these conches are sharply stilted, the baskets of the capitals are elongated, and there are no unpended spaces between the central and lateral aediculae. The last mentioned change was introduced, as we have seen, into the Asiatic series toward the end of the third century. This period for our relief is also indicated by the squat crudeness of the figure style, the stiltling of the archivolts, and the introduction of superfluous motifs like the eagle in the central pediment and the two fishes of its spandrels. The palaeography of the inscriptions confirms the date.

Crude as they were, such late productions of the Lydian school had considerable influence in Asia Minor, for a number of imitations of such reliefs have been found in the region around Konieh (*ill. 147 b*), and there is reason to assign them to local sculptors.¹³⁴ A similar echo of the Asiatic sarcophagus-schools is to be found in the curious evolution traced by W. Margaret Ramsay on the tomb-stones of Isaura Nova (Dorla) in Lycania,¹³⁵ which constitute a continuous series from about 250 to about 340, and show numerous survivals from the repertoire of our series. Such are the constant alternation of gables and arches, the occasional spiral colonnettes, the eastern conch, and the use of whorls and rosettes in the spandrels (cf. Sidamara and Rome K, Ludovisi). Further survival of the sarcophagus technique is seen in a relief on the north portal of S. Marco at Venice, which reveals in its capitals the old Lydian technique of the acanthus and the double volute, while the pilasters are a final degeneration of the type found on the ends of the fronts of Rome J (British Museum) and Ste-Marie-du-Zit. The arrangement of the acanthus bell is naturally the later one represented by the last named sarcophagus and the Berlin fragment from Constantinople. Such reminiscences of Asiatic forms should have rescued this example at least from Wulff's tendency to ascribe to a more or less hypothetical Syrian school the majority of unattached monuments of Early Christian art.¹³⁶

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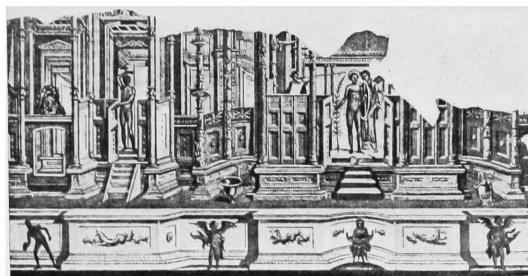
Other instances of the continuation of Asiatic style and technique have been specifically treated, as is the case with the ornament of early Byzantine architecture and particularly that of the Golden Gate at Constantinople, wherein Weigand¹³⁷ has found a relation to the ornament of our series. A curious survival of one of the figure-types is considered by Baumstark in an illuminating article¹³⁸ on the author-portraits of Byzantine manuscripts, which shows among other things that the enigmatic female figure standing before Mark in a miniature of the Codex Rossanensis (sixth century) is not to be credited with so much symbolism as previous writers have given it, since the painter merely repeated the "poet-and-muse" type of the Sidamara repertoire, traditional in the Asiatic school to which the Codex Rossanensis belongs, probably without himself assigning to the female figure any significance whatever. The group continues as a frequent formula for the author-portrait in later Byzantine manuscripts and their derivatives, with a varying significance attached to the standing "muse." Baumstark, however, seems to have missed the further trace of the old Sidamara type, in the miniature of the Codex Rossanensis, to be found in the strange entablature of the background,—an archivolt with eastern conch flanked by pyramidal features resembling spires,—which is simply an echo of the alternating gable and arch of the Sidamara façades.

The types of our sarcophagi are also perpetuated in the long series of Christian (and pagan) columnar sarcophagi in the west. This series begins at the end of the third century and is most numerous in the fourth, but extends into the fifth and sixth, surviving even into the seventh century in Gaul. Its examples have been found in Italy, Gaul, Africa and Spain, and are characterized by the use of the Asiatic aediculae or continuous arcades. The Christian members of the class are regarded by Wulff¹³⁹ as importations from southeastern Asia Minor, a specific statement for which he provides no proof. But it is to be noted that the earliest types of the columnar sarcophagi found in the west invariably maintain the characteristic types of the Asiatic series (three aediculae; arcade of five arches; horizontal entablature), giving thus good evidence that the ateliers which produced them took up the tradition where the old Asiatic ateliers left off, and that the Asiatic traditions were carried westward by emigrant craftsmen (see p. 78). There are also in these later monuments significant survivals of the old motifs of the Asiatic series, such as the poet-and-muse type, the tomb-portal, the Dioscuri, the drapery-fold held in the hand, the hunting-scene, and the constant relieving of the heads of the figures against the cornice. In architectural composition the western examples hold so true to the traditional arcade and the alternation of gable and arch that the form with a continuous series of gables, of which Schulz¹⁴⁰ sought in vain a clear eastern instance prior to the façade of Mschatta of the sixth century, is quite as slow in making its appearance in the west, being found for the first time in Gallic sarcophagi of the same century. The further proof of the connection of the Christian columnar types with the Asiatic series is to be found in their iconography, which is peculiarly un-Western in many respects, and exhibits at the same time a number of affinities with what we know of the primitive Christian subject-cycles of Asia Minor (cf. W.F. Stohlman, *A.J.A.* 1922, p. 86).

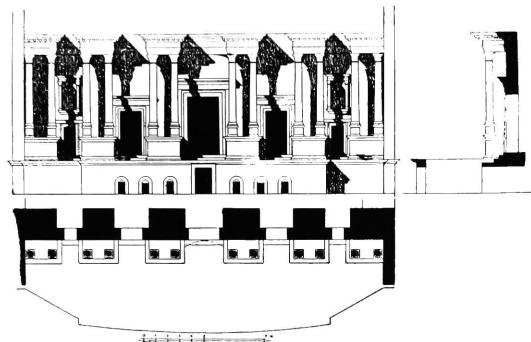
The perpetuation of the arch-and-gable type in the architectural decoration of the

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Merovingian, Carolingian and Romanesque periods of western art has been traced to some extent by L. B. Holland;¹⁴¹ its survival in ivories and miniatures can be verified by the most casual perusal of the plates of Zimmermann, Boinet, and Goldschmidt.¹⁴²



145. Pompeian wall-painting of the fourth style



146. Plan and elevation of the stage-façade at Sagalassos



(a)



(b)

147. Konieh, museum: (a) relief in Lydian style; (b) local imitation of Lydian style

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSION

THE most noteworthy feature of the Lydian atelier which produced the earliest sarcophagi of our series, is the strong Attic connection that is manifest in its first issues. Torre Nova A and Megiste are modifications of the Attic type of sarcophagus of the second century, and the use of Pentelic marble in Torre Nova A and probably Melfi as well, indicates an atelier whose traditions, if not the workmen themselves, were Athenian-born. We receive strong confirmation of this impression from the copying of the detail of the frieze of the Ionic temple on the Ilissos on one of the lateral faces of Torre Nova A, with so close a reproduction of the measurements. The type of lid is a modification of one¹⁴³ often found on the Attic "caryatid" sarcophagi, and the "shin-guard" of Melfi, Torre Nova B, Sardis B, and Sidamara, appears on an Attic sarcophagus from Kephisia (see Note 5).

The Lydian school was thus in its inception virtually an Attic school, and it is to the well-known conservatism of the Hellenistic style of Athens that we may attribute the archaism that repeats the types of the fourth century B.C., or that cultured eclecticism which prompted the selection of the transitional figures found upon the sarcophagus of Melfi. The Asiatic style is academic, living upon the creations of the past, and a characteristic product of the reflective age that produced it. The impossibility of relating the figures throughout the series to the architecture in which they stand adds to their unreality, and gives them a strange significance, which modern critics have striven in vain to express. Reinach finds in them a "je ne sais quoi de . . . religieux; Virgile et son *purpureos spargam flores* ont passé par là." Mendel is hardly more lucid in his attempt to describe "cette sculpture blonde et virgilienne dont la langueur attristée et la grâce dolente ont quelque chose de moderne."

The Attic tradition that inspires the first creations of the Lydian school becomes attenuated in its later products, and is modified in a Hellenistic sense, both in iconography and style, in the Sidamara group that succeeds it. But the underlying poise and rhythm which the first sculptors imparted to the figures is never given up completely, and other qualities which the style of the series owes to its cult of the pre-Lysippean sculpture are also retained, viz., the imposing proportions and marked frontality of the figures.

But the conception of both the figures and the architectural setting is from the first qualified by the prepossession of an optic rather than a tactile point-of-view, and we have seen the steady progress of optic illusion in the series, first in the narrowing of the bays and the transcendence thereof on the part of the statuettes, then in the modelling of the figures themselves, and lastly in the remarkable shift from Greek forms in the ornament to a colouristic pattern of light and shade. We have noted also that as the sense of form decreases and the assumption of a more distant point-of-view on the part of the beholder enhances the impressionistic treatment, the details of the architecture begin to vary in

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proportion and the figures to lose their avoirdupois. We find in fact in the evolution of the series a change from a plastic art whose medium is form to one whose medium is properly colour, but not yet so realized in the consciousness of the Sidamara sculptors, who still strive to render in their pictorial manner the traditional aspects of Greek form.

The series is thus a striking illustration of Riegl's theory of late antique art, propounded in his *Spätromische Kunstdustrie*, according to which the peculiarities of late imperial relief are explained as due to the shift from a tactile to an optic point-of-view, with the characteristic symptoms of a single flat plane of relief, grooved shadows replacing actual modelling, and the ultimate loss of articulation in the figures. But we have noticed that the sharp increase of colourism manifest in the Sidamara group accompanies a change in the market which the sculptors of our series supplied; the Lydian atelier was largely engaged in exporting its works to Italy, and therefore catered to the Neo-Attic taste of Roman aristocracy. Roman custom dictated the introduction on the lid of the Italic couch. The products of the Sidamara school, on the other hand, are mostly found in Asia Minor itself, and the change of style may therefore be attributed to the necessity of satisfying local prepossessions. Colourism would therefore seem to be a quality demanded by Asiatic rather than Roman taste, and to this extent the series affords confirmation of the Oriental influence upon the Hellenistic art of the later empire, predicated by Strzygowski. But it is becoming clearer every day that Riegl and Strzygowski are both right, the latter having merely shown that the source for the "opticizing" of late imperial art is to be sought in the eastern provinces of the empire, whereas the process is treated by Riegl as if due to an inherent tendency of late Hellenistic art in general.

The continuation of the Asiatic style and types in proto-Byzantine art has been mentioned in the preceding section. The Christ and apostles of the Berlin fragment from Constantinople are sufficient evidence of the direct influence of our series thereon. The same types of figures are found in the early illustrated manuscripts of Asia Minor,—the Vienna Genesis, Codex Rossanensis, and Sinope Matthew,—and we have noted Baumstark's identification of the "poet-and-muse" group in one of the miniatures of the Codex Rossanensis, the most characteristic of these examples of proto-Byzantine painting. I shall have occasion elsewhere to follow the Neo-Attic tradition in Asiatic art to its final incorporation in Middle Byzantine style. When this style is finally integrated, we find in it the salient qualities of figure-style and ornament that prevail in the latter phases of our series,—the flat figures that curiously preserve the tradition of pre-Lysippian frontality and self-sufficient poise, and on the other hand a decorative design that gives up the older Greek stability, proportion, and plastic form in favour of the Oriental conception of ornament as a running rhythmic pattern of light and dark. The Asiatic sarcophagi, therefore, in their evolution extending over nearly two hundred and fifty years, from the Borghese sarcophagus to the Berlin fragment, illustrate as does no other set of monuments the incubation of Byzantine style. Witnesses to the tenacity of Attic tradition, they show how its classic monumentality was modified, but nevertheless preserved and handed on, to the mediaeval art of the Christian East.

FINIS

NOTES

1. Tomb of Mamastis: Lanckoroński, *Villes de la Pamphylie et de la Pisidie*, II, fig. 83. A series of tombs from the north necropolis of Termessos, including the ones cited of Perkleia and Nanelis, is published by Heberdey & Wilberg in *Jahreshefte des oesterr. arch. Inst.* 1900, p. 177 ff.
2. Is-Sanamén: Butler, *Princeton Archaeological Expedition to Syria*, Div. II, Sect. A, 5, pl. xix. Ephesos: *Forschungen in Ephesos*, II, p. 76, figs. 153–6.
3. Th. Reinach, *Mon. Piot*, IX, p. 225.
4. Arles: Robert, *Dic antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, III, no. 160. Paris (Louvre): *ibid.* II, no. 69. Petrograd: *ibid.*, II, no. 21. Pisa: *ibid.* III, no. 223. Conservatori: *ibid.* III, no. 221. Capitoline: *ibid.* II, no. 25. Spalato: *ibid.* III, no. 163.
5. For an analysis of the technique of the bed and its ornament, as represented in similar fashion on the sarcophagus of Melfi, see Delbrueck, *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1913, pp. 280 ff. It is to be noted that the earliest existing example of the use of the shin-guard on sarcophagi seems to be found on a sarcophagus found at Kephisia near Athens (Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, II, no. 9. Mr. E. D. Young, who pointed out this sarcophagus to me, dates it early in the reign of Antoninus Pius).
6. *Mon. Piot*, IX, p. 206.
7. Delbrueck, *op.cit.* pp. 299 ff.; Robert, *op.cit.* III, no. 226.
8. The bottom of the sarcophagus is planed to a width about equal to that of the podium described above, and below this left in the rough, as was the case also with the sarcophagus of Melfi. Such treatment of this member had in view the sinking of the sarcophagus in its pedestal, or a marble revetment.
9. From *ills.* 11 and 12 the reader may see to what extent the rear of the sarcophagus has been destroyed.
10. Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht* III, 1, p. 468; Paribeni, s.v. *consularis* in Ruggiero's *Dizionario epigrafico delle antichità romane*.
11. C. I. L. VIII, 8993 (Mauretania); IX, 6414 b (Asculum Picenum). Cf. also X, 7346 (Thermae Himeraeae, Sicily): *Tritiani et Fonteiae Frontinae consularium filio patricio*.
12. ὑπατική:
 1. C. I. G. Add. 4380 b²; Cibyra, Pisidia; A.D. 180.
 2. Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage arch. en Grèce et en Asie-Mineure* III, nos. 704–5; Coloë, Lydia.
 3. C. I. G. 3908; Hierapolis Phrygiae.
 4. J. H. S. 1888, p. 253, no. 113; Palaipaphos, Cyprus.
 5. Keil-Premester, *Reise in Lydien* I, no. 44; Philadelphia Lydiae.
 6. Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage* III, no. 657; *ibid.*
 7. C. I. G. 3104; Teos.
 8. C.I.G.4774;Thebes,Egypt; Ἀντωνία Αγριππείνα ὑπατικὴ ἴστορησα.
 9. Ath. Mitt. XXIV, 1899, p. 92, no. 1; Tralles.
 10. Corp. Gloss. Lat. II, 463, 36.
- ἡ κρατίστη ὑπατική: 11. B. C. H. I, p. 293, no. 82; Ephesos; after Ciriac d'Ancona.
12. Cagnat-Lafaye, *Inscr. graec. ad res rom. pert.* III, no. 581; Sidyma, Lycia; end of second century.
- ὑπάτη:
13. J. H. S. 1888, p. 246, no. 86; Palaipaphos, Cyprus.
- ὑπάτισσα:
14. C. I. G. 9008; lead seal; Paris, Ste-Geneviève.
- ὑπατικοί:
15. Heberdey & Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien, Denkschr. Wiener Akad., phil.-hist. Kl.* XLIV, p. 145, no. 245; Syedra, Cilicia.

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13. Cf. Foucart, *Rev. de philologie*. 1899, pp. 254–269, and Paribeni, *l.c.*
14. *Zeit. für Numismatik*, 1899, p. 199.
15. Marble tablet from Smyrna, Oxford; C. I. G. 3199.
16. Chapot, *La province proconsulaire d'Asie*, p. 305 ff.
17. Lampridius, *Vita Commodi* 7, 7.
18. Crispina: Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikonographie* II, 2, p. 245, and Münztaf. v. Titiana, Scantilla, and Didia Clara: *ibid.* II, 3, Münztaf. i. The coiffure of the earlier years of Julia Domna may be seen on the relief of the Arch of the Silversmiths reproduced in *ill.* 16, and in the busts from Gabii and Markouna in the Louvre (Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 3, pls. XVI–XVII), where the handling of the surface of the hair and the parting on the top of the head shows a great resemblance to the coiffure of Claudia. Crispina's coiffures include some which leave the ears exposed; the others follow the custom of covering the ears which seems to have been universal in the end of the century.
19. Le Bas, *Voyage, Asie-mineure*, Architecture, pls. IX–X; cited by Rizzo, *op. cit.* p. 96.
20. For the bibliography of these examples see Rizzo, *Röm. Mitt.* 1910, p. 96.
21. Sillyon: Lanckoroński, *Villes de la Pamphylie* etc. I, pl. xv. Adalia: *ibid. pl. vii.*
22. See also Studniczka, *Ant. Denkmäler* III, 3. Heft, 1914–5, p. 39.
23. See Weigand, *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1914, p. 72 ff., and *ill.* 127, 34 i.
24. The corners of this podium on the front are decorated with kneeling figures of barbarian captives, wrongly restored also on the corners of the back (Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs* III, p. 147).
25. Florence (now lost; Robert, *op. cit.* III, no. 128); Vatican, Belvedere (Amelung, *Sculpturen des vat. Museums*, II, Belvedere, pl. 24).
26. The two central colonnettes of each lateral face are indicated in lower relief than those of the corners, and are deprived of the lower torus and plinth, except the one between the bald poet and Polymnia on the right lateral face, whose shaft is barely indicated, and is overlapped by the stele on which Polymnia leans. The profiles of the base and plinth are nevertheless sketched in a vertical foreshortening which is interesting evidence of the optical conceptions that controlled these sculptured forms.
27. The same sequence of muses (except that Klio appears between Terpsichore and Urania), with each a replica of the corresponding type on the two sarcophagi just described, is found on a sarcophagus from Ste-Marie-du-Zit, now in the Musée d' Alaoui (*Musées de l'Algérie*, XV, *Musée d' Alaoui*, suppl. no. 1113, pl. XLVI, 2). The figures here form an uninterrupted frieze; the sarcophagus is probably of the second half of the third century and to be classed with those mentioned on p. 55.
28. Cf. Sybel, *Christliche Antike* II, p. 176; and Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikonographie* II, 3, p. 138, and plates as follows: Tranquillina, wife of Gordianus III (Münztaf. iv, 3); Otacilia, wife of Philip Senior (Münztaf. iv, 6–7); Etruscilla, wife of Trajan Decius (Münztaf. iv, 13); Cornelia Supera, wife of Aemilianus (Münztaf. v, 7); Salonina, wife of Gallienus (Münztaf. v, 13–15); Severina, wife of Aurelian (Münztaf. vi, 10).
29. Cf. its use upon epitaphs at Salona of the middle and end of the fourth century (Jelić, *Röm. Quartalschrift*, 1891, pp. 115, 120). It appears on a dated epitaph of Castellamare near Naples of A. D. 401 (Cabrol, *Dict. d'archéologie chrét.* II, s. v. CASTELLAMARE, col. 2368).
30. Sybel, *Chr. Antike* II, p. 104 ff.
31. Mon. Piot, IX, p. 208.
32. N. Bull. arch. crist. 1905, p. 81 ff.; *L'Arte* 1906, p. 132.
33. B. C. H. 1909, p. 333.
34. N. Bull. arch. crist. 1905, p. 88.
35. Mon. Piot IX, p. 209, and note 3. The sarcophagus of the Villa Albani is described by Zoëga (*Bassirilievi* II, pl. LXXXVII) which Reinach also suggests as an additional member of the series, belongs instead to a small group of sarcophagi (I know of only four examples),

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decorated with an arcade of four arches resting on impost-blocks in the earliest example (Tipasa, *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist.* 1894, pl. vi; *ibid.* 97), and directly on the capitals in the later ones (Bucharest, *Gaz. Arch.* 1887, pl. 9; Arles, Espérandieu, *Recueil*, I, no. 169). This little group has undeniable affinities with the Asiatic type, but does not directly represent it.

36. Amelung, *Sculpturen* I, Gall. Lap. no. 121 dates the fragment in the Antonine period. Muñoz, *N. Bull. arch. crist.* 1905, p. 94, fig. 5.
37. Belvedere (Amelung, *op. cit.* II, no. 68); Ny-Carlsberg (B. Schulz, *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1906, p. 226); Terme (Mariani-Vagliari, *Guida*, p. 39, no. 18; Petersen, *Röm. Mitt.* 1900, p. 324, fig. 1; Muñoz, *op. cit.* pp. 92, 94).
38. The Dioscuri are used as terminal figures on the following sarcophagi:
 1. With horses facing inward: Louvre (Robert, *op. cit.* II, no. 26); Pisa (Dütschke, *Ant. Bildwerke in Oberitalien* I, no. 41); Rome, Villa Albani (Zoëga, *Bassirilievi* II, p. 295, pl. LXXXVII); Rome, lost (Robert, III, no. 309); Tipasa (Gsell, *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist.* 1894, pl. vi).
 2. With horses facing outward: Arles, Museum (Espérandieu, *Recueil*, I, no. 169); Dép. de l'Orne, France, coll. Mouchy (Albert, *Culte de Castor et Pollux en Italie*, no. 201, pl. II); Pisa (Dütschke, *Ant. Bildw.* I, no. 25); Rome, Museo delle Terme (Mariani-Vagliari, *Guida*, p. 39, no. 18); Rome, Vatican, Galleria Lapidaria, fragment (Muñoz, *N. Bull. arch. crist.* 1905, p. 94, fig. 5).
39. *Röm. Mitt.* 1900, p. 309 ff.
40. *Mon. Piot* IX, p. 216.
41. *Römische Ehe- und Hochzeitsdenkmäler*, Leipzig, 1871.
42. Dütschke, *Ant. Bildw.* I, no. 41.
43. Gsell, *Mél. d'arch. et d'hist.* 1894, pl. vi. The Dioscurus-type on the Tipasa sarcophagus, and to a less extent the one employed on western sarcophagi in general, seems to be related to the Dioscurus of Baiae, wherein G. Cultrera (*Bollettino d'Arte*, 1907, Nov. pp. 1-15) sees an eclectic creation of the Roman period.
44. The sarcophagus described by Zoëga in the Villa Albani (*Bassirilievi* II, p. 295, pl. LXXXVII; see note 35) has also four niches like the Tipasa example, and terminal Dioscuri, with the portrait figures of the husband and wife in the two central niches; it is evidently of the same type as the African sarcophagus.
45. *Die hellenistisch-römischen Reliefbilder* (diss.) Strassburg, 1914, p. 40 ff. and note 2 on p. 45.
46. Schreiber, *Hellenistische Reliefbilder* pl. LXXXIV.
47. Brunn-Brugmann, pl. 626; Sieveking, text to Brunn-Brugmann, pl. 626, figs. 3-4.
48. *Mon. Piot* IX, p. 216, note 1. See also Sieveking, *l.c.* fig. 5, and later examples in Rome, Vatican, Belvedere (Amelung, *Sculpturen* II, Belvedere, no. 48, pl. 13); *ibid.* (Amelung II, no. 68, pl. 18); Rome, Palazzo Rondanini (Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte crist.* V, pl. 370, 4); Pisa, Campo Santo (Garrucci, V, pl. 370, 3).
49. Bernoulli, *Griech. Ikonographie* II, p. 111 ff.; Lippold, *Griech. Porträtsstatuen*, p. 89 ff.; Gutmann, *op. cit.* pp. 41 and 43.
50. *Berliner Winckelmannsprogramm* 63, 1903, p. 16.
51. *Basis des Praxiteles*, p. 44 ff. and Anhang.
52. These statues belong to the second century A.D. and are now in the Ottoman Museum; *Jb. arch. Inst.* Anzeiger 1906, col. 30 ff.; Mendel, *Musées imp. ottomans, Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines* I, p. 316, nos. 115-122. The muses represented are: standing, with mask of Herakles in left hand (Melpomene); standing, holding small lyre; standing, corresponding to Watzinger's no. 6?; standing, holding double flute (broken); dancing muse (Terpischoré); seated muse. The reproductions of the figures are listed by Mendel.

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53. Watzinger, *op. cit.* p. 8; Amelung, *op. cit.* Anhang, p. 80; Hekler, *Römische weibliche Gewandstatuen* p. 231, Typus XLII, fig. 1; p. 130, note 1. The four muses are listed by Bie, *Die Musen in der ant. Kunst*, as types θ (Kalliope), ζ (Melpomene), 1€ (Terpsichore), 4β (Urania).
54. Berlin 219; cf. Reinach, *Rép. de la statuaire* II, 305, 1.
55. *Basis des Praxiteles*, p. 30 ff. A list of replicas is given by Hekler, *op. cit.* p. 227 (Typus xv); another at Magnesia is described by Watzinger, *Magnesia am Maeander* p. 207.
56. *Miniaturen des Wiener Dioskurides*, p. 38 ff. (*Byz. Denkm. III*). Dickins (*Hellenistic Sculpture* p. 45) allows to Philiskos himself no earlier date than the first century B.C.
57. The terracotta replica of our figure is the tenth of the "set" discovered at Myrina, reproduced *Nécropole de Myrina*, pls. XXXVII–XXXVIII; for the motif of the right hand see the Tanagra figurines reproduced in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* pls. XXVII–XXVIII (nos. C248, C255, C295). Magnesia; Reinach, *Rép. Statuaire* II, p. 671, 1; Watzinger, *Magnesia am Maeander* figs. 203–4.
58. Catalogue, p. 297. For the connection of the Dioscuri with the sepulchral cycle see Perdrizet, *Annual Brit. School Athens* 1896–7, p. 166.
59. *The Camillus-type in Sculpture* (diss.), 1911, p. 63.
60. For the literature in general see Altmann, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, p. 13 ff., and add H. Hofmann, *Römische Militärgrabsteine der Donauländer* (Sonderschriften des oesterr. arch. Inst. in Wien, V, 1905) p. 54 ff.; V. Chapot, *La colonne torse dans l'antiquité* p. 102; Le Bas, *Voyage, Architecture*, pl. 34, 35 (Aizanoi); Noack, *Ath. Mitt.* XIX, 1894, p. 315 ff. (*Dorylaion*); Mendel, *B. C. H.* 1909, pp. 322–26, nos. 76–79a (Museum of Brussa, chiefly from the valley of Altyntash); see also the bibliography assembled by Mendel, *l.c.* p. 322; and Noack, *l.c.* notes on pp. 324–5. A child's sarcophagus with a tomb-portal on one of its lateral faces, from Adalia (now in the Ottoman Museum) is reproduced in Mendel's drawing, *Catalogue* p. 149.
61. Altmann, *op. cit.* fig. 10.
62. See s.v. *Herakles* in Roscher, *Lexikon der klass. Mythologie*. Matz (*Annali*, 1868, p. 249 ff.) was the first to point out the derivation of our cycle from an earlier series of statuary groups. Two fragments of Herakles statues of Pentelic marble representing the episodes of the Cerynean Hind and the Lernaean Hydra were reconstructed by L. Pallat in *Röm. Mitt.* 1894, p. 334 ff.; Pallat found that the types were similar to those of our cycle and considered them Antonine copies of Greek originals.
63. *Orient oder Rom?* p. 58 ff. A late imperial example is found in a portrait statue discovered at Antioch (Foerster, *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1898, p. 184). It is to be noted that the Lateran statue has recently (*J. H. S.*, 1922, p. 50 ff.) received a new baptism as "Solon" at the hands of Th. Reinach.
64. Pointed out by Strzygowski, *J. H. S.* 1907, p. 111 ff.
65. Amelung, *Basis des Praxiteles*, p. 26 ff.
66. Reinach, *Rép. Statuaire*, II, 628, 3, (Athens); 627, 2 (Oxford); 624, 6 (Philippeville); see also Watzinger, *Ath. Mitt.* 1901, p. 317.
67. Hekler, *Römische weibliche Gewandstatuen* p. 226 (Typus XIV), and p. 211, note 6, fig. 26. See also the variants at Magnesia (Watzinger, *Magnesia am Maeander*, p. 206, fig. 209).
68. *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1913, p. 302 ff.
69. *Jb. arch. Inst.* Anzeiger 1906, col. 31, fig. 10.
70. Catalogue p. 325, no. 118.
71. Conze, *Attische Grabreliefs* no. 59.
72. *Antike Denkmäler*, III, 3 Heft, 1914–5, p. 36 ff., pl. 36 B.
73. Schreiber, *Hellenistische Reliefbilder* pl. III.

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74. *Arch. Zeit.* 1873, p. 11 ff.
75. *Architektur und Ornamentik der ant. Sarkophage*, p. 86.
76. *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1914, p. 63 ff.
77. J. Keil in *Jahreshefte oesterr. arch. Inst.* 1914, p. 133, pl. II. Mr. Harald Ingholt has pointed out to me, however, that the drapery-fold held in the hand is found on Palmyrene reliefs from the second century.
78. *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1914, p. 72 ff. and Beilage.
79. So called by Strzygowski in *Orient oder Rom?* p. 42, and by Muñoz, *N. Bull. arch. crist.* 1905, p. 88.
80. *Baalbek und Rom* (*Jb. arch. Inst.* 1914); *Neue Untersuchungen über das Goldene Tor in Konstantinopel* (*Ath. Mitt.* 1914, p. 1 ff.) The conclusions reached by Weigand are calculated to modify considerably the effect of Strzygowski's conception of the unimportance of Rome in the evolution of the art of the empire.
81. *Ath. Mitt.* 1914, p. 25 and note 1.
82. The earliest example that can be dated is found according to Weigand in the Corinthian capitals of the Propylon of the Bouleuterion of Miletos, built between 173 and 164 B.C., but he cites examples also in the Artemision of Magnesia and the Athena-temple at Priene. Of the first century of our era examples are found in the museum of Alexandria (*Jb. arch. Inst.* 1914, Beilage 2, fig. 12), in the east portico of the agora at Ephesus (*ibid.* fig. 13), on the agora gate at Miletos (*ibid.* fig. 14), and on the great peripteros of Djerash (*ibid.* fig. 15). In the second century the technique is illustrated by examples on the mosque at Baalbek, in the propylaea at Djerash, and the upper story of the Library at Ephesus (*ibid.* figs. 19, 18, 17), and in its latter half upon the south temple of Djerash and the Tychaion of Is-Sanamén (A.D. 191; *ibid.* figs. 20, 21); in the third, upon the Caracalla temple at Atil (A.D. 211; *ibid.* fig. 22) and the street-porticos of Sebastyeh-Samaria.
83. *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1914, Beilage 3, fig. 23a.
84. *Jahreshefte oesterr. arch. Inst.* 1915, Beiblatt, p. 48, fig. 18.
85. *Villes de la Pamphylie* etc. II, fig. 79.
86. V. Chapot, *La colonne torse et la décoration en hélice dans l'antiquité*, p. 112 ff.
87. Magnesia: *Magnesia am Maeander*, fig. 64. Ephesus, theatre: *Forschungen in Ephesos* II, fig. 175. Termessos, Corinthian temple: Lanckoroński, *Villes*, II, fig. 38, pl. vi. Aspendos, *scenae frons*: *ibid.* I, fig. 86, pl. xxvi. Adalia, Hadrian's Gate: *ibid.* I, pl. vii. Sillyon: *ibid.* I, pl. xv. Miletos, Bouleuterion: Wiegand, Milet, 2. Heft, figs. 81 and 88.
88. W. Wilberg, *Jahreshefte oesterr. arch. Inst.* 1908, p. 125, fig. 27; Weigand, *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1914, p. 59, note 2.
89. Termessos, Lanckoroński, *Villes*, II, fig. 55; Side, *ibid.* I, pl. xxxxi.
90. Termessos: Lanckoroński, *Villes*, II, figs. 39 and 55, and pl. vi. Sagalassos: *ibid.* II, pl. xxix. Adalia: *ibid.* I, fig. 8. Ephesus, theatre: *Forschungen* II, pl. iv. Ephesus, Library: *Jahreshefte oesterr. arch. Inst.* 1908, p. 126, fig. 28.
91. *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1913, p. 306; Le Bas, *Voyage, Architecture* pls. 11, 14.
92. Lanckoroński, *Villes* II, fig. 133.
93. E.g., Ephesus, *Forschungen*, II, pl. vii; Termessos, Lanckoroński, *Villes*, II, pl. xiii; Sagalassos, *ibid.* pl. xix. See also below, p. 91 ff.
94. *Orient oder Rom?* p. 56; see also Reinach, *Mon. Piot*, IX, p. 213, and Mendel, *Catalogue* p. 294. The convexity of the impost-block is explained below, p. 84.
95. Heberdey & Kalinka, *Bericht über zwei Reisen in südwestlichen Kleinasien*, Sitzungsber. Weiner Akad. XLV, 2, p. 27, no. 26. The term used here for sarcophagus, *ἀνγεῖον*, is found elsewhere in Lycia, and also in Mysia and Lydia (see p. 77; for the terminology of

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- Asiatic tombs in general see Stemler, *Die griech. Grabinschriften Kleinasiens*, diss. Halle 1909). Heberdey explains the ἀνγεῖον τοπικόν as referring to the native Lydian type with lid gabled in an ogive arch; his notion that the ἀνγεῖον Ἀσταυόν was a sarcophagus with the ordinary straight-lined gable does not commend itself, since this is the customary shape given to Greek sarcophagus-covers in general and would therefore hardly be connoted by the adjective "Asian."
96. As Hauser (*Röm. Mitt.* 1910, p. 281) points out, it is impossible to suppose that both reliefs were copied from a common original, for such exact copying was not practiced in the age of Pheidias, to which the Ilissos frieze belongs.
 97. Mendel, *Catalogue*, no. 13. The use of a figured frieze on the podium recalls the similar decoration of the podia of Rome H (Borghese) and Sidamara, and it is likely that this fragment may represent another member of our series.
 98. Pointed out by Strzygowski, *J. H. S.* 1907, p. 107.
 99. *Catalogue*, p. 314.
 100. C. I. G. 3386. The same adjective is used in C. I. G. 3282 (Smyrna).
 101. *L'Arte*, 1920, pp. 157–9.
 102. For the chronology of the crossed nimbus see Müller s.v. *Christusbilder* in Herzog & Hauck, *Realencyklopädie der kirchl. Altertümer*.
 103. Strzygowski, *Ath. Mitt.* 1889, p. 281; *Byz. Zeit.* 1892, p. 68; *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1893, p. 27 ff. Weigand, *Ath. Mitt.* 1914, p. 36 ff.
 104. Wulff, *Kgl. Museen zu Berlin, Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christl. Epochen*, III, 1, no. 26; Weigand, *l.c.* p. 36 ff.
 105. *B. C. H.* 1902, p. 257.
 106. *A. J. A.* 1921, p. 227.
 107. See below, p. 92 for the discussion of the date when the decorative arcade arose.
 108. This is the group discussed on p. 57.
 109. *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1906, p. 225, pls. III–IV.
 110. *Architekton und Ornamentik der ant. Sarkophage* p. 88 ff.
 111. *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1914, p. 77.
 112. *Mon. Piot* IX, p. 197 ff. and 221 ff.
 113. *J. H. S.* 1907, p. 119 ff.
 114. *Altchr. Skulpturen am Museum des deutschen Campo Santo in Rom*, p. 18.
 115. Altmann, *Architektur* etc. p. 52 ff., and the bibliography there given.
 116. *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1913, p. 307.
 117. *Catalogue*, p. 313.
 118. *Mon. Piot*, IX, p. 225.
 119. See Dütschke, *Ravennatische Studien* p. 126 ff; B. Schulz, *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1906, p. 221 ff.; Kohl, *Kasr-Firaun* p. 26 ff.
 120. Reinach, *Mon. Piot*, IX, p. 221 ff.; Delbrueck, *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1913, p. 306; Mendel, *Catalogue*, p. 313.
 121. Aizanoi and Aspendos: Fiechter, *Baugeschichtliche Entwicklung des antiken Theaters*, p. 113 ff.; figs. 88b and 92. Ephesus, Library: *Jahreshefte oesterr. arch. Inst.* 1908, pp. 122–3, figs. 24–5.
 122. Kohl, *Kasr-Firaun*, fig. 16.
 123. Fiechter, *op. cit.* p. 113.
 124. Kohl, *Kasr-Firaun*, p. 36 ff.
 125. *Op. cit.* p. 113.
 126. Butler, *Princeton Expedition to Syria*, Div. II., Sect. A, pl. XIV.
 127. Fiechter, *op. cit.* figs. 94, 95.

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128. Fiechter, *op. cit.* figs. 88b–91.
129. *Die römische "Scenae Frons"* (Beiträge zur Bauwissenschaft 6).
130. *Die Stellung Dalmatiens in der römischen Reichskunst*, Strena Buliciana, Agram 1923, p. 93ff.
131. *Röm. Studien*, p. 127, fig. 50.
132. *Röm. Mitt.* 1906, p. 332 ff., pls. XVII–XVIII.
133. *B. C. H.* 1902, p. 225, no. 5, fig. 6.
134. One of these imitations is reproduced in ill. 147 beside the Lydian relief just described which represents the models from which these local sculptors worked. The imitation is one of a series of such reliefs in the museum of Konieh, of the same type and the same inferior style, from Isauria (published by Mendel, *l.c.* nos. 6–8, and fig. 7); two others from Apa in Isauria are cited by Radet and Paris in *B. C. H.* 1887, pp. 63–4, nos. 38–9. The local origin of the imitations is shown by the title *λατύπος*, given himself by the sculptor of one of the pieces published by Mendel in the inscription carved upon the relief; this designation for the stone-cutter is characteristic of central Asia Minor, to judge from the examples listed by Loewy, *Inschriften der griech. Bildhauer* nos. 386, 388–91, 394, which all come from the vicinity of Kutaya.
135. *J. H. S.* 1904, p. 260 ff.
136. *Altchristliche und Byzantinische Kunst I*, p. 133, figs. 121–2. Another example of Asiatic technique is afforded by a puzzling fragment in the Louvre (photo, Giraudon, 214), which is decorated with an arcade whose archivolts are broken into a horizontal above the colonnettes, and are decorated with a typically Asiatic leaf-and-dart. The capitals also exhibit a decadent version of the Asiatic technique. In the niche which remains is the figure of a military saint, wearing a huge nimbus and standing on a sloping pedestal adorned beneath with a moulding similar to a horizontal member running above the arcade. He rests his left hand on a pointed shield, and holds a sword in his right.
137. *Ath. Mitt.* 1914, p. 48.
138. *Monatshefte für Kunsthissenschaft* 1915, p. 111 ff. See also Diez, *Byz. Denkmäler III*, p. 38 ff.
139. *Altchr. und Byz. Kunst I*, p. 110.
140. *Jb. arch. Inst.* 1906, p. 227.
141. *A. J. A.* 1921, p. 55 ff.; see also the material collected by E. T. Dewald, *ibid.*, 1922, p. 316 showing the continuation in western art of the horse-shoe arch as a decorative motif.
142. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*; Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne*; Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karol. und sächsischen Kaiser*.
143. Cf. the sarcophagus from Kertch in the Hermitage at Petrograd (Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs*, II, no. 21) and the sarcophagus from Salonica in the Louvre (*ibid.* II, no. 69).

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF THE ASIATIC SARCOPHAGI

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3. <i>Altyn-tash</i>	19	29		21. <i>Isnik B</i>	33	
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6. <i>Bari</i>	79	46		25. <i>London, with horizontal entablature</i>	92	
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	<i>Borghese-Louvre, see Rome E</i>				<i>Ludovisi, see Rome K</i>	
	<i>British Museum, see London, Rome A, Rome J</i>				<i>Mattei, see Rome I</i>	
	<i>Chiaramonti, see Rome B</i>			26. <i>Megiste (Athens)</i>	72–74	
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10. <i>Denizli A</i>	26	30		30. <i>Naples</i>	44	
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12. <i>Denizli C</i>	28	30			46	
13. <i>Eskishehr A</i>	29	30			<i>Pigna, Giardino della, see Rome F</i>	
14. <i>Eskishehr B</i>		30			<i>Riccardi, see Florence</i>	
15. <i>Florence (Riccardi)</i>	102	30 & 57		32. <i>Richmond, Cook fragments</i>	43–51	
16. <i>Fugla</i>		32			36	
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17. <i>Hierapolis A</i>	30	32		34. <i>Rome B (Chiaramonti)</i>	53	
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36.	<i>Rome D (Colonna)</i>	55	37	Ψ	46.	<i>Sardis A</i>	60	39
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37.	<i>Rome E (Borghese, Louvre)</i>	56-59	38			and frontispiece	6 & 39	
38.	<i>Rome F (Giardino della Pigna)</i>	82	46		48.	<i>Selefkeh</i>	61-64	39
39.	<i>Rome G (Torlonia)</i>	83-84	47		49.	<i>Sidamara</i>	65-67	40
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