IMPERIAL CUIRASS-ORNAMENTATION,
AND A
TORSO OF HADRIAN IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

IN the last volume of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (vi. pp. 378-380) Prof. Newton has commented at length on some remarks made by me in the same volume (vi. pp. 199-201) on the torso of an imperial statue found at Cyrene and now in the British Museum. Before considering Mr. Newton's paper in detail I may be permitted to say a few words on the subject of cuirass-ornamentation in general.

In his *Winckelmanns-fest-program* for 1868, Dr. Hübner referred to the want of a classified list of ornamented cuirasses of emperors. No one has, at present, attempted to compile such a list, which would, practically, have to take the form of a complete monograph on *statuae thoracatae*, in which the restorations, style, material, pose, and attribution of each figure would have to be carefully studied. To carry out this work it would be necessary to make a personal examination of a large number of statues which have not hitherto been critically described, and which have suffered greatly at the hands of restorers. A difficulty which specially complicates the study of this class of monuments would also have to be borne in mind—namely, that in many cases the body of imperial statues appears to have been originally made apart from the head. It seems certain that it was sometimes the practice to export from Greece torsos of Greek marble with ornamented cuirasses for sale in Italy or elsewhere—such torsos being provided with heads

(sometimes of inferior work, and of Italian marble) after they had come into the hands of the purchasers. When, therefore, we find in our museums a cuirass-statue with an inserted head made of different material from the rest of the figure, we are not always compelled to assume that there was no connexion in ancient times between that head and its body, though of course in numerous instances the head can be proved either to be not antique or to be an antique head arbitrarily applied to the statue in modern times. (See on this point the important remarks of Benndorf and Schöne, *Die antiken Bildwerke des lateranensischen Museums* (1867), p. 125; Dütschke, *Ant. Bildwerke in Turin*, &c. (1880), No. 55, p. 39; Friedlaender, *Sittengesch. Roms*, iii. p. 187 ff.; Hübner, *Augustus* (1868); and U. Köhler in *Annali* (1863), p. 433.) A paper confined to the present limits obviously makes no pretensions to supply such a monograph as is needed, but the lists here given of different types of cuirass-ornamentation, though not exhaustive, and probably requiring expansion and correction in several details, may be useful to future workers, and may serve as a provisional basis on which to discuss our subject.

The representation of the emperor in military dress is very commonly found in imperial statues of marble and bronze from the time of Augustus till the period of Constantine, or even later. The prominent feature in the costume is a cuirass more or less richly decorated with designs in relief.¹ In the middle of the upper part of the cuirass there is almost invariably present a Gorgoneion which not only formed a convenient ornament, but also served as an *apotropaion*. Sometimes, however, the Gorgoneion is wanting, or its place is taken either by some such device as the mask of a Triton (Clarac, No. 2414, Pl. 338); the Head of Isis (Clarac, No. 2413, Pl. 337); the Head of Poseidon (Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildwerke in Rom*, i. No. 1349), or by a design such as that of Helios in his chariot, rising from the sea (cp. Nos. 31*, 32* in our list, *infra*).

¹ Occasionally the design is of extreme simplicity, e.g. on the 'Panzer-statue mit Kopf (?)', 'Commodus?' found at Olympia (*Die Ausgrab.*, ii. Pl. xxviii.) which is only

ornamented with a gorgoneion-aegis. The statue in Clarac, no. 2487 D., Pl. 936 D has a cuirass entirely covered with an acanthus ornamentation.

The central portion of the cuirass is taken up with a composition which, though varying in subject and details, commonly presents a simple scheme in which two human figures stand one on each side of an inanimate object, such as a Trophy or a Candelabrum. A decorative scheme of this kind is very common on Roman terra-cotta reliefs. (See, for example, reliefs in the British Museum figured in Ellis, *Townley Gallery*, i. pp. 88, 90, 91, 99, 105, 111, 116, 131, 136.) Immediately below the central composition is usually a floral or acanthine ornament, and attached to the lower part of the cuirass are the *πτέρυγες*, or flaps, which are nearly always covered with medallions of various device. The floral ornament of the Hierapytna statue (list, No. 53*) and that of the Cyrene torso (55*) is pierced with holes, evidently for the attachment of some metallic ornament. It is not at all unlikely that the reliefs of cuirasses were picked out with colour: at any rate on the well-known Augustus of the Vatican (No. 68*) there were found distinct traces of colouring; the figures having been carefully painted in blue, red, and yellow, though the ground of the cuirass was left plain.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL TYPES OF CUIRASS-ORNAMENTATION.

TYPE I.—TWO GRIFFINS.

A.—Two Griffins facing one another.

- 1*. Mus. Capitol. Clarac, No. 2318 A, Pl. 912 B.
- 2*. Mus. Capitol. Clarac, No. 2442, Pl. 949.
- 3*. Rome, Coll. Giustiniani. Clarac, No. 2508, Pl. 973.
- 4*. Rome, Coll. Giustiniani. *Gall. Giust.* i. tav. 99; Clarac, No. 2504, Pl. 974; Matz and Von Duhn, *Antik. Bildwerke in Rom*, i. No. 1348.
- 5*. Rome, P. Carpegna. Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1349.
- 6*. Rome, P. Ruspoli. Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1353.
- 7*. Rome, P. Valentin. Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1354.
- 8*. Rome, Stud. Monteverde.—‘Die Arbeit ohne besonderes Verdienst.’ Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1354a.

- 9*. Mus. Borbonico. Clarac, No. 2318 D, Pl. 916.
 10*. Florence, Uffizi. [Trajan?—'Der Kopf ist angesetzt, aber antik.'] Dütschke, *Die antike Marmorbildwerke der Uffizien in Florenz*, No. 59, p. 22.
 11*. Florence, Palazzo Pitti. Greek marble. Dütschke, *Zerstreute ant. Bildwerke in Florenz*, No. 8, p. 6.
 12*. Mus. Dresden. Clarac, No. 2441, Pl. 949.
 13*. British Museum. Found in the Great Theatre at Ephesus. Lower portion of the cuirass, including the lower parts of the Griffins, broken off. Rough work. Engraved, Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus*, p. 75.¹

B.—Two Griffins; between them, Candelabrum.

- 14*. Villa Albani. Clarac, No. 2354 C, Pl. 936 A; Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikon.* ii. p. 148, No. 13 (doubtful whether of Tiberius, as Clarac says).
 15*. Villa Albani. Clarac, No. 2449 B, Pl. 936 B.
 16*. Rome, Coll. Giustiniani. Clarac, No. 2503, Pl. 974.
 17*. Rome, P. Rospigliosi. Titus. 'Arbeit municipal.' Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1343.
 18*. Mus. Borbonico. Found near Herculaneum. Clarac, No. 2398 C, Pl. 916.
 19*. Mus. Borbonico. Cuirass, 'd'un beau travail'; Clarac, No. 2448, Pl. 954.
 20*. Mus. Borbonico. Cuirass, 'd'un très-beau travail'; Clarac, No. 2463, Pl. 957.
 21*. Glyptothek, Munich. Brunn calls the head Tiberius, but Bernoulli (*Röm. Ikon.* ii. p. 175, No. 36) says it is not of that emperor, rather, perhaps, of Germanicus. 'Der Kopf ist von besserer Arbeit als der wahrscheinlich jüngere decorativ behandelte Panzer'; Brunn, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*, 3rd ed., Munich, 1873, No. 264, p. 251.
 22*. Leyden. Trajan. Found at Utica. 'Een practig bewerkt curas.' Janssen, *Grieksche en Romeinsche Beelden en Beeldwerken*, Leyden, 1849, Pl. V., Fig. 13.

¹ On a headless statue from Carthage in the British Museum, the right [spectator's left] side of the cuirass is ornamented with a Griffin (nota Victory, as described in *British Museum Guide to*

Graeco-Roman Sculptures pt. ii. (1876), p. 37, no. 79): the left side of the cuirass is partially covered by the paludamentum.

- 23*. Louvre. [Caracalla?] Clarac, No. 2485, Pl. 292.
 24*. Louvre. Work well-executed. Clarac, No. 2499, Pl. 292.
 25*. Louvre. Clarac, No. 2501, Pl. 292.
 26*. Louvre. Clarac, No. 2373, Pl. 277.

C.—Two Griffins; between them, plant, flower, &c.

- 27*. Rome, P. Sciarra. (Between Griffins, *plant.*) Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1352.
 28*. Vicenza, Museo Civico. (Between Griffins, *laurel.*) Dütschke, *Ant. Bildwerke in Vicenza, Venedig, &c.*, No. 15, p. 4.
 29*. Rome, P. Torlonia. (Between Griffins, *rose.*) Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1350; *Marmi Torlonia*, i. 15 = Clarac, No. 2450, Pl. 951.
 30*. Palestrina, P. Barberini. (Between Griffins, *thyrsus.*) Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1359.

D.—Two Griffins and two Phrygians.

31*. Lateran Mus. On upper part of cuirass, 'Helios' in chariot; sea beneath: in centre of cuirass, two Griffins, to each of which a bearded Barbarian in a Phrygian cap presents a bowl.—Greek marble. Well-executed. Benndorf and Schöne, *Die ant. Bildw. des lateran. Mus.* i. No. 204, p. 124f. = Clarac, 2362 A, Pl. 936 E.

32*. Turin, Museo d'Antichità. On upper part of cuirass, 'Eos' in chariot: in centre of cuirass, on each side of a flower, a Barbarian in a Phrygian cap offering a bowl to a Griffin.—Work, 'fein und sorgfältig.' Dütschke, *Ant. Bildw. in Turin, &c.*, No. 2, p. 2 = Clarac, 2354 A, Pl. 924; *Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. de Turin*, 1805, 537 ff.

[With the Helios and Eos of Nos. 31* and 32*, cp. Monaco, *Les Monum. du Mus. Nat. de Naples*, Pl. 98.]

TYPE II.—TWO VICTORIES; BETWEEN THEM, CANDELABRUM.

33*. Villa Albani. (Victories crowning candelabrum: beneath, two chariots.) Probably Augustus (so Bernoulli, *Rom. Ikon.* ii. p. 32, No. 23; *ib.* p. 74). Clarac, No. 2386 A, Pl. 936 B.

34*. Rome, P. Altieri. (Victories crowning candelabrum: upper part of cuirass restored.) Rossi-Maffei, *Raccolta*, tav. cx.; Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1345.

35*. Louvre. (Victories crowning candelabrum.) Cuirass, 'd'un beau travail.' Clarac, No. 2500, Pl. 292.

36*. Villa Albani. (Victories touching candelabrum.) Clarac, No. 2459 C, Pl. 936 A.

37*. Lateran. (Victories touching candelabrum.) Benndorf and Schöne, *Die ant. Bildw. des lateran. Mus.*, No. 587, p. 399.

38*. Parma, Museo d'Antichità. (Victories touching candelabrum.) Found in the ruins of the Basilica of Velleja. Antolini, *Le rovine di Velleja*, ix. 5; Dütschke, *Antik. Bildw. in Vicenza...Parma*, &c., No. 890, p. 369.

39*. Florence, Palazzo Cepparelli. (Victories touching candelabrum.) The relief 'ist fein gearbeitet'; Dütschke, *Zerstreute ant. Bildw. in Florenz*, No. 409, p. 194.

40*. Louvre. (Victories touching candelabrum.) Cuirass noteworthy. Clarac, No. 2401, Pl. 337; and Pl. 356, No. 29.

41*. Louvre. (Victories touching candelabrum.) Torso of statue found at Gabii. 'D'un travail exquis'; Clarac, No. 2535 [A], Pl. 355.

42*. Glyptothek, Munich. (Victories carrying candelabrum.) Moderate work. Brunn, *Beschreibung der Glypt.*, No. 192, p. 222; Clarac, No. 2481, Pl. 964.

TYPE III.—TWO VICTORIES; BETWEEN THEM, TROPHY.

43*. Rome, P. Colonna. (Victories hanging shields on trophy, near which, barbarian woman and child.) Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1355; Braun, *Ant. Marmorw.* ii. 9.

44*. Turin, Museo d'Antichità. (Victories with shields.) Probably Claudius. From Susa (Segusium). Statue of Pentelic, head of Italian, marble.—'Der angesetzte Kopf von guter Arbeit.' 'Der Sturz von ziemlich handwerksmässiger Arbeit.' Dütschke, *Ant. Bildw. in Turin*, &c., No. 55, p. 39; Ermanno Ferrero in the *Atti della Società di Archeologia e Belle Arti per la Provincia di Torino*, i. Fasc. 4, Tav. xviii.; cp. Bernoulli, *Rom. Ikon.* ii. p. 335, No. 20.

45*. Landesmuseum at Agram. (Victories with shields; beneath trophy, two bearded captives.) Torso 'aus grauen Stein.' *Archaeologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, Jahrgang iii. (1879), p. 166.

46*. Louvre. (Victories with shields; beneath, trophy, two captives.) Found at Gabii. Cuirass, 'd'un excellent travail.' Clarac, No. 2414, Pl. 338 and Pl. 356, No. 42.

47*. Madrid. (Victories with shields.) Italian marble. According to Hübner, good work, of the time of Hadrian and the Antonines. Hübner, *Die ant. Bildwerke in Madrid* (1862), No. 81, p. 84 = Clarac, No. 2504 A, Pl. 916 B ('ungenau'); cp. Hübner, 'Augustus' (1868).

48*. Mus. Capitol. (Victories crowning (?) trophy.) [M. Aurelius?] Clarac, No. 2447, Pl. 953.

49*. Rome, Coll. Panfil. (Victories crowning trophy.) Clarac, No. 2507, Pl. 981.

50*. Leyden. (One Victory has wreath, the other, sword.) Janssen, *Grieksche en Romeinsche Beelden*, &c., Pl. V., Fig. 14.

51*. Venice, Palazzo Grimani. (One Victory has wreath, the other, sword.) Dütschke thinks it superior to other similar statues in the fine execution of the details, and in the graceful pose of the figure. Dütschke, *Ant. Bildw. in Vienza, Venedig*, &c., No. 376, p. 146; Bernoulli, *Rom. Ikon.*, p. 36, No. 48 and p. 73; Clarac, No. 2412 A, Pl. 940.

52*. Athens, Kentrikon Mouseion. (Two Victories; between them, trophy.) Sybel, *Katalog der Sculpt. zu Athen*, No. 2150, p. 176.

TYPE IV. A.—TWO VICTORIES CROWNING PALLADIUM.

53*. Constantinople, Imperial Museum. (Beneath Palladium, Wolf and Twins.) Hadrian. Found at Hierapytna in Crete. Photographed, *Gazette archéologique*, 1880, Pl. 6; pp. 52-55; see also *Journ. Hell. Stud.* vi. pp. 199-201 (W. Wroth); *ib.* pp. 378-380 (C. T. Newton) and p. 140 of the present article.

54*. Torso and head of Hadrian from the excavations at Olympia. (Beneath Palladium, Wolf and Twins.) *Ausgrabungen*, ii. Pl. xxix.; iv. p. 13; v. Pl. xxiv. No. 3; p. 15.

55*. British Museum. (Beneath Palladium, Wolf and Twins.) Torso found at Cyrene. *Brit. Mus. Guide to Gracco-*

Roman Sculptures, pt. i. (1879), p. 21, No. 46; p. 16 in ed. of 1874. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* vi. pp. 199–201; 378–380 and p. 138 of this article; Friederichs and Wolters, *Die Gipsabgüsse ant. Bildw.* (Berlin, 1885), No. 1655, pp. 668, 669.

56*. Berlin Museum. (No wolf and twins.) Augustus: according to Hübner has its own head, though head and body are of different marbles. Hübner, *Augustus, Marmorstatue des Berl. Mus.* (Berlin, 1868); Clarac, No. 2335, Pl. 914; Bernoulli, *Rom. Ikon.* ii. p. 42, No. 87; p. 73.

57*. Mus. Borbonico. (No wolf and twins.) 'Beau torso.' Clarac, No. 2412, Pl. 942.

58*. Athens. (Fragment: no wolf and twins?) Hübner, *Augustus* (1868), Pl. ii. No. 2; p. 12; Sybel, *Katalog der Sculpturen zu Athen*, No. 5957, p. 373; Friederichs and Wolters, *Die Gipsabgüsse ant. Bildw.* (Berlin, 1885), No. 1656, p. 669.

59*. Vatican. (Two Victories and Palladium [? Trophy]: no wolf and twins.) Clarac, No. 2479, Pl. 964; cp. Hübner, *Augustus* (1868), p. 12.

TYPE IV. B.—TWO DANCING-GIRLS; BETWEEN THEM, PALLADIUM.

60*. Mus. Borbonico. 'La cuirasse est fort belle d'exécution.' Clarac, No. 2505, Pl. 973.

61*. Turin, Museo d'Antichità. Found at Susa (Segusium). Cuirass of fine work. Dütschke, *Ant. Bildw. in Turin*, No. i. p. 1, and reff. there; Hübner, *Augustus* (1868); Bernoulli, *Rom. Ikon.* ii. p. 200, No. 1; Clarac, No. 2326, Pl. 919.

TYPE V.—TWO CAPTIVES.

62*. Rome, Coll. Torlonia. (A male and a female barbarian captive seated opposite one another.) Matz and Von Duhn, *Die ant. Bildw. in Rom*, No. 1351; *Marmi Torlonia*, ii. 58; Clarac, No. 2480, Pl. 965.

63*. Villa Borghèse. (In central portion of cuirass, two captives.) Clarac, No. 2449 A, Pl. 964.

64*. Louvre. (Trophy, on each side of it, a captive.) 'Finement décorée de sculptures.' Clarac, No. 2413, Pl. 337.

TYPE VI.—TWO NEREIDS ON SEA-HORSES.

65*. Head and torso of Titus from excavations at Olympia. (Two Nereids on sea-horses; beneath, two dolphins.) Good work. *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, iii. Pl. xix. No. 3; p. 13; iv. p. 13; v. Pl. xxiv. No. 2; p. 15.

66*. Athens, Kentrikon Mouseion. (On breast, Selene (?) in chariot; beneath, two Nereids on sea-horses.) Torso from Megara. Sybel, *Katalog der Sculpturen zu Athen*, No. 421, p. 76.

67*. Lowther Castle, England. ([Two ?] Nereids on sea-horses, carrying the armour of Achilles.) Found in the Villa of Alexander Severus, near the Via Ostiensis. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 490, No. 13.

TYPE VII.—HISTORICAL SUBJECTS.

68*. Vatican. Augustus. From Porta Prima, about nine miles from the Porta del Popolo, Rome. Fine work. On upper part of cuirass, Caelus (God of the Sky); beneath him, Sol in chariot, preceded by Pandrosos and Aurora. In centre of cuirass, a warrior [Mars? Augustus?], attended by a wolf, receives standards from a Parthian. To right and left of central group, a captive; beneath central group, Tellus reclining; Apollo; Diana.—*Monumenti*, vi. Pl. 84, 1, 2; Rayet, *Monuments de l'art antique; Annali*, 1863, p. 432 (Köhler); Hübner, *Augustus* (1863), p. 9 f.; L. Mitchell, *Hist. of Ancient Sculpture*, p. 675; Friederichs and Wolters, *Die Gipsabgüsse ant. Bildw.* (Berlin, 1885), pp. 663–665, No. 1640; O. Jahn, *Aus der Alterthumswissenschaft*, Pl. 6, pp. 259, 285; Bernoulli, *Rom. Ikon.* ii. pp. 24–27; 72; W. C. Perry, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Casts at South Kensington Museum* (London, 1884), p. 112, No. 241.

VIII.—VARIOUS TYPES.

69*. Villa Albani. Geta? Two figures (Hercules and a nymph?) reclining. Clarac, No. 2486 B, Pl. 236 D.

70*. Rome, P. Colonna. Palladium; beneath, Ge and Okeanos reclining. Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1357; Braun, *Ant. Marmorw.* ii. 10.

71*. British Museum. Doubtful if the head (Hadrian) belongs to it. Female figure (Fortune or Victory) holding palm-branch and cornucopiae; on right and left, two captives, each kneeling at the foot of a trophy; beneath, reclining female figure (Abundantia or Tellus). *Anc. Marbles in Brit. Mus.* xi. Pl. 45; Ellis, *Townley Gallery*, i. p. 256; *Guide to the Graeco-Roman Sculptures in Brit. Mus.* (1874), Part i., p. 8, No. 19 (so also in ed. of 1879); Clarac, No. 2420, Pl. 944.

72*. Mus. Pio-clem. Found at Castra Nuovo. Cuirass similar to No. 71*. Clarac, No. 2462, Pl. 957.

73*. Mantua (Museo). Pentelic marble. Female captive (?) near trophy (?); on each side, Nike slaying ox. Dütschke, *Ant. Bildw. in Turin...und Mantua*, No. 634, p. 279; Labus, *Museo della reale Accademia di Mantova*, ii. Tav. xl. [The familiar figure of Nike slaying an ox occurs also on a cuirass in P. Sciarra, Rome; see Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1361.]

74*. Naples. Caligula (probably). From Minturnae. Horse attacked by Chimaera; beneath, rider, thrown. 'Très-belle.' Clarac, No. 2375, Pl. 933; Bernoulli, *Rom. Ikon.* ii. p. 306, No. 9.¹

Most of the cuirasses described in the above lists appear on torsos, many of which have been restored and provided with

¹ Some further references to various cuirasses &c., may here be added:— Benndorf and Schöne, *Die ant. Bildw. des lateran. Mus.*, 1867, No. 497; Bernoulli, *Rom. Ikon.* ii. p. 306, No. 10 = Clarac, No. 2374, pl. 933; Clarac, No. 2353, pl. 924; No. 2420 B, pl. 936 A; No. 2509, pl. 973; No. 2502, pl. 974; No. 2525, pl. 980 = Mich. F. v. Jabornegg-Altenfels, *Kärnten's römische Alterthümer*, Klagenfurt, 1870, p. 145, No. ccclxix; Dütschke, *Zerströute ant. Bildw. in Florenz*, Giardino Boboli, No. 88 (22), p. 46; Dütschke, *Ant. Bildw. in Turin, Brescia, Verona und Mantua*, No. 678, p. 304, 'Hadriansbuste' (Mantua); *ib.* No. 857, No. 372 (cuirass); Friedländer in *Arch. Zeitung*, 1860, p. 34; pl. 136, *Der Erz Coloss von Barletta*; Heydemann, *Die ant.*

Marmor - Bildwerke . . . zu Athen (Berlin, 1874), No. 422 (150) p. 162; *ib.* No. 608 (186), p. 221; Hübner, *Die ant. Bildw. in Madrid*, No. 82, p. 85; *ib.* Nos. 692, 693, p. 294; Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in Rom*, i. No. 1344 (cuirass plain); *ib.* No. 1346, 1347; No. 1360 (fragment of cuirass, 'Victory with vexillum'); No. 1361 A; No. 1362; L. von Sybel, *Katalog der Sculpturen zu Athen*, No. 420, p. 76; No. 422, p. 77, 'Torso einer (unteritalischen?) Stadtgöttin; aus der Kaiserzeit.' She wears a cuirass with a representation of Skylla, see authorities cited by Sybel; *ib.* No. 423, p. 77; No. 3919, p. 281; No. 3944, p. 282; No. 4849, p. 331; No. 5956, p. 373; No. 6394, p. 395; No. 6488, p. 399; No. 6608, p. 405.

heads of emperors: the number of cuirasses on statues which undoubtedly or probably retain their original heads—and these alone have been noted in our lists—is, unfortunately, extremely small. It is thus very difficult to determine when any particular type of cuirass first made its appearance; how long it continued in use; and whether different types were appropriated to different emperors. The commonest type is No. I., in which two Griffins are represented either facing one another, or with their fore-paws placed on a candelabrum or a plant. This singularly banal device certainly came into use for cuirass-ornamentation in the first century A.D., and was employed during the second century, and probably later. It was, no doubt, derived—though we cannot trace all the steps of descent—from some such ancient design as that on the relief with Griffins, in the Louvre, found at Arados (figured, Mitchell, *Hist. of Anc. Sculpture*, p. 115). Originally the plant was a sacred tree, but by the time it appeared on Roman cuirasses it had become a mere piece of decoration, and its place might equally well be taken by a candelabrum or a thyrsus. The style of the griffin-cuirasses varies a good deal, some specimens being stone-masons' work of the most ordinary kind, while others, especially in Type I. B, are finely executed. A more pleasing variety of the type may be found in I. D, in which two Barbarians are offering the Griffins drink from a bowl. This last design is found also on Roman terra-cotta reliefs (*e.g.* on a relief in the British Museum, figured in Ellis, *Townley Gallery*, i. p. 91).

Hardly less numerous than the griffin-cuirasses are those on which two figures of Victory appear; in our lists, the varieties of this scheme are treated as distinct types (II., III., IV. A.). Type II. (Victories and candelabrum) first occurs on a statue which is probably of Augustus (No. 33*). Several specimens are of good work. In Type III. the Victories are hastening towards a trophy upon which they generally hang their shields¹; sometimes two captives are seen beneath the trophy. On a statue at Venice, which is stated to be exceptionally fine (No. 51*; *cp.* 50*), one Victory brings to the trophy a wreath, the other, a sword. The first appearance of this type is on a

¹ Cf. the Victories holding shields Matz and Von Duhn, *Ant. Bildw. in*
&c., on the reliefs of Sarcophagi, *Rom.*, ii. p. 142, f.

figure which may be of Claudius (No. 44*). More interesting is Type IV. A., in which the Victories are engaged in crowning an archaic, or, rather, archaistic, figure holding spear and shield. This figure has sometimes been called Roma, but it is certainly Pallas, or the Palladium, for on some examples it is accompanied by an owl and serpent. On Nos. 53*, 54*, 55* an additional device—the Wolf and Twins—is placed beneath the Palladium. The type thus amplified occurs on two statues of Hadrian (53*, 54*), and its introduction has been plausibly attributed by Dr. Treu (*Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, iv. p. 13) to that Emperor himself:—‘Die Beziehung des reichen Reliefschmuckes am Panzer [No. 54* of our lists] auf dem Philhellenen unter den römischen Kaisern ist jetzt unverkennbar; die Vereinigung des altertümlichen Schnitzbildes der athenischen Burggöttin mit der römischen Wölfin ist ganz in seinem Sinne.’ It is not at all unlikely that this type may have been specially used for cuirasses of Hadrian, though it must be remarked that the type of two Victories crowning the Palladium occurs—though without the addition of the Wolf and Twins—on the Berlin statue which bears the head of Augustus (No. 56*). The place of the Victories (who wear either long or short chitons) is occasionally taken (IV. B) by Dancing-girls, such as those which appear on a marble candelabrum in the Louvre and on other monuments (see reff. in Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klass. Altertums*, s.v. ‘Hierodulenz’).

As type V., I have classed three specimens bearing figures of Captives. Type VI. is a somewhat graceful representation of two Nereids on sea-horses. On No. 67*, found in the Villa of Alexander Severus, near the Via Ostiensis, the Nereids are carrying the armour of Achilles—a subject which, as is well known, is found on all classes of Greek and Roman monuments. (See a list in Heydemann’s monograph, *Nereiden mit den Waffen des Achill*, Halle, 1879.) The type of two Nereids was used on cuirasses at least as early as the reign of Titus (see No. 65*). Type VII. (No. 68*)—the Vatican Augustus—seems to be a unique instance of a cuirass-relief making allusion to a historical event. As has already been pointed out by several writers, we have here a record of the famous recovery of the Roman standards from the Parthians. It is the Golden Age of Augustus: sun and sky are smiling upon the fruitful earth, and

Apollo and Diana are present as the patrons of the Roman state¹:—

‘Tua, Caesar, aetas
Fruges et agris rettulit uberes
Et signa nostro restituit Jovi
Derepta Parthorum superbis
Postibus, et vacuum duellis
Janum Quirini clausit.’²

Between the devices which decorate the *πτέρυγες* of nearly all cuirasses there is a strong family likeness, and it does not appear that each type of cuirass was accompanied by a distinct set of *πτέρυγες*. The staple ornamentation consists of animals' heads, interspersed with human heads, weapons, rosettes, &c. Type I. (Griffins) seems rather to have a predilection for *πτέρυγες* adorned with heads of animals (lions, rams, eagles, &c.); Types III. and IV. usually display among the medallion-ornaments a head of Ammon (in the centre) and a head of Medusa. One cuirass of Type III. (no. 50*) has representations of ten Labours of Herakles on its *πτέρυγες*, but as a rule there is little variety in this part of cuirasses, though sometimes the medallions (*e.g.* the Medusa-heads) are executed with much refinement.

We have now to consider the torso from Cyrene, referred to at the beginning of this article (no. 55* in Lists). Professor Newton thinks that this torso belongs to the Augustan Age, and I admit that the refined work of which, though sadly weather-worn, it still shows traces is worthy of that period. Fine cuirass-ornamentation is not, however, the monopoly of the Augustan Age, for, as our lists of Types will abundantly prove, good work is found on Imperial cuirasses of nearly every class. Many of the fine cuirasses cannot, indeed, be dated with certainty, but it will hardly be maintained that they *all* belong to the age of Augustus, and some we know positively to be of post-Augustan periods. Stylistic considerations do not then necessarily compel us to assign this torso to the time of Augustus. I proposed to name it Hadrian, mainly on account of the resemblance of its cuirass to that on a statue

¹ Cp. Hor., *Carm. Saec.* and Boissier, 80 ff.
La Religion romaine (1878), i. p. ² Hor., *Carm.* iv. 15, 4.

found at Hierapytna in Crete which has its original head—a head which I did not think would be disputed to be that of Hadrian (see the statue photographed in *Gazette Archéologique*, 1880, pl. 6, pp. 52–55; Lists, 53*). The emperor in that statue is trampling on a captive, and as this is a motive of extreme rarity, I, perhaps, went too far in assuming that the Cyrene torso originally presented precisely the same motive. I still think, however, that that torso need not of necessity be assigned to the time of Augustus, and that when complete it was probably a statue of Hadrian.

Mr. Newton has drawn up in his paper the following list of cuirasses on which are designs described by him as similar to those on the Cyrene and Hierapytna monuments:—

1. Clarac, Pl. 919, No. 2326. (Turin.)
2. Clarac, Pl. 942, No. 2412. (Naples.)
3. Clarac, Pl. 963 [misprint for 964], No. 2479. (Vatican.)
4. Clarac, Pl. 973, No. 2505. (Naples.)
5. 'Augustus' at Berlin [No. 56* in our List of Types].
6. Torso and head from Olympia [No. 54* in our List of Types].
7. Fragment at Athens [No. 58* in our List of Types].

And he remarks that it is incumbent upon me to prove that *all* these statues and torsos represent the Emperor Hadrian rather than any other emperor. Certainly if they all displayed cuirasses *identical* with the Cyrene cuirass it would be necessary to take them all into consideration; but in so far as they are not identical with that cuirass they may surely be set aside as irrelevant to the argument. Now, No. 1 in Mr. Newton's list does not represent—as the Cyrene torso does—two Victories crowning the Palladium, but two dancing-girls engaged in that act. No. 4 also may be set aside as it does not present the figures of Victory. In fact, the only cuirass in the list which exactly presents the Cyrene cuirass-scheme of Victories, Palladium, Wolf and Twins, is No. 6—and that is a statue of Hadrian. Nos. 2, 5 and 7 (and perhaps No. 3) have the Victories and the Palladium, but are without the Wolf and Twins. I do not feel sure that the absence of the Wolf and Twins constitutes a distinct type of cuirass, and so far I admit that the existence of these four monuments—one is of Augustus and the others cannot

be assigned—renders the attribution of the Cyrene cuirass to Hadrian less certain than it would otherwise be, though it certainly does not seem to invalidate that attribution altogether.¹

A cuirass practically identical with that on the Cyrene torso occurs, then, on two monuments—the head and torso found at Olympia (No. 54*)—and on the Hierapytna statue. Are these two monuments of Hadrian?

The torso of the Olympian statue was found by itself in the Exedra, but its head was fortunately afterwards discovered. Dr. Treu calls it the head of Hadrian, and in this he seems to me perfectly justified.

The attribution to Hadrian of the Hierapytna statue has, on every ground, been called in question by Mr. Newton. He considers it to be the statue of some emperor (whom he does not name) of the third century A.D.; and with regard to its style generally he pronounces it the ‘clumsy work of a provincial artist, just such as might have been expected in an island like Crete.’ Mr. Newton does not state that he speaks from a personal examination of the statue, but, in any case, an opinion from him on a question of style deserves serious consideration.² Against it must be set, however, the opinion of Longpérier who recognized in the figure ‘une des plus belles statues d’Hadrien’; the opinions—incidentally expressed—of Dr. Treu (*Die Ausgrab. zu Olymp.* v. p. 15), and of Dr. Wolters (*Die Gipsabgüsse ant. Bildw.*, Berlin, 1885, pp. 668, 669, no. 1655), both of whom admit the Hadrian attribution; the opinion of M. E. Goold, who in his Catalogue of the Imperial Museum of Constantinople (cited *Gaz. Arch.*, 1880, p. 53) describes it as ‘fort belle’;³ and finally the opinion of M. Sorlin-Dorigny, who, though admitting that the statue as a whole is ‘d’un aspect un peu lourd,’ speaks of it as one of ‘les plus belles statues iconographiques de l’Empire romain.’ Even, however, if we were forced to adopt Mr. Newton’s

¹ The object placed between the Victories on No. 3 is called by Clarac (No. 2479, pl. 964) the ‘Palladium,’ though it is not very distinct in his engraving, and Hübner (*Augustus* (1868), p. 12) calls it a *trophy*. No. 7 is a fragment and it is impossible to say whether it originally had or had not the Wolf and Twins device.

² M. Dethier of the Constantinople Museum called the statue ‘Caracalla,’ but it certainly has not the characteristic head and features of that Emperor.

³ I regret that I have not had access to a copy of Mons. S. Reinach’s Catalogue of the Constantinople Museum.

view as to the very inferior style of the statue, we should not *necessarily* have to pronounce it a monument of the third century: it might have been badly executed even in the time of Hadrian—might be, in fact, a clumsy copy by a provincial artist, just such as might have been expected in an island like Crete.

With regard to the motive of this statue, Mr. Newton remarks: 'the action of trampling on a fallen foe is a motive which, so far as can be gathered from the evidence of coins, is more characteristic of the third and fourth centuries A.D. than of the age of Hadrian.' He does not bring forward any direct evidence as to the usage of statuary in the matter, and so far as I have myself noticed this motive in an imperial statue is at present unique. I fully admit the justice of Mr. Newton's remark about the numismatic analogies, though even there the evidence is not all one way, for on a coin of Rhescuporis II., who was ruler of Bosphoros in the latter part of the first century A.D., we find the king represented standing with one of his feet resting on the back of a captive (see Koehne, *Mus. Kotschoubey*, p. 231, pl. xi. no. 26).

The statue, as I have already stated, retains its original head. This head is adorned with a wreath, in the centre of which is placed a medallion, and Mr. Newton states that he would 'not have expected' such a head-dress on a statue of Hadrian. It is, however, a fact that this head-dress was used for imperial busts and statues in the time of Hadrian and in the second century A.D. It is found (1) on a head of Trajan preserved in the Glyptothek at Munich (Brunn, *Beschreibung der Glypt.*, no. 268; p. 252); (2) on the head of Hadrian himself, found at Olympia (*Ausgrabungen*, v. pl. xxiv. no. 3; p. 15); and (3) on the head of Antoninus Pius, also found at Olympia (*Ausgrab.* iii. pl. xx. no. 5; p. 14).

To myself the features of the Hierapytna statue certainly seemed and still seem to be those of the Emperor Hadrian. This also was the opinion of Longpérier, Sorlin-Dorigny, Wolters, and Treu. And I may add that two of my friends who (like myself) have to deal almost daily with the varied imperial portraiture of Greek and Roman coins, on seeing the photograph of the statue pronounced its head to be that of Hadrian. The head, moreover, bears, both in head dress and features, a very close resemblance to the head found at Olympia (*Ausgrabungen*,

v. pl. xxiv. no. 3; p. 15), which is called Hadrian by Dr. Treu. Mr. Newton briefly refers in his paper to the discovery of the latter head, but I rather think that the photograph of it (in vol. v. of the *Ausgrabungen*) was not accessible when he wrote: if he now pronounces it to be Hadrian he will be almost compelled, I think, to admit that the head of the Hierapytna statue is likewise Hadrian. If, however, he still maintains that the Hierapytna statue belongs to the third century A.D., the task will devolve on him of naming some third century emperor to whose features its head bears a much closer resemblance than it bears to those of Hadrian.

This statue may, then, I hope be considered to be certainly of Hadrian, and as both it and the Olympian statue of Hadrian are ornamented with cuirasses practically identical with the cuirass on the Cyrene torso, I would submit that the name of Hadrian rather than that of Augustus should be given to the torso in question.

WARWICK WROTH.