

Papers of the British School at Rome

<http://journals.cambridge.org/ROM>

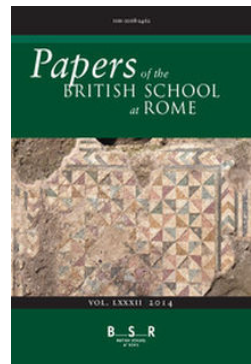
Additional services for *Papers of the British School at Rome*:

Email alerts: [Click here](#)

Subscriptions: [Click here](#)

Commercial reprints: [Click here](#)

Terms of use : [Click here](#)



Fragments of Roman Historical Reliefs in the Lateran and Vatican Museums

A. J. B. Wace

Papers of the British School at Rome / Volume 3 / January 1906, pp 274 - 294

DOI: 10.1017/S006824620000502X, Published online: 09 August 2013

Link to this article: http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S006824620000502X

How to cite this article:

A. J. B. Wace (1906). Fragments of Roman Historical Reliefs in the Lateran and Vatican Museums. *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 3, pp 274-294 doi:10.1017/S006824620000502X

Request Permissions : [Click here](#)

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

VOL. III. NO. 3

FRAGMENTS OF
ROMAN HISTORICAL RELIEFS
IN THE
LATERAN AND VATICAN MUSEUMS

BY

A. J. B. WACE, M.A.

Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge

LONDON: 1925

FRAGMENTS OF ROMAN HISTORICAL RELIEFS IN THE LATERAN AND VATICAN MUSEUMS.

THE views expressed by Wickhoff¹ upon Roman Art have been widely accepted, as far as concerns monuments whose Roman origin was undoubted. Riegl has approved the 'shadow theory' and explained it in his own peculiar art dialect. Petersen² alone has combated it; and with such effect as practically to destroy all belief in this theory, which is Wickhoff's main principle in the appreciation of Roman reliefs, especially those of the Flavian period. Since the relief fragments to be discussed in this paper are attributed to the Flavian period, it is necessary to state Wickhoff's views, and their refutation.

Wickhoff remarks³ that the artist of the *Ara Pacis* who, he considers, broke with Greek tradition and made a new departure in relief style, 'allowed the figures in high relief of the front row [of the procession] to cast their shadows on a back row of figures, which were worked so flat on the ground that they could no longer cast any shadows, but stood like silhouettes against the sky.' . . . 'When the shadows of the front row of figures fell on them and they themselves cast no shadow, the illusion was created that their shadow fell on the earth behind them, and thus the background vanished behind them.' This theory he works out in contrast to the Telephus frieze from Pergamum, whose high relief would cast heavy shadows, and which therefore, he concludes, must have stood under a colonnade. On the other hand he considers the reliefs of the arch of Titus,

¹ I would refer throughout this paper to the following works: Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, especially chapters II. and III.; Riegl, *Spätromische Kunstindustrie*, chapter II. I desire also to express my hearty thanks to Mr. Stuart Jones: it is hard to say how much this paper owes to his kind help and encouragement.

² *Ara Pacis Augustae*, p. 157, 2.

³ *Op. cit.* pp. 74, 78.

which as regards shadows shew the same treatment as the *Ara Pacis*, to stand in the open air unroofed. Petersen briefly shews that this theory rests on an entire misconception and an incomplete understanding of the monuments. The Telephus frieze according to the latest research stood in the open air. The reliefs of the arch of Titus are covered by a vault, and as they face one another the effect of the sunlight on them is never equal. No one who has seen the arch of Titus can have failed to notice the grotesque shadows the figures in high relief cast over the background and over one another, when the sunlight penetrates below the vault from the east in the morning, and from the west at evening. Again, the *Ara Pacis* was a square building; the processional frieze was on the west and east sides of it. So here also it was physically impossible for the shadows on both sides to have been equal for any length of time. Under these circumstances the shadow theory must be definitely abandoned.

Similarly Petersen shews the incorrectness of Wickhoff's theory that the arch of Titus reliefs 'are worked in the stone style out of blocks, whose original surface, preserved at the upper and lower edges, limits the depth of the relief,' in contrast to the 'clay model' style of the *Ara Pacis*. The frieze of the *Ara Pacis* was worked out of blocks in exactly the same manner as the reliefs of the arch of Titus.

One characteristic attributed by Wickhoff to Flavian art remains true—illusionism. It is no small achievement to point out a marked and peculiar feature in monuments that have long been well known. And of all Wickhoff's book no part better repays a close study than the suggestive chapters in which he examines the illusionism of Flavian art. But it becomes necessary for us to examine in detail the extant monuments of the Flavian and Trajanic period, since the theories that previously held the field have been found wanting.

Amongst Roman historical reliefs the only extant specimens of Flavian art are the two triumphal reliefs in the archway of the arch of Titus. This arch, which was decreed to Titus by the Senate after his Jewish triumph in 71, was not complete at his death, and was finished early in the principate of Domitian. Between this arch and the historical reliefs of the Trajanic period there is a considerable space of time, to which as yet no historical reliefs have been assigned. The space is indeed considerable, since the extant monuments of the Trajanic period date rather from the end than from the beginning of his principate. The battle scenes on the arch of

Constantine, which probably came from Trajan's *forum*, cannot be earlier than 112, and the arch of Beneventum was finished in the last year of Trajan if not in the first of Hadrian. Therefore, with the exception of the frieze of the *Forum Transitorium* and the *plutei* in the forum, which are probably early Trajanic (and these are not exactly great historical reliefs), there are no historical reliefs to illustrate the progress of that art from the death of Titus to the last years of Trajan. This is the more strange when it is remembered that Domitian was very active in building. He not only rebuilt the parts devastated by the fire of Titus, but under him the Temples of Vespasian and Titus, and of the *Gens Flavia*, and the *Porticus Divorum* were erected and the *Forum Transitorium* was begun. Besides, Suetonius especially remarks that he had a passion for erecting triumphal arches. It is strange, considering the building activity of Domitian, that no fragments of any of his many buildings have survived. Dio Cassius indeed says that his arches were destroyed after his death. But Mr. Stuart Jones has shewn that one of his arches was not destroyed.¹ It existed at the time of Marcus Aurelius, since it is shewn on the Aurelian panels on the arch of Constantine; and it was probably the same arch as that known in the middle ages as the *arcus manus carneae*. Under these circumstances it would be quite reasonable to expect to find in Roman museums fragments of reliefs belonging to the period of Domitian. Such fragments I believe I have found, and by means of them, after proving their Flavian style, I hope to be able to illustrate the above-mentioned gap in our knowledge of the development of Roman historical reliefs.

In the first place it will be necessary to examine somewhat closely some of the stylistic and technical details of the arch of Titus and that at Beneventum, with the object of pointing out the differences between them.

In the arch of Titus² it is to be first remarked that the blocks out of which the relief is worked join vertically and also horizontally just above the ankles of the figures. The general impression produced by the reliefs on the spectator is that of two views of two different parts of a procession seen in an ideal or imaginary frame. The qualities of 'Respiration' and space composition which Wickhoff observes in these reliefs are produced by the open ground above the figures. However, as Riegl has pointed out,

¹ v. page 261.

² Wickhoff, *op. cit.* Figs. 29, 30.

this open ground is introduced by the artist not of his own free will, but from necessity. He was obliged to represent Titus in the triumphal car and the spoils of the temple above the heads of the procession as they actually appeared. This obviously necessitated an open ground above the figures ; on the one relief it is well occupied, apart from the spoils, by the *tituli* borne by *camilli*. On the other relief it is occupied, apart from the figure of Titus crowned by Victoria, only by the *fascēs* of the lictors ; but this comparative emptiness of the rest of the ground only serves to attract more attention to the figure of the triumphing Emperor. To turn to details, however. In the triumphal car scene it is to be observed that one lictor, the first on the left, wears a full, rather close-cut beard ; several of the lictors, too, have short whiskers. Their heads are all on the same scale (·12-·14 m. high). The bar above the eyes is well marked on all. The modelling of their faces is somewhat exaggerated in the heads in low relief : but they are all fresh, clear-cut, and lifelike ; there is no unnatural hardness or dryness in the rendering. The naturalism of these heads can be compared to the best Flavian portraits. The composition itself is well balanced and not crowded. The only fault to be noticed consists in the relative positions of the horses and the triumphal car : this has been rightly commented on by Wickhoff as a fault of perspective. The horses appear obliquely, one overlapping the other, as though viewed from their left front. In direct contrast to them, the car appears behind on their right flank. In justice to the artist, it must be admitted that the subject of the four horses and the car is exceedingly difficult to handle. In the procession as actually seen the horses should appear directly behind one another, and the car should be in the front line and on the same plane as the horses. This would have been an ugly composition, and therefore, while we must recognize at once the fault of the artist and the difficulty of his subject, we must also praise the excellence of the composition. The monotony of the procession is well broken by the two lictors, who turn round and look backwards ; by the attitude of Roma, who looks back at the Emperor she guides, and of the three figures in the front line, that turn towards the spectator. In the actual workmanship the use of the drill is very noticeable. In the drapery and the reins of the horses the running drill is freely used. The drill is also used in the wreaths of the lictors and in the olive-branch held by the booted man in front of Roma ; and it has been used in the decoration of the car and the wings of Victoria.

Occasional traces of it are to be seen in the hair of the bearded man, and on some of the other heads.

In the scene of the spoils of the temple the monotony of the procession is again well broken. By the table of shewbread, as noticed by Wickhoff, one of the figures halts and turns round to look back. Just behind the golden candlestick a figure in a toga is introduced, wearing a curious arrangement of straps round the upper part of his body ; he must be some important official, since his presence reduces the number of porters at the hind part of the *ferculum* of the candlestick to three instead of the usual four. And finally, the last figure of all is practically facing the spectator. The faces and heads of the porters are more damaged than those of the lictors on the other scene, but shew the same general treatment. In making the heads of the *camilli*, who carry the *tituli*—and that they are *camilli* is clear from their long hair and effeminate appearance (similar *camilli* occur on the arch of Beneventum)—appear above the rest of the heads, we have the first trace of what later became a convention in Roman reliefs. This consists in making the heads of the figures that stand behind appear above those in front, and so on. This practice of placing rows of heads one above the other first became fully developed, as it seems, in the Trajanic period. The drill is used as freely in this scene as in the other : it appears in the drapery, in the wreaths, in the hair especially of the central *camillus*, in the ornamentation of the candlestick and of the arched gateway. This arched gateway Wickhoff imagines was continued on the ground in paint ; this is impossible, since the *titulus* stands in the way. Riegl rightly points out that it is the ancient artist's conventional way of rendering a perspective effect that a modern artist would do by foreshortening. Also, had the artist placed the arch at right angles to the procession, as it would actually appear, the result would have been hideous. Finally, as regards the general style of both scenes, it may be remarked that the variations from high relief to medium and low relief and *vice versa* are excellently combined. Also the clear cutting and somewhat exaggerated modelling of individual features of the figures in very low relief makes them appear as though almost in medium relief. Most noticeable is the modelling of the eye. In shape it is usually long and narrow, but in the low-relief heads, which are unfortunately the only ones well preserved, it is, as a rule, somewhat shorter, and rather deep at the corners. This throws out the eyeball, and assists, in conjunction with the modelling of the face

just mentioned, in making the head stand out as though in much higher relief.

Turning now to the historical reliefs of the Trajanic period, none of which are, as said above, earlier than 110 A.D., that is to say, about thirty years later than the arch of Titus, we find at once considerable differences in style and execution. In the Dacian battle scenes on the arch of Constantine the composition is wild, tumultuous, and dramatic.¹ The figures are crowded close together. Above we see two and sometimes three rows of heads one over the other—the beginning of this we noticed on the arch of Titus—and below a forest of legs which do not by any means correspond to the heads above. Again, the frieze, instead of showing one scene, is broken up into groups and incidents which cannot be contemporaneous: it is the beginning of Wickhoff's 'continuous' style. In the actual modelling of the figures, especially their faces and other nude parts, there is a hard, dry rendering. This is characteristic of Trajanic portraits also. The fresh, clear naturalism of the Flavian school has gone. In its place we have a hard, rather wooden sharpness of treatment; and there is far less feeling for texture. The handling is not so sympathetic and individual, but depends rather on a fixed type. The continuous style is also employed on Trajan's column: the scenes are all represented by groups. Further, we observe in many cases three rows of heads one above the other.² In both these monuments the use of the drill is very noticeable. It is clearly to be seen in the drapery, in its folds and fringes. It is used for working the thicker parts of the hair, especially on the Dacians. Its use is also plain for rendering ornamentation on armour, boots, helmets and the like. Lastly, all foliage is very much undercut by the drill, so much so that in some cases it may be said to be entirely drill-worked. We have noted the use of the drill on the arch of Titus, but it is not by any means so great as in these Trajanic reliefs.

Further, we find all the same elements of execution and composition repeated and developed in the latest Trajanic monument, the arch at Beneventum.³ The crowded composition, the group treatment, and the free use of the drill are obvious in the two scenes on either side of the archway. In the reliefs on the piers of both faces of the arch and of the attica the group

¹ Wickhoff, *op. cit.*, Fig. A.

² v. Cichorius, *Trajanssäule*, Plates XI, XVII, XVIII, XXXIII, LXI, LXII, LXXVII.

³ Wickhoff, *op. cit.*, Figs. 35-40.

composition is even more striking. It has become, in fact, almost a panel treatment, such as we see fully developed under Hadrian and the Antonine emperors. The grouping of the Emperor with ideal personifications can be exactly paralleled by some of the Aurelian panels on the arch of Constantine (Pls. XXIV, XXVI), and by a panel probably of the time of Antoninus Pius in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.¹ The free use of the drill is again obvious. The close, crowded arrangement of figures is unmistakable.

There are some cases of one row of heads appearing above another, but they are not frequent. It may be that this is due to the fact that the artist was obliged by exigencies of space to make the panels less tall. However, if we examine the Hadrianic panels in the Palazzo dei Conservatori² and the Antonine and Aurelian panels already referred to, it will be seen that there is never more than one row of heads. Therefore we must assume that this convention of two or more rows of heads reached its height under Trajan, was dying out at the end of his principate, and became extinct under his successors, probably because, though it suited the group treatment, it did not suit the panel treatment. Since then we find it beginning on the arch of Titus; we must therefore assign all specimens of it either to Domitian or Trajan. The last and greatest difference of all is that, while on the arch of Titus the eye is always shewn in profile, on the Trajanic reliefs it is often rendered *en face*.

Thus, I hope, the gap in our knowledge of the development of Roman historical reliefs is made clear as much from the artistic as from the chronological standpoint. It is now necessary to describe and discuss the fragments already mentioned, by which I propose to illustrate in part the development of such reliefs in this period. These fragments are as follows:—

1. Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, 152; Amelung, *Cat. d. Vat. Museums*, i. p. 409, pl. 43. Height, '63; length, '98. This is a fragment of a triumphal relief representing part of a procession proceeding to the right. It shews the bodies and lower part of the faces of two male figures in low relief to the right: both hold with their left hands the horizontal pole of a *ferculum* resting on small cushions on their left shoulders. The body of the *ferculum* itself is visible behind the left-hand figure. With their

¹ Helbig², 562.

² Helbig², 564, 565.

right hand they hold staves with peculiar crescent-shaped handles exactly similar to those carried by the porters of the *fercula* on the arch of Titus. The left-hand figure wears a short, curly beard. Before these two figures in low relief are obvious traces of two similar figures in front of them in high relief,¹ but now broken away. Apart from the broken surface, the existence of these two others is proved by the other horizontal pole of the *ferculum*; its line is clearly traceable from the left to the right, where its end coincides with a broken support, against which, no doubt, rested the left hand of the foremost porter. All remains of the drapery of the two broken figures exactly agree with this. This relief, then, would correspond to the four porters carrying the front end of the *ferculum*, on which is the table of shewbread, of the arch of Titus. The resemblance between the two is indeed striking. In both reliefs the deep folds of the drapery are drill-cut; in both the rendering of the hands clasped round the pole is the same; in both also there is a blank space below the body of the *ferculum*. The likeness between the two is so strong that it is possible to believe that the Chiaramonti fragment is part of another representation of the same subject. In that case it would possibly have come from the arch of Vespasian and Titus. This arch was dedicated in 81 A.D. by the senate in honour of the Jewish triumph, and stood at the end of the Circus Maximus towards the Celian. It appears from a fragment of the *forma urbis* to have had three archways. It existed at least till the thirteenth century, and the *Anonymus Einsiedlensis* has preserved us its inscription.¹

2. Vatican, Cortile del Belvedere, 88; Helbig², 163; Pistolesi, iv. pl. 102; Braun, p. 308, No. 53; *Beschreibung d. Stadt Rom.* ii. 2, p. 155. Height of original, .95; length, 1.10; relief height, .16; height of faces, .13 (Fig. 1). The relief has been much restored as follows: a vertical strip on the right, including two lictors and the second horse; the whole lower part, including all the feet and legs from the knees downwards; the heads of the two men in high relief on the left, the noses of the two horses on the left, and the nose and mouth of the lictor above them; the head, breast, forearms, and small fragments on the drapery of Roma; the greater part of the *vexillum*, and its staff. But her back hair and the lower part of the crest of the helmet are original.

¹ Richter, *Topogr. d. Stadt Rom.* p. 177.

This relief clearly shews part of a triumphal procession, since all the figures wear laurel wreaths. First on the left we have a male figure clad in an ordinary sleeve tunic turned half round to the right; he is clearly looking back at the procession behind him. Above him appears a male figure in profile to the left carrying a *hasta*; both these figures are in high



FIG. I.

relief. Next is a lictor's head in low relief; also to the left, following him, in high relief are two horses ridden by two men whose heads appear in very low relief just in front of the *vexillum*. All these are in profile to the left. Next is Roma clad in a *chiton* with a *diplois*, both girt in together

just below the breasts ; over it she wears a cloak fastened on her right shoulder. She advances to the left, but looks back to the right at the Emperor, whose triumph she is guiding ; in her left hand she holds a *vexillum*. Following her are three more lictors' heads in medium or very low relief, all facing to the left. Then comes the head and neck of a horse, which, to judge by the collar, is clearly the first of the horses of the *quadriga* carrying the victorious Emperor. Here the relief breaks off. Two points, however, are clear. The relief extended no further either to the left or above the heads of the figures, because on both these sides there are clear traces of an edge curving sharply outwards. It, however, extended further to the right. And assuming that the other three horses and the car occupied the same amount of space as in the similar scene of the arch of Titus, this relief must in its original state have formed part of a composition as large as that. Therefore it in all probability decorated one side of the archway of a similar monument.

In composition its resemblance to the arch of Titus is very striking. In both we have at the head of the procession a figure that looks back ; in both there is a Roma guiding the triumphal car of the Emperor ; in both the lictors occupy the background. In the Belvedere relief there are however several important developments. The figures are more crowded together owing to the introduction of the two riders. The heads are arranged in two rows one above the other instead of all being on the same level ; the beginning of this, however, I have already remarked in the other scene of the arch of Titus. Also as regards the heads of the riders and of the lictors the principle of isocephaly is observed.

And since there is no open space above the figures, the same principle must have been observed in the representation of the Emperor in the triumphal car. One or two other technical points deserve notice. The hair in its long, stiffly curling strands is rendered in the same manner as on the arch of Titus. Similarly also the modelling of the bar on the foreheads is very marked ; but in addition in the Belvedere fragment there is more exaggeration in the modelling of the faces, the rendering is less free and natural, and rather harder and more dry. In other words, there is less feeling for texture. The drill is freely used for the drapery, on the horses' heads, and in the lictors' wreaths. From its general style, then, it would not be unreasonable to assume that the Belvedere fragment is somewhat later than the arch of Titus. It is also

considerably earlier than the arch of Beneventum. For, though we have here the two rows of heads and a crowded composition—for instance, owing to this, the hind quarters of the two ridden horses are not seen—it still shews the processional rather than the group composition so typical of Trajanic art as in the arch of Beneventum and the battle frieze on the arch of Constantine. However, in the rendering of the faces the Belvedere fragment shews some of the characteristic rendering of Trajanic portraits. The eyes are purely Flavian: they are long and narrow in shape, and in profile. When the head is in very low relief the eye is somewhat shorter and deeper cut at the corners to make the eyeball project a little.

3. Fragments in the Lateran Museum.

A. [Pl. XXX, Fig. 1.] Museum number, 515; Benndorf-Schoene, 266. Height, '39; length, '33; thickness, '23.

It shews a beardless male head rather over life-size (height of face '20), in profile, in high relief to the right. Behind the head on the left is a profiled border, and also the edge on that side is smooth: these facts prove that the relief ended there. On the three other sides there are merely rough breakages. The relief is high ('11 m.), so much so that the head is practically in three-quarter profile. The neck is thick; the cheeks fat and broad, but carefully modelled. The mouth is firm, but droops a little at the corners, and the lips are thin and tight. The chin is strong and hard, and oblong; but the throat is loose and fat. The nose is decidedly aquiline. The eyes are set deep beneath a heavy, overhanging brow. The forehead is high and furrowed. In shape the eyes are long and ellipsoid, the lids and inner corners being very carefully rendered. There is a short whisker before each ear. The hair is long and wavy, and in rather wide strands curving forwards over the brow; the ends are placed irregularly, and where they stand high off the forehead were undercut by the drill. Another technical point deserves mention, that all the lines of the face curve downwards slightly against the background. The face wears an expression of intense determination; and indicates a vigorous man, rather inclined, however, to self-indulgence. The execution is perfect in its free and natural style. All is rendered with a fine feeling for texture and for the delicate modulations of the surface; and as a portrait the head is most real and lifelike.

B. [Pl. XXX, Fig. 2.] Museum number, 502; Benndorf-Schoene, 258. Height, '31; length, '41; thickness, '225. This fragment shews a bearded male head in high relief ('15) in profile to the right. The head is about life-size (height of face '205). The edge on the left is smooth, but on the other three sides roughly broken. The chin and cheeks are covered by a short beard and whiskers, and the upper lip by a small moustache. The cheeks are high and narrow; the mouth is rather long, and the lips slightly parted. The chin is rather pointed, but firm. The nose is aquiline, but well shaped. The eyes are ellipsoid and have rather projecting lids; the pupil is rendered by a shallow semicircle. The eyebrows are plastically rendered; and the brow overhangs the eyes against the nose, but over their outer corners curves upwards from them, the space between them and the eyelids being filled by a heavy roll of flesh. The forehead is high and recedes a little. The hair, which is rather thin just over the forehead, is somewhat coarse, and in long, sweeping curls that lie flat and in disorder. The rope-like object which hangs over the left shoulder is inexplicable unless it is the fringe of a cloak such as those worn by the *speculatores* and lictors. The four ridges appearing high up on the same shoulder, if they are folds of drapery, must belong to the next person in front; but it seems more probable that they are *fascæ*: in that case this person would be a *lictor proximus*, such as appears bearded and with a fringed cloak in close attendance on the Emperor on the arch of Beneventum. There is little character in the head; and though it has a certain air of distinction, it is that of a functionary rather than of an important official.

Here again one or two technical points must be noticed. As in *A*, the left eye and the left corner of the mouth and the other lines of the face curve downwards slightly against the background, which in its turn slopes inwards against the face to throw it out in higher relief. Also in the hair there are slight traces of the drill. Lastly, it remains to note that both this head and *A* are worked very carefully right to the actual point of contact with the background.

As rightly remarked by Benndorf and Schoene, both these heads are of the same marble, and correspond exactly in size, style, and execution. They are both parts of one and the same relief, which in all probability belonged to a triumphal arch or some similar monument. To these two fragments I would add four others also in the Lateran, which shew some of the heads of a procession of lictors. These, though not of the same size,

and somewhat inferior in execution, are nevertheless worked in the same style and marble. A brief description of them follows.

C. [Pl. XXX, Fig. 3.] Museum number, 558; Benndorf-Schoene, 292*d*. Height, '19; length, '21; relief height, '13; height of face, '12. The thickness of the block cannot be ascertained, since this fragment has broken edges all round except on top where there is a smooth surface to join on to another block above. This fragment shews part of a bald, beardless male head in profile to the left. The cheeks are lean, dry, and wrinkled. The forehead is furrowed, and there are crowsfeet at the corners of the eyes; the eyebrows are rendered. The mouth is small and pinched together. The eyes are long and narrow, the upper lid being especially prominent. The hair is in tight, claw-shaped locks, roughly blocked out.

D. [Pl. XXX, Fig. 4.] Museum number, 545. Benndorf-Schoene, 292*b*. Length, '30; height, '32; relief height, '10; thickness of block, '16; height of faces, '12. The surfaces at the top, the back, and on the left are smooth: there is a dowel hole at the left end of the upper surface. These facts obviously prove that the block to which this fragment belonged joined on to others on which the relief was continued. Also the two heads are cut off flat with the edge and so clearly continued on the next block above. On this fragment we see on the right a beardless male head in profile to the right, on the left half a similar head *en face*; between and below these was another head in high relief. The eyes are narrow and ellipsoid, with strongly marked upper lids. The hair is rendered as in the last fragment, but somewhat more loosely. The eyebrows are not rendered; but the foreheads are furrowed, and there is in each head a bar above the eyes. The head that is broken off in front was probably female, to judge by the knob of hair behind it on the left and the traces of its having been worked with the drill. It looked to the right, and probably was a Roma or Victoria leading the way for the Emperor. If, as in the case of the Roma on the arch of Titus, she looked back at him, we can at once decide that the whole procession was moving to the left. This seems to shew that here we have traces of two rows of heads one above the other.

E. [Pl. XXX, Fig. 5.] Museum number, 549; Benndorf-Schoene, 292*c*. Length '31; height, '245; relief height, '085; thickness, '13; height of faces, '12. The edges on top, at the back, and on the right are smooth, and at the right-hand end of the top surface is a dowel hole. So as regards

this block also the relief extended itself further to the right and above. The heads too are cut off above as in *D*. This fragment shews two beardless male heads. That on the right is in three-quarter profile to the right. The neck and part of the shoulders are also preserved : the man carries the *fascēs* on his shoulder, and so is a lictor. His chin is prominent and dimpled ; his mouth is small and pouts. The forehead is wrinkled with a marked bar. The left eye is flat, long and narrow ; the right eye projects and is small and oval in shape, and deep set, whereas the other is shallow. This is clearly a trick of the relief technique to make the eye on which the light fell appear the same as that in the shadow against the ground. Similarly the sinking above the collar-bone is rather deeply cut to disguise the flattening of the shoulder against the ground. The head on the left is also that of a lictor, since the figure to which it belongs also carries *fascēs* on the left shoulder. The head is practically *en face*, but is turned slightly to the left. There are short whiskers on the cheeks ; and the forehead is furrowed and has a marked bar. The left eye is rather long and narrow and deep set against the nose ; the right eye is short and ellipsoid, and the brow curves down heavily over its outer corner. This peculiar treatment of the eyes was clearly done for the same purpose as already remarked in the other head. In both the hair is rendered as on the other fragments.

F. (Fig. 2). Museum number, 544 ; Benndorf-Schoene, 292*a*. Length, .45 ; height, .23 ; thickness, .195 ; relief height, .09 ; height of face, .12. The surface at the back and the top edge are smooth, and the head is cut off flat above, so the relief continued. The other edges are roughly broken. On the right we see the neck and shoulders of a lictor turned to the left, and on the left the head and shoulders of another carrying the *fascēs* on his left shoulder. In the hair, which is rendered as in the other fragments, are faint traces of colour. The face has been worked over in modern times, in an attempt to clean the fragment, and therefore no remarks can be made on its style. In the neck of the lictor on the right we may observe that the artist has exaggerated the recesses between the bones and sinews of the neck to deepen the shadows and make what is really low relief appear to be in high relief.

In style these fragments shew a very close relationship to the work of the arch of Titus. That there was an open space above the heads of the

figures here also is proved by the existence of another block above. The horizontal junction of the slabs above the heads of the figures is to be compared to the arch of Titus where the slabs join just above the ankles. The treatment of the drapery and the use of the drill are similar in both. In the high-relief heads of the Lateran fragments we find a very elaborate treatment of the eye, which is not present in the existing low-relief heads of the arch of Titus, but which probably was paralleled by the now destroyed high-relief heads of that monument.



FIG. 2.

There can be little doubt, I think, that these six fragments are the remains of relief decoration of a triumphal arch or some similar historical monument. The lictors (*D*, *E*, *F*) certainly formed part of the procession escorting the Emperor. It cannot, however, have been a triumph, or the lictors would have been wreathed with laurel as on the arch of Titus. Also, although the Roma (*D*) seems to be turned to the right, yet the majority of the lictors (we have six out of twelve) are turned to the right, and for that reason it seems more probable that the procession was moving

to the right. No two of the fragments fit together, and their provenance is totally unknown, so that it is quite possible that in these fragments we have portions of two processions from the same monument. The relation of the bald-headed man (*C*) to the rest of the procession is by no means clear. The two large heads (*A*, *B*), to judge by the carefulness of the work, seem to have belonged to a group immediately surrounding the Emperor. They probably from their size did not belong to a procession, but to a large group such as is seen on the arch of Domitian, on his coins, and on the arch of Trajan at Beneventum. The bearded man (*B*) is probably a *speculator* or *lictor proximus*; his low rank would explain why he is bearded, and his duty would require his close attendance on the Emperor. The unbearded man (*A*) is without doubt some person of distinction, probably one of the *amici caesaris*. Apparently also he is the same courtier who appears as the Emperor's companion in some of the round medallions on the arch of Constantine. He is clearly recognizable in the scene of the lion hunt; and perhaps too in the bear hunt: also he bears some resemblance to the Emperor's companion present at the sacrifices to Apollo and Heracles, but cannot be identified with him (Pls. XXI–XXII). He does not however appear on the arch of Trajan at Beneventum. He cannot therefore have been one of the *comites* of Trajan during the latter part of his reign. Another point to remark is that on the medallions he seems to be older than on the Lateran fragment. It will be clear that if this portrait could by comparison with undoubted Flavian portraits be shewn to be also of that period, we should have further evidence for the Flavian date I propose for these fragments. Crowfoot has collected several Flavian portraits and pointed out the characteristics of their style.¹ A list of them will be convenient.

- (1) Florence; Uffizi, 319. Amelung, *Führer*, 144.
- (2) Florence; Uffizi, 321. Amelung, *op. cit.* 149; eyes rendered; close-cut beard.
- (3) Rome; Pal. dei Conservatori, monument of C. Julius Helius. Helbig², 605.
- (4) Unpublished; found in 1887 in the Vico Trionfale: where now?
- (5) Copenhagen; Jacobsen collection, 493.

¹ *J.H.S.* 1900, p. 31, Pls. I., II., III.

- (6) Vatican ; Braccio Nuovo, 97*a* ; eyes rendered.
- (7) Lateran, 675. Female portrait from Haterii monument.¹
- (8) Lateran, 677. Male portrait from Haterii monument.²

To these I would add the following additional portraits :—

- (9) Vatican, Sala dei Busti, 360 ; eyes rendered.
- (10) Vatican, Sala dei Busti, 350 ; eyes rendered.
- (11) Vatican, Mus. Chiaramonti, 35.
- (12) " " 54 ; eyes rendered.
- (13) " " 60.
- (14) " " 253 ; Titus.
- (15) " " 560 ; close-cut beard.
- (16) " " 722 ; eyes rendered.
- (17) " Braccio Nuovo, 26 ; Titus.
- (18) " " 69.
- (19) " " 129.
- (20) Capitol, Sala delle Colombe, 5 ; Flavius Eucarpus.
- (21) " " 108.
- (22) " Sala degli Imperatori, 6 ; eyes rendered.
- (23) Rome, Magazzino Archeologico (fourth room, in corner) ; Titus.
- (24) Rome, Museo delle Terme, Court, B 5 ; Helbig², 1085 ; Vespasian.

These are not all the extant Flavian portraits in Rome, but merely the best specimens.

In all these portraits we can clearly see the characteristics of Flavian portraiture according to Crowfoot's analysis. The style is simple and unpretentious: the artist tries to give the illusion of a living, natural man. He seizes and represents a single, momentary expression of his subject, but an expression that is characteristic. This is the peculiarity of Flavian busts ; they give a portrait by illusionist methods. A momentary characteristic expression is caught and represented in a living atmosphere. There is no laboured detailed modelling which produces an exact facial

¹ Cf. for hairdress the unbroken Flavian bust in the Capitol, Sala delle Colombe 95, the Flavian group at Chatsworth, Furtwängler, *J.H.S.* 1901, p. 221, Pl. XV, and the silver bust from Boscoreale (from a phiale) in the British Museum, inscribed Antonia, wife of Drusus, mother of Germanicus, and assigned by Héron de Villefosse to the Neronian period, *Mon. Piot.* v. p. 46, Figs. 8, 9.

² Benndorf-Schoene, 343, 345 ; Helbig², 694, 695.

likeness but gives no breath of life to its creations. Flavian portraits are natural and instantaneous, as opposed to artificial studio work. This style, which is determined by an examination of the portraits mentioned, we can at once recognize in the head on the Lateran fragment *A*. It is a living man rendered by a momentary expression which characterizes him perfectly, as I have tried to shew. It is hard to decide which is most wonderful in these Flavian artists, the trained eye that knew when to catch the momentary expression, or the marvellous skill that gave them their living atmosphere. And so there can be no possible doubt that this is a Flavian portrait, and therefore that the other relief fragments connected with it are also Flavian.

Being thus satisfied as to the Flavian date of these fragments, we must now endeavour to arrange them chronologically and illustrate the development of Roman reliefs from them.

We can sum up the above discussed stylistic differences between the arch of Titus and the Trajanic sculptures briefly as follows :—

Arch of Titus.

- (1) Processional treatment.
- (2) One row (occasionally two rows) of heads.
- (3) Drill used in moderation.
- (4) Open composition.
- (5) Eye in profile.
- (6) Fresh, individual naturalism.

Trajanic Reliefs.

- (1) Group treatment.
- (2) At least two rows of heads.
- (3) Drill used very freely.
- (4) Crowded composition.
- (5) Eye *en face*.
- (6) Hard, wooden treatment.

The fragments must therefore be arranged to illustrate as nearly as possible the gradual transition from the Flavian to the Trajanic technique. The Chiaramonti fragment which was conjectured to belong to the arch of Vespasian and Titus must be placed first. It would date from the reign of Titus, 79–81 A.D., since the arch was completed and dedicated in his last year. Next must come the reliefs of the arch of Titus, which was dedicated after his death, as shewn by the inscription *DIVO TITO*, probably in the first or second year of Domitian. The Lateran fragments are so closely allied in style to the arch of Titus that they might even be contemporary. They cannot be at least many years later; and it would

probably be safe to conclude that they are not later than 83 A.D., when Domitian celebrated his victories over the Chatti. A coin dated 85 A.D.¹ shews us a triumphal Janus crowned by two quadrigae, which probably commemorated this campaign (Pl. XXIX, 1). But since the lictors are not wreathed the fragments cannot represent a triumphal procession. Therefore the reliefs probably belonged to another monument set up by Domitian about that time. Lastly comes the Belvedere relief, which almost without doubt belonged to a triumphal arch. I would suggest that it belonged to an arch set up to commemorate the Chatic and Dacian triumph of 89 A.D.² On coins dated 90-91 (Pl. XXIX, 3) we see a triumphal Janus decorated with quadrigae on top, and at the sides with statues, and round and oblong reliefs.³ But, since the relief was probably as long as the reliefs of the arch of Titus, it cannot have belonged to a Janus, but to an ordinary arch. Where this arch stood it is impossible to conjecture, since Domitian set up so many arches. We thus obtain the following dates for the reliefs discussed:—

A.D. 79-81. Chiaramonti fragment.

81-82(?). Arch of Titus.

83. Lateran fragments.

After 89. Belvedere fragment.

They also thus illustrate the changes of style indicated. In the arch of Titus and the Lateran fragments we have open composition and only mere indications of a second row of heads; but, if the conjecture above proposed is correct, the Lateran fragments give us also the earliest example of the group treatment of the scenes. The Belvedere fragment shews a crowded composition, but still not so crowded as in some Trajanic reliefs. Also in it the heads are placed one above the other, but are not definitely arranged in rows as in the Trajanic reliefs. I think it is allowable to assume so much from these fragments although they are so small. That they are Flavian I have no doubt; and since they on close examination disclose the stylistic peculiarities and differences already described, they

¹ Cohen², 530.

² For this and the other dates of Domitian's reign *v. Gsell, Essai sur le règne de Domitien*, pp. 184, 198, 226-228, etc. This relief might also have come from a monument celebrating the end of the Suevic-Sarmatian war in 93 A.D. : *v. supra*, p. 261, cf. a coin dated 95, Cohen², 531 (Pl. XXIX, 2).

³ Cohen², 672.

may be legitimately used in attempting to trace the development of Flavian art. If we add to these the medallions from the arch of Constantine and their kindred reliefs which, as Mr. Stuart-Jones conjectures, probably belonged to the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*,¹ we have a well-defined and progressive series of Flavian historical reliefs.

¹ v. pp. 229 *seqq.* ; Pls. XXI-XXII.



Fig. 1.

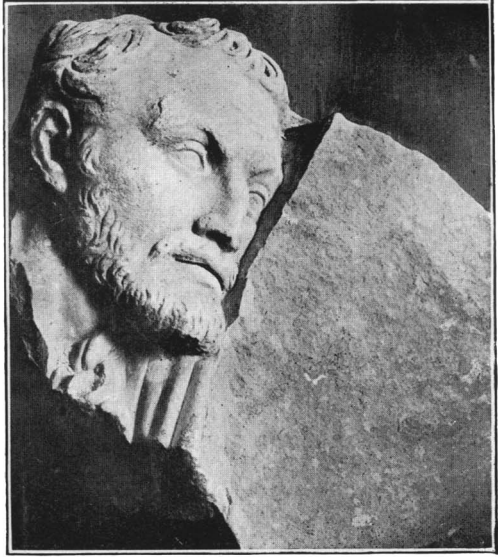


Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.