THE PICTORIAL TRADITIONS OF THE BATTLE SCENES
ON THE MONUMENT OF THE JULII AT ST. REMY

by

SANDRIA EWERS WOODRUFF

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Approved by:

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Adviser

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Reader

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Reader

SANDRIA EWERS WOODRUFF. The Pictorial Traditions of the
Battle Scenes on the Monument of the Julii at St. Rémy
(Under the direction of GERHARD KOEPPEL.)

Four large relief panels decorate the socle of
the mausoleum of the Julii at St. Rémy, a structure which
can be dated on architectural and epigraphical grounds to
the period between 30 and 25 B.C. The battle scenes in
these reliefs are of particular interest because they bridge
the gap between monumental Hellenistic battle pictures and
early Imperial battle reliefs.

Although all the panels reflect a pictorial herit-
age, two distinct traditions are obvious. The cavalry and
infantry battles of the north and west panels belong to a
class of monumental tableaux that were especially popular
in Hellenistic and Pergamene courts. The boar hunt and
death scene of the south and east panels, however, belong
to a cyclic tradition of mythological representation that
may have reached Gaul from South Italy. Each of those two
panels encompasses two episodes from a single legend in a
narrative sequence; the particular episodes were juxtaposed
because of their appropriateness in a funerary context.
However, because of the heroic nature of the battle scenes
many of the same pictorial traditions characterize both
the generic and the mythological panels.

Most of the evidence within the battle scenes of
the north, west, and east panels confirms a Hellenistic
date for the painted compositions that inspired them. There

is no definite evidence of contemporaneity in the armor nor are there any grounds for assigning a biographical interpretation to any of these panels. The north and west panels are generic battle scenes, but the east panel is a specific representation of the death of Troilus at the hands of Achilles. There are numerous Etruscan and South Italian comparanda to justify this interpretation and to confirm a South Italian context for pictorial mythological cycles.

Even though the St. Rémy panels are relief sculpture, they adhere closely to the "grand pictorial" traditions established by their painted predecessors as is clear from a comparison with the Alexander mosaic. Early Imperial battle reliefs, however, undergo numerous modifications of these traditions, modifications necessitated by both architectural and ideological considerations. Nevertheless, the grand pictorial tradition can still be traced through the reign of Trajan in a series of reliefs that includes the fragmentary Mantua and Palestrina reliefs, the reliefs from the north and south sides of the attic of the arch at Orange, drawings of a fragmentary relief from the now destroyed arch of Claudius, and the great Trajanic frieze, where the grand pictorial style reaches its culmination.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations used in this dissertation are taken
from the standard list of abbreviations given in the
AJA, 74 (1970), 3-8. Several important monographs and
articles are referred to by shortened titles after the
first complete reference to the work. In addition, the
following abbreviations are also used:

BMC Republic
> Grueber, Herbert Appold. Coins
> of the Roman Republic in the
> British Museum. 3 volumes.
> The Trustees of the British
> Museum (Oxford: The Univer-
> sity Press, 1970 reprint of
> 1910 edition).

Brunn-Körte
> Brunn, Enrico and Körte, G.
> I rilievi delle urne etrusche.
> 3 volumes (Roma and Berlin:
> 1870, 1890, 1896, and 1916).

Castagnoli,
BullComm, 1942
> Castagnoli, F. "Due Archi
> Trionfali della Via Flaminia
> presso Piazza Sciarra."
> BullComm, LXX (1942), 57-82.

Espérandieu
> Espérandieu, Emile. Recueil
> général des bas-reliefs de
> la Gaule romaine. 10 vol-
> umes. Collection de docu-
> ments inédits sur l'histoire
> de France (Paris: Imprimerie
> Nationale, 1907):

GRBS
> Greek, Roman, and Byzantine
> Studies

JOAIBeibl
> Jahreshefte des Oesterreich-
> ischen archäologischen Insti-
> tuts, Beiblatt

Lehmann-Hartleben   Lehmann-Hartleben, Karl. <u>Die</u> <u>Trajanssäule</u>. <u>Ein römisches</u> <u>Kunstwerk zu Beginn der Spät-</u> <u>antike</u> (Berlin und Leipzig: Verlag von Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1926).

Lübke-Pernice   Lübke-Pernice. <u>Die Kunst der</u> <u>Römer</u>. Edited by Berta Sarne (Wien: Paul Neff Verlag, 1958).

<u>MélRomAntiquité</u>   <u>Mélanges d'archéologie et</u> <u>d'histoire de l'Ecole fran-</u> <u>çaise de Rome -- Antiquité</u>

INTRODUCTION

The four relief panels on the monument of the Julii
at St. Rémy are particularly noteworthy for their pictorial
effects and for their excellent state of preservation.
Therefore, scholars over the years have been intrigued and
have proposed various theories about the date, subjects,
and inspiration of the compositions.

These panels are also worthy of study because they
combine old and new traditions of composition. Both linear
and pictorial perspective may be used within the same panel.
For example, the north panel at first glance seems to re-
semble the traditional Greek frieze with the figures ar-
ranged along a single groundline against a neutral back-
ground. In fact, the horsemen in the panel move in ob-
lique lines. There is the implication of considerable
depth in the composition. In addition, almost all the
figures are seen in three-quarter or rear views; only
motif N7 is seen in a classic profile pose. Also, the
artist may use stacked or tiered compositions to convey
the feeling of depth. In the west panel, for instance,
there are several ranks of figures, with each receding
rank placed slightly higher than the row in front of it.
This arrangement creates a certain depth for that panel.

Finally, in the south and east panels two distinct episodes are included in each composition. We must consider whether this duality could be an attempt at narration on the part of the artist and if there is any precedent for such narration.

In this study we will concentrate on the three battle representations. After developing a clear understanding of the pictorial and compositional qualities of these scenes, we will relate their traditions to Imperial battle reliefs that date from the Augustan period through Trajanic times. These early Imperial reliefs will not be described in as minute detail as the St. Rémy panels but will be examined with the intention of further establishing the transitional role of those provincial reliefs in interpreting pictorial artistic traditions.

Therefore, in our study of the St. Rémy panels we will be concerned primarily with an examination of the compositions and techniques of the panels as they relate to pictorial precedents, such as the Alexander mosaic. We will not be concerned, for the most part, with questions of interpretation or identification of a particular scene or character. However, because of the pronounced iconography of the east panel, we will offer a specific interpretation of its scenes. We will examine the armament, figural prototypes, and compositions of the panels in an effort to determine a terminus post quem for the originals from which these panels were adapted. After thoroughly

establishing the characteristics of the St. Rémy tradi-
tions, we will look at several early Imperial reliefs,
including the fragmentary Mantua and Palestrina friezes,
the attic reliefs from the arch at Orange, the drawings
of a fragment from the arch of Claudius, the battle scenes
on the column of Trajan, and finally the great Trajanic
frieze on the Arch of Constantine. How do they differ
from and resemble the St. Rémy panels? What techniques
do they retain? What innovations do they make? By
answering these questions we will have a fuller picture
of the significance of the panel-reliefs at St. Rémy.

Although the St. Rémy reliefs have been the sub-
ject of a recent dissertation (Columbia University, 1973)
by Fred Kleiner, further study of the panels is necessary.
Kleiner is concerned primarily with the degree to which
the St. Rémy artist was dependent upon Greek models. He
fully establishes the architectural and cultural background
of the panels and does much tracing of specific motifs in
Greek painting. However, he does not explore the Etruscan
or South Italian connections for the compositions nor does
he relate the St. Rémy traditions to early Imperial reliefs.
There are also several areas, such as the iconography of
the east panel and the identification of the pilum, in
which his interpretation differs from the interpretations
offered in this study. Therefore, this work both re-
examines some of Kleiner's study and offers new material on
the importance of the St. Rémy panels.

CHAPTER I

TOPOGRAPHY, ARCHITECTURE, AND DATE

A thorough study of the history and topography of
the ancient site and of the architectural details of the
mausoleum of the Julii has been presented by Henri Rolland
in his monograph and by Fred Kleiner in his dissertation.[1]
Therefore, only a summary of pertinent information will
be offered here. Originally, the mausoleum stood on the
western _pomerium_ of the town of Glanum, which was located
between the Rhone and the Durance rivers. The present
town of St. Rémy is mediaeval.[2] Both the mausoleum and
the arch adjacent to it (Illus. 1) stood along a road that
was part of a major trade route from Italy to Narbonne and
Spain. The general area around the site has a venerable
history; excavations have uncovered a Celtic sanctuary
that was linked to the Greek colony of Massilia (Marseilles)
as early as the sixth century B.C.[3] This contact with
Greek culture is evident in the earliest phase of the
development of Glanum as well; a hellenized settlement
existed in the third and second centuries B.C. Archaeol-
ogical evidence for this period indicates that Massiliote
families settled in Glanum during this era. An extensive

urbanization program produced a large number of Greek-style buildings, including a bouleuterion and Delian-type houses. Greek artisans and tradesmen flourished. However, despite all this Greek influence there is in all the sculptural remains from these centuries no evidence for a Greek tradition of relief or statuary.[4]

The hellenized settlement was superseded by a romanized town. Roman legions entered the area around 125 B.C. and were always present thereafter. They brought few immediate cultural changes to the region, except the repression of the local Celtic deities. When Julius Caesar sacked the area in 49 B.C., the romanized phase ended and a "Gallo-Roman" period began.[5] During this period, Latin inscriptions and Roman coins began to appear in quantity for the first time.[6] Lively building activity also ensued; between 40 B.C. and 20 B.C., additions to Glanum included a bath complex, a basilica, a forum, a triumphal fountain decorated with statues of captives and reliefs of Greek arms, and the temples of Valetudo and of the Matres Glanicae.[7]

After Augustus consolidated his rule in Italy in 27 B.C., Narbonnaise Gaul enjoyed a new artistic climate inspired by the arrival of Italian artisans and Imperial commissions. Private and civic building projects also increased. According to Kleiner, it was during this period that privately commissioned sculpture first appeared; it had previously been unheard of to use family portraits in

funerary reliefs, but such practice now became common.[8]
Glanum prospered throughout this final phase, which lasted
until the destruction of the town in the third century A.D.[9]

Thanks to their isolated location near the foot of
a mountain, both the mausoleum and the arch were spared
destruction. These monuments stand on a small, circular
plateau, with the mausoleum situated approximately 12.5
meters south of the arch.[10] Until Rolland's study, schol-
ars generally assumed both edifices were built as a public
monument in honor of Caesar's conquest of Gaul. A date
of 40 B.C. was suggested for the arch with a slightly
later date for the mausoleum.[11] However, Rolland has
noted that the mausoleum and the arch were not built in a
parallel alignment or along the sides of a square as they
would have been if they had been erected as complements in
the same public memorial. Two different types of stone
were used, and the compositions and technical execution of
the two sculptural decorations are very different. There
are no decorative figures common to the two monuments.[12]
General consensus now dates the arch to the early years
of Augustus' reign, perhaps ca. 20 B.C. during Agrippa's
building program in the province.[13] A slightly earlier
date is likely for the mausoleum, for reasons that will be
discussed later.[14] Although the arch is a civic monument,
it is probable that the mausoleum was built as a private
memorial for a provincial who had perhaps distinguished
himself in Caesar's campaigns, was rewarded with citizen-

ship, and who then adopted the surname "Julius" in honor of his benefactor.[15]

A summary look at the physical aspects of the structure will produce some evidence for its date. The mausoleum consists of a lower cubic base decorated with four large relief panels, a median quadrifrons, and an upper tholos that shelters two statues under a conical roof (Illus. 1). A local variety of limestone was used as the building material. The corners of the lower cube are oriented with the cardinal points of the compass; the main, or northeast, face of the structure is almost parallel to the road that passes under the arch. Because of the decreasing width of each of the three stages, the mausoleum presents a slightly pyramidal profile; the base is 4.09 meters wide, the quadrifrons 3.505 meters, and the tholos (or rotunda) 2.92 meters. The total height of the structure is 17.15 meters.[16]

This basic architectural type appeared before St. Rémy, and debate has raged over its origins. Rolland mentions the prehistoric tumulus which may have been monumentalized in Syria; from Syria it spread to Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, and from Carthage and Phoenicia to North Africa.[17] Several very close parallels exist in Italy, including the Mausoleum of the Istacidii at Pompeii, a structure near Nettuno (now badly damaged), two tombs near Terni (now destroyed), the mausoleum at Fiumicello, and a tomb from the Via Annia near Altino. These

monuments date mostly from the late Republican and early Augustan periods.[18] Similar structures are also found among the rock-cut tombs at Petra,[19] and in at least one Pompeian wall-painting. This painting (Fig. 1), which comes from the <u>crypta</u> of the building of Eumachia, shows a building with a high, undecorated socle set on a stepped base. The socle is crowned by an open rotunda that is covered by a sloping pyramidal roof. This two-storied structure is built within an enclosure and in conjunction with a double-walled portico that is garlanded and closed by a gate. The entire complex may have been a funerary monument.[20] Whatever its specific origins may be, the monument at St. Rémy in turn probably served as the prototype for similar structures in Belgium and Germany that date to the second and third centuries A.D.[21]

Since the architectural and sculptural aspects of the base will be examined in the next chapter,[22] only the <u>quadrifrons</u> and the rotunda will be described here. The <u>quadrifrons</u> was an excellent choice to accomplish a successful transition from the solid massiveness of the cubic base to the airiness of the open <u>tholos</u>. It follows a square plan whose sides average 4.32 meters in width. The average height of this stage is 6.045 meters.[23] At each of the exterior corners of the <u>quadrifrons</u> is an engaged column that is approximately 4.105 meters high and is engaged for one-quarter of its circumference. The lower portion of each column is carved from the same block as
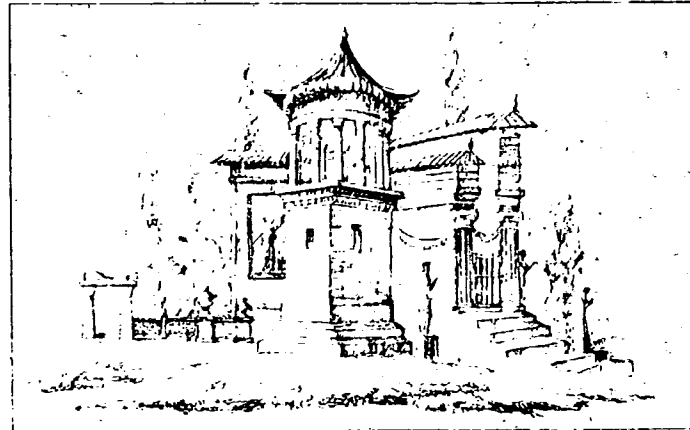
Fig. 1. Pompeian wall-painting. Crypta of the
Building of Eumachia.

(Barré, Herculaneum et Pompéi, Vol. III, ser. 5, Pl. 30.)

its base, which is composed of two toruses. According to
Rolland, such elements are characteristic of both Hellen-
istic buildings in Glanum and Republican buildings in
Italy.[24] Each column is crowned by a "classical" Corin-
thian capital, which Rolland places at the end of a defi-
nite and obvious development from the capitals of the
Agrippan temple of Valetudo to the Republican examples
from the nearby indigenous sanctuary and a funerary monu-
ment that once stood near the mausoleum.[25] However, G.
Charles-Picard has argued most convincingly that the
closest parallels for the capitals of the mausoleum are to
be found on the temple of Apollo Palatinus, dated ca.
28 B.C., and on the arch at Rimini, dated ca. 27 B.C. His
study of other architectural details confirms this earlier
date for the quadrifrons. He would consequently date the
temple of Valetudo to 39 B.C.[26] His evidence has been
substantiated by Kleiner, who notes that the capitals are
distinguished by a "Zwickelblüte" that appeared first in
Roman wall-paintings of the first century B.C. Additional
Italian examples from the period between 40 B.C. and the
end of the century include the Basilica Aemilia, the forum
of Caesar, and the temple of Saturn; the arches at Susa
and Aosta; a funerary monument from Maccaretolo; and capi-
tals in Aquileia and Ravenna.[27] Another good comparison
comes from the temple of Divus Julius, which was vowed in
42 B.C. and dedicated in 29 B.C.[28] All these capitals are
carved in the 'Second Triumvirate style', which is char-

acterized by brittle carving of the leaves and a bold inter-
play of light and shadow.[29]   This style was popular in the
northern provinces by 30 B.C. The capitals at St. Rémy fit
into the pattern of development of the type between 30 and
20 B.C.[30]

Between the engaged columns are four pylons that
serve as the walls of this stage. An arched bay, which is
framed by two smooth pilasters and a decorated archivolt,
opens in each facade. The archivolts are covered with
acanthus leaves, stems, and flowers that are executed in
very low relief. Because this relief is very linear, it
is a probable indication of local workmanship. On the
keystones of the arches, heads of Medusa between two out-
stretched wings are represented in very high relief.[31]
The entablature of the quadrifrons consists of a smooth
architrave, a decorated frieze, and a cornice. Tritons
and sea creatures adorn the frieze. On the northwest,
southeast, and southwest facades, two winged tritons hold-
ing oars or clubs support a disk in the center of the panel.
Two winged sea monsters in heraldic positions complete the
scene. Although the poses of the tritons vary, it seems
that in each case they are conceived of as the genii which
will conduct the souls of the dead to the underworld.[32]
A different concept is apparent on the northeast facade.
Here the center of the scene is held by a wingless triton
who brandishes a rudder over his head as he turns to the
right. He is battling the elements. The corners of the

panel are filled by two more tritons who repeat the ges-
ture as they turn to the outside. Two winged sea monsters
flank the central triton. Rolland notes that these sea
monsters are similar, but not identical, to creatures on
a denarius of Sextus Pompey that was minted in 43 B.C.[33]
The dedicatory inscription, which will be discussed later,[34]
is inscribed in the northeast architrave.

Ten monolithic Corinthian columns that are set on
a circular socle define the circumference of the tholos.
G. Charles-Picard considers these capitals "fully Augustan"
and thinks they could possibly date as late as the middle
of the first century A.D.[35] However, Kleiner describes
them as "the classic Italo-Hellenistic variant of [the]
Corinthian capital."[36] He cites numerous comparable ex-
amples, including the capitals of the basilica at Pompeii,
the sanctuary of Fortuna at Palestrina, and the round
temple at Tivoli, as well as capitals from vaious Pom-
peian houses and from Naples, Rome, Selinus, and Udine.[37]
These comparisons as well as the existence of earlier,
similar architectural examples from Italy refute the
theory of Charles-Picard that the tholos is a later addi-
tion. The intercolumniations of the tholos vary from 0.41
to 0.51 meter. Both the flutes and the bead-and-reel deco-
ration of the astragals are fully worked for only three-
quarters of the circumference of the columns. The remain-
ing quarter-round is left roughly worked. At the upper end
of the shafts, the flutes do not extend to the end of the

column. Instead, they terminate in a concave meniscus, thus leaving a wide band or "Halsmantel" between the flutes and the upper end of the shaft. This device was especially popular in Republican Italy and in the area around St. Rémy during the last third of the first century B.C. It may have been introduced by the influx of Italian artisans after 49 B.C.[38] Because of damage by lightning, numerous repairs have been made on the rotunda. As a result, much of the original decoration and some of the original dimensions have been lost.[39]

Similar damage and restoration have also greatly altered the appearance of the two limestone statues that stand under the rotunda. The statues are of equal size, and the original heads have been missing since before 1574. New heads were added in 1777 and extensive repairs in concrete were made after lightning struck the palla-clad figures in 1906 and again in 1914. It is obvious, however, that the originals were quite poorly worked; the backs were left unfinished.[40]

Fortunately, the dedicatory inscription on the northeast architrave of the quadrifrons has fared well and is excellently preserved. It would have been visible to travellers going into Glanum along the road that passed under the arch. The characters are 0.13 meter high and were perhaps originally filled with red paint. A tran-

scription reads:

SEX · L · M · IVLIEI · C · F · PARENTIBVS · SVEIS

In 1761, the Abbé Barthélemy deciphered the abbreviations
to produce the following reading: Sex(tus) L(ucius)
M(arcus) Iuliei C(aii) f(ilii) parentibus sueis. This
interpretation in now universally accepted. Therefore,
we know that the monument was erected by Sextus, Lucius,
and Marcus Julius, sons of Gaius, in honor of their an-
cestors. Rolland has pointed out that "parents" is not
an appropriate translation since the two statues in the
rotunda are both men. He also concludes that the shape
of the letters is indicative of an Augustan date and notes
that the abbreviations are typical of Republican conven-
tions. The use of the diphthong "-ei" also fits into this
period, but it is a convention that persists until quite
late in Narbonnaise Gaul and so cannot be used as a firm
indication of an early date.[41]

Only one major question remains: what was the
original purpose of the mausoleum? There is no provision
for the deposit of a body, so a funerary function seems
to be excluded.[42] Could the monument have been a trophy?
It is decorated with battle scenes and the architecture
does contain triumphal elements, such as the quadrifrons.
Charles-Picard recognized that such elements were merely
imitated and that the monument was not intended as a
trophy.[43] Rolland perhaps comes closest to its function
when he describes the mausoleum as a cenotaph. In both

structure and decoration it is reminiscent of both funerary and honorific monuments; Rolland thinks that it may have been inspired by trophies that originated in Rome and that were related in structure to funeral pyres.[44] He goes on to argue that the monument was built specifically as a cenotaph for Augustus' grandsons, Gaius and Lucius Caesar. Therefore, he suggests a date of 4 A.D. for its construction.[45]

This theory is untenable because both epigraphical and architectural considerations indicate an earlier date. The monument must have been built after 49 B.C., since Caesar completely sacked the area in that year.[46] Close parallels for the capitals of the columns of the quadrifrons are available on a number of monuments that date ca. 28-27 B.C.[47] The abbreviations that are used and the shape of the letters in the inscription are characteristic of the late Republic or of the early Augustan period.[48] An examination of the armament in the relief panels, which will be made in a later chapter,[49] shows primarily Greek and Hellenistic types of armor and weapons. This usage also suggests an early date, since later monuments show a greater appreciation of contemporary, realistic detail. Therefore, it seems probable that the mausoleum of the Julii was built for a provincial family between 30 and 25 B.C. and was intended as a cenotaph in honor of certain illustrious ancestors.

NOTES

[1]Henri Rolland, Le Mausolée de Glanum, XXIe Supplément à «Gallia» (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1969), pp. 9-44; Fred Scott Kleiner, The Glanum Cenotaph: A Study of the Great Relief Panels (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1973), pp. 54-66.

[2]Rolland, Le Mausolée, p. 10.

[3]Ibid., p. 9; Kleiner, The Glanum Cenotaph, pp. 18-19.

[4]Kleiner, The Glanum Cenotaph, pp. 23-26.

[5]Ibid., pp. 28-29.

[6]Ibid., p. 29.

[7]Ibid., pp. 32-33; see also Henri Rolland, Fouilles de Glanum 1947-1956, XIe Supplément à «Gallia» (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1958), pp. 124, 19 note 1, where the temple of Valetudo is dated ca. 20 B.C.; Ranuccio Bianchi-Bandinelli, Rome, La Fin de l'art antique. L'art de l'empire romain de Septime Sévère a Théodose Ier, trans. by Jean-Charles and Evelyne Picard (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1970), p. 142; François Chamoux, "Les Antiques de Saint-Rémy de Provence," Phoibos, VI-VII (1951-1953), p. 97.

[8]Kleiner, The Glanum Cenotaph, pp. 35-37, 39-43.

[9]Rolland, Le Mausolée, p. 9.

[10]Ibid.; see also Chamoux, "Les Antiques," p. 102.

[11]Chamoux, "Les Antiques," p. 104.

[12]Rolland, Le Mausolée, pp. 16-17.

[13]Giovanni Becatti, The Art of Ancient Greece and Rome. From the Rise of Greece to the Fall of Rome, trans. by John Ross (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., [n.d.]), p. 314; Heinz Kähler, "Die Porta Aurea in Ravenna," RömMitt, 50 (1935), p. 212; Emile Espérandieu,

Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine, Vol. I (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1907), p. 91, no. 114.

[14]See below, pp. 7, 9, 11-12.

[15]Henri Rolland, *Glanum. Saint Rémy de Provence* (Les Editions du Temps, 1960), p. 109; E. Hübner, "Die Bildwerke des Grabmals der Julier in Saint-Remy," *JdI,* 3 (1888), p. 24.

[16]Rolland, *Le Mausolée,* pp. 19-20.

[17]*Ibid.,* p. 71.

[18]Kleiner, *The Glanum Cenotaph,* pp. 54-58.

[19]Gilbert Charles-Picard, *Roman Painting,* The Pallas Library of Art, IV (Greenwich, Connecticut: New York Graphic Society, 1968), p. 50, note to Pl. XXXI.

[20]M. L. Barré, *Herculaneum et Pompéi. Recueil général des peintures, bronzes, mosaïques, etc.,* Vol. III, ser. 5 (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, MDCCCXL), Pl. 30, from Regio VII, Insula ix, Building 1.

[21]Fernand Benoît, *Art et dieux de la Gaule* (Paris: B. Arthaud, 1969).

[22]See below, pp. 17ff.

[23]Rolland, *Le Mausolée,* p. 29.

[24]*Ibid.*

[25]*Ibid.*

[26]Gilbert Charles-Picard, "Glanum et les origines de l'art romano-provençal. Seconde partie: Sculpture." *Gallia,* XXII (1964), pp. 118, 119, 121.

[27]Kleiner, *The Glanum Cenotaph,* pp. 60-62.

[28]Maria Floriani Squarciapino, "Il Fregio del Tempio del Divo Giulio," *RendLinc,* Ser. 8, 12 (1957), p. 283.

[29]Kleiner, *The Glanum Cenotaph,* p. 68.

[30]*Ibid.,* p. 64.

[31]Rolland, *Le Mausolée,* p. 30.

[32] *Ibid*., p. 35.

[33] *Ibid*., pp. 34-36.

[34] See below, pp. 10-11.

[35] Charles-Picard, "Glanum et les origines, II," p. 122.

[36] Kleiner, *The Glanum Cenotaph*, p. 59.

[37] *Ibid*., p. 60.

[38] *Ibid*., pp. 65-66, where he includes as examples near St. Rémy: the temple at Vernègues, limestone columns in the theater at Arles, the arch at Carpentras, the destroyed "Arc Admirable" at Arles, and the temple of Valetudo and the sanctuary of the Imperial cult at Glanum.

[39] Rolland, *Le Mausolée*, pp. 39, 41.

[40] *Ibid*., pp. 41, 42, 44.

[41] *Ibid*., pp. 36, 67-69.

[42] *Ibid*., p. 76.

[43] Gilbert Charles-Picard, *Les trophées romaines. Contribution à l'histoire de la Religion et de l'Art triomphal de Rome*, BEFAR, Fasc. 187 (Paris: E. de Boccard, Editeur, 1957), pp. 155, 197; Klaus Fittschen, "Ein Feldherrnsarkophag im Thermenmuseum," *RömMitt*, 76 (1969), p. 14.

[44] Rolland, *Le Mausolée*, p. 78; Kleiner, *The Glanum Cenotaph*, p. 53, also note 21, points out that contemporary mausolea from Lyons provided for the deposit of ash urns in some nearby enclosure rather than within the major monument. The mausoleum of the Julii may fit into this category.

[45] Marcel Pobé and Jean Roubier, *The Art of Roman Gaul, a Thousand Years of Celtic Art and Culture* (University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 49.

[46] Benoît, *Art et dieux*, p. 85.

[47] Charles-Picard, "Glanum et les origines, II," p. 119.

[48]Rolland, _Le Mausolée_, p. 68; Emanuel Löwy, "Die Anfänge des Triumphbogens," _JKS_, N.F. 2 (1928), p. 12.

[49]See below, Chapter III.

CHAPTER II

THE RELIEFS

Reliefs decorate the four sides of the socle of the mausoleum of the Julii. Single subject compositions are found on both the north and west sides, and compositions consisting of two distinct episodes are set on both the east and south sides.[1] The north panel depicts a cavalry battle, and the west panel shows an infantry battle. In the more complex east panel are two scenes: a tranquil gathering beside a river and a violent attack by a hero on foot against a horseman. Similarly, the south panel shows a tumultuous boar hunt and a quieter scene of the deposition of a corpse. This last relief will only be considered summarily since it does not involve a battle scene. It should also be remembered that the north side faced the road in ancient times and that the dedicatory inscription appears on this side of the quadrifrons.

The Architectural Context: Frames, Measurements, etc.

The socle itself rests on a slightly irregular, square sub-basement that is composed of several courses of undecorated stone (Illus. 1). Low steps at the base of the structure and an inclined pavement that surrounds the base

are modern restorations. Each lateral face of the socle
is 4.90 meters long and 3.035 meters high.[2] At each corner
of the cube is a pilaster, topped by a capital; these pilas-
ters thus define the sides of each lateral face. Frames of
this type were often used in various media, including
mosaics,[3] votive reliefs,[4] and paintings. The evidence of
two Etruscan urns[5] and a lost terracotta brazier that was
once in Munich[6] suggests that a Pergamene painting of a
galatomachy framed with pilasters and garlands once existed.
Similar garlands, perhaps indicating a Pergamene influence,
are suspended between the pilasters of each of the St. Rémy
panels.[7]

The heavy, continuous garlands of laurel are sup-
ported by three winged _genii_ and are decorated with four
masks, one in each loop of the garland; this scheme is
repeated across the top of each panel. _Genii_ or _putti_
supporting garlands also occur on Pergamene terracottas,
reliefs, and mosaics of the second century B.C. For ex-
ample, _putti_ with heavy garlands decorated an altar of
Eumenes II (_ca_. 160 B.C.)[8] and an anta capital from the
exedra of Diodoros (_ca_. 126 B.C.).[9] The motif also appears
in a mosaic from the northwest room of Palace V[10] and on
several examples of reliefware.[11] Garlands and masks, but
without _putti_, were combined in the decoration of the _skene_
of the theater at Pergamon.[12] It was not long before Italy
adopted the combination of garlands and _putti_. This motif
decorates an early first century B.C. tomb from the Via

Appia Antica[13] and an altar from Pian di Bezzo at Sarsina.[14] Under Augustus the combination flourished and spread widely throughout the provinces.

The surfaces occupied by the reliefs are framed along the top by the garlands and along the bottom by a cyma reversa molding set between two fillets. These moldings project approximately 0.275 meter beyond the main plane of the reliefs (Fig. 2).[15] Each relief surface, because of the frames, is somewhat smaller than the dimensions of the socle itself. The north panel is 2.19 meters high and 3.79 meters long; the west panel is 2.17 meters high and 3.82 meters long; and the east panel is 2.20 meters high and 3.79 meters long.[16]

In each case the depth of the carving of the panel increases toward the bottom. Because the contour lines and figural details are perfectly aligned, even across joins in the blocks, the carving must have been done after the panels were in position on the monument.[17] The artist may have painted or lightly incised the outlines of a cartoon onto the surface of the stone before the chiselling began. Excess stone was then removed, leaving the various figures. Finally, the reliefs would have been painted, producing megalographic results.[18]

In analyzing each panel, it will be useful to follow Rolland's designations for the figures.[19] These designations are shown in the schematic diagrams of the panels (Figs. 3, 5-7). Except for the south panel, each

Plan ci
dessous

0   1m.

Fig. 2.   Horizontal and vertical section of
        the south panel relief.   Mausoleum of
        the Julii at St. Rémy.

(Rolland, Le Mausolée, Fig. 17.)

panel will be studied in detail with a careful description
of the characters, the action, and the subject matter.
After this background has been established, we can then
speculate about possible sources of inspiration for the
compositions and attempt to trace the figural prototypes
of certain individual motifs in order to reach some termi-
nus post quem for the pictorial predecessors of the St.
Rémy compositions. Then we will analyze the pictorial
techniques of the panels, including the groove that out-
lines the contours of the figures. Finally, we will look
at several early Imperial reliefs to see how the St. Rémy
traditions survive or are modified during that period.

The South Panel -- A Boar Hunt (Illus. 2 and Fig. 3)

The most complete studies of the south relief have
been made by François Chamoux[20] and Fred Kleiner;[21] both
of whom rightfully conclude that pictorial sources offered
the inspiration for the composition. Good evidence for
this pictorial heritage includes the obliquely foreshort-
ened horses and the landscape element in the background.
The overall action consists of two episodes that each
occupy approximately one half of the panel. To the left
of center, a group of men (Fig. 3: S5-7) support or mourn
a wounded or dying male (S8). To the right of center, a
number of figures are pursuing a boar.

The composition

In the deposition scene, the figures S5-8 occupy
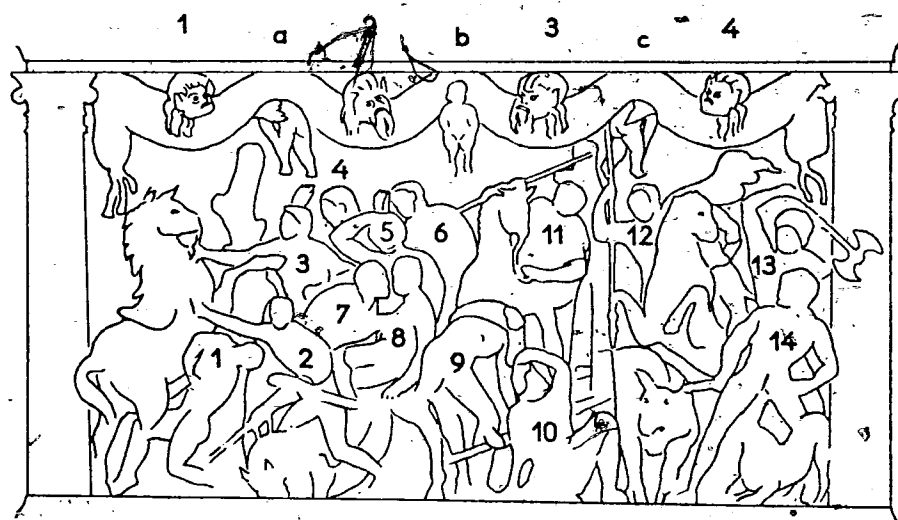
Fig. 3.   Schematic diagram of south panel.
Mausoleum of the Julii at St. Rémy.

(Rolland, Le Mausolée, Fig. 21.)

the middle plane and the background. The foreground is
dominated by a horse that is falling with his rider S2.
The horse's head is on the ground, his forelegs are crum-
pled beneath him, and he is seen in an oblique frontal
view. To the far left, a man S1 is being overcome by a
rearing horse, which another man S3 is attempting to sub-
due. The horseman S2 is trying to help S3 calm the animal,
but S4 is merely watching the activity. The horse is shown
in a three-quarter rear view, and his tail is incised into
the enframing pilaster. A tree trunk is visible between
the horse and S3. S1 and the horse's rear hooves are set
in the foreground; the horse is rearing into the back-
ground. S3 and S4 share the middle plane and the background
with the S5-8 group.

The contest with the boar also involves a large
number of figures. Four men on foot (S9-10, 13-14), two
horsemen (S11-12), and a dog (in the lower right corner of
the panel) are attacking the boar as it emerges to the right
from behind a tree trunk. The boar's body is seen in a
three-quarter view with the head turned to the left as it
curves around the tree trunk. Only the forequarters of
the animal are visible. The two horsemen S11 and S12
flank the tree in complementary poses and attack the boar
with spears. Their horses are rearing from the background
into the foreground, their bodies are twisted into three-
quarter views from the hindquarters, and their heads are
shown in profile to the right. These poses are similar

to the poses of the horses in the north panel. Beside the right pilaster is a hunter S13 with a double ax that is incised into the pilaster. Below him in the foreground is a nude hunter S14, who is seen from the rear. The hound crouches at his feet. Also in the foreground and to the left of the boar and the tree are a hunter S10 who has fallen to his haunches and a companion S9 who is coming to his aid. S10, like S14, is seen from the rear, and he is similar to W15, who is seen from the rear in a crouching position in the right corner of that relief.

The south panel is unique among the reliefs at St. Rémy in the strongly diverse movement of the figures within the action and in the depiction of landscape elements. In the left half of the panel, the main action moves parallel to the relief ground. Even the horses conform to this plane, although their poses do suggest the existence of greater depth. In the right half, however, the major action moves in a plane perpendicular to the relief ground. The boar and the two horsemen S11 and S12 emerge dramatically from the background, and the hunters S9 and S13 also move from the middle plane or the background toward the boar. We have a similar arrangement in the east panel (Illus. 7), but because the tempo of the episodes is so different the effect is not so pronounced.

Also in the east panel locale is suggested, but by the presence of a river god E1 rather than by any indication of a specific natural landscape. The tree trunks of

the south panel, however, provide a nice statement of outdoor setting. Some landscape "props" might have been painted in the other panels. There is a possibility, for example, that there was a painted groundline in the west panel (especially under the feet of W2).[22] However, we can only speculate about these elements because the sculptured tree trunks of the south panel are the only remaining landscape details.

The numerous figures in the south panel are arranged in a tiered composition, much like the compositions of the west and east panels. (Illus. 6 and 7).[23] At least four rows of figures fill the scene. The rearing, riderless horse, S1, S2 and his horse, S10, the boar, S14, and the dog stand in the foreground; S7, S8, and S9 occupy the near middleground; S3, S5, and S13 fill the far middleground; and finally, S4, S6, S11, and S12 are in the background. No attempt has been made to show the varying groundlines. The figures are tightly massed around each other and are often involved in impossible actions (such as the supporting of S8; the attempt of S2 to subdue the rearing horse).[24]

The interpretation

Tiered compositions were popular in vasepainting from the time of the Niobid Painter, and they were a favorite in Etruscan art as well. This type of composition is found on an Etruscan mirror that shows a boar hunt (Fig. 4).[25] The mirror recalls the St. Rémy composition in several ways. A large number of human figures, clus-
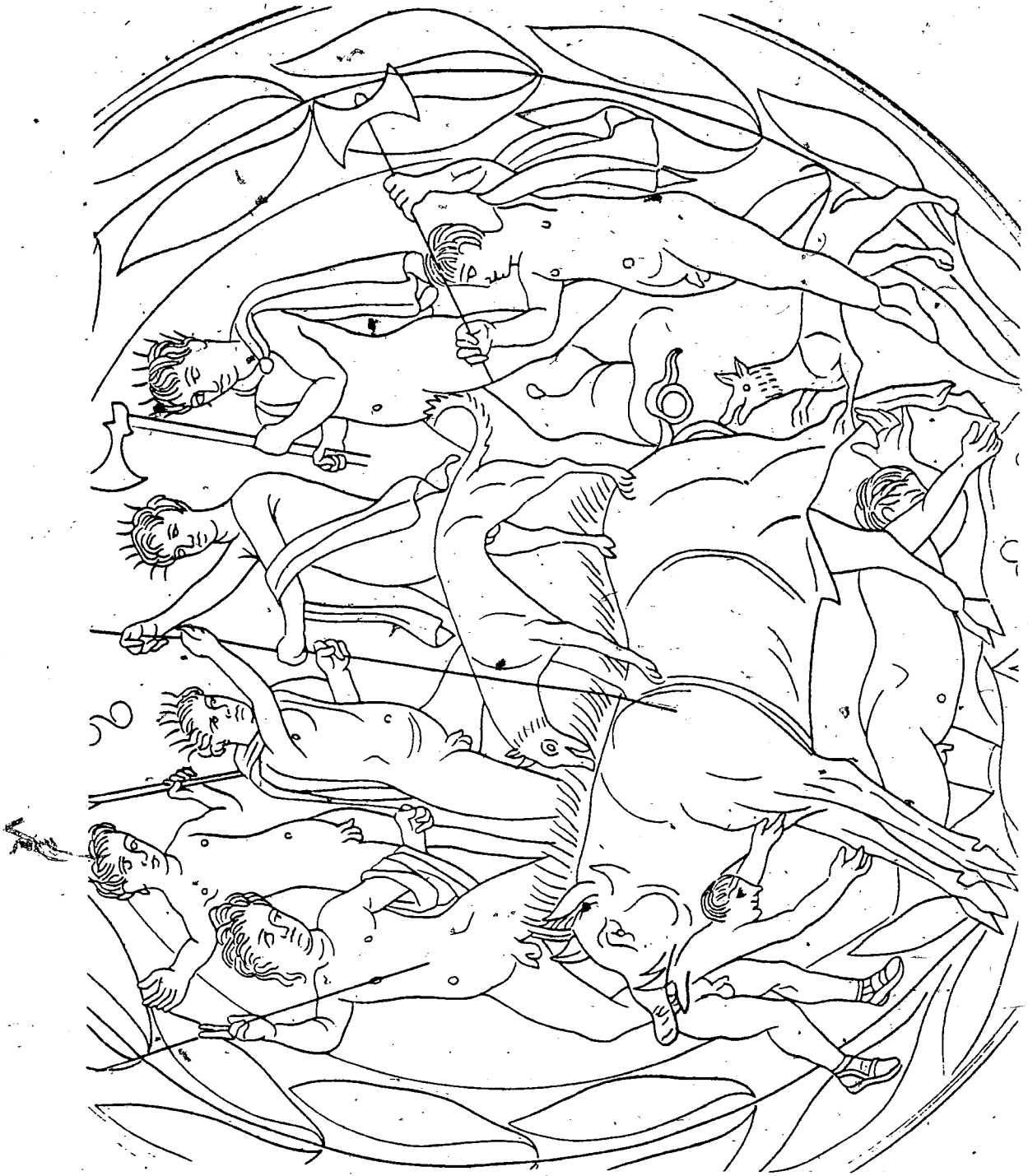
Fig. 4. Boar hunt from the Bartholdy mirror. Etruscan.
Berlin, Staatliches Museen.

(Gerhard, _Etruskische_ _Spiegel_, Bd. II, Taf. clxxiii.)

tered around and behind a large boar that is seen in profile in the foreground, fill the field of the mirror. The figure with the double ax at the right is reminiscent of S13; he is moving in from the middleground and his upraised ax overlaps the border that encircles the mirror, just as S13's ax overlaps the pilaster. A notable painted example is an Apulian krater (ca. 330 B.C.) that is now in Trieste (Illus. 3).[26] This boar is very much like the St. Rémy animal because he is emerging from behind a rocky promontory, and his body is seen in a three-quarter view. His head is turned in profile to the left. Kleiner has shown that this vase is one of the earliest examples of a boar in this position rather than in profile.[27]

Obviously, boar hunts, whether the famous Calydonian hunt or a more generalized version, were popular in South Italy from the fourth century on. It seems likely that some common pictorial source inspired many of these representations and that the St. Rémy artist may have been familiar with this source or an adaptation of it. The St. Rémy panel most probably is not based on a single painting, however. Various scholars have identified the left scene as the death of Meleager[28] or the death of the Niobids.[29] Kleiner presents a survey of the evidence that confirms the adaptation of motifs from these two sources. He concludes that the St. Rémy master freely excerpted from both these mythological cycles and possibly others as well to create a new composition.[30] He also thinks that these

motifs were chosen by the artist in order to depict "some event of contemporary biographical significance."[31] I prefer to think that this panel and the east panel reflect a pictorial, mythological cycle popular at the time. The artist had access to sketches or notebooks of these cycles, perhaps compiled in South Italy.[32]

Since no figure in this panel (or in any of the other panels) suggests a representation in portraiture and since most attempts to find specifically contemporary elements are dubious at best,[33] I cannot accept a biographical interpretation for the south composition. The artist chose a scene typical for a funerary monument. Mythological hunt scenes were commonly used in a funerary context to celebrate the _virtus_ of the deceased.[34] In this particular panel, motifs from a number of myths were combined, resulting in some confusion and strange conflations, especially to the eye of the modern critic. However, there is no reason to suppose that the subject of the panel was not totally intelligible to the artist's contemporaries. It seems to me that the patron of this monument requested a mythological hunt scene which the artist created by adapting episodes from pictorial mythological cycles. I would, therefore, agree with Peter von Blanckenhagen that this panel (and the east panel as well) is a "conflation of two [or more] Hellenistic paintings"[35] and that for that reason it is characterized by "a multiplicity of dramatic happenings and dispersal of emotional interest."[36] We shall see in

our consideration of the battle scenes in the St. Rémy
panels that such multiplicity was also thought to be
essential to monumental paintings of the fourth century
B.C., according to Nicias, a painter of the period.[37]

The North Panel -- A Cavalry Battle (Illus. 5 and Fig. 5)
The composition

The battle is seen at its height. Neither side
is giving way, but two men have already fallen. N2, N3,
and N5 (see Fig. 5) constitute a side; they are opposing
N1, N4, and N7, but it is impossible to tell to which side
the fallen N6 belongs. The lower right corner of the
panel has been damaged and repaired with a smooth block
of stone. Even though the feet of two of the genii, the
tassels on the ends of the garland, and the garland itself
touch, overlap, or are obscured by various weapons, they
form no integral part of the scene. No landscape elements
are depicted; the surface against which the actors are
deployed is a neutral area. The joins of the individual
blocks are clearly visible.

Just as there is no indication of landscape, there
is no indication of a varying groundline. All the horses
and the fallen warriors use the baseline of the panel as
the groundline. The artist has maintained a basic iso-
cephaly of the figures, although there are subtle, yet
effective, exceptions. As he rears and twists to allow
N2's use of his shield, the horse pulls his head back and
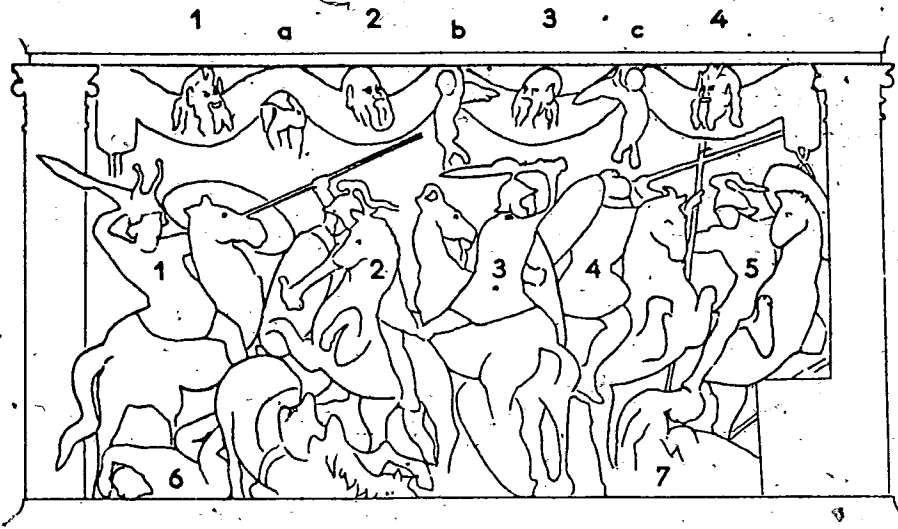
Fig. 5.— Schematic diagram of north panel.
Mausoleum of the Julii at St. Rémy.

(Rolland, Le Mausolée, Fig. 18.)

down; this action results in his head's being slightly
lower than the line maintained by the heads of the other
horses. Likewise, the heads of N3 and N4 are slightly
higher than the line of the heads of the other mounted
warriors. This small detail is really quite important
from an artistic perspective, since these two warriors are
seen from the rear as their horses plunge in planes diag-
onal to the relief ground, they would, in fact, seem to
be deeper in the background than the warriors who fight
in profile or frontally in a plane parallel to the relief
ground.

The impression of confusion in the midst of battle
is conveyed by various devices, which also give the relief
a definite pictorial quality. The combatants are crowded
into the panel, their spears and swords are set at con-
flicting angles and sometimes overlap, the bodies of men
and horses overlap, and the horses strain and twist as they
fight. In order to attempt to create greater depth to the
field, the artist employed foreshortening, especially with
the horses N6, N3, N4, and N5. This attempt was subtly
reinforced by the positioning of the heads of N3 and N4
and of the horse N2. Originally, when the partially round-
ed legs of all the horses were in place, they would have
cast considerable shadows along the lower part of the
panel. More overlappings would have also been created to
heighten the sense of depth and confusion. The effect
would have been especially dramatic toward the center of

the panel, where the legs of the horses N3 and N4 are now almost entirely missing.

The characters

Three duels are taking place. To the left, N1 opposes N2 over the body of N6 and his fallen horse. In the center of the scene, N3 is in combat with N4. Finally, to the right, N5 on horseback deals a death blow to the unhorsed N7. Each of these groups will be considered in detail.

N1, N2, N6

N1 wears a hemispherical, antennaed helmet with a neckguard. His face is damaged, but the features can still be discerned; he faces right with his head in profile but turned slightly toward the viewer. The cuirass is smooth and could be made of metal or leather; it has a bordered neckline and ends in a skirt composed of two tiers of lappets. There may or may not be short sleeves showing over the upper arm. A baldric passes across his breast to a belt with an upper and lower border and a buckle that is too damaged to show its shape clearly; a scabbard presumably hangs from this belt at N1's left side. His bare right leg is seen, but the calf and foot are hidden behind the horse N6.

N1's torso is turned from the waist toward the viewer and is, therefore, seen frontally; he sits firmly astride his rearing mount. On his left arm, which is extended behind his horse's head, is a round, convex shield

that is seen from the inner side. The horse's head is silhouetted against the shield. N1's right arm, bent at the elbow, is raised, and in his hand is a large sword that is somewhat damaged around the hilt. The blade is long and broad and ends in a sharp point. Almost half the blade overlaps the enframing pilaster and is defined on it by incision; the blade covers the ends of the tassels on the garland.

N1's horse's rear legs were firmly planted along the baseline of the panel. The lower portions are now missing, but they were probably worked almost wholly in the round.[38] The left leg would have been set beside the head of N6 with the right one set behind his body. The front legs, which supposedly would be pawing the air in attack against N2, are not shown.

To create the impression that the horse is standing in the foreground and is rearing into the background, the artist has relied upon foreshortening. The animal's movement is intensified by the torsion of his body around his hindquarters and by the twisting of his head to avoid the lance of N2. In addition, the neck is bowed and the short natural mane lies limp. His tail, like the sword of his rider, overlaps the pilaster bordering the left side of the panel and is incised into it. The tack includes a bridle with reins, a breaststrap, and a saddlecloth with a continuous border.

N2 wears a helmet that is very different from the

that is seen from the inner side. The horse's head is silhouetted against the shield. N1's right arm, bent at the elbow, is raised, and in his hand is a large sword that is somewhat damaged around the hilt. The blade is long and broad and ends in a sharp point. Almost half the blade overlaps the enframing pilaster and is defined on it by incision; the blade covers the ends of the tassels on the garland.

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N2 wears a helmet that is very different from the

one worn by N1. It has wide cheekpieces, a neckguard, a
flowing double crest, and ornamentation above the visor,
ear, and neckguard. The face is seen in profile to the
left. Because N2 is leaning to his right and forward into
the attack, his torso is hidden behind his horse's head and
neck. Nevertheless, a scabbard, suspended at his left side
from a belt, is visible. A short skirt of lappets lies
across the thigh of his bare left leg; the lower calf and
foot have been broken away. The bare right foot is visible
under the horse's belly.

Only the wrist and hand of the right arm are vis-
ible, but the arm is poised beside N2's head and is direct-
ing a spear against N1. The shaft of the spear, which is
incised into the relief ground, passes under the garland
and across the face of N1's horse; the point is damaged.
The left arm is held in a most unnatural position. It is
extended beside the horse's neck and behind his head. The
elbow is turned toward the viewer, and the hand, its back
toward the surface of the convex shield, grasps a grip in
the middle of its inner side. Because the shield has been
considerably damaged, its exact shape is unclear. This
twisting of N2's arm to support his shield without hitting
his horse's head is a virtuoso display of artistic tech-
nique.

N2's horse counterbalances N1's horse. His hind
legs are set in the background, and he rears into the fore-
ground. The right hind hoof is hidden behind N6's fallen

horse; the left hoof, which is now missing, was set beside
the fallen horse and was probably worked at least partially
in the round. Between the hind legs, the tail is visible,
deeply incised into the relief ground. The artist has
again relied upon foreshortening and torsion to convey the
violent movement of the animal; the neck, perhaps with a
cropped mane, is strongly bowed and pulled back and toward
his rider's left. His front legs lash out against N1's
mount; the lower portions of the legs are missing, but they
too were probably worked in the round, as was the muzzle,
which is also missing. A saddlecloth flaps around N2's
left leg; the horse also wears a breaststrap and a bridle
with reins.

The poses of N6 and his mount are the most compli-
cated in this panel and, indeed, on the entire monument.
N6 has fallen to the left. He has landed on the ground on
his right side with his arms bent above his head. His tor-
so, which is too damaged to allow any detailed comment on
his dress (he may wear a cuirass and baldric), is seen
frontally; his body is twisted at the waist so that his legs,
which are bent double and are entangled with the horse, are
turned at a three-quarter angle. The right leg is seen
completely in profile, while the left leg has started to
fall toward the ground. His head with the mouth open is
thrown so far back that he seems to be looking toward the
left pilaster. He wears a helmet that may be similar to
the one worn by N4, but it is badly damaged.

The horse is falling in a sharply foreshortened pose. He is rolling down on his right shoulder with his neck already lying on the ground. His head is also on the ground, but only the top of the head is visible. The right front leg is bowed back under the body and cannot be seen; the left leg is bent at an awkward angle and the hoof flails the ground. His hindquarters are still standing, but have started to collapse. It is obvious that, in a matter of seconds, the horse will be stretched out on his right side along the base of the panel. Because the horse's back is in full view of the spectator, the details of his saddle are clear. The seat of the saddle is stippled, a saddlecloth is under the saddle; a girth runs around the horse's belly, and a tailpiece runs down the center of the rump. All the gear has shifted to the horse's left side as he falls. The tangled reins are also visible.

N3, N4

N3 is behind N2 and occupies the center of the panel. His helmet is identical to the one worn by N2, with the exception of the ornamentation. Its crest drapes over and behind the sword. The face is seen in profile to the right. He is seen from the back as he sits astride his horse and turns from the waist to the right to strike at N4. N3 wears a smooth cuirass that ends in two rows of lappets; short sleeves may be visible over his upper arm. A baldric passes over his right shoulder to a belt with an upper and a lower edging. A scabbard rests on his bare

left thigh; the left calf disappears behind N2's horse.
His right arm, which is partially concealed by N4's shield,
is raised, brandishing a sword against N4. The blade of
the sword is long and broad and accentuated by a midrib;
the pommel is visible and the point is sharp. Incision
defines the blade against the background. N3 is holding
a badly damaged shield in his left hand; its edge extends
from N3's shoulder to the tail of his horse. A loose
round shield is visible between the horse's legs.

His horse had its hind legs, which are now almost
entirely missing from the haunches down, planted in the
foreground. The legs were probably worked in the round as
was the tail which is partially missing. This horse, like
all the horses in this panel, is rearing; he is foreshort-
ened so that he seems to be moving into the background and
turning to the right toward his opponent. His neck is
strongly turned toward the right, the mane is thick and
natural, and the head is in profile to the right. The
horse wears a bridle with long reins (one rein falls across
the lappets of the rider's skirt) and a saddlecloth with
a border along the outer edge.

N4 also wears a smooth cuirass that ends in two
rows of lappets. A baldric passes over his right shoulder
to a belt that has a narrow border around the top and bot-
tom. He wears a round helmet with a broad visor and neck-
guard and no crest. The feet of one of the genii encroach
upon the helmet. His face is obscured by an oval or

round shield that is held high on his left shoulder. A
spear is held aloft in the right hand; only the shaft,
incised into the background, is visible as it passes
behind N4's head, behind N5's spear, and under the ends of
the garland. N4, like N3, is seen from the rear. He
turns at the waist to face N3, who is behind-him. De-
spite this half-revolution, his body from the waist down
remains in profile. His bare right leg and foot are clear-
ly shown.

The horse stands in the background and rears to-
ward the right into the foreground. Both hind legs are
visible, but the front legs, which would have been partial-
ly in the round and above the head of N7, have been broken
off below the knees. There is little torsion in this
animal's body, unlike the mounts of N1-3 and N5. The
mane is crimped and the muzzle has been broken. A plain
saddlecloth and bridle and stippled reins and a stippled
breastpiece make up the tack.

N5, N7

N5 wears a plain cuirass with large epaulets at
the shoulders. A baldric passes over the right shoulder
to a belt with edging that is cinched by a circular buckle.
The outfit is completed by a flapping skirt of two rows of
lappets and by a helmet that is identical to the one worn
by N3. His face is seen in a three-quarter view, and the
gaze is directed down at N7.

The spectator sees N5's body frontally. He sits

astride his horse with his bare right leg, its foot disappearing behind N7's head, clearly visible; the remains of his left leg on the far side of the horse are discernible beneath the horse's belly. From the waist his body is inclined forward and to the left. The left arm is hidden behind the horse's head, but it supports a round, convex shield that is seen from the inner side as it silhouettes the horse's head. The right arm is bent upward at a right angle and is directing a spear downward into the neck of N7. Much of the shaft of the spear is hidden behind the garland and behind N4's horse. That part of the shaft that passes across the background is defined by incision.

The horse stands in the background and rears forward and into the left foreground. His body is foreshortened and curved to produce a serpentine effect. The front legs, which are missing and were partially worked in the round, paw the air above the damaged corner of the panel. It is possible that the left leg overlapped, or at least overshadowed, the enclosing pilaster. Also missing is the animal's muzzle; his head is turned toward the left where the horse of N4 encroaches upon him. This set of bridle, reins, and breaststrap is undecorated.

N7 is badly damaged, but he seems to wear the usual plain cuirass with lappets. He is seated on the ground with at least one leg extended toward the right; the other leg may be bent over the extended leg. His body and leg are seen in profile; the back is bowed, and the head is bent

toward the ground. The face is seen in profile. It is
impossible to tell if he was helmeted. His shield is on
the ground behind and beside him, but it is largely
covered by his body. The spear N7 carried goes off at an
oblique angle under the belly of N5's horse and beneath its
front legs. Its shaft is incised into the relief ground.

The interpretation

It is now appropriate to take a brief look at the
various suggestions that have been offered for the sources
of the composition of the north panel. Before careful
comparative studies of the armament were made, the general
assumption was that the panel showed a Caesarian battle
between Gauls and Romans. Hübner in 1888 even attempted to
identify the Julii (father and son) among the combatants.[39]
It is now generally agreed that the details of the armament
will allow no such particular identification of national-
ities, much less individuals.[40] However, one of the more
controversial theories of recent years is loosely based
on the assumption of specific nationalities.

G. Charles-Picard argues that the sculptor of St.
Rémy, whom he calls "Glanicus",[41] adopted his composition
directly from a victory monument of Servilius Pulex Geminus,
a hero of the Second Punic War. This monument is supposed-
ly reflected on a _denarius_ struck in 120 or 94 B.C. by a
descendant of this Servilius.[42] The coin shows a mounted
warrior clad in a helmet and cloak and armed with a lance
and round shield attacking from the right; the horse is

stretched out in a flying lunge. This figure is identified as Servilius. Both Servilius and his horse are seen entirely in profile. To the left, his opponent is astride a horse that is falling to the left in a foreshortened pose. The warrior, clad in armor and helmet and brandishing a sword, is seen from the back as he strikes at Servilius; his head is seen in profile. He carries a very large, possibly oval shield that is only half-shown on the coin; a central rib and eight large bosses decorate the face of the shield. Charles-Picard fancifully equates this composition with the central figures N3 and N4 of the north panel.

It is impossible to accept this theory since the two scenes are really very different, with the exception of the pose of N3. Charles-Picard would attribute to artistic taste the reversal of roles that occurs at St. Rémy, assuming it were derived from the monument shown on the coin. The warrior on the left of the coin (N3 on the panel) has been removed from a position of imminent defeat and made the attacker. His opponent's pose has been entirely altered; there is no similarity between the Servilius of the coin and N4 of the panel, other than the fact that each carries a lance and a round shield of some sort. The helmets of the figures on the coin have been reversed with N3 and N4. No embossed shield appears in the relief panel. It seems much more likely that the inspiration came from sources that were mutual to the two artists. Several possibilities for such a source have been suggested.

Charbonneaux has commented that a figure analogous to N3 and to the figure on the coin was part of the sculptural group at Delphi that showed the combat between Philopoemen and the king of Sparta.[43] Garger advocated Etruscan urns as a likely source for the motif.[44] Recent opinion, however, has tended to support the acceptance of a pictorial source, probably of the late fourth century B.C. or of the Pergamene school. Some of the most convincing evidence for such Hellenistic pictorial prototypes has been offered by F. Chamoux, who has concentrated primarily on the south panel.[45] He argues that the crowded field, the vivid animation, and the grand concept of the north composition are sure indications that the panel "reproduit...un motif hellénique du IVe siècle."[46] He offers for comparison the Alexander mosaic from the House of the Faun, which we will consider in a later chapter,[47] and concludes that because of such inspiration the sculptures at St. Rémy are "grands tableaux de pierre," whose conception is "plastique" but "essentiallement picturale."[48]

A similar argument has been made by Andreae, who concludes that the prototype for the cavalry battle should be placed "in hochhellenistische Zeit."[49] In his study of "der zurückgewandt kämpfende Reiter,"[50] he maintains that the simplest rendition of the motif appears toward the end of the fifth century B.C. in the friezes of the temple of Athena Nike; it is found later in the friezes of the Nereid Monument and of the Heroon at Gjölbaschi. Here the rider

attacked a footsoldier. Even earlier, in Classical vase-paintings, similar foreshortenings and pulling back of the horse's head appear.[51] Further similarities occur in the treatment of perspective in the Kertsch hydrias of the late fourth century.[52] Although Andreae is correct in comparing the reliefs from the mausoleum with the Alexander mosaic, especially with regard to the use of diagonal move-ment to convey the impression of a deep relief field,[53] he is mistaken when he states that a diagonal and contrapostal arrangement of horses in foreshortened poses does not occur in relief sculpture before the panels at St. Rémy.[54] There is at least one horse from the frieze of the monument of Aemilius Paullus at Delphi that is amazingly similar to the horses in the north panel.[55]

Kleiner is convinced that the cavalry battle is "a near-copy of a single painting."[56] He likens the fore-shortenings to representations in various media of the late fourth and early third centuries B.C. Using the additional evidence of literary testimonia on the popularity of eques-trian combats as subjects, he concludes that the pictorial prototype for the north panel very likely dates to this period.[57] He theorizes that the actual painting or at least a copy of it was in Italy after 46 B.C. and that car-toons or sketches of it reached Gaul shortly thereafter.[58] Local elements (such as the horned helmet) were then inte-grated into the design to formulate a connection with the deeds of the deceased.[59]

While I agree that Kleiner is correct in saying
that the composition should be considered "generic" rather
than specific and that it is "not the invention of an
Augustan sculptor,"[60] I think that we cannot assume a
single Greek painting as the direct prototype of the com-
position. Even though many of the motifs may ultimately
have originated in a single painting, they would have been
used numerous times in battle paintings since their crea-
tion. Furthermore, G. Charles-Picard is probably correct
when he suggests a certain degree of interdependence be-
tween the commemorative group created by Lysippos for
Alexander the Great and the historical paintings by Philo-
xenos of Eretria and others.[61] Such an interdependence
would certainly have affected the St. Rémy prototypes as
well. The master of St. Rémy surely drew upon pictorial
ideas of the late fourth and the third centuries, but those
ideas had filtered through Pergamene and Etruscan inter-
mediaries before reaching him. Some motifs definitely
originated in painting, but others may well have been adapt-
ed from sculptural groups such as the one created by Lysip-
pos for Alexander. The horsemen N1-5 show a pictorial
heritage, but the fallen N7 could easily be an addition from
a sculptural group. Therefore, I think it better not to
identify a single Greek painting as the direct prototype of
the composition, but rather to assume an interdependence be-
tween several pictorial and perhaps sculptural sources.

The West Panel -- An Infantry Battle (Illus. 6 and Fig. 6)
The composition

Unlike the north panel, no duels figure in the composition of the west panel's infantry battle. Again the battle is heated; no one is in retreat. The main part of the contest rages around the body of W10 (see Fig. 6). Another warrior W3 has also fallen, but he seems to be only wounded. It would appear that W2, W8, W9, and W13 (and probably W3, W4, W10, W11, W14, and W15) belong to one side; they are fighting W1 and W5 and probably W6, W7, and W12.[62] W2, W9, and W13 wear helmets identical to ones worn by N2, N3, and N5. W8, W14, and W15 wear a different helmet.

No sculptural landscape elements are depicted, but there is clear evidence that at least some details of terrain were indicated by another means, presumably painting. Most of the figures (i.e., W1, 3-5, 10, 11, 15) stand on a groundline defined by the baseline of the panel. However, the feet of W2 and W8 now appear to be "standing" on thin air. Obviously, in its original state, rocks or hilly terrain would have appeared under foot. This fact further enhances the pictorial quality of the panel and is good evidence for a close relationship with painted precedents.

Furthermore, there is a definite attempt to indicate depth in this panel. There are four gradations or ranks of figures. In the foreground are the figures who are grounded on the baseline of the panel. There are two groups in the near middle ground: W6 and 9 and W13 and 14
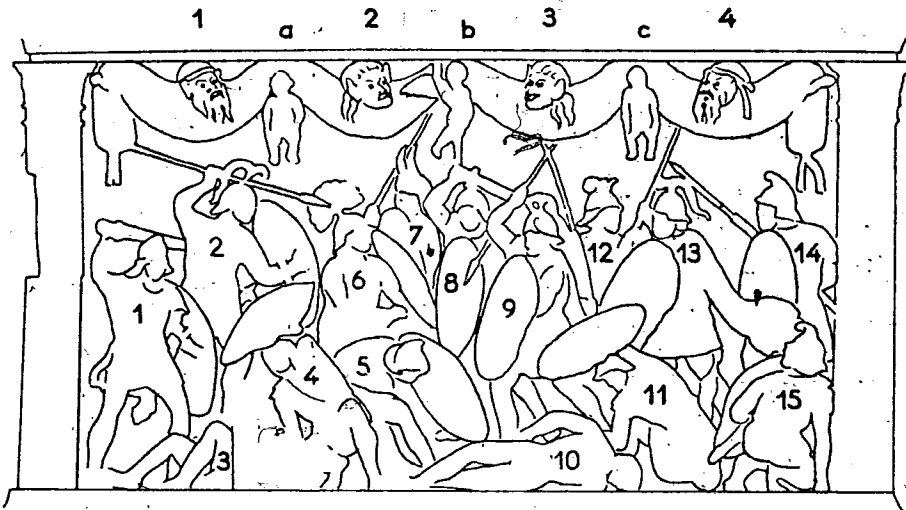
Fig. 6.   Schematic diagram of west panel.
Mausoleum of the Julii at St. Rémy.

(Rolland, Le Mausolée, Fig. 19.)

(each pair is isocephalic). In the far middle ground are
W2 and W8. W7 and W12 hold the background; although W7's
head is slightly higher, the two men are probably equally
deep into the background. The relief ground in this panel
is again conceived as a neutral surface against which the
figures are massed. Once again a groove is used to define
volumes in a virtually flat plane and to accentuate forms
to allow for a greater chiaroscuro effect. Its use can
create the illusion of depth where little actually exists
(e.g., where the horns of W7's helmet overlap his spear).
The folds of the garments are more deeply channelled than
in the north panel, but the shadowed effects are not a-
chieved by drilled grooves.

This panel is even more crowded with figures than
is the north panel. The action is not geometrically per-
fect, although certain balances do exist. All quarters of
the panel are crowded and tumultuous. However, the right
lower corner is quite cramped while the left lower corner
has empty space between the leg of W1 and the enframing
pilaster; W1 also bends his arm sharply to stay within
the panel, in contrast to E1 and N1 (Figs. 7 and 5) who
overlap their pilasters. No part of this composition over-
laps the frame. Also, there is no obvious geometric center
to the action, unless one draws an imaginary line down from
the genius that supports the center of the garland. Final-
ly, a certain balance is created by the two crouching
warriors W4 and W11 defending their fallen comrades, but

it is not a contrapostal arrangement as in the north com-
position. Differences in the poses of both the wounded
and their defenders create a somewhat lop-sided balance as
the action surges across the panel.

The characters

Several groups suggest themselves within the
composition. In the left corner of the panel, W1 moves to
the right to attack W3 who has fallen to the ground; W4
holds his shield over W3's head and attempts to raise him
to his feet. The main part of the action is concentrated
in and to the right of the center of the panel; W11 defends
the corpse of W10 while an enemy W5 crouches at its feet
and W9 and W13 rush in from the right background to offer
assistance to W11. In the background behind the right por-
tion of this group, W12 turns to the right to see the
approach of W14; W15, who crouches in the lower right cor-
ner, also observes the approach of W14. It may be that W12,
who does not seem at all agitated, is calling to his com-
rades W14 and W15 for additional assistance. The final
grouping holds the central background, but it is difficult
to determine the sides to which all the figures belong. W2
is moving from the left brandishing his spear. W6 is facing
W8, who is attacking from the right. Farther in the back-
ground, W7 seems to be moving against W2 in order to aid W6.

W1, W3, W4

W1 wears a type of muscle cuirass. The armor is
molded to fit the contours of the body, the abdomen is

protected, and the armor rests high on the hips, with cut-
outs to allow free movement of the legs. A loose skirt
without lappets flaps around and between his bare legs.
Short sleeves cover the upper arms. A baldric crosses the
chest from the right shoulder and attaches to a scabbard on
the warrior's left side, where it is visible under his left
arm; there is no belt around the waist. His face is badly
damaged, but was probably seen in a three-quarter turn to
the right. The helmet, although damaged, seems to match
the helmet worn by W5. W1 is launching a vigorous attack
against W3 and W4. He is striding forward and to the right
on his left leg; his legs are wide apart and are seen fron-
tally. The lower torso is also frontal, but the upper tor-
so is slightly turned at the waist to allow the best stroke
downward at W3 and W4. A long sword is raised in the right
hand above and behind the warrior's head; a convex, round
or oval shield, visible from the inner side, is carried
along the body on the left arm.

Much less can be said about W3 because of his badly
damaged condition. His bare legs, stretched out toward the
left corner of the panel, are still clearly visible, so
it is possible to deduce his pose. The right leg is ex-
tended at a 120-degree angle, and the left leg is sharply
bent in front of the right leg at a 45-degree angle. Appar-
rently the warrior is attempting to push himself toward the
right. Part of a skirt of lappets is visible across the
left thigh. The head and torso would presumably have been

under W4's shield.

W4 is much better preserved, although his facial features, right arm, left foot, and right leg have been largely obliterated. He is kneeling on his right knee with his right leg seen in profile and is attempting to lift W3 with his right hand while he protects himself and his comrade with his shield, which is held aloft on his left arm. The shield is round and convex and is adorned with a round, central boss from which rays radiate outward to a smooth band that marks the edge. His body is inclined to the left to afford better protection to his comrade and to allow better leverage; the body is frontal, and the face is in profile to the left. The extended left arm and muscles along the left side of the rib cage present a smooth line. W4's left leg is seen frontally and at a slightly oblique angle. The foot, which is now missing, was probably worked partially in the round and was thus projecting to some extent over the base of the panel. To the viewer, the foot would seem foreshortened. The smooth cuirass is similar to examples from the north panel. A baldric goes across the chest and right shoulder. Narrow lappets are barely visible beneath a belt around the waist.

W10, W11, W5, W9, W13

W10 has also suffered considerable damage, but much about him is clear. He is stretched out on his left side along the baseline of the panel. His body and legs are seen frontally. The right leg is flexed at the knee and

crosses over the left leg which is extended along the
groundline. It seems definite that W10 is dead, since he
lies completely limp and makes no attempt to raise his
body from the ground. His right arm is held slightly
away from the body by W11, who is attempting a rescue.
The corpse appears completely nude, although a helmet
might have existed before the head was damaged. The head,
according to Rolland, was tilted toward the ground.[63]

The would-be rescuer W11 kneels on his left leg,
which is foreshortened with the thigh presented frontally
and the rest of the leg bent back under the body and out
of view. His right leg, partly hidden behind W10, is
seen in profile and is bent at a 120-degree angle. Al-
though the pose is very similar to the stance of W4, W11
is straining more in order to lift a dead weight with no
help; he is reaching down with his right arm (which Rolland
says is not shown)[64] and is holding his shield above his
head and toward the left. The shield is round with a
large circular boss in the center and "horns" radiating
to the edge; it casts a shadow over his face, which is seen
in profile looking down at W10. It is hard to determine
the details of his armor because of the damaged condition
of the panel. There is a baldric over the right shoulder
and across the chest to a bordered belt with a circular
buckle. Short sleeves and a skirt of two rows of lappets
are also visible. The warrior wears a helmet, but its
details are obscured by the shield; it may have cheekpieces.

W5 is similar in appearance to W1 and has been dubbed an enemy of W10 and W11 for that reason. His pose could otherwise be construed as that of a comrade assisting W11 to remove the body of W10. As he crouches from the waist to the right, he exposes about three-quarters of his back to the spectator. His left leg is extended toward W10 at a 120-degree angle and braces his weight. Although the slabs have been damaged, it seems that W5 is reaching toward the feet of W10 with his right hand and is looking toward the corpse with his face in profile to the viewer. The left arm, which is partially extended from the shoulder, supports a round, convex shield, which is seen from the inside where the arm passes through a band. It would seem that the left hand grasped a grip or support toward the rim of the shield. Only two pieces of armor are visible: a helmet with a crest that is reminiscent of a Phrygian cap and with a wide, semicircular neckguard, and a cuirass that is smooth, at least on the back.

W9 is rushing in from the right with his spear pointed down toward W5. He is striding forward on his right leg, which is no longer visible, and his left leg is propelling his body forward. A round or oval shield, decorated with a boss of concentric circles and a sunburst design, is held waist-high on the left arm in front of the body. The right arm is raised and bent at the elbow in order to aim the spear downward; the angle is slightly unusual because the allotted space is so limited. The point of the spear

is long, narrow, and sharply honed, while the shaft is
incised across the relief ground. It passes across W9's
right arm and may have been partially rounded, since it is
now totally eroded and there are no incision marks on the
arm; it may very well have been painted. The upper end
of this shaft crosses over the shaft of the spear of W12
and then disappears under the decorative garland. W9's
gear is completed by a double-crested helmet, a smooth
cuirass with a skirt of two rows of lappets and short
sleeves, and a scabbard which is visible on his left side.
The helmet, decorated with a spiral ornament above the ear,
is comparable to the helmets with cheekpieces and neck-
guards worn by N2, W13, and others. W9's face is seen in
three-quarter view to the left. There seems to be a cloak
hanging limply from his shoulders; W13 offers clearer evi-
dence for the cloak.

W13 is also rushing in from the right in order to
help in the attack. He is still in the process of raising
his spear, since he is not yet in the thick of the action.
Only the shaft of the spear is visible as it is outlined
against W12's body and is incised into the relief ground.
His body is seen from the back and at a three-quarter angle.
Only one leg is visible as it thrusts his body forward in
hurried movement. The impression of movement is heighten-
ed by the long cloak that flaps behind the body. W13 is
advancing with his left shoulder leading; an unornamented,
round, convex shield with a flattened, recessed rim covers

that shoulder, the left arm, and most of the body. His
torso is covered by a cuirass that ends in lappets that
fall to mid-thigh. A baldric passes across the right
shoulder and back to a moderately wide belt; a scabbard
hangs at his left side. An additional object also hangs
from the left side, but its details are unclear. His
head, which is shown in profile to the left, is protected
by the typical double-crested helmet with cheekpieces and
neckguard; there is no additional ornamentation.

W12, W14, W15

W12 is standing in the far background and is
visible only from the waist up. He stands frontally and
directs his gaze to the right. He seems to be clad in
a smooth cuirass with a round neckline and shoulder guards.
His helmet has a wide neckguard and is crowned with two
curling ram's horns or plumes; the general shape recalls
earlier Thracian helmets from Greece. In his right hand
he holds a spear that has a holder fitted along the lower
middle part of the shaft. The upper shaft is incised into
the relief ground and passes under both the spear of W9
and the decorative garland; the spearhead is just visible
under the garland.

W14 is approaching from the right and is advancing
on his flexed left leg. He is seen from the back, and his
head is viewed in left profile. In his right hand he
carries a spear identical to the one carried by W12. Here
it is clear that the spearhead is fairly short and sharp;

the shaft is defined across the relief surface in the usual manner. On his left shoulder, which is leading into the fray, and left arm he carries a round, convex shield that is ornamented with a central, circular boss and slender, radiate triangles. Most of his body is protected behind the shield. W14 is wearing a smooth cuirass with neck edging and short sleeves. Around his waist is a wide belt decorated with two rows of studs. A fairly broad baldric leading to the belt is visible across the right shoulder and back. Beneath the belt is a skirt of two rows of lappets. His head is protected by a helmet of Thracian shape with wide neckguard and cheekpieces and a crest shaped like a Phrygian cap.

The group is completed by W15, who is crouching in the right corner of the panel. His body, with the legs foreshortened, is seen fully from the rear, but the face is seen only in partial profile. Both the bent right leg, whose knee does not quite touch the ground, and the extended right arm support the weight of the body. The right leg is seen in profile along the groundline, and the arm is seen from the outside with the elbow toward the viewer. The left leg is bent under the body and only the sole of the foot is clearly seen. Both the right arm and sleeve overlap the frame slightly. His body seems to thrust itself backward and out of the panel toward the viewer. He is holding a shield, which may be oval, in front of his body and is peering over its rim; he wears a

smooth cuirass with short sleeves and a skirt of two rows
of lappets. Passing over his right shoulder are a baldric
and a stippled garment that is held by a belt at the waist.
The stippling may be an attempt to represent chain mail.
A scabbard hangs from the belt at his left side. His hel-
met, like that of W14, is of Thracian shape with a Phrygian
crest, neckguard, and cheekpieces.

W2, W6, W8, W7

W2 wears the double-crested helmet that we have
seen before; the broad cheekpieces and the neckguard are
clearly visible. His head is seen in profile to the right,
but his facial features are almost totally obscured by the
helmet. The muscles in his neck are straining with the
effort he is exerting. We see his body frontally, as he
leads from the left into the melee with his left arm, which
supports a round, convex shield, and brandishes his spear
with his upraised right arm. The shield, held by a central
armband and a rim support for the hand, is seen from its
inner side. The incised shaft of the spear is directed
toward and in front of W6, and the shaft passes across the
helmet of W2 before disappearing under the end of the deco-
rative garland. Barely discernible between W1 and W4 is
the bare left leg of W2; he is advancing on this leg, which
is set in profile. His bare right foot, whose placement
suggests that the leg would have been shown frontally had
not W1 covered it with his body, is visible "dangling in
air" between the thighs of W1. It has already been sug-

gested that this arrangement indicates the original exist-
ence of painted terrain.

The armor that covers his body is smooth and has
broad epaulets, short sleeves, and a skirt of two rows of
lappets that fall to the upper thigh. A loose baldric
crosses his chest from the right shoulder and attaches to
a moderately wide belt that has a narrow upper and lower
edging. A scabbard hangs at his left side, and the hilt of
a large sword projects from it. From his pose, W2 seems to
be attacking W8, whose helmet is unclear, although it seems
to be of the "Thracian-Phrygian" type. Considering the
similarity of the helmets of W2 and W9 and the similarity
of the armor of W6 and W1, it seems more likely that W2 is
attacking W6, or perhaps W7 who may be an ally of W6.

W6 is quite an imposing figure because of his unu-
sual helmet and because he seems to be at the center of the
most violent action in the panel. The helmet is distin-
guished by cheekpieces, neckguard, engraved ornamentation,
and a very large, fan-shaped crest. Both his face with the
chin tilted upward and his shoulders are turned partially
to meet the rush of W8 and W9. He has extended his left
arm toward the attackers in order to defend himself with a
convex shield that is now very damaged; he holds his right
arm across his body at waist-level, suggesting that he may
have been holding a sword that is now missing. Like W1,
he wears a muscle cuirass with cutouts for the legs and
no belt. A loose baldric falls from his right shoulder to

the left side of his waist. Part of the bare right thigh
can be seen, but his legs are mostly hidden by W5.

W8 is advancing to the left with his weight on
his bent right leg and with his left leg extended behind
him. The bare right foot may be seen protruding under the
lower edge of W5's shield and the left leg and foot may
be discerned between the legs of W9. Our artist showed
the left leg frontally. W8's body is positioned in a
three-quarter view, but most of its details are hidden
behind the round shield that is decorated with a flower-
like design. A short sleeve is visible across the upper
right arm, which is bent and raised to brandish a sword
over and behind his head. The sword, which has a broad
blade with an edging along the lateral extremities, obscures
the crest of the helmet, but it appears to be like that
worn by W14 and W15 rather than that worn by W1 and W5.
His right hand is touched by the feet of the central
genius. Only the central genius interferes with the action;
the other two genii direct their attention downward and thus
seem to be interested spectators. W8 seems to be directing
his attack against W6 rather than W5.

Most of W7's body is hidden under the mass of
figures in the foreground, but his head, shield, and spear
can be seen. He is wearing a rounded helmet that is deco-
rated with long horns that curve slightly at the tips; the
cheekpieces are quite wide, and there seems to be a neck-
guard. Only the upper edge of his shield can be seen, but

it is carried on the left arm up in front of the body; part
of the left shoulder is visible. He has begun to bring his
right hand, which grasps the shaft of a spear, into cast-
ing position, but he is not yet close enough to his tar-
get (presumably W2) to have completed the maneuver. The
point is directed toward the ground; the upper part of the
shaft is incised into the relief ground as it passes under
the horns of the helmet and disappears under the decorative
garland.

The interpretation

Since 1835 there has been universal agreement about
the nature of the subject depicted in the west panel.
According to both Rolland and Charles-Picard,[65] P. Merimée
was the first person to recognize the battle that ensued
for the body of Patroclus, which Homer described in Book XVI
of the Iliad.[66] However, comparisons with Iliac tablets,
relief vases, and the two painted Iliac friezes from the
Casa del Cryptoportico in Pompeii and the Domus Transitoria
in Rome fail to produce an exact prototype for the composi-
tion.

Charles-Picard, therfore, has recently suggested
that the scene shows the battle for the body of Achilles
rather than Patroclus. He refers to a silver oenochoe from
Berthouville as his evidence.[67] This jug and its oompanion
vessel were buried around 275 A.D. and are believed to be
reproductions of earlier vessels that were derived from
Pergamene works of the second century B.C.[68] They probably,

date from the Claudian era.[69] Although the general action
depicted on the oenochoe would have to be changed radically
to produce the St. Rémy composition, some credit should
be given to the idea of identifying W10 as Achilles, since
both the jug and the panel show two fallen warriors. How-
ever, on the jug only the nude Achilles is being lifted
from the ground.

    At least a comparison of the two works makes it
clear that both were inspired by pictorial sources, but
probably not by a single painting as Kleiner suggests;[70]
these pictorial sources may have originated in a Pergamene
school.[71] It must be remembered, too, that contests for
a corpse were popular themes in ancient art. The west
frieze (block k) of the temple of Athena Nike, an Attic
red-figure pelike,[72] a neck amphora by the Ixion painter,[73]
and a Tarquinian sarcophagus[74] all depict such struggles,
and they are certainly not all based on Homeric episodes.
Therefore, there seems to me to be no absolute reason for
assuming that the scene of the west panel is derived from
Homer. Such an identification is certainly possible, but
it seems just as likely that the scene should be viewed
merely as a "generic" infantry battle, similar to the
cavalry battle of the north panel.[75]

    The East Panel -- Two Scenes (Illus. 7 and Fig. 7)
The composition

    Of the three panels under detailed consideration,
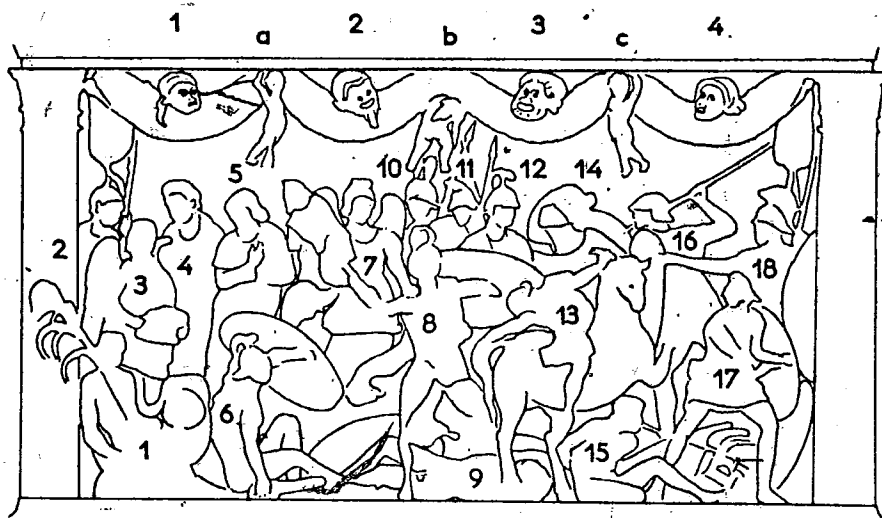
Fig. 7.   Schematic diagram of east panel.
Mausoleum of the Julii at St. Rêmy.

(Rolland, Le Mausolée, Fig. 20.)

the east relief displays the most complex composition and
iconography. To the left and right are two distinct
scenes, occupying approximately one-third and two-thirds of
the panel. The left portion shows a tranquil scene, cen-
tered around a winged deity E3 (see Fig. 7) who is reading
from a _volumen_. She stands beside a seated river god E1.
To her right and left three spectators look on: a young
man E2, a bearded man E4, and a woman E5. E6, a warrior
with upraised shield who has fallen to his haunches in
front of the woman E5, provides the transition to the vio-
lent action of the right portion.

Three figures offer the main focus for the larger
action. A heroically nude warrior E8 has grasped E13 by
the hair and is pulling him from his horse, which is rear-
ing or galloping to the right. Behind E8 stands a winged
Victory E7, who is holding a trophy. Numerous figures
supplement the scene. Behind the main figures are three
soldiers (E10-12) who watch the action and a woman E14,
who is disturbed by the fate of the horseman. The far right
of the panel is filled by three warriors in attitudes of
combat: E16 is rushing from the right with his spear ready,
E18 is gesturing toward the main scene, and E17 is rushing
to the right in front of the horse. Under the front hooves
of the horse is a nude, seated prisoner E15 and behind the
horse lies a nude corpse E9. The lower right corner is
filled with a conglomeration of items that definitely in-
cludes two swords, a spear, and at least one _pelta_; presum-

ably a pile of arms from defeated warriors is meant. There
seems to be no doubt that this particular iconography ori-
ginates in Greek sources.

In this panel as in the north panel there are clear
indications of depth, although the artist has not resorted
to subtle renditions here. Standing in the foreground,
along the groundline defined by the baseline of the panel,
are E1, E6, E8, E9, E15, E17, and the horse. The middle
ground is occupied by E3, E7, and E13. Most of the figures,
including E2, E4, E5, E12, E14, E16, and E18, stand in the
background, and the remaining E10 and E11 are positioned
in what may be termed the far background. Despite the
piling up of the figures, there is a great deal of iso-
cephaly; the heads of E10 and E11, for example, are level
with the heads of E12, E14, and E16, although the former are
deeper in the background. The action seems to lead in from
both sides to a pyramid of figures in the center.

Grooves are used to enhance the volume of the fig-
ures and to separate them from the neutral relief surface.
Incision defines spear shafts across that surface and the
leaves of the reed on the pilaster at the left side of the
panel. Even though some of the garments are draped in
heavy folds, the chiaroscuro effect is accomplished by
high ridges and deep furrows rather than by a studied pat-
tern of drilled or incised grooves or lines.

Each figure in the various groupings within the
panel will now be described in detail.

The characters

E1, E3, E2, E4, E5

E1 is the only personification used to suggest a locale in any of the St. Rémy panels. He is a river god, who is seated in the left corner of the panel with his legs toward the right and his back leaning against the pilaster. His face and lower body are badly damaged, but he looked to the right. The stomach muscles are clearly visible in the nude torso, and the shoulders are partially turned toward the viewer. A cloak is draped over the left shoulder, along the left side, and over the left arm, which is extended to support a large urn or amphora on his leg and knee. A tall reed, whose fronds are incised into the pilaster, is held along the right side of the body and over the right shoulder. The right hand was probably grounded beside the right hip. Part of a rock may be visible beside the body under the right elbow.

Just above E1's left shoulder is the small, winged deity E3. She wears a palla looped from her shoulders across her stomach; underneath this mantle are a tunic (possibly a peplos) with a loose neck and a double-tiered skirt. She is holding a rotulus or volumen in both hands and seems to be reading from it, although the facial features have been badly damaged. The right arm has also been damaged. She stands with her shoulders on a line diagonal to the relief ground.

Behind E3 and looking over her head is E2, a young

man who is leaning on a long, straight staff that he holds in his left hand. His body is frontal, but his head is turned to the right and his neck muscles strain as he peers to see what the goddess is holding. Little of his garment is visible, but he may be wearing a toga or a pallium. On his head is a smooth, close-fitting cap which appears to have a spike projecting from the crown. Without an examination on the site itself, it is impossible to be absolutely sure about this apex because the tassels on the end of the garland interfere with the cap. Still, the cap seems to be the galerus worn by the Roman flamines.

Next to E3's left shoulder stands an older man E4. He is bearded and has long hair. His body is frontal, and his face is turned to the left as he looks down at the small deity. He wears a garment that is draped over his right shoulder and across his chest, with the end thrown over his left shoulder. His right arm is cradled in the fold of the garment, where the hand is visible. Since the lower edge is not visible, it is impossible to say whether he (or E2 either) is wearing a toga or a himation.[76] The left hand may be seen just under the elbow of E5. Straight folds of drapery fall from the left arm. Loose, curved folds that result from the draping of the toga/himation over the chest cover the legs.

The group is completed by E5, who stands at the left side of E4. Because of the long hair that is caught up at the base of the neck and the long skirt worn by the

figure, she can be identified as a woman. Her body is frontal, and she is looking to the left and down at the winged deity; her facial features are missing. She wears a tunic with loose sleeves that reach almost to her elbow. The tunic is girt at the waist, creating a slight blousiness over the torso. A <u>himation</u> or <u>palla</u> is draped over her left shoulder and arm and across the left breast and right hip. Her right arm is bent across her body, and the right hand lies across her breast. The left hand is not visible.

E6

E6, the nude warrior fallen to his haunches, is seen in profile to the right. His right leg is extended along the groundline, and his left leg is bent double with the knee in the air and the foot on the ground as if he is about to push himself into a standing position. His right arm is extended, and the right hand, which grasps the hilt of a short sword, is braced against the ground. The left arm is raised beside and behind his head and supports a large, round shield by means of an armband and a handgrip. Although the head is quite battered, a crested helmet of the type frequent on the mausoleum is evident. A short <u>chlamys</u> hangs from his shoulders and down his back. E6 is similar to E8 because both are nude and wear the same helmet. His right foot overlaps the feet of E9. If he has an opponent, it is unclear who it might be.

E9, E15

E9 is a nude corpse that is stretched on the ground with his torso behind the legs of E8 and his head behind the rear hooves of the horse. His feet are hidden by the legs of E6. He is lying on his back with his head thrown back and an arm, visible between the horse's legs, thrown up above his head. The musculature along the rib cage is clearly delineated. There is sufficient torsion at the waist to present the hips in a frontal view; the genitalia are visible. The right leg is seen in profile as it is bent at a 120-degree angle to the ground; the left leg is also shown in profile as it is extended somewhat more along, but not on, the ground. Approximately half of a round or oval shield is seen behind E9, who is presumably its fallen owner.

Just to the right of E9's head and under the belly and forelegs of the horse sits E15. He is crouched slightly forward at the waist, and his arms are bound behind his back. His shoulders are turned toward the viewer, and the musculature and bones of the diaphragm and chest are shown. The right leg is foreshortened and is bent back under the left leg, which is extended at a 120-degree angle with the foot on the ground; the right thigh is seen frontally. It seems that E15, whose head is seen in profile to the right, had long hair and possibly a beard, but this semblance may be due to his damaged condition.

E8, E7, E13, E14

E8 is the hero, who is nude except for a long chlamys[77] that swirls dramatically behind and between his legs. He is seen frontally as he straddles the corpse of E9. His weight is supported by his right leg which is slightly flexed and planted in front of E9; his left leg is extended with the lower calf and foot behind E9. The pose is vigorous and dynamic. An oval shield, seen from the inner side and held by an armband, is extended to the right on the left arm; a loop of the cloak is seen over the upper left arm. E13's head and shoulders are outlined against the shield. Although the right arm is now missing, the condition of the relief at the shoulder and waist (Illus. 7 and 8) suggests that the arm was not extended to the left but was instead bent across the body, where it held a sword at waist-level. It was drawn slightly back from the shoulder and against E7's skirt. A scabbard is seen hanging at E8's left side, where it is held by a baldric that crosses from the right shoulder to a belt. The face is damaged, but the crest of the helmet suggests that it is of the type most common at St. Rémy.

Directly behind and to the left of E8 stands a winged Victory E7, who seems larger in scale that the mortal combatants around her. Her hair is piled atop her head, and she wears a sleeveless tunic that is gathered into a slight blousiness by a belt around the waist. It falls in neat folds to mid-thigh. Beneath it, a heavy

skirt falls in small folds to the ground. The end of her
peplos can be seen billowing above the shield of E6. Her
movement to the right and into the action is indicated by
her billowing cloak, the displacement of the folds of the
tunic, and her slightly raised right foot (visible just
below E6's shield); her body is frontal and her head is in
profile to the right. She looks down at E8 as she rests
her left hand on his right shoulder.

Over her right shoulder she carries a small trophy
on a pole. Her right hand grasps the pole at the level of
her waist. The helmet is too damaged to allow description,
but the armor is clear. On the cuirass the pectorals are
marked, a line passes from the center of the chest to the
abdomen, and the neckline is banded. Elbow-length sleeves
hang from the banded armholes, and a knee-length skirt of
lappets hangs above the billowing cloak of E7. The armor
may have cutouts for the legs like the muscle cuirass of
W1 and W6.

E13 is the only mounted figure in this panel. He
is being pulled from his horse by E8. His left arm is ex-
tended toward the horse's head, and his right arm is
stretched out over the horse's hindquarters toward E8. He
is sitting astride the horse, but his body is bent back
sharply from the waist, and his head is bent to the left
and is parallel to the ground. All the facial features
have been obliterated; the hair appears to be long. The
youth is wearing a loose, blousy garment that is fastened

on the left shoulder, leaving the right shoulder and part
of the right chest bare. A belt girds the garment around
the waist, and a short skirt covers the thigh to a point
just above the knee. There are numerous folds over the
torso. The upper edge of a <u>pelta</u>, held out on the left
arm, is seen in front of the body of E14.

E13's rearing horse is identical to the rearing
horse of N4. His rear legs are planted on the groundline,
and he paws the air above the head of prisoner E15. His
body is slightly twisted at the hindquarters, and the neck
is bowed. He is foreshortened to give the impression that
he is rearing into the foreground from a greater depth
in the panel. The lower part of the forelegs and the
muzzle were probably worked partially in the round and have
been broken away. Both the mane and tail are long and nat-
ural. His gear includes a saddlecloth, bridle, and breast-
strap.

A despondent E14 stands directly behind E13 and his
horse. Most of the features of the head are missing, but
the hair is definitely quite long and is caught up at the
nape of the neck. The figure wears a loose garment with a
round neckline and loose sleeves that reach to the elbow.
The right arm is raised and bent so that the hand touches
the crown of the head. Because of the hair, the garment,
and the grief-stricken pose, the figure seems to be a
woman. She is looking at E8 and beyond him to E6, and
she thus draws the spectator's attention to these figures.

E10, E11, E12

These three figures are calm spectators of the turbulent scene centered around E8 amd E13. E10 and E11 are so deep in the background that only their heads and necks are visible. E10 wears an unusual, rounded helmet adorned with plumes that are shaped like "bunny ears"; the central genius straddles the plumes. He is holding a long spear over his left shoulder with the point in the air. The shaft of the spear is incised into the relief ground and passes between the heads of E10 and E11, beside the right foot of the genius, and as far as the decorative garland. Part of the round shield may be seen on the left shoulder in front of the shaft of the spear. The head is turned in a three-quarter view to the left where his attention is concentrated on Victory E7.

E11 is also seen in a three-quarter view to the left as he looks toward E7; his head is inclined slightly more than the head of E10. He is wearing a helmet that cannot be seen too clearly; it seems to be of the "Thracian-Phrygian" type that occurred several times in the west panel (e.g., W14, W15). He also holds a spear with the point skyward over his left shoulder. It almost touches the garland.

Although most of his body is covered by E8's shield, E12 is seen from his shoulders up. His body is turned slightly to the right, and his head is in profile to the right as he looks toward E14 and the onrushing E16. He

wears a leather cuirass with a round, bordered neckline, short sleeves, and long, narrow epaulets. A spear with a long, slender head is seen over his right shoulder. The shaft overlaps the shaft of E11's spear and the point overlaps the shaft of E10's spear before it terminates just before touching the right shoulder of the genius. A curved object, presumably a shield, is visible behind E12's left shoulder. He also wears a helmet with a crescent-shaped crest; because it is smooth, the crest does not seem to be a plume or a horsetail.

E16, E18, E17

E16 stands in a bellicose pose. He is seen from the back as he rushes in from the right with his weight on his left leg as he advances. The leg may be seen behind the forelegs of the horse; the foot is hidden behind the pile of weapons. His muscular right arm is drawn back to cast his spear, and his face, seen in profile to the left, is distorted in an open-mouthed battle cry. His head is protected by an undecorated Thracian-type helmet. The shaft of the spear passes behind the body of E14 and the head of E16 before it crosses the relief ground and disappears under the end of the garland. An oval shield decorated with a narrow, plain border around the rim covers his body as he holds the shield on his left arm close to his body and over his left shoulder. He wears smooth body armor that ends in a skirt of two rows of lappets. A short sleeve covers the upper right arm. From his left

side hangs a scabbard that is held in place by a baldric that crosses his right shoulder. A plain, moderately wide belt girds his waist.

E18 is viewed frontally. His body is inclined slightly to the left as he gestures with his right arm in that direction. The face is seen in a three-quarter view to the left; the neck muscles stand out clearly. A crested helmet with cheekpieces and neckguard covers the head; it is the type seen so frequently on the mausoleum. The ribbons on the garland hang behind the crest. Smooth armor with broad epaulets covers the torso. A belt with narrow upper and lower borders encircles the waist. His spear is at rest over his left shoulder; the upper end of the shaft touches the end of the garland. An unusually large, oval (or possibly a gigantic, round) shield covers the left side of the body. Its decoration resembles the underside of a tortoise shell. Less than half of the shield is visible because it is terminated by the pilaster. His legs are not visible, but he must be standing on hilly terrain, a pile of arms, or something similar.

The last figure in the panel is E17. He is seen frontally as he moves to the right with his weight on his left leg, which is seen in profile. The right leg is extended frontally to the left, and the calf is obscured by the left leg of E15. Foreshortening is evident in the treatment of the right foot. His right arm, which has been damaged, is swung across his torso, and his left arm is

holding a round shield with a handgrip so that it is close
to his body. A smooth cuirass covers his torso; broad epau-
lets protect the shoulders, and a skirt of two rows of lap-
pets covers the thighs. The back edge of the skirt can be
seen between the legs. A belt similar to that worn by E18
encircles the waist. His head and face, which are badly
damaged, are turned in profile to the left; the muscles of
the neck bulge. The helmet is too battered to show any
detail accurately.

The interpretation

Traditionally the violent subject of the east
panel has been termed an amazonomachy. Hübner attempted
to establish a specific locale for the scene on the basis
of the river god and argued that the "amazon" represented a
historical figure, such as the daughter of Orgetorix.[78]
Most authorities have advocated a more general interpreta-
tion. Rolland refers to E13 as the "traditional figure of
a wounded Amazon,"[79] and indeed there are numerous examples
from the Greek repertoire, including a dramatic example on
slab 534 from the temple of Apollo at Bassae. If the
traditional amazonomachy interpretation is maintained, how-
ever, a number of serious iconographical questions arise.

Who is the despondent woman E14 who is definitely
not dressed as an amazon? Why are the agitated figures at
the right edge of the panel (E16-18, also E10-12) fully
armed men rather than amazons? Why are the corpse E9 and
the nude prisoner E15 men, since the "Greek" obviously has

the upper hand in the scene? How are the left and the right scenes to be reconciled with each other? Eclecticism for aesthetic and artistic purposes might be part of the answer, but the resultant scene can not be termed an "amazonomachy". In order to answer these questions and integrate the elements of the scene more successfully, a different interpretation of the subject matter is called for. I prefer a suggestion originated by G. Charles-Picard that the violent scene is the death of Troilus at the hands of Achilles.[80] His idea is a good one and can be supported with new evidence; furthermore, I have a suggestion to offer about the interpretation of the left scene as well.

Kleiner does not accept the Troilus interpretation because he does not make ample use of Etruscan comparanda. He maintains that E13 is an amazon, but he describes the entire scene as a "complex fusion of motifs drawn from a variety of sources" in order to create a biographical composition.[81] He identifies E2, E4, and E5 as a "Gallo-Roman" family (i.e., the Julii) clad in the toga (E2 and 4) or palla (E5).[82] According to his theory, the accessory soldiers are included only to establish a link with the north and west panels, just as E14 is included as the connecting link between the right and left scenes in the panel.[83] He finally summarizes the composition as "a Hellenistic amazonomachy [that] has been used as an allegory of the defeat of the Gauls and been expanded to incorporate

portraits of the Julii."[84] This approach leaves a great
many questions unanswered regarding the iconography of the
panel and the identification of various prominent figures.
Reference to the Etruscan comparanda can, I think, produce
many of these answers and confirm the Troilus interpreta-
tion of the scene.

The fullest literary narration of the Troilus epi-
sode was part of the epic Kypria and is now lost. Homer
(Iliad xxiv,257) mentions Troilus as a son of Priam, and
the Scholiast on the Iliad (vii, 44) identifies him as well
as Cassandra and Helenus as children of Priam and Hecuba.
Sophocles wrote a dramatic version of the story, but only
fragments of this play remain. The legend concerning the
prophecy that the death of Troilus must precede the fall
of Troy may be a Hellenistic addition.[85] In the extant
literary references and in the representations on early
vases, the age of Troilus and the setting and manner of his
death vary greatly. He may be a young boy, a youth, or a
young warrior. His death at the hands of Achilles may come
in the open, near a springhouse, before the city walls, or
beside an altar. Achilles is sometimes accompanied by
Ajax.[86] Whatever the particulars, the story was especially
popular with South Italian vase-painters and with the sculp-
tors of Etruscan urns and sarcophagi.[87]

Many Troilus depictions have been strongly influ-
enced by amazonomachies, and this borrowing must be taken
into account before we consider precedents for the St. Rémy

composition because it does belong to this category of
representations. The Apulian amphora from Trieste (Illus.
4.)[88] that we discussed earlier in relation to the south
panel shows an amazonomachy. A nude Greek hero, perhaps
Achilles, is pulling an amazon in traditional dress from
her horse. This motif is almost identical to E8-E13. How-
ever, a stamnos in Rome[89] shows the same motif adapted to
the Troilus episode. Achilles pulls the youth from his
horse just as the Greek pulled the amazon from her horse.[90]
This "amazonomachized" Troilus composition proved very pop-
ular in Etruria. Accessory figures were added, clothing
was changed to indicate Greeks and Trojans, but the central
motif remained the same.

Etruscan urns, especially from Volterra, offer some
outstanding parallels for the general composition and for
details that may help in the identification of various
individuals. Numerous urns document the central group
E8-E13.[91] One of the best examples is in the Museo Archeol-
ogico in Florence, no. 5755 (Illus. 9). In addition to
the central group, a stately female figure, possibly a
Lasa, stands behind Achilles and raises her left hand behind
his right shoulder. Her position is almost duplicated by
the Victory E7. The actions of E17 and E18 are not unlike
those of the male lunging to the right and the quietly
standing female on the urn. A fallen pedagogue has replaced
E15 under the forelegs of the horse, but he nevertheless
offers a precedent for E15's position. Another urn[92] also

shows a winged female who is much like E7 standing behind
Achilles. Two other urns from Volterra (Figs. 8 and 9)[93]
show Achilles' round shield extended obliquely behind
Troilus' head. Troilus' pelta is seen under his horse on
an urn in the British Museum (Illus. 10).[94] On almost all
the urns, Achilles holds his sword across his body at
waist-level. He occasionally draws it up beside his head,
but he never holds it extended out to the left.[95]

This iconography and reconstruction mean that the
hero E8 can not be Mars _tropaeophorus_.[96] Kleiner proposed
this idea prior to his dissertation because he restored the
right arm extended to the left, holding the trophy that is,
in fact, held by the Victory E7 (see Illus. 7 and 8). He
also saw traces of a belt that in fact prove to be the re-
maining outline of the missing sword and a stippling that
may indicate that the genitalia were originally depicted.
Kleiner does not offer a parallel in amazonomachies for
E7's resting her hand on or just above the hero's shoulder,
but we have seen that such a parallel does exist on Etrus-
can urns showing the death of Troilus (see Illus. 9).[97]

Kleiner also does not wish to identify E13 as a
youth because of the way he is dressed. However, this
objection can be overcome by referring to an early fourth
century B.C. relief base found near Plato's Academy in
Athens.[98] The scene supposedly originated in a contempo-
rary _Schlachtenbild_ or frieze.[99] Under the hero's horse
on this base is a fallen warrior in a short tunic that is
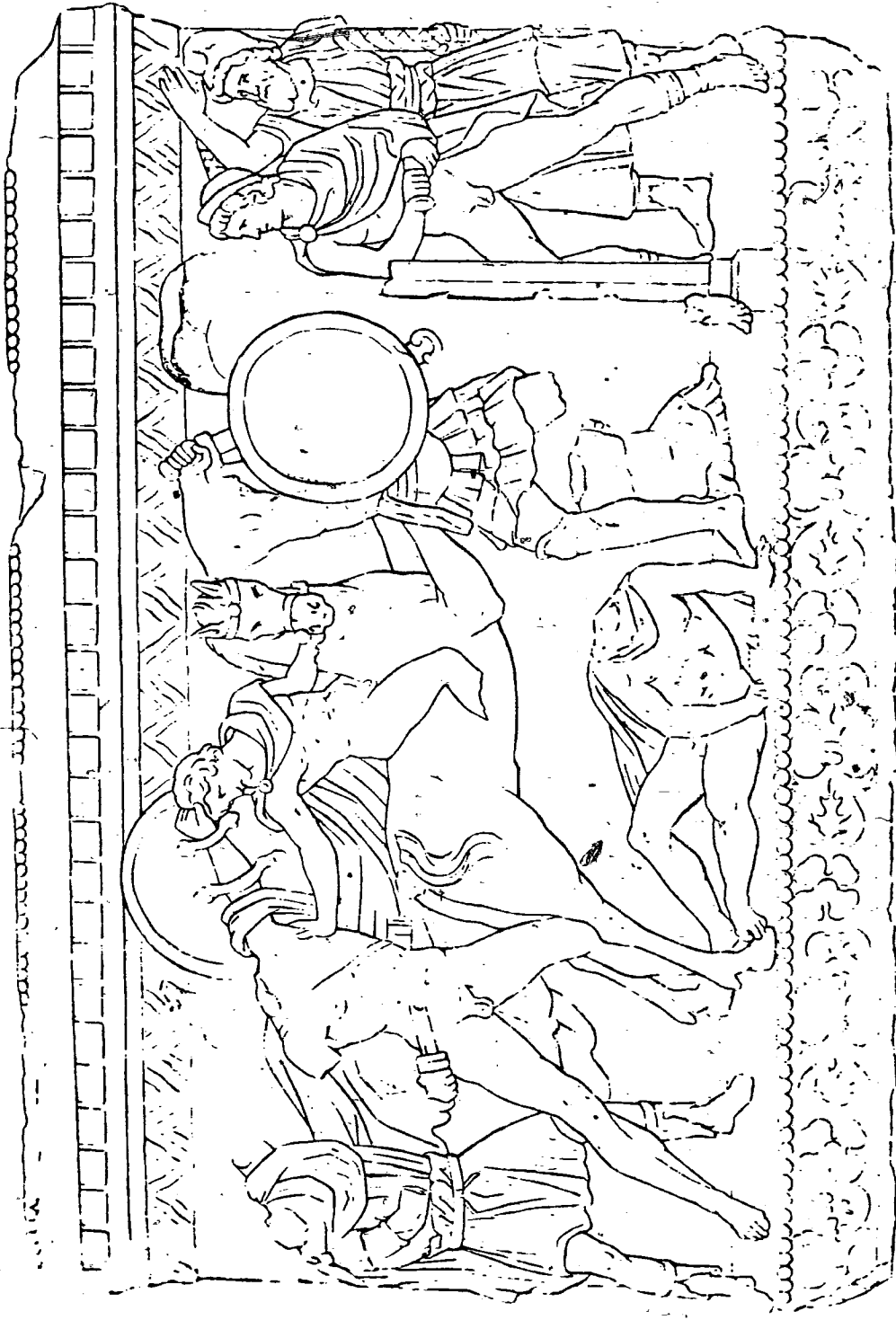
Fig. 8. Death of Troilus. Etruscan urn. Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, no. 376.
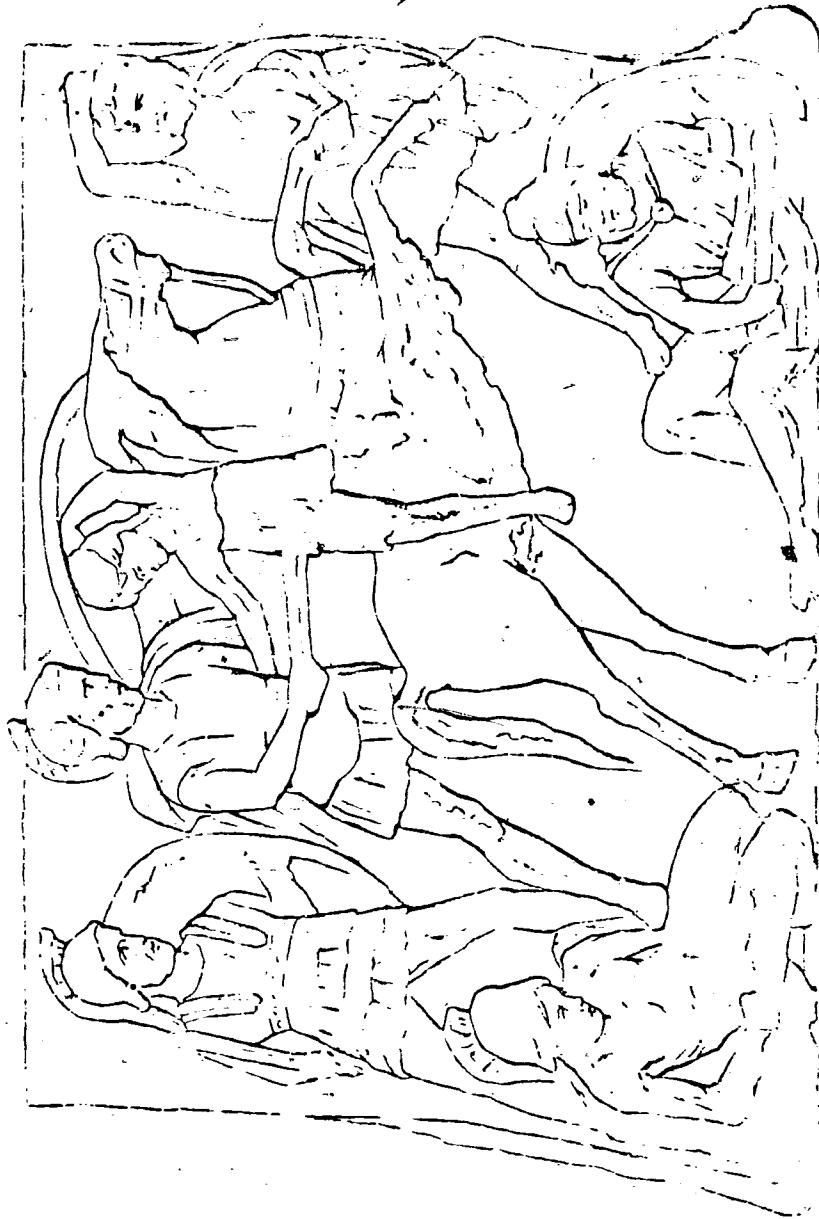
(Brunn-Körte, I.li.8.)

Fig. 9. Death of Troilus. Etruscan urn. Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, no. 422.

(Brunn-Körte, I.1.6.)

girt at the waist and which leaves the right shoulder bare. He is carrying a _pelta_. A similarly clad warrior, but carrying a round shield, is found on an Attic grave stele in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.[100] Obviously, a youth could be dressed like our Troilus, and so Kleiner's objection can be put aside.

Yet another urn (Fig. 10)[101] shows a full-scale battle raging as Achilles pulls Troilus from his horse. It is possible that this urn reflects a larger composition from which various excerpts were made and then used as new scenes. The central group remains basically the same, but we also have the precedent for a large number of accessory figures in the composition. Although none of them is duplicated by a St. Rémy figure, we can assume that similar large compositions may underlie the two representations. The Etruscan and the St. Rémy artist merely excerpted different figures from the larger units, and then each added other elements as he saw fit. A nude warrior has fallen beneath Troilus' horse; although he is not supine, his position recalls E9. Achilles is being aided by a bearded, fully armed warrior. Another urn in the British Museum[102] also shows the comrade of Achilles; however, here he is nude and is seen from the rear with his face in profile (a winged Vanth stands beside him).

Because of the fragmentary literary tradition, it is impossible to identify the warrior companion of Achilles definitely. He could be Patroclus, Ajax the Aeacid, or
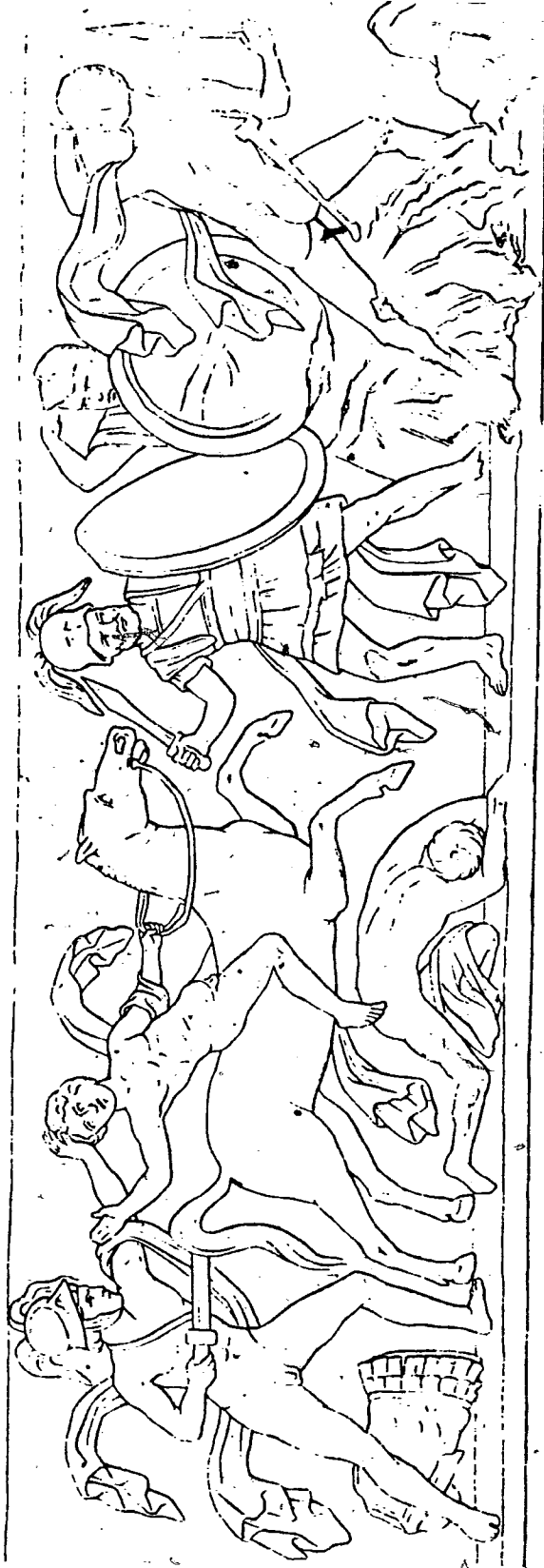
Fig. 10. Death of Troilus. From an Etruscan urn. Chiusi, Museo Casuecini.

(Brunn-Körte, I.liv.13.)

Odysseus.[103] Since he is frequently bearded, it is unlike-
ly that he is Patroclus, Achilles' contemporary, and he is
never shown in the cap that usually characterizes Odysseus.
Therefore, it could be that Achilles is here aided by Ajax
the Aeacid. And indeed, an Etruscan mirror showing the
death of Troilus (Fig. 11),[104] although in a different set-
ting than the scene of the east panel, confirms this identi-
fication. The participants are named by inscriptions as
axle (Achilles), extur (Hector), evas (Ajax), truile (Tro-
ilus), and a Vanth.[105] The only figure in the east panel
that could possibly be Ajax is the fallen warrior E6. How-
ever, his position is very unheroic and usually denotes a
wounded warrior. We have no literary evidence that Ajax
was wounded when Troilus was killed. Consequently, I
doubt that E6 can be identified as Ajax, but neither is
he to be identified as a duplicate E8. The position is
paralleled on an urn from Volterra (Fig. 9)[106] where the
warrior is definitely wounded or dying; he is nude except
for a helmet (like E6), and he is not Ajax but merely an
unnamed Greek. Therefore, I think the best appellation we
can give E6 is "fallen Greek".

None of the Etruscan urns shows a prisoner under
the forelegs of Troilus' horse, but several urns do show
a fallen warrior or a corpse under the horse.[107] Pairault
has pointed out that these wounded warriors definitely show
the influence of the Great Altar at Pergamon.[108] Bieńkow-
ski and Andreae have also studied Etruscan urns and other

Fig. 11.   Ajax and Achilles after the death of Troilus.
Etruscan mirror from Bolsena.   London, British
Museum, no. 73.

(Gerhard, Etruskische Spiegel, Bd. V, Taf. 110.)

works in relation to a Pergamene painting and sculptural
group representing a galatomachy; they, too, have recog-
nized the wounded or fallen warrior under the hooves of a
galloping or rearing horse as a motif taken from this
repertoire.[109] Very probably the Troilus urns make use
of this repertoire for the accessory figures (such as E9
and E15) in the scene. Although E10-12 and E16-18 are
Trojan warriors in the east panel, they may be adapted from
some Pergamene source as well. It is also possible that
the Victory came from such a source, but there is no evi-
dence to support the theory.

The only other figure in this scene that we can
attempt to identify is the woman E14. She appears on
several urns from Perugia (Figs. 12 and 13)[110], in an iden-
tical position but with her cloak billowing over her
head.[111] Because she is a despondent figure, extant lit-
erary evidence suggests that she is Polyxena, who in some
stories was with Troilus when he was ambushed by Achilles.
We should also note that the compositional arrangements
of the urns and the panel are basically identical; both
rely on tiers of figures set at different levels to suggest
depth, but the arrangement on the urns is more impossible
to reconcile to realistic groundlines than is the tiering
of the east panel. Figure E14 also provides a transition
to the left scene because she is dressed much like the
woman E5. However, there is no indication that the two
figures are meant to represent the same character.

Fig. 12.   Death of Troilus.   Etruscan urn.
Perugia, Villa di Colle del Cardinale.

(Brunn-Körte, I.lix.23.)
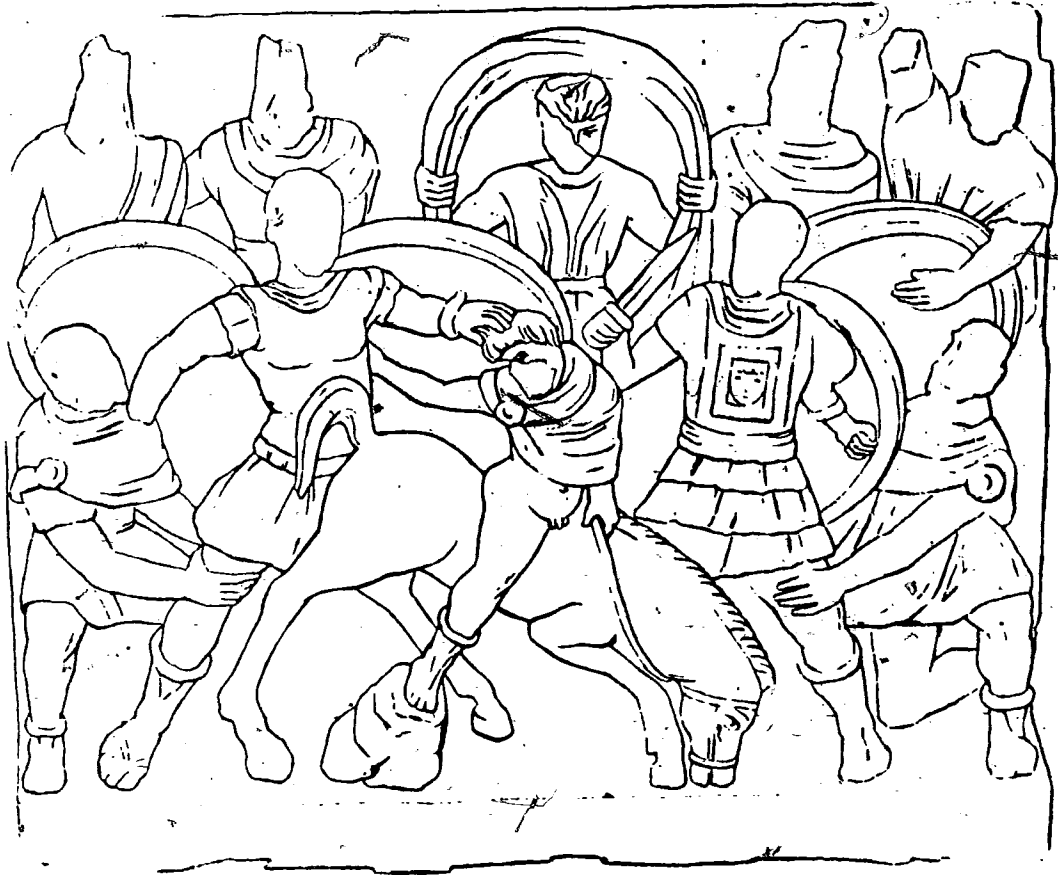
Fig. 13. Death of Troilus. Etruscan urn. Perugia,
Hypogeum of the Volumnii, inv. no. 67.

(Brunn-Körte, I.lix.24.)

Interpretation of the tranquil scene at the left of the panel is slightly more difficult because there are no urns that offer a direct parallel for the episode. However, a number of urns and other works of art do confirm certain details and make suggestions for the identification of the figures. I believe that this scene is connected with the death of Troilus and that the east panel, like the south panel,[112] depicts two episodes from the same myth. A winged Lasa E3 foretells Troilus' fate to his parents Priam E4 and Hecuba E5 and to his brother Helenus E2. The event takes place beside the river Scamander E1.

Homeric bowls from Boeotian workshops (Fig. 14)[113] frequently show personifications of the Scamander that are similar to E1. He is usually associated with reeds similar to those in the east panel. The winged lady with a _rotulus_ appears on a number of Etruscan works. A beautifully comparable figure is found on a mirror in the British Museum (Fig. 15).[114] She is standing much like E3, although her wings are seen frontally, and she is holding an unrolled scroll in front of her. On the scroll are inscribed the names of Ajax and Amphiaraos, who are seated to either side to hear their fate, as well as her own title (Lasa). Her garments are identical to the clothing of E3. Another winged Lasa with a _rotulus_ is shown on the lid of an urn from Chianciano.[115] She is seated beside the deceased and is reading his name from her scroll. The roll of the Lasa is not always so integral to the scene. On an urn from
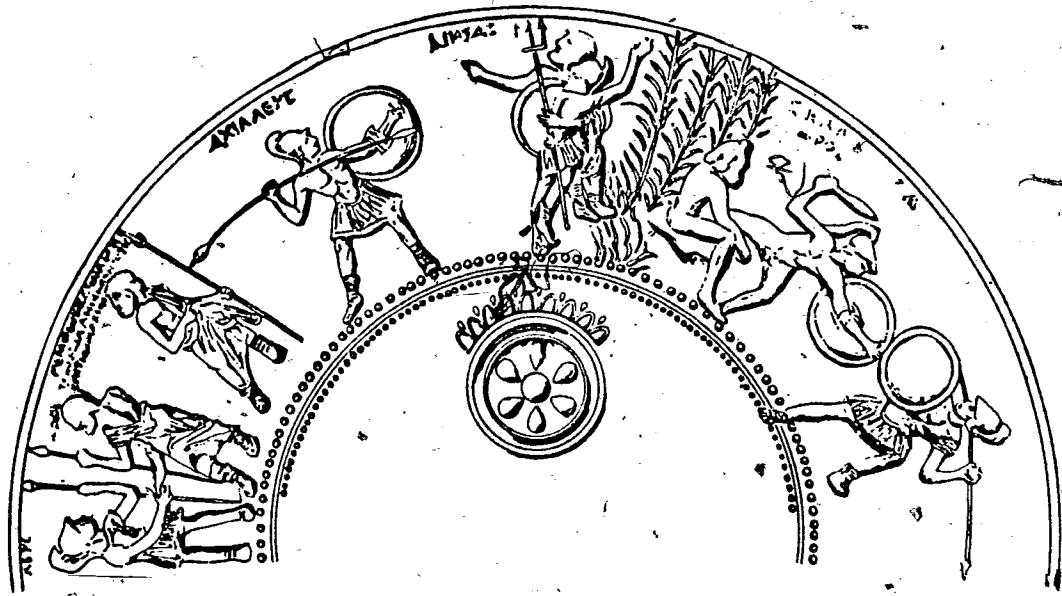
Fig. 14.   Drawing of a Homeric bowl.   Boeotian relief-
    ware.   Berlin, Staatliches Museen, inv. no. 30535.

(Weitzmann, Roll and Codex, Fig. 20.)

Fig. 15. Ajax, Amphiaraos, and Lasa. Etruscan mirror. London, British Museum. (Gerhard, _Etruskische Spiegel_, Bd. IV, Taf. ccclix.)

Volterra[116] a winged Lasa is sitting in a tree, holding a
rotulus, and watching an unidentifiable scene before her.
Similarly, a winged Lasa without a rotulus is an accessory
figure in the scene of Helen's appearance before Agamemnon
and Menelaus on an Etruscan mirror.[117] A precedent for the
reduced scale of the Lasa in the east panel is offered by
an urn from Chiusi.[118]

Although I can not offer any specific evidence for
the identification of E4 as Priam and E5 as Hecuba, they
are the logical participants in this scene if the Troilus
interpretation is correct. Priam does appear in a differ-
ent context on a number of the urns that show the death of
Troilus (e.g., Fig. 8).[119] In such instances, he is always
bearded like E4. I agree with Kleiner that this group does
resemble contemporary, provincial funerary reliefs,[120] but
I think that this resemblance is due to the funerary nature
of the mythological scene rather than to the biographical
interpretation Kleiner prefers. It must also be pointed
out that these figures reflect an Etruscan, as well as a
Greek, tradition in which figures stand quietly along a
common groundline during a depiction of religious ceremonies
or an assembly of deities.[121] It is a tradition common to
Roman sculpture as well.

The urn showing Priam (Fig. 8) also offers evidence
for the galerus topped by an apex that I believe is worn by
E2. On the urn a heroic nude, who is wearing a bowl-shaped
helmet with a spike protruding from its crown, rushes in

from the right. The spike is decorated with cross-hatching just like the scepter carried by Priam. This same hat appears on three other urns whose subjects are the death of Troilus[122] and the recognition of Paris.[123] E3's head-gear is duplicated in shape, but without a spike, by the galerus on the bronze head of a young man, presumably a priest, that is now in the British Museum.[124] Even though the figure wearing the apex on the urns is often engaged in violent action, he is probably Helenus, a priest who may well have been a warrior in times of extraordinary duress. The religious significance of the hat with an apex is substantiated by the Tarchon mirror.[125] There it is worn by the hero Tarchunus as he reads a liver; his hat is bowl-shaped and the apex is decorated with the same spiral or cross-hatched ornament that we find on the Etrus-can urns. Figure E2 because of his garments and his quiet pose definitely fits the image of a priestly figure such as Helenus. He is also holding a staff that recalls the scepter carried by Priam and sometimes by the figure wear-ing the hat with apex on the urns. Finally, we should remember that the apex and galerus are specifically associated with the Flamines Maiores at Rome.[126] As a result of all this evidence, there seems little doubt that E2 could be Helenus, priestly brother of Troilus.

Kleiner and most other authorities seem very reluctant to accept the possibility of two episodes with-

in a single panel. Only Peter von Blanckenhagen has con-
sidered this possibility, and then in regard to the south
panel.[127] However, certain Etruscan urns once again offer
the precedent for such a duality of scenes. An urn in
Rome[128] shows both the murder of Aegisthus and Clytemnes-
tra and the pursuit of Orestes by the Furies after the
crime. Other examples of dual scenes taken from the
Oresteia cycle are numerous.[129] Scenes from the saga of
the Seven against Thebes are also amalgamated. An urn
from Chiusi[130] shows the pairing of the deaths of Amphia-
raos and Capaneus, which were two separate episodes in the
legend.

South Italian vases also offer parallels. An
early fourth century amphora in Naples[131] shows four suc-
cessive moments in the Troilus story: the attack by
Achilles, his pursuit of Troilus, Troilus' death, and the
contest for Troilus' body. With this evidence, I am con-
vinced that the east panel represents two moments in
Troilus' life, both the foretelling or announcement of his
death and his actual murder by Achilles. I am also inclined
on these same grounds to agree with Peter von Blancken-
hagen's theory that the south panel shows both the death
of Meleager and the Calydonian boar hunt. The duality of
episodes in these two distinctly mythological panels is
very important. They belong, I think, to pictorial cycles
that represented a number of episodes of a single legend
in narrative sequence. Sometimes these paintings were

artistic adaptations of literary accounts, as the Oresteia
urns indicate. Judging from the vases and urns, these
mythological cycles flourished in South Italy, and it may
be that the St. Rémy artist was familiar with these
sources.[132]

There are a number of convincing indications that
both the Etruscan artists and the St. Rémy master used such
South Italian pictorial sources.[133] Perhaps the most
impressive suggestion is made by the Apulian amphora in
Trieste (Illus. 3 and 4) that we have already examined. On
its two sides are the Calydonian boar hunt and an amazono-
machy of the type elsewhere adapted into Troilus episodes.
Although the compositions of the vase and the south and
east panels differ, there are some notable similarities as
well. First, the position of the boar on the vase (emerg-
ing from the background, head and hindquarters in profile,
forequarters seen frontally) is duplicated by the boar in
the south panel. We see less of that boar because he is
hidden by the tree and because he is shown in linear per-
spective rather than in a bird's-eye view. The graceful
pose of the dog on the vase is seen again with the dog in
the south panel. Second, the Greek hero in the amazonomachy
is nude except for a chlamys and a helmet with a flowing
crest. He is supporting his weight on his right leg. E8
is seen in a similar pose, but he is shown more frontally
than the painted Greek. Third, both the Greek hero and
Achilles E8 carry a round, convex shield on the left arm

that is extended in a three-quarter view behind the head of
the amazon or Troilus E3. Finally, the horses in the
amazonomachy and the Troilus episode are comparable. The
painted horse is more extended in a gallop, but his front
legs paw the air and his neck is turned so that his head is
seen in left profile. The pose of the St. Rémy horse is
more restrained, but it is basically the same stance.

I also think that it is much more than coincidence
that the myth of the boar hunt and an amazonomachy that
led to the Troilus iconography appear on a single vase
and again in the St. Rémy panels. This pairing indicates
to me that famous pictorial models underlie the vase, a
number of Etruscan urns, and the St. Rémy panels. Perhaps
the Etruscans saw the South Italian original, perhaps the
provincial artist saw the original or sketches of it or
an Etruscan interpretation of it. It is quite possible
that he used an Etruscan intermediary because of the
winged ladies in the east panel. A number of Pompeian
paintings also show winged ladies that were introduced into
Campania from Etruria. In two paintings of the abandon-
ment of Ariadne on Naxos, a winged female points toward the
departing ship of Theseus.[134] In each case, she is an added
element who has lost the practical significance she en-
joyed in the Etruscan repertoire. A similar figure, this
time identified as Nemesis, watches from behind a rock as
Thetis dips Achilles into the river Styx in another paint-
ing.[135] Sometimes winged ladies are used purely for deco-

ration. In the House of Fuscus a winged lady sits inside a rotunda in the ornamental frieze along the top of one of the walls.[136] If Campania adopted these figures from Etruria, Gaul certainly might have as well.

Consequently, on the basis of these various examples I believe that the cyclic pictorial models that offered the inspiration for the south and east compositions at St. Rémy should be dated ca. 350-330 B.C. They were obviously popular cycles that were copied, adapted, and modified by vase-painters and Etruscan sculptors before they finally appeared in the provincial reliefs at St. Rémy. Each artist freely added or omitted elements, but the central groups of a charging boar or a youth being pulled from his horse by a heroic warrior were almost always retained virtually intact. For me, the possibility of a South Italian pictorial cycle underlying the south and east panels at St. Rémy is made almost a surety by the Trieste vase and by Pompeian paintings of both the hunt and the death of Troilus, despite the fact that such scenes of combat are rare there.[137]

NOTES

[1] The reliefs are actually located on the northeast, northwest, southeast, and southwest faces of the socle. However, Rolland designates them as north, west, east, and south, and for convenience we shall hereafter do likewise.

[2] Rolland, Le Mausolée, p. 22.

[3] Arturo Stenico, Roman and Etruscan Painting, Compass History of Art (New York: The Viking Press, 1963), Figs. 144 (comic scene) and 145 (preparations for a satyr play).

[4] e.g., a marble relief, perhaps from Corinth, third century B. C. (Sir John Davidson Beazley and Bernard Ashmole, Greek Sculpture and Painting to the End of the Hellenistic Period [Cambridge: University Press, 1966 reprint of the 1932 edition]; Fig. 200).

[5] Museo dei Conservatori, Inv. no. 2141; Florence, Museo Archeologico, no. 5792, from Chiusi (Enrico Brunn and G. Körte, I rilievi delle urne etrusche, Vol. III [Roma and Berlin, 1870-1916], Taf. cxvi.4, no. 151).

[6] Kleiner, The Glanum Cenotaph, pp. 98-99.

[7] Rolland, Le Mausolée, p. 26 notes comparable examples of such garlands from Narbonnaise monuments at Alleins, Arles, Narbonne, and Avignon (first century A.D. or slightly earlier) and from Pompeii. He believes that the inspiration for such decoration probably originated at Pergamon. Of particular interest is a fragmentary example from a funerary monument that once stood near the mausoleum. It is somewhat earlier than the mausoleum and can be dated to the Republican period because of the thorny leaves of its acanthus decoration. Rolland illustrates this fragment on his Pl. 49.1.

[8] Jörg Schäfer, Hellenistische Keramik aus Pergamon, DAI, Pergamenisches Forschungen, Bd. 2, ed. by Erich Boehringer (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1968), p. 91.

[9] Ibid., p. 92, Abb. 15.2.

[10] Ibid., p. 91; Erich Boehringer and Friedrich Krauss, Das Temenos für den Herrscherkult 'Prinzessinen Palais', Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Altertümer von Pergamon, Bd. IX (Berlin und Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1937), Taf. 18.

[11] Schäfer, Keramik, Taf. 37, E92-97; Boehringer and Krauss, Temenos, Taf. 58, a (1931, 303), e-1 (1931, 337).

[12] Schäfer, Keramik, referring to Armin von Gerkan, p. 61, Abb. 3a-c, dated "in die frühhellenistische Zeit."

[13] Kleiner, The Glanum Cenotaph, pp. 101-103.

[14] Ibid., pp. 103-104.

[15] Rolland, Le Mausolée, pp. 22, 26.

[16] Ibid., p. 47.

[17] Kleiner, The Glanum Cenotaph, p. 73.

[18] Ibid., p. 83.

[19] See Rolland, Le Mausolée, Figs. 18-21.

[20] Chamoux, "Les Antiques," pp. 97-112.

[21] Kleiner, The Glanum Cenotaph, pp. 151-172, and "The Kalydonian Hunt: A Reconstruction of a Painting from the Circle of Polygnotus," Antike Kunst, 15 (1972), 7-19.

[22] See below, pp. 45. 56.

[23] See below, pp. 45ff., 60ff.

[24] Kleiner, The Glanum Cenotaph, p. 158.

[25] Eduard Gerhard, Etruskische Spiegel, Vol. II (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1974 photoreprint of 1843 edition), Taf. clxxiii, the Bartholdy mirror in Berlin.

[26] CVA, Italia, Fasc. 43, Tav. 14.1-2, in the Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte di Trieste, no. S380.

[27] Kleiner, The Glanum Cenotaph, p. 168. He also cites a krater in Berlin (Staatliche Museen F3258), ca. 340 which also has the motif of the dual horsemen.

[28] Ibid., p. 160, first suggested by C. Fouqué in 1837.

[29]François Chamoux, "Un bas-relief du Mausolée de Saint-Rémy," CRAI, 1945, pp. 179-180; and "Les Antiques," pp. 106-107; and "Observations sur l'Arc de Triomphe de Glanum (Saint-Rémy de Provence)," Etudes d'Archéologie Classique, I (1955-6), p. 34.

[30]Kleiner, The Glanum Cenotaph, pp. 170-172.

[31]Ibid., p. 172.

[32]See below, pp. 74ff.

[33]See below, pp. 113ff., 117ff.

[34]Franz Cumont, Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains, Commissariat de Syrie, Serv. des Ant., Bibliothèque archéologique & historique, Tome XXXV (Paris: Geuthner, 1942), pp. 447-449.

[35]Peter H. von Blanckenhagen, "Narration in Hellenistic and Roman Art," AJA, 61 (1957), p. 81.

[36]George M. A. Hanfmann, "Narration in Greek Art," AJA, 61 (1957), p. 77.

[37](Demetrios), Peri hermeneias 76 (Recueil Milliet 350-1, no. 465); see below, pp. 135f.

[38]Rolland, Le Mausolée, p. 48, Fig. 17; he concurs with this theory and offers as a parallel the treatment of the figures in the second attic of the arch at Orange.

[39]E. Hübner, "Die Bildwerke des Grabmals der Julier in Saint-Remy," JdI, 3 (1888), p. 28.

[40]See below, Chapter III.

[41]G. Charles-Picard, "Glanum et les origines, II," p. 8; and "Les sculptures du Mausolée des Julii à Glanum," BAntFr, 1963 (1965), Séance du 13 Février, p. 32; and Art romain (Paris-Lausanne: La Bibliotèque des Arts, 1968), pp. 11, 13.

[42]E. A. Sydenham, The Coinage of the Roman Republic (revised and edited; London: Spink, 1952), p. 57, no. 483, ca. 120 B.C.; Herbert Appold Grueber, Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum, Vol. I, The Trustees of the British Museum (Oxford: The University Press, 1970 reprint of the 1910 edition), no. 1116, ca. 94 B.C.; most recently published by Michael Crawford, Roman Republican Coinage (London & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974), no. 264, dated ca. 127 B.C.; G. Charles-Picard, Roman Painting, Pl. III.

[43] G. Charles-Picard, "Les sculptures du Mausolée," p. 33.

[44] Ernst Garger, "Die kunstgeschichtliche Stellung der Reliefs am Julierdenkmal von St. Remy," RömMitt, 52 (1937), pp. 1-43.

[45] Chamoux, "Les Antiques," pp. 97-112.

[46] Ibid., p. 106.

[47] See below, pp. 135ff.

[48] Chamoux, "Les Antiques," p. 107.

[49] Bernard Andreae, Motivgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den römischen Schlachtsarkophagen, DAI (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, [n.d.]), p. 80.

[50] Ibid., pp. 20-28.

[51] Ibid., p. 21.

[52] Ibid., p. 23.

[53] Ibid., p. 27.

[54] Ibid., p. 22.

[55] See below, pp. 127f., 142ff.

[56] Kleiner, The Glanum Cenotaph, p. 127.

[57] Ibid., pp. 128-130.

[58] Ibid., pp. 130-132.

[59] Ibid., p. 116.

[60] Ibid., p. 32.

[61] G. Charles-Picard, Art romain, p. 13; and "Glanum et les origines, II," p. 15.

[62] Kleiner, The Glanum Cenotaph, p. 133 divides the sides differently: W1, W2, W5, W6 against W3, W4, W7, W8, W9, W11, W12, W13, W14, W15. This scheme ignores similarities in armament (e.g., W2, W9, and W13 all wear crested helmets; W6, W7, and W12 wear unusual helmets).

[63] Rolland, Le Mausolée, p. 51.

[64] Ibid.

[65]Ibid., p. 54; see also G. Charles-Picard, "Glanum et les origines, II," p. 12.

[66]See also Hübner, "Die Bildwerke," p. 34, but he calls W2, W9, W12-14 "Roman legionaries"; G. Charles-Picard, Roman Painting, p. 15 and "Glanum et les origines, II," p. 12.

[67]G. Charles-Picard, "Glanum et les origines, II," p. 12; Salomon Reinach, Répertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romains, Vol. I (Paris: Ernest Leroux, Editeur, 1909), p. 70, Fig. 1.

[68]Karl Lehmann-Hartleben, "Two Roman Silver Jugs," AJA, 42 (1938), pp. 82, 103.

[69]Ibid., p. 84.

[70]Kleiner, The Glanum Cenotaph, p. 150; see above, pp. 43ff., concerning the north panel.

[71]G. Charles-Picard, "Glanum et les origines, II," p. 15.

[72]Munich, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst, no. 2365, ca. 390 B.C.

[73]Paul A. Clement, "Geryon and Others in Los Angeles," Hesperia, 24 (1955), p. 21, of Campanian workmanship, ca. 325-315 B.C., No. A5933.50.22, with fifteen figures in three registers.

[74]Reinhard Herbig, Die jüngeretruskischen Steinsarkophage, DAI, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs, Bd. 7 (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1952), p. 61, no. 118, Taf. 39, late fourth-third centuries B. C.

[75]Kleiner, The Glanum Cenotaph, p. 150.

[76]Ibid., p. 199, where he identifies the garment as a toga.

[77]Rolland, Le Mausolée, p. 54 calls it a paludamentum.

[78]Hübner, "Die Bildwerke," p. 31.

[79]Rolland, Le Mausolée, p. 54.

[80]G. Charles-Picard, "Glanum et les origines, II," pp. 14f.

[81]Kleiner, The Glanum Cenotaph, pp. 180, 184.

[82]Ibid., pp. 184-5, 199.

[83]Ibid., pp. 193-4.

[84]Ibid., p. 199; Rolland, Le Mausolée, p. 57.

[85]Albin Lesky, "Troilos, 2," RE, Bd. VII,A,1, cols. 602-3, 605; Kurt Weitzmann, Ancient Book Illumination, Martin Classical Lectures, XVI (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 43.

[86]Lesky, "Troilos," cols. 603-4, 606, 609; Vergil, Aeneid i.474 (painting showing Troilus dragged from a chariot); Horace, Carmina, ii.9.16 ("youthful"); Cicero, Tusc. i.39 (younger than Priam).

[87]Konrad Schauenburg, "Achilleus in der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei," BonnJbb, 16 (1961), pp. 215-235, especially p. 218; Max Mayer, "Troilos," Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, Bd. VIII, ed. by W. H. Roscher (Leipzig: Verlag und Druck von B. G. Teubner, 1909-1915), col. 1228; other scenes from the Kypria, the Iliad, the 'Little Iliad', and the Iliupersis on urns in Brunn-Körte, I, pp. 3-90.

[88]See above, pp. 25ff.

[89]Mayer, "Troilos," col. 1228, Museo Gregoriano II 27 (22). It is impossible to determine the exact date and place of manufacture for this vase. Mayer says that most vases with this iconography are late and South Italian. However, he lists four exceptions, describing two of them as Greek red-figure. Unfortunately, he does not give any information about our stamnos. It may be Greek since Trendall does not list it in his volumes of South Italian vases.

[90]See also Françoise-Hélène Pairault, Recherches sur quelques series d'urnes de Volterra à représentations mythologiques, Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome, 12 (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1972), pp. 122-133. In addition to painted precedents, she theorizes that the central group E8-E13 may have been modelled after a sculptural group from the school of Skopas that was known to both Tarentine and Volterran workshops (pp. 127, 132; see also L. Bernabò Brea, "I rilievi Tarantini in pietra tenera," RivIstArch, N.S. I (1952), pp. 1ff., Fig. 95). Kleiner, The Glanum Cenotaph, p. 191, argues that the group is based on a Pergamene painting representing the defeat of the amazons as an allegorical defeat of the barbarians.

[91]For example, Museo Guarnacci nos. 420 (Brunn-Körte, I.xlix.3a), 422 (Brunn-Körte, I.1.6), 376 (Brunn-Körte,

I.li.8), etc.

[92]Museo Guarnacci, no. 375; Pairault, Recherches, Pl. 51.

[93]Museo Guarnacci, no. 376 (Brunn-Körte, I.li.8; Pairault, Recherches, Pl. 56); Museo Guarnacci, no. 422 (Brunn-Körte, I.1.6; Pairault, Recherches, Pl. 53).

[94]No. D136-7; Pairault, Recherches, Pl. 72a.

[95]The Troilus myth is also represented on a gem in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 17.194.12 (Gisela M. A. Richter, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Catalogue of Engraved Gems: Greek, Etruscan, and Roman [Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1956], Pl. LXXI, no. 633, p. 127) and on an urn in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, inv. no. 2188 (R. Noll, "Etruskische Aschenkisten mit der Troilossage in Wien," StEtr, 6 (1932), p. 436, Tav. XVII).

[96]Fred S. Kleiner, a review of Le Mausolée de Glanum, by Henri Rolland, in AJA, 75 (1971), pp. 232-34, especially p. 234, but not mentioned in his dissertation.

[97]Ibid., p. 234.

[98]Bernhard Schweitzer, "Krieger in Grabkunst des fünften Jahrhunderts," Die Antike, 17 (1941), p. 37, Abb. 3 now in the National Museum, Athens.

[99]Ibid.

[100]Evelyn B. Harrison, "The South Frieze of the Nike Temple and the Marathon Painting in the Painted Stoa," AJA, 76 (1972), Pl. 74, Fig. 6, no. 1971.129.

[101]Chiusi, Museo Casuccini (Brunn-Körte, I.liv.13).

[102]Brunn-Körte, I.1.5.

[103]Ibid., p. 54.

[104]Gerhard, Etruskische Spiegel, Vol. V, Taf. cx.

[105]Denise Rebuffat-Emmanuel, Le miroir étrusque d'après la collection du Cabinet des Médailles, Collection de l'Ecole Française de Rome, 20 (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, Palais Farnèse, 1973), Vol. I, p. 474.

[106]Museo Guarnacci, no. 422 (Pairault, Recherches, Pl. 53, p. 45, ca. 150 B.C.; Brunn-Körte, I.1.6).

[107]Brunn-Körte, I.liii.11 (Chiusi, Museo Casuc-cini), I.li.8 (Museo Guarnacci, second half second century), I.l.6 (Museo Guarnacci 422 = Pairault, Recherches, Pl. 53), I.xlix.4 (Museo Guarnacci 375); Pairault, Recherches, Pl. 59b (Museo Guarnacci 294), Pl. 65a (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, no. 1032).

[108]Pairault, Recherches, p.61.

[109]P. R. von Bieńkowski, Die Darstellungen der Gallier in der hellenistischen Kunst, Oesterreichisches Archäologisches Institut in Wien (Wien: Alfred Hölder, 1908), pp. 93ff.; Andreae, Motivgeschichtliche Unter-suchungen, pp. 54ff.; see also Brunn-Körte, III.cxii.4,5 and cxv-cxxiii.

[110]Brunn-Körte, I.lviii.22, lix.23 (in the Villa di Colle del Cardinale), lix.24 (hypogeum of the Volumnii, inv. no. 67), lx.25 (Villa Bordoni); Pairault, Recherches, Pl. 49 (Museo Guarnacci 420).

[111]René Rebuffat, "Le meurte de Troilos sur les urnes étrusques (La Nuit et L'Aurore, V)," MélRomAntiquité, 84,1 (1972), p. 520 argues that the 'Polyxena' on the Etruscan urns is, in fact, a personification of Night.

[112]See above, pp. 24ff.

[113]Kurt Weitzmann, Illustration in Roll and Codex. A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illumination, Studies in Manuscript Illumination, 2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), Fig. 20, Berlin, inv. no. 30535.

[114]Gerhard, Etruskische Spiegel, Vol. IV, Taf. ccclix.

[115]G. Q. Giglioli, L'arte etrusca (Milano: Fratelli Treves, 1935), Tav. ccxxxv, in the Museo Archeologico in Florence, from the fifth or fourth century B.C.

[116]Museo Guarnacci 199 (Brunn-Körte, II.cxiv.1).

[117]Rebuffat-Emmanuel, Le miroir étrusque, Pl. 70.5, p. 641, showing the influence of the Darius Painter. Other examples of winged Lasas include: Museo Guarnacci 287 (Brunn-Körte, III.lxxv.14, a journey to the Underworld), Berlin 1311 (Brunn-Körte, III.lvii.8, entry into the Under-world), Museo Guarnacci 183 (Brunn-Körte, III.i.2, kid-napping of Persephone), Museo Guarnacci 243 (Brunn-Körte, I.xxxii.14, death of Telephus), an urn in the Inghirami collection (Brunn-Körte, II.xli.3, death of Amphiaraos), an urn from the François Tomb, now in the Museo Torlonia (Gig-

lioli, L'arte etrusca, Tav. cclxvii, sacrifice of Trojan prisoners, second half fourth century B.C.).

[118]In the collection of Flavio Paolozzi (Brunn-Körte, II.xxiv.8).

[119]For example, Museo Guarnacci 376 (Brunn-Körte, I.li.8), dated second half of the second century B.C.

[120]Kleiner, The Glanum Cenotaph, p. 185.

[121]Emeline Hill Richardson, "Terracotta Sculpture," in Cosa, II. The Temples of the Arx, by Frank Edward Brown, L. Richardson, Jr., and Emeline Hill Richardson, MAAR, XXVI (1960), pp. 307-308. Greek examples include the friezes of the Parthenon, Hephaisteion, etc.

[122]Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, no. 2188 (Pairault, Recherches, Pl. 64a).

[123]Museo Guarnacci 236 (Brunn-Körte, I.xii.25), Inghirami collection (Brunn-Körte, I.xiv.29).

[124]George M. A. Hanfmann, Classical Sculpture, A History of Western Sculpture (Greenwich, Connecticut: New York Graphic Society, 1967), Fig. 213, ca. 250 B.C.

[125]This hat with apex is also held by the young man at the far left of the mirror; see M. Pallottino, The Etruscans, trans. by J. Cremona, Penguin Books (Aylesbury: Hunt, Barnard & Co., Ltd., 1955), Pl. 25b.

[126]See Inez Scott Ryberg, Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art, MAAR, XXII (1955), Pl. XII, Figs. 23a-b.

[127]Blanckenhagen, "Narration," p. 81.

[128]Museo etrusco del Vaticano (Brunn-Körte, I.lxxx. 11).

[129]Museo Guarnacci 345 (Brunn-Körte, I.lxxx.10; Pairault, Recherches, Pl. 99); Ny Carlsberg, H298 (Pairault, Recherches, Pl. 89); Berlin, Staatliches Museum, no. 1281 (Pairault, Recherches, Pl. 90); Florence, Museo Archeologico, no. 5777 (Pairault, Recherches, Pl. 91a); Florence, Museo Archeologico, no. 5778 (Pairault, Recherches, Pl. 86).

[130]Collection of Flavio Paolozzi (Brunn-Körte, II.1.xxiv.8).

[131]Anna Rocco, "Il mito di Troilo su di un'anfora Italiota della Biblioteca dei Gerolomini in Napoli," ArchCl, 3 (1951), pp. 168-175, Tav. XL.

[132] See below, pp. 27ff.

[133] I am very much indebted to Emeline Richardson for suggesting the possibility of a connection with a South Italian pictorial tradition. Her suggestion prompted me to look more carefully in this direction and consequently has proven very valuable indeed.

[134] Barré, _Herculaneum et Pompéi_, Vol. II, ser. 2, Pl. 32 and Vol. III, ser. 2, Pl. 109.

[135] _Ibid._, Vol. III, ser. 5, Pl. 141.

[136] _Ibid._, Vol. I, ser. 1, Pl. 108.

[137] August Mau, _Pompeii. Its Life and Art_, trans. by Francis W. Kelsey (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1899), p. 468.

CHAPTER III

ARMAMENT

In this chapter we will examine the armament of the figures in the various panels. Does the armament reflect contemporary practice, or are the weapons characteristic of an earlier period? If the armament does date to an earlier era, can it be used as evidence for establishing a _terminus post quem_ for the original compositions that served as inspiration for the panels? Finally, does the armament suggest any specific nationalities within the panels? The original study of the armament at St. Rémy was made by P. Couissin in 1923.[1] He worked largely from drawings that were made by Espérandieu from casts of the reliefs. Consequently, despite his important contributions, there were a large number of inaccuracies in the study. Rolland has expanded and clarified Couissin's study and has included detailed drawings of the armament and weapons in his publication of the Glanum cenotaph.[2]

Cuirasses

All of the active warriors in the panels wear cuirasses except E6 and E8, who are semi-nude heroes in the classical Greek tradition. Two types of cuirass are

represented: 1) a smooth cuirass fitted with broad epaulets and a skirt of lappets that reaches from waist to mid-thigh (e.g., W2, 4, 8, 9, etc.) and 2) a fitted muscle cuirass that ends in a loose skirt that reaches to mid-thigh (W 1, 6). Both versions appear as early as the fifth century B.C.[3] and are well documented in Greek art of the fifth and fourth centuries and later. However, the particular styles seen at St. Rémy seem to be Hellenistic types. Hellenistic cuirasses in general were made of heavy leather with broad, reinforced epaulets and heavy belts (e.g., W2, 11, 14; N1, 5; to a lesser degree W4, 13; N3, 4; E16-18). Leather straps that were attached to the breastplate protected the thighs. These straps served the same protective function as pteryges that formed part of a special undergarment.[4] These straps were shorter, narrower, fewer in number, and less elaborate than actual pteryges common in Rome from the Julio-Claudian period on.[5] Vermeule has noted that Hellenistic cuirassed statues closely resemble the armor that was actually worn by Alexander the Great and his successors.[6] It is this style that is also worn by most of the figures at St. Rémy.

Evidence for the smooth cuirass abounds in almost every artistic medium and covers a wide geographical area, including Greece, Asia Minor, South Italy, Egypt, Etruria, and Campania. Some fourth century examples include a Macedonian horseman on a stele in Alexandria.[7] the Greeks of the painted amazon sarcophagus in Florence,[8] and a

fragmentary grave stele in Athens.[9] This last warrior
wears a cuirass with broad epaulets and rows of lappets
over a loose skirt; he could easily stride from the grave
stele into the St. Rémy panels. This smooth or loose
cuirass was particularly popular in the second century;
a funerary stele in Rhodes[10] shows a Pergamene style of
the cuirass with broad epaulets, two rows of long and
short lappets, and a heavy belt. It is quite similar to
the St. Rémy style. The statue of Mithradates in the
museum on Delos[11] wears the smooth field cuirass with an
elaborate triple-banded belt or _cingulum_ that is not
duplicated at St. Rémy.

This smooth type was also widespread in Italy.
Both mythological figures, such as Ajax and Achilles on
a Chiusine mirror,[12] and heroic figures, such as the horse-
man on a sculptured plaque from a _naiskos_ in Tarentum,[13]
wear smooth Hellenistic cuirasses. It serves as an acces-
sory for the general from Tivoli.[14] Finally, it is used
in triumphal and funerary art in the Roman provinces, as
evidenced by the triumphal fountain at Glanum[15] and a
cippus from Tauroentum.[16]

Muscle cuirasses were especially popular with
Alexander the Great's cavalry,[17] and they soon became
popular as an artistic motif. The molded armor and loose
skirt of W1 and W6 are exactly duplicated by the armor of
a commander on a Scythian sword sheath in the Metropolitan
Museum of Art[18] and by the outfit of a fragmentary horse-

man from the _naiskos_ in Tarentum.[19] It was common in

mythological representations as well as in commemorative

sculptures. Telephus in the frieze from Pergamon wears

a muscle cuirass[20] as do Perseus on a bronze mirror from

Chiusi[21] and a warrior on a Troilus urn from Volterra.[22]

We find it in the Basilica Aemilia frieze[23] and on a

relief of a trophy from Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges.[24]

This survey indicates that both the smooth cuirass and the

muscle cuirass at St. Rémy are Hellenistic styles that

enjoyed considerable artistic popularity both during and

after the Hellenistic period.

Helmets

There are two common helmet styles in the St. Rémy

panels as well as six more unusual types. The most common

helmet (worn by N2, 3, 5; W2, 9, 13; E6, 8, 18, 12 -- but

with a different crest) has a high, domed crown, broad

cheekpieces, and a flowing crest, possibly a horsetail,

that is supported by a projection from the apex of the

skull. Its basic shape recalls the Thracian helmet that

originated in Greece in the fifth century B.C.[25] H. Rus-

sell Robinson in his recent book on Roman armor specifies

this helmet as the Montefortino type that was in use from

the late third century B.C. into the first half of the

first century A.D.[26] These helmets were decorated with

feathers or with horsetail crests or sometimes with flat

metal horns or side plumes. The cheekpieces were often

of thick metal. Russell Robinson notes that this type
"emerges as one of the standard Roman legionary helmets
in late Republican and early Imperial times."[27]   Rolland
also considers this St. Rémy helmet to be a legionary
type, but his argument is based on the fact that it is
always worn in the panels by the warriors that have the
advantage in the battle.[28]

Should we then consider this helmet to be a con-
temporary detail included by the artist to create a realis-
tic effect? I definitely think not. A similar helmet is
worn by some of the Greeks in the amazonomachy frieze of
the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus,[29] by Otus in the east
frieze of the Great Altar at Pergamon,[30] and by the war-
riors in the backgrounds of the Pompeian paintings of
'Achilles on Skyros' and 'Achilles Surrendering Briseis'.[31]
It is also found in a historical context. The trophy on
the coins commemorating Augustus' victory at Actium is
crowned with this type of helmet.[32]

I am convinced that the high-domed helmet type at
St. Rémy too closely resembles the helmets in these other
works, most of which are definitely earlier than St. Rémy,
to represent any attempt on the part of the artist to
depict a contemporary detail. In fact, the St. Rémy hel-
mets differ in detail from every example of the Montefor-
tino type illustrated by Russell Robinson; consequently,
I am forced to question whether the St. Rémy style can
legitimately be labelled "Montefortino". It seems to me

that this helmet, like the smooth and the muscle cuirasses, is a retention from Hellenistic models upon which the St. Rémy compositions are based.

Russell Robinson himself admits that Roman sculpture shows a "persistent Hellenistic influence" in the portrayal of helmet types.[33] He points out, for example, that the Attic helmets of the Basilica Aemilia frieze (ca. 14 B.C.) appear again in Trajanic and Aurelian reliefs (second century A.D.) and on the Arch of Constantine (312 A.D.).[34] I think that St. Rémy is also part of the artistic tradition that utilized Hellenistic models and details.

The second major helmet style at St. Rémy is again a Hellenistic adaptation. This type (worn by E11; W5, 8, 14, 15, and perhaps 1) has a rounded crown, abbreviated visor, and broad neckguard. A projection thrusting forward from the crown gives the general impression of the traditional Phrygian cap. This type may also be a descendant of the Thracian or of the Boeotian helmet, a Greek type that was especially popular with the Macedonian cavalry of Alexander the Great.[35] There is considerable documentation of this helmet type in monuments related to Alexander and his successors. The Greek who is the fourth standing figure from the left in the battle scene on the Alexander sarcophagus is wearing a helmet that is almost identical to the St. Rémy style.[36] It is also possible that the true Boeotian helmet, which is shaped like a petasos and which

has no crest, is worn by figures E16 and N4 at St. Rémy.
This type also appears on the Alexander sarcophagus, where
it is worn by the mounted Antigonus Monophthalmus.[37] I
think both the descendant of the Boeotian helmet and the
possible actual Boeotian helmet that are found in the St.
Rémy panels reflect precedents in Hellenistic compositions
and that the types were retained because of artistic popu-
larity rather than any contemporary usage.

We may have better success in recognizing contem-
porary helmet types if we look for parallels for the unusual
helmets worn by N1 (antennae or horns), W6 (fan-shaped
crest), W7 (horns), W12 (curling ram's horns or plumes),
and E10 (plumes shaped like "bunny ears"). Republican coins
are a likely source for comparative evidence, and a number
of coins do provide some interesting parallels for the
unusual St. Rémy helmet types. Unfortunately, they do
little to establish a _terminus post quem_ for their usage as
we shall see.

Horned helmets much like the helmet worn by N1
occur on a number of Caesarian _denarii_ that were minted
between 49 and 44 B.C. to commemorate the victories in Gaul.
Each coin shows a trophy of Gallic arms that includes an
oval shield, an ax, a _carnyx_, and a horned helmet.[38] An-
other series of _denarii_ minted between 46 and 44 B.C. to
commemorate Caesar's victories in Gaul and Spain show the
same helmet. One coin from Spain depicts a trophy con-
sisting of the horned helmet, an oval and an oblong shield,

two spears, and two _carnyces_.[39] A second Spanish coin shows

a horned helmet that is virtually identical to the helmet

of N1 as part of a trophy.[40] The helmet appears again with

an oval shield as part of a trophy on an _aureus_ minted

around 44 B.C.[41] It is also found in a fragmentary Au-

gustan relief from Biot that is now in the museum at

Antibes; Espérandieu believed that this fragment came from

the entablature of a funerary monument and that the scene

represented a battle between Gauls and Romans.[42] Although

all this evidence suggests a date in the second half of

the first century B.C., especially during Caesar's cam-

paigns of the 40's B.C., the horned helmet of N1 cannot

be used as a secure dating device because earlier examples

of the type also exist, particularly in Macedonia. There-

fore, we can only say that the horned helmet may reflect

contemporary practice in Gaul, but it may also merely be

an adaptation from an older artistic tradition. There is

no conclusive evidence to settle the question. I like to

think, however, that if the motif were adopted from an

earlier composition, it may have particularly caught the

artist's eye because of its resemblance to a current

Gallic style.

A search for parallels for the other unusual hel-

met types produces very few results. A notable comparison

for W7's horned helmet appears on a _denarius_ that was

minted in Italy around 90 B.C. for Q. Minucius Thermus.[43]

To the left on the reverse, a Roman defends his fallen

comrade against a barbarian in a horned helmet who is
attacking from the right and who is carrying a small,
round shield. The coin probably commemorates the deeds
in Thrace (ca. 188 B.C.) of one of Minucius' ancestors.
This example is yet another instance of the retention in
art of an older motif; the original composition upon which
the coin is based was very possibly a triumphal or familial
painting.[44] A fan-shaped crest similar to the helmet of
W6 is found on the cippus from Tauroentum that may date
from the Tiberian period.[45] It could, therefore, also be
a contemporary style, but there is no other evidence to
support the possibility, so we are left in limbo as with
the helmet of N1.

Shields and Swords

Almost all the figures in the St. Rémy panels (e.g.,
N1, 2, 4, 5; W2, 4, 8, 9, 12, 13, 14; E6, 8, 17) carry
round, convex shields with a system of handgrips on the
interior.[46] These grips are clearly visible on the shields
of W2, E6, and E8. The rim of the shield is flattened and
recessed. This shield is the standard Greek aspis, common
to such Hellenistic works as the amazonomachy frieze of
the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus,[47] the battle scenes of the
Alexander sarcophagus,[48] and the Great Altar at Pergamon.[49]
The interior of the shield, with the same system of hand-
grips at the center and the rim, is clearly shown on the
oval amazonomachy cista from Vulci.[50]

More significant than the presence of the Greek aspis at St. Rémy is the absence of the scutum and the oblong or hexagonal Gallic shield. The large, rectangular scutum with its concave profile is considered the characteristic shield of the Roman legions.[51] It appears earlier than St. Rémy on the amazonomachy base from Nikopolis[52] and in the tomb-painting from the Esquiline Hill in Rome.[53] Likewise, the hexagonal shield that is so prominent in the trophies on the arch at Orange[54] is considered a clear indication of Gallic iconography. Consequently, we have the same situation with the shields that we have with the cuirasses and the helmets. The artist has turned to artistic tradition rather than everyday life for the details of his composition.

Adherence to artistic tradition is also evidenced by the fact that all the St. Rémy figures wear their swords at their left sides in the Greek manner rather than at their right sides in the Roman manner.[55] W8 and E6 carry swords that have straight shafts, heavy rectangular guards, and large spherical pommels. Both N1 and N3 carry a lighter sword that Rolland describes as pistilliforme.[56] W1 wields a broad-bladed sword. Couissin was the first to point out, and Rolland agrees with him, that none of these swords is typically Latin;[57] they are all traditional types just like the shields, helmets, and cuirasses.

Lances

Most of the lances in the panels have a long, slender head that is indented at the base where it joins the smooth shaft (e.g., N2, 5; W2, 9; E10-12; probably also N4, W13, E16, and E18, but the head is not visible). Two figures (W12, 14) carry spears with short, diamond-shaped points and a tubular casing around the shaft. This type has been identified by Rolland, Couissin, and others as the pilum used by the Roman legions, and they offer this evidence as indication of the inclusion of contemporary details in the compositions.[58] The monument of the Julii is usually cited as documentation for the style of the pilum in the late first century B.C.[59] Although the form was adopted by the Roman legions in the third century B.C., it was extensively modified by both Marius and Caesar so that the shaft would break when it entered the enemy's shield, thus making it impossible for him to reuse the weapon. A pyramidal, triangular, or cone-shaped head was affixed to an iron shaft that was then inserted into a pyramidal joint in a wooden holder.[60]

I have to question whether the weapon carried by W12 and W14 is indeed a pilum. It seems to me that the reinforcement on W14's weapon is not an integral part of the structure but is instead some addition that is tied to the shaft of the spear (see Illus. 6). The shaft is not centered in this reinforcement, and such an off-center orientation would certainly have affected the flight of

the weapon when it was thrown, as the _pilum_ was. Actual examples of _pila_, admittedly from a somewhat later date, show the upper shaft centered in a prominent wooden re-inforcement that bears no resemblance to the St. Rémy arrangement.[61]

I am inclined to think that the weapon of W12 and W14 is a reflection of a practice mentioned by Cicero and others.[62] In the _Brutus_ (78,271) Cicero speaks of "... _hastae velitibus amentatae_...", or spears that are wrapped with thongs so that they can be thrown with greater force. Such a weapon is also described as a lance that is bound around the middle and then thrown.[63] This practice origi-nated as early as the sixth century B.C.,[64] and literary sources indicate that it was common in Italy during the campaigns against Hannibal[65] and Antiochus.[66] Caesar also mentions this custom in his account of the wars in Gaul.[67] Although I can offer no corroborating evidence in art, I think that we have at St. Rémy a survival of this old practice. Since it was still familiar during Caesar's campaigns, it could still be said that its use reflects a certain contemporaneity, but it should not be restricted to the Roman legions. At any rate, this peculiar weapon should not be called a _pilum_ and used as a sure indication that the artist was illustrating a detail adapted from the Roman legions in the late Republican period.

Almost every piece of armament in the St. Rémy

panels is a Hellenistic invention. Typical and character-
istic Gallic dress and weapons, such as hexagonal shields,
baggy trousers, or _torques_, are conspicuously absent. The
horned helmet of N1 and the fan-shaped crest on the helmet
of W6 may reflect Gallic traditions current when the panels
were carved, but they are also similar to older styles and
so may just as well be adaptations from an older artistic
tradition. The unusual spears carried by W12 and W14
may also reflect a current practice, the _ammentum_ men-
tioned by Cicero and others, but this peculiar type of
weapon appeared as early as the sixth century B.C. Its use
here may also be due to artistic convention. It is abso-
lutely impossible to assign specific nationalities to the
combatants, despite the efforts by such scholars as Rolland
to do so,[68] and it is equally impossible to establish any
more than a very general _terminus post quem_ in the Hellen-
istic period.

Chamoux was absolutely right when he declared that
the so-called "Gauls" resemble the so-called "Romans" who
in turn resemble Greeks in numerous earlier works of art.[69]
As Couissin recognized long ago, the armament in the St.
Rémy panels reflects the _modèles helléniques_ of its proto-
types rather than documenting contemporary styles.[70] In
the next chapter we will see a similar reflection of com-
positional techniques from pictorial prototypes.

NOTES

[1] Paul Couissin, "Les Guerriers et les armes sur les bas-reliefs du Mausolée des Jules à Saint-Rémy," _RA_, Ser. 5, 17 (1923,1), pp. 303-321.

[2] Rolland, _Le Mausolée_, pp. 61-64, Pls. 29-33.

[3] Anthony M. Snodgrass, _Arms and Armour of the Greeks_ (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967), pp. 90-92.

[4] Cornelius C. Vermeule III, "Hellenistic and Roman Cuirassed Statues. The Evidence of Paintings and Reliefs in the Chronological Development of Cuirass Types," _Berytus Archeological Studies_, 13 (1959-60), pp. 1-82 and later supplements.

[5] H. Russell Robinson, _The Armour of Imperial Rome_ (London: Lionel Levanthal Limited, Arms and Armour Press, 1975), p. 149.

[6] Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," p. 5.

[7] Jean Charbonneaux, Roland Martin, and François Villard, _Hellenistic Art (330-50 B.C.)_, trans. by Peter Green, The Arts of Mankind (New York: George Braziller, 1973), Fig. 100.

[8] _Ibid._, Figs. 102-104, pp. 107-108.

[9] Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," p. 13, Pl. I.2, kept "behind the Hephaisteion."

[10] _Ibid._, Pl. II.6, p. 15, in the Archeological Museum, no. 1154.

[11] _Ibid._, Pl. I.5, p. 32, _ca._ 102 B.C.

[12] Gerhard, _Etruskische Spiegel_, I.ccxxxiv, p. 8.

[13] Joseph Coleman Carter, "Relief Sculptures from the Necropolis of Taranto," _AJA_, 74 (1970), Fig. 4 (Relief D).

[14]Hanfmann, _Classical Sculpture_, no. 282, dated _ca_. 80-60 B.C., now in the Museo Nazionale delle Terme.

[15]G. Charles-Picard, "Glanum et les origines, II," p. 4, Fig. 3; Rolland, _Fouilles de Glanum_, Pl. 10.2.

[16]G. Charles-Picard, "Glanum et les origines, II," pp. 3-5; _Les trophées romains_, Pl. XII.

[17]Snodgrass, _Arms and Armour_, p. 119.

[18]Hanfmann, _Classical Sculpture_, no. 219.

[19]Carter, "Relief Sculpture from Taranto," Fig. 6 (Relief F).

[20]BrBr 470; Charbonneaux, _Hellenistic Art_, Fig. 305.

[21]Gerhard, _Etruskische Spiegel_, I.v, no. 67.

[22]Museo Guarnacci 294A, Brunn-Körte, I.lvi.16; Pairault, _Recherches_, Pl. 59b.

[23]G. Charles-Picard, _Roman Painting_, p. 21, Pl. VII (dated _ca_. 60 B.C.).

[24]G. Charles-Picard, _Les trophées romains_, Pl. XVI.

[25]See Snodgrass, _Arms and Armour_, p. 95, Fig. 53 (in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin) on the type.

[26]Russell Robinson, _Armour of Imperial Rome_, p. 13.

[27]_Ibid._, pp. 13-14.

[28]Rolland, _Le Mausolée_, p. 61.

[29]e.g., British Museum slabs 1015, 1020.

[30]Charbonneaux, _Hellenistic Art_, Fig. 291; see also the fragmentary bronze from Pergamon in my Fig. 18, p. 143.

[31]Charbonneaux, _Hellenistic Art_, Figs. 125 (Skyros) and 123 (Briseis).

[32]G. Charles-Picard, _Les trophées romains_, Pl. VIII; Max von Bahrfeldt, _Die römische Goldmünzenprägung während der Republik und unter Augustus_ (Aalen: Scientia Verlag,

1972 reprint of 1923 edition), p. 113, no. 22, Taf. 10.

[33]Russell Robinson, _Armour of Imperial Rome_, pp. 13ff.

[34]_Ibid._, p. 16.

[35]Snodgrass, _Arms and Armour_, pp. 94-95, 125, Fig. 58 (Ashmolean Museum) on the type.

[36]Charbonneaux, _Hellenistic Art_, Fig. 250.

[37]_Ibid._

[38]_BMC Republic_, Vol. I, p. 505, no. 3954, Pl. XLIX.12; p. 506, no. 3957, Pl. XLIX.13; Crawford, _Roman Republican Coinage_, Vol. I, p. 467, no. 452 (1), 48/7 B.C. (=_BMC Republic_, Vol. I, no. 3953); p. 467, no. 452 (4), Pl. LIII, 48/7 B.C. (=_BMC Republic_, Vol. I, p. 506, no. 3959, Pl. XLIX.14); p. 467, no. 452 (5), Pl. LIII, 48/7 B.C. (=_BMC Republic_, Vol. I, p. 507, no. 3960); GianGuido Belloni, ed., _Le monete romane dell'Età repubblicana. Catalogo delle raccolte numismatiche_ (Milano: Comune di Milano, 1960), Tav. 50, no. 1911 (see also nos. 1912 and 1915).

[39]Crawford, _Roman Republican Coinage_, Vol. I, p. 479, no. 468 (2), Pl. LV, 46/5 B.C. (= _BMC Republic_, Vol. II, p. 368, no. 86, Pl. CI.9).

[40]_Ibid._, Vol. I, p. 479, no. 468 (1), Pl. LV, 46/5 B.C. (=_BMC Republic_, Vol. II, p. 369, no. 89, Pl. CI.10); see also Belloni, _Le monete romane_, Tav. 51, no. 2001 (also nos. 2008 and 2012), p. 222, dated _ca._ 47-45 B.C.

[41]Ernest Babelon, _Description Historique et Chronologique des Monnaies de la République Romaine vulgairement appelées monnaies consulaires_, Vol. II (Bologna: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1963), p. 17.

[42]Espérandieu, Vol. I, pp. 29-32, especially p. 31, nos. 5 and 6.

[43]_BMC Republic_, Vol. II, p. 302, no. 656, Pl. XCV.14; see also Babelon, _Monnaies de la République Romaine_, Vol. II, p. 235.

[44]_BMC Republic_, Vol. II, p. 302, no. 656, note.

[45]Espérandieu, Vol. I, p. 44, no. 46, Fig. 3, possibly Tiberian.

[46]Russel Robinson, _Armour of Imperial Rome_, p. 16 says oval; W8 and W9 may carry oval shields, E13 carries a _pelta_, and E18 perhaps carries an unusually large, oval shield.

[47]British Museum slabs 1010, 1018-1021, etc.

[48]Hanfmann, _Classical Sculpture_, Pl. VI.

[49]Charbonneaux, _Hellenistic Art_, Fig. 291, carried by Otus.

[50]Giovannangelo Camporeale, "L'Amazzonomachia in Etruria," _StEtr_, 27 (1959), p. 128, Tav. XV and XVI, now in the Museo Vaticano; Herbig, _Steinsarkophage_, Taf. 38. Such a scheme is also evident in the terracotta urn in the Worcester Art Museum and on a sarcophagus from Vulci that is now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.

[51]Betsy Davison, _Shields of Ancient Rome in Art and History_, Library Series (San Diego: Malter Westerfield Publishing Company, 1969), p. 5. According to Sallust 86,34 an oval shield was in use in the second century B.C. but by Marius' time the _scutum_ was common.

[52]Josef Fink, "Amazonenkämpfe auf einer Reliefbasis in Nikopolis," _JÖAI_, 47 (1964-5), pp. 74-5.

[53]in Braccio nuovo, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Sala I/33, no. 1025; see Lübke-Pernice, _Die Kunst der Römer_, ed. by Berta Sarne (Wien: Paul Neff Verlag, 1958), p. 357, Fig. 348.

[54]R. Amy, _et al._, _L'Arc d'Orange_, Vol. II, XVe Supplément à «Gallia» (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1962), Pls. 75, 76, 110.

[55]Russell Robinson, _Armour of Imperial Rome_, p. 16.

[56]Rolland, _Fouilles de Glanum_, Vol. II, p. 63.

[57]Couissin, "Les Guerriers et les armes," p. 319; Rolland, _Fouilles de Glanum_, Vol. II, p. 63.

[58]Rolland, _Le Mausolée_, p. 61, seems to think E18 also carries a _pilum_; Couissin, "Les Guerriers et les armes," p. 312 and "Les armes figurées sur les monuments romains de la Gaule méridionale," _RA_, Ser. 5, 18 (1923,2), p. 58 says the _pilum_ is once carried by a "Gaul" because of the artist's ignorance or indifference; G. Charles-Picard, _Les trophées romains_, p. 198, says the pilum is a touch of reality that probably came from notebooks of actual observations or of drawings from some intermediary monument.

[59]Salomon Reinach, "Pilum," DarSag, Vol. IV,1,
(2nd ed.; Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie, 1875), cols.
481-484, especially col. 482.

[60]Ibid., cols. 482-483; Russell Robinson, _Armour
of Imperial Rome_, Pl. I; Polybius VI,23. Excavations at
St. Blaise have produced actual examples of _pila_ with iron
shafts and wooden holders (Rolland, _Fouilles de Glanum_,
Vol. II, p. 63).

[61]Reinach, "Pilum," Figs. 5677-5681, see also
Figs. 5682 (second century A.D.), 5684 (second century A.D.).

[62]_TLL_, Vol. I, col. 1885, s.v. "am(m)entum",
"amento, amentum"; Lucan 6,221; Ovid, _Metamorphoses_,
12,321; etc.

[63]Serv. _Aen_. 9,662 (_ammentum est lorum quo media
hasta religatur et iacitur_).

[64]Snodgrass, _Arms and Armour_, Fig. 34, p. 80.

[65]Silius Italicus 4,15 (_hasta iuvatur ammento ab
arma parantibus_).

[66]Livy 37,41,5, concerning events of _ca_. 190 B.C.

[67]Caesar, _Gall_. 5,48,5, used metaphorically.

[68]Rolland, _Le Mausolée_, p. 61.

[69]Chamoux, "Les Antiques," p. 105.

[70]Couissin, "Les Guerriers et les armes," p. 320.

CHAPTER IV

FIGURAL PROTOTYPES AND PICTORIAL TECHNIQUES

In the first part of this chapter we will examine
the figural prototypes for the figures in the St. Rémy
panels. Although numerous scholars, including Ernst
Garger and Bernard Andreae,[1] have made admirable studies of
the individual poses in the panels and have traced the
origins of these motifs in Greek art, it will best suit
our purposes to select those motifs which suggest a
definite three-dimensionality and to trace only these par-
ticular motifs back into Greek art. Three-dimensionality
is generally recognized as an indication of pictorial
draughtsmanship. We will hope to establish a <u>terminus</u>
<u>post</u> <u>quem</u> for the selected motifs. It will also be impor-
tant to note in what artistic media the motifs predominant-
ly appear and to speculate whether these media could suggest
something about the originals upon which the compositions
were based.

The second part of this chapter will be devoted
to the compositions as entities. What elements in the
compositions could be borrowed from pictorial sources?
Could the groove used to outline the figures be a survival

of a technique of painting? What effect would painting have on the reliefs? How was the artist limited in his adaptation of pictorial elements by the relief surface? What effect does the architectural position of the panels have on the pictorialism of the compositions? In trying to answer these questions, we will consider such aspects as the handling of depth and space, the direction of movement with relation to the relief surface, the profile of the relief surface, the contour groove, and painting.

Figural Prototypes

Individual figures suggest three-dimensionality by foreshortening, by a preference for a three-quarter rather than a profile view, and by frontal or back views rather than a mere profile. At least four motifs in the St. Rémy panels deserve consideration on these grounds: the obliquely moving horses of N1-5 (and E13), the crouching W15 who is seen from the rear, the falling horse of N6, and the various convex shields that are seen obliquely from the inner side (N1, 5; W1, 2; E6, 8). There is some precedent in both sculpture and painting for each type of motif. Because the inner view of the shield is a popular and common motif early in Greek art (i.e., by the mid-fifth century B.C. in painting and soon thereafter in sculpture), we will not trace its origins because it can do nothing toward establishing a terminus post quem for the compositions.

Oblique horses N1-N5

The obliquely moving horses in the north panel are the easiest three-dimensional motif to document. In the amazonomachy friezes from Bassae (ca. 410) and Halicarnassus (ca. 350) we see a nascent form of the motif.[2] Rather than rearing in strict profile, the horses' heads in these friezes are occasionally turned out toward the viewer and are worked almost completely in the round, as they are at St. Rémy. However, these horses are not foreshortened, and they do not suggest any oblique movement. None of the riders at Bassae or Halicarnassus comes close to the torsion-filled poses of the cavalrymen of the north panel.

Relief sculpture really offers only two comparable precedents to the St. Rémy horses. A fragmentary relief from Lecce (ca. 225), now in the museum at Budapest,[3] shows a cavalry battle with at least three horsemen involved. Kleiner has pointed out that the second and third horses from the left in the Lecce fragment are similar to horses N3 and N5.[4] The head of the second horse, like the head of horse N3, is seen from the rear and turned to the right; his rider is seen almost frontally while rider N3 is seen from the rear. What distinguishes the St. Rémy motif is that the horse is seen obliquely from the rear rather than in profile like the Lecce horse. The third Lecce horse and rider are similar to N5. Like him, the rider's torso is almost frontal and his right arm is raised beside his head to strike a blow. The horse seems

to move obliquely from the background, but unlike horse N5
his head is not turned at all but is seen in strict pro-
file to the right.

Perhaps the best depiction of a horse's oblique
movement in relief sculpture prior to St. Rémy is the rider-
less horse (no. 5) in the frieze from the Aemilius Paullus
monument in Delphi (ca. 168 B.C.).[5] His body is seen in
left profile, and his head, which is turned to the right,
is seen from behind. This animal is very similar to
horse N3, except that the Glanum horse is seen obliquely
from the rear rather than in profile. A partially pre-
served horse in the same frieze (no. 14)[6] is similar to
horse N3 in that it is seen obliquely from the rear with
its forelegs in the air. The head and forelegs are now
missing, so their exact position is uncertain. The rider
differs from N3 because he sits upright with his left arm
at his side and his right arm partially obscuring his face,
but he is seen from the rear like N3, who is leaning to
the right with his sword raised above his head, his face
unobscured, and his left arm brought across his body in a
defensive pose. This pose is more clearly seen with N2.
These two horses (nos. 5 and 14) are the only animals in
the frieze that suggest a pictorial rendering; almost all
the other horses (except no. 18) are seen in strict profile
moving in a plane parallel to the relief ground.

Vase-paintings offer fuller documentation for the
creation and popularity of motifs such as horses N3 and N5.

An Apulian volute krater by the Sisyphus Painter (ca. 410)[7]
shows a mounted amazon who is comparable to N5. Both the
horse and the amazon are shown obliquely from the front.
The horse is moving to the right with his head turned; the
amazon is turning to the left to strike with an upraised
arm at a Greek soldier who is approaching on foot. This
motif of a horse and rider seen obliquely from the front
enjoyed considerable popularity throughout the fourth
century.[8]

Although horses shown from the front while moving
in lines oblique to the background appear on vases from the
late fifth century on, horses seen obliquely from the rear
do not appear until the latter part of the fourth century.
Kleiner cites an Attic pelike in Warsaw and an Apulian
volute krater in Munich as two of the earliest examples.[9]
In each case, the horses are seen from the rear as their
amazon riders twist their bodies dramatically to confront
their attackers. These motifs are very similar to N3 and
N5 in the St. Rémy panels. Although they are duplicated
by no particular St. Rémy motif, the horse and rider in a
tomb-painting from Dion (Fig. 16) indicate the skill with
which painters were able to depict a foreshortened horse
and rider from the rear. This motif is particularly not-
able because of the torsion of the horse's forequarters.
He turns his head back to his right so that it is presented
frontally to the spectator. A more restrained, but still
comparable torsion is shown by horse N5. A mirror image

Fig. 16.   Drawing of a fragment
of a tomb-painting, Dion.

(vonGraeve, Alexandersarkophag, Taf. 76.2.)

of the Dion rider, who is seen in three-quarter right
profile from the rear, is presented by rider N3.

Pictorial depictions of horses in both front and
rear views occur in several other artistic media as well
as in relief sculpture and vase-painting. An Etruscan
mirror in Paris (late fourth or early third century B.C.)[10]
shows Aurora in a chariot pulled by horses. The horses'
bodies are elongated and curved and are shown in a three-
quarter profile from the rear. Their heads are turned.
These animals are very similar to the riderless horse
(no. 5) in the Aemilius Paullus frieze, but in their ob-
lique positioning they also offer precedent for horses N3
and N5 at St. Rémy. Another outstanding Etruscan parallel
for the St. Rémy motifs is found on the amazonomachy cista
from Vulci (Fig. 17),[11] which is roughly contemporary with
the Aurora mirror. The cista shows a mounted amazon seen
in three-quarter profile from the rear as she leans to
the right with her right arm raised and obscuring her face
as she attacks a Greek who has fallen under her horse. Her
pose is seen in motif N3. The horse she is riding is seen
obliquely from the rear with his head turned in right pro-
file. His pose is almost duplicated by horse N1.

The horse N4 is approximated by an animal in the
Alexander mosaic from the House of the Faun in Pompeii.[12]
This mosaic is a second century adaptation of a late fourth
century painting.[13] Midway between the mounted Alexander
and Darius in his chariot is a horse that is rearing from
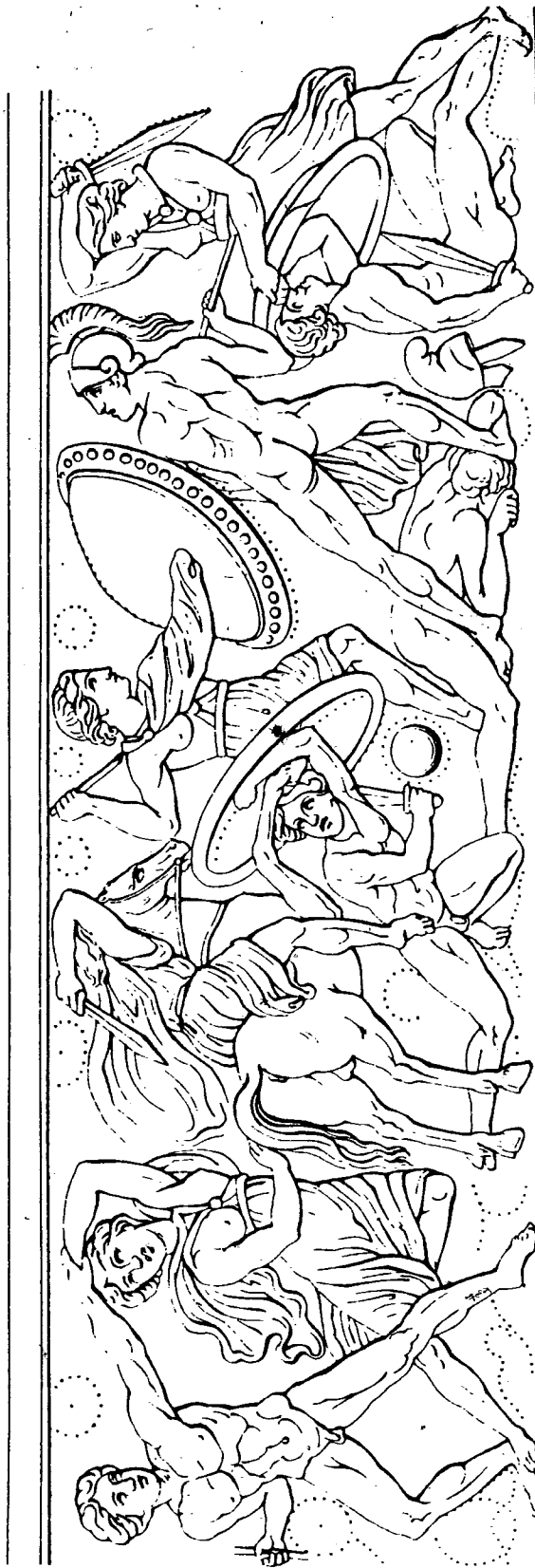
Fig. 17. Amazonomachy. Etruscan cista, from Vulci. Vatican, Museo Vaticano.

(Gerhard, Etruskische Spiegel, Bd. I, Taf. x.)

the background into the foreground. His hindquarters are obscured, his head is almost frontal and is pulled back, and his forelegs paw the air just like horse N4. Finally, similar horses are also found on a series of gems from the third and second centuries B.C. The horses and their riders are seen in three-quarter profiles from the back and are very similar to motif N3.[14]

Crouching warrior W15

Success is more limited in trying to trace the history of the motif W15, a kneeling warrior seen from the rear. A rough version of the motif appears on an amazono-machy volute krater of the mid-fifth century[15] and slightly later on the west frieze of the Nike Temple in Athens (ca. 425).[16] Adaptations also appear in the Gjölbaschi friezes. Once, the figure is shown in a defensive pose similar to the figure on the Nike Temple, and again he is shown in an observant pose more similar to W15.[17] However, I must agree with Garger that no exact parallel for this figure has really been found.[18]

Fallen horse N6

An exact parallel also has not been found for the fallen horse N6, but two virtuoso foreshortenings deserve mention nevertheless. In the Alexander mosaic[19] the horse of Alexander's adversary falls in a restrained, foreshorten-ed pose. His forelegs are folded sideways under him, and his neck is bowed with his muzzle touching the ground. The

artist here has chosen the moment preceding total collapse while the more daring St. Rémy master selected instead the moment of collapse. An Etruscan artist, on the other hand, chose the moment after collapse for a bronze mirror from Bolsena (Fig. 11).[20] The scene shows Ajax and Achilles after the murder of Troilus. At their feet is Troilus' slain horse in a most contorted pose. We clearly see his tail, but because the attempt at foreshortening is a little too adventurous, it is hard to tell just what else we see.

These examples, although they do not offer exact parallels for the St. Rémy motif N6, do indicate that such complicated problems of draughtsmanship fascinated artists from the end of the fourth century on. They made various experiments in attempting to solve these problems successfully. The experiment at St. Rémy is more daring than the mosaic and more successful than the mirror. Therefore, the origins of this particular motif might best be assigned to the middle or late third century, when artists had learned better how to handle such a highly complicated position. Unfortunately, the lack of exact parallels makes it impossible to confirm this hypothesis.

Pictorial Techniques

The panel reliefs at St. Rémy have been aptly termed "Reliefgemälde"[21] by scholars. Certainly the large compositions set within frames of pilasters that are looped

with garlands[22] impress one almost as panel pictures on display in a gallery. What characteristics qualify the reliefs to be considered as "paintings in stone"? Are the reliefs direct translations of paintings or are they adaptations of pictorial compositions that use other elements as well? What traditions could the St. Rémy artist have borrowed from painted precedents? How successfully did he adapt these elements into the more restrictive medium of relief sculpture? In order to find satisfactory answers to these questions, we must consider what we know of monumental painting in the Hellenistic world, what techniques could be adapted from such paintings, what precedents exist for such adaptations, and how the St. Rémy panels themselves reflect pictorial traditions and techniques. As we consider these questions, we will also attempt to establish a <u>terminus</u> <u>post</u> <u>quem</u> for the particular pictorial devices that are used in the panels at St. Rémy.

<u>The</u> <u>precedents</u>

<u>The</u> <u>Alexander</u> <u>mosaic</u>

Monumental paintings belong to what may be termed the "grand pictorial" tradition. According to the painter Nicias (<u>ca</u>. 350-300), the artist must be sure to select appropriate subjects for his compositions. He should paint heroic scenes with a large number of figures engaged in a vigorous action of heroic proportions.[23] Our best indications of how such compositions must have looked

come from vase-paintings, urns and sarcophagi, gems, and mosaics. Usually we have only an abbreviation of the original composition. A vase-painter could scarcely have fitted onto an amphora a composition that originally covered the better part of a wall. Consequently, perhaps the best survival of an almost complete grand pictorial composition is the Alexander mosaic from Pompeii.[24] It is generally agreed that this mosaic is a copy of a large painting that was executed in the fourth century B.C. by Philoxenos of Eretria for Cassander.[25] We will examine this mosaic in order to determine what traditions we should look for in the St. Rémy panels as indications of an underlying pictorial heritage. By also looking at several reliefs that are earlier than St. Rémy and that use certain pictorial techniques, we can confirm the criteria produced by the examination of the Alexander mosaic before we look at the St. Rémy panels themselves.

The mosaic shows a battle between the forces of Alexander the Great and Darius, king of the Persians. We see Alexander's organized troops pressing Darius' confused army which has begun a panic-stricken retreat. There are a large number of men, horses, and weapons, and the action is violent and tumultuous. The success of the composition depends on several factors: the handling of perspective, the treatment of depth and space, and the suggestion of landscape. A consideration of each aspect will produce some important guidelines for the St. Rémy panels.

We do not see the figures in a mere linear arrange-
ment against a neutral background; Alexander and Darius
dominate the foreground and are larger in scale than the
other combatants. This difference may be due in part to
their greater relative importance, but it is also due to
their position in the foreground of the composition. At
least two rows of heads of smaller-scale figures are super-
imposed one in front of the other in isocephalic lines be-
hind the main characters. It is a realistic perspective
because the spectator is looking into a mass of figures
who are more obscured as they are deeper into the background
and, therfore, into the mass of figures. This type of
perspective is more sophisticated than the "bird's-eye"
perspective of the famous scene of the riot in the amphi-
theater from Pompeii.[26] In this painting the amphitheater
is seen from above in such a way that all the spectators
inside the building are seen, as well as the fight that is
going on outside its walls.

Although the battleground in the mosaic is some-
what slanted, the mosaic maintains a greater realism be-
cause its overall perspective is closer to actual life.
We do not have the feeling that the groundline has been
distorted just to allow us to see the figures in the back-
ground; its slant is merely its natural state. Similarly,
the scale of the figures follows a logical pattern; the
figures in the foreground are larger than the figures in
the background. Such a proportionate handling of scale

is absent in the "bird's-eye" perspective of the riot
scene where the architecture has been greatly reduced in
scale so that all the smaller humans can be shown without
being dwarfed.

A basic impression of depth is created by the
smaller scale of the background figures, and that impres-
sion is furthered by the masterful foreshortening of the
horse beside Darius' chariot and by the oblique movements
of several other horses and men. By foreshortening the
horse beside the chariot so that we are able to see him
from the rear as he moves perpendicularly into the back-
ground, the artist has convinced the spectator that his
figures are moving within space. This impression is simi-
larly enhanced by the rearing and falling horses to the
left of the first horse, by the Persian falling under
Darius' chariot, by Darius' team, and by Darius himself as
he leans out from the chariot. All these figures are fore-
shortened to allow the artist to depict their movements
realistically in space.

In spite of the diverse movements of the various
figures, the scene is a coherent mass. The basic lines of
action are clear, even though most of the figures overlap
each other. Such overlappings add to the impression of
depth and to the tumult of the scene. The figures cast
shadows on the ground, but not on each other. Figures
are shown in profile, but there is a decided preference for
three-quarter views and bodies whose movements show consid-

erable torsion. These devices also contribute to the over-
all impression of depth. Finally, the picture is made more
complete by the inclusion of a single landscape "prop", a
large dead tree in the background to the left of center in
the composition. The artist has used this tree to create
an outdoor setting rather than leaving a generalized scene
against a neutral background. It is an effective, if la-
conic, statement of setting and a nice touch of realism.
Only the south panel at St. Rémy has a similar setting, and
again the "props" are dead trees.

Our consideration of the Alexander mosaic as an
example of the "grand pictorial" tradition produces several
criteria that we should look for in other pictorial compo-
sitions, including the St. Rémy panels. Both perspective
and scale should be consistent and logical. A large num-
ber of figures should be comfortably integrated into a
coherent grouping of overlapping figures engaged in diverse
actions. Movement should be diagonal to the background as
well as parallel to it. Figures may be seen in three-
quarter views, contorted positions, and foreshortened poses.
An impression of depth may be created by the choice of per-
spective (perhaps involving a varying scale for the fore-
ground and background figures), foreshortening of figures,
overlappings, oblique movements of men and animals, and a
preference for three-quarter, frontal, or rear views rather
than simple profiles. Landscape elements, such as trees,

may be used to suggest a naturalistic rather than a generalized setting.

Gjölbaschi

There are several extant pieces of relief sculpture that are closely related to pictorial sources in draughtsmanship and sometimes in usage as well. The earliest example comes from the Heroön at Gjölbaschi in Asia Minor (end of the fifth century B.C.).[27] These reliefs are made up of registers, either two registers stacked on each other or just a single wide register. A large number of episodes are arranged in narrative sequences in the various friezes. Many of the scenes include architectural or landscape elements, and several scenes, including the siege of a walled city,[28] suggest an admirable feeling of depth. However, these reliefs belong to a documentary, sculptural tradition rather than to the "grand pictorial" tradition. A brief look at the siege scene will illustrate several important differences between the two traditions.

The siege fills two superimposed registers, so we see the figures in a tiered perspective. They seem to be set on "steps" at different levels in the field rather than placed in space in a realistic relationship. The use of registers and the consequent smaller scale of the composition already mark a separation from the grand tradition. Defenders are hurling rocks down from the city walls on attackers below who defend themselves with raised shields. Both defenders and attackers are set obliquely against the

relief surface. The defenders are seen in three-quarter frontal views and the attackers in three-quarter rear views. An assembly of gods watches quietly to the right. Below them, two attackers are about to enter an open door in the walls. Behind these two figures are two marching soldiers. The door is a dark, hollowed niche with an actual depth as well as an imaginary depth suggested by the shadows. The figure crouching to enter the door is seen in a three-quarter rear view rather than in profile like the two striding soldiers behind him. Many of the figures are realistically grouped, with the figures over-lapping each other. However, the scale of the figures is inconsistent; there is no logical reduction in scale be-tween the defenders on the walls and the attackers below the city. The figure entering the door is in scale with the door, but the door itself is about three-quarters as high as the city wall in which it is set. Such marked variance in scale creates a disunity in and between scenes.

Obviously, this relief defies a number of the criteria established by the Alexander mosaic as part of the grand tradition. It is a small-scale, narrative se-quence rather than a single, monumental tableau. The use of one or two registers to depict a single scene immediate-ly creates an inconsistent scale between the various epi-sodes. In addition, the scale within an individual scene is inconsistent. There is no change in scale to suggest

a difference in perspective between the defenders and the
attackers. To the right, the two marching soldiers are
disproportionately larger than any of the other human
figures. Their pose is also purely sculptural; they are
seen in a static ranking meant to suggest the ordered march
of a troop. In order to find a tradition more comparable
to the St. Rémy style, we must look to the Hellenistic
world.

Fragmentary Hellenistic reliefs

Artists of the third and second centuries made
various attempts to solve the problems caused by adapting
pictorial renditions to relief work. In a fragmentary
bronze relief from Pergamon (Fig. 18)[29] the artist tried
to suggest depth although he avoided oblique movements
and the sophisticated foreshortenings required to portray
such movement convincingly. Instead he created an impres-
sion of depth by arranging nine infantrymen and four
cavalrymen on three different planes. The foreground is
littered with fallen bodies and weapons and offers the
footing for the three lunging horses. Three infantrymen
and one galloping horse fill the middle ground while the
background is occupied by two more infantrymen. Only
two examples of foreshortening occur, but they are bold
attempts in an otherwise simple composition. In the left
foreground, a warrior has fallen behind his large, round
shield. Although the shield is fully visible, we see only
the warrior's thighs, shown frontally, protruding from
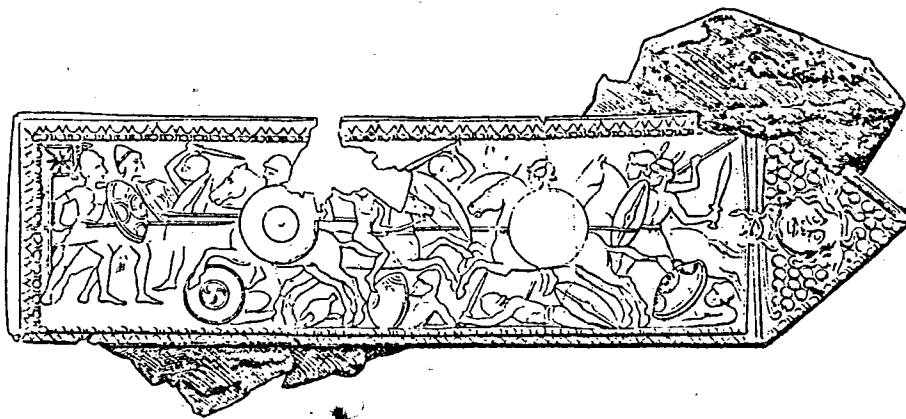
Fig. 18.   Fragmentary bronze relief,
from Pergamon.   Berlin.

(Conze, Stadt und Landsschaft, p. 251, Abb. 1.)

behind the shield. In the right foreground, another warrior has fallen. We see his head and left shoulder, but the rest of his body is hidden by his convex shield. The standing warrior directly behind him is seen from the rear. The scale of the figures varies but follows no logical plan. Clearly the artist is still restricted by his medium, but he has succeeded in accommodating a large number of figures in a very small space by utilizing a stacked succession of planes within his composition. It seems reasonable to speculate that he may, in fact, have had some monumental tableau as a model and that he adpated it as best he could.

Two fragmentary friezes also combine sculptural and pictorial traditions successfully. Both the frieze from Lecce and the Aemilius Paullus frieze from Delphi adhere primarily to sculptural traditions.[30] Figures are set in linear arrangement in isolated groups against a neutral background, especially in the Aemilius Paullus frieze. The outstanding exceptions are several foreshortened horses that move in lines diagonal to the relief surface. In addition, the horses of the Lecce frieze overlap, and there are several superimposed groups in the Delphi frieze that recall the arrangement on the Pergamene bronze.

Telephus frieze

Perhaps the most familiar frieze to make extensive use of pictorial devices is the Telephus frieze from Pergamon (ca. 160 B.C.).[31] It originally occupied a wall behind

a colonnade, a location usually associated with paintings.
Like the Gjölbaschi friezes, it is a series of episodes
rather than a single, monumental tableau. Its episodes,
all relating to the life of Telephus, are arranged in a
narrative sequence and are separated by landscape or
architectural elements. Peter von Blanckenhagen beauti-
fully described the character of this frieze as "intimate"
rather than "heroic."[32] Therefore, it does not belong to
the grand pictorial tradition of the Alexander mosaic,
but it is a "translation of painting" that uses many of
the pictorial devices associated with the grand tradition.

There is a proportionate resolution of scale be-
tween the human figures and the architecture and landscape
that forms a backdrop for them. The scenes easily handle
a large number of figures in overlapping groups or indivi-
dual poses; these figures are often seen in three-quarter,
frontal, or rear views rather than in simple profile. Some-
times, the figures are all shown on one groundline, but in
other scenes they are arranged in tiers to give an indica-
tion of depth. The arrangements are logical and realistic
even when the varying groundlines are not actually visible.
A closer examination of two episodes will illustrate these
devices.

One well-known scene shows the building of Auge's
ship. The foreground is filled by the ship, which is seen
obliquely, and by the workmen. Auge and her handmaidens

are seated in the background, apparently on a rocky out-
cropping, since they are higher than the workmen's heads.
Thus, the figures are arranged in tiers with landscape
elements interspersed between the "steps". The scale of
the women is slightly smaller than the scale of the fore-
ground figures. Auge is shown frontally, but several of
the workmen are seen in three-quarter views as they move
obliquely from the background. There is considerable over-
lapping of figures in both the background and the fore-
ground.

     Not all the scenes make use of the tiered arrange-
ment. In the depiction of King Teuthras on the shore, for
example, all the figures are seen along a single groundline.
The king and two companions dominate the foreground. They
are all moving obliquely and are seen in three-quarter (or
more) frontal views. These figures are isocephalic. There
is a large degree of torsion in the king's movements and in
the figure to the right of him. We are made more aware of
the imaginary space in which Teuthras moves because we see
a head over his left shoulder. This person is standing
deeper in the background and is consequently a little small-
er in scale than Teuthras and his companions.

     Both these scenes illustrate the success with which
the creator of the Telephus frieze was able to translate
the idioms of painting into stone. In matters of perspec-
tive, scale, depth, and oblique movement he proved himself
as adept as the artist of the Alexander mosaic, or perhaps

more properly of the painting upon which the mosaic was
based. When we begin our consideration of the St. Rémy
panels, we should keep in mind these precedents so that we
can determine whether the St. Rémy artist was attempting
to "translate" a painting or whether he was more concerned
with successfully adapting certain pictorial motifs into
a more restrictive medium.

Etruscan art

Etruscan art also offers a number of precedents
for the pictorial devices at St. Rémy. Certain series of
urns and sarcophagi, such as the celtomachies and the saga
of the Seven against Thebes, are generally considered to
be derived from paintings.[33] Despite the greatly restrict-
ed space with which they were working, the Etruscan arti-
sans were able to compress these compositions and still
retain a large number of figures, violent action, and even
some landscape elements. Sometimes the scale of the figures
is varied and elaborate foreshortenings embellish the com-
positions. On an urn from the Theban cycle in Volterra
(Fig. 19),[34] the figures are arranged in three distinct
planes, which are plausibly shown. In the foreground are
a number of fallen figures who lie diagonal to the relief
surface. We see only their upper torsos because the lower
halves of their bodies are hidden in the background. Large
figures occupy the middle ground which is the plane of the
main action. In the background are smaller accessory
figures. The scale of the figures is proportionate, and
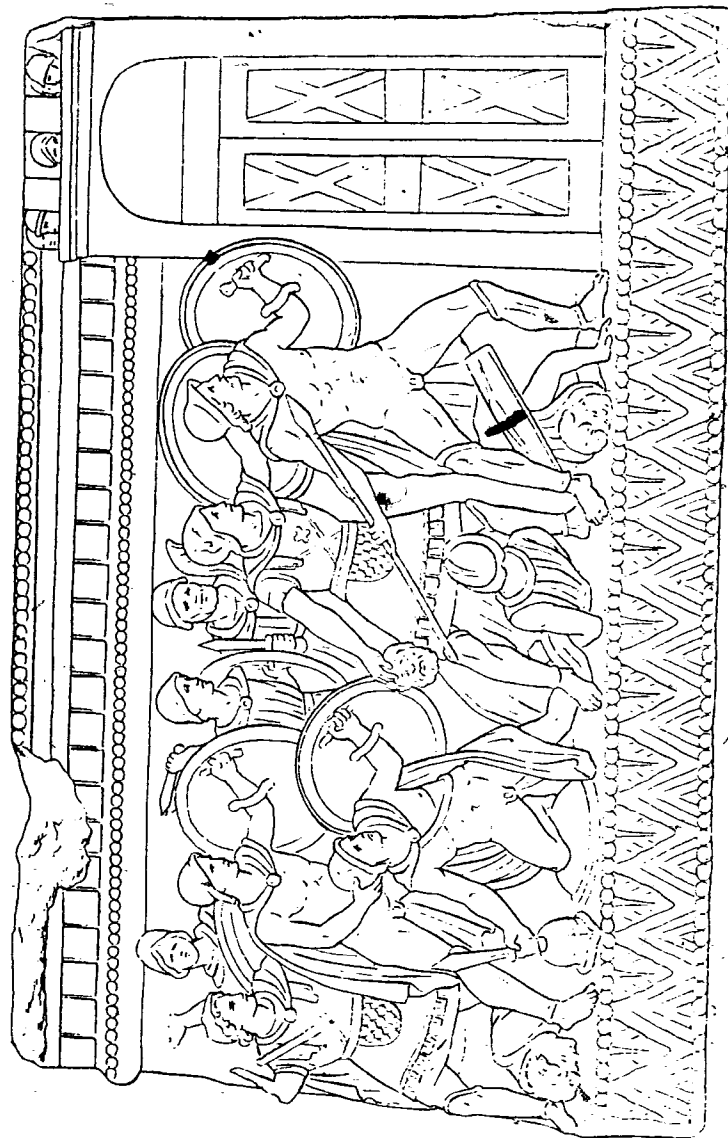
Fig. 19. Seven against Thebes. Etruscan urn.
Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, no. 372.

(Brunn-Körte, II.1.xxi.3.)

they are superimposed realistically.

Frequently, however, in order to find room for all the figures, the artist resorted to a tiered arrangement that totally disregarded spatial realities. A gigantomachy urn from Perugia (Fig. 20)[35] shows eighteen figures stacked into a square frame. There is an admirable rendition of oblique movement, especially as the nude, heroic deity with the club advances down from the background to attack a nude adversary who is seen from the rear as he stands in the foreground. However, there is no attempt to maintain a realistic and consistent groundline. The deity in the upper left corner, for example, stands on the shoulder of the figure below her.

We see a similar "stacking" of figures on the Bartholdy mirror in Berlin (Fig. 4), which we looked at earlier in relation to the south panel.[36] This system is very reminiscent of vase-paintings of the late fifth century. The gigantomachy krater in Naples (Fig. 21),[37] which may reflect trends in monumental painting of the era,[38] is a good example. Like the Etruscan urn and mirror, the figures on the vase occupy all the space available in the field. They move in diverse directions with no hint of a consistent terrain. Such an arrangement is not totally unlike the "bird's-eye" perspective of the riot scene from Pompeii.[39]

Tiered arrangements were not restricted to small-scale compositions in Etruscan art. At least two pedi-
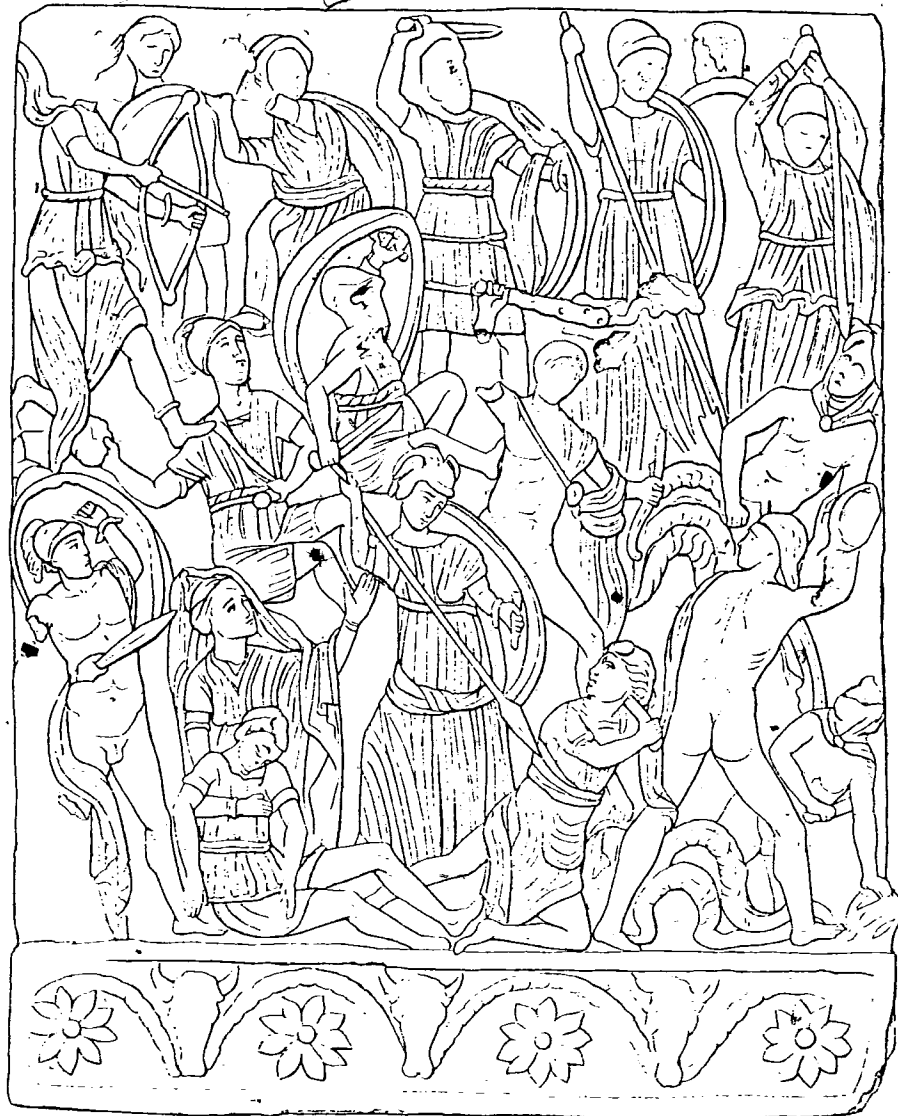
Fig. 20. Gigantomachy. Etruscan urn.
Perugia, Villa Bordoni.

(Brunn-Körte, II.1.i.1.)

Fig. 21. Gigantomachy. Red-figure krater. Naples, Museo Nazionale.

(Pfuhl, Malerei und Zeichnung, Taf. 234, Abb. 584.)

mental compositions used the same scheme. Both the dis-
covery of Ariadne at Civita Alba[40] and the death of Oedi-
pus at Talamone[41] were tiered compositions including large
numbers of figures arranged on different levels and in over-
lapping groups. Each pediment was 'busy' and tumultuous.
When the figures were painted, the activity in the pedi-
ments would have been even more pronounced.[42]

One series of urns does, in fact, confirm that
Etruscan artists chose the tiered perspective as a means
of depicting scenes that they had adapted from monumental,
pictorial sources. Several urns (e.g., Fig. 22)[43] show
episodes that are clearly excerpted from the monumental
composition upon which the Alexander mosaic was based. In
each case, a tiered arrangement is used to accommodate the
figures, although the mosaic shows no such perspective.
This clear relation to pictorial sources is not insignifi-
cant to our purposes because a number of Troilus urns
(e.g., Figs. 12 and 13) make use of a similar stacked com-
position. In these examples, the right-hand scene of the
panel, including the central motif E8-E13, the despondent
woman E14, and various accessory figures, is shown com-
pressed into a square field much like the abbreviations
from the Alexander composition. The similarity between
the two cycles of urns is a sure indication that the death
of Troilus is an adaptation from a pictorial source.

The Alexander mosaic, the Pergamene bronze, the

Fig. 22. Alexander the Great in battle.
Etruscan urn. Villa del Palazzone.

(Brunn-Körte, III.cxii.4.)

horse of the Aemilius Paullus frieze, the Telephus frieze,
and various Etruscan urns and sarcophagi establish a number
of precedents that are combined in the traditions of the
St. Rémy panels. There are conscious attempts at creating
spatiality, a large number of overlapping figures, numerous
three-dimensional or foreshortened motifs, an occasional
suggestion of landscape, and oblique as well as parallel
movements. Although systems of perspective can vary, a
realistic alignment of receding rows of figures or a tiered
arrangement seem the most popular formulas for suggesting
depth. Furthermore, the scale of the figures should be
fairly logical and consistent.

The pictorial qualities of the panels

By considering the panel reliefs in relation to
their precedents and to several extant paintings, we will
reach a more complete understanding of their pictorial
qualities. We will look first at the perspective of the
three battle scenes, then at the treatment of depth, space,
and movement, and finally at the grooved outline and the
use of color.

The three battle scenes are grand in that they
accommodate a large number of figures, who are overlapping
while engaged in diverse, violent actions. Both the north
and west panels are single tableaux, but the east panel
combines a battle scene with a tranquil scene in what may
well be a narrative sequence. The west panel is the most

pictorial of the three battle scenes, and so we shall consider it last.

In the north panel the artist has used a linear, isocephalic arrangement. All the figures stand on the same groundline, but they move in and out of the background rather than merely parallel to it. There are no figures visible in the background. This type of linear arrangement which suggests depth primarily by oblique movements and foreshortenings is identical to the perspective of the two foreshortened horses of the Aemilius Paullus frieze and of the Teuthras scene in the Telephus frieze. It is more successful here than in the Aemilius Paullus frieze because of the greater relief depth and because it is used for all the figures rather than for just two isolated motifs.

Further suggestions of depth are the back views (N3-4), the shields seen from the inside (N1, N5), the foreshortened horses (N1-6), and the overlapping legs, spears, and figures. Certain of the horses' forelegs (N2, N4, N5) were actually worked in the round thus creating a greater three-dimensionality to the panel. The artist extended his relief laterally by overlapping the enframing pilasters with the tail of horse N1, by the sword of N1, and probably by the missing forelegs of horse N5. We would also expect to find a contorted figure such as N6 or a twisting figure such as N2 in a pictorial composition. It is quite a feat of sculptural draughtsmanship

that they have been successfully fitted into a relief pan-
el. All the figures fit so well into the scene that it is
tempting to think that this panel reflects a number of
motifs from a single pictorial prototype, but a certain
degree of prototypal interdependence must be assumed.[44]

The east panel, however, is more definitely a com-
pendium of motifs from several sources and consequently is
more complicated in perspective and scale than the north
panel. We have the usual indications of depth: fore-
shortening (horse E13, E15, E1's jug), back view (E16),
unusual torsion (E6, E13, E15), shields seen obliquely
from the inside (E6, E8), and oblique movement (E3, E7,
horse E13). The forelegs of the horse were probably worked
in the round, and the relief is extended laterally by the
reeds that overlap the pilaster. However, the greatest
impression of depth comes from the tiered arrangement of
the figures. The quiet scene is an example of simple,
linear arrangement, but the figures are seen frontally.
On the other hand, the violent scene is a stacked arrange-
ment that would be difficult to reconcile to a realistic
groundline system, and so it is similar to the Etruscan
pediments, urns, and mirror mentioned earlier (see Figs.
4, 12-3, 20, 22).

The scale of the figures follows no consistent
pattern. Seated prisoner E15 is smaller than the Greek
E6, who has fallen to his haunches, although they both

are seated in similar positions in the foreground. Warrior
E17 is smaller than Achilles E8; however, warrior E18, who
is deeper in the background, is considerably larger than
E17 rather than smaller as he should be. Warriors E10 and
E11 are reduced in scale as befits background figures, but
E11 is unduly small in relation to warriors E10 and E12 who
flank him. The east panel certainly makes use of pictorial
devices, but it also uses sculptural traditions and inte-
grates them reasonably well into the entire composition.
The group E2, E4, and E5 reflects contemporary funeral
sculpture, but the actual battle scene reflects grand
pictorial sources, perhaps an "amazonomachized" Troilus
scene and a battle (of Greeks and Trojans? Greeks and
Gauls?). It is clearly a mythological scene rather than a
monumental battle scene, and this difference may account
in part for the hodgepodge quality of the composition.

The west panel, however, does belong to the monu-
mental grand tradition, and its subject could be either
mythological or topical. There is no common groundline
for the figures. Rather than depicting successive rows
of figures receding one behind the other into the back-
ground, as in the Alexander mosaic, the artist has here
arranged the figures in four successive tiers. Despite
this arrangement, the figures constitute a coherent mass
because of the strong diagonal lines of movement and the
overlapping of the various figures. All the figures are
drawn on the same scale, but there is no illogical dis-

parity apparent to the eye. The greater pictorialism of this panel is accomplished primarily by the tiered perspective coupled with the diagonal lines of movement. Otherwise, the depth techniques are familiar and have been seen in the other panels and in the Alexander mosaic as well as other sources: frontal, back, or three-quarter views (W13-15), foreshortening (W15), unusual torsion (W4, W5, W15), and movement out of the background (W1, W5-9). A look at several comparable paintings will give a fuller picture of the importance of the tiered perspective.

The painted comparanda

Kleiner errs when he says that the tier arrangement "was almost unknown in earlier reliefs."[45] We have seen that this system was popular in Etruscan reliefs (see Figs. 15, 16, 23, 25), and this factor should be kept in mind with regard to the possibility of an Etruscan or an "Etruscanized" intermediary source behind the St. Rémy compositions. However, the most outstanding comparisons for the combination of tiered perspective and diagonal movement come from Attic and South Italian vase-painting. Two examples are particularly convincing.

A fourth century Attic hydria (Fig. 23)[46] shows a group of two attacking amazons and three Greek defenders, massed closely together on at least three different planes. Pfuhl was convinced, and rightly so, that this fragment was an adaptation of a monumental, pictorial composition.[47] The nude heroic Greek is seen in a three-quarter rear view
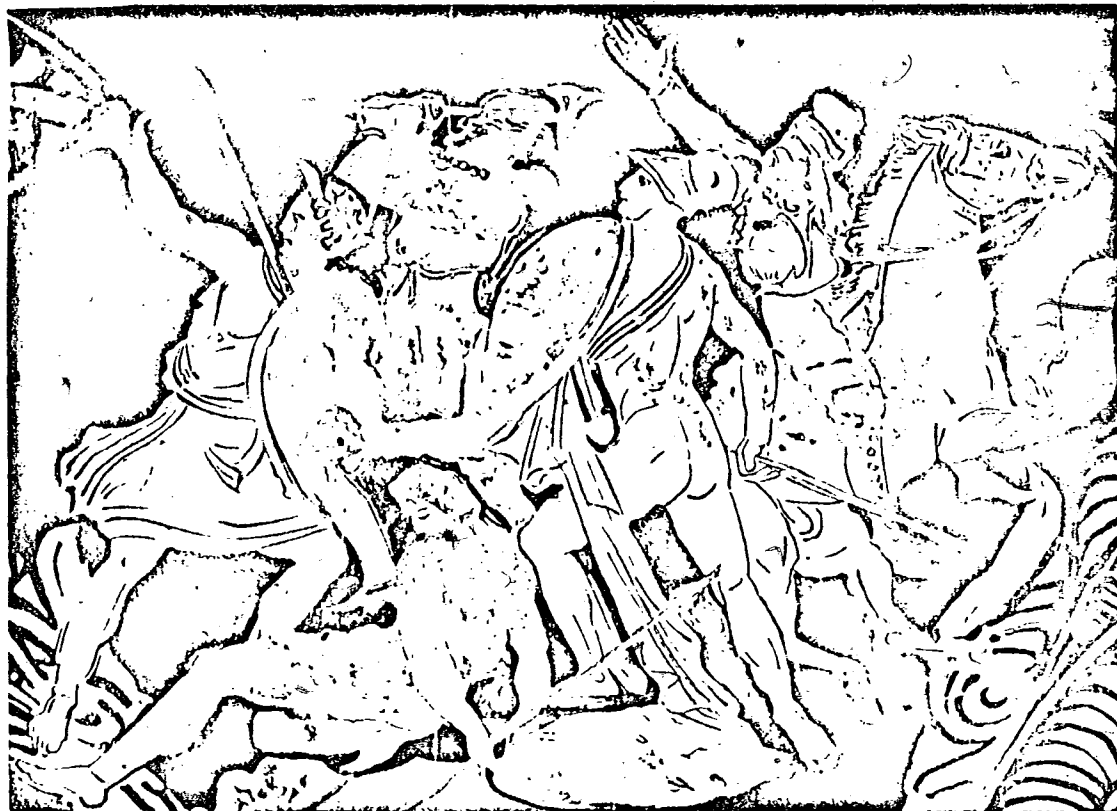
Fig. 23.   Amazonomachy.   Fragment of
Attic red-figure hydria.

(Pfuhl, _Malerei und Zeichnung_, Taf. 246, Abb. 603.)

and seems to advance upward against an amazon who is moving
down in her attack against him. To the right of this group
is a rearing horse whose rider is seen in a three-quarter
frontal view. On the other side of the central group is a
fallen Greek and a comrade who is lunging to the right with
one leg shown frontally and the other in profile. The
oblique movement of the horse is restrained because his
head is shown in profile. However, the strong diagonal
movement of the central group is very much like the move-
ment of W7-9, who are moving down against their opponents.
The painting and the panel are also comparable in the suc-
cessful integration of oblique and parallel movements into
a coherent mass. This same quality characterizes the
Alexander mosaic.

A Campanian amphora by the Ixion Painter (Illus.11,
ca. 330-310)[48] shows on one side an amazonomachy that is
much like the west panel. The figures on the vase are
massed in tiers just like the figures in the panel, and
the Greek lunging to the right on the vase is very similar
to W2. Although the diagonal movements on this vase are
not as pronounced as on the Attic hydria or in the St. Rémy
panels, they are suggested, and they, too, are successfully
combined with parallel movements.

Finally, we have the painted Iliac cycle from the
House of Loreius Tiburtinus in Pompeii (Regio II, Insula v;
Figs. 24 and 25).[49] These paintings show a much more
sophisticated treatment of space and perspective than we

Fig. 24. 'Hector's Fight'. From a painted frieze. Pompeii, House of Loreius Tiburtinus.

(Bianchi-Bandinelli, *Ilias Ambrosiana*, Fig. 178.)
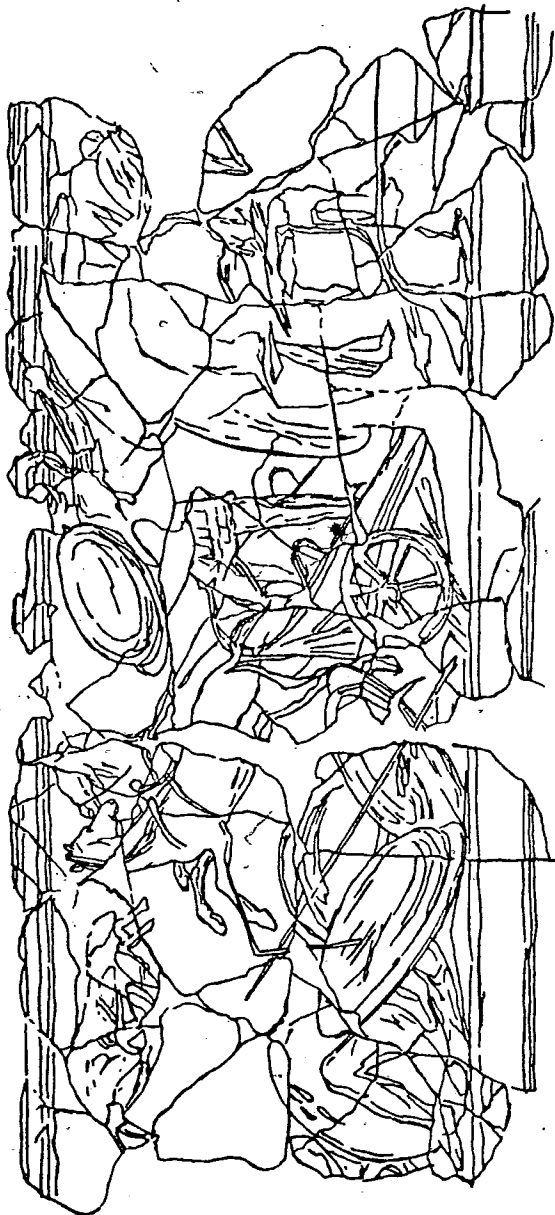
Fig. 25. 'Patroclus on Achilles' Chariot'. From a painted frieze.
Pompeii, House of Loreius Tiburtinus.

(Bianchi-Bandinelli, Ilias Ambrosiana, Fig. 179.)

have in the St. Rémy panels, but there are some important
similarities as well as differences. In the episode of
'Hector's Fight' (Fig. 24) the figures in the foreground
are larger than the men in the background. The fallen
Hector is dramatically foreshortened. Among the background
figures are two motifs similar to St. Rémy figures. To
the left, a warrior advances into battle; he is almost
identical to W2. To the right, several figures are run-
ning into the main scene, and they are very close to W13
and W14. The perspective of this episode is somewhat dif-
ferent from the perspective of the west panel. In both
cases the foreground is filled with a number of fallen or
crouching figures. The painter, however, has been able to
accommodate more figures in parallel and oblique movements
because of changes in scale to suggest depth by perspective.
Because of the diagonal movements converging from both
sides toward the center of the panel, the St. Rémy battle
scene is better integrated as an entity than the Hector
episode. The Hector episode suffers a little from the same
disunity that characterizes the east panel; the background
figures seem to have been taken from one source and the
foreground figures from a different source. However, the
central portion of the Hector episode is very much like the
west panel and the Attic hydria (Fig. 23). This portion
shows the fallen Hector, a comrade who defends him, and
two attackers who are trying to capture the body. The
oblique movements of the attackers and defender recall the

movements of W7, W8, and W9 against their opponents.

In the second episode of 'Patroclus on Achilles' Chariot' (Fig. 25) the foreshortened horses that surge into the background recall the horse N3. However, the variance of scale of the figures in this episode is even more pronounced that in the Hector episode. The west panel at St. Rémy is certainly closer to fourth century vases in matters of perspective and movement than it is to these more sophisticated episodes from the painted Iliac frieze. These techniques are still in an experimental stage in the panels and the vases, while they are more matured in the painted frieze.

St. Rémy represents an attempt to interfuse spatial techniques of painting into relief sculpture. However, it is not, like the Telephus frieze, an attempt to translate a painting into stone. The failure to adhere to a systematic pattern of scale is a good indication of the difference in concept. The artist succeeds to a certain extent in creating an imaginary space by using varied planes, differing relief heights, and oblique movement. He is able to extend his relief laterally by occasionally overlapping the pilasters, but he has not been able to create a successful illusion of an infinite space in which the figures actually move. The relief surface remains a finite backdrop to the action even though the artist tries to break its limits by making the shafts of the spears disappear behind the over-

hanging garlands, thus suggesting a greater depth. Despite
the various indications of depth, the changes in scale that
do occur in the panels do not belong to a pattern that
would suggest a realistic perspective.

The grooved outlines

The last techniques to be considered are the
grooved outlines around the figures and the use of color
on the panels. We must examine the purpose of the groove,
the precedents for its use, later examples of it, and
whether it may be an adaptation of a painted outline.
Then we will speculate about the effects that the use of
color would have on the overall compositions and how color
was used to indicate landscape and ornamentation. Finally,
in connection with the use of color to create the impres-
sion of large panel paintings, we must also consider the
architectural use of the panels and the limitations which
that use imposes.

The use of a chiselled groove around the contours
of the figures is a technique common to all the panels at
St. Rémy as well as to other monuments, especially in Nar-
bonnaise Gaul.[50] Various opinions have been offered about
the origin and purpose of such outlining. Hübner in 1888
described the grooves as deep furrows filled with reddish
chalk that were used to accentuate the outlines of figures
located in the background; the technique seemed to him to
be a clear indication of a painted prototype, even though

he mentioned no other use of color in the panels.[51] Löwy
in 1928 and Rodenwaldt in 1930 followed, this reasoning when
they traced the origin of the technique specifically to
Alexandrian and Egyptian painting.[52] However, in his pub-
lication of the monument Rolland has clearly illustrated
that one should not attribute, the technique to a single
school of painting since there are several sculptural ex-
amples from Greece and Ionia that date as early as the
fifth century B.C.; he also argues that the grooves were
not filled with red because there is no evidence to indi-
cate that they were and because such a device would have
disrupted the compositions.[53]

What, then, is the function of the groove? Bie
as early as 1891 and Bianchi-Bandinelli as late as 1970
likened the contour lines' to the preliminary drawings made
for paintings.[54] It has even been suggested that the
grooves were intended as guidelines to help local artisans
execute the designs of the more skillful master.[55] How-
ever, after a careful examination of the panels, the grooves
seem to play a much more integral role than these approaches
would allow. Several practical considerations must be
made. First, the carving was done on separate courses of
soft limestone blocks, whose joins are clearly visible.
Second, the depth of the carving is somewhat deeper toward
the bottom of the panel than toward the top, but the over-
all relief is still quite low (see Fig. 2). Third, the
background is conceived as a blank, neutral surface.

In the light of these practicalities, the grooving may be seen to serve several useful purposes. Primarily, it is used to define as fully as possible the volume of an object, animal, or person against the neutrality of the background or against the mass of another figure. It is an attempt to accentuate that volume despite a fairly low relief. Toward the bottom of the panel where the depth of the carving is greater and the shadows therefore deeper, the legs of the horses are delineated by dark grooves that enhance the outlines almost as undercutting would; the grooves seem broader and deeper in these instances. Secondly, it dramatically separates the characters from the background so that they seem to have been set in against the blank relief ground.[56] The contours of the figures are sharply articulated. Thirdly, the groove is sometimes used as a definitive rather than an outlining device. Swords and spears are often "drawn" by incision. This function is similar to the use of the groove to maintain the integrity of shapes that are depicted across several visible courses of stone. It is important to note, however, that the effects of the drapery are not enhanced in any of the panels by studied patterns of drilling or incision along the channels. Kleiner also points out that in numerous cases the groove was definitely added or at least modified after the figure was carved. In these cases, it was drilled or chiselled at angle to undercut an arm or a leg.[57]

An amazonomachy relief from Teos (ca. 300 B.C.)[58]
offers a good sculptural precedent for the St. Rémy groove.
It is an extremely low relief with the figures darkly out-
lined by grooves to set them off from the background. As
at St. Rémy, the groove is also used for detailed effects,
such as the horses' tails. This usage is pictorial in its
effect, much like the St. Rémy outlining. An Etruscan
sarcophagus from Chiusi (Illus. 12)[59] uses a groove to draw
most of the elements of the scene on its long side. We see
a rider approaching a tree that is drawn with grooves. The
artist has removed the excess stone to leave a deep outline
around the various figures. In this way he was able to
separate the figures from the background and accentuate
their volume as did the St. Rémy master.

A number of provincial examples from Gaul and Ger-
many postdate the St. Rémy panels. These examples date
from the first to the fourth centuries A.D.[60] Obviously,
the technique was popular and aesthetically pleasing to have
persisted so long. The earlier examples in this series are
similar to the St. Rémy groove, but the later examples have
subordinated the pictorial function of the outline to a more
decorative function. The figures are not "drawn", but in-
stead their surfaces are broken up by patterns of deep
grooves intended to produce striking chiaroscuro effects.
On the "Piler des Nautes" (Illus. 13)[61] that was dedicated
to Tiberius and Jupiter Optimus Maximus the figures are
drawn by the groove, just like the figures at St. Rémy;

it is one of the early examples postdating the St. Rémy
panels. The grouping is, in fact, reminiscent of E4 and
E5, and the woman in the Tiberian relief resembles E5 quite
closely.

Perhaps the best known examples from this early
series of provincial reliefs are the reliefs from the arch
at Orange, which may date to the reign of Tiberius.[62] The
technique is used effectively in the small friezes of the
facades to silhouette the figures strongly against a neutral
relief ground. This frieze is not very pictorial, however,
and the preference for the technique seems to be due to the
architectural position of the frieze. The spectator must
look up at the frieze, and in order to make the small fig-
ures visible in their obscured position the artist was
forced to resort to a bold delineatiion of their forms.
However, the grooved outlines of the figures in the battle
scenes from the north and south sides of the attic at Orange
(Illus. 17 and 18) are very similar in intent to the grooves
at St. Rémy. Outlining is used to define volumes and set
them off from the relief ground as well as from the tum-
bling mass of men and horses. Again, the grooves would have
made the compositions more intelligible to the spectator
below, but they also serve a definite pictorial function
like the grooves at St. Rémy.

Lightly grooved outlines occur occasionally in
scenes on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius[63] and
on the Hadrianic tondos[64] that are now on the Arch of Con-

stantine in Rome. In these instances the groove is used only to mark such things as legs or shoulders meeting the relief surface. It is not the same usage that we have at St. Rémy. A similar limited usage of the grooved outlines also occurs on a number of sarcophagi from the second and third centuries A.D.,[65] on the late third century monument in Igel,[66] and on the arch of Galerius at Saloniki.[67] In all these cases the primary function of the groove has changed. It is no longer a device to define or draw a character and maintain the integrity of that figure despite architectural interferences, such as masonry courses.

The outlining of the Provinces from the Hadrianeum in Rome is more comparable to the St. Rémy technique because it forms a dark, continuous outline for the figures.[68] This temple was dedicated by Antoninus Pius in 145 A.D. and was decorated with representations of the provinces in high relief and trophies and weapons in low relief.[69] The groove was used to set off the figures from the background, perhaps because they were set either in a dimly lit interior or at a considerable height.[70] It again is as much an expedient due to architectural considerations as a pictorial device. The provinces are isolated figures that are not engaged in any action. Consequently, the function of the groove here recalls its function in the small friezes from Orange. I think what we have is an adaptation of the pictorial groove that was so successful at St. Rémy to another equally use-ful and successful purpose which was realized as early as

the small friezes at Orange.

Severan monuments use grooves a great deal for outlines as well as decorative patterns. Its usage is often inconsistent, even on the same monument, and the overall effect is not as successful as the pictorial grooving at St. Rémy. Sometimes the grooves are used to separate limbs or draperies from the relief ground or some other backdrop, as in the scene of Liber, an official, and a soldier from the arch at Leptis Magna (Illus. 14).[71] Liber's nude body is set off from the relief ground by grooves as is the official's body from the shield behind him. In this scene the folds of the soldier's cloak are also emphasized by grooves which produce a chiaroscuro effect. Such pronounced chiaroscuro patterns created by grooves produce the impression of interrupted surfaces in the Severan monuments. The grooving at St. Rémy produces, on the other hand, a strong impression of unified contours and surfaces in spite of disruptive masonry courses.

Despite Rolland's objections,[72] I think the grooved outline as it is used at St. Rémy definitely reflects the broad, dark outlines that are common in ancient paintings. Although the scenes are not so complex, a variety of paintings dating from the fourth century on display these outlines. The combatants from the tomb at Niausta (ca. 300),[73] the Thracians and Macedonians from the painted dromos frieze at Kazanlak,[74] the family from the cupola scene at Kazanlak,[75] the horsemen and soldiers on various Alexandrian

stelai,[76] the Greeks and their Trojan prisoners in the
François Tomb at Vulci,[77] and the figures in the fragmentary
wall-painting from the Esquiline Hill in Rome[78] are all
defined against their various backgrounds by dark, reddish-
brown outlines which are then blended into normal flesh
tones. This technique is also used effectively in certain
mosaics; in the scene of 'Dionysus on a Panther' from
Delos,[79] Dionysus' body is broadly outlined to set it off
from the body of the animal.

Closer in date to the St. Rémy panels is an Augus-
tan painted frieze from a small tomb located just off the
columbarium of the family of Statilius Taurus in Rome.[80]
The episodes depict scenes from the Aeneid and from the
early legends of Rome. The figures are drawn in dark out-
lines and then filled in with dark brown to red flesh tones.
Similarly, in the painting of 'Achilles Surrendering Bri-
seis' from the House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii,[81] the
heads of the soldiers in the background are outlined against
painted shields just like the heads of horses N1 and N5 and
other figures at St. Rémy are outlined against sculpted
shields. It seems reasonable to believe on the basis of
these examples that the grooves were filled with a color
appropriate to the limb or garment they outlined. For ex-
ample, human limbs would be outlined in reddish-brown,
horses in black or brown, and shields in brown or gilt tones.

Although I do not think it possible to argue that
the St. Rémy panels use the groove as an adaptation from a

particular school of painting, I am convinced that it is a
definite pictorial reflection and is equivalent to the
broad outlines that "draw" figures in ancient paintings.
We need only compare the St. Rémy panels with the later
Severan monuments that use the groove in a sculptural and
decorative capacity to produce a strong argument in favor
of the painted precedents for the contouring at St. Rémy.
The technique could have been adopted from sketches of
monumental paintings or even from vase-paintings of such
compositions. The contour lines on red-figure vases are
very similar in function and effect to the St. Rémy grooves.
In each case the figures are set off from the background
and from each other by these devices. Unlike the Severan
monuments, the contour lines and the grooves are not used
merely for decorative effects. This trend is a later devel-
opment that resulted from sculptural and sometimes archi-
tectural considerations. Both the St. Rémy grooves and
the painted contour lines are essential elements of the
composition that are used to "draw" the various figures.
The use of color and the setting

There are several extant sources in sculpture and
painting that give us some indication of what color schemes
were used in the panels. A considerable amount of color
remains on the Alexander sarcophagus[82] and on a number of
Etruscan urns and sarcophagi.[83] In addition we have the
Alexander mosaic.[84] The composite evidence from these
sources suggests that the background was blue or gray, the

human bodies red or reddish-brown, the horses black or
brown, the shields brown with gilt decoration, the helmets
yellow or red, and the hair brown or red. Armor was often
brown, sometimes with red or gold decoration. The quiet,
stately group in the east panel (E2-5) and the Victory E7
were probably dressed in white. If the groundline were
painted in the west panel, it would have been in shades of
brown. The ornamentation on the shields of various warriors
(e.g., W8-9) was probably highlighted with gilt, and some
shields that now appear plain may have been decorated with
painted ornamentation.

When the reliefs were in their original painted
state, they must have seemed very much like large panel
paintings, not unlike the numerous paintings from Pompeii
and Herculaneum. They are even neatly set within an
architectural framework of pilasters. Because of their
position on the socle of the monument, the relief panels
and their pilasters must serve a definite architectonic
function. Most of the mass of the structure is supported
by the base of which they are a part, so the panels must
seem capable of supporting the weight. Because of the
pilasters and the flat relief surface, the panels perform
this function admirably. Even when the relief surface was
painted, this functionality would not have been weakened.

The spectator was expected to walk around and exam-
ine the panels in much the same way that he would have
walked along the colonnade decorated by the Telephus frieze.

The panels are above eye-level but are fully lighted with natural light, so they can be easily observed. As the spectator moved around, the repetition of the garlands and pilasters would have given him a certain sense of continuity even though the subjects of the four scenes are quite different. I think he would have experienced much the same feeling examining these panels that he might have when walking around a room with a panel painting inset in each wall.

The north and west panels are single monumental tableaux like the Alexander mosaic and the east panel is a fusion of mythological episodes, but all three battle scenes at St. Rémy belong to the "grand pictorial" artistic tradition. They are characterized by a large number of figures that are engaged in violent and diverse actions on a heroic scale. There are various suggestions of depth, including foreshortened views, overlapping figures, oblique movement, and sometimes a tiered perspective. Specific indications of a pictorial heritage are the motifs of obliquely moving horses seen from the front and the rear and diagonal movements used in conjunction with tiered compositions. These elements are seen in fourth century vases and in Etruscan urns that are definitely derived from pictorial compositions. None of the panels slavishly copies a single painting.

It is difficult to determine a specific terminus

post quem for each panel. All the figures in the west
panel are extremely well integrated into the scene, and
only one figure (W15) is unusual. Unfortunately, we are
unable to find an accurate parallel for this motif. Con-
sequently, on the basis of the similarity of the tiered
composition and diagonal movement of the west panel to com-
positions on late fourth century vases, we can assume at
least a late fourth or early third century terminus post
quem.

However, it is possible to suggest a more specific
date as the terminus post quem for the originals behind the
north panel. Motifs N1-5 may well come from a single com-
position. Because horses seen obliquely from the rear do
not appear in vase-painting until the end of the fourth
century B.C., we can suggest a terminus post quem of ca.
325-250 B.C. for the source of these motifs. Motifs N6 and
N7 probably come from later sources. Horse N6 is definite-
ly a pictorial element that may be dated to the middle or
late third century B.C. I suggest this date because the
execution of the motif is more bold and successful than any
available fourth century prototypes. Prisoner N7 is probab-
ly taken from a Pergamene galatomachy tradition, either
sculptural or pictorial, of the second century B.C.

The east panel is quite a compendium of motifs, but
its battle scene still reflects grand pictorial traditions,
even though the entire scene (with its two episodes) is
probably adapted from a pictorial mythological cycle that

is also evident on Etruscan urns.   The accessory warriors
in the battle scene probably come from some large-scale
source, and prisoner E15 resembles N7 and so may well come
from a Pergamene composition of the second century B.C.
The quietly standing group (E2, E4, E5) reflects a sculp-
tural tradition and is common in contemporary provincial
funerary sculpture as well as Greek, Etruscan, and Roman
art.   It is difficult to suggest a date for the Troilus
episode, but the tiered composition again hints at a late
fourth or early third century terminus post quem.   This
panel and the south panel, which also reflects a mytholog-
ical cycle, are very likely narratives.   Such a narrative
duality of episodes within a single scene is precedented
by Etruscan urns.

NOTES

[1]Garger, "Die kunstgeschichtliche Stellung," pp. 1-28; Andreae, _Motivgeschichtliche Untersuchungen_, pp. 20-28, 35-38, 80; Kleiner, _The Glanum Cenotaph_, pp. 116, 132, 144, 184, 202.

[2]Hedwig Kenner, _Der Fries des Tempels von Bassae-Phigalia_, Kunstdenkmäler, Heft 2 (Wien: Franz Deuticke, 1946), Taf. 15, 21, slabs 534, 541; Guy Donnay, "L'Amazonomachie du Mausolée d'Halicarnasse," _L'Antiquité Classique_, 26 (1957), slabs 1006, 1010, 1016.

[3]Kleiner, _The Glanum Cenotaph_, p. 119; Heinz Kähler, _Der Fries vom Reiterdenkmal des Aemilius Paullus in Delphi_, Monumenta Artis Romanae, V (Berlin: Verlag Gebr. Mann, 1965), p. 79, Taf. 23; Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee, _Some Notes on Artists in the Roman World_, Collection Latomus, VI (Bruxelles: Latomus, Revue d'Etudes Latines, 1951), p. 39; Andreae, _Motivgeschichtliche Untersuchungen_, pp. 29-30; Anton Hekler, "Relieffragment aus Lecce," _JOAI_, 18 (1915), pp. 94-97.

[4]Kleiner, _The Glanum Cenotaph_, p. 119.

[5]Kähler, _Aemilius Paullus_, pp. 19, 21-23, Taf. 5.

[6]_Ibid._, Taf. 1.2.

[7]Kleiner, _The Glanum Cenotaph_, p. 123, Fig. 70, in the Jatta collection in Ruvo, no. 1096.

[8]_Ibid._, pp. 123-124, including a mounted amazon on a mid-fourth century Sicilian calyx krater, in Syracuse, Museo Nazionale, no. 55838; one of the Dioscuri in a Calydonian hunt on an Apulian volute krater, _ca._ 340, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, no. F3258; an amazon on an Attic Kertsch pelike, _ca._ 310, Leningrad, Hermitage, no. B2230. They also appear in Alexandrian tomb-paintings (Blanche R. Brown, _Ptolemaic Paintings and Mosaics and the Alexandrian Style_, Monographs on Archaeology and Fine Arts, VI [Cambridge: The Archaeological Institute of America, 1957], no. 34, Pl. 24.1, Mustafa Pasha Tomb I).

[9]Warsaw, National Museum, no. 138531; M. L. Bernhard, CVA Pologne 6, Varsovie 3 (Warsaw 1964), Taf. 23 and 26.2; Kleiner, The Glanum Cenotaph, p. 124; Munich, Museum antiker Kleinkunst, shown in Ernst Pfuhl, Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen, Vol. III (München: F. Bruckmann A.-G., 1923), Fig. 795.

[10]Gerhard, Etruskische Spiegel, Vol. I, Taf. lxxiii; Rebuffat-Emmanuel, Le miroir étrusque, Vol. I, pp. 217-219 and Vol. II, Pl. 72.

[11]Gerhard, Etruskische Spiegel, Vol. I, Taf. x, now in the Vatican Museum, fourth-third century B.C.

[12]Havelock, Hellenistic Art, Pl. XI, in the Museo Nazionale, Naples, no. 10020.

[13]Charbonneaux, Hellenistic Art, p. 390.

[14]Adolf Furtwängler, Die antiken Gemmen. Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im klassischen Altertum (Amsterdam: Verlag Adolf M. Hakkert, 1964 and 1965), Vol. I, Taf. 27, nos. 31 and 33 and Vol. III, p. 284.

[15]New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 07.286.84, by the Painter of the Shaggy Silens (Pfuhl, Malerei und Zeichnung, Vol. III, Fig. 506).

[16]West frieze, block k, figure 20 (see AJA, 76 [1972], Pl. 61, Fig. 4).

[17]Section B3 from outer south wall and section A6 from west wall (Fritz Eichler, Die Reliefs des Heroons von Gjölbaschi-Trysa, Kunstdenkmäler, Heft VIII [Wien: Franz Deuticke, 1950], Taf. 2/3 and 15.

[18]Garger, "Die kunstgeschichtliche Stellung," p. 9.

[19]Havelock, Hellenistic Art, Pl. XI; see below, pp. 135ff.

[20]Gerhard, Etruskische Spiegel, Vol. V, Taf. cx, in the British Museum, no. 73.

[21]Hübner, "Die Bildwerke," p. 12.

[22]See above, pp. 18f.

[23](Demetrios), Peri hermeneias 76; see above, p. 99, note 37.

[24]Havelock, Hellenistic Art, Pl. XI.

[25] Wilhelm Kraiker, _Die Malerei der Griechen_ (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1958), p. 164, no. 64; Charbonneaux, _Hellenistic Art_, p. 118; Heinrich Fuhrmann, _Philoxenos von Eretria. Archäologische Untersuchungen über zwei Alexandermosaike_ (Göttingen: In Kommission bei der Dieterichschen Universitäts-buchdruckerei W. F. Kaestner, 1931).

[26] Region I, Insula iii, House 23.

[27] Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Hofmuseum; Gisela M. A. Richter, _The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks_ (4th ed., newly revised; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), pp. 131, 172.

[28] _Ibid._, Figs. 421, 422 (details); BrBr 486.

[29] Alexander Conze, _et al._, _Altertümer von Pergamon_, Band I, Text 1, _Stadt und Landsschaft_, Königliche Museen zu Berlin (Berlin: Verlag von Georg Reimer, MCMXII), pp. 250-251, Abb. 1; he dates the relief very generally to the "Königszeit".

[30] See above, pp. 127f.

[31] BrBr 485; Margarete Bieber, _The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age_ (revised edition; New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), Figs. 477-478; Christa Bauchhenss-Thüriedl, _Der Mythos von Telephos in der antiken Bildkunst_, Beiträge zur Archäologie, 3 (Würzburg: Konrad Triltsch Verlag, 1971), Faltplane 1 and 2.

[32] Blanckenhagen, "Narration," p. 79.

[33] Guido Achille Mansuelli, _Ricerche sulla pittura ellenistica. Riflessi della pittura ellenistica nelle arti minori_, Università degli Studi di Bologna Facolta di Lettere e Filosofia, Studi e Ricerche IV (Bologna: Dott. Cesare Zuffi, Editore, [1950]), pp. 41ff., 46ff.; Ranuccio Bianchi-Bandinelli and Antonio Giuliano, _Les Etrusques et l'Italie avant Rome_, trans. by Jean-Charles and Evelyne Picard, Le Monde Romain I (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1973), pp. 306-307. Examples of such urns include: Brunn-Körte, II.1.xlviii.16 (Berlin 1275), II.2.lxviii.3 (Museo Guarnacci 272), II.2.lxviii.4 (Museo Guarnacci 292), II.2.lxix.5 (Museo Guarnacci 296), II.1.xxi.3 (Museo Guarnacci 372), II.1.xxii.5 (Museo Guarnacci 371); Pairault, _Recherches_, Pl. 104a,b (Florence 5768).

[34] Museo Guarnacci 372 (Brunn-Körte, II.1.xxi.3).

[35] Villa Bordoni (Brunn-Körte, II.1.i.1).

[36] See above, pp. 25ff.

[37]Pfuhl, _Malerei_ _und_ _Zeichnung_, Bd. III, Taf. 234, Abb. 584 and Bd. II, pp. 588ff., late fifth century, but badly damaged.

[38]See also Harrison, "South Frieze and Marathon Painting," pp. 353-378, _passim_; John P. Barron, "New Light on Old Walls: Murals of the Theseion," _JHS_, 92 (1972), pp. 25ff.; L. H. Jeffery, "The 'Battle of Oinoe' in the Stoa Poikile: A Problem in Greek Art and History," _BSA_, 60 (1965), pp. 41-57, _passim_; R. E. Wycherley, _Literary_ _and_ _Epigraphical_ _Testimonia_, The Athenian Agora, III (Princeton: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1957), pp. 31-45.

[39]See above, pp. 137f.

[40]Bianchi-Bandinelli, _Les_ _Etrusques_, Fig. 343.

[41]Otto-Wilhelm von Vacano, "Die Figurenanordnung in Giebelrelief von Telamon," _RömMitt_, 76 (1969), pp. 141ff., Taf. 54.

[42]See Gabriella Ronzitti Orsolini, _Il_ _Mito_ _dei_ _Sette_ _a_ _Tebe_ _nelle_ _urne_ _Volterrane_, Studi dell'Ateneo Pisano 2 (Firenze: La Nuova Italia Editrice, 1971), p. 43.

[43]Brunn-Körte, III.cxi and cxii.1-5.

[44]Kleiner, _The_ _Glanum_ _Cenotaph_, p. 127; see above, pp. 43f.

[45]Kleiner, _The_ _Glanum_ _Cenotaph_, p. 147.

[46]Pfuhl, _Malerei_ _und_ _Zeichnung_, Taf. 246, Abb. 603, pp. 711ff., no museum reference. He offers several other vases with it including: a pelike in the Hermitage, no. 2012 (A. Michaelis, "Theseus und Medeia," _AZ_, XXXV [1877], pp. 75-77) and a _stark_ _räumlich_ South Italian vase in the collection of Borelli Bey, no. 219.

[47]Pfuhl, _Malerei_ _und_ _Zeichnung_, p. 712, no. 776.

[48]Arthur Dale Trendall, _The_ _Red-Figured_ _Vases_ _of_ _Lucania_, _Campania_ _and_ _Sicily_, Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 339, no. 798, Pl. 132.1-3, Chicago, no. 89.24.

[49]Ranuccio Bianchi-Bandinelli, _Hellenistic-Byzantine_ _Miniatures_ _of_ _the_ _Iliad_ (_Ilias_ _Ambrosiana_) (Olten, Switzerland: Urs Graf-Verlag, 1955), pp. 30-31, Figs. 175, 177-179, from Regio II, Insula v.

[50]For example, the arches at Orange and Carpentras; see also Espérandieu, I, nos. 127, 157, 215, 277, 347, 364, 536, 537, 540, 560, 562, 565, 566, 569, 583, 614, 616, 623, 630, 639, 652-656. It is also found in funerary art, especially in Provence and Narbonne, with a _terminus ante quem_ of the end of the first century A.D. (Amy, _L'Arc d'Orange_, p. 116). G. Kenneth Sams has also mentioned to me that a groove is used in Lycia, especially in fourth century amazonomachies of the Graeco-Persian school.

[51]Hübner, "Die Bildwerke," p. 11 and the note on that page.

[52]Gerhart Rodenwaldt, "Zur Polychromie des Petosirisgrabes," _AA_, 1930, col. 264; Emanuel Löwy, "Die Anfänge des Triumphbogens," _JKS_, N.F. 2 (1928), p. 26.

[53]Rolland, _Le Mausolée_, pp. 47-49; Amy, _L'Arc d'Orange_, pp. 115-116; Kleiner, _The Glanum Cenotaph_, p. 83 argues that red filled the grooves.

[54]Oscar Bie, _Kampfgruppe und Kämpfertypen in der Antike_ (Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1891), p. 150; Bianchi-Bandinelli, _Rome, La Fin_, p. 145.

[55]Olwen Brogan, _Roman Gaul_ (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1953), p. 167.

[56]See also Arnold Schober, "Zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der provinzialrömischen Kunst," _JOAI_, 26 (1930), p. 23; Carl Weickert, "Gladiatoren-Relief der Münchener Glyptothek," _Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst_, N.F. II (1925), p. 28; Gerhard Koeppel, "The Grand Pictorial Tradition of Roman Historical Representations during the Early Empire," a manuscript for _Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt_, p. 25; Rolland, _Le Mausolée_, p. 47; Mrs. Arthur Strong (Eugénie Sellers), _Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine_ (London: Duckworth and Co., 1907), p. 95.

[57]Kleiner, _The Glanum Cenotaph_, pp. 76-77; he says that the technique was also used in the acanthus frieze of the _tholos_ and on the archivolts of the _quadrifrons_.

[58]Pierre Devambez, _Bas-relief de Téos_, Bibliothèque archéologique et historique de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie d'Istanbul, XIV (Paris: Librairie Adrien Maisonneuve, 1962), Pls. I, III-V, p. 21 for date.

[59]Herbig, _Steinsarkophage_, Fig. 15, no. 49.

[60]Several cornice blocks in Bordeaux (Espérandieu, II, pp. 207-210, no. 1232, Figs. 1-9); a funerary sculpture in the Musée lapidaire in Béziers (Espérandieu, I, p. 347, no. 537); a fragmentary relief of Hercules in the Musée de Lamourguier in Narbonne (Espérandieu, I, no. 562); a relief of weapons in Narbonne (Espérandieu, I, p. 432, no. 711); parts of a column in Périgueux decorated with tritons and trophies (Espérandieu, II, p. 248, no. 1294); parts of an arch from Arles (Espérandieu, I, pp. 127-128, nos. 155-159, especially nos. 157, 158).

[61]Jean-Jacques Hatt, "Les Monuments gallo-romains de Paris et les origines de la sculpture votive en Gaule romaine," RA, 39 (1952), p. 71, Fig. 1, p. 77 for date, now in the Musée de Cluny, Paris.

[62]Amy, L'Arc d'Orange, II, Pl. 68, etc.

[63]For example, Karl Lehmann-Hartleben, Die Trajans-säule. Ein römisches Kunstwerk zu Beginn der Spätantike (Berlin: Verlag von Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1926), Taf. 7 (scene VII -- trees), 8 (scene IX -- arms, trees, horses), 11 (scene XV -- trees, legs, contours of figures), 12 (scene XVIII -- legs, garments, contours), 13 (scenes XXI, XXII -- legs), 15 (scene XXV -- heads), 31 (scene LXVII -- barbarians), etc.

[64]Becatti, Art of Ancient Greece and Rome, Fig. 316.

[65]Fittschen, "Ein Feldhernnsarkophag," p. 329, Taf. 106.1; Antonio Garcia y Bellido, "Sarcofagos romanos de tipo oriental hallados en la peninsula Iberica," ArchEspArq, 21 (1948), pp. 101-102 and Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal, Vol. II (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1949), Pl. 200, no. 262; Fritz Eichler, "Fragmente attischer Sarkophage in Wien," JOAI, 36 (1946), pp. 85-90, Abb. 19 and 20; Alda Levi, Sculture greche e romane del Palazzo Ducale di Mantova (Roma: Biblioteca d'arte Editrice, 1931), p. 87; Antonio Minto, "Regione XI (Transpadana). IV. S. Casciano dei Bagni. Scoperta di una tomba etrusca e Celle sul Rigo," NSc, Ser. 6, 12 (1936), Tav. XCIV.

[66]Hans Dragendorff and E. Krüger, Das Grabmal von Igel, DAI, Römisch-Germanische Kommission, Frankfurt a/Main (Trier: Kommissionsverlag von Jacob Lintz, 1924), p. 100.

[67]Bianchi-Bandinelli, Ilias Ambrosiana, Fig. 25.

[68]Ernest Nash, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome, Vol. I (2nd ed. revised; New York and Washington: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), pp. 457, 459, Fig. 562

(trophies and Gallia, in courtyard of Palazzo dei Conservatori); Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee, The Hadrianic School. A Chapter in the History of Greek Art (Cambridge at the University Press, 1934), Pl. XXXIV, especially Figs. 2, 5, and 6 in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, the Palazzo Odescalchi, and the Museo Nazionale in Naples; see also Hans Lucas, "Die Reliefs der Neptunsbasilica in Rom," JdI, 15 (1900), pp. 1-42.

[69]Nash, Pictorial Dictionary, p. 459.

[70]Toynbee, Hadrianic School, pp. 154-155.

[71]Renatto Bartoccini, "L'arco quadrifronte dei Severi a Lepcis (Leptis Magna)," Rivista Africa Italiana, IV (1931-x,1-2), Fig. 51.

[72]See above, p. 166.

[73]J. Six, "Nikomachos et la peinture d'un hypogée Macédonien de Niausta," BCH, 49 (1925), pp. 263-274, Pl. VI; Pfuhl, Malerei und Zeichnung, no. 992, abb. 750; K. F. Kinch, "Le tombeau de Niausta, tombeau macédonien," Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskabs Skrifter, Historisk og Filosofisk Afdeling, 7.Raekke, Bind IV.3 (1920), pp. 283-288.

[74]Carlo Verdiani, "Archeological Notes -- Original Hellenistic Paintings in a Thracian Tomb (Preliminary Report)," trans. and excerpted by Rhys Carpenter, AJA, 49 (1945), Figs. 3 and 4; Assen Vassiliev, Das antike Grabmal bei Kasanlak (Sofia: Verlag Bulgarski Hudoshnik, 1959), pp. 5-18, where on p. 15 he calls the 'Umrissverfahrens' an Egyptian technique that was long familiar to Hellenistic painting; both shadows and outlines were used to define the forms of the bodies.

[75]Charbonneaux, Hellenistic Art, Figs. 109-113.

[76]Ibid., Fig. 96; Brown, Ptolemaic Paintings, pp. 11-82.

[77]Bianchi-Bandinelli, Les Etrusques, p. 257, Fig. 293; Frederik Poulsen, Etruscan Tomb Paintings. Their Subjects and Significance (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), p. 52; Massimo Pallottino, The Great Centers of Etruscan Painting, trans. by M. E. Stanley (Geneva: Albert Skira, 1952), pp. 115-120; Stenico, Roman and Etruscan Painting, Fig. 59.

[78]Braccio nuovo, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Sala I/33, no. 1025 (Lübke-Pernice, Die Kunst der Römer, p. 357, Fig. 348).

[79] Charbonneaux, _Hellenistic Art_, Fig. 97.

[80] Nash, _Pictorial Dictionary_, Vol. II, pp. 361-364, Figs. 1139-1147, in the Museo Nazionale Romano or destroyed in removal.

[81] Charbonneaux, _Hellenistic Art_, Fig. 123.

[82] Hanfmann, _Classical Sculpture_, Pl. VI.

[83] Pairault, _Recherches_, Pl. 48a (=Brunn-Körte, I.xlviii.1), Museo Guarnacci 398; Pl. 48b (=Brunn-Körte, III.xlviii.2a), Museo Guarnacci 407; Pl. 51 (=Brunn-Körte, I.xlix.4), Museo Guarnacci 375; Pl. 62 (=Brunn-Körte, I.lvi.17), Museo Guarnacci 293.

[84] Havelock, _Hellenistic Art_, Pl. XI.

CHAPTER V

EARLY IMPERIAL BATTLE RELIEFS

As we have seen the three battle scenes at St. Rémy
belong to a distinctly pictorial tradition that, judging
from the Alexander mosaic, was popular in the Hellenistic
world by the late fourth century B.C. Such grand repre-
sentations also flourished in the court of Pergamon, but
we unfortunately have only literary and fragmentary (and
much later) sculptural evidence of their appearance. We
specifically label this artistic tradition "grand" because
of its characteristics. In each panel the St. Rémy artist
has suggested an illusion of depth by oblique movement and
foreshortening; in the east and west panels he also re-
sorted to a tiered arrangement as a formula for depth. He
has rather consistently maintained a realistic scale for
the figures and in the west panel, especially, has suc-
cessfully combined a linear, isocephalic arrangement with
a tiered perspective. Through these various means, the
three battle scenes can accommodate a large number of fig-
ures engaged in violent, heroic actions.

The east panel illustrates how the grand pictorial
traditions can be used in a mythological narrative. The

figures in the death scene are not meshed into a strongly cohesive unit by an action that is directed toward a single goal. Instead, there is a great diversity of action that is produced by individual reaction to a tragic situation. This personal, or "intimate", element is very pronounced and in some ways recalls the character of the narrative Telephus frieze.[1] The spectator is meant to react to the tragedy as well. Consequently, Achilles E8 and Troilus E13 are very prominent as a motif within the overall scene. This kind of emphasis to produce emotional reactions from the individuals in the scene as well as from the spectator is comparable to the prominence of Alexander and Darius in the Alexander mosaic. One is very much aware of the over-all action in each case, but it is the individual human element that is the focus of attention. Consequently, the importance of the human figures is emphasized by various compositional devices that are common to both the mosaic and the panels and, so, to the grand tradition.

In all the battle scenes, then, the St. Rémy artist has achieved a heroic pictorial quality by using the same artistic techniques. It is merely coincidental that one of the scenes is mythological and the other two are generic. Furthermore, the architectural usage of the panels also helps to establish their close relation to paintings. The reliefs are framed by pilasters which perform the architectonic function of supporting the upper stories of the structure. Also, the structural function

of the socle itself is not disguised because its walls with the masonry courses clearly visible constitute the relief surface for the panels. When the panels were in their original painted state, they must have seemed like paintings set in a wall whose pilasters were draped with garlands.

Since we have looked at the pictorial precedents for the St. Rémy panels, we should also look at several early Imperial battle reliefs to see if the same pictorial traditions continue. We will examine the Mantua and Palestrina reliefs, the attic reliefs on the arch at Orange, the drawings of a fragment from the now destroyed arch of Claudius, a scene from the column of Trajan, and the great Trajanic frieze. Our main concern is to use these reliefs to fix the St. Rémy traditions in their immediate surroundings rather than to make an extensive analysis of each Imperial example; we know what went before St. Rémy, now we must look at what comes immediately after it.

Augustan Reliefs

Both the Mantua relief (Illus. 15)[2] and the Palestrina fragment (Illus. 16)[3] are epistyle friezes that were carved together with an architrave. The Mantua relief has been dated ca. 6 A.D. because of its similarities to the remains of the Temple of Castor in Rome,[4] and the Palestrina fragment may also be assigned to the Augustan age.

Both friezes show a rout of barbarians by civilized forces,
but only the Mantua relief includes a landscape "prop"
(i.e., the rock under the foot of the nude rescuer). They
both show a large number of figures engaged in complex
actions. However, the immediate effect of each frieze is
quite different.

The Mantua relief seems to be a series of heroic
motifs combined to produce a scene; it has a sculptural
rather than a pictorial appearance. In fact, it is only
upon closer examination that its limited pictorial quali-
ties become apparent. The Palestrina fragment, on the
other hand, has a pictorial effect because its mass of
figures are embroiled in a single action that is clearly
the motivation for all of them. An examination of these
two fragmentary reliefs will show the particular devices
that produce the different effects and will help relate
these friezes to the grand traditions of the St. Rémy
panels.

The scene in the Mantua fragment (Illus. 15) is
composed of several superimposed rows of figures that are
arranged in isocephalic lines. As in the Alexander mosaic,
the spectator is looking into a mass of figures so that he
sees less of the bodies as the figures are deeper within
the crowd. This system of receding rows of isocephalic
figures is not used in the St. Rémy panels: no figures
are shown in the background of the north panel, and the
west and east panels use a tiered formula.

In the foreground of the fragment are two horse-
men, two falling or fallen barbarians, and the central
nude warrior who is carrying the corpse of a fallen com-
rade. A fragmentary horse rears at the far right side.
All these figures are or would have been completely visi-
ble. The middle ground is occupied by a horse whose hind-
quarters are visible behind the left foreground rider (and
whose head is seen just beyond his shield) and by two
infantrymen who flank the central nude. These figures are
partially obscured by the foreground figures. Finally,
in the background are the heads of a warrior and a horse.
The warrior is to the left of the first infantryman from
the left, and the horse is between the second infantryman
and the right rider. These two figures are so deep in the
background that their bodies are completely hidden.

Oblique movement also distinguishes the St. Rémy
panels, but almost all the figures in the Mantua fragment
move in a plane parallel to the relief ground. Only the
damaged rearing horse and the striding warrior of the res-
cue group are exceptions. All the various warriors are
seen in frontal or three-quarter frontal views rather than
in simple profile, but only the rearing horse seems to
move from the background into the foreground. Unfortu-
nately, he is so badly damaged that this movement may well
be only an optical illusion. However, even though the
rescuer does not move out of the background, his upper
torso is set obliquely against the relief surface, thus

suggesting the possibility of such movement. In addition, the two horsemen have extended their shields, which are seen obliquely, behind their horses' heads, thereby creating an impression of depth that recalls motifs N1 and N5 at St. Rémy. Only the east panel shows a similar restriction of oblique movement. Most of the figures there also move parallel to the relief ground, but the horse E13 does rear dramatically from the background into the foreground.

Why is the Mantua fragment not as convincing pictorially as the St. Rémy panels? The highly restricted use of oblique movement is certainly one reason. Also, foreshortening is not used to any great extent in the fragment, but it is used most effectively in both the St. Rémy panels and in the Palestrina relief. The fallen barbarian under the right horse is comparable to E9, who has fallen beneath Achilles E8 and horse E13. However, the St. Rémy figure has been foreshortened to lie realistically supine while the Mantua motif is, instead, a figure in the round that has been inserted, but not integrated, into the scene. Such an avoidance of foreshortening places a severe limitation on the creation of a convincing pictorial rendition.

Finally, the background figures in the Mantua relief are worked in very low relief, and they are not set off from the background by any visible device such as a contour groove. If the frieze were set above eye-level inside a building, it was probably only dimly lit.[5] There-

fore, one must wonder whether these background figures, unless they were strikingly painted, were even visible to the casual spectator below. Certainly their role in creating depth to the composition would be less essential than the function of the background figures in the St. Rémy panels.

If the proposed architectural setting of the frieze is correct, the shadows cast by the various figures upon one another would have been even deeper than they are now. As a result, I think the figures might seem isolated from each other, but also their exact spatial relationships would be less clearly defined. Herein may lie the explanation for the lack of the conscious rendering of spatiality that we have in the St. Rémy panels. The artist preferred to let the architectural setting of the frieze define its depth.

The Palestrina fragment (Illus. 16) was probably also set at some height, but its figures are clearly defined by dark, grooved outlines. These grooves are used to emphasize the figures and to make them more visible despite their architectural setting, but they are not used in the consistent "drawing" system that we have at St. Rémy. There are so many figures massed into the scene that the relief ground is scarcely visible behind them. The lower foreground of the scene is filled with five falling or fallen barbarians and one fallen horse and his rider, who is still in a defensive pose. In the

upper foreground are a horseman moving to the left, an
unusually large central infantryman seen frontally, and
a horse as well as a horse and rider moving to the right.
Rather than being arranged in tiers, the figures are set
on a single groundline as in the north panel at St. Rémy.
The galloping horses stand in an isocephalic line, and
their hindquarters are hidden in the background, thus
giving an impression of oblique movement although their
heads and forequarters are shown in profile. The legs of
the horses and their riders overlap the fallen figures
along the groundline of the frieze and add to the overall
impression of depth. Furthermore, the fallen horse in the
central foreground is successfully foreshortened in a
pictorial pose; the supine barbarian to the left of the
horse recalls E9 and fits convincingly into the scene un-
like the similar figure in the Mantua fragment. The
Palestrina artist has masterfully depicted this body re-
ceding obliquely into the background so that we see only
his head and shoulders.

We have a much more ambitious scene in this frag-
ment than we have in the Mantua relief. Although oblique
movement is not as pronounced as at St. Rémy, the artist
has suggested it by concealing the hindquarters of the
horses and the lower body of the corpse in the background
behind other figures. He has avoided tiers of figures,
who might not be visible to the spectator below, as well
as receding rows of figures. Instead he created an impres-

sion of depth by numerous overlappings of figures with legs
and arms of other figures. This system creates a certain
rhythm to the scene. In the left part of the scene, the
corpse and the two comrades who are trying to rescue it
are overlapped by the leg of the horseman galloping oblique-
ly by them and by the large central infantryman. Conse-
quently, they seem deeper in the background than the two
barbarians under the galloping horse at the right. These
figures overlap each other but are not overlapped by the
horseman above them.

I think when the frieze was in its original posi-
tion the combination of overlappings and subtly oblique
movements would have been quite effective. Because the
spectator was walking below and along a continuous frieze,
the artist was able to suggest rather than depict spatial-
ity. At St. Rémy the artist had to be very specific in his
pictorial rendition; he could not use "shorthand" because
the spectator was looking almost directly at his panels,
which were also brightly lit by sunlight. For the frieze,
however, the angle of vision was such that the artist
could use a "shorthand" system of suggestion rather than
full depiction. The fact that the horses of the Palestrina
fragment are shown in part obliquely and in part in profile
is not so noticeable if they are set up high. If they were
also in a dimly lit or shadowed position, the discrepancy
would probably have never been apparent, especially since
the viewer had a "moving picture" rather than a single

scene to study.

Both the St. Rémy and the Palestrina artists made full use of the architectural setting of their works to emphasize the pictorialism of their compositions. The Mantua artist instead used that setting to emphasize the sculptural heritage of his frieze. Although the Mantua relief is not far removed chronologically from the St. Rémy panels, it is farther from them idiomatically than is the Palestrina fragment. Like St. Rémy, both the Mantua and Palestrina fragments depict a large number of figures in various overlapping arrangements. However, a combination of foreshortening and oblique movements make the Palestrina fragment more pictorial than the Mantua relief, even though the latter does employ a realistic system of perspective by setting successive rows of figures deeper and deeper into the background. Furthermore, the Palestrina fragment also uses the contour groove; although its use is occasional rather than consistent, it nevertheless effectively outlines the figures against each other and so is not far removed from the purely pictorial use of the groove that we find at St. Rémy.[6]

Tiberian Reliefs

Many of the St. Rémy pictorial traditions characterize the battle scenes on the north and south sides of the attic of the arch at Orange (Illus. 17 and 18), which are usually dated ca. 27 A.D.[7] These compositions are

located high up on the arch and are much more densely
packed with figures than the St. Rémy panels. Although
the scenes at Orange are not set within pilasters, they
are also very large panels. Both compositions at Orange
depict the victory of the Roman cavalry and infantry over
barbarian forces. The compositions are quite complex and
probably represent a combination of a number of sources,
both pictorial and sculptural. However, all the various
elements are well integrated as entities.

The compositions at Orange combine the linear
arrangement of the north St. Rémy panel and the tiered
perspective of the west St. Rémy panel. At Orange the
middle ground is largely dominated by obliquely moving
horses and their riders who are seen in various three-
quarter, frontal, and rear views. These horsemen recall
the cavalrymen of the north panel in both movement and
pose. On the other hand, the oblique movements of the
infantrymen combined with fallen men and horses who lie
parallel to the relief ground produce an effect similar
to the west panel. The two perspectives are combined very
effectively to accommodate an abnormally large number of
figures who are caught up in a jumbled mass of confused
actions. These actions prove to be quite systematic upon
close examination. Consequently, the Orange reliefs by
crowding all the available field with figures offer a
different formula for spatiality than we have at St. Rémy.
Although the rendition of this space is not completely

realistic, it is fairly convincing. There is no change in scale to denote perspective, but dramatically fore-shortened horses and men enhance the depth of the composition.

Like the St. Rémy artist, the creator of the Orange reliefs used the contour groove to set off his figures from each other and to maintain the integrity of their outlines across visible masonry courses. The grooves emphasize the plasticity and three-dimensionality of the figures. In my opinion it is the same use of the groove that we find at St. Rémy. The grooves are used in a constant system to define figures and set them off from their backdrop. They are not used intermittently to high-light only a few elements, such as legs and arms, or to create staccato patterns on garments. Therefore, the Orange groove is pictorial and not decorative like the grooves on Severan and later monuments.[8]

There are other more specific similarities between the two sets of reliefs as well. The horses in the Orange reliefs are rendered in almost exactly the same manner as the horses at St. Rémy. Because their manes, tails, and faces are so similar, the two sets of horses are virtually interchangeable. Certain other figures also find parallels in both the St. Rémy panels and the Palestrina fragment. In the north Orange relief, the horseman who bears down against the central nude who is seen from the rear is very much like St. Remy N5. Occupying the central lower fore-

ground in the south Orange relief is a defensive warrior on a fallen horse; he turns back to his left to strike at his adversary. This motif is found somewhat modified in the central foreground of the Palestrina fragment as well. To the right of this first Orange motif is a warrior who is falling from his fallen horse; he recalls the ambitious pose of N6. Finally, the mounted horseman seen from the rear just above the falling warrior is identical to N4. Also, the drilling of the eyes of the Orange figures is mirrored by St. Rémy figures N5, E10-11, W6, and by the various horses.

These similarities to the St. Rémy panels and the Palestrina fragment together with the overall pictorialism of the Orange reliefs are not insignificant because they seem to me to be indications of an early Imperial date. The dating of the arch at Orange has been a controversial problem. In the major publication of the monument G. Charles-Picard and P.-M. Duval conclude on the basis of the architectural, sculptural, and epigraphical evidence that the arch should date ca. 26/27 A.D., during the reign of Tiberius.[9] However, Mingazzini argues that the analogies between the Orange reliefs and the Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum and second century battle sarcophagi indicate a Severan date.[10] After studying the attic reliefs, I must agree with Charles-Picard and Duval that the sculptural decoration of this particular part of the monument should date in the early first century A.D.

Although the St. Rémy panels, the Orange reliefs, and the battle sarcophagi reflect some of the same Hellenistic pictorial sources, the artistic traditions of St. Rémy and Orange undergo quite a bit of modification in the battle sarcophagi, and the analogies there are really not so clear as Mingazzini would have them.[11]

A Claudian Relief

It is difficult to say much about the next chronological set of reliefs. These reliefs once decorated the arch of Claudius that was built in Rome ca. 51/2 A.D. Now several Renaissance drawings of a fragment of the decoration (Figs. 26 and 27)[12] are all that remain. From this limited evidence, we can tell that depth was indicated by superimposed rows of figures, overlapping figures, and possibly oblique movement. A comparison of the drawings in Figures 26 and 27 indicates discrepancies in the artists' interpretations or angles of view, so we can not be sure to what extent the pictorial traditions of the St. Rémy panels were maintained. Certainly the fallen figure seems nicely foreshortened and lies along the groundline rather than being an insertion in the scene. Beyond these few statements, we can deduce little more about the nature of the compositions. Nevertheless, it is clear that this monument was an important transitional link between the St. Rémy panels and the great Trajanic frieze.

Fig. 26. Fragmentary relief from Arch of
Claudius, Rome. Renaissance drawing.

(Castagnoli, *BullComm*, 1942, p. 63, Fig. 6.)

Fig. 27. Fragmentary relief from Arch of
Claudius, Rome. Renaissance drawing.

(Castagnoli, *BullComm*, 1942, p. 63, Fig. 7.)

(Cod. Vat. Lat. 3439, f. 65).

(P. Jacques, Album f. 29).

Trajanic Reliefs

Before looking at the grand pictorial traditions as they are interpreted in the great Trajanic frieze, we must examine another Trajanic monument and the different pictorial tradition that it represents. The column of Trajan was erected in Rome around 113 A.D. to commemorate Trajan's victories over the Dacians. It is a commentary on those campaigns that is filled with realistic details of armament and ethnography. A number of battles from both campaigns are depicted,[13] but we shall look at only one representative scene which happens to belong to the second Dacian war (Illus. 19). In this scene we see a full-scale infantry battle set in rocky terrain. The Roman forces, who are positioned in front of a hill or mountain, clearly have the upper hand over the barbarians, who are mostly fallen or on their knees about to receive the death blow. On top of the mountain, other Dacians are in great consternation over the defeat of their troops. Landscape elements are used to create an effective outdoor setting.

There are a large number of figures in the scene, and its subject matter certainly fits Nicias' requirements,[14] but it is not a grand-style scene. It is instead a documentary narrative that makes no attempt to create an actual space in which the figures can move. The artist fills the "foreground" of the scene with figures who are shown in basically linear, or isocephalic, arrangement. There are some overlappings and some deviations from the

isocephaly, but there is no attempt to suggest depth by a consistent arrangement of figures one behind the other. We are able to see the Dacians atop the mountain because the artist has chosen the "bird's-eye" perspective to display them. One is to accept that they are looking down from a high vantage point, but no artistic devices realistically suggest their position; for example, there is no variance in scale between these figures and the warriors below them.

This monument reflects a documentary or narrative pictorial tradition rather than a monumental, heroic, "grand" tradition. We must expect certain differences in rendition because the scenes on the column are arranged in a continuous narrative and are of much smaller size than the panels and friezes we have been examining. They are designed as an official, commemorative, public statement of the Dacian wars.[15] The almost cartographic quality of the compositions suggests that they may reflect the pictorial traditions of Roman triumphal paintings, but because we have only literary evidence for the appearance of these paintings, it is impossible to say how much could be adapted directly from such a source and how much is introduced from elsewhere.[16] This problem is a complex and much debated subject and does not concern us directly, but it at least should be mentioned that the column probably does reflect some heritage from pictorial triumphal representations.

In sheer size and impressiveness, the great Tra-
janic frieze (Illus. 20-23) is the antithesis of the scenes
from the column and is perhaps the "grandest" example we
have of the grand pictorial tradition. There are four
extant panels preserved on the Arch of Constantine in Rome.
They originally came from some other public monument, prob-
ably erected ca. 106/7 A.D. (perhaps in the Forum of Tra-
jan). The total preserved length of the frieze is 18.28
meters; it is 2.98 meters high, and the figures are larger
than life-size.[17] The scenes represent an adventus (Illus.
20), a pitched battle with the Dacians (Illus. 21), the
final victory over the Dacians (Illus. 22), and their sub-
mission (Illus. 23). Hamberg accurately describes its
dramatic and heroic political statement as "a demonstration
of virtus Augusti, gloria exercitus, victoria Romanorum."[18]

Unlike the column the frieze is not meant as a
realistic, or documentary, commentary, but rather as an
idealistic expression of political thought and policies.
The scenes are typical, generic episodes rather than fac-
tual events chosen to provide a continuous narrative.[19] In
fact, the compositions are combinations of motifs from
various historical paintings whose traditions go back to
the grand battle pictures of the Hellenistic period.[20]
Like the Mantua and Palestrina fragments, the Trajanic
frieze was a continuous presentation, but of more indi-
vidualized episodes. It was probably set somewhat above
eye-level, perhaps in a portico like the Telephus frieze.

Just like the west and east panels at St. Rémy, the Trajanic frieze is densely packed with men and horses. However, the system of perspective in the frieze is more sophisticated than the perspective of the panels; the frieze utilizes both the tiered arrangement of the panels and the realistically receding rows of figures one behind the other that characterizes the Alexander mosaic. In the adventus scene (Illus. 20), for example, the heads of the figures immediately behind the emperor's group are slightly lower than the heads in the foreground group; these figures are also logically smaller in scale because they are deeper in the background. However, the rest of the crowd behind the emperor is indicated by several heads that are higher than the foreground group. If we postulate bodies for these heads, the arrangement of the figures in the far background resembles the tiered system of the St. Rémy panels. The Trajanic artist uses a number of these "unattached" profile heads, worked in very low relief, to create the impression of a dense crowd in the various episodes. Also in the background are a few trees and huts that suggest the setting of the scenes. This technique is comparable to the limited use of landscape elements in the south panel at St. Rémy and in the Alexander mosaic.

Also comparable to St. Rémy is the groundline system in the great frieze. The St. Rémy artist suggests a realistic groundline in the north and west panels in two different ways. In the north panel, although they move

in and out of the background, all the figures stand along
the baseline of the panel. The figures in the west panel,
however, stand on varied groundlines that include the base-
line of the panel and painted terrain; still, the positions
of all the figures are possible in real space. On the
other hand, in the east panel and the Trajanic frieze the
artists have chosen to sacrifice a realistic groundline sys-
tem in order to create a greater illusion of depth. The
spectators E10 and E11 are very much like the "unattached"
profile heads in the Trajanic frieze. Neither spectators
nor heads are essential to the scene, but both are effec-
tive devices for conveying an impression of actual space
in which the more important figures move. Also, depending
on the effects of lighting and painting, the viewer of
the original great frieze might have had the impression
that these "unattached" heads were worked more in the
round than they seem now. If so, this effect would recall
the "drawing" of figures such as E10 and E11.

The movements of the various figures and the fore-
shortening of many of them also create greater depth in
both the St. Rémy panels and the Trajanic frieze. Parallel
and oblique movements are combined effectively in both
monuments. The overall impression is more flamboyant in
the Trajanic frieze, partially because of the density of
the composition and also because of the depth of the carv-
ing. Perhaps the most outstanding example of foreshort-
ening and oblique movement and the depth they combine to

create in the Trajanic frieze is the horse and barbarian
rider falling in front of the victorious emperor (Illus.
22). The spectator has the distinct feeling that had the
artist chosen a moment later in the fall, the group would
actually be tumbling out of the composition.

In both the east panel at St. Rémy and in the Tra-
janic frieze the major emphasis is on the human beings who
are involved in the various actions that are depicted.
The north and west panels seem to be focused more on the
overall action than on any one figure; no hero presents
himself in the west panel, and one has to look closely to
decide that N2 is the probable hero in that composition.
These panels are comparable to the action of the battle
and victory episodes (Illus. 21 and 22) from the great
frieze. However, all the panels and the episodes of the
great frieze emphasize the human element; even when the
spectator's eye is caught first by the overall action,
there are individual motifs highlighted compositionally so
that the viewer's attention is ultimately attracted to them.

Several similarities exist between the east panel
and the great frieze in this regard. The Trajanic horses
and Troilus' horse are very small in relation to the human
figures around them, and in this way attention is focused
on the human participants. Personification plays a role
in both compositions. In the east panel, locale is sug-
gested by the river god E1 and the impending success of the
hero E8 by the Victory E7; Lasa E3 establishes the funerary

implications of the scene. Trajan in the _adventus_ scene similarly is being crowned by Victory after his successful campaign, and he is being escorted to the city gate by Virtus or Roma. The personifications in the frieze are part of a conceptual political statement, whereas in the east panel they are part of a funerary symbolism. However, in each case the personifications help set the locale and the tone of the scenes.

When a particular hero such as the emperor or Achilles E8 is depicted, his heroic superiority is made obvious in various ways. E8 is thrust into the foreground and is one of the few nude warriors in the scene. His _chlamys_ swirls dramatically behind him, and his body is outlined against his shield. Trajan in the victory episode (Illus. 22) is also accentuated by his swirling cloak. Furthermore, the Dacians fall in a wave before his irresistible onslaught. In the _adventus_ (Illus. 20) Trajan is emphasized by the divine figures who accompany him; he also stands in an elliptical niche of figures who gaze toward him. The emperor and the deities occupy the foreground, and the emperor's human companions are clustered in the background and so are not fully visible. This elliptical arrangement also characterizes the proclamation episode of the east panel. E2, E4, and E5 stand behind E3 and direct their attention toward her as she reads from her _rotulus_. The grouping is not so formal as the Trajanic assembly, but the basic emphasis is the same.

In spite of these similarities, the Trajanic frieze achieves a greater illusionary spatiality than do the St. Rémy panels. The secret of this success lies in the physical structure of the reliefs. At St. Rémy the panels are essentially flat planes. The courses of stone were originally even with the pilasters before they were cut away in varying depths around the figures. Consequently, the artist was restricted in his depiction of actual space by the finite, architectonic masonry wall that constitutes his relief ground. However, the relief ground of the Trajanic frieze recedes slightly and so presents a concave profile. It is a "hollow" relief whose figures are worked behind an imaginary optical surface in front of the relief (Fig. 28).[21] An illusionary space is thus created while the figures are being worked to various depths. By using this hollow relief, the Trajanic artist has succeeded in breaking the tectonic bonds that hampered the St. Rémy artist. He is no longer restricted by a finite structural backdrop but has instead an actual deep space in which to work to create an illusion of even deeper space. In this respect, the hollow relief comes as close to the effects of painting as relief-sculpture can.[22] The figures are placed behind an imaginary frontal plane so they are set in actual space, thus accomplishing to some degree the illusion of depth that painting creates with perspective.

We have seen the grand pictorial tradition reach
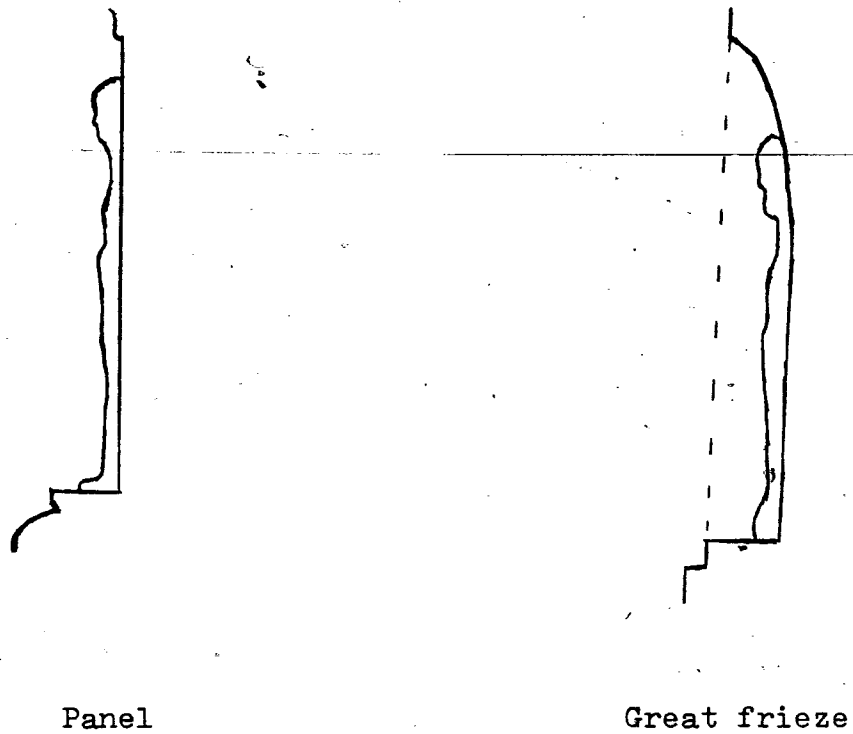
Panel

Great frieze

Fig. 28.   Profiles of a St. Rémy panel
and the great Trajanic frieze.

its culmination in the great Trajanic frieze. Its basic
characteristics remain the same that we saw in the Alexan-
der mosaic and the St. Rémy panels, despite various modifi-
cations made over the years to satisfy aesthetic and archi-
tectural requirements. Representations in the grand style
are consistently distinguished by a large number of figures
arranged to indicate depth and frequently engaged in fore-
shortened or oblique motions. Abbreviated landscape may be
indicated by "props" such as trees or may be omitted entire-
ly, but the heroic quality of the action is always clear.
This grand pictorial tradition existed along with a docu-
mentary tradition that may reflect triumphal paintings and
that is exemplified by the scenes on the column of Trajan.
Structurally, the greatest success in achieving pictorial
spatiality occurs when the hollow relief is used. Its in-
vention solved a number of problems that defeated the St.
Rémy artist and allowed the Trajanic sculptor to create an
accurate rendition of actual space that closely approaches
the effect of painting.

NOTES

[1]See above, pp. 144f.

[2]D. E. Strong, "The Mantua Relief -- A Note," _BSR_, 30 (1962), pp. 28-30; A. Levi, _Palazzo Ducale di Mantova_, no. 167.

[3]Theodor Kraus, _Das römische Weltreich_, Bd. II Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, II (Berlin: Propyläen Verlag, 1967), p. 224, museum no. 99, Taf. 181b.

[4]Strong, "Mantua Relief," p. 29.

[5]_Ibid_.

[6]See above, pp. 165ff.

[7]Amy, _L'Arc d'Orange_, I, pp. 117ff.; see below, pp. 198ff.

[8]See above, pp. 170f.

[9]Amy, _L'Arc d'Orange_, p. 157.

[10]Paolino Mingazzini, "La datazione dell'Arco di Orange," _RömMitt_, 75 (1968), pp. 163-167 and "Sulla datazione di alcuni monumenti comunemente assegnati ad età Augustea," _ArchCl_, 9 (1957), pp. 193-205. Emeline Richardson would also date the arch to the Severan period.

[11]A few sarcophagi display a spatiality similar to the Orange concept, but most sarcophagi that have a comparably large number of figures (e.g., the Ludovisi sarcophagus in the Terme) have given up any pretense of a realistic groundline system. Instead, they assemble a variety of sculptural figures into whatever space actually exists. Foreshortened poses and oblique movements are suppressed, and often the background figures are staggered artificially to emphasize certain outstanding sculptural motifs. Several of the earlier battle sarcophagi (e.g., the Ammendola sarcophagus in the Museo Capitolino) are characterized by a plausible tiered perspective, oblique movement, and foreshortened poses; in short, they adhere fairly closely to the St. Rémy interpretation of these pictorial idioms.

However, even in this early series, "unattached" heads in low relief are put in the background to enhance the crowdedness of the compositions. I think it is very important that the Orange reliefs do not use this suggestive technique. As in the St. Rémy panels, the volume of each figure is clearly defined and set off by a groove; every figure is fully "drawn" within a pictorially unified composition rather than being only "sketched" or suggested in an accessory position in the far background. Consequently, the Orange reliefs seem more closely akin to the St. Rémy panels than to the battle sarcophagi.

[12]F. Castagnoli, "Due Archi Trionfali della Via Flaminia presso Piazza Sciara," _BullComm_, LXX (1942), pp. 57-82, especially pp. 55-73.

[13]Lehmann-Hartleben, Taf. 14 (scene XXIV), 17 (XXIX/XXX, XXXI), 21 (XXXVIII), 22 (XLI), 30 (LXIV), 33 (LXX), 34 (LXXII), 43 (XCIV), 44 (XCV), 53 (CXII), 54 (CXIII), 55 (CXV/CXVI), 62 (CXXXIV), 66 (CXLII/CXLIII/CXLIV), 70 (CXLIX/CL), pp. 88-108.

[14]See above, pp. 135f.

[15]Lehmann-Hartleben, p. 89.

[16]Koeppel, "Grand Pictorial Tradition," pp. 10-11; Lehmann-Hartleben, pp. 40ff., 101ff.

[17]Massimo Pallottino, "Il grande fregio di Traiano," _BullComm_, LXVI (1938 [1939]), p. 23.

[18]Per Gustaf Hamberg, _Studies in Roman Imperial Art with Special Reference to the State Reliefs of the Second Century_ (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munskgaard, 1945), p. 170.

[19]Koeppel, "Grand Pictorial Tradition," p. 12.

[20]_Ibid._, pp. 8, 13; Ranuccio Bianchi-Bandinelli, "Il Maestro delle impresse di Traiano," _Storicità dell'arte classica_, Vol. I (2nd ed.; Firenze: Electa Editrice, 1950), p. 235. Alexander the Great actually did lead the charge into battle as he is shown doing in the Alexander mosaic.

[21]Koeppel, "Grand Pictorial Tradition," pp. 26-27; Pallottino, "Il grande fregio," p. 23 where he gives the maximum projection of the relief as 0.3 meter.

[22]Koeppel, "Grand Pictorial Tradition," p. 27.

CONCLUSION

Architectural and epigraphical evidence suggest a
date in the late first century B.C., probably between the
years 30 and 25, for the construction of the mausoleum of
the Julii at St. Rémy. Hellenistic sources provided the
inspiration for much of the sculptural decoration, includ-
ing the four large relief panels. Both the north and west
panels are generic battle scenes, but the east and south
panels reflect two mythological cycles. These panels show
two episodes each from the Troilus and the Meleager legends.
Precedents for including two episodes within a single com-
position and for a tiered composition as an adaptation of
a specific painting are offered by several series of Etrus-
can funerary urns. Urns also substantiate the iconography
of the east panel as a scene of the death of Troilus at
the hands of Achilles. The similarity of the Etruscan
urns and the St. Rémy panels to certain South Italian vases
suggests the strong possibility that a South Italian cycle
of paintings may underlie the Troilus scene. In order to
emphasize the funerary significance of the mythological
scenes in both the south and east panels, the St. Rémy
artist juxtaposed a moment of great <u>virtus</u> and a moment of
somber finality.

Specific motifs in the various panels suggest that
the inspiration for the compositions comes mainly from pic-
torial sources that can not date earlier than the end of
the fourth century B.C.   The boar in the south panel is
evidenced on a vase in Trieste that is dated ca. 330, and
the foreshortened horse and rider seen from the rear in
the north panel do not appear in painting before ca. 300-
250 B.C.   The tiered composition of the west panel in par-
ticular is also apparent in late fourth and third century
vases.   Furthermore, certain motifs come from later sources.
The fallen horseman N6 can not date earlier than the middle
or more probably the late third century B.C.   Seated pris-
oner E15 certainly reflects a second century Pergamene in-
fluence, and the quiet group E2, E4, and E5 is analogous to
provincial funerary sculpture of the first centuries B.C.
and A.D.   Most of the armament confirms the Hellenistic
date for the pictorial sources of the panels.   The only
possible exceptions are the horned helmets of N1 and W7
and the unusual lances of W12 and W14; however, these ex-
amples have been shown to reflect much older traditions.

The battle scenes in the St. Rémy panels belong
to the "grand pictorial" tradition.   This style of repre-
sentation flourished in the Hellenistic period with such
monumental tableaux as the painted original of the Alexan-
der mosaic.   These panels exemplify the grand tradition
in having a large number of figures engaged in heroic ac-
tion, as the painter Nicias recommended.   Depth is realis-

tically suggested by oblique movement, sometimes together with a tiered perspective (as in the east and west panels) or along a single groundline (as in the north panel). Abbreviated landscape, such as we find in the Alexander mosaic, is depicted only in the south panel. There is no variation in scale to suggest a system of perspective. The contour grooves and the actual painting of the panels completed the megalographic effect. Finally, the architectural setting of the panels emphasizes their pictoriality. Like panel paintings, they are set somewhat above eye-level within frames of pilasters and garlands.

A similar pictorialism characterizes several early Imperial reliefs, although not always to the same degree that we have in the St. Rémy panels. In addition, another pictorial tradition also existed during this period, and it can be seen in the documentary style of the column of Trajan. This tradition has an entirely different system of perspective and spatiality. The grand style reaches its culmination in the great Trajanic frieze. Here we have the same abbreviated landscape, dense compositions, and heroic actions that we find at St. Rémy, but certain important innovations have also been made. The presence of divinities accentuates the heroic qualities of the scene; certain figures are worked in low relief behind the main figures to create the impression of a large crowd occupying a space deep in the background. Frequently, the position of these figures would not be possible in real space.

Finally, the artist uses the "hollow" relief so that he
can convincingly depict the space within which his figures
move.

Most of the early Imperial reliefs were set high
above eye-level. The Mantua and Palestrina fragments were
parts of a continuous frieze, and this architectural use
necessitated some changes from the St. Rémy treatment. Al-
though the Orange reliefs are high up, they closely resemble
the panel nature of the St. Rémy compositions. They, too,
have no architectural function to perform since the attic
is the crowning member of the arch. It is also probable
that the great Trajanic frieze in its original setting was
in a position free of architectonic lines of stress because
the illusionary quality of the hollow relief structure is
not well suited to a supporting function. We may assume,
as a result, that the frieze may have been set within a
portico like the Telephus frieze from Pergamon.

Because of these differences in architectural set-
ting and in ideological purpose as well, none of the early
Imperial reliefs is as complete and straightforward in its
pictoriality as the St. Rémy panels. St. Rémy stands very
close to its Hellenistic pictorial precedents, and while
its artistic traditions continue into the early Empire,
the modifications made there are beginning to show their
effects. After the reign of Trajan, the pictorial traditions
are gradually replaced by a formal set of standards that are
derived from a sculptural heritage, and one ceases to find

purely pictorial idioms translated into relief sculpture
in stone.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Illus. 1.   Mausoleum of the Julii and arch at St. Rémy.

(Rolland, <u>Le Mausolée</u>, Pl. 34.)